

ESSEX



ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY



TRANSACTIONS OF THE ESSEX SOCIETY
FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Volume 35

2004

ESSEX

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

THE TRANSACTIONS OF
THE ESSEX SOCIETY FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

VOLUME 35 (Third series)

2004

Published by the Society at the Museum in the Castle 2004

THE ESSEX SOCIETY FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Registered charity 213218

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 its journal 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 of the Society and interested members of the public; to educate the wider community in the 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 journal range over the whole field of local history. Some back numbers are available; a list and prices can be obtained on application to the Librarian. Members receive a regular 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 in the Albert Sloman Library at Essex University, 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 week day during Library opening hours (and on Saturdays in term time), on presentation of a readers ticket, available on application to the University Librarian.

Membership

Application should be made to the Hon. Membership Secretary at 1 Robin Close, Great Bentley, Colchester, CO7 8QH. The current annual rates of subscription are: full member £18; family member £20; institutional member £20; associate or student (who do not receive Essex Archaeology and History) £8.

Subscribing Societies in Essex

Billericay Archaeological and History Society; Brain Valley Archaeological Society; Chigwell School; Colchester Archaeological Group; Essex Society for Family History; The Friends of Historic Essex; Halstead and District Local History Society; Haverhill and District Archaeological Group; Ingatestone and Fryerning Historical and Archaeological Society; Lavers History Group; Maldon Archaeological and Historical Group; Nazeing History Workshop; Philip Morant School, Colchester; Rochford Hundred Field Archaeology Group; Saffron Walden Historical Society; Woodford and District Historical Society.

Copyright © Essex Society for Archaeology and History 2004

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical or otherwise without prior permission of the Society. Applications to do so should be addressed to the editor.

Website

Further information on the Society and its activities may be viewed on <http://www.essex.ac.uk/history/esah/>

Maps reproduced from the Ordnance Survey mapping with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes Crown copyright and may lead to prosecution or civil proceedings.

ISSN 0308 3462

Essex Archaeology and History Volume 35 (2004)

Contents

Late Roman buildings at Bishop's House, Great Chesterford: excavations 1999	Adam Garwood	1
Rivenhall revisited: further excavations in the churchyard of St Mary and All Saints 1999	Rachel Clarke	26
Nether Hall. A fortified manor of the Wars of the Roses	D D Andrews	78
Wallasea Island; the history and archaeology of a marshland landscape	Ellen Heppell	98
'All conditions of life and labour': the presence of Black people in Essex before 1950	David Killingray	114
Football and footballers in Essex before the First World War: Gentlemen or scoundrels?	Paul Rusiecki	123
Archaeology in Essex 2003	Alison Bennett & Mike Roy (eds)	131
Work of ECC archaeological service 2003	Sally Gale (ed.)	155
Historic buildings and church notes and surveys	D D Andrews (ed.)	161

Shorter notes

Flintwork from Mill Farm, Brightlingsea	R N E Barton	185
A rare discoidal flint knife from the Blackwater estuary	H Martingell and R Lerner	186
A prehistoric site at Hall Farm, Little Bentley	N J Lavender and M Germany	187
A Middle Iron Age red hill at Tollesbury Creek, Tollesbury	M Germany	192
A131 Great Leighs by-pass: archaeological investigations 1993-2002	N J Lavender	196
Brinson revisited: emergency ditch recording at Roman Great Chesterford	M Peachey	204
Excavations at Mark Hall School, Harlow	Andrew Robertson	211
Recent finds from Essex reported to Colchester Museums 2001-2002	Philip J Wise	218
A medieval ceramic culinary mould from Mill Green, near Ingatestone	Helen Walker	225
The death of Edward V – new evidence from Colchester	John Ashdown-Hill	226
Late medieval and post-medieval remains at the former St John's ambulance shop, Park Street, Thaxted	Mike Roy	230
Finds from a well behind 2 High Street, Kelvedon	Helen Walker	233
A tower at Fingringhoe	John McCann	240

Book reviews

Excavations at Stansted Airport 1985 – 91	Steve Wallis	243
Colchester: a History & Brentwood; a History	Jane Pearson	244

Obituary

Herbert Hope Lockwood	Kenneth Neale	245
-----------------------	---------------	-----

Cover illustration: The ruined gatehouse at Nether Hall – the architectural history of this building is discussed in one of the articles in this volume

Late Roman buildings at Bishop's House, Great Chesterford: excavations 1999

A. Garwood

With contributions by J. Compton, H. Major, T.S. Martin, P. McMichael, J. Price, P.R. Sealey and S. Willis: illustrations by D.W. Williams and I. Bell

A small excavation at Bishop's House, Great Chesterford revealed a well-stratified, dated sequence representing occupation from at least the 2nd century until the late 4th century AD. The results are particularly significant as they provide further evidence that Roman settlement was extensive, and had clearly developed beyond the limits of the Roman town to the north-west, which was enclosed by a defensive wall in the late 4th century AD. The excavation lies within the area of a possible second enclosure to the south-east of the walled town, the full plan and extent of which have not been completely established. Five phases of activity were identified: the earliest of which is represented by ditches, gravel surfaces and a well dating to the 2nd to mid-3rd centuries. Following levelling of the site in the late 3rd to 4th century, a timber-framed building was constructed. This was replaced in the later 4th century by a substantial building with masonry foundations that was comprehensively robbed by the 5th century. Although the finds assemblage was small, there are a number of items of quality including a silver hairpin, a crossbow brooch and several interesting pieces of glass. The Roman pottery assemblage is also important, as it is one of few from Great Chesterford that derives from a well-stratified and recorded sequence.

Introduction

The excavation at Bishop's House, carried out by the Essex County Council Field Archaeology Unit in the spring of 1999, was undertaken in advance of the construction of a swimming pool. The excavation examined the footprint of the swimming pool, and a further programme of archaeological monitoring was maintained during the excavation of the strip foundations associated with the encompassing building.

The general aims of the project were to determine the survival, date, character, condition and significance of any archaeological remains. More specific aims were to evaluate the initial date of occupation, periods of intense activity and eventual abandonment of the site, as well as identify the range of activity within the enclosure and, if possible, variations through time. The relationship of deposits to those found in excavations in the 19th century was also to be ascertained, as well as the range of objects that were in use, their status and presence of any imports.

The finds and site archive will be deposited at the Saffron Walden Museum, under the site code GC24 (museum accession code SAFWM 2002:89).

Site location, geology and topography

Great Chesterford lies in north-west Essex, close to the Cambridgeshire county boundary. The modern village, at c. 37 m O.D., is situated on the well-drained river Cam terraces formed from a diverse composite of chalk, sand and gravel deposits. It occupies a prime strategic location close to the Icknield Way, the main local east-west thoroughfare from the prehistoric period onwards, and controlled several valley trade routes including those through the Cam, Stort and Lee valleys.

Bishop's House (formerly named Chesterford Hall and The Country Club) is a large 18th/19th-century residence lying directly to the south of the 13th-century All Saints Church (Fig. 1). The house is located within extensive grounds, bounded to the south by the river Cam or Granta and to the north by the churchyard walls. The excavation site (TL 505 426) lay within a former garden area, adjacent to a 19th-century orangery, on the western side of the main building (Fig. 1).

Archaeological background

Great Chesterford has a long history of archaeological investigation, although much remains unpublished (Medlycott 1998, 4). There are, however, several accounts that chart the development of Great Chesterford, particularly in the Roman period (VCH 1983; Collins 1996; Burnham and Wachter 1990; Medlycott 1998).

Evidence of prehistoric activity includes a large Bronze Age barrow, identified as a cropmark to the north-west of the present village, a Late Iron Age settlement on the site of the later Roman town, and a temple complex situated c.1km to the north-east. A Roman fort was constructed in the 1st century AD to the immediate north of the Iron Age settlement, possibly as a result of the Boudiccan revolt in AD 60/1. The fort was abandoned by the end of the 1st century, and was succeeded by a town, which by the 2nd century had expanded along the main routes leading out of the fort. An apparent period of decline followed in the 3rd century, before a final phase of expansion in the 4th century, culminating in the erection of the town walls. The enclosed town (Borough Field) is now classified as a Scheduled Monument (SM 24871).

The presence of a second walled enclosure to the south-east of the town was suggested as early as 1756 by Dr Gower, and recent excavations and watching briefs (Collins 1996; Gadd 2001; Dey 2001) have identified

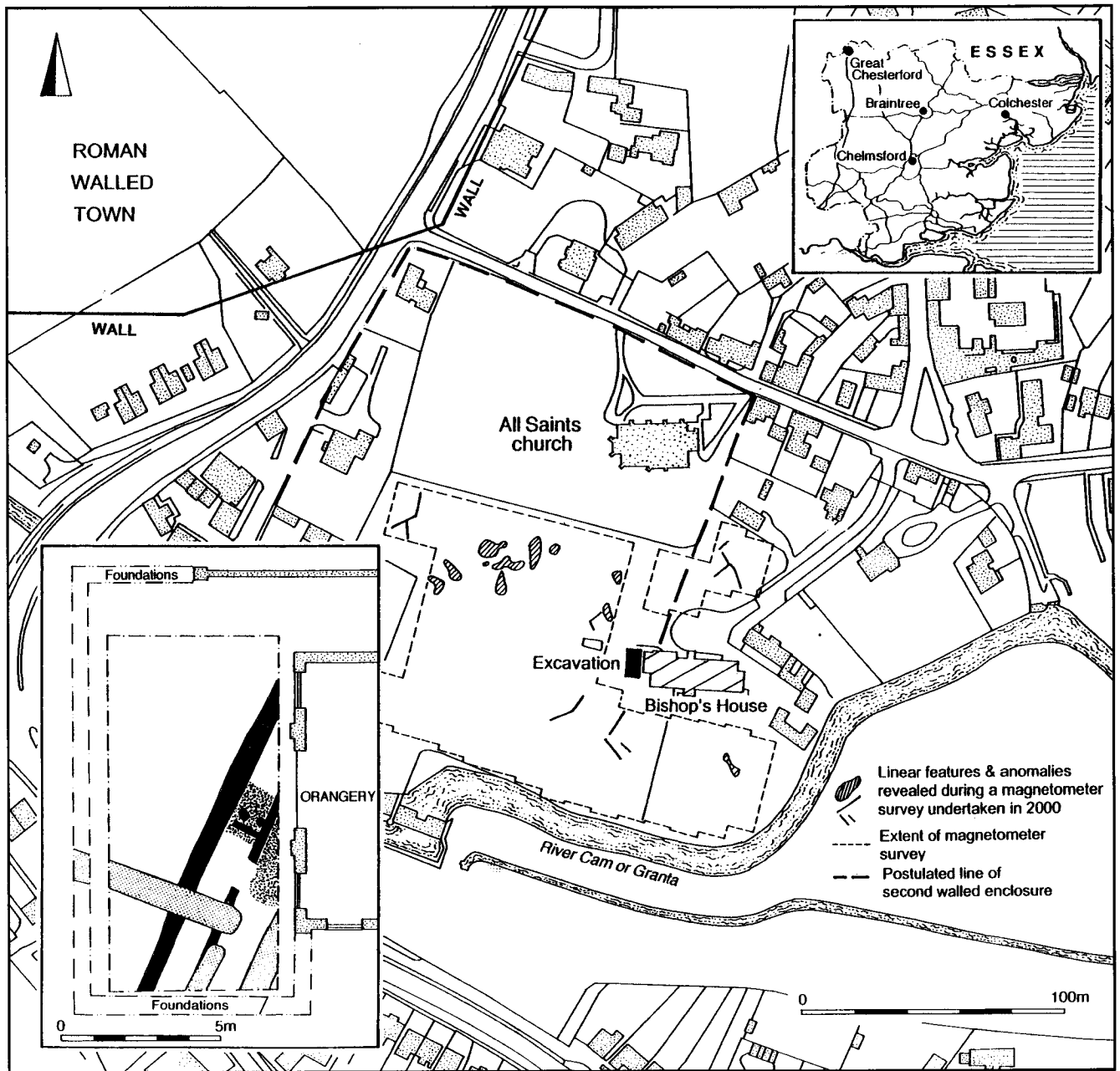


Fig. 1 Great Chesterford, Bishops House: site location with inset of simplified phase plan
 © Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

evidence of substantial wall foundations that support this theory. A significant part of the postulated enclosure is now occupied by the medieval church and associated graveyard, and few large-scale archaeological investigations have taken place. Past excavations have, however, located a number of Roman pits and wells in the area (Essex Historic Environment Record EHER 13897) and a tessellated pavement was found to the west of Bishop's House (EHER 13924) (Miller 1985; Collins 1996). Other finds, including a hoard of ironwork (EHER 4954), have been recovered from the grounds of the vicarage during the 19th century, and more recently in the 1970s. Burials have been found in the area adjoining the churchyard (EHER 4954) and under Crown cottages (EHER 13857), indicating the presence of an Early Saxon cemetery.

Geophysical survey in 2000 within the grounds of

Bishop's House (Wardill 2000) identified a number of linear features on possibly similar alignments to the projected enclosure wall (Gadd 2001, 238). One is probably a drain whilst the other could perhaps represent a continuation of the south-eastern wall, on its course towards the river, or perhaps, more likely, an unrelated feature.

The excavation

A north-south rectangular trench (11.1m by 5.4m) was excavated to a depth of between 1m and 1.25m, at which level the Roman horizons were encountered. The excavation revealed a considerable build-up (0.5m thick) of stratified archaeological deposits, indicating continuous activity on the site from the 2nd century or earlier, through to at least the late 4th century AD. The later Roman stratigraphy was exposed in plan over the

LATE ROMAN BUILDINGS AT BISHOP'S HOUSE, GREAT CHESTERFORD

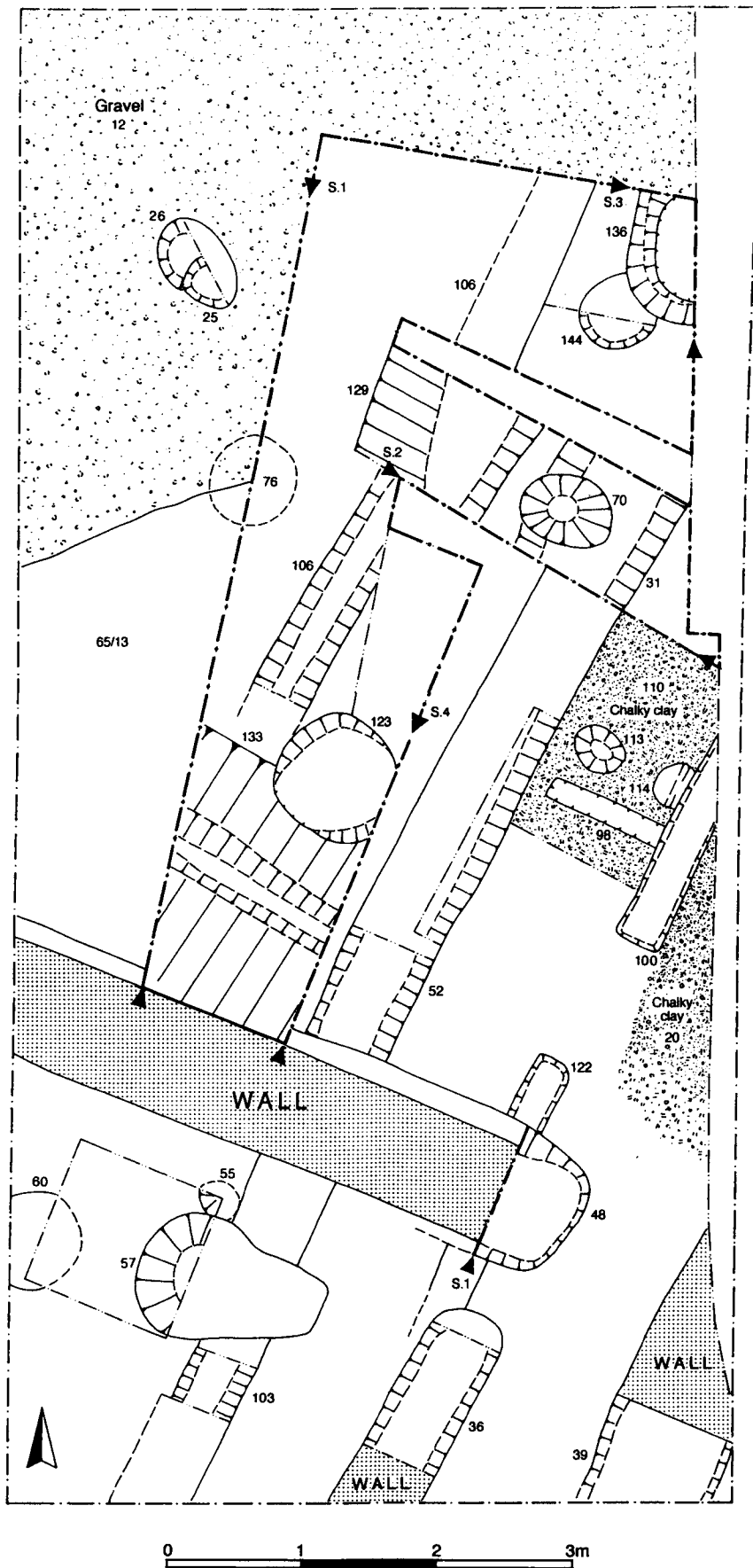


Fig. 2 Great Chesterford, Bishops House: plan of the excavation showing all phases.

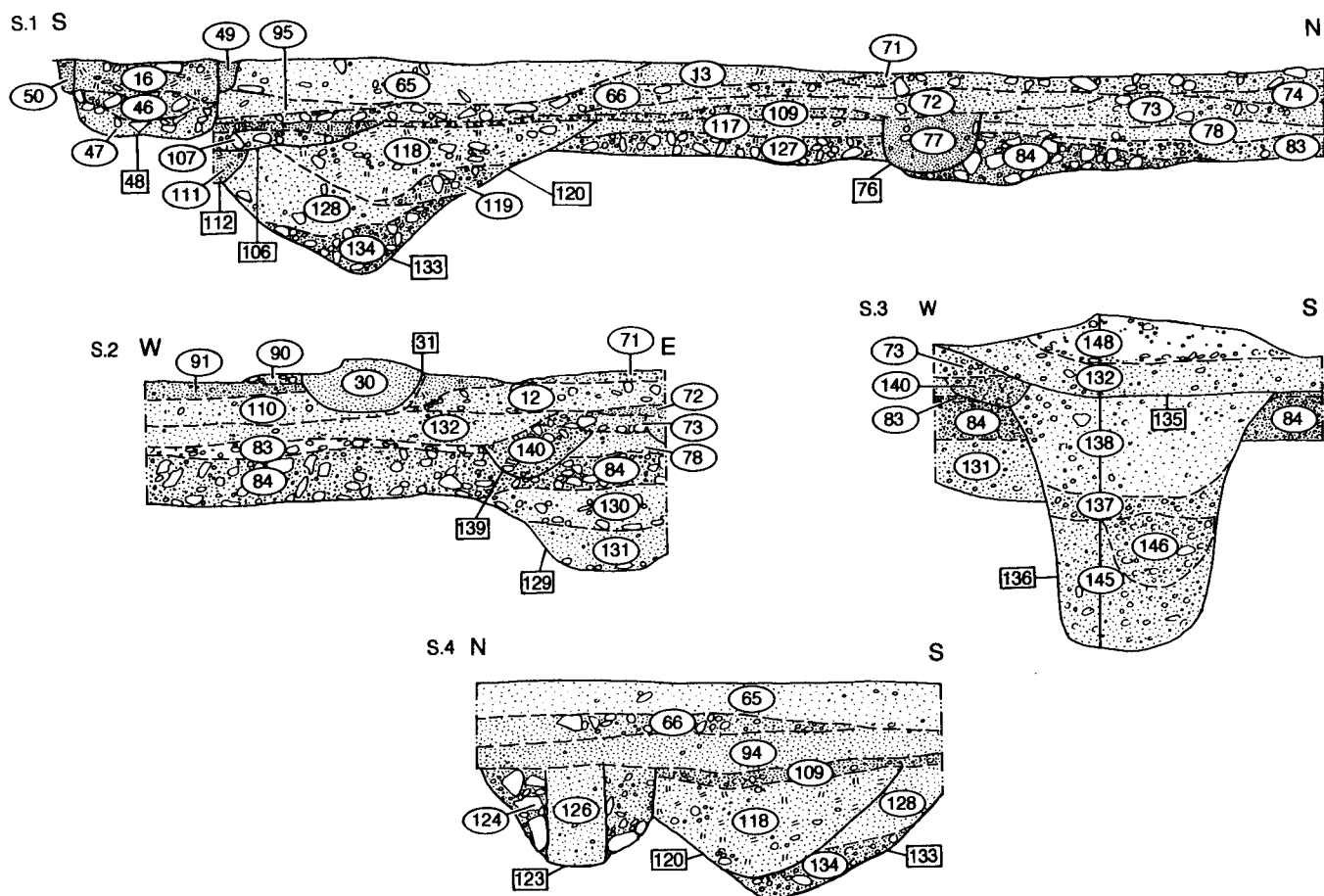


Fig. 3 Great Chesterford, Bishops House: selected sections. Note that S.1 and S.3 are composite sections (see Fig. 2 for locations).

entire trench. The earlier stratigraphy, sealed beneath later deposits, was only revealed in a central hand-excavated north-south sondage, (Fig. 2) and a pair of smaller perpendicular areas sited towards the northern baulk, in what was to be the deep end of the swimming pool. No post-Roman features, other than those related to robbing, were present, although evidence of localised late post-medieval disturbance, modern deposits and garden soils was observed. The natural subsoil comprised a mixture of sand and gravels, and this was reflected in the composition of the deposits recorded during the excavation.

The combined stratigraphic and pottery dating evidence suggests five main phases of activity.

Phase 1 (2nd century or earlier) Figs 2, 3 and 11

Small quantities of pottery, including a Gallo-Belgic platter rim and a few early Roman vessel forms, were recovered as residual sherds in mid and late Roman contexts (Phase 2 onwards), the presence of which indicates some pre 2nd-century activity in the vicinity. This is also indicated by the presence of small amounts of residual worked flint in some contexts.

The earliest feature was a small, moderately steep-sided ditch (129) cut into the natural soil, which, from

the short length exposed in the north of the site, appears to be aligned roughly north-east to south-west.

Dating

The date of ditch 129 is inferred from its stratigraphic relationships, as it was overlain by Phase 2 gravel levelling layers 84 and 127. Although neither of these deposits produced datable finds, layer 127 was cut by Phase 2 ditch 133, which was probably backfilled by the mid 2nd century. The alignment of ditch 129, of which only a small length was exposed, is similar to that of features in later phases, suggesting it may also be Roman.

Phase 2a (mid to late 2nd century) Figs 2, 3 and 11

Ditch 129 of Phase 1 was overlain by a sequence of gravel layers that were largely recorded in section rather than plan in the northern part of the site (Fig. 3). Features comprise a large ditch, aligned north-west to south-east, and a well set within an area of metallated hard-standing, most of which date to the *c.* mid to late 2nd century AD.

A 0.25m-thick layer of gravel (84/127) overlay Phase 1 ditch 129, and may have been laid down to consolidate the ground, in an area that may have periodically flooded. An area of compacted metallating (83), either cut



Plate 1 Great Chesterford, Bishops House: all phases, view from north-west (2 m linear scale)

by or contemporary with well 136 (see below), was present only within the northern half of the trench, overlying gravel 84. The metalling was laid to a uniform thickness of 50-60mm and is interpreted as a yard surface possibly associated with the well. The metalling surface was sealed by a relatively uniform silty sand (78/117) which pre-dates the recutting (120) of ditch 133, and was in turn sealed by another more gravelly, levelling layer (109/73), 80mm thick.

Ditch 133 (recut 120), with a moderately steep V-shaped profile, was located towards the centre of the excavation, on an apparently north-west to south-east alignment, although too little was exposed to be certain of its orientation. To the north-east of the ditch, in the northern corner of the trench, a steep-sided well (136) was partially exposed, set within an area of metalling yard surface (83). The well appeared to be sub-circular in plan, c. 1.4m deep, contained four main back-fill deposits, and typically showed the suggestion of a weathering cone at the surface. Of note was a dump of waste material (146) comprising mainly flint and chalk rubble with bone fragments, pottery and oyster shell in the lower half of the well.

Dating

Little dating evidence was retrieved from the layers and surfaces in this phase, although datable pottery was found in several of the features. Ditch 133 produced a small amount of diagnostic material, including sherds of samian, datable to the mid 2nd century to mid 3rd century. The pottery from Phase 2b gully 106, which cut

ditch recut 120, and that from deposits that sealed it, suggests that the ditch probably went out of use by the late 2nd century and certainly by the early 3rd century. Pottery with a date range of c. AD 160-200 was retrieved from the uppermost fill of well 136, and it is likely that the well was also redundant and backfilled by the late 2nd to early 3rd century at the latest.

It is notable that the primary fill of well 136 contained a Central Gaulish samian sherd datable to the period c. AD 120-150 that joined with a sherd from the top fill of gully 106 of Phase 2b.

Phase 2b (mid to late 2nd century) Figs 2, 3 and 11

This latter stage of Phase 2 comprises a small gully and two large post-holes, perhaps representing the earliest structure on the site.

Gully 106, extending across the trench on a north-east to south-west alignment, cut Phase 2a levelling layer 109 and the upper fill of ditch 133/120. The gully was truncated to the south by a Phase 5 wall foundation (48). Also truncating the northern edge of ditch recut 120 and layer 109, was a large sub-circular post-hole or post-pit (123) measuring 0.98m wide and 0.53m deep, with a central post-pipe (125) surrounded by compacted post-packing deposit (124). The size of this post-pit and post-pipe suggests it once held a large structural timber. Post-hole 76, north-west of 123, was recorded in section only but appeared to be much smaller, measuring 0.51m wide and 0.32m deep; unlike 123 it did not contain a post-pipe. On stratigraphic and spatial grounds, it seems likely that post-hole 76 was

related to post-pit 123, although neither produced dating evidence. The post-holes both cut through levelling layer 109 and were sealed by the Phase 3 levelling, suggesting that they are probably contemporary with gully 106, and collectively may represent the remains of the first timber structure on the site.

Dating

The latest fill in gully 106 is of interest as it produced sherds of samian ware that joined with sherds recovered from well 136. This suggests that the backfilling of the well, the deposition of sealing deposits (78/73/109) and the use/disuse of gully 106 all occurred together within a short period, around the end of the 2nd century.

Phase 3 (late 2nd to mid 3rd century) Figs 2, 3 and 11
This phase was dominated by a single event, which saw the Phase 2 features sealed over and levelled in preparation for a new phase of activity that began in the second half of the 3rd century (Phase 4 below). The layers and feature relating to this phase are largely represented in section rather than plan (Fig. 3).

A feature perhaps belonging to this phase is a shallow, possibly linear, scoop (135; Fig. 3.3), present only in the eastern side of the excavation. It appeared to cut through layer 73/109 and the upper backfill of well 136, and was sealed beneath deposit 148, recorded in section only, and the main Phase 3 levelling deposits. It may have been cut to recover materials from a redundant Phase 2 structure, perhaps around the well, immediately before the site was levelled.

The levelling deposits (12/66, 72/94, 74 and 95) comprised layers of sand and gravel, the uppermost of which (12/66) formed the horizon at which the archaeological deposits were first encountered during excavation. These four layers varied in their constituents, with 94/72 and 74 generally being comprised of silty sands with few coarse components, whilst layer 66/12 was a more uniform sandy gravel. It is likely that the gravel deposits represent an open courtyard, perhaps associated with a building, and probably continued as a surface in Phase 4 (Building I).

Dating

Feature 135, sealed by Phase 3 levelling deposits, produced small amounts of mid to late 2nd century and early 3rd century pottery. The distinctive bands of levelling and surface deposits (12/66, 72/94, 74 and 95) contained pottery dating from the mid 2nd to mid 3rd century with a notable absence of later forms.

Phase 4 (late 3rd to 4th century) Figs 2, 3 and 11

A new phase of building occurred on the site in the later 3rd to 4th century, following the Phase 3 mid 3rd-century levelling.

Building I

The principal evidence for the building comprises a rammed chalk-and-clay floor cut by a series of robbed

foundation slots, and a number of internal and external post-holes situated within the eastern half of the trench. The size and regularity of the slots indicates ground beams that would have supported a timber frame. The beamslots were generally parallel, with the main axis being north-east to south-west, on a similar alignment to features from both earlier and later phases. The plan of the slots and associated features suggests that the building may have been rectangular.

Floor layer 110/20

Floor layer (110/20) was comprised entirely of crushed chalk and clay. At its most substantial it survived to a thickness of 0.17m, although it thinned out to the south, probably due to disturbance by later features related to Building II. The floor clearly continued to the east, as it was uncovered during a watching brief on the strip foundations for the modern building work. The slots for the ground beams were set into this chalky clay floor, which may in part have provided a protection against rising damp. In a small area located against the eastern baulk, floor layer 110 partially overlay a compacted flint and stone layer (79) measuring 0.22m thick. Like floor 110, layer 79 lay below the western sill beam as its upper portion was truncated by later robbing trench 31. Very little of this layer was exposed in the trench, although it may be tentatively suggested that it was either a remnant wall foundation belonging to an earlier, more substantial phase of this building, or it formed part of an unrelated earlier building.

Wall line 31/52/103

The evidence for the main western wall comprises a robbing cut 0.7m wide and 0.25m deep. The three sections removed from it (31, 52 and 103) revealed a fairly consistent profile with moderately steep edges and a flat to slightly concave base. Although all the structural components of the building have been lost, the surviving evidence suggests a substantial timber-framed structure.

Beamslots 100, 120 and 98 and associated features

Two lines of beamslots (100 and 122) were aligned parallel to wall line 31/52/103, whilst a third (98), representing an internal division, was aligned at right angles. Of the two parallel beamslots, the easternmost line was best preserved, due mainly to the post-demolition robbing of the western slot (31/52/103). The three lengths of beamslots were all comparable in form, contained similar single fills, suggestive of contemporary disuse, and were cut to the same depth of c. 0.11m.

Beamslots 100 and 122 formed part of the same internal partition, whose squared terminals indicate the position of an internal doorway c. 1m wide. Beamslot 100 may have cut beamslot 98 and truncated 114, the easternmost of a pair of small post-holes (the other being 113), which were cut into floor 110/20. This may suggest the presence of an earlier structure comprised of earth-fast posts, or merely the sequence of robbing, or perhaps minor changes in the internal layout during the life of the building.



Plate 2 Great Chesterford, Bishops House: main section. Beam slots and floor of Phase 4 Building I in the foreground, Phase 2 ditch 133 and Phase 5 Building II wall foundation 16/48 top left, view from north-east (2 m linear scale)

The only other significant deposits associated with this phase were two occupational build-ups (65 and 13 in Fig. 11), situated to the west of the building in a depression caused by the subsidence of the Phase 3 levelling layers (66/12/95). A fairly large assemblage of pottery as well as animal bone, shell, tile and iron objects was recovered from 65 and 13 and probably represents dumps of domestic waste.

Dating

Over half of the pottery from the site was recovered from Phase 4 contexts, although little relates directly to the construction of Building I. Pottery retrieved from wall line 31/52/103 (Fig. 2), however, places the demolition and robbing of the building in the second half of the 4th century. This is supported by other finds, including a coin of Constantine (335-37) and a late 3rd-century barbarous radiate from occupational layers 65 and 13, which also produced pottery from the second half of the 4th century. Two small sherds of Saxon pottery were also recovered from Phase 4 contexts, and are probably intrusive from the topsoil. The chalk floor 110/20, although undated, was sealed below a relatively homogenous occupation build-up (91) dating to the early to mid 4th century.

Phase 5 (later 4th century) Figs 2, 3 and 9

This phase is characterised by the construction of a substantial masonry building, probably in the latter part of the 4th century.

Building II

Situated within the southern end of the trench, the remains of this substantial building were only partially exposed. Building II comprises three separate lengths of robbed masonry rubble wall foundation (48, 36 and 39), generally on the same alignment of the earlier Phase 4 structure (Building I). The foundation plan suggests that the building was constructed respecting existing plot layouts or boundaries established after the re-landscaping in Phase 3.

The principal foundation (48) extended into the trench on a north-west to south-east axis before terminating with a butt end 4.4m from the main western baulk. Another butt-ended foundation (36), at right angles to the terminal of 48, extended to the south-west, while to its east, and running parallel with 36, were the truncated remains of third foundation (39).

Foundation trench 48

The steep-sided and flat-bottomed foundation trench 48, 0.76m wide and 0.4m deep, cut through both the back-filled robber trench (52) and beamslot (122) of Building I and occupation level 65 of Phase 4. Three different deposits were recorded; a basal fill (47) comprising flints and large stones rammed into the base of 48, overlain by a less compacted rubble layer (46) and an uppermost, disturbed fill (16), with a higher frequency of smaller gravel and concentrations of crushed mortar and *opus signinum*. This latter deposit is probably the result of robbing.

Foundation trench 36

Foundation cut 36 was far less substantial in size than 48, measuring 0.6m wide and between 0.25m and 0.30m deep, with relatively steep sides and a flat base. It contained a single compacted gravelly fill (35), which could be broadly equated to the basal fill (46) of the larger foundation. The disparity in size between these two foundations perhaps indicates a difference in structural function. Foundation 48 was clearly a substantial load-bearing wall probably forming a northern external wall, while 36 would most likely have supported an internal partition within the building. The monitoring of strip foundations to the south and west of the excavation revealed the continuation of wall foundations 48 and 36.

Foundation trench 39

In the south-eastern corner of the trench, to the east of wall 36, were the remains of another foundation (39), truncated by post-medieval activity; nevertheless it survived to a depth of 0.26m and a width of *c.* 0.94m, with vertical sides and a very slightly concave base. The width of the feature, plus the loose, uncompacted nature of its fills suggests that it represents a wall completely robbed out to its base.

Associated features

Only selective excavation was carried out to the south of wall line 48, as this area was least affected by the development. A small box-section immediately to the south of the principal wall revealed a pair of small pits (57 and 60), and a small post-hole (55). The post-hole was cut by pit 57 and probably belongs to an earlier phase, although it is not possible to establish which. The pits cut through Phase 4 occupation layer 65, which suggests that they are more likely to belong to a demolition and robbing phase. A concentrated deposit of lime mortar in pit 60 may have originated from the surrounding walls during their robbing.

No indication of an internal floor was recognised in this area, nor was there any evidence of hypocaust or flue tiles. The comprehensive robbing of this building after its disuse and demolition, leaving just the very bases of its walls, and the apparent removal of any internal flooring, is typical of post-Roman activity, where good building materials were re-used in an area lacking suitable local building stone.

Dating

The pottery is not particularly diagnostic, especially that from the construction deposits relating to Building II. Although there are several forms and fabrics present that continue to be current right to the end of the Roman period, much, if not all of the material appears to be residual. The same is true for the demolition of Building II. Pits 57 and 60, however, seem to be broadly 4th century, although much residual material is present.

Roman pottery

T.S. Martin, with P.R. Sealey, Sue Tyler and Steve Willis

Introduction

The excavation produced a comparatively large pottery assemblage totalling 1050 sherds (15.8kg) from 52 contexts. Most groups contained under 30 sherds, although there were seven medium-sized groups (between 30 and 100 sherds) and two large-sized groups (over 100 sherds). The main groups were recovered from levelling layers rather than features, which were generally not well dated. The excavation also produced three sherds of intrusive Early Saxon pottery (26g), identified by Sue Tyler (catalogue in archive).

The pottery was classified using the Chelmsford typology (Going 1987, 3-54). Additional references were mainly sought in Young's (1977) Oxfordshire corpus and Evans' (1991) analysis of the Horningsea pottery, the City of London early Roman corpus (Davies *et al.* 1994) and the Peterborough Museum guide to the Nene Valley pottery (Howe *et al.* 1980). Analysis is primarily concerned with identifying the range of fabrics and forms, and providing dating evidence for site features. Only obvious sherd links were recorded between contexts. Quantification is by sherd count and weight by fabric for all contexts, while the pottery from the Phase 4 levelling (context 13/65) is also quantified by Estimated Vessel Equivalents (EVE) based on rim percentage present.

A total of 32 fabrics or fabric groups, including six mortaria fabrics, was recorded. Essex CC mnemonic codes are used throughout the dating evidence sections for consistency as not all of the fabrics are found in Going 1987. The following fabrics were identified (numbers in bold after Going 1987):

ASS	South Spanish amphoras	(55)
BB1	Black-burnished ware 1	(40)
BB2	Black-burnished ware 2	(41)
BSW	Misc. Black-surfaced wares	
BUF	Unspecified buff wares	(31)
CGSW	Central Gaulish samian	(60)
COLB	Colchester buff wares	(27)
COLC	Colchester colour-coated wares	(1)
EGRHN	East Gaulish Rhenish ware	(9)
EGSW	East Gaulish samian	(60)
GRF	Misc. Fine grey wares	(39)
GRS	Misc. Sandy grey wares	(47)
HAB	Hadham black-surfaced wares	(35)
HAR	Hadham grey wares	(36)
HAX	Hadham oxidised red wares	(4)
HORN	Horningsea reduced wares	
LRC	Lower Rhineland colour-coated wares	(6)
MCA	Local mica-dusted wares	(12)
MSH	Midlands shell-tempered wares	
NVC	Nene Valley colour-coated wares	(2)
NVM	Nene Valley white mortaria	(24)
NVP	Nene Valley parchment wares	
OXF	Oxfordshire parchment wares	(30)
OXRC	Oxfordshire red colour-coated wares	(3)
OXSW	Oxfordshire white-slipped wares	(13)
RED	Misc. Red wares	(21)
SGSW	South Gaulish samian	(60)
STOR	Storage jar fabrics	(44)
UPOT	Unidentified	
VCWS	Verulamium region coarse white-slipped wares	
VRW	Verulamium region white wares	(26)
WCS	Misc. coarse white-slipped wares	(15)

The pattern of pottery deposition

As might be expected of an urban site, the pattern of pottery deposition shows significant differences from that seen on rural sites. While discrete features accounted for 31% of the pottery, more than 58% was recovered from levelling layers, which contained the largest groups and generally provide the best dating evidence. The pottery from these layers had a slightly lower average sherd weight, however, than the material from features, suggesting that the pottery from the levelling layers had been a little more broken up by being more extensively redeposited. The bulk of pottery from features is from robbed structural features, which account for 21% of the pottery. The pottery from features, however, formed only small groups and was

LATE ROMAN BUILDINGS AT BISHOP'S HOUSE, GREAT CHESTERFORD

Feature	Context	Pottery
133 (ditch)	128 (top fill)	Misc. pottery: Fabrics BB2 & HAB.
133 (ditch)	134 (primary fill)	Misc. pottery: Fabric GRS.
Layer	78	Misc. pottery: Form G [necked] (HAB). Fabrics HAR & HORN.
120 (ditch)	118 (top fill)	Samian: dish/platter (SGSW). Misc. pottery: Form H10 (HAR).
120 (ditch)	119 (primary fill)	Misc. pottery: Fabric GRS.
136 (well)	138 (top fill)	Samian: f33 (CGSW), f30 (CGSW), f31 (CGSW). Misc. pottery: Forms D2.1 (COLB), G [cf. Evans 1991, fig. 2.5] (HORN). Fabrics HAR & VRW.
136 (well)	137 (tertiary fill)	Misc. pottery: Fabric HORN.
136 (well)	146 (secondary fill)	Misc. pottery: Fabric HORN.
136 (well)	145 (primary fill)	Samian: f18/31 (CGSW).
106 (gully)	108 (top fill)	Samian: f18/31 (CGSW). Misc. pottery: Forms G [necked] (HORN), G [bifid-rimmed] (RED). Fabrics HAB & HAR.

Table 1. Summary of the dating evidence for Phase 2.

poorly preserved, so does not provide good dating evidence. The exception was the Phase 2 well: while only a small number of sherds was recovered, this material was well preserved compared to any other deposit category because the almost half-complete samian vessel in the primary fill skewed the figures. Otherwise the pottery from the well showed no disparity in terms of completeness to any other group from the site.

Site chronology

The bulk of the pottery dates to the 3rd and 4th centuries. There was little evidence, except a badly burnt Gallo-Belgic type platter rim and a G19 type jar, for Late Iron Age or early Roman activity, and the earliest vessel forms are almost invariably mid-Roman in date. Forms typical of the late 3rd century onwards are abundant, but the stratigraphically latest features are characterised by high levels of residuality. Consequently, dating is heavily dependent on stratigraphic sequences. The site sequence commences in the mid-2nd century and continues right to the end of the 4th century. The presence of three Saxon sherds is difficult to interpret, but may take the sequence into the 5th-6th centuries; conversely they may be intrusive. Five phases of activity are discernible, although pottery dating evidence was only recovered from Phases 2-5.

Phase 2. Mid-late 2nd century

Phase 2 contexts produced 66 sherds weighing 1.5kg. While the amount of pottery from these contexts is small, there are sufficient data to provide a fairly secure dating framework. Ditch 133 is the earliest feature in the sequence; top fill contained BB2 suggesting infilling fell within a mid-2nd to mid-3rd century date range. Conversely, the pottery from the recut, ditch 120, is more typical of the later 1st and early 2nd centuries AD, and must be residual. The dating of the top fill of gully 106 rests entirely on the samian which suggests a terminal date no later than AD 200. More closely datable is the infilling of well 136: its top fill contained a mortarium of c. AD

160-200, while the primary fill contained a Central Gaulish samian sherd datable to c. AD 120-150 that joined with a sherd from the top fill of gully 106. The pottery from the fill of gully 106 is likely to be residual.

Phase 3. Late 2nd-mid 3rd century

Phase 3 contexts produced 158 sherds weighing 1.7kg. The levelling layers sealing the Phase 2 features produced pottery suggesting that they were deposited at the end of the 2nd or in the first half of the 3rd century. These layers are typified by the presence of small amounts of Hadham oxidised red ware and Nene Valley colour-coated ware folded beakers. The dish types (B2/B4) are all typical of mid-2nd to mid-3rd century horizons. Although none of the samian recovered from these contexts needs to be 3rd century in date, the Central Gaulish vessel in context 72 is datable to the period c. AD 100-130, while the date of most of the other vessels extends up to c. AD 200.

Phase 4. Late 3rd-4th century

Phase 4 produced 595 sherds weighing 8.7kg (55% of the pottery). Layer 13/65/71/95 contained a large group of late 3rd to early 4th-century pottery. The presence of a wide range of Hadham oxidised red ware forms may tip the balance towards the early 4th century, while the absence of straight-sided bead-rimmed dishes (B2/B4) is striking and indicates very low levels of residuality. For this reason, the pottery from this episode is studied in detail below. Occupation layer 14/91/96 contained small amounts of Oxfordshire white-slipped mortaria, which pushes the chronology into the later 4th century. Although small amounts of Midlands shell-tempered ware are present in these contexts and in the previous Phase 3 levelling, this fabric is not a very informative dating tool as it occurs from the later 1st century onwards at Great Chesterford (Toller 1986, fabric 2).

Although no construction deposits belonging to Building I contained pottery, this episode probably occurred in the first half of the 4th

Feature	Context	Pottery
Layer	72	Samian: f33 (CGSW). Misc. pottery: Forms B2/B4 (HAR), B3.2 (BB2 & HAR), G9 (HAR), H [folded b/s] (NVC). Fabric HORN.
Layer	94	Samian: f37 (CGSW), f31 (CGSW). Misc. pottery: Forms B2/B4 (GRS), G40 (GRF), H10 (HAB), H32 (NVC).
Layer	132	Samian: dish (CGSW), f18/31R or 31 (CGSW). Misc. pottery: Forms B4.2 (HAB), G [necked] (HORN). Fabrics HAX, HAR & NVC.
Layer	12	Samian: f37 (CGSW). Misc. pottery: Forms G [cf. Evans 1991, fig. 2.9] (HORN). Fabrics BB1, HAR, HAX & NVC.
Layer	66	Samian: f18/31 (CGSW), f18/31R (CGSW). Misc. pottery: Forms B1.3 (HAR), B2/B4 (HAR), D4.2 (WCS), G [cf. Evans 1991, fig. 2.7] (HORN), H32/H33 (NVC). Fabrics MSH, HAX & VRW.
Layer	15	Misc. pottery: Form G [necked] (GRS).

Table 2. Summary of dating evidence for Phase 3 contexts

Feature	Context	Pottery
Layer	13	<i>Samian</i> : f33 (CGSW). <i>Misc. pottery</i> : Forms B1.3 (BSW, HAR & HAB), B6.2 (HAB & HAR), C8 (HAX), C11 [b/s] (HAX), C12 (HAX), C18 (NVC), E2.3 (HAR), E6.1 (HAX), G26 (HAX), G [cf. Evans 1991, fig. 2.6-8] (HORN), G [cf. Evans 1991, fig. 2.1] (HORN), G [cf. Evans 1991, fig. 2.2] (HORN), H41 [b/s] (NVC). Fabric NVP.
Layer	95	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Fabric HORN.
Layer	71	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Fabric HAX.
Layer	65	<i>Samian</i> : f18/31R (CGSW), f18/31R or 31R (CGSW). <i>Misc. pottery</i> : Forms B1.3 (HAB & HAR), B6.2 (HAB & HAR), B10.1 (HAX), C11 (HAX), C12 (HAX), D [b/s] (NVM), G21 [b/s] (GRS), G [cf. Evans 1991, 2.9] (HORN), H32 [b/s] (NVC), H41 (NVC), J [with face] (HAX), K7 (NVC). Fabric MSH.
Layer	14	<i>Samian</i> : f30 (CGSW). <i>Misc. pottery</i> : Forms C12 (HAX), D [b/s] (OXSW & HAX), E2 (HAR), E (HAX), G [cf. Evans 1991, fig. 2.6-8] (HORN), H33 [b/s] (NVC). Fabrics MSH & HAB.
Layer	91	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Forms D (OXSW), H32 [b/s] (NVC). Fabrics HAB, HAR, HORN & MSH.
Layer	96	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Fabric MSH.

Table 3. Summary of dating evidence for the construction and use of Phase 4 Building I.

Feature	Context	Pottery
70 (p/h)	68 (top fill)	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : beaker H32 [b/s] (NVC). Fabric MSH.
70 (p/h)	69 (primary fill)	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Form B2/B4 (BB2). Fabrics HAB, HAR & HORN.
80 (robber trench)	79 (primary fill)	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Form B2/B4 (HAB). Fabrics HAB, HORN & NVC.
80 (robber trench)	81 (top fill)	<i>Samian</i> : f37 (CGSW). <i>Misc. pottery</i> : Fabrics BB2, HAB, HAR & HORN.
31 (robber trench)	30 (fill)	<i>Samian</i> : f38 (CGSW). <i>Misc. pottery</i> : Forms B1.3 (GRF), C8 (OXRC), D [b/s] (OXRC), E [cf. Howe et. al 1980, fig. 7.76] (NVC), E [b/s with 'Romano-Saxon' decoration] (HAX), G27 (MSH), G (HORN), H32 (NVC). Fabrics HAR & OXP. Saxon pottery, quartz sand-tempered (intrusive?).
52 (robber trench)	51 (fill)	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Forms B1.2 (NVC), B1.3 (HAR), B6.2 (NVC & HAB), D [Young 1977, WC7] (OXSW), G21 [b/s] (GRS), G (HAR & HORN). Fabrics HAX, MSH & OXRC.
98 (robber trench)	97 (fill)	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Fabric HAR.
103 (robber trench)	102 (fill)	<i>Samian</i> : f45 (EGSW). <i>Misc. pottery</i> : Form B5.1 (HAR). Fabrics BB1 & HORN.
122 (robber trench)	121 (fill)	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Fabrics HAX & HORN.

Table 4. Summary of dating evidence for the demolition of Phase 4, Building I.

Feature	Context	Pottery
36 (wall trench)	35 (foundation)	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Fabric NVC.
48 (wall trench)	16 (foundation)	<i>Samian</i> : f18/31R (CGSW). <i>Misc. pottery</i> : Form B1.3 (HAR). Fabrics HORN & NVC.
48 (wall trench)	49 (primary fill)	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Form H33 [b/s] (NVC). Fabrics HAB & HAR.
Layer	64	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Forms B6.2 (HAR), D [b/s] (HAX), E6.1 (HAR), G (MSH & HAR), G [narrow-necked] (HORN). Fabrics NVC & OXRC.
57 (pit)	59 (top fill)	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Forms C18 (NVC), D [b/s] (OXSW), G21 (HAR), G [cf. Evans 1991, fig. 3.10] (HORN), H32 (NVC), H [folded b/s] (HAR). Fabric HAX.
60 (pit)	61 (primary fill)	<i>Samian</i> : cup (CGSW). <i>Misc. pottery</i> : Forms B5.1 (HAX), ?B10 [b/s] (HAX), G35 [b/s] (HAR). Fabrics HAB, HORN, MSH & NVC
39 (robber trench)	38 (primary fill)	<i>Misc. pottery</i> : Forms D14 (NVM), G24 (HAX). Fabric MSH.

Table 5. Summary of the dating evidence for Phase 5.

century. Its demolition and robbing can be placed in the later 4th century on the basis of the pottery from robber trenches 31 and 52. This date is indicated by the presence of Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware and vessels with 'Romano-Saxon' style decoration. The quantity of residual material is small with forms and fabrics typical of 4th-century contexts being well represented. However, the sherd of Saxon pottery in the fill of 31 suggests post-Roman disturbance, rather than continued demolition. This feature unquestionably contains some of the latest Roman pottery on the site.

Phase 5. Later 4th century

Phase 5 produced a fragmentary group of 133 sherds weighing 2.2 kg, none of which is particularly diagnostic. Although several forms and fabrics are present that continue right to the end of the Roman period, much, if not all, of this material appears to be residual. Pits 57 and 60 seem to be broadly 4th century, although much residual material is

again present and latest Roman pottery in the form of Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware is absent. Layer 64 is one of the latest episodes on site, as the presence of small amounts of Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware indicate a later 4th-century date. Although this group is small, it does not contain much that is obviously residual, apart from the Verulamium region white ware and the Horningsea pottery, and Hadham wares form a substantial proportion of the pottery in this group.

The pottery from the Phase 4 levelling

Summary of the pottery dating evidence

Layer 13/65 produced of 5.9kg of Late Roman pottery (Table 6). The material from contexts 71 and 95 also forms part of this deposit but has been excluded because of its fragmentary nature. The presence of fully bead-and-flanged dishes (B6) indicates a date from the later 3rd

LATE ROMAN BUILDINGS AT BISHOP'S HOUSE, GREAT CHESTERFORD

Fabric	Sherds	Wt. (g)	% Wt.	Average sherd wt.	EVE	%EVE
ASS	1	182	3.07	182.0	-	-
BSW	5	56	0.94	11.2	0.16	2.46
EGRHN	3	4	0.06	1.3	-	-
GRS	47	537	9.06	11.4	1.07	16.51
HAB	45	923	15.58	20.5	1.30	20.06
HAR	103	1569	26.48	15.2	2.05	31.63
HAX	66	591	9.97	8.9	1.32	20.37
HORN	65	1658	27.99	25.5	0.29	4.47
MSH	2	59	0.99	29.5	-	-
NVC	24	182	3.07	7.5	0.29	4.47
NVM	1	118	1.99	118.0	-	-
NVP	1	2	0.03	2.0	-	-
WCS	1	21	0.35	21.0	-	-
TOTALS	364	5902	99.58	16.0	6.48	99.97

Table 6. The pottery quantification by sherd count, weight and Estimated Vessel Equivalents (EVE)

century onwards, while the absence of Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware indicates a terminal date in the first half of the 4th century. Stratigraphically, the layer is sealed by floor 110, which produced no closely datable pottery. Above this, however, was an occupation layer that produced later 4th-century material. It is likely that the group was deposited between *c.* AD 280 and 350 and is thus broadly contemporary with the end of Chelmsford ceramic phase 6 and the beginning of ceramic phase 7 (Going 1987).

Residuality and assemblage condition

The only visibly residual piece is the badly burnt Gallo-Belgic style platter and this has been omitted from the figures. Other 1st and 2nd-century pottery is entirely absent. There is also an absence of straight-sided bead-rimmed dishes (B2/B4) which are normally ubiquitous in contexts dating from *c.* AD120 to 270. The only sherds that are earlier than the late 3rd century are three East Gaulish Rhenish ware sherds and a Spanish amphora sherd. Although the Horningsea industry can be shown to have continued production into the 4th century, all of the vessels represented in this group are very fragmentary, and are likely to be residual in this group.

South Spanish amphoras (ASS) (182g)

The group contained a single sherd from a Dressel 20 type amphora. This piece is probably residual (see comments by P.R. Sealey, below).

Misc. Black-surfaced wares (BSW) (56g; 2.46% EVE)

Miscellaneous black-surfaced wares form a minor assemblage component, in contrast to other parts of Essex where they occur in greater quantities. At Great Holts Farm, Boreham, for example, they ranged between 12.9% and 8.3% (Martin 2003, key groups 6-8). The only vessel form present was the plain-rimmed B1.3 dish with all-over horizontal burnishing.

East Gaulish Rhenish ware (EGRHN) (4g)

These layers produced a total of three body sherds in this fabric. The forms represented are all probably beakers and residual.

Misc. Sandy grey wares (GRS) (537g; 16.51% EVE)

Measured, by weight, the miscellaneous Sandy grey ware category forms a minor assemblage component. The high EVE value is due to the presence of large a number of unclassified necked jar or bowl-jar rims. Few actual forms could be identified, but included an E2 lid-seated bowl-jar. This vessel type is not out of place in 4th century contexts, although examples are present in earlier horizons.

Hadham black-surfaced wares (HAB) (923g; 20.06% EVE)

All of the forms present were open forms; the plain-rimmed B1.3 and the straight-sided-bead-and-flanged B6.2 type dishes finished with all-over horizontal burnishing, although one vessel has an internal wavy line set within a reserved zone. This distinctive type of decoration is rare, but in Essex it has been noted on vessels at Braintree (Drury and

Pratt 1976, fig. 26.123), Colchester (Hull 1958, fig. 8, E.44) and Harlow (Wilkinson and Clark 1985, fig.60.193). However, none of these appear to be Hadham products.

Hadham grey wares (HAR) (1569g; 31.63% EVE)

Hadham grey wares form the most important fabric measured by EVE. The range of open forms is the same as for the Hadham black-surfaced wares. However, the straight-sided bead-and-flanged B6.2 types are more common than the plain-rimmed B1.3 types. All but one of the dishes was finished with all-over horizontal burnishing. Unlike the Hadham black-surfaced wares, closed forms were also present, although the array of forms was narrow, comprising necked (E6) and lid-seated bowl-jars (E2). There was also a number of unclassified jar rims. All of the closed forms had burnished rims and where enough of the profile survived, this continued down onto the neck or upper half of the body.

Hadham oxidised red wares (HAX) (591g; 20.37% EVE)

Of the Hadham wares this was the least common fabric. The range of open forms is different from the grey and black-surfaced wares with no examples of the plain-rimmed B1.3 and the straight-sided bead-and-flanged B6.2 type dishes. The only dish type is the shallow B10 finished with all-over burnishing which is probably derived from the samian Drag. 36 and Curle 15 forms. The range of bowls included the flanged C8, the shallow hemispherical C11 and the deeper C12, based on Drag.37. Surprisingly, the C12 was the most common of the three bowl forms with three examples present. These were all decorated with a band of rouletting set below either a single cordon or multiple cordons. However, in most cases the sherds had broken off at this point, accordingly details concerning the motifs are sketchy. The only other open type represented is a mortarium of uncertain form.

The range of closed forms includes bowl-jars, jars and flagons finished with external burnishing. The flagons are fragmentary, but one may be a pinched-neck type (?J7). The other, represented by part of a handle, seems to be a vessel with a facemask, which has a false handle applied to the back of the rim (cf. Johnson 1983, fig. 39.46). Of the bowl-jars, only the small E3 was identified with any certainty, although several bowl-jar type rims with wide diameters hint at the presence of E6 type vessels. The only jar type, apart from several unclassified rims, was the frilled-rimmed G26. At Colchester, this narrow-necked vessel corresponds to Cam 290 (Hull 1958, fig. 120.290) and probably had a facemask on the neck.

Horningsea reduced wares (HORN) (1658g; 4.47% EVE)

These distinctive coarse sandy fabrics formed the main fabric group measured by weight, but comprised a less substantial part of the assemblage by EVE. None of the vessels represented were sufficiently complete to reconstruct anything of the profile, suggesting a very broken assemblage and extensive residuality. Evans (1991, 38) has shown that production of Horningsea pottery continued into the 4th century, but had probably ceased by *c.* AD 360/70. Although all the

vessel forms represented were jars, the range included a variety of the distinctive storage jar forms. The storage jar types for the most part match Evans' triangular cordoned-rimmed types (Evans 1991, fig. 2.6-8) and his everted rim types (Evans 1991, fig. 2.1-2). There is also a possible example of his beaded rim type (Evans 1991, fig. 2.9). A number of body sherds were decorated with combing, often on the interior surface, while others carried burnished wavy lines.

Midlands shell-tempered wares (MSH) (59g)

A small number of sherds in this fabric was present. The only vessel form, in a group comprising mainly body sherds, was a jar of uncertain type. Elsewhere in Essex this fabric is known as late shell-tempered ware (Going 1987, fabric 51) and is only present in contexts datable to the later 4th century. However, at Great Chesterford, it is known in small quantities throughout the Roman period (Toller 1986). Consequently, this fabric is of little use for dating.

Nene Valley colour-coated ware (NVC) (182g; 4.47% EVE)

Of the colour-coated wares this was the main fabric present. The range of open forms included a K7 lid and a C18 bowl from two separate Castor boxes, while the only closed forms were H32 and H41 type beakers. The H32 and the H41 are not out of place in early 4th-century groups.

Nene Valley mortaria (NVM) (118g)

A single base sherd in this fabric was present.

Nene Valley 'parchment' wares (NVP) (2g)

A small body sherd in a self-coloured fabric with traces of a band of red-orange paint was assigned to this fabric. The form is probably a small flask (cf. Howe *et al.* 1980, Fig. 8.95).

Misc. coarse white-slipped wares (WCS) (21g)

This fabric was also just represented by a small body sherd. No vessel form could be identified. The fabric was insufficiently diagnostic to suggest a source.

Pottery supply c. AD 280-350

Pottery supply in this period is dominated by two industries, Hadham and Horningsea (Table 6; Fig. 4). Pottery from other sources is present, but forms a very small part of the assemblage. Of special importance is the Hadham industry. This industry accounts for 52% of all pottery measured by weight (Fig. 4), and supplied a range of mainly fine grey, black and orange fabrics. The supplier next in importance was the Horningsea kilns of Cambridgeshire which accounts for a further 28% by weight. This industry supplied a range of coarse sandy products including storage jars and cooking pots.

Miscellaneous sandy grey wares account for a further 9% of the total assemblage.

Fine wares are virtually insignificant, with Nene Valley colour-coated wares representing less than 4% of the assemblage. The only imports are East Gaulish Rhenish ware and Dressel 20 amphorae, and are residual. Colchester products are also absent, but these are rare at Great Chesterford anyway. The grog-tempered storage jar fabric so typical of the rest of Essex is conspicuously absent. All storage jars are from the Horningsea kilns. This more or less reflects contrasting trading patterns. Great Chesterford gets little of its pottery from Essex kilns in this period; instead its trading relationships are firmly with eastern Hertfordshire and southern Cambridgeshire. Pottery traded from further afield is absent apart from small amounts of Nene Valley colour-coated and white wares.

In terms of assemblage composition, dishes dominate (43% of all forms) and jars are also relatively common (21%) (Fig. 5). The range of dish forms is largely made up of two types, the plain-rimmed B1.3 and the straight-sided bead-and-flanged B6.2 (Fig. 6). These form almost 40% of all forms measured by EVE and are chiefly Hadham black-surfaced and grey ware products. At Great Sampford, a group dated to the late 4th century also contained an abundance of these dish types. Gillam (1976, 70), with reference to BB1 vessels has suggested that they functioned as casseroles, although analysis of the rim diameters of these two vessel types at Great Sampford found very little overlap (Martin 1998, 44). At Great Chesterford, analogous analysis (Fig. 6) indicates a greater degree of overlap as Gillam noted. Why this is so at Great Chesterford and not at Great Sampford is difficult to grasp and requires additional research, although there may be some form of chronological progression in the way certain vessel forms were used.

The only other dish type present is the shallow, plate-like, B10 and this is also a Hadham product. Other open forms include bowls and mortaria. Bowls are almost exclusively in Hadham red wares and are almost invariably imitations of samian forms. Some of these forms such as the hemispherical C11 are typically late. The only other bowl supplier was the Nene Valley industry, which also provided a small number of Castor boxes comprising C18 bowls and K7 lids. The small amounts of mortaria present are all from the Nene Valley.

Jars and bowl-jars form a combined 38% of all vessel forms measured by EVE. Necked jars are the most common types, although few vessel forms could be identified. These vessels are derived from a range of sources including Horningsea near Cambridge. However, many jars occur in sandy grey wares. There is also a narrow-necked G26 type jar in Hadham oxidised red ware. Bowl-jars are mainly Hadham products and include a number of E6 types. These were first introduced in the later 3rd but become more common in the 4th century. A small number of lid-seated E2 types are also present. Beakers were almost exclusively in Nene Valley colour-coated ware

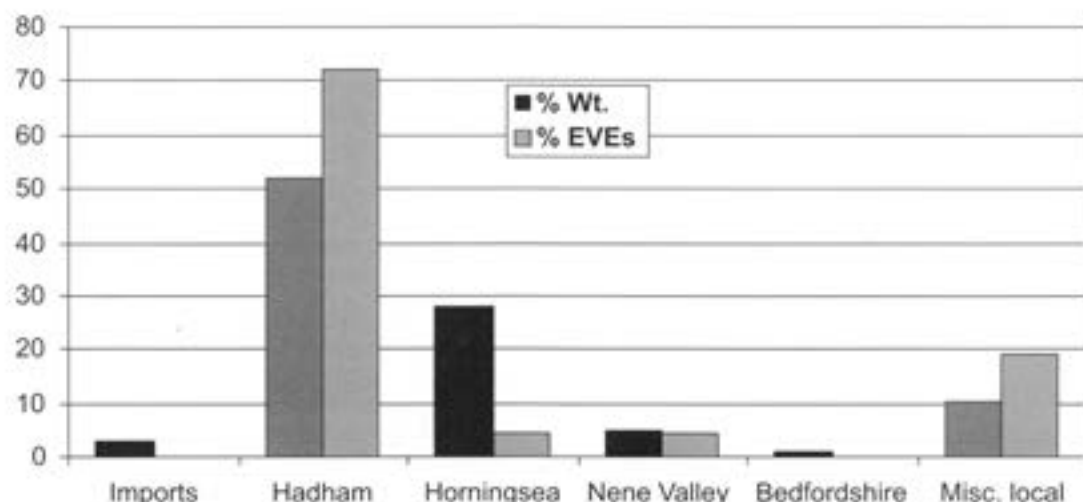


Fig. 4. The sources of pottery supply c. AD 280-350

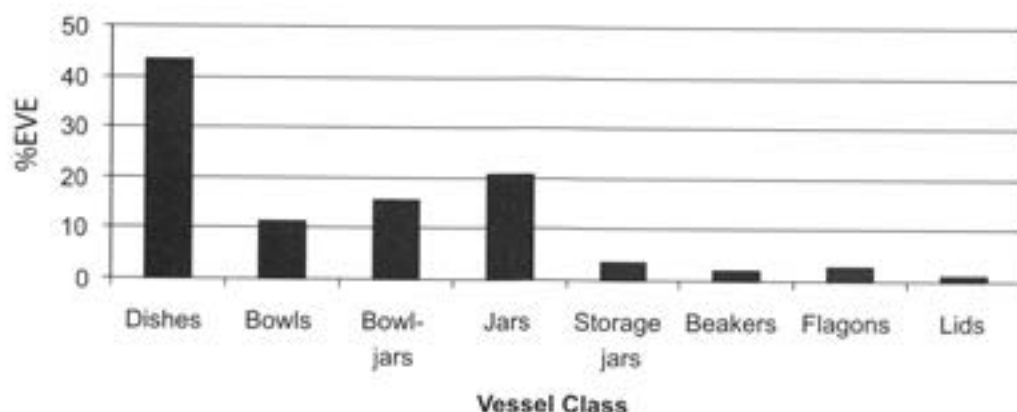


Fig. 5. The incidence of vessel classes as a percentage of EVE

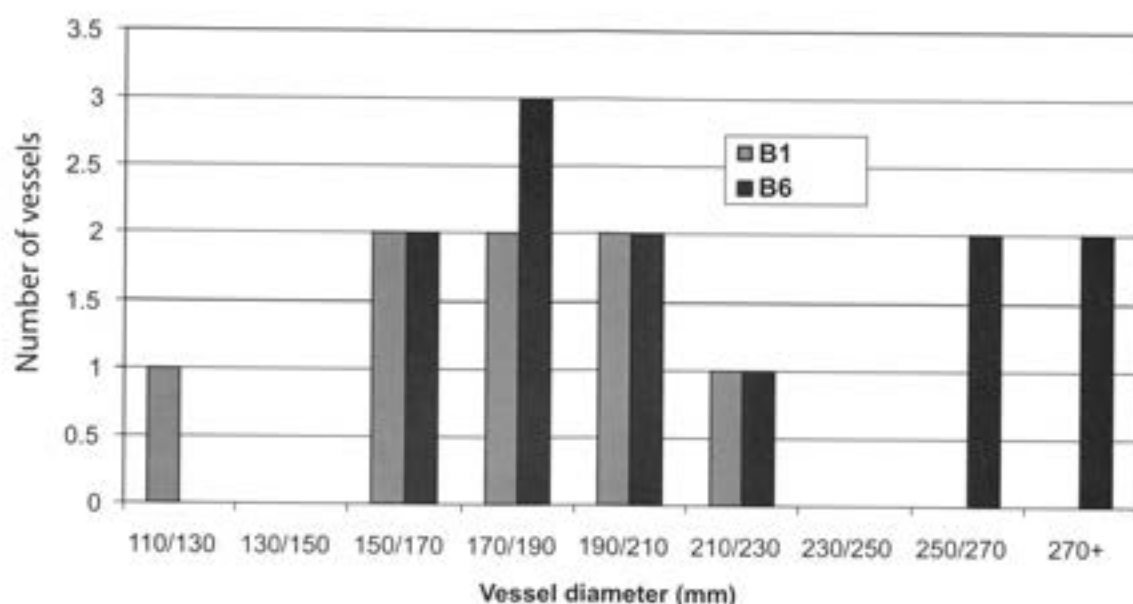


Fig. 6. The correlation between the diameters of dish types B1 and B6 in the 4th-century levelling 13/65

and comprised the typical 3rd to early 4th-century folded forms H32 and H41. These, however, formed only a minor assemblage component. Flagons were equally poorly represented and were exclusively in Hadham oxidised red ware. Although the flagons are all fragmentary, one seems to be part of a pinched-neck type (?J7) and the other, represented by part of a handle, is probably from a vessel with a facemask. Lids were exclusively in Nene Valley colour-coated ware and comprise K7 types.

The illustrated pottery (Fig. 7)

1. HAR, B1.3 with graffito on the underside of the base. Heavy all-over burnishing.
2. HAB, B1.3 with heavy all-over burnishing.
3. HAB, B1.3 with heavy all-over burnishing.
4. HAB, B1.3.
5. HAB, B1.3.
6. HAR, B6.2.
7. HAR, B6.2.
8. HAR, B6.2.
9. HAR, B6.2.
10. HAR, B6.2.
11. HAR, B6.2.

12. HAR, B6.2 with internal wavy line decoration set within reserved zone. At least two notches are cut into the flange *post cocturam*.
13. HAB, B6.2.
14. HAB, B6.2 with internal burnishing.
15. HAX, B10.1.
16. HAX, C8.1.
17. HAX, C. Drag 30 imitation.
18. HAX, C. Drag 29 imitation.
19. HAX, C. Drag 37 imitation.
20. HAX, C. Drag 37 imitation.
21. GRS, E2/G5
22. NVC, K7.1. The poorly formed rouletting is typical of 4th century vessels.
23. NVC, C18.1.
24. HAX E.
25. HAX, G. Narrow-necked vessel with frilled rim. The form probably corresponds to Cam 290 and is typically 4th century.
26. GRS, G.
27. HAR E6.
28. HAR, E2.
29. NVC, ?H41.
30. HAX, J.

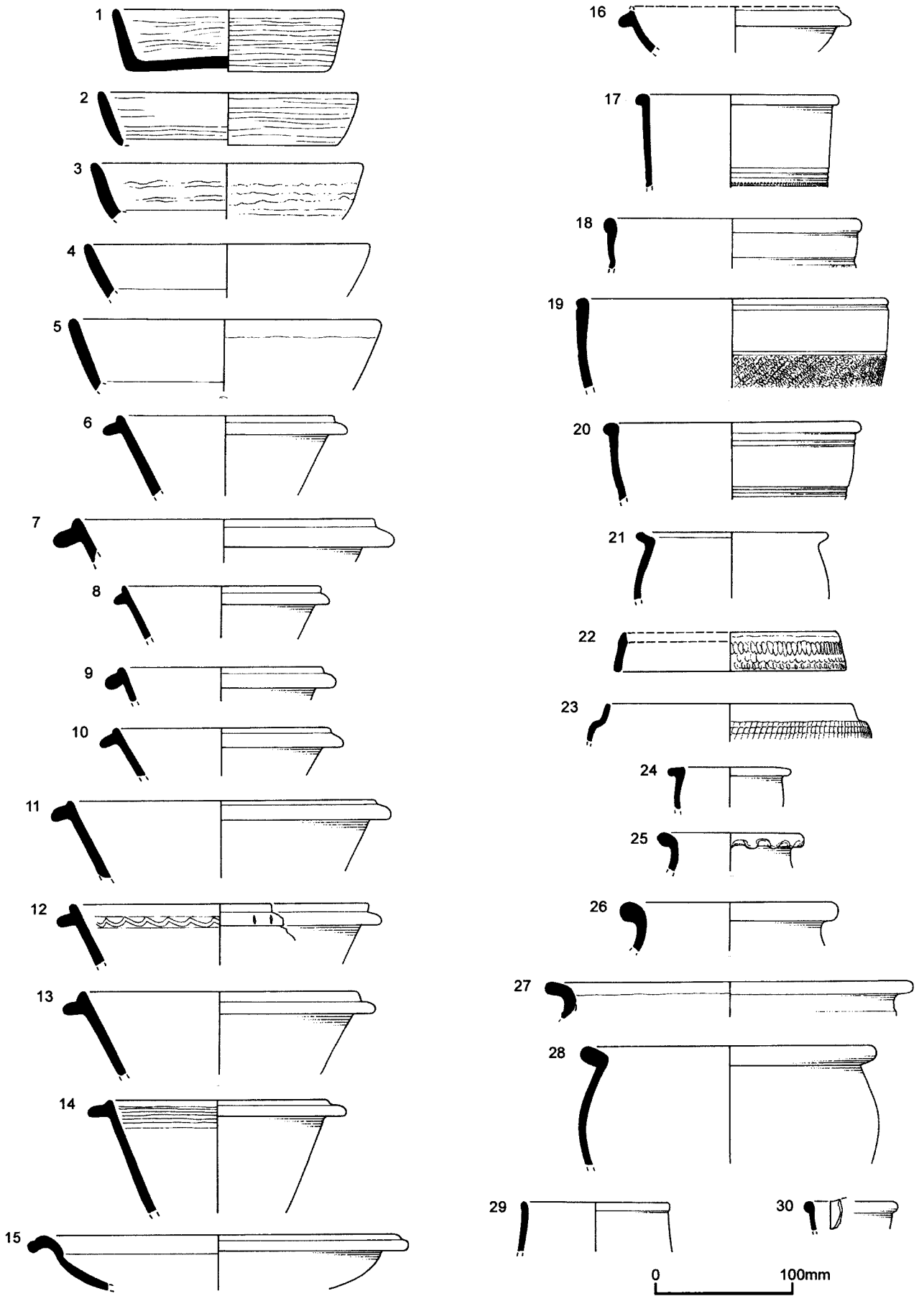


Fig. 7 Great Chesterford, Bishops House: Roman pottery

The samian pottery

Steven Willis

Introduction

A total of 44 sherds (452g) of samian (terra sigillata), representing approximately 37 vessels, was recovered from the excavation. Sherds of 2nd-century date from Central Gaul dominate the group. Generally the sherds are small, though they are otherwise in an exceptionally good state of preservation with limited weathering or abrasion; soil conditions have, most unusually, maintained original high gloss finishes which are normally dulled to some degree by most soil environments.

Catalogue

A full catalogue of the samian ware is included in archive, and only the diagnostic sherds are described here (Fig. 8). Abbreviations are explained at the end of the catalogue.

1. Rim sherd and conjoining body sherd, CG Lezoux, Drag. 36, 29g, RE: 0.11, Diam. 140mm, c. AD 150-200. Context 11 (external layer), Phase 4 (sherd is residual)
2. Body sherd, CG Lezoux, Drag. 37, 3g, c. AD 120-200. A section of a basal wreath occurs, evidently comprising spiky down-turned leaves, not present in Rogers. Partially burnt. Context 12 (external layer), Phase 4 (sherd is residual)
3. Body sherd, CG Lezoux, Drag. 37, 11g, c. AD 140-200. Part of the decorative design is extant, constituting a freestyle arrangement reminiscent of the hectic schemes of Paternus II (Stanfield and Simpson 1958; 1990). The ovolo is only partially represented and is indistinct, though it could be Stanfield and Simpson's Paternus No.4 ovolo (1958, fig.30 no.4). The freestyle scene includes the bear O.1633m (or similar) galloping to the right, the running dog to left O.2007a, part of another dog running to the right, a twist and what may be part of a leaf; details are abraded. Context 81 (fill of robber trench 80), Phase 4 (sherd is residual)
4. Rim, CG Lezoux, Drag. 37, 13g, RE: c. 0.03, Diam. uncertain, c. AD 120-170. A small area from the ovolo band is present. The ovolo itself appears neat and rather square with thin double-borders; the tongue is corded but (here) incomplete, there being no terminal represented; the nature of the ovolo and the superb quality of the gloss finish suggest this might be a product of the Cinnamus workshop. Context 93 (fill of post-hole 92), Phase 3

Notes

SG: South Gaulish; CG: Central Gaulish; EG: East Gaulish; RE: extant rim (where 1.00 would represent a complete circumference) and is equivalent to use of 'EVE' in the coarse pottery report.

Oswald's figure types (Oswald 1936-7) are referred to following the standard convention, for example O.1926a would be his type 1926a. Similarly the decorative details catalogued by Rogers (Rogers 1974) are simply referred to as, for example, Rogers B.105, without the quoting the bibliographic reference on every occasion.

Discussion

Although the excavations yielded only a small assemblage of samian the group is nonetheless instructive at a number of levels. In particular there is a strikingly consistent correlation between the chronological evidence supplied by the samian and that of the other Roman pottery.

Second-century Central Gaulish (Lezoux) samian vessels account for 41 of the 44 sherds and 89.7% of the vessels diagnostic of form (Table 8). This pattern is closely consistent with that of the very large samian assemblage arising from the 1953-5 work at Great Chesterford (Pengelly 1988), which investigated an area north of the walled Roman town. The latter work produced a samian assemblage of which 87.7% was Central Gaulish. As Table 8 demonstrates, the workshops of Southern Gaul, Les Martres-de-Veyre and Eastern Gaul are represented, though each by solitary items. There is little evidence, therefore, amongst the present sample for the consumption of samian in the vicinity of the site before the Hadrianic period. The strong showing of samian, which dates from c. AD 120, is entirely consistent with the chronology of the other Roman pottery.

Period	Number of Vessels Represented
Claudian - Flavian	1
Trajanic - early Hadrianic	1
Hadrianic - Antonine	15
Hadrianic - early Antonine	6
Hadrianic - mid Antonine	7
Antonine	5
Mid - late Antonine	1
Late Antonine - mid third century	1

Table 7. The chronology of the samian pottery.

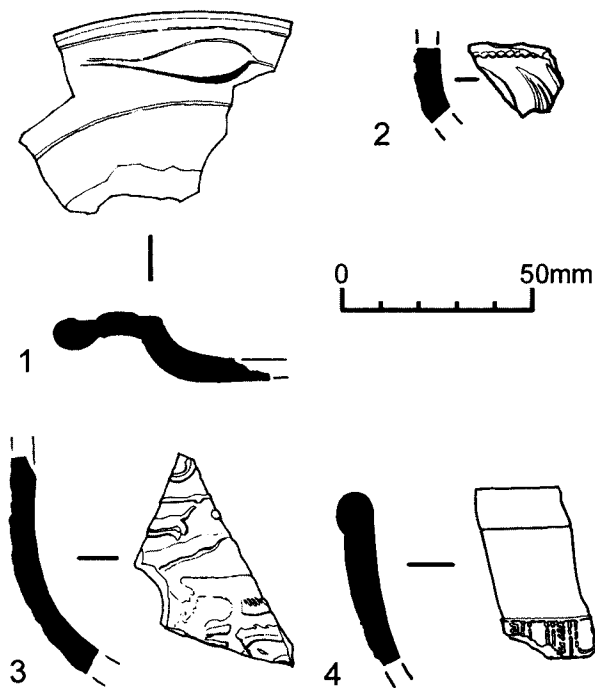


Fig. 8 Great Chesterford, Bishops House: Samian ware

In general the present sample conforms to a trend seen at other Romano-British small towns which show a peak in samian consumption during the middle and later second century (Willis 1998). Two minor qualifications, however, may be added (albeit with the proviso that the assemblage is very small): first this trend is not usually so marked as it is in this case; secondly, there is more of a Hadrianic-early Antonine emphasis amongst the present material than is usual.

A small group of samian sherds came from contexts assigned to Phase 2, the earliest to contain pottery (contexts 108, 118, 138 and 145). Fittingly this group includes the earliest piece of samian recovered during the excavation, namely the South Gaulish dish or platter fragment from 118 (ditch 120). In addition, conjoining sherds from an Hadrianic-early Antonine Drag. 18/31 dish came from contexts 108 (the top fill of gully 106) and 145 (the primary fill of the well, feature 136). The top fill of the well 136 (context 138), which produced a mortarium of c. AD 160-200, also yielded the latest samian of this phase in the form of a Drag. 31 of c. AD 150-200.

The one East Gaulish item present, namely the Argonne Drag. 45 from context 102, is associated with mid-3rd century pottery with which it may be contemporary.

Identifiable forms are summarised in Table 8. The composition of the group by form is not especially remarkable. Of the 26 Central Gaulish (and therefore 2nd century) vessels identifiable to form, c. 23% are decorated bowls which appears to be a relatively high proportion for a site of this category (Willis 1998, table 3). However,

Form Type / Source	South Gaulish	Central Gaulish - Les Martres	Central Gaulish - Lezoux	East Gaulish
<i>Cups</i>				
Drag 33		1	3	
Unidentified form			2	
<i>Decorated Bowls</i>				
Drag 30			2	
Drag 37			4	
<i>Plain Bowls</i>				
Drag 31R			1	
Drag 38			2	
Drag 38 or Curle 11			1	
<i>Bowls or Dishes</i>				
Drag 18/31R or 31R			1	
Unidentified form			1	
<i>Dishes</i>				
Drag 18/31			2	
Drag 18/31R			3	
Drag 31			2	
Drag 36			1	
Unidentified form			1	
<i>Dishes or Platters</i>				
Unidentified form	1			
<i>Mortaria</i>				
Drag 45				1
Totals	1	1	26	1

Table 8. The composition of the samian assemblage (identifiable forms only).

since this sample of Central Gaulish vessels from the excavation is not drawn from a stratified contemporary phase no firm conclusions can be drawn. Compare this with the equivalent figures produced by Pengelly (1988, 24) for the large assemblages from 1953-4 that show a lower proportion of decorated vessels than is the case with the current site. The Drag. 36 from context 11 (Fig. 8.1) is an unusual late variant of the form (Oswald and Pryce 1920, pl. 53; Bird 1986, 2.160-2.164).

No examples of Colchester samian are present. This absence supports the general conclusion based upon the other Roman pottery that the principal ceramic (at least) trade networks of the Roman small town were within eastern Hertfordshire and southern Cambridgeshire.

The average sherd weight of the samian is comparatively low at 10.3g. Moreover, if the near half-complete dish fragment from well 136 is excluded this average falls to 7.4g. In other words the material is highly fragmented. This pattern is consistent with the likelihood that much of the group is residual, an interpretation supported by the high incidence of vessels represented by a single sherd. In contrast, the material is relatively unabraded, a characteristic that in part seems the result of benign soil conditions.

The amphoras

P.R. Sealey

Two Dressel 20 amphora sherds came from separate contexts, weighing a total of 306g. These contexts are context 13 (late 3rd/4th century AD, weighing 182g) and context 30 (4th century AD, weighing 124g). Dressel 20 is the Baetican olive oil amphora from Roman Spain. Exports petered out towards the end of the 3rd century AD when Dressel 20 evolved into the smaller and lighter Dressel 23. There is no reason to think that the Great Chesterford sherds are Dressel 23 and they are presumably Dressel 20 sherds residual in their contexts.

Discussion

The assemblage provides an important insight into pottery supply to Great Chesterford in the period c. AD 120-400. It is chiefly made up of Hadham products (c. 52% by weight). However, early products

such as the early stamped wares were absent, as was the distinctive white-slipped ware. Horningsea wares were also common (28% of the total assemblage) and occur in contexts of all periods. The range of products from this industry included the distinctive storage jar types and a variety of other jar forms often with heavy burnishing on the exterior. Nene Valley products represent a further 6% of the total assemblage. The high incidence of both Hadham and Horningsea wares must be a product of the site's geographical location and conceivably its function as an important regional market centre. It is notable that the common storage jar fabric over much of Essex (Going 1987, fabric 44) seldom occurs. This indicates that the principal trade networks for the small town were within eastern Hertfordshire and southern Cambridgeshire rather than Essex to the south.

The earliest features are characterised by the occurrence of small largely undiagnostic groups, but appear to belong to the mid-2nd century. There is a notable absence of stratified grog-tempered and Gallo-Belgic wares from the site, although a very badly burnt Gallo-Belgic platter rim was recovered from early 4th century occupation layers. There are a few early Roman vessel forms, but these are all residual in mid and late Roman contexts. Colchester products, mainly buff ware mortaria, account for about 2% of the total assemblage, while Verulamium region white wares are poorly represented. Several sherds were classified as Verulamium region coarse white-slipped ware. However, identification of this fabric is far from certain. Some of the vessel forms present were comparable to the Verulamium region coarse white-slipped ware vessels in the London corpus. Mica dusted fine wares are very rare, but occur in Phase 2 contexts. Samian ware comprises the only import, apart from residual amphora sherds, and is fairly abundant in Phase 2 contexts.

Pottery of the 3rd century is well represented and the levels of residuality seem to be low. These are characterised by the arrival of Nene Valley colour-coated wares. The forms appear to be folded beakers. Horningsea products are also common, as are Hadham wares. It is notable that standard Essex storage jar types are largely absent. Colchester and Verulamium region products are scarcely represented in contexts of this date and are clearly residual. The only imports comprise small quantities of samian. Mortaria are rare in contexts of any period. The only form present (D5) in contexts of this

LATE ROMAN BUILDINGS AT BISHOP'S HOUSE, GREAT CHESTERFORD

period is typically 3rd century and occurs in a coarse white-slipped fabric that may be a Hadham product.

The latest groups are characterised by high levels of residuality. Layer 64 in Phase 5 is the latest episode identified. It produced two body sherds in Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware. Both sherds were from open forms and had rouletted decoration. This fabric does not appear in Essex before the second half of the 4th century. There is little evidence to suggest that Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware occurred any earlier at Great Chesterford than elsewhere in Essex. It is worth noting that the 1953-8 excavations failed to produce any Oxfordshire mortaria that could be dated to the 4th century (Hartley 1986, 37) and that Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware was absent from the excavated assemblage.

Conclusions

The pottery fills an important gap in the understanding of pottery supply to Great Chesterford and the town's chronology. Of special importance is the glimpse it provides of the first half of the 4th century. At this site, the early 4th century saw a period of sustained domestic activity that resulted in accumulations of discarded pottery. In all periods, Great Chesterford's pottery supply, unlike the rest of Essex, came mainly from eastern Hertfordshire and southern Cambridgeshire with the Hadham industry and to a slightly lesser extent, Horningsea, its main suppliers.

Coins

P. McMichael

Five Roman coins were recovered and are listed in Table 9 (Askew 1980; Casey 1980; Sternberg 1974). All are copper alloy, and most are in poor or fragmentary condition. Full details are given in the archive.

Three coins came from Phase 4 occupation layers in an external area to the west of Building I, and their dates are consistent with the late 3rd-4th century date for the phase suggested by the pottery. Although unstratified, the Valentinian coin is consistent with the late date of the Phase 5 building, dated by pottery to the later 4th century.

Metalwork

H. Major

Metalwork (Fig. 9)

The site produced only a small group of silver and copper-alloy objects. The only piece not illustrated is an unstratified copper-alloy loop, possibly part of a buckle, and not definitely Roman. Despite the size of the group, the quality is high, the most striking piece being a silver hairpin of unusual form (no. 1). The single brooch recovered was a later Roman crossbow brooch, a very good example of the type (no. 2).

Three pieces of scrap lead were found in layer 65 (Phase 4). The only other piece of lead alloy (probably pewter; no.7 below) was unstratified, and may be post-Roman.

There were eighteen iron objects, eleven of which came from layer 13/65 (Phase 4), and seventy-three nails. The majority of the objects were scraps of sheet and bar fragments. The identifiable objects were two knives from layer 65 (nos. 8, 9), a steelyard (no. 10), two carpenter's dogs (nos. 12, 13), a staple (no. 14), and two rings (nos. 16, 17).

The seventy-three nails were predominantly in Phase 4-5 contexts; seventeen were complete. Most had flat, round or oval heads, with a length range of 23-81mm for the complete examples, although one of the incomplete nails was at least 100mm long. There was a single nail with a square head, and one possible hobnail.

Silver

1. Hairpin. The shaft, which is bent, swells just below the head. The head has a square section, with moulded grooves across three faces. The fourth face is flat, apart from a shallowly incised line corresponding with the uppermost groove on the other faces. It terminates in two short prongs with rounded ends, one slightly longer than the other. Silver hairpins generally occur in the same forms as the more common copper-alloy hairpins, but this example does not correspond to any of the types illustrated in the standard classification (Cool 1990). Few hairpin types have square-sectioned heads; perhaps the closest is Group 11B, which can have a block head surmounted by four small prongs, but the parallel is not particularly close. Hairpins of Group 11B (Cool 1990, 160) were probably the product of a single workshop operating in the 2nd century, whereas the Great Chesterford pin is from a late 3rd to 4th-century context. SF15, context 97, fill of beamslot 98, Building I, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).

Copper alloy

2. Crossbow brooch, complete with pin. This is the early type (Hull type 190), with a disc flange at the base of the bow and hinged pin. The foot is slightly faceted, and the tubular catchplate does not extend to the end of the foot, which is rounded. All the brooches of this type are very similar to each other. They are rarely decorated, the main differences lying in the crispness of the moulding, and minor variations in the shape of the knobs, flange and foot. Unlike the later crossbows, there is little variation in size. The catchplate usually, but not invariably, extends to the end of the foot. It is generally seen as a 'military' type, or at least connected with officialdom, and the degree of standardisation may argue for them being the product of a single, possibly continental, workshop. Hattatt (1985, 128) assigns a date of c. AD 200-250, though the date of deposition may be later. A very similar brooch from Canterbury comes from a context dated c. AD 270-300 (Mackreth 1995, 982, F138). SF3, occupation layer 13, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).
3. Small ring, with a broken strip loop or tongue. The ring has been formed from a rod, bent neatly into a circle. This is possibly part of a late Roman military belt fitting. Bishop and Coulston (1993, 174, nos 10/11) illustrate similar rings, which would have been attached to the belt by rosette-headed studs. SF11, occupation layer 13, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).

Late 3rd C		Barbarous radiate, very worn, little detail visible.	Phase 4, layer 65 (SF12)
		<i>Obverse:</i> head right.	
House of Constantine	313-37	Heavily corroded.	Phase 4, layer 14 (SF21)
Constantine I	335-37	<i>Reverse:</i> ?Gloria Exercitus	
		<i>Obverse:</i> Laureated and cuirassed bust right.	Phase 4, layer 65 (SF6)
		DN CONSTANTINUS AUG	
		<i>Reverse:</i> GLORIA EXERCITUS,	
		2 soldiers and 2 standards	
		<i>Mint:</i> Trier •TRS•	
Valentinian	364-78	Fragment	Unstratified
Illegible		Fragment, heavily corroded	Unstratified

Table 9: Roman coins

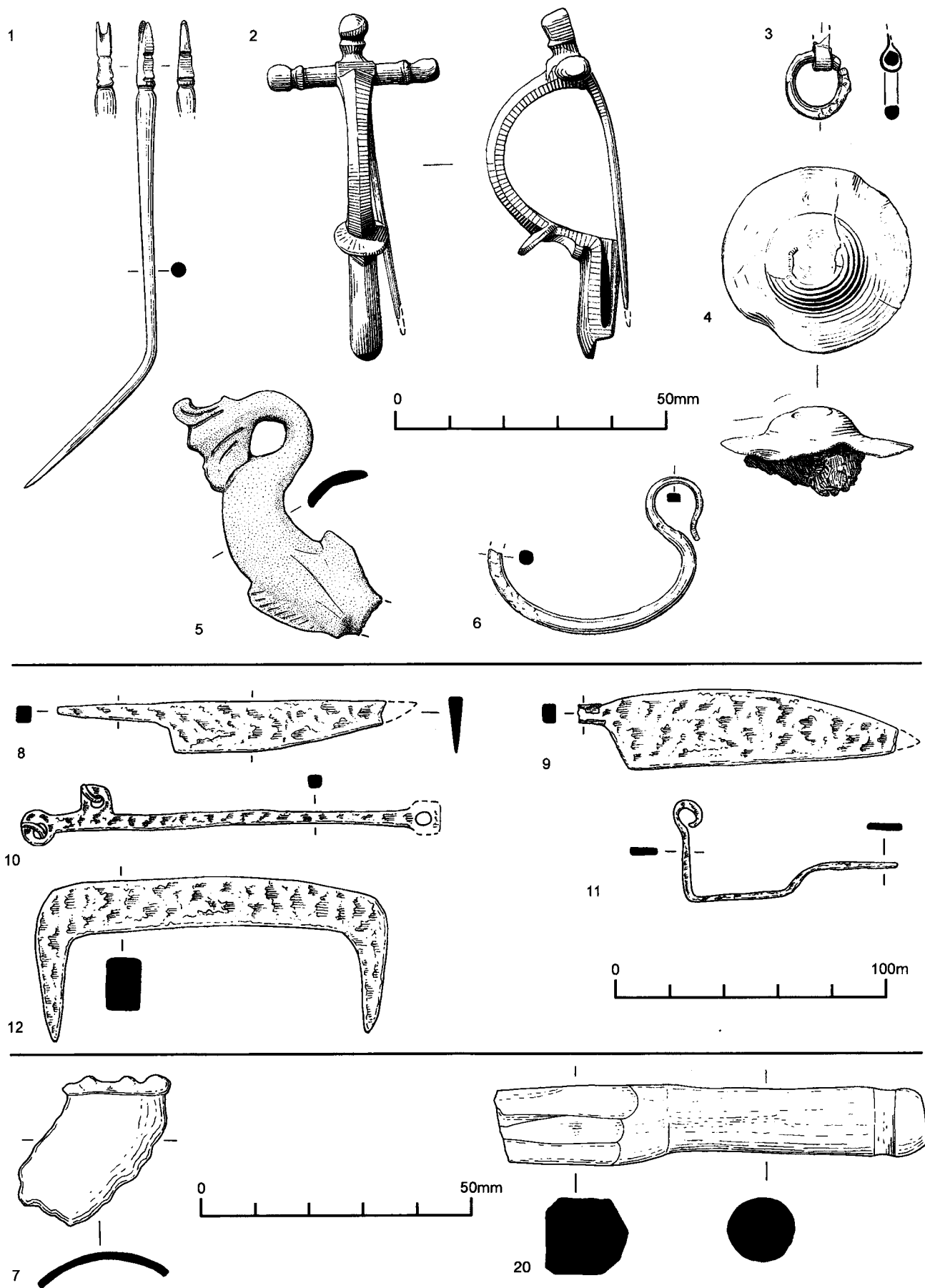


Fig. 9 Great Chesterford, Bishop's House: metalwork and other finds.

4. Sheet boss, with a mass of ?lead solder on the back. SF14, occupation layer 65, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).
5. Fragment from the terminal of a drop handle in the form of a dolphin, with the tail curved over to form the suspension loop. The surface is rather eroded, but linear detailing survives on the fins and tail, with traces on the body. The back of the piece is slightly concave, and rather rough. The complete drop handle would have had two opposed dolphins. The type occurs predominantly in late Roman contexts, usually with more stylised dolphins, as at Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971, 118, no. 127) and Gadebridge Park (Neal and Butcher 1974, 132, no. 72. SF17, gravel surface 66, Phase 3 (early-mid 3rd century).
6. A small, delicate, drop handle, with one loop missing. SF22, levelling 132, Phase 3 (late 2nd-mid 3rd century).

Lead alloy

7. Pewter? A thin, curved, sheet fragment with a beaded edge, beaded at intervals. This is part of an object, probably a small vessel. Probably post-Roman. c. 30x25mm. Wt. 5g. SF4, U/S.

Iron

8. Tanged knife. The tang is probably complete, but the very tip of the blade is missing. It has a straight back in line with the tang. The straight edge tapers to a point. Manning Type 11A (Manning 1985, 114). SF5, occupation layer 65, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).
9. Tanged knife, with most of the tang and the very tip missing. The back is curved, with a straight edge, and there are traces of a wooden handle. Manning Type 13 (Manning 1985, 115). Occupation layer 65, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).
10. Steelyard. Complete, except possibly for one end loop, which is not fully visible on the X-ray. The suspension loop, and the loop at the short end both retain part of an iron chain link. There are no signs of markings. Iron steelyards are rare in comparison to copper-alloy ones, no doubt partly due to the difficulty of recognising incomplete examples. Most have a knob at the longer end, rather than the loop which is found on this example. Context 44, fill of post-hole 45, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).
11. Strip, slightly tapering, and complete as buried. The narrower end has been rolled into a loop. The flat face was not X-rayed, but the side X-ray looks solid throughout. The strip is bent in several places, but whether this object is its original shape, or even complete, is uncertain. It may be a very distorted padlock key; these typically have rolled loops, and broaden towards the bit. Occupation layer 13, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).
12. Carpenter's dog or masonry cramp, complete, with a rectangular section throughout. Context 118, fill of ditch 120, Phase 2a (mid-late 2nd century).
13. (Not ill.) Carpenter's dog, L-shaped, with short arms. Rectangular sectioned top, 9 x 2mm, overall 58 x 29mm. Arm L. 15mm. Levelling 72, Phase 3 (late 2nd-mid 3rd century).
14. (Not ill.) Probable flat-topped staple, with one arm snapped off. The other arm is incomplete. Section of top c. 8 x 6mm, L. 83mm. Surviving arm L. 26mm. Occupation layer 13, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).
15. (Not ill.) Rod, complete as buried. One end is original, and slightly rounded. The other was broken in antiquity, and has the last 15mm bent at an angle of c. 45°. The section is circular at the complete end, changing to square, c. 50mm from the bend. L. 194mm, diam. 9mm. Occupation layer 65, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).
16. (Not ill.) Ring. The section is probably circular. External diam., 44mm, internal diam. 35mm. SF18, Levelling 94, Phase 3 (late 2nd-mid 3rd century).
17. (Not ill.) Oval ring. External dim. 43x28mm, oval section c. 5 x 3mm. Context 118, fill of ditch 120, Phase 2a (mid-late 2nd century).

Miscellaneous finds (Fig. 9)

H. Major

Shale

18. (Not ill.) Bracelet fragment, plain. It has an oval section with two very slight grooves on the inner face. External diam. 59mm, external diam. 44mm. SF20, occupation layer 14, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).

Bone Objects

19. (Not ill.) Hairpin, complete, with a slightly swollen shaft and a plain ovoid head. This is Colchester type 3, which is predominantly late 3rd-4th century (Crummy 1983, 21). L. 91mm. SF19, Context 102, fill of robber trench 103, Building I, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).

Bone-working waste

20. A part finished, lathe-turned cylinder, with the chuck marks visible at each end. The bottom third is untrimmed, and has saw marks on the base. There is a shallow groove round the other end. Cancellous bone is visible at the junction between the turned and unturned parts, which probably led to working being abandoned. It was probably intended as a peg or handle; there is a similar unfinished piece from Colchester (Crummy 1983, 158, no. 4384). L. 77mm, max. finished diam. 14mm. SF9, occupation layer 65, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).
21. (Not ill.) A roughly trimmed, flat strip. One end was cut, and the other was broken jaggedly in antiquity. The edges are not quite parallel. L. 53mm, W. 18-21mm, T. 2-4mm. Occupation layer 13, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).

Lava Querns

Small fragments of lava quern came from contexts 54 and 64, both from Phases 4-5. The piece from 54 was probably from an upper stone, with a harp-dressed grinding surface. The lava from 64 had disintegrated.

Building materials

The mortar samples from Building II of Phase 5 were in two distinct fabrics. The first (A) was a pale buff colour, with common gravel and small pebbles up to c. 25mm, and occasional small fragments of tile up to c. 10mm. The second (B) was very pale pink, with common gravel and small pebbles up to c. 10mm, occasional chalk fragments, and fairly common tile fragments up to c. 10mm. One fragment of fabric B had an interface with an off-white mortar, which forming a thin skim on the surface. The off-white mortar was possibly fabric A, but was softer than the samples.

Six small fragments of baked clay were found, three from Phase 2 contexts, and three from a context belonging to Phase 4 or later. It was all in the same chalky fabric, and almost certainly derives from structural daub.

Samples of unworked stone from a number of contexts were examined. Most were fragments of sandstone and flint boulders, which could have been used as coarse building rubble. A few pieces had traces of the bonding mortar surviving. The only piece which appeared to have been deliberately trimmed came from context 79, robber trench 80 (Phase 4).

Worked Flint

The worked flint can be divided into two groups; prehistoric debitage, and debris from Roman building work. The latter group is best represented by nineteen pieces of flint from context 82, comprising nodules with minimal crude trimming, and flakes in a fresh-looking condition, often with angular fractures and stress marks. Other contexts with similar material (though only in small quantities) are 1, 11, 13, 30, 35 and 132. Out of the thirty-three pieces of worked flint, it is probable that only six are prehistoric. Five are waste flakes, one with possible retouch, and the sixth is a blade with milky patination.

Slag

A small amount of slag was found, weighing a total of 68g. It is non-metallurgical, apart from a small piece of metallurgical slag from context 82, which may be intrusive. The remainder is lightweight, vitrified material of domestic origin, occurring in contexts of Phase 2 and Phase 4.

Roman Glass (Fig. 10)

Joyce Compton with Jenny Price

Five fragments of glass were recovered, one of which is a small piece of unstratified post-medieval window glass. The remaining four pieces are Roman, of probable 2nd-century, or later, date. These comprise a strongly-coloured bodysherd and a rod handle fragment, both from cleaning layer 11, a colourless bodysherd from Phase 4 layer 14 and the base of a bottle from Phase 3 layer 94. Although the assemblage is small, there are interesting aspects to each piece.

The colourless bodysherd is of the most interest, although the distinguishing features are not strong (no. 1). Remains of two applied trails of blue/green glass, bordered by a self-coloured applied line, are extant at the edge of the sherd. It is possible that this is a piece of 'snake-thread' glass, although normally the applied trails are in opaque glass. This type of decoration is indicative of a quality piece of glassware and was produced in the north-west provinces, probably in the Cologne area. No complete vessels have been found in Britain and the form represented is uncertain. This type of decoration occurs on a range of 2nd and 3rd-century vessels (Price and Cottam 1998, 32), and flasks in the form of gladiatorial helmets are common on the continent.

Also of interest is a base sherd from a small square bottle in pale blue/green glass (no. 2). The underside of the base has a design moulded in relief and consists of a centrally-placed swastika within a circle. In addition, there is a small moulded rectangular pellet in each corner of the base. This type of design is uncommon (Price and Cottam 1998, 194); designs consisting of concentric circles are more usual. An exact parallel for the Great Chesterford design was found in a midden during excavations at Armsley, Fordingbridge, Hampshire in 1959 (unpublished, J. Price pers comm). There are few other swastika bases in Britain and they are from different moulds. Square bottles are common 1st and 2nd-century containers, but small square vessels normally occur towards the end of the 2nd century. Bottles such as these were normally traded for their contents, although their precise nature is unknown. It may be inferred from their size that small bottles contained a product such as perfumed oils or other luxury substance.

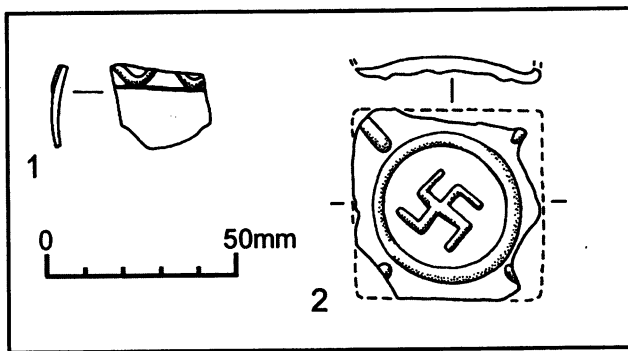


Fig. 10 Roman glass

The remaining sherds are from perhaps more ordinary vessels. A bodysherd in yellow/green glass might represent the shoulder and neck from a globular jug (no. 4). This form is normally dated to the 2nd century, but strongly-coloured glass vessels are also common in the late 1st century. Handle fragments can only be assigned to vessels with difficulty and the small size of the rod handle present (no. 3) might indicate that it originally came from a small globular jug or, more likely, from a late Roman handled cup.

The four vessels represented by the sherds recovered are items which are slightly above the ordinary level of glassware consumption. While not especially rare, the vessels indicate that more prestigious luxury goods were available to the inhabitants of Great Chesterford in the Roman period.

1. Bodysherd in bubbly, weathered, colourless glass. Faint horizontal moulded line and remains of two plain applied trails of blue/green glass above and slightly overrunning the line. Thickness 1mm. SF10, occupation layer 14, Phase 4 (late 3rd-4th century).
2. Base from a square bottle in weathered pale blue/green glass. Moulded design in relief; central swastika within a circle, small rectangular pellet in each corner of base. Base dimensions 50 x 50mm. SF16, levelling 94, Phase 3 (late 2nd-mid 3rd century).
3. (Not ill.) Small fragment of rod handle with an oval section. Remains of body attachment extant. Pale blue/green. Some surface weathering. Handle section 4.5 x 3.5mm. SF1, surface cleaning 11.
4. (Not ill.) Angled bodysherd in yellowish green glass, no bubbles, some surface weathering. Probably part of the shoulder/neck from a globular jug. Internal neck diam. 40mm. Surface cleaning 11.

Brick and tile

T.S. Martin

Introduction

A total of 96 fragments of tile weighing 14.3kg was recovered from 20 stratified Roman contexts. None of the contexts produced tile in significant quantities with only layer 14 in phase 4 yielding more than 2kg. All tile fragments were examined and details of *tegula* flanges and cutaways, and other distinguishing features were recorded using the standard Essex CC system. The range of tile types identified was restricted to *imbrex*, *tegula* and brick. No box flue tiles were recovered from the site. Most of the brick and tile occurred in orange or reddish fabrics with variable amounts of sand temper. Detailed fabric analysis was not attempted because of the absence of large groups.

The tile by phase

Although Roman tile was recovered from all phases, its chronological distribution was far from even (Table 10). Measured by weight, the bulk of the tile came from Phase 4 contexts. Phase 5 produced the second highest total followed by Phase 3. The smallest quantity came from Phase 2, while no tile was recovered from Phase 1 contexts.

Animal bone and shell

Joyce Compton

Animal bone

Animal bone, weighing a total of 4149g, was recovered from 33 contexts, together with a further small amount of unstratified material. Identifications were made using Schmid (1972); the bone was also scanned for condition and completeness. Skeletal elements are listed, where possible, though identification of the taxa present is limited. Where detailed identification was not possible, elements were sorted into broad groups based on size. The groups are: small mammal (e.g. cat, rabbit/hare, small dog), medium-sized mammal (e.g. sheep/goat, pig, large dog), large mammal (e.g. horse, cow, deer). Juveniles may therefore be classed as small mammals by default. The bone is fragmentary, but mostly in good condition with unabraded surfaces.

Two-thirds of the assemblage came from the Phase 3 levelling 72/94 and 95, the Phase 3 gravel surface 66/12, and from overlying occupation layers 65/13, 15 and 64 of Phase 4. Many of the bones exhibit evidence of butchery; there are chop marks on vertebrae and long bone fragments and knife cuts/chops on rib bones. Utilisation of the by-products of butchery is evidenced by the presence of both cattle horn cores and foot bones, either as a result of the processing of hides or the production of worked bone items. The apparent cutting of rib bones into segments may also indicate preparation of bone waste for decorative purposes, for instance as inlay in box lids. Also present, though unstratified, is a sawn antler tine. The presence of these

LATE ROMAN BUILDINGS AT BISHOP'S HOUSE, GREAT CHESTERFORD

Phase	<i>Imbrex</i>		<i>Tegula</i>		<i>Brick</i>		<i>Spall</i>		Total per phase	
	No.	Wt. (g)	No.	Wt. (g)	No.	Wt. (g)	No.	Wt. (g)	No.	Wt. (g)
2			1	316					1	316
3			3	344	2	785	8	478	13	1,607
4	6	488	13	3,073	22	6,584	16	376	57	1,0521
5	2	218	2	152	3	222	17	1,305	24	1,897
Totals	8	706	20	3,878	27	7,591	41	2,159	96	1,4334

Table 10. The types of tile by phase.

components is not necessarily suggestive of bone-working activity nearby, however, as material comprising the levelling layers may have been brought from elsewhere. Animal bone was recovered in much smaller quantities from various pit and gully fills and from the backfill of Phase 2 well 136. There was less evidence for the processing of by-products in these small assemblages.

The majority of the assemblage consists of food waste. Many of the cattle long bones had been split for marrow extraction and the resulting fragmentary nature of the bones has restricted identification. In spite of this, most of the domesticated food animals were identified, with cattle and sheep/goat appearing in relatively equal numbers. Pig is present, but identified only by the presence of teeth. Bird bones, probably the remains of domestic fowl, were also found in several contexts. Horse bones appear to be absent, and deer was represented by a single, unstratified, antler tine, which might not be a result of butchery. A number of obviously immature animals were identified.

Shell

Nineteen contexts produced shell, mainly oyster, two-thirds of which came from the same levelling layers as the animal bone. Two contexts also contained mussel shells. In total 140 valves and fragments were recorded, weighing 2631g and representing a minimum of 60 individuals. Three oyster shells, from upper layers 65/13, have been pierced, two with 5-6mm diameter holes and the third with a 4mm square hole. Pierced oyster shells are not uncommon, and many are the result of carnivorous activity by other molluscs. In this case, however, the holes appear to be too large, and the square hole is suggestive of piercing with a nail, the purpose of which remains enigmatic.

Conclusion

Much of the animal bone and shell recovered is characteristic of food waste, perhaps mixed with bone-working waste, such as the cattle horn cores. The assemblages appear to be comparable with those commonly recovered from occupation sites of Roman date.

Discussion

Great Chesterford has long been recognised as an important centre of Late Iron Age and Roman settlement, and the former walled Roman town and its environs has attracted interest from contemporary chroniclers, historians and local antiquarians. Although the town has, over the years, yielded a substantial collection of artefacts, ritual deposits and reports of lost buildings, much of this material, and predominantly that excavated during the 19th century, lacks either provenance or adequate archaeological recording. The present excavation, although small, helps characterise the late Roman town.

Site Development (Fig. 11)

The depth and extent of stratified deposits uncovered by this excavation suggests continuous occupation on the site dating from at least the 2nd century through to the late 4th century or later, within which five main phases or events were identified.

There is very little evidence for pre-2nd century (Phase 1) occupation on the site, other than a ditch and small quantities of residual finds, which may indicate peripheral, probably agricultural, activity in the area, perhaps related to the Late Iron Age settlement to the north-west. In the mid to late 2nd century (Phase 2a), there appears to have been more intensive activity on the site, represented by a ditch, gravel surface and well in addition to the partial foundations of a possible short-lived timber structure. In the mid-3rd century (Phase 3) the site was levelled and a sequence of gravel layers laid down, after which there appears to have been an hiatus indicated by a break in the pottery sequence.

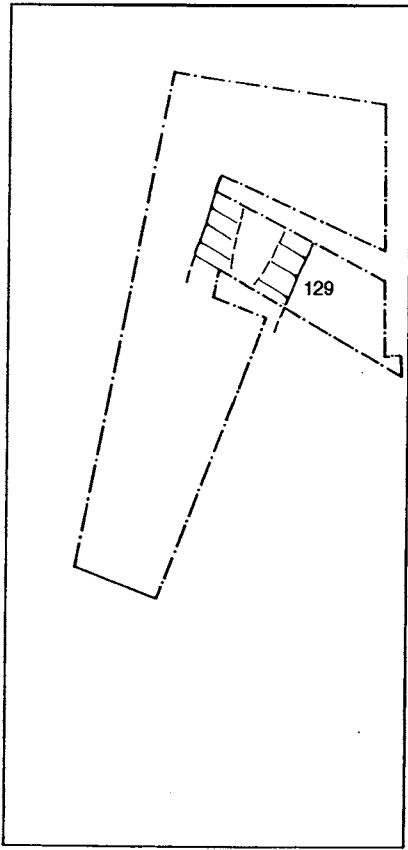
The site was probably redeveloped in the later 3rd to 4th century (Phase 4) when a large timber-framed building, aligned north-east to south-west (Building I), was erected. During the late 4th century (Phase 5), the timber building was dismantled, and the immediate area levelled in preparation for a substantial structure with masonry foundations (Building II). This building perpetuated the alignment of Building I, suggesting that it was built respecting the general topography and boundaries established in the previous centuries. No firm dating evidence for the demolition and robbing of the building was recovered. The high incidence of pottery disposal, however, suggests a sustained period of domestic activity through the 4th century that may have continued to the end of the Roman period in the 5th century, when the site was abandoned.

A small quantity of intrusive Early Saxon pottery suggests the presence of nearby activity.

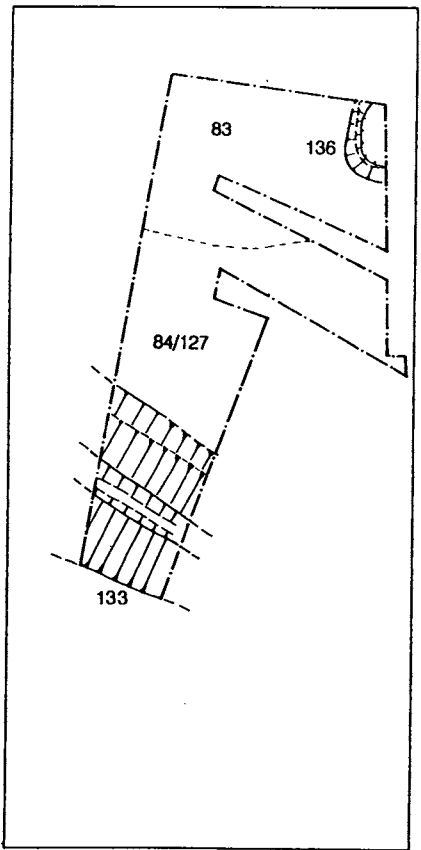
Topographical setting

The first evidence for occupation on the site is dated to the 2nd century (Phase 2). This supports the conclusions from previous excavations, c. 250m to the north of the site at East Gate, which found evidence of urban expansion to the south-east of the abandoned fort in the form of four timber-framed buildings dating to the 2nd century (Collins 1996). Excavations in 1948-9 also uncovered evidence of timber-framed buildings dating to the first half of the 2nd century within the area of the abandoned fort to the north-west (VCH 1963). Although ribbon development along the principal roads would be expected, the presence of a possible building and associated features in the area of the Bishop's House site is significant. The excavation lies between the south-eastern and south-western roads where ribbon development has been previously identified, and so provides new evidence for the extent of the late 2nd to

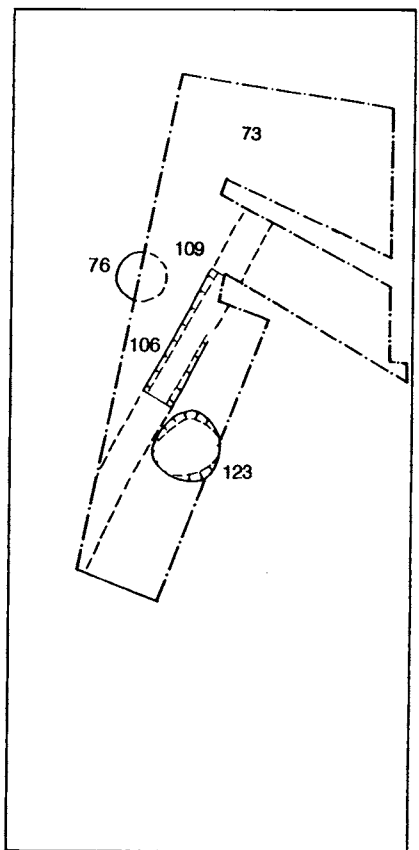
Phase 1 (Pre-2ndC)



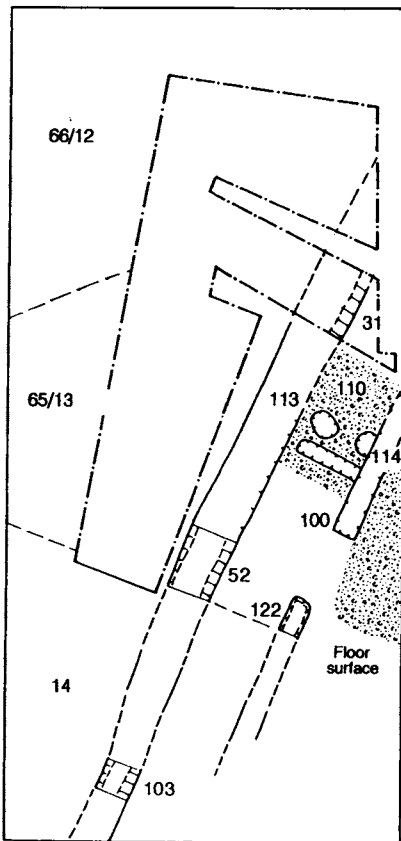
Phase 2A (Mid 2nd - Early 3rdC)



Phase 2B (Mid 2nd - Early 3rdC)



Phase 3 & 4 (Late 3rd-4thC)



Phase 5 (Later 4thC)

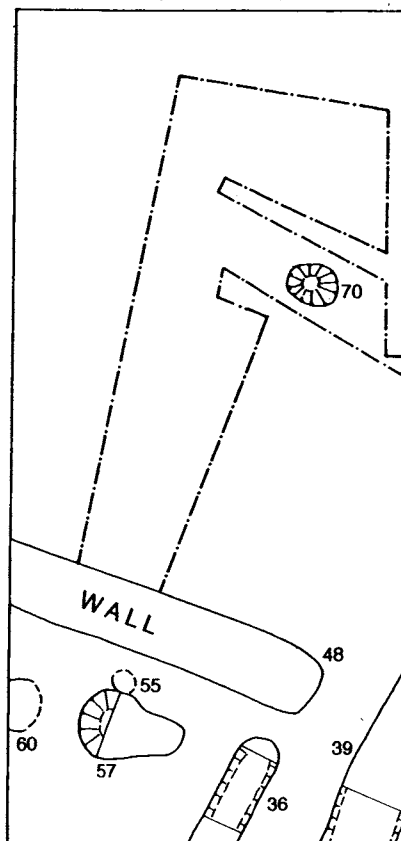


Fig. 11 Great Chesterford, Bishops House: site development plan.

early 3rd-century Roman settlement. Evidence from previous excavations by Brinson and Collins indicates that settlement in this period covered an area of c. 12 hectares.

The levelling of the site and construction of a large timber building in Phases 3 and 4 indicates the continued and sustained expansion of settlement in the 3rd and 4th century. The plan of Building I, although not fully exposed, is not unusual in Great Chesterford, as buildings of similar construction have been uncovered close to the town centre and flanking the south-eastern road (Collins 1996). The replacement of this building by a substantial structure with masonry footings (Building II) in the later 4th century is incontrovertible evidence of new buildings in late Roman Great Chesterford. No evidence indicating that the timber building had burnt down was identified, as has been found on previously excavated Roman buildings in the town (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 339). The small area of the exposed building plan suggests discontinuous foundations supporting continuous walls, a recognised technique used in the construction of some Roman masonry buildings, such as in the *Mansio* in Chelmsford (Drury 1988). The overall form and size of Building II remains unclear, as the foundations could represent either a masonry building, or one with a timber superstructure resting upon masonry dwarf walls.

Linear anomalies with similar alignments, uncovered during a geophysical survey of the grounds (Wardill 2000), may represent the continuation of Building II to the south, or perhaps more likely separate structures or features of comparable construction (Fig.1).

Second walled enclosure

Building II is of particular interest as it was built in the later 4th century and outside the protection afforded by the stone walls of the town defences, which are thought to have been constructed in the late 4th century (Collins 1996). The presence of a substantial building in this location may suggest that it formed part of an extra-mural settlement. A second possibility is that the building lay within the postulated second walled enclosure, located to the south-east of the town and first reported upon by Dr Gower in 1756. Excavations and watching briefs (Collins 1996; Gadd 2001; Dey 2001, 238-9) at Mill Cottage to the north-west of the site, and to the north and east of the church, have recorded evidence of a large masonry wall of probable Roman date, largely lying beneath the church wall. The Roman wall could form part of the enclosure although further excavation is necessary to substantiate this; trenches excavated by Collins and Dey along the projected southern line of the enclosure, in the 1980s and 1990s produced inconclusive results. The geophysical survey undertaken within the grounds of Bishop's House (Wardill 2000) also did not produce conclusive evidence to support the presence of a second enclosure. Several areas of anomalies were identified, however, including a number of linear features to the south-west of the site,

which could conceivably represent a continuation of the projected east wall of the enclosure, or equally buildings or unrelated boundaries (Fig. 1).

The consistent north-east to south-west alignment of the buildings and linear features uncovered by the Bishop's House excavation is similar to that of the postulated second enclosure. This alignment, however, could be perpetuating that of the buildings and associated plots that formed part of the ribbon development along the roads out of the town to the north-west (Collins 1996). If the second enclosure did exist, Buildings I and II would probably have been located close to the eastern wall, if the line from the wall identified by Dey (2001) is projected.

By the 5th century, the area to the west of the site was in use as an Early Saxon cemetery, although no burials were found during the excavation. No evidence to support the suggestion that the parish church may have had its origin as a Late Saxon minster (Rodwell 1980) was found, and the only tentative indication of Saxon activity in the vicinity was the presence of a small quantity of intrusive sherds of Saxon pottery.

The finds assemblage

The finds from the site, particularly the metalwork and glass, although few, were generally of good quality and had interesting aspects, and indicate that luxury goods were available to the inhabitants of Roman Great Chesterford. The Roman pottery, although a relatively small assemblage, is also of importance as no previously published assemblages from the town are from stratified sequences. The pottery indicates that the principal trade networks for the town were within eastern Hertfordshire and southern Cambridgeshire, rather than Essex to the south.

Conclusion

Although the excavation at Bishop's House was limited in size, it has produced important evidence of the extent of Roman settlement outside the known urban areas in Great Chesterford, particularly in the later Roman period. The excavation has demonstrated the potential for the survival of well-stratified deposits and associated pottery and other finds assemblages in a part of the town that is not well-understood and lies outside the scheduled area. Valuable evidence has been recorded relating to the initial occupation of this part of Great Chesterford, as well as events and changes of use during the Roman period. A significant aspect of this is that substantial buildings were clearly still being constructed in the vicinity of the town at the end of the Roman period.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Mr and Mrs Edge who funded the excavation. Thanks are also due to Daniel Gadd and Debbie Knopp for their work on site. David Williams prepared Figs 1-3, 7, 9 and 11, Iain Bell prepared Figs 8 and 10. Thanks are due to Joyce Compton, Hilary Major, T. S. Martin, Phil McMichael,

Jenny Price, Paul Sealey, Sue Tyler, Ros Tyrrell and Steve Willis who reported on the finds, and Patrick Allen and Rachel Clarke who edited the report. The author is also grateful to the former Great Chesterford Archaeological Group for their co-operation and advice.

Author: Adam Garwood, Essex County Council Historic Environment Record, County Hall, Chelmsford CM1 1LF (formerly of ECC Field Archaeology Unit).

Bibliography

- Askev, G. 1980 *The coinage of Roman Britain*, London: Seaby
- Bird, J. 1986 'Samian wares', in L. Miller, J. Schofield, and M. Rhodes, *The Roman Quay at St Magnus House, London: Excavations at New Fresh Wharf, Lower Thames Street, London 1974-78*, London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc., Special Paper 8
- Bishop, M.C. and Coulston, J.C.N. 1993 *Roman Military Equipment*, London
- Burnham, B.C. and Wachter, J. 1990 *The 'small towns' of Roman Britain*, Batsford, London
- Casey, P.J. 1980 *Roman coinage in Britain*, Shire, Princes Risborough
- Collins, A.E. 1996 *Great Chesterford - the origins of a Roman civitas. Excavation and research in the Great Chesterford region 1965-1985*. Unpublished report in Essex Historic Environment Record
- Cool, H.E.M. 1990 'Roman metal hair pins from Southern Britain', *Archaeol. J.* 147, 148-82
- Crummy, N. 1983 *The Roman small finds from excavations in Colchester 1971-9*, Colchester Archaeol. Rep. 2
- Cunliffe, B.W. 1971 *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-1969: Vol II: the Finds*, Rep. Res. Comm. Soc. Ant. London XXVII
- Davies, B., Richardson, B. & Tomber, R. 1994 *A dated corpus of early Roman pottery from the City of London*, The Archaeology of London Vol. 5, CBA Res. Rep. 98
- Dey, P. 2001 'Supplementary information', in Gadd, 2001, 239
- Drury, P. J. 1988 *The Mansio and Other Sites in the South-Eastern Sector of Caesoramagus*, Chelmsford Archaeol. Trust Rep 3 & CBA Res. Rep. 66
- Drury, P.J. & Pratt, G.D. 1976 'The Coarse Pottery' in Pratt, G.D. 'Excavations at 51-57 Rayne Road (Site E)', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 8, 42-58
- Evans, J. 1991 'Some notes on the Horningsea Roman pottery', *J. Roman Pottery Stud.* 4, 33-43
- Gadd, D.A.G. 2001 'A Roman wall in All Saints Churchyard, Great Chesterford', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 32, 238-40
- Gillam, J.P. 1976 Coarse fumed ware in north Britain and beyond, *Glasgow Archaeol. J.* 4 (1978), 57-80
- Going, C.J. 1987 *The Mansio and other sites in the south-eastern sector of Caesoramagus: the Roman pottery*, CBA Res. Rep. 62
- Hartley, B.R. 1960 'Note on the pottery from some Romano-British kilns in the Cambridge area', *Cambs Antiq. Soc.* 53, 23-8
- Hartley, K. 1986 'The mortaria' in Draper, J., 'Excavations at Great Chesterford, Essex, 1953-5', *Cambs Antiq. Soc.* 75, 32-7
- Hattatt, R. 1985 *Iron Age and Roman brooches*, Oxford
- Howe, M.D., Perrin, J.R. & Mackreth, D.F. 1980 *Roman Pottery from the Nene Valley: A Guide*, Peterborough City Museum Occasional Paper 2
- Hull, M.R. 1958 *Roman Colchester*, Rep. Res. Comm. Soc. Antiq. London, 20.
- Johnson, S. 1983 Burgh Castle, Excavations by Charles Green 1958-61, *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 20
- Mackreth, D.F. 1995 'Pre-Roman and Roman Brooches' in Blockley *et al*, *Excavations in the Marlowe Car Park and surrounding areas*, Archaeol. Canterbury V, 955-83
- Manning, W.H. 1985 *Catalogue of the Romano-British iron tools, fittings and weapons in the British Museum*, London
- Martin, T.S. 1998 'Late Iron Age and Roman pottery', in Garwood, A., 'A Late Iron Age and Roman site at Shillingstine Field, Great Sampford', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 29, 40-6
- Martin, T.S. 2003 'Roman pottery' in Germany, M., *Excavations at Great Hols Farm, Boreham, Essex 1992-1994*, *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 105
- Medlycott, M. 1998 *Great Chesterford*, Historic Towns Assessment Report ECC
- Miller, T. E. 1985 'Excavations at Plumb's Yard (St John's Close), Great Chesterford', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 16, 143
- Neal, D.S. and Butcher, S.A. 1974 'Miscellaneous objects of bronze' in Neal, D.S., *The Excavation of the Roman villa in Gadebridge Park, Hemel Hempstead 1963-8*, Res. Rep. Comm. Soc. Antiq. London XXXI, 128-50
- Oswald, F. 1936-7 *Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata ('Samian Ware')*, University Press of Liverpool
- Oswald, F. and Pryce, T.D. 1920 *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata*, Longmans, Green and Co., London
- Pengelly, H. 1988 'Samian ware from Great Chesterford', in J. Draper, 'Excavations at Great Chesterford, Essex, 1953-5', *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, 75 (1986), 15-25
- Price, J. and Cottam, S. 1998 *Romano-British Glass vessels: a handbook*, CBA Handbook in Archaeology 14
- Rodwell, W. J. 1980 'Ecclesiastical sites and structures in Essex', in Buckley, D.G. (ed.) *Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500* CBA Res. Rep. 34, 118-22
- Rogers, G.B. 1974 *Poteries Sigillées de la Gaule Centrale*, 28th supplement to Gallia, Paris
- Schmid, E., 1972 *Atlas of Animal Bones: For Prehistorians, Archaeologists and Quaternary Geologists* (Amsterdam, London, New York)
- Stanfield, J.A. & Simpson, G. 1958 *Central Gaulish Potters*, Oxford University Press, London
- Stanfield, J.A. & Simpson, G. 1990 *Les Potiers de la Gaule Centrale*, Revue Archéologiques Sites, Horssérie 37, Gonfaron
- Sternberg, F. 1974 *Römische Münzen Byzantinische Münzen*, Zurich
- Toller, H. 1986 'Other pottery', in Draper, J., 'Excavations at Great Chesterford, Essex, 1953-5', *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* 75, 25-32
- VCH 1963 *A History of the County of Essex. Volume III*. Victoria County History
- Wardill, R. 2000 *Bishops House, Great Chesterford Geophysical Survey Report* Essex CC Internal Report

LATE ROMAN BUILDINGS AT BISHOP'S HOUSE, GREAT CHESTERFORD

- Wilkinson, P.M. and Clark, F.R. 1985 'The Coarse Pottery' in France, N.E. & Gobel, B.M., *The Romano-British Temple at Harlow*, Essex, West Essex Archaeol. Group, 106-22
- Willis, S.H. 1998 'Samian pottery in Britain: exploring its distribution and archaeological potential', *Archaeol. J.* **155**, 82-133
- Young, C.J. 1977 *The Roman Pottery Industry of the Oxford Region*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep (Brit. Ser.) **43**

The Society is extremely grateful to Essex County Council for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this article.

Rivenhall revisited: further excavations in the churchyard of St Mary and All Saints, 1999

R. Clarke

With contributions by U. Albarella, A. Bayliss, N. Brown, G. Cook, the late J. Evans, V. Fryer, H. Major, T.S. Martin, P. McMichael, S. Mays, E. Murray, P. Ryan, S. Tyler, R. Tyrrell and H. Walker.

An excavation in advance of new burials in the eastern part of the churchyard at Rivenhall church uncovered a sequence dating from the Roman to the post-medieval periods adjacent to areas previously excavated by Warwick and Kirsty Rodwell in the 1970s. The excavation recovered significant new evidence of the Saxo-Norman and medieval phases of the churchyard, which has allowed some re-interpretation and refinement of the overall site development, particularly in relation to the cemetery and priest's house. The site chronology, mainly that of the Saxon and later cemetery, has also been refined by radiocarbon dating and by re-analysis of the dates from the earlier investigations through mathematical modelling.

INTRODUCTION

Rivenhall is a large rural parish 2.5km northwest of Witham, which is located on the main London to Colchester Roman road (now the A12). St Mary and All Saints church, a Grade I Listed Building dating from the 10th or 11th century, is situated on an exposed high point at the top of the valley slope leading down to the Cressing Brook, at the northern limit of the village (Fig. 1). Parts of the churchyard and the fields immediately adjoining the churchyard to the north and east are protected as a Scheduled Ancient Monument (SAM 24867), which comprises a Roman villa complex, a Saxon hall, church and cemetery, and a sequence of medieval priest's houses.

The fieldwork, funded by English Heritage, was undertaken by the Essex CC Field Archaeology Unit during the autumn and winter of 1999. The excavation was located against the eastern edge of the churchyard (NGR TL8283 1779), in an unscheduled area between Areas C2 and C5/6 excavated in the 1970s (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985). This area was incorporated into the churchyard in the early 18th century, although an examination of the burial register indicated that no post-medieval or modern burials have taken place since then (Medlycott 1999, 5). Following the completion of the excavation, the site was reinstated and re-turfed in preparation for new burials. The archive will be deposited at Colchester Museum under the site code RHCY 99. The human remains, in keeping with the faculty, were returned to the site and reburied in a single

plot located between the 1999 excavation and the Rodwells' Area C2 (Fig. 2).

The site

The site is located against the eastern boundary of the churchyard at a height of c. 36m OD, beyond which the ground level drops noticeably before sloping down towards the Cressing Brook. The surface geology in the vicinity of the site comprises Boulder Clay interspersed with areas of gravel. Much of the land is arable, although the field to the east and north of the churchyard, being part of the scheduled area, is under pasture.

Historical background

Five manors were recorded in the Domesday Survey (AD 1086) for the parish of Rivenhall, the largest of which was *Ruenhale* (Rumble 1983, 20.8). This manor had 2½ hides of land and was a royal vill before the conquest, owned by Edith, the wife of Edward the Confessor, then passing to Count Eustace of Boulogne. Although no church is mentioned, this was not unusual in the Essex Domesday Survey, and the Rodwells have demonstrated that Rivenhall church is pre-conquest in origin (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 175; Letch 2001, 133).

Archaeological background

Rivenhall is located within a landscape rich in archaeological remains, and investigations in the area of the church and churchyard have demonstrated continuous occupation on the site from at least the Iron Age through to the modern day. A detailed account of the previous archaeological work in and around the church and the village can be found in the Rodwells' publication report (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985), upon which the following summary is based.

Evidence of an extensive Roman villa was first discovered in the pasture field to the east of the church in 1846 during drainage works. Further work was undertaken in the area of the villa in the later 19th century, and more recently in 1946-52 by the Roman Essex Society, under the direction of Major Brinson. The Essex Archaeological Society, with Kirsty and Warwick Rodwell, undertook a programme of rescue and research during 1971-3, concentrating on the

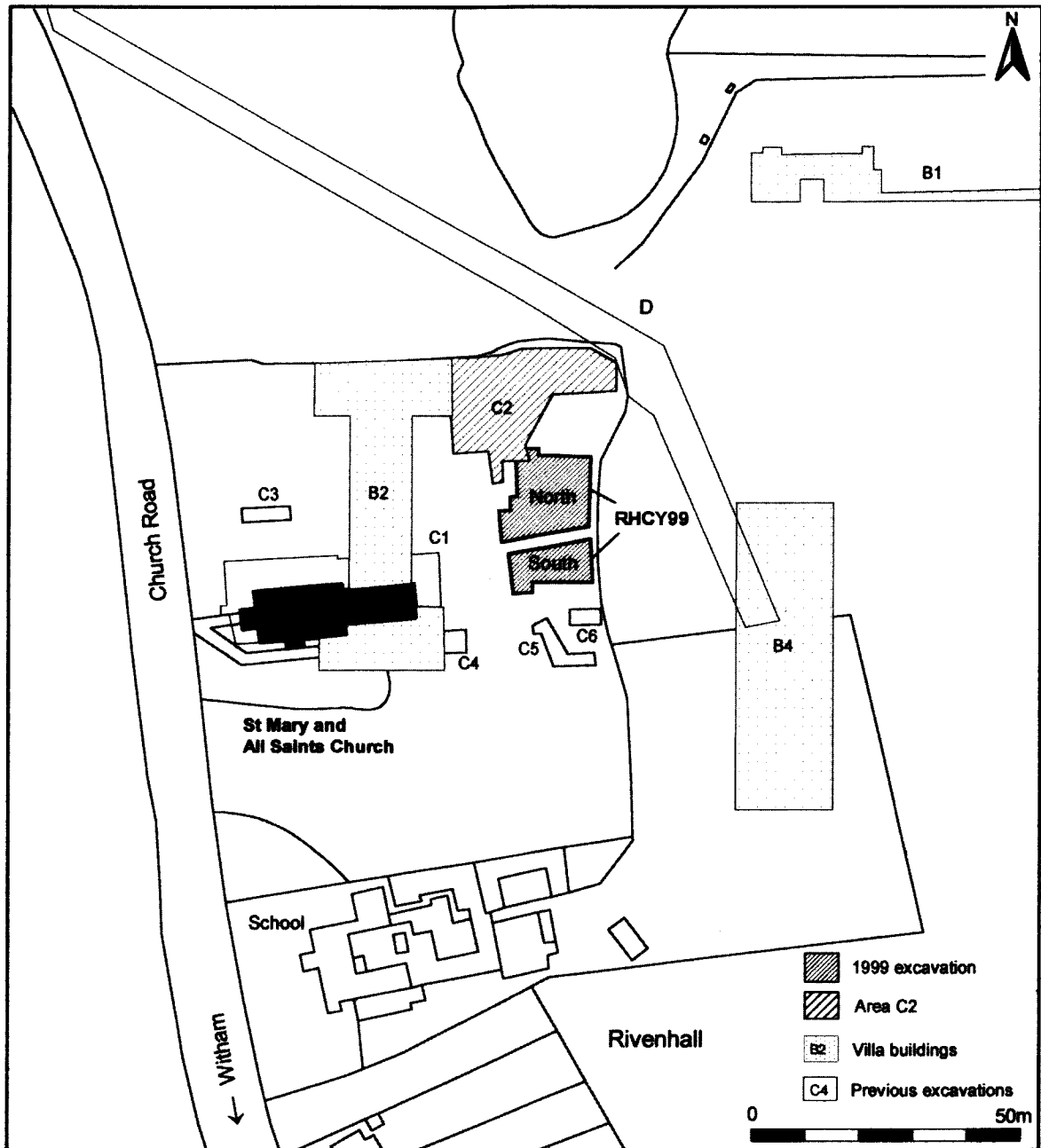


Fig. 1 Rivenhall Church. Location of the 1999 excavation in relation to the Rodwells' 1970s excavation in the churchyard.
 © Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

churchyard, the field to the east of the church, and the church itself. These investigations were all in areas where important remains were under threat from modern burials, sewage works and the construction of a new vestry (Fig. 1). Extensive evidence of occupation on the site was recorded, including two Roman villa buildings, the first church and associated cemetery, an early Saxon hall and various phases of priest's house spanning the 12th to 15th centuries. Much of this evidence was found in the north-east corner of the churchyard (Area C2).

The 1999 excavation was located to the south of Area C2, between two of the identified Roman buildings (2 and 4), and to the east of the church (Figs 1 and 2). A detailed analysis of the historic fabric of the church

was also undertaken in 1999, during the re-rendering of much of the exterior of the building. This work augmented the findings from the Rodwells' earlier survey, and also uncovered new evidence relating to the historical and architectural development of the church (Letch 2001).

Excavation aims

The project design, produced for English Heritage by Essex CC (Medlycott 1999), proposed full excavation of the area under threat from the encroaching modern burials. Several aims and research objectives were devised to address site-specific as well as regional and national research agendas. In addition to recording the important archaeological deposits under threat, the

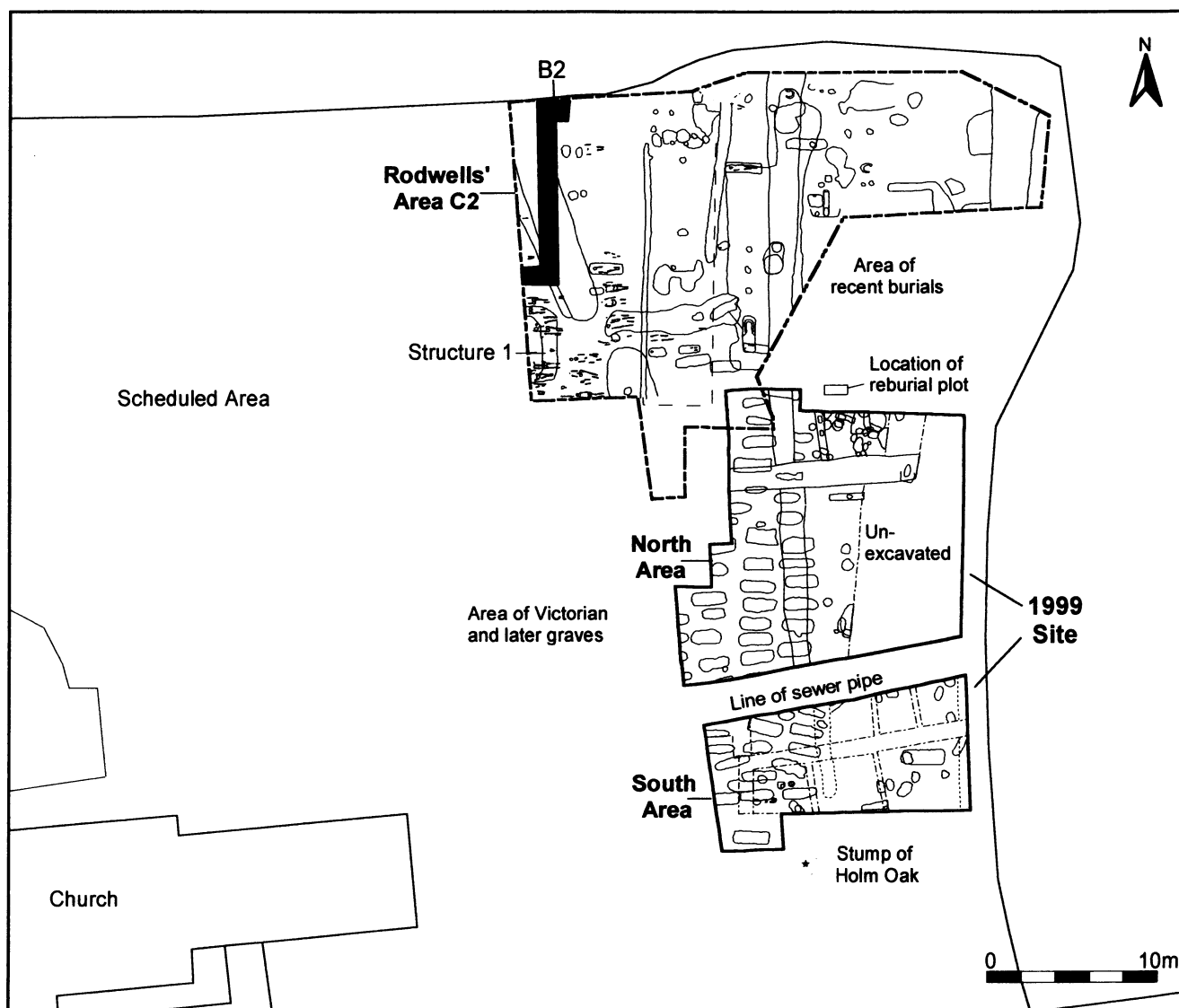


Fig. 2 Rivenhall Church. The 1999 excavation in relation to the Rodwells' main Area C2 features.
 © Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

project also aimed to involve the local community through on-site participation, school visits and an open day. The research objectives were aimed to investigate evidence for continuous occupation on the site from the Iron Age to the post-medieval period, concentrating on: the Roman villa; the transitions between different periods of occupation; the introduction of Christianity; and the curtilage of the priest's house. More specific areas of research included the study of human remains, as well as environmental and ceramic evidence.

These research objectives were revised at the assessment stage to concentrate on: the layout and development of the cemetery; the study of human remains; the medieval priest's house; and the medieval pottery assemblage. A wider objective was also included to further the understanding of the overall site development through integration with the Rodwells' published results.

THE EXCAVATION

The excavation area measured 337 m², bisected by a modern sewer pipe, which divided the site into North

and South Areas (Figs 1 and 2). The presence of existing graves and trees in the vicinity determined the size, location and shape of the excavation area. Following the removal of topsoil and rubble layers by mechanical excavator, it was decided that excavation of the entire site was not feasible due to the survival of extensive medieval and later layers. The western and northern parts of the North Area, closest both to the church and previously-excavated villa and priest's house, were fully investigated by hand excavation, whilst the eastern part nearest the churchyard boundary was left unexcavated and used for temporary spoil storage. The South Area was extended westwards towards the church during the later stages of the excavation to further expose the burials, although not all of these were excavated. Two 1m square test pits were also excavated as part of the project design; one to the south of the excavation and one in the northeast corner. Similar sequences of deposits to those in the main excavation area were recorded, and do not warrant further description. Because of the mixed nature of the exposed

RIVENHALL REVISITED

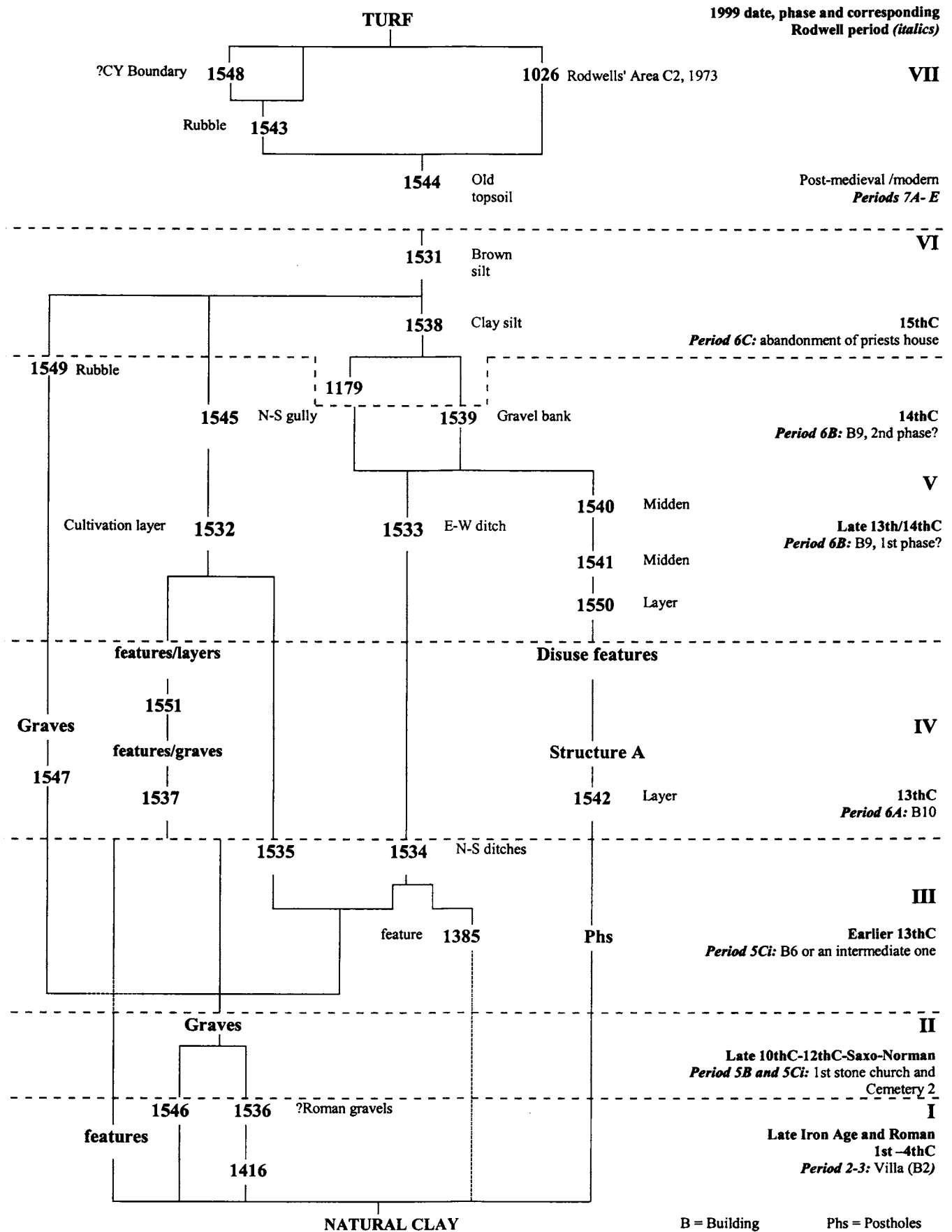


Fig. 3 Rivenhall Church. Diagram to illustrate the sequence of principal contexts and groups in relation to the Rodwells' Periods

Phase	Date	North Area main features/ deposits	South Area main features/ deposits	Rodwell Area C2	Rodwell Period
I	Late Iron Age and Roman	Yard surface; pits and post-holes	Pits/post-holes	Villa (Building 2)	2-3
II	Late 10th - 12thC	Graves	Graves	Cemetery 1 and 2	?5B-5C (i)
III	Earlier 13thC	Ditches 1534 and 1535, feature 1385, post-holes	-	Building 6	5C(ii)
IV	13thC	Structure A	Graves, layers, post-holes	Building 10	6A
V	Late 13th/ 14thC	Boundary 1533, layers/middens, cultivation layer 1532	Cultivation layer 1532	Building 9	6B
VI	15thC	Levelling/disuse layers (1179, 1538, 1531)	Layer 1531	Abandonment of Building 9	6C
VII	Post- medieval/ modern	Old topsoil 1544, rubble layers, Rodwells' Area C2	Old topsoil 1544, churchyard boundary	-	7A-E

Table 1. Summary of site phasing in relation to the Rodwells' Area C2

deposits, particularly in the South Area, parts of the site were divided into smaller areas separated by baulks, which were later removed (Fig. 2).

The archaeology was well stratified, with fairly complex sequences of layers, graves, structural remains and ditches representing over a thousand years of activity on the site. As large parts of the churchyard and adjacent field had been excavated in the past, the results of the 1999 excavation have been related, where relevant, to those of the previous excavations, particularly the Rodwells' Area C2. Context numbers for the 1999 excavation began at 1000 to avoid duplication with the Rodwells' numbering sequence.

Phasing

The results, presented below, are divided into six phases based on a combination of stratigraphy, dating evidence and spatial interpretation, and these have been related, where possible, to the Rodwells' site periods. Table 1 provides a summary of the main phases and how they relate to the Rodwells' periods; a simplified site matrix cross-referenced to the Rodwells' results (Fig. 3) is included to supplement this.

Prehistoric

No prehistoric features or deposits were recorded, although a Neolithic flint and a small quantity of undiagnostic prehistoric pottery were residual finds in Roman or later contexts. The earlier investigations around the church identified very limited evidence for pre-Roman settlement on the site, and the 1999 excavation has reiterated this.

Phase I. Late Iron Age and Roman (Figs 4, 14.1-3, 14. 6-7 and 15.9-11)

Summary

This phase comprises a patchy gravel surface dated to the 2nd to 3rd century, and several poorly-dated postholes and pits, all of which probably equate to the

Rodwells' Periods 2-3 (early and late Roman). Small quantities of Late Iron Age pottery were residual in Roman contexts.

North Area

The earliest deposit in the North Area was a broad expanse of clean gravel and pea grit (1416) in the central and eastern part of the area. No finds were retrieved from 1416 (which was cut by the easternmost row of graves) and it is probable that it is an outcrop of natural gravel. It was very intermittent in the north of the area, where it is thought to be represented by layer 1456, through which the Phase II graves in the north-west corner of the area were cut. Layer 1456 contained Roman tile and is perhaps more likely to be part of yard surface 1536 (see below) rather than a natural deposit. Slightly overlapping 1416 was a fairly compact layer of clay and flint gravel (1536), up to 0.3m thick, containing small quantities of Roman tile and pottery. This layer, which is probably part of a yard surface, covered the majority of the western half of the North Area, although again it was intermittent in the north. This is probably due to the more intensive activity and digging over of deposits during the medieval period in this part of the site.

Layer 1416 was cut by several shallow postholes (1452, 1454, 1378, 1511 and 1513), a stakehole (1458), and a partially-exposed pit (1380), which is slightly later as it cut two of the postholes. A large clay-filled posthole or small pit (1300) and two small, shallow possible postholes (1268 and 1270) also cut gravel surface 1536 at the western edge of the North Area.

South Area

An intermittent gravel layer (1546) of varying thickness overlay the natural clay in this area, especially where pockets of natural gravel existed. This layer was thinnest in the northwestern part (possibly due to more intensive grave-digging and subsequent activity) and along the northern edge. It is possible that this layer is part of the

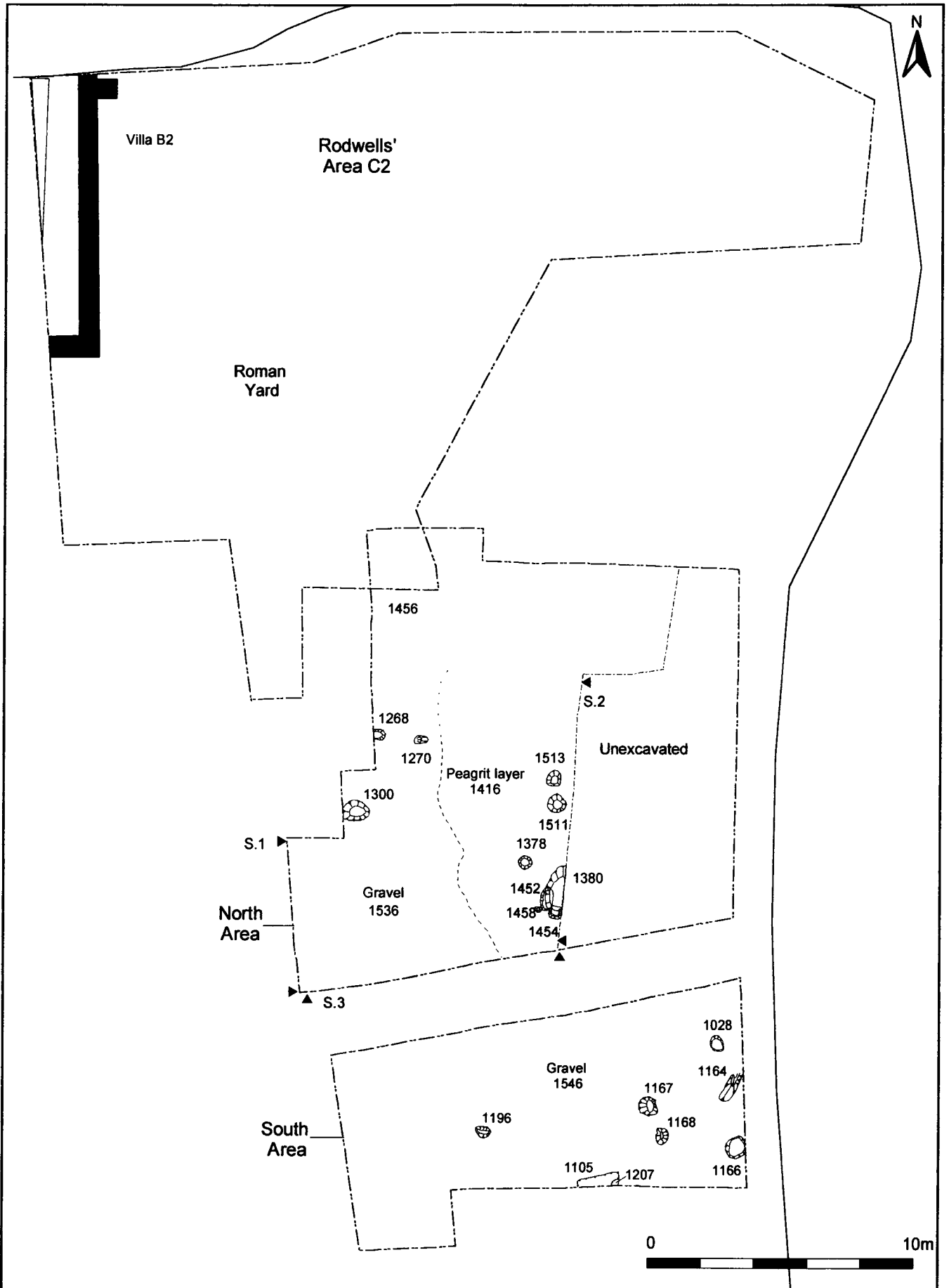


Fig. 4 Rivenhall Church. Phase I features and layers.

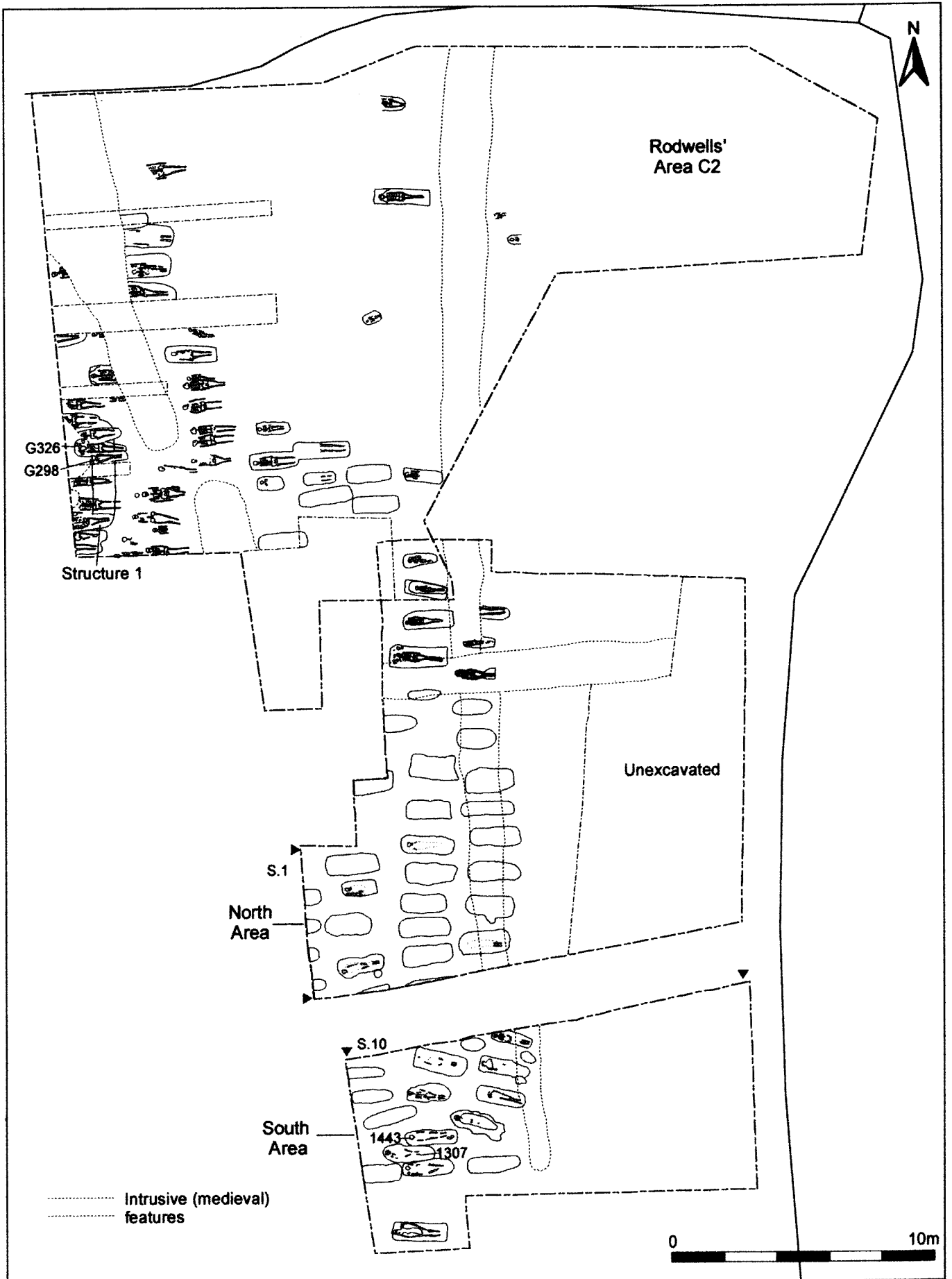


Fig. 5 Rivenhall Church. Phase II and IV Saxon-Norman and medieval graves in relation to Area C2 graves.

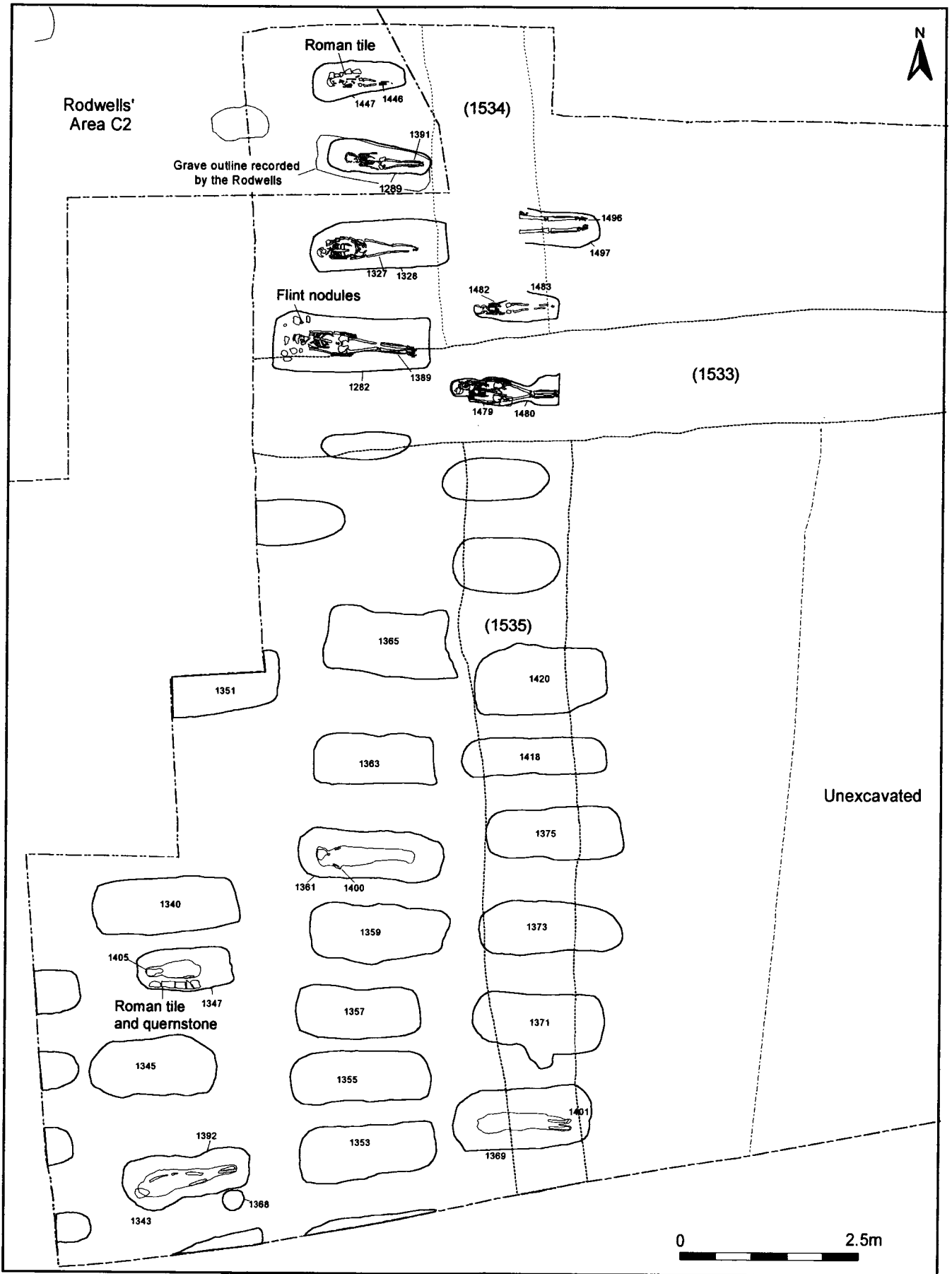


Fig. 6 Rivenhall Church. Detail of Phase II graves in the North Area.

gravel surface (1536) identified in the North Area, although 1546 was not nearly as substantial as 1536 and appears to have largely comprised patches of natural gravel.

The earliest identified features in the South Area comprise several postholes or small pits (1028, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1207 and 1196), a gully (1164) and a sub-rectangular feature (1105), which cut the natural clay and were sealed beneath layers dating to the medieval period. Although 1207 is superficially grave-like, its location against the south edge close to a tree (and outside the main area of graves), and irregular nature suggests that it is the result of tree root disturbance.

Dating summary

A small quantity of finds was retrieved from yard surface 1536, including pottery, tile and lava quern (probably Roman), for which a mid-Roman (2nd to 3rd century AD) date is indicated. Very small amounts of Late Iron Age and Roman pottery were recovered from three of the features (1452, 1454 and 1380), most of which, if not all, is likely to be residual. Although it is not possible to reliably date these features, they are likely to be Roman as they contained no later pottery.

Phase discussion

Layer 1536, and the exposed natural gravel 1416, formed part of the Roman yard between the villa buildings (B2 and B4) and is very similar to the yard surface described by the Rodwells (1985, 60-1). This yard may have continued as 1546 in the South Area, although clearly had not survived as well there. The postholes and other features could represent the partial remains of fences or insubstantial structures related to the Roman villa.

Phase II. Saxo-Norman graves, late 10th–12th century (Figs 5, 14.1, 15.9–11 and 15.13)

Summary

This phase consists almost entirely of graves, arranged in rows to the east of the church, and cut through the Phase I Roman yard surface. The burials, samples of which were sent for scientific dating, are a continuation of the Christian cemetery recorded by the Rodwells, and probably equate to Periods 5B/C (10th–11th century) and possibly Period 6 (12th century). Radiocarbon dates are expressed as calibrated dates at 95% confidence. Phasing is based on the combination of the broad stratigraphic relationships, spatial arrangement and alignments, and radiocarbon dates. A later phase of burials was identified in the south-west corner of the South Area, and these are described separately in Phase IV.

The burials

Although approximately fifty graves were wholly or partially exposed, only twenty-two of these were excavated because of the poor condition of the bone,

which had limited potential for study. The graves were generally sub-rectangular in shape, although some appeared quite irregular on the surface, probably a result of root disturbance. The cuts ranged between 1.2 and 2.15m in length, and 0.4 and 0.8m in width; most had quite steep sides with flat to undulating bases. Grave depths below (approximate) contemporary ground level varied across the site, with the deepest at 0.75m and the shallowest at c. 0.25m, with the average depth at c. 0.5m. The graves were backfilled with natural clay and flint, which was generally extremely compacted, as well as being difficult to discern against the surrounding deposits.

Bone preservation was generally poor across the site, possibly due to the fluctuating water table, and some graves contained little or no bone, although the skeletons in the graves in the northwest corner of the North Area had survived in better condition. The burials were all supine, with hands at the sides or occasionally across the pelvis, and the skull in a central position, although the skull of 1479 (in the North Area) was inclined to the left.

North Area (Figs 6 and 14)

Three distinct rows of graves cut through the Phase I Roman gravel surface, with the ends of a fourth row exposed along the westernmost edge of the site, comprising thirty-four graves (including partially-exposed graves) in total. Of these, eleven (1343, 1345, 1347, 1361, 1369, 1480, 1483, 1497, 1282, 1328, 1289 and 1447) were fully excavated and a further six (1353, 1355, 1357, 1359, 1363 and 1365) were partially excavated to avoid inter-context contamination during the removal of the Phase I Roman yard surface.

The graves in this part of the site were orientated west-east, in well-ordered north-south rows with a clear limit to the east, although no boundary feature was found. Some of the graves were disturbed by later activity, although most skeletons were still articulated and intact. Three graves (1480, 1483 and 1497) were cut by Phase III north-south boundary ditch 1534, which almost entirely removed the grave cuts, and in the case of grave 1497, only the eastern end of the cut survived with just the legs of the skeleton remaining.

A small posthole (1368), with a diameter of 0.26m and depth of 0.22m, was located to the south of the eastern end of grave 1392 in the southern part of the North Area. This feature is in a similar position to posthole 1233 in relation to grave 1182 in the South Area, although this relationship could be coincidental.

South Area (Figs 7 and 15)

Eleven of the fifteen (1182, 1199, 1212, 1214, 1241, 1242, 1251, 1259, 1261, 1263, 1305, 1393, 1395, 1399 and 1410) identified graves in the South Area were fully excavated. The skeletons in these graves were generally in very poor condition, with often only staining and some bone fragments surviving. No evidence of a skeleton was found in grave 1251 at the southeastern edge of the grave group. The rows were not as well

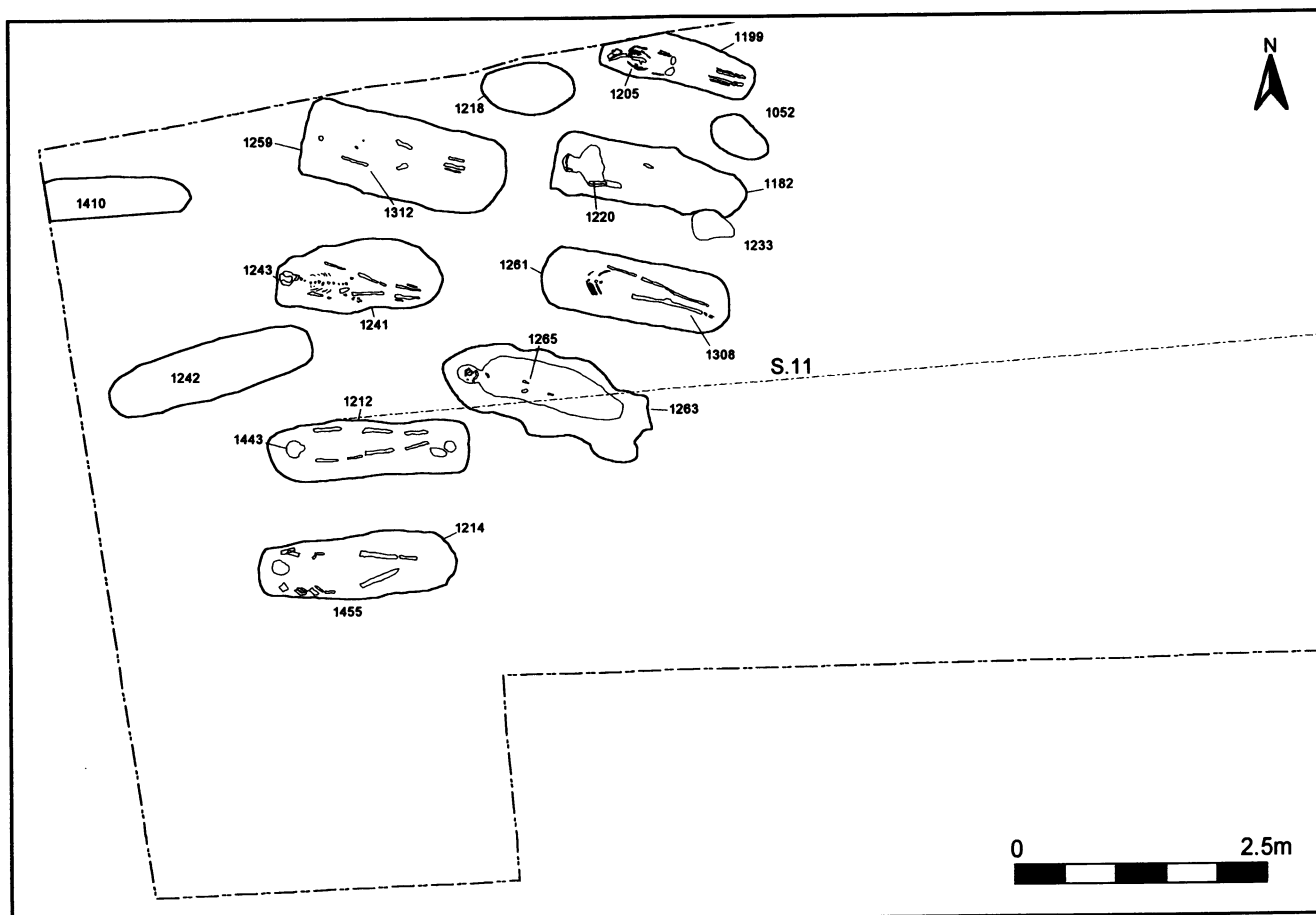


Fig. 7 Rivenhall Church. Phase II graves in the South Area.

defined as those in the North Area; many displayed a slightly more northwest-southeast orientation and some of the grave cuts were more irregular in shape, probably because of severe root disturbance (e.g. 1263). Limited evidence of stratification within the grave sequence was also found in this area, which was not present in the graves in the North Area. The earlier graves generally cut the natural clay, although some cut Phase I gravel layer 1546. Where distinguishable, Phase IV medieval layer 1537 sealed most of the graves, although some graves (1399, 1305, 1393, 1395 and possibly 1251) nearer to the church cut this, or equivalent, layers, and these are described separately in Phase IV.

Within this group of graves (1199, 1182, 1261, 1263, 1214, 1212, 1242, 1241, 1259 and 1410) there may be more than one phase of burial, as some of the graves (1263, 1241, 1182, 1259, 1199, 1261) are on a slightly more northwest-southeast alignment. Graves 1214, 1212, 1242 and 1410 (latter two unexcavated) are orientated much more west-east, and appear to be in alignment with the latest (Phase IV) graves. Grave 1212 and perhaps 1214 were both cut by Phase IV grave 1305 at the western edge of the site, suggesting that they are more likely to belong to this earlier phase of burial.

Several small, shallow, oval pits were also excavated in this area, close to the northern baulk. Three of these were found in the upper parts of graves 1199 and 1259, and could simply be dumps of different backfill, whilst

two further, very shallow (0.17m and 0.20m-deep respectively), features (1218 and 1052) were located between graves 1182 and 1199. It is possible that these features are the remains of neonatal burials, and although no bones were found, this is not surprising given the poor bone survival of the more robust adult burials.

A flint-packed posthole (1233) was located at the south side of the eastern end of grave 1182. This posthole cut the infilled grave, and it is possible that it once held a wooden post or cross to mark the position of the grave.

Dating summary

Very few finds, consisting almost entirely of residual Roman pottery and tile, were present in the graves. Because dating of the cemetery was crucial to the understanding of the site development, bone samples from selected burials were sent for radiocarbon dating. Three of the burials in the north-west corner of the North Area were selected, and of these skeletons 1327 and 1389 (in graves 1328 and 1282 respectively) both returned very similar dates of cal AD 970-1190 and cal AD 980-1190. However, skeleton 1479 in grave 1480 is dated somewhat earlier, to cal AD 820-1000. The early date for 1479 indicates that burial was taking place in different parts of the churchyard at different times from the late Saxon period onwards.

Graves containing skeletons 1327, 1479, 1482 and 1496 in the North Area were cut by medieval boundary ditch 1534, which on pottery evidence was infilled in the earlier 13th century (Phase III). The radiocarbon dates from these skeletons suggest that the first phase of priest's house (Building 6) identified by the Rodwells, to the immediate north, might date to the late 12th rather than the earlier 12th century, as originally thought (1985, 111).

Radiocarbon dates were also obtained for three of the burials in the South Area. Skeletons 1243 and 1443 are dated to cal AD 1020-1280 and 990-1290 respectively, which are quite similar dates to those in the North Area, but the third skeleton in this group (1308) produced a slightly later date of cal AD 1160-1310. The radiocarbon dates are fairly broad, although in the South Area the graves were sealed by Phase III layer 1537, which suggests that they must predate the earlier 13th century, and are probably Saxo-Norman (12th century).

Phase discussion

The radiocarbon dates, combined with the broad site stratigraphy, indicate that the majority of graves are late Saxon or Saxo-Norman (late 10th - 12th century), and are clearly part of the Christian cemetery identified by the Rodwells in Area C2. The rows of graves are well-defined, especially in the North Area, and there appears to be a clear limit to the extent of burials to the east, in both the North and South Areas. No associated boundary was identified, although it is conceivable that a fence, hedge or tree line (of which no tangible trace has survived) marked the boundary in this period. Some of the undated postholes assigned to the previous phase (I) could perhaps be related to a boundary in this phase. The dates for this main phase of burial are similar in both the North and South Areas, although those in the South Area appear to be marginally later, probably because this part of the churchyard continued in use for longer (see Phase IV). Further exploration of the layout and dating of the cemetery can be found in the discussion.

The variable condition of the bone in the 1999 excavation was also apparent in the Rodwells' Area C2, where the graves cut into the clay and gravel had the poorest bone-survival, whilst those cut through the stratified deposits associated with the Roman villa (Building 2) were in a much better state (1985, 82).

Phase III. Earlier 13th century (Figs 8, 14 and 15)

Summary

A change in activity and spatial organisation took place on the site in the medieval period, when this part of the churchyard was appropriated for the priest's house and associated curtilage. This was evidenced by boundary ditches, structural remains and layers. This phase comprises two boundary ditches and several possibly

related features, which most probably equate with the Rodwells' Period 5Cii (Building 6, 12th century) or 6A (13th century).

North Area

Feature 1385

A large pit or possible ditch terminal (1385), 0.4m deep and 2.2m wide with steep sides and a slightly concave base, was located at the north edge of the site, truncated by later ditch 1534. This feature was notable for the quantities of shell, especially oyster, in its single fill, which were more abundant than in the majority of other features. Too little was exposed of 1385, which extended into the excavation area for only 0.6m, to interpret its function.

North-south ditches

Two north-south orientated ditches (1534 and 1535) crossed the North Area. Ditch 1534, with a c.0.4m-deep rounded profile, was exposed for 5.5m, and cut feature 1385 at the north edge of the site. The ditch was in turn cut by Phase V east-west ditch 1533, beyond which its alignment was continued by a much shallower ditch (1535) for most of the length of the North Area. Both 1534 and 1535 truncated several of the Phase II graves in the North Area.

Ditch 1545 (Phase V) in the South Area roughly continues the alignment of 1534 and 1535, but must be later as it was cut through layer 1532, which overlay the North Area ditches. This suggests that 1535 either terminated, or changed direction somewhere in the baulk separating the two areas, or that 1545 destroyed any trace of an earlier ditch in this area.

Postholes

Seven circular and oval postholes (1528, 1530, 1524, 1516, 1518, 1520, 1522) of varying sizes cut the mixed natural clay and gravel to the east of north-south ditch 1534. Three of these (1528, 1530 and 1524) were fairly large, with lengths between 0.4m and 0.58m along the longest axis, but all were relatively shallow with the deepest at 0.11m. The postholes were closely spaced, forming an approximate east-west alignment close to the north edge of the site. Posthole 1530, located in the middle of the three, was cut on its western side by Phase IV foundation slot 1526. The postholes were all revealed after the removal of Phase IV layer 1542, although it is possible that they cut this layer, which was very similar in colour and consistency to most of the posthole fills.

Dating summary

Although only small amounts of pottery were excavated from this phase and there is little diagnostic material to date the features, an earlier 13th-century date is indicated. Datable pottery includes part of a large, wide bowl in a fabric that is transitional between early medieval ware and medieval coarse ware from 1385, and developed cooking-pot rims and a single sherd of green-glazed Hedingham ware from ditches 1534 and 1535.

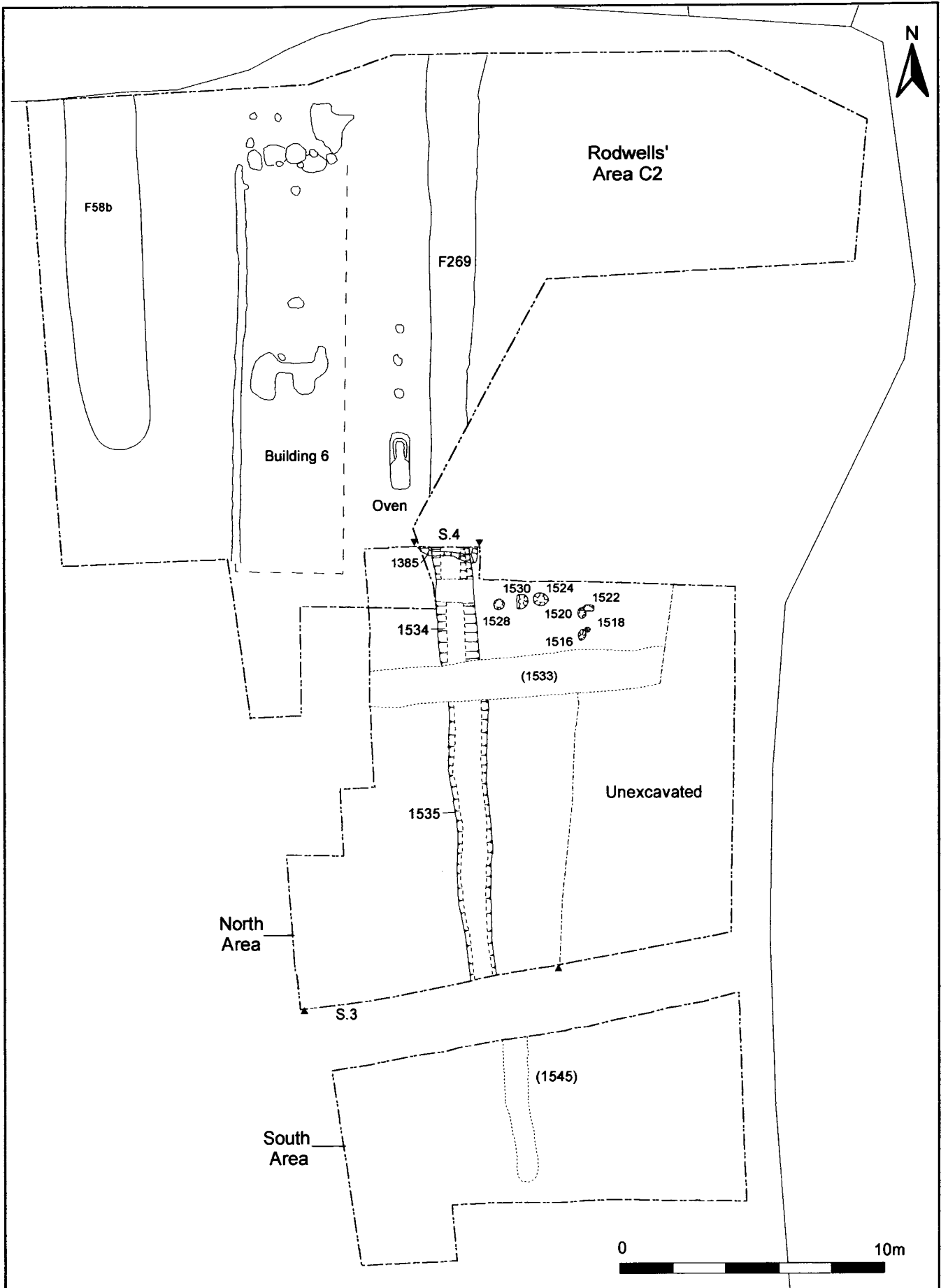


Fig. 8 Rivenhall Church. Phase III features in relation to the Rodwells' Building 6.

Phase discussion

It is likely that the features in this phase were associated with the first phase of priest's house (Building 6) identified by the Rodwells in Area C2 to the immediate north of the site, or perhaps an intermediary structure predating Building 10. Both 1534 and 1535, and possibly also 1385, continued the alignment of ditch F269 identified in the Rodwells' Area C2, and it is possible that 1385 is the terminal of F269 and that 1534 is a slightly later ditch. The Rodwells suggest that F269 was the eastern boundary associated with Building 6, which was probably occupied during the 12th century (1985, 111). The pottery from the backfill of the ditches is slightly later than this, although it could be that, as the Rodwells suggest, the infilling was more likely to be associated with the construction of the next priest's house (Building 10) rather than being contemporary with the life of Building 6. The postholes could indicate the presence of an earlier structure or fence in this part of the site, although the very shallow nature of these features indicates that they were very truncated, or are more likely to represent changes within the layer rather than 'real' features.

Phase IV. 13th century (Figs 9-11, 14.2 and 14.8)*Summary*

In Phase IV there is evidence for limited continuation of burial in the South Area, whilst in the North Area there was levelling in preparation for the construction of Structure A, which is probably associated with Rodwells' Building 10 (Period 6A, 13th century). The features relating to Structure A were dismantled or robbed at the end of this phase, probably in the late 13th to early 14th century, in preparation for a new phase of building.

*North Area*Layer 1542 and postholes predating Structure A (Fig. 10a)

An intermittent layer of mid greyish-brown silty clay (1542), up to 0.12m thick, overlay several of the features relating to Phase III in the North Area. This layer does not appear to be comparable to any other layers to the south, and is probably a levelling or make-up layer in preparation for the construction of Structure A.

Structure A

Two similar steep-sided slots or wall trenches (1526 and 1414), aligned north-south and east-west, were identified in the North Area, bisected by Phase V boundary ditch 1533. Slot 1414 measured 400mm wide x 250mm deep, and slot 1526 410mm wide x 200mm deep. The remains of several post-settings, in the form of deeper depressions, were present along the base of both features, neither of which were fully exposed. Slot 1414, sealed beneath Phase V cultivation layer 1532, had a square terminal and there is no evidence that it was physically joined with 1526, although the latter became

much shallower at its southern end, where it was cut by ditch 1533. The eastern and northern slots presumably lay beyond the limits of excavation.

Features within Structure A

Hearth 1498 (1m x 0.85m x 8mm), set within a large subcircular cut (1499), was partly exposed against the northern edge of the site, within the area defined by walls 1414 and 1526. The centre of the hearth comprised a flat area of dark reddish brown baked clay (1498), around which was a mixed layer of much softer black and red clay with charcoal flecks. A spread of reddened chalky clay (1490) overlay the hearth, and is possibly a disuse deposit.

An area of yellow chalky clay (1284), which varied in thickness from 20-100mm and contained patches of red discolouration and charcoal in places, was located to the south of hearth 1498. Very little remained of layer 1284, probably as a result of disturbance by later features, although it is likely to be the remnants of a clay floor associated with the hearth within Structure A.

Six postholes (1471, 1473, 1436, 1438, 1225 and 1223), which varied in shape from oval to sub-square, also lay within the area defined by slots 1414 and 1526. Many of them were cut or disturbed by later features, described below. Four of the postholes (1471, 1473, 1436, 1438), located to the west and south of hearth 1498, were of varying size and generally very shallow, indicating that they had been severely truncated. The two postholes (1225 and 1223) to the east and southeast of the hearth, however, were more substantial. Posthole 1223, which was partly destroyed by ditch 1533 (although the relationship between these was not clear), was probably over a metre square, with steep sides and a central post-setting, 0.65m deep in total. It is possible that this posthole was part of Structure A, and its substantial size indicates that it may have been load-bearing, perhaps an arcade post. Posthole 1225, located against the north baulk, was not as large or as deep as 1223 but may have been an internal feature or part of the building structure.

Disuse of Structure A (Fig. 10b)

Nine further postholes (1278, 1318, 1320, 1322, 1467, 1477, 1492, 1475 and 1487), various slots and/or elongated features (1451, 1469, 1434 and 1501/1507) and pits (1325 and 1464) were found to cut clay floor 1284, hearth 1498, slot 1526 and associated features of Structure A. No obvious association is identifiable for the postholes, which were mostly oval in shape and quite shallow, suggesting that, as with the earlier postholes, they had been truncated.

Several slot-type features were present, the largest of which (1451) was roughly linear, orientated approximately north-south, on almost exactly the same alignment and position as foundation 1526. Unlike 1526, however, no evidence of post-settings was found and it is likely that 1451 is a removal or demolition cut. Two less well-defined slots/pits (1434 and 1501/1507), on a similar orientation to 1451, were also present to the

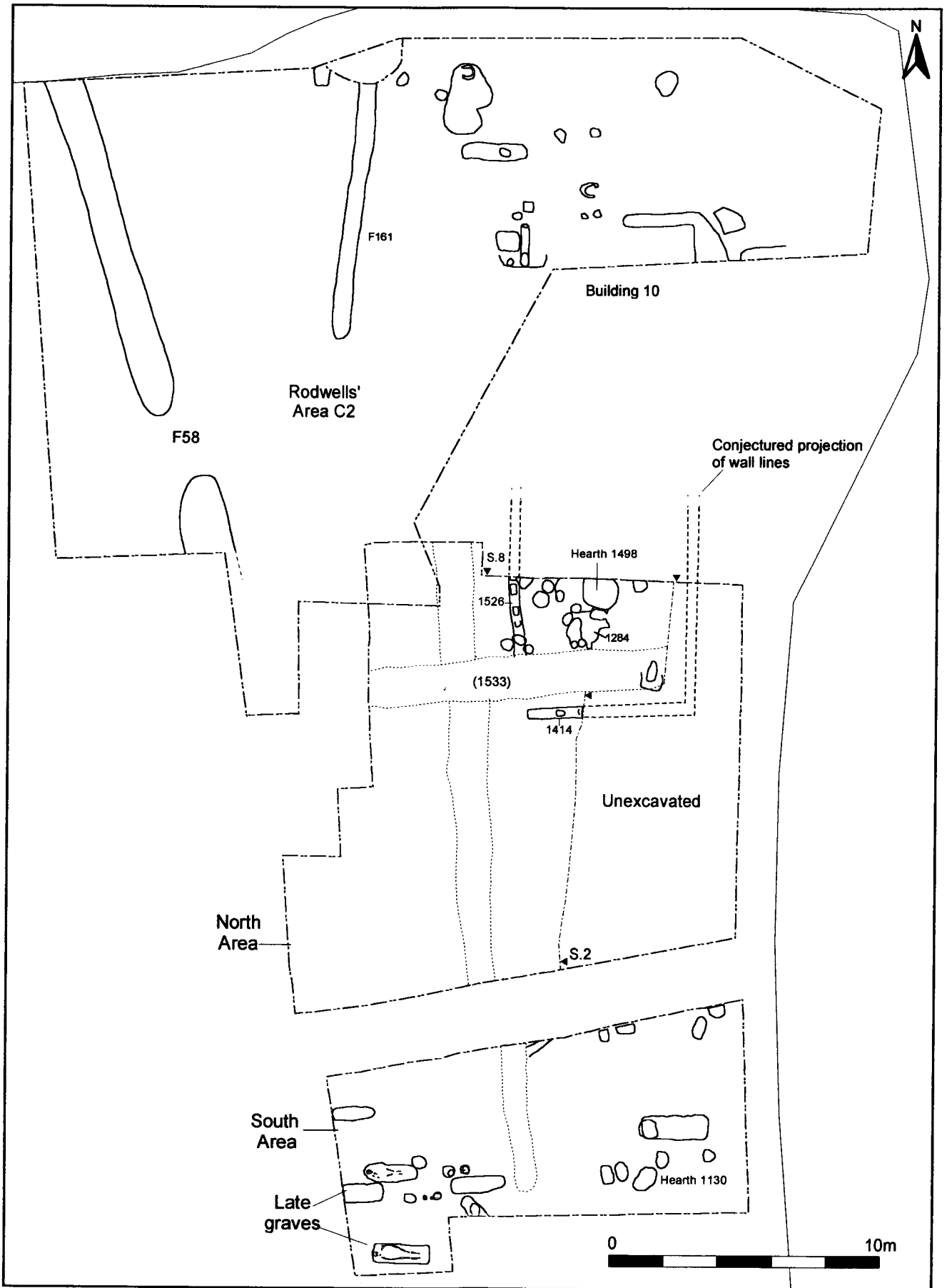


Fig. 9 Rivenhall Church. Phase IV 13th-century features (Structure A) in relation to the Rodwells' Building 10 and medieval graves.

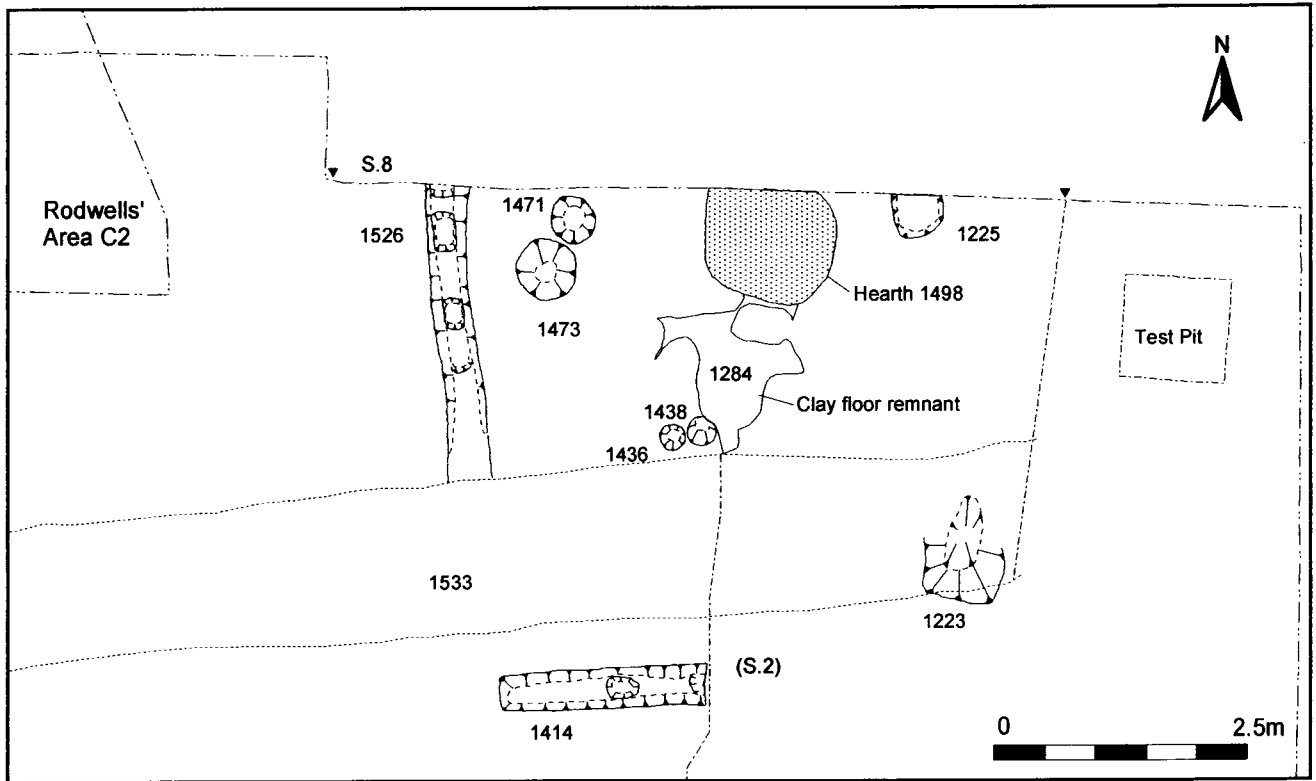


Fig. 10a Rivenhall Church. Phase IV features related to Structure A.

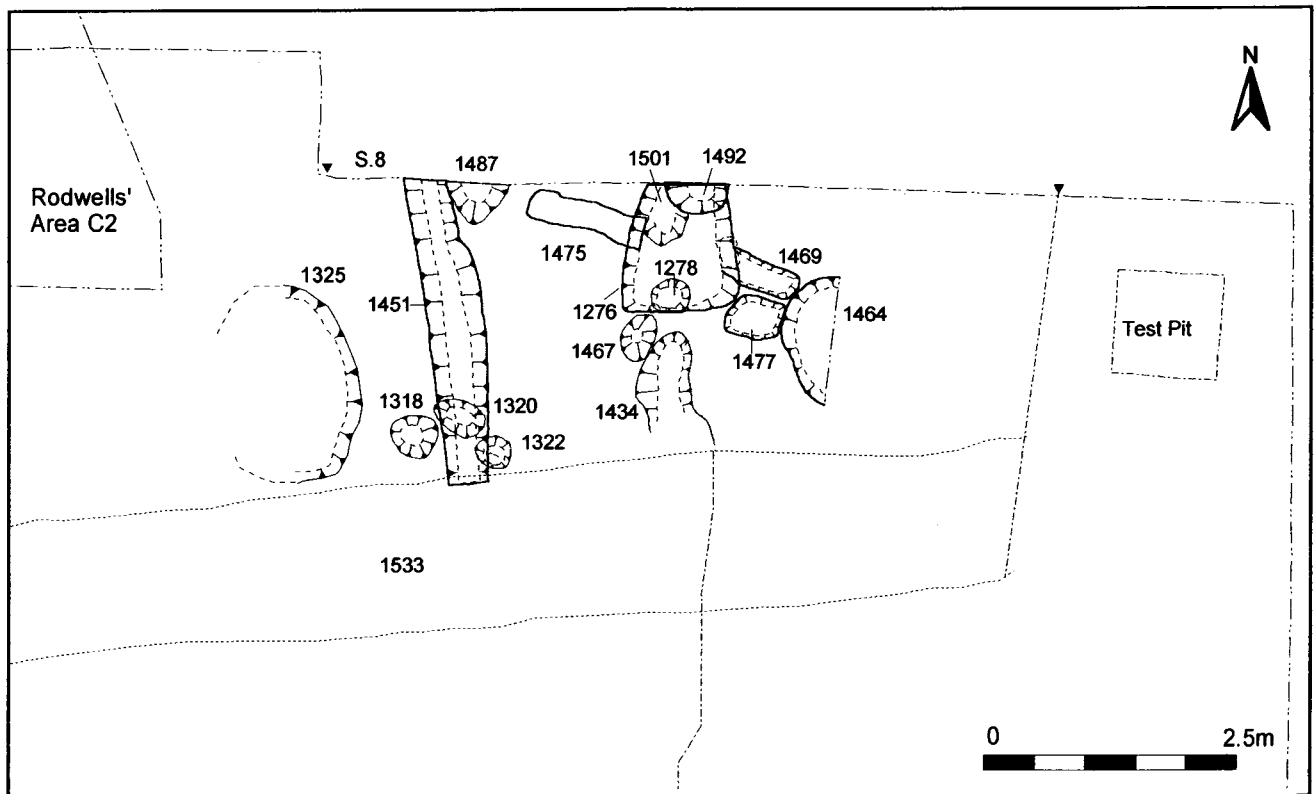


Fig. 10b

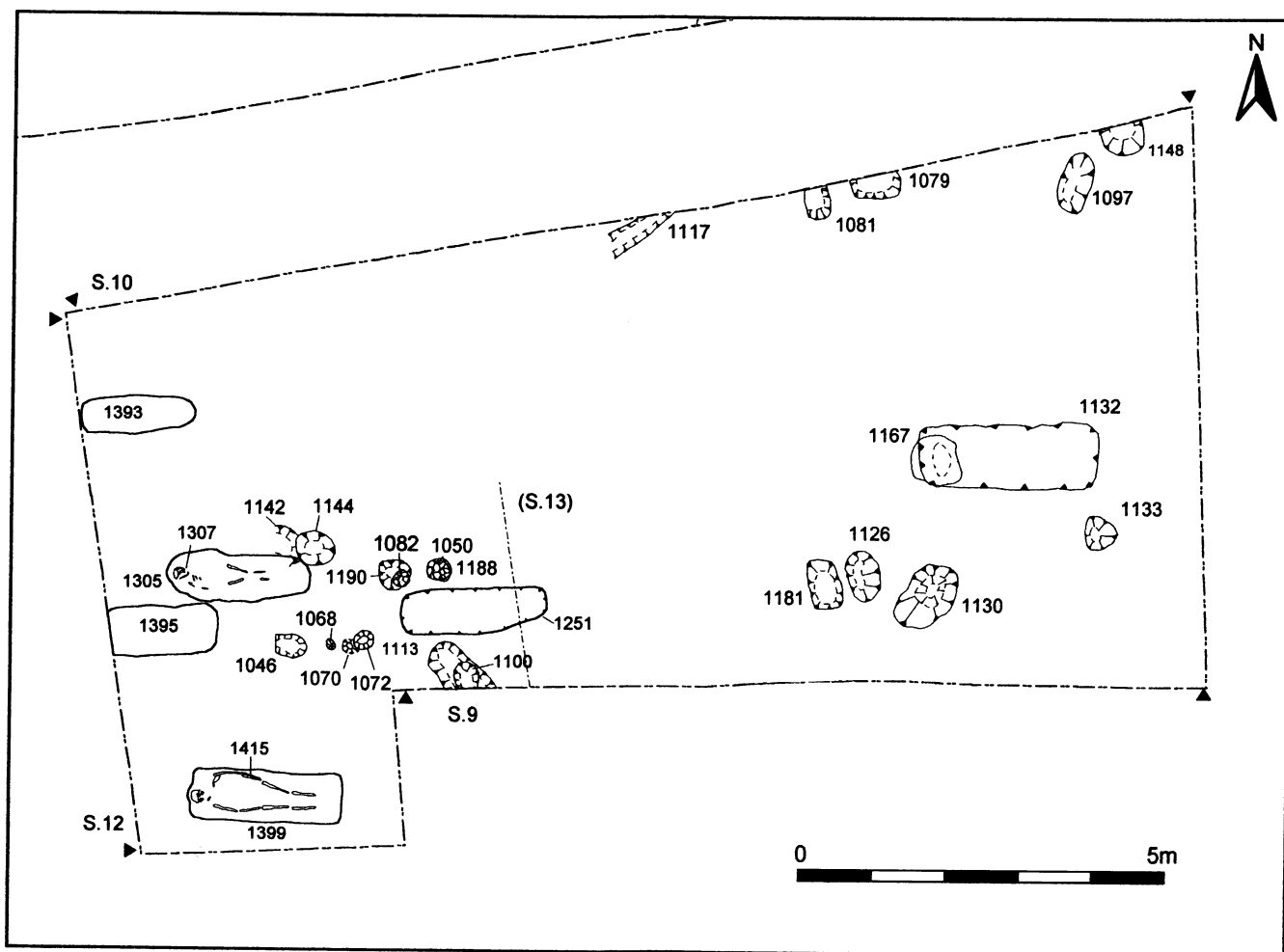


Fig. 11 Rivenhall Church. Detail of Phase IV features in the South Area.

east, both of which were disturbed by later features. The position of these possible slots may indicate that they are related, perhaps forming a north-south wall foundation, with posthole 1278 located between the two terminals. A shallow slot (1469), bisected by pit 1276, was orientated at a different angle to the other linear slots in this area (north-west to south-east), cutting the upper burnt deposit 1490 which overlay hearth 1498. An environmental sample from 1469 indicates the presence of cereal processing in the vicinity.

Two shallow pits or scoops (1276 and 1464) with silty fills and small quantities of tile, pottery and oyster shell, were also located in this area, and are probably associated with demolition or disuse of the Phase IV structure. A third shallow, but fairly wide, pit (1325) of uncertain function was also identified, possibly cutting north-south ditch 1534 to the west, although this relationship was not clear.

South Area (Figs 11 and 15)

Layer 1537 and related deposits

Overlying most of the Phase I features and the Phase II graves in this area was a 0.2m-thick layer of more clayey/silty gravel (1537) that extended almost the full width of the South Area, although its extent to the west

is not fully known. This layer was not present in the North Area. A more densely gravelly/rubby layer (1023) was also identified at the western end of the area, which is also probably part of 1537, although it could be part of an external metalling, or perhaps represent debris dumped from building work related to the church. Some of the later graves cut 1537, and these are described below. A layer (1059/1058) of brown silty clay loam, was present only in the south-eastern part of the South Area, thickening from *c.* 0.2m to 0.4m to the east, and overlying 1537.

Several poorly-defined deposits (1119, 1160, 1255, 1551 and 1547) were recorded in the southern and western parts of the South Area, and are likely to be remnants of layer 1537, dumps of graveyard soil, or spreads of rubble perhaps from building work on the church and associated buildings.

Graves

The latest phase of graves (1399, 1305, 1393, 1395 (the last two unexcavated), and possibly 1251) in the South Area were cut through medieval layer 1547 at the south and western edge of the site. These graves were aligned more west-east than most of those in the previous phase (Phase II). Grave 1399 was found to be a deep (0.75m) rectangular cut with almost vertical sides, containing the

poorly preserved skeleton (1415) of an adult male, although of interest was a patch of charcoal in the abdomen area which was not found in any of the other burials. The only direct stratigraphic relationship between graves on the site was identified between Phase II grave 1212 and Phase IV grave 1305, where the former was clipped on its northwest edge by the latter. Grave 1251 may also be part of this later group as it cut earlier 13th-century layer 1537, and appears to be on a similar alignment to the other graves in this phase.

Other features cutting 1537

Several features (1079, 1081, 1097, 1117, 1126, 1130, 1132, 1133, 1148, and 1181) were located in the eastern part of the South Area, cutting 1537 and 1059 and sealed below Phase V cultivation layer 1532. Most of these were postholes, which were generally oval in shape and varied in size between 0.15m and 1m along the longest axis, and were between 0.10m and 0.40m deep. Other features include a shallow, rectangular cut (1132), orientated east-west, a tile-lined hearth (1130), and a short length of gully (1117). Although superficially grave-like, 1132 was too shallow to be a grave, and is located well beyond the main group of graves to the west. This feature cut pit 1167 (see above) which may have been an undercut part of 1132. Too little was exposed of narrow gully 1117, which was aligned roughly east-west and was cut by Phase V ditch 1545, to be certain of its interpretation.

A group of features (1142, 1144, 1190/1082, 1050/1188, 1046, 1068, 1070, 1072, 1100 and 1113), mostly postholes of varying sizes, was located in the western part of the South Area, where the sequence of deposits was more complex. The postholes were generally sub-circular or ovoid in shape and cut layer 1537 and/or rubble layer 1123. The postholes were overlain by a deposit of silty clay and tile (1055) which in turn was cut by a small posthole (1046) at the western edge of the site. A gully (1113) and an irregular posthole-type feature (1100) were also located in the southwest corner of the site. No datable finds retrieved, and the irregular nature and proximity to a holm oak stump suggests that these features are probably the results of tree root action.

Dating summary

Pottery from features and layers in this phase indicates an earlier 13th-century date, although that from the disuse of Structure A is later, probably late 13th to 14th century

North Area

Again little pottery was recovered from this phase with most features producing less than 100g. Layer 1542 and the features associated with Structure A (slot 1414, post-hole 1471, and hearth context 1490), produced similar pottery comprising body sherds of early medieval ware and medieval coarse ware most likely to date to the earlier 13th century. Only a handful of

pottery was recovered from the disuse features and is of a similar date to the pottery from Structure A. Pit/robber cut 1276, however, produced a slightly different assemblage, including sherds of Hedingham ware; one of which is datable on stylistic grounds to the late 13th to 14th centuries.

South Area

Cooking-pot rims datable to the earlier 13th century (all in medieval coarse ware) were recovered from layer 1537, although a late 13th to 14th-century rim-type was also present, which may be intrusive. A number of features that cut layer 1537 produced pottery which is similar to that from the North Area, comprising a few sherds of early medieval ware, medieval coarse ware and some residual pottery. No datable rim types are present, but this pottery could also date to the earlier 13th century. Layers 1058/1059 and 1547 produced similar pottery to the above, apart from a fragment of a green-glazed jug, tentatively identified as Lincolnshire splashed glazed ware datable to the first quarter of the 13th century, in layer 1058.

The radiocarbon dates for Phase II skeleton 1443 and Phase 3 skeleton 1307 (intercutting graves 1212 and 1305 respectively) broadly support the stratigraphic interpretation; 1443 dates to cal AD 1020-1280 and 1307 to cal AD 1220-1390, which is the latest range of all the submitted samples. Skeleton 1415 in grave 1399, however, has the same date range (cal AD 1030-1260) as skeleton 1243, part of the stratigraphically earliest phase of burial (Phase II). It is possible that the skeletons could conceivably be at opposite ends of the date ranges, making the graves in this latest phase possibly 13th century or later.

Phase discussion

North Area

It is possible that Structure A is the southern end of Building 10, the second phase of priest's house identified by the Rodwells in Area C2, which is dated to the 13th century (Fig. 9). However, if this were the case then the building would have been c. 18.5m x 7m, which is larger than both its predecessor (Building 6) and successor (Building 9). The position of the hearth, in what appears to be the southern end of the building also does not fit predictive medieval building plans, where the hearth is usually central, similar to that shown for Building 9 (Fig. 12). It is perhaps more likely that Structure A represents a kitchen or other smaller ancillary building associated with, rather than part of, Building 10 to the north. The pottery from the features in this phase perhaps supports this, as it is of a type likely to derive from a kitchen area, whilst pottery from the next phase (Phase V) represents both service and living areas. The complexity of features in this area suggests that there may have been more than one phase of this structure, or that alterations were made to the building during the 13th century.

South Area

There is limited evidence of stratified and intercutting graves in this area, suggesting that burial was more intensive and continued into the 13th century, and possibly as late as the 14th century, here. As with the earlier graves, there is a clear eastern limit the burials, suggesting the presence of a boundary to separate the churchyard from the curtilage of the priest's house to the east, where evidence of possible outbuildings probably contemporary with Structure A/Building 10, were found.

Phase V. Late 13th to 14th centuries (Figs 12-15)*Summary*

A new east-west boundary ditch was established in this phase and several layers were dumped or accumulated over the levelled Phase IV features to the immediate north of the ditch, whilst to the south the land was cultivated. For the first time in the sequence, relatively large quantities of pottery and other finds were deposited, representing the dumping of domestic rubbish and perhaps wholesale clearance at the end of the phase. Phase V probably equates to the Rodwells' Period 6B (late 13th and 14th centuries), when the last phase of priest's house (Building 9, in Area C2 to the north) was occupied.

*North Area*Ditch 1533

This was orientated east-west across the northern part of the North Area, cutting earlier (Phase III) north-south ditches 1534 and 1535 and several other features, including slot 1451 of Structure A (Phase IV). The ditch was exposed for 10.5m across the site, and may have continued beyond the edge of excavation to the east and west. It varied between 0.35m and 0.5m deep and was on average 1.5m wide, with a generally rounded, but occasionally more V-shaped, profile. Many finds were retrieved from the ditch, including large quantities of pottery, oyster shell, Roman tile and some animal bone. Several of the metal finds also came from this feature, including an inscribed annular brooch and two strap ends ('Copper-Alloy Objects' below). At least one recut was identified, suggesting that the ditch was maintained for a period of time before being deliberately backfilled.

Layers to the north of ditch 1533

A mid greyish brown silty clay layer (1550), 100 mm thick, with common small rounded stones overlay the majority of Phase IV features related to Structure A. No evidence for this layer was found to the south of ditch 1533, and it may be a metallurgic associated with Building 9 to the north. The layer petered out about 2.5m to the south of the north baulk, where it was overlain by layer 1541. The relationship between east-west boundary ditch 1533 and layer 1550 was not very clear due to the

shallow depth of 1550 at the point where it met the ditch, and the similarity between it and the ditch fills.

Overlying 1550 was a finds-rich layer (1541), which was notable as it contained quite large, unabraded pottery sherds, suggesting it was dumped from nearby. This layer was located to the north of ditch 1533, and did not have a direct stratigraphic relationship with it. Layer 1140 to the west was similar to 1541, but was recorded as overlying ditch 1533, suggesting that it is a later deposit.

A distinctive silty clay layer (1540), up to 0.12m thick, overlay 1541 and was notable for the relatively large quantities of oyster and other shells, as well as pottery (almost 300 sherds) and, to a lesser extent, animal bone. This layer was only present for a 1.5m strip along the northern part of the North Area although it probably continued beyond the limit of excavation to the north, but did not extend as far as boundary ditch 1533 to the south.

Gravel bank 1539 (Fig. 13)

Overlying layer 1540, and partly overlapping ditch 1533, was a gravel layer (1539), 2.5m wide and 0.12m thick. This deposit extended in an easterly direction for 9m from the main west baulk, on the north side of ditch 1533, after which it petered out. At its western extent the gravel was quite compact with a more camber-like profile, whilst towards the east it became much looser, with less well-defined edges, possibly due to the increased tree-root disturbance along the northern edge of the site. The gravel did not extend as far north as the limit of excavation and was fairly linear in shape, with a slightly rounded terminal to the east. The linear shape, slight camber and compact nature of this deposit suggest that this may have been an eroded gravel bank.

Cultivation layer 1532

A 0.12m-thick layer of mixed gravelly greyish-brown silt clay (1532) covered most of the North Area to the south of boundary ditch 1533, and also extended into the South Area. The relationship between 1532 and ditch 1533 was not clear, although it is likely that they were contemporary. Layer 1532 sealed north-south ditch 1535 (Phase III) and physically overlay Phase I yard 1536 and the Phase II graves. In the South Area layer 1532 was relatively thick (0.2m), but became thinner as it rose up the slope towards the church, and appears to have petered out completely by the time it reached the western end of the site.

*South Area*Layers and dumps

Directly overlying the Phase II graves (1393, 1395, 1399, 1305) was a 0.2m thick layer of gravel and rubble (1549), not illustrated in plan but shown in section (Fig. 15.12). It is possible that 1549 was later than the cultivated soil 1532, but the relationship was not clear during excavation. Layer 1235, located slightly to the east, may be equivalent to layer 1549, although it is

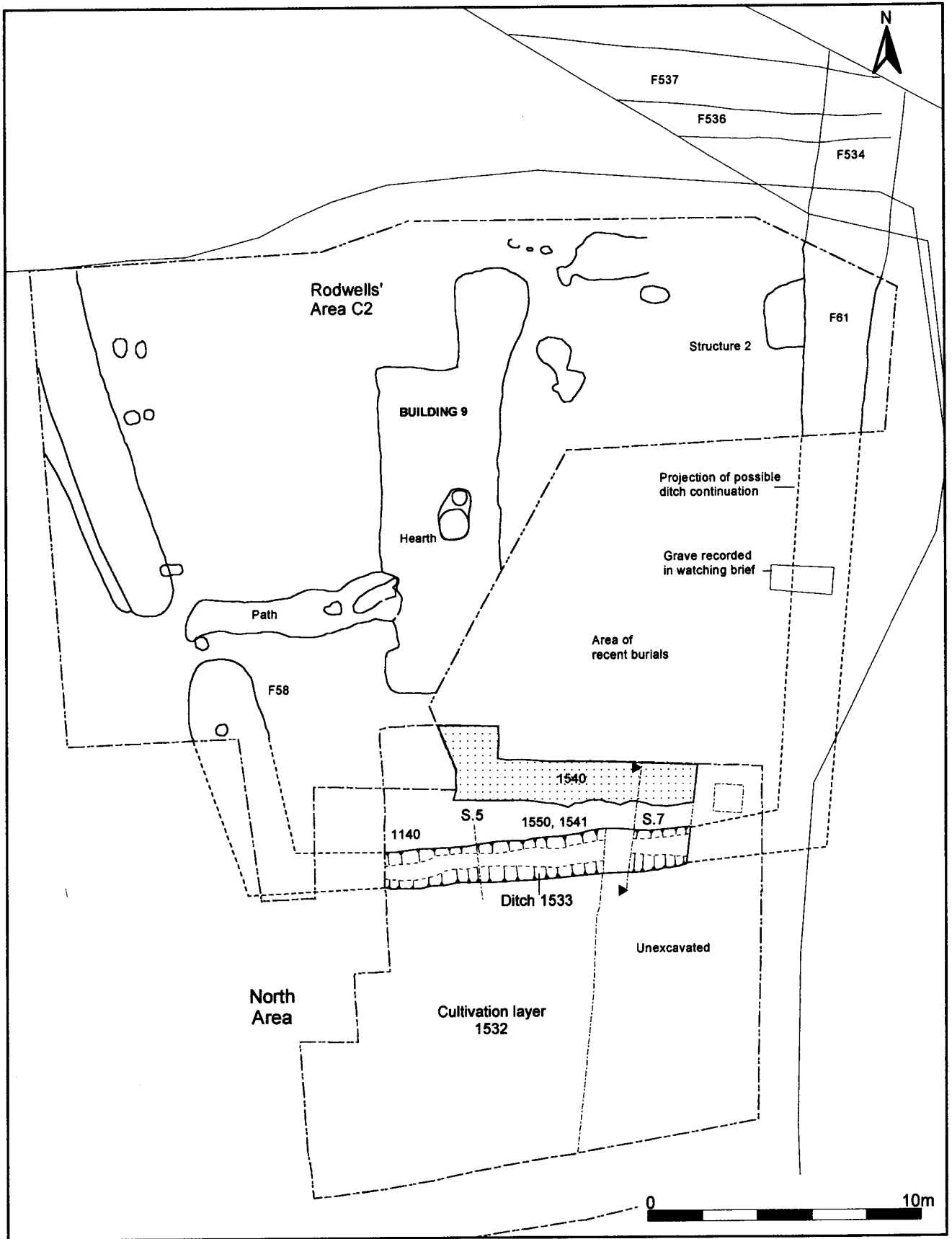


Fig. 12 Rivenhall Church. Phase V features in relation to the Rodwells' Building 9.

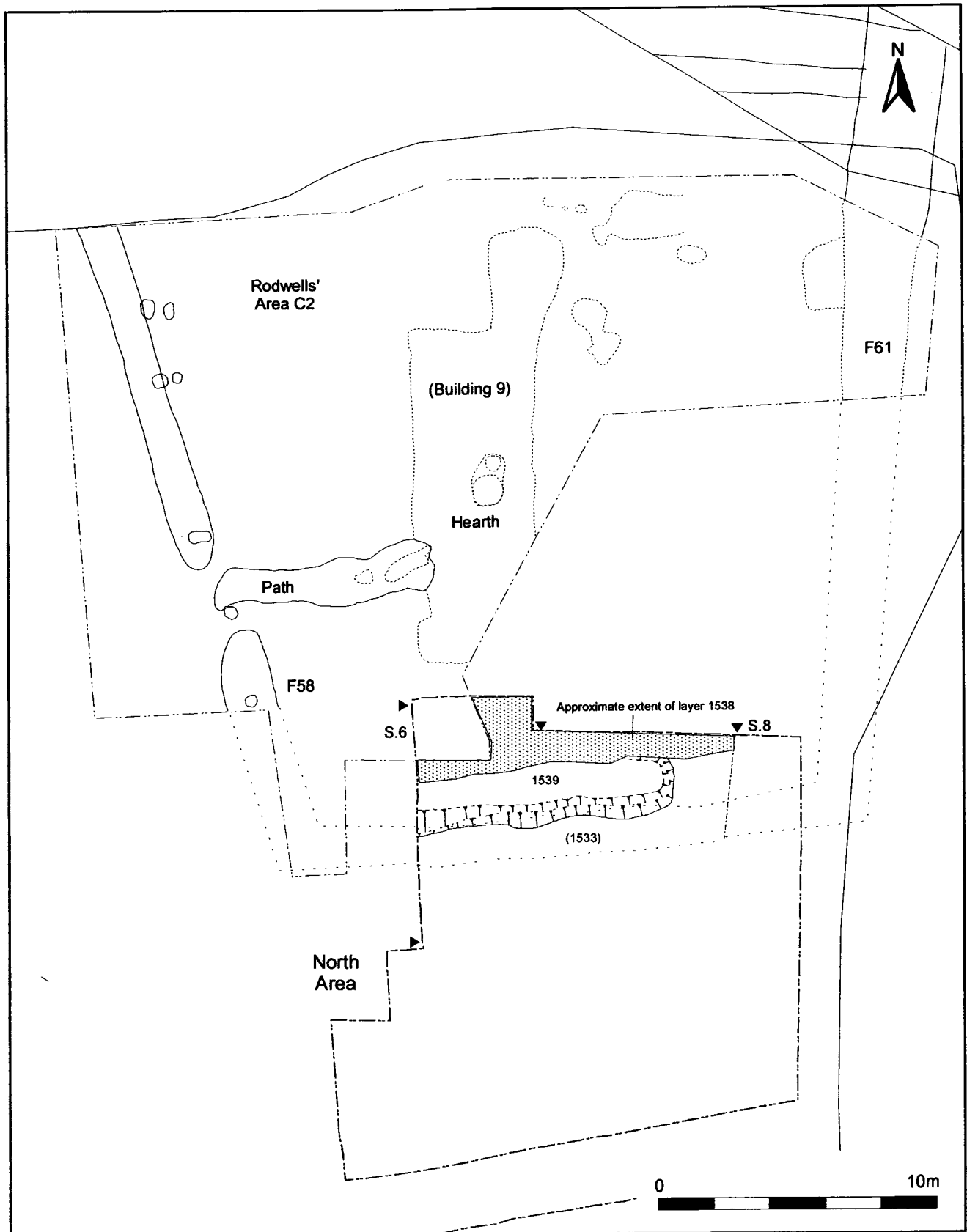


Fig. 13 Rivenhall Church. Phase V and VI features relating to the final phase of Building 9.

much thinner (0.10m). A shallow, linear north-south aligned ditch or gully (1545, Fig. 8) cut layer 1532 and truncated several Phase II graves below. This ditch, which extends for c. 5.5m, did not continue into the North Area, although it is on a similar alignment to earlier (Phase III) ditch 1535.

Dating summary

North Area

Some of the features and layers in Phase V produced large groups of pottery that can be closely dated. The latest pottery in layer 1550 comprises a sherd of Mill Green coarse ware and a very developed cooking-pot rim providing a late 13th to 14th-century date. However, the presence of a Kingston-type ware jug rim in the highly decorated style, makes a date in the later 13th century more likely. Similar pottery was recovered from layer 1541, but here the latest datable pottery comprises a sherd of 13th to 14th century slip-painted sandy orange ware, and a sherd of buff ware, most likely dating to the 14th century. Datable pottery was recovered from layer 1540 including a sherd of later Kingston-type ware dated on stylistic grounds to the earlier 14th century. The presence of a Hedingham ware dish rim, fragments of Colchester ware and Mill Green fine ware jugs, and examples of very developed cooking-pot rims is also consistent with an earlier 14th-century date.

East-west boundary ditch 1533 contained very similar pottery to 1540, with which there are sherd linkages, and a comparable range of fine wares and cooking-pot rim types. Much of the pottery therefore dates to the earlier 14th century. However, there are a few sherds that could be later comprising examples of ?14th to 15th-century fine buff ware, a 14th to 15th-century sandy orange ware cauldron rim, and one possible example of late medieval Colchester ware. In addition to the pottery finds there are late 14th-century strap ends from this feature (see 'Copper-alloy objects', nos 8-9), an inscribed annular brooch dating from the 13th century onwards (no. 2), and a Jew's harp (no. 14), which is not closely datable. A late 14th-century date is suggested for the infilling of this ditch. The ditch recuts 1424 and 1428 did not produce pottery later than that from the main ditch fills.

The latest pottery from cultivation layer 1532 comprises examples of Mill Green fine and coarse wares, and an example of a very developed cooking-pot rim dating to the late 13th to 14th centuries, although most of the pottery is 13th century. However, the latest find in layer 1532 is a pair of tweezers perhaps datable to the late 14th to 16th centuries (Copper-alloy objects, no. 22); a small, lozenge-shaped brooch possibly dating to the 14th century was also present in this layer (no. 3).

The latest pottery from gravel bank 1539 is similar to that from ditch 1533 and layer 1540. Datable material comprises further examples of very developed cooking-pot rims and one sherd of fine buff ware perhaps dating to the 14th to 15th centuries. Also present from the bank

(context 1296) is a brooch and strap end datable to the 14th century (Copper-alloy objects, no. 5).

South Area

Layer 1549 (possibly contemporary with 1532) produced a mixture of early medieval ware and medieval coarse ware; the only featured sherd comprises a cavetto cooking-pot rim datable to the first half of the 13th century.

Phase discussion

North Area

Layer 1550 was dumped or accumulated over the demolished/dismantled building remains of Phase IV Structure A. Layers 1541 and 1540 are probably middens or dumps associated with the final phase of priest's house (Building 9), identified by the Rodwells in Area C2 to the north (1985, 113). The pottery from 1540 is similar to that from the backfill of boundary ditch 1533, and there are some sherd-linkages, suggesting that this area was deliberately levelled off, perhaps towards the end of the first phase of Building 9 (late 13th-early 14th century). The quantities of pottery and other finds in these layers and in ditch 1533 must derive from the nearby priest's house, and probably represent domestic rubbish discarded in a midden area, and ultimately used to deliberately infill the ditch. No rubbish pits were found in the 1999 excavation, further supporting the interpretation by the Rodwells that domestic waste was stored in middens rather than deposited in pits, and later spread as manure (1985, 114).

Ditch 1533 clearly post-dates the two Phase III north-south ditches (1534 and 1535) and Phase IV Structure A to the north, and is likely to be the southern boundary for the Rodwells' Building 9, located approximately 6m to the north. The ditch probably joined to the west with one or more phases of ditch F58, interpreted by the Rodwells as a churchyard boundary (1985, 104), and with north-south ditch F61 to the east to form a roughly rectangular enclosure around Building 9. Very little dating evidence was found in F58, other than medieval pottery in the latest fills/recuts, which is of a similar 13th to 14th-century date to that from 1533, although the latter may be slightly later. The number of recuts and realignments of ditch F58 does, however, indicate that it was a long-lived feature, perhaps originating in the 12th century (Building 6) and continuing in use as a boundary until the 14th century. During a watching brief on the excavation of a grave to the north of the site, a ditch was recorded in section which could possibly be the eastern boundary associated with ditch 1533, and the continuation of ditch F62 recorded by the Rodwells in Area C2. However, the pottery retrieved during the watching brief is slightly earlier (13th century) than that from 1533.

Layer 1532 covered most of the excavation area to the south of 1533 and is likely to be a contemporary topsoil or cultivation layer. The pottery from 1532 was

very mixed, which is in keeping with it being worked for over a century or more.

It is not possible to correlate the layers identified in the 1999 excavation with those recorded by the Rodwells, largely because little differentiation was noted between the medieval deposits encountered in the earlier excavations. The floors of Building 9 'rested directly on a homogeneous grey-brown slightly pebbly layer of clayey loam', which was also recorded in other areas/phases, and for which many numbers were assigned during the excavation. Despite repeated efforts to distinguish horizons within this layer, subsequent analysis of the finds indicated that '14th-century pottery was distributed from the base of the topsoil to the top of the natural subsoil'. The Rodwells concluded that the layer seemed to be the result of cultivation, and probably derived from the use of the area as a garden plot, a process which began during the life of Building 10 or earlier (1985, 114).

The similarity of pottery dates from gravel bank 1539, the fills of ditch 1533 and associated layers indicates that the ditch was deliberately backfilled and layers levelled in preparation for the construction of the bank. This suggests some major reorganisation to the layout or design of Building 9 and its boundaries, probably in the late 14th century.

South Area

It is likely that layers such as 1547 and 1235 are dumps or spreads of redeposited grave soil, perhaps from the burials closer to the church to the west. Ditch 1545 may have been some form of temporary boundary within the churchyard.

Phase VI. 15th century (Figs 13-15)

Summary

Activity appears to have been very limited on the site in this phase. Some localised dumping or accumulation of deposits took place, including some relatively large quantities of pottery, particularly over the infilled Phase V ditch in the North Area. This phase probably relates to the Rodwells' Period 6C (15th century), when the last priest's house, Building 9, was abandoned as a dwelling.

North Area

A layer or dump (1179), mostly comprising large pieces of pottery, overlay Phase V ditch 1533 at its eastern end, and was overlain by 1538, a layer of gravelly clay which also overlapped bank 1539 on its northern edge. Layer 1538 varied in thickness between 0.1m and 0.2m, and was not present to the south of the bank, although it probably continued beyond the edge of the excavation to the north.

South Area

A linear cut (1087/1074) recorded in section only (Fig. 15, S.10), was present cutting layer 1532 along the eastern edge of the South Area, and was partly

truncated by another linear feature (1548), which is probably modern.

Layer 1531

Layer 1531, a 0.1m-0.2m thick deposit of 'clean' mid-brown slightly clayey silt with very few inclusions or finds, was present over both the North and South Areas. This layer overlay 1538 in the North Area, and slumped into the depression formed along the line of Phase V ditch 1533. No features cut 1531, which was overlain by Phase VII former topsoil (1544), which was machined off.

Dating summary

Less pottery was found than in previous phases but relatively large assemblages containing closely datable pottery were excavated. Dump 1179 in the North Area produced some 15th-century pottery including the bunghole from a sandy orange ware cistern, and part of an ?imported sgraffito ware bowl, which may date to c.1400. The pottery from layer 1538 is similar to that from Phase V ditch 1533, gravel bank 1539, and layer 1540. Finds include Colchester ware, a late medieval type sandy orange ware bowl rim, and buff ware. Occurring for the first time in the sequence is a fragment from a Cambridgeshire sgraffito ware jug dating to the 14th to early 15th centuries. A 15th-century date is most likely for layer 1538 but as with earlier groups, there is a considerable amount of 13th-century material suggesting that this may be a levelling deposit.

The latest pottery from layer 1531 comprises part of the same Cambridgeshire sgraffito ware jug found in Phase V layer 1538. Contemporary with this is a sherd of Cheam white ware dating from the second half of the 14th to the 15th century, and a sandy orange ware lid-seated jar rim, perhaps dating to the 15th century. Also belonging to this layer is a late medieval arrowhead ('Iron objects', no. 27), a trade token dating to the 14th to 15th century (SF4), and a coin dated 1560-61 (SF18: 'Coin catalogue'), which is much later than any of the pottery present.

Phase discussion

North Area

The relatively large quantities of pottery from dump 1179, overlying ditch 1533, and the mixture of residual sherds with quite big, unabraded late medieval sherds in 1538 suggests that these layers may be levelling deposits. The pottery dates indicate that these layers probably relate to the last phase of domestic occupation of the priest's house (Building 9, Period 6B), or to a period immediately after its abandonment as a dwelling. The linear cut 1087/1074 recorded in section at the eastern edge of the South Area is likely to be a precursor to the modern graveyard boundary, post-dating the 13th-14th century, and recut in Phase VII.

No graves were cut through layer 1531, and the nature of this deposit suggests that activity, in particular grave digging, had ceased in this part of the churchyard by the 15th century. The abraded and mixed nature of

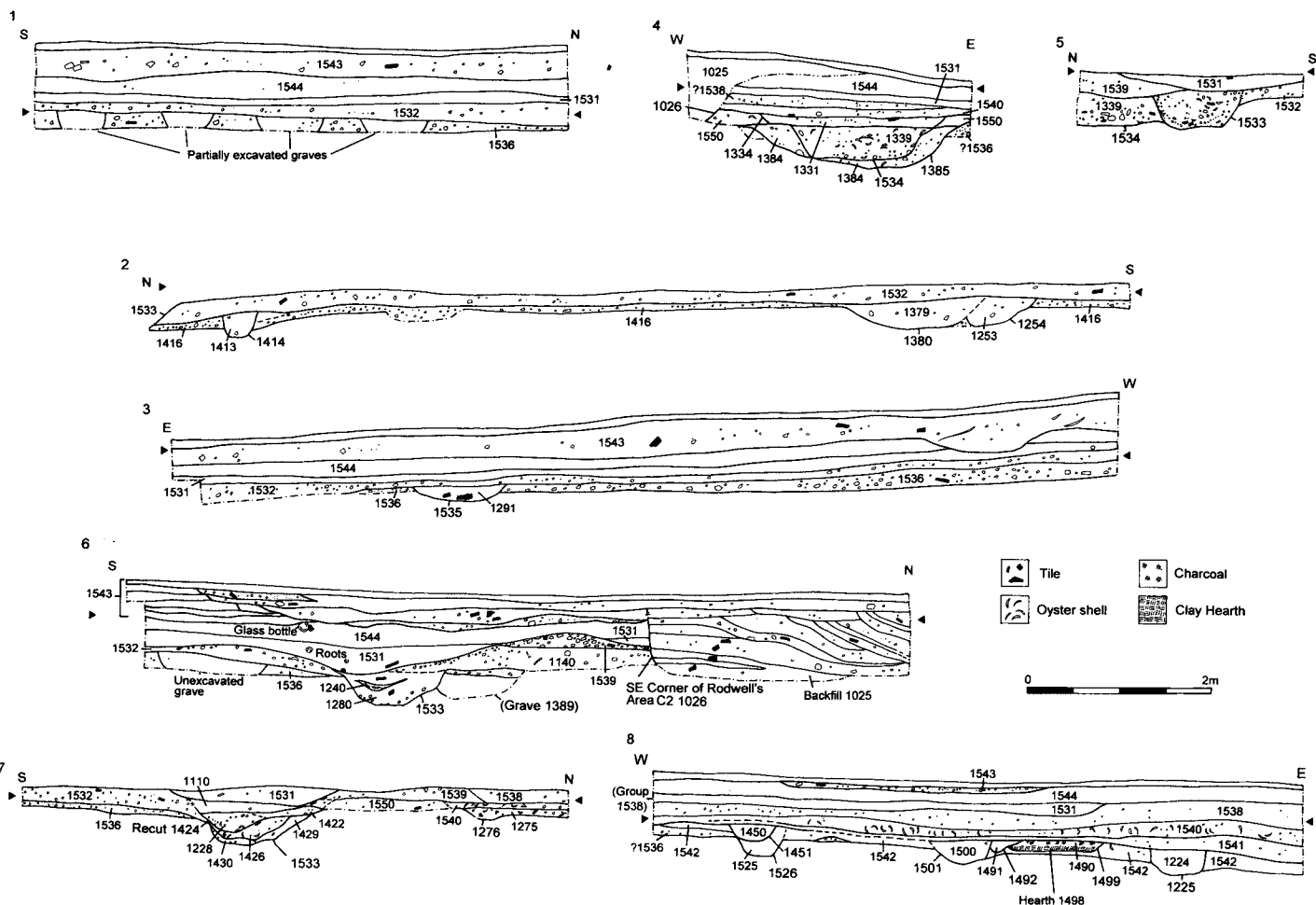


Fig. 14 Rivenhall Church. Selected sections (North Area).

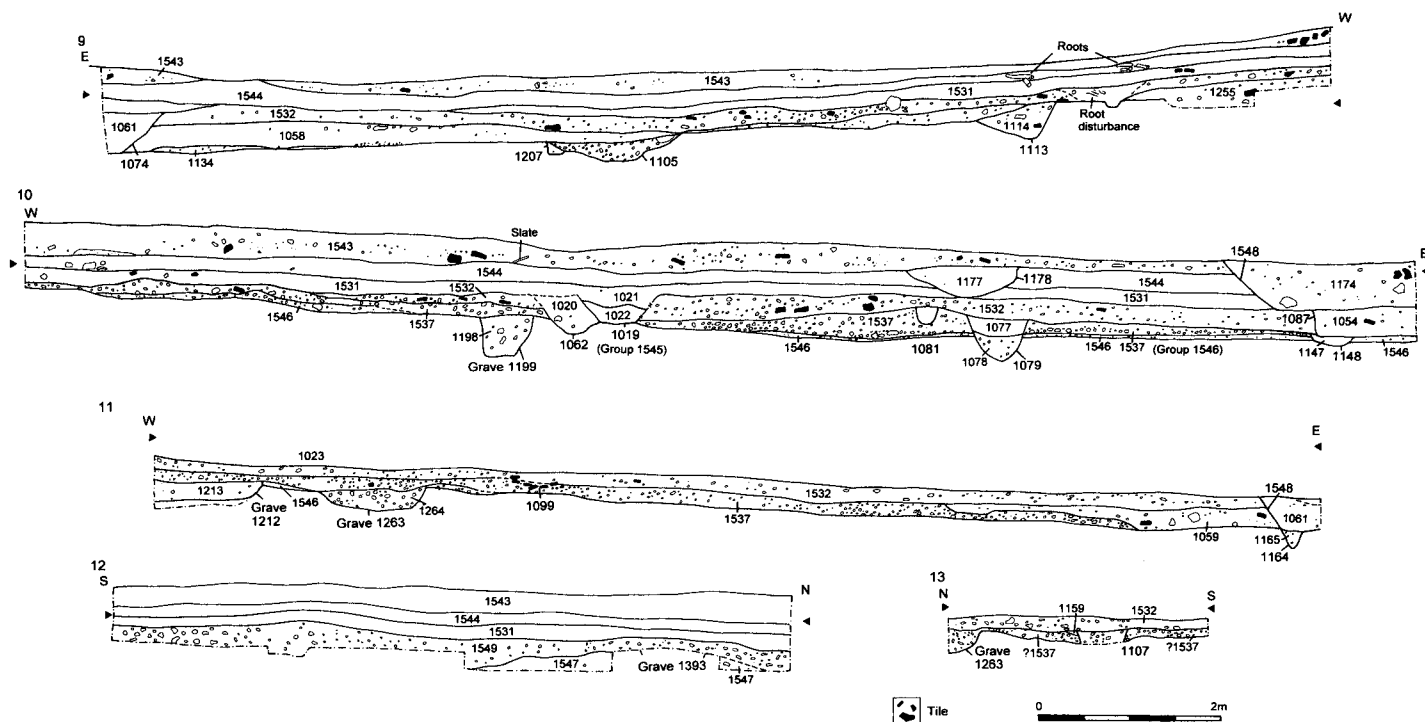


Fig. 15 Rivenhall Church. Selected sections (South Area).

most of the pottery and other finds from this layer indicates that it may have formed over a long period of time.

Phase VII. Post-medieval/modern (Figs 13-15)

Summary

The absence of features in this phase and the continued accumulation of an extensive layer over the site suggest that this part of the churchyard was little used in the post-medieval period. In the late 20th century, parts of the churchyard were excavated by the Rodwells, and a layer of rubble appears to have been laid over the site, sealing an old topsoil. This phase probably equates to the Rodwells' Periods 7A-E (16th to later 20th century).

Layers and related features

Overlying Phase VI layer 1531 was a 0.2m-thick layer of very dark grey, almost black, sandy clay silt (1544) with similarly few inclusions, recorded in section (Fig. 15). This layer was apparently cut by the Rodwells' Area C2 trench (1025) in the northwest corner of the North Area, and was overlain elsewhere by a thick layer of building rubble (1543). A linear cut (1548) was present along the eastern edge of the South Area, on a similar line to Phase VI cut 1087/1074, and is probably modern as it cut through layers 1544 and 1543.

Dating summary

Very little pottery was found in layer 1544; finds include a sherd of painted ironstone of a type produced from the late 18th century onwards.

Phase discussion

The finds and stratigraphic position of layer 1544 indicates that this layer is a former topsoil, perhaps accumulated over a similarly long time span as 1531 below. Rubble layer 1543 probably relates to work undertaken around the church in the 1970s, and may have been dumped to level off this part of the churchyard. Feature 1548 may be associated with the maintenance of the churchyard boundary.

SPECIALIST REPORTS

Prehistoric pottery

N. Brown

The excavation produced a very small quantity of prehistoric pottery (7 sherds weighing 78g), which has been recorded (details in archive) according to a system devised for prehistoric pottery in Essex (Brown 1988). The pottery is derived from four contexts, all of which were of Roman or later date and none of which contained more than two sherds. Four of the sherds are small, abraded and in flint-tempered fabrics not closely datable within the prehistoric period. The remaining three sherds are rather larger and better preserved, have smoothed surfaces (in some cases partly abraded probably the result from recent washing), and dense sand, or flint and sand, temper. Comparable fabrics may be found in local Middle Iron Age assemblages (e.g. Drury 1978).

Late Iron Age and Roman pottery (Fig. 16)

T.S. Martin

A total of 4.9kg of Late Iron Age and Roman pottery was recovered from 110 contexts. This was classified using the Chelmsford typology published by Going (1987, 2-54), which is standard for all ECC Field Archaeology Unit sites, and the Camulodunum type series (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 215-73) where forms are present that are not included in the former. Analysis was primarily concerned with identifying the variety of fabrics and forms, and providing dating evidence for features and layers. Quantification was by sherd count and weight by fabric. The following fabrics were identified (numbers after Going 1987, in bold):

ALH	Alice Holt grey ware	43
AMPH	All amphora fabrics	
BB	Unspecified black-burnished ware	
BB2	Black-burnished ware 2	41
BSW	Misc. Black-surfaced wares	
BUF	Unspecified buff wares	31
COLB	Colchester buff ware	27
COLBM	Colchester buff ware mortaria	27
COLC	Colchester colour-coated ware	1
EGRHN	East Gaulish 'Rhenish' ware	9
GRF	Fine grey wares	39
GRM	Grey ware mortaria	
GROG	Grog tempered wares	53
GRS	Sandy grey wares	47
HAR	Hadham grey ware	14
HAX	Hadham oxidised red ware	4
HAXM	Hadham oxidised red ware mortaria	4
LSH	Late shell-tempered ware	51
MICW	Miscellaneous Iron Age coarse wares	
NKG	North Kent grey wares	32
NVC	Nene Valley colour-coated wares	2
OXRC	Oxfordshire red colour-coated wares	4
OXSWM	Oxfordshire white-slipped mortaria	13
PORD	Portchester D ware	
RED	Unspecified red ware	21
RET	Rettendon ware	48
STOR	Storage jar fabrics	44
TSG	All samian	60
UCC	Unspecified colour-coated wares	

The pottery exhibits a broad Late Iron Age to late 4th-century date range, but does not provide useful dating evidence as most came from contexts that also contained post-Roman material. There were relatively few identifiable vessel forms and, where present, these tended to fall within a broad 2nd to 4th-century date range. There were no groups containing more than 30 sherds, so even where it is possible to provide some indication of date, this is not necessarily reliable. Consequently, this assemblage provides no further meaningful data to add to the material reported on by Going (1993, 64-70).

Of the possible Roman horizons, the small number of sherds recovered from the contexts that comprise Group 1536 (Phase I) were not especially diagnostic, but included several mid-Roman pieces (2nd to 3rd century), although the total assemblage amounted to no more than thirty eight sherds. Dating is based on the presence of a B4.2 bead-rimmed dish and the presence of Colchester colour-coated ware. Three further contexts with Late Iron Age and Roman pottery were identified cutting Group 1536, from pit fill 1379 of pit 1380, giving a broad early Roman date. All contexts cutting 1536 contained Late Iron Age Grog-tempered wares, indicating a high level of residuality.

Six vessels of intrinsic interest were identified and are illustrated (Fig. 16).

1. B6.2 dish with external burnished wavy-line just under the flange. GRS (context 1025).

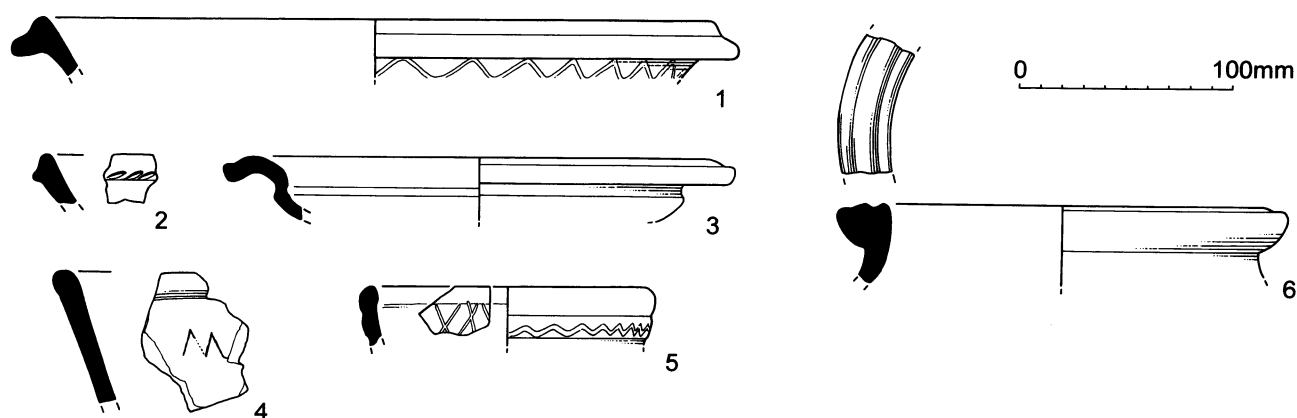


Fig. 16 Rivenhall Church. Roman pottery (1 – 6)

2. Fragmentary B6 type dish with finger-tipping on the flange. GRS (context 1338).
3. B10.1 dish, unabraded. HAX (context 1061).
4. Fragmentary B3.2 dish with external graffito in the form of the letter M. GRF (context 1025).
5. Small B1 type dish with burnished external wavy-line and internal criss-cross decoration. ALH (context 1041).
6. Large narrow-necked jar with reeded rim. BSW (context 1370).

Saxon pottery

S. Tyler

A small assemblage (216g) of Saxon pottery was recovered from twelve contexts. The pottery occurs as residual sherds in medieval or later contexts, especially in the extensive medieval cultivation layer 1532 (Phase V), which sealed the Saxo-Norman graves.

The pottery does include some diagnostic and datable forms and fabrics. The assemblage includes two rims (rounded, slightly everted and somewhat irregular) from contexts 1023 and 1039 in a hard, black sandy fabric which are the most closely datable sherds and can be placed securely within the Early Saxon period (c. AD 410-700). Unfortunately, as with the rest of the assemblage, they appear to be residual, in this case within Phase V medieval cultivation layer 1532. Surface treatment also confirms an Early Saxon date for the sherds from 1004 and 1123, both finger rustication and schlickung being indicative of a 5th-century date; again, however, their contexts are disappointing, 1004 is unstratified and the schlickung sherd must be residual in 1123, a medieval layer.

The fabrics are mostly tempered with common to abundant quartz-sand with organic tempering absent. This tends to date most of the assemblage to the Early rather than Middle Saxon period. Sandy fabrics have been shown to occur in reduced quantities in Saxon settlement contexts on into the 8th centuries (Hamerow 1993). The sherds from contexts 1057 and possibly 1041 (layer 1532) however, are most likely to be of 8th-century date or even a little later.

Although the residuality of the pottery renders it of limited research potential, it must be seen as indirect evidence for Early and Middle Saxon occupation nearby.

Medieval and later pottery (Figs 17-18)

H. Walker

Introduction

A total of 2,367 sherds weighing 23.5kg was excavated. The pottery spans the 11th to 15th centuries, and there is no post-medieval material. Most of the pottery comes from a sequence of layers and boundary ditches, much of which relates to the occupation of the priest's house during the 13th to late 14th centuries. Roman tile, and quite often Roman pottery, is present in many contexts, although this

is not unusual considering the proximity of the Roman villa. As much of the pottery is from sealed groups, however, it was considered worthwhile to report on it in full. The pottery is related to that from the Rodwells' 1970s excavations in the churchyard (Drury 1993) and the differences and similarities are noted.

Little pottery belongs to the earliest period, but there are a few examples of Saxo-Norman wares as well as the usual early medieval fabrics. Hedingham ware is the commonest fine ware in terms of numbers of vessel represented and was still current at this site in the 14th century. As well as a range of jugs, some more unusual forms are present in Hedingham ware. Mill Green ware is almost entirely represented by one, almost complete, rounded jug. Kingston-type ware is also present and includes an unusual mid-13th-century example. One vessel has a possible Lincolnshire origin. Medieval coarse ware is very common and a variety of vessel types occur in this ware. The possible sources of medieval coarse ware are discussed, but none was positively identified as Hedingham coarse ware. There are however small amounts of oxidised coarse ware from Mill Green. Sandy orange ware including Colchester ware is common and sandy orange ware becomes increasingly common in the late medieval period. There is some evidence that in the late medieval period Cambridgeshire and Suffolk are sources of pottery supply. A very unusual late medieval sgraffito vessel was also found. There is no pottery evidence for religious function. This assemblage is briefly compared to pottery from two nearby market towns, Witham and Kelvedon, in order to compare site types.

Method

The pottery has been recorded using Cunningham's typology (Cunningham 1985, 1-16) and her fabric numbers and rim codes are quoted in this report. This is the same typology used for the analysis of the pottery from Rodwell and Rodwell's excavation (Drury et al. 1993, 78-95), and is the system used for all medieval and later pottery reports undertaken by ECC Field Archaeology Unit and by Colchester Archaeological Trust. The dating evidence from the pottery has been inserted into the main text, and therefore this report only summarises the pottery from each phase. The fabrics from stratified contexts in each period are summarised by means of tables (2 - 6) giving sherd count and the total weight of pottery within each context. There is also a catalogue of illustrated pottery. As this excavation is adjacent to sites excavated by Rodwell and Rodwell, the assemblage has been related to that from the earlier excavations.

Cunningham's cooking-pot rim-form codes are quoted in this report as Drury (*et al.*) have done in theirs. However, there a discrepancy in the code used for the curved-over or cavetto rim. In Drury's report cavetto rims have been given the code C1, but in the version of Cunningham's typology used by the author, C1 is the code for beaded rims, and cavetto rims have the code D2. To avoid confusion this rim type is not referred to by its code in this report, but the term cavetto is always used.

The fabrics and forms

The fabrics are reported in a similar order to that in Drury *et al.*, except that the fine wares are listed in approximate chronological order, rather than local fine wares followed by non-local fine wares. The fabrics section largely relates to Drury *et al.* 1993, but includes any new information on dating and fabric descriptions. Percentages quoted are calculated from sherd count.

Thetford-type ware: Fabric 9 (<0.25% of total)

The overall date range for this ware is c. 850 – 1150, although at both London and Colchester it was probably out of use by c. 1100 (Vince and Jenner 1991, 89; Crummy 1981, 40; Cotter 2000, 32). Forms comprise fragments of everted jar rims, with two examples found in graves belonging to Phase II.

St Neots-type ware: Fabric 10 (<0.1% of total)

This is datable from c. 900 to the 12th century and is made from Jurassic clays naturally containing fossil shell fragments including those of Bryozoa (Vince and Jenner 1991, 54–6). During the 1999 excavation only one sherd of St Neots-type ware was identified, a jar form similar to one published by Drury *et al.* (1993, fig 38.5) but with a more beaded rim. It is residual in Phase V (layer 1540).

Early medieval Shelly wares: Fabric 12 (<1% of total)

Very few Shelly wares are present comprising four sherds of shell-tempered ware (Fabric 12A), nine sherds of shell-and-sand-tempered ware (Fabric 12B) and three sherds of sand-with-superficial-shell-tempered ware, all from the same vessel (Fabric 12C). Since Drury's report was written, a number of new sites in the county have produced shell-tempered wares, and some, especially from sites bordering the river Thames have developed-type cooking-pot rims, and were probably made in the 13th century (e.g. at North Shoebury; Walker 1995, 103, 114). However, work by the author on the dating and distribution of Shelly wares in Essex appears to show that they went out of use at different times in different parts of the county. Therefore there is no reason to doubt the assertion that at Rivenhall Shelly wares may have gone out of use by the later 12th century (Drury 1993, 80), although this is not the case elsewhere in the county. Single sherds of Fabric 12B were found in Phases II, III and IV, otherwise all other Shelly wares are residual in later phases. The only featured material is the wall of a large vessel, probably a bowl, showing internal ridges, and shell only on the internal surface (Fabric 12C).

Early medieval ware: Fabric 13 (7% of total) (Fig. 17.1–4)

This is much more common than the Saxon-Norman and Shelly wares, first occurring in Phase II and present in all later phases, most commonly in Phase V, layer 1532, where it is residual. As well as the coarse sandy fabric typical of this ware, one sherd (in layer 1058) also contained inclusions of crushed flint (Fabric 13f) and another (residual in backfill 1025) contained chalk inclusions. The latter sherd is also unusual in that the internal surface is burnished.

Cooking pots are the main vessel form, and cooking-pot rim forms comprise beaded rims datable to the 12th century, B2 and B4 rims datable to c.1200 and H2 rims datable to the early to mid-13th century. There are no examples of cavetto rims in this ware. One of the B4 rims and two of the H2 rims show combed decoration on the rim (No. 1). This type of decoration was also encountered at the Rodwells' excavations but only on the B4 rims, and in medieval coarse ware, not in early medieval ware (Drury *et al.* 1993, fig 39.48–51). Also present are sherds from possible storage jars, again including a B4 rim with combing on the flange (cf. Drury *et al.* 1993, fig.38.51) in a completely oxidised version of Fabric 13. There are also body sherds from ?storage jars showing vertical applied thumbbed strips and wavy line combing (Nos 2 and 3). Other forms comprise a bowl fragment with a thickened everted rim (in Phase V layer 1532) and a curving strap handle with thumbbed edges, perhaps from a jug or a tripod pitcher (No. 4).

Drury *et al.* (1993, 80) consider that Early medieval ware, like the Shelly wares may have gone out of use in the later 12th century. However, this is clearly at odds with the early medieval ware developed cooking pots from the 1999 excavation, the latest of which is datable to the early to mid 13th century. This may be explained by the fact that

the distinction between early medieval and medieval coarse ware can be quite arbitrary, as early medieval ware became less coarse and better-fired over time to evolve into medieval coarse ware, so that the wares to some degree merge. However, elsewhere in the county early medieval ware does continue into the 13th century. At Colchester, it is thought that production of Fabric 13 ceased by c. 1225 (Cotter 2000, 41) and at Stansted Airport early medieval ware with '12th-century type' beaded cooking-pot rims was found in association with fine wares of the early to mid-13th century (Walker 2004).

Medieval coarse ware: Fabric 20 (68% of the total) (Fig. 17.5–16)

Medieval coarse ware accounts for a very large component of the assemblage, and this also appears to be the case for the Rodwells' assemblage although the quantity is not quoted in the report. Medieval coarse ware was made from the 12th to 14th centuries and is typically the predominant ware in assemblages dating to the 13th to 14th centuries. At the 1999 excavation it first occurs in Phase II, but may be intrusive here and is present in every phase and almost every context.

Cooking pots are the commonest vessel form. They comprise the following rim types: beaded rims, with simple or internally thickened (Eves 27%); B2 rims (Eves 61%) (No. 5); B4 rims (Eves 108%); cavetto rims (Eves 174%) (No. 6); H2 rims (Eves 85%); H1 rims (Eves 107%) (No. 7); H3 rims (Eves 46%); and E5A rims (Eves 116%) (No. 8).

B2, B4 and H2 rims also occur in early medieval ware and are discussed above. Drury *et al.* (1993) have put forward the following date ranges for these cooking-pot rim types: Cavetto rims - first half of the 13th century; H1 rims - current throughout the 13th century; E5A and H3 rims, the most developed types dating from the late 13th to 14th centuries. All these rim types occur on medieval coarse ware from the Rodwells' excavations, except for the beaded rims. The beaded rims are typologically early, normally dated to the 12th century. There is only one complete profile of a cooking pot, No. 6, which has a cavetto rim and shows the typical squat shape and sagging base, but is fairly small with a diameter of only 220mm. Apart from occasional instances of incised horizontal bands, and one example of a vertical thumbbed, applied strip, none of the cooking pots is decorated.

Other jar forms comprise two fragments perhaps from storage jars (as found in early medieval ware) decorated with thumbbed applied strips, on one example the strip is applied at an angle, which commonly features on storage jars. Rim No. 8 may also be from a storage jar rather than a cooking pot. There are also the rims of two possible pipkins (small cooking vessels with a single handle and often tripod feet), one with an everted rim, and one with a thickened flat-topped rim (No. 9). Number 9 may be a north Essex type, as similar rims have been found at Saffron Walden (Walker 2002, no. 6).

Bowls also occur but are much less common. No complete profiles are present. Part of a very large bowl (No. 10) occurs in Phase III and is in a fabric transitional between early medieval ware and medieval coarse ware. The rim is in the form of an elongated bead, and does not fit into either of Drury's categories of 'rounded everted' bowl rims or 'flanged' bowl rims. Bowl rims in Phase V have everted, flanged rims or hollowed everted rims, and those in Phase VI have thickened everted, everted flanged rims, or horizontal flanged rims (No. 11). The two illustrated bowl rims show a large difference in size, No. 10 is 420mm in diameter and No. 11 is only 160mm in diameter. Of the remaining bowl rims complete enough to measure diameter, one measures c. 220mm in diameter and three are c. 330mm in diameter. Unlike the examples from the Rodwells' excavation, none of the bowls is decorated.

Jugs are relatively common, with a minimum vessel number of twelve on the basis of the number of handles recovered, although it is possible that some of these may be from vessels other than jugs. Most of the jugs are comparable with those found during the Rodwells' excavation. There is one example of a thickened everted jug rim, which is the only jug rim belonging to Phase III, so this may be chronologically significant. Other jug rims are either thickened flat-topped and slightly everted (B2) (No. 12), are triangular (B3), have an external triangular bead (B5) (No. 13), or curved-over rims (D2). All these types are present by Phase V. No jug rims belong to Phase IV, or

its disuse. There are two examples of inturned jug rims (G1), one from an unphased context and one from Phase VI, where it may be residual. All jug handles, where present, are strap handles and are often decorated with oblique stab marks (Nos 12 and 13). Two handles have thumb edges, one of which also shows a column of broad shallow thumb marks along the centre. There is also one example of a ribbed handle. Spouts, where present, are pulled (No. 13). In addition, there are two ?jug (or perhaps cistern) bases showing a thumb applied strip around the basal angle (in Phases IV (disuse) and V). These are similar to examples from the Rodwells' excavation, occurring in their periods 6A and 6B, spanning the 13th and 14th centuries (Drury *et al.* 1993, fig 42. 115-6). Such a base was also found during excavations at Maldon Bus Station (Walker in prep. b). However when the Rivenhall and Maldon bases were compared, the fabrics, although similar, were not identical, so that there is no evidence that they are from the same source.

A small number of other vessel forms are present. These include a body sherd and the base of a possible bottle (No. 14, Phase V). It is similar to a bottle found at Colchester (Cotter 2000, fig.66.67). A bottle rim was also found at the Rodwells' excavation (Drury *et al.* 1993, fig.42.122). There is also the possibility that this is a Roman form. A fragment of decorated ?curfew (fire cover) was found in Phase III (No. 15), this form was also found by the Rodwells' (Drury *et al.* 1993, 86, fig. 42.121). In addition, a roundel cut out from a medieval coarse ware ?base occurs in Phase V (No. 16). Also something of an oddity is a flat-base sherd in Phase IV post-hole 1100. The possibility that this sherd is Roman has been discounted. Again flat-based ?cooking pots have been found at Maldon, both at the Bus Station and Post Office sites (Walker in prep. b; and Walker 1992, fig. 32.1-2). The flat bases from Maldon Bus Station were compared to the Rivenhall bases, and as with the thumb jug bases (above), the fabrics were similar, but not identical. The Rivenhall flat bases also differ in that they do not have untrimmed bases.

The source of the medieval coarse wares from Rivenhall has not been identified. In the assessment report it was noted that there were similarities between the Rivenhall pottery and the medieval coarse ware from a recently excavated occupation site at Maldon Bus Station (Walker in prep. b). However, on comparison, although there are similarities in form and sub-form, and the fabrics are broadly similar, they are not identical. Specifically inclusions of tufa were identified in some of the Maldon material but were not noted in the Rivenhall fabrics. Flat-based cooking pots also occur at Colchester, where they are quite a late form, dating to around the mid 14th-century (Cotter 2000, fig 68). The flat-based cooking pots from Maldon Post Office could also be 14th century as they were found with metalwork of this date (Major 1992, 149). It could therefore be the case that the pottery from Maldon and Rivenhall is similar because (at least some of it) is of the same late date, rather than because it was made at the same production centre.

A few sherds have been identified as Mill Green coarse ware (see below). None was positively identified as Hedingham coarse ware, although this is difficult to distinguish as it is grey and sandy like most other medieval coarse ware, but does differ in that it has a very fine matrix. Some preliminary work has been done on Hedingham coarse ware from a production site at Hole Farm, near Sible Hedingham (Walker in prep. a), and it was noted that the cavetto rim did not occur in the kiln assemblage. Therefore, it would seem that the cavetto rim, so common at this site, might not be a Hedingham type. In contrast, cooking pots with cavetto rims are one of the main products of the Mile End kilns, near Colchester (Drury and Petchey 1975, 37, fig.5). However, there are probably several other coarse ware kilns in the area awaiting discovery, that could have supplied Rivenhall, for example at Tiptree Heath (Cotter 2000, 93), 6km east of Rivenhall.

Mill Green coarse ware: Fabric 20C (0.5% of total) (Fig. 17.17)

This was made at Mill Green, near Ingatestone and is described by Pearce *et al.* (1982, 289-92) and Meddens and Redknap (1992, 17-8). Its date range is mid-13th to mid-14th centuries (but see 'Mill Green fine ware' for a further discussion of dating). Unlike other medieval coarse wares, this ware is normally oxidised and a uniform orange or red-brown with a grey core are typical colours. This accounts for only a very minor component of the assemblage and does not occur until

Phase V. Forms comprise part of a cooking pot with an H1 rim (No. 17).

Developed Stamford ware: Fabric 11B (<0.1% of the total)

One small green-glazed sherd of fine white ware in Phase V layer 1532 has been tentatively identified as Developed Stamford ware. It was made at Stamford in Lincolnshire from the early/mid 12th century to c.1250 (Kilmurry (1980):Mahany *et al.* (1982)).

Splashed glazed ware (<0.25% of the total) (Fig. 17.18)

The lower handle attachment (No. 18) and some body sherds from a jug were found (in Phases IV and V respectively). They have a pale grey fabric, with pale buff margins with inclusions of ill-sorted sands, sparse iron oxides, and sparse sub-rounded clay inclusions. The thin glaze is pale olive green and slightly pitted, and does not appear to contain copper. The lower strap handle attachment has been inserted through the vessel wall. The source of this ware has not been identified. Part of a Developed Lincolnshire splashed glazed ware jug was found during the Rodwells' excavation (Drury *et al.* 1993, 90, fig.45.181); this also has a pale grey fabric and light olive green glaze. On comparison with the Lincolnshire splash-glazed example, the two fabrics are similar (although the fabric is not particularly distinctive) as is the shape of the handle, although Drury's example has orange surfaces. It is therefore possible that this is a second example of Lincolnshire splashed glazed ware. The possibilities that this ware is Grimston-type ware (made in Norfolk) or Coarse London-type ware have been discounted. The suggested date for Drury's example of Lincolnshire-splashed glazed ware is the first quarter of the 13th century (Drury *et al.* 1993, 90). Whatever the source of No 18, the coarseness of the fabric and rather primitive glaze are consistent with an earlier 13th-century date.

Hedingham fine ware: Fabric 22 (3% of the total) (Fig. 17.19-21)

Since Drury's report was written, further work on the typology, dating and distribution of this ware has been published (Cotter 2000, 75-91) and the date range of Hedingham ware has been expanded to c. 1140/50 to 1350. However, it is probably true to say that in Essex most Hedingham ware dates to the later 12th and 13th centuries as postulated by Drury *et al.* At the 1999 excavation Hedingham ware first occurs in Phase II where it may be intrusive, and is present in most later phases. As is typical of this ware most of the sherds are from jugs, many of which are decorated. Four jug rims are present; all the rims are flat-topped and thickened on both sides. This is typical of Hedingham ware, and these rims occur on several different styles of jug (cf. Drury *et al.* 1993, fig. 43.128). Although most of the material is fragmented, it is now possible, from Cotter's work, to assign an approximate date from the decorative style.

Early rounded jugs. A sherd in layer 1532 (Phase V) shows a red slip lattice pattern and a pale green glaze as found on early rounded jugs (cf. Cotter 2000, fig. 49.1-4). Similar sherds occur in layer 1531 (Phase VI) and layer 1550 (Phase V) but have a clear glaze. Such decoration occurs on 'London-style' early rounded jugs dated c. 1140/50-1200 (Cotter 2000, 76-9, and 91, fig. 52). However, all three sherds show a creamy orange fabric, rather than a buff fabric more typical of the early style jugs and may belong to the later end of this date range. In addition, a strap handle with a buff fabric from layer 1538 (Phase VI) may also be from an early-style jug. Unfortunately all these sherds are residual in later phases.

Rouen style jugs. A sherd from the neck of a jug shows applied slip bands, and is an example of Rouen-style decoration dated c. 1200-1250 (No. 19).

Stamped strip jugs. One rim sherd shows part of a ring-and-dot stamp and is from a stamped strip jug. There are also three body sherds showing applied vertical strips, sometimes in a clay lighter in colour than that used for the body of the pot, which are probably also from stamped strip jugs. In addition, a sagging base sherd (in layer 1532, Phase V) shows oblique incised lines around the base, characteristic of stamped strip jugs (cf. Cotter 2000, fig.50.17). At Colchester this style of jug is datable to c. 1225-1300/25 (Cotter 2000, 91). However, at

Pleshey Castle a sherd from a stamped strip jug was recovered from period 1c-d dated to 'the later 12th C +' (Williams 1977, fig.31.15, p.28), so this may be a very long-lived decorative style. At the 1999 excavation the earliest occurrence of a sherd with applied strips is in Phase II (in pit/grave 1115) but could be intrusive here. The other applied strip sherds occur in Phase V (from ditch fill 1200) and in Phase VI cleaning layer 1120.

Pear-shaped or biconical jugs. There is a ribbed strap handle, squared in section (from layer 1540, Phase V) probably from a pear-shaped jug (Cotter 2000, 82). Also present are two examples of vertical combing as found on this type of jug (from pit 1276, Phase IV (disuse), and gravel bank 1539, Phase V), and one example of intersecting combing (also from pit 1276). The latter may also be from this type of jug, as pear-shaped jugs sometimes display diagonal combing (Cotter 2000, 82). The vertical combing may be in imitation of Mill Green ware. This style of jug is the latest in the Hedingham ware sequence, dating to c. 1250/75-1350 (Cotter 2000, 91).

Other forms. Other forms comprise a narrow rim and handle attaching at the rim (No. 20). There is a scar at end of handle (shown on illustration) where handle was attached to another part of the vessel, or could be a join in the handle producing a very sharply carinated handle. There is also shallow attachment scar just below rim at about 90° to the handle. This object could be part of an aquamanile, (a type of horizontal jug, in the shape of an animal used for washing the hands at meals). This is a well-known part of the Hedingham repertoire (Cunningham and Farmer 1983) but is not a common form. None was found at the Rodwells' excavations. An almost complete Hedingham ware aquamanile was found at Colchester (Cunningham and Farmer 1983, fig.3) and, in common with this example, shows a horizontal handle with stabbed decoration originating from the filler hole. However, the Colchester vessel shows the handle extending to the rear of the vessel without a change of angle or any intervening attachments. Vessel No. 20 may be an aquamanile of a more complex design. However, the rim profile is more like that of a jug, and it is possible that this part of a jug with a very narrow neck and a carinated handle; alternatively, it could be from a costrel. A fragment of Hedingham ware costrel was found at the Rodwells' excavation (Drury *et al.* 1993, 44.151), although apart from having a handle and narrow rim is not very similar.

Also present is an internally glazed rim from a dish form (No. 21). This may actually be from a dripping dish as a similar vessel, but with a more complete profile, was found at Colchester (Cotter 2000, fig.51.30). The internal glaze and specialised form indicate a date in the later medieval period for this vessel. Again this form does not occur at the Rodwells' excavations, but a number of forms were found there that appear to be typologically later than the jugs (Drury *et al.* 1993, 89).

Mill Green fine ware: Fabric 35 (11% of total) (Fig. 18.22)

Drury *et al.* 1993 assigned a probable later 13th to mid 14th-century date for this ware, based on its occurrence in London waterfront deposits (Pearce *et al.* 1982, 272-5). However, evidence is accruing for a slightly earlier start date of mid-13th century for this ware in Essex (Walker 1995, 114; Walker 1996a, 130). Drury *et al.* (1993, 89) consider Mill Green ware to be distributed throughout the southern half of Essex, but a recent survey shows many find spots in the northern half of the county (Meddens and Redknap 1992, fig.8). However, it is commonest in the southern half of Essex.

Here, it occurs in Phases V and VI, and in terms of sherd count (11% of the total) would appear to be very common for a fine ware. However, most of this total is accounted for by one vessel, an almost complete slip-painted, rounded jug from the top fill of ditch 1221 in Phase V (No. 22). Sherds from this jug also occur in three other contexts (see catalogue entry) and this one jug accounts for 89% of the total Mill Green ware, so in terms of vessel numbers represented the figure is low.

This jug with its rounded form, rilled neck and slip-decoration on the top half of the body is comparable to jugs found at the production site (cf. Meddens and Redknap 1992, fig 10). A number of other body sherds, also from jugs were found, some showing slip-painting. No

examples of the other main decorative style in this ware, slip-coating under a mottled green glaze, occurred. Sherds from bowl with a horizontal flanged rim were found in several Phase VI contexts (in layers 1531 and 1538). It is 280mm in diameter, shows traces of glaze and externally and is fire-blackened on the underside and under the rim. Coarse ware forms in a fine ware fabric and are not unknown in Mill Green ware and, for example, occur at Chigborough Farm (Walker 1998, fig. 111.12). No late medieval or Mill-Green type ware was found here.

Kingston-type ware: Fabric 23D (0.5% of total) (Fig. 18.23-4)

Kingston-type ware is part of the medieval Surrey white ware industry and has an off-white sandy fabric, which is coarse in comparison to most other white wares such as Stamford ware and continental white wares. It is described by Pearce and Vince (1988) and has the extreme date range of mid-13th to the end of the 14th century, flourishing during the period c. 1270-1340. Kingston-type ware is not uncommon in Essex, although it only occurs in quantity on sites bordering the river Thames. It has been found at other rural sites in the county, for example at a motte and bailey site at Great Easton (unpublished) and at Maidens Tye, a moated site near High Easter (Walker 1988).

At this excavation, Kingston-type ware occurs in Phase V and is residual in Phase VI. All the sherds found appear to be from jugs and finds include a very abraded jug (No. 23). It has a thickened flat-topped rim with an internal bevel, and the beginnings of a handle, which is squashed oval in section with two applied ears on the top. This almost certainly from a large baluster jug in the highly decorated style, datable to the mid-13th century (cf. Pearce and Vince 1988, 19-20). Unfortunately the vessel is so abraded no decoration can be seen, although there are traces of green glaze and the scar of an applied strip. Almost all the remaining sherds from other contexts show applied vertical strips under a green glaze. A number of these sherds, from contexts 1146, 1179, 1192, 1228, and 1426 are from the same vessel as No. 23 as evidenced by sherd linkages. The sherds are from the upper part of a jug and show not quite parallel strips, which are ridged in profile. At least one of the strips ends while still on the upper part of the jug. This type of decoration also occurs on highly decorated style jugs and these sherds may belong to the same vessel as rim No. 23, although they do not join (cf. Pearce and Vince 1988, fig. 48.2). To the author's knowledge this is the first example of mid-13th century Kingston-type ware to be identified in Essex. It is interesting because it predates the main period of Kingston-type ware production of c. 1270-1340 when it was imported into London in very large quantities, whereas in the mid-13th-century it forms only a minor component of Thames waterfront assemblages (Pearce and Vince 1988, fig.9).

Other featured sherds comprise a green-glazed rod handle (from layer 1540), rod handles were made throughout the lifetime of the industry and are not closely datable (Pearce and Vince 1988, 32). Also from layer 1540 is a sherd showing layers of applied pellets (No. 24), this may also an example of the highly decorated style and is comparable to a jug of this style published by Pearce (and Vince 1988, fig. 67.86). However, a closer parallel was found at a Kingston ware production site at Eden Street (Miller and Stephenson 1999, fig.35). This production site has been dated by pottery style and by archeometric dating to the earlier 14th century, most likely c.1300 to c.1330 (Miller and Stephenson 1999, 10-11). Therefore sherd No. 24 may be early 14th century and somewhat later than the other Kingston-type ware material, but does not occur in a stratigraphically later context.

Sandy orange ware: Fabric 21 (5.5% of total) (Fig. 18.25-6)

Drury (1993) assigns this fabric number to a fine red ware with similarities to Mill Green ware. However, in Cunningham's typology, Fabric 21 is sandy orange ware, comprising any locally made quartz sand-tempered, oxidised ware with a date range of 13th to 16th centuries. For a discussion of late medieval sandy orange ware, see Cunningham (1985a, 1).

This ware, as it is a general category, is fairly common, and occurs in Phases IV, V and VI. The sherds in layer 1059 (Phase IV) appear to be quite early; they are unglazed and show wavy line combing on the body and may be an oxidised version of early medieval ware. Combed

sherds from the same vessel also occur in layer 1532 (Phase V). Many other sherds appear to be from medieval jugs, especially in Phase V, and slip-painting and glaze are common methods of surface treatment. Sherd No. 25 shows lattice style slip-painting very common on medieval jugs. Two examples show slip-coating under a green glaze and there are single examples of applied strips and applied pellets.

Jar forms comprise an everted flanged rim with a handle attachment scar on the underside of the flange and a plain lead glaze on the top of the flange (ditch fill 1228, group 1533, Phase V). This is probably from a cauldron dating to the 14th or 15th centuries. One jar from Phase VI has a hollowed everted rim and a partial internal glaze (No. 26) and is most likely to belong to the 15th century, although a 16th-century date cannot be precluded. Also found is the bung-hole from a cistern in layer 1179 (Phase VI) with a similar date range to jar No. 26.

Colchester ware: Fabric 21A (1% of total) (Fig. 18.27-8)

This is a type of sandy orange ware made in the Colchester area, that can be differentiated from other local sandy orange wares by its abundant white quartz inclusions and harsh feel. Since Drury's 1993 report, further work has been done on Colchester ware (Cotter 2000, 107-80) and the date range has been expanded to c. 1200-1550. At the 1999 excavation, Colchester-type ware first occurs in Phase IV, but unfortunately comprises a single unfeatured sherd, which could be medieval or late medieval in date. Otherwise this ware occurs in Phases V and VI.

Forms comprise fragments of jugs including the rim of a baluster jug (from layers 1538, 1540) and bases of two baluster jugs (Nos 27-8). The rim is thickened and slightly inturned, and the handle, which is sub-oval in section, joins just below the rim. It is comparable to an example published by Cotter (2000, fig. 71.7), although the handle is ribbed (more like Cotter's fig. 71.10). The rim shows a copper green glaze but no underlying slip-coating or any other type of decoration. This means that the jug cannot be dated by decorative style (Cotter 2000, 113); however, this rim and handle form occurs on early-style Colchester ware baluster jugs dating to c. 1250-1350 or later (Cotter 2000, 127). Neither base No. 27 or 28 shows glaze or decoration. This may be because the decoration does not extend down to the base, or because the jug is plain anyway, so that, like the rim, the bases cannot be dated by decorative style. However, later baluster jugs have more exaggerated pedestal bases (Cotter 2000, 113) and Nos 26 and 27 are more like the bases found on earlier type baluster jugs, indicating that they are of the same date range as the jug rim.

Of the remaining Colchester ware, there is one example of slip-painting under a plain lead glaze, which is probably of a similar date to the baluster jug fragments. Also present is a flat-base probably from a jug (from ditch fill 1240), which is unglazed and shows an even coating of cream slip, covering the entire external surface including the underside of the base. This may be late medieval in date.

Buff wares: Fabric 34 (2% of total)

A number of sherds are present with a hard, virtually unglazed buff fabric. On closer inspection, these could be divided into three categories, 'Suffolk' buff ware, fine buff ware, and other buff ware.

'Suffolk' buff ware (Fabric 34S): Sherds from a jug with a thumbled base and sparse glaze with green flecks are the only examples of Suffolk buff ware found in the 1999 excavation. This ware has a hard, well-fired, thin-walled, buff coloured sandy fabric, with occasional lens-shaped inclusions of paler clay, and often has an ill-defined very pale grey core. The origin of this ware is unknown but it has been found at Saffron Walden in northwest Essex (Walker 2002) and occurs around south Suffolk and in the Stowmarket area, suggesting it is a Suffolk product (Sue Anderson pers. comm.). A 14th-century date is suggested for Suffolk buff ware based on its occurrence here, and its association at Saffron Walden with Cambridgeshire Sgraffito ware dating to the 14th to early 15th centuries (see below).

'Fine' buff ware also has a hard well-fired fine sandy fabric, but is completely unglazed. Although sherds are buff, there is a lot of variation in colour. Often surfaces, especially the external surfaces, are a darker buff-grey and cores are often red-buff, while other sherds are creamy-orange apart from a buff external surface. Several sherds

appear to be from jugs, comprising a flat-topped, slightly inturned rim with a ribbed handle joining at the rim. A second jug rim shows a pulled spout. There is also a plain flat-base from a jug, and the shoulder of a jug, its shape suggesting a jug with a bulbous body and a more or less upright rim, of Cunningham's form D4, D5 or D6 (Cunningham 1985, fig. 8). There is also a sagging base sherd perhaps from a jug or a cistern. The plainness and form of the jug fragments suggest a late medieval date for this ware of perhaps the 14th to 15th centuries.

'Other' buff ware comprises buff ware sherds that do not fit into the other categories. Again all the sherds are unglazed, but are much coarser than the other fabrics. No featured sherds occur in this category. All buff wares occur in Phases V and VI, although fine buff ware is more common in Phase VI.

Cheam white ware: Fabric 23E (<0.1% of total)

Cheam white ware is a type of Surrey white ware dating to the second half of the 14th century to the mid 15th century or later, and is described by Pearce and Vince (1988). Only one sherd of this ware is present, occurring in layer 1531 in Phase VI.

Cambridgeshire sgraffito ware: Fabric 21C (<0.25% of total) (Fig. 18.29)

Fragments from a jug showing sgraffito decoration occur in Phase VI (No. 29). It is typical of Cambridgeshire sgraffito ware, possessing a sandy orange fabric which is relatively fine and highly fired and is a uniform bright orange without a grey core. Cambridgeshire sgraffito ware dates to the 14th and early 15th centuries (Bushnell and Hurst 1952, 21-6).

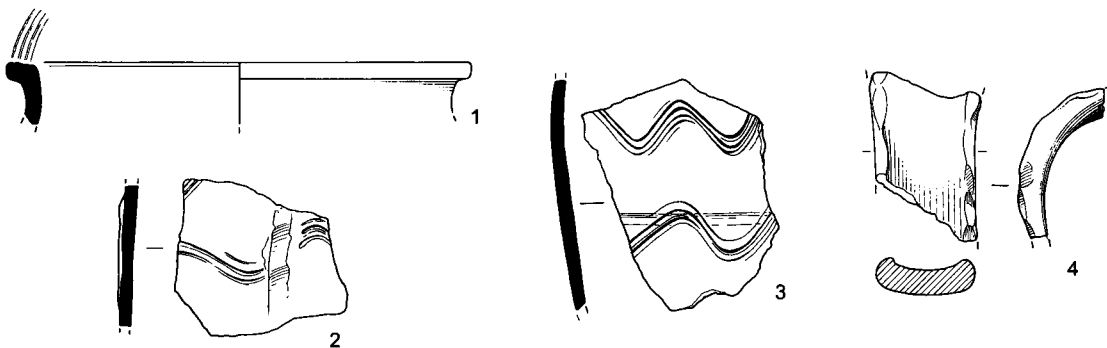
Unprovenanced sgraffito ware (<0.1% of total) (Fig. 18.30)

The base of a bowl or wide-rimmed cup with internal sgraffito decoration and green glaze was found in Phase VI (No. 30). It has a red-firing sandy fabric, but does not appear to be either Cambridgeshire sgraffito ware or Colchester sgraffito ware (Cotter 2000, 166-71). Sgraffito ware in such a fabric was also found during the Rodwells' excavation and was tentatively identified as Low Countries sgraffito ware datable to c. 1400 (Drury 1993, 92, fig. 46.192-3). Visual examination of the Sgraffito ware from the Rodwells' excavation by the author show the fabric of no. 193 to be virtually identical in terms of fabric, slip and glaze to base No. 30, although no published parallel for this vessel in Low Countries slipware was found by the author.

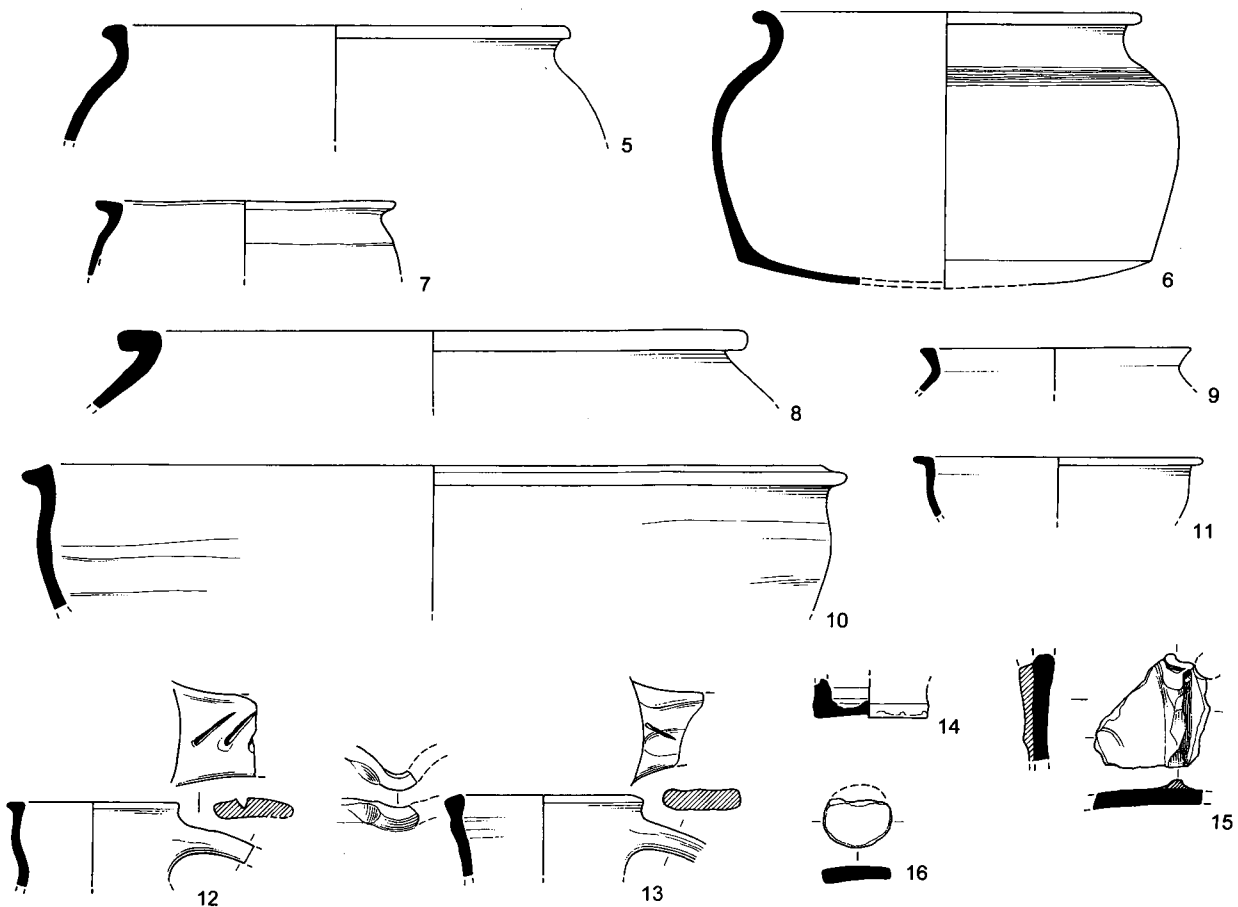
The catalogue (Figs 17-18)

1. Cooking-pot rim: early medieval ware; thick brown-grey core; red-brown surfaces; combing on rim; fire-blackened on external surface. Layer 1192, Group 1540, Phase V.
2. Fragment of storage jar; early medieval ware; reddish interior, darker slightly mottled surfaces; wavy line combing and thumbled applied strip (applied after the combing). Fill 1129 (Hollow 1130), Phase IV.
3. Fragment of storage jar: early medieval ware; wavy line combing; single patch of fire-blackening on external surface; could be from same vessel as No. 2. Layer 1059, Phase IV.
4. Strap handle: early medieval ware; perhaps from jug or tripod pitcher; thick brown-grey core, some carbonised organic inclusions; red-brown surface; thumbled edges; fire-blackened on upper surface of handle. Fill 1339 (Ditch 1283) Group 1534, Phase III.
5. Cooking-pot rim: medieval coarse ware; very dark grey surfaces; pale grey interior; mainly grey and milky quartz sand inclusions; sparse carbonised organic matter; no evidence of use. Context 1514 (ditch) Phase V.
6. Complete profile of squat cooking pot: medieval coarse ware; very dark grey surfaces, reddish brown interior; also reddish brown on underside of base; similar fabric to No. 5; knife-trimming above base; band of horizontal striations above shoulder; patches of fire-blackening under rim and around shoulder; internal surface is abraded and somewhat pitted. Layer 1140, Group 1540, and Layer 1302, Group 1541; Phase V.

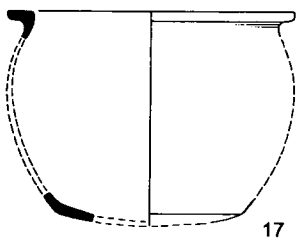
Early medieval ware



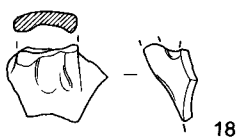
Medieval coarse ware



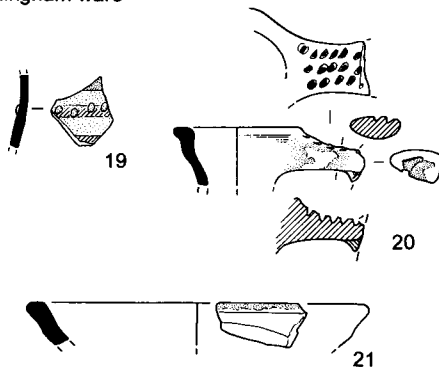
Mill Green coarse ware



?Lincolnshire splashed-glazed ware



Hedingham ware

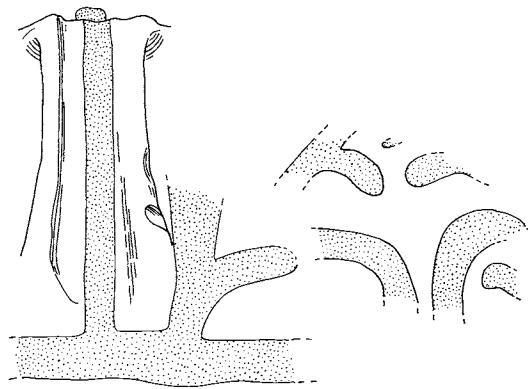
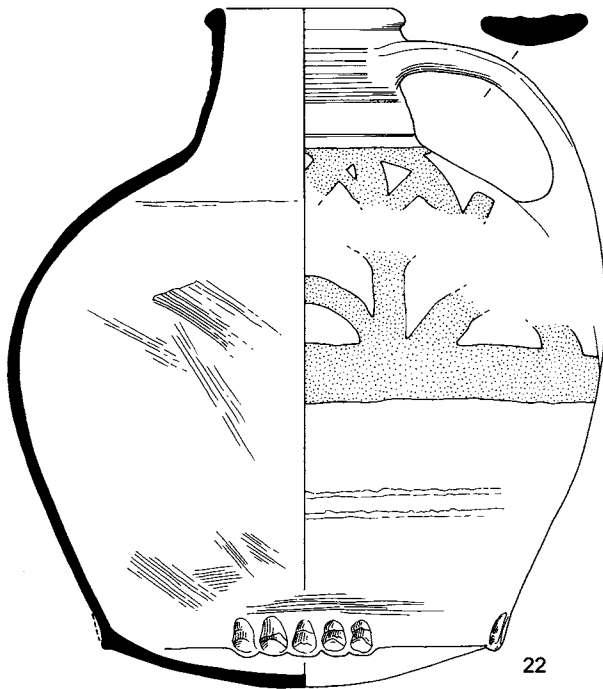


0 100mm

Fig. 17 Rivenhall Church. Medieval pottery (1 - 21)

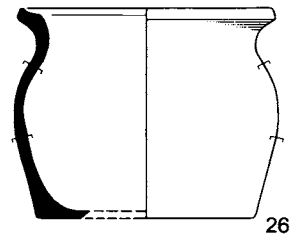
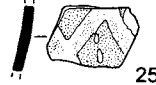
7. Rim of small cooking pot: medieval coarse ware; dark grey throughout; mainly grey and milky quartz sand inclusions; both surfaces are pock-marked; internal surface partially laminated; surviving internal surface shows off-white residue. Analysis showed traces of metals including copper, and organic residues, mainly bees wax and oxalic acid (Evans J. 'Residue analysis'). Layer 1192, Group 1540, Phase V.
8. Storage jar or cooking-pot rim: medieval coarse ware; very abraded surfaces, almost all of surface missing apart on the top of the rim; pale grey internal surface; mainly pale grey and milky quartz sand inclusions; some carbonised material and yellowish-brown oxides. Fill 1200 (ditch 1221) and Fill 1240 (ditch 1248) Group 1533, Phase V.
9. Pipkin rim: medieval coarse ware; dark grey throughout; relatively fine fabric with only moderate inclusions of quartz sand; some large brown inclusions probably iron oxide. Layer 1122, Group 1538, Phase VI.
10. Bowl: classified as medieval coarse ware but transitional between early medieval ware and medieval coarse ware; yellowish-brown surfaces, ill-defined pale grey core and quite fine tempering; occasional patches of fire-blackening around the inside of the rim. Fill 1384 (pit/ditch end 1385) Phase III.
11. Bowl; medieval coarse ware; pale grey surfaces, dark grey margins and pale grey core; mainly grey and milky quartz sand inclusions; sparse carbonised organic matter; may be wheel-made; no evidence of use. Layer 1154, Group 1538, Phase VI.
12. Jug rim; medieval coarse ware; dark surface, pale grey core; inclusions of mainly grey and milky quartz sands and sparse brown iron oxides, very similar fabric to that of cooking pots Nos 5 and 8; stabbed decoration on handle; plug can be seen on internal surface of the neck where handle has been inserted through the vessel wall. Fill 1430 (ditch 1431) Group 1533, Phase V.
13. Jug rim: medieval coarse ware; pale grey surfaces; dark grey interiors; similar fabric to others grey and milky quartz sand also sparse brown oxides, carbonised material; fabric very similar to bowl No. 11; stabbed decoration on handle. Fill 1200 (ditch 1221) Group 1533, Phase V and Layer 1154, Group 1538, Phase VI.
14. Base of a bottle: medieval coarse ware; grey surfaces, reddish interior, apart from pale grey core where vessel walls are at their thickest; similar range of inclusions to other illustrated medieval coarse ware but also moderate red oxide inclusions; appears to be wheel-made; underside of base shows curving striations possibly where the vessel was taken off the wheel. Fill 1240 (ditch 1248) Group 1533, Phase V.
15. Fragment from the top of a curfew: medieval coarse ware; very dark grey surfaces, reddish margins and grey core; similar range of inclusions to the other illustrated medieval coarse ware; thumbled applied strip; remains of ventilation hole; curved striation may be accidental or part of a pattern as curfews were often highly decorated (see Walker 1996a, fig.19.28 for an example of a decorated curfew). Fill 1441 (ditch 1283) Group 1534, Phase III.
16. Roundel: medieval coarse ware; probably cut out from a sagging base, therefore an example of secondary use; roughly filed edges; abraded; may have been used as a gaming piece or counter. Two pottery counters from Norwich are published, both found in 14th-century contexts (Margeson 1993, 217). This object could also have served as a makeshift lid, perhaps for bottle No. 14. Layer 1042 (Group 1532), Phase V.
17. Rim and base of a cooking pot: Mill Green coarse ware; bright orange surfaces and grey core; fire-blackened under base. Fill 1231 (ditch 1431) Group 1533, Phase V.
18. Lower handle attachment from jug: splashed-glazed ware (possibly from Lincolnshire); see fabrics section for description. Layer 1058, Phase IV.
19. Neck of jug: Hedingham ware; creamy orange fabric, ill-defined pale grey core; Rouen-style decoration comprising plastic white slip applied strips and pellets; partial red slip-coating underlying the plastic decoration; a plain lead glaze gives yellow plastic decoration, a red background where there is red slip-coating and a honey coloured background where slip is absent. Layer 1042, Group 1532, Phase V.
20. Rim and handle: Hedingham ware; creamy orange fabric, pale grey core where vessel walls are at their thickest; stabbed decoration on top of handle; metallic green glaze on top of rim and handle; also streaks of clear glaze indicating glaze was applied in two operations as postulated by Drury (1976, 268); attachment scar at end of handle. Layer 1302 (Group 1541) Phase V.
21. Dish rim: Hedingham ware; uniform buff-orange fabric, fairly coarse fabric for Hedingham ware; knife-trimmed externally; internal mottled green glaze; a base sherd from this vessel (not illustrated) also with an internal green glaze, occurred in the same context; could be from a dripping dish, but there is no evidence of fire-blackening. Layer 1192, Group 1540, Phase V.
22. Almost complete but fragmented jug; Mill Green ware; typical in form, fabric, and manufacture; hard, brick-red fabric with grey core, although external surface is reduced in places; slap-dash slip-painting under a plain lead-glazed which imparts a buttery colour to the slip and an olive-green background; inside of base slightly pock-marked as are parts of the girth and shoulder externally; some wear on top of rim and at edge of handle. This vessel was broken when found and there is no evidence that it was ritually deposited. Occurs mainly in Fill 1200 (ditch 1221); also sherds in interface 1179, Layer 1192, Group 1540, and Fill 1427 (ditch recut 1428), Group 1533; all from Phase V except 1179, in Phase VI.
23. Rim of highly decorated style large baluster jug: Kingston-type ware; typical fabric; very abraded, only patches of green glaze remain; scar of a vertical applied strip (not shown on drawing); plug can be seen on the inside of the neck where the handle was inserted through the vessel wall. Layer 1330, Group 1550, Phase V.
24. Sherd from jug: Kingston-type ware; typical fabric; layers of superimposed applied pellets; also the remains of a vertical applied strip; mottled green glaze; highly decorated or later style. Layer 1256, Group 1540, Phase V.
25. Sherd from jug: sandy orange ware; orange outer surface, thick grey core, buff internal surface; slip-painted lattice pattern; plain lead glaze. Fill 1200 (ditch 1221) Group 1533, Phase V.
26. Part of a jar: sandy orange ware; uniform orange fabric except for paler core where vessel walls are at their thickest; abraded; traces of glaze on the inside of the base and the inside of the flange; two sherds have been burnt after breakage. Layer 1018, Group 1531, Phase VI.
27. Base of baluster jug: Colchester ware; orange margins, slightly darker 'skin' and grey core; slight thumbing around base; occasional splashes of plain lead glaze; chipped around basal angle possibly deliberately; most of the base is missing leaving a circular hole; this may have been deliberate or due to a weakness in manufacture. Fill 1200 (ditch 1221), Group 1533, in Phase V and Layer 1146, Group 1531, Layer 1154, Group 1538, in Phase VI.
28. Base of baluster jug: Colchester ware; orange margins, grey core and grey surfaces; splashes of glaze under base; faint vertical scratch marks. Layer 1154, Group 1538, Phase VI.
- 29a, b. Fragments from body and handle of small Cambridgeshire sgraffito ware jug: cream slip-coating; partial clear lead glaze showing green flecks; handle poked through from the outside with a skewer-like tool showing as small bumps on internal surface. Layer 1146 (Group 1531) and layer 1279 (Group 1538) Phase VI.
30. Base of bowl or wide-rimmed cup form: Unprovenanced sgraffito ware; sandy oxidised fabric, with darker external surface; faceting above base probably done by knife-trimming; internal white slip-coating; repeating floral design; all over internal mottled green glaze; thin green glaze also on external surface and on underside of base; much of the base is missing, either this is accidental as the base is very thin, or the base was knocked out deliberately indicating some sort of secondary use. Dump 1179, Phase VI.

Mill Green ware

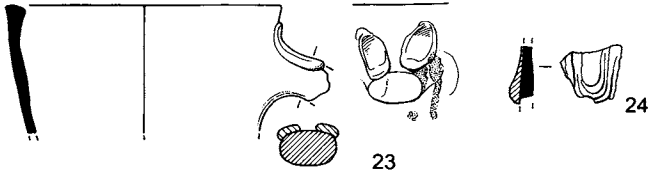


White slip

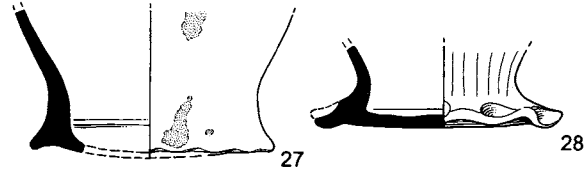
Sandy orange ware



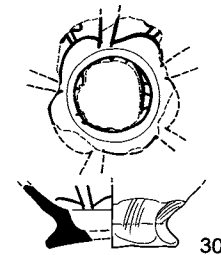
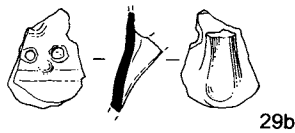
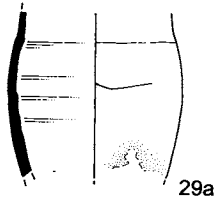
Kingston-type ware



Colchester ware



Sgraffito wares



0 100mm

Fig. 18 Rivenhall Church. Medieval pottery (22 – 30)

Summary of pottery by phase

Phase II (11th-12th century)

Very little pottery belongs to this phase, ten sherds weighing 78g. Much of the pottery is from grave fills. Finds comprise Thetford-type ware jar rims, early medieval ware, medieval coarse ware and a sherd from a Hedingham ware strip jug. Both grave fills were cut by later ditches, and the pottery from feature 1115 could be the result of contamination from later phases, so that both the medieval coarse ware and the Hedingham ware could be intrusive.

Phase III (earlier 13th century)

A small amount of pottery, 122 sherds weighing 1.4kg, was excavated, with an average sherd size of 12g. The pottery comprises mainly medieval coarse ware, with some early medieval ware and single sherds of shell-and-sand-tempered ware and Hedingham ware.

Some of the pottery comes from features probably relating to the Rodwells' Building 6, the first phase of the priest's house. Here the only featured sherds come from pit/ditch end 1385 comprising a medieval coarse ware jug fragment with a simple thickened rim, and part of a large bowl perhaps dating to the earlier 13th century (No. 10). Such large, wide bowls were sometimes used in dairying (McCarthy and Brooks 1988, 109-10).

Feature type	Context	Thetford-type ware	shell-& sand tempered	early medieval ware	medieval coarse ware	Hedingham ware	Wt (g)
grave 1282	1246	2			1		33
grave 1483	1481				1		2
pit/grave 1115	1116					1	8
Tree bowl 1254	1253		1	4			35
Total							78

Table 2. The pottery from Phase II by feature, fabric and sherd count

Relatively large amounts of pottery came from north-south ditches 1534 and 1535 forming the boundary of the priest's house. The most common vessel type from both ditches are fragments from medieval coarse ware cooking pots. These are all developed rims comprising examples of H2, H1 and cavetto rims suggesting these ditches were infilled in the earlier 13th century. Ditch 1534 which produced the larger assemblage also contained part of a pipkin (a type of small cooking vessel), part of a ?curfew (a fire-cover) (No. 15) and the handle from an early medieval ware jug or tripod pitcher (No. 4). The only fine ware is a single sherd of green glazed Hedingham ware, found in ditch 1535.

All fills of both ditches 1534 and 1535 produced similar pottery, showing both features could have been infilled at the same time. However, no sherd linkages between the two ditches were noted, and

Group	Feature	Context	shell-& sand tempered	early medieval ware	medieval coarse ware	Hedingham ware	Wt (g)
1534	ditch 1283	1273		1	13		139
		1339	1	3	39		403
		1397			8		92
		1442		1	8		108
		1441		1	9		171
1535	ditch 1314	1332			3		60
		1291		2	2	1	23
		1386			11		161
	pit/ditch end 1385	1384		1	10		183
		post-hole 1528	1527			1	2
		post-hole 1316	1315			1	16
		F1334	1331			6	61
Total						1419	

Table 3. The pottery from Phase III by fabric feature and sherd count

the assemblages differ in that some of the pottery from ditch 1535 is abraded, and sherds of Roman and prehistoric pottery are also present, indicating high residuality. In contrast, the pottery from ditch 1534 is unabraded and no material from earlier periods was noted. However, in terms of average sherd weight, an indicator of how broken

Area	Group	Feature type	Context	shell-& sand tempered	early medieval ware	Splashed glaze ware	medieval coarse ware	Sandy orange ware	Hedingham ware	Colchester ware	Wt (g)
North	1542	Layer	1387				1				7
	Structure A	post-hole 1471	1470		1						23
		red clay 1490	1490				6				51
		slot 1414	1413				1				7
		pit 1276	1275				2		2		34
	Disuse	pit 1325	1323		2						8
		post-hole 1278	1277				1				10
		slot 1434	1285				1				7
		slot 1469	1468				3				8
layer 1503						1				3	
South	1537	layer			2		25			1	297
		layer	1058		3	1	3				110
	above or cutting 1537	layer	1059		6		9	4			360
		post-hole 1079	1077				5				64
		gully 1117	1118		1		2				49
		hollow 1130	1129		2						66
		gully 1132	1131		1						12
	Group of post-holes & layer	post-hole 1148	1147				4				56
		post-hole 1050	1051				1				7
		post-hole 1070	1071		1		1				12
		post-hole 1100	1101				4				40
1547	layer	1055				3				13	
	layer					4				58	
Total	Pottery from other Phase IV contexts				2		7				76
											1378

Table 4. The pottery in Phase IV by fabric, feature and sherd count

RIVENHALL REVISITED

up the assemblage is, ditch 1535 actually has a slightly higher sherd weight of 13g, as opposed to 11g for ditch 1534. Cross-fits were noted between ditch 1534 and some of the South Area features cutting layer 1537 and layer 1058/9 in Phase IV.

The large numbers of coarse wares from features relating to the priest's house suggest that these vessels come from a service area, most likely from the kitchen.

Phase IV (13th century)

A total of 113 sherds weighing 1378g with an average sherd size of 13g was recovered from this phase. The range of fabrics and their ratios are comparable to those of Phase III. This phase probably equates to the Rodwells' Period 6a, Building 10, the second priest's house.

Most features produced small amounts of undiagnostic medieval coarse ware with some early medieval ware. However, layer 1537 in the South Area produced a relatively large group of cooking pots comprising rims B2, B4, E5A and cavetto rims. All these would have been current during the earlier 13th century, apart from rim type E5A, which is datable to the late 13th to 14th century. However as layer 1537 was cut by later features, this example may be intrusive. Also from this layer was the sherd of Colchester ware, it is

unfortunately undecorated and unglazed and therefore not closely datable.

Diagnostic sherds from the features overlying or cutting layer 1537 comprise part of an early medieval ware ?storage jar decorated with wavy line combing and thumbled applied strips from hollow 1130 (No. 2). Illustration No. 3 from layer 1059 may be part of the same vessel. In addition, the sherds in layer 1059 classified as sandy orange also show wavy line combing on the body and may in fact be an oxidised version of early medieval ware. The only example of a fine ware in this phase is part of a (?Lincolnshire) splash glazed jug from layer 1058 perhaps datable to the first quarter of the 13th century. Again, most of the wares in this phase are coarse wares perhaps deriving from the kitchen area of the priest's house. There are vertical sherd linkages between layer 1023 in Group 1537 and layer 1039, which is part of group 1532 in Phase V.

A very small amount of pottery, eleven sherds weighing 70g, was excavated from features cutting Structure A in the North Area. Nearly all features produced undiagnostic sherds of early medieval ware or medieval coarse ware, apart from pit 1276, which produced a medieval coarse ware jug handle and two sherds of decorated Hedingham ware probably from pear-shaped or biconical jug datable to c. 1250/75-1350 (see fabrics section).

Area	Group	Feature type	Context	Context																Wt (g)		
				Theetford-type ware	St Neots-type ware	shell tempered	shell-& sand	sand with shell	early medieval ware	Dev. Stamford ware	Splash-glaze ware	medieval coarse ware	Hedingham ware	Mill Green coarse ware	Mill Green fine ware	Kingston-type	Sandy orange	buff ware	fine buff ware		Suffolk buff ware	Colchester ware
North	1532	layer				2		85	1	322	8	3	2		7	3				4554		
	1533	ditch 1221	1200					3		62	1		225		4		1		2	3110		
			1210					3		28				1	4		1			329		
	1533	ditch 1237	1228							6			2	1	3					212		
			1236							16										191		
			1286							12						1				90		
	1533	ditch 1239	1230							5			1		1					71		
			1231							3	1		2							50		
	1533	ditch 1248	1240	2					1		20	1								1	340	
			1280								8										113	
	1533	ditch 1409	1303								2										4	
			1304								2										12	
			1408								1										3	
			1425								2										14	
	1533	ditch 1431	1426								2				1						16	
			1429								1										2	
			1430								3	1				1					142	
	1533	recut 1424	1423							2										20		
	1533	recut 1428	1427							3			1							172		
	1540	layer			1	2	2	1	8		258	18	1	2	5	10		2		3	2388	
1541	layer							6		67	12				1	2		1		962		
1550	layer							6		27	2	1		1						312		
1539	gravel bank				1			2		131	6	2		1	5	4	2			1122		
-		ditch	1024							5										48		
-		ditch	1514							3										104		
South	1545	ditch 1062	1063							2										44		
		ditch 1064	1065					1												18		
		ditch	1048					2		5										106		
	1549	layer								9										60		
Total				2	1	3	4	1	117	1	3	1005	49	9	233	10	37	9	6	1	6	14609

Table 5. Pottery in Phase V by feature, fabric and sherd count

Phase V (14th century)

This phase produced by far the largest assemblage of pottery, a total of 1497 sherds weighing 14.6kg, with an average sherd weight of 10g. This phase probably relates to the Rodwells' Period 6b when the third priest's house, Building 9, was built. However, much of the pottery is either residual or occurs in contexts that have been open for a long period of time. For example, early medieval ware accounts for 8% of the total pottery but this ware is thought to have gone out of use by the earlier 13th century, a century earlier than the most recent pottery in this phase.

There were sherd linkages between all the Phase V groups apart from layer 1550, at the bottom of the sequence. Most of these fits appear to originate from the top fill of ditch segment 1221 (fill 1200, ditch 1533) indicating that the upper ditch fill and the layers were being deposited at the same time. There was also a sherd link between lower ditch fill 1210 (ditch segment 1221, ditch 1533) and layer 1192 in layer 1540.

Very little pottery was found in layer 1550, although it did produce a highly decorated Kingston-type ware jug rim (No. 23) and a sherd of Mill Green coarse ware, both appearing for the first time in the sequence.

Layer 1541 produced some large and unabraded sherds indicating low residuality. As with the earlier phases, coarse ware cooking pots and jugs are the commonest find, and include a complete profile of a small cooking pot with a cavetto rim (No. 6). Fine wares include Hedingham ware oddity No. 20, sherds of sandy orange ware, and buff ware including Suffolk buff ware, although the latter cross-fits with a sherd in Phase VI and may be intrusive.

Midden layer 1540 produced many other finds as well as pottery. There are a few Roman sherds to indicate residuality, and the pottery is largely unabraded. There are relatively large amounts of fine wares, such as further sherds of Kingston-type ware, including the possible 14th-century sherd (No. 24). Hedingham ware is common and there is an unusual internally-glazed Hedingham ware dish (No. 21) and the handle from a Hedingham ware pear-shaped or biconnical jug. This is a later 13th- to mid-14th-century type and therefore current in this phase. Mill Green fine ware occurs for the first time in the sequence. There are several sherds of sandy orange ware and one sherd of Colchester ware, which first appeared in Phase IV. Also occurring for the first time in the sequence are sherds of fine buff ware. Coarse wares are again common and include examples in early medieval ware (No. 1) and Shelly wares as well as in medieval coarse ware (including part of semi-complete cooking pot No. 6, which also occurs in layer 1541). There are cooking pots of types spanning the period c. 1200 to the late 13th to 14th centuries. Such a long date range indicates the midden may have been open/in use over a long period. One of the cooking pots shows a pitted laminated surface with a white internal residue and was sent for residue analysis. Organic residues were detected and tentatively identified as beeswax and oxalic acid, which may indicate the cooking pot contained a mead beer (residue analysis, below). Also present were traces of copper, but this could be contamination from copper-alloy objects also within layer 1540. Other coarse ware forms comprise the remains of jugs and bowls.

Ditch 1533 contained another large group, weighing 5kg. However, the amount of pottery within each ditch segment varies, with segment 1221 producing 3.5kg, while segment 1409 produced only 19g. This shows differential dumping of pottery within the ditch. Most of the pottery is unabraded. Each ditch segment contained several fills, most showing little difference in the date of the fills, although the latest pottery came from ditch segment 1221 (sherds of 14th to 15th century fine buff ware) and the upper fills of ditch segment 1248 (fill 1240; ?late medieval Colchester ware) and ditch segment 1237 (fill 1228; a 14th to 15th-century Sandy orange ware cauldron rim). The ditch recuts 1424 and 1228 did not produce pottery later than that from the main fills. Within the ditch, there are sherd linkages between:

- both fills of ditch segment 1221
- the upper fill 1200 (ditch segment 1221) and fill 1240 (ditch segment 1248) and fill 1427 (ditch recut 1428)
- between fill 1228 (ditch segment 1237) and fill 1230 (ditch segment 1239)

The sherd linkages indicate that at least some of the pottery was deposited at the same time or that the fills had become mixed. Several fine wares are present (e.g. Sandy orange ware jug No. 25) all of which also occur in layers 1550/1541/1540. However, ditch segment 1239 produced sherds of the (?Lincolnshire) splash-glazed jug, which is residual here. An almost complete but broken Mill Green ware jug (No.22) was found in the ditch, most of which occurs in upper fill 1200 of ditch segment 1221. Its surfaces are pockmarked (see catalogue entry) indicating the vessel may have undergone some kind of secondary use. As with the layers, medieval coarse ware is by far the commonest coarse ware. Apart from cooking pots, there are also fragments of a possible storage jar (No. 8), jugs (No. 12), and a flat base from a ?bottle (No. 14). In addition, there is part of a Mill Green coarse ware cooking pot (No. 17). Several cross-fits between this ditch and other groups were noted, between layers 1540 and 1541, and earlier layer 1537 in the South Area, indicating both vertical and horizontal movement of pottery around the site. The ditch was most likely infilled during the 14th century.

Cultivation layer 1532 covered much of the excavation area and contained a large quantity of pottery (4.5kg), with some residuality: Roman, Saxon and prehistoric sherds are present and much of the medieval pottery is abraded. The pottery is similar to that from earlier phases comprising mainly medieval coarse ware 13th-century type cooking-pot rims, with small amounts of early medieval ware and Hedingham fine ware (No. 19). Other coarse ware forms comprise bowl rims and a very unusual cut-out roundel (No. 16), which may have been used as a gaming piece, a counter, or lid. Also found is a possible sherd of developed Stamford ware. However, some later pottery was found within this layer, such as Mill Green ware, and H3 cooking-pot rims datable to the late 13th to 14th centuries. Part of a slip-painted and-glazed sandy orange ware jug from layer 1532 may also be of this later date.

As much of this pottery comes from the northern part of the excavation, it is probably also associated with the priest's house. The assemblage shows the typical ratio of mainly coarse wares with a smaller amount of fine wares and indicates that the pottery came from both service and living areas. All the unusual forms, such as the Hedingham ware dish and narrow-necked form, the ?bottle base and the roundel, come from this phase.

A small amount of pottery was excavated from gravel bank 1539, overlying both layer 1540 and east-west ditch 1533. The pottery is similar to that from these earlier groups and there is a sherd link between this group and ditch 1533. No new wares are present and none of the pottery can be demonstrated to be later than that from the preceding groups. Ditch 1545 and rubble layer 1549 also belong to Phase V, but produced only residual sherds of earlier 13th-century pottery.

Phase VI (15th century)

This phase represents the abandonment of the priest's house (Rodwells' Period 6c) and comprises pottery from dump 1179 which overlay Phase V ditch 1533 and succeeding layers 1538 and 1531. A total of 507 sherds weighing 4.7kg was excavated, with an average sherd size of 9g.

The pottery is similar to that from the latest contexts in Phase V and there are several sherd linkages with Phase V contexts. Appearing for the first time in the sequence, however, are sherds of Cambridgeshire sgraffito ware (No. 29), the possible Low Countries sgraffito ware vessel (No. 30) and a single sherd of Cheam white ware, providing a date of the second half of 14th to 15th centuries for this phase. In addition, dump 1179 produced a sandy orange ware bunghole from a cistern most likely dating to the 15th century.

The amount of Sandy orange ware increased in this phase and late medieval forms probably dating to the 15th century, such as a lid-seated jar rim (No.26) and the bunghole from a cistern, are present. In addition, internally glazed Sandy orange ware sherds occur for the first time. Late medieval fine buff ware, which first appears in Phase V becomes more common in this phase: other wares such as Hedingham ware have decreased. However, as with earlier groups there is still a considerable amount of 13th-century material suggesting that this was a levelling deposit incorporating earlier material.

RIVENHALL REVISITED

Group	Feature type	Context															Wt (g)		
			shell-& sand	sand with shell	early medieval ware	medieval coarse ware	Hedingham ware	Mill Green coarse ware	Mill Green fine ware	Kingston-type	Sandy orange	buff ware	fine buff ware	Suffolk buff ware	Colchester ware	Camb. sgraffito		Cheam white ware	?Low Countries sgraffito ware
1531	layer		1		6	125	2	1	4	1	34	1	15		2	2	1		1885
1538	layer		1	2	3	133	3	1	17		35		6	2	6	1			2065
	dump	1179			1	57			3	13	1	16		9		1		1	792
Total																			4742

Table 6. Pottery in Phase VI by feature, fabric and sherd count

Medieval coarse ware is still very common and as this ware continues into the 14th century, some of it could be current in this phase, although it is difficult to tell what is current and what is residual. Of interest is a second example of a medieval coarse ware base with an applied, thumbled strip around the basal angle, most likely from a jug; the first example occurred in Phase IV. A jug rim is also illustrated (No. 13). Bowls are more numerous here than in earlier phases, the remains of five medieval coarse ware bowls were found (No. 11). The remains of a flanged rim bowl also occurs in Mill Green ware. As well as the usual cooking pots there is an example of a pipkin rim (No. 9), which may be a north Essex type (see fabrics section). Also illustrated from this phase are the remains of two Colchester ware baluster jugs (Nos 27-8); these are medieval rather than late medieval types. The bases of jug No. 27 and sgraffito bowl (No. 30) may have been deliberately knocked out, indicating possible secondary use.

Phase VII (post-medieval/modern)

A total of fifteen sherds weighing 208g belong to Phase VII, excavated from layers 1543, 1544, and Rodwells' (Area C2) backfill 1025. No significant pottery was recorded, as most of the pottery comprises residual sherds of shell-tempered ware, early medieval ware, sandy orange ware and fine buff ware, with occasional sherds dating to the late 18th century or later.

Discussion

The dating of Hedingham and Mill Green ware

Out of the two locally produced fine wares, Hedingham ware and Mill Green ware, Hedingham ware is known to be earlier, with a mid-12th-century start date (Cotter 2000, 84-6). As would be expected, Hedingham ware occurs in the earliest medieval phase, and is still current in Phase V. Mill Green ware does not occur until Phase V. A sherd of Mill Green coarse ware occurs in layer 1550 early in Phase V, where it is associated with a mid-13th-century Kingston-type ware and a cooking-pot fragment with a late 13th to 14th-century rim type. Mill Green fine ware appears slightly later in the sequence in Phase V layer 1540, where the latest pottery dates to the 14th century. The fact that the coarse ware occurs before the fine ware cannot be taken as evidence that it is actually earlier than the fine ware, as only a single sherd is present. However, it does show that there is no evidence for a mid-13th century start date as found at other sites in Essex. For example, at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle (Rahtz 1969), it seems to be present by the mid 13th century, and at North Shoebury, Mill Green ware was found in association with London-type ware sherds of the early to mid-13th century (Walker 1995, 114). This excavation also shows Hedingham ware and Mill Green ware occurring together in the later 13th to 14th century, and that Mill Green ware does not supplant Hedingham ware in the mid-13th century, as is the case further south in Chelmsford (Drury *et al.* 1993, 89).

Comparison with the assemblage from the Rodwells' excavation

There are a number of differences between the assemblage excavated by the Rodwells and that from the 1999 excavation. The apparent dearth of early medieval and Saxo-Norman pottery from the latter can perhaps be explained by the fact that this period is predominately

represented by burial rather than domestic occupation. Wares that occurred at the Rodwells' site, where evidence of the Saxon hall was found in Area C2, but not at this site are Scarborough ware, London-type ware, Stamford ware, Saintonge ware, Langerwehe stoneware, and Low Countries redware. Wares that occur here but not at the Rodwells' site are Kingston-type ware, Cheam white ware, Suffolk buff ware, fine buff ware, and Mill Green coarse ware. All of these wares occur only in small quantities. Although there is always the possibility of misattribution, these differences probably reflect the fact that different parts of the site were excavated, revealing different pottery. Wares that occur at both sites are: Thetford-type ware, St Neots-type ware, the early medieval fabrics, Developed Stamford ware, ?Lincolnshire splashed glazed ware, medieval coarse ware, sandy orange ware, Colchester ware, Mill Green ware, Hedingham ware, Cambridgeshire sgraffito ware and ?Low Countries sgraffito ware. These apparent differences in assemblage show the importance of excavating a representative sample of the whole site, otherwise misleading results will be obtained.

Trade and distribution networks

Considering that Rivenhall is only 17km northeast of Chelmsford, in the centre of Essex, the pottery displays a very north Essex/East Anglian influence. This is evidenced by the presence of Cambridgeshire sgraffito ware, the north Essex type pipkin rim (No. 9), the Suffolk buff ware and possibly the fine buff ware. All of these wares occur in small quantities and are present only in the later phases, V and VI. The Rodwells' excavation produced examples of Stamford ware, Developed Stamford ware and Lincolnshire splashed glazed ware. Possible sherds of Developed Stamford ware and Lincolnshire splashed glazed ware were also found during the 1999 excavation. Drury notes that the presence of Lincolnshire wares is unusual (Drury *et al.* 1993, 95). This is something of an understatement, as to the author's knowledge only one other sherd of Developed Stamford ware has been found in Essex, at Boreham Airfield (Walker 2003b), and there are no recorded occurrences of Lincolnshire splashed glazed ware. Only Stamford ware is more frequent, occurring at Maldon (unpublished) and Waltham Abbey (Huggins 1969, 68-87; 1973, 155-66; 1976, 101-15). The presence of these sherds therefore may not be the result of trade but show that there are direct links with Lincolnshire, perhaps of an ecclesiastical nature. The presence of Colchester ware is not unexpected as its main area of distribution is northeast Essex, and the town is only 19 km from Rivenhall: they are linked by the London to Colchester road. However, Colchester ware is not common at the 1999 excavation and it is unlikely that the north Essex/East Anglian types were traded via Colchester as none occur in the town (Cotter 2000).

A distribution map of Hedingham ware has recently been published (Cotter 2000, fig 53). As well as showing East Anglia, north Essex and the Essex coastline to be the main area of distribution, the map clearly shows a concentration of find spots along the river valleys that drain into the Blackwater, including Rivenhall. Other nearby find spots include Witham, Kelvedon, and Feering. As well as being on or near to the river Blackwater, these settlements are also situated on the original Roman and medieval London to Colchester road. Therefore Hedingham ware could have been distributed by road and/or by river.

Comparison with assemblages from Kelvedon and Witham

In order to test whether the pottery assemblage is different because it is from a religious site, it was compared to material from two nearby market towns, Witham and Kelvedon, both situated on the London to Colchester road and on the river Blackwater. In the absence of enough computerised data for statistical comparison, they have been compared qualitatively using summaries and written reports on excavated assemblages from these towns.

Two excavations at Witham, at Chipping Hill camp (Rodwell, W.J., 1993, 102-7) and Maltings Lane (Walker in prep. c) have produced both Thetford-type ware and classic St Neots type ware. One unusual vessel form from Rodwells' excavations, a medieval coarse ware bung-hole cistern (Drury *et al.* 1993, fig. 42.118), also occurs in this ware at Maltings Lane and at Newland Street (Walker 1996b). These are unusual because this is normally a late medieval form occurring in either Sandy orange ware or Post-medieval red earthenware. In addition, there are several similarities between the late medieval assemblage at Maltings Lane, Witham and Rivenhall Churchyard, as both excavations produced Colchester ware, Cambridgeshire sgraffito and buff ware. There are also examples of small cooking pots/pipkins with very angular rims (such as Fig. 17.9) which are similar to north Essex types.

At Kelvedon, more similarities to the Rivenhall assemblage were found. An excavation behind the High Street at Kelvedon revealed mainly Sandy orange ware including a sgraffito ware sherd (Cunningham 1988, 129-31). Sherds of 13th- to 14th-century Colchester ware and a sherd of ?Suffolk buff ware were excavated from 'The Garden's Bungalow' (Walker 1997). 'The Lances' (Walker 2003a) revealed a sherd of St Neots-type ware, and more Colchester ware, although this is late medieval rather than medieval Colchester ware. There are also sherds from a buff ware vessel described as having buff surfaces and a reddish core, which may correspond to the fine-buff ware from Rivenhall.

These Kelvedon and Witham domestic assemblages, from sites in the northern half of the county, but certainly not in the extreme north, also show a Suffolk/Cambridgeshire influence. This situation is clearly not peculiar to Rivenhall Churchyard and not a function of its religious purpose. However, the sgraffito ware, Suffolk buff ware, and fine buff ware are all late medieval types dating from the ?14th to 15th centuries. By the second half of the 14th century, the main Essex industries of Heddingham and Mill Green, although they may still have been in existence in some form or another, were no longer major industries whose products were widely traded. It is therefore possible that Cambridgeshire and Suffolk pottery producers expanded their markets southwards, and there is no 'northern sphere of influence'. Colchester ware suffered no such decline in the 14th century and continued on to the 16th (Cotter 2000, 176-7). The presence of Saxo-Norman wares at Witham and Kelvedon also shows that their occurrence at Rivenhall has nothing to do with the type of site. However, there is no evidence from either Kelvedon or Witham of pottery from Lincolnshire and this reinforces the notion that there was a direct link between Rivenhall and the Lincolnshire area.

Function and status

Most of the pottery comes from contexts near to the priest's house and probably represents rubbish. In Phase III, datable to the 13th century, most of the pottery comprises coarse wares that may have come from a kitchen area. By Phase V the number of fine wares have increased and the assemblage becomes more typical, with a preponderance of coarse wares and a smaller but significant quantity of fine wares, showing that the pottery is from both living and service areas. However, some of the fine wares in Phase V such as the ?Developed Stamford ware, the ?Lincolnshire splashed glazed ware, and perhaps the early type Kingston ware are residual in this phase. Therefore, although it may be true to say that the earlier features contained pottery from a kitchen, it does not necessarily follow that fine wares were not used during this period.

The only evidence of status comes from the presence of Saintonge ware imported from the Bordeaux region, which was found at the Rodwells' excavation. This can be taken as evidence of high status when it occurs on an inland site, for example at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle (Dunning 1969, 107-9). The only other possible

evidence of high status is the mid-13th-century Kingston-type ware. As discussed in the fabric section, this ware is found throughout Essex, but Kingston-type ware of this early date would have been unusual, and perhaps not readily available to the average consumer.

There are a small number of specialised forms at Rivenhall. These include: a roundel; a bottle base; a Heddingham ware narrow rim and handle; and a Heddingham ware dish. They do not reveal much about function, but probably reflect that much of the pottery is late medieval when the variety of vessel forms increase. Residue analysis produced slight evidence for the consumption of mead.

The late medieval assemblage

Another interesting aspect of this site is that it is a rare example of a rural site with a 14th to 15th-century pottery assemblage. Several rural sites in the northern half of the county have been excavated recently and nearly all have pottery no later than the end of the 13th century. These include Stansted (Walker 2004), Boreham Airfield (Walker 2003b) and Boreham Interchange (Walker 1999). A site at Stebbingford however, shows a second phase datable to the mid-13th to 14th century (Walker 1996a), but even this site has no pottery dating to the 14th to 15th centuries as is the case here. The explanation for this has probably nothing to do with trade and distribution, but more to do with site type. All the above are concerned with agriculture, or agricultural processing and it is possible that these sites were abandoned perhaps due to a decline in agriculture or a change in use, to make way for sheep farming for example. The best evidence for this is at Stansted, where several farmsteads appear to have been deliberately levelled.

The transition from a medieval to late medieval assemblage follows the same pattern outlined elsewhere in Essex (Rahtz 1969, 106-7), with the grey-firing medieval coarse ware being replaced by oxidised sandy orange wares sometime in the 14th century. The major decorated fine ware industries of Surrey, Mill Green and Heddingham ware all in decline by the mid-14th-century. These are also replaced by the plainer Sandy orange wares, so that by the late medieval period there is no longer any major distinction between fine and coarse wares. However, slip decoration is still used and the sgraffito technique becomes popular in the 14th and 15th-centuries. As discussed above, the gap in the market left by the decline of the Essex medieval fine ware industries may have been filled by industries centred further north in Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. The possible Lincolnshire connection is confined to the medieval period. As is typical of medieval sites, Saintonge ware from southwest France is the only imported ware during the medieval period. During the late medieval period there is pottery from the Low Countries (?Low Countries Sgraffito ware and Low Countries redwares) and Langerwehe stoneware from the Rhineland (Langerwehe stoneware and Low Countries redware are from the Rodwells' site only). None of these imports are common on inland sites, and their presence could indicate direct links with the continent. However, it has to be remembered that Rivenhall had good communications; it was near to the London to Colchester road and was on the same river system as the port of Maldon. The ?Low Countries sgraffito ware vessel is exceptionally rare and has not been identified at coastal sites and ports and therefore does constitute tentative evidence of direct links with the Low Countries. The sources of supply for medieval pottery at Rivenhall are shown in Drury *et al.* (1993, fig. 47).

Coins

P. McMichael and R. Tyrrell

Seven coins, five of which are Roman, were recovered from the excavation. All the Roman coins are residual in later contexts. The assemblage includes a silver shilling of 1560-1, identified by the mint mark.

Catalogue					
<i>Roman</i>					
Emperor	Date (AD)	Description	Context	Group/Phase	SF No.
	1st C	Unidentified sestertius (very worn) Obv. Head R.; Rev. No detail	1274	1532/V	22
Severus Alexander	222-235	Sestercius Obv. Laureate bust R., “[IMP ---] SEV ALEXANDER AVG” Rev. Pax advancing left holding an olive branch and Sceptre, “PAX AVGVSTI”	1140	1540/V	9
Antoninianus	270-300	Obv. Radiate Head R.; “IMP C[---]” Rev. standing figure L.,	1413	1414/IV	43
Allectus	293-6	Quinarius Obv. Radiate head R., “IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG” Rev. Galley, “VIRTVS AVG”	1146	1531/VI	11
Constantine I	335-7	Obv: Diademed, Head R., “DN CONSTANTINUS AVG” Rev: 2 soldiers and 2 standards, “GLORIA EXERCITUS” Trier mintmark = “TRP”	1266	1532/V	20
<i>Medieval and later</i>					
Ruler	Date (AD)	Description	Context	Group/Phase	SF No.
	14th – 15thC	Damaged token / jeton, French Obv. 2 Lis [part of Crown], “MAR” with Mullet [part of “Ave Maria Gratia Plena”] Rev. 4 Lis [1 on the end of each 3 barred arm of a cross]	1018	1531/VI	4
Elizabeth I	1560-1	Hammered silver shilling Obv. Bust L.; “REGINA ELIZABETH D.G. AN FR ET HIB” Mintmark; Martlet (1560-1) after “Regina”			

Copper-alloy objects (Fig. 19)

R. Tyrrell

The excavations uncovered twenty five copper-alloy objects and fragments, from nineteen contexts. The presence of a number of residual Roman items is not surprising considering the proximity of excavated Roman buildings. The site produced a poorly preserved Colchester type brooch, and two pairs of tweezers that may be Roman, but could be medieval (Fig. 19.22-23).

The majority of the medieval finds came from Phase V and VI (14th and 15th century) contexts in the northern end of the site, around the area of the priest's house. Most of the items are decorative personal objects, rather than domestic or household fittings, with the possible exception of the thimbles, which could have been owned either personally or communally. Two upholstery tacks (Nos 16-17), and three irregular pieces of thin metal sheeting (Nos 19-20) are the only possible domestic objects.

The personal items include an unstratified finger-ring with an imitation gemstone set in a rectangular bezel, a type popular in London in the late 12th and 13th centuries (Fig. 19.1; Egan and Pritchard 1991, 330). In her discussion of the small number of copper-alloy rings from medieval and post-medieval Norwich, Margeson (1993, 4) suggests that their scarcity is partly due to the fact that few people were wealthy enough to own jewellery.

The inscribed brooch (Fig. 19.2) is a possession of some status. A number of these brooches with religious inscriptions have been found in silver, pewter and copper alloy (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 255), but none inscribed on both sides, as is the example from Rivenhall. The annular form was popular from the 13th century onward (Biddle and Hinton 1990, 639). A smaller, lozenge-shaped brooch (Fig. 19.3) came from a Phase V layer. A similar brooch was found in a 14th-century context at Winchester (Biddle and Hinton 1990, 642, fig. 172.2028). The two brooches differ only in that lines decorate the Winchester one rather than circles.

Clothing items include a rectangular buckle with traces of white metal coating (Fig. 19.4). Two medieval buckles found in London excavations are similar, but have a better quality finish and are decorated with engraved oblique lines (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 97-8). Five belt-chapes were found, of three different types (Figs 19.5-9). The composite one (Fig. 19.5) is similar to examples found in London (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 145), where this form of belt-chape seems

to belong primarily to the 14th century. The three shield-shaped belt-ends (Nos 7-9) are also paralleled by London examples of the late 14th century (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 157). The third type is plain, and more difficult to date (Fig. 19.6). The other clothing item is a small wire loop dress fastening, datable by its context to the 15th century or later (Fig. 19.10).

A decorated pair of tweezers came from a 13th - 14th-century context (Fig. 19.22). They are very similar to a pair found in a late 14th to 16th-century context in Winchester (Biddle 1990, 691, fig. 190. 2189Q). Another personal object from the site is a Jew's harp (Fig. 19.14), the second to be found in the churchyard. These musical instruments are thought to have been introduced into Europe at the time of the Crusades and are still available today (Wardle 1998, 284-5). This example came from a 14th-century context. An iron example from the Rodwells' excavation of the churchyard ditch was not closely dated (Rodwell and Rodwell 1993, 46).

Sewing equipment is represented by two thimbles and a sewing-ring (Fig. 19.11-13). Margeson (1993, 187) suggests, from the evidence of the Norwich thimbles, that medieval examples tend to be more conical, whereas the post-medieval ones are straighter sided and flatter topped. This agrees with the context dates of the Rivenhall thimbles; Fig. 19.11 is from a 13th-14th century context, while Fig. 19.12 is from a 15th century or later context. A thimble very similar to No. 11 was found during the earlier excavations (Rodwell, K.A., 1993a, 40, fig. 16.38). The sewing-ring (Fig. 19.13) is more difficult to date intrinsically, and is redeposited in a modern context. The remainder of the finds comprise two fragments of a decorated strip (Fig. 19.15), and a possible pin shaft (No. 18).

Catalogue (Fig. 19)

1. Simple hoop finger-ring, with a rectangular bezel and an oval pellet of green glass. The shoulders are decorated with impressed dots. D. 23mm. SF17, 1000, unstratified.
2. Annular brooch inscribed in Lombardic lettering 'IHESUSNAZARENUSREX' (The E is conjectural, as the notch for the pin is placed here) on one side and 'XAVEMARIAGRATIA' on the other. Between the lettering the background has been hatched with rocker pattern. Traces of iron may be all that survives of the pin. SF13, 1228, upper fill in recut 1424, ditch 1533, 14th century (Phase V).

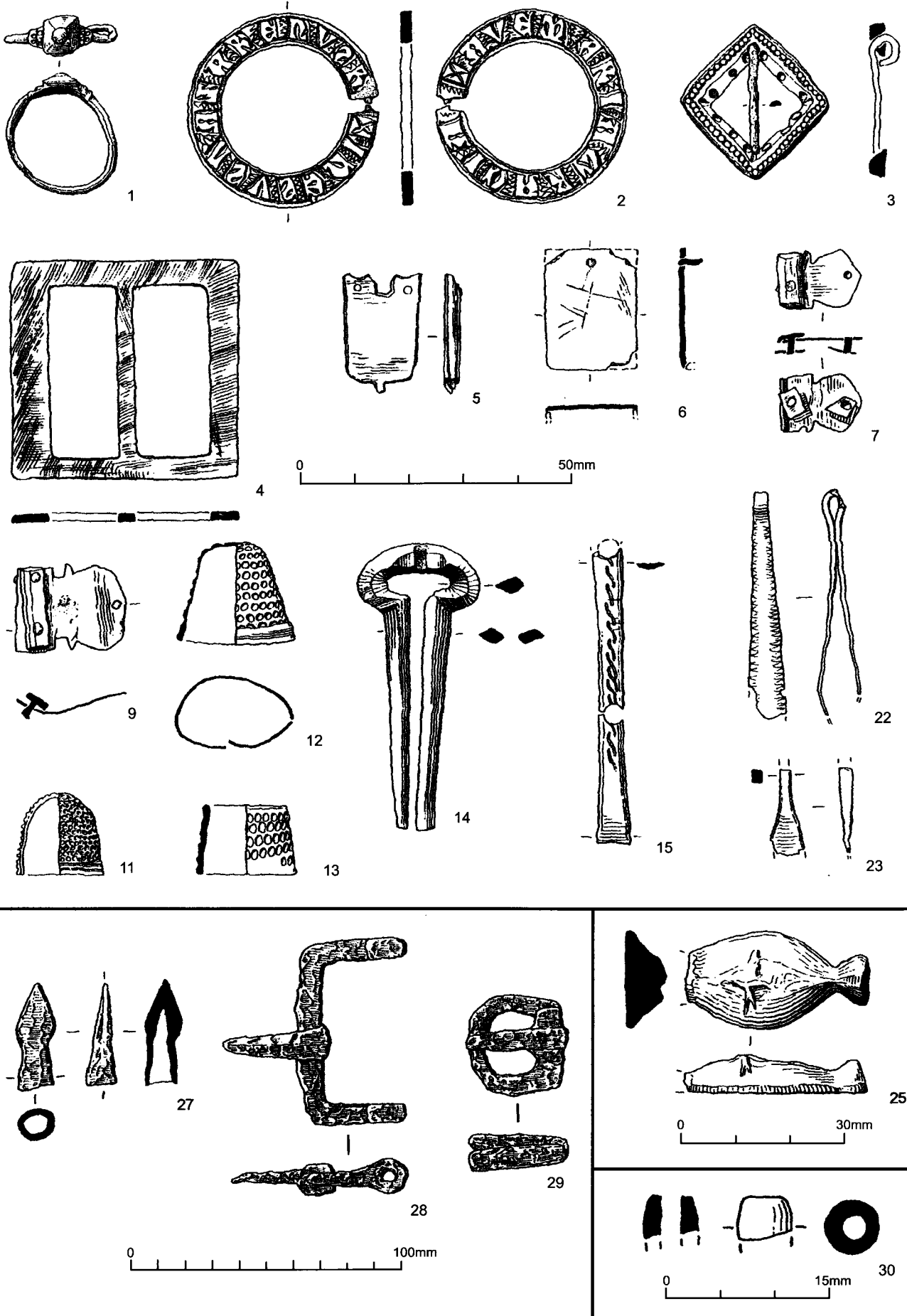


Fig. 19 Rivenhall Church. Copper alloy, iron, lead and bone objects.

3. Lozenge-shaped brooch with a decoration of small punched circles on the upper surface of the frame. There are three impressed dots on each side of the sloping, inner surfaces. SF7, 1043 cultivation layer 1532, 13th-14th century (Phase V).
4. Plain rectangular buckle, with a central bar. Copper alloy with traces of white metal coating. SF46, 1192, midden 1540, 14th century (Phase V).
5. Composite strap-end, with a scalloped attachment edge, two rivets and a plain knob. SF26, 1296, gravel bank 1539, 14th century (Phase V).
6. Rectangular plate of a composite strap-end. A single rivet is present on one of the narrow sides. SF19, 1266, cleaning over cultivation layer 1532, 13th-14th century (Phase V).
7. Shield-shaped plate strap-end, with a bar mount at the attachment edge. Roves are present on the two rivets. SF29, 1000 (unstratified).
8. Shield-shaped plate strap-end, with a bar mount, as above. The roves on the two rivets are present. L. 16mm, W. 17mm. SF25, 1280, ditch 1533, 14th century (Phase V) (not illustrated).
9. Shield-shaped plate strap-end, with a bar mount. SF16, 1240, ditch 1533, 14th century (Phase V).
10. Wire ring closed by two twists, probably a dress fastener. D. 8mm. SF12, 1109, layer 1531, 15th century or later (Phase VI) (not illustrated).
11. Domed thimble, spirally pitted, with an incised line border. SF1, 1017, cultivation layer 1532, 13th-14th century (Phase V).
12. Straight-sided, spirally pitted, thimble with an incised line border. SF10, 1146, layer 1531, 15th century or later (Phase VI).
13. Sewing-ring. The spiral pitting has been cut across by the upper edge of the thimble, suggesting that it may have been cut down from a, perhaps damaged, domed thimble. SF5, 1025 Rodwell's 1973 backfill, Roman - 19th century (Phase VII).
14. Jew's harp with a narrow flattened head. The arms are lozenge-shaped in section, and the tongue is missing. SF15, 1232, fill in primary recut in ditch 1533, 14th century (Phase V).
15. Two fragments of a strip decorated with a punched elongated 'S' shaped design. SF34, 1339 and SF41, 1397, ditch 1534, earlier 13th century (Phase III).
16. Tack with a flat rectangular head and a square sectioned shaft. L. 26mm. SF8, 1041, cultivation layer 1532, 13th-14th century (Phase V) (not illustrated).
17. Upholstery tack, with a domed head. L. 11mm, D. 14mm. SF6, 1000, unstratified (not illustrated).
18. Length of straight wire or possibly a pin shaft. L. 22mm, W. 15mm. SF27, 1296, gravel bank 1539, 14th century (Phase V) (not illustrated).
19. Roughly rectangular piece of sheet with four perforations, two 3mm and two 7mm in diameter. L. 51mm, W. 47mm. SF2, 1010, layer 1544, 19th-20th century (Phase VII) (not illustrated).
20. Two irregular fragments of sheeting. L. 33mm, W. 17mm and L. 2mm, W. 5mm. SF28, 1296, gravel bank 1539, 14th century (Phase V) (not illustrated).
21. The bow of a ?Colchester type Roman brooch. Damaged and very poorly preserved. L. 67mm. SF45, 1358, grave 1359 (Phase II) (not illustrated).
22. Damaged pair of tweezers, decorated with two borders of rocker pattern zigzags, along the length of the blades. SF38, 1383, cultivation layer 1532, 13th-14th century (Phase V).
23. The tip of the blade of a pair of tweezers? SF24, 1245, cultivation layer 1532, 13th-14th century (Phase V).
24. Damaged pair of tweezers. L. 42mm, W. 5mm. SF21, 1266, cultivation layer 1532, 13th-14th century (Phase V) (not illustrated).

Lead Objects (Fig. 19)

R. Tyrrell

No parallels have been found for the 'fish-shaped' object (Fig. 19.25). The rough finish suggests that it was not a prized object with religious connotations, such as a pilgrim's souvenir, and its function remains unknown.

Catalogue

25. A roughly cast 'fish-shaped' object. SF35, 1339, ditch 1534, earlier 13th century (Phase III).

Iron Objects (Fig. 19)

R. Tyrrell

Twelve contexts, mostly medieval and post-medieval, produced fourteen iron objects. The assemblage includes a socketed arrowhead, a large rectangular harness buckle, a smaller D-shaped harness buckle, four fragments of horseshoes, and a hook or pintle. A number of other fragmentary objects may also relate to horse or animal management, or the nearby buildings. The majority of the iron objects came from Phase V and V (14th and 15th century) contexts at the north end of the site, around the area of the priest's house.

The arrowhead (Fig. 19.27) belongs to Jessop's Type M3 (1996, 198-205). From the external appearance, the object might have been classified as Type MP3, a simpler and commoner form, but after X-raying the narrow, pointed socket shape was clear. Jessop dates these military arrowheads to the late medieval period. Five arrowheads were found during the previous excavations (Rodwell, K.A 1993a, 44), and all but one of these falls into Jessop's multi-purpose category (MP); the exception is probably another M3. Since there are no other objects of a military nature, it seems unlikely that the presence of two more specialised arrowheads is particularly significant.

A number of objects are related to agriculture and the management of horses. The larger of the two harness buckles (Fig. 19.28) is very similar to 12th to 13th-century examples from London (Clark 1995, 56, no.30). D-shaped buckles were the most numerous form of buckle found in the Norwich survey excavations, where they continued in use into the post-medieval period (Goodall 1993, 32). The Rivenhall D-shaped buckle (Fig. 19.29) is from a 14th-century context. The four fragments of horseshoes (Nos. 30-32) either come from medieval contexts or are medieval types. No. 30 is part of a Clark Type 2 horseshoe (Clark 1995, 86), considered to be 11th to late 12th-century in London, but the pottery date for the context of the Rivenhall shoe spans the 13th to 14th centuries. Other harness or cart fittings include a ring (No. 33), and a large square-sectioned ring and swivel loop (No. 34).

A hinge pivot possibly from a door (No. 35) presumably was originally used in the buildings found in the Rodwells' Area C2 excavations. Three strap-mount fragments (Nos. 36-7) and two pieces of strip (Nos. 38-9) also probably originate from these buildings.

Catalogue (Fig. 19)

27. Socketed arrowhead. SF14, 1109, layer 1531, 15th century or later (Phase VI).
28. Rectangular harness buckle, with square-sectioned pin and the sides looped to take a solid roller. SF36, 1244, gravel bank 1539, 14th century (Phase V).
29. D-shaped buckle. L. 36mm; W. 35mm. SF23, 1274, cultivation layer 1532, 13th -14th century (Phase V).

Nails

Sixty-four contexts produced eighty-four iron nails with heads, and fifty damaged shafts. There are no particularly large groups, the largest being eight nails from layer 1122 (Group 1538). The majority of the nails were recovered from the north end of the site, nearest to the buildings. No *in situ* coffin nails were noted during the excavations.

The nails were classified using the Essex County Council type series, which divides the material by head shape. The results were as follows:

Types U and I are specialised horseshoe nails, and since there are a number of other horse-related finds their presence is to be expected. From the X-ray of the horseshoe with nails *in situ* it is possible to see that they are of Type I, bringing the total of horseshoe nails to ten. The rest of the nails are non-specialist types which range in length from 20mm to at least 112mm.

Nail Type	Description of head shape	No. found
A	Round and flat	54
R	Oval and flat	13
I	Fiddle-key type	5
B	Square and flat	4
U	Truncated pyramidal with base to shaft.	3
V	Slightly expanded with rectangular shaft.	2
K	Triangular, same thickness as shaft, base of triangle next to and in the same plane as the shaft	1
L	Square and flat, with faceted corners	1
S	Rectangular and slightly domed, rectangular shaft with wedge point.	1
Headless	-	50

The majority of the nails were found in contexts with medieval pottery, but where there is residual Roman pottery present, it is possible that some could be Roman.

Bone object

R. Tyrrell

Half of a small, turned, barrel-shaped bead (Fig. 19.30) was found in a soil sample. It is surprisingly well preserved considering the poor state of some of the bone from the site. Margeson (1993, 5) states that bead necklaces were not in fashion in the medieval period and so beads from contexts of that date are likely to come from rosaries. Considering the proximity of the church and the date of the pottery, this example is probably from a rosary.

Catalogue

30. A damaged barrel-shaped bead. SF49, 1154, layer group 1538, 15th century (Phase VI).

Roman brick and tile

T.S. Martin

The excavation produced 6,709 fragments of Roman brick and tile weighing 555kg. The bulk of this material, like that previously reported on by Kirsty Rodwell (1993b) from the site, is derived from the demolition and robbing of the villa complex to provide material for use in the fabric of the church. That much of the material came directly from the fabric of the villa building can be demonstrated by the presence of mortar still adhering to many of the tile fragments. Nearly all of the tile (97% by weight) had been redeposited in post-Roman contexts or was unstratified, although some of it appears to have been deliberately placed in Saxo-Norman graves. A catalogue and report on this assemblage is in the archive.

Medieval and post-medieval brick and tile

P. Ryan

A total of 14.6kg of brick, 25kg of roof tile and 3.7kg of floor tile was weighed, measured and examined for diagnostic features, and catalogued.

Brick

Fragments of abraded Coggeshall brick occur in medieval contexts, including Phase V boundary ditch 1533 and cultivation layer 1532, both datable to the 13th-14th century. Pieces were also found in late medieval layers 1531 and 1538 (Phase VI) as well as in post-medieval and modern contexts including 1543, a layer of building rubble which covered the site. This type of brick is found in the surviving buildings of Coggeshall Abbey dated *c.* 1160 to *c.* 1220. Drury suggests that it may have been reused as rubble at Rivenhall following demolition of a building at the abbey (Drury in Rodwell and Rodwell 1993, 8), although it may be more likely to come from an earlier phase of the church.

Roof tile

Most of the pegtile is of the standard size commonly found in Essex from at least 1275. A small, abraded fragment from context 1018 (part of layer 1531, Phase VI, dated to the 15th century) is very similar in appearance to the ribbed tiles from Cressing Temple, dated *c.* 1220. Another part-tile in this context is unusually wide, 180mm rather than 165mm, and may also be medieval in date.

Floor tile

Twenty one part floor tiles or fragments of tiles are included amongst the finds from context 1025, the infill of the Rodwells' trench (Area C2). Contexts 1036 (Phase VII rubble layer 1543), 1038 (Phase VI 15th-16th century layer 1531), and 1200 (late 13th-14th century infill in Phase V ditch 1533) also each contain a fragment or part of a floor tile. All of the tile, except two fragments in 1025, are between 122 and 125mm square where complete dimensions survive, 21-22mm thick, and made from a red sandy fabric, often with reduced cores. The tiles have undercut knife-trimmed edges and were made in a sanded mould but were partly smoothed after removal from the mould. Whilst some tiles were slipped with a white slip and then glazed with a clear glaze, others were glazed with a dark glaze giving a dark brown appearance: most are very worn. One part-tile in context 1025 has the remains of a design in white slip, which can be identified as that shown by Drury in fig. 5.6 (Rodwell and Rodwell 1993, 11). Another decorated fragment occurs in context 1200. This type of tile is dated to the late 13th and 14th centuries, and is of a comparable date to the pottery from this deposit. The other two fragments in context 1025 are 30mm thick, in a grog-tempered rather sandy fabric. One is from a tile which was diagonally scored in order to make two triangular tiles. Whilst the one fragment is glazed with a dark glaze the other has a 42mm-wide stripe of white slip along one edge.

Stone objects (Fig. 20)

H. Major

The excavation produced fragments of a schist whetstone, a Purbeck marble mortar, a Roman millstone grit quern, and several pieces of lava quern, the majority of which are probably Roman. The lava was in poor condition, and only the fragments from Grave 1347 retained any original features. The latter pieces are possibly early medieval rather than residual Roman, but it is impossible to be certain.

The Purbeck marble mortar (No. 1) would have been a relatively expensive household item. It is too incomplete to be able to assign it to a type, but a 13th to 14th-century date would be reasonable, and concurs with the date of deposition. Comparable Essex examples come from Colchester (Crummy 1988, 41; Crummy 1993, 77) and Waltham Abbey (Clarke *et al.* 1993, 107).

The use of schist for whetstones (No. 2) is common in the medieval period, and most of those known from Essex are in this stone type. Most, if not all, were imported from Norway, although a source in Scotland cannot be ruled out.

Three pieces of unworked stone were recovered from medieval layers, comprising a piece of Reigate stone, a lump of tufa, and a fragment of a marine sedimentary stone. These types of stone are representative of the building stone used in the church, and are probably waste material from building or repairs. They are unlikely to be erratics, but may be re-used Roman material.

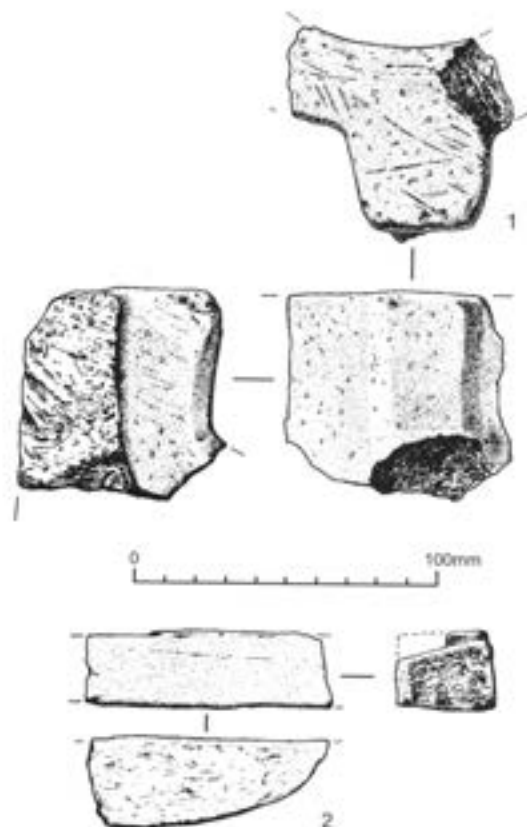


Fig. 20 Rivenhall Church. Stone

Catalogue (Fig. 20)

- Two fragments from a grey Purbeck marble mortar, consisting of a rim with the top of the rib or handle, and a fragment of the base. There is some discolouration of the rim fragment due to heat damage. The body would have been slightly curved in profile, a feature more typically associated with mortars in the softer Purbeck burrstone (Dunning 1961, 282). Diam. not measurable, base th. 27mm. Layer 1302, Phase V (14thC.).
- Part of a whetstone made from schist, with no complete thickness. One face shows signs of use. L. 79mm, W. 28mm, Th. 32mm. Layer 1018, Phase VI (15thC +)
The stone was examined by Dr. G.K. Lott of the British Geological Survey, who writes: 'Grey, very fine grained, semipelite schist (high-grade, greenschist facies). This fine-grained metamorphic whetstone appears to fall in the Metamorphic Sub-

Group A of Ellis 1969, or Type 1 'schist bones' of Morley and Dunham 1953. Within the UK this would restrict the source to the Precambrian (Dalradian) rocks of the Scottish Highlands or possibly the Monian rocks of Anglesey. Outside the UK the potential sources are many, but principally would include Norway and Germany.

- (Not ill.) Fragment of a millstone grit quern. Both faces are smooth. This is probably Roman, as there is no evidence that the stone was used for querns in Essex in the medieval period. Th. 53mm. Layer 1038, Phase VI (15thC +).
- (Not ill.) Two fragments of a Roman lava quern, probably from a lower stone. The surfaces are eroded. Layer 1310, Phase I (Roman).
- (Not ill.) Nine fragments of lava quern, placed in the side of the grave cut. Some join to form five pieces, possibly from two different querns. Most of the surfaces are eroded, although on some pieces, one roughly-pecked surface survives, presumably not the grinding surface. If the fragments were originally all one piece, it would have been about 130x170mm. Max. th. 24mm. Context 1346, Grave 1347, Phase II (Saxo-Norman).
- (Not ill.) Two fragments of lava quern, with no original surfaces. One piece is probably from the edge of a Roman upper stone. Context 1386, Ditch 1314, Phase III (early 13thC.).

Human bone

S. Mays

Introduction

Twenty-three graves were excavated from the same cemetery that yielded 229 burials during excavations conducted by the Rodwells in the 1970s. Radiocarbon dating indicates that the burials come from the period AD 850 - 1390. Bone survival is poor. Of the 23 graves, four failed to yield bone, so this note comprises data on 19 inhumations.

Key to table 7, below

Pres = bone preservation, assessed from gross examination of the skeleton on a subjective scale according to the degree of surface erosion on the bones: G=good, M=moderate, P=poor; Compl. = approximate skeletal completeness; Age = approximate age at death, in years unless stated; Sex: M=male, M?=probable male, F=female, - = unsexed; stat. = approximate stature in cm; Caries: presented as number of carious teeth over number of teeth present and erupted; Tooth loss: presented as number of teeth lost ante-mortem over number of tooth positions observable. Cribra orbitalia, scored into categories of Brothwell (1981, fig. 6.17), 0=cribra absent, P=cribra of porotic type present, -=orbits missing

Burial	Pres.	Compl.	Age	Sex	Stat.	Caries	Tooth loss	Cribra orbitalia
1205	P	<10%	15-18	-	-	0/5	-	-
1220	P	<10%	35-45	M?	-	0/3	-	-
1243	P	<10%	35-45	M?	-	1/6	-	-
1265	P	<10%	7	-	-	0/4	-	-
1307	P	<10%	ADULT	-	-	-	-	-
1308	P	<10%	ADULT	-	-	-	-	-
1312	P	<10%	ADULT	-	-	-	-	-
1327	M	60-80%	35-45	M	160.2	3/26	1/27	0
1389	M	60-80%	50+	F	168.2	1/20	4/28	0
1391	P	60-80%	5-6	-	-	2/17	0/17	P
1392	P	<10%	ADULT	-	-	-	-	-
1405	P	<10%	4-5	-	-	-	-	-
1415	P	<10%	25-40	M	-	0/13	3/12	0
1443	P	<10%	25-35	F	-	1/7	0/2	-
1446	P	40-60%	3-3?	-	-	1/13	0/10	P
1455	P	<10%	ADULT	-	-	-	-	-
1479	M	60-80%	30-40	F	158.1	1/29	0/28	0
1482	M	40-60%	6	-	-	1/14	0/7	-
1496	M	20-40%	ADULT	M	179.9	-	-	-

Table 7. Human bone analysis; results

Methods

In adults, sex was determined using pelvic and cranial morphology or using the general robusticity of the post-cranial skeleton when these two indicators were missing. It is not feasible to reliably determine the sex of immature individuals using osteological indicators. For juveniles, age was estimated using dental development (Gustafson and Koch 1974; Mays 1998, fig. 3.9) and epiphysial fusion (Flecker 1942). Adult age was estimated from dental wear (Brothwell 1981; Mays *et al.* 1995). Where condition of the remains meant that more precise age determination was not possible, adults were distinguished from immature individuals on the basis of size and robusticity of skeletal elements. Stature was estimated from long-bone lengths (Brothwell 1981, table 5). Cranial and post-cranial measurements were taken according to Brothwell (1981), and the non-metric variants of Berry and Berry (1967) and Finnegan (1978) were also recorded. These results are held in archive. The condition of the material severely limited the pathological and metric data which could be obtained.

Notes

Burial 1389. There is a button osteoma within the right side of the frontal sinus.

Burial 1415. There is bilateral persistence of the squamo-mastoid suture, the suture extending from the parietal notch almost the complete length of the mastoid process. The squamomastoid suture is normally obliterated by the end of the second year of life. Its persistence into adult life is a rare variant (approx 1.5% frequency for persistence of the whole complete suture) of uncertain cause (Hauser and de Stefano, 1989: 206-7).

Discussion

Skeletal survival of the 1999 material was poor, most skeletons consisting merely of bone fragments. There was some evidence of spatial variation in survival of remains, the somewhat better preserved burials seem to come from the northern part of the excavated area. In general, the present material seems to be rather less well preserved than most of the skeletal material recovered by from adjoining areas of the churchyard by the Rodwells (O'Connor 1993). The burials are contemporary with Periods 5A-C of the Rodwells' churchyard excavations. Comparison with the published data for those burials (O'Connor, 1993) suggests no important differences between them and the current material.

Animal bone

U. Albarella and E. Murray

The 1999 excavation produced a small assemblage of animal bones (3.87kg), mainly from occupation layers, ditch fills and grave fills. Most of the bones date to the medieval period and seem to be associated with successive phases of the so-called priest's house recorded by the Rodwells (1985) and excavated further in 1999.

However, there is an element of residuality and Roman pottery sherds, and tile in particular, were found in many of the medieval contexts. This problem of residuality, coupled with the small size of the assemblages, restricts the potential of the assemblage to reconstruct diet, economy or environment.

Most of the bones were hand-collected, although a small number also derived from coarse sieving. The assemblage was recorded using a modified version of a system devised by Davis (Davis 1992; Albarella and Davis 1994). This system considers a selection of anatomical elements as 'countable', while the presence of non-countable specimens of interest is also noted. The most useful groups of animal bones derive from 13th century and late medieval levels (Table 8). Most bones belong to the common domestic mammals – cattle, sheep/goat, pig and equid (probably horse). The assemblage is too small to discuss body part distribution in any depth except to note that the main species were represented by both teeth, loose and in mandibles, and post-cranial elements. Two cattle bones, a humerus and pelvis, displayed evidence of butchery in the form of chop marks while a sheep humerus had gnawing marks made by a carnivore, probably dog.

The presence of a fairly high variety of species and of a number of wild animals (red and fallow deer) is of some interest, particularly if we take into account the small number of identified specimens. A variety in the exploitation of resources can generally be associated with high status (e.g. Albarella and Davis 1996) and the presence of deer bones in particular may support this suggestion. As is well known, deer hunting was a privilege of the aristocracy during the Middle Ages. The suggestion of a high status diet – although tentative, in view of the small size of the assemblage – would be consistent with the interpretation that the archaeological deposits derive from activities of ecclesiastic people. The evidence from the pottery assemblage is, in this respect, consistent with that deriving from the animal bones. The deer specimens also derive from contexts from the north of the site which relate directly to the various phases of occupation associated with the 'priest's house'.

The presence of some human bones is not surprising considering that some of the bones derive from grave fills. Only a few bones could be identified from the sieved samples – these include frog and field voles, not present among the species identified in the hand-collected material. Tawny owl was also represented by two specimens from an unstratified context.

Shell

R. Tyrrell

Much of the oyster shell is soft and flaking due to soil conditions. Overall, 1675 oyster (minimum number of single shells 1393), thirty-nine whelk and six cockle fragments, weighing 16.2kg, were recovered. The largest context produced 2.7kg, but 90% (by weight) of contexts produced less than 1kg of shell and only 44% of the contexts consisted of more than 50g.

Group	ditch 1534	ditch 1535*	layer 1532*	layer 1541	ditch 1533*	layer 1540*	layer 1538*	layer 1531*	
Phase	III	III	V	V	V	V	VI	VI	
Date (centuries)	E13th	E13th	L13th-14th	14th	L13th-14th	L13th-14th	15th	15th-16th	Total
cattle	1	-	-	1	2	1	1	3	9
sheep/goat	1	-	2	-	3	-	2	2	10
pig	-	-	-	-	3	1	2	1	7
horse	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	5
red deer	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
fallow deer	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
dog	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
human	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
domestic fowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
goose	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total	5	1	6	5	8	2	7	6	40

E = Early L = Late

Table 8. Number of 'countable' elements by group in the stratified, hand-collected assemblage (* some residual pottery etc. present)

In total, 61% (by weight) of the oysters was found in medieval and late medieval contexts, and the groups over 1kg are all from contexts dating to between the early 13th century and the 14th century. The well-stratified and dated sequence of medieval and late medieval boundary ditches and layers associated with the priest's house at the north end of the site did produce substantial quantities of shell. Phase III ditch 1534 and Phase V ditch 1533 contained 4.5kg and 4.7kg respectively, Phase III layer 1537 contained 1.7kg, Phase IV layer 1542 contained 951g, Phase V midden 1540 contained 841g, and Phase V layer 1541 contained 1.6kg of oyster shells.

Plant macrofossils and other remains

V. Fryer

Fifteen samples were selected for assessment. The assemblages all contained an extremely low density of charred material and the macrofossils noted frequently occurred as single specimens. Cereal grains including *Triticum* sp. (wheat) and *Avena* sp. (oat) were noted in five samples but preservation was poor; most had become puffed and distorted during charring. Cotyledon fragments of indeterminate large pulses were noted in samples 39 (Phase IV slot 1469) and 49 (Phase V midden deposit 1540). Seeds/fruits of common weed species including *Anthemis cotula* (stinking mayweed), *Chenopodium album* (fat-hen), *Galium aparine* (goosegrass), *Medicago/Trifolium/Lotus* sp. (medick/ clover/trefoil), indeterminate large grasses and *Rumex* sp. (dock) were present in only three samples. The assemblage from sample 39 may possibly be derived from cereal processing or similar debris.

Radiocarbon dating (Fig. 21)

A. Bayliss and G. Cook

Eight radiocarbon age determinations were obtained on samples of human bone excavated in 1999. These were processed by the Scottish Universities Research and Reactor Centre at East Kilbride, and were prepared using the methods outlined in Stenhouse and Baxter (1983) and measured using liquid scintillation spectrometry (Noakes *et al.* 1965). Stable isotope measurements were undertaken using methods outlined in Cook *et al.* (forthcoming). The laboratory maintains a continual programme of quality assurance procedures, in addition to participation in international intercomparisons (Scott *et al.* 1990; Rozanski *et al.* 1992; Scott *et al.* 1998). These tests indicate no laboratory offsets and demonstrate the validity of the precision quoted. Nine radiocarbon measurements had already been taken on burials from the previous excavations in the cemetery and have been fully reported elsewhere (Rodwell and Rodwell 1993, 103-4; Jordan *et al.* 1994, 143-4; Mays *et al.* 2003).

The results

The results are given in Table 9, and are quoted in accordance with the international standard known as the Trondheim convention (Stuiver and Kra 1986). They are conventional radiocarbon ages (Stuiver and Polach 1977).

Calibration

The calibrations of these results, relating the radiocarbon measurements directly to calendar dates, are given in Table 9 and in outline in Fig. 21. All have been calculated using the calibration curve of Stuiver *et al.* (1998) and the computer program OxCal (v3.5) (Bronk Ramsey 1995; 1998; 2000). The calibrated date ranges cited in the text are those for 95% confidence. They are quoted in the form recommended by Mook (1986), with the end points rounded outwards to 10 years. The ranges quoted in italics are *posterior density estimates* derived from mathematical modelling of archaeological problems (see below). The ranges in Table 9 have been calculated according to the maximum intercept method (Stuiver and Reimer 1986), all other ranges are derived from the probability method (Stuiver and Reimer 1993).

Analysis and interpretation

Although the simple calibrated dates are accurate estimates of the dates of the samples, this is usually not what archaeologists really wish to know. It is the dates of the archaeological events which are represented by those samples which are of interest. In the case of the Rivenhall cemetery, it is the chronology of burials which is under investigation. The dates of this activity can be estimated not only using the absolute dating information from the radiocarbon measurements on the skeletons, but also by using the relative dating information provided by stratigraphy.

Fortunately methodology is now available which allows the combination of these different types of information explicitly, to produce realistic estimates of the dates of archaeological interest. It should be emphasised that the distributions and ranges produced by this modelling are not absolute, they are interpretative *estimates*, which can and will change as further data becomes available and as other researchers choose to model the existing data from different perspectives.

The technique used is a form of Markov Chain Monte Carlo sampling, and has been applied using the program OxCal v3.5 (<http://www.rlaha.ox.ac.uk/>), which uses a mixture of the Metropolis-Hastings algorithm and the more specific Gibbs sampler (Gilks *et al.* 1996; Gelfand and Smith 1990). Details of the algorithms employed by this program are available from the on-line manual or in Bronk Ramsey (1995; 1998), and fully worked examples are given in the series of papers by Buck *et al.* (1991; 1992), Buck, Litton *et al.* (1994), and Buck, Christen *et al.* (1994). The algorithm used in the model described below can be derived from the structure shown in Fig. 22.

This section concentrates on describing the archaeological evidence which has been incorporated into the chronological model, explaining the reasoning behind the interpretative choices made in producing the models presented. These archaeological decisions fundamentally underpin the choice of statistical model.

The interpretative model for the chronology of the cemetery at Rivenhall is shown in Fig. 22. This model incorporates the known stratigraphic relationships between skeletons 1443 and 1307, and between G326, G298, and Structure 1 (Fig. 5), i.e. that G326 predates Structure 1 and G298 post-dates it (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 80-2). It also assumes that burial on the site started, and continued relatively constantly until it finished. The radiocarbon dates are in good agreement with this independent information ($A=85.0\%$; Bronk Ramsey 1995), although in fact burial is only likely to have ended in the part of the churchyard which was incorporated into the priest's house at the date estimated. Areas closer to the church remained in use for burial until the present day, although more recent burials were not sampled for radiocarbon dating. The radiocarbon dates do not support the suggestion that there may be two, chronologically distinct, cemeteries on the site.

The model suggests that burial in the cemetery started in *cal AD* 770 – 980 (95% probability; Fig. 21, 'start'), most probably in the late 9th or 10th century (*cal AD* 850 – 960 (68% probability)). On radiocarbon evidence the eastern part of the cemetery went out of use in the 13th or early 14th century (*cal AD* 1220 – 1390 (95% probability); e.g. Fig 22, 'GU-5858'). In fact this probably happened in the early 13th century when the area was taken into the boundaries of the priest's house, although burial continued for longer in the South Area. This area was not taken back into the cemetery until the 18th century.

There does not appear to be a chronological progression through the rows of graves apparent in the recent excavations, as one of the earliest dated graves (1479; GU-5864) is in the most easterly row and the most southerly excavated grave (1415; GU-5862) is probably 11th or 12th century in date (Fig. 21). This result is similar to those from burials close to the church (the Rodwells' Cemetery 2) and suggests that burial extended to areas further away from the building soon after the cemetery was established on the site.

On the basis of the radiocarbon dates, it can be estimated that Structure 1 was built in *cal AD* 910 – 1250 (95% probability), probably in the eleventh or twelfth century (*cal AD* 970 – 1180; 68% probability). It does not appear to be middle Saxon (*pace* Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 83).

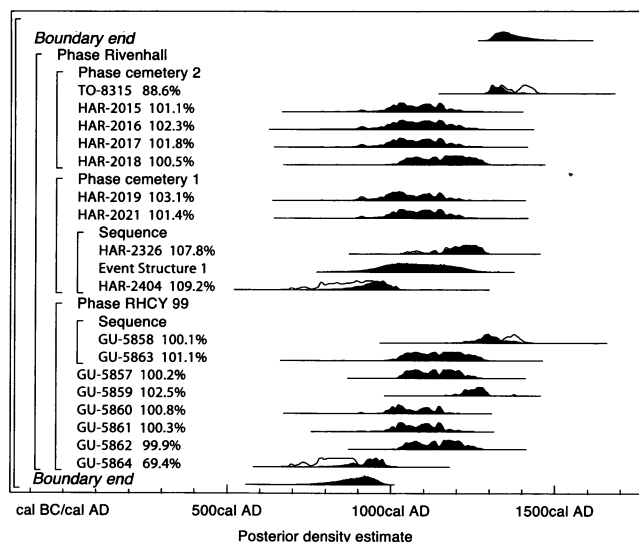


Fig. 21. Probability distributions of radiocarbon dates from the cemetery at Rivenhall. Each distribution represents the relative probability that an event occurs at a particular time.

For each radiocarbon date, two distributions have been plotted: one in outline which is the result of simple radiocarbon calibration (Stuiver and Reimer 1993), and a solid one based on the chronological model used. The other distributions correspond to aspects of the model. For example the distribution ‘start’ is the posterior density estimate for the date when burial started on the site. The large square brackets down the left hand side and the OxCal keywords define the overall model exactly.

OVERALL DISCUSSION

The 1999 site and the Rodwells’ excavations

The 1999 site was located in a key position in the churchyard, to the south of the Rodwells’ Area C2, and to the east of the church. The evidence from this excavation has built on the work of the Rodwells in the 1970s, and has refined many of their interpretations, most notably for the Saxo-Norman and medieval periods. Little or no evidence relating to the Roman villa or Saxon hall was found. A much more complex medieval sequence was identified here than was recorded by the Rodwells, particularly in the North Area of the 1999 excavation. Several direct links, such as ditch continuations/alignments, structural remains and layers, were identified between the North Area and the Rodwells’ Area C2. This, in addition to the improved dating evidence, has expanded the understanding of the developmental sequence of the churchyard.

Review of site development (Figs 22-23)

The Rodwells published an outline of the physical evolution of the churchyard, illustrated by diagrammatic plans (1985, 122-5, figs 86-88), which have been reproduced and summarised in this report with some additions and refinements. The Rodwells’ Periods, followed by the equivalent phases from the 1999 excavation, where relevant, are incorporated with each section.

Roman (1st century to 4th century). Periods 2 to 3; Phase I (not illustrated)

The villa was established in the 1st century and in the late Roman period (3rd and 4th centuries) was remodelled following a fire, when an aisled barn (Building 4) was also constructed. Very little evidence relating to this phase was found by the 1999 excavation, other than the continuation of the Roman yard surface recorded between Buildings 2 and 4 by the Rodwells.

Saxon (5th to 9th century). Period 4 (Fig. 22)

The Roman villa buildings continued in use and a Saxon Hall (Building 5) was erected in the northern part of the churchyard, which in the 7th-9th century appears to have been removed to an adjacent site. The Rodwells suggested that a significant change in use took place on the site in the middle Saxon period, when a probable chapel or mausoleum (Structure 1) and associated cemetery (1) were created close to the east face of the podium of villa Building 2. However, as discussed above (‘Radiocarbon dating’), the re-analysis of the radiocarbon dates suggests that Structure 1 is more likely to be of 11th to 12th-century date rather than middle Saxon, and that cemetery 1 probably began in the late Saxon period and was not a discrete cemetery.

Late Saxon (late 9th and 10th centuries). Periods 5A and 5B. Phase II (Fig. 22)

The refinement of dating since the Rodwells’ first publication has shown that it is unlikely that there were two separate cemeteries (one middle Saxon and one of 10th or early 11th century date) at Rivenhall, as the Rodwells originally thought. Burial most likely started in the eastern part of the churchyard in the late 9th or 10th century when the first church, a timber structure (Building 7) was founded, and ceased in this area during the 13th century, when this area was appropriated for the priest’s house. Since cemetery 1 and 2 appear to be the same, this casts further doubt on the interpretation of the possible middle or late Saxon hall, postulated to have been located on a clay-and-flint platform (Structure 9) to the northwest of the 1999 excavation.

Saxo-Norman (11th-12th century). Period 5C (i). Phase II (Fig. 22)

The first stone-built church was erected, with a possible priest’s house (Structure 8) located to the north, and the churchyard appears to have been properly defined.

The most significant change to the interpretation of this phase is the absence of the eastern churchyard boundary identified by the Rodwells. No evidence of F58, the late Saxon boundary thought to run on a diagonal line to the east of the church, was found in the recent excavation. This, combined with the cemetery and dating evidence which shows that the burials continued into at least the 12th century beyond the line of the postulated ditch, suggests that the boundary lay further to the east. The radiocarbon dates indicate that

RIVENHALL REVISITED

Laboratory Number	Skeleton	Radiocarbon Age (BP)	‰13C (‰)	‰15N (‰)	Calibrated date range (95% confidence)	Posterior density estimate (95% probability)
HAR-2015	G135	980±60	-19.1		cal AD 900 – 1220	-
HAR-2016	G89	970±80	-19.7		cal AD 890 – 1250	-
HAR-2017	G165	980±70	-19.8		cal AD 890 – 1220	-
HAR-2018	G257	860±80	-19.1		cal AD 1010 – 1300	-
TO-8315	G204	550±60	-19.5±0.1	+12.9±0.3	cal AD 1290 – 1450	-
HAR-2019	G284	1000±70	-20.2		cal AD 890 – 1220	-
HAR-2021	G316	970±70	-20.1		cal AD 900 – 1220	-
HAR-2326	G298	820±60	-20.1		cal AD 1030 – 1300	-
HAR-2404	G326	1140±70	-19.6		cal AD 690 – 1030	-
GU-5857	1243	890±50	-21.3±0.3	+12.7±0.5	cal AD 1020 – 1270	<i>cal AD 1020 – 1250</i>
GU-5858	1307	680±70	-20.7±0.3	+13.2±0.5	cal AD 1210 – 1410	<i>cal AD 1220 – 1390</i>
GU-5859	1308	760±50	-20.8±0.3	+11.0±0.5	cal AD 1180 – 1380	<i>cal AD 1160 – 1310</i>
GU-5860	1327	990±50	-19.3±0.3	+10.1±0.5	cal AD 970 – 1170	<i>cal AD 970 – 1190</i>
GU-5861	1389	970±50	-19.4±0.3	+10.5±0.5	cal AD 980 – 1210	<i>cal AD 980 – 1190</i>
GU-5862	1415	880±50	-19.3±0.3	+12.4±0.5	cal AD 1020 – 1270	<i>cal AD 1030 – 1260</i>
GU-5863	1443	880±80	-20.7±0.3	+13.4±0.5	cal AD 990 – 1290	<i>cal AD 1020 – 1280</i>
GU-5864	1479	1190±50	-19.2±0.3	+11.0±0.5	cal AD 680 – 980	<i>cal AD 820 – 1000</i>

Table 9. Radiocarbon determinations

Structure 1, originally interpreted as a possible middle Saxon shrine or mausoleum, may belong to this period.

Earlier 13th century. Period 5C (ii). Phase III (Fig. 22) Building 6, the first structure confidently interpreted as the priest's house, was constructed in the northeast corner of the churchyard at a similar time to the addition of an apse to the church.

The plan for this phase is slightly altered to that published by the Rodwells. The main addition is the extended line of the eastern boundary ditch (F269/1534/1535), which continued for a further 15m to the south of Building 6. No southern boundary was evident. The 12th-century date for Building 6 is still plausible, although pottery from the 1999 excavation suggests infilling of the boundary ditch took place in the earlier 13th century, probably in preparation for Building 10 and its associated curtilage to the south. Burial had clearly ceased in this part of the churchyard by this period, although it continued for a while longer further south, closer to the church.

13th century. Period 6A. Phase IV (Fig. 22) Building 6 was replaced in the 13th century by another structure (Building 10), located a few metres east of its predecessor, in the northeast part of the churchyard. The 1999 excavation confirmed that the priest's house was relocated and rebuilt in the 13th century, and the domestic enclosure enlarged. No associated boundaries were recorded, although the area to the immediate south continued not to be used for burials, except in parts closer to the church. Some peripheral activity, possibly in the form of ancillary buildings such as barns or stables or kitchens, was located to the south of Building 10.

Late 13th/14th century. Period 6B. Phase V (Fig. 22) Building 10 was replaced by the last phase of priest's house (Building 9) in the late 13th/14th century and the church was remodelled in this period.

The evidence from the 1999 excavation supports the interpretation that the priest's house was rebuilt (Building 9), with the most noteworthy change to the published plan being the addition of a new southern boundary to the curtilage. This boundary may have joined with the postulated churchyard ditch (F58) and previously excavated ditches forming the eastern and northern boundaries to provide a well-defined enclosure around the building. The main curtilage was clearly shortened to the south, in comparison with earlier periods, although the separated area was not re-incorporated into the churchyard, and was probably cultivated. In the later life of Building 9 the eastern, northern and southern ditches went out of use and banks defined the plot.

15th century. Period 6C. Phase VI (Fig. 23) The priest's house was abandoned as a dwelling in the first half of the 15th century, although the building may have continued in use as a barn. John Carrington founded a chantry chapel in the churchyard in the mid-15th century, probably in the northwest corner, possibly with a priest's house (for the chantry priest as Rivenhall was a rectory) attached (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 120).

The evidence from the 1999 excavation confirms that Building 9 was abandoned, and indicates that the area to the south may also have continued to be cultivated; it was certainly not used for burials.

16th/17th century. Period 7A. (not illustrated) A fence demarcating the eastern churchyard boundary was established in this period, and elm trees were planted at intervals along the remaining boundaries. No evidence of the fence was found in the recent excavations, and it seems likely that the area of the former priest's house continued to be cultivated or perhaps used as pasture.

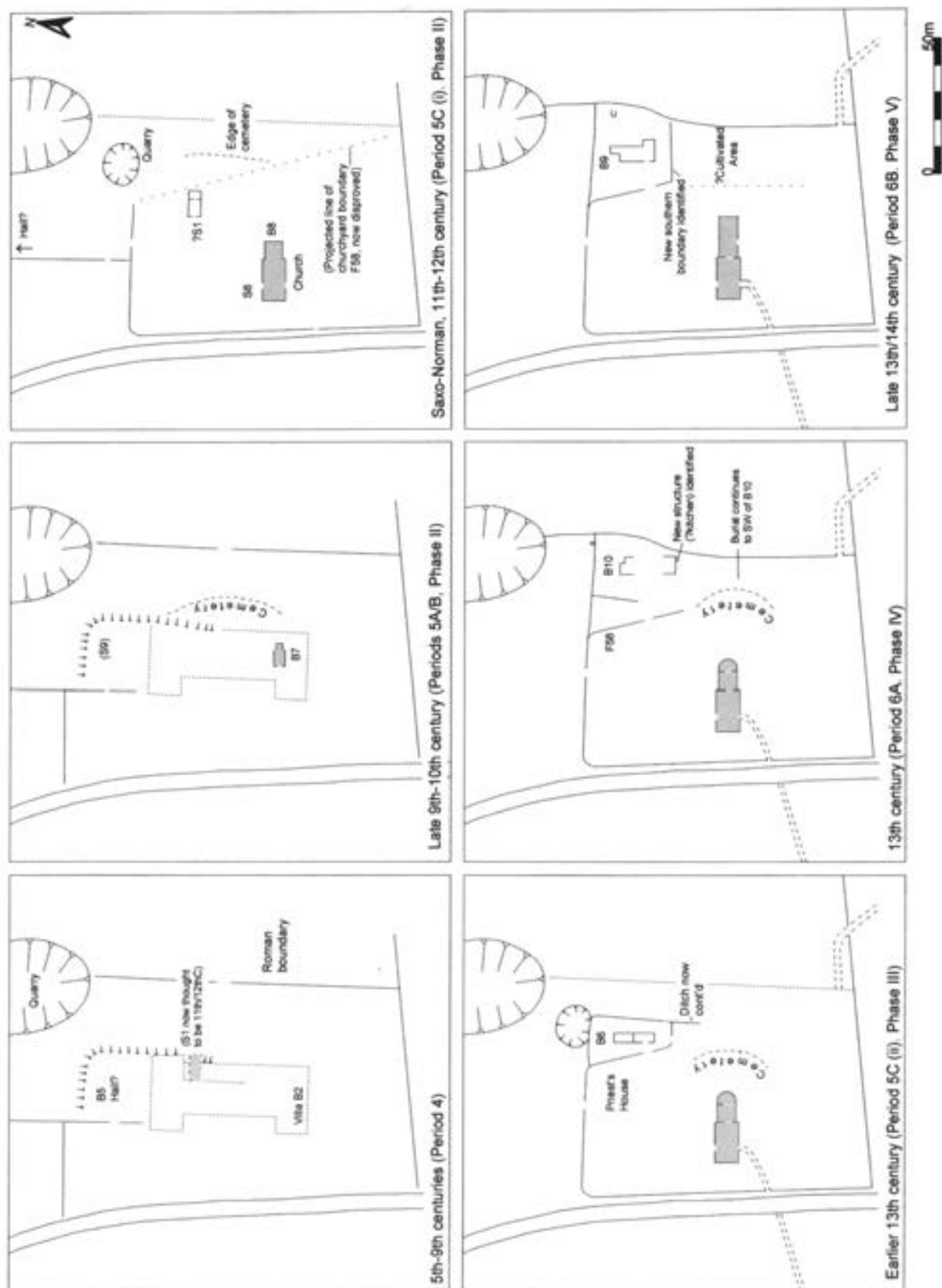


Fig. 22 Rivenhall Church. Diagrammatic plans to illustrate the development of the churchyard,

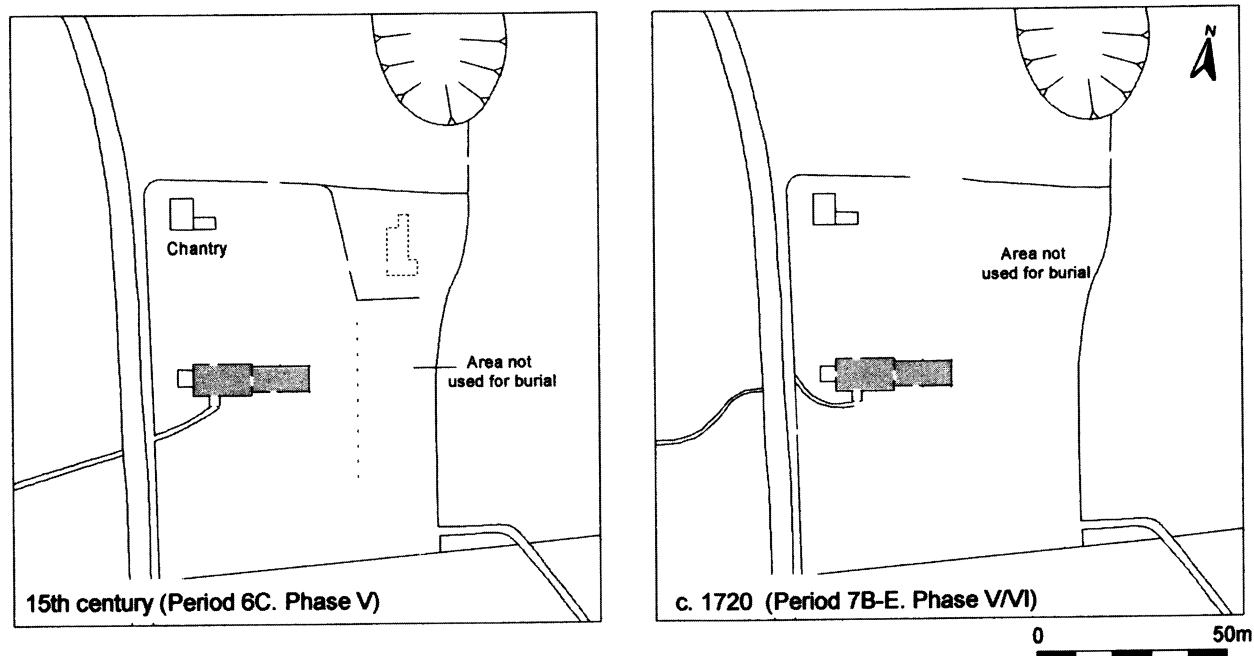


Fig. 23 Rivenhall Church. Diagrammatic plans to illustrate the development of the churchyard, particularly the eastern part, from the 15th to the 18th century, with Rodwells' periods and the 1999 phases (after Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 123)

Post medieval (c. 1720 onwards). Period 7B-E. Phase VII (Fig. 23)

The documentary research undertaken previously indicates that the area of land formerly occupied by the priest's house and associated curtilage was incorporated into the present churchyard in the 1720s (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 124). The eastern boundary reverted almost to the Roman boundary and a new northern boundary was created just to the south of the previous one. In 1839 the church was restored, followed in c. 1855 by the adoption of a more formal layout to the churchyard, with the addition of two lines of yews, two cedars and four evergreen oaks. The latter were thought to perpetuate the line of the earliest eastern churchyard boundary (F58), although the location of this has now been disputed. The area of the former priest's house and curtilage, although within the boundaries of the churchyard, was not used for burial and appears to have been scrubland or rough pasture. The area may have lain relatively untouched until the Rodwells undertook their excavations in the churchyard in the 1970s.

The Saxo-Norman and medieval cemetery

One of the main research objectives was to clarify the date of the cemetery. The identification of a possible further fifty graves (in addition to the 256 Saxon, medieval and early post-medieval burials excavated by the Rodwells) in the 1999 excavation has allowed some re-interpretation and refinement regarding the date, size and development of the churchyard. Further advances in calibration and mathematical modelling of radiocarbon dates have occurred since the publication of the Rodwells' results, and these have been applied to both the 1999 samples and those reported on by the Rodwells (Radiocarbon dating, above). The results

indicate that there was a single, continuous cemetery, probably originating in the late 9th or 10th century, although burial ceased in the northeastern part of the churchyard, where the priest's house was sited, by the 13th century.

The graves were generally orientated west-east in neat rows, although a more northwest-southeast alignment was also apparent, particularly in the latest (Phase IV) burials. The 1999 excavation has demonstrated that the Saxo-Norman and earlier medieval cemetery extended further eastwards than was originally thought, although radiocarbon dating suggests that there was not a clear chronological progression as burial occurred in areas further away from the church soon after the cemetery was established.

Cemetery layout and boundaries

A significant result of the 1999 excavation was the discovery that the major late Saxon churchyard boundary, F58, did not continue southeastwards from Area C2 as predicted by the Rodwells. The projected line of the ditch would have passed through the western part of the 1999 excavation area, but was not evident here. The results of the 1999 excavation suggest that this would be an unlikely place for a boundary in this period, particularly as the radiocarbon dating has clearly illustrated that burial continued eastwards, beyond the projected ditch line, well into the medieval period.

Although no physical evidence of a contemporary boundary was found in the 1999 excavation, a clear eastern limit to the burials is evident, suggesting that the boundary could have been a fence, hedge or bank that has left no trace. Medieval statutes frequently required that cemeteries should have a defined boundary, not

least to prevent livestock from entering the burial ground and causing damage whilst foraging for food (Daniell 1999, 99). No evidence of burials was found by the Rodwells in Area C5 and C6 to the south of the 1999 excavation, or outside the modern churchyard limit to the east (1985, 79), which further indicates that the cemetery was probably well defined by the Saxo-Norman period. A possible explanation for the discontinuation of the Rodwells' original churchyard boundary (F58) on its projected path is that it turned eastwards and was in fact part of the boundary surrounding Building 9, the last phase of priest's house (see below).

As the area excavated represents only a small part of the cemetery, it is not possible to draw definitive conclusions about burial location and preferences, although some further comments can be added to the Rodwells' interpretations. Evidence from the earlier excavations indicated a tendency in all periods to bury infants and young children close to the church walls (1985, 101); however, five graves containing children were identified during the 1999 excavation that are clearly located well away from the church. These graves are not confined to one particular area, although three of the five were found in the northwest corner of the North Area. The distribution of infant burials is often difficult to establish, largely because they are under-represented in the archaeological record. Unbaptized children would not have been buried in the churchyard, also they may have been buried in shallower graves, and their bones are more likely to degrade (Daniell 1999, 125-7). Some of the shallower pits in the South Area may have contained infant burials, but no bone survived to confirm this.

Grave markers and burial practices

The well-defined rows of graves, particularly in the North Area, suggest the use of some form of grave marker. Graves in medieval cemeteries were often marked, and the wealthy would have had more permanent markers than most (Daniell 1999, 147). It is possible that some of the postholes located close to graves in the 1999 excavation, such as flint-packed posthole 1233 (next to grave 1182), and 1368 (next to grave 1392), may have held some form of grave marker. The lack of suitable stone in Essex may have necessitated the use of wooden crosses as markers, although these may have been more likely to be located at the head-end of the grave, rather than close to the feet as the two examples from the 1999 excavation would have been. It is also possible that masonry from the Roman villa buildings may have been re-used as markers, and these will not necessarily have left any trace. Another explanation for the maintenance of well-ordered rows was the use of more temporary markers, in the form of grave mounds, which would have become eroded or may have been deliberately levelled to allow further burial or in preparation for cultivation or other activities.

Roman tile, and in one instance a piece of quernstone (in grave 1347), as well as flint nodules, were found placed around, and occasionally over, the skull or body in several of the graves (1347, 1282, 1480, 1391 and 1282). This burial practice was also recorded by the Rodwells, who suggested a distinction between the rite of pillowstones (including tile) in Cemetery 1 and the placement of large pieces of Roman roof tile set on edge in graves belonging to later Cemetery 2. The calibration and mathematical modelling of the radiocarbon dates undertaken for this report, however, suggests that the two cemeteries were continuous, although this does not preclude a slight chronological development in this particular burial mode. The placement of stones around the skull apparently became less common after the 11th century, although the practice continued until the 13th century at St Mary's, Stow in Lincolnshire (Hadley 2001, 118). The excavation of other cemeteries around the country has demonstrated that each had different trends and that various burial practices were undertaken often within the same chronological period. At St Nicholas Shambles, London, a cemetery comprising 234 skeletons, dating to the 11th and 12th centuries, was excavated. Six grave-types were identified, including graves with pillow stones and graves lined with stone or tile, although most of the excavated graves were of a simple type with no special treatment (White 1988, 6; 18). Similar evidence was also found in a single grave at St Bride's, London and tile lining was recorded in two medieval graves at St Andrew's and Clementhorpe Priory, York (Stroud and Kemp 1993, 153), suggesting that tile may have marked 'some enhanced Christian devotion' (Daniell 1999, 166).

A second possible burial practice noted during the 1999 excavation was indicated by the presence of charcoal in the base of grave 1399 in the southwest corner of the South Area. Although the charcoal was intermittent, mostly apparent around the abdomen area, this trait was not found in any of the other graves, and could represent a charcoal burial. This type of burial appears to have had a similar chronology to the use of pillow-stones, and became common from the 9th-12th century, although the earliest documented example dates to the 4th century (*ibid*, 158-160). The reasons for charcoal burials and other rites such as pillow stones and tile-placement is not known, although it has been suggested that these practices may be related to contemporary religious beliefs.

During the 10th-11th century there was an increased emphasis upon bodily Resurrection and the Last Judgement, and it would have been important for the dead to rise facing the Risen Christ. The use of pillow stones and placed tile would have ensured that the head was facing upwards, and the spreading of charcoal beneath or over the body may have been to indicate penance, or perhaps to help preserve the body so that it rose in better condition (Daniell 1999, 160-1). Both rites appear to fade out in the late 12th/early 13th century, coinciding with the time when Purgatory was

emphasised, and the position and condition of the body may have become less crucial. Apart from the religious background to these rites, it is clear that greater care and effort was invested in these graves. No definitive evidence was found in the 1999 graves to suggest the presence of coffins, and the Rodwells' describe the evidence for coffins as 'equivocal' (1985, 83), indicating that medieval burials at Rivenhall were generally in simple shrouds. It is possible that wooden coffins were used, as these may have been held together with wooden pegs which have not survived, however the irregular nature and narrowness of many of the grave cuts would seem to preclude the use of coffins. The possible exception to this was the probable charcoal burial in grave 1399, which had vertical sides and flat base and is more likely to have contained a coffin.

The priest's house

The Rodwells identified a sequence of buildings and associated boundaries spanning the 12th to 15th centuries in Area C2 in the northeast corner of the churchyard, interpreted as the priest's house and curtilage. The 1999 excavation revealed further evidence of these buildings, particularly Building 10 (13th century) where a possible kitchen or associated ancillary structure was uncovered, and Building 9 (late 13th/14th century), for which the southern boundary and various related dumps and layers were identified. Study of the available documentary evidence has already been undertaken previously, and although this failed to identify any references to the structures in the churchyard, further research did suggest that the buildings were likely to be priests' houses (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 118). According to Platt (1981, 58) 'the need for separate accommodation for the village priest, where his parishioners might seek his help at all hours, had come to be recognised by the 13th century'. Documentary sources, such as those relating to the priest's house at Histon, Cambs indicate that the accommodation may have been 'quite lavish'. This vicarage was to be built of 'good oak timber' and should contain 'a hall at least twenty-six feet by twenty, with a buttery at one end, and at the other, a 'competent' chamber with its garderobe; there was to be a kitchen, a bakehouse, and a brewhouse' (ibid). The accommodation had to be of a certain standard befitting the status of the priest and of a size large enough to house his chaplains, deacons and other helpers. Not all priests would have had such large or commodious lodgings, and many would have lived in simple houses, with no more than two basic chambers, located within the churchyard, such as was excavated at Highlight (Glamorgan) in 1966.

The artefacts recovered from deposits associated with the priests' houses, especially from the last phase (Building 9, 14th century), are of a wide range and some quality and indicate that a wide range of activities was undertaken on the site, possibly by a fairly extensive number of people. The presence of a variety of species,

including a number of wild animals, in the relatively small bone assemblage is of interest, and the occurrence of deer bones in particular indicates a high status style of life. Deer hunting was a privilege of the aristocracy in the medieval period and the tentative suggestion of a high status diet is consistent with the interpretation of a site of an ecclesiastical nature.

Stratigraphically, the 1999 excavation has helped confirm or refine the interpretations by the Rodwells regarding the development of the successive priests' houses in this part of the churchyard. The interpretation of Structure A may never be fully understood as only a small part was exposed, and the area to the immediate north is occupied by recent burials, precluding further investigation. A significant result of the recent excavation was the identification of boundary ditch 1533, which appears to be the southern boundary to the last phase of priests' house (Building 9) and was not anticipated by the Rodwells. Relatively few medieval priest's houses have been excavated, especially within the region, and the results from the 1999 excavation have increased the knowledge of the development of the priest's house, associated curtilage and the finds assemblage for this important aspect of the site.

Acknowledgements

The project was funded by English Heritage and carried out by the Field Archaeology Unit of ECC under the direction of the author. Thanks are due to the Rev. Nigel Cooper, Mrs Taylor and the 'churchyard gang' and the many volunteers (especially Linda Anderson, Monty Bush, Rose-Marie Bennion, Bill Bailey and Ann Kerr). Thanks are also due to Deborah Priddy, David Andrews and Richard Havis, who monitored the excavation and also offered advice. Pat Connell organised the schools education day, and Ros Tyrrell provided on-site assistance with the finds and volunteers; thanks are also due to Peter Murphy who visited the site to offer advice on sampling. The excavators included A. Letch, D. Maynard, J. Martin, S. Mackeand, C. Down, G. Cruse, G. Dean, S. Jackson and L. Willoughby-Ellis. David and Colin Driver carried out the machine-excavation and reinstatement, under quite difficult circumstances. The many specialists involved in the project who deserve thanks comprise: U. Albarella, A. Bayliss, A-M. Bojko, N. Brown, V. Fryer, H. Major, T. S. Martin, S. Mays, E. Murray, P. Ryan, P. Sealey, S. Tyler, R. Tyrrell and H. Walker. Helen Walker would like to thank Alan Vince for his comments on vessel No. 18. Thanks are also due to Patrick Allen, who edited the report, and to David Andrews for his comments on the initial publication draft.

The illustrations are by I. Bell, R. Clarke, A. Lewsey, and D.W. Williams.

Author: Rachel Clarke, Cambridgeshire Archaeological Field Unit, Fulbourn Community Centre Site, Haggis Gap, Fulbourn, Cambridge CB1 5HD (formerly of Essex Field Archaeology Unit)

Bibliography

- Albarella, U. and Davis, S. 1994 The Saxon and medieval animal bones excavated from 1985-1989 from West Cotton, Northamptonshire, *Ancient Monuments Lab. Rep.*, 17/94
- Albarella U. and Davis, S. 1996 'Mammal and bird bones from Launceston Castle: decline in status and the rise of agriculture', *Circaea* 12 (1) 1996 for 1994, 1-156
- Berry, A.C. and Berry, R.J. 1967 'Epigenetic Variation in the Human Cranium', *Journal of Anatomy* 101, 361-79
- Biddle, M., 1990 *Object and economy in medieval Winchester ii.* Oxford.
- Biddle, M. and Hinton, D.A. 1990 'Annular and other brooches', in Biddle, M., 639-43
- Bronk Ramsey, C. 1995 'Radiocarbon calibration and analysis of stratigraphy', *Radiocarbon* 37, 425-30
- Bronk Ramsey, C. 1998 'Probability and dating', *Radiocarbon* 40, 461-74
- Bronk Ramsey, C. 2000 'Comment on "The use of Bayesian statistics for 14C dates of chronologically ordered samples: a critical analysis"', *Radiocarbon*, 42, 199-202
- Brothwell, D.R. 1981 *Digging up bones* (3rd ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press / British Museum (Natural History)
- Brown, N. 1988 'A Late Bronze Age enclosure at Lofts Farm, Essex', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 54, 249-302
- Buck, C.E., Christen, J.A., Kenworthy, J.B. and Litton, C.D. 1994 'Estimating the duration of archaeological activity using 14C determinations', *Oxford J. Archaeol.* 13, 229-40
- Buck, C.E., Kenworthy, J.B., Litton, C.D. and Smith, A.F.M. 1991 'Combining archaeological and radiocarbon information: a Bayesian approach to calibration', *Antiquity*, 65, 808-21
- Buck, C.E., Litton, C.D. and Scott, E.M. 1994 'Making the most of radiocarbon dating: some statistical considerations', *Antiquity* 68, 252-63
- Buck, C.E., Litton, C.D. and Smith, A.F.M. 1992 'Calibration of radiocarbon results pertaining to related archaeological events', *J. Archaeol. Sci.* 19, 497-512
- Bushnell, G.H.S. and Hurst, J.G. 1952 'Some further examples of Sgraffito ware from Cambridge', *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, 46, 21-6
- Clark, J. 1995 *The medieval horse and its equipment c.1150-c. 1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 5
- Clarke, C.P., Gardiner, M.F. and Huggins, P.J. 1993 'Excavations at Church Street, Waltham Abbey, 1976-87: urban development and prehistoric evidence', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, 24, 69-113
- Cook, G.T., Bonsall, C., Hedges, R.E.M., McSweeney, K., Boronean?, V. and Pettitt, P.B. 2003 'A freshwater diet-derived 14C reservoir effect at the stone age sites in the Iron Gates gorge', *Radiocarbon*.
- Cotter, J. 2000 *The post-Roman pottery from excavations in Colchester 1971-85*, Colchester Archaeol. Rep. 7
- Crummy, N. 1988 *The post-Roman small finds from excavations in Colchester 1971-85*, Colchester Archaeol. Rep. 5
- Crummy, P. 1981 *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Colchester*, Colchester Archaeological Rep. 1, CBA Res. Rep., 39
- Crummy, P. 1993 *Excavations at Culver Street, the Gilbert School, and other sites in Colchester 1971-85*, Colchester Archaeol. Rep. 6
- Cunningham, C.M. 1985 'A typology for post-Roman pottery in Essex', in Cunningham, C. M. and Drury, P. J., *Post-medieval sites and their pottery: Moulsham Street, Chelmsford*, Chelmsford Archaeol. Trust Rep., 5, CBA Res. Rep. 54, 1-16
- Cunningham, C.M. 1988 'The medieval pottery', in Rodwell, K. A. *The prehistoric and Roman Settlement at Kelvedon, Essex*, CBA Res. Rep., 63, 129-31
- Cunningham, C.M., Farmer, P.G. and Farmer, N.C. 1983 'A horse and rider Aquamanile from Harwich, and the significance of Scarborough ware in Essex', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, 15, 54-67
- Daniell, C. 1999 *Death and burial in medieval England 1066-1550*. London: Routledge
- Davis, S. 1992 *A rapid method for recording information about mammal bones from archaeological sites*. Ancient Monument Lab. Rep., 19/92
- Drury, P. J. 1976 'A group of mid-thirteenth-century pottery from Naylinghurst, Braintree', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, 8 (1977), 267-71
- Drury, P. J. 1978 *Excavations at Little Waltham, 1970-71*, CBA Res. Rep., 26
- Drury P. J. 1993 'Ceramic Building Materials', in Rodwell, W.J. and Rodwell, K.A., 7-10
- Drury, P.J., Cunningham, C. M., Kilmurry, K and Walker, J. S. F. 1993 'The later Saxon, medieval and post-medieval pottery', in Rodwell, W.J. and Rodwell, K. A., 78-95
- Drury, P.J. and Petchey, M.R. 1975 'Medieval potteries at Mile End and Great Horkesley, Essex', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 7, 33-60
- Dunning, G.C. 1961 'Stone mortars', in Hurst, J.G., 'The kitchen area of Northolt Manor, Middlesex', *Med. Archaeol.* V, 279-84
- Dunning, G. 1969 'Polychrome ware', in Rahtz, P.A., *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex 1955-57*, Soc. Medieval Archaeol. 3, 91-111
- Ellis, S.E. 1969 'The petrography and provenance of Anglo-Saxon and medieval English honestones with notes on some other hones', *Bull. Brit. Mus. (Nat. Hist.) Mineralogy*, 2, 135-87
- Egan, G and Pritchard F. 1991 *Dress Accessories c. 1150-c. 1450*. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 3, 254-5
- Finnegan, M. 1978 'Non-metric variation in the infracranial skeleton', *J. Anatomy* 125, 23-37
- Flecker, H. 1942 'Time of appearance and fusion of ossification centres as observed by Roentgenographic methods', *American J. Roentgenology* 47, 97-159
- Gelfand, A.E. and Smith, A.F.M. 1990 'Sampling approaches to calculating marginal densities', *J. Amer. Stat. Assoc.* 85, 398-409
- Gilks, W.R., Richardson, S. and Spiegelhalter, D.J. 1996 *Markov Chain Monte Carlo in practice*. London: Chapman and Hall
- Going, C.J. 1987 *The mansio and other sites in the south-eastern sector of Caesarmagus: the Roman pottery*, CBA Res. Rep. 62
- Going, C.J. 1993 'The Roman pottery', in Rodwell, W.J. & Rodwell, K.A., 64-70
- Goodall, I.H. 1993 'Iron buckles and personal fittings', in Margeson, S., 32-41
- Gustafson, G. and Koch, G. 1974 'Age estimation up to 16 years of age based on dental development', *Odontologisk Revy* 25, 297-306
- Hadley, D.M. 2001 *Death in medieval England*, Gloucester: Tempus
- Hamerow, H. 1993 *Excavations at Mucking Volume 2: the Anglo Saxon settlement Excavations* by M.U. and W.T. Jones, English Heritage Archaeol. Rep., 21
- Hauser, G. and de Stefano, G.F. 1989 *Epigenetic variants of the human skull*, Stuttgart: E. Schweitscherbart'sche
- Hawkes, C.F.C and Hull, M.R. 1947 *Camulodunum. First Report on the Excavations at Colchester 1930-1939*, Rep. Res. Comm. Soc. Antiq. London, 14
- Huggins, R.M. 1969 'The pottery', in Huggins, P.J., 'Excavations at Sewardstone Street, Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1966', *Post-Med. Archaeol.* 3, 68-87
- Huggins, R.M. 1973 'Appendix 4: Pottery', in Huggins, P. J., 'Excavation of monastic forge and Saxo-Norman enclosure, Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1972-73', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 5, 155-66
- Huggins, R.M. 1976 'Appendix 1: Pottery', in Huggins, P. J. 'The excavation of an 11th-century Viking hall and 14th-century rooms at Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1969-71', *Med. Archaeol.* 20, 101-15
- Jessop, O. 1996 'A new typology for the study of medieval arrowheads', *Med. Archaeol.* XL, 192-205
- Jordan, D, Haddon-Reece, D. and Bayliss, A. 1994 *Radiocarbon dates from samples funded by English Heritage and dated before 1981*, London: English Heritage
- Kilmurry, K., 1980 *The pottery industry of Stamford, Lincs. c.A.D. 850-1250*, BAR Brit. Ser. 84
- Letch, A. 2001 'St Mary and All Saints church, Rivenhall. An analysis of the historic fabric', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 32, 133-45
- Mahany, C., Burchard, A. and Simpson, G. 1982 *Excavations in Stamford, Lincolnshire 1963-1969*, Soc. Med. Archaeol. Mono. Ser., 9
- Major, H. 1992 'Metalwork', in Eddy, M.R., Major, H J. and Walker, H., 'Medieval finds from the post office, High Street, Maldon', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 23, 148-9
- Margeson, S. 1993 *Norwich households: medieval and post-medieval finds from Norwich Survey excavations 1993*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 58

- Mays, S. 1998 *The archaeology of human bones*, London: Routledge / English Heritage
- Mays, S., Crane-Kramer, G. and Bayliss, A. 2003 'Two possible cases of teponemal disease of medieval date from England', *American J. Physical Anthropol.*
- Mays, S., de la Rúa, C. and Molleson, T. 1995 'Molar Crown Height as a Means of Evaluating Existing Wear Scales for Estimating Age at Death in Human Skeletal Remains', *J. Archaeol. Sci.* 22, 659-70
- McCarthy, M.R. and Brooks, C.M. 1988 *Medieval pottery in Britain AD 900-1600*, Leicester University Press
- Meddens, F.M. and Redknap, M. 1992 'A group of kiln waste from Harding's Farm, Mill Green, Essex', *Medieval Ceram.* 16, 11-43
- Medlycott, M. 1999 *Excavation in the churchyard, Rivenhall church, Rivenhall, Essex. Project design*, unpublished report in Essex CC Historic Environment Record
- Miller, P. and Stephenson, R. 1999 *A 14th-century pottery site in Kingston upon Thames, Surrey: excavations at 70-76 Eden Street*, MoLAS Archaeology Studies Series 1, Museum of London
- Mook, W.G. 1986 'Business meeting: recommendations/resolutions adopted by the twelfth international Radiocarbon conference', *Radiocarbon* 28, 799
- Morley, J. and Dunham, K.C. 1953 'A petrographical study of medieval hones from Yorkshire', *Proc. Yorks. Geol. Soc.* 29, 141-9
- Noakes, J.E., Kim, S.M. and Stipp, J.J. 1965 'Chemical and counting advances in Liquid Scintillation Age dating', in *Proc. Sixth International Conference on Radiocarbon and Tritium Dating* (eds E.A. Olsson and R.M. Chatters), 68-92, Washington DC
- O'Connor, T. 1993 'The human skeletal material' in Rodwell, W.J. and Rodwell, K.A., 96-102
- Pearce, J.E. and Vince, A.G. 1988 *A dated type-series of London medieval pottery part 4: Surrey whitewares*, Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. special paper, 10
- Pearce, J.E., Vince, A.G. and White R. 1982 'A dated type-series of London medieval pottery part 1: Mill Green ware', *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 33, 266-98
- Platt, C. 1981 *The parish churches of medieval England*, London: Batsford
- Rahtz, P.A. 1969 *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex 1955-57* Soc. Medieval Archaeol. 3, 91-111
- Rodwell, K.A. 1993a 'Objects of Copper Alloy', in Rodwell, W.J. and Rodwell, K.A., 35-42
- Rodwell, K.A., 1993b 'The fabric of the Roman villa', in Rodwell, W.J. and Rodwell, K.A., 1-5
- Rodwell, W.J. 1982 'The production and distribution of pottery and tiles in the territory of the Trinovantes', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 14, 15-76
- Rodwell, W.J. 1993 *The origins and early development of Witham, Essex: a study in settlement and fortification, prehistoric to medieval*, Oxbow Mono., 26
- Rodwell, W.J. and Rodwell, K.A. 1985 *Rivenhall: investigations of a villa, church, and village, 1950-1977*, CBA Res. Rep. 55
- Rodwell, W.J. and Rodwell, K.A. 1993 *Rivenhall: investigations of a villa, church, and village, 1950-1977 Volume 2*, CBA Res. Rep. 80
- Rozanski, K., Stichler, W., Gonfiantini, R., Scott, E.M., Beukens, R.P., Kromer, B., & van der Plicht, J. 1992 'The IAEA 14C intercomparison exercise 1990', *Radiocarbon* 34, 506-19
- Rumble, A. 1983 *Domesday Book: Essex*, Phillimore
- Scott, E.M., Harkness, D.D. and Cook, G.T. 1998 'Inter-laboratory comparisons: lessons learned', *Radiocarbon* 40, 331-40
- Scott, E.M., Long, A., and Kra, R.S. (eds) 1990 'Proceedings of the international workshop on intercomparison of radiocarbon laboratories', *Radiocarbon* 32, 253-397
- Stenhouse, M.J. and Baxter, M.S. 1983 '14C dating reproducibility: evidence from routine dating of archaeological samples', *PACT* 8, 147-61
- Stroud, G. and Kemp, R. 1993 *Cemeteries of the church and priory of St Andrew, Fishergate, The Archaeology of York, The Medieval Cemeteries 12*, CBA
- Stuiver, M., and Kra, R.S. 1986 Editorial comment', *Radiocarbon* 28(2B), ii
- Stuiver, M. and Polach, H.A. 1977 'Reporting of 14C data', *Radiocarbon* 19, 355-63
- Stuiver, M. and Reimer, P.J. 1986 'A computer program for radiocarbon age calculation', *Radiocarbon* 28, 1022-30
- Stuiver, M. and Reimer, P.J. 1993 'Extended 14C data base and revised CALIB 3.0 14C age calibration program', *Radiocarbon* 35, 215-30
- Stuiver, M., Reimer, P.J., Bard, E., Beck, J.W., Burr, G.S., Hughen, K.A., Kromer, B., McCormac, F.G., van der Plicht, J. and Spurk, M. 1998 'INTCAL98 radiocarbon age calibration, 24,000-0 cal BP', *Radiocarbon* 40, 1041-84
- Vince, A.G. and Jenner, M.A. 1991 'The Saxon and early medieval pottery of London', in Vince (ed.) *Aspects of Saxon and Norman London 2: Finds and Environmental Evidence*, London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. special paper, 12, 19-119
- Walker, H. 1988 'The pottery', in Sellers, E., Ryan, P.M. and Walker, H., 'Maiden's Tye: a moated site at High Easter', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 19, 180-91
- Walker, H. 1992 'Medieval coarse ware pottery', in Eddy, M.R., Major, H.J. and Walker, H., 'Medieval finds from the Post Office, High Street, Maldon', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 23, 148-9
- Walker, H. 1995 'The medieval and post-medieval pottery', in Wymer, J.J. and Brown, N.R., *North Shoebury: settlement and economy in South-east Essex 1500 BC-AD 1500*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 75, 102-24
- Walker, H. 1996a 'Medieval and post-medieval pottery', in Medlycott, M., 'The medieval farm and its landscape: excavations at Stebbingford Farm, Felsted', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 27, 127-50
- Walker, H. 1996b Medieval pottery, in *Newland Street, Witham*, unpublished report in Essex CC Historic Environment Record
- Walker, H. 1997 'Medieval and post-medieval pottery', in Clarke, R., *The Gardens Bungalow, Church Street, Kelvedon, Essex: Archaeological evaluation*, unpublished report in Essex CC Historic Environment Record
- Walker, H. 1998 'Medieval pottery', in Wallis, S. and Waughman, M., *Archaeology and the landscape in the Lower Blackwater Valley*, E. Anglian Archaeol., 82, 158-60
- Walker, H. 1999 'Medieval pottery', in Lavender, N.J., 'Bronze Age and medieval sites at Springfield, Chelmsford: excavations near the A12 Boreham Interchange, 1993', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 30, 29-36
- Walker, H. 2002 'The pottery', in Andrews, D., Mundy, C. and Walker, H., 'Saffron Walden: the topography of the southern half of the town and market place', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 33, 246-61
- Walker, H. 2003a 'Medieval and post-medieval pottery', in Mordue, J., *Excavations at Lances, Church Street, Kelvedon*, unpublished report in Essex CC Historic Environment Record
- Walker, H. 2003b 'The medieval pottery', in Clarke, R., *A medieval moated settlement and windmill. Excavations at Boreham Airfield, Essex 1996*, E. Anglian Archaeol. occ. paper, 11, 35-54
- Walker, H. 2004 'The medieval pottery', in Havis, R. and Brooks, H., *Excavations at Stansted Airport, E. Anglian Archaeol.* 107, 398 - 434
- Walker, H. in prep. a Excavation of a group of medieval pottery kilns at Hole Farm, Sible Hedingham: a Hedingham ware production site
- Walker, H. in prep. b 'Medieval and later pottery', in Dale, R., 'A late Saxon and medieval site at Maldon Bus Station: excavations 1999', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*
- Walker, H. in prep. c 'The medieval and later pottery', in Robertson, A., Davis, E., and Lavender, N., *A multi-period site at Maltings Lane, Witham: excavations 2000-2*, East Anglian Archaeol.
- Wardle, A. 1998 'Articles for leisure', in Egan, G., *The medieval household, daily living c. 1150-c. 1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 6, 284-5
- White, W. 1988 *The cemetery of St Nicholas Shambles, City of London*, London
- Williams, F.W. 1977 *Pleshey Castle, Essex: Excavation in the Bailey, 1959-63*, BAR 42

The Society is extremely grateful to English Heritage for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this article.

Nether Hall. A fortified manor of the Wars of the Roses

D.D. Andrews

Introduction

Nether Hall lies in the valley of the river Lea, just below the confluence with the Stort, close to the boundary of the parish of Roydon in which it is situated (Fig. 1). The site is conspicuous for the lofty ruin of a 15th-century brick gatehouse at the entrance to a moated site, but it also comprises, as well as brick-walled enclosures, a large timber-framed farmhouse and barn (Plates 1 and 2; Fig. 5), which both date from rather earlier in the 15th century. The gatehouse has long been known as a significant example of early brickwork, but no detailed study of it has been published. The restoration of the gatehouse in 1993-4 provided an opportunity to examine it in detail, the observations made then forming the substance of this report.

Nether Hall is identified by the Victoria County History with the estate of one hide held in 1086 by Odo of Ranulf, brother of Ilger, said to be in Nazeing but in fact in Harlow half hundred (VCH Essex viii, 233). In the 13th century, the manor was held of Waltham Abbey. It is, however, only possible to trace its history in detail from the late 14th century, when it belonged to the Organ family who sold it in 1406. It passed through various hands, being acquired soon after the middle of the 15th century, and certainly later than 1449 (cf. BL Add. Ch. 9253), by the Colt family who had extensive lands in the area, including the manors of Down Hall, Sheering and Little Parndon (Morant 1768, 485). They held it until 1631 when it was sold to John Brooke. His son sold it to John Archer in 1680, through whom it came to form part of the extensive Archer Houblon estates which were broken up after the First World War. A consequence of this was that Nether Hall was reduced to the status of a tenanted farm. The brick buildings were neglected and quarried for road building. This doubtless explains the demolition of the house on the west side of the gatehouse. In his *Antiquities of England and Wales* (1773), Grose reproduced an engraving of this building (Fig. 2), which he said was still standing when the drawing was made in 1769 but had since been pulled down. Grose's description of the interior of the gatehouse (see below), as well as the print he reproduced of its south elevation (Fig. 3), make it clear that it was still substantially intact at that time. The

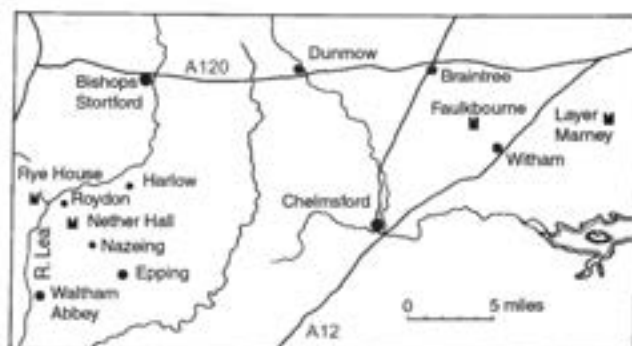


Fig. 1 Map to show the location of Nether Hall.



Fig. 2 Nether Hall, view down the west arm of the moat, showing the house which stood adjacent to the gatehouse (from Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, 1773).

engraving in Brayley and Britton's *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1803), based on a sketch made in 1790, also shows it still intact and approached by a bridge (Fig. 4). By 1809, however, Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* shows the eastern semi-octagonal tower demolished.

The builder of the gatehouse

Although there is general agreement that the gatehouse dates from the 15th century, it is not known exactly who built it or when. Although in theory royal consent was required to construct fortifications, there is no known



Plate 1 View of Nether Hall.

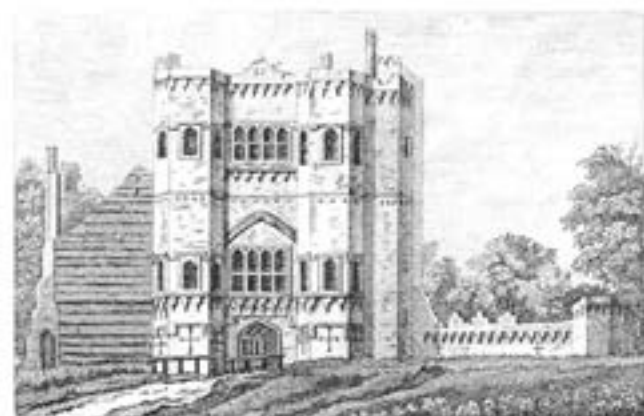


Fig. 3 Nether Hall gatehouse, from Grose 1773.

licence to crenellate Nether Hall. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that it was built by the Colt family, the wealthiest of its late medieval owners, and almost certainly by Thomas Colt (Ryan 1996, 59-61) who died in 1467. The evidence for this conclusion consists mainly in heraldic devices which formerly existed in the gatehouse and were recorded by Grose (1773, and see below). As well as horses for the Colt family, these included a bear and ragged staff, a griffin, a lion and a bull, and a spread eagle and a unicorn, all devices associated with Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, the Kingmaker, and his wife, Anne Beauchamp. Warwick had married Anne in 1449, and died in the battle of Barnet in 1471.

Thomas Colt came from a northern family. Morant says he was the son of Thomas Colt of Carlisle. He, or perhaps his father, was a justice of the peace for Cumberland in 1453-54. By 1454, he was in the circle of Richard duke of York, and was involved in the running of the royal mines in Devon and Cornwall.

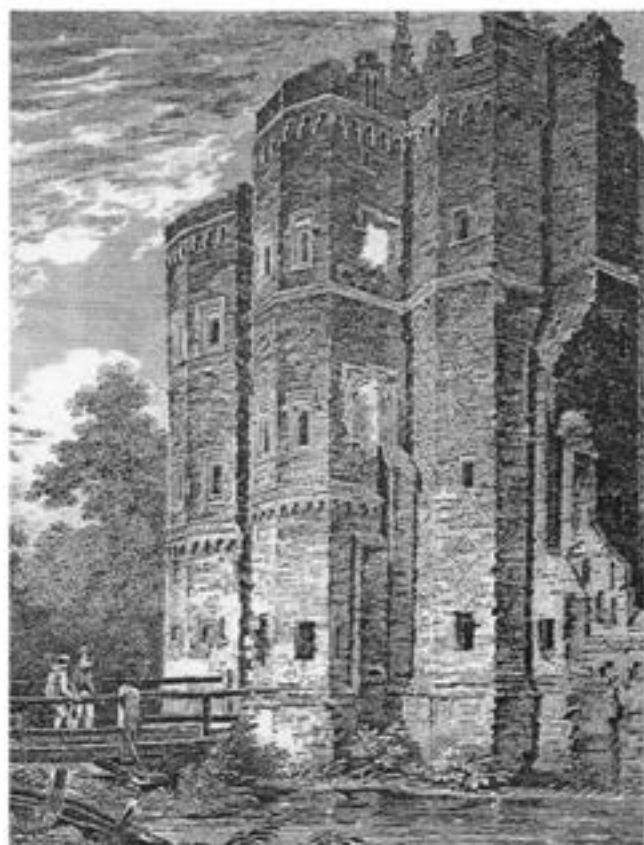


Fig. 4 Nether Hall gatehouse, from Brayley and Britton's *The beauties of England and Wales* (1803), the best illustration of it before the right hand tower was demolished.

Since he was referred to as 'of Middelham, co. York, gentleman', he must have already been close to the Neville family, as this was where they had a castle and extensive lands. Colt was probably with the duke of York at the first battle of St. Albans (1455), and also at

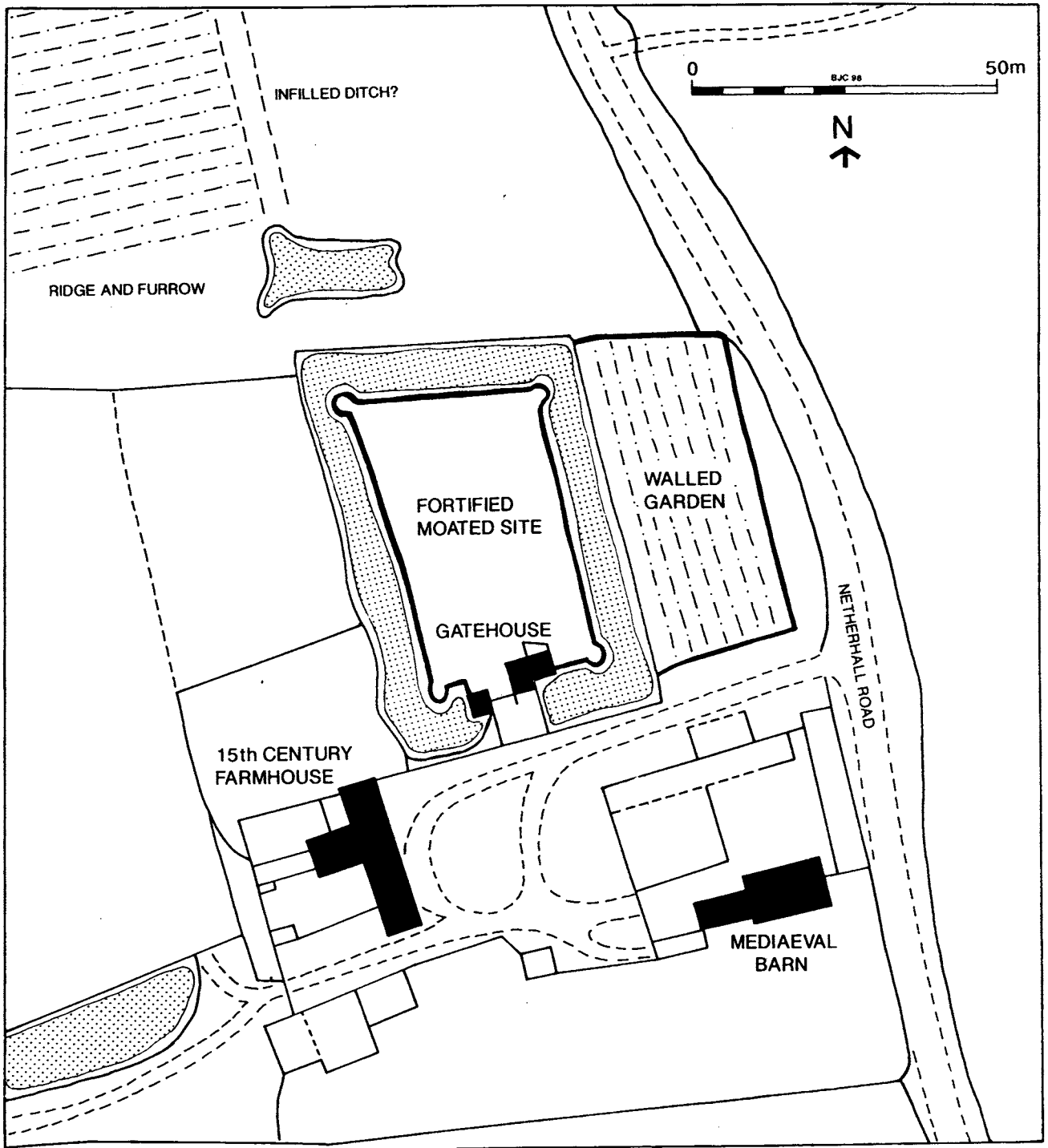


Fig. 5 Nether Hall, site plan.

Wakefield (1460) where the duke of York was killed and the Yorkists defeated. The inscription on his brass in Roydon church describes him as *fortis tam consiliis quam armis*. Certainly he was treated as a rebel, being attainted, and his manors of Nortons, Enfield, and Nether Hall being confiscated and granted to Henry Fylungley. However, the Yorkist victory at Towton (1461) and the accession of Edward IV brought him not just the restoration of his property but lucrative royal appointments, as well as further grants of land. This was clearly the period of his greatest prosperity. In 1461, he was made keeper of the hanaper of Chancery, handling

the fees paid to the court, 'for his good service to the king and the king's father, Richard, late duke of York'. Just how close he was to the late duke is evident from him being one of his executors, and to the king by his position as chancellor of the earldom of March. His brass describes him as *Edwardi regis consul honorificus*. Colt was named amongst prominent Yorkists, including the king and the late duke, for whom prayers were to be said at a chantry founded at Ashford. He was replaced as chancellor of the earldom of March in 1467, and in the same year a confirmation of the Ashford chantry refers to him as dead. The date of 1471 on his brass

presumably refers to when it was installed. This is likely to have been delayed, as his son John was a minor, born in 1465 (Waller 1903). Custody of his property was granted to William Parre who married his widow Joan. On her death in 1476, custody was transferred to John Elryngton, treasurer of the household.¹ Anomalous features in the fabric of Nether Hall must reflect the halt brought to the building work by the long minority of John Colt (see below). This summary of his career indicates that the Nether Hall gatehouse must have been built at some time between the 1450s and 1467, and very possibly between 1461 and 1467.

During the restoration of the gatehouse, an attempt was made to obtain a more precise date using dendrochronology. A plate set below the joists of the first-floor ceiling in the west tower, and the remains of a north-south binding joist, analysed by Ian Tyers, gave a date of 1447-92, which provides a date range consistent with the argument based on the historical evidence.

The historic landscape (Fig. 5)

The existence until recently of a farmyard, and today of extensive gravel extraction, means that little obvious survives of the historic landscape apart from the buildings themselves. However, some interesting observations were made in the course of gravel stripping in 1991. In the field to the north of the moated site, there was evidence of ridge and furrow running east-west. This was narrow rig, with only about 3m between the furrows (cf. Drury 1981). It was in very low relief, there being only about 300mm of topsoil. The line of a north-south ditch about 5m wide could be seen in the same field, apparently sharing the alignment of the western arm of the moat. There seems to be more ridge and furrow within the walled garden to the east of the moat, in this case possibly aligned north-south, which suggests the north arm of the moat may have marked the boundary between two field systems. An estate map of 1786 made for John Archer (ERO D/DB P31) shows three fields north of the moat, Rushy, Great and Little High Elms, which must originally have been a single

unit. Their southern boundary corresponds with the north arm of the moat. The boundary between Great and Little High Elms was probably the ditch seen when the field was stripped. Thus the moated site seems to have been laid out over the medieval fields, involving a replanning of the manorial complex. The fields themselves follow an approximately rectilinear pattern which may reflect several phases of planning.

At a point west of the farmhouse where there is a pond, gravel stripping uncovered gleyed silts which seemed to represent an old east-west ditch 5m or more wide, running just to the north of the existing boundary ditch.

The farmhouse and barn²

The barn was of at least seven bays and aisled. Its western end blew down in 1987, and has since been consolidated on a reduced footprint by the owner, Mr Steveni. The roof is made of simple collar rafter trusses, with no sign of there ever having been a crown post. Raking shores rose across the aisles to brace the arcade posts. These are more typical features of Kentish barns (Rigold 1966), but are known in Essex, as at, for instance, the Lordship Barn, Writtle, of c.1441-75, and Upminster Hall Barn. In the south aisle wall plate there is an edge-halved scarf joint which can be dated to the later 14th or 15th centuries.

The farmhouse is very large (Plate 2). It comprises a hall range rebuilt with an upper storey, probably in the 16th century as it has a crown-post roof with an edge-halved scarf in the collar purlin; two jettied cross-wings to the south of it, and to the north another one and probably originally a second, as the single storey unit at the end of the house has a dragon beam which implies it was originally two storey. Old doorways suggest that the low end of the hall was to the south. The northernmost of the cross-wings at this end has a crown-post roof and should be late medieval; the southern one has a clasped purlin roof and is probably 17th century.

These buildings represent the remains of a manor



Plate 2 Nether Hall farmhouse.

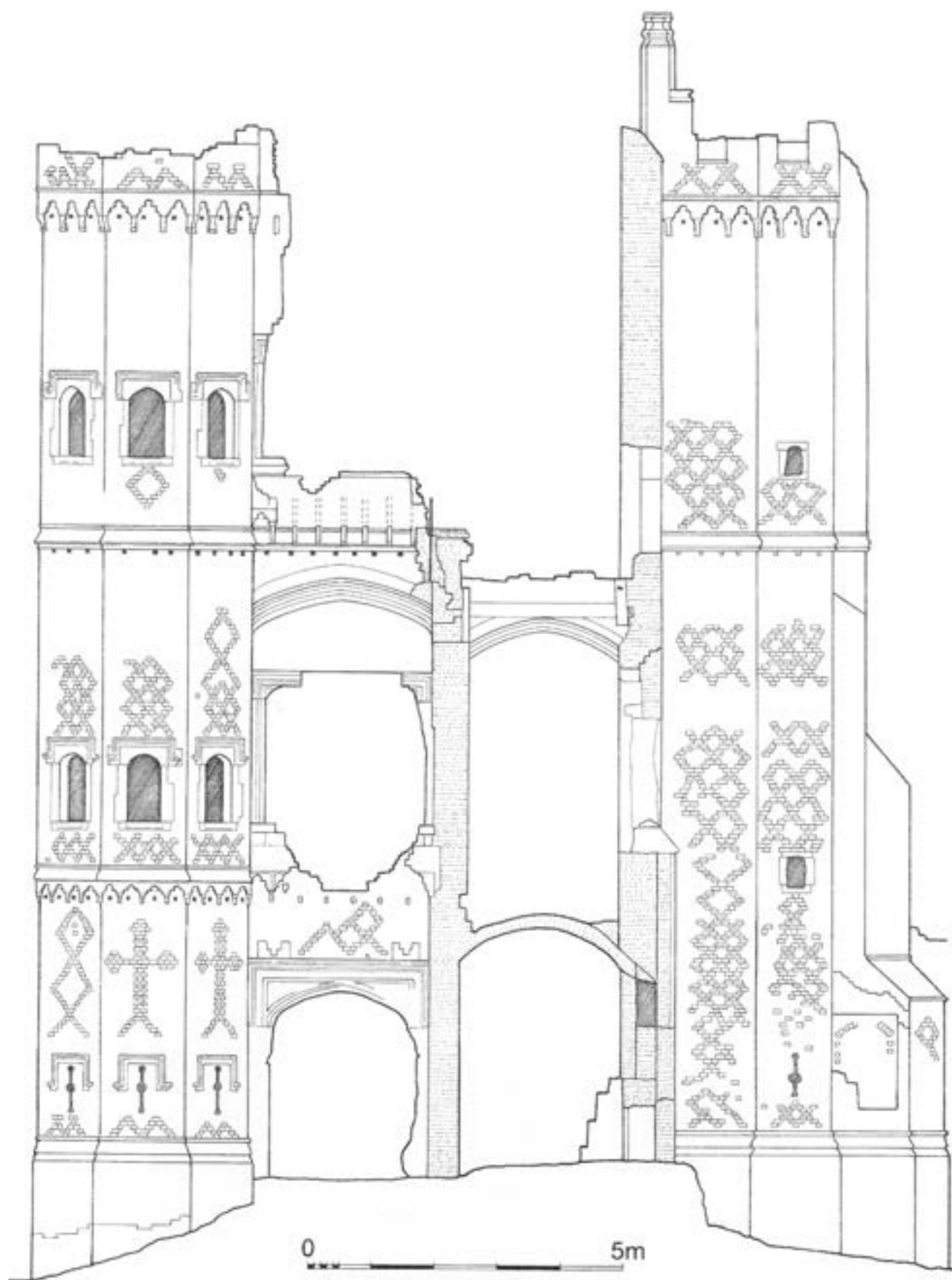


Fig. 6 South elevation of the gatehouse.

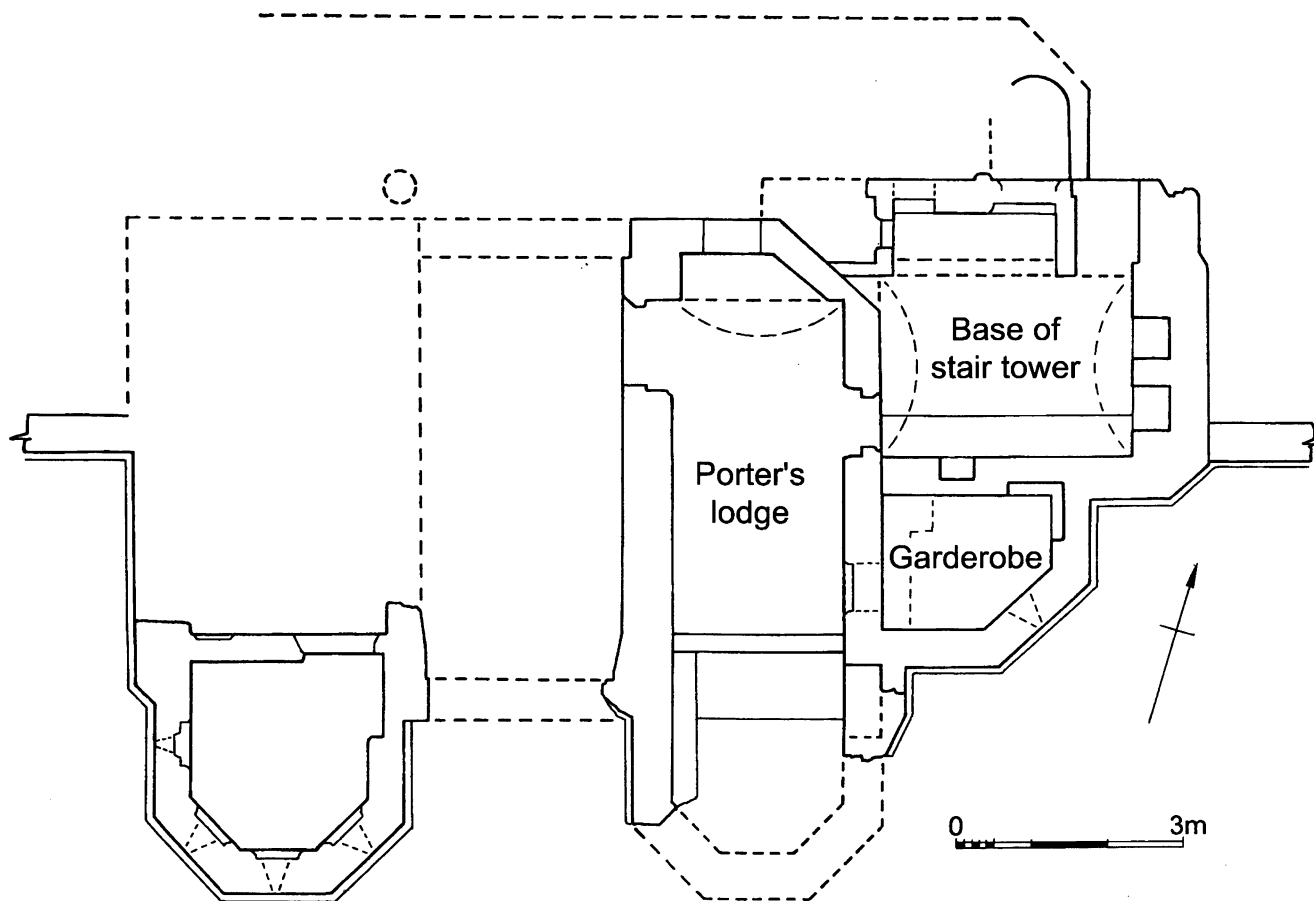


Fig. 7 Plan of the ground floor of the gatehouse.

house and farmyard laid out on a regular axial plan, possibly each with their own separate enclosures. They are generally regarded as older than the brick gatehouse. This must be true of the barn, which might well date from c.1400. Parts of the farmhouse, such as the northern of the two southern cross-wings, may be of similar date, but parts of it are clearly later than the gatehouse.

Buildings within the moat

The RCHM noted evidence for the moat having had a brick wall along both its sides. Of the towers at the corners of the moat, the north-east one no longer survives. The north-west one is different to the south ones, having seven sides whereas the others have five sides.

The two prints published by Grose (1775) show a large building of two storeys with attics occupying most of the west side of the island (Figs 2 and 3). Its position is today represented by a depression in the ground. Grose referred to it as a mansion converted into a farmhouse. It had a large number of chimneys, at least seven, and may have incorporated a kitchen. Most of the chimneys were rectangular or diagonal, and may therefore indicate a 16th- or 17th-century date. Inasmuch as one print suggests the south gable may have been weatherboarded, it may have been partially

timber-framed. A large well, now infilled and barely detectable, exists just to the north of the gatehouse. Originally it lay inside the rear annex or outshot on the north side of the gatehouse (see below). The RCHM noted traces of lean-to buildings against the curtain to the east of the tower.

The garden walls

The garden walls to the east of the moat are overgrown with ivy and have not been examined in detail. The southern wall is two bricks thick above the plinth and is about 1.7m high. It is built of slightly larger bricks (230 x 115 x 60mm) than those in the gatehouse. There are two blocked arrow slits in it. Originally, it may have returned to the north about 4m to the west of where it does today, there being a straight joint in the wall and what seems to be evidence for a stone gate. Beyond this point, the wall is built of slightly smaller bricks (220-230 x 100-110 x 50-55mm). It butts the east wall along the road, which is 2.6m high and extensively covered with diaper patterning, mainly lozenges. This and most of the north wall are also built of smaller bricks. The north wall has three buttresses attached to it. Its west end has been rebuilt in larger bricks which are soft and underfired and now very eroded.

Like the gatehouse and the curtain wall next to it, these walls exhibit a transition from a smaller to a

slightly larger brick. Those parts of the enclosure built of the smaller bricks cannot be far removed in date from the gatehouse, and must rank amongst the oldest surviving brick garden walls in existence. The significance of the joints and rebuilds is unclear, but it can be surmised that the roadside wall once ran further south enclosing a much larger area.

Summary description of the gatehouse

The gatehouse was a rectangular structure measuring approximately 32 x 20 feet (10 x 6m), with two projecting semi-octagonal towers flanking the gateway, and combined garderobe and stair towers on its east side. The spiral stair at the north-east corner is not expressed externally except for a slight swelling of the east side. Today, most of the body of the gatehouse has been demolished. The western semi-octagonal tower survives, but not the east one. The gateway between the towers is intact at the ground floor but the windows and wall above the former doorway are only fragmentary (Fig. 6), and were in places very precarious before the restoration. The appearance of the gatehouse is confusing because despite the loss of the semi-octagonal tower, the eastern part of it looks more substantial than the western. This is because the eastern part now consists of the garderobe and stair towers, which are almost intact and together are of considerable size. To the rear of the gatehouse, there is evidence for an annex or outshot about 3m wide running along the back of it.

The gatehouse comprised a ground floor and only two upper storeys, despite its height of about 20m. It was approached by a bridge and drawbridge, now superseded by a causeway. This gate has a four-centred head, like the rest of the apertures in the building. Machicoulis slots exist above and behind the ground-floor entrance and above and in front of the first floor window, behind the moulded arch which surmounts it (Fig. 11). The entrance passageway had ribbed vaulting. The ground floor survives most intact on the east side where there are several rooms. At this level, there are, externally, loopholes, consisting of vertical slits with round apertures at top and bottom, and a central wider aperture. The hoodmoulds surrounding these are in brick, their profile resembling those of the hoodmoulds over the windows. The loopholes, and machicoulis slots, are a reminder of the defensible character of the gatehouse.

The upper floor levels are expressed by the string courses of the western tower. These two storeys consisted of single large chambers, to which the semi-octagonal towers acted as open bays, with single-light windows in their sides. Above the entrance, there was at each level a large window originally of four lights. Each floor could be reached from the spiral stair, and had access to the garderobe tower. The windows and doorways have stone surrounds. They are mostly in Reigate stone and very eroded, but a more durable, creamy brown stone, probably Caen, was used for the hoodmoulds, which today are usually in a fair condition.

The gatehouse had a crenellated parapet with merlons with a triangular-profile coping. Where the lower part of the crenellations survive on the north side of the garderobe tower and on the curtain wall to the east, it seems that the merlons were crow-stepped and decorated with recessed panels with trefoil heads (Fig. 16). The roof was cambered, almost flat, with a ridge running east-west. Small portions of lead survive at roof level in various places.

A feature of the gatehouse are the set of decorative corbel tables comprising blind trefoil or sometimes cinquefoil arches, occurring at the tops of the towers, and at first and second floor levels. There are slight variations in the way they are made at each level (Fig. 8). Corbel tables of this type are common in the brick architecture of the period. Enclosed within the blind arches, and also below the weathering courses, are small holes one course high and 50-70mm wide. They are not centrally placed, and indeed their positioning is irregular. Suggested interpretations for them range from pigeon holes to vents for the timbers within the structure. In fact, it is almost certain that they were for attaching shields or heraldic devices, and they will be referred to as fixing holes.

Brickwork and structural features of the gatehouse

The bricks are mostly dark red and well burnt. Less well fired bricks are uncommon, even on internal walls and wall cores (which are fully bonded through their thickness), though on some interior faces there is a tendency for the bricks to be paler. The quality of the bricks is reflected in the fact that very few have spalled surfaces and needed replacement in the restoration.

The walls are mostly two bricks thick. The bricks typically measure 220 x 105-110 x 50-55mm. There seems to be a tendency for the bricks in the lower part of the west tower to be slightly smaller than those in the east tower. In appearance, the bricks look small and neat, but tend to be somewhat irregular in shape, though the arrises are fairly square. They have creased faces and rough bases, with sunken margins. Occasionally a diagonal pressure mark is present. The shaped bricks, when well preserved, bear striations indicating that they were cut and rubbed, not moulded. No specials or oversize bricks were required for the decorative features. Each half of the trefoiled arches of the corbel tables could be cut out of a standard brick (Fig. 9).

The mortar joints are about 3/8 inch (10mm) wide. The mortar is a pale greyish or yellowish brown in colour. It is fairly sandy and hard. Whereas the original specification for the restoration anticipated repointing 75% of the wall surfaces, in practice only the wall tops and particularly exposed or weathered areas required systematic repointing.

The bricks are laid in English bond. Overfired or vitrified bricks were laid as headers to form diaperwork patterns. These are mainly lozenges or variations thereon, and are typical of brick buildings of the period. They are surprisingly unsystematic and irregular, but do



Plate 3 The east side of the east tower: a vertical iron rod runs through the fishtail plate on the soffit of an east-west timber which forms a lintel above the diaphragm arch at the back of the tower at first floor level. The rod is also stapled to the end of the timber, and runs up behind a north-south timber embedded in the east wall of the tower. Further restraint was provided by a strap riveted at a lower level to the rod and originally encased in the side of the tower (Nicolette Hallett).

give the gatehouse a strikingly decorative appearance. On two faces of the ground floor of the west tower, the bricks form a cross. This is a much less common device, but does occur at East Horndon church, Layer Marney Tower, and the precinct wall at Waltham Abbey.

An unexpected discovery made in the course of the restoration was the existence of lacing timbers in the brickwork, joined together by iron fixings and forming an iron reinforced timber frame. The floor joists were all tied to lacing timbers encased in the fabric and secured to each other and the brickwork by straps, fishtail plates and vertical rods (Plate 3). Thus when the vousoirs of the east half of the first floor arch of the east tower collapsed overnight during the 1993 restoration, the brickwork above remained intact, supported by a timber lintel. Where lacing timbers terminated in the wall, a cross-shaped arrangement of straps and rods secured them to the brickwork. Where the brickwork was not thick enough to contain a lacing timber, as at the top of the tower, the rafters were secured to vertical iron rods.

This reinforcement was especially strong in the semi-octagonal towers, which were effectively columns of brickwork which without this strengthening could have tended to pull away from the main structure. But it seems certain that this timber and iron framework extended throughout the whole body of the gatehouse, wherever the brick walls enclosed wide spaces.

The ground floor of the gatehouse (Fig. 7)

The west tower

The base of this and the east tower have a moulded plinth with a roll above a weathered surface terminating in a true undercut drip, below which is a bell-shaped moulding made up of two courses. This effects a thickening of the wall by 120mm or half a brick. Below the plinth, the south and west faces are extensively refaced in London Stocks in gritty mortar. At the ground floor there are four loopholes. It is curious that none of these give flanking fire across the entrance,

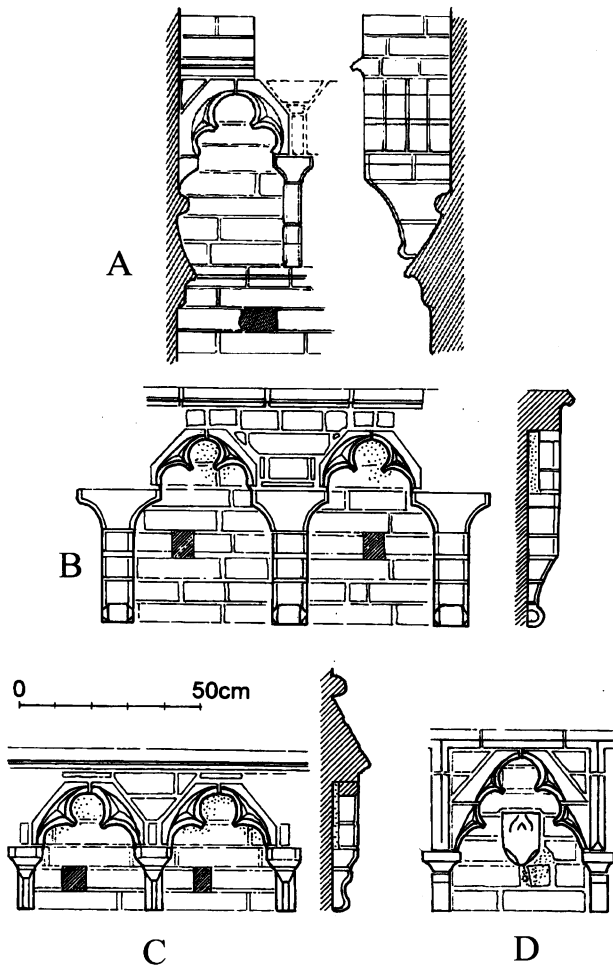


Fig. 8 (left) The different types of corbel tables present on the gatehouse. **A** box machicolation below the second-floor bay window. **B** at the tops of the towers. **C** below the windows of the west tower. **D** below the first-floor bay window.

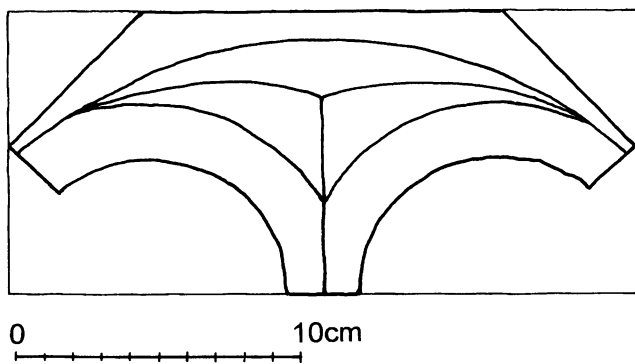


Fig. 9 Diagram to show how half a trefoil arch for the corbel tables could be cut out of a standard brick.

which may explain why this was provided with machicolis slots. Above and below the loopholes, the sides of the tower are decorated with diaperwork. The corbel table at the junction of the ground and first floor consists of four trefoil arches per side, below a weathering of chamfered brick surmounted by a roll (Fig. 8).

The ground floor is covered by a four-centred vault.

The holes for the formwork for this survive unfilled. Although built of bricks like those in the rest of the gatehouse, the wall across the back of the ground floor may not be original as it is not very well keyed in on the east side. The top of it has been rebuilt with gritty mortar above the level of the vault springing, and a rebated aperture indicates the insertion of a window frame associated with the post-medieval use of the tower (Fig. 10). The interior beneath the vault has been cement rendered to a level a little above the top of the loophole embrasures. In the east side of the back wall of the tower, there is a doorway blocked with modern soft red bricks like those used for the rebuild of the west jamb of the gateway; it presumably marks the position of an original entrance. To the east of it there is a feature in the brickwork which seems to have been an original recess 650mm wide with chamfered sides which has been subsequently infilled.

The gateway and the wall above

The gateway has a four-centred Caen stone arch within a square head, the spandrels being undecorated. The Reigate stone jambs have been almost totally weathered away, and on the west side have been replaced by a brick (220-225 x 105 x 70mm) pier, covered in graffiti. The earliest noted of these dates from 1916; a great many of them date from the 1940s. Above the gate there is a pair of U-shaped stones framing the holes, now blocked, through which the ropes for the drawbridge passed. There is no surviving evidence to reconstruct precisely how this was operated, but on the inside the holes seem to be designed for an iron fixing to engage with them. The stonework of the gateway is set into chamfered recesses in the side of the towers, that on the west side preserving traces of plaster (Fig. 10).

A gap between the front and rear arches of the gate served as a machicolation which could be used to defend the rear of the gateway (Fig. 11). The entrance gate passage (2.55m wide) was covered with a ribbed cross vault. The bottom of the ribs can be seen in the angles above the back of the gateway. The bay divisions of the vault, three in number, are preserved in outline on the east wall of the passage. A door in the east side of the passage with a four-centred arch in a square head leads into a room which may be identified as the porter's lodge.

In the wall above the gate, there was an elaborately built cinquefoiled corbel table (Fig. 8). One of the two blind arches has a terracotta shield set within it. Now eroded, it bears a device resembling a fleur-de-lis. Just below it, there is a blocked hole like those that occur in the other corbel tables. A series of similar blocked holes can be traced along the former length of the corbel table.

The east tower

This tower has collapsed, so that what one sees today is part of the ground floor vault, the diaphragm arch behind the tower at the first floor, and to the east the garderobe tower, behind which is the staircase tower, both of which are intact. The front of the ground floor

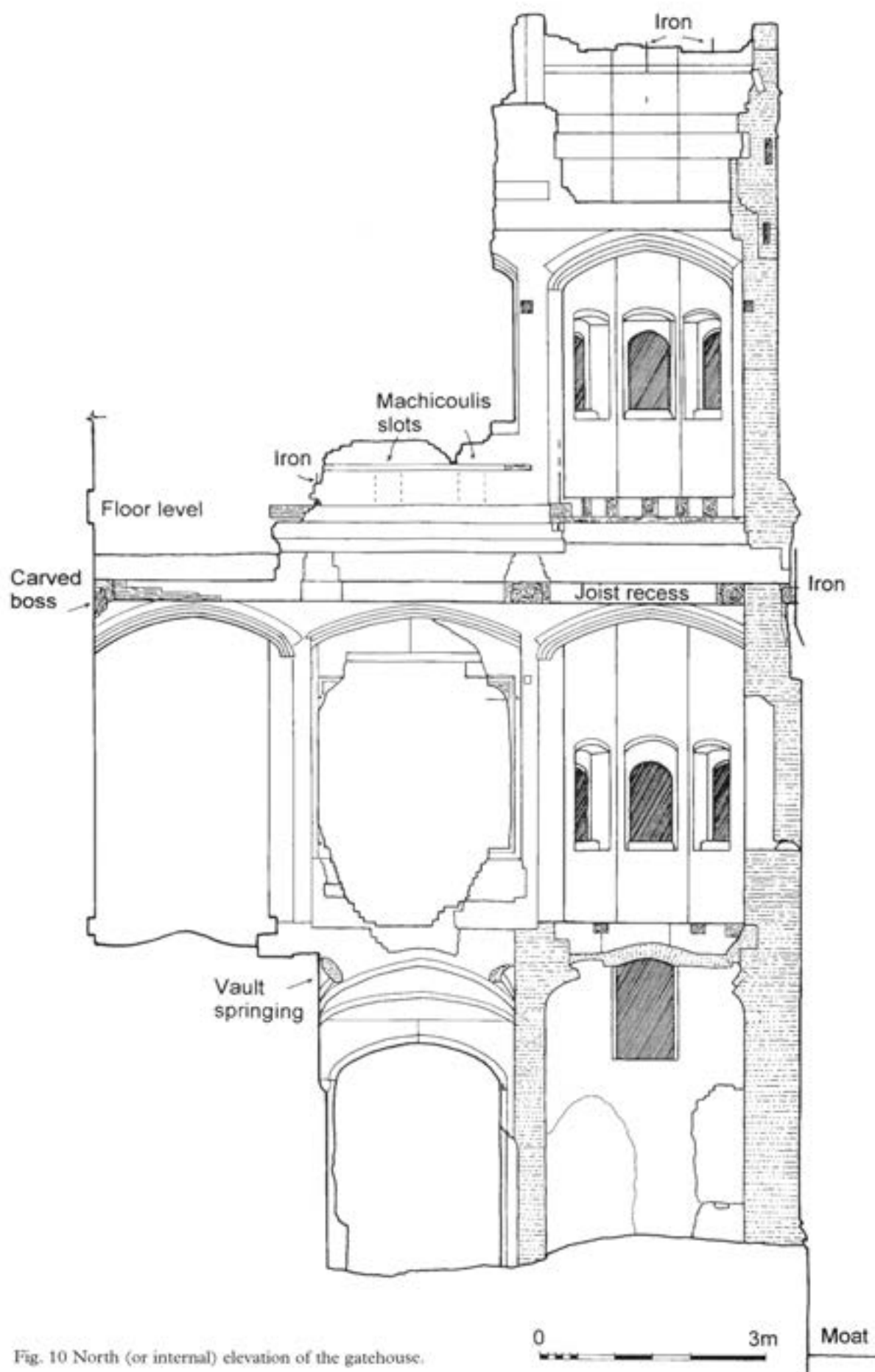


Fig. 10 North (or internal) elevation of the gatehouse.

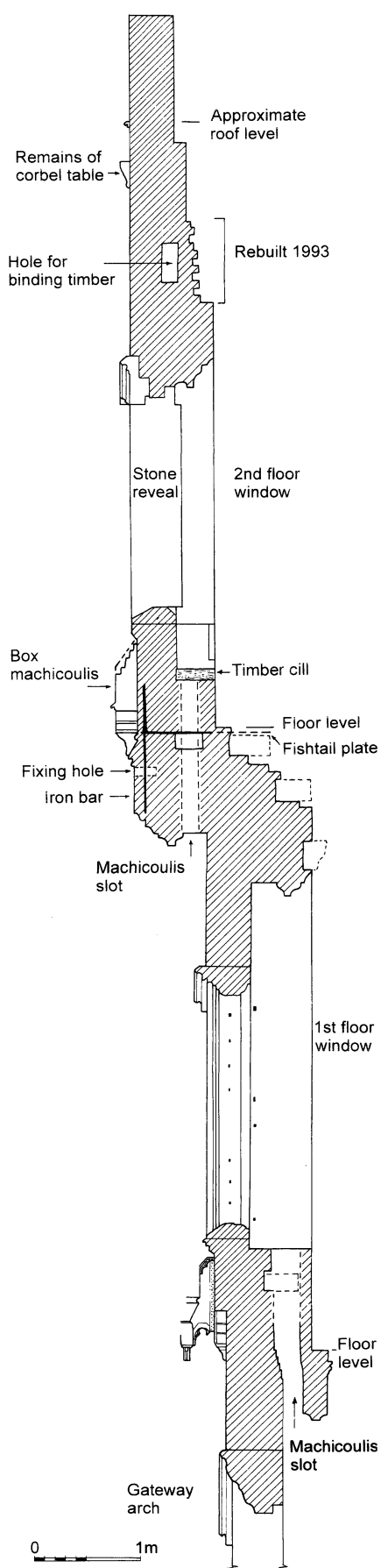


Fig. 11 Section through the gatehouse above the entrance.

of this tower was occupied by a room formed by a partition wall, now largely demolished, in a corresponding position to that at the back of the west tower. A partially preserved recess in the east wall was for a fireplace. Above it a flue can be seen running upwards at an angle through the wall thickness.

There are several features here which suggest that there was a change in the design of the tower as it was built. The thin partition wall stands above a massive foundation, as if the gatehouse was intended to be flat-fronted without the semi-octagonal towers. Another anomalously wide foundation exists on the west side of the tower. The partition wall is not bonded in on the east side, whilst on the west side, it runs into what looks like the infill of a high incomplete arch, a puzzling feature though similar recesses exist elsewhere in the gatehouse. However this is interpreted, there can be no doubt that the partition here, and doubtless that in the west tower, represents an alteration to the original building, though one made during or soon after its construction, as the brickwork within the semi-arch is identical to that used elsewhere in the gatehouse. The flues shown on the east side of the tower in the print based on the 1790 sketch (Fig. 4) are also indicative of a design that evolved in the course of construction.

The interior of the porter's lodge to the north of the semi-octagonal tower has been rendered with gritty late 19th- or 20th-century mortar to a height of about 2m. Above that level are the remains of the original Tudor plaster, a typical lime plaster skim only about one-quarter of an inch thick. In the north side of this room, there is a four-centred arch over a recess which looks as if it ought to be a fireplace, except that there is no sign of a flue. A small rectangular window has been knocked through this recess, probably in the 18th or 19th centuries. The projecting brick foundations within the recess are probably another indication that there was a change of plan as the building progressed. In the east wall, just north of the partition wall, a small door, now blocked, led to the garderobe tower. The blocking is partly in 18th or 19th-century bricks, and is rendered in gritty mortar. To the left of this, a small hole has been knocked through to the garderobe.

A small door, now rather damaged, connects the porter's lodge to the vaulted room to the east beneath the spiral stair. There is now a step down into this room, perhaps because its floor has been dug out or because there is an infilled cellar. Here too gritty render covers the walls up to a height of about 2m, with traces of original render above. There is a pair of niches about 620mm wide in the east wall, and another 450mm wide in the south wall. There is a projecting foundation 540mm wide along the south wall, on the same alignment as the curtain wall to the east, which may be further evidence for a change in the design of the building. In the north wall, there is a round-arched fireplace. The shape of the arch, and the absence of a chamfer to the surround, distinguish it from other openings. The vault behind the arch rises one quarter of a circle to the west, where there is a flue, now blocked.

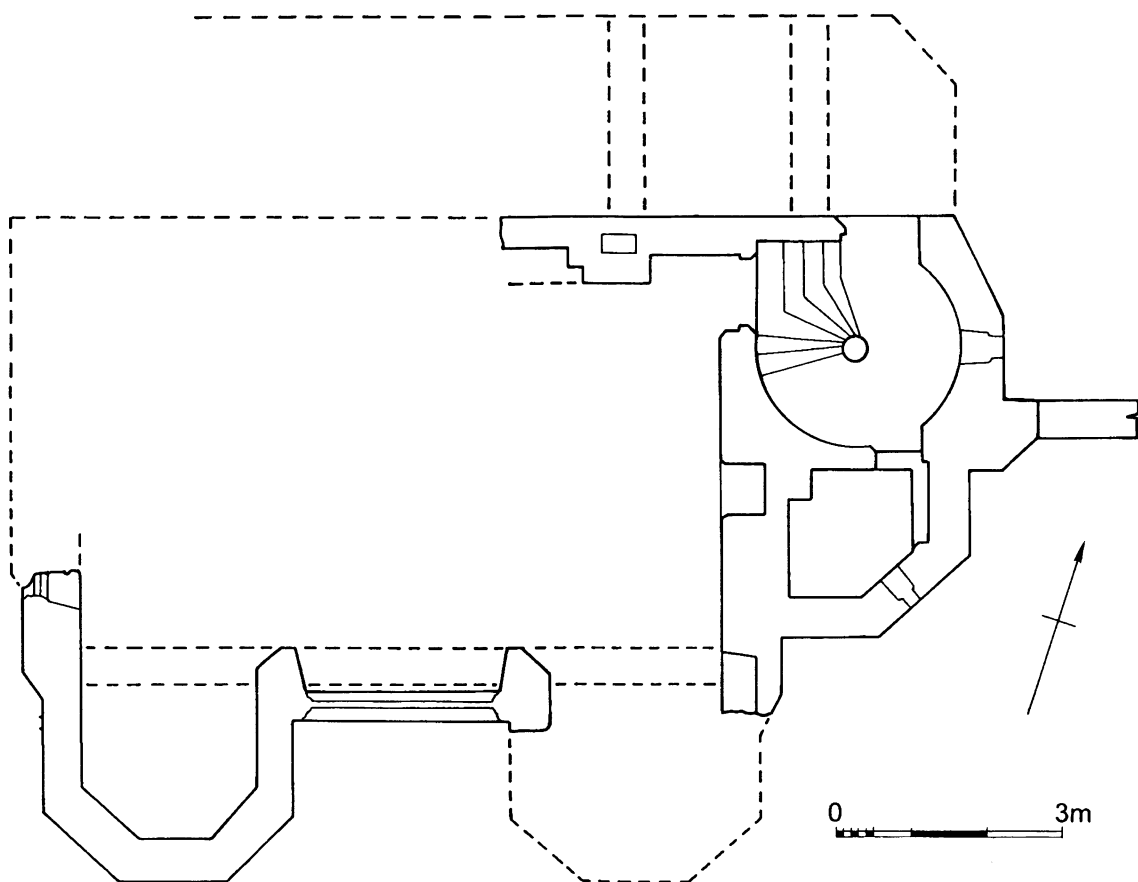


Fig. 12 Plan of the second floor of the gatehouse.

On the right hand side of the fireplace, in its back wall, there is a flat-arched recess, blocked in stock bricks, visible externally, which shows that it ran through the wall thickness. The brick base of the hearth only extends as far as this aperture, which looks like a downward-inclined passage or shaft. In the left hand side of the back wall of the fireplace, there is a small chamfered recess, clearly original; it corresponds to a recess externally, which implies that it too is a blocked opening. In the west wall of the fireplace recess, there is an aperture with a rough looking surround; this may be the result of damage, as externally it does not look inserted. These three openings are difficult to explain, but they seem to have communicated with the now collapsed structure or outshot to the rear of the gate tower. A curved internal wall surface within the outshot raises the possibility that there was an oven connected to the fireplace. In the north-west corner of the room beneath the spiral stair, adjacent to the fireplace, there is another recess, triangular in shape, formed where the north wall is built on to what seems to be the angled corner of the gate tower in what may represent another modification to the initial ground plan of the building. The door at the east end of the north wall has a badly damaged surround. The top of it is flat and lined with peg tile, suggesting that it had a wooden lintel; there may have been a wooden frame too. Although unlike the other doors, there seems no reason to doubt that it is original.

The first-floor chamber (Fig. 12)

The first floor comprised a single large chamber, provided with projecting bays in the semi-octagonal towers. These bays can be reconstructed from the surviving west tower. The vault above the ground floor had joists running over it to take a boarded floor. There are single-light windows with stone dressings and four-centred heads below rectangular hood moulds in the three outer faces of the tower (Fig. 13), and another slightly taller one in the flank wall of the gatehouse, now broken through where the building has collapsed, exposing a splayed window reveal and a scar left by the stone surround. The reveals were moulded, with the hollow chamfer and ogee typical of the rest of the gatehouse. Inside, the windows have segmental-headed rear arches formed in brick.

Above the windows, the wooden cornice for a timber ceiling partially survives. It comprises three lengths of moulded timber (now protected by lead) set in a recess formed in the brickwork. They are linked to each other longitudinally by loose square section tenons secured by pegs (Fig. 14), but were not attached to the brickwork other than by friction. That the cornice is located well below the joists of the second floor indicates that there was a timber vault or coffered ceiling. This would explain why the four binding joists which ran north-south across the gatehouse at this storey are set about 1m beneath the level of the floor above, as

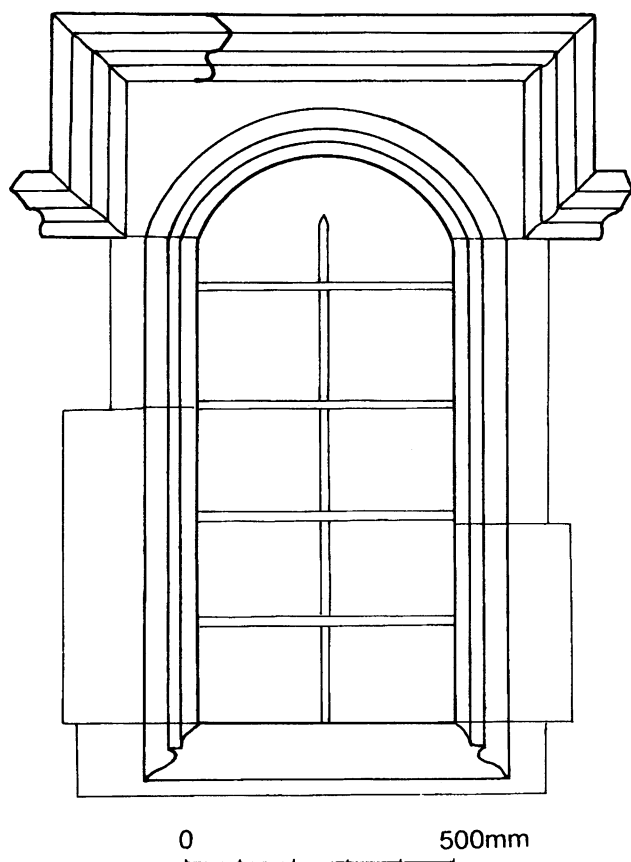


Fig. 13 Typical first- and second-floor window reconstructed.

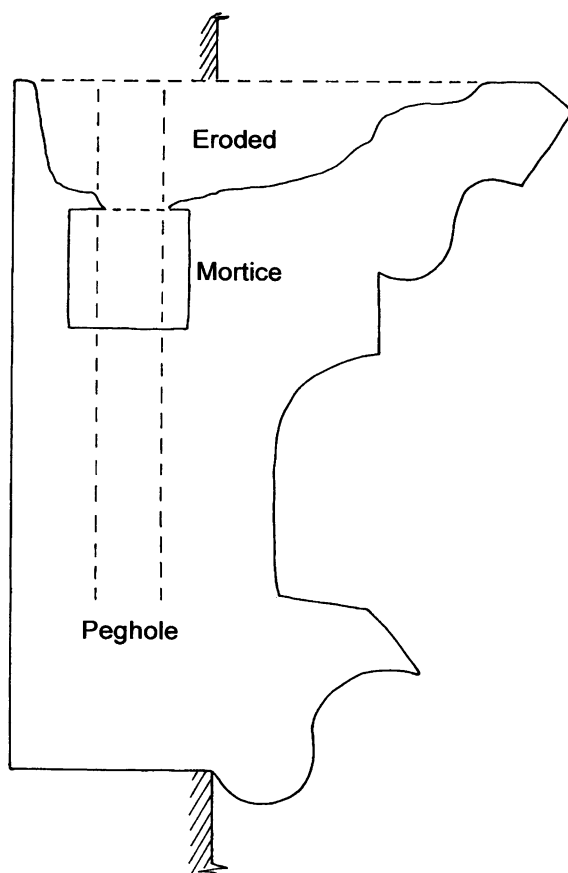


Fig. 14 Profile through the wooden cornice in the west tower for the first-floor timber vaulted ceiling.

represented by the common joists in the tower and ledges and scars in the south and east walls. Tenoned into the binding joists were east-west timbers set in a recess in the south wall. Presumably further east-west timbers divided the ceiling into compartments or bays which were coffered or else had some form of timber or plastered vaulting. The binding joists were tenoned into lacing timbers set just within the brickwork and secured at their east and west ends by vertical iron rods (Plate 3). In the south wall, behind a ledge at the level of the second floor joists, there is an east-west timber set within the brickwork, which is also tied in with iron rods. This suggests that there were two levels of timber at the ceiling and the floor which served to tie the outer brick walls together. There survive two carved bosses set at the base of the easternmost of the north-south joists, and originally at the springing of the vault. That in the south-east corner bears a rose en soleil, a device associated with Edward IV.³ That to the north-east is fragmentary but seems to be carved with the wing of a bird or monster.

In the west side of the west tower, below the springing of the diaphragm arch, there is a vertical patch of brick and thick mortar which looks like an aborted attempt to form an arch springing at a lower level (about 1m lower), and implies a possible degree of confusion or haste in the construction process. Vertical lines incised in the brickwork to either side of the patch may be

associated with it, or may be scribing for the attachment of wainscot or other fixtures. Further evidence of laying out problems can be found in the projecting stump of the east tower, where the diaphragm arch runs into the east wall over, rather than behind, the window embrasure in this wall. The structural weakness which resulted probably explains the 19th-century tie rod inserted between the end of the arch and the north wall of the gatehouse, and contributed to a partial collapse of the brickwork of the arch in 1994, though the lacing timber behind it maintained its integrity.

Over the gateway entrance, there was a large four-light window with a four-centred arch beneath a square head, with a hood mould formed in Caen stone. Most of its stonework has been removed. It was reinforced with a steel lintel in 1994. The holes for saddle bars at vertical intervals of about 200mm survive in the reveals where there are also four pintle holes. These were presumably for shutters which, to judge from the spacing of the holes, were made in two halves. In the window cill, there were vertical shafts or murder holes wide which passed through one of the lacing timbers to the machicolis slot formed by the rear arch to the gateway, making it possible to observe and defend the entrance passage (Fig. 11).

In the east side of the chamber, there is a large recess or niche which had a shelf in it, and, in the north-east corner, a door which leads to a landing in the spiral stair

where there was access to the garderobe. The door is set in an arched recess which runs into another recess in the north wall. There was a large fireplace in the middle of the north wall of the chamber: its position can be recognised, but its stone surround has been robbed. An inclined flue leads from it to a chimney which once stood at the back of the stair tower.

Enough remains of the ceiling vault to confirm Grose's description of this chamber, which is of sufficient interest to warrant repeating:

'On the first storey the ceiling is wainscote, supported by wainscote arches, resting in front upon three shields, which are blank ones; the western-most shield is supported by two horses; the middle one is held by a spread eagle, supported by a lion and unicorn; the next, supported by a lion and bull, is ducally crowned, and the eastern end of the front supports the arch by a truss composed of a radiant rose. These arches rest in the back of the building on four trusses, the first representing a griffin, the second a bear and ragged staff, the third and fourth similar to the first [two]. The room has been wainscotted to about the height of 8 feet, and above the wainscot, on the plaster, are rudely painted, in compartments, the following persons, eminent for fabulous, profane, and sacred history, whose names are thus barbarously spelled: in the eastern bow [i.e. the eastern semi-octagonal tower], Hercules, Georg. of Eng.; in the

western bow, Godfrey of Bulen, Charl. the Great, and one figure now erased. On the west wall, over a window, a black figure blowing bubbles, dividing this sentence: "Time tarrieth for no man", Hector. On the north wall, David, between two figures now erased. On the walls, Julius Seaser and Judas Maccabeus ... On the left corner of the chimney is a colt's head in an ornament of the carving.'

This is a rare glimpse of a sumptuously ornate 15th-century interior. It would be more interesting if the depictions of the Nine Worthies were contemporary with the construction of the gatehouse. They were a commonplace of painted and carved decoration in the 16th and 17th centuries, usually modelled on woodcuts from printed books. Grose regarded the paintings as of 17th-century date, but may not have been correct in this opinion.

The second floor and the top of the west tower

The layout of this storey resembled the floor below. The ceiling height was probably much the same (about 4.0-4.5m), but the large four-light window and the diaphragm arches were slightly lower. In the bay of the western semi-octagonal tower, some of the floor joists survive (Fig. 15). These have fishtail plates nailed to the top of them with 4 inch (100mm) spikes. These plates were fixed to vertical and horizontal rods and straps in

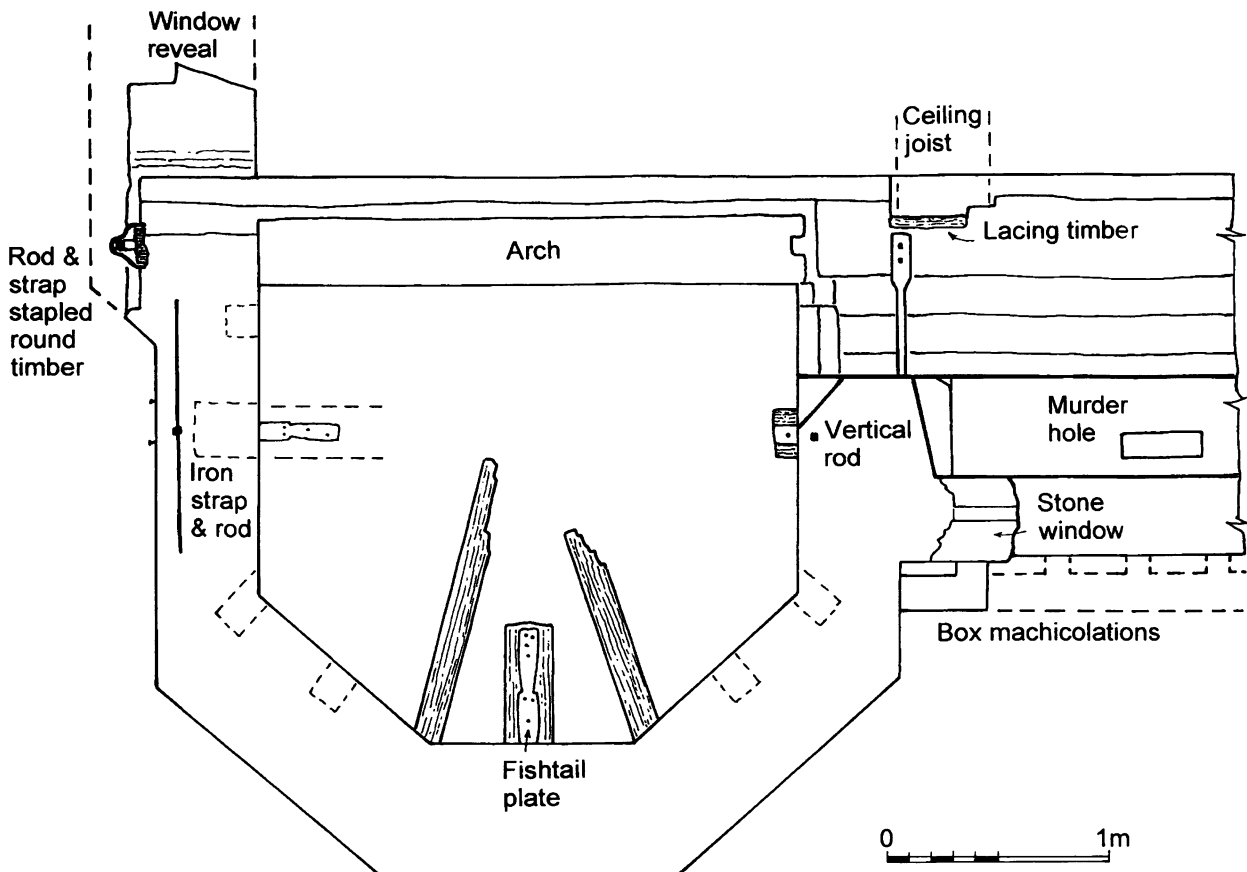


Fig. 15 Plan of the west tower at the second floor, showing detail of the floor construction.

the brickwork. The floor corresponds with the external corbel table, which effects a slight thickening in the wall, which is thinner above this level. In the cill of the large window, which must originally have been of wood but this no longer survives, there are two shafts or murder holes about 350mm wide which continued through a lacing timber to the machicolis arch visible in the south elevation, thus providing defensive capability to the front of the gateway (Fig. 11). Outside the window and below its cill, the corbel table here took the form of a row of box machicolations, of which only one survives. In view of their construction, unique to this part of the gatehouse, they were presumably intended to be used if necessary.

In the east wall of the chamber, a door gave access to the garderobe, and a larger one to the spiral stair. There must have been a fireplace in the middle of the north wall as at the lower floor.

The top of the west tower down to the weathering course above the trefoil arched corbel table (about a dozen courses) was taken down and rebuilt, as many of the upper courses were loose, and the walls cracked where vertical iron ties were incorporated into them. The small blind trefoil arches of the corbel table retained traces of plaster which was presumably painted. The weathering course above the corbel table is a true undercut drip mould. No trace of crenellation survived on this tower.

The brickwork of the inside face of the top of the tower was difficult to interpret, as it was very weathered and formed a series of steps, the original profile of which was often uncertain. The wall at this level was one-and-a-half bricks or 350mm thick. On the inside face of the west side, a strip of lead was preserved chased into the brickwork, trapped beneath a course of brick on edge. The lead, and the brick on edge course, had been robbed out on the other sides. The lead was dressed down the wall for a height of about three courses to the roof level, which corresponded approximately to the external drip mould. Rainwater was dispersed through a lead downpipe on the west side of the tower, its position being marked by vertical rows of nails. Iron straps attached to the sides of the rafters ran into the brickwork and were connected to vertical iron ties. The rafters do not survive but the ironwork does within the wall thickness. The rafters probably rested on a sleeper timber housed in a recess two bricks high. A larger recess at a lower level in the back of the tower would have housed a moulded fascia for the springing of a timber vault like that preserved at the level of the first-storey ceiling.

The garderobe tower

The south elevation of the tower matches that of the rest of the gatehouse, except that there is no corbel table at the first-floor level, where instead there is a small window. The RCHM thought the ground-floor room was probably a dungeon. It was also defensible, a rough looking loophole, which lacks mouldings and a hood mould, having been cut into the south-east face of the



Plate 4 The west side of the garderobe and stair towers (Nicolette Hallett).

tower above the string course. The tower widens where it joins the stair tower, and at this junction there is a buttress with two weathering tables, against which the curtain wall is built. At the bottom of this buttress, there is some damaged brickwork, a round arched opening or recess, which was consolidated in 1993. At the base of the east side of the tower, there is a chute. The bottom of the crenellated parapet survives at the top of the tower, where there is also the base of an octagonal chimney which old prints and photographs show to have been of rope-twist pattern. This probably served the flue in the east wall of the eastern semi-octagonal tower.

Inside, the tower is plastered with the gritty render up to the level of the first floor access. The presence of this, combined with rubbish dumped inside it and its inaccessibility, makes it difficult to recognise internal features. But the straight joint made by the tower against the eastern semi-octagonal tower is clear. This suggests that the garderobe, if not exactly an afterthought or later addition, represents a secondary phase in the construction programme at Nether Hall. This conclusion is also supported by the existence of an apparent buttress at the junction of the north side of the garderobe tower and the body of the gatehouse. The lower part of this buttress has been cut through at ground floor level and now hangs unsupported.

The tower was accessible from the first-floor landing of the spiral stair, and a door in the west wall at the second (Plate 4). The second-floor garderobe is set in a roughly central recess in the north wall below which there was a rectangular chute half-a-brick thick which ran the height of the north wall, though now it is largely removed. Traces of the floor joists survive at the second floor; here too, as in the body of the gatehouse, they were tied in with iron fishtail plates. The position of the

first-floor garderobe is unclear; it must have been offset to avoid interrupting the chute.

The stair tower and outshot

In the north wall, a door set a little below first-floor level leads to a landing where there is access to the garderobe tower and the spiral stair begins (Plate 5). Above the door, a row of putlogs and a slightly inclined recess in the wall for a timber, with a slight projection above it, represents a roof line for a rear annex or outshot. The timber indicates that the roof had a very low pitch, which makes it possible to reconstruct the building as running across the back of the gatehouse. It was about 3m wide and enclosed the feature mentioned above which might have been an oven, and also the well (Fig. 7). Access to the first-floor level within it, and hence to the stair tower, must have been via stairs located within the outshot. Scars in the brickwork indicate that the first-floor passage to the door to the stair tower was barred by a door immediately to the west of it, and perhaps by another further west.

A large aperture above the outshot roof line looks like a door but must be a window, and a row of small putlogs above it must be fixing holes, being at the same level as similar holes below the string course in the east side of the tower. At the top of the north wall, above a corbel table, there survives a small length of parapet,

reduced to a single large merlon with a crow-stepped pattern of trefoil-headed niches like the parapet of the curtain wall just to the east of the gatehouse (Figs 16 and 17). The spiral stair (Plate 6) is unusual in being constructed of a series of vaults which step up anti-clockwise through its height, rather than with a spiralling tunnel vault. Similarly vaulted brick stairs, probably slightly earlier in date, exist in Lincolnshire at the Hussey Tower, Boston, and the Tower-on-the-Moor, near Tattershall (Smith 1979, 35). In the outer wall, there is a recessed handhold formed in the brickwork. The treads are of oak and seem original, though now in poor condition.

The south-east curtain wall and the corner tower (Fig. 17)

The south-east corner tower and the curtain wall between it and the gatehouse were restored in a second phase of restoration in 1994. Previously this part of the monument had been invisible beneath a curtain of ivy. The corner tower proved to be little more than a featureless brick stump with a gaping hole in its side where there had been a loophole which had become enlarged. The brick facing was badly eroded on the bottom on the moat side and elsewhere. The top of the tower (about 6 courses) had to be taken down and rebuilt. The bottom projecting bricks of a corbel table

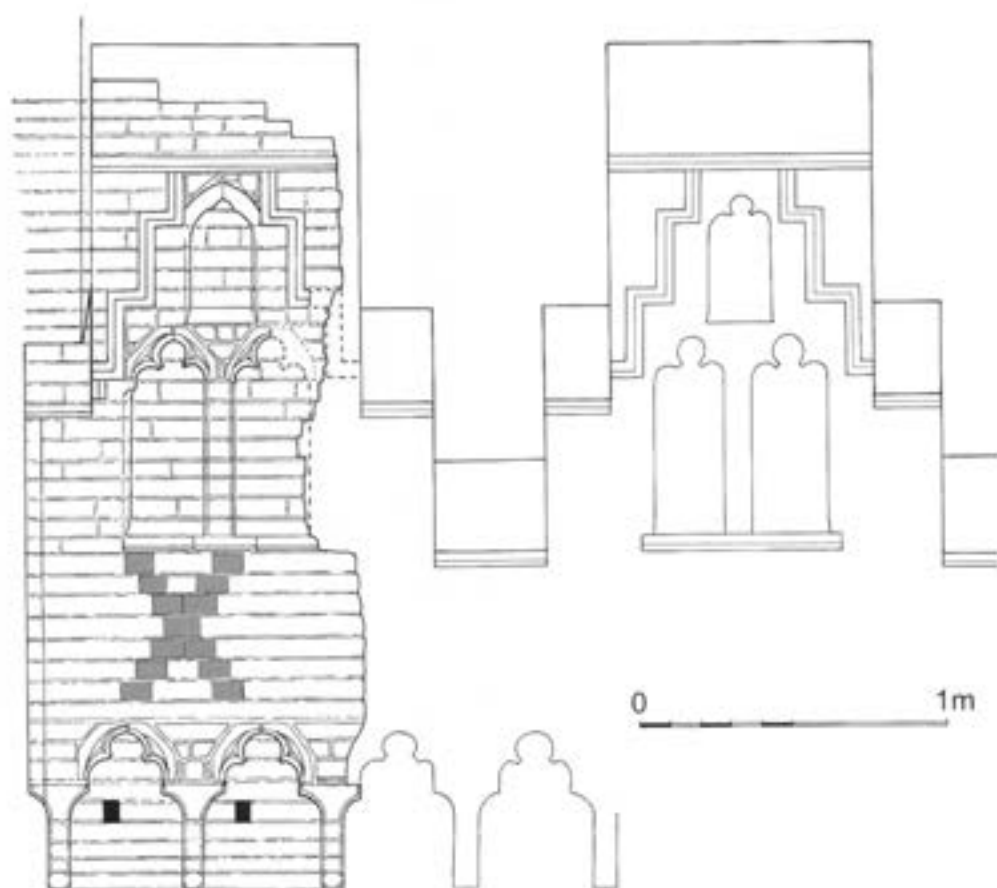


Fig. 16 Crenellated parapet at the top of the north side of the stair tower.

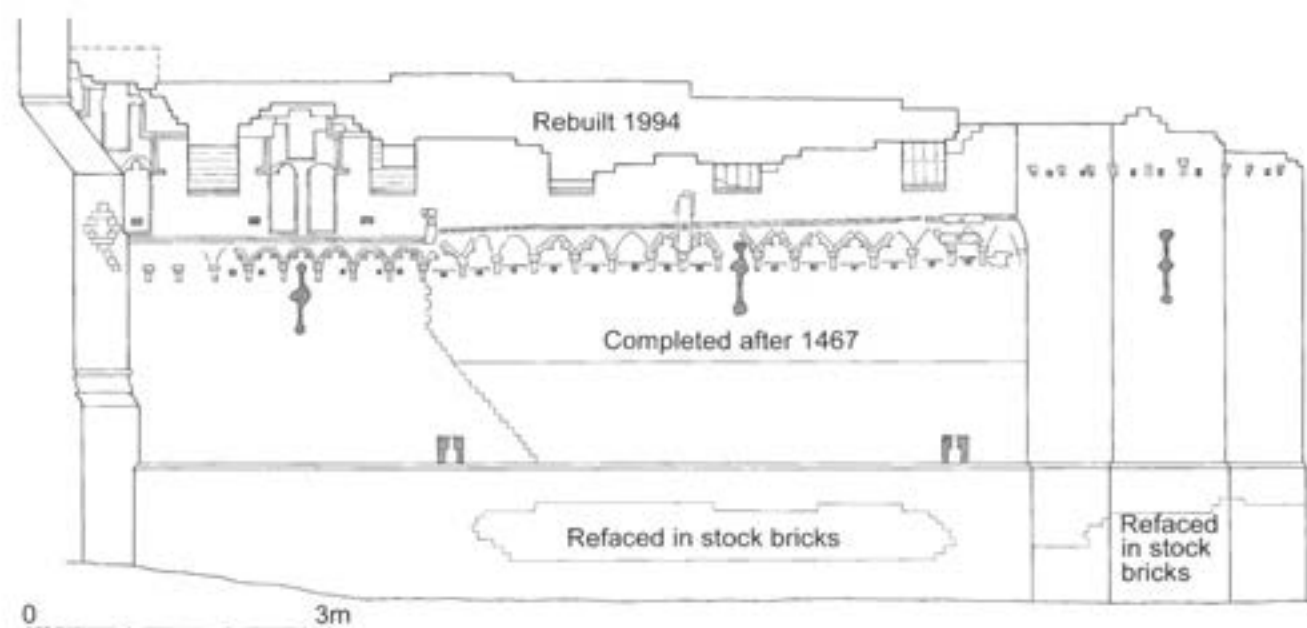


Fig. 17 Elevation of the curtain wall to the east of the gatehouse, showing the building joints, evidence for the completion of the work after the death of Thomas Colt in 1467.

survived at the top of the tower and were reinstated. This corbel table was probably at an intermediate level up the body of the tower rather than marking the top of it, as if this were the case the tower would have been very little higher than the curtain wall. Two bricks of the surround to the loophole were still in place, and on the evidence of these and by analogy with the loopholes elsewhere, the loophole was reconstructed with newly rubbed bricks.

The curtain wall has a plinth about 1.36m high externally, and about two courses above internal ground level. This plinth had been extensively repaired in 19th-century soft red bricks (218 x 105 x 70mm). The wall is two bricks thick (480mm) above the plinth, which to the south represents a thickening of the wall by 60mm, and to the north forms an offset about 190mm wide. Presumably a thicker wall was required at this level to revet the earth inside the island. Immediately above the plinth, there are two twin light apertures about 270mm (4 courses) high. They seem to be original features, and may have been a type of loophole. The curtain wall had a crenellated parapet which comprised high wide cross-stepped merlons, with trefoil headed recesses like the parapet at the top of the north wall of the stair tower (Fig. 16).

About 3m to the east of the gatehouse, there is a conspicuous interruption in the brickwork of the upper part of the curtain wall. The courses kink upwards, and the workmanship is of inferior quality. The differences and discrepancies that characterise this part of the wall may be listed as follows:

- 1) the bricks are slightly bigger by about 10mm in height and width (i.e. 230-240mm rather than 220-230mm, and 55-60mm rather than 50-55mm), and the joints are wider and less precise.



Plate 5 The north side of the stair tower (Nicolette Hallett).



Plate 6 The spiral stair (Nicolette Hallett).

- 2) the bond is less regular, and there is more use of part bricks.
- 3) The trefoil corbel table, which also kinks upward, is made differently, the trefoils being cut longitudinally from the bricks rather than at an angle (cf. Fig. 9). This has the effect that the arc circumscribing the half trefoil contained in each brick is much flatter, and consequently the full trefoil is surrounded by a two-centred rather than a round arch and is clumsy in appearance.
- 4) the chamfered string course above the corbel table steps up by two courses.
- 5) the tops of the holes within the trefoils are made of peg tile, something which does not occur in the gatehouse or the west part of the wall.
- 6) the tops of the merlons are not made with coursed chamfered bricks stepping up to a triangular profile, but with bricks laid flat.

On the inside face of the wall, there are at the top of it areas of projecting brickwork at regular intervals. These must belong to the later phase. They look like the springing for vaults or diaphragm arches.

The junction between the two qualities of build is complicated. There is a very clear building joint which is vertical for eight courses below the corbel table, and then steps outward to the east by about 50mm a course (i.e. half a header) for 19 courses down to the plinth. This joint looks like it marks the end of a seasonal building campaign, as there are closers to the west of it. By this stage, much or all of the gatehouse would have been standing, the west part of the wall was built up to the parapet, and the base of the east part of the wall up to the plinth. It looks as if a further fifteen courses of good brickwork (terminating in a course of headers) was then added above the plinth. Above this level, there is the inferior brickwork. The better build corresponds

almost exactly with (or to be precise is three courses higher than) a very clear band 860mm high of better built brickwork on the inside of the wall.

It remains to explain the inferior build. The most significant aspects of this are the different brick size, which of course caused the disruption to the coursing, and the different technique used to make the trefoils and the merlons. Technical differences imply the presence of different workmen, and in this case less skilled ones. The discrepancy in brick size must indicate a change in the maker of the bricks, and probably a significant time lapse, the initial building programme having been left incomplete. It is inferred that this interruption corresponds to the death of Thomas Colt and the minority of his heir.

As far as it is possible to tell (and its poor condition is unhelpful in this respect), the corner tower is bonded with both builds in the wall. It follows that the top of the tower was also left temporarily incomplete. Indeed, the top of it is evidently of the later build as the parapet curves round into it in a crude fashion.

Artefacts

A fragment of a floor tile was found used as packing in a hole where there had been a brick corbel. It was at least 23mm thick and covered with a mottled green glaze. Floor tiles of this sort, typically measuring about 120-150mm square, and either green glazed or coated with a yellow slip, were widely used in the 15th and 16th centuries. It is probable that at Nether Hall they were used for the floors above the vaults. A small piece of window glass was recovered from the debris on the vault. It was greenish, 2mm thick, and in excellent condition. It is unlikely that glass of this quality was of 15th-century date, but it could be late 16th or 17th century.

Discussion

Today one of the most picturesque ruins in Essex, Nether Hall when built it must have been one of the most impressive manors in the county, after the great aristocratic castle complexes such as Pleshey and Hedingham, and one or two more recent buildings such as Heron Hall and Faulkbourne. No expense was spared in its construction. The manor was redesigned: a new moat was created, extending into what seem to have been arable fields, and the old farmhouse and farmyard became an outer court at its entrance. The rectangular site was enclosed by a curtain wall with polygonal angle towers and was dominated by a gatehouse with semi-octagonal towers. Current thinking on medieval castles tends to emphasise their residential character, their role as places of resort, and their function as symbols of prestige and power, rather than as defensive or military structures. Whilst at Nether Hall it is impossible to gainsay these non-military characteristics, its potential for defence should not be overlooked. Its layout resembled earlier minor castles or fortified manors such as Wingfield, Suffolk, or Maxstoke, Warwicks, whilst it may also be compared to the later and more strongly

built Kirby Muxloe, Leics. The walls, towers and gatehouse were all provided with loopholes, the curtain wall having them at both ground level and at the wall walk. The gatehouse has a series of machicolation slots and murder holes which made defence possible at every level. In this, it may be compared with the gatehouse at Rye House, Herts. (Smith 1975), built by Sir Andrew Ogard in the 1440s. Rye House seems to lack overtly defensive features, the oriel windows not having murder holes and only the parapet having loopholes. This may reflect the changed political circumstances of the 1460s. The gatehouse at Oxburgh, Norfolk, for which a licence to crenellate was obtained in 1482, and which is similar with two semi-octagonal towers, has a single machicolation slot at parapet level above the large first and second floor windows. Although provided with loopholes and a moat, yet apparently lacking a drawbridge, the less systematic provision for defence may reflect over ten years of peace since the battle of Barnet.

One of the extraordinary features of the Nether Hall gatehouse is the use of iron reinforced structural timber throughout its construction. This timber and iron framework seems to have no known parallels. It can be compared to the short wall anchors that are such a feature of brick buildings in the Low Countries, tying together the exterior brick envelopes and floor structure at each storey. Where these occur in older buildings in England, as at the Rows, Great Yarmouth, they must represent foreign influence if not the presence of foreign craftsmen.⁴ At Nether Hall, the system of reinforcement is different, in not being visible externally, and in being more comprehensive, but here too it must betray the presence of foreign craftsmen. The important role of Low Countries and German workers in the nascent English brick industry is well documented (Ryan 1986). The complex design of the gatehouse, with slight changes in wall alignment and thickness, and exemplified in particular by the design of the garderobe tower and the vaulting of the stairs, all exhibit total mastery of the materials in which the bricklayers were working. Further evidence in support of this argument can be found in the dramatic deterioration in the workmanship of the curtain wall when work resumed after a pause which must have been caused by the death of Thomas Colt, implying that it was being continued by less skilled local men.

The corbel tables are also a feature that must have its origins in northern Europe. They had appeared earlier at Rye House, Someries Castle (Beds.) and Faulkbourne, all probably of the 1440s, though only at Someries do they seem to have been used in bands round the body of octagonal towers. The more elaborate corbel tables, cinquefoiled with trefoiled spandrels, which occur at Someries, Faulkbourne and Rye House and which Smith (1976, 56) sees as one of the hallmarks of a particular atelier of craftsmen, are not present at Nether Hall. In later buildings, such as the gatehouses at Oxburgh and Hadleigh Deanery (1495, Suffolk), as well as in decorated chimney stacks, the corbel tables are

used somewhat differently, running over the top of recessed panels formed in the brickwork.

Apart from at the ground floor, the semi-octagonal towers at Nether Hall form bays provided with windows in each side. It seems to be the first example of a gatehouse designed in this way, with the exception of Someries castle where too little survives to be able to reconstruct the gatehouse above the ground floor. In the design of many of the later comparable gatehouses, there is a surprising disregard for symmetry. At Kirtling (Cams.), there are few windows, irregularly disposed. At Hadleigh, one tower has a scatter of windows and the other contains a spiral stair. Oxburgh too shares this lack of balance, as Pugin's drawing makes clear (Wood 1965, pl. 12), the left hand tower containing dressing rooms or closets, with access to garderobes, and the right hand one the spiral stair. However, the Oxburgh gatehouse does have two semi-octagonal window bays projecting rather feebly from the back of it, looking into the courtyard, presumably because this was a south-facing aspect. These resemble the Nether Hall towers both in external appearance and in being spanned internally by wide low moulded arches. The layout of the Oxburgh gatehouse is also similar, with a single large chamber (the King's and Queen's chambers) at the first and second floors. The outstanding example of a gatehouse like that at Nether Hall is Layer Marney, built c.1520, where each semi-octagonal tower has eight storeys systematically provided with single light windows. Henry, the first Lord Marney who must have begun the gatehouse, was not unfamiliar with the affairs of the Colt family and may have seen Nether Hall (ERO D/D Ce/117), but the direct prototype for Layer Marney was probably Oxburgh, as his daughter Grace was married to Edmund Bedingfield of Oxburgh.

The holes beneath the corbel tables and string courses have been interpreted as fixing holes for heraldic emblems. They were clearly a characteristic feature of brick architecture of this type. Similar holes occur at Faulkbourne and Oxburgh (where those on the body of the gatehouse towers have been filled in). In a number of cases at Nether Hall, the remains of plaster survive within the arches of the corbel table. This must have formed a painted or decorated background to the plaques secured in the fixing holes. Surviving painting on the corbel table on the chimney stack at Pannells Ash farmhouse, Pentlow, indicates that it was usual for brickwork of this type to be given decorative treatment (Fig. 18). Indeed, the design of ornate brick chimneys such as this, or the almost identical one at Orchard Cottages, Foxearth,⁵ is based on crenellated parapets with trefoil corbel tables. Other parts of the gatehouse may also have been highlighted by decorated plaster. There are the remains of plaster in the recess adjacent to the main ground floor gateway arch. The stonework must have been plastered or limewashed to unify the different types of stones used. Together with the diaperwork which covers most of the wall surfaces, these features must have given the gatehouse a striking, even gaudy, appearance. This colourful toy castle signalled

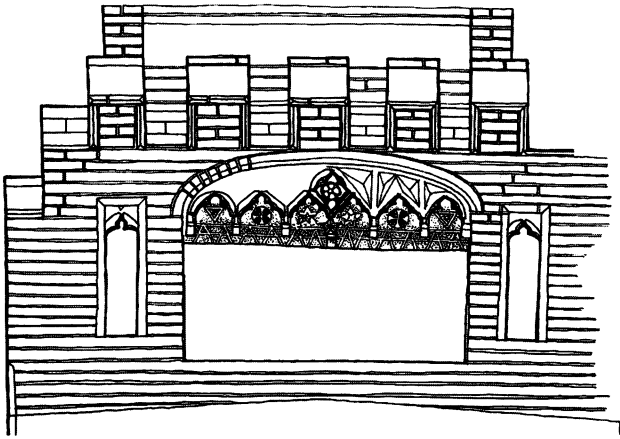


Fig. 18 Chimney stack at Pannells Ash farmhouse, Pentlow, Essex (D. Stenning).

the arrival of the parvenu Thomas Colt and the creation of his fiefdom in the Lea valley on the Essex/Hertfordshire border. Unfortunately for his ambition, he seems to have died before he could consolidate his position, and none of his posterity, although prominent amongst the local gentry, enjoyed comparable success.

Acknowledgements

In 1982, a plan was made of the island by Mike Eddy of Essex County Council with students from Leicester University. The restoration was prompted by an initiative made by Andy Robinson of Epping Forest District Council and supported by Philip Walker and Deborah Priddy of English Heritage and by Essex County Council. It was partly made possible by a survey made by the late Stuart McNeil with the aid of a scaffold tower and photographs taken by Nicolette Hallett. Others who helped with the survey were Howard Brooks, Justin Slatter, and Kate McKavanagh. The restoration was carried out by Bakers of Danbury and architects Carden and Godfrey, and funded by English Heritage, Epping Forest District Council, Essex County Council, Mr Bernon Stevani and the Essex Heritage Trust. The co-operation and generosity of all these parties, and that of the owner, Mr Bernon Stevani, is gratefully acknowledged.

Author: David Andrews, Essex County Council Historic Environment Branch, County Hall, Chelmsford CM1 1LF.

Notes

1. These observations on the career of Thomas Colt are based on the Calendars of Patent Rolls for 1452-1461, 1461-1467, 1467-1477, *ad indicem*. Morant (1768 vol. ii, 491) says Colt died in 1476, presumably transposing the last two digits. Colt is usually said to have died in 1471, on the evidence of his brass in Roydon church. The inscription, which reads *MC quater semel LXV bis & I probus iste Augusti mensis X & I bis obiit*, is ambiguous, but should be taken to indicate 1467. I am grateful to Nancy Edwards and Fr Jerome Bertram for assistance with interpreting this wording.

2. The descriptions of the barn and farmhouse are based in part on notes by John Walker in the EHER.
3. This boss is now rather eroded. The rectangular object below the centre of the rose is probably a fetlock, a badge used by Edward IV, but has also been interpreted as a tun, a rebus on the name of Thomas Colt's wife, Joan Tresbutt.
4. I owe this information on short wall anchors to Pat Reynolds. Two iron tie-bars glimpsed at first-floor level in the brickwork of the façade of the left-hand gable of Manuden Hall, Essex, a 16th-century house much rebuilt after a fire in 1888, when restoration was carried out in 1998, might have been part of a similar system of reinforcement.
5. Rediscovered 2004. Information from Anne Holden.

Bibliography

- Andrews, D.D., Stenning, D.F. and Tyers, I. 1997 'Writtle, the Lordship Barn', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 27, 245-8.
- BL British Library
- Brayley, E.W. and Britton, J. 1803 *The beauties of England and Wales*, vol. v, London.
- Britton, J. 1809 *The architectural antiquities of Great Britain*, vol. ii, London.
- Chancellor, F. 1918 'Nether Hall, Roydon', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* xiv, 176-82.
- Drury, P.J. 1981 'Medieval 'narrow rig' at Chelmsford and its possible implications', *Landscape History* 3, 51-8.
- Emery, A. 2000 *Greater medieval houses of England and Wales*. Vol. II. East Anglia, Cambridge: University Press.
- EHER Essex Historic Environment Record.
- ERO Essex Record Office.
- Grose, F. 1773 *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, vol. i, London.
- Morant, P. 1768 *The history and antiquities of Essex*, London (2 vols).
- RCHM Essex ii Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). *An inventory of the historical monuments in Essex. Vol. ii. Central and south-west Essex*, 1921, London: HMSO.
- Ryan, P.M. 1986 'Fifteenth-century continental brickmasons', *Medieval Archaeology* 30, 112-3.
- Ryan, P. 1996 *Brick in Essex from the Roman conquest to the Reformation*, Chelmsford: Pat Ryan.
- Rigold, S. 1966 'Some major Kentish barns', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 81, 1-30.
- Smith, T.P. 1975 'Rye House, Hertfordshire, and aspects of early brickwork in England', *Archaeological Journal* 132, 114-50.
- Smith, T.P. 1976 'The early brickwork of Someries Castle, Bedfordshire, and its place in the history of English brick building', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 129, 42-58.
- Smith, T.P. 1979 'Hussey Tower, Boston: a late medieval tower-house of brick', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 14, 31-37.
- Smith, T.P. 1985 *The medieval brick making industry in England 1400-1450*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 138.
- VCH Essex viii *The Victoria History of the Counties of England. A history of Essex. Vol. viii.*, ed. W.R. Powell, 1983, Institute of Historical Research, London: Oxford University Press.
- Stenning, D.F. 1989 'Early brick chimney stacks', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 20, 92-102.
- Waller, W.C. 1903 'Nether Hall in Roydon: Notes from the Inquisitions', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* n.s. viii, 378.
- Wood, M. 1965 *The English medieval house*, London: Dent.

The Society is grateful to English Heritage for a generous grant towards the cost of this publication.

Wallasea Island; the history and archaeology of a marshland landscape

Ellen Heppell

The construction of a new sea wall on Wallasea Island prompted this archaeological and historical study. Wallasea is one of six islands of the Essex Archipelago. The island was the site of 'red hills' during the Roman period, and subsequently became, like much of the Essex marshland, important for sheep grazing, divided between five mainland parishes. The island was probably embanked in the 13th or 14th century and would have comprised a series of small embanked islets. Traces of the fleets and embankments which this landscape was made up of are identifiable on historic map sources. Agricultural changes in later centuries led to the development of a mixed economy but the landscape remained relatively unchanged. At its most flourishing in the mid 19th century, the island supported 13 farms, but this number gradually decreased in the latter part of the century as a result of the agricultural depression.

Flooding has been a constant problem on Wallasea; there were inundations in 1736 and 1897, but the most catastrophic were the 1953 floods, which left much of the island underwater. After this, many of the farmhouses were pulled down and areas levelled. Re-drainage work in the 1950s and 1970s led to the island being entirely levelled and few traces remain of the medieval marshland landscape.

Introduction

In 2001, proposals were submitted by Wallasea Farms Ltd. to construct a new sea wall along part of the northern coast of Wallasea. This new wall was designed to protect a vulnerable section of the coastline of Wallasea, most of which lies *c.* 2m below sea level, and also play a part in re-creating a marshland environment. An assessment of archaeological, documentary and cartographic material was carried out as part of these proposals. This work forms the basis of this present paper, which considers the history and archaeology of Wallasea.

Location and description

Wallasea is one of six islands forming the Essex Archipelago, at the confluence of the Rivers Crouch and Roach (Fig. 1). Wallasea is the second largest in the group, *c.* 6.5km in length and 1.6km wide at its greatest extent, surrounded by a single sea wall, 14km long. The island is bounded to the north by the River Crouch and

to the south and west by the River Roach and Paglesham Creek.

The main channel of the River Crouch, running along the north of Wallasea is both deep and steep sided, with ebb spring tides which can run at a speed of up to 3 knots (Coote 1998, 59). This channel is erosive and as such, there are limited areas of salt marsh along this northern side of the island. Polders have been put in place along some of these to both limit erosion and promote salt marsh growth, with varying degrees of success. The northern end of Paglesham Creek has been dammed since at least 1663 to provide land access to the island (ERO Q/SR 397/8).

The main areas of modern activity on the island are situated at the north-eastern end, close to the causeway. These include the Baltic Timber Wharf, which was established in 1928 to handle the bulk import of timber from the Baltic region (Yearsley 2000, 85), taking advantage of the deep water berths of the Crouch, and the Essex Yacht marina. There is also a public house, the Ferry Inn, which has been established in this area since at least 1782. A private road runs east to Grapnells Farm, the base for Wallasea Farms Ltd. Beyond this lies flat farmland (Fig. 2).

Geotechnical studies (Bullen Consultants 2001) show that the geology in the study area comprises topsoil overlying clays and silts. The area is between 1-2m above Ordnance Datum, with Grapnells Farm situated on the highest point on the island. The island is drained by a system of regularly spaced, straight main water courses and ditches, running north to south, which discharge through sluices into the surrounding rivers. There is also extensive deep underdrainage on the island.

The Prehistoric period

At the end of the last Ice Age, much of what is now the North Sea basin would have been dry land, with large land areas available for hunting and foraging. This landscape was gradually submerged as a result of the melting of ice sheets and sea level rise. By the early Neolithic (*c.* 5,500BP), the coastline of Essex would have approached its present form, with high water approximating the height of modern low water,

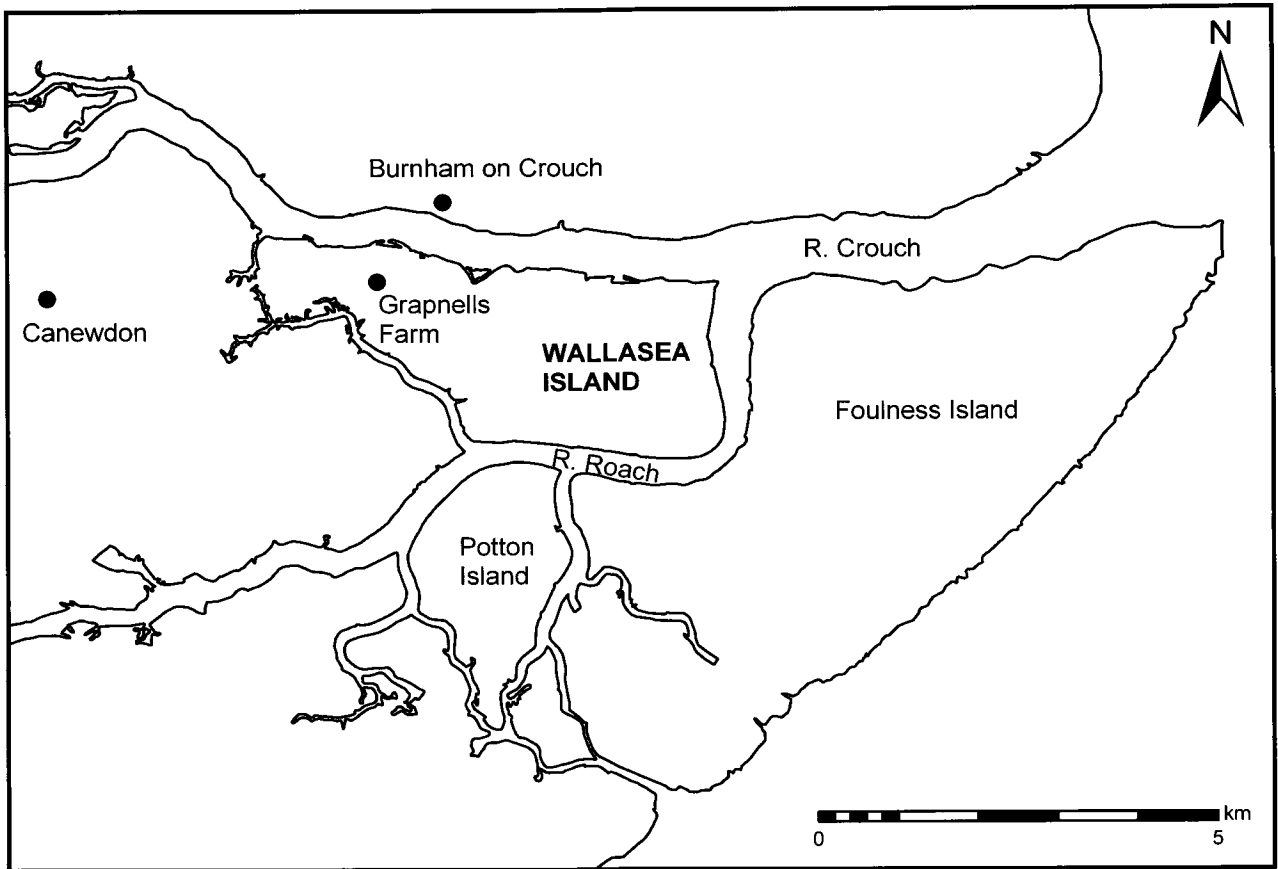


Fig.1 Location of Wallasea Island

© Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.



Fig.2 Modern map of Wallasea Island

© Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

particularly in the upper estuaries. However in the area around Burnham, Bradwell and Wallasea, the marine limit was inland of the current shoreline. Much of the area would have been a complex of tidal sand flats, and occasional beach ridges (Wilkinson and Murphy 1995, 215). As a result, underlying the present surface of Wallasea is a complex geology of estuarine silts, clays and sands (Bullen Consultants 2001).

By the Bronze and Iron Ages, most of the Essex estuaries were established in something akin to their present form, and Wallasea was probably a marshy area possibly utilised for grazing. Evidence of the utilisation of Essex marshland, such as wattle trackways and other wooden structures have been identified at a number of sites around the coast (e.g. Wilkinson and Murphy 1995; Murphy and Brown 1999; Heppell and Brown 2002). Such structures are typically found in the modern intertidal zone, where salt marsh is eroding away. However the steepness and tidal force of both the Crouch and Roach around Wallasea have probably destroyed any traces of such features had they been present.

The Roman period

By this time, Wallasea was probably a salt marsh island, only inundated by the highest of tides. It is in this period that the first indications of human activity on the island are known. The Essex Historic Environment Record (EHER) lists a number of 'red hills' (saltworking sites) located on the south and east sides of the island. Although the red hill sites on Wallasea are not precisely dated, they largely date to the first to mid third centuries AD (Rippon 2000; Wilkinson and Murphy 1995). The line of these red hills, especially on the southern shore of the island, may mark the approximate tidal limit in this period. It is not thought that these 'red hills' have survived in the archaeological record: they are no longer visible on aerial photographs, and are likely to have been damaged or destroyed by the extensive alterations on the island in the 1970s.

In addition to saltworking, which may have been seasonal, the island was also probably used for grazing. Although no archaeological work has taken place on Wallasea itself to support this theory, work on other coastal sites in south-east Essex indicates a thriving economy, based on grazing, fishing, and shellfish (including oyster) cultivation (Faulkner 1995; Wymer and Brown 1995; Murphy and Brown 1999).

The Saxon period

Sea level was probably slightly lower than that of the present day, and has been rising steadily since (Buckley 1980). Although there is considerable evidence for Saxon activity in the Greater Thames Estuary in general and south-east Essex in particular (Rippon 2000), there is no direct evidence for activity of this date on the island.

The extensive areas of marshland, such as that at Canvey, Foulness and Wallasea itself are not mentioned by name in the Domesday survey. These areas seem to

have been divided between a number of mainland parishes, some of which lay some distance from the detached marshland rights that they held (Smith 1970, 9). Wallasea was divided between the mainland parishes of Canewdon, Eastwood, Paglesham, Great Stambridge and Little Wakering. The coastal marshland was valued as grazing and was an eagerly sought asset.

The Medieval period

Sea Walls and the landscape

Wallasea Island is first mentioned by name in the Feet of Fines dating to 1229 when it is named as *Walfliet* or *Waleflet*. A variety of names are used throughout the medieval period such as *Walset* (1309). This placename is thought to derive from the sea walls, and was originally the name for the estuary of the Rivers Crouch and Roach, between which Wallasea is located (Reaney 1935, 25). This suggests that sea walls had been erected by this date, although it is impossible to say for certain that Wallasea itself was embanked. Documentary sources indicate that parts of the Essex coast, particularly on the Thames-side marshes to the west of Corringham, were being protected by banks by the 12th to 13th centuries (Rippon 2000, 201-2; Grieve 1959) with embanking taking place at a later date in the Rochford, Barstable and Dengie hundreds, perhaps from the 14th century onwards (Rippon 2000, 201).

In the early part of the medieval period, sea defence was the responsibility of local landowners, tenants and lords of the manor. By 1210, the principle of 'law of the marsh' had been established, which embedded the principle that each man should pay for the upkeep of the defences from which he benefited, although whether this should be the landowner, tenant or lord was often subject to debate (Grieve 1959, 6). In the 13th century, references to sea walls becomes more frequent. By the end of the century, the supervision of the defences was in the hands of the Kings Justices, and other dignitaries. These formed 'commissions' (known as the Commissions *de wallis et fossatis*) which were specially appointed, with the power to enforce the maintenance of adequate defence and drainage. The first to deal with Essex was enrolled in 1280.

Commissions dealing with the Rochford hundred were enrolled in 1331, 1338 and 1346 suggesting that by this date much of the area had been embanked (Smith 1970, 25). Foulness was at least partially embanked by 1271, and tree-ring dating of a former sea wall on Foulness provided a 15th-century date (Smith 1970, 26; Crump 1981). On placename evidence, it seems probable that Wallasea was embanked in the medieval period, possibly in the 13th or 14th centuries. The names Ringwood and Sherwood both originate from the medieval period (1321 and 1262 respectively), and contain the 'wood' element, deriving from 'werth'. This term is derived from the Old German word 'warid', meaning 'island in the river' and relating to the old English term 'warod' meaning coast or bank. In the Netherlands particularly, this term related to land which

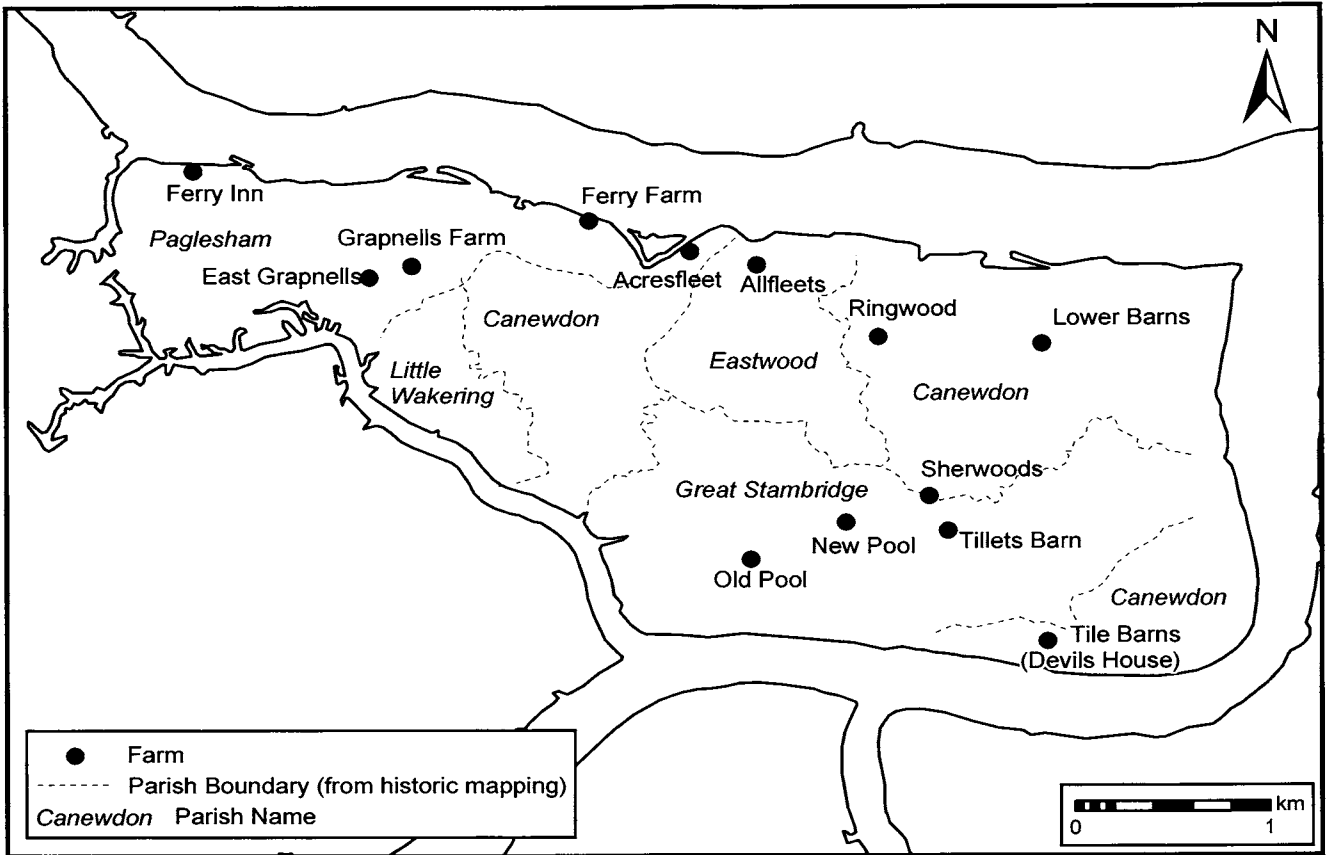


Fig.3 Farms and parishes on Wallasea Island
 © Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

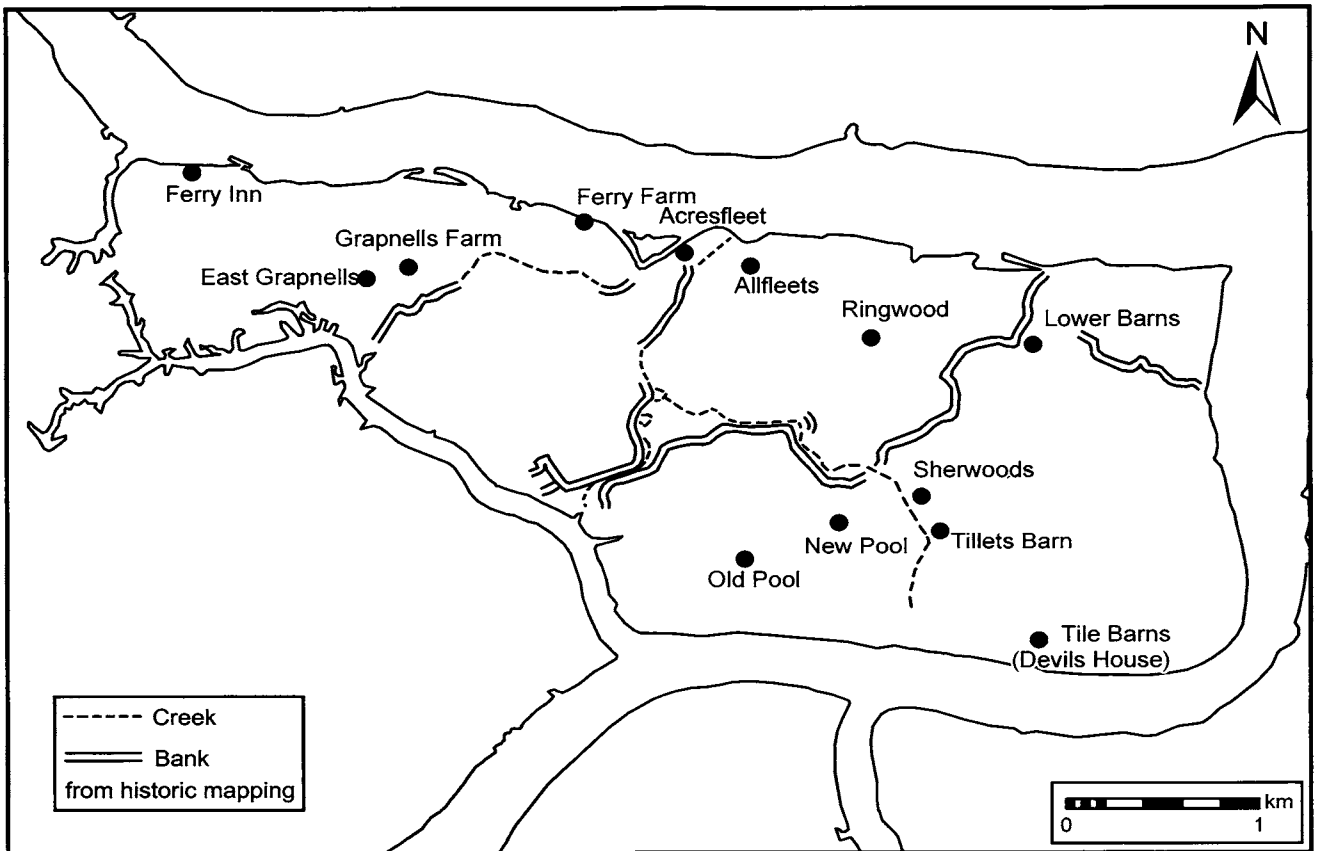


Fig.4 Historic landscape features shown on the 1st edition OS map of Wallasea
 © Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

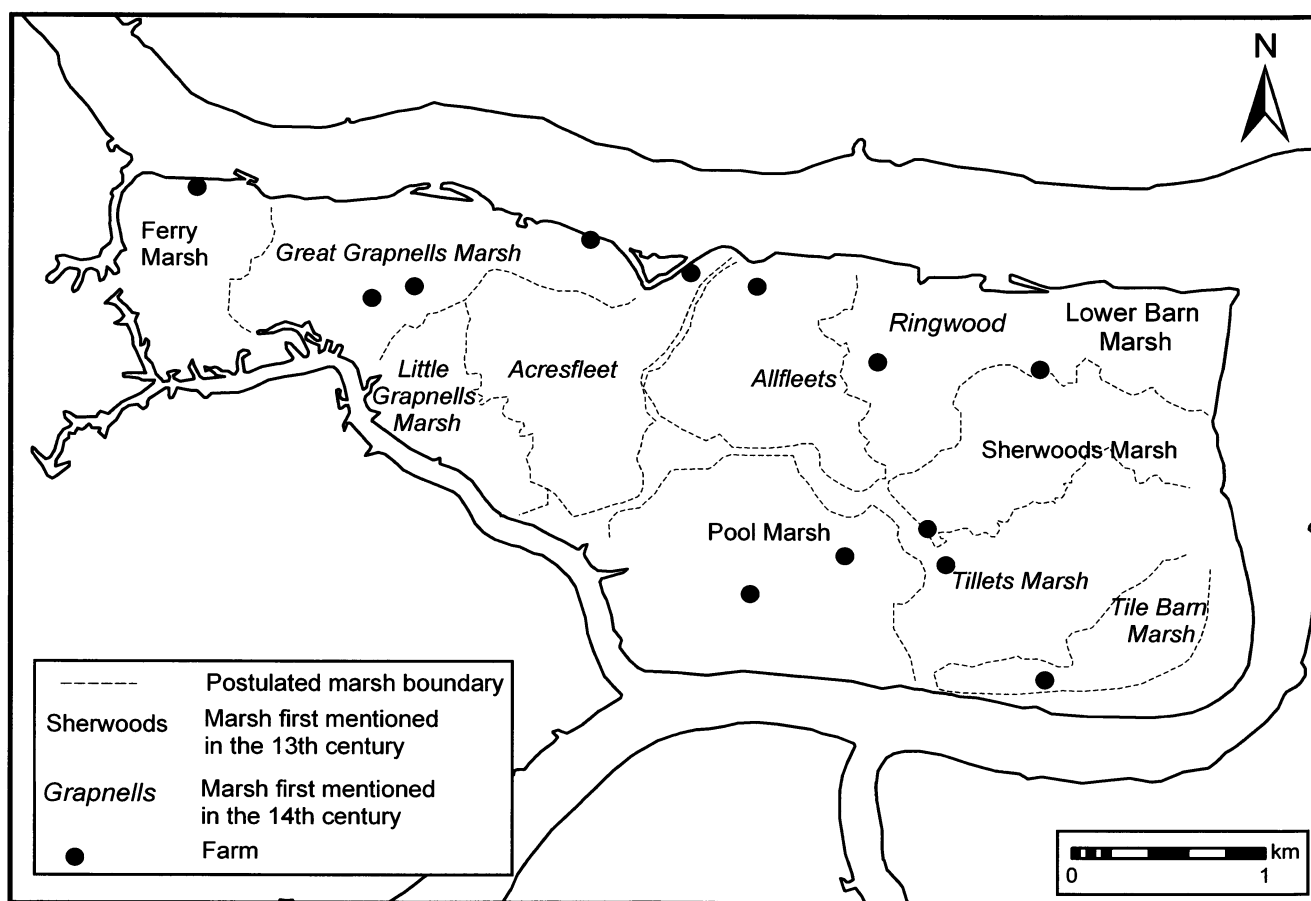


Fig.5 Marshes on Wallasea Island

© Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

had been diked (Rippon 2000, 207). Ringwood, aka *Ryngewerth* is thought to mean, 'circular marsh' and Sherwoods 'Dung Marsh'. Perhaps the most interesting is *Der(e)wy(n)s-, -wi(e)s-, -wysshop(e)*, the original name of Tile Barn, which is thought to be 'Deorwines enclosed marshland' and is first mentioned in 1371 (Reaney 1935, 207). Similar names, containing the 'wood' element and dating to the medieval period have been noted on Foulness, for example Rugwood (Reaney 1953; Smith 1970).

Few early sources illustrate how sea walls were constructed, but it is reasonable to suggest that there was little alteration in the techniques until the development of modern machinery and concrete. A methodology for the construction of walls was described by a land agent/surveyor, Wiggins, in 1867. Construction would begin with the preparation of the ground; the removal of vegetation and the infilling of creeks and rills. Two clay banks would be constructed towards the lowest point, using material from the borrow or soke dyke (the ditch to the landward side of the wall) and sometimes from the outside of the wall. The gap between the banks would then be filled at a suitably low tide. The external wall was probably faced with vegetation, or brushwood whilst the vegetation became established (Gramolt 1960, 231).

In contrast to the modern island layout, which comprises a single sea wall surrounding the whole island, the medieval island would probably have been

divided into a number of marshes, each with their own sea bank: such a layout certainly existed on Foulness (Smith 1970). This would reflect both the physical nature of the marshland, 'islands' of marsh divided by larger creeks, and the administrative division of the marsh between the various manors. It also served a practical purpose, since, if one section of sea wall breached, the flooding would be limited. The medieval marshes on Wallasea are listed below: the dates refer to the first occurrence of the name (Reaney 1935).

- Pool/Pole Marsh 1248
- Sherwoods 1262
- Allfleets Marsh (aka Cokers, East Lays/Laws) 1285
- Lower Barn 1288
- Ringwood 1321
- Acresfleet/Axefleet (?Grass Farm, West Lays) 1340
- Tile Barns (Devils House) 1361
- Tillet's marsh 1373
- Grapnells, Great and Little (aka Hilly Marsh and Little Marsh) 1374

As there are no medieval cartographic sources of the area, and the descriptions given as to location in documentary sources are vague, only educated guesses as to their location are possible. The names of the marshes are reflected in those of the farms detailed in later sources (Fig. 3), and in postulating the layout it has been assumed that the names are consistent. Studies on Foulness Island, which is one of the best documented of the Essex

marshland islands, would support this argument (Smith 1970). In addition, parts of relict earthwork banks are marked on the early editions of the Ordnance Survey, possibly associated with the medieval embankment, again a pattern seen on Foulness. It is also possible to trace the paths of relict creeks and fleets, which the embankments follow, although on Wallasea the physical evidence is limited and routes of such features are best obtained from historic map sources (Fig. 4: derived from early O.S. mapping). A final assumption is that parish boundaries have remained consistent, leading to the postulated layout of the Wallasea marshes shown in Fig. 5.

Pool or Pole Marsh and Tile Barn are located in the southern part of the island, to the south of Allfleets. Tile Barns, Tillets Marsh, Sherwoods Marsh and Ringwood, all lie in the eastern part of the island. Lower Barn is in the north west corner of the island. Great Grapnells is thought to be the farm shown on the first edition Ordnance Survey as East Grapnells. Little Grapnells lies within Little Wakering parish. Thus it is thought that Little Grapnells was located to the south of the main marsh, later subsumed by Grass Farm, as shown on the Chapman and André map of 1777. The location of Acresfleet is problematic; it is shown on only one map with this name, the 1825 Greenwoods map, and the location of the farm would suggest that this later became Grass Farm.

The medieval field layout on Wallasea was probably similar to that shown on later maps of the area (e.g. 1876 Ordnance Survey). This comprises irregular shaped fields of varying sizes with sinuous boundaries; these were probably initially creeks within the marshland, later used for general drainage. The larger creeks provided clear parish/marsh boundaries.

Field layouts across the island differ; it is noticeable that on Old Pool and Tilebarn marshes the fields are straighter than those on the rest of the island. In the case of Tile Barn, these regular fields represent later reclamation which took place in 1790 (Gramolt 1960, 128). The layout in Old Pool is thought to represent later adaptation.

Economy

The Essex coastal marshland was a valuable economic commodity, largely for grazing. The Domesday entries of 'pasture for [...] sheep' show that the carrying capacity of the Essex marshland was over 18,000 sheep (Grieve 1959, 5). The sheep grazed on the Essex marshes were primarily utilised for wool and dairy produce, particularly ewes' milk cheeses. In 1594, Norden recorded that the hundreds of Rochford and Dengie:

"..yelde milke, butter, and cheese in admirable abundance: and in those parts are the greate and huge cheeses made, wondred at for their massiunes and thicknes."

The field layout on Wallasea could suggest that the island was primarily, but not exclusively, utilised as pasture. Although the profits from pastoral farming would potentially be less than arable, the proximity of the island to London meant that there was an almost guaranteed market. There is, however, only limited

documentary evidence to support this theory: the placename element 'wick', which refers to dairies, cheese-making sheds and shepherd's huts, occurs very rarely to the west of Corringham (Rippon 2000, 204). Of the placename elements on Wallasea, only Sherwoods, 'Dung Marsh', could possibly relate to grazing (Reaney 1935, 207).

Recent studies have suggested that the outlay required to embank would not have taken place simply to provide pasture, primarily for sheep, but rather it would provide the basis for a mixed economy (Rippon 2000, 235). Placename evidence would suggest that this may have been the case on Wallasea. Two of the medieval marshes contain the element 'berne' or barn. This could relate to agricultural production, or an area of shelter for the animals on the marsh, or for the storage of winter feed. The origin of Tilletsmarsh may also reflect arable cultivation. Reaney (1935, 207) suggests that this may originate from the old English 'til' meaning good, serviceable profitable' and thus 'fertile or cultivated marsh'. Alternatively, it could derive from a personal name, 'til(a)'. Again the evidence relating to the neighbouring parish of Foulness suggests that arable cultivation took place on the island by the fifteenth century (Smith 1970, 13). This mixed economy reflects national trends; approximate figures suggest *c.* 40% of the land in reclaimed marsh was used for arable cultivation (Rippon 2000, 232).

The agricultural economy of Wallasea was also probably supplemented by revenues from fishing, oyster farming and wildfowling. The oyster was, in the medieval period, a common food, with fisheries around much of the coastline. In Essex, the earliest documented example dates to the 12th century, when the Colne estuary fishery was established (Rippon 2000, 225). The oyster fisheries on the Crouch, which forms the northern boundary of the island, were established in the medieval period, being granted to the manor of Burnham in 1272 (Benham 1993, 47). Oyster cultivation in the Roach was established by at least 1583, and possibly earlier (Benham 1993, 57).

Wildfowling may also have been important, the right to hunt wild birds was legally protected and subject to legal agreements (Rippon 2000, 225). There is no direct evidence for medieval wildfowling on Wallasea although it almost certainly took place given the ideal environment for wetland and coastal species to flourish.

Settlement

It is unclear to what extent the island was permanently settled. Shepherds, agricultural workers and fishermen may have set up some form of shelter on the island, although this may well have been seasonal, particularly in the earlier part of the period prior to embankment. In the later medieval period, settlement may have been more extensive, although there is little documentary material to support this. On Foulness, which is known to have been operating a similar economy, settlement up to the 15th century seems to have been limited to fishermen's huts and workshops, a chapel and a barn

(Smith 1970, 13). The documentary evidence relating to some of the Wallsea marshes indicates that they were settled by the Tudor period; for example, Grapnells was the site of a farmhouse by 1546 (ERO D/DC 23/474).

The establishment of settlement would have been hampered by the lack of a fresh water supply. In 1768, Morant clearly described the problem, "...the water in this place is not fit for the kitchen" (quoted in Yearsley 2000, 88). Thus, fresh water would have had to be collected from off the island. On Foulness, a 'water bailiff' was employed whose responsibility it was to bring water to the island (Smith 1970, 14). The water supply of Wallsea could have been obtained in a similar way, or possibly transported by land to the island once the causeway had been established. This problem was common to many marshland areas and, coupled with their generally unhealthy nature, led to many farms being either sub-let or looked after by employees.

The Tudor Period

The Marshland landscape and Sea Walls

In 1532, 'A Generale Acte concernynge Commissions of Sewers to be directed in all partes of the Realme' laid down standards for the Commissions, codifying what had been local custom. Such commissions however remained temporary (Smith 1970, 27; Grieve 1959, 15). This act remained the basis for marshland administration until the 20th century.

Despite the codifying of the 'law of the marsh', there was still debate as to the responsibility for upkeep and the difference between maintenance and repair. Increasingly lease agreements included clauses setting out responsibilities. A lease agreement between Sir Richard Wentworth and Henry Baker of Canewdon, dating to 1546, includes Grapnells Marsh. This document contains a covenant relating to the sea walls, and makes a clear distinction between the maintenance of walls, which was the responsibility of the tenant, and repair in exceptional circumstances such as "anie great outragies of wates and fludde which be seldome sene" (ERO D/DC/23/474). which were the responsibility of the landowner, this pattern being further complicated by the prevalence of sub-letting.

In the 16th century, regular inundations were taking place around the coast. In 1551 William Camden described the results of these,

"In the said Crouch, by reason of the waters division there lie scattered four islands carrying a pleasant greene hewe but by occasion of inundations, grown to be moreish and fenne, among which these two be of the greatest name Walot [Wallsea] and Foulnese" (quoted in Grieve 1959, 16)

This illustrates the impact of inundation on the marshland islands on the Essex coast and the inadequacy of some of the sea defences.

Settlement and Economy

Wallsea was certainly the site of at least some houses by the Tudor period. In 1546, Grapnells marsh was leased

by Sir Richard Wentworth to Henry Baker of Canewdon. This lease included a covenant to repair the houses on the marsh (ERO D/DC 23/474). There is also a mention of buildings, although they are not identified as houses, in a lease dating to 1572 (ERO D/DC 23/490). It is unclear if the other farmsteads on the island were established by this period. Again to what extent the island was permanently settled is almost impossible to assess.

Although there are a number of extant deeds and leases of farms on Wallsea which mention acreages of pasture and marsh, it is difficult to correlate this data with particular holdings on the island. They do however give a good general picture of the economic life of the island. The references to pasture and fresh marsh would suggest a mixed, but primarily pastoral, economy. The references to salt marsh would indicate land lying outside the sea wall, which was also probably used for grazing. It is during this period particularly that Essex was famed for its ewes' milk cheese and as such this pasture would probably primarily be for sheep.

The oyster industry was also flourishing. Bequests exist between 1583 and 1591 which mention layings and dredging 'cocks' (Benham 1993, 57). The continued importance of this industry, along with fishing and wildfowling, is demonstrated in the deeds of Grapnells farm. The majority of these include a clause that the freehold covers the farm,

"...excepting the oyster laying, and the liberty to hawk, hunt, fish and fowl" (ERO D/DC 23/474).

Licences for such rights would have been sold separately to provide additional income.

The Post-Medieval period

Sea Walls and the Marshland landscape

In the 17th century, administration of the Essex marshland and the upkeep of sea walls was still subject to debate. In 1622 Robert Callis delivered a reading on the continued need for the statute of sewers. This document also proposed that the regular maintenance of the sea wall should be paid for by the landowner or tenant, but any calamity should be subject to a common charge (Grieve 1959, 21). As with the earlier Grapnells leases, this reading distinguished between the negligence of the upkeep of the walls and unavoidable circumstances, such as extreme tides.

The administration of the marsh was still carried out by Commissions of Sewers. The administrative areas of the Commissions were increasingly being grouped into 'levels'. Each 'level' was the marsh area below the contour reached by the highest known tides. Some of the commissions effectively became permanent bodies, such as that concerning Dengie. However Wallsea was only under temporary commissions (Grieve 1959, 23). Debate became increasingly common because of the high cost of maintaining the walls.

Records of Sherwoods Farm on Wallsea from 1843 clearly demonstrate the expense and volume of materials needed to repair walls. One mile of wall on the

farm had been identified as in need of refacing. Estimates in the region of £900 were obtained. This included orders for 1500 wooden piles, 2,294 tons of stone and 79 tons of chalk. However this wall was not regularly maintained and further repair was required five years later, this time at the cost of £700 (Oxley-Parker 1964, 211-4 and Gramolt 1960, 246).

Given the expenditure required, it is not surprising that there were often disputes as to who should pay for the maintenance of the walls, even when arrangements had been laid out in leases. In 1818, Ringwood farm was subject to such a dispute. The walls were in such a state of disrepair that they were in imminent danger of breaching. The lease had not mentioned the wall specifically, but rather general repairs. Counsel ruled that in this case responsibility lay with the tenant, but that the landlord should provide the materials (Gramolt 1960, 263). The problems of expenditure were perhaps most clearly stated in an 1843 volume by 'An Auctioneer'

"...if expense fall upon the tenants they never be done, and if cast upon the landlord they always want doing" (Gramolt 1960, 263).

In 1736, a strong north-west wind, coupled with a high spring tide, resulted in the flooding of much land along the Essex coast. Canvey and Wallasea were totally under water as a result of this flooding, and contemporary records state that all the livestock on the islands was lost (Grieve 1959, 29). A 1740 map of the river Crouch, commissioned by the Mildmay family who owned lands in Burnham, shows the effects of this flood along the Crouch, including Wallasea. This map is sketchy but clearly shows the breach in the sea wall, close to Ringwood point. The map includes the comment,

"...peart of Wallis [Wallasea] is now under water every floode tyde. Burnham marshes would have bin floode like this if that wall had not been thou up to prevent it" (ERO D/Dmy 15M50/96)

In 1740, a Commission met to discuss Wallasea in response to this inundation: its records show how sea wall repair following a calamitous event were financed at the time. A detailed list of the owners and occupiers in the level was prepared and then the acreages of their holdings. A 'marsh rate' was then calculated, in this case the sum of 1s 6d per acre. In the case of the 1740 Commission, this sum was to be paid to construct a new sea wall in Ringwood and Allfleets Marshes, where the major breaches had occurred. (ERO D/DB O8).

A Commission of Sewers for the Wallasea level met irregularly between 1818 and 1832. Its minute books illustrate the procedures for the maintenance of sea walls and drainage. Firstly jurors, who lived in the hundred, were appointed. They would determine the extent of the 'level' and inspect the condition of the walls. Their findings were then presented to the 'court of sewers', who would issue orders to the relevant individuals to repair their walls within a set time limit or be fined. All the farms on the island were summonsed at various points, but the most regular was Ringwood, suggesting that this was the main area causing problems.

A general marsh rate was levied, based on the sum of 6d per acre, to cover administration, expenses and salaries (Gramolt 1960, 153-5 and ERO D/SZ 3).

The records of the commission do not precisely locate the damage to the walls but do detail what is required to fix them. The materials mentioned include piles, stone (for facing) and labour costs. The work included refacing, maintenance and clearing out the soke dyke (also known as the fleet ditch, or delft dyke/ditch and repairing sluices (ERO D/SZ 3).

There were technological advances in the construction of sea walls in the 18th and 19th centuries. As described before, the batter on the sea walls was designed to lessen the impact of the waves, and by the end of the 18th century, precise ratios were being assigned; for example, the Dengie walls had one of 1:3 (Gramolt 1960, 223). Such ratios were taken into account as walls were raised, and consequently walls became both higher and wider. This growth impacted on the 'land foreland', the inland area between the wall and the soke dyke. Thus, commissions record the need to infill soke dykes and rebuild them further inland (e.g. ERO D/SZ 3). A number of commissions in the 18th century specified that material cleaned out of the soke dyke should be used to increase the height of the 'land foreland' to provide added protection (Gramolt 1960, 229).

The material for facing was also improving. Initially walls had been protected by vegetation, or brushwood faggots, known as 'thatching' or 'haking' (Gramolt 1960, 231). This method of facing was cheap in the short term, but wore out easily and so became expensive to maintain. As such, chalk facing gradually replaced it, particularly in vulnerable areas which were not protected by saltings. Notes by the Rev'd John Pridden of Little Wakering mention that the sea wall was chalk faced in the late 17th century (ERO D/DU 139/2). Piles would have been placed along the face of the wall, and the angle infilled with chalk, probably imported by barge from the Gravesend area and Purfleet. By the late 18th century, the use of stone gradually began to replace that of chalk, or a combination of the two would have been used (Gramolt 1960, 241).

The concern as to the state of repair of sea walls was also addressed in sales catalogues of some of the farms where the good state of repair is stressed as being a selling point. For example, a sale catalogue of Acresfleet and West Lays states that the farms are

".. free from the usual objection to an island farm as the sea wall is kept at a trifling expense, being well protected by foreland" (ERO D/DOp B32)

In 1838, Wallasea was surveyed for the tithe award. The tithe maps of the various inland parishes show the detached sections on Wallasea Island. Although difficult to match in places, as detached areas tended to be drawn wherever they would fit and not necessarily orientated the same way as the rest of the map, it is possible to put together a map of the island at this time, which shows the sea walls and areas of saltings. Interestingly, they also show sections of 'old county wall' alongside the edges of

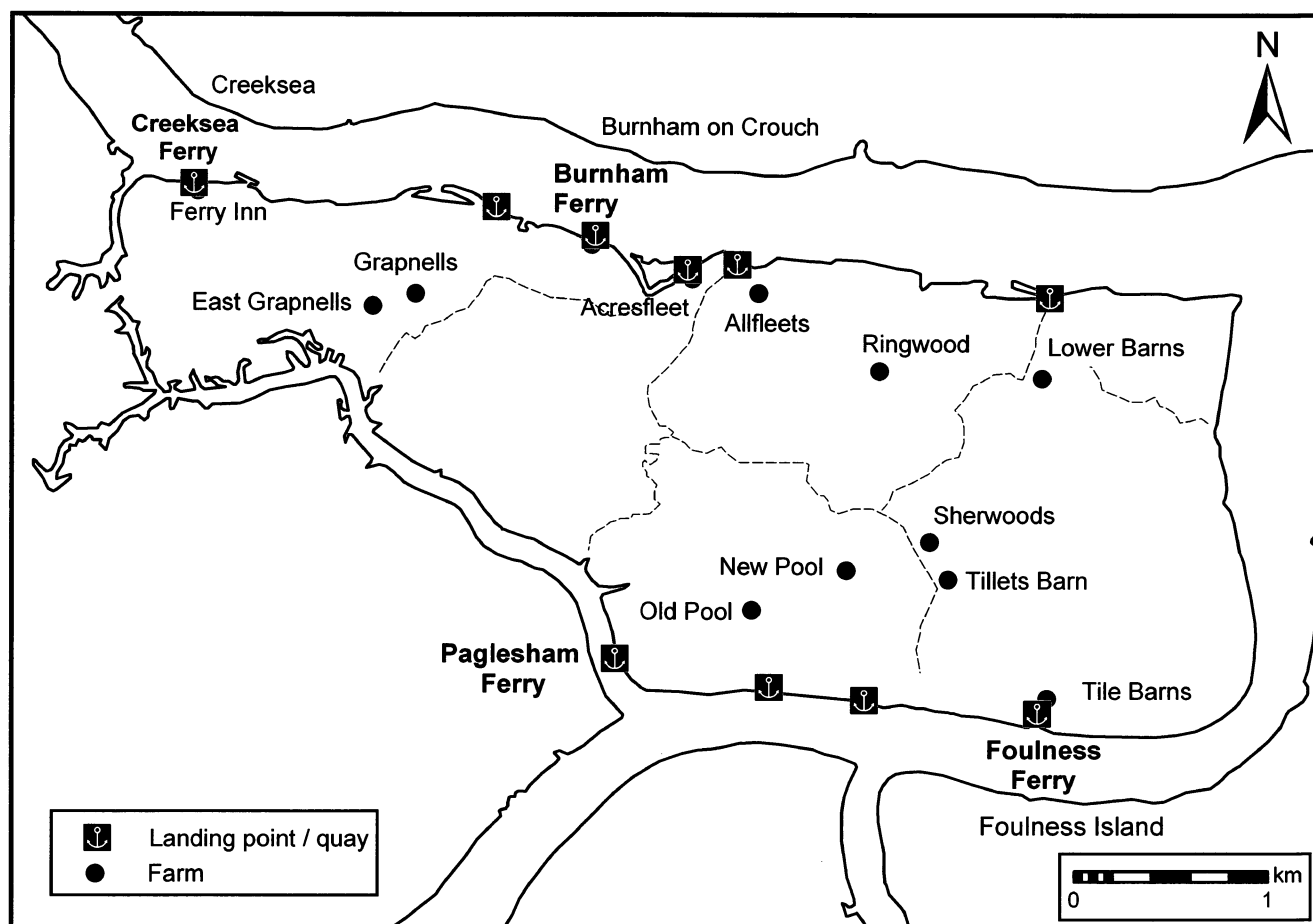


Fig.6 Ferries and landmarks on Wallasea.

© Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

what would have been the major creeks prior to inning. These counter walls are probably the remains of the old walls, which had separated the marshes in the medieval period, and had gradually being abandoned.

Each of the tithe maps (ERO D/CT 266, ERO D/CT 66, ERO D/CT 127 and ERO D/CT 377), show a pattern of small fields with sinuous boundaries. The relict ‘fleets’ are also clear, with long thin fields running alongside them. The only exceptions to this are in the southern part of the island, particularly around Pool Marsh, Tillettsmarsh, and Tile Barn Farm. In these areas straight boundaries are clear, perhaps reflecting improvements in drainage to allow for a greater proportion of arable farming. There are number of small sheds/ barns, particularly in the more isolated fields.

The first edition Ordnance Survey, 1876, shows much the same layout, with additional details, such as relict counter walls on the island and trackways. The Burnham Ferry is shown running from Overland Point.

On the 29 November 1897, a gale corresponded with a spring tide, causing severe flooding. James Benson of Canewdon described the events in his diary:

“ ... the wind blew fearful hard and the tide was the highest ever known then and the sea walls were washed down around the coast ever where.....Wallasea island was drowned and the best had to be swum they could only just keep their head

out of water.... No people lost their lives, only hares and birds” (ERO T/S 629/1).

This inundation left about three-quarters of Wallasea underwater.

Economy, Settlement and Communication

At the start of the post-medieval period, a mixed, but primarily pastoral economy was operating on Wallasea, with correspondingly sparse population. It is known that there were some farmsteads on the island by this period. The 17th-century marshland economy of Essex saw a gradual decline in the dominance of sheep, particularly the dairy industry which had been held in such high esteem. Such a decline on the Essex archipelago is demonstrated by documents relating to Foulness, where in 1687 a number of farms were expected to pay their tithe of cheese, but this was qualified by the statement ‘if any made’ (Smith 1970, 17).

This decline in sheep was countered by a rise in cattle farming. The proximity of the island to the major London market of Smithfield made it an ideal site for the fattening of cattle. The occupations of the parties concerned in a conveyance relating to Grapnells Farm, dating to 1699, certainly suggests that this shift was taking place on Wallasea. The land concerned was occupied by William Savage, whose profession is listed as grazier, and sold to Thomas Richmond of Langford, a tanner.

In addition to the house and other buildings on Grapnells Marsh by 1546, probably at East Grapnells, it would seem likely that by the 17th century, further farmsteads were established. By 1637, there was certainly a house at Allfleets, which is described in a survey of the marsh,

“...the dwelling house is tyled with necessary roomes in it...” (ERO D/D/Sp M41).

The mid to late 18th century saw a rapid increase in the population of the country, and therefore a growing home market. Settlement on Wallasea also increased. In addition to the two earlier farms, Ringwood and Acresfleet (Grass Farm) were established by 1740. A map of this date, although sketchy, clearly shows these four farms along the northern side of Wallasea (ERO D/DMY 15M50/96). Although there are few documentary sources, it would seem reasonable to suggest that some of the other farms had been established by this date.

Morant's *History of Essex* (1768) lists the landowners and farms on the island at the time;

- Gore Marsh Sir Henry Featherstone
Canewdon Parish
- Ringwood the heirs of Justice Hare
of Lee
Canewdon Parish
- Castle Marsh Henry Champion Esq
Canewdon Parish
- Sherwoods Marsh heirs of Sir Richard Daval
Canewdon Parish
- Pool Marsh Charles Weston Esq
Great Stambridge Parish
- Tilletts Marsh Mr Henchman
Great Stambridge Parish
- Hilly Marsh (Grapnells) Nehemiah Bennett Esq
Paglesham Parish
- Richmonds (Grapnells) William Webb
Paglesham Parish
- Little Marsh late Mrs Crush now Ed.
Codd gent
Little Wakering Parish
- Cokers (Allfleets) Marsh Ralph Coker
Eastwood Parish

This list differs slightly from that of the medieval marshes on the island. A lease identifies Gores Marsh as the farm by the Creeksea Ferry (ERO D/DCF/T170). Little Marsh, is probably Little Grapnells, located at the south end of Grass Farm, as this is the only marsh falling within Little Wakering. The location of Castle Marsh is problematical. This name also occurs on the Commission of Sewers' records. A minute book entry in these refers to Castle Marsh and Sherwoods, suggesting that it was adjacent. As Morant's list does not mention Lower Barns, which is to the north, it would seem likely that this is Castle Marsh. These ten farmsteads are shown on the Chapman and Andre map of 1777.

The complexity of leases and the prevalence of sub-letting on the island has already been discussed in relation to sea walls, but also had an impact on settlement. Farms may not have been occupied by a landlord or tenant, who were discouraged by the prevalence of marshland 'ague', a form of malaria. Indeed, many writers dwelt on the unhealthy nature of marshland life (e.g. Defoe 1724; Young 1784). Some tenants would employ 'lookers' to look after their interests; at least one, Deft Marcroft, was employed on Wallasea in 1782. He was involved in a dispute with a magistrate from Suffolk who had detained Johnathan Pooley. Marcroft, along with a 'rabble', prevented the magistrate from leaving the Creeksea Ferry Inn whilst Pooley escaped (ERO D/DO/B24/57).

The 18th-century agricultural community was increasing efforts to improve productivity (RCHME 1997, 4). In 1767, the 'Complete Grazier' published an account of the Essex method to get the best out of a grassland farm. Steers, heifers or bullocks were to be fattened over the summer pasture and sold in September. The land should then be left fallow for 5-6 weeks. After this, runts would be brought in to feed over winter and sold by February. The remaining grass would then be finished by wethers, who would then be sold on (Gramolt 1960, 349).

Details of the economy of Wallasea can be gleaned from the Little Wakering tithe accounts and notes prepared by the Revd. John Pridden. In his time at the parish, 1783-97, Pridden recorded in some detail the tithe produce he received, which gives a good indication of the agricultural economy of at least one portion of the island. In addition to the produce which would be considered typical, i.e. lambs, fleeces, and wool; he also received cole seed (rape), brown mustard seed, hay of clover and hay of grass (ERO D/CU 139/2). This clearly demonstrates a shift in emphasis in sheep farming, from the primarily dairy described by Norden in the 16th century, to other products such as wool and meat. This mixed economy is also illustrated in leases and sale catalogues relating to Pool Marsh Farm. In 1751, a quarter of the farm was in arable production. A similar picture is described in a 1794 Sale Catalogue (ERO D/DU 139/2).

By the early 19th century, the plough up was becoming increasingly common, the impetus provided by a rapidly expanding population and war conditions which led to uncertainty regarding foreign supply. Home production, particularly of corn, was thought to be the ideal way of meeting demand (Gramolt 1960, 369; RCHME 1997, 5). In earlier periods, plough up of some marsh farms was impractical, but with the introduction of hollow or underdraining, plough up of land became possible, and desirable at a time when grain prices were rising (Grieve 1959, 32; Gramolt 1960, 371).

In 1836, the General Tithes Act was issued, under which tithes were commuted for a monetary payment. The schedules and maps prepared for the commutation commission in 1838 (ERO D/CT 66, D/CT 166 and

D/CT 266) are the first detailed picture of the physical layout of the island and a land utilisation survey. The pattern of land use varies, but in general reflects the increasing dominance of arable farming. Grapnells, situated at the highest point on the island, is almost entirely arable. In contrast Grass Farm, as the name suggests, is almost entirely pasture. The other farms are dominated by arable land, but there is a reasonable amount of pasture.

In order to get the highest yields it was necessary for a farm to have some stock. The increasingly high yields were obtained through the use of crop rotation, and an increased volume of better quality manure. The application of such techniques is reflected on lease agreements on Wallasea. The best example is an 1838 lease of Tile Barn Farm. This specifies that any dung or manure should remain on the farm, either spread on the fields or stored. The lease also details a crop rotation to be carried out in the last 3 years of the lease, presumably to bring the land to its full potential. The tenant was to:

“...cultivate or crop the said arable lands in equal shifts or seasons or as near thereto conveniently and may be yearly...two sixth thereof of wheat, one thereof of clover, one sixth part thereof with oats or mustard, one sixth part with peas or beans and one other sixth being the remaining sixth with good clean fallow or summer ---.” (ERO D/DBm/B13).

During the mid to late 19th century, settlement on Wallasea was at a peak: in 1875, there were 13 houses on the island and 135 inhabitants, a figure which rose in the summer months (Yearsley 2000, 83; ERO T/P 83/1). In 1867, East and West Grapnells, and All Fleets were put up for sale, and a detailed description of the latter survives. The farm house had two parlours, a kitchen and back kitchen, cellar, dairy and six bedrooms. There was also a three-bay barn, stabling for ten horses, a cart lodge, granary, fowl house, cattle shed and piggeries. The farms are described as being in good condition, and the buildings as being in good repair. These farms were occupied by John Witney, who also occupied Ringwoods (ERO T/P 83/2). By 1879, there were enough children on the island for a school to be opened (Jerram-Burrows 1980).

The proximity of Wallasea to the Crouch and therefore rapid transport by water to major market of London was crucial to its success. Although there had been a causeway linking the island to the mainland since at least 1663 (ERO Q/SR 397/8), the primary means of communication was by sea. Numerous extant sales catalogues extolled the virtues of the proximity to the river. In 1794, a sale catalogue relating to Pool Marsh advertised the fact that the farm lay in the “...vicinity to a number of navigable rivers (the advantages arising therefrom are too obvious to be mentioned here)” (ERO D/DC/41/116).

The majority of coastal farms would have had their own landing, either a wharf or quay or a simple tying up post or hard. Recent survey work around the Essex marshes, especially on Foulness, has identified the physical remains of such farm loadings (Heppell and

Brown 2001, 15). Assessment of cartographic sources gives some indications of the location of loadings around Wallasea. Firstly there are sites where the ferries ran from, shown on the early editions of the Ordnance Survey. These would have served the Creeksea Ferry Inn, Ferry Farm (at Overland Point) and Tile Barns. Grapnells loading may have been located in an inlet to the west of Gardness Point, which has a track leading to it. Grassland and Allfleets Farm were served by a wharf, adjacent to the sea wall by Grassland point. Field survey identified a number of large timbers and a bank in this area, possibly associated with this loading. Ringwood and Lower Barns also appeared to have shared a loading, between Ringwood and Barrington Points. This lies adjacent to a field named ‘Loading Marsh’ on the tithe award, with a landing stage marked on the 1924 and 1940s Ordnance Survey. Old and New Pools were probably served by a landing associated with the oyster workings in Paglesham Pool.

These loadings were crucial, not only allowing produce to be exported but also allowing the importation of material such as coal, grain and, perhaps most importantly, dung from London with which to manure the fields (ERO D/DCf/T170).

The oyster industry also had a part to play in the island's economy. Although medieval charters granting rights to oyster grounds are known, for example for Colchester and the Colne, it was not until the eighteenth century that it became an organised industry with systematic routines (Benham 1997, 1). Oystermen, under sail, would dredge for oyster and spat, which would then be transferred to individual layings along creeks, which had been cleaned and laid with clutch (crushed shell). In summer the oysters would ‘spat’, and this would settle on the clutch. Merchants, primarily from Kent, would then arrive to purchase oysters to transfer to other grounds to mature. In preparation for this, the stocks were transferred to oyster pits cut into the edge of marshes, and then sold. Half-ware and brood would then be transferred to the pits to protect them during the winter months (Benham 1997, 30-2).

On Wallasea, the industry was focused on the west and east parts of the island, round Lower Barns and Paglesham Pool. The northern side of the island was suitable for only a limited numbers of layings as in this area, the channel of the Crouch runs close to the island and is very steep. Up to the 16th century, ‘Walfleet’ (Crouch) oysters were considered the best in England. The oysters themselves were usually green, and as such sales were usually to Kent for re-laying (Benham 1993, 52-4). An 18th-century sale catalogue relating to Pool Marsh farm refers to layings, presumably in Paglesham Pool, with an estimated value of £8 (ERO D/DC/41/116). The 1740 map of the island shows some layings along the northern shore (ERO D/DMy 15M50/96). There were also oyster layings which were owned by Ferry Farm in the early 19th century. In 1823 these were being let to James Wisemen for £35 per annum (ERO D/DO E2). By 1898, a group of large rectangular pits had been cut into the marsh between

Gardenness and Overland Points (EHER 9982). Various posts are shown close to the pits, effectively splitting the salt marsh in this area in two, presumably representing a division between two tenants. These pits are still visible on the salt marsh at the present time, along with a number of abandoned vessels which may have been associated with the industry (Heppell 2002, 34-5).

The River Roach and Paglesham Creek were ideally suited for oyster cultivation. The route of the rivers and channels at this point means that the tide does not scour through them. There had been layings in the area since the Tudor period. By the 19th century, the majority of the oysters were exported to France (Benham 1993, 57). Extensive areas of oyster pits were located on both sides of Paglesham Pool, protected in *c.* 1900 by a watchboat (Benham 1993, 63 and EHER 14945). Aerial photographic survey has also identified possible pits on the marsh to the south of Tile Barn, and on the western bank of Quay Reach. However the description of these pits, as running parallel to the sea wall would suggest that it is possible that they are borrow pits utilised for the repair of the sea wall (EHER 14933, 14936).

Wildfowling also remained a part of the economy. The leases for the right to fowl remained separate from the farm tenancies in most cases, the only known exception is Tile Barn Farm. When this was put up for sale in 1838 it included the 'free liberty' to hunt, fish and fowl (ERO D/DBm/B13). A game book for the years 1890-7 is still extant in the ERO and details the numbers of fowl shot, primarily partridges and ducks (ERO D/Z 136/1).

In 1875, an agricultural depression began, largely resulting from the importation of cheap American wheat. Established farming families were hard hit, as it became difficult to rent out farms and rental income declined. Vast acreages of arable land reverted to pasture (Smith 1970, 21). On Wallasea the effects of this depression were felt. Charles Bright, who leased Ferry Farm had his rent reduced (ERO D/DCf/T170). By 1896, Ringwood farm had been demolished (Ordnance Survey). The 'Black Monday' floods of 1897 also devastated the island. In 1899 the school, which by this time only had two pupils, the teacher's children, was closed.

The Modern period (1900 to present)

Landscape and Sea Walls

At the beginning of the 20th century, the landscape of Wallasea remained much the same as the previous centuries, irregular sided fields, separated by ditches and embankments, surrounded by sea walls. As a result of the agricultural depression, the island had been virtually abandoned by its human occupants and reverted to pasture (Jerram-Burrows 1980). It was, however, still necessary to protect the island and covenants for repair of the walls continued to be drawn up as part of lease agreements (e.g. ERO DSf/T13).

The importance of land drainage and sea defences

remained on the political agenda, with heightened concerns during World War I. In 1918, a Land Drainage Act was passed, which created drainage boards in addition to the Commissioners. In 1930, a further Land Drainage Act established a completely new system, doing away with the commissions and replacing them with river catchment boards (Grieve 1959, 55-6). However, progress towards repairing the 200 miles of dilapidated sea wall, which an engineer had identified in 1932, remained slow, disputes as ever centering on money (Grieve 1959, 60).

The walls of Wallasea were breached in both 1938 and 1949, the latter despite the fact that the drainage of the island had been revamped during the plough up of the war years, and Grassland Farm provided with a (still extant) tractor-driven pump which it was the responsibility of the tenant to set going in the event of an extra high tide (ERO D/DCf B160).

The 'Great Tide' of 1953 had a devastating effect on the island. On the night of 31 January to 1 February, gale force winds and a spring tide resulted in a storm surge some 7 feet higher than the predicted level. This left much of the Essex Archipelago under water. The initial surges were kept out, but as the tide rose it topped the walls, almost immediately filling the island, which was soon flooded to a depth of 5-6 feet. The waves then began scouring the unprotected inside batters of the walls, leading to a number of breaches. There were 37 inhabitants on the island at the time. Most were rescued by boat the following morning, but the farming family at Grapnells remained on the island to look after the livestock (Yearsley 2000, 86). John White, now the farm manager on the island, whose family lived at Grass Farm at the time, escaped through an upstairs bedroom window into a rowing boat (J. White pers. comm.). Two people died, a customer at the Creeksea Ferry Inn and the postman.

Subsequent tides resulted in a series of breaches around the island, the east and south walls being almost completely demolished. Looking over from Burnham, the walls of Wallasea appeared to be 'toothless gaps'. A proposal was put forward for a sandbag dam across the island, starting at Grapnells and heading north and south, to isolate the eastern half of the island. This was also to allow for the rescue of the timber which had flooded onto the island from Baltic wharf. The work on this commenced on 10 February and was almost complete by the 15th of the month. The eastern end of the island remained flooded for some time, and was one of the last places in the country to be drained of floodwater (Grieve 1959).

In the aftermath of the flood, a number of the houses were irreparable and had to be pulled down (Jerram-Burrows 1980): only Grapnells Farm survived. Grass Farm was burnt to the ground, the metal Dutch barn taken away and sold (J. White pers. comm.). The sea wall was rebuilt, considerably higher and wider than the breached wall. The difference in size can be clearly seen at Gardenness Point and Ringwood Point, where relict sea walls are extant.



Plate 1 Rounding up sheep on Wallasea Island, about 1940 (photograph Douglas Went)

By 1959, the owner of the island, William Parker, began extensive re-drainage. This started with the smaller fields, which were unsuitable for modern farm machinery (Jerram-Burrows 1980). By 1963, aerial photographs show the island covered in more or less rectangular fields, although the old field ditches are still clearly visible as cropmarks. The island had been left barren for 6-7 years prior to this (J. White pers. comm.).

By 1970, the island had been almost completely changed. Old boundary ditches were filled and new north-south ditches dug, in some cases running the width of the island. Deep tile drains running east-west were also excavated. Aerial photographs of this taking place would suggest that the island was also bulldozed level. In the late 1970s, further re-drainage took place. Three bulldozers were employed for a total of six years scraping the fields in order to level and backfill the extant ditches (J. White pers. comm.).

The 1977 Ordnance Survey shows the outcome. The only surviving farm is Grapnells. A trackway runs east from this towards Grassland, along the route of a relict bank and track, shown on earlier editions. Some field boundaries were retained to the north of this. Beyond Grasslands, it crosses to the site of Allfleets, again running roughly along the route of earlier boundaries. To the north of the track, the field pattern contains elements from the earlier layout but to the south this has been completely destroyed. East of Allfleets, old boundaries have been completely backfilled and replaced by the north-south ditches.

The impact of the 1953 floods and the subsequent drainage schemes on the island's heritage cannot be underestimated. Most farmhouses, which may have been of some antiquity, were pulled down as they were

no longer safe. The field layout on the island, whose roots probably lie in the medieval period, along with the 'county walls', identified on the tithe maps and the first edition Ordnance Survey, were all but destroyed. The archaeological potential of such features was demonstrated during excavations on Foulness, where timber features were identified during excavation of a counter wall (Crump 1981, 69-71). Few similar features now survive on Wallasea.

Settlement and Economy

At the beginning of the 20th century, the island was still suffering from the effects of the agricultural depression. The island had reverted almost completely to pasture and one man and one boy looked after all the livestock, with the help of eight labourers (Yearsley 2000, 89). In Essex as a whole, this period saw the sale of many farms, in some cases to tenants and in others to 'incomers' to the county (Hunter 1999, 167). The onset of World War I led to the ploughing of much of the island to provide grain for the domestic market, as German 'U' boats were threatening the supply of imported food. The island produced bumper crops of wheat in this period, but the market again became depressed at the end of the war (Jerram-Burrows 1980).

Between 1905 and 1919, much of the island was bought up by Strutt and Parker. In 1909, New and Old Pools were purchased from Henry Browning Petit, Walter Pointer Evans and Zachary Petit. Ringwood, Sherwood and Lower Barn were purchased in 1910 and 1919 from J.C. Edmonds. In 1912, part of Grapnells was purchased from Frances Freeman. Tile Barn and Tillets were purchased in 1913 from John Follett. Allfleets was purchased in 1910 from Mary Anne Scott,

William Brewster Hester and Herbert Frank Hester (Jerram-Burrows 1980).

In 1922, Grass Farm was put up for sale. The sale catalogue describes the farmhouse itself as brick pinned, weatherboarded and plain tiled, with four bedrooms. The farm buildings, which included stabling, cattle sheds, and a corn and cake house, were also boarded and tiled. The water was supplied by an artesian well. The schedule of fields shows that the farm remained entirely pasture (ERO D/DCf B160).

By 1924, Allfleets was abandoned (Ordnance Survey). In 1925, the Strutt and Parker holdings were sold to William Goodchild, who added Grass Farm in 1928. His tenure covered the period of the depression. The population once again decreased as the farms were effectively ranched, and surviving farmhouses were abandoned. As the depression abated the population rose again, and by the late 1930s there were three families on the island, that of the foreman and his sons (Jerram-Burrows 1980).

During the depression of the 1930s, Wallasea again reverted to grassland. Wentworth-Day (1949, 43) described the island during this period as 'endless prairies of billowing grass'. The five surviving farmhouses were described as being in ruins. The owner of much of the island at this time, William Goodchild, only survived the depression by selling other land that he owned for the construction of a bypass in the Southend area (Jerram-Burrows 1980).

As the island gradually recovered from the depression, increasing amounts of land were once again brought under plough and the population increased to three families (Jerram-Burrows 1980). The decision to return to arable farming may have been influenced by the passing of the 1932 Wheat Act, which placed quotas on imported wheat and also guaranteed prices for home produced crops (Hunter 1999, 168).

World War II once again led to the ploughing up of the island. The War Agricultural Executive Committee had required that the island be ploughed up in the interest of national food production. The drainage on the island was also overhauled in order to facilitate the growth of crops (ERO D/DCf B329). In 1942, Goodchild sold his holdings to Linnell Bradley Mark, who led the plough up campaign. No figures are known as to the population at his time. Although the island suffered some bomb damage during the war, no one was injured (Yearsley 2000, 89).

After the war, most of Wallasea was put up for sale. The sale catalogue describes the island as 'admirably suited for mechanical farming' and it also mentions that all the drains had been cleared since the grassland had been ploughed up. Ferry and Grass Farms were run together as were Old Pool and Allfleets. The other farms were Lower Barns and Tile Barn. Some of the farms were awaiting compensation for war damage, also detailed in the schedule. All the farms are described as being largely in arable production and include the requirement to maintain the sea wall (ERO D/DCf B329).

Post-war government policy was to modernise farming, maximise production and guarantee prices. In Essex in general, mixed farming gave way to arable, with 'prairie' farming becoming common. The impact of this national policy change was felt on the island. By 1947, Allfleets and Sherwoods Farms had been demolished (Ordnance Survey). By the early 1950s, the only occupied houses were at Lower Barn, Tile Barn, Grass Farm and a bungalow at Pool Farm (J. White pers. comm.).

The 1953 floods covered much of the island and left the agricultural land waterlogged, covered in dead plants. The eastern end was under floodwater for two years. The flooding increased the salinity of the land, limiting production (Wormell 1999; Jerram-Burrows 1980). Wallasea remained barren for six years and the land was spread with gypsum (J. White pers. comm.).

The devastating effect of the 1953 floods left a clean slate upon which national agricultural policies could be enacted. In 1959, the owner of the island, William Parker, began the first phase of an ambitious re-drainage scheme, removing the majority of the intricate field system and replacing it with large rectangular flat fields, eminently suitable for mechanised farming. The population therefore remained small with the farming concern run from Grapnells. The remaining farms on the island were in a very poor state and most were demolished in the early 1960s. The wooden structures were burnt down and other material, bricks and tile utilised for hardcore for the new trackways (J. White pers. comm.). Further re-drainage works took place in the 1970s. Today the island is almost entirely arable, farmed by Wallasea Farms Ltd, whose base is Grapnells Farm, the last of the many farms which once existed on the island.

The 20th century also saw the decline of the oyster industry on Wallasea. The industry appears to have prospered until the outbreak of World War I and then, like much of Essex, was hit by a series of disasters, such as the limpet plague, and bad winters (Benham 1993, 64). The 1953 floods severely damaged the oyster beds, as did an extremely cold winter a decade later. They have never managed to recover their full potential (Yearsley 2000, 84). On Wallasea, the physical remains of this industry can still be seen, the most obvious of which are the oyster pits cut into the marshland. There are examples by Gardeness Point and along the sides of Paglesham Pool, but these are gradually silting up and becoming engulfed by the marsh: a number of abandoned vessels in the area may be associated with the industry (Heppell 2002, 34).

General discussion

Coastal Issues

The history of Wallasea Island, like that of much of the Essex marshland concerns the constant battle with the tide. After all "Essex and the sea have been antagonists for centuries" (Grieve 1959). The responses and changing attitudes to this threat are clearly evident on

Wallasea Island. Initial exploitation of this marshland habitat used the resources of the sea, for example the 'red hills' being dependent on both the tide and the sea water itself. By the 13th or 14th centuries, the island had been embanked, and was a valuable economic resource, for the grazing of sheep and later for the fattening of cattle and extensive arable production. At this point it became economically important to continue to protect the island from inundation.

The records of the individual farms and the Commissions of Sewers illustrate the constant maintenance and development of techniques needed to protect the island. The cost of such defences is also clearly apparent, and responsibility was hotly debated. However there seems to have been little debate as to the practicalities of maintaining sea walls indefinitely. Certain areas, particularly the vulnerable northern stretch of Wallasea, where the main channel of the River Crouch runs close to the wall, seem to have been under almost constant repair since records began. However since the 1980s, the recognition of global warming and consequent sea level rise has brought the issue of coastal defences to the fore, particularly given the low-lying nature of the Essex coast. This is particularly an issue for embanked and reclaimed marsh, as shrinkage due to drying out lowers it further. The extensive losses of salt marsh along the Essex coast, at present a rate of 2% per annum (ECC 1994, 8) also has an effect, increasing the impact of tidal forces on hard defences. Thus new options are being examined, such as managed realignment, two-tiered defences and soft defences (ECC 1994, 8-9). On Wallasea, recent events illustrate this change in emphasis, the construction of a new wall, inland of the old, effectively creating a two tier system, acknowledging the inadequacy of the existing wall.

Agricultural Policy

Until the late 20th century, there was a complex landscape of small irregular fields and sinuous creeks. Although only photographic evidence and maps now remain, it is clear that features of the historic landscape were incorporated into the fabric of the island, giving the landscape a 'time' dimension. A series of events, both natural and man-made altered this landscape forever.

The first of these events was the 'Great Tide' of 1953 which laid the island bare. This seriously limited agricultural production for a number of years and led to the demolition of the majority of the historic farms on the island. The second was the re-drainage of the island in the 1950s and 1970s, which destroyed the historic field system.

The latter reflects the concerns of national and indeed international agricultural policy in the late 20th century. The war had led to extensive plough up campaigns, and the 'food security' issue continued to be of great concern. Emphasis on food security and domestic production, and the consequent intensity of production took place with little regard for wider environmental issues.

The re-drainage of Wallasea led to the almost

complete devastation of the historic landscape. The construction of the new wall will help to create an area of marshland and therefore enhance the biodiversity and natural environment. However the red hills, medieval walls and complex field system cannot be regenerated, and now survive only as photographic, cartographic and documentary records.

Acknowledgements

The desk-based assessment on which this article is based was carried out by ECC Field Archaeology Unit on the behalf of John Hesp Associates and Wallasea Farms Ltd. Thanks are due to Robert Bache and John White of Wallasea Farms and John Hesp (John Hesp Associates). The walkover was carried out by the author and Joanne Archer (ECC FAU). The project was monitored by Anwen Cooper of ECC HAMP. Thanks are due to the staff of the Essex Record Office, Chelmsford and Southend; Central Library, Southend; and ECC Historic Environment Record for their assistance with research. Many thanks to Nigel Brown for commenting on the report and general support.

For Joseph Leo Heppell, MBE, 1922-2003: thanks for everything, Grandad.

Author: Ellen Heppell, Essex County Council Field Archaeology Unit, Fairfield Court, Fairfield Road, Braintree CM7 3YQ

Bibliography

- Allen, J.R.L. 1997 'The geoarchaeology of land claim in coastal wetlands; a sketch from Britain and north-west Europe', *Archaeol.* 7. 154, 1-54
- Bedwin, O. (ed.) 1996 *The Archaeology of Essex, proceedings of the 1993 Writtle Conference*, Chelmsford: ECC
- Benham, H. 1993 *Essex Gold*, Chelmsford: Essex Record Office
- Booker, J. 1974 *Essex and the Industrial Revolution*, Chelmsford: Essex Record Office
- Bridgland, D.R., Allen, P. & Haggert, J. (eds) 1995 *The Quaternary of the Lower Reaches of the Thames; A Field Guide*, Durham
- Buckley, D. G. (ed.) 1980 *Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500*, CBA Res. Rep. 34
- Bullen Consultants 2001 *Geotechnical report; Wallasea Island*, unpublished report
- Coote, J. 1998 *East Coast Rivers*, Yachting Monthly
- Crump, B. 1981 'Excavation of a buried wooden structure at Foulness', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 13, 69-71
- Devoy, R.J. 1980 'Post-Glacial Environmental Change and Man in the Thames Estuary: A Synopsis', in Thompson, F. (ed.) *Archaeology and Coastal Change*, Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc. London Occ. Pap.
- ECC 1994 *The Essex coast: issues report*, Chelmsford: ECC
- ERO 1959 *Essex and the Sea*, Essex Record Office
- Evison, V. 1955 *Anglo Saxon Finds near Rainham, Essex; with a study of Glass drinking horns*
- Faulkner, N. 1995 'Excavations at Leigh Beck', *Transactions of the Rochford Hundred Field Archaeology Group vol. 1*, limited circulation report
- Glazebrook, J. (ed.) 1997 *Research and Archaeology: A Framework for the Eastern Counties 1. Resource Assessment*, E. Anglian Archaeol. Occ. Pap. 3
- Gramolt, J. 1960 *The Coastal Marshland of East Essex between the seventeenth and mid-nineteenth century*, Univ. of London thesis
- Green, S. (ed.) 1999 *The Essex Landscape; In Search of its History*, Chelmsford: ECC
- Grieve, H. 1959 *The Great Tide*, Chelmsford: Essex Record Office

WALLASEA ISLAND; THE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF A MARSHLAND LANDSCAPE

- Heppell, E. and Brown, N. 2001 *Greater Thames Estuary Survey, Essex Zone; Archaeological Assessment Report*, ECC Limited Circulation Report
- Heppell, E. 2002 *Rolls Farm, Essex. Monitoring Survey. Interim Report 1*, ECC Limited Circulation Report
- Hunter, J. 1999 *The Essex Landscape*, Chelmsford: Essex Record Office
- Jerram-Burrows, L. 1980 *History of the Rochford Hundred*, unpublished
- Medlycott, M. 2000 *Greater Thames Estuary, Essex Zone Survey; Desk Top Study*, ECC Internal Rep.
- Morant, P. 1768 *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, London
- Murphy, P.L. and Brown, N. 1999 'Archaeology of the Coastal Landscape', in Green, S. (ed.), *The Essex Landscape: in Search of its History*, Chelmsford: ECC, 11-19
- Oxley Parker, J. 1964 *The Oxley Parker Papers*, Benham and Co.
- Pevsner, N. 1954 *The Buildings of England: Essex*, London: Penguin
- RCHME 1997 *English farmsteads*, RCHME
- Reaney, P.H. 1935 *The Place Names of Essex*
- Rippon, S. 2000 *The Transformation of Coastal Wetlands*, British Academy
- Rodwell, W.J. 1966 'The Excavation of a 'Red Hill' on Canvey Island', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* 2, 158
- Rumble, A. (ed) 1983 *Domesday Book: Essex*, Chichester: Phillimore
- Smith, J. 1970 *Foulness*, Chelmsford: Essex Record Office
- Tompkins, H. W. 1906 *Marsh Country Rambles*, London
- Wentworth-Day, J. 1949 *Coastal Adventure*, London
- Wilkinson, T. and Murphy, P.L. 1995 *The Archaeology of the Essex Coast Vol 1; The Hullbridge Survey* *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 71
- Williams, J. and Brown N. (eds) 1999 *An Archaeological Research Framework for the Greater Thames Estuary*, Chelmsford: ECC
- Wormell, P. 1999 *Essex Farming 1900-2000*, Chelmsford: Essex Record Office
- Wymer, J.J. and Brown, N. 1995 *North Shoebury: settlement and economy in south-east Essex 1500 BC – AD 1500*, *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 75
- Yearsley, I. 2000 *Islands of Essex*, Ian Henry

The Society is extremely grateful to Essex County Council for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this article

‘All conditions of life and labour’: the presence of Black people in Essex before 1950*

David Killingray

Sometime in the 1760s a man struggled into Colchester. He had walked the rough road from London, leaving the capital for fear of industrial unrest and in search of employment in Essex. Later, when he had found work, he sent for his white wife, Betty, a weaver, who had recently had a second child. The man was Ukawsaw Gronniosaw or James Albert, a former slave captured in West Africa and shipped across the Atlantic to the American colonies. In the early 1760s he had gained his freedom in New York, enlisted in the British Army and served in the Caribbean. On his discharge he came to England, settled in London where he married a poor widow with a child. Not long after they had arrived in Colchester, Gronniosaw recollected, ‘the winter proved remarkably severe and we were reduced to the greatest distress imaginable’.

This article does not attempt to provide a comprehensive account of the presence of Black people in Essex. That task would surely take many years of systematic research in a vast corpus of Essex-related resources in public and private hands up and down the country. What is offered here is merely a survey that draws attention to the presence of Black people in the county, provides some indication of where further research might be pursued, and that hopefully might encourage that endeavour.

The origins of Black people in England

It is a common misconception that Britain’s Black population dates from mid 1948 when the ‘*Empire Windrush*’ docked at Tilbury with nearly 500 immigrants from the Caribbean.² In fact there has been a steadily growing number of Black people in England since the 16th century. Indeed, the number of Black people in London appears to have reached a noticeably critical level so as to incur popular concern by the end of that century. In 1596 and again in 1601 Elizabeth’s government attempted to expel ‘the great numbers of negras and Blackamoors which (as she is informed) are crept into this realm ... who are fostered and relieved here to the great annoyance of her own liege people’³ As overseas maritime ventures continued it was impossible to exclude the varied peoples, many of them Black seaman, slaves or servants, who came or were brought to England’s ports from all parts of the known

world. Asians, Africans, and peoples from the New World rubbed shoulders in London’s streets with immigrants from the Low Countries and from elsewhere in Europe. They were not confined to the capital but increasingly were to be found listed in the newly introduced parish registers in towns and villages throughout the country.⁴

In the mid 18th century various estimates were made of the Black population of Britain, a popular figure being 20,000. This was an exaggeration. Recent research suggests that by the 1770s there were *c.*5,000 Black people in London and a similar number in the provinces, giving an overall figure of 10,000.⁵ Bristol and Liverpool, as premier ports engaged in the Atlantic trading system, had sizeable Black populations. In relative terms the proportion of Black people in the late 18th-century population was similar to that in Britain in 1960. In certain areas of London, such as Westminster and immediately east of the City, and also in Greenwich, Black people were commonly to be seen.⁶ Precise numbers are elusive. From the start of the official census, in 1801, no mention of either race or colour was required, and the place of origin that was recorded is an inadequate guide. Only in 1991 did the census form provide space for voluntary information on race, and not until 2001 did the census seek more exact information. So we know that the Black population of Essex at the start of the 21st century – at least given by those who volunteered such information – was just over 6,100 (a mere 0.47 per cent of the total of 1.31 million). However, there is no solid information on the number of Black people in Essex for earlier dates.

Why study the history of Black people?

What is the purpose of studying the presence of people of African origin and descent in Britain? There are those who focus on what is termed ‘Black history’, and this interest has resulted in an annual ‘Black history month’ in many cities, towns and counties. This certainly has value, but my purpose is not to plough a separatist furrow but to approach Black people in Britain as a group integral to British history. In order to do that it is necessary first to assemble the scattered references to Black people. When this has been done, and it is a lengthy task, then the questions can be asked that social

historians pose about any group of people in the past: their number, place of origin, geographical location, age, sex, occupation, marital status, inter-racial marriage, literacy, religious beliefs, and so on. The data is indeed scattered: single lines in parish registers of baptism, marriage, and burial, more detail contained in mendicity and gaol records, census enumerator's reports, short notices in newspapers, and the occasional brief mention in published local histories. It is not surprising that confronted with this seemingly overwhelming task the researcher has to rely on the kindness of others, particularly that gallant band of genealogists and family historians who collect from parish registers details of what are known as 'strays'.⁷ Occasionally this kind of material makes it possible to link disparate entries in registers and to provide brief biographies of Black people. For example the 'George Pompey, 'a black at Madm Bettons' baptised at Woodford in October 1699, is surely the same man of that name, 'the servant of Rbt Tench', who was buried in Leyton in early September 1735.⁸

There are a number of good reasons for looking more closely at a minority group that can often be readily identified. First, Essex, like the rest of the country, has been enriched by the presence of immigrants over the past 400 years: people from the Low Countries and the Rhineland, Scots, and of course people arriving in the county as recent migrants from London. The immigrant experience, whether of individuals or communities, is well worth studying. Immigrants, from wherever, invariably stand out, conspicuous by their 'foreignness', by their language, accent, sometimes religion and form of dress. Unlike many other immigrants, Black people were obvious by their colour and the significance attached to their pigmentation. From the 17th to the early 19th centuries, blackness was invariably regarded as a badge of servility and inferiority. This does not mean that in these years Britons thought that only black people could be slaves. Whites were also enslaved in the states of North Africa. It was common in many parishes, for example in Stapleford Tawney in 1669 and again in 1680, for a collection to be made 'for the Ransom of Captives in Algiers and Sally' and 'for ye Brief for the Redemption of Slaves out of Turkey'.⁹ White men and women were also shipped off to the American colonies to penal or indentured labour in the plantations, as was the lot of some of the soldiers who surrendered after the fall of Colchester in 1648. Nevertheless, by the early 18th century Britons regarded white enslavement not only as aberrant but contrary to the rules of Britain: 'Britons never, never shall be slaves', ran the refrain of James Thomson's 'Rule Britannia'.

Nevertheless, and this is the second point, by the 17th century, and decidedly by the 18th century when British ships dominated the trans-Atlantic trade in African slaves, a black person was clearly identified as being the subject for slavery.¹⁰ The idea of a common humanity jostled with a new emerging stereotype: Africans were seen as savage and barbaric, non-literate,

unclothed, simple peasant producers, and increasingly deemed a sub-species of human kind ordained by Scripture to be slaves.¹¹ In the Americas, Africans were deracinated, bought and sold as chattels, moved from colony to metropole at will, and even for those who gained their freedom the taint of slavery remained as also the fear of re-enslavement. A false idea that had currency among some Black people brought to Britain in the 18th century was that freedom from slavery was gained by being on English soil or by Christian baptism. This was not so, as witness the experience of Olaudah Equiano, the best known Black British figure of the late 18th century, who having gained his freedom was then shipped off to slavery in the Americas.¹² Christian and humanitarian abolitionists struggled to protect the civil rights of Black people by appealing to the law for their protection from the late 1760s. Mansfield's well-known judgement of 1772 did not declare all Black slaves in Britain to be free, only that owners could not forcibly remove them from England and Wales. However, the decision certainly undermined the idea that Black slaves could be owned in Britain and thereafter advertisements for the return of runaway slaves disappeared from the newspapers. But legally, Black slaves in England had to wait several more decades before English law gave them a categorical assurance of liberty.¹³ The Scottish courts declared slavery in Scotland illegal in 1778. When certain historians, for example in the Victoria County History volumes for Essex, refer to Black people before the Mansfield decision as 'servants' they are overlooking the fact that many were regarded by their white owners as chattels and that the force of English law supported that claim.¹⁴

Thus, Black people in Britain were in a different position from most other minorities. There were questions about their status, as also their citizenship – whether it was possible for a Black person to be British. This ambiguity is all too obvious from advertisements for the return of runaway slaves in the London and provincial press that invariably drew attention to their colour and race. A London newspaper, dated 1711, sought the return of a runaway slave from Woodford:

Tho. Smith a well set black man, lank black hair, much pock marked, about five foot a half high, about 30 years of age, born at Watford Hertfordshire, went away from his master Tho. Bekford of Woodford in Essex, Cordwiner, on Friday the 17th inst and robbing him of money out of his said masters drawers. Whoever discovers the said Tho. Smith and gives notice to Tho. Bekford aforesaid, or to Mr. Welsh at the Talbot in White Chappel, so that he may be apprehended shall have 10s reward.

The ambiguity is further emphasised by the actions by certain runaways who sought to negotiate with their owners their return on specific conditions – that they would be treated well, provided with regular clothing, and also paid a wage. By taking advantage of a very different racial climate than pertained in most American

colonies, and perhaps also receiving some sympathy from White working-class people, runaway slaves attempted to push open the door that would give them rights to be wage rather than servile labour. Race, and racial discrimination is thus central to the experience of Black people in Britain, and because that abuse came overwhelmingly from White people it further signals that this is an integrated story and not one that sensibly can be ignored.

There is abundant evidence from the 18th century that Black people in Britain suffered from racial discrimination. The grounds of that discrimination are tied in with colour, race and culture but also the servile position in which many Black people were placed. However, the majority of Black people in Britain were not slaves. They might have been servants, and as indicated there is a fine line of distinction between categories of service, but many were seaman, labourers, artisans, as well as a small number who were literate and of the middling sort. There appear to have been more men than women, and despite some hostility to inter-racial marriage clearly Black men married White women and lived in harmonious relations with their neighbours. Racial discrimination increased in the 19th century, fuelled by ideas of scientific racism from the 1840s, and then, after the 1860s, by the expansion of imperial control over large parts of the non-European world.¹⁶ Official and private racial discrimination was deeply ingrained in the British scene for much of the 20th century. Overseas Empire was organised on racially hierarchical lines and in Britain itself the 'colour bar' tainted government service, trade unions, employment practices, housing, insurance, hospitals, hotels, pubs, and restaurants.

A third reason for studying the presence of Black people in Britain is that they are part of the mass of ordinary people, the principal players in British history. Along with the working classes and women they have been ignored by generations of historians concerned mainly with the roles of élites, that restricted view from above. But history from below is vital if we are to understand how British society at both national and local level was shaped and formed. Ordinary men and women were the major actors in the past and by engaging in the more difficult task of studying their lives and activities we gain a different perspective on the past. And in that context what could be more interesting than the experience of Black people, often adrift in a White world of uncertain response, crossing frontiers and natural boundaries to different worlds as slaves, seamen, and travellers, as trans-national workers often subject to shifting allegiances.

Black people in Essex

Essex, with a maritime boundary close to the Low Countries and Scandinavia, had a history of receiving immigrants from overseas. The first known Black person in Essex for whom I have a record is in Rayleigh, the burial of 'a certayne darke mane called Thomas Parker buried a stranger' on the 12 February 1578/9.¹⁷

Care must be taken with entries where men and women are merely recorded in registers as being 'dark' or 'black'. That is not sufficient evidence that they were people of African origin or descent, the subject with which this essay is concerned. It may merely be a description of a sun-burned person. More convincing is identification such as 'Negra', 'Negro', 'a black', and perhaps 'slave', or an indication of geographic origin: 'Ethiopian', 'Guinea', and 'Niger'. African names also provide a reasonably firm clue to origin as do instances when slaves in particular were given classical names such as 'Brutus', 'Scipio', 'Pompey' and 'Africanus'. This latter practice continued in the 18th century although most black people, if identified, are invariably clearly stated to be so, for example the baptism on 12 July 1686 at Writtle of 'Judith a negro from Barbados d[au.] of Tim and Maria', and similarly at Gosfield, 13 July 1671, 'Thomas an Aethiopian of Ginny in Africa being about twelve years of age made confession of his faith in Jesus Christ & was baptised', and the burial at Coggeshall in December 1717 of 'Peter Cesar a black'.¹⁸

Slaves and servants

Of the known entries in Essex parish baptismal and burial registers, Black men outnumber Black women two to one. Most entries are of servants but a few Blacks are recorded as slaves. In some cases it is indicated that they were brought into Britain from the American colonies. The word 'slave' is rarely written but the nature of the relationship is given by the words 'of' or 'belonging to' in the registers at Writtle (1686), Harwich (1738/9 and 1745), Latton (1740), and at Great Easton (1786). A female slave belonging to the Woodleys, Hester Woodley, died in 1767 and the headstone erected to her memory in Little Parndon churchyard was explicit as to her servile status:

Here lieth the Body of Hester Woodley who died the 13 of May 1767 Aged 62. This stone was Erected by John Woodley Esq. Of Cork Street London As a grateful Remembrance of her faithfully discharging her Duty with the utmost Attention and Integrity in the Service of his late mother MRS BRIDGET WOODLEY to whom she belonged during her Life and after her Death to her Daughter MRS MARY PARSONS by virtue of a Reciprocal Agreement made between the said MRS BRIDGET WOODLEY and her son JOHN WOODLEY whose Property She would otherwise have become at her Decease.¹⁹

West Indian planter families often inter-married, for example the Parsons, who had estates in Montserrat, with the Woodleys also with estates in Montserrat. Both families acquired property on the Essex-Hertfordshire border in the mid 18th century and employed or kept black servants there. In 1740 Bridget Woodley came to England with several slaves including James Lewis Woodley and also Hester Woodley, initially to live at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire (where James died) and then

at Little Parndon the estate of the Parsons. Hester was a house slave with several children, one of whom, four year old Jane, accompanied her mother to England. In August 1761 the 25 year old Jane's baptism was duly recorded in the Little Parndon register. In 1755 Hester's granddaughter, also Hester, joined the family at Little Parndon; thirty years later she wrote a Will. Another planter family also lived in Hunsdon, the Gordons, and they too had a slave; the death of Peter Gordon, 'a Negro, servant to Lord Adam Gordon', being recorded in 1786.²⁰ In the same area in the 18th century other black servants were recorded, at Netteswell in 1709 and at Latton in 1740. Elsewhere in the county there were families and individuals such as Daniel Mathew of Felix Hall, Kelvedon, 'a merchant who had made a fortune by the employment of slave labour in the West Indies'.²¹ Investigating the family records of West Indian merchant and planter families resident in Essex might reveal further information on their Black servants/slaves, for example Richard Neave who owned the manor of Dagenham and Cockerels (Harold Hill), John Burch who bought Gidea Park in the late 17th century, and James Wildman of Chelmsford who, failing to be elected to Parliament, retired to his West Indian estates.²² From 1667-1778 black servants also appear in the records of Leyton where wealthy bankers, merchants and professional people retired to fine houses and estates within easy reach of the City.²³

The terms used in parish registers to indicate status may cloak the ambiguity of the position of black people in England, particularly in the mid and late 18th century. For example, the entry in the Shenfield baptismal registers for 29 May 1737, 'Joseph Mr Thorp's black', could be read as either slave or servant because the man is black, whereas it would be clear what was meant if we knew that Joseph were white. A later entry in the same register, dated 19 November 1741, may be more clear: 'Thomas Mr Spencer's black servant', but also this could point up the changing perception of status of those regarded as slaves in the American colonies but in a slightly different position once in England.²⁴ A few marriages involving Black men and women are also recorded in registers, for example at Widford in September 1723: 'John Coller of ye parish of Ingatestone and Cleopatra of Frying [Fryerning] marrd'.²⁵ It is clear from some entries in baptismal registers that the child is the off-spring of a White and Black union, for example at Stansted Mountfitchet in March 1771: 'Millicent d[laughter] of Elis[abeth] Thompson by John Giffin a negro', and perhaps in the early 20th century at Pleshey where the child baptised is further recorded as 'coloured infant'.²⁶

A number of Africans were brought to Britain as servants in the 19th century. For example William Cotton Oswell, a friend of Livingstone, travelled in southern Africa in 1849-50 accompanied by John Thomas, a black servant from the Cape who returned with him to Britain and is buried at Buckhurst Hill, near Woodford.²⁷

The Black poor

Most Black people in 18th century England belonged to the class that knew frequent poverty. Entries in parish registers refer to Black 'strangers', itinerants on the move from parish to parish, perhaps escaped slaves or runaway servants moving fearfully and restlessly around the country. One former slave who knew all about being in grievous want was James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, whom we have already encountered. Leaving London for work in Colchester proved to be a poor move. Gronniosaw found work as a road labourer but in the harsh winter of deep snows he and his wife became unemployed. There were now two children and he was reluctant to beg and, as he later wrote, 'neither did I choose to make known our wants to any person, for fear of offending, as we were entire strangers'. He was a stranger indeed, without entitlement to poor relief in Colchester and with no parish he could call his own. Without food or fire and 'to see my dear wife and children in want, pierced me to the heart'. Eventually, they were rescued from their plight by Peter Daniell, 'an eminent attorney who resided at Colchester', who provided food, money and subsequently regular work before the Gronniosaws again moved to Norwich and, sadly, to further economic distress. No doubt there are other untold stories of Black people in poverty buried in the pages of Essex workhouse records. One source that provides photographs of destitute children, including a good number of Black youngsters, is Barnardo's orphanage that had a home for girls opened in the late 19th century at Barkingside.²⁸

Gaol records

Poverty could be one reason why the poor fell foul of the law. A small number of those transported to Australia between the 1780s and 1860s were Black, many of them guilty of little more than theft occasioned by acute need or 'crimes' arising under the draconian Game Laws.²⁹ Gaol records often provide more extensive detail on Black people entangled with the law. One tantalising record that may be incomplete concerns Domingo Cassedon Drago, 'a negar' who was ordered to be removed from Hampshire Assizes in March 1647 to Essex to stand trial at the next assizes on a charge of buggery against a boy named William Wraxall.³⁰ A good source for gleaning news of crime involving Black people in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is through the pages of the sensationalist weeklies such as *Illustrated Police News*.

Artisans

Among the Africans and African-Americans entering Britain in the 18th-19th centuries were those with artisan's skills learned in Africa or the American colonies. Of course seaman had a variety of skills and many who served in the merchant and Royal Navy were Black, perhaps as many as one in ten in Nelson's navy. How many people regularly pass Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square and fail to notice the Black seaman on the bas relief depicting the death of Nelson that faces

down Whitehall? Black soldiers also served in the British Army, as did Gronniosaw. During the American revolutionary war many Black slaves joined up lured by the promise of freedom. In the 1780s many moved into Canada and some came to Britain to swell the number of the London poor. Among the Chelsea Pensioners receiving news of the Victory at Waterloo, in David Wilkie's famous painting, is a Black veteran. Research into Colchester's military history may reveal that Black soldiers were stationed in the garrison town. During the First World War, Black men were not excluded from military service – there is a photograph of the 3rd Battalion Essex Regiment at Harwich *c.*1916 showing Black soldiers³¹ – but generally acceptance into the ranks or rejection depended on whether recruiters were willing to enlist a Black man.³² The British armed forces were organised not only by social class but also by race. Until 1939, King's Regulations stipulated that only men of 'pure European parentage' could become Commissioned officers in the forces, although there is at least one instance where this was ignored.

There are two references to Black men and Essex lighthouses, separated by 250 years. Sir William Batten, who in 1664 was given permission to build two lighthouses at Harwich, left one to be maintained by his Black servant Mingo: 'I doe alsoe give unto the said Mingo the custody and keeping of my light houses at Harwich and the sum of 20 [?] a year of lawful money of England during his natural life for the paines thereof'.³³ The other record is of the visit to Essex in 1908 of Emanuel Akita Cole, the harbourmaster of Freetown, Sierra Leone. He took his leave in England in order to increase his professional knowledge. Cole made contact with Trinity House and from Harwich visited two lightships in the Thames estuary and then toured various London docks, including that at Tilbury. On the 10 October, as he was due to return home to West Africa, he committed suicide. No reason was given for his tragic death.³⁴

Black professionals

Two ideas about Black people in 19th century Britain have had common currency. The first, that the Black population of the late 18th century, predominantly male, was rapidly integrated into white society by inter-marriage and thus disappeared; and second the assumption that Black people were only employed as servants, seaman, a few as artisans or involved in popular entertainment of a certain kind. Although there is no way of accurately calculating Britain's Black population throughout the 19th century, it certainly did not disappear and was observable to contemporaries. Britain became the cross-roads of an expanding overseas Empire, an expansion pursued with greater vigour from the 1870s onwards. The small number of Black Britons was steadily increased by the constant arrival of Africans and people of African descent from the Caribbean, Canada and the United States. Black people were certainly common in the major port cities, and not only seamen who could also be seen in minor

ports, but men, women and children arriving as ship's passengers intent on business in the United Kingdom. It was common for Britons who worked overseas to bring back to Britain an *ayah* or a black servant. Many a traveller in Africa returned with an African in tow. There were also students coming to Britain from the West Indian and the West African colonies to study in schools and universities.

This tradition of being sent or brought to Britain for education began in the 18th century and expanded with the growth of Christian missionary activity in the next century. Llewellyn Cupido Michels is one such example. Born in South Africa *c.*1830, he came to Britain in the 1840s and studied at a mission school in Walthamstow. He never returned home, dying in York in 1846 where he is buried in the Friends Burial ground.³⁵ Forty years later another South African, Ulaam from the Eastern Cape, was brought to Britain by an army surgeon and, as was sometimes done, put in the care of a prosperous Christian family, in his case the Fowell Buxtons of Warlies Park. The fifteen-year-old Ulaam was baptised with the Christian name Buxton at Waltham Holy Cross parish church in May 1880, and for some time attended the village school.

A steady number of West Africans and people from the Caribbean came to Britain to study medicine, law, for the church, to train as missionaries, or simply to engage in business. Most newly qualified black doctors returned home but a few married a White British wife and established a medical practice in Britain. In doing so they risked the obloquy of an inter-racial marriage although, possibly, not serious difficulties in securing patients who seemed to be keen to sign up to a black medical practitioner. The father of Margaret Busby, the publisher, had a medical practice in Leytonstone in the 1930s, and two Black London doctors, John Alcindor, originally from Trinidad, and Harold Moody, the founder of the League of Coloured Peoples, who was from Jamaica, both took family holidays in Essex. Just before his death in 1924 Alcindor talked of retirement and his plan to buy some land near Pitsea.³⁶ During the 1930s Moody rented a holiday cottage on the Essex coast that his wife bought after his death in 1947.³⁷ Another doctor, James Jackson Brown, with a practice in Hackney, devoted much of his energy to the all Black Afric Sports Club that he founded sometime in 1918-19 and particularly to his passion for cricket. The Afric's, later known as the West Indians, played on Essex fields.³⁸

During the Second World War, from 1942 onwards, Black U.S. service personnel were stationed in Britain, the largest number of Black men and women ever to enter the country at any one time. Black U.S. servicemen were stationed near Ipswich in neighbouring Suffolk and frequently came into Essex on days out. The familiar statement about U.S. servicemen, that they were 'over-paid, over-sexed and over-here', applied equally to White and Black troops. Black GIs were rigorously controlled and subjected to a racist discriminatory military system, 'Jim Crow' transferred to Britain.³⁹ Outside the military camps, Black U.S. troops were

more likely to be assaulted by American White troops than by local men incensed over their friendship with White women, although there seems to have been little race violence in East Anglia compared to other parts of the country where Black and White GIs were stationed. Black Britons were also open to abuse by US white soldiers, for example Dr. A Tuboku Metzger, who was on the house staff of St. Andrew's Hospital, Billericay, was insulted by two U.S. military policemen in a Brentwood hotel.⁴⁰

The anti-slavery cause

The cause of anti-slavery created the first popular extra-parliamentary mass movement. From the late 1780s the anti-slavery lobby directed its attention to ending the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Quakers and evangelicals in Essex - the Dillwyns of Walthamstow, Osgood Hanbury of Holfield Grange, the Fowell Buxtons of Waltham Cross, the bankers Tukes and Gibson, of Saffron Walden, the Barclays of Leyton, and the Gurneys of Walthamstow - were active in the anti-slavery movement. Once abolition had been achieved in 1808, the opponents of slavery turned their attention to the emancipation of slaves throughout the Empire, a cause won by the end of the 1830s. From 1825-33 there were also separate women's abolitionist organisations with two prominent groups in Essex, the Colchester Ladies Anti-Slavery Association, and the Chelmsford Female Negroes' Friend Society that issued appeals in support of Black female emancipation.⁴¹

At the same time pressure was increasingly brought to bear on slavery in the United States and elsewhere. African Americans, often free Blacks or escaped slaves, toured Britain speaking on public platforms about the experience of enslavement. Among the more than one hundred to do this was Samuel Ringold Ward, a fugitive slave from Maryland, who was an outstanding orator. In December 1854 he told an anti-slavery meeting in Chelmsford of his plans for Black emigration from the United States to settlement in Jamaica, a scheme then backed by the local abolitionist John Candler who owned land on the island.⁴² Another prominent African American lecturer was Williams Wells Brown who had escaped slavery in Kentucky. By the 1850s he was a popular speaker on anti-slavery platforms and had spent more than five years in Britain writing and lecturing. His daughters, Clara and Josephine, had attended a boarding school in France and also studied in London. Both became headteachers, Josephine informing a friend of her father's in 1854 that 'my sister is mistress of a school at Berden, in Essex, about forty miles from London'.⁴³

Preachers

Christian missions in the 19th century offered opportunities for Black people to study and train in Britain. There were also African Americans preachers who came on evangelistic tours, and the Fisk Jubilee Singers who often accompanied the large meetings of the American evangelists Moody and Sankey. In July

1875, America Robinson, the beautiful but outspoken soprano of the Fisk Singers, visited Chelmsford and watched the proceedings in the County Court. She was not impressed and in her diary she expresses a robust American republican sense of civic virtue in criticising the rigidities of Britain's aristocratically ordered society:

The poor criminals stood up all day in their working apparel. One was convicted and sentenced to ten years imprisonment; the other to five years. ... I thought how little these men knew in regard to the case. ... I am not much in favor of lawyers. These men pronounced a verdict on the accused as carelessly as if they were doing some very trivial thing.⁴⁴

Thomas L. Johnson, born into slavery in the United States, gained his freedom and came to Britain in 1866. Trained in London for the Baptist ministry he went to West Africa as a missionary, but spent most of his later life as an evangelist in Britain. His open Christian faith and earnest expression is evident on nearly every page of his autobiography, first published in 1882, the seventh and final edition in 1909. Preaching in Loughton he wrote that 'I met the gardener employed by the gentleman at whose house I was stopping, and I talked to him about his soul. The conversation resulted in his conversion; and the gentleman and all his family got to know about it'. On another occasion he wrote of going to Saffron Walden in the autumn of 1894: 'A man sat in front of me in the railway carriage. He looked very sad. Something seemed to say to me, - "Speak to that man." At last I asked him if he knew Jesus.' Before the train reached Saffron Walden, Johnson recalled, the man had fallen on his knees in the carriage and committed his life to Christ, insisting when they reached the town that Johnson come home with him and meet his family.⁴⁵

In the same decade J.S. Celestine Edwards, a black temperance evangelist originally from the West Indian island of Dominica, was preaching in and around metropolitan Essex. Edwards was an accomplished public apologist for the Christian faith with a regular pitch in an East London park. He was also a journalist and editor of the Christian Evidence Society journal *Lux*, and well known to a wide range of distinguished people. In July 1893 he took on the additional task of editing *Fraternity*, the new journal of the International Society for the Recognition of the Universal Brotherhood of Man, a body founded by Quakers and devoted to promoting the cause of racial amity. In his Christian lectures and talks Edwards invariably included a reasoned defence of the oneness of humanity and the absurdities of racial discrimination as well as a denunciation of British imperial expansion in Africa. Despite suffering from consumption, Celestine Edwards continued to address large meetings throughout the country and to conduct a regular bible class for men. In mid 1894 he went to the West Indies for a short holiday in order to rest and recover his health. Shortly after his arrival he died; he was aged 37.⁴⁶

Dr Harold Moody, who has already been mentioned, was a successful doctor but also a leading Congregationalist lay preacher. Often on a Sunday during the 1920s-40s he drove from his south London home to Essex towns and village where he preached in a variety of dissenting chapels and churches. Moody's inter-leaved Bible, a prize from his days at King's College Hospital, is filled with notes of his sermons and where he preached, in Essex and elsewhere up and down the country. Invariably Moody's biblically-based sermons contained firm pointers from scripture that there 'was neither Jew nor Gentile, slave or free' and that God had made all humanity 'of one blood'. Sermons are given and also received. Sol Plaatje, one of the founders of the South African Native National Congress, came to London in 1914 with a delegation to protest at the Land Act recently passed by the Union Government. He spent the next eighteen months in Britain, mainly in London with forays into the provinces often as the guest of a church or to speak in one. His path was smoothed by the support of good friends within the Brotherhood Movement who provided platforms where he spoke out against the injustices inflicted on his people by a callous white regime. Plaatje spoke in the Wesleyan chapel at Barking, in Walthamstow at first the Electric Theatre and then the United Methodist chapel, and also in Clapton. On Easter Sunday 1915, Plaatje wrote: 'I went to Walthamstow, and there heard a moving discourse by the Rev. James Ellis on the sufferings and death of Christ for the redemption of mankind'.⁴⁷

Entertainers

The growth of the seaside holiday industry in the late 19th century provided new opportunities for entertainers. Black minstrels were a common sight on the beaches and promenades of Kent; I suspect that a trawl of the appropriate guide books and photographs would reveal that they also frequented Essex holiday resorts.⁴⁸ Black entertainers were not confined to the stereotypical images frequently drawn in popular magazines. There were accomplished Black actors, such as Ira Aldridge, the 'African Roscius' who dominated the Shakespearean stage in mid century although not without frequently receiving racial insults from critics. At the start of the 20th century, the Black composer Samuel Coleridge-Taylor was a well-known name, his choral works performed up and down the country by great choirs but also in small towns by local choral groups.

But holiday crowds and theatre audiences of a certain kind loved to see the spectacular and the unusual. One attraction in the King's Hall, Westcliff-on-Sea, in February and March 1907 were the 'Congo pygmies'.⁴⁹ This group of men and women had been brought to Britain from the Ituri forest of central Africa by Colonel James Harrison in 1905. They lived on his estate in East Yorkshire and toured the country appearing on stage as exotic exhibits, probably being seen by nearly one million people. In the following year a black actress presented herself as the Senegalese

Princess Dinubolu in a beauty competition at the Kursaal, Southend-on-Sea.⁵⁰ Black boxers often appeared on seaside shows but the only local reference I have is to an international star of the ring, the great Jack Johnson who trained at Chingford in preparation for his racially charged match against Billy Wells in 1911.⁵¹

Diplomats

A steady stream of African diplomats visited Britain in the 19th century to press claims or to try to counter imperial challenges to their sovereignty. The imperial contest was increasingly one-sided after 1850 as the technological gap rapidly widened between African and European armies. Occasionally European over-confidence gave a less well equipped but more numerous African army victory, as at Isandhlwana in 1879, but in most open military engagements disciplined firepower with magazine rifle, machine gun, and artillery determined the outcome. Such imperial news was common place in the Essex local press from the late 1870s on. British officials liked to impress on visiting African rulers and diplomats the country's industrial and military power. A common itinerary usually took in a large industrial city, perhaps the Chatham Docks, and Woolwich arsenal. Ndebele envoys in 1889 and Gaza diplomats in 1891 were taken to the Shoeburyness military firing range, on the mud flats beyond Southend, where they witnessed a demonstration of firepower that no doubt was intended to show the futility of opposing British forces in southern and central Africa.⁵²

Conclusion

What I have tried to indicate here is that Black people have been a small but significant minority in Britain and also in Essex for considerably longer than most historians recognise. There are those who would like to promote a separate Black history but this seems to me to be a false direction; Black people in Britain were and are an integral part of British history and my purpose is to show their lives and activities in that role. What I have also indicated is that the sources for the study of Black people within a locality are central and provincial archival materials familiar to local and family historians: parish registers, poor law accounts, census returns, the provincial press, paintings and photographs, and of course published local studies. All of these sources have to be read with eyes alert not only to identify Black people but to see their role and status in a society that was White and at times hostile to the presence of Black people. In the introduction to his seminal study on *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963), Edward Thompson urged scholars to rescue from the 'condescension of posterity' the 'poor stockings' and 'obsolete handweavers' ignored by history. Equally an effort has to be made to place Black people firmly in the frame of British history. And it cannot be a lone task. Sometimes the work of the historian is in isolation. In this endeavour it needs to be a co-operative venture, marked by generosity and help from local and family

historians, in gathering the widely scattered material on Black people for interpretation and analysis.

Author: David Killingray, Emeritus Professor of History, Goldsmith's College, London, 72 Bradbourne Road, Sevenoaks, Kent TN13 3QA.
dmkillingray@hotmail.com

*This article is based on the annual Morant Lecture, given to the Essex Society for Archaeology and History, in Chelmsford on 21 May 2004.

- 1 Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, *A Narrative of the Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, An African Prince, related by himself* (Bath, c.1770; various editions); see Paul Edwards & David Dabydeen (eds), *Black Writers in Britain 1760-1890* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 7ff. for extracts.
- 2 Most of the Black immigrants on the 'Empire Windrush' were Jamaican, skilled men, many of whom had worked or served in Britain during the war. See Mike & Trevor Phillips, *Windrush. The irresistible rise of multi-racial Britain* (London, 1998), ch. 4.
- 3 Quoted in Peter Fryer, *Staying Power. The history of Black people in Britain* (Pluto Press: London, 1984), pp. 11-12. Fryer provides the best account of Black people in Britain, but see also the essays in Jagdish S. Gundara & Ian Duffield (eds), *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain* (Aldershot, 1992), and David Killingray (ed.), *Africans in Britain* (London, 1994).
- 4 Over the centuries Essex steadily received immigrants. Those from the Low Countries in the 17th century formed the most noticeable communities.
- 5 Norma Myers, *Reconstructing the Black Past. Blacks in Britain 1780-1830* (London, 1996), ch. 2.
- 6 Hogarth's painting and the book by David Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks. Images of Blacks in Eighteenth Century English Art* (Manchester, 1987).
- 7 I am most grateful to Mr Peter Nutt, of Wickford, who kindly provided a long list of entries that he had gleaned from Essex parish registers.
- 8 'Notes and queries', *Essex Review* XXVII (1918), p. 151.
- 9 *Essex Review* XXVI (1917), p. 202. See further Linda Colley, *Captives. Empire and the world 1600-1850* (London, 2002).
- 10 James Walvin, *Black Ivory* (London, 1992).
- 11 Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 3 vols (London, 1774).
- 12 Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself*. 2 vols (London, 1789), chs. IV and V. There are many editions of Equiano's *Life*, the most useful is edited with an introduction by Vincent Carretta, *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings* (Harmondsworth, 1995), pp. 91ff. Also James Walvin, *An African's Life. The life and times of Olaudah Equiano 1745-1797* (London, 1998). Equiano's second daughter, Joanna, married a Congregational minister, Henry Bramley; they were living in Clavering, Essex in 1841. See Vincent Carretta, *Equiano, the African: Biography of a self-made man* (Athens, GA 2005), p. 393, fn. 42.
- 13 See the discussion on the Mansfield decision by Vincent Carretta in his 'Introduction' to Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery* (London, 1787; Penguin edn, 1999), pp. x-xviii. Also F.O. Shyllon., *Black Slaves in Britain* (London, 1974).
- 14 E.g. W.R. Powell, ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Essex. Vol. VI* (London, 1973), p. 178, referring to the baptism and burial of Black 'servants' in Leyton.; W.R. Powell, ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Essex*, vol. 8 (London, 1983), p. 225.
- 15 *Essex Review* XXVII (1918), p. 151. Similar notices also appeared in newspapers appealing for news of absconded apprentices.
- 16 Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians. English attitudes to the Negro in the mid-nineteenth Century* (Leicester, 1978).
- 17 Essex Record Office, Chelmsford (ERO). D/P332/1/1. I owe this reference and many others from parish registers to the kind help of Mr. Peter Nutt.

- 18 ERO. D/P50/1/2. Writtle. ERO. D/P1651/1. Gosfield. ERO. D/P36/1/3. Coggeshall.
- 19 Hazel Lake, *Sugar Planters in Little Parndon* (Harlow, 2002), p. 31. See *Essex Review* XXVII (1918), p. 105, and also Frank Lewis, *Essex and Sugar: Historic and other connections* (Phillimore: Chichester, 1976), p. 67, and for other entries of black servants in parish registers see pp. 66-8.
- 20 Lake, *Sugar Planters*, p. 11. I am grateful to Mrs Lake for sharing with me her detailed knowledge of the planter families in the Harlow area. See also Powell, *VCH Essex*, Vol. 8, p. 225 quoting ERO. D/P 34/1/3.
- 21 Hilda Grieve, *The Sleepers and the Shadows. Chelmsford: a town, its people and its past vol. II* (Essex County Council: Chelmsford, 1994), p. 170.
- 22 All these references have been taken from the pages of the volumes of the *Victoria County History* for Essex, but undoubtedly there are other families with West Indian interests who lived in the County in the 17-19th centuries.
- 23 W.R. Powell, ed., *The History of the County of Essex*, vol. 6 (London, 1973), p. 178. J. Kennedy, *History of the Parish of Leyton* (1894), pp. 116-19, 135, 314.
- 24 ERO. D/P295/1/2.
- 25 ERO. D/P244/1/1, 7 September 1723.
- 26 ERO. D/P109/1/3, Stansted Mountfitchet, 5 March 1771. D/P149/1/20, Pleshey, 21 May 1905.
- 27 W. Edward Oswald, *William Cotton Oswald, Hunter and Explorer. The story of his life*, vol. I, pp. 117, 267, II, pp. 76-7. John Thomas died in March 1864.
- 28 John Kirkham, 'Barnardo's photographic and film archives', *Local History Magazine*, 41 (November-December), pp. 10-12.
- 29 Ian Duffield, 'Skilled workers or marginalized poor? The African population of the United Kingdom, 1812-52', in Killingray, *Africans in Britain*, pp. 49-87.
- 30 J.S. Cockburn, ed., *Western Circuit Assize Records 1629-1648: A calendar* (Royal Historical Society: London, 1976), p. 247 No. 1053.
- 31 Essex Regimental Museum, Chelmsford. ER5668 I owe this reference to Dr Mark Curteis, of the Essex Record Office, and I am also grateful to Mr Ian Hook, Curator of the Chelmsford Museum, for his help.
- 32 David Killingray, 'All the King's men? Blacks in the British Army in the First World War, 1914-1918', in Rainer Lotz and Ian Pegg, eds, *Under the Imperial Carpet: Essays in Black history* (Crawley, 1986), pp. 164-81.
- 33 W.R. Chaplin, 'The history of the Harwich lights' *American Neptune*, 9, 1 (1951). Batten was a neighbour of Samuel Pepys who records in his Diary that Mingo and another Black servant danced with great skill to music provided by 'a set of fiddlers'; see *BASA Newsletter*, 35 (2002), pp. 25-6.
- 34 Jeffrey Green, *Black Edwardians. Black people in Britain 1901-1914* (London, 1998), pp. 76-7.
- 35 Wilson Armistead, *A Tribute for the Negro* (Manchester, 1848), p. 503.
- 36 Jeffrey Green, 'John Alcindor (1873-1924): a migrant's biography', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 6, 2 (1987), p. 185.
- 37 I owe this detail to several of Moody's surviving children who have generously supplied information about their father for a biography that I am writing.
- 38 Jeffrey Green, 'Dr J.J. Brown of Hackney (1882-1953)', in Rainer Lotz and Ian Pegg, eds, *Under the Imperial Carpet. Essays in Black history 1780-1950* (Crawley, 1984), ch. 18.
- 39 Graham Smith, *When Jim Crow met John Bull: Black American soldiers in World War II Britain* (London, 1987).
- 40 Graham Smith, 'Jim Crow on the Home Front (1942-1945)', *New Community* VIII, 3 (1980), p. 318.
- 41 *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, 30 September 1825, p. 32; Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: the British campaigns 1780-1870* (London, 1992), p. 206. Alfred Hills, 'Slavery China in Essex', *Essex Review* XLIII (1934), pp. 92-6.
- 42 *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 15 December 1854. R.J.M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic abolitionist movement, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1983), p. 74.

- ⁴³ Josephine Brown to Samuel May Jr., dd. Woolwich, Kent, 27 April 1854, quoted in Dorothy Sterling, ed., *We Are Your Sisters: Black women in the nineteenth century* (New York, 1984), pp. 146-7. Josephine Brown, *Biography of an African Bondswoman* (Boston, 1856).
- ⁴⁴ Andrew Ward, *Dark Midnight When I Rise: The story of the Jubilee Singers* (New York, 2000), p. 294.
- ⁴⁵ Thomas L. Johnson, *Twenty-Eight Years a Slave, or the Story of my Life in Three Continents* (Bournemouth, 7th edn, 1909), pp. 250-1.
- ⁴⁶ Celestine Edwards biography appeared regularly in the pages of *Fraternity* following his early death.
- ⁴⁷ Sol T. Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa* (London, 1916), pp. 345.
- ⁴⁸ David Killingray, 'Tracing peoples of African origin and descent in Victorian Kent', in Gretchen Gerzina Holbrook, ed., *Black Victorians/Black Victoriana* (New Brunswick NJ, 2003), pp. 61-2.
- ⁴⁹ Green, *Black Edwardians*, p. 133.
- ⁵⁰ Green, *Black Edwardians*, pp. 99-100.
- ⁵¹ Green, *Black Edwardians*, pp. 172-80; Green, 'Boxing and the "colour question" in Edwardian Britain: the "white problem" of 1911', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 5, 1 (1988), pp. 115-9.
- ⁵² Neil Parsons, "'No longer rare birds in London": Zulu, Ndebele, Gaza, and Swazi envoys to England, 1882-1894', in Holbrook, *Black Victorians*, pp. 121 and 126.

The cost of publishing this article is supported by a grant from the Society's Publications Development Fund

Football and footballers before the First World War: gentlemen or scoundrels?¹

Paul Rusiecki

Some football observers today look at the way in which the game has evolved over the last 40 years or so and contrast it very unfavourably with the past. In so doing they regret the passing of a supposed golden age of football, which looks increasingly golden as it recedes further into the distant past. So was football in Essex before the First World War indeed a golden age of sportsmanship characterised by gentlemanly behaviour and fair play? Let us begin with this account of a football match.

The visitors then had a turn, and in a melee near goal, Osborne, a defender, went down, said to have been tripped. The referee's whistle was blown, his team thought for a free kick, and one of their players picked up the ball under that impression, but a penalty kick was awarded to the opposing team. It was a long time before the home team would allow the penalty-kick to be taken, but eventually a goal was scored from it. The home team then resorted to catching the ball near goal and throwing it out, and inviting the referee to give penalty kicks. Several times the rules were deliberately broken but the referee would not penalise, so the home team kicked the ball into their own goal or into the next field, and a regular farce was enacted....Several times the crowd broke on the field of play, and at times affairs were serious. Such scenes have never been witnessed on a football field in this town before, and it is hoped will not appear again.¹

This petulant display by one of these teams, combined with an utter absence of sportsmanship, surely suggests all the hallmarks of the modern game, perhaps involving Arsenal and Manchester United, or Rangers and Celtic? In actual fact this match was played in Chelmsford on Saturday, 22 April 1910. The match was certainly no casual kick-around but a vital end of season fixture. It was played between Hoffmanns Athletic, a works team based in the town, and Manor Works, another industrial based team from Braintree. The two teams were great rivals, a rivalry intensified by the context of the match. It was the last weekend in the North Essex League. The North Essex League was not at the very summit of Essex football but it was an important local league involving sides from Chelmsford northwards. Both teams had finished on the same number of points and the winner would therefore end the season as league champions. When the referee's

decision looked likely to turn the game against them, it was the Hoffmanns team and their supporters who lost their heads, and whose reckless behaviour resulted in a most extraordinary end to the season.²

The purpose of this article is to examine how far this sort of behaviour was typical of football as it was played in Essex before 1914. The game of football which was being played after the 1860s was certainly born and reared in a more controlled and sportsmanlike atmosphere than in earlier decades. Russell³ makes it clear that the game was first played by social elites. It originated in the reformed public schools as a thoroughly masculine game, embodying the ideals of athleticism, cooperation and individualism. It was later promoted by middle class Christians as part of what became known as "muscular Christianity", whose purpose was to inculcate the labouring classes with socially cohesive values through the medium of sporting discipline, sportsmanship, and team spirit as a counterweight to gambling, drunkenness and crime.⁴ Promoters of this philosophy were able to believe, as did this observer in the *Essex Standard* that

At football there is no dawdling, all is honest work. Football players cannot be sodden loafers, cannot haunt the public house, nor drink at all the hours of the day. They must be indifferent to luxury and hard knocks, and must keep themselves in good training. There is much virtue in these conditions, and the good game which begets them.⁵

The Chairman of Colchester Football Club, a Dr Wallace, probably spoke for many enthusiasts of the game when he too waxed lyrical about its virtues as he perceived them:

It was a game which certainly brought out the best qualities of the body, and also a good many of the best qualities of the mind, for a man could not be considered a good Football player or certainly not a good Captain, unless he possessed patience, and good temper, and good judgement, in a marked degree.⁶

Football in Essex, as elsewhere, was first played by those who represented the county's social elite – by public schools, grammar schools, military teams and gentlemen's teams. Brentwood Grammar School's fixture list from 1866-67 was an eclectic mixture and was typical of the sort of clubs which were playing the game in these early years. Their opponents were the

Neversweats, the Walthamstow Rifles, the Clapham Club, Merchant Tailor's School, Chigwell School, the Forest School, the 21st Essex Regiment, Bruce Castle, Clapham Grammar School, and St Paul's School.⁷ The sporting ideals which these teams felt that they typified, harking back to the sporting prowess of Classical times, were sometimes revealed in the names they chose for themselves, such as Chelmsford Olympic and Colchester Corinthians. Many teams originated as church and chapel teams who presumably played the game in a Christian spirit, such as Braintree St Michael's, Colchester St Mary's and Grays Baptist Tabernacle.

The ethos of the game in these early days was very much based on the idea of sporting chivalry. This was felt to be characterised by gentlemanly conduct, fair play, and amateurism.⁸ This is not to say that the game was soft, it was very much a rough and ready contact sport. It was certainly remembered as such by W. R. Davies, the man whose initiative created Clapton Football Club in 1877:

When we started you were allowed to play the ball with the arm above the elbow. Only below it was "hands." The game was of a much more vigorous description than obtains today. We could charge the goalkeeper through the goal, whether he had the ball or not, provided we did not get offside. If a player was injured play did not stop, and there was no adjournment from the field at half-time.⁹

The early game was not highly organised and was fairly casual in nature. Clubs' fixture lists were fluid, they often varied from year to year. Clubs pitted themselves against local teams, thereby allowing rivalries to develop but they also played teams from further afield. One former player, reflecting many years later on the casual nature of the arrangement of matches, referred to them very aptly as "go as you please" games.¹⁰ It was not unusual for clubs to play according to different rules. Public schools had developed their own rules and these percolated down to other clubs, especially if they had players from those schools in their ranks. In the 1870s, Woodbridge School, near Ipswich, was a regular feature in fixture lists around Colchester. It played according to "hybrid Harrow rules" but had to conform to Football Association rules when they visited North Essex. When football was introduced to Warley Garrison in the mid-1860s, the troops there played Eton rules which permitted the use of 15 players on each side.¹¹ It is also clear that some clubs played according to their own conception of what the rules were. Charles Clarke recalled that until it joined the Essex County Football Association (ECFA) in 1882 the Colchester Club "played the game according to the tenets of its committees and members."¹² It was quite common for teams to arrive late, which resulted in games being cut down to an hour or 70 minutes, particularly on winter afternoons. Teams frequently arrived with less than a full complement of players, and spectators often filled in at the last minute. In late November 1875 Upton Park and Hertford Rangers had managed to field only eight

players each. The weather was foul and in consequence of these two factors the captains agreed to play for just an hour.¹³ All of these mishaps seemed to have been accepted with equanimity by football clubs, who regarded them as part and parcel of the early game.

The casual nature of the early game was also a natural consequence of two other factors. Firstly, there was the complete absence for a number of years of cup and league competitions. Football developed from the mid-1860s but the Essex County Challenge Cup was not inaugurated until 1883,¹⁴ and the very first football league in the county, the Colchester and District League, was not formed until a decade later in 1893. Secondly, there was no official body in overall control of the game in the county until the Essex County Football Association¹⁵ was created by several clubs in 1882.¹⁶ One of its aims was to retain the sporting ethos which has just been described but it was also responsible for very quickly introducing the county cup competition which was regarded by some as the beginning of the end of the early game.

The evidence suggests that from the 1880s, perhaps even from the mid-1870s, all these sportsmanlike facets of the early game were being challenged and eroded. The way in which the game was evolving probably contributed to a decline in sportsmanship on the field, although this is not easy to demonstrate. By the early 1880s what can be described as the "kick-and-rush" game, where everyone followed the ball and where dribbling was considered to be the footballer's most valuable asset, was being replaced by an approach based on teamwork. Contemporaries referred to it as a "scientific" approach or as "combination" play – in other words the passing game. One theory is that the passing game came south with Scottish players.¹⁷ A more condescending explanation is that this approach was an inevitable consequence of working class participation in the game, developing in this way to compensate for the fact that they did not possess the skills of their more educated counterparts. Certainly by 1875 newspaper reports were very critical in their coverage of matches involving teams that stuck to the old ways, or of players whose art had not evolved. Manningtree United's players, for instance, were lauded for their "unselfishness." However, one of their players, Percy Bloom, "was far too flowery with his work on the left wing, and must learn that he has four other men in his line who might do quite as much good with the ball as he is able to."¹⁸ Earlier that same year the Leigh club was criticised for playing "without an atom of combination."¹⁹

A concomitant of this was the development of team formations, particularly the 2-3-5 formation which can be identified in the 1880s and which persisted until the 1960s as the definitive way of organising a football team. Players were now expected to have positional discipline and adhere to their part of the field. Those who did not were decried as undisciplined nuisances. "He is forever running all over the field", ran this description of Colchester Crown's centre-half, "he messes up his

forwards and steals the jammy kicks from the backs. He appears unnecessarily to worry himself into a nuisance to the other men, and is always yapping at his backs.”²⁰ Individual skills did not vanish from the game but in the drive for success, for the result above all else, the “scientific” approach drove from the game some of its spontaneity, that original free-for-all quality that marked its early years.

There were those like the *Essex Telegraph* who were adamant in blaming the advent of cup and league competitions for this deterioration of sporting standards. In 1907 as it was reviewing the national amateur-professional schism of that year it bemoaned the role of competitions contributing to this crisis of the game:²¹

The old games of the public schools played sport for sport’s sake; we played to win but we were prepared to lose like Englishmen, and there was nothing more tangible than the honour of victory hanging to a game. Now the multiplicity of cups and leagues has changed the spirit of the game, and it becomes a serious thing to lose, involving perhaps a heavy financial millstone upon the executive of a club, and therefore infusing into the players excepting in the case of real sportsmen – a desire to win at any price, with the consequent appeal to brute force and the lowering of the standard of sport.²²

From the 1880s cup and league tournaments proliferated in Essex until by 1905 the ECFA had complete or joint jurisdiction²³ over more than 30 competitions. There were for instance, football leagues based all around the county, around Chelmsford, Clacton, Colchester, Grays, Romford, Saffron Walden, North Essex, South Essex, Harwich, Ilford, Leyton, Manor Park, Southend and Woodford.

There is little doubt that the inauguration of the Essex County Challenge Cup in 1883 and subsequent competitions had serious consequences for the ethos of the game.²⁴ To begin with it heralded a veritable avalanche of protests about the results of cup games, protests which were invariably made by the losing side. With a prize at stake teams were now less willing to accept the fact that the better team may have won, and they sought to have the results of games overturned. The grounds on which these claims were based were varied and many were dismissed out of hand by the ECFA as “frivolous.” The most common appeal was made on the grounds that the opposing team had fielded an ineligible player. Players had to have been resident in Essex before being qualified to play in county competitions but this rule was probably widely abused. In 1888 a Mr Lee of the Grange Park club provided evidence to the association that a player in their opponent’s team, Clapton F. C., lived outside the county in Hackney. The matter was investigated, Clapton was found to have contravened the association’s rules, and was promptly ejected from the county cup.²⁵ In 1895 Upton Park, after losing a cup tie against Barking Woodville, claimed that Woodville had played an

ineligible player, A. Graham, who lived in Kent but who travelled to Essex to play. The dishonesty of Woodville was matched only by the grim determination of Upton Park to bring their misdeeds into the open. A club official, Charles Wiggins, testified to the ECFA that “he had had A. Graham watched and that he had also followed him to his home in Kent.” Woodville were expelled from the cup, the ECFA stating quite reasonably

That a man living at his own home with his wife, in Kent, and only sleeps in Essex when compelled by circumstances cannot be held to be qualified to play for Essex.²⁶

Other teams based their appeals on the referee disallowing what they deemed to be a legitimate goal, or that the referee was incompetent, or that their opponent’s ground was not the statutory width or length, or that it was unfit to play on, or that spectators had interfered with play. This win-at-all-costs philosophy bred a number of misdemeanours. In 1909 two Romford players failed to arrive for a South Essex League fixture after receiving bogus telegrams informing them that the game had been postponed.²⁷ It was a blatant attempt to eliminate two key players from an opponent’s team. In 1900 F. Hayward, secretary of Witham F. C., was cautioned “for sending fictitious names of players to the Secretary of the North Essex League.” He was suspended from all football management for over a year.²⁸ He had most probably been trying to hide the club’s use of ineligible players. The most significant thing about these practices, some of which were clearly condoned by the clubs, was that they marked a turning away the ideal of playing the game for its own sake. Now winning was all that mattered to many clubs, even if it meant getting the result of a match overturned or replayed. All was fair in love and sport.

The start of cup competitions also signalled the end of the idea that football teams were composed of players from their own town or locality. Ambitious clubs began to search further afield for players, a practice referred to at the time as “packing,” “scouring” or “importation.” Mason²⁹ rightly regards this as the first step towards professionalism in football, and it was certainly regarded at the time as a dangerous development. By the early 1890s the *Southend Standard*³⁰ was voicing its criticism of the importation of London players into the Southend area. Chelmsford F. C. was criticised for this in the early years of the twentieth century when they regularly fielded the famous Tottenham Hotspur and England international Vivian Woodward. Where the top teams ploughed a dubious furrow, others followed. In 1906 Colchester Crown defeated their great rivals Colchester Town after importing several players from the garrison.³¹

The most controversial incidence of “packing” occurred in Colchester in 1894 when Colchester F. C. defeated Colchester Excelsior 2-1 in the second round of the Essex Senior Cup.³² The knowledge that Colchester intended to play three members of a

regiment then stationed at the garrison, the Sherwood Foresters, caused heated debate in the town beforehand and generated such a tense atmosphere that both the borough and military police were drafted in on the day. When Colchester took the field “they were assailed with boos and uncomplimentary epithets, for it was a patent fact that their inclusion in the Colchester team was an unpopular move among Excelsior supporters.” There were ugly scenes at the end of the game and widespread criticism of Colchester F. C. The *Essex Standard* had persistently campaigned to do away with the plethora of Colchester teams, leaving just one strong side capable of challenging the best. However, even this newspaper found Colchester’s actions rather distasteful. “However necessary it may be to strengthen the Colchester team”, it noted, “it is hardly sportsmanlike to sponge on a military team for that purpose...I don’t like the idea of suddenly pouncing on them to fill up weak points and avert the possibility of defeat.”³³ Excelsior appealed on the grounds of the non-residency of the three military players and the ECFA ordered the game to be replayed. Excelsior won 2-0. The practice of “packing” was regarded at the time as a further indication that sportsmanship and fair play were being sacrificed on the altar of success.

The same newspaper article that criticised cup competitions for destroying sportsmanship in football was unequivocal in also laying the blame for what it saw as football’s decline on the rise of professionalism. Walvin³⁴ rightly interprets the rise of professionalism as an inevitable result of the participation of the working classes in football. It was legalised by the Football Association in 1885 and in 1907 it compelled all its affiliated county football associations to permit professional teams to become affiliated members. It was not a universally popular move. A decade earlier in 1896 Colchester F. C. was still reluctant to enrol working men as players because of the potentially disastrous impact which it might have had. As one of the club’s officials put it:

I would not for a moment encourage the admission of players whose position in life would bring them upon the club funds whenever any expense should be incurred, for that is inserting the thin edge of a crowbar that would slowly but surely force the door of professionalism, and bring about the playing of the game for the price that can be made of it. Professionalism would open the door to blackguardism... Professionalism has brought the game into disrepute.³⁵

To some the Football Association’s blatant sanctioning of open professionalism was bad enough but what was regarded as equally reprehensible in undermining the ethos of the game was the existence of illicit professionalism. “Veiled professionalism is rampant in Essex today”, said one local observer in 1905. “These are strong words”, he added, “but their truth cannot be denied. That despicable creature, the pseudo-amateur, continues his ravages throughout the county unchecked.”³⁶ This was particularly true of

South and Metropolitan Essex but it was certainly not confined to there. This was suggested by one of the *Essex Telegraph*’s correspondents whose comments on a match between Harwich and Parkeston and Chelmsford, following a feud between players on either side, were a thinly-disguised criticism of the game in the south of the county:

This is what we expect from a country where men are paid to use all the burden of their brute strength against all the opponents of every town that offers the highest salaries. But in a district where professionalism is practically unknown, and where we play the game for the love we have of it, we expect to find that at least the men were gentlemen before they were players.³⁷

As the kudos attached to cup and league football grew so did the clubs’ desire to win, even if it meant bending or breaking the rules.

The extent to which clubs broke the ECFA’s rules regarding professionalism is difficult to gauge, but there were enough high profile cases during this period to suggest that it was a significant problem. In 1898 an enquiry into the amateur status of Grays United resulted in the club being suspended for a month. The investigation revealed that several young men had travelled to Grays to play on the strength of a promise that work would be found for them. Such enticements were contrary to the Football Association’s code. In 1900 Witham F. C. was reported to the ECFA. It was discovered that the club had attempted to conceal the use of ineligible players by sending in deliberately falsified registration forms, thereby raising suspicions that these players had all been paid to turn out for the club.³⁸ South Weald’s amateur status was investigated in 1907, revealing that the club had kept no proper record of gate receipts and had exercised insufficient control of its general financial matters.³⁹ Again the ECFA assumed that the level of financial incompetence displayed by the club had been an attempt to conceal payments to players. In exceptionally serious cases the offending clubs were ordered to disband and reconstitute themselves. Romford F. C. was ordered to reconstitute itself in March 1911 following an official investigation.⁴⁰ Clacton Town received a similar order in 1912. An ECFA investigation revealed that the club had misled both the ECFA and the London FA over the identity of its players, and the signing of league forms. When the club showed reluctance to dissolve itself the entire committee was suspended from all football and football management.⁴¹

If the issue of illicit professionalism was a perennial thorn in the side of the ECFA so too was Sunday football and football played on Good Friday, which were regarded as possessing the same degree of moral repugnance as professionalism. The traditional observance of the Sabbath was supported by various groups, particularly the churches but it was under threat as a result of increasing working class participation in organised sports, especially football. “Chelmsford is not London”, said Canon Lake of Chelmsford, “and we

should be glad if the sacred associations of such a day as Good Friday could be preserved to us as long as possible.”⁴² By 1909 a Colchester newspaper could assert that Sunday football has an “extraordinary hold” on the people of South Essex.⁴³ The extent of Sunday football in Essex was first revealed in 1908. In an Essex Senior Cup tie Barking beat Custom House. Custom House promptly accused a Barking player, A. Florey, of having played Sunday football as well as being the secretary of the South West Ham Sunday League. Florey, determined not to be made a scapegoat for the sins of others, appeared at an ECFA hearing and produced player registration forms from his league demonstrating that virtually all South Essex clubs, including Custom House, were implicated.⁴⁴ The ECFA does not seem to have launched an investigation but it did move to close this loophole by amending its rules. From 1909 onwards anyone involved in Sunday football, either as a player or an official, could not belong to the Association.⁴⁵

What of the actual footballers themselves? Unfortunately there is ample evidence that some of the successors of those who first played the game had fallen well below their accepted standards of sportsmanship. Russell⁴⁶ suggests that working class fans succeeded “in stamping their identity, values and culture” on the game. It is equally possible that working class men who played the game were just as reluctant to accept unquestioningly a sporting ethos which may have been at odds with their own experience of life. In November 1896 the ECFA felt compelled to issue a circular drawing its members’ attention to the increasing number of complaints about the unacceptable conduct of players and threatening that it would deal in a “rigorous manner with all complaints.”⁴⁷ The ECFA was as good as its word and over the next seven years it meticulously recorded how it dealt with 147 cases of misconduct.⁴⁸ A third of these cases, 53 in total, were simply listed as having been guilty of “misconduct” or “misbehaviour.” Others, however, were more specific. There were over 40 cases of violent conduct including “wilfully striking an opponent”, “kicking an opponent”, “rough play”, and “badly tripping an opponent.” Although using bad language by itself was an insufficiently serious offence to warrant an official reprimand from the ECFA, it was considered to be a foul practice. At an East Ham Ratepayers’ meeting in 1909, a Mr Jeffrey complained indignantly about foul mouthed players:

For 25 years he had been on the lower deck of a man-of-war, and thought he had heard all the swear words there were, but he had heard a good many new ones on that vacant land.

The ECFA’s records reveal an almost equal number of complaints indicating a significant lack of respect for referees. As early as 1895, when the ECFA was alarmed at the rising incidence of misconduct by players, Paul Licence, a referee from North Essex, expressed his concern at the attitude of some players:

The sooner some players recognise....that they are

under an obligation to the referee, and cease to treat him as an open enemy, the better it will be for football, and the more readily will competent men undertake what is often now an unthankful task.⁴⁹

Offences by players towards the referee were varied yet similar in intent – to dispute and undermine his authority. These offences included “abusing the referee”, “misconduct towards the referee”, “foul play and refusing to give a name to the referee”, “insolence to the referee”, “obscene language and abusing the referee”, “very bad language towards the referee”, “defying the referee and using threatening language”, “insulting the referee”, “disobeying the referee”, and “fouling and refusing to leave the pitch.” Some incidents assumed more serious proportions. In 1908 H. F. Bolden, a referee, was assaulted by two Chingford Excelsior players. He took them to court and the two men were convicted and each fined four shillings.⁵⁰ Such conduct was not always restricted to individual players. In 1901 following a match between Epping and Harlow, 10 players from each side were suspended for three weeks.⁵¹ In the following year, 10 Loughton players were suspended for a month for leaving the field of play without permission.⁵² Seven members of Colchester Corinthians were cautioned by the ECFA for misconduct in a game against Sudbury, when they disputed the authority of the referee, who happened to be a Sudbury official.⁵³ Although the ECFA’s disciplinary book for 1903 onwards does not seem to have survived⁵⁴ it seems reasonable to assume that the behaviour of some players probably showed little improvement up to the outbreak of the Great War. Certainly the Army Football Association, which in view of the football played by teams from the Warley and Colchester garrisons, wielded some considerable authority within the county, was having to crack down hard in the last years of peace. On 7 December 1912, following the abandonment of a match between Chelmsford and Shoeburyness Garrison because of misconduct by the military players, the Army FA suspended the garrison for three weeks. One player was suspended for five weeks, another for three months, and a third *sine die*.⁵⁵ In March 1914 the Army FA issued a circular in response to the rise of misconduct by military players. It ordered players to obey the referee, and stated that there were no grounds to justify players who retaliated. Any player who struck another was to be suspended for three months for the first offence, six months for the second, and suspended *sine die* for a third.⁵⁶

If some players had fallen very far from the game’s original Corinthian ideal, what of those who watched them play? The increasing popularity of the game drew larger and larger crowds, certainly by the 1890s, and particularly for cup ties – the F. A. Cup and F. A. Amateur Cup were competed for by many Essex clubs, and of course there were the Essex Senior and Junior cups. Those attending matches came from a variety of social backgrounds although by the 1890s the majority

of spectators were probably from the working classes. Whatever their social origins, there is no doubt that their behaviour could be as appalling as that of the footballers themselves. This was partly the result of the growth before the Great War of what can be only be described as a fanatical level of support for some clubs. The consequence of this was a move away from the belief that the game was what mattered, and that the result was less important than watching the game in the right sporting spirit. This can be seen as early as 1882 in a game between Romford and Brentwood. The large crowd was said to have “manifested a deep interest in the play”, although the Romford fans were described as noisy and guilty of showing partisanship “in rather an objectionable manner.”⁵⁷ Increasingly, success was all that mattered, a frame of mind reinforced by the proliferation of cup and league games. Consequently the supporters of some clubs earned for themselves an unsavoury reputation for unsportsmanlike conduct, foul language, intimidating behaviour and interfering with the game itself.

Just like footballers, football crowds were fond of making the referee the scapegoat for the shortcomings of their team. Heckling and abuse of referees were commonplace during this period and although violence was rarely directed against them it was certainly not unknown. On 9 December 1893 William Cook refereed a game between Heybridge and Colchester. Colchester lost and some of the home crowd, convinced that Cook’s refereeing had contributed to their defeat, waited for him after the game, jeered and assaulted him and attempted to throw him into the river. He was rescued by the Colchester team, which took him to a nearby inn, and supervised his escape out of the back.⁵⁸ These sorts of incidents were certainly not rare. There were a number of occasions when referees were forced to seek the protection of the police or club officials, frequently sheltering in club houses, dressing rooms and railway waiting rooms. The use of bad language at football matches was also a perennial complaint, and was often claimed to be a reason why so few women attended them. One man wrote to the *Essex Telegraph* in 1894 complaining that

While a spectator at the Junior Cup tie on the Recreation ground on October 26 I was greatly annoyed at the amount of foul language that fell on my ears. The language I refer to was not amongst the players, but from a very large percentage of the spectators. I am by no means one of the ultra-purist class, but certainly feel that one might feel able to take a lady-friend or relative to see a match without fearing that my companion’s ears would be polluted with remarks which would bring discredit upon a low pot-house.⁵⁹

At a handful of games, crowd misbehaviour reached serious proportions. Reference has already been made to the game between Colchester and Colchester Excelsior when the former’s use of three players from the Sherwood Foresters caused immense ill-feeling and

pre-match tension. At the end of the match the Colchester players were mobbed by infuriated Excelsior fans and several of the team were assaulted with knobbed sticks. It was only with great difficulty and with police assistance that the team was able to force its way to the dressing room and safety.⁶⁰ In 1906 F. J. Pannell, the referee in a match between Halstead and Braintree Manor Works, described how, after the match had ended, the players of both teams and spectators, became embroiled in a free-for-all fight, something Pannell had never before experienced during all the 500 matches that he had refereed.⁶¹

The intense rivalries which began to develop between teams and their supporters could sometimes lead to serious tensions. Thanks to the advent of the railway system, which began to fan out across the county from the 1840s, football fans were able to follow their teams to away matches. The Great Eastern Railway Company’s granting of cheap leisure party fares made it possible for increasing large numbers of fans to travel. William Walker, who created Southend’s first football club, recalled that in the 1880s the club arranged its fixtures with teams situated along the railway, simply to take advantage of the railway offer.⁶² For matches that were considered to be particularly important hundreds of supporters would travel. In 1893 almost 600 Leigh fans travelled to Romford to see their team play in the Grays Cup semi-final,⁶³ and these sorts of numbers, and even larger ones on many occasions, were not unusual. Of course the ability of supporters of one team to travel to away games in large numbers was a development fraught with dangers. Chelmsford and Hoffmann Athletic were keen rivals at this time, probably because both clubs were based in Chelmsford. When the clubs were drawn against each other in the Essex Senior Cup in 1913, feelings ran higher than usual after Chelmsford attempted to persuade the ECFA to transfer the game to their ground, claiming that the Hoffmanns pitch was not up to the required standard. As the match grew nearer there was a feeling of unease in the town which prompted the secretaries of both clubs to write a joint letter to the *Essex County Chronicle* appealing for calm and rational behaviour at the game:

May we earnestly appeal to the supporters of both teams to temper their enthusiasm with discretion, to accept as sportsmen the decisions of officials on the field, and to conduct themselves so as to make easy the work of those who have the responsibility of keeping order on the ground? Let everyone connected with the match be a credit to the county town of Essex.⁶⁴

The pervasiveness of crowd misbehaviour in Essex can be gauged by the frequency with which football grounds were closed by the ECFA. Nowadays such events are almost unheard of but that was certainly not the case during this period. Colchester’s ground was closed for a time in 1893. In 1898 Loughton Hall’s ground was closed for two weeks, and its officials suspended “for allowing rowdyism on their ground and

not using their best endeavours to prevent the disgraceful conduct of the spectators.”⁶⁵ Chelmsford’s ground was closed in 1899 and 1912. On the second of these occasions it was a consequence of Chelmsford fans invading the pitch when Saffron Walden were leading 3-0, and, by refusing to leave the pitch, forced the abandonment of the game. Brightlingsea’s ground had been shut in 1910, also because its supporters invaded the pitch, halting the game for 12 minutes after their opponents, Colchester Athletic, had been awarded a penalty.⁶⁶ Halstead’s ground was closed in 1901 and 1906, Burnham, Stanford Petro, Epping, Harwich and Harlow in 1901, Brentwood in 1902, Maldon in 1903, Brightlingsea in 1904 and 1910, and Mildmay Works in 1911. Other clubs were cautioned over the conduct of their spectators and their officials were forced to post caution bills around their grounds, a move which was just one step away from closure. Indeed the growing rowdiness of football crowds led the ECFA in 1898 to take the unusual step of issuing all its affiliated clubs with a supply of caution bills for use in case any club had to be disciplined.⁶⁷

So were the people who comprised the football fraternity before the Great War gentlemen or scoundrels? This article is intended to provide nothing more than a provisional answer to this question as much more research will be required to produce a comprehensive analysis. However, this preliminary sketch does provide evidence that some of those involved in the game – footballers, club officials, and supporters – did indulge in the sort of behaviour that appeared far from acceptable, not just to us reflecting on these events a century later, but to many contemporary observers looking on from both inside and outside the game. A whole plethora of unacceptable modes of conduct seem to have been used persistently as an aide to pursuing victory, sometimes victory at all costs. Perhaps we might conclude at this time that the more reprehensible aspects of the modern game seem to have far more in common with the game as it was played before 1914 than many people realise.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Dr. Chris Thornton for inviting me to submit this article. Also to Mr P. R. Sammons, Chief Executive of the Essex County Football Association, for kindly allowing me to spend a very enjoyable week working my way through the records of the Association. This article is based on a lecture given to the Essex Historical Association.

Author: Paul Rusiecki, 109 Ipswich Road, Colchester CO4 0EJ.

¹ *Essex County Standard*, 29 April 1910.

² Manor Works won the game 3-0, and with it the North Essex League championship.

³ D. Russell, *Associating with Football: Social Identities in England 1863-1998*, in G. Armstrong and R. Giulianotti, eds., *Football Cultures and Identities* (Basingstoke, 1999), p.15.

⁴ T. Mason, *Association Football and English Society 1863-1915*, (Brighton, 1980), pp.12-15; W. Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain 1875-1914*, (London, 1988), p.51.

⁵ *Essex Standard*, 28 September 1878.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 18 March 1881.

⁷ *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 23 November 1866.

⁸ The term “amateur” originally seems to have meant players and teams who played the game in an open and uncomplicated manner. Later it came to be contrasted unfavourably with the more “scientific” or organised style of play which became fashionable from the early 1880s.

⁹ A. J. Ward (ed.), *Clapton F. C.: Seventy Five Years of Football History 1878-1953*, (Clapton, 1953) p.11.

¹⁰ *Essex County Telegraph*, 28 April 1910.

¹¹ *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 23 November 1866.

¹² Clarke. C. H., *Some Remembrances and Historic Data concerning the Colchester Town Football Club*, typescript, 1924, p.7.

¹³ *Stratford Express*, 20 November 1875.

¹⁴ The F. A. Cup competition was of course introduced in 1871-2, and Essex clubs were soon participating.

¹⁵ Hereinafter cited as the ECFA.

¹⁶ *Essex Telegraph*, 11 November 1882.

¹⁷ J. Walvin, *The People’s Game: The History of Football Revisited*, (London, 1994), 55-7.

¹⁸ *Essex Telegraph*, 21 October 1893.

¹⁹ *Southend Standard*, 23 February 1893.

²⁰ *Essex Telegraph*, 17 January 1903.

²¹ The Football Association’s attempt to compel all affiliated county associations to accept professional sides into their ranks precipitated a crisis resulting in the formation of a breakaway amateur organisation, the Amateur Football Association.

²² *Essex Telegraph*, 17 December 1907.

²³ The Essex County Football Association’s joint jurisdiction over competitions was usually operated with the London Football Association.

²⁴ When a newer, second layer of competitions appeared in the first years of the twentieth century, there were complaints that this “multiplicity of competitions” was squeezing out the older ones, *Essex County Telegraph*, 25 April 1914.

²⁵ ECFA minute, 20 January 1888.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 10 April 1895.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 26 March 1909.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 17 November 1900.

²⁹ Mason, *Association Football*, pp.70-71.

³⁰ *Southend Standard*, 30 March 1893.

³¹ *Essex Telegraph*, 21 April 1906.

³² The introduction of the Essex Junior Cup in 1893 led to the renaming of the county’s original cup competition as the Senior Cup.

³³ *Essex Telegraph*, 27 January 1894.

³⁴ Walvin, *People’s Game*, pp.56-57.

³⁵ *Essex Telegraph*, 18 April 1896.

³⁶ *Essex County Chronicle*, 6 January 1905. Four years later the Chelmsford Free Church Council denounced Sunday golf as “a desecration of the Sabbath.”

³⁷ *Essex Telegraph*, 24 October 1896.

³⁸ ECFA minute, 7 November 1900.

³⁹ *Essex County Standard*, 5 January, *Essex County Chronicle*, 4 January 1907.

⁴⁰ ECFA minutes, 19, 26 January, 22 February 1911.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 30 June 1912.

⁴² *Essex Telegraph*, 2 April 1907.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 2 January 1909.

⁴⁴ ECFA 22 December 1908; *Essex County Chronicle* 15 January 1909.

⁴⁵ ECFA Handbook, 1909-10.

⁴⁶ D. Russell, *Associating with Football: Social Identity in England 1863-1998*, in G. Armstrong, R. Giulianotti, *Football Cultures and Identities* (London 1999), p.16.

⁴⁷ *Essex Telegraph*, 9 January 1897.

- ⁴⁸ These were recorded in the Association's minute book dated 3 September 1897 to 18 August 1906.
- ⁴⁹ *Essex Telegraph*, 10 August 1895.
- ⁵⁰ ECFA minute, 1 December 1908.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 17 December 1901.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 22 January 1902.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, 13 January 1903.
- ⁵⁴ It is not amongst the ECFA's records at its headquarters in Chelmsford.
- ⁵⁵ *Essex County Chronicle*, 3 January 1913.
- ⁵⁶ *Essex Telegraph*, 17 March 1914.
- ⁵⁷ *Essex County Chronicle*, 20 January 1882.
- ⁵⁸ ECFA minute, 15 December 1893; Clarke, *Reminiscences*, p. 15.
- ⁵⁹ *Essex Telegraph*, 16 November 1894.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 27 January 1894.
- ⁶¹ ECFA minute, 13 November 1906.
- ⁶² *Southend Standard*, 6 October 1887.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, 9 March 1893.
- ⁶⁴ *Essex County Chronicle*, 14 February 1913.
- ⁶⁵ ECFA minute, 25 February 1898.
- ⁶⁶ *Essex County Telegraph*, 12 March 1910.
- ⁶⁷ ECFA minute, 12 October 1898.

Essex Record Office, Colchester
Acc. C632 Some Reminiscences and Historic Data concerning the Colchester Town Football Club, Charles T. Clarke, (1924).

Newspapers
Essex Telegraph 1870-1914.
Essex Standard 1866-1914.
Essex County Chronicle 1870, 1881-82, 1899-1913.
Stratford Express 1875, 1890, 1914.
Southend Standard 1874-75, 1884, 1887, 1890, 1893, 1898, 1907.

Secondary works
Armstrong G., & Giulianotti, R. eds. *Football Culture and Identities*, London, 1999.
Mason, T. *Association Football and English Society 1863-1915*, Brighton, 1980.
Russell, D. *Football and the English*, London 1997.
Vamplew, W. *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain*, London 1988.
Walvin, J. *The People's Game: The History of Football Reconsidered*, London 1994.
Ward, A. J., ed. Clapton F. C. *Seventy Five Years of Football History 1878-1953*, Clapton, 1953.

Bibliography

Manuscript material

Essex County Football Association headquarters, 31 Mildmay Road, Chelmsford

Minute books, 8 November 1886 to 29 January 1897.
3 September 1897 to 19 August 1906.
7 September 1906 to 19 April 1912.
8 June 1912 onwards.

Handbooks, from 1886-87 season to 1913-14 season.

The cost of publishing this article is supported by a grant from the Society's Development Fund.

Archaeology in Essex 2003

A. Bennett and M. Roy (eds)

This annual report, prepared at the request of the Advisory Committee for Archaeology in Essex, comprises summaries of archaeological 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 219 projects were reported to the Essex Historic Environment Record (formerly the Essex Heritage Conservation Record), 115 of which are reported here (Fig. 1).

Sites are listed alphabetically by parish; the directors of excavations, organisations involved and information regarding the location of archives, including finds, are listed where known. Projects continuing from previous years are indicated by reference to previous summaries in the relevant 'Archaeology in Essex'.

Contributors are once more warmly thanked for providing information; the illustration is by A. Bennett. The original summaries, and any associated limited circulation reports, have been added to the Essex Historic Environment Record (EHER) held by the Historic Environment Branch at Essex County Council, Environment and Commerce, County Hall, Chelmsford CM1 1QH. Regarding sites in the London Boroughs of Barking and Dagenham, Havering, Newham, Redbridge, and Waltham Forest, enquirers should contact the Greater London SMR, English Heritage London Region, 23 Savile Row, London, W1S 2ET.

Progress in Essex Archaeology 2003

Introduction

This year the total number of summaries reported here is 115, including 48 evaluations and 28 excavations. 17 projects followed on from work in previous years. This year six projects have been carried out by local societies. Only the most significant summaries are mentioned in the following period paragraphs.

Prehistoric

Evaluations at Purfleet identified worked lithic material

of Palaeolithic date (84 and 85) and a dense area of Late Mesolithic/Early Neolithic material (85). A significant Mesolithic assemblage was also recorded near Halstead (57). Work in Newham revealed evidence of the environment from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age period (79). Prehistoric evidence recorded in Elmstead included a possible Middle Bronze Age barrow cemetery (40). A post-hole complex of possible Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age date was revealed in Colchester (28) while features recorded at Stanford-le-Hope point to the existence of a previously unknown Late Bronze Age settlement (96). A Late Iron Age/Roman defensive ring ditch was recorded at Boreham (9). Survey was undertaken of the late Neolithic/Bronze Age barrow at Lawford (65).

Roman

Work in Colchester has included the recording of evidence for Roman buildings and demolition activity (29), excavation of landscape features and burials (28) and of a Roman cemetery (33). A Roman cemetery was also excavated at Great Dunmow (51), while a group of burials was recorded at Purfleet (83). An evaluation was undertaken on the site of a supposed Roman lighthouse or mausoleum (EHER 0038) at West Mersea (111). Extramural activity was identified to the south of Roman Chelmsford (17). A magnetometer survey carried out in Great Chesterford also revealed evidence of extramural occupation (49).

Saxon

At Great Wigborough a wooden structure of 10th-century date, possibly a fishtrap or jetty, was revealed, stretching across part of a former tidal creek (55). Mid Saxon features were identified at Great Chesterford (50). An assemblage of Saxon pottery of regional or possible national significance was recovered from Clacton-on-Sea (19).

Medieval

Evidence for the medieval (and post-medieval) occupation of Waltham Abbey was identified (107). Several projects investigated the remains of Beeleigh

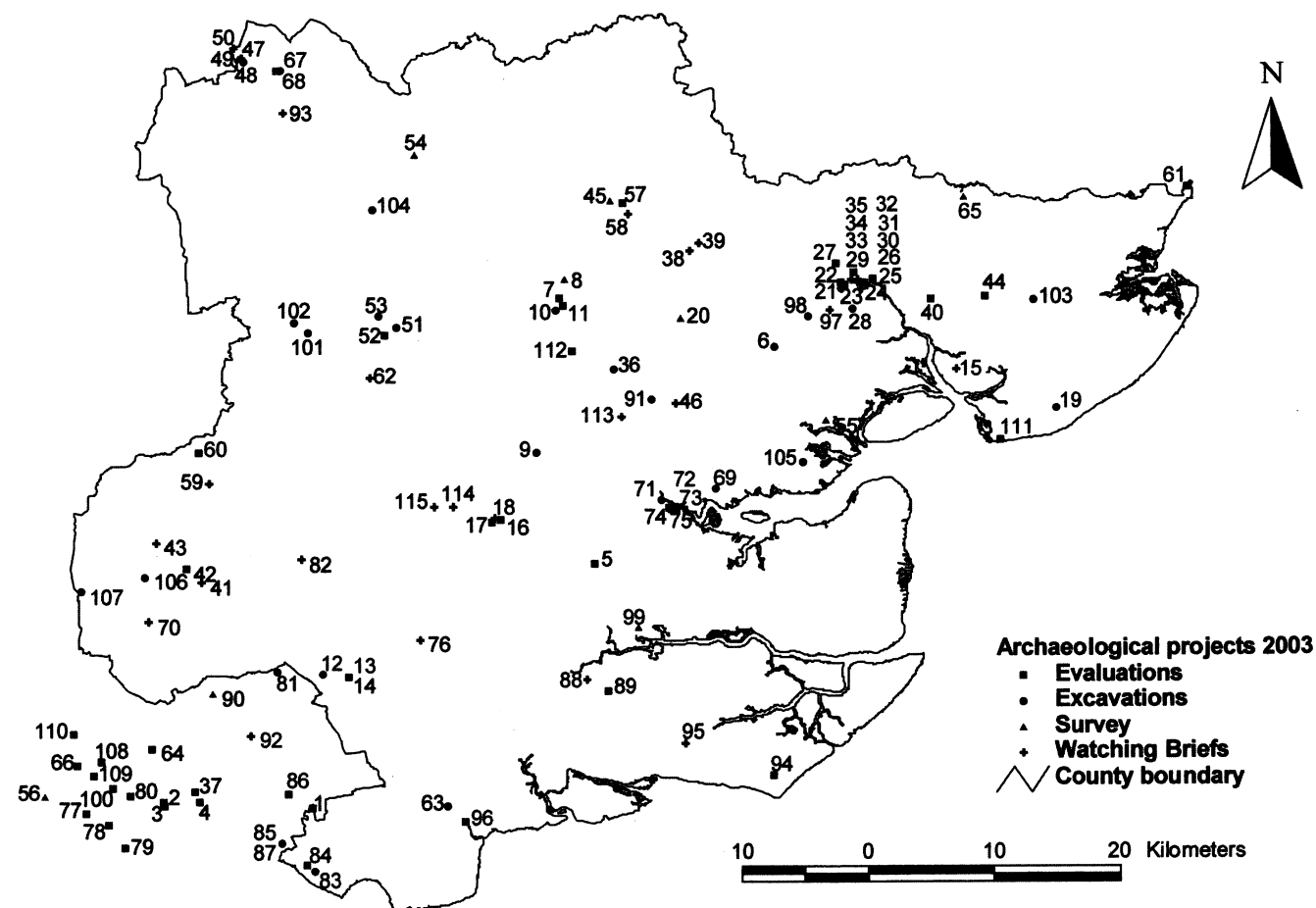


Fig. 1 Location of archaeological projects in Essex, 2003.
 © Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

Abbey, Maldon (71). A medieval tile floor was exposed at St Martin’s Church, Colchester (34). Remnants of a moat were recorded in Epping Upland (43) and a survey was carried out of earthworks associated with salt-working in Stow Maries (99).

Post-medieval

In Brentwood remains of the 18th-century Belvedere were exposed and recorded (12), while in Mountnessing (76) brick vaults and other graveyard structures were investigated. Evidence was identified for redevelopment of the quay front at Harwich (61) and of 18th-century stables in Epping (42).

1. Aveley, White Post Field (TQ 5625 8325)

T. Ennis, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Seven trenches were excavated as part of an archaeological evaluation on a proposed additional area of the Thames Chase Community Forest. Trench location was based on a cropmark plot produced as part of an aerial photographic assessment. The evaluation confirmed the existence of two, or possibly three, linear features identified on the cropmark plot. A layer associated with one of the linear features produced pottery dating to the Late Iron Age or early Roman period and an abraded fragment of tile. Pottery of similar date was also recovered from a second trench.

No evidence was found for a postulated possible ring ditch or for the presence of another suggested linear feature. A pit-like feature on the cropmark plot may correspond with a patch of natural gravel.

Archive: T.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 978

2. Barking, St Ann’s, Gascoigne Estate (TQ 4435 8377)

F. Keith-Lucas, P.C.A.

During evaluation by trial trenching five trenches were opened across the site. Natural sands and gravels were found at between 6.80m OD and 7.48m OD, sloping to the south. Three probable prehistoric features were revealed with fills that contained struck flint, charcoal flecking and a very small quantity of daub. One slightly irregular sub-circular feature, possibly a tree throw, contained a very small quantity of prehistoric pot and burnt flint. One residual sherd of 7th-century Saxon pottery may have been associated with known Saxon activity in the area.

Several 18th- and 19th-century elements were observed. Some of these were associated with the Bifrons Estate, which was laid out in the 18th century. An east/west-aligned linear cut, filled with dumped material dating to the mid 19th century, correlates with

the Estate boundary marked on the 1864 Ordnance Survey map. One trench revealed bricks dating from the 18th century.

Archive: V.H.M.

3. Barking, former Icon Warne Works, Gascoigne Road (TQ 4452 8341)

P. Thrall, M.o.L.A.S.

Two evaluation trenches were excavated, revealing natural alluvial clay. A scatter of burnt flint and burnt clay and a large pit represented prehistoric activity on the site. The land surface itself is likely to span the Mesolithic to early Bronze Age periods. The results of radiocarbon dating of samples taken during the excavation may help with this dating.

Archive: M.L.

4. Barking and Dagenham, Castle Green (TQ 4725 8370)

S. Holden, P.C.A.

Eighteen evaluation trenches were opened across the site. No features were identified, but a single sherd of prehistoric pottery was recovered, probably dating to the late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age, suggesting the possibility of nearby prehistoric activity. Possible fragments of Roman pottery were retrieved that may also imply activity in the area during this period. However, the abraded quality of the fragments indicates that they may have been ploughed out of their original features or have entered the site by manuring.

Archive: V.H.M.

5. Bicknacre, Priory Farm (TL 7865 0270)

C. Mayo, P.C.A.

Five trenches were excavated during the evaluation, revealing natural gravelly brickearth. An ovoid post-hole, which may date to the late medieval or early post-medieval period, was excavated through the natural. It contained several artefacts including pottery dating from 1480 to 1550, clay building material dating from the late medieval to early post-medieval periods and a piece of worked stone, probably derived from structures associated with Bicknacre Priory. An iron object, possibly a blade, was also found. No structural evidence was seen of the priory buildings or ancillary structures. This supports the historical analysis, which suggests that they were positioned to the north of the church. A depression in the natural had been filled by a silt/clay/sand layer that yielded building material and a sherd of 18th- to 19th century-pottery.

Archive: Ch.M.

6. Birch, Birch Pit northern extension (off Maldon Road) (TL 930 200 centre)

K. Orr, C.A.T.

Following evaluation of this site in 2001, an area

excavation revealed a group of nine Middle Bronze Age urns of North-East Essex Group type, seven of which contained cremated bone. The urns were located between three ring ditches.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2002, 392

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.160)

7. Bocking, rear of 39 Bradford Street (TL759 239)

M. Peachey, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

An archaeological evaluation, consisting of two trenches carried out in advance of a residential development, revealed two post-medieval pits cutting a probable 17th-century garden soil. Fragments of human bone found within the garden soil probably came from a disturbed nearby burial of 17th-century or earlier date. No trace was found of an anticipated Roman road or medieval burghage plots.

Archive: Bt.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1199

8. Bocking, Dorewards Hall (TL 7625 2530)

R. Ricketts, B.V.A.S.

A field walking exercise was undertaken on a site where an early mesolithic blade core had been found. Various finds were recovered, mostly modern in date. There were also 11 worked flints, including a possible arrow head, a strike flint and a small core.

9. Boreham, Bulls Lodge Quarry (TL 7411 1149)

R. Clarke, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Two phases of watching brief were carried out on the latest area of topsoil-stripping on the former airfield site. Part of a large ring ditch, several discrete features, a series of ditches and two large possible ponds were identified in the first phase. The ring ditch, and probably some of the features within it, was partly destroyed by quarrying on its southern side, but appears to have measured approximately 40m across, up to 5m wide and 1.6m deep. Pottery from its fills indicate that the earliest fills are Late Iron Age, whilst the upper fills are Roman. This suggests that the ditch was Late Iron Age in origin, and may have lain open for some time before being infilled in the Roman period. The size and depth of the ditch may indicate that it was defensive, perhaps surrounding a domestic enclosure. Features within the enclosed area appear largely to be truncated post-holes or short lengths of slots or gullies with no definitive plan, although most are concentrated towards the centre. Some cremated bone was recovered, which could indicate that one or two of the features are unurned cremations, although the presence of baked clay and pottery may suggest a more domestic function.

A series of ditches, probably post-medieval field boundaries, and two large ponds or quarry pits, one of which cut the ring ditch, were also planned but not investigated. Two of the ditches align with field boundaries on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey (1881), and it is likely that the majority, if not all, of these

features are post-medieval. A machine-cut section was excavated across one of the ditches and revealed a very loose, humic fill that contained pieces of brick and is likely to be fairly recent.

The second phase of monitoring recorded a series of prehistoric linear gullies and a small ring ditch, with a diameter of 6.4m, located between two of the linear features. A large pit was investigated to the south-east of the ring ditch; this contained traces of burning and produced several sherds of prehistoric pottery and a small quantity of burnt and worked flint. Two small, possible cremation pits were also investigated. A medieval ditch and several smaller features were recorded, containing pottery of early to mid 13th-century date. In addition, large post-medieval ditches were uncovered, continuing from ditch-lines recorded in the first part of the watching brief.

Archive: Ch.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1133

10. Braintree, Letch's Yard, 109 High Street (TL 756 229)

T. Ennis, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Excavation ahead of residential development revealed archaeological remains dating to the Late Iron Age, Roman and post-medieval periods. This work has confirmed that the archaeological activity identified in earlier excavations on the route of Pierrefitte Way continues eastwards towards the High Street. The Late Iron Age and Roman remains were all uncovered in the east and south of the development area. The majority of this activity dates to the 1st century AD and consists of gullies, pits, post-holes and a midden layer. The best structural evidence was a fragment of wall built upon a flint and clay foundation located at the very western edge of the excavation. Evidence for possible timber structures consisted of a line of three post-holes and a slot, orientated north-east/south-west, with post-holes at either end. Later Roman activity was confined to one mid Roman post-hole and one late Roman pit.

Two early post-medieval rubbish pits were probably located to the rear of properties formerly fronting the High Street. The pottery recovered from these pits dated to the late 15th and early 16th centuries and indicates that development of this end of the High Street had occurred by the end of the medieval period. A later post-medieval fence line was also identified.

Archive: Bt.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1167

11. Braintree, Roman Road and Railway Street (TL 762 233)

P. Bowyer, P.C.A.

During evaluation four trial trenches were opened across the site. A north/south-aligned medieval ditch was located towards the northern edge of the site and may have run perpendicular to a Roman road. This contained a small quantity of medieval pottery, dated to

between 1150 and 1250, and a fragment of residual Roman tegula. The feature cut an earlier ditch that remains undated.

Extensive 19th- and 20th-century truncation was recorded across the site. Particularly deep truncations were caused by the construction of Victorian basements along the northern frontage of the site and their subsequent demolition as well as a large undated quarry in the south-west of the site. Recent levelling of the site to the natural clay had removed any further archaeological deposits, but the lack of residual material suggests that none may have been present.

Archive: Bt.M.

12. Brentwood, The Belvedere, Weald Country Park (TQ 571 939)

M. Germany, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

The surviving remains of a brick-built belvedere, or raised summer-house, were exposed and recorded. Built in the 1740s, in the grounds of Weald Hall, a second storey was added to the structure in the 1750s. In 1954, The Belvedere was levelled and turfed over because it was in a derelict state. The excavation exposed the circular floor and footing for the first storey, the centre of the floor has been broken through and the room below apparently filled with demolition rubble.

Archive: E.C.C.

13. Brentwood, Weald Road (TQ 5917 9370)

M. McKenzie, M.o.L.A.S.

During evaluation by trial trenching and monitoring of borehole excavation a possible boundary or property ditch was revealed, running perpendicular to Weald Road across the centre of the site. Although no datable material was recovered, this corresponds with the postulated limit of the built-up area of Brentwood in the medieval period.

To the south of the ditch a brick-built cellar and brick-lined drain were recorded. To the north of the ditch made ground and a possible quarry were identified. Although some of these features may be associated with 17th-century activity, generally the deposits are 18th to 19th century in date.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 233

Archive: Ch.M.

14. Brentwood, Old Gym Site, Western Road, (TQ 5916 9371)

J. Taylor, M.o.L.A.S.

Evaluation by trial trenching revealed three contemporary layers of medieval soil, one of which contained pottery with a c.1270 to 1350 date range. The relatively sterile nature of the three layers suggests that they represent an area of open land, possibly plough or garden soils. Also of significance was an 18th-century brick-lined well.

Archive: Ch.M.

15. Brightlingsea, Brightlingsea Quarry, Moverons Lane (TM 07450 18190 centre)

H. Brooks, C.A.T.

This site is close to the Brightlingsea ring ditch and the excavated Bronze Age cemetery at Moverons Pit. A watching brief was carried out on stripping of 0.15ha in the North Field of the quarry. Two ditches were recorded during the watching brief – one produced prehistoric pottery, the other an abraded sherd of Roman pottery. Four other features were identified, of which three were undated and a fourth was post-medieval. The prehistoric ditch may be one of the ditches plotted (but not excavated) in 2002.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 233

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2002.54)

Report: C.A.T. Report 252

16. Chelmsford, Lynmouth Gardens/Parkway (TL 7122 0619)

W. Keir, H.A.T. (now A.S.)

The site lies close to the projected course of a Roman road leading from the contemporary settlement at Chelmsford and within an area that also had the potential to reveal cemetery remains of Roman date. Archaeological evaluation revealed one Roman urned cremation, which included an iron brooch. A large quantity of Roman pottery was recovered and other probable Roman artefacts, including a copper-alloy bracelet fragment and quernstone fragment, were collected.

Archive: Ch.M.

Report: H.A.T. Report 1253

17. Chelmsford, Shell Garage, 84-88 Moulsham Street (TL 7055 0602)

P. Weston, H.A.T. (now A.S.)

Moulsham Street follows the route of the road from Roman London to Colchester that ran through *Caesaromagus*. Although this site lay immediately adjacent to sites where cremations have been discovered, none were encountered during the present evaluation. Evidence from this site correlates with that from other excavations in Moulsham Street, indicating that the site lay on the edge of the greatest extent of Roman development in the 2nd century AD.

Extensive evaluation recorded Roman, medieval and post-medieval features. The evaluation revealed evidence of extramural Roman plot divisions and peripheral activity south of *Caesaromagus*, including two successive Roman roadside ditches (early 2nd century AD onwards) and three probable boundary ditches which contained 1st- to 4th-century AD pottery. Two medieval pits were present. These were probably brickearth extraction pits that were subsequently used as a rubbish pit and a cess pit. The post-medieval

features consisted of several post-holes, levelling deposits and a foundation trench.

Archive: Ch.M.

Report: H.A.T. Report 1323

18. Chelmsford, rear of 174 Moulsham Street (TL 7071 0627)

P. Connell, E.C.C. (H.A.M.P.)

Monitoring of foundation trenches revealed a well-compacted clay floor surface lying c.1.4m below the present ground level. Pottery within this deposit suggests a later medieval, 14th- or 15th-century date. Excavation of a slot through the deposit revealed another probable surface and further medieval pottery, oyster shell, mammal and fish bone.

Archive: E.C.C.

19. Clacton-on-Sea, Bishop's Park College, Jaywick Lane (TM1539 1507)

A. Letch, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Excavations on the site of a new secondary school revealed multi-period activity dating from the prehistoric to medieval periods. This included a large ditched Late Bronze Age trackway or droveway, elements of a Roman field system and probable building, Saxon material dumped into the droveway ditch (including a large assemblage of pottery of regional or possible national significance) and a medieval ditched trackway. The latter was probably associated with ownership of the land by the Bishop of London in this period.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 234

Archive: C.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1124

20. Coggeshall, Abbey (TL 855 222)

P.J. Cott, J.D and A.M. Black, C.A.G.

A resistivity survey of part of the known site of the Abbey Church showed structural details of the church foundations which add to the published building plan (Gardner 1955).

Archive: C.A.G.

21. Colchester, 7 Ashley Gardens (TL 9830 2506)

K. Orr, C.A.T.

Two small evaluation trenches were excavated in the garden of the property. A probable Roman deposit that had been cut by a large Roman or later ditch was recorded in one trench. The presence of a small amount of residual Roman tile and pottery would be expected from a site in this location, but it does not signify actual Roman settlement on the site itself. Residual 13th- to 14th-century pottery may indicate medieval activity in the vicinity.

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (2003.194)

Report: C.A.T. Report 240

22. Colchester, 1, 1a and 2 Beverley Road, Lexden (TL 9867 2486)

R. Clarke, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

An evaluation was undertaken on a vacant plot of land to the rear of properties fronting Lexden Road and Beverley Road, formerly occupied by garages. The site is located within the area of the western cemetery of the Roman town, and is traversed by the early main road to London. Roadside ditches had been identified during work in the mid 1990s by the Colchester Archaeology group, when a fragment of stone, interpreted as the missing face of Longinus' tomb, was also recovered.

The northern ditch flanking the Roman road was identified by the evaluation, although no trace of the road itself had survived. No burials were exposed, although two features containing small quantities of domestic rubbish were partially uncovered. These features, which could be pits, or possibly a foundation cut and a ditch terminal, were cut through a Roman layer containing patches of burning that produced the rim of a crucible – tentative evidence for industrial activity. A Roman layer containing pottery, tile, animal bone and oyster shell was also recorded in the north-west of the area. This layer was sealed beneath almost 1m of overburden, probably a Victorian make-up layer, above which the remains of a brick wall foundation were recorded. This wall continues the alignment of the current western property boundary, and may be the boundary to Beverley Lodge shown on Monson's 1848 map of Colchester. A subsequent watching brief recorded similar deposits to the evaluation and recovered an unstratified worked flint and Roman pottery.

Archive: C.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1280

23. Colchester, rear of 19 Beverley Road (TL 9865 2484)

C. Crossan, C.A.T.

A small evaluation trench revealed a Roman gravel surface. This lies on the projected course of the main west road from Roman Colchester. In relation to previous plots of the road, the area exposed during this evaluation appears to belong to the northern track of this three-track road.

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.85)

Report: C.A.T. Report 224

24. Colchester, Culver Street West (TL 9962 2515 to TL9941 2519)

L. Pooley, C.A.T.

An archaeological watching brief was carried out along the road line of Culver Street West during trenching for the installation of a new gas pipeline. A Roman street surface, several Roman layers, two walls of uncertain

date and human remains (probably also Roman) were recorded.

Report: C.A.T. Report 244

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.208)

25. Colchester, East Hill House (TM 0012 2514 centre)

Ox.Ar.

Geophysical and topographic survey was carried out in the grounds of the above property in order to provide a context for previous archaeological finds and former landscaping activity. Geophysical survey comprising close-centred magnetometer (gradiometer) survey was undertaken across the gardens in front of East Hill House and within the former playing field to the south. This identified a number of weak linear anomalies that could include stone walling or other structural remains and possibly a track or street, although these are tentative suggestions. Several possible pit forms were also located. The nature of the magnetic response suggests that locally increased depths of overburden are present. In addition a clearly defined zone of rubble and other magnetic debris was identified, extending 20 to 40m behind the Town Wall. Despite this, the magnetic evidence gives the overall impression that the grounds of the house are generally free from post-medieval disturbance.

26. Colchester, 60-66 East Street (Charles Brown shop) (TM 0079 2536 centre)

H. Brooks, C.A.T.

The property started life as a 14th-century open hall building, which was added to in the 16th and 17th centuries. An evaluation trench excavated along a proposed service line revealed surviving stratified post-medieval clay loam floors. Earlier wall lines, consisting of flint rubble and frogless bricks on a clay foundation, indicate several previous periods when the internal arrangement of walls differed from those of the surviving building.

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.213)

27. Colchester, Flakt Woods site, off Tufnell Way (TL 979 266 centre)

H. Brooks, C.A.T.

A fieldwalking evaluation was conducted over an approximately 4.5ha area of land at the Flakt Woods site. Prehistoric, Roman and post-medieval/modern finds were collected. The only archaeological material occurring at significant weights was Roman brick and tile. There were lower weights of burnt flint (prehistoric) and post-medieval pottery. The Roman tile may be associated with Roman tile kilns 500m to the south-east of the fieldwalking survey area.

Report: C.A.T. Report 229

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.147)

28. Colchester, Colchester Garrison C.A.T.

Following evaluation in 2002 in advance of large-scale redevelopment, three sites were selected for area excavation in 2003. The sites lie between 1.75 and 2.25km south of Colchester town centre, in a region in which ditches associated with Late Iron Age and Roman field systems have been revealed by aerial survey. In addition various watching briefs were also carried out.

Site 1. Field north of Earlswood Way (TL 9894 2296)
This 10ha site lies *c.* 150m south-east of a 2nd- to 3rd-century Roman villa/farmstead building, evidence for which was revealed during a watching brief at Kirkee McMunn barracks (Shimmin 1998). To the east and on a similar orientation to the building is an extensive rectilinear field system, part of which was the focus of the 2003 excavation. Three ditched trackways were examined, which, together with individual ditches, defined parts of five fields or enclosures dating from the 1st century to at least the 2nd/3rd century AD. Probable stock management features included a shallow sunken area with post-holes, possibly a byre or similar structure, which was drained by gully into a trackway ditch. In places, stakeholes and occasional post-holes were exposed along the ditch lines and at the junction between two trackways stake and post-holes pointed to a gate system by which tracks could be opened or closed when used as a droveway for livestock.

A single Late Iron Age cremation burial accompanied by four pots was found at the western end of the site, underlying the course of a major trackway, which suggests that the trackway system examined there post-dates the burial. Roman inhumation burials were found in two fields. In the eastern part of the site a group of five graves lay adjacent and parallel to a boundary ditch. The burials, which included two child-sized graves, were unaccompanied by grave goods and no human remains survived. Three of the graves contained evidence of a coffin in the form of nails and of these, two also contained carbonised wooden planks. In a field to the west, a pair of shallow coffined inhumations lay beside and parallel to a trackway. Pottery evidence suggests that these burials were contemporary with the Roman villa.

Site 2. Field east of Roman Way (TL 9963 2286)
This 14ha site is located 700m east of the Earlswood Way excavation. The earliest reliably dated feature was a shallow Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age pit containing cremated bone and sherds of pottery. A nearby post-hole complex representing a number of structures may be of a similarly early date. Extending over a large part of the site was a complex layout of four ditched trackways and field ditches. Junctions and sections of the ditches were examined and provisionally dated from the early to mid Roman period. Two of the trackways appear to be part of the field system examined at Earlswood Way.

Site 3. Land south of Ypres Road (TL 9945 2350)
Excavation of this 0.53ha site revealed the greater part of a sub-rectangular single-ditched enclosure, believed to be approximately 0.2ha in size. Modern obstacles prevented full exposure of the northern side of the enclosure, which was bounded by a ditch identified in a small northern extension to the site. The enclosure ditch was up to 2.8m wide and 1.3m deep with a sump pit at the south-eastern corner. The principal feature within the central part of the enclosure was a roundhouse, approximately 12m in diameter, represented by a shallow circular eaves drip gully within which were inner and outer rings of post-holes. Other roundhouse features included a possible entrance porch on its northern side and a centrally placed shallow pit that contained an inverted pot and a very small quantity of cremated bone. Initial examination of the pottery from the ditch and roundhouse suggests a transitional Middle to Late Iron Age date for the settlement. Following its abandonment, the enclosure was cut by a north/south-aligned ditched trackway that yielded pottery of Late Iron Age to early Roman date.

(TL 992 232 centre)

C. Crossan, C.A.T.

A watching brief on eight test-pits excavated during ground investigation prior to redevelopment of the site revealed two pits of indeterminate but possibly early date in farmland to the north of Earlswood Way. Both features lay in an area known to contain Late Iron Age/Roman field systems and trackways.

Report: C.A.T Report 231

H. Brooks, C.A.T.

During a watching brief on ordnance clearance work, in Areas C and F of the Colchester Garrison development site, a number of WWI military practice trenches and other related features were recorded.

Report: C.A.T Report 246

Previous summaries: Bennett 2002, 393; 2004, 235

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.210)

29. Colchester, The Globe Hotel, North Station Road (TL 9935 2589)

K. Orr, C.A.T.

Two evaluation trenches were excavated in the car park to the rear of the Globe Hotel. The earliest archaeological features recorded were a gravel surface (possibly a yard) and demolition debris from a Roman building. Later in the Roman period, this building was demolished and a thick layer of clay material was deposited over the earlier remains to raise the ground level before a new building was constructed. A large building was erected, evidenced by four foundations on north-north-west/south-south-east and south-south-west/north-north-east alignments (robbed out in the Roman or medieval period). These alignments appear to match those of other Roman buildings recorded along North Station Road. The exceptionally great width (at

least 2.2m) and depth (at least 1.2m) of one of the robber trenches suggests that it was for an exterior wall to a substantial Roman public building. Both buildings appear to be of high status, producing evidence of tiled roofs, heating systems and painted walls. The Roman road that provided access to the walled town from the north was not encountered during the evaluation.

The later Roman building was demolished, perhaps in the 3rd or early 4th century AD. There was a lack of evidence of medieval activity on the site except for the possible robbing of the Roman foundations for use of the materials in buildings elsewhere. Pits or ditches dug for rubbish or cess in the post-medieval period indicate that this area formed a backyard to a building at this time. A yard surface was subsequently laid on top of these features. In modern times, more pits were dug, the ground level was raised and various brick buildings were erected and demolished.

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.245)

Report: C.A.T. Report 248

30. Colchester, 24-26 Mersea Road (TL 9993 2461)

K. Orr, C.A.T.

This site is in an area where Anglo-Saxon burials are recorded. A watching brief was carried out during the digging of test pits, ground reduction and excavation of foundations in works to demolish and rebuild Nos 24 and 25 and to repair No. 26, a listed building. A brick-lined well and four pits of probable post-medieval or modern date were recorded. Peg-tile, animal bone and part of a post-medieval glass bottle were the only finds. The ground appeared to be very disturbed, with at least 0.5m of post-medieval or modern deposits overlying natural sand. No evidence was recorded of any Roman or Anglo-Saxon burials, although it appears that the ground had previously been lowered, and that any such remains may have been destroyed as a result.

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.4)

Report: C.A.T. Report 243

31. Colchester, rear of 15-29 Queen Street (Bus station) (TL 0000 2515)

B. Holloway, C.A.T.

Four evaluation trenches were dug at the bus station in preparation for the design of a new visual arts facility that is planned as part of the Queen Street regeneration project. The majority of the recorded features were of post-medieval date, although Roman building demolition and floor layers were also observed.

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.152)

Report: C.A.T. Report 234

32. Colchester, 1 Queens Road (Handford House) (TL 983 246)

K. Orr, C.A.T.

This site lies within the 'West Cemetery' of Roman Colchester. Excavations were carried out within

foundation and service trenches for a small housing development. Following evaluation last year, excavation of this Roman cemetery has produced outstanding results that are extending our knowledge of early Roman burial practices. Particularly unusual were two pyres or 'bustums' – sites where the bodies were cremated – marked by oblong pits with edges reddened by fire. The body would have been laid either on a bier resting on top of the fire or a wooden pyre erected above ground. The pits were packed with charcoal and cremated human bone. Some of the pieces of bone were quite large, indicating that the cremation burial process was not very efficient, or perhaps was never completed. Copper alloy coins, a spoon and a mirror were among the grave goods.

Of the fifty-one cremation burials, several showed signs that pots were deliberately smashed and placed within the pits – in two cases they covered a lamp (presumably lit). Many of the cremation burial pits contained several vessels alongside the urn – including bowls, flagons and small beakers. These are to be analysed for food residues. Some pits contained cremated bone, charcoal and artefacts such as melted glass phials and hobnails within their fill, but outside the cremation burial urn. This material is pyre debris, burnt with the body and deliberately placed with the urn.

In one burial, a Dressel 20 amphora contained a flagon, a cremation burial urn and a bowl. The cremated bone was not always placed in an urn – one cremation was contained within a wooden casket. Its copper-alloy fittings included nails, decorative rings, lock plate and hasp (with surviving wood). Another cremation burial was found within a complete glass jar. Others consisted of cremated bone without any sign of a vessel. Most evidence points to a 1st-century AD date for the cremation burials.

Eight inhumation graves were also excavated, all in the northern part of the site. No two were the same; they were buried in different positions and not all of them appear to have been buried in coffins (one may have been in a pit). One individual wore a shale armlet and he or she may have had a clubbed foot. Another wore hobnail boots. Two of the inhumations were accompanied by pots.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 236

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.5)

33. Colchester, adjacent to 50 Rosebery Avenue (TM 0035 2500)

C. Crossan, C.A.T.

The site lies in a small eastward-inclined valley 180m beyond the south-east corner of Colchester's town wall. The ground level was reduced by up to 1.4m in preparation for the construction of flats with piled foundations. During the watching brief, substantial deposits of modern and post-medieval soils up to the 1.4m depth of excavation were recorded. Groundwater leaking into the southern part of the excavation probably emanated from St Botolph's brook. Although

now underground, maps indicate that the brook in this area was an open watercourse until at least the mid-19th century.

Archive: C.A.T. to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.187)

Report: C.A.T. Report 236

34. Colchester, St Martin's Church, West Stockwell Street (TL 996 253)

M. Peachey and M. Roy, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

An archaeological watching brief on improvement work recorded a medieval tile floor, exposed by the construction of a disabled access ramp, within the tower arch adjacent to the nave. The excavation of a sewer trench along St Martin's Lane immediately north of the church revealed a thick flint and mortar wall of possible Roman date close to West Stockwell Street. The disabled access from St Martin's Lane to the north-east corner of the church revealed the footings for the north-east buttress of the chancel.

Archive: C.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 966

35. Colchester, former St Mary's Hospital, Balkerne Heights development (TL 9917 2525)

S. Benfield, L. Pooley and H. Brooks, C.A.T.

This site lies immediately west of the Roman Balkerne Gate. Large-scale area excavations have been reported previously. A watching brief on the laying of drainage across the site has revealed a large number of Roman burials (one in a lead coffin), principally on the eastern edge of the site, as well as wall fragments and a gravel surface.

Later observation of a series of 14 machine excavated test-pits demonstrated surviving Roman deposits consisting of soil accumulation layers and the fills of deeper features (pits or graves). A substantial feature in the south-east of the development probably represents the Roman town ditch. Close to this, part of a stone and mortar Roman building foundation was observed and in the central-west area of the site part of a Roman street or lane was recorded.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2002, 395; 2003

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2001.64)

Report: C.A.T. Report 256

36. Cressing, Dovehouse Field, Cressing Temple (TL 8016 1820)

T. Ennis, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

The 2003 season excavation of the County Council's annual Field Archaeology School was situated in the eastern part of Dovehouse Field, to the immediate north of the 2002 area and incorporating the large Late Iron Age ditch previously investigated in 2002.

The earliest feature identified was a pond or large pit located in the south-eastern corner of the site that contained pottery dating to the Middle Iron Age. Further investigation of the large east/west-orientated

Late Iron Age enclosure ditch partially excavated in 2002 identified a north/south-aligned return and the full extent of the slot feature in its base was established. This is believed to represent the foundation of a timber fence or gate blocking a short gap in the ditch.

Various features, probably dating to the early Roman period, were found to overlay and cut the infilled Late Iron Age ditch described above. Further parts of a metalled-hollow cut in the top of the ditch were excavated and areas of shallow pebbly silt deposits overlying/infilling subsidence hollows were found to contain a wide range of finds dating to the 1st century AD. A horse burial cut into the corner of the infilled Late Iron Age ditch, first found in 2002, was fully excavated. Two human infant burials (perhaps stillbirths) were excavated in the south-eastern corner of the site. A number of further features were found to date to the late 1st to 2nd century AD. In the north of the site, a possible well with an adjacent flint metalled surface was excavated along with a very large pit that contained quantities of Roman tile and painted plaster. Both continued to accumulate material into the late Roman period.

Previous summaries: Bennett 1999, 218-9; 2001, 258; 2002, 396; 2004, 237-8

Archive: Bt.M.

37. Dagenham, Bromhall Road (TQ 4685 8453)

M. Roy, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

During evaluation by trial trenching a single east/west running gully was found, which contained pottery of Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age date. It is probable that this relates to later prehistoric land division.

Archive: E.C.C. (F.A.U.), to go to M.L.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1322

38. Earls Colne, land immediately east of Claypits Farm (TL 862 276)

V. Clarke, E.C.C. (H.A.M.P.)

A site visit following cropping identified a large quantity of small abraded fragments of Roman roof and box flue tile and a very small amount of Roman pottery on the surface. This material was apparently concentrated towards the eastern periphery of the field and may have been dragged a short distance downslope from the crest of the hill by the action of ploughing. The material appears to indicate the remains of a substantial Roman building in the vicinity.

39. Earls Colne, land to the north-east of Peek's Corner (TL 869 282)

V. Clarke, E.C.C. (H.A.M.P.)

A site visit following ploughing and rolling identified Roman roofing tile and box flue tile scattered in large quantities over the surface of the field. There was a pronounced concentration towards the western edge of the field. Metal-detecting finds comprised approximately 20 to 30 Roman coins and Roman

brooches, as well as Roman roof tile and box flue tile, pottery and prehistoric worked flint, including an arrowhead. There was also slag from glass manufacture. Although most of the material was Roman in date, a Bronze Age votive axe and a number of medieval hammered coins were also identified. The quantity of Roman material suggests a high status building on the site.

40. Elmstead, Fen Farm, Elmstead Market (TM 0545 2376)

B. Barker, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

An archaeological evaluation, comprising 28 trenches, was carried out on the site of a proposed agricultural reservoir. The majority of the features recorded were back-filled post-medieval field boundary ditches. However, areas of prehistoric activity were identified across the southern half of the proposed development area. Evidence of Middle Bronze Age activity included two ring ditches and a bucket urn cremation. These are likely to form part of a barrow cemetery in the south-east corner of the site. A third possible ring ditch was identified further north-west. Prehistoric activity was also recorded across the south-western half of the site, including ditches, pits, and post-holes. The majority of the identifiable pottery recovered from these dated to either the Middle Bronze Age or Late Iron Age, although a single sherd of Roman pottery was identified. Cropmarks identified within the development area were found to correspond with backfilled field boundary ditches, often containing modern field drains.

Archive: C.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 862

41. Epping, Home Farm Barns, Fiddlers Hamlet (TL 4740 0120)

A. Letch, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Early yard surfaces and a brick culvert, probably contemporary with the introduction of livestock and modernisation in the Victorian period, were observed during monitoring of groundworks associated with the conversion of former farm buildings to residential use. No features of archaeological significance were identified, nor artefacts collected.

Archive: E.F.D.M.

42. Epping, land to the rear of the Thatched House Hotel (TL 4617 0232)

B. Wilkins, H.A.T. (now A.S.)

An archaeological trial trench evaluation was carried out to the rear of the Thatched House Hotel. The site lies within the historic core of Epping, to the rear of the High Street, in an area with the potential for evidence of the medieval and post-medieval periods. The evaluation revealed remains of the former 18th-century stable block but no evidence of medieval backyard activity to the rear of the High Street or activity associated with former structures fronting Hemnall Street.

Archive: E.F.D.M.

Report: H.A.T. Report 1303

43. Epping Upland, Chambers Manor Farm (TL 4375 0435)

A. Letch, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

The surviving structural elements of a planned Victorian dairy farm, a cowhouse and pigshed, were recorded in advance of conversion to residential use. A watching brief undertaken during the cutting of associated service and drain runs revealed a possible moat deposit believed to be related to the medieval Chambers manor house and extant moat remains to the south-west of the present farmhouse.

Archive: E.F.D.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1160

44. Frating, Manheim Auctions, Colchester Road (TM 098 240)

M. Peachey, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

An archaeological evaluation consisting of nineteen trenches was carried out ahead of the construction of a new car storage area. Known cropmark complexes comprising probable trackways, boundaries, enclosures and pits occur in the vicinity and to the south-east of the development area (EHER 2635, 2522, 2622 and 2536). The evaluation uncovered a small pit or post-hole of prehistoric date and a pit and ditch of medieval date. A number of undated ditches and gullies were also excavated. These features were concentrated in the western part of the site.

Archive: C.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1159

45. Gosfield, Brook Street Farm, Halstead Road (TL 799 318)

V. Clarke, E.C.C. (H.A.M.P.)

A site visit identified a number of very abraded fragments of tile and a few sherds of pottery in the field to the south-east of the farm. At least some of this material was Roman in date. There appears to be a concentration of tile and Roman grey coarseware in the south-east corner of the field, though this material may have been partly dragged downslope by plough action and gravitational movement.

46. Great Braxted, All Saints' Church (TL 8510 1545)

B. Holloway, C.A.T.

A watching brief on groundworks for an extension to the church vestry revealed seventeen articulated skeletons. Two more were recorded in the excavation of a soakaway. All the burials were orientated east/west with the head to the west. There was no evidence of coffins, and the burials could not be dated.

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.292)

Report: C.A.T. Report 254

47. Great Chesterford, Omega Cottage, Newmarket Road (TL 5047 4311)

D. Hillelson, H.N.

As the result of an archaeological condition on the planning permission for the creation of off-road parking and associated landscaping and alteration works an archaeological excavation was carried out. The fieldwork involved supervision of the ground reduction and investigation and recording of all exposed and affected archaeological features and deposits. The area had been significantly disturbed by post-medieval activity, including a possible backfilled gravel quarry and a large robber trench that followed the proposed line of the Roman town wall. Nevertheless, the truncated remains of two Roman pits and a further undated ditch and gully were identified.

Archive: S.W.M.

Report: H.N. Report 383

48. Great Chesterford, Great Chesterford Primary School, School Street (TL 5076 4283)

D. Hillelson, H.N.

In response to an archaeological condition on planning permission for the construction of a new classroom, an archaeological excavation was carried out of the footprint of the new building. Beneath overburden, at least seven roughly cut intercutting quarry pits were identified, extending eastwards beyond the study area. The deepest of these was bottomed 2.40m below the original ground surface. The nature of the numerous fills within these features suggests that the extraction process was piecemeal. Pottery evidence indicates that most of the quarry was backfilled during the 1st to 2nd centuries AD and was then sealed by an upper fill dating to the early to mid 2nd century.

Archive: S.W.M.

Report: H.N. Report 439

49. Great Chesterford, Roman town (Survey Area A centred TL 5031 4299; Survey Area B centred TL 5018 4343)

R. Wardill, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

A magnetometer survey of a 17.5 ha area was carried out on the site of the Roman town. It located magnetic anomalies characteristic of the town wall and internal features including roads, buildings, pits and ditches. The layout of anomalies can be divided into three distinct zones of alignment and these are interpreted as phases of the town's development. Further anomalies detected to the north of the town walls are indicative of extensive extramural settlement remains comprising roads, enclosures and probable cemeteries. Two phases of development are also apparent in the layout of these features.

Archive: S.W.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1107

50. Great Chesterford, Sewage Treatment Works (TL 4989 4391)

M. Roy and A. Robertson, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

An archaeological strip, map and assess exercise, followed by excavation, was undertaken in the archaeologically sensitive area of a reed bed development. A watching brief was also carried out on groundworks to the east and north-west of the excavation. Archaeological remains were visible in various parts of the reed bed area (notably the west and south-east). These were commonly cut into a layer of colluvium that overlay the subsoil. Much modern disturbance had occurred during the recent past, inevitably causing the disturbance and truncation of deposits.

Evidence of prehistoric activity was retrieved from the watching brief section of a north/south running ditch, probably the remnant of a field boundary. Remains of Mid Saxon, and possibly Roman, period drainage features were encountered in the west of the site. In the east of the site was a complex of undated pits and ditches, some of which may have natural origins given their irregular shape. A single curvilinear gully in the south-western corner of the site may be the remains of a later prehistoric eaves drip gully, but no artefactual evidence was recovered to support this.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 239

Archive: S.W.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1241

51. Great Dunmow, former Council Depot, Haslers Lane (TL 6290 2155)

S. Hickling, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

As a result of an archaeological evaluation, excavation was carried out on this site, located on the postulated south-eastern periphery of the Roman town. An area of 413msq was opened, revealing 4 ditches, 25 small pits or post-holes and over 100 cremation burials, all overlain by a buried plough-soil containing medieval and post-medieval material. The burials date from the mid 1st to the early 2nd century AD. Three sides of the cemetery were found – only the northern limit was not discovered. Two or three foci in the spatial distribution of the burials have been tentatively identified. The types of burial were varied, some unurned, some urned, some with ancillary vessels, some boxed or shuttered and some with the bone contained in probable caskets. The finds included two mirrors, several brooches, two bone dice and a range of pyre debris.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 239

Archive: S.W.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1096

52. Great Dunmow, 71-75 High Street (TL 62 21)

B. Mackay, C.A.U.

Three evaluation trenches were opened on the site of the former slaughterhouse to the rear of the street frontage.

Two revealed no deposits of archaeological interest but the third contained a large 16th/17th-century feature, possibly related to the local leather or cloth industries.

Archive: S.W.M.

Report: C.A.U. Report 560

53. Great Dunmow, Woodlands Park Stages 3 and 4 (TL 615 225)

E. Davis and B. Barker, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Fieldwalking survey followed by trial trenching was carried out on Phases 3 and 4 of a major residential development at Woodlands Park. Cropmarks have been identified in the development area, consisting of irregular pits (EHCR 14071) in Phase 3 and field boundaries (EHCR 9847) and a Roman road (EHCR 1185) in Phase 4. The development lies to the north of the Middle Iron Age settlement and Romano-British field boundaries excavated at Buildings Farm (EHCR 8994-8).

Fieldwalking identified concentrations of worked and burnt flint, a small scatter of Roman material possibly associated with the Roman road, and concentrations of post-medieval pottery and tile which may be connected to quarrying and fishponds that lie just outside the survey area. The trial trenching targeted four areas of potential archaeological activity. 14 trenches of the total 61 contained potential archaeological features, though most were proven to be areas of post-medieval or modern disturbance associated with agricultural practice. A trench excavated along the northern edge of Phase 4 revealed several poorly defined features dating to the Roman period.

An area of approximately 900m² was subsequently excavated in the vicinity of this trench. This included a high density of features dating to the Roman period, although residual Neolithic and Iron Age pottery was also recovered. The main features of the site were a large north-east/south-west orientated boundary ditch, three large pits, a series of inter-cutting gullies or slots, and a possible oven or kiln. It is likely that the ditches are part of an early Roman field system, with an oven and stockades or cultivation trenches relating to later Roman agricultural activity. It is thought that the features encountered are peripheral to a main focus of activity, which is likely to lie to the north of the site.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 239

Archive: S.W.M.

Report: F.A.U. Reports 1162 and 1205

54. Great Sampford and Little Sampford

Free Roberts Farm; Tews/Parsonage Farm; Goddards Farm; Little Sampford Hall Farm; Salix Farm (TL 635 348 to TL 651 358)

K. Neale, H.S.

Fieldwalking was undertaken in 21 fields spread over the above farms during 2003. Of particular significance was the confirmation of Roman and Iron Age activity in the Shillingstone Field at Free Roberts Farm. This field

was generally rich in artefacts, including worked flints, and a Neolithic site was also identified. The Hardings Field on the same farm produced Roman brick, tile and pottery (grey ware, Samian and mortaria sherds) suggesting an important occupation site of that era, as well as flint, post-medieval pottery and a coin from the reign of Elizabeth I (c. 1560). Further evidence of Roman occupation on this farm was found at Dambury's Field, where grey ware and Roman millstone was recorded. This field also produced worked flint, including a barbed and tanged arrowhead.

Further notable results were a concentration of grey ware sherds in the Mill Pasture Field of Goddards Farm and concentrations of grey ware pottery in the Barn Field at Tews/Parsonage Farm. Large quantities of pottery (including grey ware) were found at Tindon Field on Salix Farm, where flints, brick and medieval and post-medieval tile were also recorded.

55. Great Wigborough, Abbots Hall Farm (TL 9711 1399)

C. Crossan, C.A.T.

Wooden structures sealed by thick clay deposits were recorded during watching briefs on machine excavations for a new freshwater lake and a counterwall trench. The principal feature consisted of two east/west-orientated rows of posts, approximately 3m apart, stretching across part of a former tidal creek. Radiocarbon dating of a wood sample indicated a date of AD 920±50 years, at the one sigma level of confidence. Possible functions include a fishtrap or jetty, but observation was too fragmentary to permit a satisfactory interpretation of the structure.

Archive: C.M.

Report: C.A.T Reports 105, 111, 161 and 213

56. Hackney, 1-9 Sidworth Street (TQ 3490 8410)

M. Wotherspoon, H.A.T. (now A.S.)

An archaeological desk-based assessment located some evidence for activity of prehistoric date in the vicinity of the assessment site, flint artefacts having been recorded to the north east of the site and a flint-working floor to the west. Place-name evidence suggested Saxon settlements in the area along Mare Street. Additionally, the area saw general dispersed occupation in the medieval period, with ribbon development along Mare Street. The early settlements were to the north and south of the site, but extended along Mare Street and towards London Fields, taking in the assessment area. The site was characterised by a gradually increasing pace of development throughout the early post-medieval period and into the 18th and 19th centuries.

The specific area of the assessment was first developed in the latter half of the 19th century when Sidworth Street was constructed. Earlier occupation may have occurred on the site, though the extent of its later truncation by the 19th-century buildings is unknown. No evidence has been found to indicate

significant previous ground disturbance, for example, known cellaring or WWII bomb damage.

Report: H.A.T. Report 1224

57. Halstead, Flood Alleviation Scheme (TL 8090 3147)

R. Clarke, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

A large evaluation, comprising 54 trenches, was undertaken in advance of a proposed Flood Alleviation Scheme in the Colne valley to the north-west of Halstead. Although very few archaeological features were present within the evaluation trenches, a significant result of the evaluation was the recovery of an assemblage of flint artefacts of Mesolithic and Neolithic date. Generally, these were recovered from a fine-grained subsoil that was present in varying thickness across large parts of the evaluation area. Previously, there was no known evidence of activity of this early date in this part of the Colne valley, and there are very few identified Mesolithic sites as a whole in Essex, making this collection a rare and valuable addition to the understanding of this period. Several probable prehistoric features, including a substantial ditch, were also recorded, mostly sealed below the subsoil, with a slight concentration in the south-east of the development area.

Several post-medieval field boundaries and a system of ditches associated with water-management, perhaps related to Box Mill to the immediate south of the development area, were investigated. A row of probable post-medieval cottages is known to have stood on Doe's Corner on the A1124 in the north of the development area before being demolished in the 1920s.

The finds assemblage from the site largely comprises worked flint, although small quantities of prehistoric pottery and unstratified sherds of later pottery are also present. The flint assemblage includes a micro-burin mis-hit, several cores, blades, a thumbnail scraper and various flakes, some of which are patinated and are of probable Mesolithic date.

Archive: Bt.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1285

58. Halstead, 101-105 High Street (TL 813 305)

V. Clarke, E.C.C. (H.A.M.P.)

A watching brief on this site identified a garden soil underlying the topsoil, which contained abundant fragments of post-medieval roofing tile and a small quantity of 17th- and early 18th-century pottery. A large post-medieval pit was observed cutting into this deposit, which itself contained abundant post-medieval roofing tile and lumps of sandy mortar, obviously derived from a nearby building. Running perpendicular to the High Street, towards the bottom of the garden soil, a stretch of flint wall was observed. It overlay a piece of post-medieval roofing tile. To the south of this was a clay-packed post-hole, probably contemporary in date.

59. Harlow, Areas N4 and N5, Church Langley (TL 480 091)

S. Hickling, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

A watching brief on the continuing residential development has recovered a small quantity of post-medieval pottery, brick and tile, and fragments from ceramic saggars. Further work is expected.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 240

Archive: H.M.

60. Harlow, Darlingsons Garage, Station Road, Old Harlow, (TL 4719 1163)

N. Crank, H.A.T. (now A.S.)

The site is located to the south of the Roman settlement and of the Iron Age and Romano-British temple site situated at TL 468 123. An archaeological evaluation revealed two features of medieval date. These were a pit, heavily truncated by modern activity, that contained two sherds of medieval pottery and one sherd of residual Roman pottery and a gully, which produced a quantity of animal bone in addition to two sherds of medieval pottery. The evaluation suggests a low intensity of medieval remains, probably 'backyard' activity.

Archive: H.M.

Report: H.A.T. Report 1316

61. Harwich, Trinity House Depot (TM 258 326)

A.O.C.

An archaeological field evaluation consisting of two machine-excavated trenches was conducted ahead of the redevelopment of the current Trinity House buoy depot and buoy yard. Potential evidence was found for a period of large-scale redevelopment of the quay front, dating from the late 1700s to the late 1800s, that may relate to the expansion of the docks area associated with the growth of rail links and trade transportation. Excavation of deep made ground deposits revealed features cut within the clay dumps, suggesting that this dumping was a gradual process over a period of time. Excavation to natural sand revealed no earlier features or structures, which suggests either that this area has been reclaimed from the River Stour and has never been accessible or that during past stages of redevelopment any potential remains were truncated or removed.

62. High Roding, Rands, Rands Road (TL 6070 1762)

J. Mordue, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

A watching brief on building work on the 16th-century farmhouse recorded a section of the moat surrounding the site, partly infilled in the 1940s.

Archive: S.W.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1197

63. Horndon-on-the-Hill, land between Halls Row and the Village Hall, High Road (TQ 6696 8336)

M. Roy, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

A watching brief was carried out on the third and final plot of this residential development, situated to the north of the former market place in the historic core of the settlement. Two medieval post-holes and a pit were recorded, together with numerous undated features. Evidence of an early post-medieval structure occupying a road frontage position was also uncovered, consisting of beam slots or eaves drip gullies and a number of pits and post-holes.

Archive: T.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 746

64. Ilford, Valentines Park (TQ 435 880)

S. Weaver, O.A.

Topographical survey, desk-based assessment and evaluation were undertaken in order to provide further detail regarding the archaeological potential of the park and to record, where possible, surviving elements of the 18th-century gardens, to provide information regarding their construction and state of preservation. This was to inform a proposed programme of reinstatement. The desk-based investigations have identified that the area currently enclosed by the park has the potential to retain archaeological sites dating from the early prehistoric period onwards. During the site walkover the alignment of the late 17th- to 18th-century and later paths in the American Garden was detected and the line of the Ha-Ha investigated. Evidence was seen of the infilling of the Ha-Ha during the construction of Bower Walk. Topographical survey and evaluation conducted within the historic core of the park has provided detailed information regarding the survival, construction and development of the garden landscape from the earlier 18th-century Rococo garden to the present. Work was also carried out in the Kitchen Garden, which suggested a layout of beds and paths had predated the glasshouses and traced the alignment of the former garden walls.

Archive: R.M.S.

65. Lawford, Lawford Hall, Mount Park Round Barrow (TM 081 318)

J. Archer and R. Clarke, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

A contour survey was made of the late Neolithic/Bronze Age round barrow (Essex S.A.M. No. 215). This recorded the current state of the mound, particularly documenting the extent of natural and man-made damage, and will act as a baseline for future monitoring and protection of this important monument.

Archive: To be decided

Report: F.A.U. Report 1177

J.D. and A.M. Black, C.A.G.

Magnetic survey of the area around the barrow located a section of ring ditch surrounding the barrow, a circle of c. 40m diameter. There was some evidence for a second concentric ring ditch of 50m diameter. Further magnetic survey of c. 1 hectare south of the barrow

revealed a linear ditch system inconsistent with published cropmark photographs. Several worked flints were found.

66. Leyton, 24-34 Oliver Road, (TQ 3758 8670)

S. Hickling, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Three evaluation trenches were excavated in advance of a small housing development, in an area where prehistoric and Roman activity has previously been recorded. Several pits of Victorian or later date were uncovered, cut through an earlier ploughsoil and subsoil. Three features, a gully and two pits, were undated, but the pale colour of their fills and the fact that they were overlain by the ploughsoil, suggest that they could be considerably earlier than the Victorian features. The gully was aligned perpendicular to Oliver Road, suggesting that it may be associated with the field system that preceded the suburban development.

Archive: M.L.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1196

67. Little Chesterford, Chesterford Park, (TL 5338 4208 [Area A]; TL 5340 4180 [Area B])

B. Bishop, P.C.A.

Six evaluation trenches were opened – three each in Areas A and B. With the exception of a post-medieval field-drain system, the only features or deposits of archaeological significance consisted of a ditch that truncated an earlier feature, which may have represented a further ditch or large pit. The latter feature produced both late medieval and Bronze Age/Iron Age pottery, indicating a probable late medieval date. The post-medieval drainage ditch contained an *in situ* ceramic field drain. The only cultural feature recorded in Area B, in the south of the site, was a dry watercourse of probable recent date.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 242

Archive: S.W.M.

68. Little Chesterford, Medivir Site, Chesterford Park (TL 5367 4208)

B. Bishop, P.C.A.

An excavation was undertaken involving the opening of four trenches across the site. Features of archaeological significance included a post-hole and two intercutting ditches in the western trench, another ditch of possible curvilinear plan in the south central trench and a pit and gully in the eastern trench. None of these produced any definitive dating evidence. However, the presence of an undiagnostic struck flint recovered from the fill of the pit in the western trench indicates it is of probable prehistoric origin. A pit recorded in the south-eastern trench was rich in cultural debris. This included struck flint, rounded cobbles and pebbles, unburnt animal bone fragments, fragments of antler displaying cut marks and also stone types not indigenous to the immediate area. While the feature may be simply a

rubbish pit, it is possible that it represents some ritual or ceremonial activity on the site.

Archive: S.W.M.

69. Little Totham, Chappel Farm (TL 8840 0860)
A. Robertson, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

The first part of a two-phase excavation, prior to the construction of an agricultural reservoir, revealed archaeological features and artefacts spanning the earlier prehistoric to Roman periods. The site is adjacent to Rook Hall (EHCR 7910-22, 13757) and lies in the same area as several other excavated Blackwater Estuary sites, including Slough House Farm and Chigborough Farm (Wallis & Waughman 1998).

The earliest evidence of human activity was an unstratified Upper Palaeolithic dihedral burin. The earliest features uncovered comprised a small group of Late Bronze Age pits and possible post-holes in the north of the site. This is assumed to be part of a larger area of Late Bronze Age activity, more of which will possibly be uncovered in Phase 2 of the work. Five roundhouses were uncovered at the southern end of the site, of which two were dated to the Early to Middle Iron Age. Several other structures were identified, including a small post-hole enclosure of similar date and a circular post-hole structure and linear post-hole alignment of prehistoric date. Other features include prehistoric ditches and post-holes, a Roman ditch and three post medieval ditches as well as a quantity of further undated pits, post-holes and gullies. The roundhouses seem to be broadly contemporary with the enclosures excavated at Chigborough Farm, and are probably part of the same episode of land use.

The occupation activity on the site seems to be concentrated to the south, with the prehistoric post-hole alignment possibly providing a northern boundary. The fragmentary Early/Middle Iron Age evidence towards the north of the site could indicate a peripheral, possibly agricultural, use during this period. Overall, the occupation fits well with previously excavated sites in the area.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 242

Archive: C.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 622

70. Loughton, 4 Champions Way (TQ 432 981)
V. Clarke, E.C.C. (H.A.M.P.)

A watching brief revealed a 0.3 to 0.4m-thick deposit of silty clay containing burnt material, abundant charcoal flecks and small fragments of tile. Although no structure or pottery wasters were observed, these deposits may be related to medieval/post-medieval pottery production.

71. Maldon, Beeleigh Abbey (TL 840 077)

Work this year was carried out by C.A.T., M.A.H.G. and E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

C. Crossan, C.A.T.

Beeleigh Abbey is a Premonstratensian house founded in the late 12th century. A 2.4m by 0.8m evaluation trench was manually excavated within the east side of the site of the abbey cloister, in an area that will be affected by new service trenches associated with the proposed remodelling of a kitchen extension. Modern ground disturbance was found to have removed all earlier horizontal stratigraphy down to natural subsoil, which lay at a depth of 0.5m. One deeper feature, an east/west-aligned trench, 0.7 m wide, with post-medieval or modern backfill, was of uncertain purpose. If this was a robber-trench, its location does not fit well with the known structural elements of the abbey.

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.191)

Report: C.A.T. Report 241

D. Punchard, M.A.H.G. and H. Brooks, C.A.T.

Excavation under the late Bill Clark revealed the foundations of a medieval hall house comprising a parlour, central hall and service rooms. A central tile-built hearth and a later hearth with the foundations of a brick chimney were identified. A further hearth had been inserted in the external flank wall of the parlour. Archaeomagnetic dating of the central hearth provided a date of last use between 1465 and 1495. Further excavation revealed the presence of a rear extension to the hall. Excavation to the north identified further buildings, including three hearths, two of which were possibly related to a kitchen that served the hall. Another central hearth, again tile-built, yielded a date of last use of 1240-1260. This structure related to an earlier hall; the foundations of this building have disappeared. To the north a possible boundary ditch was identified. The fill of this ditch contained an effigy showing hands cradling a casket, which may be a representation of a casket that contained the heart of St Roger of Beeleigh.

Further excavation, under H. Brooks, of the foundations of the hall house revealed the presence of pillar supports, evidence that the building was an aisled hall. A large pit, probably a cess pit for a garderobe, was excavated on the south side of the hall. A probable stair tower was identified in the foundations of the rear extension. Pottery evidence suggests that the hall was constructed, or rebuilt, in the late 15th century, and abandoned when the Abbey was dissolved. This implies that it was related to the Abbey; it may have been the house of the almoner. Finds such as window glass and louvers suggest its high status. A possible boundary ditch to the east contained an almost complete bunghole pitcher and a late 15th-century sandy orange ware jug.

Beeleigh Abbey Chapter House and Parlour (TL 8401 0772)

T. Ennis, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Excavation within the Chapter House at Beeleigh Abbey revealed significant disturbance to the deposits beneath the modern concrete floor. The most recent disturbance, a large pit in the northern half of the trench, can be firmly dated to the early 20th century and may be

evidence of grave clearance. Two other episodes of disturbance, of probable post-medieval date, which contained disarticulated human bone, were encountered in the southern half of the trench. Two earlier archaeological features were identified at the south end of the trench. One was an east/west-orientated linear feature and the other a small, well-defined slot, perhaps associated with the construction of the Chapter House or even with a previous timber structure on the site. Excavation within the adjacent Parlour revealed one pit of unknown date underlying the modern concrete floor. The remainder of the deposits uncovered by this trench appeared to be of natural origin.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2002, 402-3; 2004, 242
Archive: C.M.
Report: F.A.U. Report 1228

72. Maldon, rear of 65 High Street (TL 852 071)

P. Connell, E.C.C. (H.A.M.P.)

A watching brief on foundations for a small building revealed two intercutting pits in section. The lower pit, excavated in the trench bottom, cut the natural and contained oyster shell, animal bone and a small assemblage of medieval pottery (possibly 12th to 14th century).

73. Maldon, 77-79 High Street (TL 8520 0703)

W. Keir, A.S. (formerly H.A.T.)

Archaeological evaluation revealed a series of medieval and post-medieval deposits and features, indicative of the use of the site as back plots of the contemporary street frontage from the late Saxon period onwards.

Archive: C.M.
Report: H.A.T. Report 1375

74. Maldon, 20-22 London Road (TL 8467 0708)

M. Roy, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

An evaluation was carried out on the site of a proposed small residential development. A single evaluation trench was opened by machine, under archaeological supervision. Residual prehistoric and Roman pottery demonstrated early occupation of the area. In the north of the trench a series of medieval midden and levelling deposits, commonly associated with pottery of 12th- to 14th-century date, was revealed. The great depth of deposits encountered, which could not be fully excavated in the present evaluation works, may hold evidence for pre-medieval occupation. In the south of the trench a single medieval midden layer sealed a ditch of unknown date. Levelling deposits, possibly of Victorian date, were encountered across the site.

Archive: C.M.
Report: F.A.U. Report 1268

75. Maldon, Dovercourt Motors Site, Spital Road (east side), (TL 8480 0694)

D. Britchfield, H.A.T. (now A.S.)

Archaeological evaluation revealed truncated evidence of small-scale medieval activity on the periphery of the medieval core of the town, in the vicinity of the medieval 'Town's End' collective midden. A Roman pit, containing three sherds of Roman pottery, had also survived despite high levels of post-medieval truncation and contamination. No evidence was found to support the presence of a Saxon *burh* ditch in this location. Instead, the site demonstrates possible domestic activity associated with medieval quarrying practices, similar to those revealed on an adjacent site at Spital Road Maldon (west side).

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 243
Archive: A.S.
Report: H.A.T. Report 1214

76. Mountnessing, St Giles' Church (TQ 6476 9661)

T. Ennis, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

A watching brief on all groundworks associated with the construction of a W.C. extension on the north side of the church recorded two features in the extension footprint. One of these was a shallow, compacted, human grave, with bones in a poor state of preservation while the other was a mortar-covered brick vault (not opened). The vault was probably the grave of Pleasance Blencowe who died in either 1832 or 1852. Observation of the north wall of the aisle revealed a series of deposits underpinning the wall. These deposits appeared to be post-medieval and later in date and some were probably associated with later 19th-century repair work. The west-end of a possible grave cut was identified in the eastern section of the soakaway. No other archaeological features were identified.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 243
Archive: Ch.M.
Report: F.A.U. Report 947

77. Newham, Bridport Site, Three Mills, Bromley-by-Bow (TQ 3825 8280)

S. Holden, P.C.A.

Two trenches were opened during evaluation of the site. Alluvial deposits were recorded at *c.* 2.7m OD and *c.* 3.m OD in these trenches. One alluvial deposit contained a single sherd of possibly late medieval transitional red ware dating to the 15th or early 16th century. Further alluvial layers of 18th- and 19th-century date were covered with made ground from the 19th to the 20th century.

Archive: M.L.

78. Newham, Cumberland School, Alexandra Street (TQ 4000 8190)

H. Clough, P.C.A.

During evaluation two trenches were opened, revealing natural brickearth. Prehistoric activity was indicated by two Mesolithic or Early Neolithic worked flints

recovered from a natural channel or possible ditch cut into the brickearth. Relatively close to the channel was a prehistoric or Roman cremation of an adult human. Two Roman ditches were dug for drainage or as field boundaries. These were sealed by alluvium. Above the alluvial deposits was a layer of 19th- to 20th-century material that probably relates to the Victorian terraces present on the site until the 20th century.

Archive: M.L.

79. Newham, Docklands Light Railway, Silvertown/City Airport Extension (TQ 4135 8010)
M. Morley, M.o.L.A.S.

An evaluation and watching brief on the site revealed the build-up of deposits ranging from the Palaeolithic to Iron Age periods. Sand and gravel beds laid down during the final phases of the last glaciation marked the beginnings of climatic amelioration following the glacial maximum c. 20,000 years ago. Overlying these were organic sediments, representing a wet, marshy environment prone to overbank flooding. A radiocarbon age estimate at the base of this peat deposit gave an age of 6860-6670 Cal BP, in the Later Mesolithic period. This correlates well with Devoy's (1979) Tilbury II estuarine contraction event. At this time the site was probably a wooded environment with a dryland assemblage of trees such as oak, lime, ash and elm.

Neolithic to Bronze Age sediments comprised a broadly homogeneous band of peat across the whole site. It is likely that this correlates with Devoy's Tilbury III/IV regressive events. At this time the site was a heavily vegetated area of the floodplain consisting of alder-carr marshland with a ground flora of sedges and ferns. Silty peats appear to indicate that estuarine expansion associated with Devoy's Thames IV event led to localised channel activity which appears to have flooded the Middle Bronze Age woodland, possibly by overbank flooding from a nearby channel.

Iron Age to medieval deposits demonstrated an environment likely to have comprised an open, level environment very prone to overbank flooding, which was increasingly dominated by herbs and grasses. Indirect evidence for human activity was observed in the form of pollen from large *poaceae* that may be of cereal type. This indicates the planting of arable crops nearby, though the area of the site itself may have remained too damp for this purpose.

Overlying and truncating all sediments across the site was a series of dumps and make-up layers which testify to the increasing industrialisation of the area from the Victorian era onwards. These layers of made ground represented levelling of the area prior to the construction of factories and residential housing.

Archive: M.L.

80. Newham, East Ham Memorial Hospital, Shrewsbury Road, (TQ 4173 8428)
I. Howell and J. Taylor, M.o.L.A.S.

Evaluation revealed numerous small discrete features cut into the underlying brickearth geology. Some were of natural origin and others have been provisionally interpreted as pits or post-holes. Saxon pottery was recovered from the fill of a feature of natural origin. Burnt flint fragments of possible prehistoric date were observed in a thin layer that appeared to overlie the features. This layer was sealed by a post-medieval ploughsoil.

Archive: M.L.

81. Noak Hill, Weald View, Paternoster Row (TQ 5340 9405)
R. Mackley, R.H.F.A.G.

Limited excavation was undertaken prior to the building of a garage. A quantity of Mill Green pottery sherds was recovered. Also revealed was the complete skeleton of a small horse or donkey.

Archive: R.H.F.A.G.

Previous summaries: Bennett 1999, 220; 2002, 405

82. Ongar, The Manor House, High Street, Chipping Ongar (TL 5531 0302)
I. Turner, H.A.T. (now A.S.)

A programme of archaeological monitoring and recording was undertaken during groundworks for a new extension and conversion of outbuildings at the Manor House. The site lies within the historic core and conservation area of Chipping Ongar. The Grade II listed Manor House is a structure of late medieval date. Two pits of late medieval to early post-medieval date were recorded, in addition to levelling layers of similar date. A single residual, possible late Saxon pottery sherd was recovered in association with post-medieval finds. A copper-alloy finger ring was also found.

Archive: E.F.D.M.

Report: H.A.T. Report 1356

83. Purfleet, High House Farm (TQ 5646 7824)
P. Harding, W.A.

Three areas (Areas 1-3) were excavated. The earliest features revealed during the excavation comprised three Middle Bronze Age pits, situated within the south-eastern part of Area 1. Two other features, a short ditch aligned south-south-west/north-north-east and a pit, produced pottery of Middle to Late Bronze Age date. Diagnostic Late Bronze Age activity was predominantly focussed on the south-facing brow of the Purfleet anticline, in addition to a north/south-aligned ditch adjacent to the earlier Middle Bronze Age features. The remains on the anticline included a double-ditched enclosure, a pit and numerous intercutting working hollows filled with burnt flint. There were no structural remains and very few artefacts associated with the enclosure, suggesting it was non-domestic. A Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age ditch, aligned south-south-west/north-north-east across the eastern end of Area 1,

appeared to define the eastern extent of most prehistoric activity in Area 1. Late Iron Age features included a ditch aligned north/south, which recut the west side of the earlier double-ditched enclosure, with an adjacent series of pits and/or post-holes, some forming apparent alignments. In addition, two isolated pits were situated along the northern edge of Area 2.

The principal components of the Early Romano-British phase were four ditches broadly aligned south-south-west/north-north-east, as well as a group of at least 15 burials, including two cremation burials. The ditches comprised one large feature, apparently forming the western boundary for Romano-British activity on the site, and three small ditches to the east. These smaller ditches apparently represented a single boundary, which was recut at least twice. The burials were all inserted into the partially infilled remains of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age boundary ditch. The inhumation burials were generally orientated with heads to the north and lying in slightly flexed positions facing the west. Many contained grave goods. One of the cremation burials also contained a potentially curated Late Iron Age jar.

The only medieval feature was a large sub-square pit, centrally located within Area 3, which may have been a chalk borrow pit. Post-medieval and/or modern activity, concentrated in the western end of Area 2, comprised the northern half of an apparently sub-rectangular ditched enclosure of indeterminate function. Two large sub-rectangular pits within Area 1 may represent chalk borrow pits.

Archive: To be confirmed

84. Purfleet, Purfleet Anticline Pleistocene deposits (TQ 5588 7865)

P. Harding, W.A.

Evaluation confirmed the basic geological sequence along the north side of the Purfleet Anticline. Flint artefacts of Clactonian technology with associated faunal remains underlie the interglacial beds at Purfleet. None of these flakes appear to be by-products of hand axe manufacture. The Purfleet shell beds were traced to the Botany Pit, the first occasion that these beds have been identified south of the present Purfleet By-pass.

Up-slope, sections were revealed through the Corbets Tey Formation. The scarcity of flint artefacts, the even surface of the chalk bench and the depth of deposits tend to confirm that the exposed section is some distance from the projected line of the Purfleet cliff at this point. The greatest density of Palaeolithic artefacts was found in two of the evaluation trenches, from both involutions in the chalk and in the basal gravel. This lithic material was associated with the production of hand axes and may therefore equate with material observed in two further trenches, where hand axes and 'proto' Levallois material were present.

A number of pieces from the basal beds in Greenlands Quarry represent a flake industry that

contains no diagnostic by-products or discarded rough-outs from hand axe manufacture.

Archive: To be confirmed

85. Purfleet, Tank Hill Road (TQ 5525 7935)

P. Harding and C. Wright, W.A.

During the evaluation of Pleistocene deposits within the Mar Dyke valley, a spread of worked flint was noted within the upper profile of a sand deposit sealed beneath a peat formation. The upper 0.2m of this deposit produced 1577 pieces of worked flint, with the few diagnostic pieces suggesting a transitional Late Mesolithic/Early Neolithic date. The assemblage was almost certainly *in situ*, although it is probable that the material had descended down through the sand profile, and was therefore not contemporaneous with the sand level from which it was recovered. Concentrations of material were evident, including the apparent remains of a hearth, evidenced by a spread of burnt worked and unworked flint, surrounded by worked flint scatters.

The subsequent excavation of a series of discrete trenches demonstrated the presence of a widespread dense scatter of worked flint, covering an area of at least 6200m². It is likely that the final number of finds will be in the region of 40,000, including a small assemblage of Early Neolithic pottery. The worked flint consists almost entirely of Late Mesolithic/Early Neolithic pieces, suggesting transitional hunter-gatherer/early agriculturalist activity comparable with other similarly dated recent excavations in the area. Preliminary spatial analysis suggests discrete concentrations of tool types, indicating discrete activity zones, including further hearthside activity.

A very small concentration of Late Upper Palaeolithic 'long blade' tools was centrally located within the investigation area. In addition, a small number of Early Bronze Age barbed and tanged arrowheads, including at least one unfinished rough-out were recovered. These may represent the exploitation of the waterlogged, marsh-like Early Bronze Age environment.

Archive: To be confirmed

86. Rainham, Berwick Field, Berwick Pond Road (TQ 5430 8430)

S. Hickling, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

A total of 27 evaluation trenches were excavated in advance of tree planting for the Thames Chase Community Forest. The archaeological remains were mainly confined to the western portion of the field, in two major concentrations. In the north-western corner a track, in the form of two parallel ditches of prehistoric to Roman date, was uncovered. Associated with it were three pits containing burnt material, one of which was dated to the Early Iron Age. In the south-western corner of the field was a concentration of features, possibly of medieval date, but with a large amount of residual

prehistoric material in their fills. The small amount of contemporary finds within these features suggested an agricultural rather than a domestic use.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 244-5

Archive: M.L.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1191

87. Rainham, Channel Tunnel Rail Link A13 crossing, Wennington Marsh (TQ 53810 80460)

A. Crockett, W.A.

Excavation could not confirm the nature of activity associated with medieval pottery noted during a CTRL watching brief carried out by Oxford Archaeology in the area. Documentary evidence has demonstrated probable late Saxon/early medieval origins for the nearby village of Wennington, and it is therefore likely that the majority of the pottery recovered is associated with such development. It is possible, given the distance between the previous investigations and the present excavation, that the pottery and other finds previously recovered represent activity focussed immediately adjacent to the former creek flowing from St Mary's Lane Wharf to the River Thames. Such activity would appear to persist into the early post-medieval period, and therefore accords well with documentary records that suggest the creek ceased to be navigable by the mid 17th century at the latest.

Archive: To be confirmed

Report: W.A. Report 50550.090

88. Rawreth, St Nicholas' Church (TQ 7806 9342)

S. Hickling, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

A watching brief was undertaken on works to install a drain and extend a toilet block. Two walls were uncovered, evidence of the development of the church, as well as 49 burials, all Christian, but of several different forms. The footings of the south wall of the south aisle possibly display three phases of modification. Although it remains undated archaeologically, the south aisle is probably late medieval in origin. Another wall appears to be on the same alignment as the modern church, but is totally different in materials and form, suggesting that it may represent an earlier church building.

All the burials discovered were aligned east/west with the head at the west end. The brick-built tombs were concentrated at the east end of the chancel, a popular location for this expensive form of burial. Those burials with surviving coffins, probably representing more recent burials, do not occur close to the church building. Burials whose coffins do not survive (if they ever existed) are spread fairly evenly over the whole churchyard.

Archive: S.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1188

89. Rayleigh, former Park School, Rawreth Lane (TQ 7997 9246)

M. Roy, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Evaluation revealed significant truncation across much of the site. However, a probable Iron Age ditch was visible. Also the remains of an early Saxon cemetery were identified. This consisted of badly truncated elements of up to 11 cremation burials and one probable inhumation burial, from which a fine bead necklace was recovered. There were also several ditches and pits of probable early Saxon date in this area.

Archive: E.C.C.

90. Redbridge, Five Oaks Lane, Chigwell, (TQ 483 923)

L. Prosser, H.A.T. (now A.S.)

An archaeological desk-based assessment identified that though a few finds of importance are known in the general area of the investigation, archaeological evidence across the region is sparse, suggesting that local conditions were not conducive to settlement and activity before the modern period. During the historical period the area was initially attached to the great territorial domains of Barking Abbey, but was latterly separated as part of the ancient parish of Dagenham. The northern part of this estate comprised the heavily wooded uplands of Hainault, which lay within the great Essex Forest of Waltham. This survived until the 19th century with minimal loss or shrinkage, but was almost completely grubbed up by the Crown between 1858 and 1866. Maps suggest that the assessment site initially lay within a surviving remnant of this woodland, which had, however, been cleared by 1898. Thereafter fields and paddocks were laid out, and survived until the late 1930s, when detached houses and smallholdings were built along the lane.

Report: H.A.T. Report 1230

91. Rivenhall, Transco pipeline, Coleman's Farm, Rivenhall End (TL 8317 1575)

M. Peachey and M. Roy, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Excavation of a gas pipeline revealed a number of archaeological features, which led to full archaeological excavation of these features, and monitoring of the remainder of the pipeline route.

Archaeological features and deposits were encountered along a roughly 150m length of the pipeline, consisting of ditches, gullies and pits of Late Iron Age/early Roman date. A series of ditches and gullies, commonly orientated north-west by south-east may relate to land division and field drainage. Large pits located among these linear features, which contained abundant pottery, animal bone, oyster and other refuse, point to a domestic settlement in the vicinity during the transition period between the Late Iron Age and early Roman period.

Archive: Finds returned to owner

Report: F.A.U. Report 1284

92. Romford, Romford Market Place (TQ 5132 8899)

E. Burton, M.o.L.A.S.

Natural sands and gravels were observed at 16.71m OD during a watching brief on the site. Only one archaeological feature was revealed, a metalled road or trackway of unknown date.

Archive: M.L.

93. Saffron Walden, 30 Castle Street (TL 5380 3873)

R. Havis, E.C.C. (H.A.M.P.)

A watching brief on construction of an extension at the above property identified an 18m-deep well in the corner of the extension. The well was cut directly into chalk and had a Victorian brick-built dome.

94. Southend-on-Sea, land adjacent to North Shoebury Road (TQ 9303 8577)

A. Taylor, T.V.A.S.

Fifty-five evaluation trenches were excavated in order to target known cropmarks on the site (EHCR 11080) and to sample the remainder of the site area. No archaeological features were found. Two tiny abraded sherds of Iron Age or Roman pottery were retrieved from the surface of the brickearth in one trench. The brickearth (and cropmark features) had already been removed from the eastern portion of the site.

Archive: S.M.

Report: T.V.A.S. Report 03/50b

95. Southend-on-Sea, RBS Cards Operation Centre, Thanet Grange (TQ 8597 8827)

M. Roy, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

A watching brief was carried out, involving the monitoring of the machine-stripping of topsoil and overburden. Activity of both Early and Late Iron Age date was identified, the former comprising a number of pits and ditches centred on ditches tentatively identified as the corner of an enclosure. Late Iron Age features included probable field boundary ditches. These lay, in general, to the east of the Early Iron Age concentration. A small number of Roman period pits were centred on a putative enclosure in the centre of the development area. To the north-east of this feature lay a possible inhumation grave, though no human remains were recovered from this pit. Several sections of post-medieval ditch were probably related to land division and drainage.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 249

Archive: S.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1068

96. Stanford-le-Hope, site adjacent to St Margaret's Church (TQ 6847 8216)

A. Letch, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

An evaluation of the site in advance of a planning

application for a new ATC building found a layer, pits, a ditch and gully all datable to the Late Bronze Age approximately 0.64m below present day ground level. This could represent activity associated with a previously unknown settlement. Any later archaeological evidence, perhaps relating to the medieval settlement of Stanford-le-Hope, may have been removed by the clearance, construction and post-use landscaping works for a tennis court in the 20th century.

Archive: T.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1250

97. Stanway, Gosbecks Archaeological Park, Maldon Road (TL 974 229-TL 959 223)

B. Holloway, C.A.T.

A watching brief was maintained on the excavation of a cable trench which extended for 1500m from Butcher's Wood, along Maldon Road (around the perimeter of the Gosbecks Archaeological Park), through the Gosbecks View estate to the Shrub End sub-station. Two linear features were identified. These are likely to be Late Iron Age or Roman ditches of the type previously excavated in this area. The narrowness and shallowness of the cable trench made observation difficult. In theory it should have cut through the Heath Farm Dyke, Gosbecks Dyke and Grymes Dyke, and possibly through the Gosbecks Roman fort ditch. None of these were seen.

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2003.151)

Report: C.A.T. Report 235

P.J. Cott, J.D. and A.M. Black, C.A.G.

Survey by magnetometer took place on c.5 ha of the field (TL 966 223) immediately west of the Archaeological Park. A strong response was recorded for the Iron Age ditches which enclose a trapezoidal area of c.1.5 ha. This is believed to be Cunobelin's farmstead. A dense network of both Iron Age and Roman ditches were also recorded, some of which have not been previously seen as cropmarks. The survey continues.

Previous summaries: Bennett 1998, 99; 2002, 408; 2004, 249

98. Stanway, Stanway quarry (TL 957 224)

D. Shimmin, C.A.T.

This site lies immediately west of Grymes Dyke South and a short distance south-east of the five large funerary enclosures excavated in 1987-97. Prior to sand and gravel quarrying, an excavation covering an area of approximately 140m by 130m has revealed at least four cremation burials of Late Iron Age/Roman date and related features.

Archive: C.A.T., to go to C.M. (ref. 2002.247)

99. Stow Maries, Morris Farm (TQ 822 975)

L. Barker, E.H.

Survey and analysis of earthworks associated with a medieval salt-working complex situated on the former Stow Marsh was undertaken with the primary aim of enhancing knowledge of these increasingly rare sites. The Morris Farm complex is thought to have been operational over a period of roughly 300 years, ending in 1638 with the drainage and reclamation of Stow Marsh. Earthworks covering an area of 9.85ha indicate that a process known as 'solar evaporation' occurred at the site. A series of shallow, uncovered ponds known as 'pans' would have been filled with seawater and left to concentrate into 'brine', through evaporation. The brine was then transferred to a processing area, often termed the 'salt-cote'. Three such areas were identified during the survey, each one surviving as a large earthen platform. Waste products removed from the brine during processing, called 'bitters' were tipped at the edge of each platform to form the distinctive mounds seen at the site.

Report: E.H. Report AI/22/2003

100. Stratford, 211-215 Romford Road (TQ 4003 8489)

K. Pitt, M.o.L.A.S)

Undated brickearth extraction quarry pits were the earliest archaeological features found during evaluation of the site. Cutting these was a 17th- or 18th-century field boundary system consisting of small ditches. A later field boundary ditch was also found. These features were limited to the southern part of the site.

Archive: M.L.

101. Takeley, land to the south of the A120 (Barkers Tanks Site) (TL 5580 2120)

B. Wilkins, H.A.T. (now A.S.)

Archaeological excavation on land to the south of the A120 at Takeley, in advance of a large residential development, revealed three distinct phases of activity represented by a large number of parallel ditches and numerous discrete pits. These phases were marked by shallow parallel linear ditches and sparse pits, cooking pits and hearths dated to the middle Iron Age to early Roman period. The earliest phase of ditches was aligned east/west. Later ditches altered this basic pattern of parallel ditches, forming extensions and other modifications. A system of north/south-aligned ditches was revealed on the northern edge of the site, cutting one of the east/west-orientated ditches and continuing beyond the limit of excavation. In the south-east of the site, the early ditches were cut by further north/south-aligned ditches. The character and topographical arrangement of the ditches suggests that they were associated with land drainage. Comparable late Iron Age to Roman parallel linear ditch systems in the area have been found at Thorley (Taylor 1975, 52; Last and McDonald forthcoming) and during the Stansted

Airport excavations at Warish Hall and Frogs Hall East (Framework 2003). This suggests that this form of land management was widespread on the heavy clay upland.

Previous summaries: Bennett 2004, 249

Archive: S.W.M.

Report: H.A.T. Report 1301

102. Takeley, South Gate Area 1A, Bassingbourn Roundabout, Stansted Airport (TL 547 220 centre)

G. Mabbott, F.A.

The archaeological evaluation of a block of land at the south-eastern corner of Stansted Airport was undertaken as part of a planning application for development. The evaluation area consisted of a 3.7 ha irregular plot of land, immediately to the west of Mid Term Car Park, which was subject to an archaeological excavation in 2000 (Framework 2001). The excavation revealed significant archaeology from the Mesolithic to the post-medieval periods.

The majority of evaluation trenches contained at least one feature of archaeological significance. Although the amount of datable material recovered from these features has been very small, it does suggest some degree of activity throughout the site from the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Late Prehistoric/Roman and medieval periods. This pattern of dating matches closely that found within the Mid Term Car Park site, although the small amount of recovered finds did not suggest any evidence for significant settlement.

Archive: S.W.M.

Report: F.A. Report 91002.01

J. Chapman, F.A.

Following evaluation, an archaeological excavation was undertaken. The excavation revealed the significant archaeological remains suggested by the earlier evaluation. These added to and continued the trend established from the Mid Stay Car Park excavations. Significant evidence of Neolithic archaeological activity was established as well as continued land division and enclosures dating from the Iron Age, Roman and Saxo-Norman periods.

Archive: S.W.M.

Report: F.A. Report 91001.04 (short publication planned for County journal and monograph of F.A. sites at Stansted Airport)

103. Tendring, Hill Farm (TM 1358 2366)

R. Clarke, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Excavation was carried out of an area of approximately 7ha. The site, which is to be part of a reservoir extension, is adjacent to an excavation undertaken in the late 1990s where prehistoric features and the remains of extensive Late Iron Age and Roman field systems were identified. Very different evidence of past land use was found during the present excavation, including a Bronze Age barrow cemetery, post-hole structures and a Saxon well.

A group of twenty-two ring-ditches, which are all that remain of the Bronze Age barrows, was identified in the south-east of the site, around which several satellite cremations were found comprising a mixture of urned and un-urned burials. The urned cremations were placed in pottery 'bucket urns' with impressed finger decoration, although a smaller, more unusual globular urn was also used as a cremation vessel. The ring ditches, which were very shallow in places, and the cremation vessels were all badly damaged by deep ploughing. Although no boundary ditches were discovered, several probable prehistoric ditches were identified to the west of the cemetery, in addition to at least two post-hole structures of uncertain, but possibly prehistoric date.

A Saxon well was located in the south-west of the excavation, comprising a large oval pit, approximately 3.5m by 4m, with a wood and clay-lined shaft in the north-east quadrant, which extended to a depth of over 2m below the exposed ground surface. Many of the most significant finds came from the backfill of this feature, from rubbish discarded into the well once it had gone out of use sometime in the Saxon period. These include a relatively large number of doughnut-shaped loomweights, large pieces of pottery, three iron knives, a fragment of bone comb and a complete bone 'pin beater' (also used in the weaving process). Several other features, mostly pits, in the immediate vicinity of the well, and further to the north, also produced Saxon pottery and fragments of loomweights.

Previous summaries: Bennett 1998, 203
Archive: E.C.C. (F.A.U.), to go to C.M.
Report: F.A.U. Report 1254

104. Thaxted, land adjacent to Mill Cottage, Fishmarket Street (TL 6100 3088)
M. Peachey, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

An archaeological excavation was undertaken prior to the construction of a detached house. The development site is shown in the Historic Towns Assessment Report (Medlycott 1998) as lying within the area of the manor house and its grounds and close to the medieval market, with the site of a probable fair green to the south. Excavation revealed a boundary ditch and rubbish pit of 15th/16th-century date, a 17th-century gully and a number of more modern features. Prior to this activity the site was probably open space within the manor house grounds.

Archive: S.W.M.
Report: F.A.U. Report 1139

105. Tollesbury, Carrington Farm, North Road (TL 9528 1070)

M.J. Rees, M.A.H.G.
Following excavations on the farm in 2001 by the late W. J. R. Clark, three trial trenches were excavated in August 2003. These produced evidence of post-holes, pottery and ceramic building material. Subsequently, a

resistivity survey, which provided possible evidence for the movement of animals around a wet area, was carried out and seven further trenches were opened. These identified a concentration of pottery of transitional Iron Age/Roman date (100BC- AD100), two post-holes, a raft of compressed clay and an unidentified wall/foundation/drainage feature. The site has been mapped and surveyed; excavations will continue in 2004.

Archive: M.A.H.G.

106. Upshire, Copped Hall (TL 4286 0168 & TL 4291 0168)

W.E.A.G.

Excavations were carried out on behalf of the Copped Hall Trust. Two trenches were excavated with the aim of locating the south-east and south-west corners of the Elizabethan hall, demolished around 1750. The south-east trench revealed a portion of brick wall running north-south. This was very fragmented and seems unlikely to have been part of the hall structure. The south-west trench was located in the area of the Victorian rose garden, thought to be where the Elizabethan hall incorporated parts of an earlier manor house as its south wing. Part of a polygonal brick feature was recorded, with a curved interior face bearing traces of render. This may have been the base of a stairwell or turret. This was overlain by redeposited natural clay, containing brick rubble, a field drain, and an ashy deposit with larger pieces of clinker, possibly from a smithing hearth. This trench was extended during the Wansfell College training excavation and exposed further sections of masonry. Samples of the overlying brick and mortar rubble have been dated to the late-15th to mid-16th centuries. The majority of the pottery recovered dates to the 19th century, but one sherd of 14th-century Mill Green ware was found. Resistivity survey has also been carried out, the results of which are currently being analysed.

Archive: W.E.A.G.

107. Waltham Abbey, Highbridge Street (TL 3780 0051)

L. Capon, A.O.C.

Two areas were excavated within the footprint of the development of two blocks of housing. This work followed an evaluation of the site in 1999.

The earliest finds came from very dark brown silty clay in an area that was thought to have been marshland until perhaps the 12th century. This marshland was used as a depository for the towns refuse and cess, evidenced by a large quantity of dumped finds. During the 12th century, the marshland was consolidated by the addition of gravel and clay, raising the ground level above the water table and providing dry land. This dry horizon was cut by a number of shallow pits that were filled with town waste. Some of the pits may have been the sites of trees, but others were used for tanning. Three

medieval boundaries perpendicular to Highbridge Street were uncovered, two of posts at intervals of 1.40m, the other a narrow ditch. These were probably property boundaries, and seem to have existed for some time, since houses built on the site in the 18th century respect these early alignments.

The medieval layers were overlain by a number of dumped deposits upon which the foundations of houses were built. The earliest building phase (c.1600) was characterised by the use of stone robbed from the dissolved Abbey as foundations for probable timber-framed houses. It is unclear what processes were conducted in the houses, but they may have been used for working of animal products: bone, leather and horn. The River Lea seems to have had a pond-like extension into part of the site, and the waste from the processes was discarded directly into the nearby water. The waste was dominated by bovine horn cores. The 18th century also witnessed horn and leather working on the site. At this time, a row of cottages fronting onto Highbridge Street was established, which were superseded in the 19th century by cottages for the workmen and a superintendent's house from the nearby gunpowder factory. Water and waste management was a concern for the cottage dwellers: each 19th-century house had a soakaway, and running east/west at the rear of the properties was a culverted drain.

Archive: A.O.C.

108. Waltham Forest, ACME Seals Site, Davies Lane, Leytonstone (TQ 3947 8692)
H. Clough, P.C.A.

Two evaluation trenches were located outside the footprint of proposed buildings on the site. Overlying the natural gravel was a possible channel and a potential 16th- to 17th-century drainage ditch, both sealed by a layer of ploughsoil of post-medieval date. Cutting through this ploughsoil were a number of brick structures. The most significant was a garden wall, aligned north/south, which may be associated with the 17th-century house, 'The Pastures'.

Later activity on the site consisted of two north/south-aligned brick-lined drains of late 17th or early 18th-century date and later 19th-century additions to earlier walls, which imply a continued use of those walls, possibly for 19th-century greenhouses. The latest building phase is marked by a late 19th-century cess pit.

Archive: M.L.

109. Waltham Forest, Downsell Infant and Juniors School, 134 & 136 Downsell Road (TQ 3880 8582)
S. Holden, P.C.A.

Six evaluation trenches were excavated towards the northern boundary of the site. The structural remains of a 19th-century house were observed and a 19th-century pit was found, which contained domestic debris. This was capped by 20th-century material from landscaping,

which followed the terracing of the site during the construction of the infant school.

Archive: M.L.

110. Walthamstow, The Arcade, High Street (TQ 3727 8921)

D. Score, O.A.

Field evaluation revealed the truncated remains of walls that are likely to be the remains of Elm House, a 17th-century terrace. Elsewhere the site was heavily truncated by modern development. No finds were recovered.

Archive: V.H.M.

111. West Mersea, 20 Yorick Road (TM 0197 1251)
B. Holloway, C.A.T.

This site contains the remains of a round building, first discovered in 1896, which has been variously interpreted as a Roman lighthouse or mausoleum (EHCR 0038). The structure is 20m in diameter with a hexagonal chamber in the centre from which radiate six walls. These walls meet the 1m thick encircling wall and project beyond it for over a metre as external buttresses. An evaluation trench was dug in the garden to assess the condition of the Roman mausoleum ahead of a planning decision on an extension to a garage. This exposed a portion of the outer wall of the foundation and part of a buttress. The tile foundations are intact and appear to be in reasonable condition. There is, however, a large quantity of tile and *opus signinum* lumps lying loose around the foundations. This indicates that there has probably been some recent damage, possibly when the garden was landscaped in the first half of the 20th century. As with previous investigations of the monument, no pottery or other datable material was recovered, though the structure is likely to be associated with a Roman villa building known to lie under the Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

Archive: C.A.T.

Report: C.A.T. Report 255

112. White Notley, The Notleys Golf Club (TL 769 197)

M. Peachey, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

A fieldwalking evaluation discovered a small amount of prehistoric worked flint spread across the area and small concentrations of medieval and post-medieval pottery to the rear of properties on Witham Road. There were few finds of Roman, and none of Saxon, date. The results of the fieldwalking provide little evidence for settlement, though ground visibility during the evaluation was not ideal.

Archive: Bt.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 1155

113. Witham, 1 Blunts Hall Cottages, Blunts Hall Road (TL 8077 1436)

S. Hickling, E.C.C. (F.A.U.)

Two areas were examined during a watching brief: the foundation trenches for an extension to 1 Blunts Hall Cottages and the location of a new garage. The only archaeological features uncovered were the edge of a moat and the moat platform. The backfilling of the moat probably dated to the 19th century, perhaps contemporary with the construction of Blunts Hall Cottages, while the moat platform yielded no datable material. The platform was constructed from chalky clay, probably sourced from the digging of the moat. The amount of 20th-century disturbance in the garage area suggests that any evidence of medieval entranceway structures may have been removed.

Archive: Bt.M.

Report: F.A.U. Report 543

114. Writtle, Orchard House (TL 674 072)

N. Wickendon, Ch.M.

A section of metalled road, of possible Roman date, was noted to the east of Orchard House during monitoring of the construction of a new access road. The feature was c.8m in width, with possible roadside ditches.

115. Writtle, Sturgeons Farm, Cow Watering Lane (TL 6595 0720)

P. Connell, E.C.C. (H.A.M.P.)

A site visit located a spread of Roman tile, pottery, bone and oyster. A small trench excavated recently by Writtle College provided evidence for cut features that may relate to a possible Roman villa (EHCR 703).

Abbreviations:

A.O.C.	A.O.C. Archaeology
A.S.	Archaeological Solutions Ltd (formerly H.A.T.)
Bt.M.	Braintree Museum
B.V.A.S	Brain Valley Archaeology Society
C.A.G.	Colchester Archaeology Group
C.A.T.	Colchester Archaeological Trust
C.M.	Colchester Museum
Ch.M.	Chelmsford and Essex Museum
E.C.C.	Essex County Council
E.C.C.	(F.A.U.)E.C.C. (Field Archaeology Unit)
E.C.C.	(H.A.M.P.) E.C.C. (Heritage Advice, Management and Promotions)
E.FD.M.	Epping Forest District Museum
E.H.	English Heritage

F.A.	Framework Archaeology
H.A.T.	Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust (is now A.S.)
H.M.	Harlow Museum
H.N.	Heritage Network
H.S.	Heritage Sampford
M.A.H.G.	Maldon Archaeological and Historical Group
M.L.	Museum of London
M.o.L.A.S.	Museum of London Archaeology Service
O.A.	Oxford Archaeology
Ox.Ar.	Oxford Archaeotechnics
P.C.A.	Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd
R.H.F.A.G.	Rochford Hundred Field Archaeology Group
R.M.S.	Redbridge Museum Service
S.M.	Southend Museum
S.W.M.	Saffron Walden Museum
T.M.	Thurrock Museum
T.V.A.S.	Thames Valley Archaeological Services Ltd
V.H.M.	Valence House Museum
W.A.	Wessex Archaeology
W.E.A.G.	West Essex Archaeology Group

Bibliography

- Bennett, A. (ed.) 1998 'Archaeology in Essex 1997', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 29, 194-215.
- Bennett, A. (ed.) 1999 'Archaeology in Essex 1998', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 30, 210-31.
- Bennett, A. (ed.) 2002 'Archaeology in Essex 2001', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 33, 390-413.
- Bennett, A. (ed.) 2003 'Archaeology in Essex 2002', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 34, 229-51
- Devoy, R.J.N. 1979 *Flandrian sea-level changes and the vegetational history of the Thames estuary* (Research Monograph), Philosophical Transactions Royal Society, London, B285, 355-407.
- Framework Archaeology 2001 *Excavations on the Long Stay Car Park (Phase 2), the Mid Stay Car Park, the Long Border Rd and the Forward Logistics Base, Stansted Airport, Essex.*
- Framework Archaeology 2003 *A120 Trunk Road, Stansted Airport to Braintree, Essex: post-excavation assessment and publication proposal.*
- Gardner, J.S. 1955 *Ƴ Br Arch Ass XVIII*
- Last, J. and McDonald, T. Forthcoming *Thorley: a multi-period landscape in East Hertfordshire*, Hertford: Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust.
- Medlycott, M. 1998 *Thaxted: Historic Towns Project Assessment Report*, Essex County Council
- Shimmin, D. 1998 "Late Iron Age and Roman occupation at Kirkee McMunn Barracks, Colchester", *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 29, 260.
- Taylor, C. 1975 *Fields in the English Landscape*, London: J.M. Dent.
- Wallis, S. and Waughman M. 1998 *Archaeology and the Landscape in the Lower Blackwater Valley* E. Anglian Archaeol. 82.

The Society is extremely grateful to Essex County Council for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this article.

Work of Essex County Council Archaeological Service 2003

Edited by S. Gale

This annual report reviews project-based work undertaken by staff of the Essex County Council Historic Environment Branch, based in County Hall.

Full details of all sites can be found in the Essex Historic Environment Record (EHER), formerly known as the Essex Heritage Conservation Record (EHCR). The illustrations are by Helen Saunders and Sally Gale.

Aerial Survey

Helen Saunders

The 2003 aerial survey programme was funded by English Heritage and all flights were taken from Stapleford flight centre. The main aims of the survey programme were to continue to record cropmarks and historic towns and villages. Five flights were completed during 2003, totalling over nine hours of flying time. Despite the hot dry summer, it was another poor year for cropmark development, perhaps due to wet weather in the late spring.

The first flight of the year was taken in January after snow. There was a wide variation of snow cover, with the south of the county under a thick blanket while the north had only a light covering. Earthworks surrounding Gore Decoy Pond (EHER 9996: Plate 1) showed well under the covering of snow. Interestingly ring ditches in the Stour Valley near Dedham were visible where the light covering of snow highlighted them. The snow also highlighted linear features further up the Stour Valley. During this flight one new site was recorded (EHER 19978). The snow and low light enabled ridge and furrow to be recorded in three fields near Great and Little Leighs, one of the few remaining examples in Essex.

A flight in May aimed to assess cropmark formation but few archaeological sites were visible: despite this, two new sites were recorded. One near Earls Colne showed faint linear features which maybe former field boundaries, while extensive redhills north of Canewdon (EHER 19976) were also recorded. The Canewdon radar station was also recorded (EHER 19575). The recording of historic towns and settlements continued, with Great Wakering, Canewdon, Paglesham, Ashingdon and Rayleigh all photographed.

A July flight recorded sites along the Thames Estuary, including Tilbury Fort and Coalhouse Fort, though no cropmarks were visible. An excavation at Boreham Airfield prior to gravel extraction was also

recorded, where a large ring ditch was clearly visible.

The dry summer contributed to the parchmarks recorded at Coggeshall Abbey during a flight in September. However, one of the best cropmarks of the year was the Rivenhall Mortuary Enclosure which was clearly visible in sugar beet. Other marks in sugar beet appeared to be geological rather than archaeological. The calm weather conditions also enabled some video footage to be shot of the Blackwater Estuary.

Essex Mapping Project

Helen Saunders

As in previous years the Essex National Mapping Programme (NMP) was funded by English Heritage. Mapping was completed during 2002, but in 2003, work continued on database entry and checking, and final publication.

A total of 10,711 records have been entered into the database over the course of the project, which began in 1993. Overall, 13.2% of the sites recorded were new to the EHCR (now the EHER) and 81% were new to the NMR, underlining the importance of the project at both county and national level.

Fig. 1 shows the distribution of all the sites mapped over the course of the project. There are dense concentrations along the Blackwater, Chelmer and Stour river valleys, as well as large numbers in the Thurrock and Tendring areas. The southern half of the county has fewer recorded sites, due to the presence of large urban areas, and to the London Clay geology which is often unresponsive to cropmark development.

Sites date from the Neolithic through to the modern period (up to 1945). Most prehistoric sites are within 1km of rivers and sites attributed to the Bronze Age contribute the highest numbers in the prehistoric category, due mainly to high numbers of ring ditches being classified as round barrows and therefore probably Bronze Age.

Few sites are attributed to the Early Medieval period, and most of these are excavated examples of Saxon round barrows. However, 23.8% of the sites are classified as being of Unknown Medieval origin. The majority of these are linear features, so are probably former field boundaries.

Sites classified as being from the modern period make up 4.7% of the total. A large proportion of these are WWII defence sites, such as anti-glider ditches and



Plate 1. Earthworks surrounding Gore Decoy Pond showing well under a blanket of snow – EHER 9996

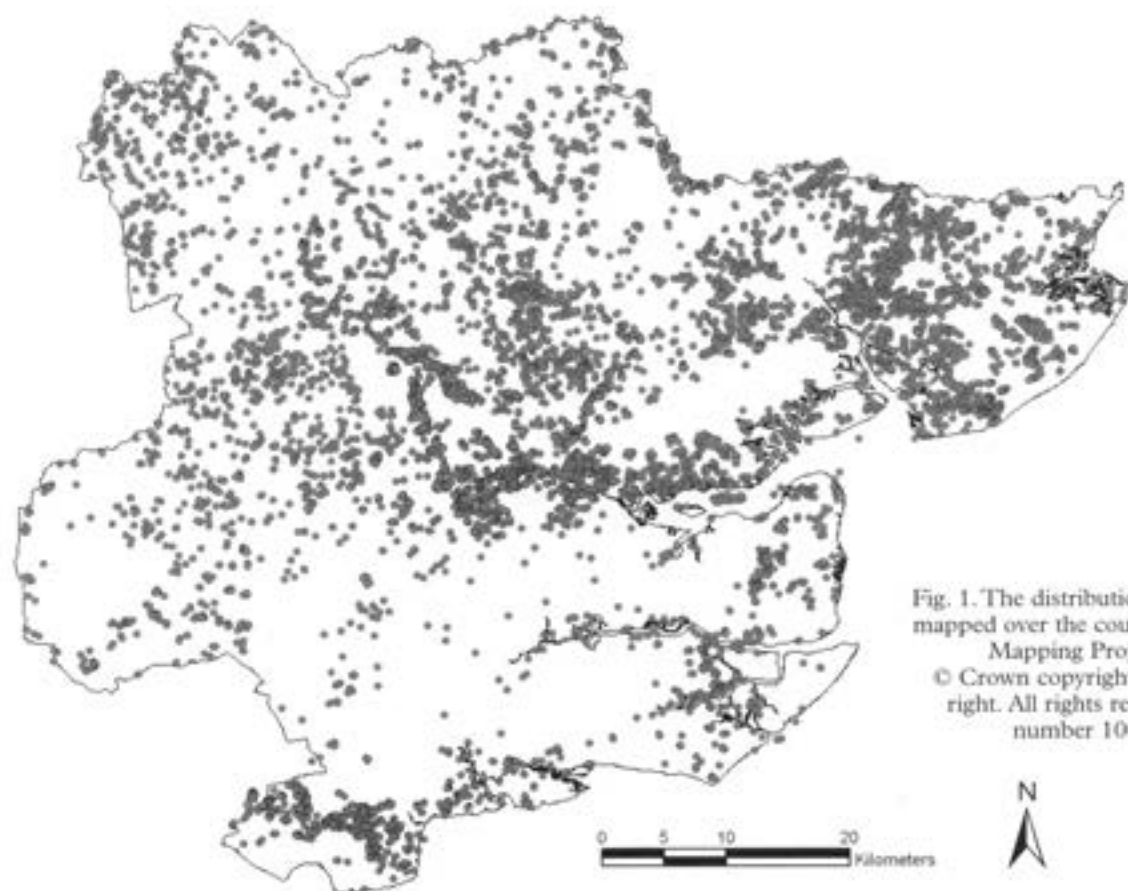


Fig. 1. The distribution of all Essex sites mapped over the course of the National Mapping Project (NMP)
© Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

airfields. Many of these sites were systematically recorded for the first time as part of the NMP and the historic RAF vertical photography proved to be invaluable.

Full publication of the results will appear in an East Anglian Archaeology monograph.

Geophysics

Helen Saunders

During 2003 two small scale geophysics surveys were undertaken by Helen Saunders and Vanessa Clarke, using a fluxgate gradiometer.

The first survey was carried out at Peeks Corner, Earls Colne (centred on TL8695 2832) in response to a large amount of surface material being found by a member of the public. An area of 1.12 hectares (28 20 by 20m grids) was surveyed, covering the main concentration of surface finds.

Archaeology is evident in the area on aerial photographs and a cropmark complex was mapped in the field as part of the NMP (EHCR 8789). The cropmarks consisted of a large ring ditch with central feature, linear features and maculae. The ring ditch had been interpreted as a Bronze Age round barrow. However, the surface finds which included hypocaust tile, roof tile and tesserae all indicate the remains of a Roman building.

There was very little correlation between the cropmark plot and the geophysics results, although the main cropmarks were not surveyed (e.g. the ring ditch). Foundation trenches were detected, covering an area c. 20m by 40m, surrounded by a large rubble spread (in the same location as the surface finds). This has been interpreted as the possible Roman building that was indicated by the initial surface finds.

Of significance was a large circular feature with an east facing entrance, which appears to be over 40m wide. The eastern extreme of this feature is unfortunately masked by interference from a modern fence. This feature is similar in nature to the ring ditch visible as a cropmark and has both substantial ditches (6-8m in width) and a large central feature, although no evidence can be found for it on any of the aerial photographs.

Some linear features were detected, but the features are quite weak anomalies. These could represent a field system. It would appear that this is a multi-period site with a wide range of archaeological features present and would benefit from further work.

The second survey was conducted at Coleman's Farm, Witham, adjacent to a trench for a new gas pipeline. Excavation along the pipeline revealed Iron Age rubbish pits. The landowner commissioned a gradiometer survey.

1.4 hectares (35 20m by 20m grids) were surveyed, covering the new pipeline and the surrounding area. The survey detected a large rectangular enclosure, with at least one annexe attached and some possible pits, provisionally interpreted as evidence of Iron Age settlement enclosure.

Archaeological advice for the rural environment

Adrian Gascoyne

The presence of the Countryside Archaeological Adviser, devoted to the provision of detailed information and advice on the rural historic environment, has resulted in a significant increase in the number of archaeological sites offered positive management and protection in 2003.

Information and advice was provided on a total of 48 applications made to the Department of the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) Countryside Stewardship Scheme during 2003, and 9 sites are to be protected as part of farmer's agreements. These will include an area of the monastic precinct at Coggeshall Abbey, a scheduled cropmark enclosure at Hadleigh, a medieval windmill at Purleigh and a recently discovered Roman site near Earls Colne. Many agreements will also result in the restoration of hedgerows along the lines of historic field boundaries. Close partnership working with the Essex Farming Wildlife Advisory Group (EFWAG) meant that over half of the applications were commented on prior to formal consultation helping to ensure the early consideration of the historic environment during the formulation of agreements.

Comments were also provided on 11 applications made by farmers and other rural landowners wishing to join Defra's Essex Coast Environmentally Sensitive Area scheme (ESA). Sites to be afforded future protection under the scheme include numerous Red Hills and a large cropmark enclosure site at Brightlingsea which will be taken out of damaging root crop production. Advice has also been given to the Blackwater Wildfowling Association over their plans to restore a post-medieval duck decoy pond on the north shore of the Blackwater Estuary. Archaeological watching briefs were commissioned for other ESA wildlife habitat enhancement work at Beaumont-cum-Moze and the RSPB reserve at Tolleshunt Major.

Information and advice was given to the Forestry Commission to ensure new woodland planting funded by their Woodland Grant Scheme did not damage archaeological sites or negatively affect the character of the county's historic landscapes. Sites protected in this way included a prehistoric cropmark complex near Thorrington, remains of a Roman building at Alphamstone and the site of a post-medieval building in Bures Hamlet. Applications to local authorities for the removal of hedgerows under the 1997 Hedgerows Act were also commented on.

English Heritage continues to fund ongoing management on a number of Scheduled Monuments in Essex. New management agreements were set up for two Bronze Age round barrows at Lawford and Harlow where work to protect these sites has included the sensitive clearance of vegetation and repairs to stabilize damage to the earthworks. Prior to conservation work at the Lawford barrow, a contour survey of the mound was undertaken by the Essex Field Archaeology Unit and a

magnetometer survey was carried out by volunteers Aline and David Black, to help inform the management of the site.

Negotiations are proceeding to implement monument management schemes on several other Scheduled Ancient Monuments in the county including a medieval homestead moat near Fyfield, a Roman burial mound near Elmdon and the earthworks of Clavering Castle. A practical conservation task with local volunteers was held at Clavering Castle in December when areas of invasive undergrowth were cleared from the castle's central platform. A village group is being formed to undertake future conservation and survey work on the site. Selective scrub clearance by the British Trust for Conservation Volunteers was carried out on the Roman burial mound known as the Mount in Lexden, Colchester.

Attempts to raise the profile of the historic environment amongst Essex farmers and rural landowners led to the preparation of a Red Hills advice leaflet that has been produced with funding from the Maldon Crystal Salt Company and Defra. This is the first in a series of advice leaflets that is being supported by Defra, and two other leaflets on the cropmarks of the Stour valley and pollarded trees are in production. A display on 'Caring for Heritage on Your Farm' was taken to four of the county's country fairs including the Essex Young Farmers Show and an EFWAG hedgerows day at Marks Hall. Other promotional activities included an evening presentation given to members of EFWAG, and the work of the Countryside Archaeological Adviser was promoted through radio interviews, newsletters and newspaper articles.

Historic Landscape Assessment (HLA) – East of England Regional Project

Lynn Dyson-Bruce

Work on the Essex part of this regional project is almost complete, with only a final audit of the data being required (Fig. 2).

Results

High-level analysis has yet to be applied, apart from individual case studies, but general trends are already apparent within the data. Despite the project not relating to political boundaries, each county exhibits their own character, historic background and genesis.

Essex appears to have landscapes that have been most severely impacted by modern agriculture, resulting in the removal of vast numbers of field boundaries in the past 50 years. Despite these recent changes, the majority of the county has an anciently enclosed field system of various types, most significantly the unique 'Dengie-form' fields in the southeast.

Modern urban development and infrastructure, for example the M25, A12, M11 have all exacerbated the degrading of the landscape and modern urban development has led to a halo effect of impacts on the surrounding peri-urban fringe. The recognition of these peri-urban zones as areas of change, requiring special

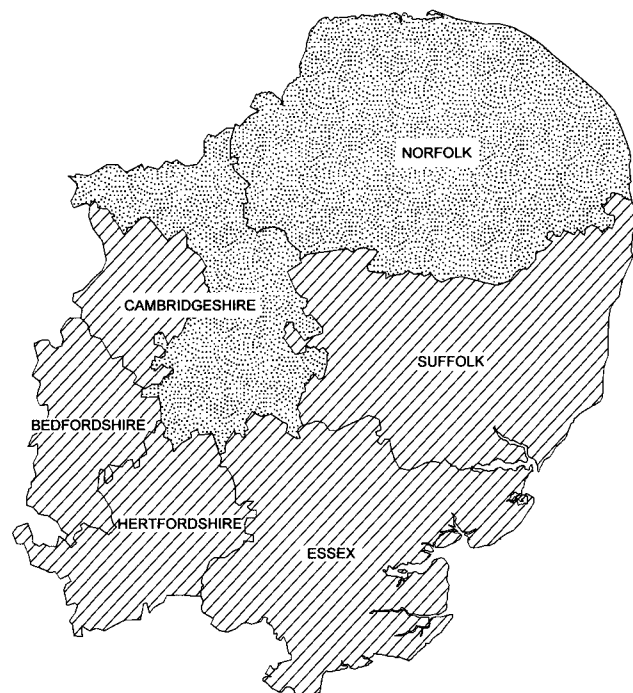


Fig. 2. Historic Landscape Assessment, East of England – the diagonal shading represents areas of counties which have been completed.

approaches and management is increasingly being recognised.

The chalk ridge running along the northern edges of Hertfordshire and Essex acts as a topographic divide, as the majority of the areas south of that, with dispersed settlement, have landscapes that have a pre 18th-century origin, bar later enclosed commons and certain lately enclosed parishes e.g. Norwood, Hertfordshire. The chalk ridge marks the southern boundary of the midland common arable field systems that were rationalised and enclosed by parliamentary enclosure in the 19th century with nucleated settlement. These field systems north of this zone have largely removed much of the prior field patterns and in certain areas changed the infrastructure.

Applications

During the past year the Historic Landscape Characterisation work has been used in Essex in various ways, including:

- Forming an input into the Landscape Character Assessment (LCA) for Tendring, for the Stour Valley.
- Forming a contributory layer of information in support of bids for grants for Aggregates Levy funding in Essex and Hertfordshire.

The HLC is seen as a fundamental layer of information in for example Agri-environment first level schemes and

Landscape Character Assessment. The historic environment and landscape are increasingly being taken into account in various applications and initiatives at strategic, regional and local levels.

The Flich Way: the former Bishop's Stortford, Dunmow and Braintree Branch Railway

Richard Havis and Nigel Pratt

An assessment of the surviving industrial archaeological remains of the former branch railway was undertaken in 2002 in response to internal and external demands. A query from the Land Recreation Management section of Essex County Council regarding the retention of former railway bridges within the Flich Way Country Park, and the former railway's appearance in phase III of the Stansted Airport expansion plans, highlighted the need for an archaeological evaluation of the surviving structures.

The branch railway, which ran for almost 28km between Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire and Braintree, Essex, was opened by the Great Eastern Railway in 1869 primarily to facilitate the movement of agricultural produce westwards out of Essex. Although never a great commercial success, the line was in operation for just over 100 years before closing in 1972. From the early 1990s the part of the former railway from Start Hill to Braintree has found a new use as a country park known as the Flich Way, owned and managed by Essex County Council.

The survey identified significant remaining elements relating to the former railway. The most obvious of these is the linear nature of the route itself which, with the exception of the area around Great Dunmow, can still be traced on the ground. A total of 20, out of an original

27, over and under bridges were found to survive in varying states of preservation (Plate 2), along with numerous brick culverts channelling water through the embankment. All of the stations, with the exception of Great Dunmow which was demolished in the 1970s, survive substantially intact, although later development has impinged on the former goods areas. Evidence of the impact of the railway on the pre-industrial landscape also survives in the form of crossing points, typically signified by gaps in the hedge line with concrete gate posts, many of which mark trackways and field boundaries no longer extant. Other remnants along the line include concrete signal cable conduit, and gradient posts, with one example of still retaining its original painted lettering.

The survey report (Pratt 2003) makes a number of specific recommendations relating to these classes of structures, with the overarching message that significant elements of the former railway do survive and that all efforts should be made to conserve and retain these, with demolition, and/or replacement, only to be considered as a last resort and where there are overriding and irresolvable safety issues.

World War Two Defences in Essex Project

Fred Nash

Rochford District survey

The field survey phase, undertaken by the Rochford Hundred Field Archaeology Group with the guidance of the author, has now been completed and the results are being collated.

The District of Rochford lies immediately to the north of Southend, guarding virtually every route out of the Borough. One of the best-known landmarks is



Plate 2. Underbridge no. 31/2076 on the Flich Way at Little Canfield suffering from major structural failure – EHER 40360. This bridge has now been rebuilt.



Plate 3. Members of Rochford Hundred Field Archaeology Group recording a pillbox at Canewdon.

London Southend Airport. First established as a landing ground for the Royal Flying Corps during World War One, Rochford Airfield was again requisitioned at the outbreak of World War Two and by 1940 had become an important fighter station. However, if it were to be taken by a surprise paratroop attack, this lynch-pin of local air defence could become an open door to the otherwise formidable coastal defences of Southend.

The airfield would not have been easy to defend. In many respects, the District of Rochford presents something of a defensive enigma. This stretch of coast is naturally protected by sandbanks and mudflats which have become the graveyard of many ships in the past. But if there is less to fear from seaborne assault, the countryside inland is generally flat with wide expanses of almost perfect terrain for paratroops to land, assemble and attack.

The answer to the airfield's defence came in pillboxes (Plate 3). Between the runways, retractable types, known as Pickett-Hamilton forts, were emplaced on the grass. On the perimeter, pillboxes stood to the north, south, east and west. In the fields of the surrounding parishes almost every piece of open ground had its pillbox. In all, as many as fifty were built within a radius of three miles from the airfield.

To the north-east, at Canewdon, the military had the same problem. Radar, which was to play such a vital part in Britain's defence throughout World War Two, but particularly during the Battle of Britain, had been developed in great secrecy during the 1930s. At Canewdon, one of the country's first 'Chain Home' stations had been established, one of five to track Prime

Minister Neville Chamberlain's flight to Munich in September 1938. The site was split into two halves, the receivers set in earth-covered concrete bunkers a few hundred yards north of the transmitters. From each, the great pylons – those for the transmitters were 350 foot high – soared into the sky above the small village. However, the naturally open landscape which made the area ideal for the siting of a radar station made it particularly vulnerable to an airborne attack.

Again, the answer came in pillboxes. In an area of less than one square mile, at least 21 of these squat machine-gun emplacements were constructed, guarding both parts of the site with inter-locking fields of fire from their loopholes.

In the course of the Rochford project, it has become clear that a surprising amount still survives. These fall into very distinct categories, almost geographical areas. Many of the 50 pillboxes which protected the airfield remain. Between the runways, two of the three Pickett-Hamilton forts are thought to survive, embedded in the grass, although access to them has not been possible. Around the immediate perimeter, six pillboxes still survive including a rare "mushroom" type and an even rarer anti-aircraft type FW3/23. The underground rooms of the battle headquarters, to co-ordinate airfield defence, are still there. Within a three-mile radius as many as 23 more pillboxes still guard the open fields.

At Canewdon radar station, long since closed down, survival is somewhat patchy. The receiver site has been completely cleared and is now an open field. Three hundred yards to the south, the bunkers which held the transmitters are still there. The huge 350 ft steel towers are gone, although their base plates remain. Interestingly, one of the towers was moved to Marconi at Great Baddow in the 1950s and now stands high above the Chelmsford skyline. Of the 21 pillboxes which dotted the landscape around the Canewdon site, eleven still survive.

Bibliography

Pratt, N.L. 2003. 'The Flitch Way, Essex: an archaeological assessment of the former Bishop's Stortford, Dunmow and Braintree Branch Railway', (Essex County Council Internal Typescript Report).

The Society is extremely grateful to Essex County Council for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this article

Historic buildings and church notes and surveys

edited by **D.D. Andrews**

The buildings described here have been recorded either through private research, or else in the course of planning development control work, often according to the provisions of Planning Policy Guidance notes 15 and 16. We are grateful to the owners, agents and contractors whose help and co-operation has made this work possible. The individual articles are arranged alphabetically by parish.

Essex Tree-ring Dating Project

D.D. Andrews

Most of the new Essex tree-ring dates are for churches. Notable is the result for Hadstock St. Botolph, now the oldest known timber door in Britain. The St. Osyth dates were obtained in the course of a Time Team investigation of aspects of the village which led to the identification of a possible guild hall at 8 Spring Road (see below). Unfortunately, the main timbers in St. Clere's Hall proved to be undatable, though their carpentry indicates that the house was built in the 14th century.

1 Church Street, Coggeshall

Brenda Watkin

Introduction

The town of Coggeshall has grown up along Stane Street, the old east-west Roman road north of the crossing of the River Blackwater, and was well sited for trading with passing merchants and travellers, including those going to the abbey to the south of the town. A market charter was granted to the monks of Coggeshall Abbey in 1256, and this was centred on Stane Street at the junction of the roads from the abbey and those serving the northern part of the town and the church. The southern area of the market place, bounded by Bridge Street and the stream, is reported to have contained the stalls for the butchers and the 14th century market hall. This building still survives as the central core of The Cricketers public house. The northern triangle of the market place widens out from Stane Street at the junction of East and West Street, enclosing the area now known as Market Hill with Church Street to the east and Stoneham Street to the north. No. 1 Church Street abuts the eastern edge of the market in a position where it could benefit from the market and passing trade. The road from the south crossed the River Blackwater and also provided a direct

Parish	Building	Date	Timbers	Analyst	Report
Blackmore	St Lawrence	1400 + 1-2	Belfry	M. Bridge	ODL report 2004/4
Colchester	118 High Street	Not determined		I. Tyers	
Cressing	Ashes Farm Barley Barn	1745-50	Storey posts	I. Tyers	
Cressing	Ashes Farm Wheat Barn	1779	Storey post, porch rail & post	I. Tyers	
Hadstock	St. Botolph	1044-67	Door	D. Miles	ODL report 2003/30
Hornchurch	Chaplaincy	1393-1429	Storey post	I. Tyers	this volume, page 172
Marks Tey	St Andrew	1119-44	Door lintels	R. Howard	In draft
Saffron Walden	St. Aylotts 'dovecot'	Not determined	Top plate	I. Tyers	
St. Osyth	45 Mill Street	1427-59	Top plate	M. Bridge	ODL report 2004/14
St Osyth	8 Spring Road	1494-1500	Top plate, window cill	M. Bridge	ODL report 2004/13
St Osyth	St Clere's Hall	1500-32	Hall, south-east arcade brace (inserted)	M. Bridge	
Strethall	St. Mary	1520-41	Nave roof	M. Bridge	CA 60/2004

Table 1. Recent tree-ring results for Essex.

Notes

1) English Heritage Ancient Monument Laboratory Reports are now Centre for Archaeology[CA] Reports, obtainable from Fort Cumberland, Eastney, Portsmouth PO4 9LD.

2) Dr. Martin Bridge is based at UCL, London University, and the Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory (ODL), Mill Farm, Mapledurham, Oxon RG4 7TX.

route between Coggeshall Abbey, the parish church and Earls Colne Priory.

The development of market places can still be seen in towns like Ludlow, Bury St. Edmunds and Saffron Walden, where the temporary market stalls, laid out in rows, were slowly made more permanent until they finish up as small but substantial timber-framed buildings. David Clark, in his overview of medieval shops, discusses the market stall and its derivatives explaining that whilst the market stall had to be open to inspection by town officials, it also has to provide a degree of security from theft for the trader's unsold goods. The stalls could range from simple wooden chests to covered and fronted booths, many of which, over time, became permanent features (Clark 2000). Leigh Alston in his research in Debenham has recorded two types of permanent market stalls that have survived, albeit with modifications through to the 21st century. One of 16th-century date contained two stalls within an open arcaded ground floor with a jettied second storey, whilst the adjoining building, also two storeys, was a row of three individual shop units of early 17th-century date (Alston 1995).

History

Documents relating to 1 Church Street consist of wills, indentures and conveyances relating to The Corner

House, The Black Boy sometimes called Plough and Sails, Argentum Antiques, and also a building to the east in Church Street.

The will of John Shetelworth, baker, dated 29 May 1758 and proved 10 October 1761 left to his son, Henry Shetelworth, baker, several messuages and tenements near the Market Place and in several tenures. Unfortunately none of the property is named. The will of his son, Henry Shetelworth, dated 16 December 1803 and proved 25 January 1804, left property divided between his brother-in-law, John Wright of Feering, farmer, son-in-law John Durrant of Great Coggeshall, collarmaker, and son-in-law John Adams of Finchingfield, farmer. The first property was known by the name of The Black Boy and included outhouse buildings, 'butters', stables, yards, gardens and premises in Church Street and then in the tenure of John Seex. Another property mentioned adjoined the Black Boy 'on the part of the west' in Church Street and comprised two tenements in the tenure or occupation of Robert Furlong and John Rainer.

The Tithe Award for Great Coggeshall (ERO D/CT 87) dated 7 March 1854 recorded the landowner of the Black Boy Public House as John Richmond and the occupier Reuben Smith. During the late 1800s there were several conveyances of the property called the Black Boy within a very short period, with yearly leases

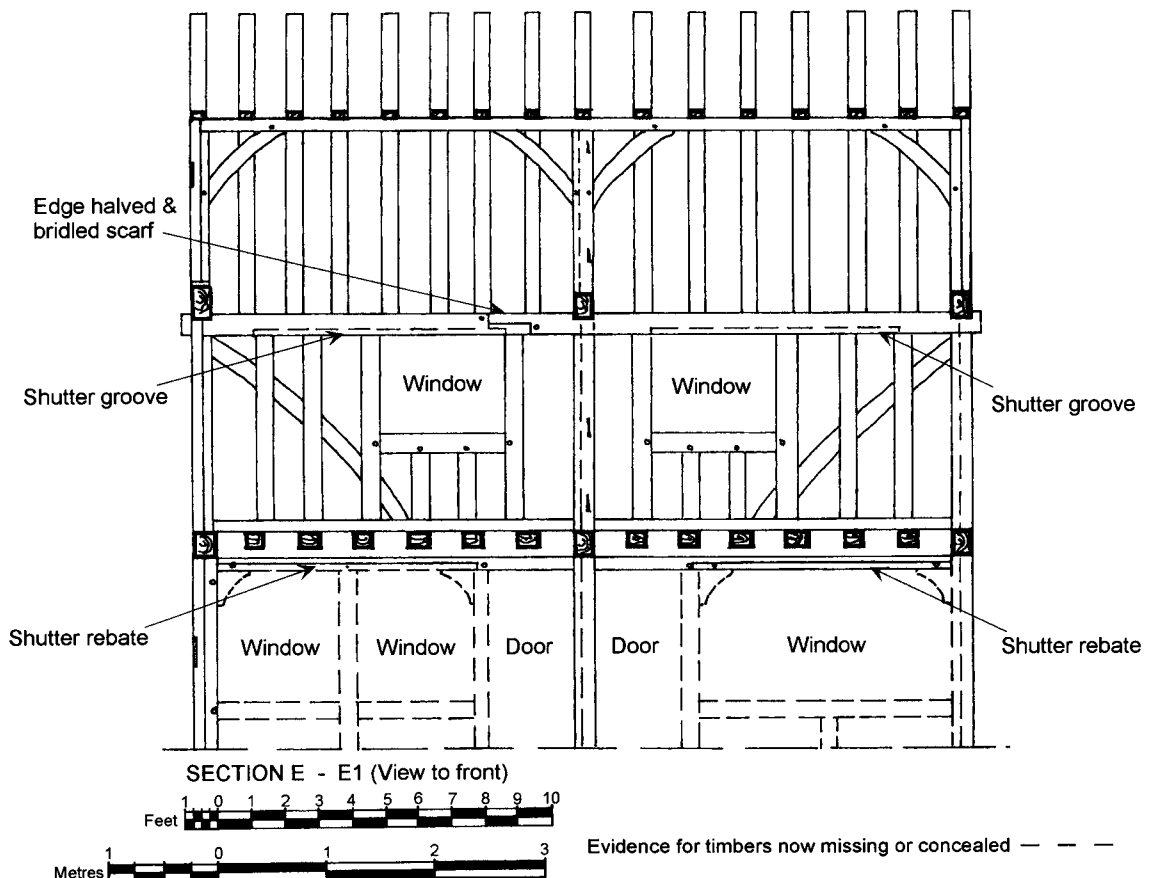
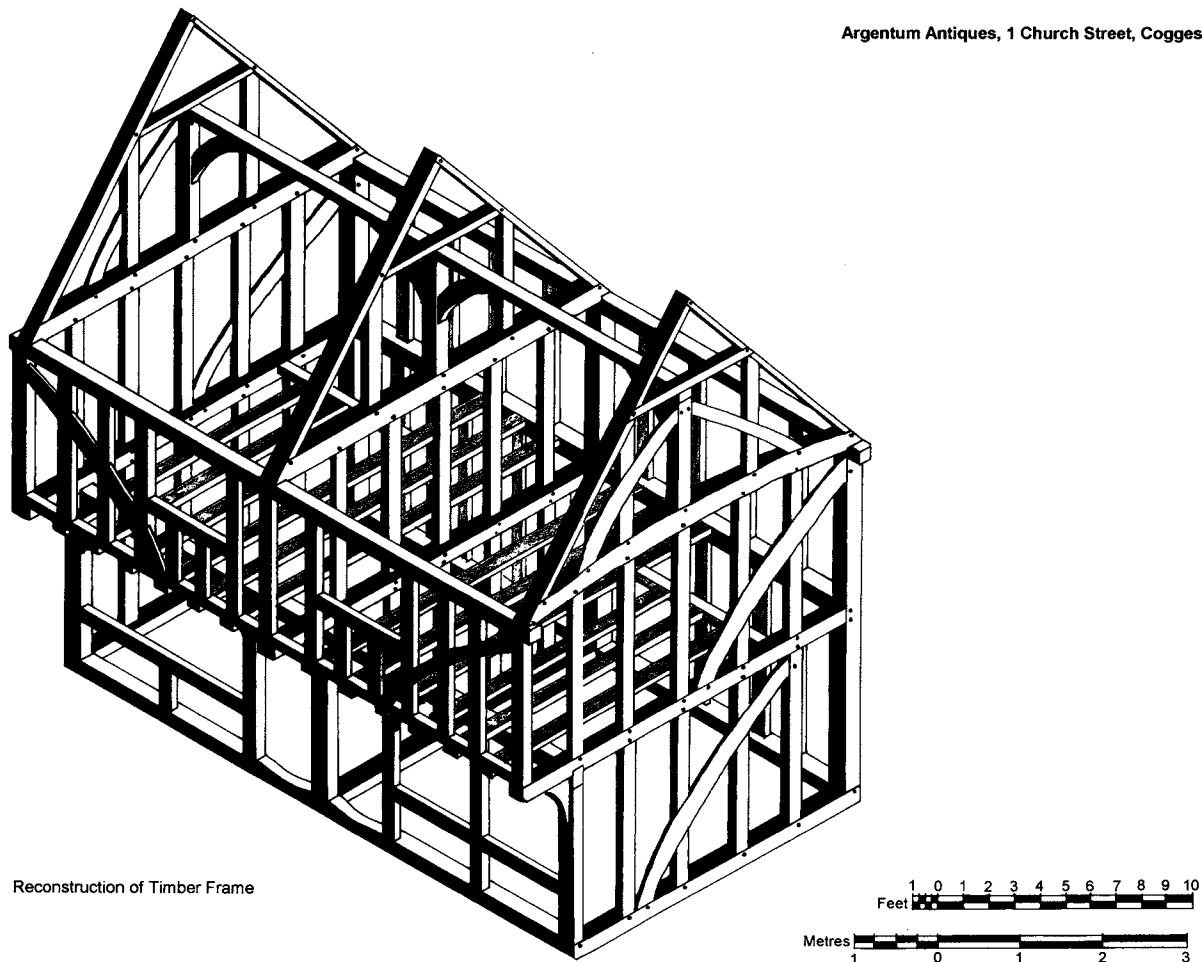


Fig. 1 No. 1 Church Street, Coggeshall, longitudinal section looking south towards the street frontage.

Argentum Antiques, 1 Church Street, Coggeshall, Essex.



Reconstruction of Timber Frame

Fig. 2 No. 1 Church Street, Coggeshall, reconstruction of the timber frame.

on the property. For a period up to March 1889 it was owned by Messrs. Beard and Bright who were brewers in Coggeshall. In 1896 the property was conveyed by Messrs. T. J. Adams of the Halstead Brewery to the Stamford Hill Brewery. By 1898 it had passed from Stamford Hill Brewery to The Brewery Stratford, and then from Mr. Fred Keep, Black Lion, High Street, West Ham to Mr. H. J. M. Simmons, draper. No doubt the fact that there were about twenty inns and beerhouses competing for custom played a significant part in the demise of this public house, and provided an opportunity to Mr. Simmons (Simmons Bros. general drapery and millinery store was already in existence in Church Street in 1886, as noted in *The Coggeshall Year Book*). In February 1913, when Mr. Simmons had moved to Ramsgate, the property was conveyed to Mr. S. Simmons of Halstead, gent. A photograph, attached to the original Inspector's report, taken at the time of the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (England) survey of Essex, in 1914, shows that the building was then occupied by the Colonial Meat Stores. When Mr. S. Simmons died on 26 March 1918, his niece, Susanna Annie Tyler, inherited the property and it was sold to the Smith family in whose ownership it remained until the sale in 1994 to Mrs. Diane Carr.

The Building

Despite the removal of walls and partitions the plan and form of the building can still be readily understood. It consists of two self-contained shop units each with an upstairs room jettied to the front facing Church Street (Figs 1 & 2). This form of a long-wall jettied building is much favoured for rows of shops and found in places such as York (Short 1979), Southampton (Platt 1973), and London (Schofield 1987), as well as in other towns in Essex.

The building is constructed from well converted oak in the traditional close studded style of the area, with tension braces expressed externally. At first glance the units appear to be a mirror image with the entrance doors against the central division flanked by two shop windows. However, with closer study, it becomes evident that internally the western unit would be 21ft 6in. x 10ft 6in. (6.50m x 3.32m) and the eastern slightly larger at 21ft 6in. x 11ft 0in. (6.50m x 3.35m). The additional length is only really noticeable by the use of an additional pair of rafters in the roof construction. The main difference is in the treatment of the shop windows as the western one is undivided, i.e. from corner post to door jamb, whilst on the eastern side a central stud defines two shop windows.

The wall studs to the flank walls and central dividing

wall average 6-6½ inches (150-165mm) wide by 4 inches (700mm) deep and are placed at 2ft 4in. (710mm) centres. The rear wall is of similar size studs at 1ft 6in. (450mm) centres. There is a tension brace, trenched externally, falling from the corner post on the western flank wall. However on the eastern wall the brace starts at the first stud leaving a gap of 2ft (610mm) that could have been used as an entrance for goods. A narrow 'coffin' door is frequently found on the front elevation of Essex shops (cf. Stenning 1985). It would allow goods to be taken into the rear area of the shop or, depending on the direction of the stair, directly upstairs if this was being used as a workshop. It also provides a clue to the layout of development within the town as it implies that there was a passage on the eastern side whilst there was continuous development to the west. The end wall frame of an adjacent building is visible on the west side of the ground and first floors where studs have been removed, and in an upstairs cupboard daub panels are visible. The daub is applied to vertical riven oak staves and where there has been a repair, hazel rods are used. This frame is the only remnant of the property between the Black Boy and Market Hill, which according to Beaumont's *History of Coggeshall* was known as the Corner House in 1708. The building was recorded in the RCHM(E) survey of Essex (May 1914) and described as an L-shaped building of timber construction jettied on both fronts. A note that at the corner there was a mitre beam taking the joists of the overhang on both fronts suggests that there was a diagonal dragon beam at the corner, indicating the ranges were contemporary.

Common floor joists are flat section and average 7½ inches (190mm) wide by 4 inches (100mm) deep at 1ft 9in. (530mm) centres, jettied to the front, with no intermediate brace support, and housed into the rear midrail with central tenon joints. The midrails and central transverse beam are of similar width but 9 inches (230mm) deep. The 5 inches (125mm) wide by 4 inches (100mm) deep trimmer for a stair trap is housed into the side midrails and the fourth common joist. This provided an opening for a solid tread or ladder stair in the rear corner furthest from the door giving access to a single first-floor room

On the ground floor, the jetty plate, 7½ inches (190mm) wide by 8 inches (200mm) deep, is exposed internally and mortices are visible for the door jambs, leaving central door openings of 2ft 6in. (750mm). A stud is placed centrally between the eastern door jamb and corner post forming two window openings that have braces, with angled entry, to the outer corners only. The western window also has braces to the outer corners but no central post. A rebate, 2 inches (50mm) by 2 inches (50mm), is cut into the lower internal face of the jetty plate running from the corner posts to the door jambs of each unit for shop shutters. Evidence has been found in Saffron Walden for a hook fixing that would have held the hinged shutter open during trading hours, but in this instance, although the underside of the floor joists contained many nail holes, a fixing position could be not

identified. Externally, the plate was chamfered to the inner face of the western corner brackets and from the eastern corner brackets to the central post, emphasising the window openings.

The first-floor rooms were each lit by a window in the southern elevation to Church Street, with shutter grooves in the underside of the wall plates. As modern windows have been inserted into the original openings, it was impossible to determine the profile of the mullions. The front wall plate is two lengths of timber joined by an edged-halved and bridled scarf, whilst the rear wall plate is one timber 24ft (7.3m) long. There is no evidence that the rooms were heated and no signs of smoke blackening on the timbers. They may have been used for storage although Brian Ayers found in his statistics for Norwich that 30% of upstairs rooms were used for working with 50% used for sleeping (Ayers 1994, 98). The problem of interpreting buildings without fireplaces is also discussed by J. T. Smith (1992, 143-5). The studding of the rear wall at first-floor level is at 710mm (2ft 4in.) centres, consistent with that of the flank walls. Were the closer studs on the ground floor a statement of status, or purely a practical way of giving more support to the rear midrail that had been weakened by the mortices cut for the common floor joists? Tension braces, falling from the corner posts, are trenched into the external face of the studs to the flank and front walls where the studs are again at the closer spacing of 1ft 6in. (450mm). The bay divisions are marked by unjowled posts; the tie-beams to the western side wall and central bay are flat whilst that in the eastern wall has a slight camber.

The roof is of typical paired rafter, crown-post construction with the braces 3in. (75mm) in width. The rafters have sawn faces internally showing that two have come from one tree rather than in earlier buildings where one rafter equates to one tree. It appears that the changes to the method of conversion take place after the Black Death due to the lapse in the regular management of the woodlands. The date accorded to the building in the list description is late 15th-century and the style of carpentry and the conversion of the timber are compatible with a mid to late 15th-century date.

Discussion

Limited documentary evidence gives an insight into the use and owners of the building during the 19th and 20th centuries. Unfortunately it does not give any insight into the original use, owners and tenants that would further the understanding of how this building functioned in terms of trade and use of the upper floor. However, in plan type, it conforms to the standard type of small shop unit that was being built and rented out as a commercial speculation. Its form is the natural progression from the temporary market stall and represents the first phase of permanent shop building. The long-wall jetty form of the building is typical of many urban examples, and in Essex can be found in the rear range to 6a East Street, also in Coggeshall, and 13-15 (formerly Bonds), North Hill, Colchester. The arch headed shop windows, so

often depicted in early manuscripts, still survive in some instances and examples can be found at the Woolpack in Coggeshall and in towns such as Saffron Walden and Lavenham. However, the shop window defined by corner braces, as at 2 Church Street, Coggeshall, and the flat heads to the rear range of shops at 6a East Street, Coggeshall, are equally common. The purpose of the different styles is obscure but other examples of the corner braced shop windows have been noted at the George Hotel, High Street, Colchester, and The Village Shop, Lexden, in unpublished drawings by Richard Shackle. It may have differentiated between the various trades and crafts but far more documentary research is needed to prove this theory. Why in this instance was there also the need to provide a single wide opening to the western unit whilst the eastern unit had a divided opening? Was this to make for a more flexible speculative development or were there already tenants and trades in view? What is certain is that this building represents a rare survivor of the type of medieval shop defined by David Clark in his article as A2a and on a par with rows of shops such as are to be found in York, London and Oxford.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Mrs. Diane Carr for her forbearance in allowing me to survey the building whilst it was still in use as an antique shop (Argentum Antiques). This report would have been much less comprehensive without her enthusiasm and interest in the building and use of documents in her possession.

Bibliography

- Ayers, B. 1994 *English Heritage Book of Norwich*, London: Batsford.
- Beaumont, G.F. 1890 *A history of Coggeshall in Essex*, London: Marshall Bros.
- Clark, D. 2000 'The shop within? An analysis of the architectural evidence for medieval shops', *Architectural History* 43, 58-87.
- ERO Essex Record Office
- Platt, C. 1973 *Medieval Southampton: the port and trading community*, London.
- Short, P. 1979 'The fourteenth-century rows of York', *Archaeological Journal* 137, 83-136.
- Schofield, J. 1987 *The London surveys of Ralph Treswell*, London Topographical Society.
- Smith, J.T. 1992 *English houses 1200-1800. The Hertfordshire evidence*, London: HMSO.

Cressing, Appletrees Farmhouse

Pat Ryan and David Andrews

Appletrees is a well preserved, small, four-bay medieval house located on Hawbush Green on the B1018 Braintree to Witham road. It is aligned approximately north-south. In the manner of medieval buildings, it is set well back from its boundary. The house is interesting because it seems originally to have been in-line (i.e., without cross-wings) and single-ended, lacking a service end, and thus of relatively low status.

The existing front door is just to the left of the position of the medieval door into the cross-passage; the door on the other side of the building in the back wall is still in use. It has a plain flat lintel. The hall was of two slightly unequal bays (Fig. 3). The studs rise the full height to the wall plates. The timbers are of substantial

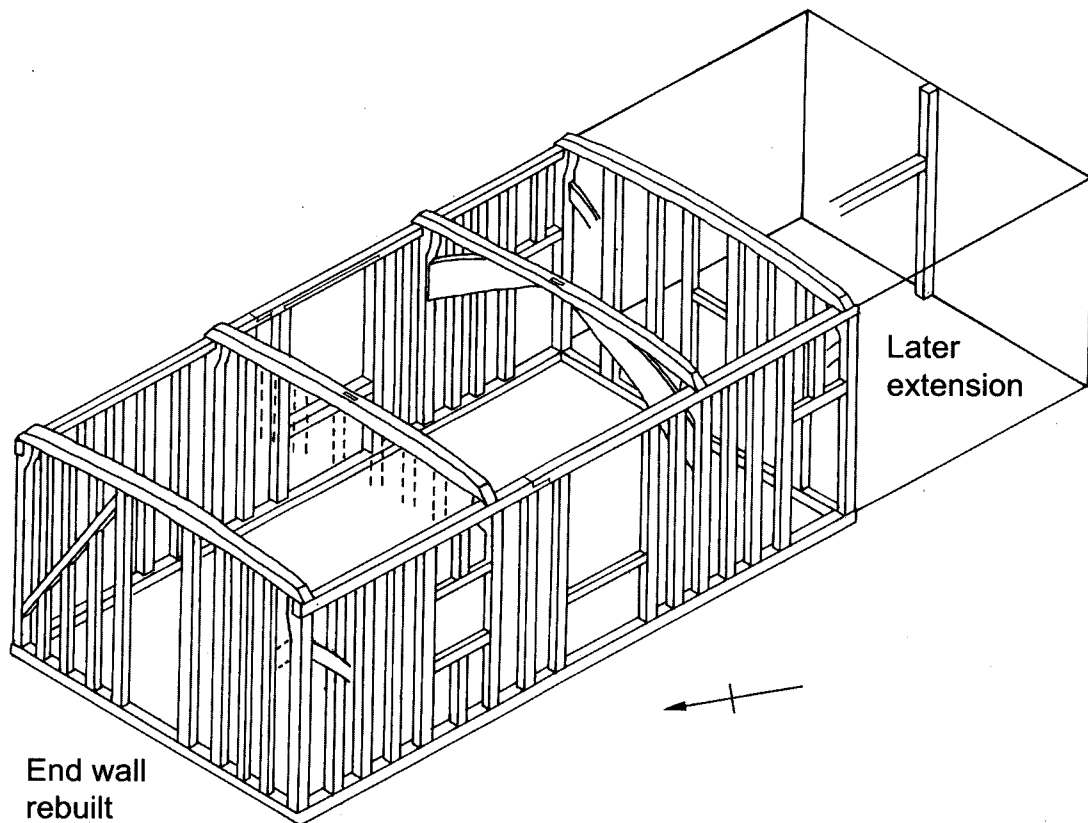


Fig. 3 Cressing, Appletrees Farm Cottage, reconstruction of the timber frame (not to scale).

scantling, often 7-8 inches (170-200mm) wide. The tie-beam has been moved slightly to the north when a floor was inserted into the hall. There are mortices in the tie-beam and the posts for large braces. The tie-beam was jointed to the top plate with a bare-faced dovetail. A mortice with two pegs in the top of the tie-beam was for a crown post; similar mortices exist in the other tie-beams. The roof has been rebuilt; it is of clasped purlin construction. In the wall plates, there are edge-halved scarf joints with short bridles. At the high end of the hall (i.e. the opposite end to the cross-passage), there were tall windows, rising almost the full height of the side walls. These had diamond mullions set about 6 inches apart, and were closed by shutters, for which there are rebated surrounds. The exposed timbers in the hall are chamfered and have sawn faces.

The parlour lay beyond the high end of the hall, separated from it by a partition which only survives above tie-beam level. There was probably a door in the east side of the partition. Like the hall, the walls were made of full height studs. There is no evidence of there having been a floor. In the front wall adjacent to the partition, there was a small window.

In the wall that flanks the cross-passage, there was a single central door. However, there seems not to have been a room on this side of the building. The reasons for thinking this are threefold:

1. the south side of the timbers in the wall between the hall and the southern bay are weathered, implying that the bay initially did not exist and that this was an outside wall.
2. the top plates protrude slightly from the south side of the hall, and have been extended for the southern bay with rather crude and unconvincing edge-halved scarf joints.
3. the carpentry of the southern bay is later in style (see below).

Thus this house seems to have been built with a single end, i.e., with a parlour and a hall, lacking the normal service end with buttery and pantry. A problem is presented by the rare feature of the central door: what was this for, as it seems redundant if it was just for access to the exterior, being so close to the cross passage doors? To this there is no clear answer. The lack of a floor in the parlour is also unusual. Although well built, if correctly interpreted, the house seems to be a rare and very interesting survival of a relatively lowly peasant's house. It is difficult to put a date on it, beyond saying it is probably 15th-century. The only datable feature, the scarf joint, was used c.1370-1550. It is worth noting that the studs in the hall are only about one foot apart.

The southernmost bay may have been added not very long after the house was built, though long enough for the timbers of the partition wall to become quite substantially weathered. The studs are similar in character to those in the rest of the house, though a little narrower. As already noted, this bay seems initially to have been provided with a floor. The joists are substantial, wide section and medieval in character. They probably have soffit tenons. A late 15th or early

16th century date might be suggested for this bay. In the 17th or 18th century, the north wall and the north end of the east wall were rebuilt.

The house was later improved with the insertion of floors into the hall and parlour. The hall floor has square-looking joists with soffit tenons with diminished haunches. It is probably late 16th or 17th century. The parlour joists indicate that this floor is later still, being narrow-section and probably 17th-century. The open hearth which would have existed in the hall was superseded by a brick chimney. The existing chimney is very rebuilt, but it is largely of Tudor bricks, and its position in the back wall on the east side of the hall is a typical one, and one with advantages in a small house (compared with the other common position in the cross-passage). There is no evidence for a hearth upstairs. At the time of the Hearth Tax (1662-89), this must have been a one-hearth house, one of the few of this numerous category of buildings which has survived today.

The ownership of Appletree Farm Cottage can only be traced back through the documentary sources to 1664 when it was described as 'a messuage and a croft,' the quit rent of which was 1s. 7d. (ERO D/DU 191/12-14, 17, 20, and 67). By 1813 'the copyhold tenement and parcel of field containing 2 acres was occupied by four tenants. The building was shown as being divided into two dwellings, each with its own gardens on the 1st Edition of the 25-inch Ordnance Survey, published in 1876. Three households are known to have lived here in the early 20th century. Throughout much of this period the property was occupied by tenants. Appletree Farm Cottage has now been converted back into one cottage.

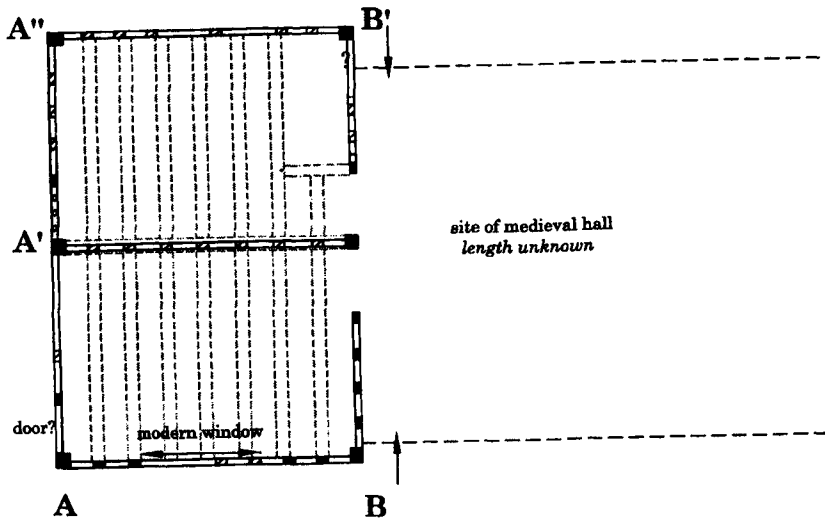
Bibliography

ERO Essex Record Office.

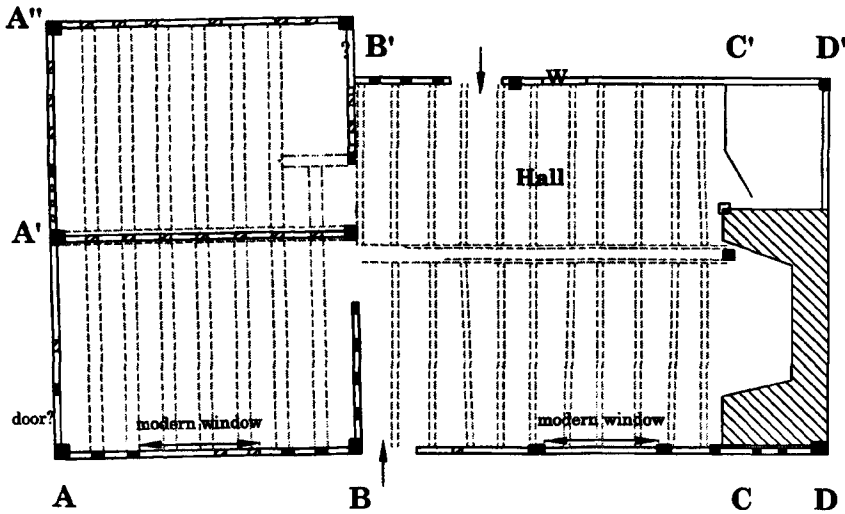
Cressing, Horseshoes

John Walker, Pat Ryan and David Andrews

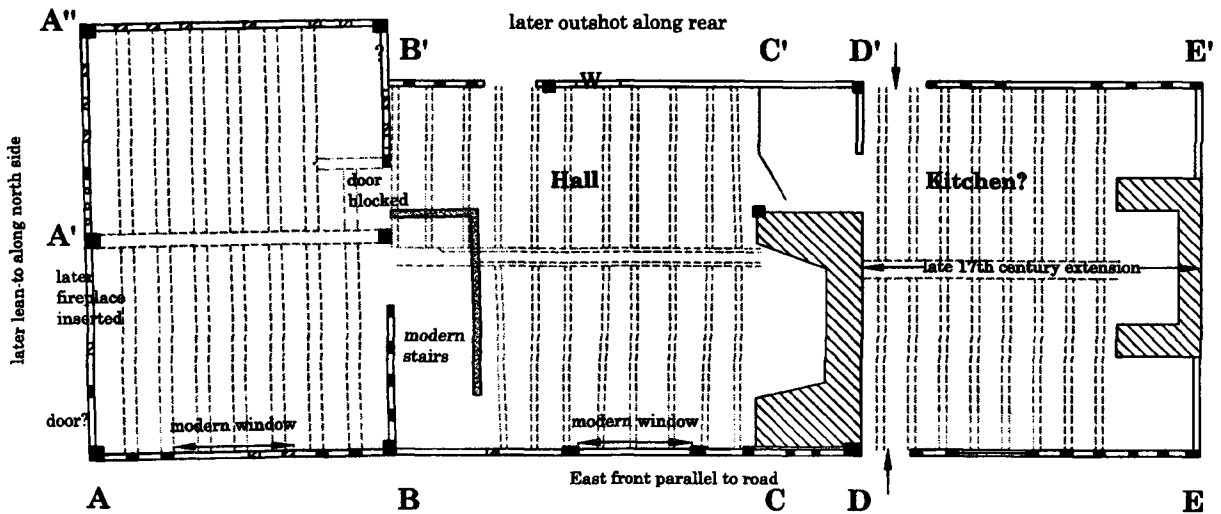
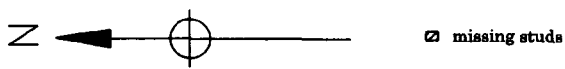
Horseshoes stands on the north side of Cressing churchyard, being aligned north-south and facing on to Church Road. Its situation might suggest that it had some connection with the church, but there is no known evidence to support such an idea. The house can be traced back from 1845 to 1558 through a series of quit rentals and wills. In 1558, William Raven in his will described his property as abutting on the highway from Cressing church to Braintree and on John Davenysh alias Collet's tenement to the south (Emmison 1993, 126). In 1590 John Collet alias Davenysh, miller, bequeathed 'his tenement lying by Cressing churchyard' to his wife (ERO D/ACW 3/381). It remained in the Davenish family until the mid 1700s. In 1795 Mary Moore left her messuage and blacksmith's shop in Cressing to her son, John (ERO D/DO T386). By 1842, Thomas Willers was the owner of the house and blacksmith's shop next to the churchyard, and William Willers, blacksmith, was the occupier (ERO D/CT 109). The blacksmith's forge explains the name of the house; in more recent times it has been a pub. The house



1. As built with Medieval Crossing and hall - *not known if the house had a parlour*

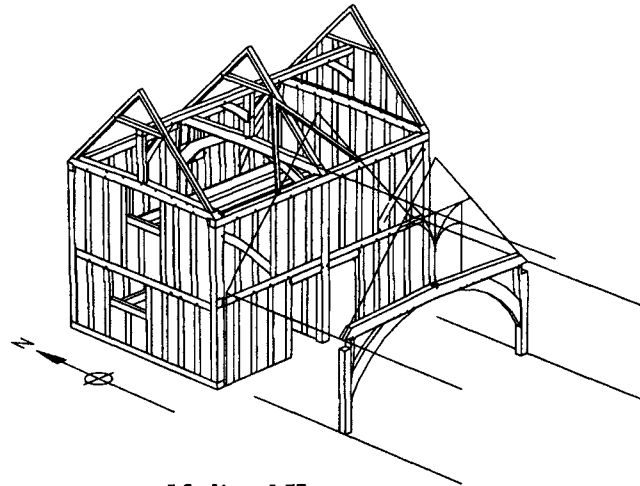


2. Hall rebuilt with chimney stack in mid-to-late 17th century

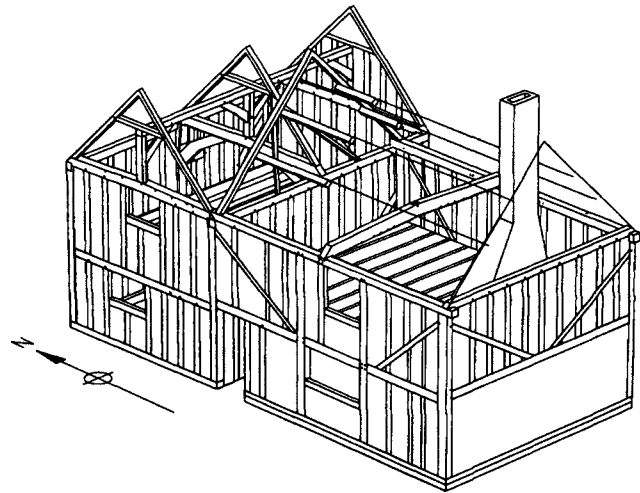


3. In late 17th/early 18th century a Kitchen range with a crosspassage added to south end

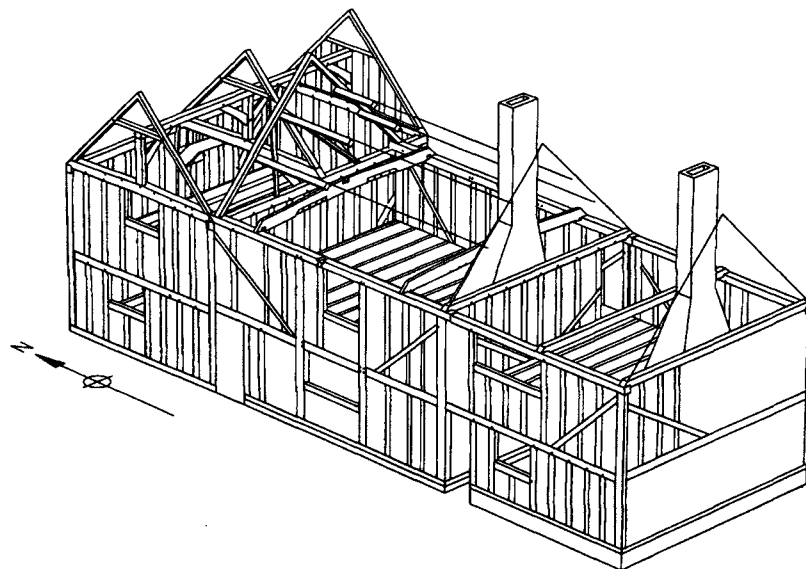
Fig. 4 Crossing, Horseshoes, the development of the ground plan.



Medieval House
(length of hall unknown)



Hall rebuilt in mid-to-late 17th century



Kitchen added late 17th/early 18th century

Fig. 5 Cressing, Horseshoes, the three main phases of development of the house.

has a T-shaped plan, with a cross-wing at its northern end. Plastered externally, it has many exposed timbers inside which help tell its story despite being painted black.

The cross-wing is the oldest part of the building (Figs 4 & 5). It is built of substantial but rather rough looking timbers. The studs are 140-160mm wide and set at intervals of 450mm. It was not jettied. There is a crown-post roof. The storey posts have rather crude small jowls. The walls have stud-to-stud or Colchester type external tension bracing. The floor joists have soffit tenons. The ground floor was divided into two by a partition beneath the binding joist. These two rooms were entered via doors with dropped lintels in the south wall. In the rear room, there was a stair trap, identifiable by trimmers in the floor. The first floor seems to have been a single chamber spanned by a tie-beam with braces. There is a diamond mullion window in the north wall. On the evidence of its carpentry, in particular the flat heads to the service doors and the thin (50mm) braces to the crown posts, the cross-wing is datable to the late 15th century.

The doors in the side of the cross-wing identify it as a service wing, at the low end of an open hall. This hall located to the south of the wing has been rebuilt, but there is sufficient evidence to reconstruct elements of the original hall. A reused cambered tie-beam, which has been cut down the middle to make two tie-beams, shows that the hall was 17½ feet (5.33m) wide. On the south pitch of the cross-wing roof, there survive parts of the valley rafters belonging to the slightly lower hall roof. They indicate that the hall was set back 250mm from the front of the cross-wing, an unusual feature when the wing is unjettied. In the roof there are also smoke blackened timbers reused from the medieval hall. This hall was replaced with a two-storey hall with a chimney at the south end which heated only the ground floor. The partition wall at the south end, to which the chimney is attached, is fully studded at the first floor, where there is also a primary brace which has been cut through later to form a doorway. This suggests that this was originally an external wall, and that the house did not continue further in this direction. If so, then it may have been smaller than the late medieval house: as this had a cross-wing at the service end, it may have also had one at the high end, in which case it would have had an H-plan. This other cross-wing was presumably removed when the hall was rebuilt.

The entrance to the two-storey hall was probably at the north end of the west wall where the stairs are today. If so, there seems not to have been a cross-passage, as the rear door was either in its present position or further south. Much of the timber in the hall is reused. The smoke-blackened rafters of the medieval hall were reused in the clasped purlin roof. The existing top plates have the studs pegged into them and empty dovetails for a central tie-beam, and seem to be original to the rebuilding. The dovetails indicate that the existing tie-beam positions, defining the stair and chimney bays, are not original. The walls have primary bracing. The floor

joists are narrow section with soffit tenons with diminished haunches. The chimney has a hearth only at the ground floor. It has been much rebuilt. The heavily moulded bressumer, with two bowtels beneath hollow chamfers, seems to be associated with a reconstruction of the front of the stack at the ground floor and is not an original feature. At the first floor, the stack is rebuilt with sooted and stained Tudor-type bricks ((230-250 x 100 x 50mm) which have been reused and turned. The carpentry indicates a 17th-century date for the rebuilt hall, and the bricks are consistent with this.

The two-storey hall was subsequently enlarged with an in-line extension to the south. This has a clasped purlin roof, which has been rebuilt with a ridge board, and a chimney built of small neat bricks, features which suggest a very late 17th or early 18th century date. The extension was probably intended to serve as a kitchen. Today the kitchen is in an outshot at the rear of the building. Inside this outshot, there is elm weather-boarding on the back of the house which probably extended on to the ends of the house as well. The outshot therefore seems to be late 18th- or 19th-century. Another outshot of undetermined date exists on the north side of the cross-wing.

Horseshoes adds to the growing number of late medieval houses in Cressing which may have had an H-plan with two cross-wings. The 17th-century remodelling, however, does not betray signs of great prosperity: it seems to have been reduced to more modest dimensions and only had limited provision for heating.

Bibliography

Emmison, F. G., *Essex Wills: The Commissary Court 1558-69* Vol. 8, 1993, Chelmsford: Essex Record Office.
ERO Essex Record Office.

Two 19th-century barns at Newhouse Farm, Marden Ash, High Ongar

Elphin Watkin

The farm is situated on the eastern side of Marden Ash in the parish of High Ongar and has a Grade II* listed farmhouse of c.1600. The farmyard buildings do not display any characteristics earlier than the 18th century. The 1849 Tithe Award for New House farm shows that the occupier was a William King, who had 83 acres, all of which was pasture, suggesting that the farming regime was biased towards animals.

The buildings of the farmyard consist of a southern range (comprising the two barns described here) bordering the road, with a range at the eastern end returning north to finish at a cottage, possibly originally a 'bothy' or stockman's cottage. To the north of the farmyard is a long range running east-west with a tee-leg returning to the south. Beyond the main courtyard on the north-eastern side is a mid 20th-century large steel and asbestos clad open animal shed. The farmhouse a little to the west of the farmyard acts as the western closure. The earliest map available, that by Chapman



Plate 1 Marden Ash, Newhouse Farm, the two barns seen from the south.



Plate 2 Marden Ash, Newhouse Farm, the interior of the western single-aisled barn.

and André of 1777, shows the farmyard as comprising three blocks, roughly corresponding to the south, east and northern ranges today. By the time of the Tithe Award map, the building ranges are much as today, other than the modern front extensions to the west of the northern range and the return "T" to the south.

This note only concerns the barns to the southern aspect (Plate 1). The building running parallel with the road at the western end of the site has had very recent major changes to its construction that have destroyed much of its historic detail. The remnants of the original build show that it was timber-framed above a brick

plinth, with a single aisle and adjacent lean-to or outshot on the north side. The bricks give the appearance of being of early 19th-century manufacture. There is no evidence as to what existed between the aisle and the outshot before the modern wall now in place.

Inside are five bays to the original aisled structure. The single aisle to the north has been rebuilt in the 20th century by increasing the number of arcade posts to make a seven bay division. All the posts have been cut off to approximately 6 feet above floor level and replaced with flanged cast-iron posts (Plate 2). The combination of softwood and oak for the main

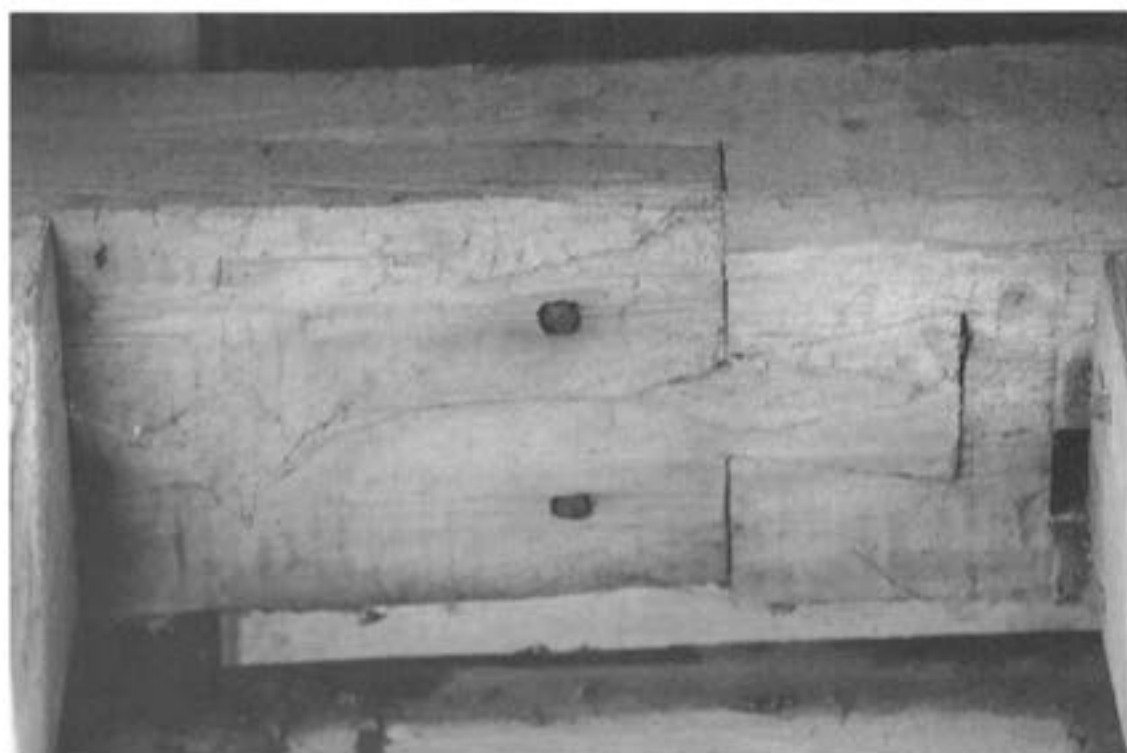


Plate 3 Marden Ash, Newhouse Farm, the scarf joint in the arcade plate of the western barn.

structural frame is consistent with a mid 19th-century date. On the evidence of its relationship to the barn to the east (see below), this barn was probably built before the Tithe Map, but it may be that it replaced a building shown on that map in the same position.

The arcade plate is made from three pieces of sawn softwood about 7in. (180mm) square. Two lengths cover two bays from each end and a third piece the central bay. The scarf joint used to connect these pieces is an unusual joint for Essex buildings, comprising a face halving with a slight splay and bridles at each end that have been formed as dovetails to physically link the pieces together (Plate 3). Final locking is with two large iron nails at each end of the splayed portion. The joints are set over arcade posts which had double tenons to connect to the plate, one mortise being in each of the cut splays so providing further positive locking to the joint. The post mortises are fixed with a wooden peg. The south wall top plate is again sawn softwood, but rectangular in section, about 7 x 4in. (180 x 100mm) set flat. Similar scarf joints have been cut but as edge halved (i.e. at 90° to those in the arcade plate).

The tie-beams still in their original positions are sawn softwood of about 12 x 3in. (300 x 75mm) section set vertically. Above this is a raking-strut queen-post roof with one row of purlins. The purlins are clasped by collars at each bay, and the queen posts are halved over the collar to support the purlin with a birds-mouth joint, the lower ends being mortised into the tie-beams. The main post to tie-beam braces are again softwood, mortised into the posts and lapped over the tiebeam, all joints being fastened with nails. Each of the tie-beams has an iron strap to the plate which appears to be

original to the construction. The ridge board is clasped by upper collar ties at each bay division. The west end gable has a high louvre ventilator fitted just under the ridge tie. The walls were primary braced construction with braces in each bay division falling from post to sill plate. Much of the wall structure had been destroyed, but the main posts appear to have been oak, the braces softwood, and the studs a mix of oak, elm and softwood.

Directly connected on the east side is another barn, relatively complete and again timber framed on a high plinth, the brickwork of which suggests a mid 19th century date. It is a typical small corn barn of three bays with a central midstrey to the north. The frame is mainly constructed from reused timber up to wall plate level, with mid rail and most braces new timber as is common in many buildings using much second-hand timber. The primary braces in the walls are single pegged to the frame but the reused timber for the studs is not pegged. The studs are mainly post-medieval timbers cut in half. The softwood is Scandinavian to judge from the identification marks on the wall-plate. The gable walls are constructed with two sets of primary bracing set either side of a central post, repeated above mid-rail level; the lengthways bay divisions are similarly built. The main bracing to the tie-beams consists of large iron brackets, of hammer welded construction where the outer and inner bracket forms make an extended flange. The roof construction is similar to the other barn. It has half hipped ends, the collars are halved to the principal rafters and at the ridge there are small collar ties under at each bay division. The west hip has been over-built to align the roof of the later barn to the west. The top-plate on which the roof is set has dragon ties at each corner.

In the south (roadside) wall, there are high level double doors between the plinth and mid-rail for threshing draught. Above the mid rail there is a high level pitching door (Plate 1). The midstrey, with a hipped roof made with paired rafters and no purlins, has a main door opening to above mid-rail level, and double doors down to the timber sill level. From plinth to floor is filled with drop-in boards set in applied grooved timbers to each side of the opening. These have reverse slots facing into the building to allow boards, when removed for threshing corn, to be placed in these facing into the building to help channel the air flow through the opening. Above these main doors is another high pitching door framed as on the opposite wall.

The eastern bay of the barn is now floored, something which, to judge from the timber, was done sometime in the first half of the 20th century. The area to each side of the midstrey at the north side is filled with later lean-to constructions.

On the tie-beam to the east of the midstrey are two sets of carved initials with dates: **JxWx1843 & JxD 1843**. In both cases the '4' is reversed. Both sets are cut in different styles suggesting, maybe, the carpenter and his assistant. This suggests it was built just before the Tithe map. The barn to the west was constructed very soon after this one. The differences in construction between them are minimal.

The interesting point about the design of this barn, for which I know of no parallels, is that it appears to be built as a dual-purpose building. With its large doors, winnowing boards and opposed doors, it is set up as a small threshing barn. But, by building in high pitching doors above the opposed doors, it could also be used as a hay barn.

Hornchurch, the Chaplaincy. An obituary

D. Andrews

In 1970, a previously unknown timber building was uncovered following a fire at the Chaplaincy in Hornchurch High Street (London Borough of Havering). During subsequent demolition, the building was recorded by the Department of Architecture and Civic Design of the Greater London Council (report reference AR/HB/3989; also ERO T/Z 116/1) and survey drawings were made by Robert Weston (Fig. 6, and cf. Bond 1998, fig. 21).

The building was a timber-framed two-bay cross wing, aligned north-south, and jettied front and back (Fig. 6). The frame was of good quality timber and large scantling. The east wall had large curved down braces either side of the central storey post. The west wall was not so well preserved but it seems that it was similar. The studs were quite widely spaced. In the gable ends, there were wide low windows with diamond mullions. Shutter grooves ran the full length of the bressumers and the tie-beams. There were mortices for short braces in the soffit of the binding joist between the storey posts. This implies that the ground floor, like the first floor, was a single undivided volume. The common joists in the floor

had central tenons. There was an aperture at the rear of the ground floor in the north-east corner for a ladder stair. The building had a crown-post roof with down braces to the tie-beams as well as up braces to the collar purlins.

There was an adjacent building on the east side of the cross-wing: its wall on this side was unweathered, and pairs of mortices in two of the first floor studs were for the arcade plates and associated braces of a hall which was either aisled or constructed in such a way (e.g., base crucks) as to avoid having arcade posts obstructing its interior space. The widely set stud at the south end of the flank wall of the cross-wing suggests that there was a door in this position between it and the hall. A peg in the storey post indicated the position of a high end bench. (The hole for this had been made in two stages, first with a spoon auger 10mm in diameter, and then with one 30mm in diameter). Two of the studs above the mid rail in the flank wall of the cross-wing had mortices for the attachment of top plates and braces. Being only about 3.7m (12 feet) apart, they probably represent the position of aisle posts. The total width of the hall would have been about 6.3m (20 feet). A floor was later inserted into the hall, a mortice and ledge being cut into the storey post of the east wall. As demolition proceeded, a timber-framed structure interpreted as another two-bay cross-wing, and dated on the evidence of its carpentry and slight scantling to the 17th century, was found to the east of the hall. If interpreted correctly, this means the hall was 24ft (7.3m) long.

The good condition and imposing framing of the cross-wing prompted an attempt to preserve its east wall. This was stored initially at the Central Library, Romford, and then at a depot at the former Burgoyne's factory in East Ham which had been used by the former Passmore Edwards Museum. By 2003 attempts to find a permanent home for it had failed and the condition of the timbers had deteriorated. It was therefore decided to complete the record of it and to dispose of it. Seeing the remains of the wall only confirmed how impressive its carpentry was. The timbers were large. The braces were 370mm wide and the storey post 290mm. Yet they were by no means all oak: the mid rail, top plate, and surviving studs were elm. The braces, which were oak, were pit sawn. The framework of the wattle and daub panels consisted of horizontal halved poles bound to vertical whole or halved poles, which were nailed to the braces. These elements were made of willow, probably from pollards. The poles were 10-12 years old. The daub was brickearth tempered with straw. The infill panels were rendered over with a skim coat of almost pure lime which had been limewashed.

Tree-ring dating of the storey post of the east wall was carried out by Ian Tyers of Sheffield University. The timber had 72 rings, including five sapwood rings, the last ring being datable to 1388. Allowing a sapwood estimate, this gives a date range of 1393-1429. This leaves little doubt that the building has been correctly identified with the chaplain's house constructed in 1400,

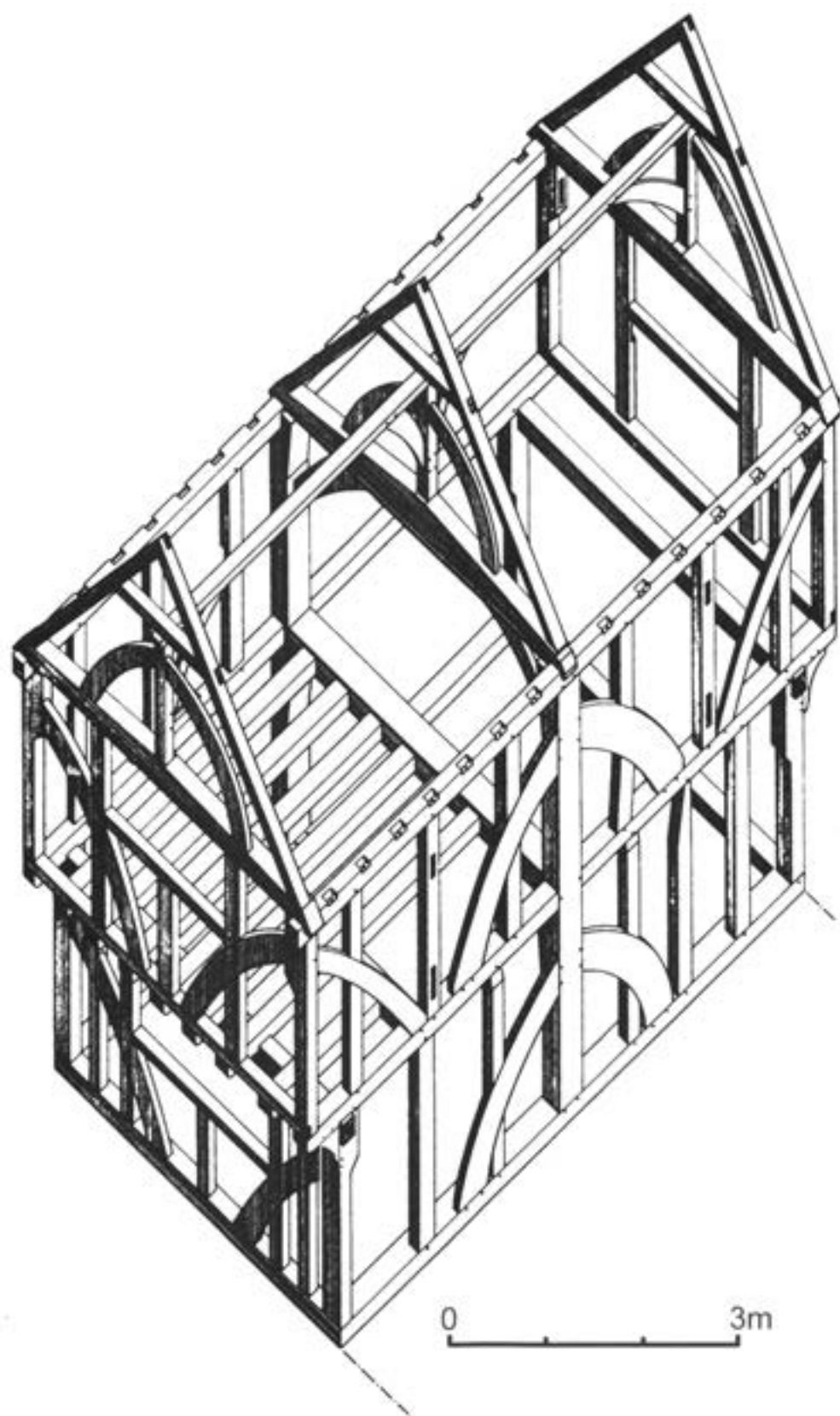


Fig. 6 Hornchurch, the Chaplaincy, the west cross-wing (R. Weston).

the building account for which survives amongst Hornchurch manorial documents in the New College archives (VCH Essex vii, 47; NCO 6394 part). When Hornchurch priory was suppressed as an alien house in 1389, it was granted to Robert, bishop of Aire, and then bought in 1391 by William of Wykeham to endow New College. The college was initially required to appoint a perpetual vicar to serve the parish church, but a papal bull of 1398 exempted them from this, and the church was thereafter served by a chaplain or temporary vicar who leased the office from the college. The new building must have been erected in response to these changed arrangements for providing a priest for the parish church.

Timber for the house, described as a hall with chambers attached, was bought from John Wylkyns and brought from *Hanyng Well*. It was worked by two carpenters, who may have prefabricated it off site. Wylkyns also supplied ironmongery such as hinges and door furniture. Some building materials, laths and nails, and possibly lime and tiles, were acquired in London, some being brought by river to Rainham. Lime was only used in relatively small quantities, only 4 quarters being acquired. Laths were obtained from Writtle. Since a tiler was paid for laying only 19,000 of the 21,000 tiles bought, it is possible that the others were used by the two men employed to underpin the house, i.e., to build the cill walls. Two sawyers were engaged for two days to cut boards, presumably for the upper floors in the cross-wings. The new house was separated from the rectory by a daub wall thatched in reed.

The Chaplaincy is an interesting example of a late medieval building from a part of south Essex or north-east London where few timber buildings now survive (cf. Bond 1998). Curving braces either side of a central stud in the walls at either end of the hall are a typical feature of late medieval houses, but those of the Chaplaincy are unusual for their size, the precision with which they were cut, and for being repeated at both floors. They were used decoratively in a way that is not really typical of central and north Essex. If correctly interpreted as having aisles, then the Chaplaincy is the latest known example of a small aisled hall, a building type generally thought to have become obsolete 25-50 years earlier (cf. Stenning 2003).

Acknowledgements

This account of the Chaplaincy is based on information from Sue Kirby of Newham Borough Council, on the GLC report, on a report by Andy Whittrick of English Heritage, on a report by Damian Goodburn of Museum of London Specialist Services commissioned by Newham Borough, and on personal observation. I should like to thank Caroline Dalton, archivist at New College, for supplying a photocopy of the building account.

Bibliography

- Bond, R. 1998 'Timber-framed building in the London region', in D.F. Stenning and D.D. Andrews ed., *Regional variation in timber-framed building in England and Wales down to 1550*, Chelmsford: Essex County Council.
 ERO Essex Record Office.
 NCO New College Archive, Oxford.

Stenning, D.F. 2003 'Small aisled halls in Essex', *Vernacular Architecture* 34, 1-19.

VCH Essex vii *The Victoria History of the Counties of England. A history of the county of Essex*, vol. vii, ed. W.R. Powell, 1978, Oxford: Institute of Historical Research.

The bellframe of Saint Mary the Virgin, Kelvedon

Elphin Watkin

The bellframe at St. Mary's was recorded in 2004 before its replacement with a modern frame. It has five pits. A sixth bell, the no. 2, has been hung above the frame on two parallel timbers which form part of the spire base frame. An inscription on the treble bell indicates that it was made by the Whitechapel Foundry and hung by Days of Eye in 1895. As this bell increased the number of bells to six, it can be inferred that the bellframe was made some years before this, most likely also by Days. Its characteristics are consistent with such a date. The bellframe is made of oak timbers of standard section (220 x 110mm) cut with a circular saw. The sill frame timbers are of larger section (280 x 150) and the braces are about 300 x 100. It is marked with narrow deep chiselled carpenter assembly marks. The number of each bell pit (I to V) was also chiselled into the frame timbers around each pit. With the increase in bells to six these do not now agree with the bell numbers. All the timber is in good condition and of high quality box heart cut to minimise movement.

The frame is constructed from a series of A-type trusses, comprising four parallel trusses for bells 1, 6 and 5 and two in-line at the west side for bells 3 and 4 (Fig. 7). The end frame to the east has a central post flanked by down braces and no corner posts. In the western two pits, the ends are constructed as raised gallow ends to allow the bells to swing freely for full circle ringing within a restricted frame area. The junctions between the top plates are reinforced by iron angle brackets. The north east and south east top plate corners have flat angle brackets fitted across the joint.

Plate anchor bolts are fitted to these corners at sill level and at the intermediate sills. Each of the A-type trusses has a vertical tie rod running partly through each brace. An extra tie rod is fitted beside the central post of the east end frame. These rods provide the tension vertically through the frame. The whole frame relies on the iron reinforcement to hold it together. The only wood joints are lap or halving joints which in themselves have no mechanical strength and only provide positional location for the timbers. The frame is fastened to the floor with long bolts through boards and joists. It also has lengths of iron angle section bolted to the top face of the sill and set into the wall structure of the tower. It is not known if these are original.

The bells have had the canons removed and the headstocks of the bells have been replaced in cast iron by Mears and Co. when the bells were re-hung in 1964. These run in semi-sunken plummer bearing blocks. Clock hammers are fitted to the five bells in the main

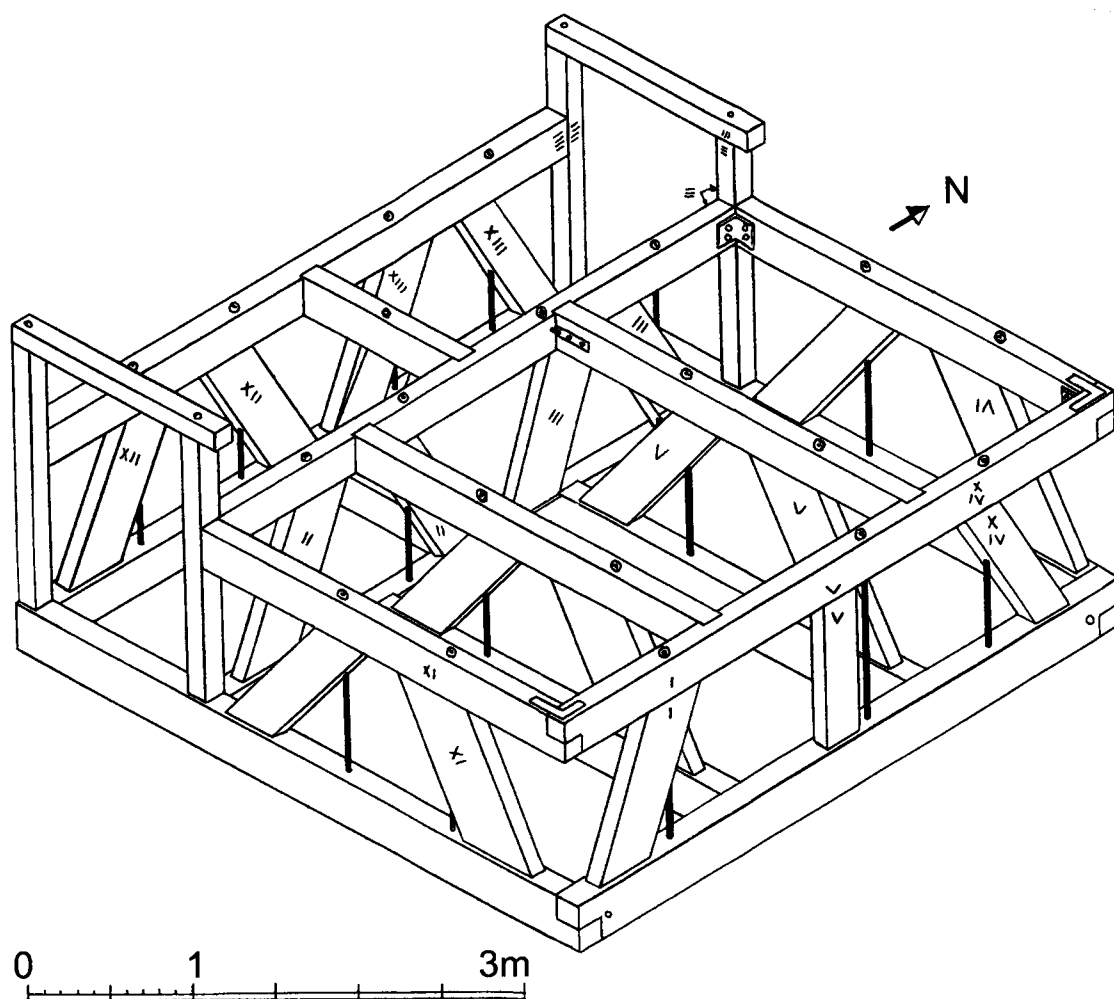


Fig. 7 Kelvedon St. Mary, the bellframe.

frame. The clock has only one face which is visible to the east.

Laindon, St. Nicholas. A lost apse

Tim Dennis and David Andrews

After a full exploration of alternative solutions, continuing movement at this church led to the chancel being underpinned in 1999. The foundations were found to be at least 800mm deep, consisting of mainly flint with a little ironstone in a yellow-brown mortar. Deep mortared foundations of this type would be consistent with the 14th-century date of the chancel.

Subsequent to the underpinning, movement occurred in the floor of the chancel, probably caused by shrinkage of the earth beneath the floor as it dried out. To check for the existence of significant voids, a ground radar survey of part of the chancel of was carried out by Dr Tim Dennis of the Department of Electronic Systems Engineering, University of Essex, on behalf of the Revd. Nihal Paul, the incumbent. It used a 1 GHz high resolution GV4 ground radar system from Utsi Electronics Ltd. Areas west of the altar rail, each side of

the altar, and near the east wall, were surveyed on traverses 10cm apart, with 100 samples/metre along each traverse. Evidence of the curve of a former apsidal east end of the chancel is visible in the timeslice plots of the data from around the altar, but especially its south side, in returns starting at an estimated depth around 40 cm below present floor level. If correctly identified, the apse would have sprung from the western sides of the windows immediately north and south of the altar, and been of a diameter that took its eastern limit to the line of the present east wall. There is no clear evidence for the apse in the fabric of the existing church walls.

Wynter's Cottage, Magdalen Laver

John Walker

Wynter's Cottage is a small late 16th-century lobby-entrance house, and a rare survival of a house built with just two cells, a hall open to the roof which was heated by a timber chimney and an unheated inner room with a chamber above (Fig. 8). The hall was floored over shortly afterwards and, later still the timber chimney was replaced with a brick one.

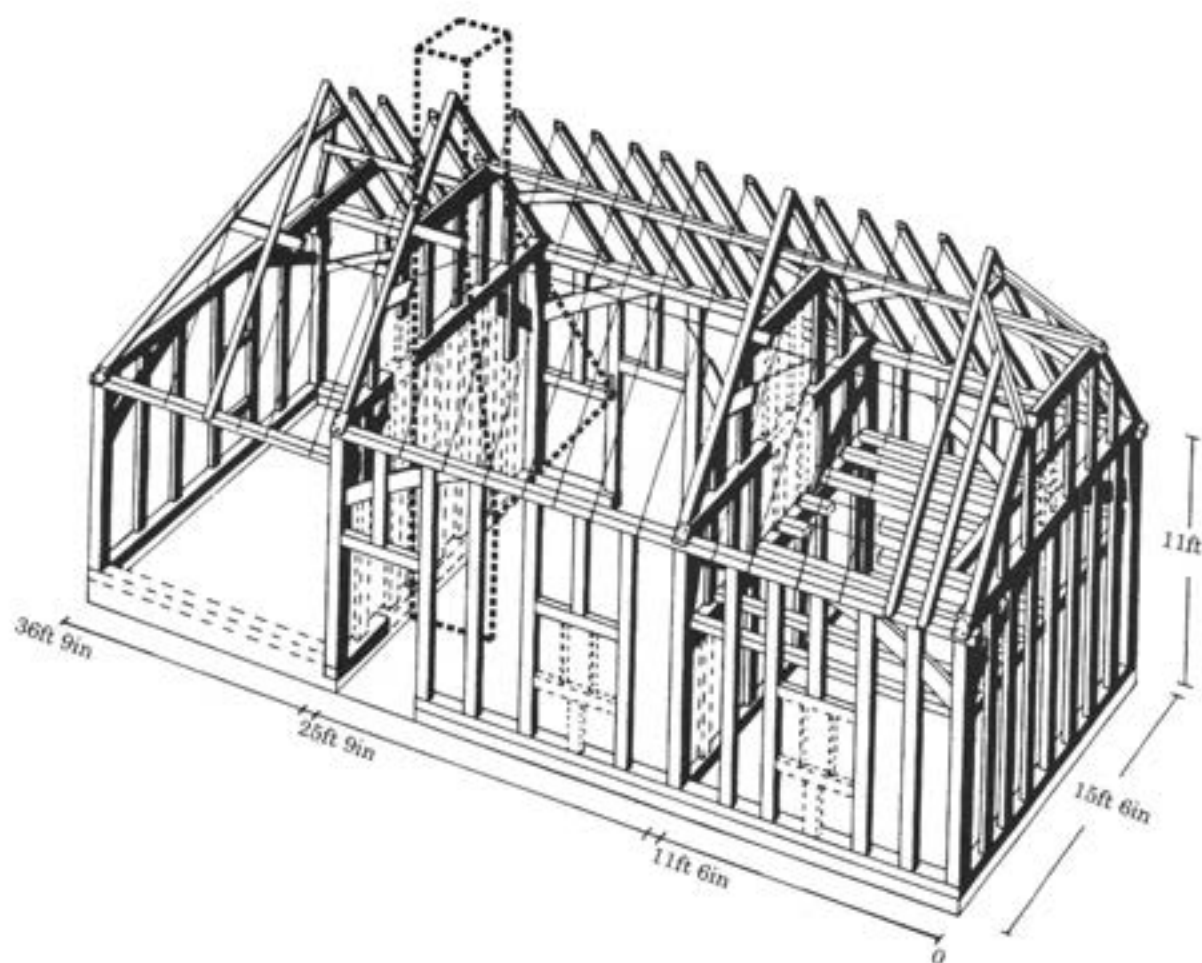


Fig. 8 Reconstruction of Wynter's Cottage, Magdalen Laver, with outline of timber chimney.



Fig. 9 Wynter's Cottage on Chapman and André's map of 1777.

Today the house sits parallel and close to a road to its north (TL 496 080). However, originally the front of the house was on the south side where the entrance was into a lobby against the side of the timber chimney. There was a door in the north wall, but this sits next to the fireplace and was unsuitable to be the main entrance. Chapman and André's county map of 1777 shows the house situated at the corner of a triangle of

roads, and that originally it had a road to both the south and north (Fig. 9).

The original house is 26ft (8m) long, 15ft (4.7m) wide and 11ft (3.35m) high to the top of the wall plates. It was divided into two rooms (Fig. 10). That to the west was the hall, 14ft (4.3m) long, and originally open to the roof. A ceiling was inserted into the hall in the 17th century, and is clearly an insertion as, at the east end of the hall, a door had to be cut through the partition on the first floor to give access to the hall chamber (Fig. 10); the main bridging joist running down the centre of the hall simply rests on the mid-rail of the east partition, rather than being properly framed in as would be expected if this was an original feature; the floor over the hall is at a different height to that over the inner room; and the hall's common joists are narrow section whereas those over the unheated room are square. The inner room is 11ft (3.4m) long, entered from a door at the north end of the partition at the east end of the hall. It had a chamber above, the stairs for which were originally in the north-east corner of the inner room. The stairs have been replaced but part of the trimmer for the original stairs survives. All the windows originally had diamond mullions, and probably were unglazed. The hall had a window with three mullions in the south front wall and one with two mullions in the

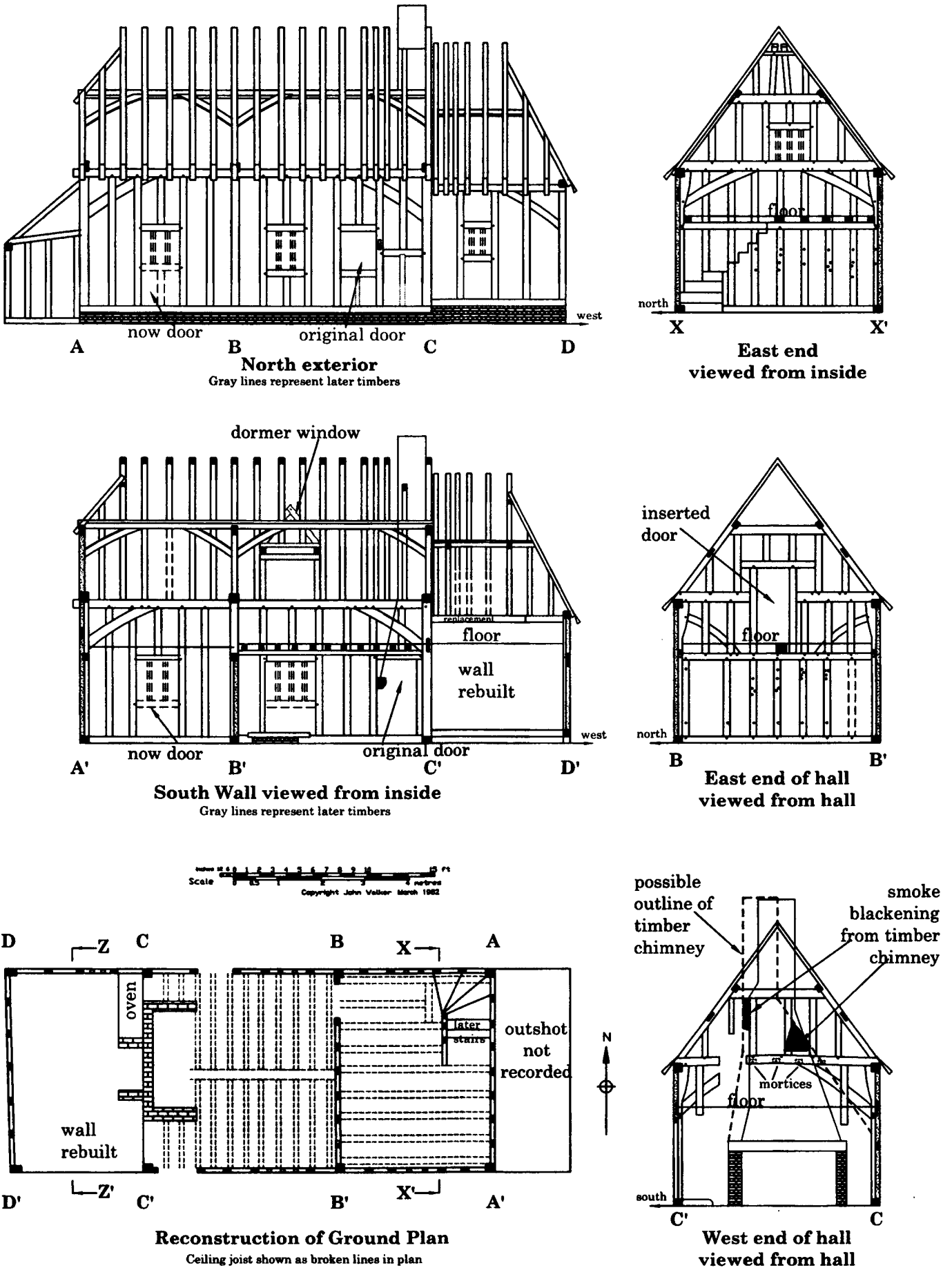


Fig. 10 Plan and elevations of Wynter's Cottage, Magdalen Laver.

north wall. The inner room had a two-mullioned window in the north and south walls, while the upper chamber was lit by a three-mullioned window in the east gable.

The main evidence for the timber chimney is the areas of soot discovered on the partition at the west end of the hall during renovations in 1982 (Fig. 10). This suggests the chimney was built directly against this wall which was protected by a covering of daub. In addition, in the north wall there is a large mortice in the first full storey stud to the east of the hall's north-west corner post (post C) which was probably for the fireplace mantel beam. Also, this stud has a horizontal rail between it and the north-west corner post (post C) which must have formed the top of the fireplace on the north side. It would not have been necessary to have framed this rail to the exterior wall unless there had also been an oven protruding out through the wall. The timber chimney has been replaced with a brick chimney, but was still in use when the hall was floored as the main bridging joist down the hall had to be extended when the present brick chimney was built.

In the 17th century, the house was extended to the west by one bay, built slightly lower than the original house. It is not known if this bay was originally heated, but in 1982 it had a small brick fireplace built on to the back of the hall chimney stack with the remains of a brick oven on its north side. The carpentry of this addition is similar, but slightly different, to that in the rest of the house. It is possible that this bay replaced an earlier building as the west gable to the hall has its arch braces halved across the outside of the studs, whereas in the other three walls the braces are halved across the inside of the studs (Fig. 10). This may indicate it was not an external wall. However, this may have been done to keep the braces clear of the back of the timber chimney. Also there is no mortice in the south corner post of this partition for a door head, the only possible place for a door in the west gable of the hall, suggesting this partition was closed and that there was not originally another room to the west. The house may have had a small lean-to on the east gable as shown in Fig. 10, entered from outside, but this had been removed before the house was recorded in 1982.

The 16th-century carpenter used jowled posts, close studding at around 2ft (0.6m) centres, square floor joists over the unheated room, a side-purlin roof with windbraces, and he braced the frame with arch braces halved across the inside of the studs. The extension was built in the same style except the studs were spaced a bit wider apart and, as often happened in the 17th century, the jowls are more sharply cut.

Dating is based on the side-purlin roof, a type not usually found in Essex until the second quarter of the 16th century, the halving of the braces across the inside of the studs which first appeared around the end of the 15th century, and the square floor joists, which is a late 16th- and early 17th-century feature. A number of 16th-century houses were built with open halls heated by chimney stacks, but this was probably rare after the

opening decade of the 17th century, by which time most of the 16th-century open halls had been floored over. Taken together, this suggests a date close to 1600, or a little before.

Two-cell houses were common in towns in the medieval period and later, often in terraces, but rural examples are rare. However they are likely to have been more numerous in the 16th and early 17th century than surviving examples suggest, particularly as they later became a fairly common type of housing. Details have been published for the 16th-century Old Vicarage at Radwinter (Stenning 1996), a high class two-storey example with its hall chimney on the north side wall and the entrance at the low end of the hall; and the 17th-century Edishes at Delvin's End, Sible Hedingham, which has its chimney stack at the low end of the hall with the unheated room behind the stack (Watkin 2001). I have found a number of 16th- and 17th-century examples in Suffolk, often with the chimney stack on the end gable of the hall.

Bibliography

- Stenning, D.F. 1996 'Radwinter, the Old Vicarage', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 27, 278-9
 Watkin, B. 2001 'Edishes Farm, Delvin End, Sible Hedingham', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 32, 281-5

Manuden, 48 The Street

John Walker

48 The Street (Fig. 11) is a long jettied timber-framed house that was heated by an open hearth - an unusual combination, which is rare in Essex. The house is of two bays, though it may have continued to the west, and lies in the centre of the village of Manuden in north-west Essex (TL 49268), running east to west along the north side of The Street. The roof of both bays is heavily smoke blackened. On the first floor, mortices show there had been a partition down the middle of the east bay creating a narrow first floor room to the front. In the rear section, behind the partition, it was open from the ground to the roof where the original occupiers had an open hearth on the ground floor. On the first floor, the east and west bays were not fully partitioned off, creating an 'L' shaped space. Unfortunately none of the frame is visible on the ground floor, so it is not possible to say how this area functioned or the position of the original stairs.

The building might have been an attached kitchen for a house, now gone, to the west, but more likely it was a medieval shop or workshop similar to those found in Tewkesbury and Coventry. In Tewkesbury there is a row of tenements built by the Abbey in the middle of the 15th century. Each unit is of one bay, jettied to the street, and had a shop in the front half of the ground floor with a chamber above, and behind this, in the rear half, an open hall (Elrington 1968, 129-30). Another example is 159-162 Spon Street, Coventry, an alternating row of half-wealden houses and, what Stanley Jones has called, three-quarter open halls.¹ The latter were 15ft (4.6m) long by nearly 18½ft (5.6m)

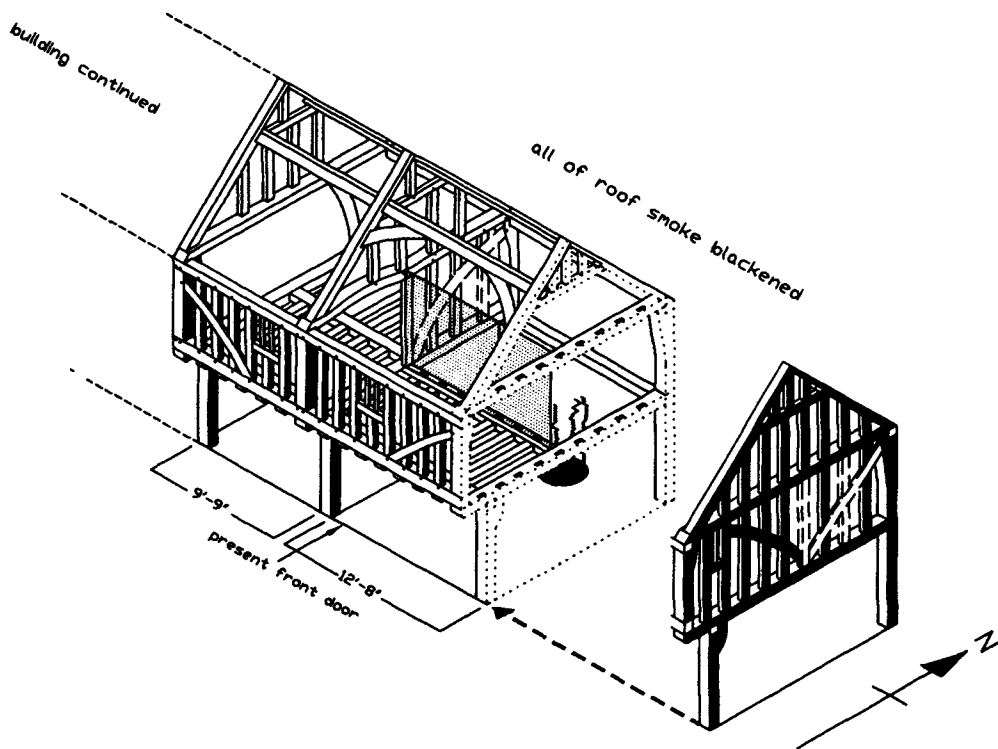


Fig. 11 Manuden, the earliest phase of 48 The Street.

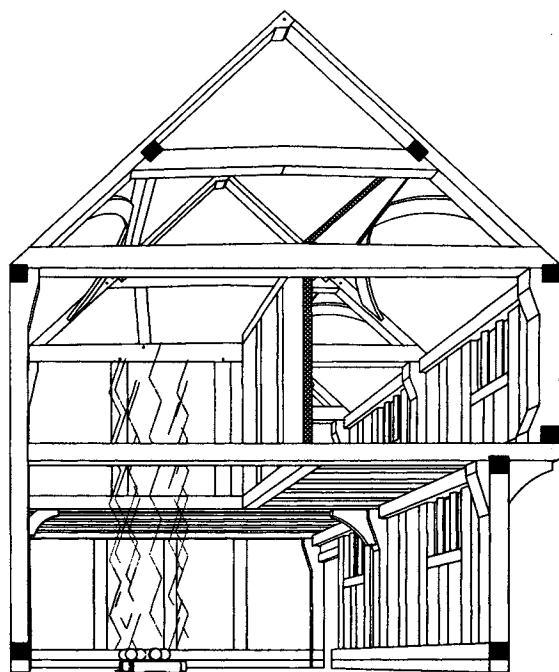


Fig. 12 Coventry, 160 Spon Street, reconstruction of the medieval house (based on drawings by Stanley Jones).

deep, consisting of a hall and a cross-passage on the ground floor, as shown in the reconstruction of No. 160 in Fig. 12, with an 'L' shaped chamber over the low end bay of the hall and the front half of the high end bay of the hall, in a very similar way to 48 The Street, Manuden. Unlike Abbey Cottages in Tewkesbury, 160 Spon Street did not have a large shop window at the

front, just two diamond mullion windows in the front wall to light the hall.

The date of 48 The Street is probably early to mid 16th century as it has a side purlin roof, rather than the crown post roof found in most medieval Essex houses, but it could be slightly earlier. The side purlin arrived in Essex in the early 16th century, gradually becoming the main roof type over the next 50 or so years. However it becomes the main roof style in Shropshire and Hampshire in the second quarter of the 15th century and its use gradually moves east until it reaches eastern England in the late 15th and 16th centuries. As Manuden is on the western edge of Essex, it may have started to adopt the side purlin before the end of the 15th century. It was used further south in 1439-1469 at Monks Barn in Netteswellbury, Harlow (Tyers *et al.* 1997, 141).

Later in the 16th century, 48 The Street was extended to the east with a two and a half bay long jettied range, a few feet deeper than No. 48 (Fig. 13). This may have replaced a smaller building on this site. No 48 had a small single diamond mullion window on the first floor of its east gable (Fig. 11), but as this window is very close to the road, there could have been another building to the east set further back from the frontage. Probably at this time, the open hall of No. 48 was floored over and chimney stacks inserted to heat the building. Today, both houses have rear extensions added in the 17th to 19th centuries.

Note

¹ Information given by Stanley Jones at a talk to the Essex Historic Buildings Group on 15 October 2004.

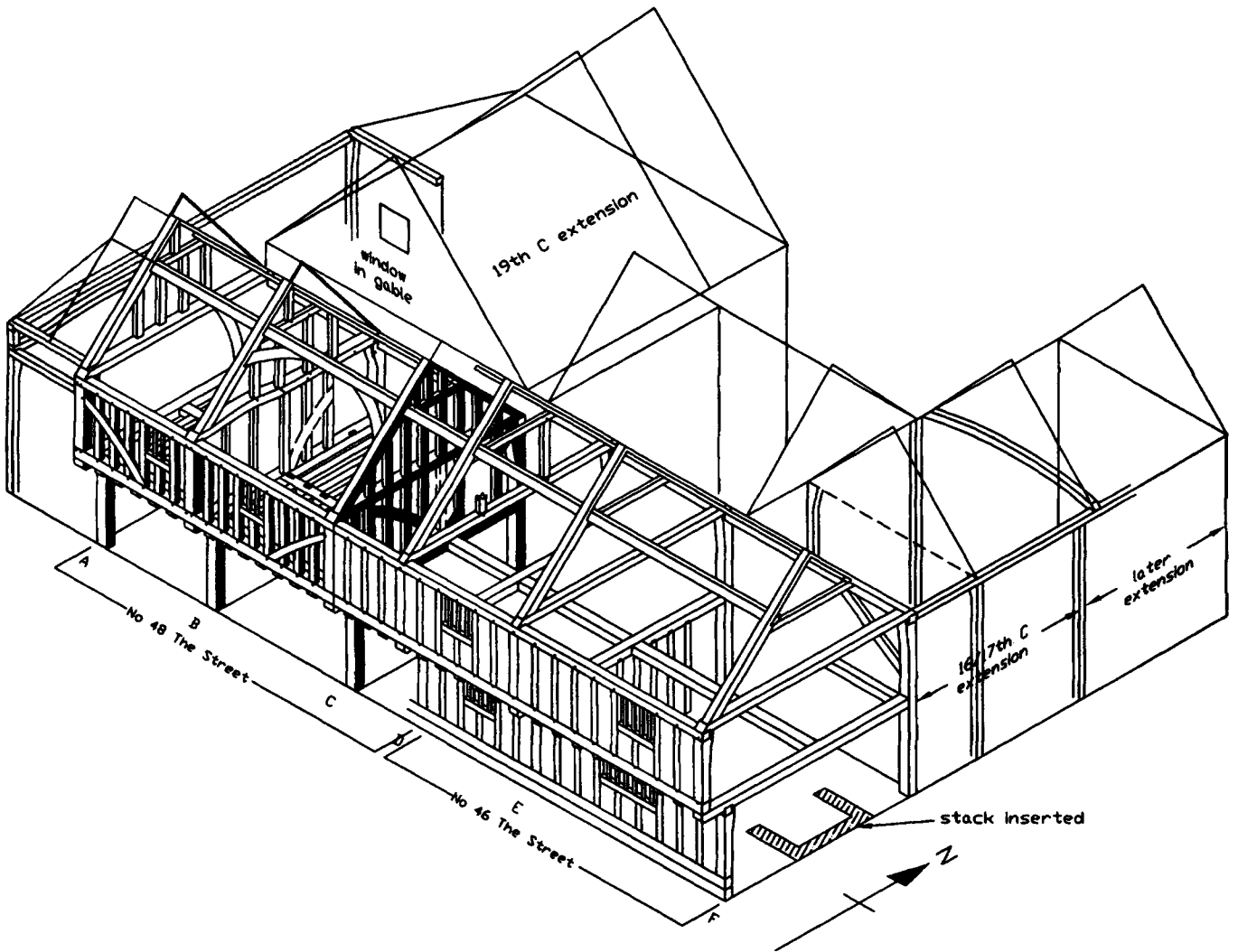


Fig. 13 Manuden, the 16th-century eastern extension and later rear extensions to 48 The Street.

Bibliography

- C. R. Elrington ed. 1968 *The Victoria County History of Gloucestershire. Vol 8, Tewkesbury & the Northern Vale.*
 Tyers, I., Groves, C., Hiram, J. & Boswijk, G. 1997 'Tree-ring dates from Sheffield University', *Vernacular Architecture* 28, 138-58.

Roydon, St Peter. The rood stair

David Andrews

The opening of a hole in the north wall of the chancel at a height of 2.3m to insert a steel joist to support glazing above the existing chancel screen, which is of 15th-century date, revealed a cavity which contained the former rood stair. This was formed in the masonry at the junction of the respond of the north arcade and the east wall of the north aisle (Fig. 14). With what seems like reckless indifference to potential structural problems, the walls had been reduced in thickness to about 170mm. The stair was about 600mm wide. The cavity was plastered and made in part of Tudor bricks. The one stair which was visible was also of Tudor bricks laid on edge. One of these bricks measured 110 x 47mm, and was well made with sunken margins. Brickwork was also

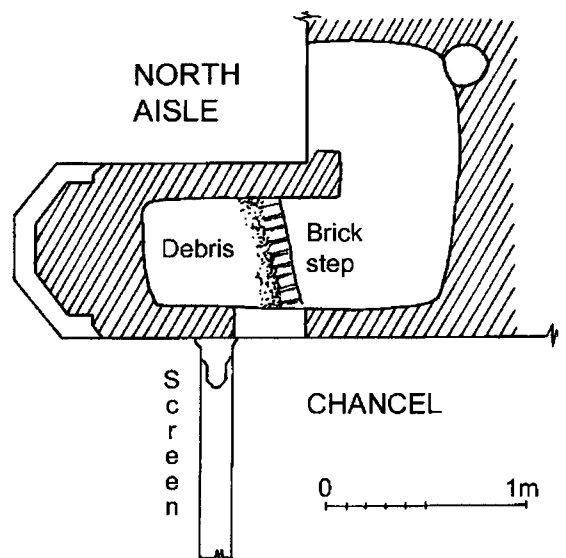


Fig. 14 Roydon, St. Peter, plan made at a height of 2.3m showing the approximate shape of the rood stair cavity inserted in the respond at the east end of the north arcade.

found in the hole opened in the south wall of the chancel, and there are sporadic bricks in the rubble masonry of the chancel walls. The bricks look 15th century, the date attributed to the chancel, which may have been rebuilt by the Colt family from about the 1470s as three of their brasses are to be found in the floor. The stair may have had a door in the south-east corner of the north aisle, with another directly above the chancel screen. Above this screen there survives the rood beam at the base of a tympanum or studwork partition formerly occupying the top of the chancel arch. The stair cavity was later adapted as a flue, a ceramic pipe being inserted into its north-east corner.

St. Osyth, 8 Spring Road

Brenda Watkin, Martin Bridge and
Chris Thornton.

No. 8 Spring Road, formerly two shops with rooms above, was investigated as part of the Channel 4 Time Team programme filmed during May 2004. With the interior sub-divided, a weatherboarded exterior, and roofs set at differing heights, clad in both plain and pan tiles, its character and appearance showed little evidence of its former use. In May 2004 work was being undertaken to change the former use of the building to residential. The stripping of the interior partitions and coverings revealed an interesting timber frame and features that made fuller analysis of the building possible and also provided an ideal opportunity for tree-ring dating to be undertaken.

The building is of two storeys and of oak timber-framing in the traditional close studded style of the area with studs at 16 inch (406 mm.) centres. It consists of three bays with the southern bay being narrower and each of the end frames open (Fig. 15). This is consistent with the frame being built against existing buildings, so it can be assumed that it was built into a confined predetermined space. However, it would appear that when the northern adjoining building was demolished the frame was closed with studs externally cogged to the frame and in-filled with riven vertical oak staves tied back to horizontal wattles and daubed in a similar manner to the original infill. This suggests that the adjoining building was demolished not that long after the completion of 8 Spring Road.

At both ground and first floor the bays are open throughout the building. The transverse beams are supported on jowls to the storey posts in the first bay division from the north, whilst in the other bay thick short braces form the support between storey post and beam. Plain heavy section common horizontal joists are housed into the axial beams with soffit tenon and diminished haunch joints; the external ends are housed onto the mid rails. Two diamond mullioned windows light the ground floor in the central bay against the northern storey posts. The narrow southern bay has no evidence for infill below the midrail on the eastern side. A door opening is evident in the studding pattern of the western wall fronting the churchyard.

At the first floor level there is a range of three diamond mullioned windows to Spring Road positioned one to each bay. The central window survives complete with four diamond mullions of 3 inch (75mm) square section. A rebate cut into the wall plate provides the recess for a sliding shutter. There is only one window in the central bay facing the churchyard, and as this is positioned towards the centre the rebate for the shutter is cut to each side requiring two shutters rather than just one. An external door, at first floor level, in the west elevation of the smaller southern bay gives access to the otherwise self contained first floor. There was no evidence of any original internal stairs. The external stairs have not survived and the heavily weathered timbers give no clue to its form.

Internally the only attempts at decoration are the stepped run-out stops to the chamfers to the tie-beams, storey posts, axial and transverse beams and the wall plates. The plainness of form is also evident externally where no attempt has been made to introduce a jetty or moulded windows. However there is evidence for exposed external trussed braces of the 'Suffolk type' that run from vertical to vertical rather than the more common tension braces that connect the vertical frame members to those that are horizontal.

The roof, where it survives, is of simple paired rafter and housed collar construction. The rafters have one sawn face showing that two have been produced from a 'box heart' section of converted timber. There is no evidence of a mortice in the top of the tie beams for a crown post or pressure mark to the underside of the collars for a collar purlin.

Generally there is minimal sapwood on the timber and individual structural members are of a heavy section. As part of the tree-ring dating analysis, a total of thirteen timbers were sampled, three in the form of *ex situ* slices, two of which were of known origin, and ten cores from various structural elements. As is typical in this part of Essex, several timbers were found to have been derived from fast grown trees, and had insufficient rings to warrant further analysis. Three of the longer series of tree-rings could be matched and combined into a site chronology, which dates to the period 1365-1494. (Bridge 2004) The sapwood estimates applied to these timbers suggest a felling date for the timbers between 1494 and 1500 AD.

Discussion

Dating features within the building pointed towards a date of circa 1525. However in this instance the tree-ring dates helped to further define the date of construction. It was the longer series of core samples which successfully dated; those having less than 70 rings did not date. The 36 rings of sapwood on the core taken from the window cill in the western elevation may represent the complete sapwood, although it was not possible to determine this on site.

The form of the building with two large open areas of three bays in extent and independent access to ground and first floor pointed to a public use. Its

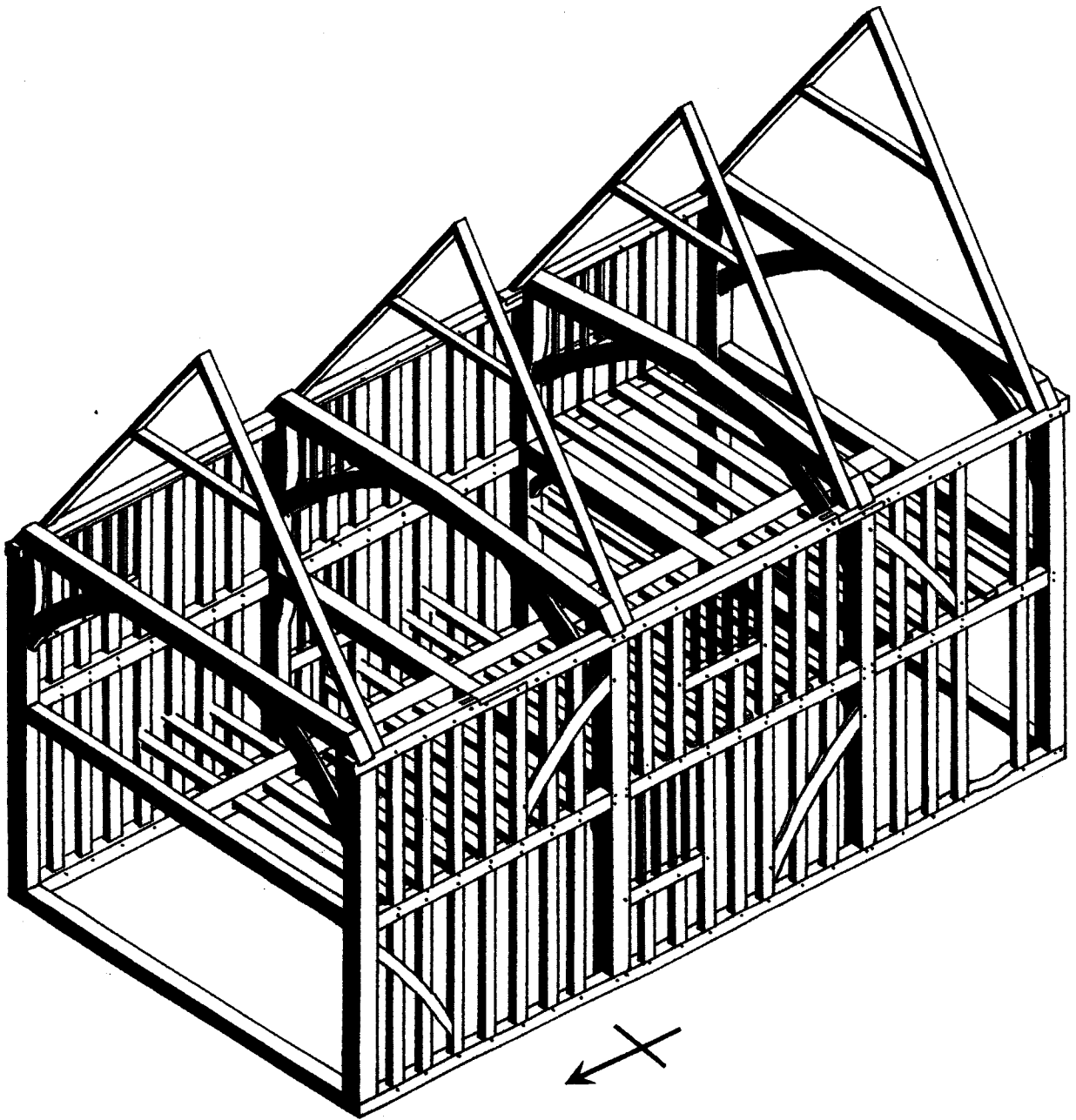


Fig. 15 St. Osyth, reconstruction of 8 Spring Road.

position to the east of the church and on the edge of the churchyard is commensurate with a religious use such as a guildhall. An inventory of the goods of the parish church of St. Osyth dated 6 Edward VI (1552-53) records that the churchwardens then held 'implements' (i.e. goods or utensils) formerly belonging to the guild of the Holy Trinity (King 1874, 18). This was a relatively common medieval guild dedication also being found at Chelmsford, Chigwell, East Ham, Finchingfield, Hornchurch, Maldon, Manningtree, Walden and Wimbish (Fowler 1913, 280-90). The St. Osyth inventory is unfortunately damaged, but the goods included several brass pots and originally these must have formed part of the contents of a guildhouse.

Two other sources throw a little more light on the status of the St. Osyth guild. A churchwardens' account from 1551 records a 'trinity chapel' in the church, probably indicating that the chapel had been the focus of the guild's religious observance (King 1874, 32). The same guild is almost certainly recorded in the St. Osyth lay subsidy return for 1524, where the 'stok of the Gylde' was valued at £5 6s. 8p.¹ These two references help to build a picture of a guild of some local significance, and one that could be expected to have possessed town property in a prominent position near the church. However, like many small town and country guilds and fraternities (cf. Martin 1992), the guild of the Holy Trinity at St. Osyth was apparently only modestly

endowed and that may help to explain the relatively modest scale and plain form of the recently discovered building.

The joint disciplinary approach to the analysis of this building, encouraged by Time Team's quest for fuller understanding of the medieval development of the town of St. Osyth, has had a significant result. It has identified a possible guildhall and also helped to define the date span of the use of the soffit tenon joint with diminished haunch in Essex. This is the earliest example yet found in the county, although there are dated examples in Oxfordshire some 50-60 years earlier (Dan Miles pers. comm.). The nearby Cann Hall, Clacton, previously in the ownership of St. Osyth Priory, and dated to 1511 (Tyers 1998), provided another early example of this joint. St. Aylotts, Saffron Walden, was previously the earliest example, dated to 1501 (Tyers 1996). However, if the 36 rings of sapwood, present on the core taken from the window cill, did represent the complete sapwood, it would then take the use of this joint back into the 15th century.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Channel 4 Time Team for commissioning the research and particularly Rebecca Woodhead, the assistant producer, for her help in arranging access to the building, and Colin Aldridge, the owner, who was welcoming and took an enthusiastic interest in the work.

Notes

- ¹ i.e. the taxable value of its goods and property: National Archives E 179/108/159.

Bibliography

- Bridge, M. 2004 *The tree-ring dating of 8 Spring Road, St. Osyth, Essex*, Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory Report 2004/13.
- Fowler, R. C. 1913 'The religious guilds of Essex', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s. 12, 280-90.
- King H. W. 1874 'Inventories of church goods, 6th Edw. VI', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* n.s. 1, 5-32.
- Martin, G. 1992 'Medieval guilds', in K. Neale ed., *Essex Heritage*, Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 31-46.
- Tyers, I. 1996 *Tree-ring analysis of timbers from St. Aylotts near Saffron Walden, Essex*, Ancient Monument Laboratory Report 26/96.
- Tyers, I. 1998 *Tree-ring analysis of Cann Hall, Clacton, Essex*, Ancient Monument Laboratory Report 25/98.

Stapleford Tawney, Woodhatch Farm

Elphin Watkin

A historic assessment of three listed farm buildings at Woodhatch Farm (TL 5012 0132) was carried out to establish areas of significance and sensitivity within the barn, stable and cartlodge, and thus inform decisions regarding future conversion schemes.

The five-bay listed barn is built of oak using a fair proportion of re-used timber and is a good example of its type dating from the later 16th century to 17th century (Plate 4). The barn has a joggled side purlin roof originally gabled at both ends, although the west end was later hipped. It was originally built as a threshing barn but by the 19th century was used for storing hay or oats to feed horses stabled in the adjoining unit to the east. The addition of the stable

entailed the removal of the east wall of the barn. Latterly the barn was used for cattle, sheep and even potatoes, and most recently for corn bins and a grinding and crushing mill. The stable has been used to house cattle and later corn bins. However, two stall divisions, a feed trough lowered to compensate for cattle, and a brick floor still remain. Abutting the east wall of the stable is the listed cartlodge. It is an extremely good example of carpentry from the second half of the 19th century, showing the first signs of standard machined sections for timber in buildings. An unusual hexagonal timber-framed two storey building, thought to have been used for calves with storage above, was located to the east of the other two listed farm buildings. It survived complete until a partial collapse in 1993 when still in use, and has since deteriorated, leaving only a single bay width of the lower frame intact. Until its collapse, it remained one of only two examples of such a structure known in Essex: the other at nearby Little Tawney Hall, which may have been used as an oat barn (Anne Padfield pers. comm.), has unfortunately been demolished.

Bibliography

- Watkin, T.E. 2004 *Historic assessment report on the listed farm buildings at Woodhatch Farm, Tawney Common, Stapleford Tawney*, (unpublished report).

Stow Maries, Great Hayes Farm (TQ 8343 9843)

Anne Padfield

A survey of the Great Hayes Farm buildings was undertaken prior to their conversion to light industrial and office use. It established that the preceding traditional farm buildings were demolished between 1873 and 1896 (most likely during the 1880s) and were replaced by a 'modern' brick and slate roofed planned farmstead, whose design reflected the ideas of 'High Farming' based on the principles of high investment to achieve higher yields.

The builder, Mr Bashall, came from an industrial background and the farm buildings were accordingly constructed in an industrial factory style, using yellow stock bricks with red brick dressings, imported Baltic pine and slate (Plate 5). The barn, livestock housing, storage and processing areas were arranged around a central yard. They follow the traditional planned layout placing the barn to the north with, in this instance, two-storeyed, double-pile livestock and storage ranges to the east and west, and domestic riding and carriage horse accommodation, mess room and smithy in the southern return. It also included a chimney for steam power. A 16th-century or earlier timber-framed farmhouse stands away to the south-east of the complex.

Few structural alterations were made in later years to the Victorian design, though many elements were put to alternative uses. A milking parlour was built into part of the west range during the 1950s and a contemporary late 19th-century detached range of farm buildings to the north were demolished during the 1960s. In more



Plate 4 Stapleford Tawney, Woodhatch Farm.



Plate 5 Stow Maries, Great Hayes Farm.

recent years, most of the slate roof coverings have been replaced by asbestos sheeting, several openings have been inserted or widened for tractor access, while most of the eastern outside wall of the farmstead has been removed.

Bibliography

Padfield, A 2004 *Great Hayes Farm, Stow Maries, Essex. Historic Building Survey*, (typescript/developer report).

The Society is extremely grateful to Essex County Council for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this article

Shorter Notes

Flintwork from Mill Farm, Brightlingsea, Essex

R. N. E. Barton

1. Utilized blade ?

This artefact is a flint blade, broken at both ends, and measuring a maximum of 96 x 32 x 11 mm (Fig. 1, left). The dorsal scar pattern indicates it was one of a sequence of blades detached preferentially from one end of a blade core. The artefact is in reasonably sharp condition. Its natural grey colour is altered by a thin light brown staining which covers the majority of its surfaces. The most characteristic feature is the extensive secondary scarring visible along its edges. On the left edge, the dorsal surface is partially covered by invasive scalariform retouch scars, some up to 12 mm in length. A number of notches are apparent on the right hand side. On the ventral aspect of the edges, prominent scalar damage is also visible. Nearly all of the scars reveal some evidence of staining implying that they are contemporary with the artefact and probably not the result of more recent plough damage.

The prominent invasive negative flake scars on its ventral surface seem to be evidence of utilization.

Similar damage, though often accompanied by characteristic crushing or bruising of the edge itself, has been described on so-called *lames mâchurées*. A single piece like this is not in itself diagnostic of a particular prehistoric technology. If the edge damage was induced through use then it might have been employed to chop a material such as antler or hard wood (cf. Barton 1986).

2. Composite tool: a concave truncation burin and a straight truncation

This retouched tool combines tools of two groups: a concave truncation burin and a straight truncation (Fig. 1, centre). The blade support on which the tool is made measures 77 x 19 x 5 mm in maximum dimension. The dorsal scar pattern on the blade indicates it was also one of a sequence of blades detached preferentially from one end of a blade core. The flint is a lightly patinated mottled grey colour and is in fresh condition. There are a number of negative flake scars on the ventral surface which appear to be contemporary with the tool as they display the same patination as the main surfaces.

The burin is located at the proximal end of the blade. The truncation consists of a single flake scar which

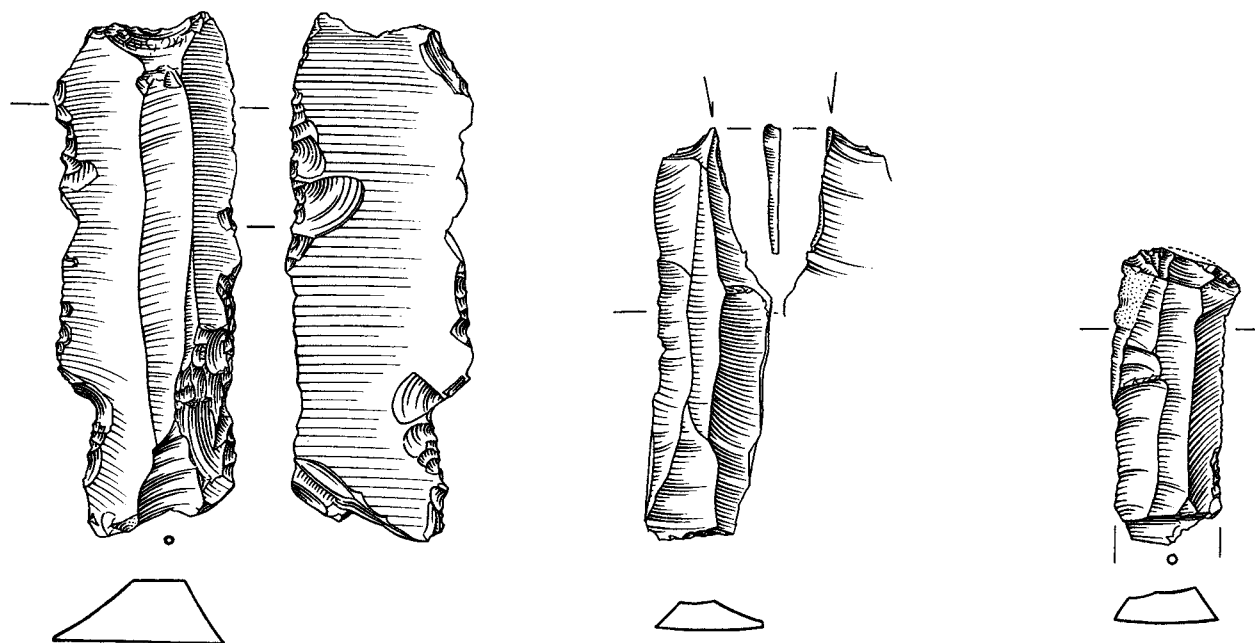


Fig. 1 Flintwork from Mill Farm, Brightlingsea (x 2/3)

provided the platform for the burin removal. The burin facet has a maximum width of 3 mm. There is no damage associated with the facet except at its distal extremity which is probably due to preparation to guide removal of the burin spall. Small flake scars on the left edge and adjacent to the truncation (ventral surface) appear to be linked with preparing the truncation.

The truncation at the proximal end of the blade is a straight truncation formed by direct, abrupt retouch. Retouched tools of this type can occur in both Mesolithic and Upper Palaeolithic contexts; the quality of the blade implies a Late Upper Palaeolithic origin.

3. Blade end-scraper

The end-scraper is on a broken blade with maximum dimensions of 55 x 23 x 6 mm. The scraper edge is located at the distal end of the blade and formed by direct, semi-abrupt retouch (Fig. 1, right). The opposite end of the blade is broken and characterised by a 'languette' fracture. The negative scars on the dorsal side of the blade are uni-directional. There is a small plage of cortex near the distal end of the artefact indicating that the tool was made on a blade from an early stage in the core reduction sequence. The profile of the blade is noticeably straight. Although not unusual, some scrapers are markedly curved in profile and exhibit a 'hooked' working edge which is said to be a characteristic of hideworking tools. In this case, there is no curvature in profile and the edge angle of the scraper front is relatively steep (60°), implying one or more episodes of re-sharpening. The lateral edges of the tool display discontinuous areas of retouch and some nicking, which may have been incurred during use or replacement in a haft. The fact that most of these retouch and damage scars have the same bluish-white patination as the rest of the blade suggests they were broadly contemporary and unlikely to be examples of post-depositional damage.

Conclusion

This small collection of finds originates from the same ploughed field. The pieces are all well made blades and two of them share the same slight surface staining. Although it is impossible to prove that the three artefacts were manufactured at the same time, from a technological point of view they all share the same standard features of being made on good blades. Typologically, the burin and the end-scraper are not unlike those found in the Late Upper Palaeolithic (Barton 1992), while the edge-damaged blade, though less diagnostic, would also fit this category.

Bibliography

- Barton, R. N. E. 1986 'Experiments with Long Blades from Sproughton, near Ipswich, Suffolk', in Roe, D. A. (ed.), *Studies in the Upper Palaeolithic of Britain and Northwest Europe*, 129-43, BAR International Series 192
- Barton, R. N. E. 1992 *Hengistbury Head: The Late Upper Palaeolithic and Early Mesolithic sites*, Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph Series.

A rare discoidal polished flint knife from the Blackwater estuary

Hazel Martingell and Rodney Larner

A discoidal polished flint knife was recovered from the eroding shore line in the area of the Stumble on the north side of the Blackwater estuary. It was found by the second author with other flint artefacts and prehistoric pottery, and reported to Essex County Council's Field Archaeology Unit in 2003.

The knife is of dark grey flint with inclusions, bifacially flaked, with two of its three edges ground and polished to a smooth surface. It measures 8.7 by 6.3 cm, and is complete, with no edge damage (Fig. 2).

The form is type II in Clark's (1929, 41) typological description: 'II The second main form is the triangular, formed by triangulating the contour edge upon the unaltered blunted base. The resulting form may be further sub-divided as acute or obtuse angled ... Ideally this form is always isosceles'.

These knives are extremely rare and a most striking feature is their distribution, which was thought to be confined to the British Isles (Clark 1929, 46). Piggott (1954, 286) also states 'Our British polished knives (and especially the discoidal type) must again be considered an insular development'. They have most often been found in association with Beaker pots and Early Bronze Age burials, as was the case with this knife.

This dates them to 2,700 - 1,200 BC, possibly restricted to 2,200 - 1,900 BC, the date range for Beaker flint daggers. (The first author would be pleased to hear of similar knives that have been recovered in recent years).

Bibliography

- Clark, J G D 1929 'Discoidal polished flint knives', *Proc. Prehist. Soc. of East Anglia*, VI, no.5, 40-54
- Piggott, S 1954 *The Neolithic cultures of the British Isles*

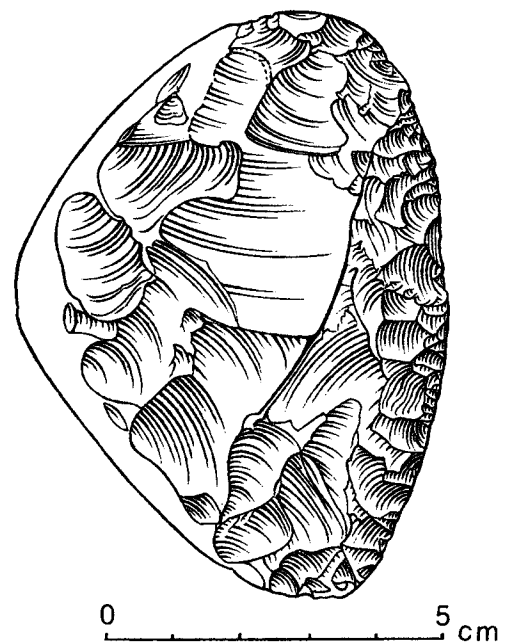


Fig. 2 Discoidal polished flint knife from the Blackwater estuary

A prehistoric site at Hall Farm, Little Bentley: excavations 1994

N. J. Lavender and M. Germany

with contributions by H. Major, H. Martingell and G. Walker

A programme of archaeological evaluation and excavation was carried out to investigate and date a set of cropmarks. The main discoveries were an Early Bronze Age ring-ditch and beaker, and indirect evidence for Middle and Late Iron Age settlement.

Introduction

During July and August 1994, Essex County Council Field Archaeology Unit (ECC FAU) carried out archaeological investigations at the proposed site of an irrigation reservoir at Hall Farm, Little Bentley (Fig. 3; NGR TL 61369 22441). The excavation followed archaeological evaluation of the study area carried out by Cotswold Archaeological Trust (CAT) three months previously (Barber 1994), which discovered an Early Bronze Age beaker in a pit surrounded by a ring-ditch, and indirect evidence for Late Iron Age settlement.

Background details

The site lies in arable land, which slopes down to the south, getting noticeably steeper as it falls towards the Holland Brook (Fig. 3). Aerial photographs of the study area show linear cropmarks and a circular ring-ditch. The linear features are orientated east/west and north/south, and are probably the remains of fields and enclosures or paddocks. Archaeological cropmarks are common in north-east Essex and in the fields to the west of the Holland Brook are cropmarks of trackways, rectilinear enclosures, ring-ditches and a possible henge (Essex Historic Environment Record numbers 3092 and 17326). The many cropmarks in the area suggest that north-east Essex was heavily exploited in the prehistoric period, due to its gravel soils, which are well-drained, fertile and easy to plough.

Evaluation

Cotswold Archaeological Trust trial trenched the linear cropmarks and the cropmark of the ring-ditch in the north-east part of the study area (Barber 1994) (Fig. 3, trenches 1 to 11). The evaluation found a cremation in an Early Bronze Age beaker in a large pit in the middle of the ring-ditch in trenches 1 and 2, and a small number of ditches, pits and post-holes in trenches 5 to 8. Trenches 7 and 8 contained a small number of Late Iron Age features, but most of the features in the two trenches were not closely datable. The current whereabouts of the cremated bone and beaker, which were misplaced before they could be fully analysed, is not known.

Excavation

A 0.3m to 0.45m depth of topsoil was removed from six excavation areas by a mechanical excavator with a toothless bucket (Fig. 3, areas A to F). The archaeological features cut a mixed deposit of sand and

coarse gravel with occasional patches of brickearth, except for those in trench C, where some features were sealed by or dug into a deep deposit of dark reddish brown silt. The ring-ditch in area F was planned and recorded, but not excavated.

The purpose of the excavation was to investigate further the ring-ditch and the site of the Early Bronze Age beaker, and what at the time was thought to be further possible evidence in evaluation trenches 5 and 6 for Iron Age post-built structures.

Archaeological features and finds were identified in every area apart from area D. Six features previously found during the evaluation could not be relocated. Most of the excavation features were undatable, and only those that can be positively dated are described below. Feature numbers from the evaluation phase are prefixed with 'CAT'.

Early Bronze Age

The earliest feature is the ring-ditch in area F (Fig. 4). It has a diameter of *c.* 16m, with a narrow break in its circuit in the north-west. The pit in the middle of the ring-ditch, from which the Early Bronze Age beaker came, was slightly larger (3m x 5m) than that recorded in the evaluation (3m x 2.5m). The ring-ditch was not excavated, and no dating evidence apart from the beaker was found.

Middle Iron Age

The other datable features are all Middle Iron Age: ditch 30 in area A, ditch 201 in area C, and ditches 507/CAT607 and 521, and pit 505 in area E (Figs 3 and 5). The datable ditches are thought to be parts of Middle Iron Age enclosures or paddocks, and the pit and its contents indirect evidence for Middle Iron Age settlement. Ditch 30 in area A is aligned with ditch 201 in area C, and ditches 521 and 507/CAT607 in area E are linked by a linear cropmark. Feature 508 in area E is probably a truncated earlier cut of ditch 507/CAT607. The excavation found no Late Iron Age features or finds, in contrast to the evaluation, which identified a small number of Late Iron Age features and finds in trenches 7 and 8.

No conclusive evidence for either Middle or Late Iron Age buildings was found. The post-holes recorded were all undatable, and formed no discernable structures.

Indirect evidence for Middle Iron Age occupation, either on-site, or nearby, came from pit 505 in trench E, which contained evidence for textile working in the form of many small to medium-sized pieces of triangular loomweight. A few small fragments of triangular loomweight were recovered from other features in trenches C and E.

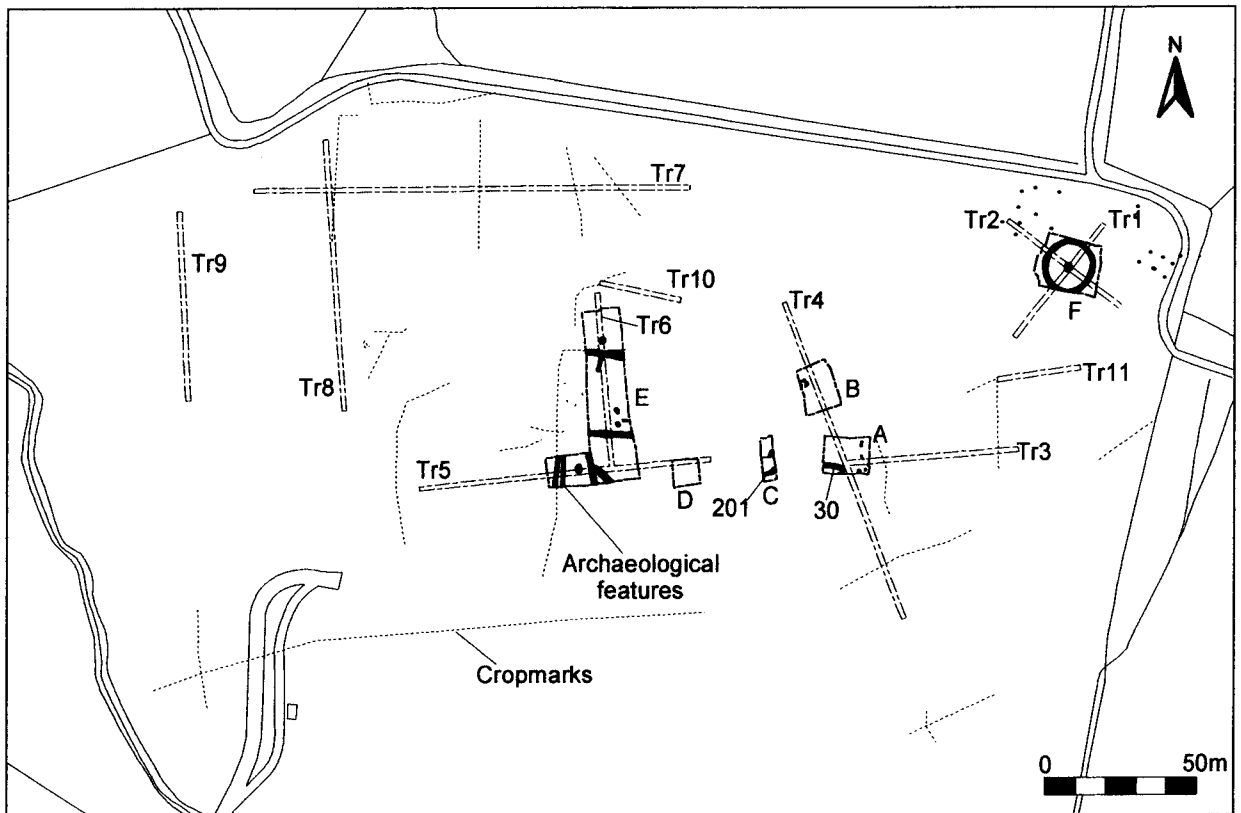
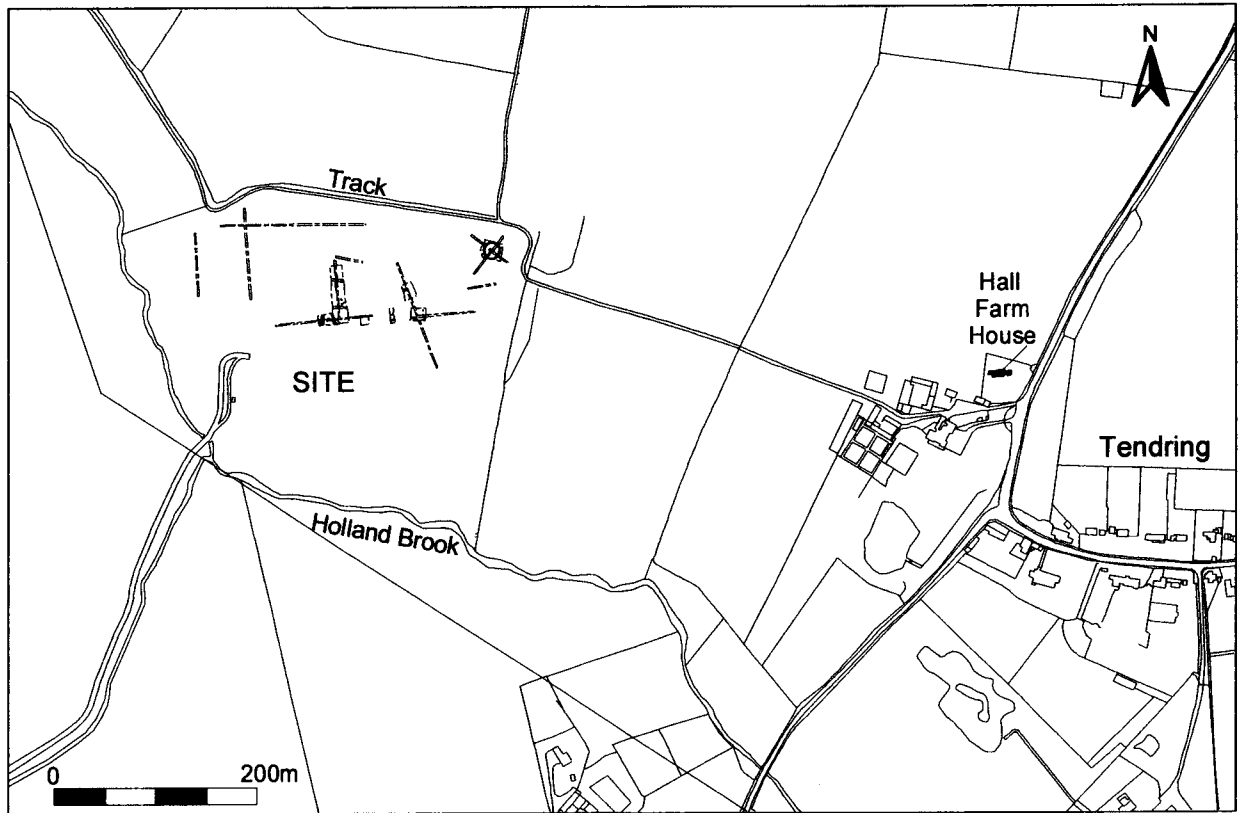


Fig. 3 Hall Farm, Little Bentley: location plan
© Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

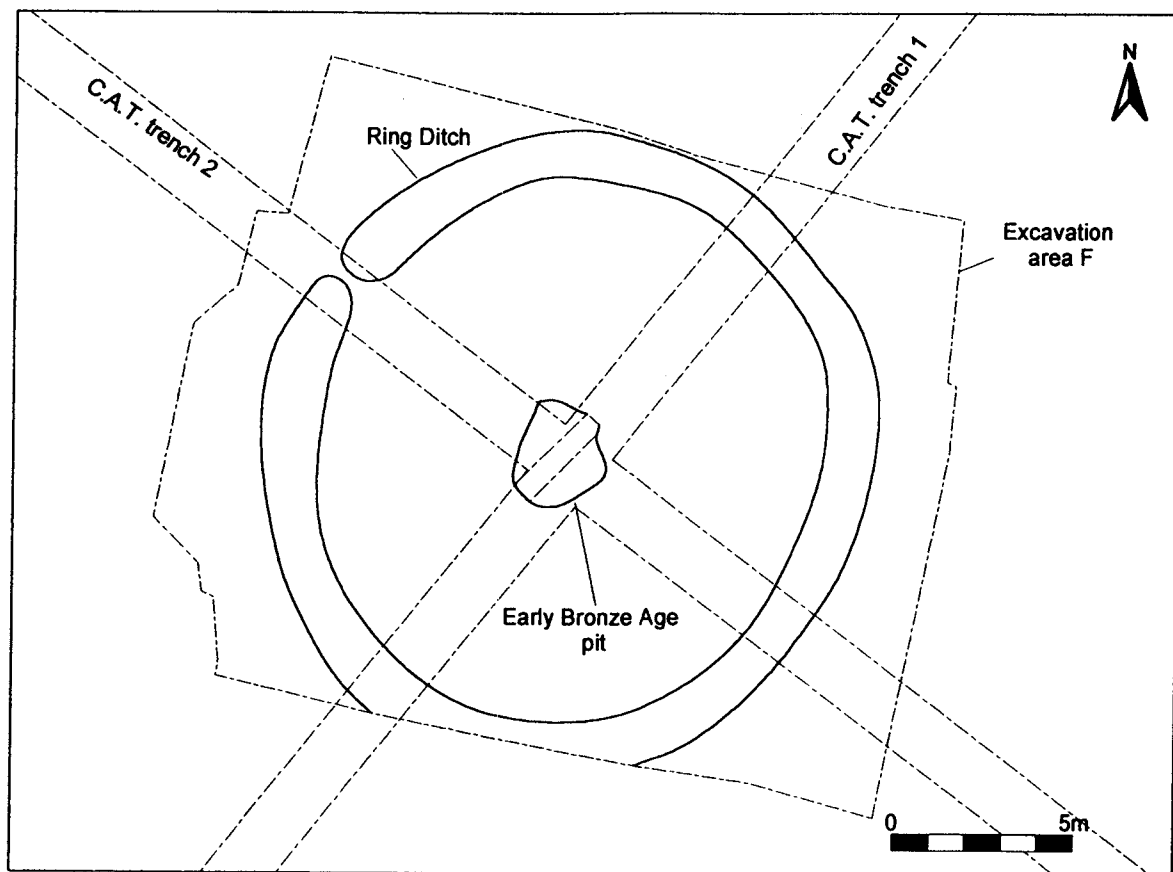


Fig. 4 Hall Farm, Little Bentley: Area F

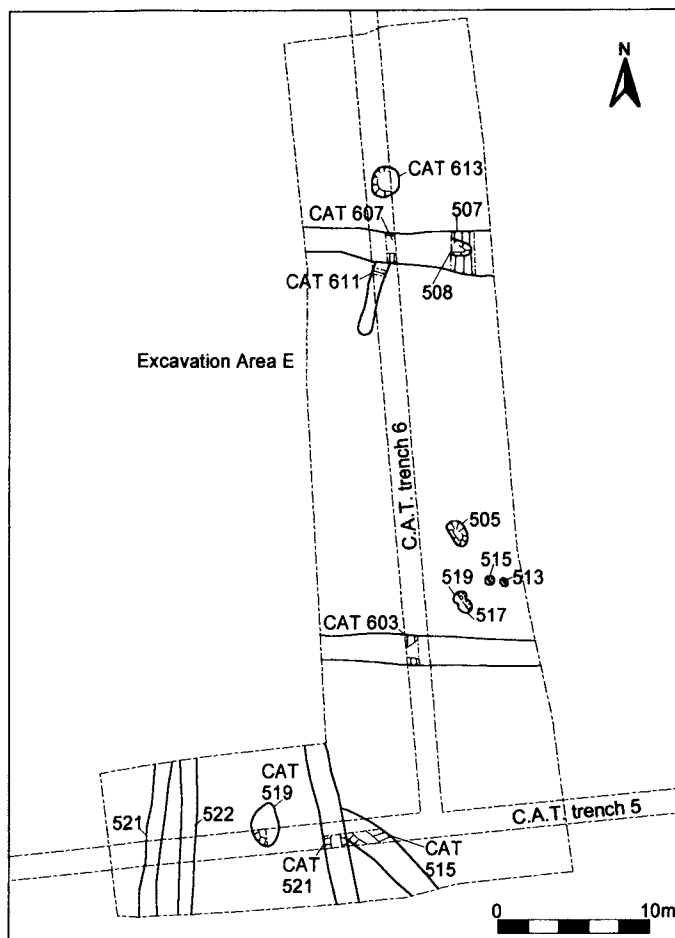


Fig. 5 (right) Hall Farm, Little Bentley:
Area E

Prehistoric Pottery

by N.J. Lavender

Evaluation

The CAT evaluation recovered 77 sherds of pottery in addition to an apparently complete beaker from the central pit of the ring-ditch. Much of this material, including the beaker, was accessioned to Colchester Museum in 1988 where a thorough search has failed to find it. The evaluation report (Timby 1994) describes the pottery as a mixture of grog-tempered Late Iron Age material, including sherds from a pedestal urn and two large everted bowls with ridged surfaces. A small quantity of flint-tempered prehistoric sherds was also recovered. Sometimes the prehistoric pottery is described as 'Bronze Age'. Examination of the accessible pottery largely confirms this, though the prehistoric sherds are all undiagnostic and not closely dateable. Some that are marked as 'Bronze Age' in the report have a high sand content and are more likely to belong to the Iron Age.

The beaker is described as being long-necked with quite typical decoration in the form of comb impressed lines and lozenges. Only the rim and part of the upper walls of the vessel were examined, however, since it had not been removed from its surrounding soil matrix by the time it was accessioned to Colchester.

Excavation

A small amount of pottery (87 sherds, 786g) was recovered from thirteen contexts. The material has been recorded using a system devised for prehistoric pottery in Essex (Brown 1988). Fabrics are identified on the basis of type, size and frequency of inclusions. Fabrics present in the Hall Farm assemblage are:

- C Flint, S-M with occasional L 2.
- D Flint, S-L 2 poorly sorted.
- E Flint and sand, S-M 2.
- G Sand, S 3.
- M Grog, often with some sand or flint and occasional small rounded or subangular voids.
- N Vegetable temper.
- U Flint, S-L 2 with some occasional irregular voids.

Where:

- Size of inclusions: S = less than 1mm diameter.
 M = 1-2mm diameter.
 L = more than 2mm diameter.

- Density of inclusions: 1 = less than 6 per cm²
 2 = 6-10 per cm²
 3 = more than 10 per cm²

The excavation assemblage differed from that from the evaluation in that there was very little grog-tempered pottery, and what there was belongs to the Middle, rather than the Late Iron Age. There is a small quantity of flint- and sand-and-flint-tempered pottery, and once again this is largely undiagnostic, apart from a small rim sherd from context 202, fill of ditch 201, which is Middle Iron Age.

Sixty per cent of the pottery by weight (476g) is in a dark brown vegetable-tempered fabric often with a burnished exterior. Vessels in this fabric comprise mainly rounded or slack-shouldered jars with flat bases. A pedestal base in this fabric, from context 502, at the top of ditch 507 (area E), may be from a tripartite bowl rather than a jar, but none of the upper part of the vessel was recovered. Middle Iron Age sherds, in a flint-tempered fabric, were also recovered from this feature.

With the exception of the beaker from the ring ditch, there is no pottery from either the evaluation or the excavation that is demonstrably earlier than Middle Iron Age. It is, however, possible that the undiagnostic prehistoric material from areas A and B could be earlier, and the presence of Neolithic and Bronze Age struck flint (Martingell and Walker below) supports this possibility. No Late Iron Age pottery was recovered from the excavation. This is in sharp contrast with the evaluation, where fifty-three of the seventy-seven sherds are dated to this period. However, the majority of this material

was recovered from evaluation trenches 7 and 8, which lay outside the excavation areas.

There is no reason to suggest that the prehistoric pottery is not locally made. Whilst the local geology is largely sand and gravel, suitable potting clay is also available. A small quantity of burnt flint was recovered from the excavation and grass for the vegetable-tempered fabrics would have been abundant.

Beaker pottery was recovered from the excavations at Hill Farm, Tendring, on the south side of the Holland Brook (Brown in prep.), but the majority of the prehistoric pottery there was of Late Bronze Age date, which is not reflected by the Hall Farm assemblage.

Struck Flint

by H. Martingell and G. Walker

A total of twenty six worked flints were studied: thirteen from the evaluation trial trenches and thirteen from the excavation areas. This total is exclusive of all burnt and naturally flaked flint originally recorded (Walker 1994) from the evaluation trial trenches.

This small assemblage comprised twenty-nine pieces of flint, mostly struck, but also including burnt lumps, fragments of nodules, some of which may be natural detachments, and three pebbles. Most of the flint is in fair condition, showing some, but not excessive abrasion. This is consistent with retrieval of much of the material from secondary sources.

The raw material from which the majority of the assemblage is derived is a grey or grey-brown flint, probably obtained from pebbles within the local gravel. The range of artefact types recovered is limited, comprising mostly cores and unretouched flakes, indicating knapping was taking place locally but that finished implements were being used and discarded elsewhere. Although there are few typologically distinct pieces within the assemblage, the overall characteristics suggest that it is a fairly cohesive group, and a later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age date for much of the material would not be out of place.

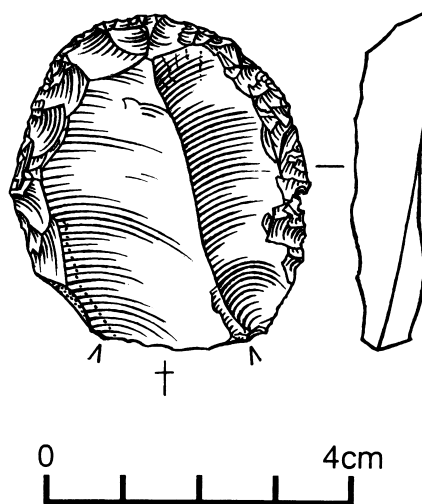


Fig. 6 Hall Farm, Little Bentley: worked flint

One piece of particular note is a broad secondary flake recovered from a late prehistoric ditch/pit fill (CAT410, trench 4). This is undoubtedly a Lower Palaeolithic flake although it is not sufficiently diagnostic to allow closer dating or cultural attribution. A second, smaller, secondary flake from a late prehistoric ditch/pit fill (CAT404, trench 4) does not possess the same ochreous staining as the flake from CAT410 but it has shared characteristics of peripheral damage, rolling and a deep plain platform and it is tentatively suggested that this second piece may also be of Palaeolithic date.

The thirteen worked flints from the Essex County Council excavations include nine waste flakes, three flake blades and one good and complete Neolithic end-and-side scraper (Fig. 6) from pit 505 (area E). This small number of undiagnostic waste pieces, with one retouched tool, suggests casual discarding of items rather than the remnants of flint-working areas. The five that tend to squat flakes and

the core with squat flake removals can be of Iron Age date (Clark and Fell 1953) and therefore support a late prehistoric use of the area.

Baked Clay

by H. Major

A large group of baked clay came from pit 505 (area E), consisting mainly of fragments of triangular loomweights, but including two probable fragments of structural daub. The fabric of the daub is similar to that of the loomweights, so it is not possible to say how much of the material with no diagnostic features could be from daub. The total number of loomweight fragments (including the non-diagnostic material) was 273, weighing 5,724g. Most of the baked clay was in a poorly fired fabric with sparse sand and sparse to moderate vegetable temper (fabric A), with a smaller amount in a friable fabric with moderate to common sand and occasional large pebbles (fabric B).

The loomweights were very fragmented. Some time was spent trying to piece them together, but few joins were found, partly because the edges were abraded. The disposition of the fragments in the ground suggested that there might only be a few loomweights represented, but after examination it seems likely that there are parts of at least eleven, in two different fabrics and two distinct sizes. Some of the pieces had been burnt after breakage, and this, together with the number of very incomplete and fragmented weights present suggests that this is a dump of previously broken up material, and that the apparently meaningful disposition is fortuitous. It therefore seems unlikely that the reason behind the deposition was associated with the loomweights *per se*.

None of the loomweights was substantially complete, although the original thickness and hole diameters could be measured for some, and in a few cases the original side length or height could be estimated. There are at least two sizes of loomweight represented. The first is in fabric A and has a thickness of c. 80-86mm; the original height can be estimated on only one example, and is c. 135mm. A fragment in fabric B may belong to this group, but appears to be larger, with an estimated thickness and height of 90mm and 156mm.

The second group of loomweights is unusually small, with a thickness of c. 46-56mm, and a height of c. 105-108mm, and in two of the examples appears to be an isosceles rather than an equilateral triangle. Most are in fabric A, with a single fragment in fabric B, and there are parts of at least four different weights present. Another loomweight of this type, with a height of only 92mm, came from fill 503 in cut 508 (area E). There are few other loomweights as small as this from Essex, one example being from Ardale School, North Stifford (Major 1988, 94, no. 3). The small loomweights may have been used in weaving fine fabrics.

Other fragments of triangular loomweights came from ditch 201 (area C), ditch cut 508 and post-hole 519 (area E). Fired clay, including possible loomweight fragments, was recovered during the evaluation (Timby 1994), from CAT trenches 1, 6, 7 and 8.

Conclusions

The well-drained gravel soils of the Tendring plateau have always been attractive to settlement, as demonstrated by the wealth of cropmarks throughout the area indicating prehistoric and Roman field systems, enclosures and trackways. Associated burial sites, particularly the barrow cemeteries of the Middle Bronze Age, are also common, and a number have been excavated: notably Ardleigh, Brightlingsea and, most recently, St. Osyth (Brown 1999; Clarke and Lavender in prep; Germany in prep). Also at St Osyth, an Early Neolithic causewayed enclosure has now been excavated and cropmarks suggest the presence of two long barrows or mortuary enclosures (Germany in prep; Hedges 1980). Another possible long barrow lies at Thorrington, and a large Early Neolithic ring ditch with funerary associations has been excavated at Brightlingsea (Clarke and Lavender in prep.).

Cropmarks in the area indicate that the Hall Farm site is part of a much larger prehistoric and Roman landscape. At Hill Farm, overlooking the Holland Brook from the south, and c. 300m due south from the present site, a series of field systems and trackways ranging from the Middle Bronze Age to the middle Roman period was excavated in 1997-8 and 2003 (Heppell and Clarke in prep.). The earliest feature, predating the majority of the activity, was a pit containing an almost complete East Anglian beaker (Brown in prep.). This pit was not enclosed within a ring ditch, did not contain any other artefacts associated with Beaker burial practices and could not be conclusively identified as a grave. The absence of a skeleton is quite usual on acid gravel sites. It is tempting to see it as a burial or a deliberate placed deposition reflecting that at Hall Farm across the brook. The two would certainly have been intervisible.

A Middle Iron Age enclosure is known from the evaluation at Hill Farm, but was not excavated because the plan of the reservoir was altered to preserve it in situ (Heppell 1997). Activity at Hill Farm continued through the Late Iron Age and much of the Roman period

The evaluation and excavation at Hall Farm has demonstrated occupation during the Middle and Late Iron Age on well-drained, flat land overlooking the Holland Brook. There was no evidence for earlier or later settlement, although the Beaker period barrow here, the beaker from Hill Farm and some of the struck flint suggest that Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age activity was occurring in the vicinity. Bronze Age and Roman evidence from Hill Farm completes the local chronological picture, which is one of extensive and intensive agricultural use of the landscape throughout the prehistoric and Roman periods.

Acknowledgements

Essex County Council Field Archaeology Unit is grateful to Alresford Sand and Ballast Company Ltd for funding the excavation and for providing a tracked excavator for topsoil removal. The excavations were conducted by T. Bradley-Lovekin, A. Daykin, M. Edwards, D. Gadd, E. Heppell and H. Jurgielwicz under the supervision of N. Lavender. The site was surveyed by I. Peet. Finds processing was by P. McMichael. The report was edited by M. Germany from an original draft by N. Lavender. Figs 3 to 5 were prepared for publication by A. Lewsey, and Fig. 6 by H. Martingell.

Bibliography

- Barber, A. 1994 *Land at Hall Farm, Little Bentley, Essex. Archaeological Fieldwork*. Cotswold Archaeol. Trust report 94191
- Brown, N. 1988 'A Late Bronze Age enclosure at Lofts Farm, Essex.' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 54, 249-302
- Brown, N. 1999 *The Archaeology of Ardleigh, Essex: Excavations 1955-1980*. E. Anglian Archaeol. 90.
- Brown, N. In prep. 'The Prehistoric Pottery' in Heppell, E. 'A Prehistoric and Roman Landscape at Hill Farm, Tendring; Excavations in 1997 and 1998,' *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*
- Clark, J.G.D. and Fell, C.I. 1953 'The Early Iron Age site at Mickle Moor, West Harling and its pottery'. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 19, 1-40

- Clarke, C.P. and Lavender, N.J. In prep. *Field Survey and excavation at Brighthlingsea, Essex*
- Germany, M. In prep. *Excavations at Lodge Farm, St Osyth, 2000 to 2003*, E. Anglian Archaeol.
- Hedges, J. D. 1980 'The Neolithic in Essex' in Buckley, D. G. *Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500*. CBA Res. Rep. 34, 26-39.
- Heppeil, E. 1997 *Hill Farm, Tendring, Essex. Archaeological Evaluation*. ECC Field Archaeology Unit Report 406
- Heppeil, E. and Clarke, R. In prep. 'A Prehistoric and Roman Landscape at Hill Farm, Tendring; Excavations in 1997 to 1998, and 2003.' *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*
- Major, H. 1988 'Baked and fired clay objects', in Wilkinson, T. J. *Archaeology and environment in South Essex*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 42, 94-7
- Timby, J. 1994 'The Pottery' in Barber, A., *Land at Hall Farm, Little Bentley, Essex. Archaeological Fieldwork*. Cotswold Archaeol. Trust report 94191
- Walker, G. 1994 'Struck Flint' in Barber, A., *Land at Hall Farm, Little Bentley, Essex. Archaeological Fieldwork*. Cotswold Archaeol. Trust report 94191

The Society is grateful to Essex County Council for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this note.

A Middle Iron Age Red Hill at Tollesbury Creek, Tollesbury

M.Germany

with contributions by N.Brown and H.Major

A red hill investigated by geophysical survey and trial trenching was found to date to the Middle Iron Age and to contain hearths and a probable settling tank. The top of the red hill may have been surrounded by a small ditched enclosure. Two other red hills nearby were recorded by geophysical survey, and a further red hill was visible as a soil mark, but none of these was investigated in detail.

Introduction

Four red hills, the remains of ancient salt extraction, were identified in June 1994 during an archaeological evaluation by the Essex County Council Field Archaeology Unit and Oxford Archaeotechnics to the south of Tollesbury Creek mud flats (Fig. 7; TL 9592 1129). The archaeological work was carried out before a realignment of the coastal flood defences, a scheme undertaken by English Nature as part of the managed control of the salt marsh. A new length of borrow dyke and counter wall (flood defence ditch and wall) was constructed 400m back from the creek, allowing 21ha of mainly reclaimed land to be inundated and returned to salt marsh. Since red hills were known on or near the line of the new flood defences, a limited programme of geophysical survey and trenching was carried out in accordance with a brief prepared by the Essex County Council Heritage Advice, Management and Promotion group (Essex CC 1994). The archive and finds (site code TOTC 94) are deposited at Colchester Museum.

Red hills

The red hills along the coast of Essex mostly date from the Late Iron Age and early Roman periods and are related to the extraction of salt from seawater. They are

sometimes visible in the modern ground surface as low mounds of reddish earth, although more often they have been levelled off. The scorched red earth that gives them their name is a by-product of the salt extraction process, part of which was the heating of brine in large ceramic vessels, known as briquetage pans. The brine was stored, cleaned and concentrated in large settling tanks before the salt was extracted (Fawn *et al.* 1990). However, while many red hill sites are known on the Essex coast, few are dated, and the salt extraction processes are not yet fully understood.

Three red hills were already known within the area of the flood defence scheme (Fig.7, A-C), and a fourth was discovered by geophysical survey (Fig. 7, D). All lie along the 3m contour at the edge of the tidal creek. Red hills A and B (Essex Historic Environment Record PRN 11507 and 11536) lie on the line of the counter wall and are now partially buried beneath it. Red Hill C (Fawn *et al.* 1990, no. 156) lies inside the area of the flood defence scheme, and was left undisturbed. Red Hill D, which was investigated, is preserved largely intact in a gap in the borrow-dyke and counter-wall.

Geophysical survey

A magnetic susceptibility survey along the line of the borrow dyke and counter wall recorded red hills A and B and discovered red hill D (Oxford Archaeotechnics 1994). Red hill C, visible as a soil mark, was not surveyed because it was not directly affected by the construction work. The magnetic anomalies in red hills A and B were less distinct than those in red hill D, which was selected for a more detailed magnetometer survey. This revealed a 10m wide ring-form with a central anomaly in a rectilinear enclosure (Fig. 8, north-west quadrant of the geophysics survey plot).

Trenching of red hill D

The follow-up trenching was focused on red hill D (Fig. 9, trenches B-E), as it was thought to have the highest potential, and was also most likely to be affected by the construction of the new flood defences. The red hill was not visible on the surface, and a mechanical excavator with a toothless bucket was used to remove the topsoil, exposing extensive red hill deposits in trenches C, D and E, overlying natural yellowish brown clay. The red hill deposits took the form of mid to dark reddish brown silt-clay-loam with flecks of briquetage and charcoal (Fig. 9, contexts 10, 41, 44, 47 and 48). Layer 47 in the middle of trench D had a slightly higher density of briquetage and charcoal than the other deposits. The red hill measured a minimum of 18m north-south by 26m east-west. A feature in trench B (14) had a brown silt-clay fill quite unlike the general red hill deposits. Whatever the interpretation of this feature, the red hill can have extended only a short distance westwards towards trench B at most.

Two small box sections (5 and 20), both measuring 1.8m x 0.8m, were dug to investigate the deposits in trenches C and D. Although neither was completely excavated to natural, the box-sections revealed detailed sequences beneath the surface deposits, with features

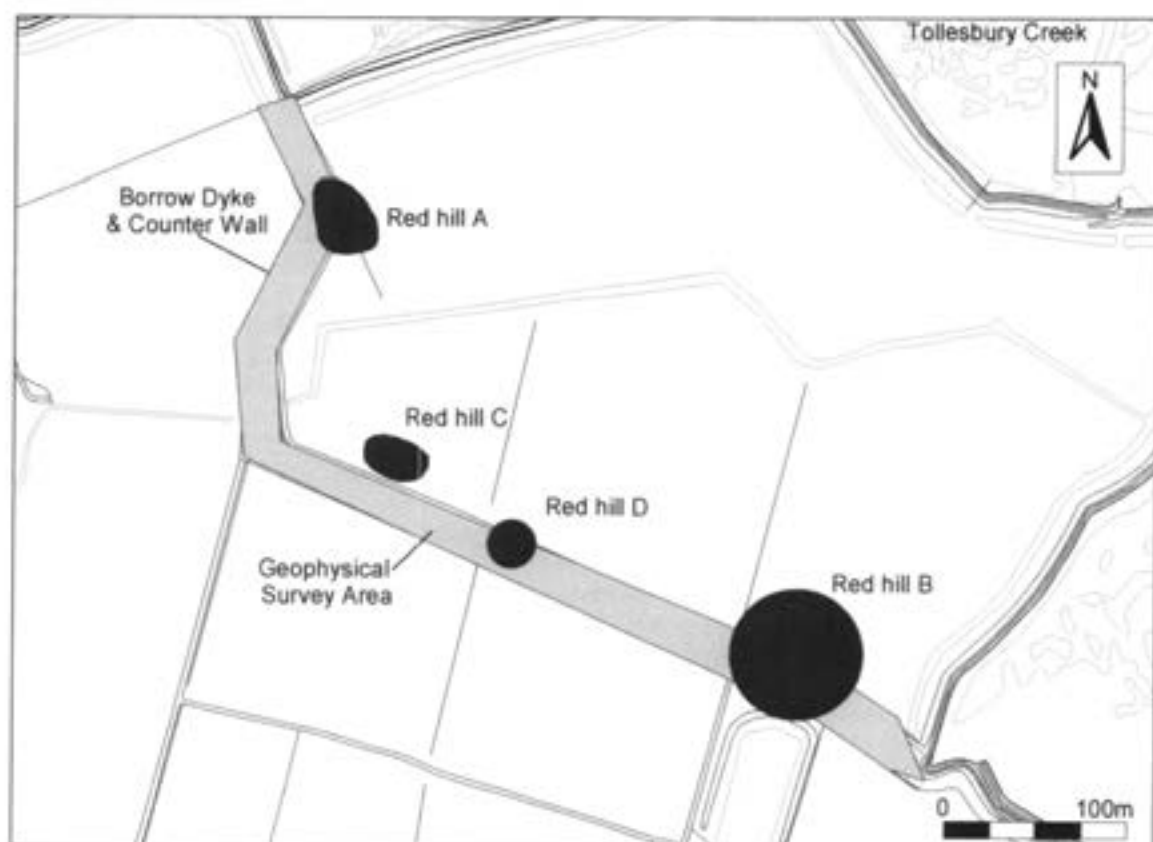
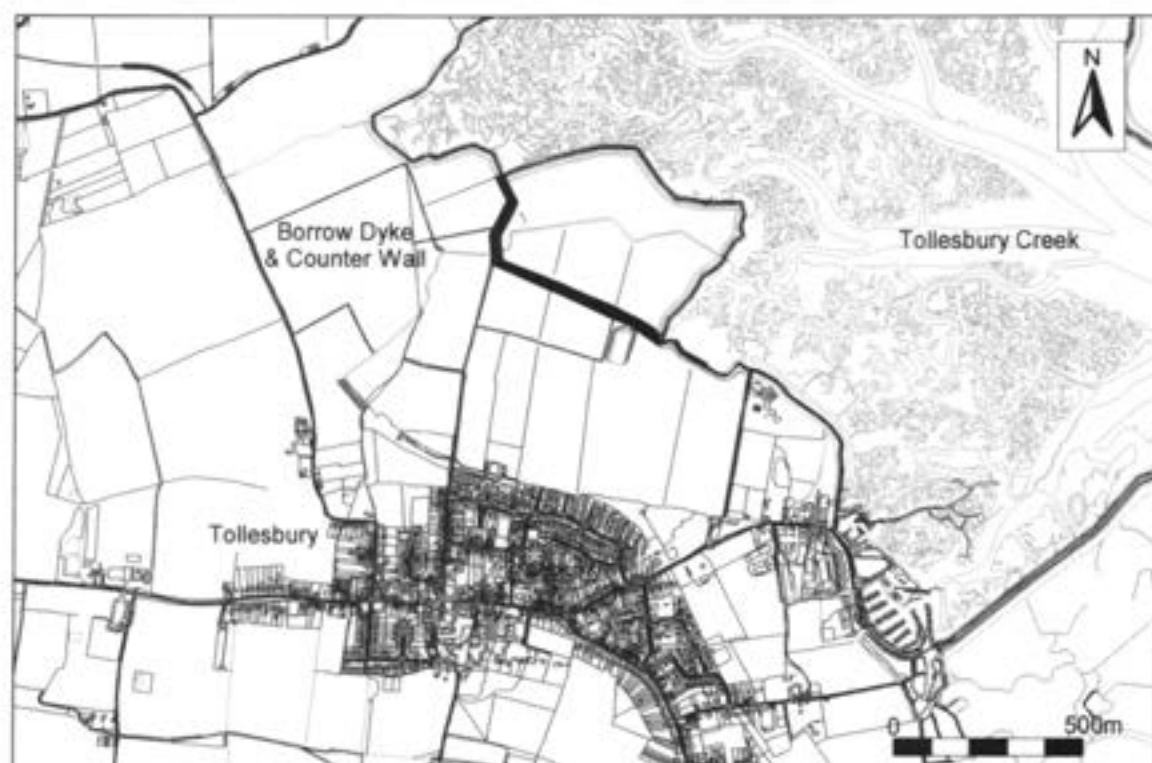


Fig. 7 Tollesbury Creek: location plan
 © Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

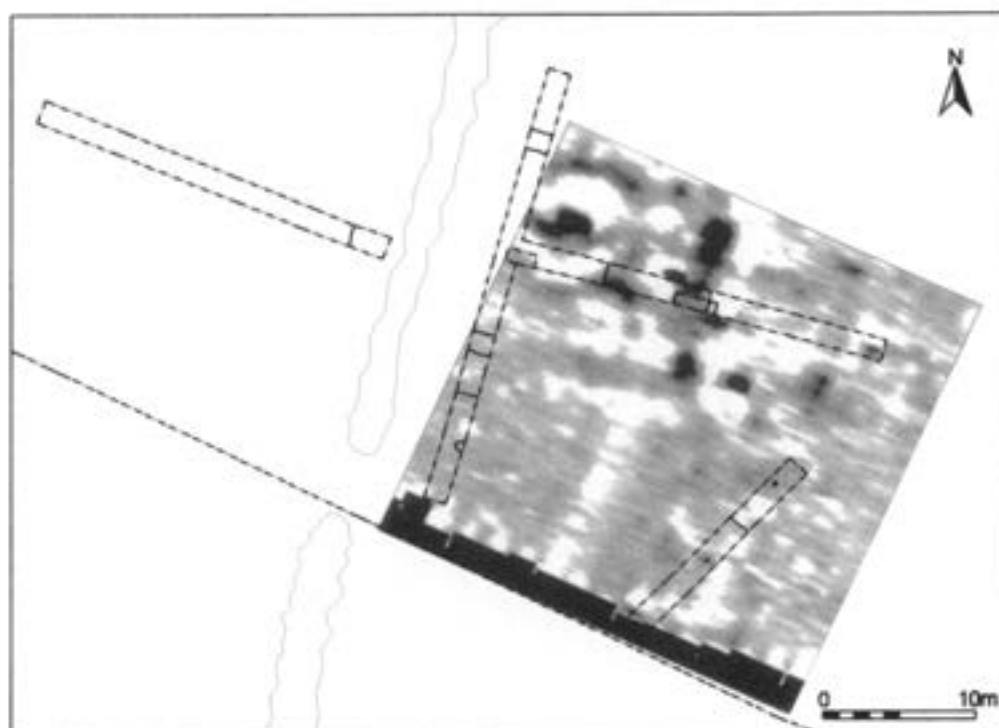


Fig. 8 Tollesbury Creek: results of geophysical survey (red hill D)

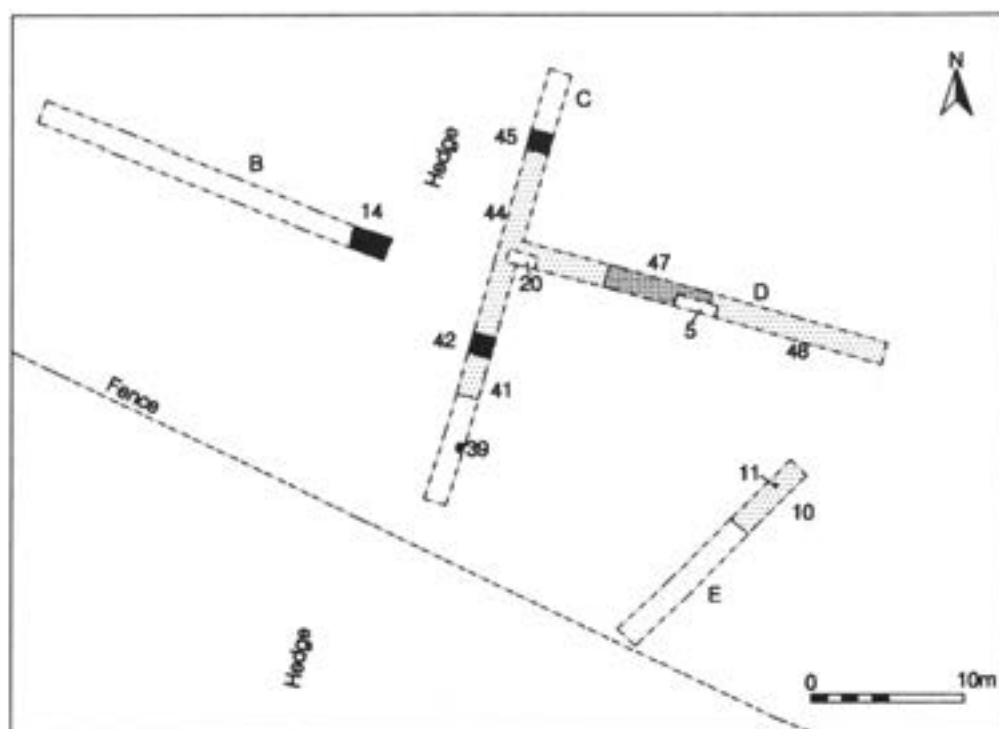


Fig. 9 Tollesbury Creek: trench location plan (red hill D)

© Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

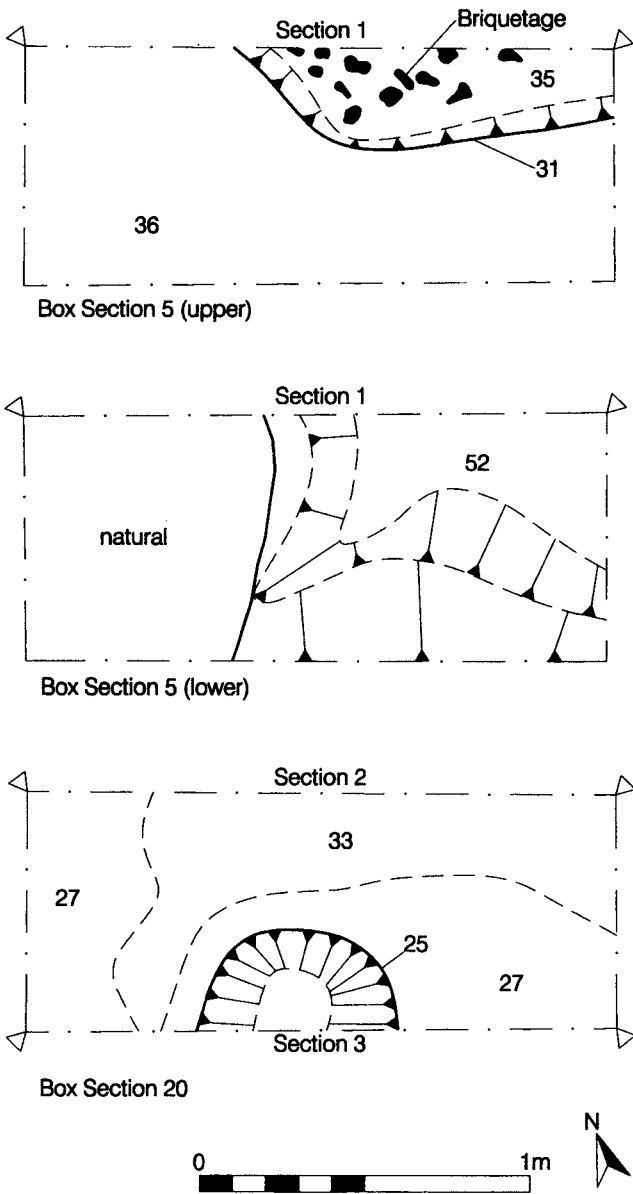


Fig. 10 Tollesbury Creek: box-sections 5 and 20

and working surfaces separated by accumulated layers of red earth (Figs 10 and 11).

The earliest feature (52) in box-section 5 is interpreted as a settling tank, in the form of an irregular cut 0.3m deep with gradually sloping sides and a flat bottom. It contained olive-brown clay with infrequent flecks of charcoal (49), and a narrow band of gravel (51). The clay was very similar to the underlying natural, and was probably water-lain.

Overlying the proposed settling tank, and present at the same depth in box-section 20, was a working surface up to 0.1m thick (36 and 37), consisting of greyish brown clay with rare fragments of briquetage and charcoal flecks. In box-section 5, it was cut by a shallow pit (31) and contained a thin lining of briquetage fragments in reddish brown silt (35), and reddish brown clay-loam with frequent flecks of charcoal (32). This

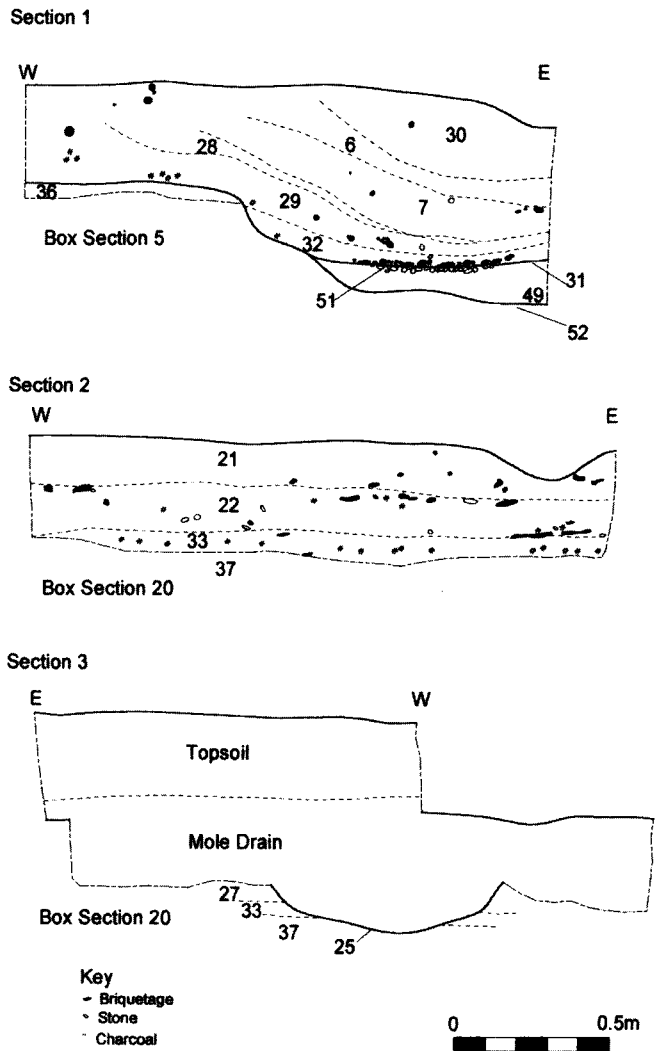


Fig. 11 Tollesbury Creek: sections 1, 2 and 3

was probably part of a hearth for the heating of brine in briquetage pans.

In box-section 20, a thin, intermittent layer of olive-brown clay (27) formed a second surface higher up in the sequence. It was separated from the earlier working surface by a thin layer of reddish brown silt clay loam (33), and was cut by a second hearth (25). The hearth was filled by dark grey silt-loam with abundant pieces of charcoal (34), and baked red clay (26).

Overlying the hearths in both box-sections were successive layers of reddish brown silt-clay-loam with small fragments of briquetage and rare flecks of charcoal (6, 7, 21, 22, 28, 29 and 30), representing debris spread out over the earlier features. The maximum build-up of red hill material was 0.6m thick. Middle Iron Age pottery was found in layer 7 in box-section 5, and layers 21, 22 and 33 in box-section 20.

The two parallel east-west ditches (42 and 45) and a small pit (39) at the south end of trench C (Fig. 9) cut the layers of debris and were filled with similar material. Although neither of the ditches was excavated, they were probably related, forming a small enclosure around the top of the red hill. The eastern side of the enclosure, suggested by the magnetometer plot, was not visible on the ground, although it may have been obscured by layer 48.

Prehistoric pottery

N. Brown

A small quantity of pottery (36 sherds, weighing 304g) was recovered, and has been recorded using a system developed for prehistoric pottery in Essex (details in archive). Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the nature of the site, the red reduced colours and damaged surfaces of some sherds indicate they had been burnt after breakage.

Rims present are either plain or everted and rounded. Fabrics are tempered with sand, sand and flint or sand and chopped straw or grass. This range of fabrics is typical of Middle Iron Age pottery in Essex (Drury 1978; Brown 1991). Two rim sherds, large enough to suggest a particular vessel form, can be accommodated within the Little Waltham type series, forms 11 and 13 (Drury 1978). The pottery can therefore be ascribed to the Middle Iron Age and a date range of 300 to 100 BC suggested.

Briquetage

H. Major

The salt briquetage from the site appears to consist almost exclusively of fragments from vessels, probably rectangular with rounded corners. Many of the sherds exhibit the typical white surface deposits and purplish coloured fabric associated with salt processing. The vessels occur in two distinct fabrics. Some fragments (particularly from contexts 21, 22 and 24) are in a straw- or grass-tempered fabric with well-finished surfaces. The fabric is not as heavily grass-tempered as might be expected for Late Iron Age or Roman briquetage. The second fabric has very sparse vegetable temper, and is somewhat sandier.

Apart from the vessels, there are no fragments which can be firmly identified as parts of other types of briquetage. A few pieces may be hearth lining (context 26); there is one sherd possibly from the corner of a slab (context 22/24); and a fragment possibly from a pedestal (context 35).

Discussion

The small sample excavated suggests that red hill D includes a detailed sequence of activity, comprising at least one settling tank, hearths, working surfaces, and accumulated layers of scorched red earth and debris. The red hill appears to have been well preserved over a wide area, and further hearths and settling tanks are probably present beneath the surface debris. Red hill D is dated by pottery to the Middle Iron Age, which makes it an early example of this type of feature. As red hills A, B and C are all undated, it is not possible to say if all three features, along with D, were successive or contemporary. The parallel ditches dug across the top of red hill D are possibly part of the enclosure suggested by the magnetometer survey. Sealey (1995) has argued that the tops of some red hills were reused in the late Roman and medieval periods as refuges for shepherds and sheep during high tides. If this is correct, then it is possible that the ditches across the top of red hill D are part of a fold.

Further work is required on the red hills of Essex, as few have been subject to detailed, extensive excavation, and little work, apart from small-scale exploratory investigations similar to the work carried out at Tollesbury Creek, has been undertaken over the last thirty years. Evidence for Middle Iron Age red hills in Essex in particular is slight, and is largely comprised of indirect evidence in the form of pieces of briquetage from unrelated Middle Iron Age contexts (e.g. Gun Hill, Drury and Rodwell 1973). Salt extraction was certainly taking place in the Middle Iron Age in eastern England on a large scale, and area excavation of a Middle Iron Age saltern at Helpringham, on the line of the Car Dyke in Lincolnshire, shows the quality of the evidence that can be recovered (Healey 1999). Comparable excavations are needed to help understand the operation of this important industry on the Essex coastline.

Acknowledgements

Essex CC is grateful to English Nature for funding the archaeological work. The trenching was undertaken by Sally Gale and Mark Ingram under the supervision of Mark Germany, and the geophysical survey by A.E. Johnson and C. Jenner of Oxford Archaeotechnics. The finds were processed by Phil McMichael and analysed by Nigel Brown and Hilary Major. The illustrations are by Andrew Lewsey.

Bibliography

- Brown, N. 1991 'Prehistoric pottery' in Bedwin, O., 'Asheldham Camp – an Early Iron Age hillfort: excavations 1985', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 22, 13-37
- Drury, P.J. 1978 *Excavations at Little Waltham 1970-1*, CBA Res. Rep. 26
- Drury, P.J. and Rodwell, W.J. 1973 'Excavations at Gun Hill, West Tilbury', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 5, 48-112.
- ECC 1994 *Brief for an archaeological evaluation at land at Tollesbury Creek, near Maldon, Essex*. Unpublished report in site archive
- Fawn, A.J., Evans, K.A., McMaster, I., and Davies, G.M.R. 1990 *The Red Hills of Essex*, Colchester Archaeological Group
- Healey, H. 1999 'An Iron Age salt-making site at Helpringham Fen', in Bell, A., Gurney, D. and Healey, H., *Lincolnshire salterns: excavations at Helpringham, Holbeach St Johns and Bicker Haven*, *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 89, 1-19
- Oxford Archaeotechnics, 1994 *Proposed counter wall and borrow dyke at Tollesbury Creek, Maldon, Essex: Topsoil Magnetic Susceptibility and Gradiometer Survey*. Oxford Archaeotechnics: Oxford
- Sealey, P.R. 1995 'New light on the salt industry and red hills of prehistoric and Roman Essex', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 26, 65-81

The Society is grateful to Essex County Council for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this note.

A131 Great Leighs bypass: archaeological investigations 1993-2002

N. J. Lavender

with a contribution by N. Brown

A programme of archaeological investigations was carried out along the route of the A131 Great and Little Leighs Bypass in two stages between 1993 and 2002. Aerial photographs, fieldwalking and geophysical survey suggested

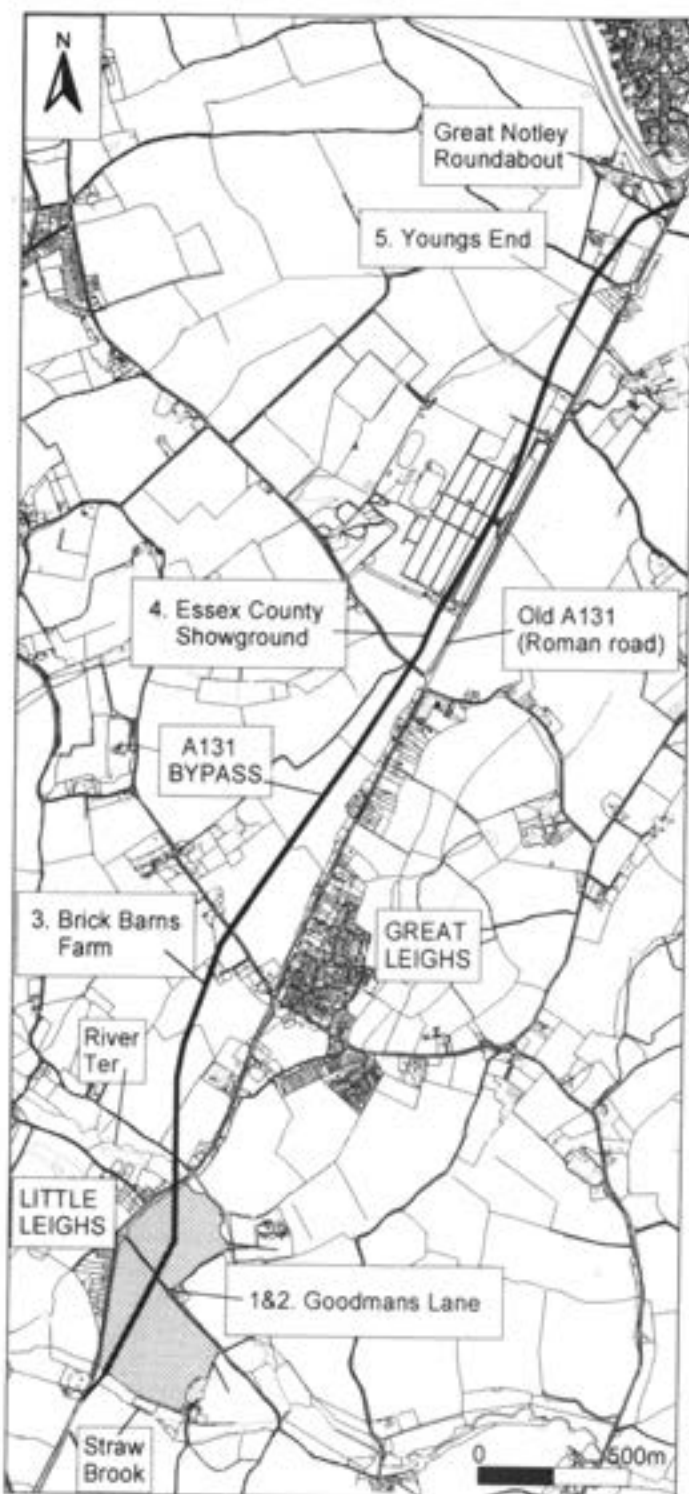


Fig. 12 A131: route and site location plan
 © Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved.
 Licence number 100014800.

archaeological activity at five points along the route, each of which was later evaluated by trial trenches. Only two of the evaluation sites, at the south end of the bypass at Goodmans Lane, Little Leighs (Sites 1 and 2), produced evidence of surviving archaeological remains. Evidence of Late Bronze Age activity and the Roman road from Chelmsford to Braintree were recorded on Site 1, but Site 2 to the north was disturbed by erosion and ploughing.

Introduction

This report describes the results of archaeological investigations before the construction of the A131 Great Leighs Bypass along a 4.5km route from Strawbrook Hill (TL 7210 1580) to the Great Notley Roundabout (TL 7410 1980) (Fig. 12). Between 1993 and 2002, Essex CC Field Archaeology Unit carried out a programme of archaeological survey and evaluation on behalf of the Essex CC Highways Department to mitigate the potential destruction of archaeological remains. This comprised:

- Documentary and cartographic research (Ryan 1993)
- Study of aerial photographs (Ecclestone 1993a)
- Fieldwalking survey (Ecclestone 1993b; Lavender 1995a)
- Geophysical prospecting (Oxford Archaeotechnics Ltd. 1994)
- Trial trenching and auger survey (Lavender 1995b; Peachey 2001)
- Auger survey of the valley floors of the river Ter and the Straw Brook (Bates in Peachey 2001)
- Excavation and watching brief during construction (Hickling and Cooper-Read 2002)

Trial trenching was carried out where the surveys indicated a reasonable likelihood of archaeological activity. An initial stage of trial trenching took place in 1993 to 1995, with a second stage at the time of construction in 2001-2. No major sites were identified, and this report summarises the main results of the survey and trial-trenching evaluations. The archive and finds are deposited at Chelmsford Museum under the site codes GLBP 93, 94, 00 and GLSB 01.

Topography and geology (Fig. 12)

The 4.5km route of the bypass rises in the south from a height of 45m OD at the Straw Brook, Little Leighs to a plateau at 51m OD at Goodmans Lane, before dropping to 41m OD at the crossing of the river Ter. From here it steadily rises up the northern side of the Ter valley to the west of Great Leighs. After a slight dip at the north end of the village, the ground runs fairly level at around 74m OD through the Essex County Showground to the roundabout at Great Notley Garden Village.

For most of the route, the surface geology is chalky till with localised areas of siltier brickearth. At the Little Leighs end of the route, between the Straw Brook and the Ter, it comprises glaciofluvial drift, a mixture of sand, gravel and brickearth.

Survey history (Figs 12 and 13)

No archaeological work had been conducted along the route prior to the fieldwalking and trial-trenching evaluations undertaken from 1993. It was known, however, that the existing A131 followed the Roman road from Chelmsford to Braintree for most of its course, but diverged from it in the Little Leighs area. Here, it swings away to the west of the Roman alignment at the Straw Brook and rejoins it immediately to the

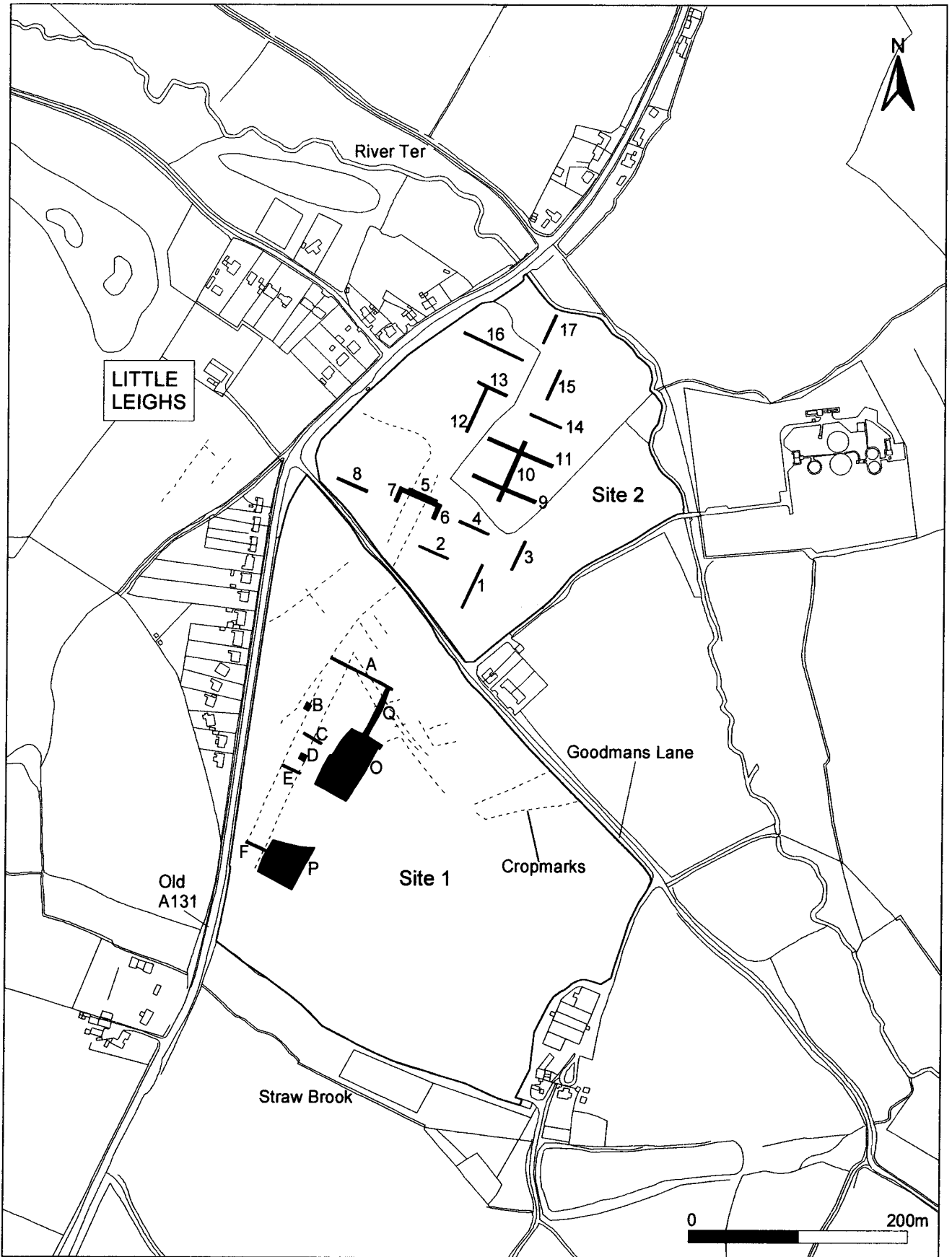


Fig. 13 A131: Site 1, south of Goodmans Lane (trenches A-F; O-Q)
Site 2, north of Goodmans Lane (trenches 1 - 17)

© Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

north of the crossing of the river Ter (Fig. 13). The reason for and date of this diversion are unknown, although cartographic evidence shows that it occurred some time before 1820. Great and Little Leighs extend along the line of the Roman road (Fig. 12), and have developed from two manors recorded in Domesday as *Legra*. This Old English place-name element (also spelt *Leah*) occurs frequently in the area (Leighs, Chatley, Notley) and implies settlements established through clearance of woodland, most likely in the Saxon period (Ryan 1993). Cartographic evidence indicates that much of the surrounding landscape remained woodland or common land until the 18th or 19th century, notably Fairwood Common, now the site of the Essex County Showground.

Aerial photographs along the route were examined for cropmarks (Ecclestone 1993a), but because of the clay subsoil very little of the route afforded good results. However, on the fluvio-glacial gravel plateau at Goodmans Lane, Little Leighs, the Roman road was visible (Essex Historic Environment Record no. 6057), along with a possible field system (Fig. 13). A further cropmark, possibly representing a small enclosure, was visible at the southern end of the Essex County Showground.

A fieldwalking survey was conducted during 1993 and 1994 over those parts of the route under arable cultivation (Ecclestone 1993b; Lavender 1995a), comprising 16.5 hectares, or 59% of the route. The results of the survey indicated surprisingly little archaeological activity along the route. There was no prehistoric pottery, but three concentrations of burnt flint, one of which coincided with worked flint, were believed to indicate prehistoric activity in the area of the cropmarks at Goodmans Lane. Small amounts of worked flint were also recovered at Youngs End. Surprisingly, considering the proximity of the Roman road, very little Roman tile and only one sherd of Roman pottery were recovered from the entire survey area. No Saxon, and almost no medieval, material was recovered. A small concentration of late medieval or early post-medieval pottery at Youngs End was thought possibly to represent a focus of activity.

Areas which could not be fieldwalked were examined by magnetic susceptibility and gradiometer survey, which suggested possible archaeological activity at Brick Barns Farm, and at the cropmark site at the south end of the Essex County Showground (Oxford Archaeotechnics 1994).

The following potential sites were identified by the survey and trial-trenched between August 1994 and December 2000 (Lavender 1995b; Peachey 2001):

1. South of Goodmans Lane, Little Leighs.
2. North of Goodmans Lane, Little Leighs.
3. Brick Barns Farm, Great Leighs.
4. Essex County Showground, Great Leighs.
5. Youngs End, Great Leighs.

An auger survey was carried out on Sites 1 and 2 to record valley-floor deposits of the river Ter and Straw Brook in February 2001 (Bates 2001). Further trenches

were investigated at Site 1 in April 2001 following a realignment of the bypass route, and a watching brief maintained at Sites 1, 2 and 4 during the road construction (Hickling and Cooper-Read 2002).

Sites 1 and 2. Goodmans Lane, Little Leighs

Local topography (Fig. 13)

The sites lie on relatively flat land at a height of 51m OD either side of Goodmans Lane (TL 722 159 and TL 724 163), but the ground falls away steeply towards the Straw Brook to the south and the river Ter to the north. The surface geology (Bates 2001) comprises late glacial gravels and brickearth, forming the early Holocene land surface dated to c. 10,000 BP. Auger-holes along the banks of the Ter and Straw Brook show that these channels cut glacial sands and gravels at a depth of 1.2 and 1.5m respectively. More recently, flood deposits and colluvium have formed along the north bank of the Straw Brook, and a thick layer of colluvium has built up on the south bank of the Ter.

Evaluation aims (Fig. 13)

Study of aerial photographs and the fieldwalking survey suggested the following evaluation aims:

1. To locate and investigate the line of the Roman road from Chelmsford to Braintree, visible as the cropmarks of a pair of parallel ditches 15 to 20m apart and running from south-west to north-east from the Straw Brook towards the river Ter.
2. To investigate and date a second group of cropmarks suggesting a possible trackway and field system to the east of the Roman road.
3. To investigate concentrations of burnt and worked flint located during fieldwalking both south and north of Goodmans Lane, indicating possible prehistoric activity.

The evaluation trenches at Sites 1 and 2 were positioned to investigate of the line of the Roman road, the other cropmarks, and the flint concentrations. Initially, six trenches (Fig. 13, A-F) totalling 300m² were excavated on Site 1 in 1994. Subsequently, in 2000, seventeen trenches (1-17) totalling 2,000m² were excavated on Site 2 to evaluate the area of a large roundabout. Finally, in 2001, two areas (O and P) and a trench (Q) totalling 3,200m² were opened up to the east of the original Site 1 trenches to allow further investigation where the bypass route had been realigned.

Roman road (Figs 13 - 15)

The Roman roadside ditches and traces of the road metalling were recorded in Trenches A, C, E and F on Site 1 and Trench 5 on Site 2, confirming the line of the road as plotted from aerial photographs for a distance of 400m (Fig. 13). The full profile of the road and its ditches was not visible in any of the trenches, but the roadside ditches were between 16m and 19m apart, and in one place the eastern edge of the road survived relatively intact.

In Site 1 Trench C (Figs 14, 15), the base of the road metalling (208) survived over a 5m wide strip as a layer

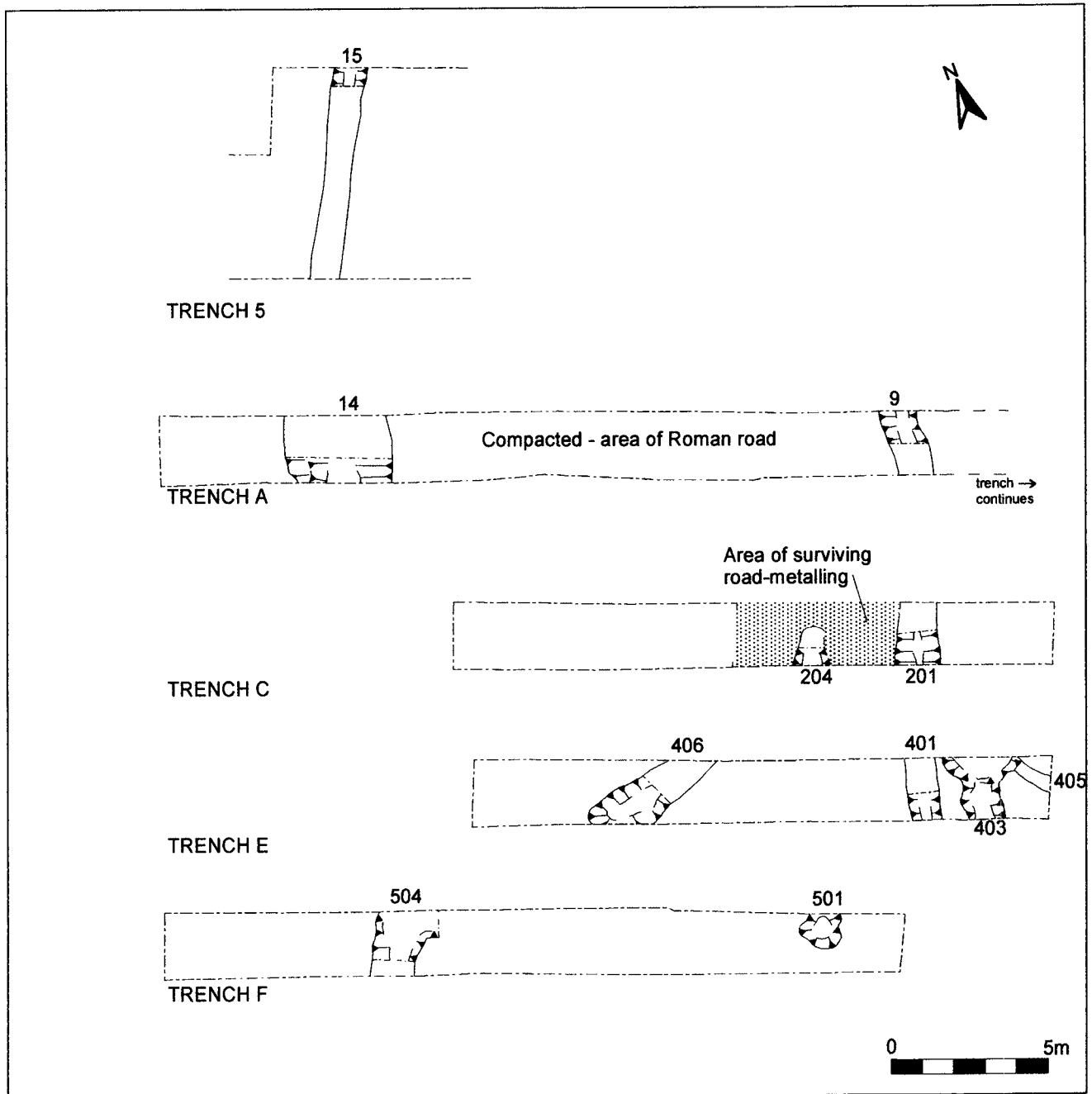


Fig. 14 A131: Sites 1 and 2. Plans of trenches with evidence of the Roman road and other features.

of gravel 0.15m thick (207), overlain by patches of disturbed sandy material (206), and was cut to the east by the eastern roadside ditch (201). The butt-end of an undated ditch or a pit (204) cutting the metalling 2m from its edge is probably a post-Roman feature. The natural subsoil beneath the metalling was very compacted. Although the road metalling did not survive anywhere else, the natural subsoil was similarly compacted in Site 1 Trench A, no doubt as a result of the Roman road metalling having lain above it. Here, two ditches 16m apart flanked the compacted 'road' area. One of these is certainly the eastern roadside ditch (10), but the western ditch (14) was much broader and corresponds with the oblique feature obscuring the

western roadside ditch in the aerial photographs, completely eradicating it at this point.

The roadside ditches were generally up to 1.0m wide and 0.4m deep, with rounded profiles, and filled with sandy silt (Figs 14, 15). The western ditch was recorded in Site 1 Trench F (504) and Site 2 Trench 5 (15) at south and north ends of the cropmark plot, and its absence in Site 1 Trench A is undoubtedly the result of later disturbance. The eastern ditch was recorded in Site 1 Trenches E (401), C (201) and A (9). It was not visible in Site 2 Trench 5, but the cropmark begins to fade out at this point and it may have been disturbed. Neither roadside ditch was visible in Site 2 Trench 16 beyond the northern extent of the cropmark because of ploughing

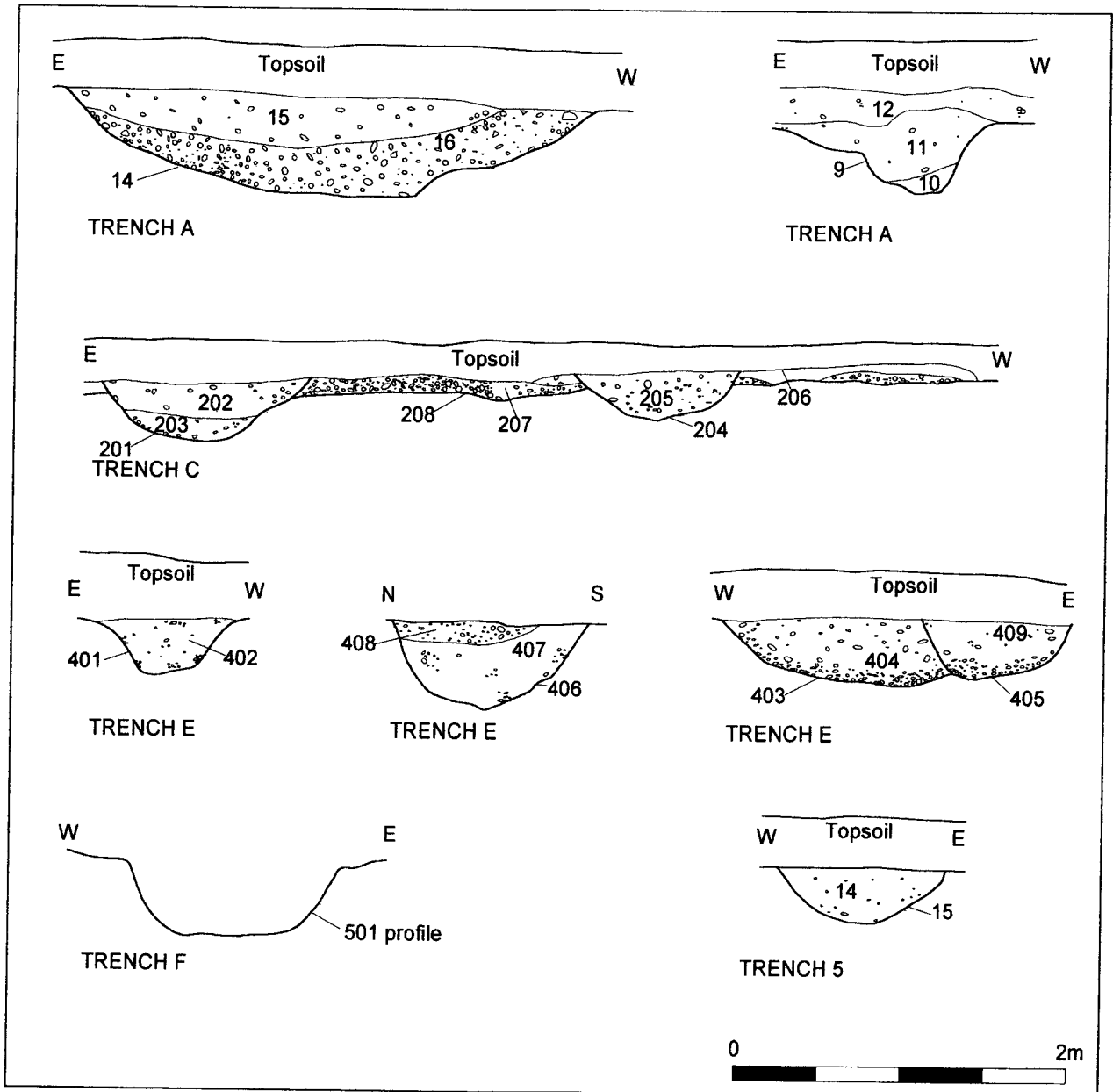


Fig. 15 A131: Sites 1 and 2. Selected sections

and erosion down the valley slope. Site 1 Trenches E and F narrowly missed the western and eastern ditches respectively. Unfortunately, no pottery or any other dating evidence was recovered from the roadside ditches or from the road metalling. Only one other Roman feature is known, a shallow gully (18, not illustrated) in Site 2 Trench 10, 60m east of the line of the road, dated by pottery to the mid 1st-2nd century AD.

Other cropmarks (Figs 13 - 15)

Site 1 Trench A was positioned to define the relationship between the Roman road and the other cropmarks, in particular the linear feature intersecting the western roadside ditch at an oblique angle, and the trackway approaching the road from the south-east (Fig. 13). The first of these is represented by ditch 14 (see above), which completely cut away the western roadside ditch

and is therefore post-Roman. Short lengths of ditch in the east of Trench A (not illustrated) may have formed part of the trackway, and a ditch in Trench E (406) was aligned at right angles to it. Unfortunately these features are undated, and their relationship with the Roman road is not defined stratigraphically. However, the cropmarks and the associated archaeological features are generally aligned on Goodmans Lane, and they are likely to have been medieval or post-medieval in date.

Prehistoric features (Figs 13 - 15)

Trenches B, C and D on Site 1 and Trenches 5-7 and 9-11 on Site 2 (Fig. 13) were positioned to locate any prehistoric features associated with the flint concentrations located by fieldwalking, but none were positively identified in any of these trenches. Several undated pits and gullies in Trenches 9-11 on Site 2

could possibly be prehistoric, but most of the features in these trenches are interpreted as natural channels, or medieval or later plough-furrows. Any prehistoric activity on Site 2 is likely to have been disturbed by erosion and ploughing.

Evidence of Late Bronze Age activity, however, was recovered in Trenches E and F in the south-west of Site 1. In Trench F (Figs 14, 15) a shallow pit (501) contained *c.* 200 sherds of Late Bronze Age pottery and waste flint flakes, while in Trench E another shallow pit (403) and a related gully (405) contained two sherds of Late Bronze Age pottery. During road construction two large areas, Trenches O and P, were opened up immediately to the east of the original Site 1 trenches, but only two features were located. In Trench P, a shallow pit contained three sherds of Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age pottery, and 30m to the east lay a small, cobble-lined hearth with no dating evidence (not illustrated).

On the north bank of the Straw Brook, a thin organic silt deposit at the base of the flood deposits recorded by auger (Bates 2001) is interpreted as the flood-plain of the stream in prehistoric times. The Late Bronze Age activity at the south end of Site 1 overlooked the stream, which may have formed a wider, more meandering channel at this time. Unfortunately there was no opportunity to sample the organic flood deposit under controlled conditions.

Prehistoric pottery

N. Brown and N.J. Lavender

The bulk of the pottery (about 200 sherds) is derived from Site 1 Trench F, pit 501 (fills 502 and 503), and is of Late Bronze Age date. Forms include a number of examples of round-bodied jars with short upright rims (cf. Brown 1988 fig. 5.7; Bradley *et al.* 1980, forms 8 and 9). Also present is part of a globular lugged jar (cf. Adkins and Needham 1985, fig 8. 216-19). These forms are typical of early post-Deverel-Rimbury material. A single thin-walled sherd from Site 1 Trench E, gully 405 (fill 404) may be contemporary with the pottery from pit 501. Three sherds of undiagnostic sand-tempered pottery from Site 1 Area P, ditch 1 (fill 2) are dated by fabric to the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age. A large body sherd recovered from topsoil overlying Area P may be from the shoulder of a Late Bronze Age Class II coarse jar and has traces of possible finger impressions. It was, however, abraded, so the identification is uncertain.

Other finds

Very few other finds were recovered from Sites 1 and 2. A small quantity of waste flint flakes, some retouched (identified by H. Major) was recovered from Site 1 Trench F, pit 501, dated by pottery to the Late Bronze Age. A few waste flint flakes were also present residually in later contexts. The only Roman pottery recovered (identified by T.S. Martin) was two sherds of Sandy Grey ware from features in Site 2 Trench 9; one of these was a necked jar datable to the mid 1st-2nd centuries. The medieval pottery (identified by H. Walker) comprised 16 sherds weighing 143g, again from features in Site 2 Trench 9, dating to the 10th-13th centuries. It was very abraded and often highly fragmented, suggesting it was residual. Insignificant quantities of burnt flint, tile and daub were recovered. Full details of the finds can be found in the trial trenching reports and in archive.

Conclusions

Late Bronze Age activity

At least two Late Bronze Age features were identified on

Site 1, and the large amount of pottery in pit 501 suggests intensive activity in the south of the site, overlooking the Straw Brook. However, investigation of a large open area immediately to the east located hardly any further evidence of prehistoric activity, and the presence of the large deposit of pottery in a solitary pit remains unexplained. The site is ideally situated for prehistoric settlement, being on relatively flat, well-drained land between a small river and a tributary stream. It appears to lie to the south of the flint scatter, an aspect of Late Bronze Age settlement noted at Fox Hall Farm, Southend (Ecclestone 1995) and the Boreham A12 Interchange (Lavender 1999). Whether this spatial relationship has any true relevance, either functional or ritual, cannot be conjectured on the evidence available, although it would seem sensible to keep any activities involving large scale burning down-wind of any settlement site.

Roman road

This was confirmed at several points on its projected course over a distance of 400m, notably in Trench C, where metalling survived, but more generally by its roadside ditches. The absence of datable finds is not surprising in ditches flanking a road, some distance from any known settlement. The poor survival of road metalling is consistent with extensive robbing and ploughing.

Post-medieval or earlier field system

The cropmarks intersecting the Roman road towards the north end of Site 1 are interpreted as part of a field-system and a trackway, but unfortunately the evaluation was not able to date them. The orientation of the cropmarks suggests that they are not contemporary with the Roman road, and one ditch alignment is thought to have cut the western roadside ditch. Although the evidence on the ground is not conclusive, the field system and trackway are probably related to Goodmans Lane, of known post-medieval date, and possibly of earlier origin. It may be significant that Goodmans Lane describes a sharp realignment 500m to the south-east of the cropmarks, and the trackway could represent the original line of Goodmans Lane before it was realigned.

Site 3. Brick Barns Farm, Great Leighs (Fig. 12)

This site (TL 725 172) lay 250m west of the south end of Great Leighs village. Two trenches totalling 64m² were excavated to intersect in the centre of a geophysical anomaly (Oxford Archaeotechnics 1994), but there was no sign of any archaeological evidence in either of the trenches.

Site 4. Essex County Showground, Great Leighs (Fig. 12)

This site (TL 7325 1835) lay immediately to the north of Great Leighs village. Two trenches totalling 150m² were excavated to investigate a proposed sub-rectangular enclosure suggested by aerial photographs (Ecclestone 1993a) and a geophysical anomaly (Oxford

Archaeotechnics 1994), as well as two parallel linear features near the old line of the A131. No archaeological features were identified. A watching brief held in 2001, during the construction of the Moulsham Hall Lane Roundabout (Hickling and Cooper-Reade 2002), also failed to identify any archaeological features.

Site 5. Youngs End, Great Leighs (Fig. 12)

This site (TL 7375 1950) lay 500m south-west of the Black Notley roundabout. Four trenches totalling 192m² were excavated to investigate concentrations of flint and late medieval pottery located by fieldwalking (Ecclestone 1993b), but no archaeological features were identified. Both the late medieval pottery and the large quantities of post-medieval tile observed in the field are thought to be the result of manure spreading. Medieval settlement is perhaps unlikely at this location, as no documentary evidence for Youngs End survives from before the early 17th century.

General conclusions

Of the five sites of archaeological potential identified by survey, three were found to contain no archaeological evidence. The only section of the bypass route where evaluation by trail-trenching yielded positive results was the southern end, at Goodmans Lane, Little Leighs, between the Straw Brook and the river Ter (Sites 1 and 2). Trial trenching at this point confirmed the line of the Roman road from Chelmsford to Braintree, where the old line of the A131 diverged from the Roman road line. The trial trenching confirmed cropmark evidence by recording physical evidence of the road. Evidence for Late Bronze Age activity was identified to the south of Goodmans Lane, overlooking the Straw Brook. However, despite investigation of a large open area before road construction, this evidence has proved to be sparse and it is uncertain whether or not it represents extensive settlement.

Apart from the evidence at Goodmans Lane, the main result of the archaeological work was negative. Partly this is because, by its nature, the bypass route avoided the known centres of settlement, the villages of Great and Little Leighs. However, there seems never to have been any significant settlement away from the villages, which form a linear development along the Roman road. This is probably the historical settlement pattern, since fieldwalking undertaken in 1997 to the west of Great Leighs (Heppell 1997), between the village and the bypass, did not locate any archaeological evidence away from the line of the Roman road. Immediately to the north of the bypass route, fieldwalking at Great Notley Garden Village (Brooks 1993, 1994; Garwood 1997), again to the west of the Roman road, was also negative.

Given that the A131 represents the major route from Chelmsford to Braintree from the Roman period, and possibly in the prehistoric as well, it seems surprising that more settlement evidence was not identified. It may be significant that the area of ancient settlement that was recorded, the Late Bronze Age site at Goodmans Lane,

was located in the one point along the route where there were well-drained soils and a water source. The Domesday entry shows that settlements at Great and Little Leighs were established at least by the Late Saxon period. However, all the available evidence suggests that these settlements did not develop away from the original Roman road, and that the surrounding countryside remained largely woodland and common land until widespread clearances and enclosure in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Acknowledgements

The fieldwork for the trial-trenching evaluations was carried out by C. Down, M. Edwards, J. Godfrey, E. Heppell, M. Ingram, A. Rogers and D. Smith. The trial trenching south of Goodmans Lane and at Youngs End was supervised by the author, Brick Barns and the Essex Showground by R.M.J. Isserlin, and north of Goodmans Lane by M.J. Peachey. The excavation of the open areas at Goodmans Lane and the watching brief were supervised by S. Hickling. Fieldwalking was supervised by J. Ecclestone and the author. Machine-excavation was by D. Driver of David Driver and Son, Hatfield Peverel. The author would like to thank Mr. A.G. Tritton and his manager, Mr. T. Quilter, Richard Hawkes and Co., G. and B. Finch, Mr. D. Demouder and Mr. R.F. Jiggins for their help and co-operation. The report was edited by P. Allen and the illustrations were prepared by A. Lewsey.

Bibliography

- Adkins, L. and Needham, S. 1985 'New Research on a Late Bronze Age Enclosure at Queen Mary's Hospital, Carshalton', *Surrey Archaeol. Collect.* 76, 11-50
- Bates, M. 2001 'A report on the stratigraphy from the boreholes from the A131 sites at Goodmans Lane adjacent to the river Ter and Straw Brook', in Peachey, M. *A131 Great Leighs Bypass, Land North of Goodmans Lane, Little Leighs, Essex. Archaeological Evaluation (Trial Trenching and Borehole Survey)*. Unpublished report in Essex Historic Environment Record (hereafter EHER)
- Bradley, R., Lobb, S., Richards, J. and Robinson, M 1980 'Two Late Bronze Age settlements on the Kennet gravels: Excavations at Aldermaston Wharf and Knight's Farm, Burghfield, Berkshire', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 46, 217-96
- Brooks, H. 1993 *Archaeological Excavation at the South Balancing Pond, Great Notley Garden Village, Braintree, Essex*. Unpublished report in EHER
- Brooks, H. 1994 *Archaeological Evaluation of Manor House and Panners Farm Areas, Great Notley Garden Village*. Unpublished report in EHER
- Brown, N. 1988 'A Late Bronze Age settlement on the boulder clay plateau: excavations at Broads Green 1986', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 19, 7-15
- Drury, P. J. 1978 *Excavations at Little Waltham 1970-71*, CBA Res. Rep. 26
- Ecclestone, J. 1993a *A131 Great Leighs Bypass, Essex. Archaeological Evaluation, Aerial Photography*. Unpublished report in EHER
- Ecclestone, J. 1993b *A131 Great Leighs Bypass, Essex. Archaeological Evaluation, Fieldwalking Survey*. Unpublished report in EHER
- Ecclestone, J. 1995 'Early Iron Age Settlement at Southend: Excavations at Fox Hall Farm, 1993', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 26, 24-39
- Garwood, A. 1997 *Land at Great Notley Garden Village, Black Notley, Essex. Archaeological Evaluation*. Unpublished report in EHER
- Heppell, E. 1997 *Land to the West of Main Road, Great Leighs, Essex. Archaeological Evaluation*. Unpublished report in EHER

- Hickling, S. and Cooper-Read, H. 2002 *Land North of the Straw Brook and the Essex Showground, Great Leighs, Essex. Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief*. Unpublished report in EHER
- Lavender, N. J. 1995a A131 Great Leighs Bypass, Essex. Archaeological Evaluation, Updated Fieldwalking Survey. Unpublished report in EHER
- Lavender, N. J. 1995b A131 Great Leighs Bypass, Essex. *Archaeological Evaluation, Trial Trenching*. Unpublished report in EHER
- Lavender, N. J. 1999 'Bronze Age and Medieval Sites at Springfield, Chelmsford: excavations near the A12 Boreham Interchange, 1993', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 30, 1-43
- Oxford Archaeo-technics 1994 A131 Great Leighs Bypass, Essex. *Topsoil Magnetic Susceptibility and Gradiometer Survey*. Report in archive (Chelmsford Museum)
- Peachey, M. 2001 A131 Great Leighs Bypass, Land North of Goodmans Lane, Little Leighs, Essex. *Archaeological Evaluation (Trial Trenching and Borehole Survey)*. Unpublished report in EHER
- Ryan, P. 1993 A131 Great Leighs Bypass, Essex. *Archaeological Evaluation, Documentary and Cartographic Evidence*. Unpublished report in EHER

The Society is grateful to Essex County Council for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this note.

Brinson revisited: emergency ditch recording at Roman Great Chesterford

Mark Peachey

with contributions from N. Brown, Joyce Compton, T. S. Martin, Hazel Martingell, Helen Saunders and Rob Wardill

Emergency recording along Borough Ditch, which crosses the area of the Roman town at Great Chesterford, revealed Roman features, including a yard surface which can be correlated with Brinson's excavations of 1948-9. This suggests that Roman stratigraphy survives in the area of the Scheduled Monument to the south of the ditch. Aerial photograph and geophysical survey plots allow an assessment of the archaeological remains in the scheduled area. The surveys confirm the line of the north-south Roman road recorded by Brinson, and also suggest the presence of rectangular building plots and other features alongside the road.

Introduction

In March 2002, Essex CC Field Archaeology Unit was commissioned by English Heritage to record a 141m long northwest-facing section through archaeological deposits exposed by machine-clearance of Borough Ditch, which runs through the Roman town at Great Chesterford, a Scheduled Monument (SAM 24871). The ditch clearance provided an opportunity to assess the nature and survival of archaeological deposits within the scheduled area. The results have been combined with those of Brinson's excavations of 1948-9 and aerial photographic and geophysical surveys to provide an assessment of the area adjacent to the ditch recording. These results form part of a wider study of the Roman town, in which aerial photographic and geophysical surveys are being extended over its entire area, and an assessment of unpublished excavations is being carried out. This work is still in progress and will be published

at a later date; the present report concentrates on work in and around Borough Ditch and presents an initial assessment of the central area of town.

Archaeological background

Great Chesterford lies on the Essex/Cambridgeshire border on a crossing of the river Cam, and is situated on terraces of sands, gravels and bands of clay on the east bank of the river. Great Chesterford developed first as a Late Iron Age settlement, then as a short-lived Roman fort, and later as a Roman town on a major road junction.

Borough Ditch, where the recording was carried out (TL 5022 4313 to TL 5034 4320), is situated to the south of a former quarry, now infilled, west of Newmarket Road (Fig. 16). The Scheduled Ancient Monument covers two separate areas to the north and south of the quarry. The ditch, once a small stream straightened in the post-medieval period, forms the northern boundary of the southern scheduled area, which covers part of the Roman fort and most of the Roman town which succeeded it.

Excavations in 1948-9 by Brinson (1963, 72-82), prior to gravel quarrying immediately north of the ditch, found evidence of a north-south Roman road and two late Roman masonry buildings alongside it. Brinson interpreted these as a town house (building II) and a public building, possibly a tax office (building I), with a gravelled yard to its south adjacent to the ditch (Fig. 16). Building I sealed a series of earlier Roman timber buildings, and rubbish pits and wells were also recorded.

Aerial photographs of the southern scheduled area have been taken on numerous occasions, showing a wide range of cropmarks. The best recent results are those obtained by D. Strachan in 1996 (Essex CC CP/96/27/2; Essex Historic Environment Record 4915). A geophysics (magnetometer) survey was subsequently carried out in the area to the south of the ditch (Wardill 1997). The aerial photographic and geophysical survey results both show clear evidence of roads and boundaries, and are discussed below in relation both to the ditch recording and the earlier excavations by Brinson.

Fieldwork results

The section exposed was carefully cleaned by hand, and the upcast spoil metal-detected for finds. On average a 1m depth of cut features was recorded, although in many cases the base of the features extended beneath the base of the ditch. Slumped topsoil, 1.0-1.5m deep, masked any superficial stratigraphy such as surfaces or shallow cut features, and the interface between archaeological features and the overlying topsoil was not identified anywhere. Four distinct feature groups were identified (Fig. 16, shown as stretches 1 to 4). Features comprise possible ditches, gullies, pits and a metalled surface, although interpretation was hampered by the limited nature of the investigation. The more significant features and sequences are described and illustrated.

Feature Group 1 (Fig. 17, S.1) was recorded at the western end of the section. The earliest feature (8) was

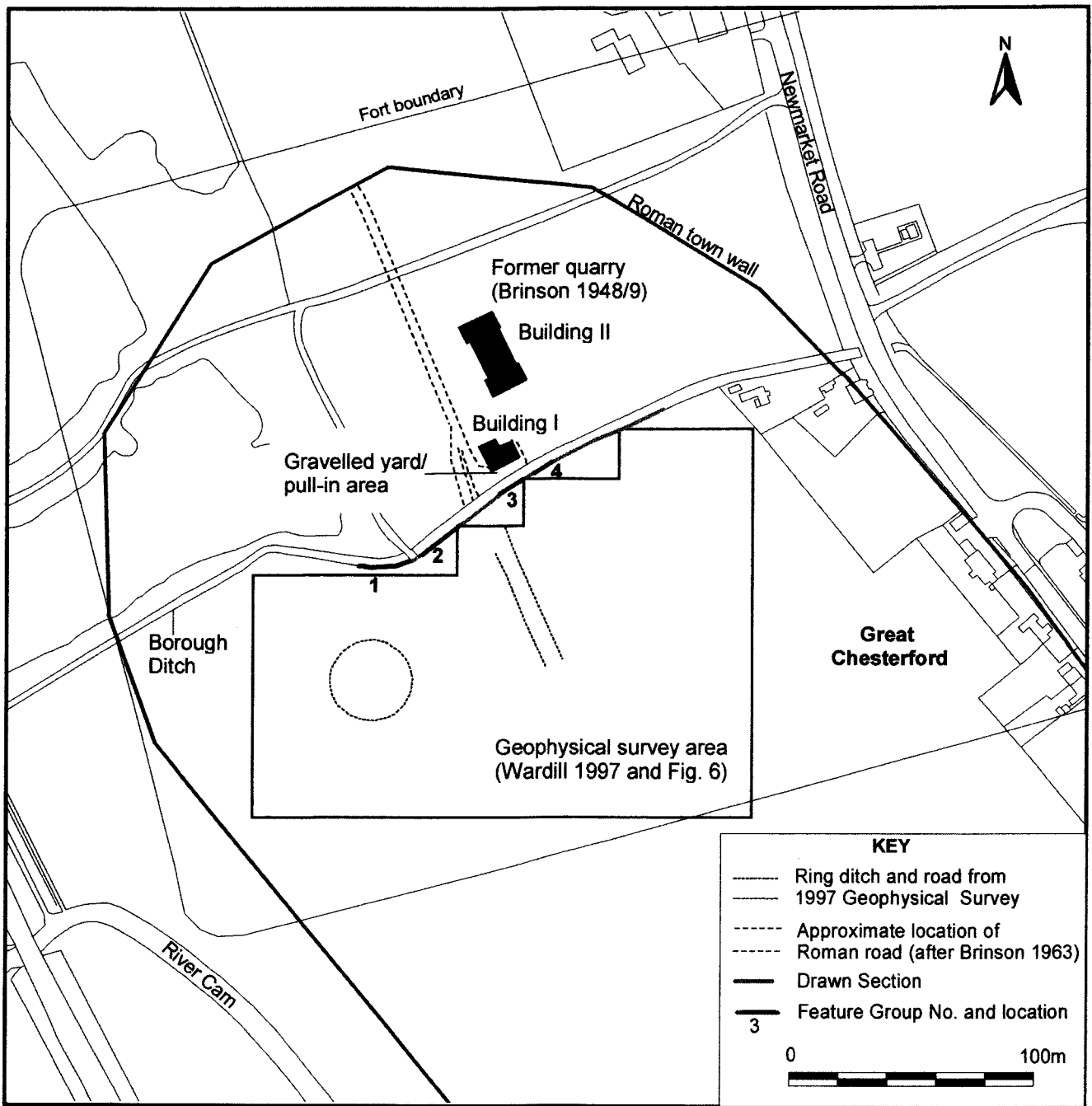


Fig. 16 Great Chesterford. Location of the emergency ditch recording of 2002 in relation to the 1997 geophysical survey (Fig. 21) and Brinson's 1948-49 excavations. The four sets of feature groups (1 to 4) are shown in the centre of the plan.
© Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

11m wide with an irregular profile (S.1a and S. 1b), and was cut by feature 7, which extended beyond the section limit. Both features were deeper than the modern ditch, and were either quarry pits, or ditches cut by the section line at an acute angle. Roman pottery was recovered from both features, and the pottery in feature (8) can be dated to the late 3rd-4th centuries. Immediately to the east was an almost vertical-sided pit or well (10), 3m wide, deeper than the modern ditch, and again containing small amounts of Roman pottery. Feature Group 2 (not illustrated) comprises a very large pit or ditch (18) with near-vertical sides, dated to the 2nd-4th centuries, and several smaller undated features.

Feature Group 3 (Fig. 17, S.2) was located 20m east

of Feature Group 2. The main feature recorded (24) was 11m wide, deeper than the modern ditch, vertical-sided, and cut into the natural gravels. Feature 24 may have been the top of a large pit or group of pits. Its brown clayey silt upper fill (23) contained frequent large flints, pottery and oyster shell. Above this, a layer (22) of compacted dark grey clayey silt containing frequent large flints and building materials, had subsided into the top of feature 24. The composition of this layer suggests that it was a continuation of the metallated yard recorded by Brinson (1963, 81) to the south of his building I, which he described as rammed earth and stones and dated to the 4th century (Figs 16,18). The large flints in the top of fill 23 may have been deposited as a

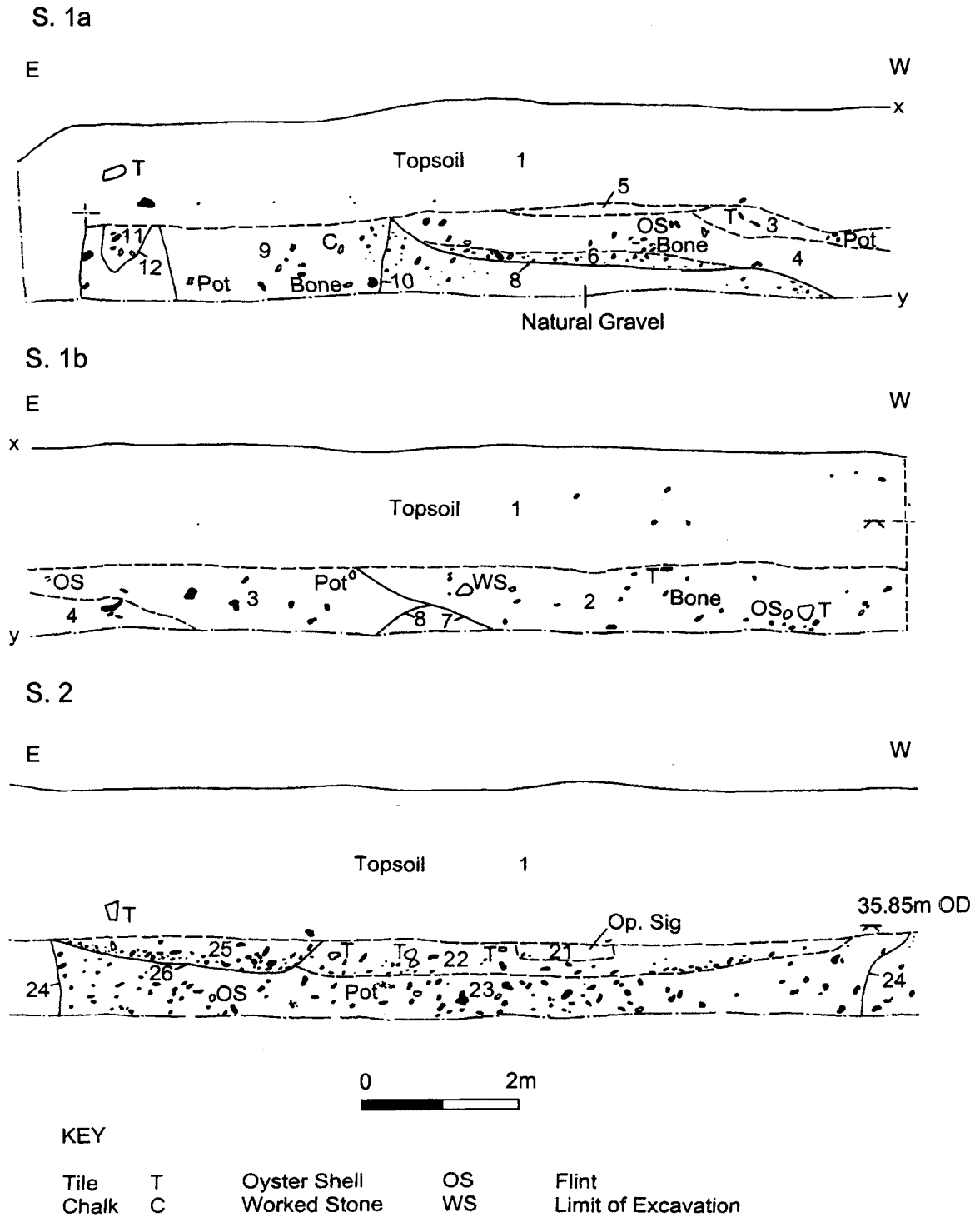


Fig. 17 Great Chesterford. Selected sections from feature groups 1 (S1a and S1b) and 3 (S2).

consolidation before metalling (22) was laid. The metalling contained a dump of *opus signinum* (21), in similar fashion to the yard recorded by Brinson. The east side of 22 was cut by a shallow pit or gully (26), 3.5m wide and 0.5m deep, filled with dark grey clayey silt containing a wide range of occupation rubbish, including animal bone and oyster shell. The Roman pottery and other material in cut 24 is not closely datable, but Roman pottery from the fill (25) of pit or

gully 26 is dated to the 3rd-4th centuries. The presence of metalling (22) in the ditch section confirms that the Roman stratigraphy recorded by Brinson in 1948-9 extends further south into the southern scheduled area. The cross-section in Fig. 18 shows that modern clearance of the ditch has cut it back and banked up soil on either side, which explains the unusual depth of topsoil recorded in the section, and the topsoil slumped down its sides. In general, Roman stratigraphy should

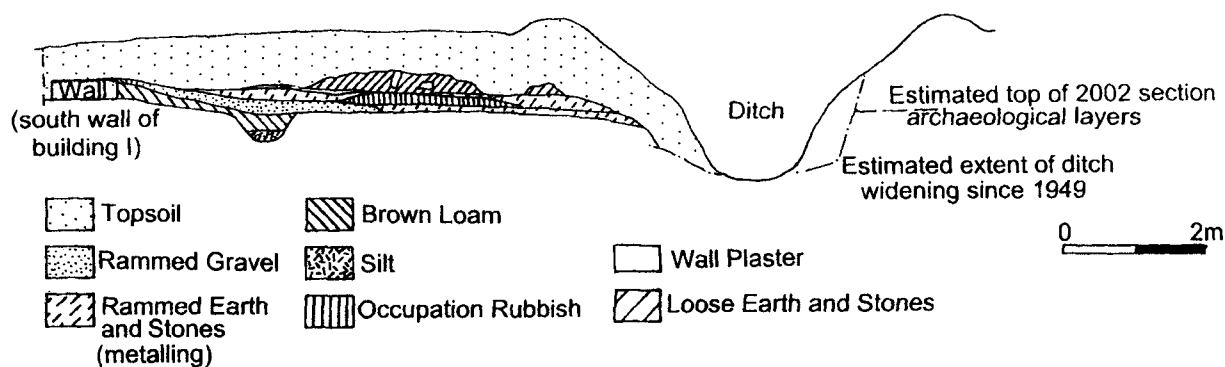


Fig. 18 Great Chesterford. North-south section across Building I and the Borough Ditch (after Brinson 1963, 81)

survive across the scheduled area, although the depth of topsoil along the ditch section should not be regarded as typical. Unfortunately, the north-south road recorded by Brinson was not visible in the ditch section, but may have been masked by slumped topsoil.

Feature Group 4 (not illustrated) was a further 5m east. It consisted of a vertical-sided feature (32), which could have been a large pit or ditch and contained Roman pottery that is not closely datable. Two small, undated features (28 and 34) lay to either side.

Finds summary

Joyce Compton

A small quantity of material was recovered from both stratified and unstratified contexts: Roman and medieval pottery, Roman brick and tile fragments, *opus signinum*, and baked clay. Finds of note include a pebble hammer and a bronze axe-head. A Roman copper-alloy coin, a barbarous radiate of probable 3rd-century date, is unstratified. The more significant material is reported below; full details can be found in the archive.

Pebble Hammer (Fig. 19)

Hazel Martingell

A complete pebble hammer was recovered from the spoil created by the ditch clearance. It is made on an almost circular, flat pebble of orthoquartzite sandstone with mica flecks, measuring 75mm in greatest diameter and 24mm at its thickest. In the centre of both flat surfaces is a marked conical depression which gives the impression of an incomplete biconical (hourglass shaped) shafthole. There is an area of abrasion at the top of the artefact and a bevelled surface at the bottom.

Pebble hammers were made with complete shaftholes and also in this form with depressions to assist in holding the hammer in the hand. In this case, where the depressions are directly opposite each other, an incomplete perforation is favoured. The wear on the artefact suggests that it was used for both hammering and grinding.

The earliest 'quartzite pebbles with counter sunk hollows for thumb and forefinger' occur in the early Mesolithic of Scandinavia (Clark 1936, 105), but in Britain they are associated with Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age sites. However, Roe (1979, 36) records the recovery of three quartzite pebble hammers from Roman sites in Wales and Wiltshire and states: "All these three may or may not actually be earlier in date than their contexts would suggest". It is also possible that the hammer was made during prehistoric times and later reused during the Roman period (Turner and Wymer 1987).

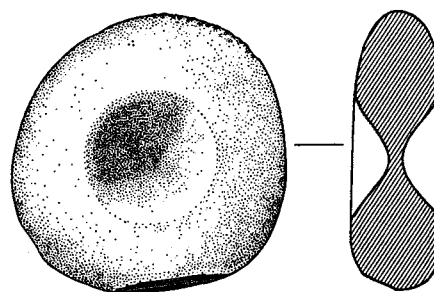


Fig. 19 Great Chesterford. Pebble hammer.

Copper-alloy axe (Fig. 20)

N. Brown

A Late Bronze Age looped socketed axe, weight 52g, length 57mm, blade width 27mm, was recovered from spoil created by the ditch clearance. The sides curve gently from mouth to slightly expanded blade. The socket section is rectangular; the upper edge of the mouth is undulating rising to high points in the centre of the sides and the surviving face. The collar moulding and single moulding below are very slight, the side loop springs from the lower moulding and is filled with casting flash which has been removed to leave a very neatly circular perforation. Most of the rest of the casting flash has been very carefully removed, there is only a slight trace left on one side. The surviving complete face has a single internal rib, the other face has a large fragment missing, at the lower part of the break the socket is slightly crushed and bent inwards, the lower and right broken edges are quite rough, where they have been broken off. On the left side of the break the edge is rounded, perhaps suggesting a casting flaw.

The axe is of south-eastern type (Schmidt and Burgess 1981; Needham 1986 class A). It lies at the lower end of the size range for this group of axes (e.g. Schmidt and Burgess 1981), although axes of this small size are by no means unusual (e.g. Cuddeford and Sealey 2000, nos 1, 4 and 5). The axe is an addition to the growing body of Bronze Age metalwork from west Essex concentrated along the valleys of the Lea, Stort and Cam (Couchman 1980; Brown 1996). Broken axes such as the Great Chesterford example are, of course, typical components of Ewart Park hoards and it may be that this piece derives from a dispersed hoard.

Roman pottery

T.S. Martin

A total of 79 sherds weighing 1.4kg was recovered from the site, although 38 sherds weighing 0.6kg were unstratified. The pottery was classified using the Chelmsford typology (Going 1987, 3-54) which is standard for Essex sites. Analysis was primarily concerned with identifying the variety of fabrics and forms, and providing dating evidence for features and layers. Quantification was by sherd count

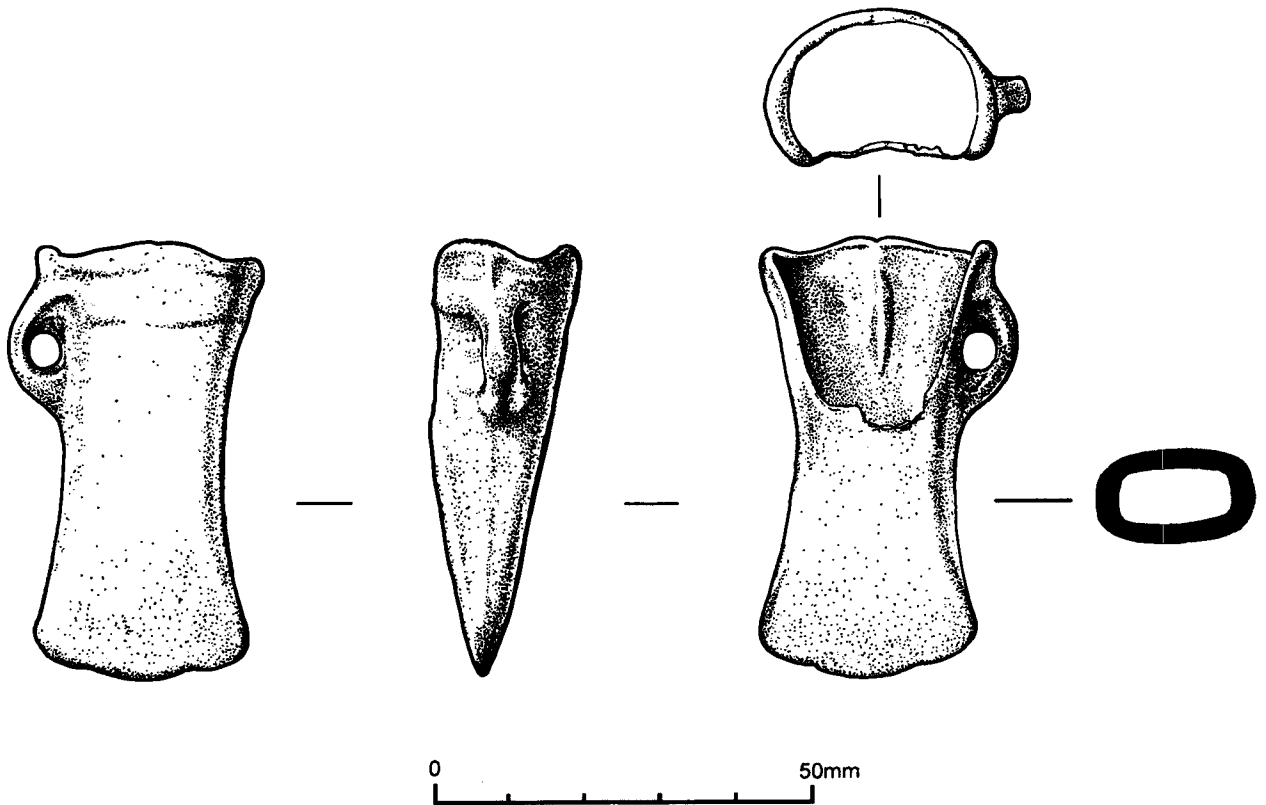


Fig. 20 Great Chesterford. Late Bronze Age socketed axe

and weight by fabric. The following fabrics were identified (numbers after Going 1987, in bold):

Code	Fabric	Going 1987 No.
BSW	Misc. Black-surfaced wares -	
BUF	Unspecified buff wares	31
COLC	Colchester colour-coat	1
GRF	Fine grey wares	39
GROG	Grog tempered wares	53
GRS	Sandy grey wares	47
HAB	Hadham black-surfaced ware	35
HAR	Hadham grey ware	14
HAX	Hadham oxidised red ware	4
HORN	Horningsea grey wares	-
MSH	Midland shell-tempered ware	51
MWSRS	Miscellaneous white slipped sandy wares	-
NVC	Nene Valley colour-coats	2
NVM	Nene Valley mortaria	-
NVP	Nene Valley 'parchment' or white wares	-
RED	Unspecified red ware	21
TSG	All samian	60
UCC	Unspecified colour-coats	-

Dating evidence

Where datable, the pottery exhibits a broad 1st to 4th-century date range. However, the stratified pottery probably all belongs to the late 2nd century onwards, although these groups contained few identifiable vessel forms. Pottery exclusively of late 4th-century date was not identified. A small amount of samian was recovered from the site, but none of the identifiable forms were from stratified contexts. There were no large or medium-sized groups (i.e. groups consisting of more than 30 sherds) and only three features could be positively dated (Table 1). Ditch 7 produced a vessel that can be assigned a late 3rd to 4th-century date; the presence of NVP in ditch 8 indicates a broad 3rd to 4th-century date; and the fill of pit 26 also falls within this date band. The remaining contexts produced either undiagnostic pottery or long-lived vessel forms like the G21 jar in metalling 22.

Discussion

The assemblage is useful only as a rough guide to dating. However, one general trend is the presence of Horningsea grey wares (Evans 1991), often from storage jars, which seem to have excluded the more common grog-tempered vessels at Great Chesterford. This is in marked contrast with the rest of Essex, where Horningsea wares are absent.

Feature	Fill	Pottery present	Dating
7 (ditch)	2	Misc. pottery: Form E6.1 (HAX).	Late 3rd to 4th cent.
8 (ditch)	3	Misc. pottery: Fabric NVP.	3rd to 4th cent.
	4	Misc. pottery: Fabric MWSRS.	Roman
10 (ditch or pit)	9	Misc. pottery: Form G40 (HAR).	Roman
18 (ditch or pit)	17	Misc. pottery: Form ?E5 (HAR). Fabric HORN.	?Late 2nd to ?4th cent.
24 (metalling)	22	Misc. pottery: Form G21 (BSW)	Roman
26 (pit)	25	Misc. pottery: Form H (NVC).	3rd to 4th cent.
32 (ditch or pit)	29	Misc. pottery: Fabric HAR	Roman
	30	Misc. pottery: Fabric HORN.	Roman
	31	Misc. pottery: Form K (GRS).	Roman

Table 1. The key pottery dating evidence

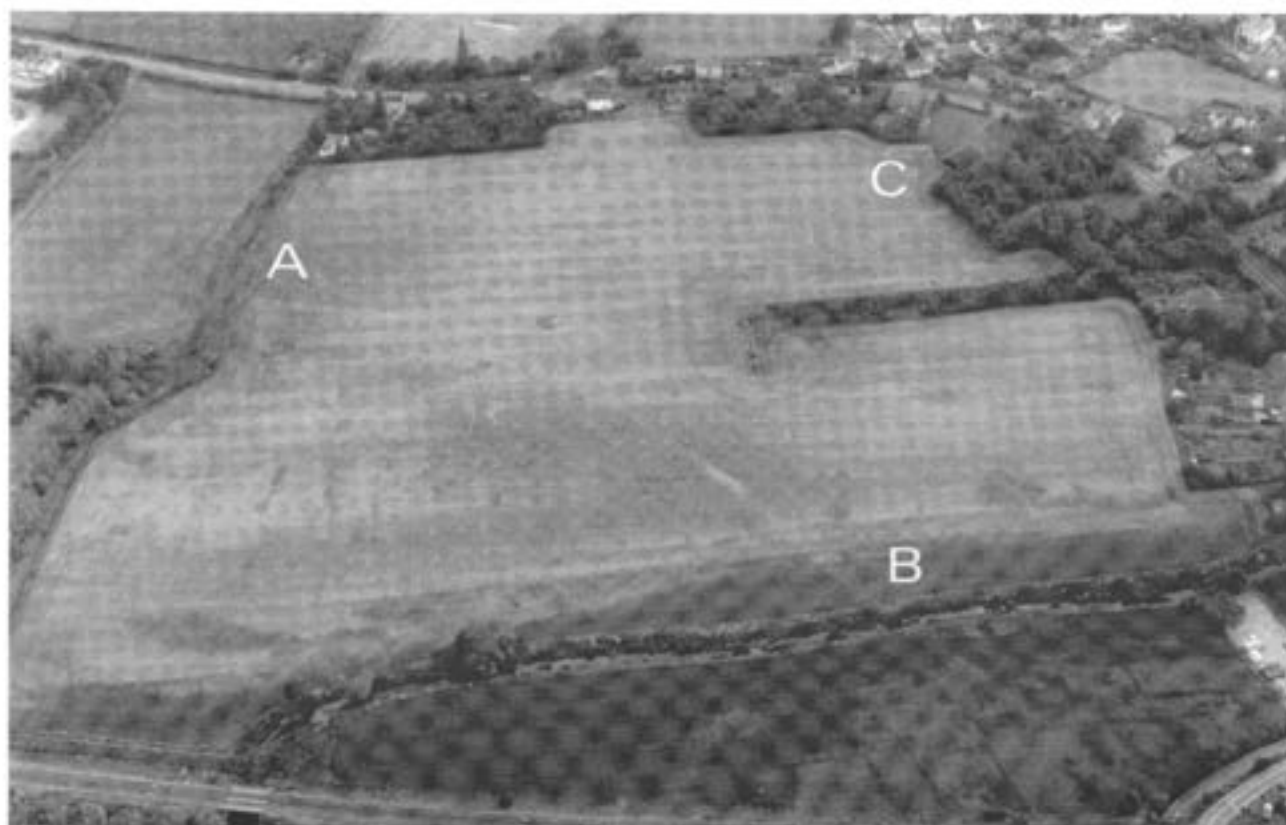


Plate 1 Great Chesterford. Aerial photograph of the southern scheduled area looking east, showing the Roman road (A) adjacent to the Borough Ditch, and the road leading to Braughing (B) and Great Dunmow (C). Photo taken by D. Strachan. (© Essex County Council CP/96/27/2).

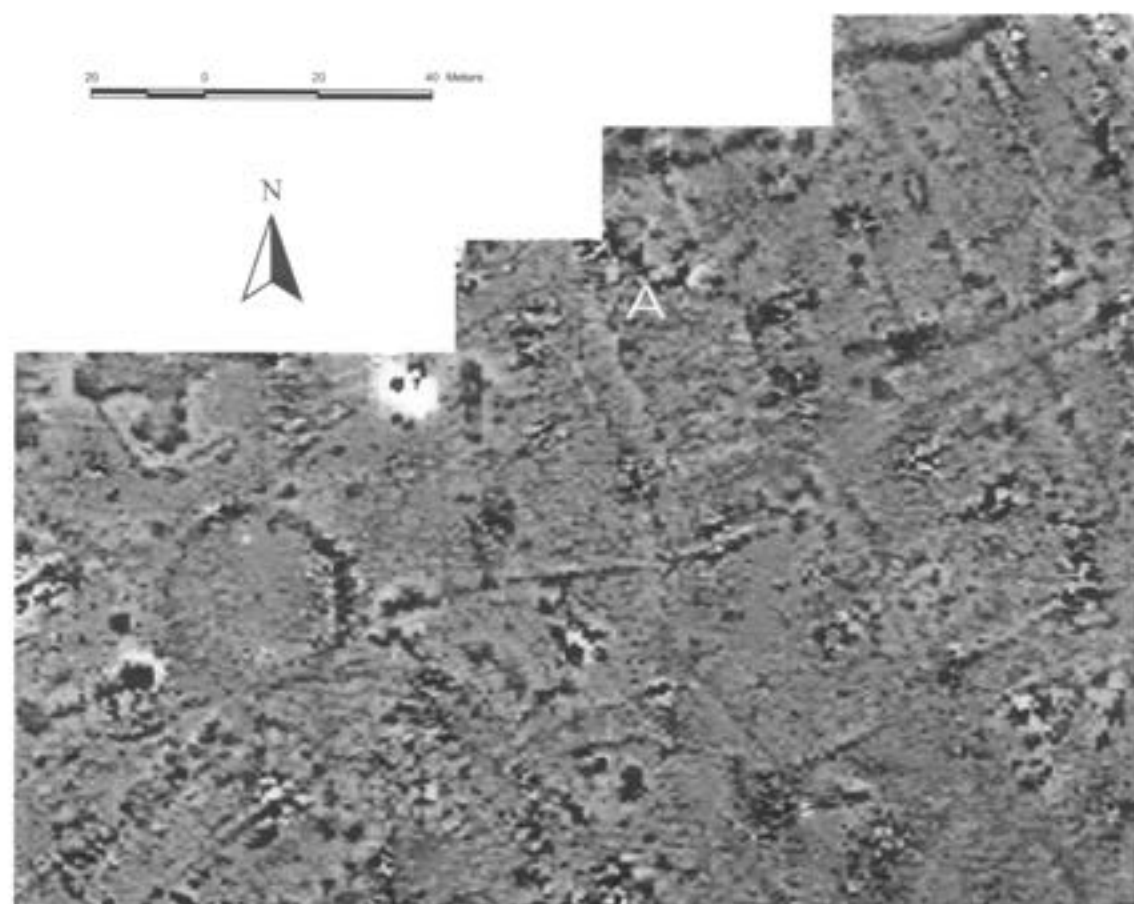


Fig. 21 Great Chesterford. Geophysical survey plot south of Borough Ditch with line of Roman road (A) indicated (after Wardill 1997). Fig. 16 shows the location of the geophysical survey area in relation to the Roman town.

Brick and tile

Joyce Compton

Most recognisable types of Roman brick and tile, weighing 3.3kg overall, were recovered, including *tegulae*, bricks and *imbrices*, plus a complete *tessera* from context 17 (feature 18). Most of the brick and tile is fragmentary, although several large pieces were also recovered (contexts 2 and 22), and very little is abraded.

Opus signinum

Joyce Compton

Fragments of *opus signinum*, recognisable from the crushed tile in the matrix, were recovered from contexts 21 and 25 in the metalled yard surface, weighing 226g overall. Several from context 21 are notable in that they have flat surfaces which exhibit the remains of red paint. *Opus signinum* was used as a base for flooring and as waterproofing in bath-houses, among other functions. The red paint indicates that some of the *opus signinum* recovered must originally have been used as a base for the walls of a building.

**Aerial photography and geophysical survey
(Plate 1; Figs 16 and 21)**

Helen Saunders and Rob Wardill

The results of aerial photography and geophysical survey have been plotted in relation to the recent ditch recording and Brinson's excavations of 1948-9 to the north (Fig. 16), to allow comparative discussion of all forms of evidence in the immediate area of the ditch.

Clear cropmark sites often produce high quality geophysical results because the techniques respond to broadly similar archaeological features, such as banks or ditches. For both techniques, clear results are heavily reliant on optimum soil, geology and climatic conditions, and this is amply demonstrated at Great Chesterford. The aerial photograph (Plate 1, Essex CC CP/96/27/2) was taken under optimum conditions in June 1996, which was a very dry summer and produced excellent cropmarks. These dry conditions ensure much of the archaeology is visible on one photograph, such as the main roads (marked A-C), internal boundary divisions, and a ring ditch. The geophysics (magnetometer) results are also good (Wardill 1997); other surveys within Great Chesterford have not always produced such clear plots, but the evidence in this survey has confirmed much of the aerial survey interpretation.

The main roads on Plate 1, A-C, appear as lighter negative cropmarks because the material they are constructed from has prevented the roots of the crop from penetrating too deep, thus causing soil moisture and nutrient deficiency affecting the growth. Conversely, the ring ditch to the west of the road is a darker mark because the crop is healthier and developing over the deeper cut features. Many of the other linear features are only visible on a limited number of the aerial photographs, because the conditions for cropmark development were not as good. However, the geophysical results (Fig. 21) clarify a large number of the linear features; for example the ditches that may define side streets can be traced from the edge of the geophysical survey onto the aerial photographs. Some linear cropmarks are not immediately obvious to the eye, but become clearer when confirmed through the

geophysical survey. However, certain features, such as some of the smaller pits, are not as clear on the geophysics plot. These are extremely clear on the aerial photograph, but are either not as easy to interpret or too small to be detected on the geophysics plot.

The course of road A (as described in Wardill 1997) is apparent as a cropmark for *c.* 70m to the south of the ditch and then ends abruptly. It has been suggested that this might be due to poorer cropmark development rather than an actual end in the road. However, geophysical survey confirms that this is actually where the road ends, as the geophysical result clearly shows the course of the road. Likewise, the course of several side roads are detectable on the aerial view, although not as clearly as the main road; again the geophysics result confirms these. The integration of the survey plots and Brinson's excavation plan clearly shows that road A is a continuation of the road line recorded by Brinson (Fig. 16).

Discussion

The emergency recording of the section exposed by clearance of Borough Ditch was limited in scope in order to minimise damage to the Scheduled Monument. However, the ditch section is in an important location, and has value in offering a further assessment of the southern scheduled area.

Several groups of Roman features were recorded, mainly large ditches and pits, but including metalling 22. In the initial fieldwork assessment (Peachey and Allen 2002), the metalling was interpreted as the north-south road first recorded by Brinson (1963, 77), and subsequently by aerial photography and geophysical survey (road A, above). Further analysis, however, shows that metalling 22 lies slightly to the east of the road line, and is in fact a continuation of the metalled yard adjacent to building I excavated by Brinson (1963, 80-1), immediately north of the ditch. The road was not recognised in the ditch section, most likely because it was obscured by slumped topsoil. The correlation of surfaces across the ditch (Fig. 18) suggests good survival of Roman stratigraphy across the scheduled area to its south, and gives an indication of the level at which Roman ground surfaces might be expected. The slumped topsoil masking of the upper part of the ditch section unfortunately prevents a more precise assessment.

Altogether, the three forms of evidence (aerial photography, geophysical survey and excavation/section recording) provide a more comprehensive picture of the area either side of the Borough Ditch, in the centre-north of the Roman town. The evidence from both the ditch recording and Brinson's excavations help to confirm the interpretation of the cropmarks and geophysics, and consequently there can be a high degree of confidence in the interpretation of other features over the rest of the southern scheduled area. The geophysics plot in particular suggests a complex layout of main and side roads, buildings and boundary ditches within the Roman town. Although confidence in the survival of

well-preserved stratigraphy is greatest for the area alongside the ditch, the combined surveys have provided a clearer assessment of the potential survival of archaeology across the southern scheduled area as a whole.

The range of artefacts recovered is typical of a Roman town, although the pottery only provides broad date ranges. However, two significant non-Roman objects were discovered: a prehistoric pebble hammer and a Late Bronze Age copper-alloy socketed axe, and these add to the evidence of prehistoric objects from the gravel terraces in the Great Chesterford area.

Acknowledgements

The ditch recording and publication report were commissioned and funded by English Heritage. The fieldwork was carried out by Mark Peachey and Jo Archer. The aerial photograph (Plate 1) was taken by David Strachan and the geophysical survey was carried out by Rob Wardill. The finds were analysed by Joyce Compton, Nigel Brown, Hilary Major, Scott Martin and Hazel Martingell, who also illustrated the pebble hammer (Fig. 19). Joyce Compton would like to thank Ros Tyrrell for identifying the red painted wall plaster. Iain Bell illustrated the bronze axe-head (Fig. 20); the other illustrations were produced by the author and Rachel Clarke (Fig. 16).

Bibliography

- Brinson, J.G.S. 1963 'Great Chesterford', in Hull, M.R., *Victoria County History of England: Essex 3*, 72-88
- Brown, N. 1996 'The Archaeology of Essex c. 1500BC – AD1500', in Bedwin O., *The Archaeology of Essex: Proceedings of the Writtle Conference*, 26-37
- Clark, J.G.D. 1936 *The Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe*.
- Couchman, C. 1980 'The Bronze Age in Essex', in Buckley, D. G. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Essex to AD 1500*, CBA Res. Rep. 34, 40-6
- Cuddeford, M. J. and Sealey, P.R. 2000 'A Late Bronze Age Hoard from High Easter', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, 31, 1-17
- Evans, J. 1991 'Some notes on the Horningsea Roman pottery', *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 4, 33-43
- Going, C.J. 1987 *The Mansio and other sites in the south-eastern sector of Caesarmagus: the Roman pottery*, CBA Research Report 62
- Needham, S. 1986 'The Metalwork', in O'Connell, M., *Peters Sports Field, Egham: Excavation of a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Settlement*, Surrey Archaeology Society Research Report 10, 22-57
- Peachey, M. and Allen, P.T. 2002 Great Chesterford, Essex: Ditch adjacent to Quarry. Emergency Recording. Assessment and Updated Project Design. Essex CC report.
- Roe, F. 1979 'Typology of Stone Implements with Shaftholes', in Clough, T.H.M. and Cummins, W.A. (eds), *Stone Axe Studies*. CBA Research Report 23, 23-48
- Schmidt, P. and Burgess, C. 1981 *The Axes of Scotland and Northern England, Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung IX, Band 7*
- Turner, R. and Wymmer, J.J. 1987 'An assemblage of Palaeolithic Hand-Axes from the Roman Religious Complex at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex', *Ant. J.* LXVII pt 1, 43-60
- Wardill, R. 1997 Great Chesterford Roman Fort and Town. Geophysical Survey Report. Essex CC report in Essex Historic Environment Record

The Society is grateful to English Heritage for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this note.

Excavations at Mark Hall School, Harlow

Andrew Robertson

with contributions from Joyce Compton, Nick Lavender and Hazel Martingell

An excavation on Mark Hall School playing fields, Harlow, revealed a range of archaeological remains dating to the Middle Iron Age, Roman and post-medieval periods. A sub-circular enclosure and a long sinuous field boundary ditch dating to the Middle Iron Age had placed deposits of animal remains associated with them. A cluster of four Roman pits was situated towards the north of the site. A series of long north-south parallel gullies were the remains post-medieval ridge-and-furrow that ran either side of an east-west running gravelled trackway and were associated with farming on the Mark Hall estate.

Introduction

Following a trial-trench evaluation that identified a range of prehistoric and post-medieval remains, a c.1.14ha area excavation was carried out by ECC Field Archaeology Unit along the western edge of the playing fields of Mark Hall School, Harlow (TL 4710 1090), in advance of the construction of new sports facilities (Fig. 22). Full reports for both phases of work have been lodged with the Essex Historic Environment Record (EHER), and the site archive will be deposited at Harlow Museum.

Archaeological and historical background

The modern town of Harlow is situated on the Essex – Hertfordshire border, bounded by the River Stort to the west and the M11 to the east. Designed by Frederick Gibberd in the late 1940s, it was largely built during the 1950s and 60s as a new town to relieve the housing shortage in London.

Harlow and the surrounding area has been utilised by humans from the earliest times, with Palaeolithic and Mesolithic flints recovered from several sites in the area. Immediately to the east of the Mark Hall site is a Neolithic Cursus (SAM 24858; EHER 7268) and an archaeological evaluation, presently ongoing to the south-east of the site at New Hall, has produced a quantity of Neolithic worked flints.

Roman occupation at Harlow is more substantial, with a temple and postulated settlement to the north and west of the site. To the immediate east of the site, lies the course of a Roman Road (EHER 3631), perpetuated as London Road. More recently the remains of a Romano-British building have been revealed to the south-east of the site, east of the balancing pond at New Hall Farm (Archaeological Solutions, in prep.).

During the medieval period, the closest settlement to the site was around present day Old Harlow c.1km to the north and at Potter Street to the south where several pottery kilns have been excavated.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the site lay in the historical parish of Harlow but was part of Mark Hall estate, which was situated to the south-west of Harlow town (now Old Harlow). It straddled two fields; '5

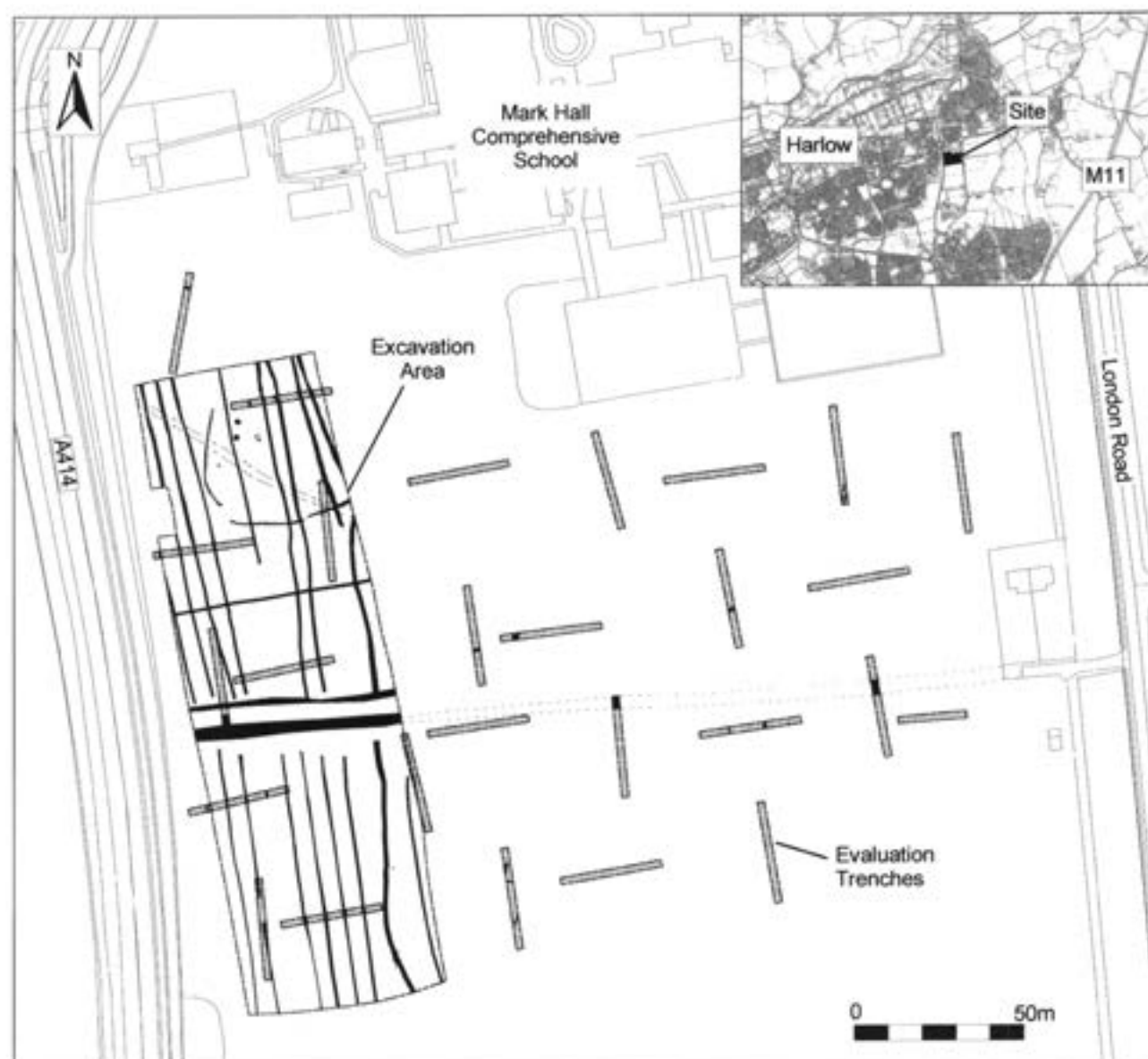


Fig. 22 Mark Hall School, Harlow: site location

© Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

Acres' to the north and 'Row Tree Field' to the south. Until the construction of Mark Hall School in the 1960s the site seems to have been exclusively agricultural land. Presently the site lies at the eastern edge of the town immediately to the south of the Mark Hall School buildings; delineated to the east by London Road and to the west by the A414.

Excavation results

Immediately prior to excavation the site was laid to grass as a school playing field. The land is a relatively flat with a very slight fall to the east, towards London Road. The topsoil ranged in thickness from 0.2m to 0.4m and the natural geology is a light brown chalky clay. The shallowness of the topsoil and the apparent truncation of the archaeological features indicate that the site had been graded and levelled, presumably during the construction of the playing fields.

Although the quantity of finds recovered from all features was relatively low, three distinct phases of activity were identified; Middle Iron Age, Roman and

post-medieval. Descriptions and discussions of the finds have been integrated into the general text.

Iron Age (Fig. 23)

Three separate curving gullies 165, 166 and 167 delineate the western side of an enclosure. The enclosure was not fully revealed as it ran off-site to the north and east but, by extrapolation, was probably sub-circular and c. 50m in diameter. All c. 0.45m wide, the gullies form a reasonable arc. The gap between 166 and 165 is definite, each gully ending in a small, seemingly integral, pit. It is likely that the break between these gullies was an intentional entrance into the enclosure. In contrast, the break between gullies 166 and 167 may rather be a result of truncation.

The enclosure entrance was marked by a pit at each of the gully terminals. Pit 94, at the western terminal of gully 166, contained no finds. Opposing pit 156, at the southern terminal of gully 165, contained a placed deposit of cattle mandibles and articulated lower limbs, probably from a single animal (Plate 2). A similar

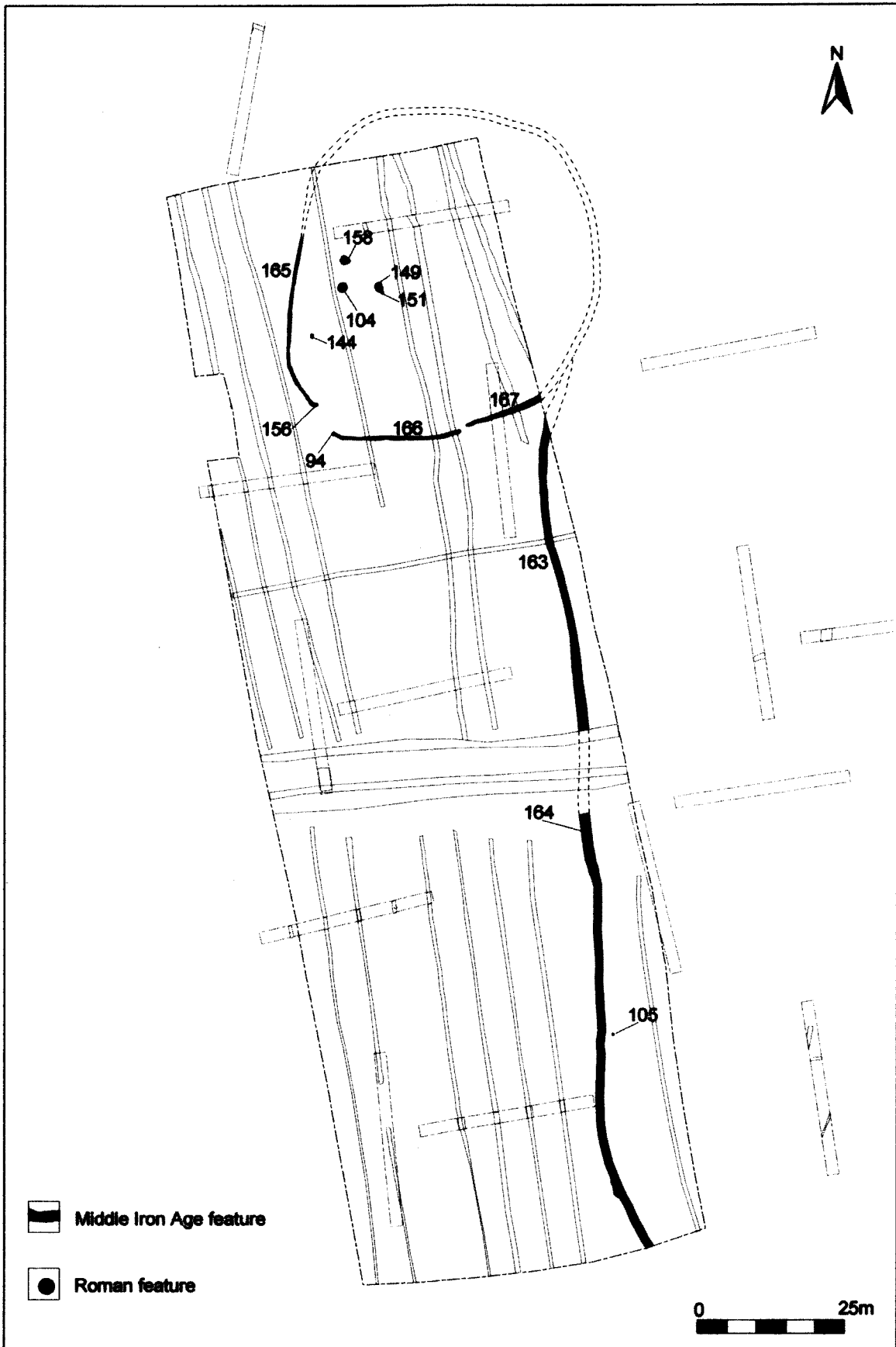


Fig. 23 Mark Hall School, Harlow: Middle Iron Age and Roman features



Plate 3 Mark Hall School, Harlow: placed cattle remains in pit 144

deposit of cattle mandibles and articulated lower limbs was recovered from nearby pit 144 (Plate 3), which lay inside the enclosure. This deposit also contained skull and horn core fragments. The animals were mature at death, since all of the bones had fused and the molars from each individual exhibited a degree of wear. Both cattle appeared to be small in size and are unlikely to have been draught animals. The similarity of these burials suggests that they are contemporaneous. There is no firm dating evidence and the features have been severely truncated by modern levelling. Based upon the little dating evidence recovered from the enclosure gullies and their morphology, it is probable that the enclosure, and associated pits, are of Middle Iron Age date.

To the south of the enclosure ran a north-south field boundary 163, which contained small quantities of Middle Iron Age pottery, comprising undecorated coarse wares in sandy fabrics. There are no rim sherds, but at least one shoulder sherd has a distinct carination typical of Drury's (1978) Little Waltham Form 12. The presence of sandy fabrics and carinated shoulder sherds indicates a Middle Iron Age domestic assemblage. Loom weight fragments recovered from the ditch confirm the domestic nature of the assemblage. The boundary ditch also produced a number of later prehistoric worked flints; mainly flakes consistent with an Iron Age date.

The ditch is highly irregular in its line across the landscape and profile, ranging in depth from 0.33m to 0.62m. It is, however, a reasonably consistent width at 1.5m. Although the ditch had no clear relationship to the enclosure, it is likely that it adjoined and perhaps even formed its eastern boundary. Deposited in the top of the



Plate 2 Mark Hall School, Harlow: placed cattle remains in pit 156

ditch were the skeletal remains of a lamb, 164. This was perhaps the disposal of a stillborn animal, although interpretation as a further placed deposit cannot be discounted.

A solitary cremation burial 105 lay toward the southern end of the site, slightly to the east of ditch 163. This produced a small quantity (c. 32g) of cremated human remains. No associated dating evidence was recovered. The bone fragments are small and grey/white in colour with occasional black pieces, indicating an

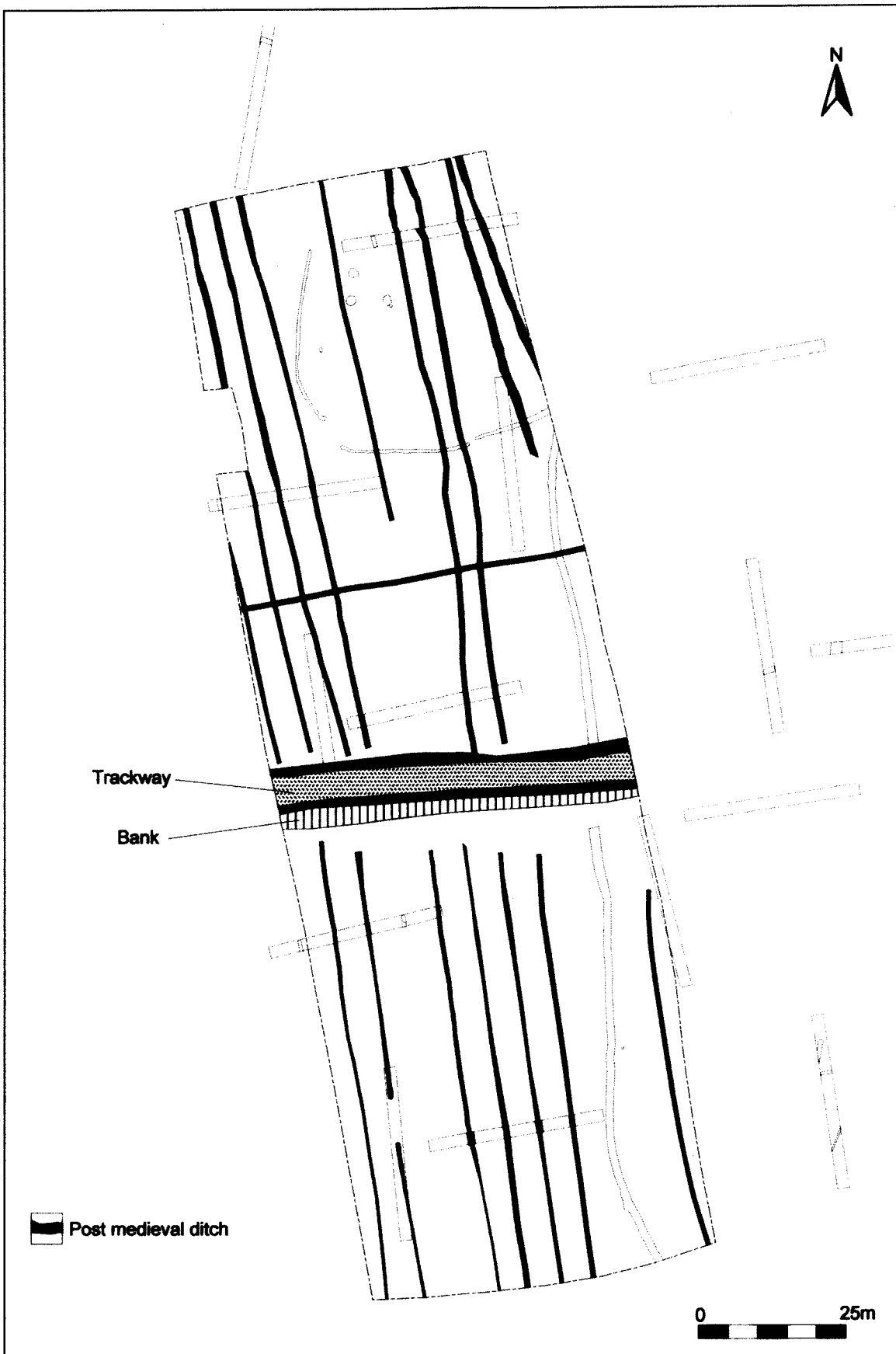


Fig. 24 Mark Hall School, Harlow: Post-medieval features

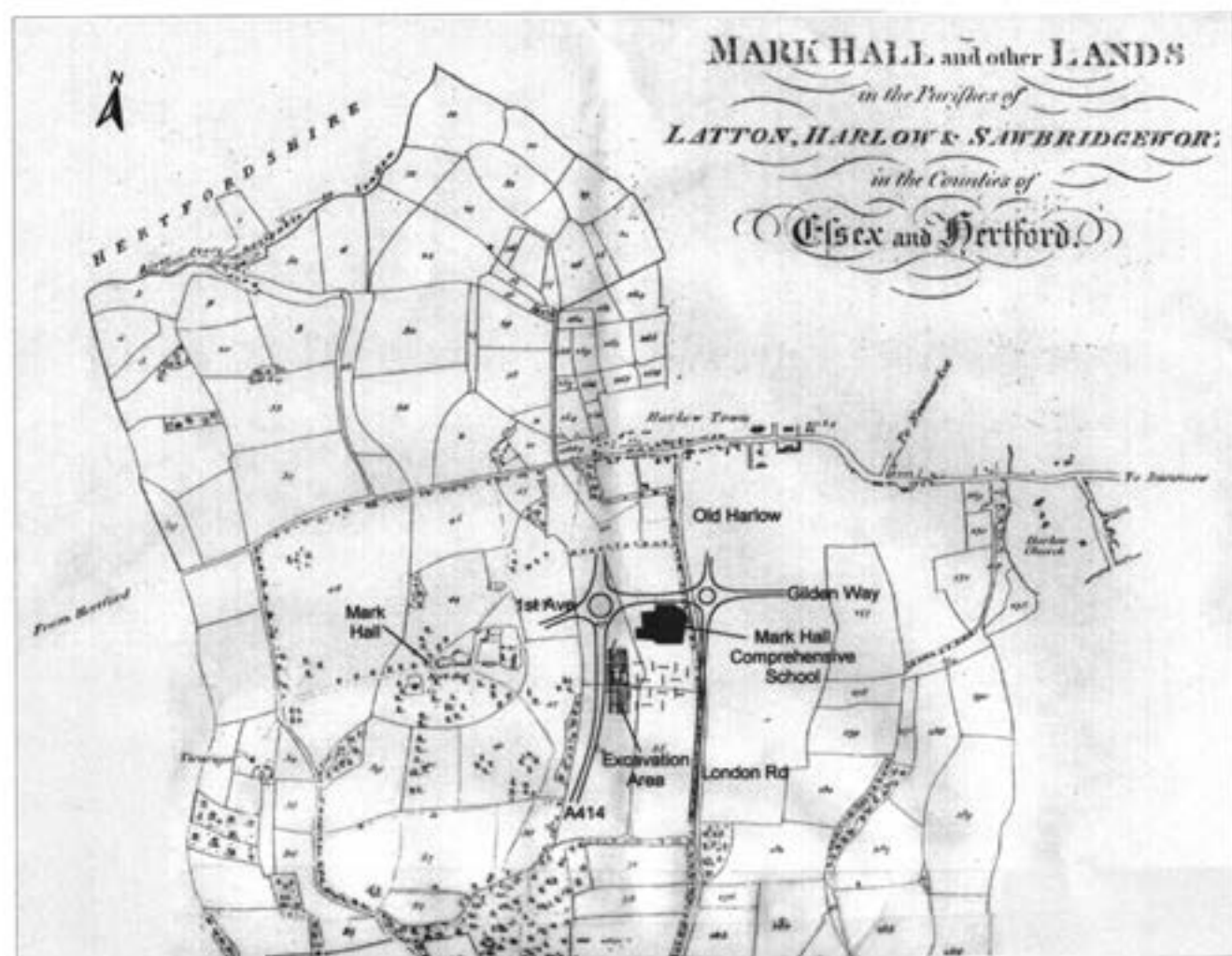


Fig. 25 Mark Hall School, Harlow: 1819 estate map overlaid with site location and modern roads

inefficient cremation process. There appear to be no diagnostic elements. The small size and quantity of the fragments, coupled with the apparently inefficient cremation process, suggests a probable prehistoric date for the burial. No other burials were identified, and 105 is likely to have been an isolated example.

A number of seemingly prehistoric gullies were identified in the evaluation phase. On further investigation, however, these proved to be post-medieval in origin. Despite this, it is interesting to note that a quantity of residual Late Bronze/Early Iron Age pottery was recovered from the gullies, which possibly indicates that features of this date were destroyed by later activity. In addition, a number of worked flints, including a Palaeolithic flake, a Mesolithic parallel-sided blade and a Neolithic piercer/borer, were unstratified, suggesting that the area was utilised during the earlier prehistoric periods.

Roman (Fig. 23)

Only four of the identified features are thought to be Roman in date. Irregular pits 158, 104, 149 and 151 were all clustered at the northern end of the site. Although they lie inside the prehistoric enclosure they are not likely to be associated. The pits contained

fragments of Roman brick and tile. Much of the tile has no diagnostic features, but most are probably derived from *tegulae*. Also present is a tapering wedge-shaped bar, from the fill of pit 149, which appears to be purpose made. This may be a piece of *opus spicatum* used in the construction of herringbone-patterned flooring. The dimensions match those given in Brodrigg (1987, 52) for bricks of this type. As with the prehistoric activity, it seems likely that some ephemeral Roman features were destroyed during the levelling of the playing fields. However, only a few sherds were present, as an unstratified scatter, suggesting that Roman activity was limited, with land-use possibly being either marginal or pasture.

Post-medieval (Figs 24 and 25)

The post-medieval remains are perhaps the most ambiguous. The most substantial feature was a 5m-wide gravelled trackway, which ran from the western edge of the excavated area, across the playing field, and was identified on the eastern edge of the field by the trial trenching. The surviving surface showed that it had been repeatedly repaired with various rubble deposits along its length. The track was bounded to the north and south by ditches approximately 2m wide and the

remains of a bank to the south may have been up-cast from maintenance of the ditches. The line of the track appears on a Mark Hall estate map of 1819 (Fig. 25), when the estate came into the possession of the Arkwright family. On this map, the trackway runs through four fields, which seem superimposed upon the landscape, over earlier irregular fields. The date for the construction of these fields is unclear. However, during the 1770s the Lushington family, who then owned the Mark Hall estate, instigated landscape reorganisation and, although the project was never completed, these four fields may be all that survived. The north-south boundary between these fields was identified during the trenching evaluation.

Other post-medieval features comprise of a series of roughly parallel north-south narrow gullies, which run from beyond the northern and southern limits of excavation to the trackway. In general the ditches survived to *c.* 0.2m deep and 0.75m wide. Although a number of the gullies contained prehistoric as well as post-medieval pottery, especially in the evaluation trenches, they are stratigraphically later than all the other features with the possible exception of the trackway, which they seem to respect. The gullies do not appear to match-up either side of the trackway, which suggests that they were dug when the trackway, and presumably the fields, were extant. The distance between the gullies is on average 5m. This implies that they may be late ridge-and-furrow, which "...is typically...5 yards or less...set out in straight lines, and often weak or inconspicuous. ... Much of it is traditionally ascribed to the great ploughing-up of the Napoleonic Wars" (Rackham 1986, 168). It is interesting to note that the evaluation only uncovered these gullies across the western side of the playing fields and it is probable that only the western two fields were under this form of cultivation.

Discussion

The level of archaeological activity as evidenced by features and finds at Mark Hall School does not suggest that this site was ever the focus for concentrated use. However, those features that do survive indicate that the site has been part of an evolving agricultural landscape until modern times.

The Middle Iron Age enclosure and associated ditch are interpreted as a possible animal stockade and field boundary and, with the sparsity of the artefactual material, it is postulated that this area was under pasture during these periods. However, there is a reasonable incidence of earlier prehistoric pottery residual in later features suggesting that there were originally more early features present but that they have been removed during the post-medieval cultivation and levelling of the playing fields.

There are a number of parallels for the animal stockade or corral across the county; at Gun Hill (Drury and Rodwell 1973), Stansted (Havis and Brooks 2004), Uphall Camp (Sealey 1996) and Maltings Lane

(Robertson in prep). Often this type of corral is part of a wider system of fields and may only have been used at specific times; perhaps for calving or fattening up cattle for slaughter. The location of a corral was probably relatively important to an agricultural settlement, especially if livestock were an economic/social asset as well as a source of food, clothing, and a range of other raw materials. While there is no evidence for actual occupation on this site, some consideration seems to have been given to the location of the corral. Topographically it lies on some of the highest land in the area, which would have made any livestock in the corral relatively highly visible. This visibility may have had several purposes such as a display of status or simply to keep watch on livestock. Animal stockades seem to play an important, and often many-layered, role in an agricultural community; far more than simply somewhere to keep livestock.

The placed deposits of partially articulated cattle remains, while possibly of mundane origin such as discard of the less useful pieces of a carcass, seem to be deliberately and carefully placed which suggests some 'ritual' significance. The two deposits display deliberate selection and placement of the same skeletal elements. The incidence of placed deposits of animal bone is well documented on Iron Age sites across southern Britain, especially at ditch termini or entrances to enclosures. First identified at Danebury, in Hampshire, this does not seem to be a 'high' ritual but rather one that was common and may not have been considered ritual at all. The parts of the animal carcass deposited in this way seem to be those that have the least use, hooves and jawbones, which may suggest a somewhat pragmatic approach to the 'offering'. Although it is not possible to know the exact beliefs behind the ritual, it is very likely that it was associated with the protection and well-being of livestock. Sealey (1996) notes that within Essex the depositing of animal remains in and around animal enclosures was rare, with the only cited example being Chipping Hill Camp (Bedwin 1993). However, several recently excavated sites, at Stansted, Maltings Lane and Shotgate Farm (Dale *et al* in prep) suggest that the practice was more common than has been previously thought. Bone survival is often poor in Essex, which may account for the apparent lack of these deposits.

The cluster of Roman pits gives few hints as to the nature of land-use during this period, but it seems likely that this area was marginal to the main Roman occupation foci to the north-west.

The post-medieval period, and in particular the late 18th and early 19th century, was a great period of social change and this seems to be reflected in an agricultural landscape that was changing not only due to local pressures but also in response to wider events. The evidence, both archaeological and historical, at Mark Hall School points to a partially planned landscape with more regular fields starting to be imposed upon an older landscape during these centuries. The late ridge-and-furrow is probably of early 19th-century date and is an

indication of how economic and political forces were impacting upon the landscape.

The reorganisation of estates through planned landscapes was reasonably common during the late 18th century and outside of the Grand Houses was a feature of social standing amongst a wealthy landed class, particularly if a family had social or political ambitions. However Mark Hall was not one of the Grand Houses set in extensive grounds but rather a modest manor with relatively small grounds set in the middle of a working landscape. As such, the vast 'Capability Brown style' of landscaping was not feasible. In order to 'keep up with the Jones' a more modest design was drawn up. The surviving plans show a laid out formal garden with some modest landscaping in close proximity to the house, which may have included opening out smaller fields or removing woodland to create open vistas of rolling fields. The reorganisation of the agricultural landscape to create an idyll was a particular facet of the late 18th century.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Mark Hall estate was owned by Montague Burgoyne, who, to further his political aspirations to a seat in parliament, organised a local troop of Yeomanry in anticipation of an invasion by Napoleon's army. It is not unreasonable to posit that it was during this period that part of the Mark Hall estate was given over to the production of food crops ostensibly for the 'war effort'. The ploughing-up of pasture for crop production seems to have been wide-scale across many estates in Britain and may be seen as an indirect result of the continental wars, which pushed grain prices up. It is likely that the forming of a Yeomanry and the ploughing up of pasture had little to do with the patriotism of Montague, but were motivated by social ambition and simple economics. This short term change of land use illustrates the impact of wider economic and political forces upon the agricultural landscape at this time.

The excavated remains show a clear and prolonged sequence of agricultural land use that seems to reflect some wider trends. Of particular note are the Iron Age ritual deposits and a rapidly adapted landscape that reflects the economic, social and political circumstances during the post-medieval period. It is clear that although the area around Harlow has been settled and the landscape managed for thousands of years the area of the site remained agricultural in nature until the construction of modern Harlow during the 1950s and 60s.

Acknowledgements

This project was commissioned by APT Architects on behalf of Mark Hall School and Essex County Council. The monitoring officer was Ms. V. Clarke of HAMP on behalf of the local planning authority. Many thanks must go to J. Tulloch of Mark Hall School for her assistance through the fieldwork and to D. Devine of Harlow Museum for his advice and knowledge of post-medieval Harlow. Mr. M. Atkinson managed the project and the author carried out the excavation with the

assistance of J. Archer, B. Barker, C. Down, M. Germany, D. Smith and A. Turner. The evaluation was carried out by B. Barker. The prehistoric pottery was examined by N. Lavender, the flint by H Martingell and the remaining categories by J. Compton. The finds were processed by P. McMichael and the illustrations were produced by A. Lewsey.

Bibliography

- Barker, B. 2004 *Mark Hall School, Harlow, Essex Archaeological Evaluation by Trial Trenching* ECC FAU Client Report
- Bedwin, O. 1993 'Animal Bone' in W.J. Rodwell *The Origins and Early Development of Witham, Essex: A study in settlement and fortification, Prehistoric to medieval* Oxbow Mono 26, 111 - 2
- Brodribb, G. 1987 *Roman Brick and Tile* (Gloucester)
- Brown, N. 1988 'A Late Bronze Age enclosure at Lofts Farm, Essex' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 54, 249-302
- Clarke, V. 2004 *Archaeological Excavation at Mark Hall school, First Avenue, Harlow* HAMP Archaeological Brief
- Dale, R. et al. In prep *Archaeology on the Mid-Essex Clay: Archaeological works on the A130, A12 Chelmsford Bypass to the A127 Southend Arterial Road, 1991 - 2002*
- Drury, P. J. 1978 *Excavations at Little Waltham 1970-71*, CBA Res. Rep. 26
- Drury, P. J and Rodwell, W. J. 1973 'Excavations at Gun Hill, West Tilbury', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 5, 48 - 112
- Havis, R. and Brooks, H. 2004 *Excavations at Stansted Airport 1986 - 91*, *E Anglian Archaeol.* 107
- Medlycott, M. 1998 *Harlow Historic Towns Project Assessment Report* ECC Archaeology Section
- Rackham, O. 1986 *The History of the Countryside*, London: Dent
- Robertson, A.J.W. In prep *Excavations at Maltings Lane, Witham, Essex, 2000 - 2002*
- Sealey, P. R. 1996 'The Iron Age of Essex' in O Bedwin (ed.), *The archaeology of Essex, Proceedings of the Writtle Conference*, Chelmsford: ECC, 46 - 68

Recent finds from Essex reported to Colchester Museums 2001-2002

Philip J. Wise

This report comprises brief notes on historically significant artefacts and coins reported to Colchester Museums during the years 2001 and 2002 or researched by the museum during this period. In August 2003, a Finds Liaison Officer was appointed in Essex, jointly managed by Colchester Museums and the Historic Environment Branch of Essex County Council. It is anticipated that this will result in a higher number of finds being reported and that therefore the potential growth in our knowledge of Essex's past could be very considerable.

Artefacts

1. Brightlingsea - Neolithic flint axe

Mr. and Mrs. V. Peck made a chance find of a Neolithic flint axe during cultivation of a field at Mill Farm, Hurst Green, Brightlingsea. The axe is of light grey flint, unifacially flaked, with an elongated tapering shape, narrow butt and a semi-circular blade. It is 151mm in length, 56mm wide and 17mm thick at its thickest point. Also found in the same area were three Upper

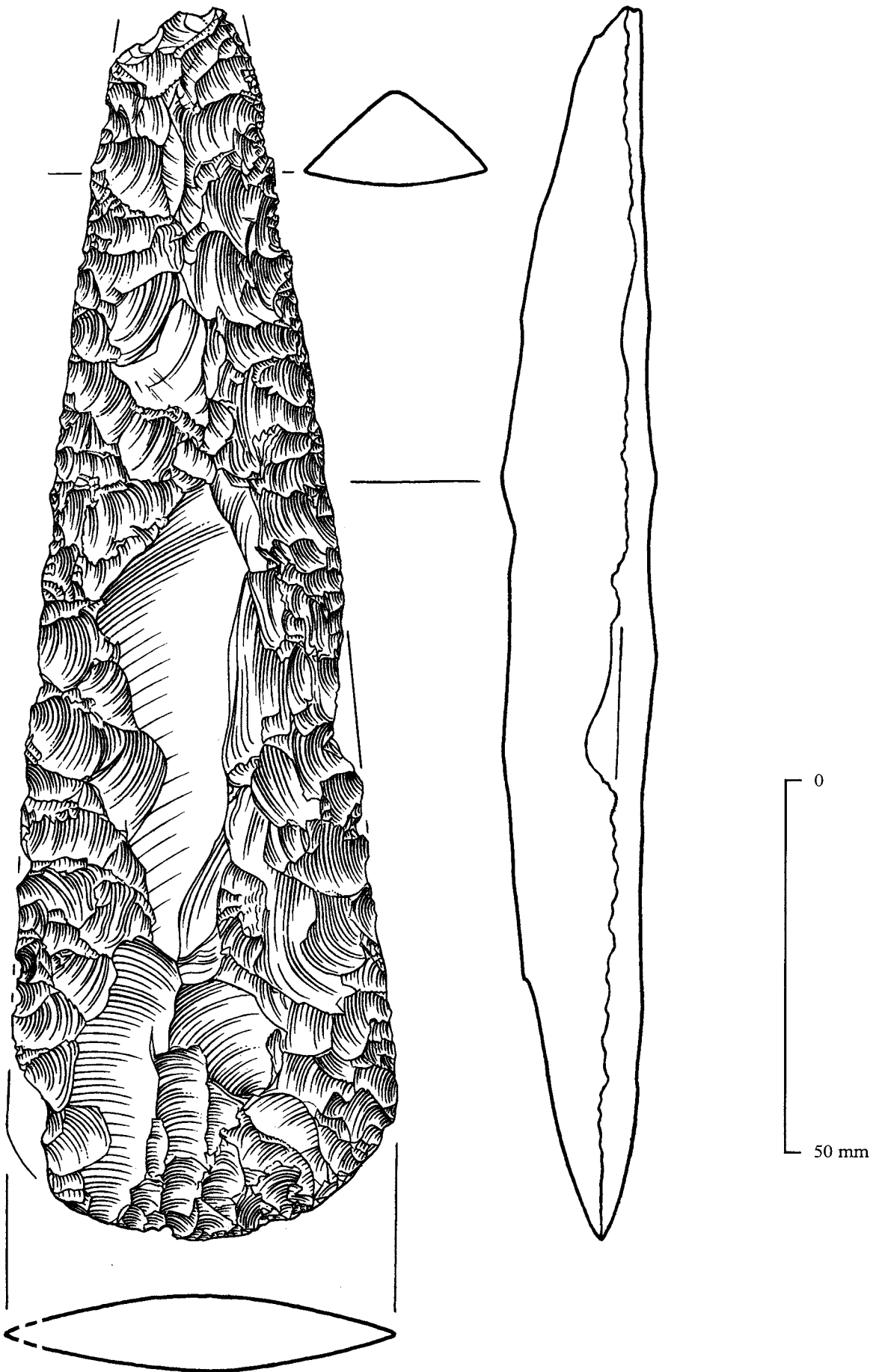


Fig. 26 Neolithic flint axe or adze from Tendring Hundred

Palaeolithic flint implements which are discussed by Nick Barton elsewhere in this volume (see above).

2. Tendring Hundred - Neolithic flint axe or adze

This implement was found before 1985 by the late Mr. Adrian Chorley, during visits to farms in connection with his work at a sugar beet factory in Ipswich. Unfortunately it is not now possible to identify a precise find spot for this object, although it known to have come from the Tendring Hundred. Hazel Martingell writes: This large flaked flint axe/adze measures 220mm in length and 70mm in width at the blade corners (when complete) and has a slender profile (Fig. 26). It has straight sides tapering to the butt and a gently curving blade edge which has a marked junction with the sides. The blade edge and the butt are symmetrically opposed. The butt, one side edge and a blade corner have been damaged in recent times. The artefact appears to have been made of a large flake which gives it a plano-convex cross-section.

This spectacular axe/adze is in perfect condition (apart from the recent breaks) and there are no signs of wear. It is of a type that has been found before in East Anglia (Evans 1897, 73). The Stour valley is known for finds of Neolithic date and this artefact would appear to confirm activity of this date in the valley. The fine nature of the piece and the lack of wear tempts one to suggest that this axe/adze may be from a cache (pers. comm. Roger Jacobi).

3. Frating - Neolithic flint arrow head

A Neolithic, leaf-shaped arrowhead was found at Frating Hall, Frating by Mr. P. Revett in September 2001. It is 41mm long with a width of 18mm. A date of c. 4,000-2,500 BC is suggested.

4. Little Totham - Early Bronze Age flanged axe

A flanged bronze axe has been found at Little Totham by Mr W. Finch. It has a semi-circular blade, which is chipped and blunted, and only traces of the flanges survive. Its condition is very worn and corroded with a pitted surface. The axe is of relatively small size, only 72mm long by 34mm across the blade by 10mm thick. It dates to the period c. 1850-1400 BC.

5. Margaret Roding - Middle Bronze Age nail-headed pin

Mrs. G. Lee found a nail-headed pin fragment whilst metal-detecting at Margaret Roding. Dating to the period c.1400-1000 BC, the pin is 47mm in length with a head diameter of 9mm and a shaft width of 3mm (Fig. 27). It has a flat head, similar to a nail, and a shaft with a swollen neck. The only decoration occurs at the junction of the head and shaft where there are three incised grooves. This find may be compared with a nail-headed pin from Lulworth (Dorset) (Pearce 1983, 491, pl. 62). This is of similar size, having a head diameter of 11mm and a pin width of 3mm, and the upper part of the shaft is decorated with an incised chevron and linear pattern. The Lulworth pin appears to be substantially complete and its length of 91mm suggests that the Margaret Roding find is about half its original size.

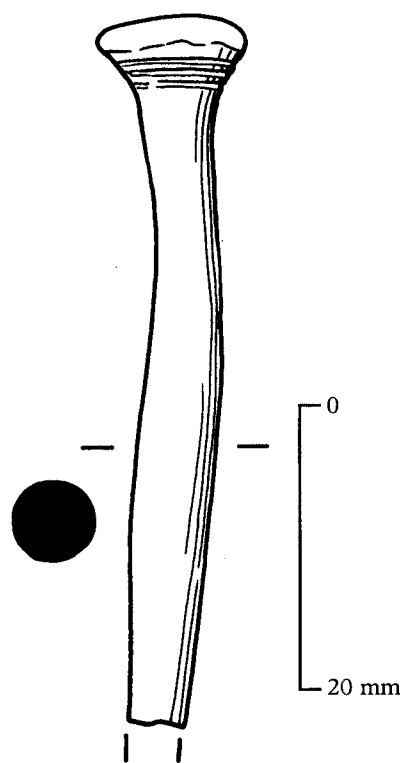


Fig. 27 Middle Bronze Age nail-headed pin from Margaret Roding

7. Harwich - Late Bronze Age socketed bronze axe

A fragment of a socketed bronze axe, dating to 1000-700BC, was found at Harwich by Mr. A. Edgar in December 2000. The fragment, part of the blade, is 25mm in length, 42mm in width across the blade, 11mm at its thickest part and weighs 34.1g. It is much abraded, which has led to the loss of most of the original surface, including the cutting edge.

8. Little Horkesley - Late Bronze Age socketed bronze axe

A fragment of a socketed bronze axe was found at Little Horkesley by Mr. R. Page in the autumn of 2002. The fragment, part of the blade, is 35mm in length, 42mm in width across the blade and 4mm at its thickest part. It is much abraded, which has led to the loss of the entire original surface, including the cutting edge.

9. Tolleshunt Major - Late Bronze Age socketed bronze axe

During a metal-detecting rally at Tolleshunt Major in July 2001 a fragment of a socketed bronze axe was found. The fragment, part of the blade, is 35mm in length, 34mm in width across the blade, and is 11mm at its thickest part. The blade has a semi-circular cutting edge.

10. Bradwell on Sea - human remains, pottery and copper-alloy brooch

A number of objects and some human remains were found by Mr. A. Wright at Bradwell on Sea on various occasions in 2000 and 2001. These include coins (see

below), pottery, a brooch and human remains. All are likely to have been washed out of the low cliff adjacent to St Peter's Church.

The pottery was exclusively Roman and comprised over thirty sherds, all dating to the period post-AD 260. Represented in the assemblage were Rettendon ware, Hadham ware, Nene Valley colour-coated ware, shell-tempered ware and miscellaneous greywares.

Nick Wickenden writes: The copper-alloy P-shaped brooch dates to the late Roman or possibly Saxon period. The bow forms a semi-circle decorated with worn columns of punched dots, rolled over simply at the top and underneath to form a loop for a hinge and pin. The base of the bow turns through 90° to form the solid catchplate and foot, which is decorated with transverse lines and three zones of facetting. It is similar to a find from Lion Walk, Colchester (Crummy 1983, 15, fig.13, no.74).

Forensic study indicates that the human remains recovered, a piece of human cranium and a mandible, were from a female in her late twenties. It is most likely that the remains are of Saxon date.

11. Beaumont-cum-Moze – Anglo-Saxon strap end

A copper-alloy decorative fragment, probably a strap end, of late 6th-century date, was found by Mr. R. Watcham at Beaumont-cum-Moze in the summer of 2002. The fragment, 32mm by 25mm in size, has a pair of double inverted spirals as the main design element and the remainder of the area is filled with ring and dot motifs. The reverse of the fragment is plain and has a distinct change in thickness towards one edge. This, and traces of two rivets on the same edge, support the identification of this object as a strap end.

12. Tolleshunt Major – disc brooch and stirrup mount

A metal-detecting rally at a site at Tolleshunt Major on

22 July 2001, produced two copper-alloy objects of some interest. One is a disc brooch of 32 mm, which, though incomplete, still shows traces of the spring mechanism on its reverse. The front is decorated with a large central ring and dot motif, surrounded by six smaller ring and dot motifs. It is early Saxon in date, probably from the 5th or early 6th centuries.

Also a copper-alloy stirrup mount was found, lozenge-shaped with both of the lower iron rivets surviving *in situ*, but the upper missing. With a length of 47mm and a width of 25mm, the mount has an openwork design of four lozenges creating a saltire pattern, but is otherwise undecorated. Mounts of this design are of Class A, Type 12 (Williams 1997, 69). It is Late Saxon or 11th century in date.

13. Colchester – Late Saxon stirrup mount

A copper-alloy stirrup mount was found by Mr. D. Begent west of Colchester in 2002. It is a very crude example, of triangular shape with a central hole and measures 43mm by 34mm. It shows traces of a, now very abraded, lion with its head facing backwards. It may be categorised as a Class A Type 11C (Williams 1997, 67-9) and dates to the 11th century.

14. Halstead – Late Saxon mount

Mr R. Watcham found a fragment of copper-alloy mount near Halstead in the summer of 2002. It has an openwork design based on a human face and is 35mm by 29mm in size. It is possibly part of an 11th-century stirrup mount.

15. Bradwell – medieval finger ring

A damaged gold finger ring of 13th-century date was found near Bradwell, west of Coggeshall, on 30 September 2001 by Mr. M. Weale. The ring, weighing 3.44g with an internal diameter of *c.* 20mm, is of 'stirrup-shaped' design, with a flattened strip-like hoop and a simple bezel originally set with a stone that is now

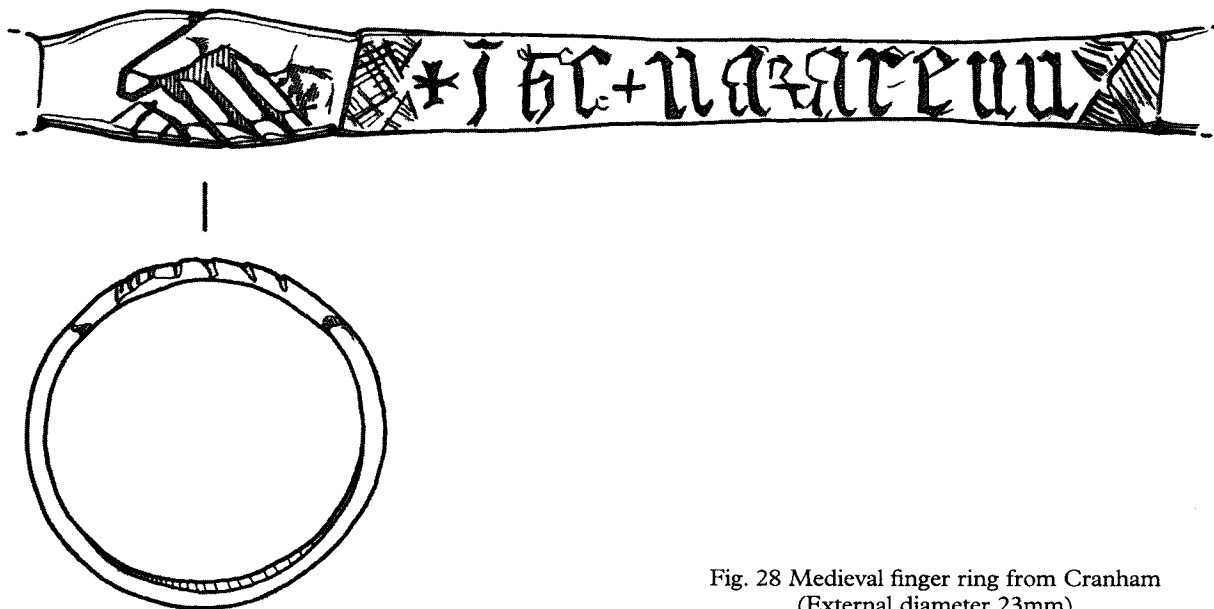


Fig. 28 Medieval finger ring from Cranham
(External diameter 23mm)

missing. The hoop is broken and the ring is generally plain and in rather poor condition. This is an example of a ring type fashionable from the mid-12th century for about three hundred years. Such rings are known in pewter and copper alloy as well as gold. The Bradwell ring was declared to the coroner under the Treasure process, but was disclaimed and subsequently returned to the finder.

16. Great Dunmow – medieval seal matrix

In autumn 2001, Mr. T. Linin made a discovery in a ploughed field near Great Dunmow of a medieval seal matrix, in very good condition. It is 28mm in width at its widest point and 40mm in length, and is of a ‘pointed oval’ type with a central rib on the reverse. The legend reads ‘AVE MARIA GRA PLENA DOMS SD’ following a cross pattée initial mark. The design is of the Virgin and Child seated beneath a canopy and the matrix is of 13th or early 14th century date.

The inscription is taken from the opening words of the Hail Mary, a very common legend on medieval seals (c.f. Tonnochy 1952, 196, nos 906-8). This seal is notable for the ‘silvered’ texture on the reverse.

17. Thorpe-le-Soken – medieval seal matrix

Mr. R. Watcham found a 14th-century seal matrix on a farm at Thorpe-le-Soken during the summer of 2002. The seal is of pyramid type, having a hexagonal stem and a terminal with a circular piercing, and is 24mm high with a face diameter of 18mm. It bears the poorly executed legend ‘ECCE AGNUS DEI’. Its design is of ‘a lamb and a flag’ or the Lamb of God.

Seals with the Lamb of God design were quite common in the 14th century, especially in the 1330s. Often they have the inscription ‘ECCE AGNUS’ – Behold the Lamb (of God). There are six of this type in the British Museum (Tonnochy 1952, 194, nos 900-5) and three in the Public Record Office. Site finds include examples from Salisbury and Carmarthen Priory (Saunders and Saunders 1991, 32, no. 13; Williams 1982, 13, no. 22).

18. Belchamp St Paul – purse bar

A copper-alloy purse bar dating to late 15th century was found at Belchamp St Paul by Mr. M. Matthews in 2002. The side-bars are circular in section and are gripped by animals’ heads at their junction with the central boss which is cube-shaped. The boss is decorated on one side with a tau-cross and on the other with a reversed S. The bar has three suspension holes on each side for the purse, and knobbed terminals and niello ornament in a criss-cross pattern. One terminal and the suspension loop are now missing. It is an example of Type A1 in the London Museum typology (Ward Perkins 1940, 164-5).

19. Cranham - medieval finger ring

In 1998 a medieval silver gilt ring was found with a metal-detector by Messrs. Nick Rowntree and Brian Smyth at Cranham, near Upminster. The hoop is formed of two clasped hands and carries the inscription IHC+NAZARENU for ‘Jesus Christ of Nazareth’ (Fig.

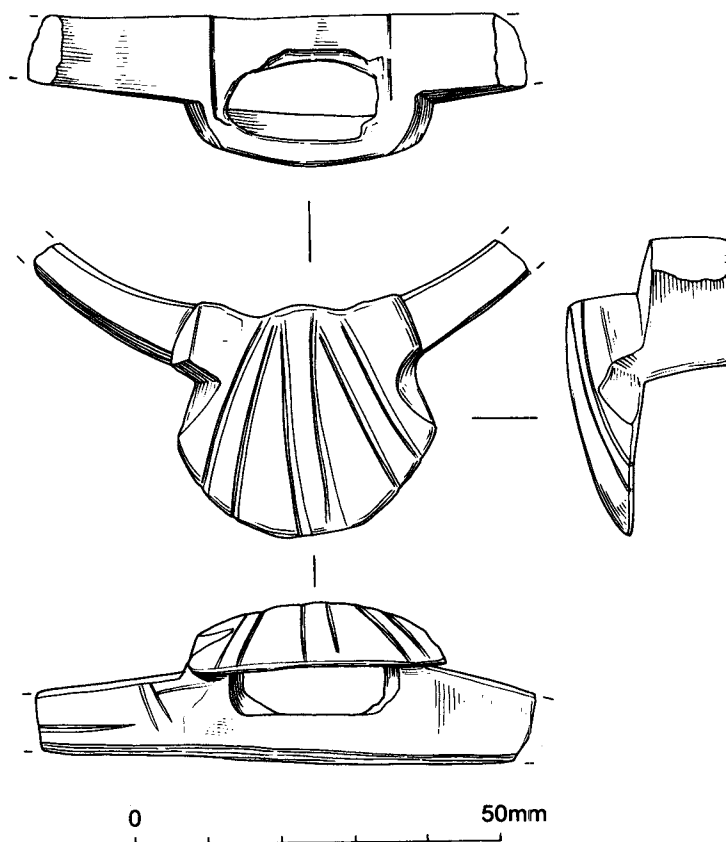


Fig. 29 Medieval copper-alloy stirrup from Maldon

28). The ring weighs 5.38g and analysis conducted at the British Museum established the silver content at 93%. It dates to the 15th century.

Such rings known as ‘fede’ rings, from the Italian *mani in fede* (‘hands in faith’), were given as tokens of love, engagement or marriage from Roman times up to the 19th century. A considerable number of ‘fede’ rings have magical inscriptions engraved on the hoop (Oman 1993, 21-2). There are similar rings in both the Victoria and Albert and the British Museums; one in the Franks Bequest at the BM has a longer inscription, IHC NAZAREN’ R UDEORUM, to which the Cranham inscription clearly refers (Dalton 1912, 163, no. 1012). This full inscription is Pilate’s charge against Christ which is given in all four gospels (see for example John 19.19). Its magical significance is explained in the ‘Revelation of the Monk of Evesham’, written in 1196, where the words are said to give protection against sudden death (Oman 1993, 102).

The ring was declared Treasure and subsequently acquired by Colchester Museums (Acc. No. 2000.144).

20. Maldon - medieval copper-alloy stirrup

A fragment of a copper-alloy stirrup was found by Mr. Ken Wood at Maldon in June 2001 and subsequently donated to Colchester Museums (Acc. No. 2002.6). It measures 68mm long and 40mm high (Fig. 29). John Clark writes: In its complete form, this style of stirrup has a shell-shaped cover plate guarding the strap attachment and a broad, flat footrest formed of four

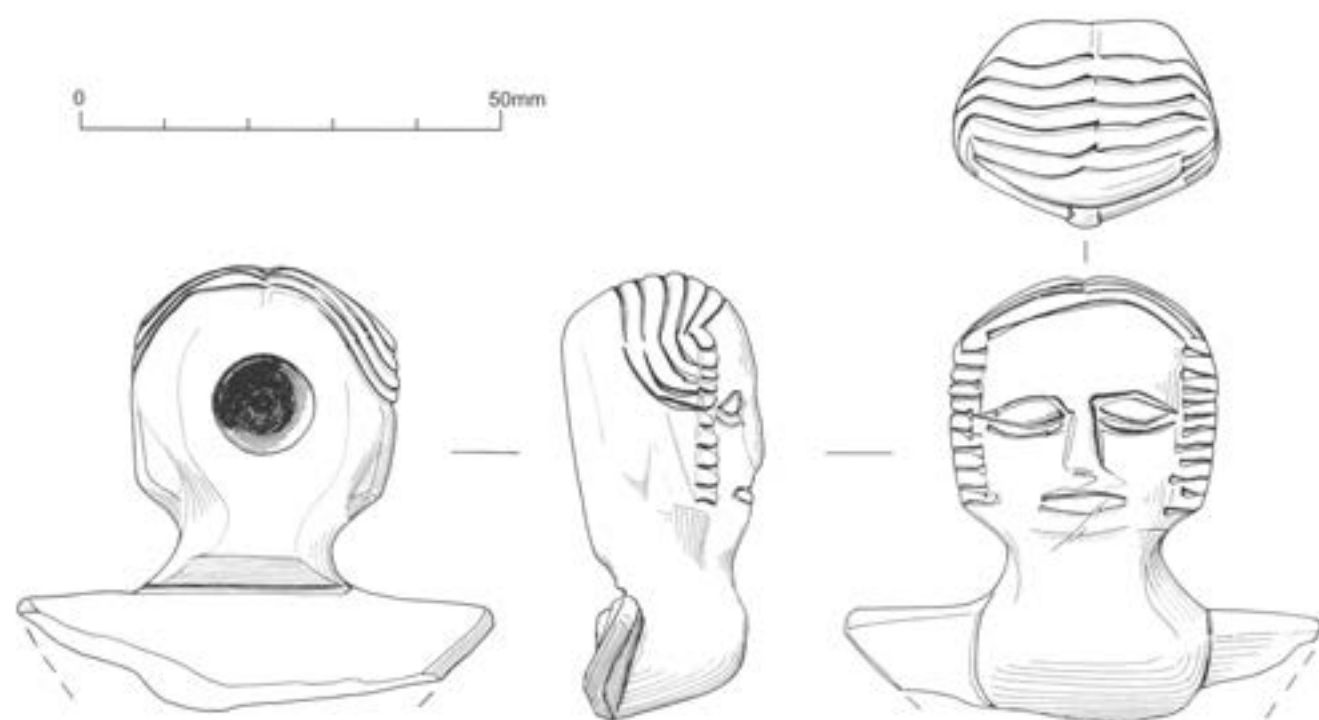


Fig. 30 Medieval hanging bowl mount from Dedham

curved and twisted bars. It seems to have been introduced towards the end of the 15th century in response to changes in foot-armour. The use of copper alloy is unusual as medieval stirrups are usually made of iron, though medieval craftsmen tended to follow the same patterns regardless of the material being used. Only ten or so copper-alloy examples have been found and of these only three are comparable to the Maldon find, found at Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway, Eire (Fanning 1976, 125, fig.9, no.70), Old Romney, Kent (Gaimster 1990, fig.5) and most recently on the site of Norwich Cathedral refectory. The finds from Clontuskert and Norwich have similar scallop shell decoration whereas a fleur-de-lis is seen on the stirrup from Old Romney.

21. Dedham – medieval hanging bowl mount

In the winter of 2001, Mr. B. Trimby found a copper-alloy mount from a medieval hanging bowl or laver, in the form of a female human head, whilst metal-detecting at Lower Barn Farm, Dedham. It is 53mm high, 56mm wide and has a depth of 22mm. The head is shown with a centre parting and hair to either side of the face, oval eyes, long straight nose and a slit-like mouth. A deep circular hollow in the back of the head is for the attachment of a handle, and the break at the neck is where the head would have been soldered to the side of the vessel (Fig. 30).

Finds of mounts are not uncommon since the mount represents the laver's greatest point of weakness and thus is most vulnerable to being broken. For example, there is an antiquarian find from North Hill, Colchester and a very similar mount discovered in Norfolk in 2000 (Acc. No. 1938.99; Val Fryer, pers. comm.). A virtually

complete laver with female head mounts is in the collections of the British Museum (Cat. No. MME 1956, 7-2, 1). This was made in England or France in the 15th century and is said to have been found in County Tipperary, Ireland. Representations of lavers occur in medieval art including, for example, in the background of the central panel of the *Altarpiece of the Annunciation* painted by Robert Campion of Tournai around 1425 (Young & Varon 2000, 124).

22. Thorpe-le-Soken – pilgrim ampulla

A pilgrim ampulla was found by Mr. R Watcham whilst metal-detecting on farmland at Thorpe-le-Soken in October 2002. This lead ampulla has on one side a 'scallop-shell' (Spencer type II) and on the other a crowned W. This combination of motifs appears to be relatively common on ampullas found in southern England, and similar examples have been found at Milston (Wilts.), Cirencester (Glos.), Portchester (Hants.) and Dunwich (Suffolk) (Spencer 1990, 60). The Thorpe-le-Soken ampulla has a height of 55mm and a width of 29mm. It is likely to date to the period c. 1350 - c. 1530 and may come from the shrine of the Virgin Mary at Walsingham, Norfolk.

23. Aldham – Witch-bottle and shoe

Two post-medieval objects associated with witchcraft were found during renovation work in the service wing of Aldham Hall. The hall is of late medieval date with later Elizabethan details including panelling and a fireplace in a first floor room (RCHM Essex III 1922, 2; Pevsner 1965, 56). The two objects, a shoe and a bottle, appear to have been placed within a void between two internal walls, behind a chimneybreast: both are likely to be of late 18th-century date.

The shoe is made of hobnailed brown leather with buckle straps, but with the buckle now missing, a low stacked heel and characteristic pointed toe. It measures 270mm long and therefore was worn by an adult. The small glass bottle is 100mm in height with a base diameter of 29mm. It is of a narrow cylindrical shape with a marked shoulder and short neck leading to a flanged rim. There is a small nipple on the base of the bottle. The bottle is without cork or stopper and contains (?) human hair and at least two pins and other debris. It is generally in good condition with some damage to the rim.

An old shoe was commonly believed in the 17th and 18th centuries to have magical powers, which could be used to protect a building from harm. The glass bottle has been used to make something called a 'witch-bottle'. Bottles were filled with a collection of materials in order to ward off evil spirits or spells cast by witches and were used from the early 16th century right up to the 20th century (Merrifield 1987, 131-5, 163-75).

Coins

1. Colchester – Denarius of M. Aburius Geminus

This Roman republican denarius was found south of Colchester in December 2002 by Mr. Derek Clayton and subsequently acquired by Colchester Museums (Acc. No. 2003.150). It was issued by M. Aburius Geminus in 132 BC (Crawford 250). On the obverse is the helmeted head of Roma facing right, with a star in front and the letters GEM behind. The reverse has the sun god Sol in a four-horse chariot with M. ABVRI below and ROMA in the exergue. This is the second oldest Roman coin to have been found in the Colchester area. An issue of M. Iunius dated to 145 BC (Crawford 220/1) was found at Lion Walk during excavations in the early 1970s (Crummy 1987, 84).

2. Wivenhoe – Denarius of Titus

This rare coin was found by Mr. F. H. Gibby whilst he was metal detecting by the River Colne. It is a plated denarius of Titus (AD 79-81) but issued in memory of the Emperor Vespasian (AD 80-81) (RIC II, p.123/63). On the obverse is the legend DIVVS AVGVSTVS VESPAS[IAN], with the laureate head of Vespasian facing right. The reverse shows a shield, marked with S.C. supported by two goats below a globe. It weighs 2.52g and has a die axis of 6.

3. Bradwell on Sea – Roman coins and two Anglo-Saxon pennies

The coins, found by Mr. A. Wright, include a group of twelve late Roman copper-alloy coins, mostly with radiate busts and some identifiable as from the House of Constantine. There is one fragmentary silver Roman coin of the 4th century AD, possibly of Magnentius (350-353).

The first Anglo-Saxon coin was found in September 2000. It is a bronze 'styca' of Æthelred II (c. 858-862), produced during his second reign by the moneyer Monne (North 190). The obverse shows a central pellet with the inscription +EDILRED [RE]X. The reverse

also has a central pellet but with the inscription MONNE. It weighs 0.84g and has a diameter of 12mm.

The second coin was found in the same area, but in October 2001. It is a series N sceatta (Metcalf type 41b/41a) dating to c. 720 AD. The obverse shows two standing figures facing each other and holding three long crosses. The reverse has a monster facing right but with its head turned back to look left. It weighs 0.67g and has a diameter of 12mm.

4. Great Bromley – Anglo Saxon sceatta

This coin was found by Mr. G. Blake at Great Bromley. It is a series R sceatta, minted after c. 705-710 AD (North 161). On the obverse is a runic inscription *apa* and a male bust, radiate and draped, looking right. The reverse shows a standard bearing the mark TOT II with cross pattée symbols above it and to the sides.

5. Coggeshall – Penny of Offa

A penny of Offa of Mercia (757-795) was found by Mr. F. H. Gibby whilst metal detecting at a farm near Coggeshall. It is from the East Anglian Mint, Group III, c. 792 - c. 796 (North 338(var.)). The obverse reads OFFA across the coin between two beaded lines with M above and REX below. The reverse reads WINTRED in the angles of a Celtic cross with a cross pommée in the centre. It weighs 1.10g and has a die axis of 4.

This coin displays differences from the standard type on both the obverse and reverse. On the obverse the central downwards stroke of the M does not extend into the second line between the 'FFs', and on the reverse the centre motif is a cross pommée rather than a double square and the ends of the Celtic cross have a single pellet rather than four pellets.

6. Kelvedon – Penny of Canute

This coin was found in August 2001 by Mr. F. H. Gibby whilst he was metal detecting at Kelvedon. It is a penny of Canute (1016-1035), struck by the moneyer Sweartbrand of Lincoln. It is a short cross type minted between 1030-1035/6 (North 790). The obverse bears the legend +CNUT RECX and shows a bust of the king, wearing a diadem and holding a sceptre whilst looking left. The reverse reads +SPEARTEBR[A]ND L and shows a short cross, voided. This inscription appears to be a variant of the normal forms of the moneyer's name Sweartbrand or Swertebrand. It weighs 1.02g and has a die axis of 12.

7. Bures Hamlet – continental sterling

Found by Mr. M. Matthews in a field at Bures Hamlet, this coin is a sterling of Gui de Dampierre, Count of Flanders (1280-1305) (Mayhew 1), minted at Alost (modern Aalst, Belgium). The obverse bears the legend +G: COMES: FLANDRIE and shows a double-headed eagle. The reverse is inscribed CIV/ITA/[S]AL/OST and has a long cross, voided, with three pellets in each angle. It weighs 1.30g and has a die axis of 5.

8. Tolleshunt Major – continental sterling

During a metal-detecting rally at Beckingham Hall, Tolleshunt Major on 22 July 2001, a sterling of Robert

de Béthune, Count of Flanders (1305-1322) was found (Mayhew 215). It is of the Edwardian type and was minted at Alost. The obverse reads +R: COMES: [FL]ANDRIE showing the bust of the count wearing a crown and facing right. The obverse bears the inscription MON/ETA/A[LO]/TEN and shows a long cross, voided, with three pellets in each angle. It weighs 1.09g and has a die axis of 9.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Caroline McDonald, Paul Sealey, Peter Berridge, Hazel Martingell, Nigel Brown, John Clarke, Stanley Ireland, James Robinson and Nick Wickenden for their help with this report. The illustrations were drawn by Hazel Martingell and Sue Holden. Funding for this article, including the illustrations, was provided by Colchester Borough Council (Colchester Museums).

Bibliography

- Crawford, M. H. 1974 *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge: University Press.
- Crummy, N. 1983 *The Roman small finds from excavations in Colchester 1971-9*, Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Report 2.
- Crummy, N. 1987 *The coins from excavations in Colchester 1971-9*, Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Report 4.
- Dalton, O. M. 1912 *Franks Bequest – Catalogue of the Finger Rings*, London: British Museum.
- Evans, J. 1897 *The Ancient Stone Implements of Britain* (2nd edition).
- Fanning, T. 1976 'Excavations at Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 76, section C, 97-169.
- Gaimster, D. R. M. 1990 'A Late Medieval Cast Copper-Alloy Stirrup from Old Romney, Kent', *Medieval Archaeology* 34, 157-160.
- Mayhew, N. J. 1983 *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type*, London: RNS Special Publication 14.
- Merrifield, R. 1987 *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*, London: Batsford.
- Metcalf, D. M. 1994 *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford Volume 3*, London: Royal Numismatic Society and Ashmolean Museum Oxford.
- North, J. J. 1980 *English Hammered Coinage; Vol. 1*, London: Spink.
- Oman, C. C. 1993 *Victoria and Albert Catalogue of Rings*, Ipswich: Anglia Publishing.
- Pearce, S. M. 1983 *The Bronze Age Metalwork of South Western Britain*, BAR British Series 120.
- Pevsner, N. 1965 *The Buildings of England: Essex* (2nd edition), London: Penguin.
- RIC *Roman Imperial Coinage Vol. II* (ed. Mattingly, H. and Sydenham, E. A.), London: Spink.
- RCHM Essex 1922 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An inventory of the historical monuments in Essex. Vol. III. North-east Essex*, London: HMSO.
- Saunders, P. and Saunders, E. 1991 *Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue part 1*, Salisbury: Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum.
- Spencer, B. 1990 *Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue part 2, Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, Salisbury: Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum.
- Tonnochy, A. B. 1952 *Catalogue of British Seal-Dies in the British Museum*, London: British Museum.
- Ward Perkins, J. B. 1940 *Medieval Catalogue, London Museum Catalogues No. 7*, London
- Williams, D. 1997 *Late Saxon stirrup-strap mounts – a classification and catalogue*, CBA Res. Rep. 111
- Williams, D. H. 1982 *Welsh History through Seals*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales.
- Young, B. and Varon, M. 2000 *A Walk through the Cloisters*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

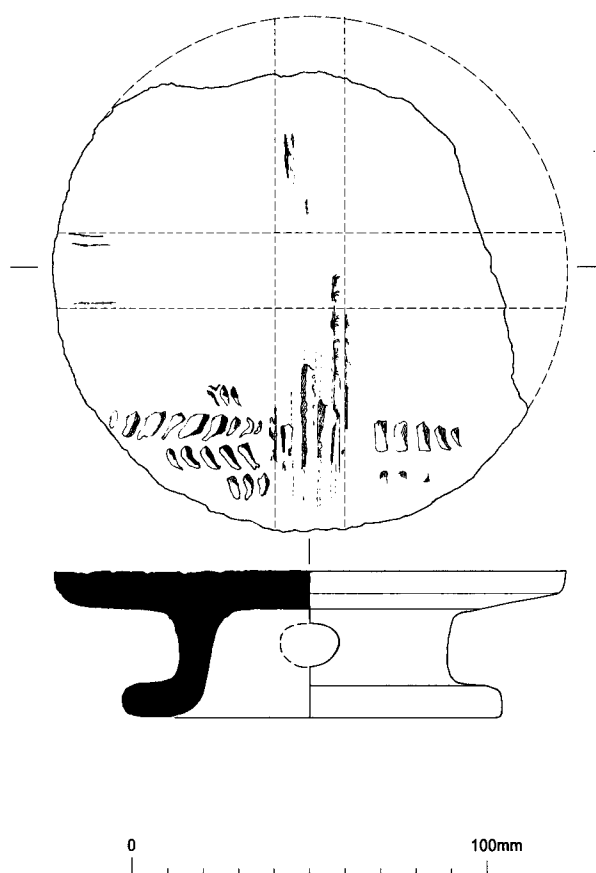


Fig. 31 Medieval ceramic culinary mould from Mill Green

A medieval ceramic culinary mould from Mill Green, near Ingatestone Helen Walker

This incidental find came to light when the owner, Mr. Ashley Bates, was digging footings for a building, located to the NW of 'Delamas' on Beggar Hill, Mill Green (NGR TL 634 008). The object comprises a hollow pedestal base with a flat, circular surface (Fig. 31). There are two holes in the pedestal diametrically opposite each other, made during manufacture, as evidenced by the displaced clay on the internal surface, pushed through when the hole was made. The upper surface is very abraded and shows signs of being heated as there is a darkened patch in the centre. Less abraded areas of the surface show a number of incised marks made with a five-pronged comb, this decoration would have been done before firing. It is difficult to discern an overall pattern, but the remnants of parallel lines, created by drawing the comb along the surface, may form a cross, with haphazardly arranged straight and oblique stab marks in the quadrants. On the drawing, the abraded areas are left blank and the position of the possible cross is dashed in.

The object is unglazed, apart from incidental splashes around the holes in the pedestal. It has a fine red-brown fabric peppered with thin elongated voids, which almost certainly contained crushed shell that has leached out after deposition in the ground. The potter

would have deliberately added the crushed shell as tempering to improve the qualities of the clay. Supplies of shell were readily available to potters, even inland, as shellfish, especially oysters, could easily be kept fresh and were widely eaten. Other inclusions comprise sparse quartz sands and red clay pellets.

Culinary moulds are uncommon, but have been found in other parts of the county, for example at Chelmsford, Hatfield Peverel (Drury 1985, 79-81), Canes Lane, Harlow (Robertson 1976, 84), Coryton (Walker forthcoming) and at a moated site at Maidens Tye, near High Easter (Walker 1988, fig.12.2). The latter find was originally interpreted as a pargetting stamp.

Research on this type of object has suggested that they are ceramic versions of waffle irons (Nenk 1992, 290-302). Waffles, also known as wafers, were made of batter, and cooked between two greased iron moulds. Nenk suggests that the ceramic version would have been heated by standing it at the edge of the fire, and then pouring the batter on to the hot surface, cooking it instantly, the markings on the mould imprinting themselves on to the waffle in the process. Such a use would account for the fire-blackening on the surface of the mould. It is also thought these vessels may have been used in pairs, one placed over the other once the mixture had been added to impress a pattern on both surfaces of the waffle. The two opposing holes through the base of the ceramic waffle iron may have been for the insertion of a rod in order to lift the hot waffle iron away from the fire (Nenk 1992, 296).

The location of this find is highly significant, as Mill Green was an important centre of pottery manufacture during the 13th to 14th centuries, and probably continued into the late medieval period albeit at a reduced scale (Pearce et al. 1982, 268-70). Finely potted glazed and decorated jugs were the main product of this industry, and indeed two Mill Green ware jug handles were found with this object. Culinary moulds however, were also part of the Mill Green repertoire (Nenk 1992, 290). It would seem likely then that Fig. 31 is a Mill Green product, were it not for the fact that there is no mention in the literature of a shell-tempered fabric produced at Mill Green. Mill Green vessels are either un-tempered or have a quartz sand-temper (Pearce et al. 1982, 277-9). In addition, as the mould shows evidence of being heated, it must have been used, and is therefore not a waster.

Closer inspection of the fabric however, does show it to have a fine micaceous matrix like that of Mill Green ware. In addition, it bears a visual resemblance to a mould from Mill Green published by Nenk (1992, fig.2.12). Although Nenk's example is described as having stamped decoration, the somewhat abstract design includes rows of dashes resembling the combed decoration seen on Fig. 31. These two strands of evidence, and the proximity of this find to the production site indicate that it is most likely a Mill Green product.

Culinary moulds have a very broad date range

spanning the late 13th to 17th centuries (Nenk 1992, 294). However, shell-tempering is generally quite early, used from the 10th to 13th centuries, so this would appear to be an early example of this form. A shell-tempered fabric may have been favoured because of its refractory properties, i.e. it could resist the effects of heating and cooling without cracking.

Waffles were considered great delicacies, and were usually sweetened with sugar or honey, but savoury versions were made with cheese, and there were spicy versions made with ginger (Hensch 1985, 75-7). Nenk (1992, 297) considers that the ceramic version of the waffle-iron may be an example of the lower social classes emulating the culinary habits of their social superiors. However, as Maidens Tye, and the site at Coryton were both relatively high status sites, the presence of ceramic waffle irons may indicate a middle class household.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Ricky Ricketts of BVAS for bringing this object to her attention. The writing of this note was funded by BVAS and the illustration is by Verna Long.

Bibliography

- Drury, P. J., 1985 'The culinary stamps' in Cunningham, C. M. and Drury, P. J., *Post-medieval sites and their pottery: Moulsham Street, Chelmsford*, Chelmsford Archaeol. Trust Rep. 5, CBA Res. Rep. 54, 78-80
- Hensch, B. A., 1985 *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society*, Pennsylvania and London, Pennsylvania State University Press
- Nenk, B., 1992 'Ceramic culinary moulds', in Gaimster, D. and Redknapp, R. (eds), *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe c.650-1900*, Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Pearce, J. E., Vince, A. G. and White R., 1982 'A dated type-series of London medieval pottery part one: Mill Green ware', *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 33, 266 - 98
- Robertson, I.G., 1976 *The archaeology of the M11 motorway in Essex 1970 - 1975*, 84-5, Chichester
- Walker, H., 1988 'The pottery', in Sellers, E., Ryan, P. M. and Walker, H., 'Maidens Tye: a moated site at High Easter', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 19, 180 - 91
- Walker, H., Forthcoming 'The medieval and post-medieval pottery' in Dale R. and Peachey, M., 'A late medieval site at Great Garlands Farm, Stanford-Le-Hope, and other archaeological work on the Coryton to Mucking pipeline', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*

The Society is grateful to Essex County Council for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this note.

The Death of Edward V — new evidence from Colchester

John Ashdown-Hill

The fate of Edward V, the elder of the two boys known commonly, if somewhat inaccurately, as 'the princes in the Tower',¹ remains a matter for speculation.² One of the earliest references to the death of Edward V currently known is in Dominic Mancini's account 'concluded at Beaugency in the County of Orleans, 1 December 1483'.³ A member of a religious order,

possibly the Augustinian (Austin) friars, Mancini was in the service of Angelo Cato, Archbishop of Vienne, on whose behalf he visited England for about seven months in 1483. It was for Cato that he wrote his subsequent account of the state of affairs he had found in England, under the Latin title *De occupatione regni Anglie per Ricardum tercium*. Mancini, who left England in July 1483, reported:

I have seen many men burst forth into tears and lamentations when mention was made of him [Edward V] after his removal from men's sight; and already there was a suspicion that he had been done away with [*sublatum*]. Whether, however, he has been done away with, and by what manner of death, so far I have not at all discovered.⁴

Thus he suggests that Edward V's death was rumoured in July - December 1483. He does not, of course, establish Edward's death as a fact.

Secondly, there is what Armstrong describes as a 'cryptic note' in the Cely correspondence which has been represented as referring to the death of Edward V. The Cely family were middle-class Londoners. A selection of their family papers, covering the years 1472-1488 was presented as evidence in the Court of Chancery in 1489, in the course of a family dispute, and the papers are now in the National Archives. The undated note to which Armstrong refers was written by George Cely. Armstrong dates it tentatively to 13-26 June 1483 and characterises it as possibly expressing fears for the life of Edward V.⁵ Alison Hanham likewise assumes that George Cely's reference to 'the king' is to Edward V, on the basis that mention in the note of the death of 'chamberlain' must relate to the execution of Lord Hastings.⁶

In fact the Cely note is very difficult to date with certainty. Indeed, it was previously assigned to August 1478, based on its reference to the death of an unnamed bishop of Ely,⁷ though it is unlikely to have such an early date, for it is on the reverse of a document which seems to have been written in late 1481 or early 1482. The note runs as follows (the spelling has been modernised):

There is great rumour in the realm. The Scots has done great [*sic*] in England. Chamberlain is deceased in trouble. The chancellor is disproved [*? dyssprowertt*] and not content. The bishop of Ely is dead.

If the king, God save his life, were deceased, the Duke of Gloucester were in any peril, if my lord prince wh[ich] God defend were troubled, if my lord of Northumberland were dead or greatly troubled, if my lord Howard were slain. De Monsieur Saint John.

It is doubtful whether this tells us anything of value in the present context. The note falls naturally into two parts. The first states what purport to be facts, while the second contains speculations. However, the opening sentence warns that we are dealing with rumour

throughout. The meaning of some 'facts' is far from clear. One of the clearest statements appears to be false (see below). In terms of dating, the 'facts' are mutually incompatible. Only by selecting one and ignoring others can a date be assigned to the note. Armstrong and Hanham select the 'Chamberlain' statement and date the note to June 1483. In the same way earlier attempts to date the note selected the 'bishop of Ely' statement, producing the date of August 1478. The 'chancellor' statement would suggest a date earlier in 1483 (see below). Clearly, any dating arrived at in this way must remain contentious.

Neither Edward IV nor Edward V is mentioned by name. The same applies to Lord Hastings. The 'chancellor' statement (the precise meaning of which has itself been debated) may refer to Archbishop Thomas Rotherham. He, however, was dismissed at the beginning of May 1483. If the 'bishop of Ely' statement refers to John Morton, it was certainly false.⁸ As for the speculations in the second part of the note, some, such as the one relating to the possible death of Lord Howard, are also demonstrably in error.⁹ There is no guarantee that any part of the note is accurate.

It could well have been written earlier than Armstrong and Hanham suggest. The king to whom it refers may be Edward IV, who died in April 1483. If so, the note must certainly have been written before the public proclamation of his death, since it mentions the king's decease only as a speculation, not as a fact. If the 'king' of the note is indeed Edward IV, then 'my lord prince' would be the prince of Wales (the future Edward V), and very much alive.

Hanham, however, infers that the 'prince' of the note must be Richard of Shrewsbury, the younger son of Edward IV. This seems an unlikely interpretation. Richard of Shrewsbury had his own proper titles including duke of York and duke of Norfolk. One would expect reference to him to be by one of these, as it seems to be in Lord Howard's household accounts for 30 January 1483, when Lord Howard gave 2s. 6d. 'to Poynes that dwellyd with my Lord of York, for to bye with a bowe'.¹⁰ Other references to Richard of Shrewsbury during his father's lifetime, and after his creation as duke of York, are generally to 'the right high and mighty prince, the duke of York'.¹¹ There seems to be no instance which omits his ducal title and calls him 'prince' only. On the other hand the future Edward V was, during his father's lifetime, prince of Wales. 'My lord prince' is therefore more likely to refer to him. If the 'king' of the note is indeed Edward IV, and the 'prince', the future Edward V, the only thing that George Cely has to say about Edward V is to speculate whether he 'were troubled'. This certainly does not establish that he was dead, or even rumoured to be so.

Armstrong, however, goes on to associate the questionable evidence of the Cely note with the inference that Edward V's younger brother, Richard of Shrewsbury, may have been dead by 28 June 1483. This inference has been drawn from the elevation of John, Lord Howard, to the dukedom of Norfolk (previously

held by Richard of Shrewsbury) on that date.¹² In this connection Armstrong raises the interesting concept of the distinction between legal and physical death. He argues that in acknowledging Edward IV's prior marriage to Lady Eleanor Talbot, and the consequent illegitimacy of his children by Elizabeth Woodville, parliament created a situation in which Edward V and Richard of Shrewsbury were legally dead. As princes of the realm they did not exist and all their titles were extinct. This is an important concept to bear in mind. It is a proposition which appears to receive some support from the petition of Elizabeth Talbot, dowager Duchess of Norfolk, to Henry VII, dated 27 November 1489.¹³

The dowager duchess of Norfolk was Richard of Shrewsbury's mother-in-law. She was also Lady Eleanor Talbot's younger sister. Her petition relates to the confiscated manor of Weston, Baldock, Herts. Elizabeth Talbot sets out in detail the transmission of this manor as part of the Mowbray inheritance, including Edward IV's provision for its reversion (in the event of her own death, and that of her daughter, Anne) to Richard of Shrewsbury, but she then makes no reference whatsoever to the latter's death, merely stating: 'afterwards, the said Anne dying, the reversion of the manor descended to John Howard, last duke of Norfolk ... and to William, then viscount, now marquis of Berkeley'. The omission is interesting, because if Richard of Shrewsbury was known to have died in June 1483 there was no possible reason, in 1489, why Elizabeth Talbot should not have said so. If, on the other hand, the reversion of the manor had been held to descend to John Howard because of the illegitimacy of Richard of Shrewsbury, that was a matter to which it would certainly have been unwise for the duchess to make reference in 1489.

There exists one further possible early reference to the fate of Edward V, which has not previously been noted. This is in the borough records of Colchester, in the collection now generally known as the *Oath Book*.¹⁴ This volume comprises various records; amongst them indexes containing listings of burgesses, wills proved in the borough courts and enrolments of property grants covering the period 1327-1564. The folios relating to the fifteenth century are in the form of a year-by-year listing of the bailiffs and burgesses, together with a summary of documents registered by the borough during the year in question.

The *Oath Book* was published by W.G. Benham in 1907. Benham's edition is in the form of a calendar, in English.¹⁵ The *Oath Book* is now often cited in Benham's version, since this is more generally accessible than the original. Benham's published text will therefore be considered first. Subsequently the original *Oath Book* text itself will be examined.

In Benham's edition of the *Oath Book* there appears the following entry for 1482-83:

Bailiffs: John Bisshop. Thos. Cristemesse. Bailiffs from Michaelmas in the 22nd year of Edward IV, now defunct, until the 8th April next following, and

then in the first year of Edward V, late son of Edward IV, until the 20th June next following; and in the first year of Richard III, until the following Michaelmas.¹⁶

John Bisshop and Thomas Cristemesse were prominent Colcestrians of the time. John Bisshop had served as bailiff on several previous occasions. Thomas Cristemesse had not held this office before, but he was to hold it again later, and interestingly he was also subsequently elected to represent Colchester in the first parliament of Henry VII.

The normal entry in the Oath Book to mark the start of a new civic year would simply have given the names of the two bailiffs for the year. In this unusual year of three kings, however, the Colchester town clerk clearly thought it desirable to add a note of explanation. In this note he gives precisely (if slightly inaccurately) the accession dates of both Edward V and Richard III.¹⁷ From this one can deduce that in general terms the writer knew what he was talking about, though he was, perhaps, capable of minor error.

From the form of the annual borough records it is also possible to deduce that these were probably written retrospectively, at or shortly after the end of the civic year which ran from Michaelmas Day (29 September). [The Bailiffs were elected on the Monday following 8 September (Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary) and assumed office on the Monday following 29 September (Michaelmas Day).¹⁸ In 1482 the election took place on Monday 9 September, and the bailiffs took office on Monday 30 September.]

This deduction is based upon the fact that the listing of deeds and wills is normally continuous and in the same hand. Occasionally one or two additions have been made, in different ink, at the end of a year's record, but before the start of the following year. If a bailiff (or in the present case a king) died in the course of a year, this fact is recorded under the bailiffs' heading for the year, and before the list of deeds for the year commences. In the present instance, this implies that the 'three kings' note for 1482-83 was written about 29 September 1483.

In its published form, the note is quite specific in the case of Edward IV, who is described as 'defunct'. The case of Edward V is less clear, though the calendar's wording 'late son of Edward IV' would seem to imply that by 29 September 1483 Edward V was also deceased, or at least, that the town clerk believed him to be so. It is important to bear in mind that the published edition of the *Oath Book* which has so far been cited is in the form of a calendar rather than a translation of the *ipsissima verba* of the Latin text. Comparison with the original text on which the published entry was based, reveals that the published version, while accurate in its general tenor, omits details which could be significant. The original entry is as follows:

Colchester Oath Book f.107r (modern foliation – old page no. 156)¹⁹

Tempore Iohannis Bisshop & Thome Cristemesse,

Ballivorum ville Colcestrie a festo Sancti Michelis Archangeli Anno domini Edwardi quarti nuper Regis anglie, iam defuncti, vicesimo secundo, usque octavum diem Aprilis tunc primo sequentem, Anno regni Regis Edwardi R-- -p---- [*Regis spurii?*]²⁰ quinti nuper filii domini Edwardi quarti post conquestum primo, usque vicesimum diem Iunij tunc primo sequentem, Anno Regni Regis Ricardi tercij post conquestum primo incipiente, et abinde usque ad festum Sancti Micheli Archangeli extunc primo futuro quasi per unum Annum integrum.

Translation:

In the time of John Bisshop and Thomas Cristemesse, Bailiffs of the town of Colchester from the feast of St Michael the Archangel in the 22 year of the reign of the Lord Edward IV, late king of England, now deceased, up until the 8th day of April first following; [and] in the first year of the reign of King Edward [*erasure; see note 20*] V, late²¹ son of the lord Edward IV after the Conquest, up to the 20th day of June then first following; [and] in the first year of the reign of Richard III after the Conquest, from the beginning, and thence until the first feast of St Michael the Archangel thereafter as for one complete year.

This record appears (as do all the year headings naming the bailiffs) in red ink, while the yearly record of burgesses, deeds and wills which follows is in black ink. There is no doubt, therefore, that this note was entered in the record as an entirety, and not piecemeal. As has already been indicated, the entry was made towards the end of 1483 (i.e. on or about 29 September of that year).

The phrase *regis spurii* is unusual, and is not elsewhere attested with reference to a deposed and supplanted monarch. The terminology employed by the functionaries of Edward IV to describe Henry VI was quite different. He was characterised as *rex de facto, non de iure* (king in fact but not in law). However, the situation of Edward V was fundamentally different from that of Henry VI. The personal legitimacy of the latter was never in question. Only his right to be king was at issue. Edward V, on the other hand, was adjudged illegitimate by birth and his exclusion (for he was excluded, not deposed) depended upon that judgement. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find him referred to in a different manner. In Edward's case the phrase *rex de facto, non de iure* would have been entirely inappropriate.

The erasure of the words which seem likely to have characterised Edward V as an illegitimate king, would presumably have been made in the autumn of 1485, following the repeal by Henry VII's first parliament of the *Titulus regius* of 1484. The repeal and destruction of this act automatically re-established the legitimacy of Edward IV's children by Elizabeth Woodville.²² It is interesting to recall, in this connection, that Thomas Cristemesse, one of the two bailiffs for 1482-83, was

elected a member of Henry VII's first parliament. It is note-worthy that the enactments of this parliament in respect of the title to the throne were clearly well known in Colchester at the time, and are recorded in precise and accurate detail in the borough records.²³ Thus the erasure of offending words implying the bastardy of Edward IV's children might well have been ordered by the bailiffs in September 1485, as a politic move.²⁴ Even more interesting is the fact that at precisely this time (and in addition to his role as member of parliament) Thomas Cristemesse was once again one of the two town bailiffs. His second year of office ended on Monday 3 October 1485 (being the Monday following Michaelmas Day).

As for the wording of the original entry in respect of Edward IV and Edward V, the former is characterised both as *nuper Regis* and as *iam defuncti*, so that, as one might expect, there can be no doubt that he was known to be dead. In the case of Edward V the entry is more intriguing. The phrase *nuper filij Edwardi quarti* is capable of more than one interpretation. It could mean that Edward V was dead (or at least, that the writer thought him to be so). On the other hand the town clerk could have meant that Edward V (reference to whose name could not entirely be avoided, since documents existed dated to the first year of his reign) was nevertheless an illegitimate king. This interpretation would tend to be reinforced if the erased words have been correctly read as *Regis spurii*. In Armstrong's words Edward V as a monarch would then be legally (but not necessarily physically) dead. In favour of this interpretation we also have the fact that the specific and unequivocal adjective *defunctus* is not used in respect of Edward V.

The 1483 entry in the Colchester *Oath Book* is therefore an interesting addition to the very limited body of evidence which bears upon the fate of Edward V. It appears to be the earliest surviving substantial record implying that Edward may have been dead by the autumn of that year. Mancini's account, by comparison, merely retails rumour, although in his suggested date for Edward's death Mancini is certainly consistent with the *Oath Book* record. Both sources permit the conclusion that Edward IV's elder son was dead by September 1483. Unfortunately the wording chosen by the Colchester town clerk remains imprecise. He may have meant that Edward V was legally rather than physically dead, and even had he selected a more specific Latin term, the *Oath Book* entry would still record only his belief and not an incontrovertible fact.

The Colchester *Oath Book* does, however, provide evidence in support of the belief that Edward V was dead by September 1485. His re-establishment in the borough records as a legitimate king at about that time (by the deletion of the phrase which had formerly impugned his right to reign) would have been a potentially dangerous undertaking had it not been fairly certain that he was then no longer alive to contest his reinstated claim to the throne. This evidence concurs with the general Yorkist belief current in the 1490s,

which regarded Edward V as dead, but the fate of his younger brother as uncertain.²⁵ It does not help us to determine how Edward died, or who (if anyone) may have been responsible.

Notes

1. Parliamentary acceptance in 1483-84 of the prior marriage of their father, Edward IV, to Lady Eleanor Talbot, meant that they were illegitimate. Thus their legal status during the period June 1483 - August 1485 was that they were not (and never had been) 'princes'. From April to June 1483 and from September 1485 onwards Edward V's legal status was that of a king, not a 'prince'.
2. Yorkist opinion in the 1490s was inclined to believe that Edward IV's younger son, Richard of Shrewsbury, might then be still alive. This is demonstrated by the Yorkist response to the problematic figure of 'Perkin Warbeck'. However, even the most optimistic Yorkists seem to have thought that by this time Edward V was probably dead, though clear evidence of his death was, and is, lacking.
3. C.A.J. Armstrong, ed., 1989, D. Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard III*, 105. Dominic Mancini (c. 1434 - c.1500) was from a Roman family of unremarkable origin, members of which subsequently attained noble status in France through their relationship with Cardinal Mazarin, first minister during the youth of Louis XIV.
4. Armstrong / Mancini, 1989, 92-93. Whether, in itself, *sublatum* necessarily implies death could perhaps be questioned, but from the general context this does seem to be what Mancini is implying.
5. Armstrong / Mancini, 1989, 128, n. 91.
6. A. Hanham, ed., 1975, *The Cely Letters 1472-1488*, 184-85; 285-86. Also A. Hanham, 1985, *The Celys and their World*, 287.
7. Bishop William Grey of Ely died on 4 August 1478.
8. Far from being dead, John Morton survived to plot against Richard III, ultimately becoming Henry VII's chancellor and cardinal archbishop of Canterbury.
9. Lord Howard was about to become duke of Norfolk (see below and note 12). He was killed with Richard III at Bosworth. Hanham (1985, 287) recognises that 'most of these flying rumours were untrue'.
10. A. Crawford, ed., *The Household Books of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1462-71, 1481-83*, Stroud 1992, part 2, p. 348.
11. N.H. Nicolas, ed., *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York & Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV*, London 1830, pp. 155-56, 160-61.
12. For example in C.F. Richmond, 1989, 'The Death of Edward V', *Northern History*, 25, pp.278-80. Richmond argued from the date of 22 June 1483, given for Edward V's death in the Anlaby cartulary, in an entry written after 1509. In fact the significance of Lord Howard's elevation remains debatable. Richard of Shrewsbury was given the dukedom of Norfolk in 1477 in preparation for his marriage to the Mowbray heiress, Anne. The marriage followed in 1478. Anne Mowbray's subsequent death, together with the fact that Lord Howard was the senior Mowbray coheir, are factors which may have influenced Richard III.
13. *CPR 1485-1494*, pp. 307-08.
14. Described in detail in R.H. Britnell, 1982, 'The Oath Book of Colchester and the Borough Constitution, 1372-1404', *EAH*, 14, 94-101.
15. Britnell describes Benham's published version as 'edited in translation', but recognises that it fails to 'adequately represent the detail of the manuscripts'. Britnell 1982, 94; 99, n. 2.
16. W.G. Benham, ed., 1907 *The Oath Book, or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, 134.
17. The actual accession dates were 9 April (Edward V) and 26 June (Richard III). 20 June 1483 may well be the date on which news of the prior marriage of Edward IV and Eleanor, and the consequent illegitimacy of Edward's Woodville offspring, first reached Colchester.
18. Britnell 1982, 96.
19. Britnell notes (p. 94) that the present binding of the Oath Book is late seventeenth century. Folios 85-144 contain 15th and 16th

century material, but have no contemporary page or folio enumeration. The 'old' page numbering noted here presumably dates from the 17th century, when this material was gathered together and bound. The folio enumeration is in pencil, and is modern.

20. At this point there has been a subsequent and very heavy erasure of one long word, or more likely of two words. This erasure has actually shaved off much of the surface of the parchment. Under ultra violet lighting, however, it is possible tentatively to discern the first erased letter as an upper case 'R', while beyond the mid point of the erasure a lower case 'p' seems to occur. The erased words might thus have read *Regis spurii* ('illegitimate King'). Such a phrase used with reference to Edward V would probably have been erased after the accession of Henry VII.
21. It is difficult to find a different English translation for *nuper*. 'Former' would sound odd in this context. However, the Latin word does not necessarily imply that Edward V was dead.
22. The destruction of all copies of the act of 1484 was specifically commanded by Henry VII. The repeal and destruction of this act was important to Henry because he planned to marry the eldest daughter of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, and to represent her to the nation as the Yorkist heiress. It was therefore imperative for him to re-establish the legitimacy of Edward IV's children by Elizabeth Woodville. By so doing, however, he in effect reinstated Edward V as the rightful king. Henry VII's action in repealing the act of 1484 thus implies that Edward was already dead. Indeed had either 'prince' been living when the act was repealed Elizabeth of York's heiress status would have been questionable.
23. W.G. Benham, ed., 1902 *The Red Paper Book of Colchester*, 60 & *passim*.
24. The erasure could possibly date from slightly later, but it seems certain to have been made before Henry VII visited the town in 1487.
25. Hicks' assertion that 'by autumn [1483] they [Edward V and Richard of Shrewsbury] were generally assumed to be dead' cannot be accepted in the light of the subsequent response to 'Perkin Warbeck'. M. Hicks, *Richard III*, Stroud, 2000, p. 242.

The cost of publishing this article is supported by the Society's Publications Development Fund

Late medieval and post-medieval remains at the former St John's Ambulance Shop, Park Street, Thaxted

Mike Roy

with contribution by Joyce Compton

Archaeological excavation on the edge of the medieval town of Thaxted recovered evidence of late medieval activity, with limited bone-working waste from the cutlery industry.

Background

The medieval town of Thaxted is situated on a south-east-facing slope, with the parish church standing on approximately the highest point (Fig. 32). It was a well-established community by the time of the Domesday Book (Rumble 1983) and by the 14th century had expanded rapidly to become the centre of a major cutlery industry. The cutlers were probably concentrated along a stream through the centre of the town (Medlycott 1998), and associated bone-working debris has been encountered during excavations at 23 and 34 Town Street (Medlycott 1996; Germany and Wade 1998) and Weaverhead Lane (Andrews 1989;

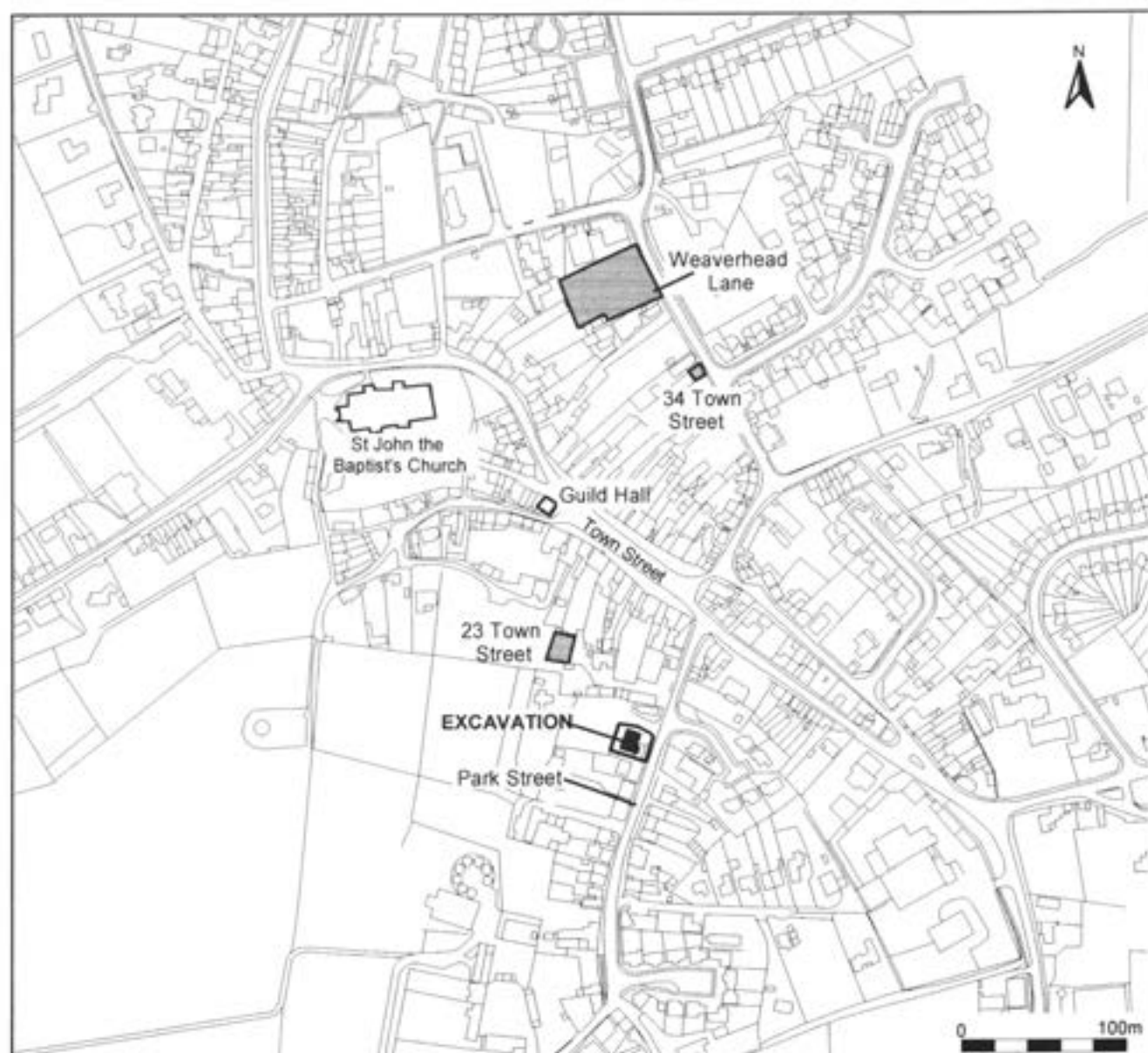


Fig. 32 Park Street, Thaxted. Location of site in relation to previously excavated sites in the town.
© Crown copyright and/or database right. All rights reserved. Licence number 100014800.

Havis pers. comm.). This trade had apparently died out by the 16th century.

An archaeological excavation was undertaken in January 2002, by ECC Field Archaeology Unit, to assess any surviving archaeological deposits in advance of the construction of two houses on the site of the former St John's Ambulance Shop, Thaxted. The site (TL 6118 3080) is on the edge of the medieval town of Thaxted (Fig. 32). It was thought that the area of the proposed development lay within the site of Thaxted Manor. The main dwelling house perhaps survived to the mid-18th century, though associated buildings had disappeared by this time, and there is now no surviving evidence for the house (Medlycott 1998).

The Excavation (Fig. 33)

The principal objective of the excavation was to identify and record archaeological features and deposits exposed in the development area (Havis 2001). Specific aims

included establishing the date and character of settlement in this part of Thaxted and, if possible, understanding the layout of the site and the range of activities taking place, including any evidence for the medieval cutlery industry.

The removal of a 0.35m depth of topsoil and modern dumped deposits revealed several features overlying, and cut into, the sandy clay natural subsoil. Most features were of post-medieval or modern date, though several contained remains pointing to late medieval occupation. Of possible archaeological significance were a boundary ditch [18] (or possibly a construction cut), of probable late 18th or 19th-century date to the north-west of the site; a posthole [17] and baked clay-lined pit [13] to the south, and a dump of midden material [14] to the east.

The layer of midden material [14] measured 1.25m north-south by 0.9m east-west and contained several significant finds. It was of possible late medieval date, as

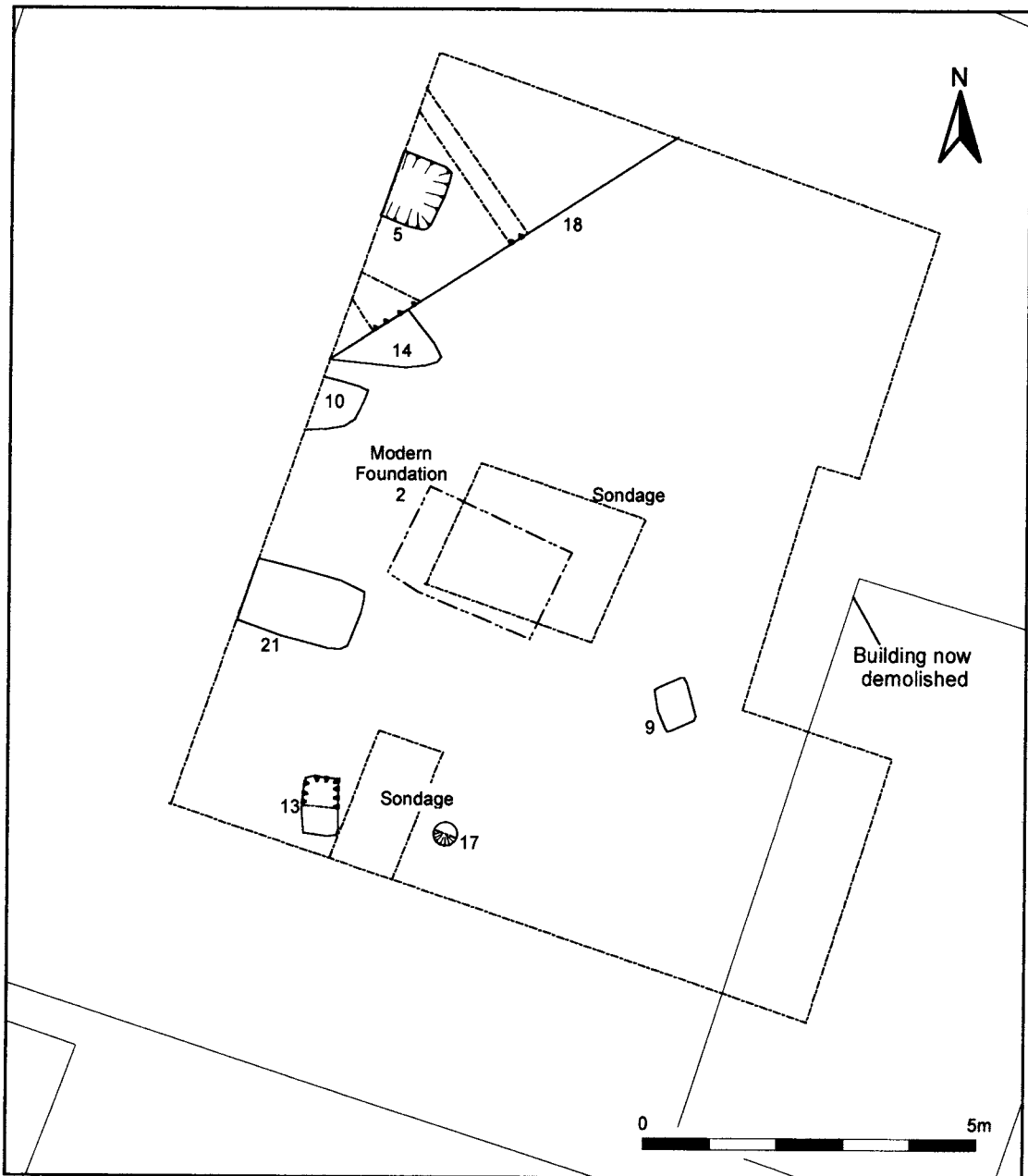


Fig. 33 Park Street, Thaxted. Plan of excavated area, showing features of all phases.

pottery of this period was encountered, although the presence of roof tile may point to a later, post-medieval date. Of greater interest was the existence of worked animal bone in this deposit, probably related to the production of handles for the cutlery industry. Also retrieved were a wooden object, with a drilled perforation, and a residual worked flint flake.

A rectangular pit [13], with a baked clay lining [23] and a dumped silty clay backfill [11] was located in the south-west corner of the excavated area. It seems likely that this pit was associated with domestic activity, perhaps in the backlands of a building plot, as it contained dumped material, including oyster, roof tile and pottery, the latter of probable late medieval date. Significantly, two worked pieces of animal bone might indicate local small-scale domestic production associated with the cutlery industry, though as only a

few pieces were encountered this may merely represent the general spread of what was presumably once abundant waste material through the town from this industry. The worked flint within this context was clearly residual.

Finds

Joyce Compton

Small quantities of finds were recovered from nine contexts, including the topsoil. Pottery was found in just three contexts; that in context 19 (ditch 18) is post-medieval, of probable late 18th to 19th-century date, but medieval pottery was identified in contexts 11 (pit 13) and 14 (midden material). Context 11 contained bodysherds in a range of fabrics, including fine sandy orange and buff wares. These are not closely datable, but are likely to be late medieval. A Type H3 cooking-pot

rim in a fine grey fabric came from context 14, along with a glazed sherd in fine orange fabric, probably from a jug. The cooking pot is a 14th-century form. All the pottery is similar to that previously excavated in Thaxted (H. Walker, pers. comm.) and is typical of medieval pottery from this part of Essex. A small fragment probably from a pottery crucible was also recovered from context 11.

A small elliptical, wooden item (measuring 38 x 27mm, by 7 mm thick) was retrieved from context 14. This has the appearance of the knot from a plank, but the grain of the wood runs along the length of the object. The outer edge does not appear to have been finely shaped, but there is a neat 3-4mm hole drilled slightly off-centre. The function for this item remains obscure, but use as a washer is possible. The object was found in association with medieval pottery, although a medieval date for the feature is by no means secure.

Residue from bone working was found in pit 13 and midden material 14. Of the thirteen pieces recovered, six exhibit evidence of sawing and/or shaping. All six fragments are from metapodials, and, in addition, one of the unworked bones from context 14 is a horse metacarpus. Unfortunately, this bone has been recently snapped, but horse metapodials were used, along with those from cattle and sometimes sheep, in the manufacture of cutlery handles at Thaxted (Andrews and Bedwin 1989, 116). Most of the fragments could be identified as working waste, following the diagram in Andrews (1989, fig.7). A further piece of worked bone came from the topsoil (context 1). This was a section from a metapodial, neatly sawn at both ends, and, although the piece had some surface weathering, was undoubtedly working waste of a similar nature.

Discussion

The development area lies at the edge of the medieval town, c. 5m behind the frontage of Park Street, which had been disturbed by modern building foundations. Posthole [17] and pit [13] are evidence for activity within the late medieval backlands. Small amounts of bone-working debris are perhaps suggestive of local activity associated with the cutlery industry, but may simply represent general debris spread throughout the town.

Acknowledgements

This project was commissioned and funded by D. and C. Carr. The project manager was Hester Cooper-Reade, while the HAMP officer responsible for the initial brief and monitoring of the work on behalf of the Local Planning Authority, was Richard Havis, who provided useful assistance both in advance of and during the fieldwork. The finds report was prepared by Joyce Compton. The site archive will be deposited at Saffron Walden Museum under the site code TX 10 (Museum accession code SAFWM 2002: 99).

Bibliography

Andrews, D.D. 1989 'A late medieval cutlery manufacturing site at Weaverhead Lane, Thaxted', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 20, 110 - 9

- Andrews, D.D. and Bedwin, O. 1989 'The worked bone', in Andrews, D.D. (1989), 116
- Germany, M. and Wade, A. 1998 'Archaeological evidence for the late medieval cutlery industry: excavation at the rear of 34 Town Street, Thaxted', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 29, 286 - 93
- Havis, R. 2001 *Archaeological Excavation at the Former St John's Ambulance Shop, Park Street, Thaxted* Essex County Council: Heritage Advice, Management and Promotion Group
- Medlycott, M. 1996 'Medieval and post-medieval remains from Thaxted: excavations at the rear of 23 Town Street 1992', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 27, 331-6
- Medlycott, M. 1998 *Thaxted: Historic Towns Project Assessment Report*, ECC report
- Rumble, A. 1983 *Domesday Book: Essex* 23.2

The Society is grateful to Essex County Council for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this note.

Finds from a well behind 2 High Street, Kelvedon, formerly The White Hart

Helen Walker

Introduction

A small group of late 18th-century pottery and other artefacts was excavated from a well to the rear of the house, much of it comprising stoneware tankards. It is estimated that a minimum of 49 vessels are represented (comprising 224 sherds, weighing 14.58kg). The pottery has been catalogued according to Cunningham's typology for post-Roman pottery in Essex (Cunningham 1985, 1-16). All the pottery is regarded as from a single context and is published by vessel type and function. Much of the pottery is fragmented and only the most complete or unusual vessels have been illustrated, the rest being paralleled to already published examples. The pottery is also compared to a similar but larger 18th-century well group associated with The Falcon Inn at Castle Hedingham (Walker 2002).

The tavern wares and stonewares (Fig. 34)

All the tavern wares are in salt-glazed stoneware, a body that was both durable and impervious and well suited to its function. The vessels were probably made at one of the stoneware factories in London, namely Southwark, Vauxhall, Lambeth or Fulham. Finds comprise a large jug and the remains of at least twelve tavern mugs. These are cylindrical mugs with a single handle and two or three bands of rilling above the base. The handles are usually curled upwards at the terminal. Both the jug and the mugs have a brown iron wash over the top half. No complete mugs were found but a number of complete profiles could be reconstructed. Most of the mugs have a capacity of 1 pint, although two fragments are larger and probably had a capacity of 1 quart. The more complete mugs show a stamp consisting of the letters 'WR' below a crown, a government excise mark confirming their capacity, although several stamps are illegible. In addition to the stoneware tavern wares there

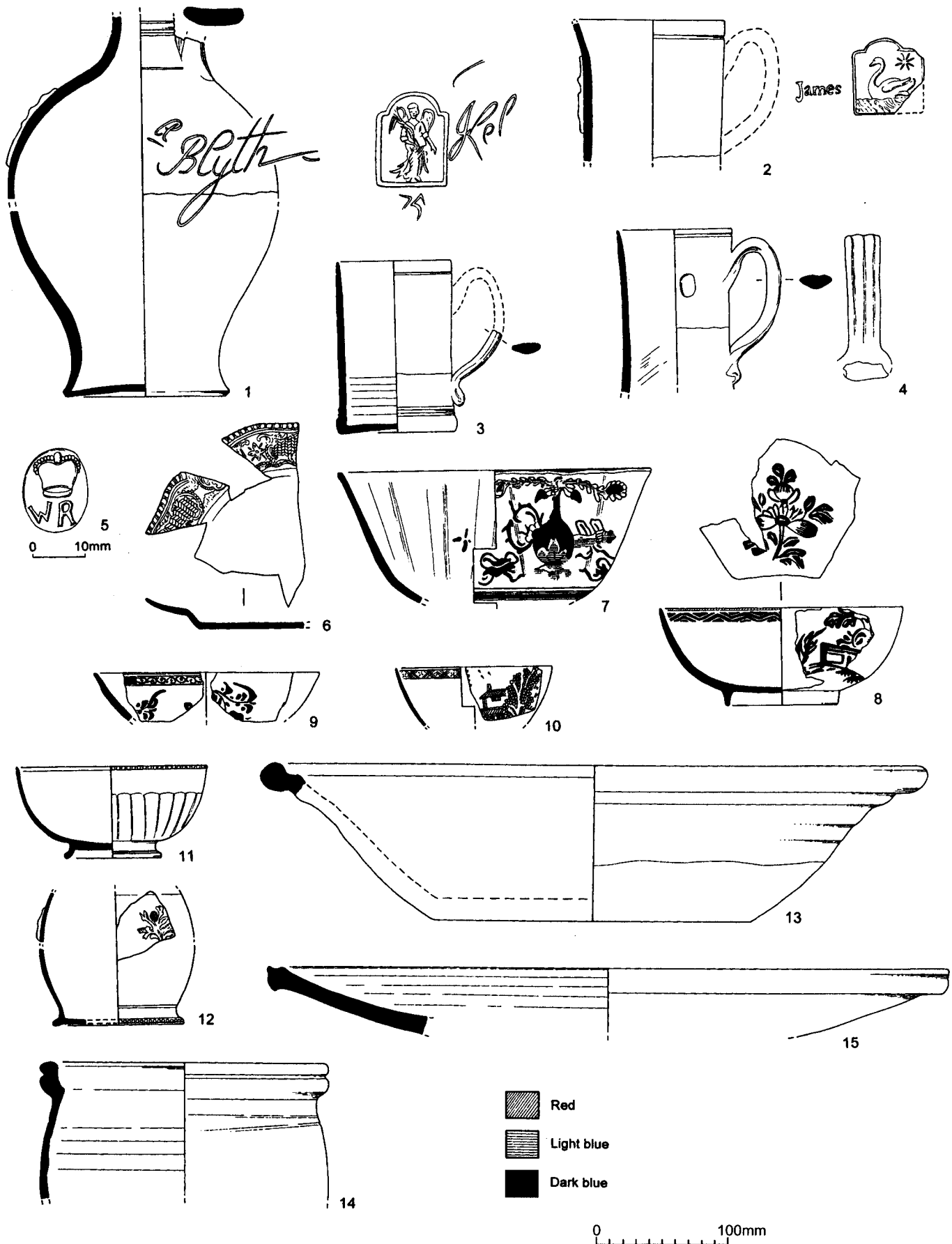


Fig. 34 Pottery found in the well at the former White Hart, Kelvedon.

is a single sherd of Nottingham/Derby stoneware with a lustrous brown glaze perhaps from a bowl.

- 1 Rounded jug with narrow neck, showing an applied inn stamp presumably depicting 'The Angel' public house, and the free-hand inscription '...a Blyth Kel.', probably the name of the publican, whilst 'Kel.' is for Kelvedon. A fragment of the date ?1775 is inscribed below the inn sign. The inside of the neck shows dark staining.
- 2 Rim of large spouted tavern mug of perhaps 1-quart capacity, showing applied inn stamp below the pulled spout. The stamp presumably depicts 'The Swan' public house. The name of the publican 'James' is in printers type. The bottom half of a 1-pint tankard also shows the remains of 'James' in printer's type (not illustrated). Printer's type was used from the 1760s (Noël Hume 1970, 114). The spout implies the vessel was used for pouring rather than drinking. Also found was part of a 1 pint mug with a pulled spout (not illustrated).
- 3 Profile of tavern mug; capacity 1 pint; (incomplete so does not show excise stamp).
- 4 Part of tavern mug showing complete handle and illegible excise stamp; capacity 1 pint.
- 5 View of excise stamp as found on large (? 1 quart) tavern mug.

The table wares (Fig. 34)

Plates

There are plates with moulded decoration around the rim (in creamware and Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware), and small fragments of plates with painted decoration (in tin-glazed earthenware and Chinese porcelain). At least seven individual plates are represented and diagnostic types are described below:

- Not illus. Small fragment of tin-glazed earthenware plate; egg-shell blue tin glaze; simple decoration showing blue painted zigzag on rim, over-painted with broad bottle-green stripes; concentric blue line around base with remains of blue floral decoration in centre; plate is of Lambeth shape dated 1690-1780 (Garner and Archer 1972, 81)
- Not illus. Small plate (rim diameter 190mm) in Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware showing dot, diaper and basket moulded decoration, from mid 18th century (Jennings 1981, pl. 1d)
- Not illus. Large plate (rim diameter 280mm) in Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware showing seed or barley moulded decoration, from mid 18th century (Jennings 1981, pl. 1c)
- 6 Large plate in Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware with unusual moulded decoration.
- Not illus. Large plate (rim diameter 260mm) in creamware with yellowy glaze and feather edge moulding (Jennings 1981, plate 1h) c. 1765-70.

Jugs

The remains of two Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware pear-shaped jugs with sparrow-beak spouts were found. This type of jug is described as a milk jug by Jennings 1981 and dated to c.1750 (fig. 102. 1628-30). A recessed base perhaps from a third jug milk jug was also found. The same type of jug (but with scratch blue decoration) also occurred at the Falcon Inn deposit (Walker 2002, fig 1.11).

Hemispherical bowls and teawares

The larger hemispherical bowls had several uses; as drinking bowls, or filled with water and used to cool wine glasses at the dinner table (Archer 1997, figs 39-40). They were also used as slops bowls for tea and formed part of the 18th-century tea service (Archer 1997, 347). Most of the bowls show blue-painted Chinese style decoration and occur in tin-glazed earthenware and pearlware bodies. The creamware vessels have more sophisticated moulded decoration. No small hemispherical tea bowls are present, although there are a number of fragments from saucers. Perhaps then as now, cups were more readily broken than saucers. Also associated with tea drinking are the remains of a possible teapot (No. 12).

- 7 Fluted bowl; tin-glazed earthenware; white glaze; crude blue-painted decoration showing a vase of flowers and lozenges with ribbons; not paralleled, but blue-banding above the base as found on this vessel occurs on bowls made in London and Bristol. The ribbon decoration is comparable to an example from Lambeth dated c. 1710-1730 (Archer 1997, F.6)
- 8 Shallow hemispherical bowl: tin-glazed earthenware; pale grey tin-glaze; blue painted Chinese-style fence-and-floral design; café au lait rim.
- 9 Similar to No. 8 showing Chinese-style border and floral decoration.
- Not illus. Sherd from hemispherical bowl; tin-glazed earthenware; pale-blue tin-glaze; Chinese-style lattice border with cross or dot at lattice intersections. Similar decoration was found on a plate made at Lambeth dated c. 1765-75 (Archer 1997, B.260)
- Not illus. Sherd from a bowl or other hollow ware showing sponged tree decoration, a very simple type of decoration, found on plates made at London and Bristol datable to around 1750 (Archer 1997, B.28-30)
- 10 Hemispherical bowl: pearlware; blue-painted Chinese style house and tree design; Chinese-style internal border.
- Not illus. Small fragments from saucers with footring bases in blue-painted tin-glazed earthenware and creamware, comparable in form but not in fabric to saucers from The Falcon Inn deposit (Walker 2002, fig 1. 23-4). One of the creamware sherds shows a circle of pearl beading around the base.

- 11 Hemispherical bowl; creamware; off-white glaze; fluted body with pearl beading around the rim. No exact parallel could be found but a hemispherical bowl with a pearl beaded rim was excavated from an inn assemblage in Middlesex deposited c.1785-1800 (Pearce 2000, 144, fig. 7.17). In addition, vessels with fluted sides and pearl beading around the rim were manufactured in other bodies (e.g. Lockett 1982, pl. 167. 186 dated 1790-1800). Another small rim sherd of creamware (not illustrated) also shows similar pearl beading around the rim.
- 12 Base and body sherd possibly from a teapot; creamware, yellowy glaze; pearl beading around base, the body sherd shows sprigged thistle decoration.

Mugs

There are two further recessed bases in creamware, not illustrated, showing a line of pearl beading around the base. Both have vertical sides and are most likely to be from cylindrical mugs. The larger example is paralleled by a mug found at the Middlesex inn deposit, dated 1785-1800 (Pearce 2000, fig.7. 13).

The sanitary wares

There is a broad horizontal flanged rim and body sherd in Surrey-Hampshire white ware probably of Pearce's

deep bowl type 3 (similar to Pearce 1992, fig.24. 89-91, but wider). This type of bowl may have functioned as a stool pan (Pearce 1992, 13). It is a 17th-century type, and considerably earlier than the rest of the assemblage. This vessel is either residual or was very old when discarded. The rim sherd is extremely abraded, but the body sherd is unabraded and shows an internal yellow glaze.

Other sanitary wares comprise a body sherd and a base sherd in Westerwald stoneware probably from a chamber pot. The shape of the base and the decoration, consisting of part of a rosette bounded by an incised zigzag circle and a blue-painted circle are paralleled by a mid 18th century example found in America, datable to the mid 18th century (Noël Hume 1969, fig.27 centre). In addition, there is the base of a one-handled jar in post-medieval red earthenware, which may have functioned as a chamber pot, although such vessels had other uses.

The kitchen wares (Fig. 34)

All the kitchen wares are in post-medieval red earthenware. In the 18th century, this type of pottery was still produced locally at several production centres in Essex, including Harlow, which had been an important supplier of red wares to London in the previous century. Vessels comprise fragments from dishes, bowls, jars, storage jars and a glazed handle from a small jug. A minimum of nine vessels are represented,

Common name & Cunningham's fabric code	Description	Date range	References
Surrey-Hampshire white ware (Fabric 42)	Whitish sandy earthenware fabric usually with a green or yellow glaze	Second half of 16th and throughout the 17th C	Pearce 1992
Post-medieval red earthenware (Fabric 40)	Locally made red earthenware	16th to 19th C	Cunningham 1985, 1-2
English stoneware (Fabric 45M)	Highly fired and salt-glazed giving a pitted surface	Late 17th to early 20th C	Hildyard 1985
Nottingham/Derby stoneware (Fabric 45G)	Stoneware with a lustrous brown glaze	18th C onwards	Noël Hume (1969, 36) and Hildyard (1985, 12, 86-116).
Westerwald stoneware (Fabric 45F)	A type of German stoneware, grey in colour and decorated with cobalt blue	mid 17th and 18th centuries	Hurst et al. (1986, 221-225), Gaimster (1997, 251-71)
English tin-glazed earthenware (Fabric 46A)	Made to imitate Chinese porcelain. A buff earthenware fabric with a coating of tin-opacified lead glaze giving a white or off-white surface, which could be painted. Had the disadvantage of being easily chipped	Later 16th C to 1800	Noël Hume (1969, 12-13); Draper (1984, 25-32); Archer (1997)
Chinese porcelain (Fabric 48A)	Blue-bodied porcelain usually with blue or polychrome painting	imported in quantity from the late 17th century until the end of the 18th	Noël Hume (1969, 38-43)
Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware (Fabric 47)	A white bodied stoneware, the salt-glaze giving an orange peel texture, vessels are often lathe-turned	1720s-1780s	Draper (1984, 36-9); Noël Hume (1969, 14-9)
Creamware (Fabric 48C)	A white earthenware ware with a lead glaze giving a yellowy or cream-coloured surface; as time went on a whiter glaze was produced	1740s to 1820s	Draper (1984, 47-51) and Noël Hume (1969, 25)
Pearlware (Fabric 48P)	Similar to creamware, but cobalt-blue was added to the glaze producing a whiter surface	1779 to c. 1830	Noël Hume (1969, 22-5)

Table 1. Fabric descriptions

most are too fragmented to merit illustration, and only the more complete vessels have been drawn:

- 13 Flared bowl with rolled rim and internal groove around rim; complete but restored; internal glaze; random scoring marks on inside of surface; rim diameter 20 inches. A similar, but wider vessel was found at the Falcon Inn deposit (Walker 2002, fig.7.54) (however, because of the vagaries of the recording system, which differentiates bowls and dishes by their height to rim diameter ratio, the Falcon Inn example is classified as a dish rather than a bowl). These large shallow bowls were used as milk pans in which milk was left to separate in order to make cream and cheese and other dairy products (Cunningham 1985, 4 and Brears 1971, 69 bottom right). However, it was suggested that the Falcon Inn dish may have been associated with butchery as this activity was also carried out on site (Walker 2002, 299, 307). The Kelvedon vessel was almost certainly made at Harlow as identical vessels have been excavated from a group of production waste near Potter Street, Harlow (S190, Walker in prep.). The waster group dates to the 1660s, demonstrating the longevity of some kitchen ware forms.
- Not
illus. Flat-topped collared rim from large storage jar, internally glazed; rim diameter 360mm also paralleled at the Harlow group (S190, Walker in prep). Jars of this shape were used as butter pots for the storage of butter (cf. Brears 1971, 65)
- 14 Storage jar; lid-seated rim and grooved external bead; lustrous brown glaze inside and out; sandy fabric somewhat coarse for Harlow.
- 15 Unusual shallow dish; internally glazed.

Pottery pre-dating or post-dating the assemblage

A fragment of a post-medieval red earthenware unglazed strap handle with a central ridge, from a large jug or cistern, is datable to the 16th century and therefore much earlier than the rest of the assemblage. At the other end of the spectrum is a modern white earthenware handle, which could easily be 20th century and post-dates the rest of the group.

The glass (Fig. 35)

David Andrews

The glass from the well consists almost entirely of wine bottles, at least nineteen examples being represented. The wine bottles are mostly uniform. The glass is dark green and in fair condition, the surface only beginning to show iridescence. The bottles are cylindrical, mostly with high domed kicks, angular shoulders, and straight necks of slightly baluster profile (Fig. 35, 1 & 2). The rims are folded over on to an applied string, which has been rubbed down on to the neck. The diameter of the bases is 90-100mm, though two are larger, 110mm and

120mm. Bottles of this shape can be dated to the second half of the 18th century; their pronounced cylindrical profile and good condition suggest they may be of the final quarter of that century (cf. Noël Hume 1961). Three fragments of earlier bottle types were noted: two body sherds were clearly from older, more onion shaped bottles, as was a single string rim and neck descending to rather slack shoulders (Fig. 35, 3).

Only two pieces of vessel glass are present, a fragmentary goblet stem with a double knob in lead glass (Fig. 35, 4), and a plain rim. The two fragments of window glass are pale green and in good condition. Unusual is the heart-shaped pane of plate glass with ground chamfered edges (Fig. 35, 5) which may be from a display cabinet or similar.

The ?market cross

Graham Wheldon and David Andrews

A stone cross, and other apparently associated fragments of a similar stone, were also found in or around the well. The stone is a whitish and fine-grained, probably an oolite, and possibly Portland, a stone little used in Essex before the late 17th century. The cross is Celtic in shape, being equal armed and the arms being linked by a circle. One of the arms has a broken end, indicating that at this point there was a shaft. One side of the cross is weathered, whereas the other is in pristine condition, suggesting that it stood against a wall or building. The other pieces of stone include what looks like a circular or semi-circular socketed base.

If the cross was indeed associated with the finds described above, then it must be of some antiquity, and the possibility that it comes from a 19th-century tomb in the churchyard can be excluded. It may be, therefore, that it was the market cross which stood at this end of the High Street. The Rev E Hay, vicar, noted (Kelvedon Parish Magazine, June 1902) that he had seen a document dated 1467 that made mention of 'a parcel of waste... near the Cross opposite the house of John Marler, upon which a fountain [well] has been constructed...'. This would place the cross at TL 859 184, in front of the capital dwelling of the Marlers, about 50m distant from the White Hart. William Godfrey, printer and stationer, noted in the *Kelvedon Almanac* for 1873 that a market cross had stood 'at the entrance of the London Road, nearly opposite the Angel Inn', and that the residual stones were still visible in 1740. His source is unknown. This places the cross at TL 859 183, c. 60m to the south-east of the above locus, and 60m from the well, at a site of mercantile significance, immediately in front of the 15th-century market hall. Both of these sites would have tended to obstruct the passage of vehicles. Road improvements and widening in the 18th century eventually included the oblique truncation of one house opposite the old market hall and, by 1825, had culminated in the Essex Turnpike Trust's relocation of the entire almshouse next door, to a point 4m back from the road. There is no doubt that the cross, or parts of it, would have been swept away in this activity. If the stone is indeed

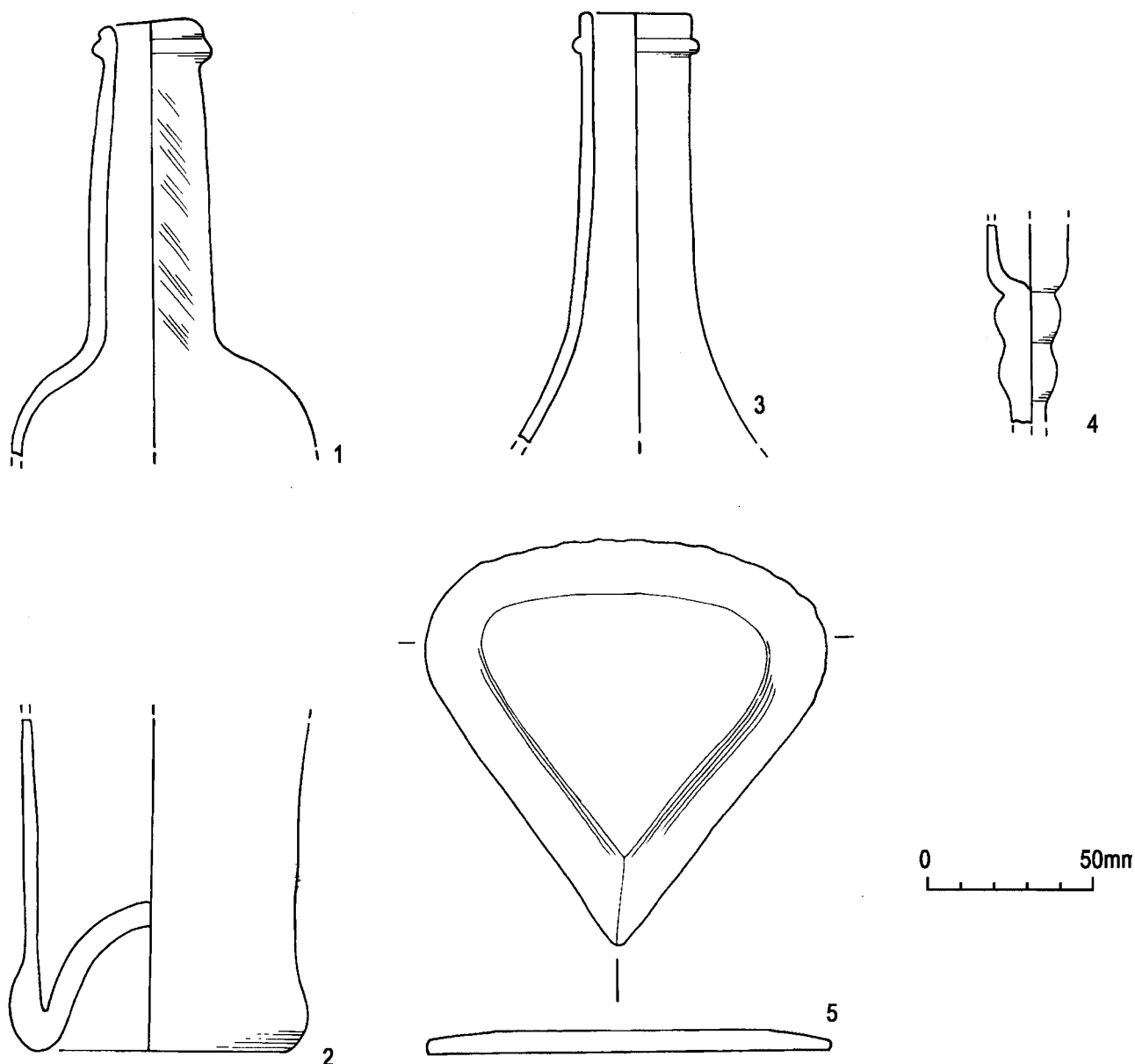


Fig. 35 Glass found in the well at the former White Hart, Kelvedon.

Portland, this was little used in Essex before the 17th century, suggesting that it was *in situ* for a relatively short period of time.

Other finds

David Andrews

The finds included quite a lot of peg tile, a few oyster shells, and a piece of coal. A white flooring brick was 120mm wide and 35mm thick. Amongst the thirteen fragments of clay pipes were three bowls with the initials 'SC' on the foot for Stephen Chamberlain, a well known Colchester maker who lived from 1728-1808 (Oswald 1975, 170).

Discussion

Helen Walker and David Andrews

Most of the pottery dates from *c.* 1750. The latest datable pieces comprise the stoneware bottle (No.1) with the remains of the inscribed date ?1775, and the pearlware bowl (No.10), a fabric not introduced until *c.* 1779. The

creamware vessels with the pearl-beading (Nos 11-12) appear to be late 18th-century on the grounds of their similarity with vessels dating from 1785 to 1800. The suggested date of deposition for this group is therefore the 1780s to 1790s. The glass finds are also consistent with this dating.

There can be little doubt that the assemblage derives from a tavern as evidenced by the large number of tavern mugs. The inscriptions and inn signs served as advertisements and to denote ownership. The White Hart was a long established public house, documented from the 17th century. 'The Angel' is the inn next door to the former White Hart. A jug has a stamp representing The Angel, and the name 'Blyth'. Janet Blyth was the licensee at the Angel by 1766 and remained there until 1781 (ERO D/DW/T 176/74; Q/RLv 36). More difficult to explain is the inn stamp depicting 'The Swan'. At first sight this might associate the mug with the Swan Inn (demolished 1860) in

Bridge Street (in the later 19th century, Swan Street) at the other end of the High Street. This inn is named in a rental of the manor of Coggeshall Hall dated 1758 which, like the rest of the property in this street, had probably remained freehold of that manor ever since its tenure by the Doreward family in the 15th century (Morant, 1768; II, 162). However, a rental of Church Hall Manor (in the same parish) dated 1618 refers to 'a Tennmt... called the Swann late Winters... held by Zachary Lufkin'. This strongly suggests the sometime existence of a building of this name in the western part of the High Street, nearer the White Hart. The entry does not recur in the complete rentals extant for 1662 and 1717, nor has the name been found elsewhere.¹ Examination of the licensing records indicates that the inns and public houses in the town were operated by a limited circle of people whose names recur, both as licensees and as surety for each other for licensing purposes, and this, as much as the traditional pub crawl, may explain how tavern wares may have moved round the various hostleries.

As this group is from a well it may constitute a clearance group, which can be defined as deliberately discarded household contents deposited in a single episode and not contaminated by pottery of different dates. Such clearouts usually coincided with a change of use or ownership of the property (Pearce 2000, 144-5). The licensees at the White Hart changed fairly frequently at the end of the 18th century, but possible dates are 1781 when Sarah Appleton was replaced by Thomas Sheldrick, and 1788 when he in turn was replaced by William Disney.

Clearance deposits from 18th-century inns and taverns appear to be relatively common and there is an increasing interest in this type of deposit. A recent study has analysed a clearance deposit from an inn at Uxbridge, Middlesex and compared the assemblage to those from other tavern assemblages in the London area and elsewhere (Pearce 2000). In Essex, a clearance group from the Falcon Inn, Castle Hedingham, (mentioned above) has been studied and there is also an unpublished group from The Woolpack in Chelmsford. The White Hart group is somewhat small to constitute an entire clearance group, forty-nine vessels hardly comprising the contents of an inn. In addition, the pottery is very fragmented, with only two near complete vessels and most vessels represented only by sherds. It is possible the pottery was dumped elsewhere before being finally discarded in the well, or that the well was partially cleared out after deposition of the group.

Inns and taverns would have served food, guests would have stayed the night, and the needs of the household would have to be served: this explains the presence of kitchenwares, tablewares and sanitary wares as well as tavern wares. Most households even in towns were self-sufficient and food processing as well as storage of food and cooking would have been carried out. Such food processing may have including dairying, accounting for the possible butter pot and ?milk pan (No.13). It is interesting that the latter has parallels

amongst the finds from the Falcon inn and the Uxbridge inn (Pearce 2000, fig. 17.42) clearance groups.

The delicate cylindrical mugs in creamware would seem more suited to the dining room rather than the taproom, unless of course, they were 'ladies glasses'. As at the Falcon Inn deposit there are a number of tea wares, but neither the tea wares nor other table wares are of high quality, especially the tin-glazed earthenware, with its crudely executed painting. Although there are some decorated wares there are no expensive wares such as English porcelain or the Wedgwood-style fine earthenwares, so, as would be expected of an inn, this does not appear to be a high status site.

The pottery supply would seem quite typical of the period with the stonewares and tin-glazed earthenwares probably made in London, the fine tablewares made in the Midlands and Yorkshire, and the red earthenwares still produced locally.

Acknowledgements

This discovery was brought to the attention of Essex County Council's Historic Environment Branch by Chris Papworth, on whose property the well is located, and Graham Wheldon of the Feering and Kelvedon Local History Museum. The drawings are by Iain Bell.

Note

¹ Information on the Swan kindly supplied by Graham Wheldon.

Bibliography

- Archer, M. 1997 *Delftware: The Tin-Glazed Earthenware of the British Isles*, London: The Victoria and Albert Museum
- Brears, P. C. D. 1971 *The English Country Pottery: Its History and Techniques*, Newton Abbot: David and Charles
- Cunningham, C. M. 1985 'A typology for post-Roman pottery in Essex', in Cunningham, C. M. and Drury, P. J., *Post-medieval sites and their pottery: Moulsham Street, Chelmsford*, Chelmsford Archaeol. Trust Rep. 5, CBA Res. Rep. 54, 1-16
- Draper, J. 1984 *Post-Medieval Pottery 1650 - 1800*, Aylesbury: Shire Archaeology
- ERO Essex Record Office
- Gaimster, D. 1997 *German Stoneware 1200-1900: Archaeology and Cultural History*, London: British Museum Press
- Garner, F. H. and Archer, M. 1972 *English Delftware*, London, Faber and Faber
- Hildyard, R. 1985 *Browne Mugs: English Brown Stoneware*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum Ceramic Studies
- Hurst, J. G., Neal, D. S. and Beuningen, H. J., 1986 *Pottery Produced and Traded in North-West Europe 1350 - 1650*, Rotterdam Papers VI
- Jennings, S. 1981 *Eighteen centuries of pottery from Norwich*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 13
- Lockett, T. A. 1982 'Caneware', in Lockett, T. A. and Halfpenny, P. A., (eds), *Stonewares and Stone Chinias of Northern England to 1851*, City Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent, 93 - 104
- Morant, P. 1768 *The history and antiquities of Essex*, London (2 vols)
- Noël Hume, I. 1961 The glass wine bottle in colonial Virginia, *Journal of Glass Studies* 3, 91-117
- Noël Hume, I. 1969 *Pottery and Porcelain in Colonial Williamsburg's Archaeological Collections*, Williamsburg, Virginia, The Williamsburg Foundation
- Noël Hume, I. 1970 *Artifacts of Colonial America*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Oswald, A. 1975 *Clay pipes for the archaeologist*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 14.
- Pearce, J. E. 1992 *Post-Medieval Pottery in London, 1500 - 1700 Volume 1 Border Wares*, London: HMSO

- Pearce, J. E. 2000 'A late 18th-century inn clearance assemblage from Uxbridge, Middlesex', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 34, 144 - 86
- Walker, H. 2002 'An 18th-century assemblage from a well in the garden of 4 Falcon Square, Castle Hedingham', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 33, 288 - 309

The Society is extremely grateful to Essex County Council for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this note.

A tower at Fingringhoe

by John McCann

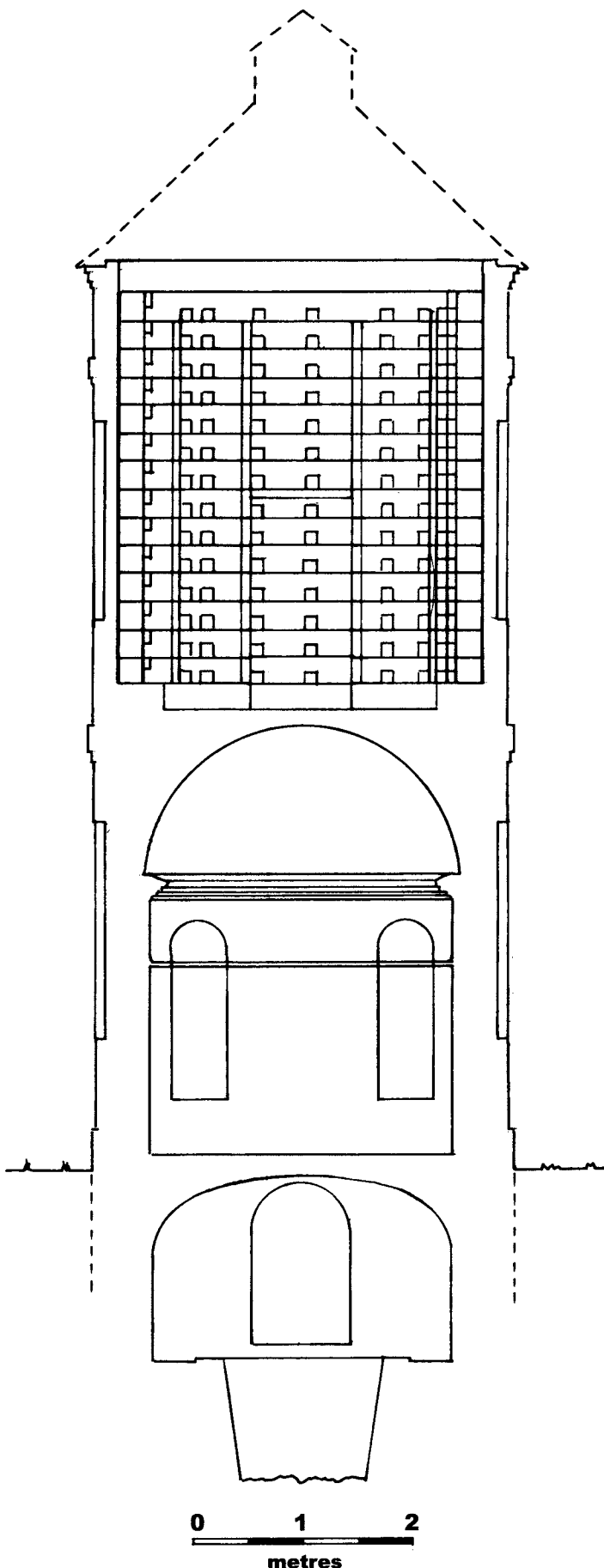
Situated between Fingringhoe village and the Colne estuary, 175 metres south-east of Fingringhoe Hall, is a brick tower of three storeys (TM 032 203; Plate 4). The ground floor comprises an elegant garden pavilion with

a two-centred arched entrance facing north-north-west. The interior is round with a hemispherical dome above a heavily moulded cornice. Four round-headed niches are arranged diagonally, low enough to be used as seats. Inside the pavilion all surfaces are of plastered and painted brickwork. Below it is an ice-house with a tunnel vault and a conical shaft, all of bare brick, most of which is below ground level (Fig. 36). Its round-arched doorway faces south-south-east.

Above the pavilion is a pigeon-loft which was in disrepair when examined in July 1991. The two-centred doorway is at the rear, rebated for a door opening inwards, 4.25 m above ground and accessible only by ladder. There are no other apertures in the walls, but there are recesses forming dummy windows with two-centred arches on two sides of the ground storey and on three sides of the upper storey, plastered inside. The



Plate 4 Fingringhoe tower from the north-west (photograph: John McCann)



tower is surrounded by three brick bands or cornices: (1) a plain band of four courses at first-floor level, (2) a plain band of three courses above the upper window recesses, and (3) three courses immediately below the eaves, of which the middle course is of headers separated by spaces to form dentils. The original roof was pyramidal with a square louver; the latter was already fragmentary when illustrated in 1931 (Fig. 37) (Smith 1931, 185). A decayed softwood door was *in situ*, but as this was perforated by six flight-holes of inverted-U shape for pigeons it had evidently been installed since the louver deteriorated.

The red bricks are 23 x 11 x 6 cm, of finely sieved and pugged clay, laid in Flemish bond with lime mortar, four courses rising 32 cm. Many of the horizontal mortar joints retain a sharp groove which the bricklayer made by running the tip of a trowel along a straight edge, an elegant finish often found in the best eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century brickwork. The walls and vault of the ice-house are built in the stronger English bond, with irregular bond in the tapering shaft. In the pigeon-loft bricks are laid on edge to form nest-boxes each 25 cm high, 37 cm wide, and 22 cm from front to back, with floors of tiles; the offset entrances are 13 cm square. When examined only 12 tiers were still present but there is sufficient height for 14 tiers. A complete tier comprises 26 nest-boxes. Allowing for tiers interrupted by the doorway there was a maximum of 364 nest-boxes when the building was new. An alighting ledge of 16 mm softwood projects 9 cm at the base of each tier, supported by projecting headers on edge. The nest-boxes were lime-plastered inside, as were all internal surfaces of the pigeon-loft.

On the large-scale first and second edition Ordnance maps surveyed 1873-6 and 1895-6 the building is described as 'Telegraph Tower (Disused)'. It is in a position where a telegraph tower would be quite likely, but it cannot have been closely inspected during the survey for it is unsuitable for this use. There is now an orchard to the north and an arable field to the south, with a deep ditch dividing them against the south wall of the tower, but these early maps show it in the middle of an undivided field of 23 acres. The tower is not shown on the tithe map surveyed in 1842; the field was described as Dovehouse Field (ERO D/CT 140). Chapman and André's map of 1777 gives the owner of Fingringhoe Hall as Sir Edm. Affleck, Bart. He was not mentioned by Morant. The Land Tax records of 1782 record the Afflecks as owners and Thomas Cooper as occupier of the Hall and land.

Discussion

The design, together with the high-quality materials and workmanship, suggest that this tower was built in the late eighteenth century to serve the requirement for elegant leisure and a luxurious diet. It used to be thought that dovecotes supplied fresh meat in winter, and this has been repeated in printed works almost to the present day (e.g. Hansell 2001, 6); but historical

Fig. 36 Vertical section of the tower at Fingringhoe, derived from copyright drawings by Ronald Geary and Associates.

research since 1988 has shown that dovecote pigeons were eaten only from Easter to mid-November (Robertson 1988, 93-102; McCann 1991, 90-6). The main function of this and all other dovecotes was to produce the tender meat of unfledged pigeons, a delicacy much appreciated by those who could afford it; but it came at the times when other fresh meat was easily available. The rich manure was a useful by-product. There is no evidence that the eggs were eaten, except occasionally for medicinal purposes. This tower is well situated for breeding pigeons, for in 1698 Roger North wrote 'The sea is a great advantage to a dove house, because [the pigeons] love, grow and thrive with salt water' (Colvin and Newman 1981, 101). The pavilion faced away from the sun to remain cool in summer, and to enable the users to face the manor house and the best view of the Colne valley. It is perhaps surprising that the ice-house faced the sun, but probably there was formerly a tunnel to keep it cool, destroyed when the ditch was cut. It is not known where the ice came from, for now there is no fresh water in the vicinity. It seems likely that a nearby pond has been eliminated in nineteenth-century agricultural improvements.

The number of nest-boxes is within the range of manorial dovecotes, most of which have between 300 and 1,000 nests. Their size is typical of the period, although the entrances for the pigeons are unusually small – suggesting that it was determined more by the convenience of the bricklayer than the requirements of the birds. The lower two cornices served a practical need as well as architectural adornment. Pigeons try to find shelter from strong winds, and perch easily on ledges only 7 cm wide; they were deliberately made to be too narrow to be used by tree-nesting birds of prey, their main enemies (McCann 1991, 115-23). Perching ledges are common in Scotland, where strong winds from all directions are the norm, and at exposed sites near the coast, but they are much less common on inland dovecotes in England.

Acknowledgements

This report describes the tower as it was in July 1991. The roof and louver have been repaired since Smith's sketch of 1931, and more recently the tower has been restored and conserved by Ronald Geary and Associates of East Bergholt, to whom I am grateful for the use of their measured drawings. Fig. 37 is reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office. I am grateful to Mrs. G. M. Lennon for permission to examine the building, and to June Graham (formerly Beardsley) and Patricia

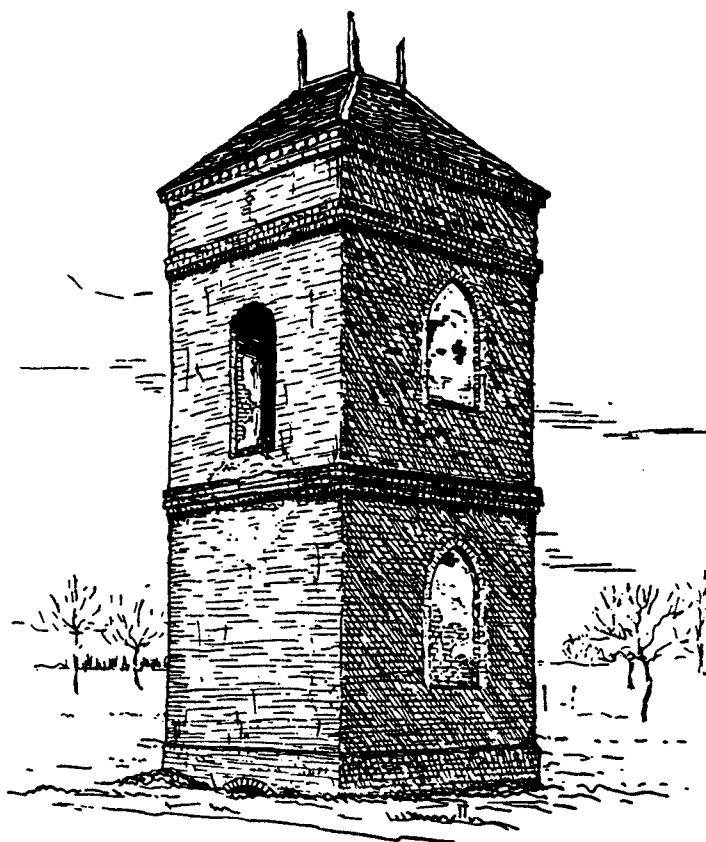


FIG. 37. FINGRINGHOE.

Fig. 37 The tower from the east, drawn by Donald Smith. The arched doorway of the ice-house is just visible at ground level.

M. Ryan for help in the survey, and for later documentary enquiries.

Bibliography

- Colvin, H. and Newman, J. 1981 *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture*, Oxford
 ERO Essex Record Office
 Hansell, P. and J. 2001 *Dovecotes*, Princes Risborough
 McCann, J. 1991 'An Historical Enquiry into the Design and Use of Dovecotes', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, vol. 35
 Robertson, U. 1988 'Pigeons as a Source of Food in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Review of Scottish Culture*, vol. 4
 Smith, D. 1931 *Pigeon Cotes and Dove Houses of Essex*, Chelmsford

The cost of publishing this article has been met by a grant from the Society's Publications Development Fund

Book Reviews

Excavations at Stansted Airport 1985 – 91, by Richard Havis and Howard Brooks, *East Anglian Archaeology* 107 (2004), 2 vols, 581 pages, ISBN 1 85281 242 7 £50

The Stansted excavation project began two decades ago. What was then called Essex County Council's Archaeology Section started fieldwork in 1985 on what was expected to be a study of Medieval settlement patterns. Those of us who lived in houses bought up by the British Airports Authority spent a long winter finding rather less than had been hoped for on the first couple of sites. Then the project got into its stride, helped by the addition of a Manpower Services Scheme, which Richard Havis took over after a short time. With the surprise discovery of Iron Age and Roman remains at the Airport Catering Site, the project never looked back.

The discovery of this site started a major change in the nature of the project. On previously available evidence, it was expected that it would be primarily a Medieval settlement study since little of earlier date would be found. In fact, sites of many periods were found and it became clear that the area had been settled intensively from the Late Bronze Age onwards.

There are many good points to be made about the results of the project that are reported in these two volumes. Here are a few. The introduction describes not only the origins of the archaeological project but also its context in the process that led to Stansted being chosen as London's third airport. The descriptions of the individual sites are presented clearly with readable text. The spectacular nature of much of the Iron Age and Roman material speaks for itself, and in comparison the Medieval material is almost disappointing, except that it demonstrates the exceptional nature of the earlier remains. The Discussion (Chapter 11) is excellent, bringing out the many important results in a way that is comprehensible both to the specialist archaeologist and the general reader.

What was discovered is matched in importance by how it was discovered. For instance, there was a flexibility of technique and an evolving and improving methodology. The fieldworkers were getting the hang of a near-impossible task. They were ahead of their time in working with others on the airport development (who were probably just as stressed as the archaeologists!), not against them - a forerunner of today when archaeologists are seen as just another contractor on major development schemes. However, the report makes clear that things did not always go the way of the archaeologists and much of the work was salvage excavation.

Also, this was a good early example of co-operation with and use of detectorists to obtain more information on site, while the fieldwalking techniques have now been adapted as standard across Essex. In fact, this report is

now part of the history of archaeology (today the use of a Manpower Services Scheme sounds like something of a bygone era).

These volumes demonstrate just how complex and difficult it is to see a large-scale piece of archaeological fieldwork through to completion. The on-site management of the archaeological staff, co-ordination with other groundworkers, provision of working and living space, finds processing, post-excavation analysis, the number and complexity of specialist reports are all well illustrated here, and though fieldwork lasted for only about 5 years, it has taken twenty years of continuous work of one form or another to bring the project to publication (including five years from report writing to publication). There is also a clear message that none should take on archaeological projects lightly - the report admits that the half a million pounds spent was called 'severely inadequate'.

The dedication of those who saw the project through to the end (the present writer not among them) deserves particular praise, especially Richard Havis, since in my view without him these volumes would still be a long way from being in print. Most of those who began on the Manpower Services Scheme had no previous archaeological experience - nevertheless many stayed with the project for many years and showed how important local people can be for such work.

It is good to see that the later periods are supported by documentary research and that the analysis of standing buildings is included in this report, making it a comprehensive study of the landscape history. The documentary analysis includes the development of the airfield and later airport from the Second World War onwards, although none of the structures of this period were recorded during the project. Today, the latter would be seen as an oversight, but in the 1980s there was less interest in and emphasis on such matters. The report writers are aware of this, and there is a commendably frank admission in the Discussion that there was limited study of the post-Medieval period during the fieldwork for this very reason.

The specialist reports are published thoroughly. There is the usual variety among them - some show are adding to the understanding of an artefact type or of the site from which they came, others just seem to be 'ticking off' a particular finds category without adding significantly to the knowledge base. Presumably the general reader will skip many of these sections - certainly much therein is unintelligible to that reader, and quite a bit could only be understood by other specialists in a particular field. Some sections beg the question 'Why isn't most of this omitted and left in the archive report only?' Perhaps if the finds reports were in a more summary form that was intelligible to the more general reader it would be more useful, and this is a report that deserves to be read by more than a few archaeologists - for instance, by anyone interested in Essex's past.

Some other criticisms need to be made. Important discussion on the site chronology at the Airport

Catering Site is hidden in the Roman pottery report and might easily be missed – shouldn't this be in the main discussion in chapter 11? Despite the presence of an index, the identification of sites by acronyms is not always easy to follow, particularly as these acronyms are all of three letters, the last of which is always an 'S'. Telling your ACS from your LBS can be rather difficult. Further, Chapter 4 has the incorrect title 'Late Iron Age and Roman Occupation'. Apart from two paragraphs it deals with only one site, albeit an important one (Airport Catering Site), while other occupation sites of these periods are described in chapter 6. On p.480, there is an annoying addition of an apostrophe to '1950s' and on p.524 not all sites on Fig. 341 are included in the caption.

However, the above niggles are as nothing compared to my admiration for the successful completion of this project. To archaeologists, the Stansted project will be remembered for its discovery of an unexpected multi-period landscape, although to local residents the stunning finds such as the Iron Age and Roman cremations that were publicised and exhibited so well are more likely to stick in the memory.

There has already been one phase of expansion since this project took place, where large-scale archaeological fieldwork was carried out by a different organisation from Essex County Council. If Government proposals for a further large-scale expansion of Stansted airport come to fruition, it will be interesting to see how a different group of people cope with its archaeological implications, now that the organisation, if not necessarily the techniques, of British archaeology have changed so much.

Steve Wallis

**Colchester; a History, Andrew Phillips
Phillimore 2004**

134 pages with 144 illustrations.

**Brentwood; a History, Jennifer Ward
Phillimore 2004**

132 pages with 146 illustrations.

It was once comparatively straightforward to write the history of a town. A scholarly consideration of its antiquities, followed by a roll call of its wealthiest landowners, a mention of its clergy, an illustration or two of the street plan or a crumbling building and the job was done. But modern local historians and their readers are not so easily satisfied. Andrew Phillips presents Colchester from his first sentence as a town more or less unmatched for the depth and drama of its history while Jennifer Ward labours to recapture Brentwood's birth in a woodland clearing. The towns' histories are, of course, unique and yet there is much in the detail that unites them politically, geographically and economically. For example, Colchester may have suffered the civil war

siege but the soldiers passed through Brentwood; the advent of the railway affected both towns in similar ways, albeit on a different scale; both towns suffered equally in the second world war.

Andrew Phillips has a mammoth task in selecting the facts for his concise history of Colchester. Years of experience in the field have given him a good eye for the telling detail and the amusing observation and he manages to sum up his story at strategic points with elegant simplicity. Whether he is explaining the impact of the loss of the town's cloth trade, the political skulduggery that lost the town its charter for 22 years in the mid-eighteenth century or the 'golden age' of the late nineteenth century when the council pulled together to build itself a lavish new town hall, he is always persuasive. Although he claims to have needed help with his early chapters, there is no evidence of this (apart from his acknowledgements) as the story of the town proceeds smoothly from the Roman invasion through 2000 years to end with recent modifications to the ancient landscape. Andrew Phillips is also to be commended for drawing attention to Colchester's significant contribution to mental health and learning disability through the town's three large institutions dedicated to this. Female readers may be amused by the late arrival of women into the account (roughly coinciding with the development of shops as we know them *c.* 1720) but this is a reflection of the historical sources and, once on the scene, Colchester's women are clearly to be seen contributing their share to the town's labour force in service and clothing industries.

Brentwood may have started in a woodland clearing but its natural advantages of proximity to London and healthy situation on an important highway soon shaped its destiny. Jennifer Ward has a shorter story to tell but more room than Andrew Phillips to tell it and her primary sources are given full rein. Where the Colchester history is organised chronologically, the Brentwood story is predominantly thematic with separate chapters dealing with subjects such as local government, coach transport, churches and Warley army camp. While this structure often requires the reader to sort out chronology - which sometimes interrupted the flow for this reader - it produces a superb contribution to local history of Essex. A student wishing to check facts on the development of a particular subject, such as schools, churches or coaching inns will be able to pick out the Brentwood details with ease and will be less likely to suffer the aggravation of the ungenerous index (a feature of both books under review).

Both books are beautifully produced with careful editing and many interesting and pleasing illustrations. Each is an excellent example of the value of local history in securing a firm foundation for the wider historical perspective.

Jane Pearson

Obituary

Herbert Hope Lockwood (1917-2004)

Last November Bert Lockwood's numerous friends gathered, with his family, in the beautiful medieval church at Barking which he so cherished. They came to bid farewell and to express their gratitude to one whose friendship they valued and whose scholarship they admired.

Among Essex historians, Bert Lockwood will be remembered for his important contributions to county history, all of which reflected his industry, intellectual vigour and integrity. These, and the personal attributes of a natural dignity and tenacious loyalty to his causes, were the hallmarks of his character. We are grateful to him for all that especially, but there was much else in a life of service and achievement.

The significant ingredients of his earlier life in Ilford should not be overlooked in a natural enthusiasm for all that he did for Essex history. From Ilford County High School, he went on to become a graduate of King's College at London University, an academic experience that defined much of his life. As for many of his generation, World War II intervened and he served in the Royal Army Medical Corps and the Army Educational Corps. Subsequently, he taught for many years in Halifax, Yorkshire, but a return to Ilford in 1952 was perhaps inevitable and certainly propitious for that part of Essex. Alongside his career as a lecturer in History and Social Studies at the Tottenham College of Technology, he became a regular participant in local athletics. He became a specialist in field events and developed original techniques that brought international success for some of the aspiring athletes he coached.

His commitment to Essex history was manifest in his roles at county and local level, as well as in a wide range of excellent publications. Perhaps inevitably in local history, much otherwise excellent work is repetitious in that it may cultivate ground already largely harvested by other authors. In Bert Lockwood's case he could be relied upon to research previously untrodden paths and to promote his subjects with originality and sagacious insights into obscure areas of knowledge. He was also insistent on high standards, verifiable material, immaculate prose and quality production.

Essentially a local historian – that breed whose work led no less than Marc Bloch to opine that 'all history is local history' – the major focus of Bert Lockwood's work was on Barking, Ilford and other matters relating to that part of Essex. As such, his approach was to study in depth, discrete and sometimes esoteric aspects of local history, rather than that of the broad and more general presentation.

He excelled particularly in the evaluation of personalities in the context of their roles and localities. Thus he has introduced his readers to such as Jeremy Bentham, the Revd Bennet Allen and the engaging Mr Frogley of Barking, whom he portrayed in a fruitful

partnership with Tony Clifford, publishing a delightful and informative trilogy. Other studies were devoted to Barking Abbey, Valentines and a definitive study of the Barking tithes yet to be published. Bert Lockwood was also a contributor to the Barking section of volume 5 of the Victoria County History of Essex.

In the organisational reaches of the Essex history scene, Bert Lockwood undertook several senior appointments with distinction. These included serving as Chairman and President of the Essex Archaeological and Historical Congress, as a committee member of the Friends of Historic Essex and as a member of the British Association for Local History. Locally he was Chairman and President of both the Ilford and District Historical Society and the Barking and District Historical Society.

Devoted as he was to Barking's parish church of St Margaret's, he became churchwarden there and delighted in guiding parties of visitors around the church, and also the Ilford Hospital Chapel of which he was an ardent supporter. In 1996 his considerable services were recognised by his admission as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, which gave him and his friends much pleasure.

In pursuing his duties and interests in local history, Bert Lockwood was ably and devotedly supported by Dorothy, his wife, who has herself made invaluable contributions to the organisations for which they worked. Indeed, it is difficult to think of either of them other than as an impressively competent and loyal partnership who have together promoted the interests of county history.

So we may reflect on the work of one who was among the major players in Essex history, both in the stature of his academic work and in the merits of his representational roles. All that may seem somewhat formal, even awesome, but there were many kindnesses too. When my Essex library was seriously depleted as a result of flooding, one of my publishers offered to replace, free of charge, all those of my lost books in their catalogue. In a similar private and generous gesture Bert Lockwood too, filled some of the important gaps in my Essex collection. He, more than most, understood what books mean to people in our field of endeavour. This is the field which, over a lifetime of devoted work, he had himself so generously enriched.

Kenneth Neale

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. Contributions, comprising two hard copies of the text and a digital version on disk, should be sent to the Publications Committee chairman, at the Manor House, The Street, Pebmarsh, Halstead CO9 2NH
2. Articles can be submitted at any time, but usually the closing date for submission of articles to be considered for the following year's volume is 31 December of the preceding year. The volume is usually published in November or December.
3. Text should be typed on A4 paper. Pages should be numbered. It will help if the article is laid out in a style consistent with the published format of *Essex Archaeology and History* (though not in columns).
4. Notes should be end-notes, typed continuously with the rest of the text (i.e., not formatted as notes in Word).
5. Bibliographical references should follow the Harvard system, i.e., in parentheses after the text, e.g.:

(Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 23-56)
 (Atkinson 1995, fig.5)
 (Medlycott et al. 1995; Atkinson 1995)

Where it is inappropriate to identify a work by author (e.g., Victoria County History or Royal Commission volumes), an abbreviated title may be given, e.g.:

(RCHM Essex IV 1923, 171)

References to documents in the Essex Record Office, or entries in the Essex Historic Environment Record (EHER), should consist of the appropriate accession code preceded by the initials of the holding body, e.g.:

(ERO D/DO P2)
 (EHER 6277)

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

Atkinson, M. 1995 'A Late Bronze Age enclosure at Broomfield, Chelmsford', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 26, 1-23
 ERO Essex Record Office
 Hawkes, C.F.C. and Crummy, P. 1995 *Camulodunum 2*, Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Report 11
 Medlycott, M., Bedwin, O. and Godbold, S. 1995 'South Weald Camp – a probable Late Iron Age hill fort: excavations 1990', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 26, 53-64.
 RCHM Essex 1923 *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, An inventory of the historical monuments in Essex. Vol. IV. South-east Essex*, London: HMSO.
 (*Essex Archaeology and History* should be abbreviated to *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*)

6. Please note the following:
 13th (not 13th) century in preference to thirteenth century
 c. AD 120
 c. 120 BC

Contractions and abbreviations should be followed by a point, with the exception of Mr, Mrs, Dr, Revd, m, & mm.

1.07m (3ft 6in.)

Measurements should be in metric units, except where these were measured historically in imperial or other units.

Figure and plate numbers within an article are referred to with a capital 'F' or 'P'.

If in doubt, refer to *The Oxford Guide to Style*, edited by R M Ritter (Oxford University Press) for punctuation, abbreviations etc.

7. Line drawings should be supplied in digital format (tif, jpeg or eps, scanned to 1,200 dpi) or else in the form of high quality reductions, preferably of photographic quality, to fit the print area of *Essex Archaeology and History*, which is 176 x 245mm. Note that this area also needs to include captions, apart from exceptional circumstances when a caption may be printed on a facing page. The reduction factor should be borne in mind at all stages of illustration, with particular attention paid to line thickness and size of lettering. The latter should be clear, consistent and legible. All maps, plans, sections, drawings of artefacts should contain a linear scale. Titles, scales and keys should be no longer than is absolutely necessary. Portrait is preferable to landscape. Fold-out drawings are expensive and should be avoided if at all possible.
8. Half-tone illustrations should be provided as good quality prints on glossy paper, or in digital format as tif or eps files, scanned to 300 dpi. Where appropriate, there should be a linear scale in the photograph. Plates are numbered in a single sequence through an article; this sequence is separate from the line-drawing sequence. Thus an article with 8 line drawings and 4 half tones will refer to Figs 1-8, and to Plates 1-4.
9. The responsibility for supplying all illustrations lies with the authors, who should also obtain any necessary copyright clearance, though not Ordnance Survey copyright permission, which will be done by the editor on a volume-by-volume basis.
10. All files on disk or CDs should be clearly labelled with titles readily identifiable with their contents.
11. First proofs only will be supplied for checking, unless there are exceptional circumstances.
12. Contributors will be given 20 copies of their articles. Additional copies may be ordered at cost price.

ESSEX SOCIETY FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL DECEMBER 2004

Patron

Lord Petre, Lord Lieutenant of Essex

Honorary Life President

Colonel Sir John Ruggles-Brise Bt, CB, OBE, TD, JP

President: Dr C C Thornton

Vice-Presidents: Lord Petre, W R Powell, J S Appleby, Professor G H Martin, Major W A Hewitt

Hon. Secretary: Dr M Leach

Hon. Membership Secretary: Ann Turner

Hon. Treasurer: W M Abbott

Hon. Assistant Treasurer and Publications Development Fund Secretary: W A Hewitt

Hon. Editor: vacant

Hon. Newsletter Editor: Sally Gale

Hon. Librarian: A B Phillips

Hon. Programme Secretary: Mrs A Newman

Hon. Excursions Secretary: Mrs P Ryan

Hon. Legal Adviser: vacant

Curator: P Wise

Holding Trustees: J S Appleby, Dr C C Thornton, P Buxton,

Dr J Ward, D G Buckley, Dr M Leach

Council

The President and the Honorary officers, the Trustees and
A Barham, N Brown, K Crowe, Dr J Cooper, P Denney, J Hayward, W A Hewitt, J Hunter,
S Newens, Dr C Starr, H M Stuchfield, R Wager

Representative members

ECC Historic Environment Branch: O Bedwin

VCH: Dr C C Thornton

University of Essex: Professor K Schürer

Chelmsford and Essex Museum: N P Wickenden

Representatives of the Society on other bodies

Colchester Archaeological Trust: J Fawn

Advisory Committee for Archaeology in Essex: Dr J Kemble

Essex Archaeological and Historical Congress: H M Stuchfield

Council for British Archaeology: A Newman

Scole Committee: J Hayward

