

*Collectanea Londiniensia*



Special Paper No 2

**Studies in London archaeology and history**





*Collectanea Londiniensia*  
Studies presented to Ralph Merrifield

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Special Paper No. 2

**London & Middlesex Archaeological Society**



# The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society

*incorporating*

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*Title page. A late medieval pewter hat badge from Bankside.*

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## *Collectanea Londiniensia*

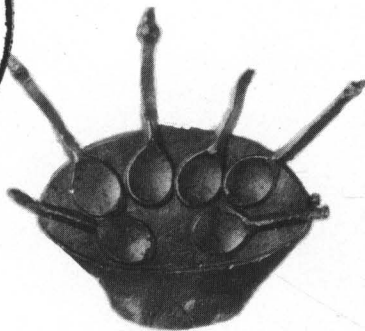
Studies in London archaeology and history  
presented to Ralph Merrifield

*Edited by*

Joanna Bird

Hugh Chapman

John Clark



SPECIAL PAPER No. 2

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

1978





## FOREWORD

This volume of papers is presented to Ralph Merrifield on the occasion of his retirement from the Museum of London in August 1978. It was thought that this event, ending some twenty-eight years of full-time work devoted to the archaeology and history of London, should be marked in an appropriate way.

The response to our invitation to contribute was overwhelming and can only serve to indicate the high esteem in which Ralph Merrifield is held by those who know him and have worked with him. We must also record here that the volume would have contained more papers if circumstances had not sadly prevented others from contributing.

We would like to acknowledge with much gratitude the substantial financial assistance received from the Museum of London, the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths and Morgán Grenfell and Company. Without this assistance, publication would not have been possible.

We must also acknowledge the generous assistance we received in the production of the volume from Matthew Alexander, Christine Bannan, Ruth Croxford, John Edwards, Barry Gray, Jenny Hall, Trevor Hurst and David Stuart.

Joanna Bird  
Hugh Chapman  
John Clark



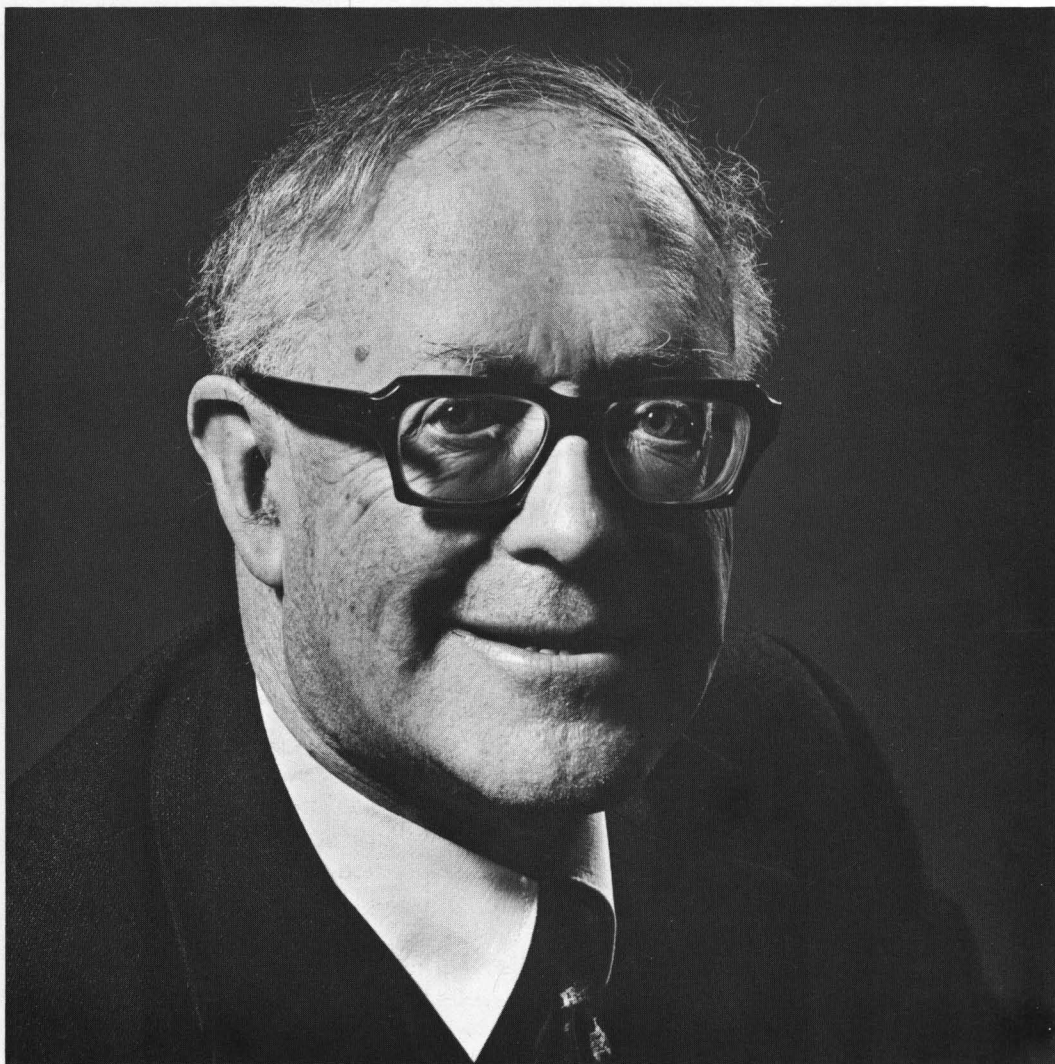
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Ralph Merrifield

*(Museum of London)*



# RALPH MERRIFIELD

Ralph Merrifield was born in Brighton on 22 August 1913. He was three when his father died and he was brought up by his mother, who went back to teaching to make a home for her son, until in 1951 he married Lysbeth Webb, a colleague at the Guildhall Museum. The opportunity of an assistantship at Brighton Museum while in the sixth form of Varndean Grammar School led to his foregoing the possibility of a university career in favour of a chance to do the kind of work that he had decided upon. At the time (1930) the Curator was H. S. Toms, well-known as a one-time assistant to the great General Pitt Rivers.

It was a good beginning. The collections were varied, covering fine art (including the Willett Collection of pottery), ethnology and archaeology — not forgetting the stuffed birds. While cutting his teeth as a museum man he took up again the idea of reading for a university degree. With the aid of spare-time courses at the Brighton Technical Institute he obtained the London External Degree in 1935. On his way there he took an intermediate course in Botany (which continues to interest him), but his most important subject in finals was probably Anthropology. It was to be of value to him later both for work in West Africa and for visits to the Far East, as well as for various offshoots in the world of folklore, such as magical games in Sussex and witch-bottles in London and elsewhere. With the Museums Association Diploma (1939) the pattern of his life was thus set, though with so many demands upon his time he was able to play only a limited part in the vigorous excavation activity that was a feature of Sussex archaeology at that time.

In any case, with 1939 came the inevitable break. Merrifield joined the R.A.F. in 1940 and was commissioned in 1943 on the intelligence side, working amongst other things on the interpretation of air-photographs. In 1944 he was posted to India and characteristically took every opportunity to develop his anthropological interests. He got round a good deal before being sent to Java, where he heard the only shots of his career fired in anger — when the war was already over. He returned home, not without souvenirs acquired from the Japanese, in early 1946. The *Andes* made a record run, filled with men anxious to get back and with no passengers to be dropped *en route*.

He was re-engaged by Brighton and served for four years under Clifford Musgrave until in April 1950 he was appointed Assistant Keeper to the Guildhall Museum. It was a difficult time. The bulk of the museum's collections was in any case not available; and to the onlooker there seemed to be a certain absence of direction which, whatever the general situation, appeared at least in part to be due to internal conditions. It has long been a fact of museum life that where the museum is combined with a library the library is paramount. This was particularly the case with Guildhall, where the library and its collections are of outstanding importance. The situation was no doubt inevitable in all the circumstances. Apart from scattered exhibits in odd places about the building there was no museum in any real sense. Nevertheless, by the time that the new Keeper, Norman Cook, arrived four months later there was an exhibition in being on the 'bridge', a corridor-like compartment behind the east end of the great hall. The Guildhall Museum

could now be said to be in existence again, its re-incarnation coinciding with the upsurge of re-development in the City, with a consequent increase in archaeological activity and an enhanced influx of material into the Guildhall collections.

In November 1956 there was an interlude when Merrifield went to the Gold Coast to arrange the new National Museum of Ghana. It seems to be axiomatic that whosoever is charged with museum organisation should find himself between an upper and a nether millstone of a date for opening fixed and immutable with the date for completion of the building moving steadily towards it, reducing the time allowed for the work to be done. Nevertheless by an ingenious co-ordination of processes the museum was ready in a few weeks for opening by the late Duchess of Kent in April 1957.

The work in Ghana, like a later visit (1974) to Japan and the Far East, was very much in line with his anthropological interests, but obviously it is for his work in and about London that Ralph Merrifield will occupy an honoured place in British Archaeology. He is above all a museum man, widely ranging in his knowledge of material things, who has applied himself with outstanding success to the history and topography of the place from which those things have come. He would probably not claim for himself any great expertise as an excavator. Apart from giving generous help when called upon his main contribution was that of a highly skilled and sensitive photographer. His colleagues have commented on the concentration that he brings to the craft (though it is in fact characteristic of the whole man).

Tripod and camera are set up and exposures estimated with total disregard for the ordered chaos which is a powerful ingredient of most city building-sites; drag-lines and bulldozers come and go. The safety-helmet worn on these occasions is put on the wrong way round, with the peak covering the nape of the neck: an engaging habit, unexplained, unless as an apotropaic gesture having its origin in some remote piece of Sussex folk-practice.

Ralph Merrifield has created for himself over the last twenty-five years a unique position in London Archaeology. His younger colleagues see his dedication, his receptiveness of new ideas, his unfussed efficiency as an example to themselves; over a wider field beyond the City of London many — they include this contributor — have reason to be grateful for knowledge and experience readily made available. In such matters the contribution to scholarship may be no less real for being intangible. It is fitting therefore to end here on his own writing, and particularly on his *Roman City of London*, published in 1965. Compiled virtually in his own time the book replaces the fifty-year-old Roman London volume of the Royal Commission, for it is a complete survey, put together with all the writer's thoroughness and care for accuracy, which embraces all the earlier work and takes account of the activities of the post-war years down to its time of publication. It goes without saying that the book is a landmark in the study of Roman London, providing as it does the background to the period in which with the establishment of the Museum of London's Archaeological Unit the investigation of the City's past has at last been set on a more satisfactory basis. In it — *festschrift* or no *festschrift* — Ralph Merrifield has created his own monument.

W. F. GRIMES

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# INTO THE JAWS OF DEATH . . . WALKED ONE

IVOR NOËL HUME

'Now is the time for archaeologists to prepare the organization for dealing with the flood of rebuilding which will shortly burst the sluice gates'; so wrote Adrian Oswald in the summer of 1949.<sup>1</sup> But the City of London was then no better prepared to defend its threatened antiquities than it had been to protect itself ten years earlier, and Oswald's warning was to go unheeded. Indeed, the Library Committee of the Corporation of London, which controlled the City's Guildhall Museum, was seriously considering backing away from any responsibility by dispensing with the museum altogether, and giving its space to the library.

Thanks to the high-explosive and incendiary attentions of the Luftwaffe, London had been presented with the finest opportunity to study its archaeological roots since the Great Fire of 1666. The price had been high, for in addition to the destruction of hundreds of historically and, by current standards, architecturally unimportant office and shop buildings, the City had lost the interiors of many of Sir Christopher Wren's churches and numerous secular buildings of great cultural value. Among them were the halls of the Barbers, Merchant Taylors, Mercers, Haberdashers, Salters, the Master's House at the Temple, Gray's Inn Hall, Serjeant's Inn, Trinity House, Charterhouse, and Guildhall itself. A slice had been cut through the heart of the City from Aldersgate on the west to Moorgate at the east, and from the Barbican to the Thames. Along the river front, destroyed warehouses had left a large gap east of Puddle Dock, and another stretching from Southwark Bridge to London Bridge which embraced the mouth of the ancient river Walbrook and the Roman city wall through which, presumably, it had passed. Other major sections of the Roman wall lay in devastated acres around Cripplegate and on both sides of Aldgate. Yet another area of great archaeological importance extended from Leadenhall Street flanked by Mincing and Mark Lanes and running south to Lower Thames Street and Tower Hill, while another, smaller but of no less importance, took in a block embraced by Queen Street, Queen Victoria Street, Budge Row (once the west end of Cannon Street and now eliminated), and St. Swithin's Lane. The street called Walbrook passed through the middle of that block, and it was between Walbrook and St. Swithin's Lane that the City's first major post-war building project was to begin.

The City's corporate responsibilities were not confined to wards within the walls, but extended to those without, to the areas of the Inns of Court, and across the river to the Borough of Southwark, and it was there that the City's Guildhall Museum fought its first major battle in the war of urban reconstruction. In the spring and summer of 1949, a large area east of Blackfriars Bridge and Gravel Lane was being cleared to build the Bankside

power station. Although largely uninhabited until the 16th century, the area became an important potting and glass-making centre in the 18th century, and thus was of special interest to post-medievalists — or it would have been had they existed at that time.

The history of archaeology in the City of London before the Second World War was chequered at best, and its museum more often asked ‘what?’ than ‘why?’ or ‘when?’, the acquisition of objects being sufficient enough goal. Thus, visits to building sites by Guildhall’s Museum Clerk, Quintin Waddington, were limited to purchasing whatever artifacts the builder’s labourers might be willing to sell. Since the mid 19th century when Charles Roach Smith was collecting in the City, a keen sense of competition had developed, and choice items were liable to be kept back for sale to more generous customers. It mattered little, of course, that these antiquities belonged to the landowner and were never the finders’ to sell. Foremost among the buyers in the years between the wars was G. F. Lawrence, known to every labourer as ‘Stony Jack’, who for many years held the title of Inspector of Excavations for the London Museum. Because he also sold artifacts to museums and collectors, Lawrence was able to spread ‘beer money’ fairly liberally about the City, and the legacy of his generosity lived on to make life difficult for the impecunious Guildhall Museum in the immediate post-war years.

Although Museum Clerk Frank Lambert had made some valiant attempts at archaeological salvage in the years both before and after the First World War,<sup>2</sup> his successor was less vigorous in this respect, and responsibility for watching London building sites fell by default to the Society of Antiquaries who appointed an Investigator of Building Excavations, a position held successively by three experienced archaeologists, Eric Birley, Gerald Dunning, and Frank Cottrill. In 1926, two years before Birley’s work began, R. E. M. Wheeler had been appointed Keeper of the London Museum. Although he was not personally involved in fieldwork within the City, the Roman, Viking, and Saxon catalogues produced by him, for the first time put the museum’s unstratified collections to work to show both the chronological evolution of artifacts and what they had to say about the London to which they had belonged.<sup>3</sup> Later, J. B. Ward Perkins was to do the same for the museum’s medieval collections in a catalogue that was on its way into print as the lights of London went out in 1939.<sup>4</sup> It was the interest shown by Ward Perkins and Gerald Dunning in medieval pottery that did so much to make their fellow antiquaries aware of the cultural importance of the City’s post-Saxon remains. That they could not stretch that interest on into the post-medieval centuries is hardly surprising.

In 1939, Adrian Oswald joined Museum Clerk Waddington as his assistant, and was responsible for the partial recovery of the Gracechurch Street hoard of mid 17th-century glass, the most important associated group to enter the museum before the war.<sup>5</sup> When Oswald returned in 1946, he found the museum boxed and unbeloved, and with the help of his friend G. Wilson Lawrence (a onetime dentist and numismatist, now appointed as technical assistant), he began the unenviable task of unpacking the museum’s collections, and mounting its first post-war exhibition, a presentation devoted to ‘Bygone London’. Because the museum’s pre-war gallery space in the basement below the library had been usurped by the latter’s staff and books, the once prestigious Guildhall Museum had to make do with a corridor leading to the library’s lavatory. It was the first exhibition to open in London after the war, and despite its modest location and limited space, it attracted queues in its first year — largely because of press and television coverage, which followed the first announcement of the museum’s reopening.<sup>6</sup>

In an article published in *Antiquity* in 1944, R. E. M. Wheeler declared that the nation's antiquaries were about to be afforded a never-to-be-repeated opportunity to study the accumulated detritus of 2,000 years of London life and history.<sup>7</sup> Heeding his call to arms, the Society of Antiquaries set up a committee to enlist the support of the Corporation of London. In keeping with the Fellows' principle interests and supposed priorities, the group was first named the 'Roman London Excavation Committee'. Shortly thereafter, however, the committee became a council and the word 'mediaeval' was inserted. That was 1945. Today period limitations would, one hopes, be omitted.

In November, the then Director of the London Museum, W. F. Grimes, was appointed to superintend excavations on the City's bombed sites, the aim being to dig properly controlled test trenches across every available open space.<sup>8</sup> Adrian Oswald had the responsibility of acting as Secretary to the Council, raising the funds and negotiating the permissions to dig. It was an enormous project, incapable of achievement without vast expenditure of time, labour, and money. Even if time and labour were available, the money was not. Throughout its excavating life (1945-62), the Council was compelled to dig for funds as busily as it cut trenches through the City, and it is ironic that in all those years the Corporation whose history was being saved, contributed only 1.3 % of the cost.<sup>9</sup>

Because the work of the Roman and Mediaeval London Excavation Council (RMLEC) was directed by a distinguished prehistorian and Romanist, Guildhall's accomplishments are often dismissed on the grounds that those responsible for them lacked professional training. Said 'Rescue' director Martin Biddle, 'the observation and recording of the fragmentary evidence revealed on building sites requires a high degree of knowledge, skill, and experience. Only those who have been trained over several years on major excavations dealing with a wide variety of sites and covering the main historical periods should be entrusted with this work'.<sup>10</sup> He is absolutely right — in principle. But in 1949, no one with those qualifications was on hand to do the work at the salary the City Fathers were prepared to pay. Five pounds sixteen shillings for a seven day week was four shillings less than the RMLEC paid its labourers. Furthermore, just as Mortimer Wheeler had foretold, the City building sites were to yield cultural material covering 2,000 years, and no one (with the exception of Adrian Oswald), possessed so catholic a background. One must remember, too, that while the evolution of Roman, Saxon, and medieval artifacts had been previously studied and published, those of the 16th to 19th centuries had enjoyed no comparable scholarly attention. Consequently, the would-be student intent on a crash course had virtually no literature to which to turn. The Roman and Mediaeval London Excavation Council had no such problems, for its title permitted the last four centuries of London's history to be ignored; but the Guildhall staff had no such 'out'. Everything clamoured for and deserved attention.

Although the City showed little corporate interest in the work of the RMLEC (beyond permitting Librarian-Curator Raymond Smith to serve on the Council), Adrian Oswald agreed to let Guildhall Museum shoulder the logical and essential responsibility of processing and housing the artifacts. To that end a lab was set up on the fourth storey of Guildhall's surviving Dance front, a large room possessing three gas radiators to dry washed pottery, but barely sufficient to prevent the staff from freezing in winter. A sink fed with cold water provided the only other laboratory equipment. A door through the south wall had once connected to the top floor of the art gallery, but as that had been destroyed in the war, it opened into space. A sign on the door saying 'Messengers Only'



had been amended to read 'Heavenly Messengers Only'. Designed as an interior partition, the laboratory's south wall now took whatever weather heaven cared to throw at it, and rain seeped through both it and the roof. The best that could be said of the lab was that in summer, with the messengers' door open, one had a splendid view of what was left of the City.

The proposed division of responsibility between Oswald and Grimes was theoretically sound. W. F. Grimes' supervision of the City excavations was an honorary position; his paid job was to direct the rebirth of the London Museum. Describing the problems of rescue archaeology, Adrian Oswald wisely observed that 'a building site under observation is like a baby; it cannot be left for long without something going wrong'.<sup>11</sup> The same is true of controlled excavations when a field crew, made up entirely of hired labourers, relies solely on a director who at best can visit the site two or three times a week. With Adrian Oswald closer at hand, some additional help was available, though his main role was not to tell the men what to do next, but to deal with their finds.

Accepting responsibility for the artifacts, and actually fulfilling that obligation, were horses of different hues, for although Oswald had space to process the finds, he had no staff to wash, number, or restore. Nevertheless, between 1946 and 1950 the bags kept rolling in, many of them to remain for years unwashed and unstudied. Although Oswald attempted to do some of the washing himself, the flow was overwhelming. Besides, in spite of his old fashioned title of 'Museum Clerk', Oswald was *de facto* director of the museum and was supposed to be available to the public in his cramped office under the stairs at the Basinghall Street entrance to the Guildhall Library. That the office and the laboratory were as far apart as was possible to get while still remaining on Guildhall premises, made the task even more difficult. In addition, Oswald was doing his best to keep watch on the few small building sites being developed in the late 1940s. With only one assistant to fulfil the Corporation's requirement that the office be manned throughout the Library's open hours, Oswald was unable to keep up with his own job, let alone keep pace with the RMLEC's incoming artifacts.

The injection of personalities into allegedly academic studies tends to be frowned upon as unscholarly or unprofessional, but history would lack its principle ingredient if shorn of its participants. Because archaeologists tend to be more colourful than bank clerks (and only slightly less volatile than operatic divas), limiting objectivity to objects serves no historical purpose. The chronicle of the archaeology of the City of London in the early post-war years is the product of the individuals involved. A different cast might have led to a different scenario; but my task is to summarise what happened and why, and as I was one of the principal players, there is no way to coyly step aside. For better or worse, rescue archaeology in the City was in my hands for seven years beginning in December 1949.

My qualifications for the job were farcical. I was an unsuccessful playwright and would-be radio scriptwriter; I had a public school education and an uneducated interest in archaeology and antiquities (having once emptied a bucket at Sutton Hoo), and while waiting for someone to recognise my literary prowess I had passed the spring and early summer of 1949 picking up artifacts on the foreshore of the Thames and taking them to Adrian Oswald for identification. He proved to be both generous and patient, devoting time he could ill afford to teaching a persistent and tiresome young man with everything to learn and no apparent reason for doing so. As the summer progressed, so did I, and before long I had won the post of honorary part-time potwasher. It was but a short step

thence to volunteer shovel-carrier for Oswald on his sorties onto City building sites, first at the Southwark power station, and then on a small but productive site at 11 Ironmonger Lane.

The Selborne House (Ironmonger Lane) project was a model of its kind; it was a small site being excavated by labourers working almost exclusively by hand, and Adrian Oswald enjoyed the full co-operation of owners, architect and contractor. The site yielded part of a large four-colour mosaic pavement of the 3rd century, which the owners agreed to preserve *in situ* in their basement.<sup>12</sup> Not content with that major contribution to the history of their property, Messrs. Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Co. sponsored a history of 11 Ironmonger Lane to be written by Guildhall Library staff member Donovan Dawe with the archaeological evidence presented by Adrian Oswald.<sup>13</sup> It proved a most felicitous partnership, and the resulting volume graphically demonstrated what could be achieved by the marriage of documentary and archaeological history. Alas, it was an achievement destined to stand alone. For this young volunteer, however, the lessons of Ironmonger Lane endured, and ranged from section and pottery drawing to laying cement and preserving a dirt-bedded Roman pavement.

On 5 December 1949 I was appointed to the rather vague position of ‘temporary whole-time assistant in the Museum of the Corporation of London’,<sup>14</sup> to continue the work I had been doing for nothing as field assistant to Adrian Oswald. Still waiting for my literary career to catch fire, I had no intention of staying long in the arduous and grimy vortex of building-site archaeology. Nevertheless, working with Oswald was stimulating and exciting, and I supposed that after six or eight months I should have learned enough from him to be able to work alone when he could not be there. Unfortunately, the six months shrank to six days; Oswald caught pneumonia and did not return. Wearing by the Corporation’s unwillingness to recognise that the City’s museum deserved better monetary and moral support than it was getting (and that its director/curator was something more than a ‘Museum Clerk’), Oswald accepted the position of Keeper for Birmingham City Museum’s newly constituted department of archaeology. Within weeks of his departure, Oswald’s assistant G. W. Lawrence also resigned, leaving me as the museum’s sole employee.

That trauma was simultaneously matched by another. Work was beginning on the City’s first massive post-war building operation, a site stretching from St. Swithin’s Lane to Walbrook, and potentially one of the City’s most important Roman areas. Unlike the Ironmonger Lane project, this was a massive, mechanised undertaking, involving several drag-lines, scores of labourers and timbermen, and a site foreman who was happiest when I was absent. I did not need to be told that I had bitten off far more than I could chew (though critics were quick to do so); but I had a job to do, and I intended to do it as best I could.

Within days of Oswald’s departure, City Librarian Raymond Smith called me to his office and told me some hitherto unsuspected facts of life. The Library Committee, he said, had no love for the museum and was under pressure to surrender what little space it now enjoyed to the library. The ‘Bygone London’ exhibit was no longer attracting much popular interest, and there would be little objection to closing it and later transferring the Guildhall collections to the London Museum. But attractive as that proposition might seem now, Smith told me, it would not ultimately be in the best interests of the City. If the demise of the Guildhall Museum was to be prevented, the Library Committee had to be

made constantly aware that it was successfully fulfilling a public function. At the same time, the Committee needed to be reminded that public attention was focused on the museum's work, so that its closure would provoke adverse reaction in the press. My work on the building sites was to serve both ends. At its monthly meetings the Library Committee was to be shown as many new finds as was possible; but as the members would not respond readily to fragments, the objects should be complete, or at least restored. As for the public exposure, I was to secure that by keeping the press apprised of each major find as it came along. Knowing no one in the archaeological profession besides Adrian Oswald, it never occurred to me that in fulfilling Raymond Smith's second instruction I would be cutting my own throat.

The need to feed the Library Committee with a monthly supply of eye-catching artifacts imposed an added burden of monumental proportions. As very little was found intact, broken pottery had to be repaired and restored within thirty days of its recovery, and before that could be done, it had to be washed, numbered and sorted. Having never previously restored a pot in my life, and being unacquainted with the ethics of restoration, the rush to repair resulted in some highly questionable vessels — some of which may still lurk in the Museum of London's collection to confound the unwary. When insufficient readily restorable specimens were available for the next showing, an old gramophone turntable and aluminium templates enabled samian and other Roman wares to be restored to a degree that served no other useful purpose than to satisfy the Library Committee that new acquisitions were flooding into the museum's collections. In some instances, those objects were not destined to be permanent acquisitions, but instead were to be returned to the landowners whose legal property they were. Thus, for example, at the St. Swithin's House project, artifacts from the eastern side of the site belonged to the Salters' Company, while those from the rich, Walbrook, side were in the fee of the property owner Mr. R. Palumbo who was not above visiting the site to be sure which finds came from his sector, a distinction that became difficult to define as work progressed and the site dissolved into a single enormous hole.

Raymond Smith's directive to encourage press interest in the finds was easily complied with, for very rarely did a week go by without the St. Swithin's House site yielding something of consequence. In retrospect, of course, unstratified fibulae, writing tablets, stili, strigils and the like, were not all that remarkable and certainly not very informative; but one must remember that this was the winter of 1949-50 and that for more than ten years the press had been starved of 'Roman London stories'. Thus William Thompson Hill, the *Times* archaeological correspondent, could be relied on to make well-rounded mountains from our Walbrook molehills, and the same was true of the *Illustrated London News*' fine photographer William Gordon Davis, to both of whom I had been introduced by Adrian Oswald who had frequently impressed upon me the need to cultivate friends among the responsible members of the press. Any archaeologist who has had dealings with the gentlemen of the fourth estate will know that once unleashed the 'source' quickly loses control. Where the *Times* goes, *Reveille* is sure to follow, and before long my activities at St. Swithin's House were being monitored, not only by reporters from individual newspapers and the wire service, but by stringers and freelancers of every stripe.

Fearful of alienating the people whose help the museum needed, I refused interviews to no one, regardless of the fact that both questions and answers were often drowned amid

the roar of mechanical excavators. It was small wonder, therefore, that the results were sometimes of a kind to draw the wrathful disdain of older and wiser antiquaries. I shall always remember my embarrassment at being quoted by the *Daily Herald* as having found a 1st-century amphora of such rarity that 'there are only four others in existence'.<sup>15</sup> What I may have said was that I believed that there were only four other intact examples in British museums — even so, a singularly dumb claim in view of the fact that there were at least two in the London Museum and another (restored) in the Guildhall collection. Whether I actually said that or whether something like it got carried away in the roar of the machinery, I shall never know. One thing was certain, however; all this publicity may have been gaining popular (and Library Committee) support for the languishing Guildhall Museum, but it was building an insurmountable wall between my efforts and those of the Roman and Mediaeval London Excavation Council.

One may ask why dubious press reports of 30 years ago should have any place in the story of archaeological salvage in the City. Surely it was a very secondary factor having little lasting impact or importance? Under normal circumstances it would have been; but those were strange and tense times. The RMLEC was desperately short of money; it had an honorary director who could not devote sufficient time to the project, no funds for a full-time qualified field supervisor, and only enough to pay a four or five man labouring crew. In short, the Council was as much in need of popular support as was the Guildhall Museum.

In October 1949, I had stood in a small crowd lining College Hill as a procession of City dignitaries made its way to the church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal. Led by trumpeters in mediaeval costume, cassocked clerics and the banners and staff-bearers of the Mercers' Company, these black-coated and sober worthies were assembling for a dedicatory service and ceremonial sod-turning by the Master of the Mercers to inaugurate the RMLEC's search for the burial place of Sir Richard Whittington. As a mere bystander member of a somewhat puzzled proletariat who knew nothing of the Council and its work, I naïvely supposed that it always launched its projects with such civic pomp. I had no idea that in reality I was witnessing what has since come to be known as a 'media event', a ploy to attract popular attention. It is, however, in the nature of media events that they be shallow and short-lived. The 'Search for Dick Whittington's Tomb' as *The Sphere* described it,<sup>16</sup> would only qualify as a genuine event if Whittington was found — and the chances of that were remote. The body had twice been moved in the 16th century, and the church in which he lay had been destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666 and replaced by another designed by Sir Christopher Wren. Thus, well into the winter of 1949-50, the RMLEC paid the price of its initial publicity — bogged down in a fourteen-foot shaft in the south-east corner of the church packed with 18th- and 19th-century coffin burials, all demanding careful and reverential excavation. Another shaft dug in the north-east corner fared no better, running as it did into an 18th-century family vault.

So it was that in the months when my work was beginning at St. Swithin's House, and when the speed of the largely mechanical excavation was daily turning up artifacts and Roman structural features of real popular interest, the Council had taken itself out of the publicity stakes to pursue a hare of no archaeological value to the City, and one which, even if Whittington were found, could not guarantee expanded Corporation support. Furthermore, the publicity being obtained by my efforts on behalf of the City's own museum, may have been working more, albeit unintentionally, against expanded City support for the work of the Council.



On the credit side, the Walbrook discoveries and their attendant publicity ensured the survival of the Guildhall Museum and led to the appointment of Ralph Merrifield as Assistant Keeper in April 1950 and Norman Cook as Keeper some months later, a dramatic upgrading of the museum from its long-time role as a clerk-maintained appendage to the library. On the debit side, however, loomed the barrier that had been built between myself and W. F. Grimes which prevented me from benefiting from his instruction and advice, both of which I badly needed after Oswald left the scene. Thus, for example, it was not until Grimes' book was published nearly 20 years later that I discovered that he had cut a 40 foot trench through the courtyard of the bombed Salters' Hall, an area whose chronology I was soon to be trying to untangle. Professor Grimes recalls finding post holes for timber framed buildings, 'but, as always,' he adds, 'there was no possibility of recovering even a partial plan'.<sup>17</sup> That was true of any excavation limited to test trenches, but it need not have been the case at Salters' Hall had I known what I should be seeking, for that end of the site was excavated largely by hand and allowed time for better quality salvage archaeology. Indeed, it was there that I found evidence not only of the Boudiccan and Hadrianic fires but also that of 1666, providing my first post-medieval stratigraphic control.<sup>18</sup> I am convinced, therefore, that had I not given Grimes cause to condemn me as 'a menace',<sup>19</sup> co-operation between us would have expanded the knowledge obtained from his test trenches, while at the same time helping me to determine how my work should be focused.

Although my lack of archaeological knowledge was rightly considered a major limiting factor, in reality it was no more important than several practical shortcomings, the most serious being my possession of but a single pair of hands. Thus my ability to hold only one end of a tape-measure made section drawing desperately slow at times when speed was of the essence. The museum camera was equally hard to handle, a heavy folding Kodak of 118 gauge, which Adrian Oswald had dropped shortly before he left, and whose back henceforth had to be light-sealed with sticky tape, an on-site procedure that often led to leaks and fogged film. We had no light meter, and therefore exposures were arrived at by what professional photographers call 'experience' but which, in my case, was neophytic guesswork.

Just as isolated test trenches were unable to provide plans of buildings, so the butchered foundations revealed by fast-moving mechanical excavation could rarely do more than add isolated fragments to the map. As many Roman structures enjoyed extended lives and many changes along the way, rarely was it possible to determine anything more than structural chronologies. In short, the sequential factor became my only reachable goal: I would concentrate on recording stratigraphic sections and try to study and salvage small units in their entirety, rather than pursue questions I had no hope of answering. For the same reason, rather than devoting my full attention to the artifact-laden, silted east bank of the Walbrook where well preserved metal and organic artifacts abounded, I spent more of my time excavating wells and rubbish pits whose information was attainable within the limitations of my resources.

Two of those pits yielded groups of Roman domestic objects of major importance. One contained evidence of looting and destruction associated with the Boudiccan rebellion (and included the amphora that got me into trouble), while the other pit was of Flavian date and contained a wide range of *terra sigillata* and several glass objects of great importance. I was well aware, however, that nothing was of importance until it was

written up and published. So in addition to the washing, numbering and restoring needed to keep the Library Committee happy, I began the slow job of drawing the finds and preparing them for publication. The Walbrook 'amphora pit' group was reported on and accepted for publication by the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society early in 1950,<sup>20</sup> and the report on the 'glass pit' was in typescript and waiting for submission the following year. Also completed was a popular booklet illustrating the principle finds from both pits, as well as several other sealed deposits ranging from a wattle and daub building burnt in the early 2nd century (Hadrianic fire?) to a well-preserved timber-lined well of the 3rd century.<sup>21</sup> Enhanced by an encouragingly supportive foreword by Librarian and Curator, Raymond Smith, the booklet sold well and should have done something to offset the double-edged publicity. That publication was already in print when Norman Cook was appointed Keeper of Guildhall Museum. Thereafter, I was instructed to shun the press and spend no more time on writing reports.<sup>22</sup> The need for the next decade, so I was told, was to work on the building sites and leave writing up the material until construction in the City declined. In retrospect, I believe this to have been one of the most unfortunate decisions ever made by a London museum, for it consigned nine-tenths of seven years' work to limbo.

I remain firmly convinced that unless an archaeologist converts field notes into at least the skeleton of a report while the circumstances of the discovery are fresh in his mind, key data will be distorted or lost. Thus it would have been far better to have let some site work go and to have used the time to write reports on the principle discoveries. But that was not to be, and although the Walbrook 'glass pit' was ready for publication it was destined never to be submitted to the editors of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. That is not to say that an account of the ensuing years' work failed to be published; in 1952 a slim new Guildhall Museum booklet described the continuing work on the building sites, this time from the pen of the Keeper.<sup>23</sup> Although duplicating much of the previous publication, it avoided the wearying repetition of the names of the small band of volunteers who had made so many of the finds possible.

Because archaeology is one of those professions that attract public attention, it follows that a disproportionate amount of recognition falls on the leader. No matter how hard he or she may try to share the credit, the press invariably wants its story from the horse's mouth. Consequently, the assistants are relegated to kneeling positions of no great elegance in distant photographs of the site. More often than not, however, it is they who have been responsible for the hard work and may even have made the key finds. This was often the case during my years at Guildhall when most weekends, wet or shine, my long-suffering troops turned out to do battle in defence of the City's antiquities.<sup>24</sup> They were as disparate a group as any novelist could conceive of: Douglas Walton a City timberbroker, Charles Lefevre a meatpacker, Lord Noel-Buxton dubbed by the press the 'wading peer', civil servant H. E. 'Skip' Allen, printer's apprentice Peter Clarke, architect Peter DeBrant, H. Sibson Drury a medical draughtsman, library assistant Donald Bailey (who went on to a career in the British Museum), Johnny Johnson whose profession I forget, and Audrey Baines a student at the Institute of Archaeology who found herself with nothing to do while her professor was absent in India. When he returned, she did not.

Although construction on most building sites was halted at weekends allowing time for the Guildhall team to excavate features free from harassment, most of the builders' destruction was wrought from Monday to midday Saturday when volunteer help was

hard to find. My gratitude to Audrey Baines was therefore unrestrained, for she volunteered to work daily and, in April 1950, agreed to join the staff as my assistant. Not only had she studied Romano-British archaeology at Bristol University, she had also worked as a volunteer for W. F. Grimes. Thanks to Raymond Smith's support I was also able to borrow one his library attendants, Ted Doyle, and even the Keeper of the Monument, Lawrence Bentley, for the several months while his charge was shut for repairs. It was with their help that Audrey Baines and I were able to keep pace with the constant flood of artifacts into the museum.

Before work on the St. Swithin's House site had ended, several other major building licences were issued, and it quickly became apparent that I was incapable of being everywhere at once. Between 1949 and 1952, the sites were scattered from one end of the City (Serjeant's Inn) to the other (Trinity House), and I could do no better than to concentrate on major projects with obvious potential. One of these was Lloyd's new building on Lime Street and Billiter Street. There we were able to excavate a Roman hypocaust and several walls and areas of coarse tessellated pavements associated with an evolving structural complex beginning in the post-Flavian years and ending in the 4th century.<sup>25</sup> Other finds from the site included a small coin hoard of c. A.D. 260-275,<sup>26</sup> a complicated barrel-lined well of 2nd-century date,<sup>27</sup> and numerous rich rubbish pits.

There were several other equally rewarding sites on which I focused in the ensuing years, the two most important being the Sun Life Assurance building site on Cheapside, and the Bank of London and South America's building at the junction of Queen Street and Queen Victoria Street where no fewer than fourteen Roman wells were found. One of them yielded some of the most important organic artifacts retrieved from post-war London. They included an eight-rung ladder (it had been longer but a central section of uncertain length was inadvertently destroyed by the builders in my absence), a large, handled skillet, a long-bowled spoon, a pair of goat-skin 'bikini' trunks, and a human skull impaled by a large wooden post.<sup>28</sup> Other wells yielded a splendidly preserved bronze flagon and many not so well preserved pieces of very thin wooden tablets with carbon ink writing which were excavated from the soles of my boots.<sup>29</sup> The other key site, the Sun Life building, was less rich in spectacular artifacts, but revealed much of the ground plan of a substantially-built bath building whose life span stretched from the late 1st to the 3rd century.<sup>30</sup>

It is not my purpose (nor have I the space) to enumerate the principle discoveries from each site monitored between 1949 and 1956. In his invaluable book *The Roman City of London*, Ralph Merrifield has catalogued the most important structural evidence retrieved and has published several drawings which would not otherwise have seen the light of day. My aim is only to recall (before it is lost), something of the circumstances and climate in which the work was done.

Although helped at weekends by staunch volunteers, and during the week by the people already mentioned, archaeological salvage in London in the early 1950s was largely a one-man operation. Although my beat stretched from one end of the City to the other and extended across the river into the Borough, the Corporation provided no transportation. Tools, therefore, were limited to those that one could carry on a London Transport bus: trowel, brush, an army entrenching pick, and short-handled spade. Finds, if few enough (and they rarely were), had to be carried back on the bus in, by then, damp-bottomed paper bags — there were no plastic bags in those days — often with predictable results.

When finds were plentiful they were carried through the street to Guildhall on one's back in hundredweight coal sacks or, if the builders were helpful, in a wheelbarrow borrowed from the site. On the day that the St. Swithin's House 'amphora pit' was excavated, a procession of cement-spattered wheelbarrows laden with pottery trundled up to the front of Guildhall while the City Fathers and cuirassed trumpeters lined the entrance waiting for the arrival of a foreign dignitary. It was the only occasion that the Corporation ever gave us the red carpet treatment.

Comical though some of these events appear in retrospect, at the time they generated bitterness, despair in the realisation of what was being lost, and frustration at one's inability to do more. The museum which, under Adrian Oswald, had been ready to focus its wholehearted attention on the needs of the building sites, shifted its priorities and was content to leave the salvage archaeology to me — while rightly agreeing with my critics that I lacked the necessary experience. I shall remain ever grateful to Ralph Merrifield, therefore, who, on several critical occasions, donned his boots and boiler suit and came to my rescue, notably during the excavation of the Roman ladder.

Success or failure depended on the interest shown by the foremen and clerks of works on each of the sites, and that in turn depended in large measure on the construction progress schedule. When the builders were ahead, or held up for reasons unrelated to archaeology, the site supervisors could afford to accommodate the archaeologist, but when they fell behind they could not. The City Corporation included no protective clauses in building licences and no provision calling for co-operation with its archaeologist. Access to the site depended on the co-operation and goodwill of owners, architects, clerks of works, engineers, and contractors.

Fostering and then retaining that goodwill was akin to walking a tightrope, for in the final analysis the goals of the builder and archaeologist were diametrically opposed, one always needing to move quickly forward and to shift only the minimal amount of soil, and the other hoping that the job would be slowed down and that significant archaeological features could be pursued beyond the planned foundation excavation. For anyone who has never worked on a building site, it may appear greedy that the archaeologist should be asking for more ground disturbance in the midst of an already extensive area of digging. The explanation is simply that modern mechanical excavation ensures that little is available for study save in the walls of the machine-dug holes. In short, the archaeologist is forced to begin when the contractor ends; but when the contractor stops digging he does so for the very good reason that he wants the hole extended no further. Thus, anything the archaeologist does threatens to weaken edges that need to be kept trim to receive poured concrete, to make banks unsafe or create holes that the contractor will have to fill at his own expense. Thus the urge to 'go just a little further' in pursuit of a potentially significant artifact had to be resisted, for only by doing so could we retain the clerk of works' good will and, equally importantly, his co-operation on his *next* London assignment.

Several clerks of works not only allowed me as much latitude as they dared, but one even personally cleaned skeletons for me during the building of the rectory beside the church of St. Olave, Hart Street.<sup>31</sup> Another, Mr. A. R. 'Tony' Donovan helped me measure the Roman bath in Cheapside, and a much appreciated letter from him 20 years later shows that he is still directing building in the City and still co-operating with the Corporation's archaeological representatives. Yet another clerk of works, Mr. N. V. Riley, went so far as to submit an article to the *Institute of Clerks of Works Journal* urging

his colleagues to co-operate in the preservation of London's past. In a covering letter to the editor, Mr. Riley noted that 'a telephone call to any of the museums, brings an observer very quickly, and those who have visited this site have been most interesting people, and they have certainly not been any trouble to the Contractor'.<sup>32</sup> Alas, not all clerks of works shared that view — and often with good reason.

As public interest in archaeology and antiquities grew (a process fostered in large measure by the success of such television programmes as 'Animal, Vegetable or Mineral'), the quest for antiquities on London building sites was no longer limited to Guildhall Museum's archaeological assistant, his volunteers, and a handful of City businessmen who bought curiosities from workmen at prices far above those I could secure from our pitiful supply of petty cash. As I have indicated earlier, the purchase of any artifact from the workmen was illegal, for the City's archaeologist had no more business buying artifacts than the finders had to sell them. They all belonged to the landowners, and if, as sometimes happened, they had assigned ownership to the City, we were simply buying what we already owned. But law and logic can be uneasy bedfellows; the fact remained that for more than a century London labourers had augmented their pay by selling whatever they found to anyone who would pay for it. By 1955, however, a new enemy entered the lists — the secret, dark and midnight looters who, by the light of electric torches, invaded the sites where I was working, to rob pits and wells already in the process of archaeological excavation.

The new vandals were of all ages from boyhood to late middle-age, but they had one thing in common: the lure of the artifact, and they dug wherever they chose, unfettered by the rules laid down by the site's clerk of works. Although, in most instances, builders were aware that the damage was not being done by the Guildhall team, they were becoming disenchanted with archaeology. Fear that something important might be found and that a newspaper would report it, and thus draw down a plague of looters upon the site, tended to make them wary and less inclined to co-operate. Nothing contributed more to that cooling of relations than did the great Mithras circus in 1954.

If the Roman and Mediaeval London Excavation Council still wanted to make a splash, it succeeded beyond all imagining when a routine trench running west from Walbrook cut into the apsidal-ended, ragstone structure which later turned out to be a mithraeum. Not until site clearance for the construction of Bucklersbury House began could the RMLEC expand its trenches to expose the rest of the building. What happened then has been faithfully chronicled by Professor Grimes,<sup>33</sup> and the archives of every London newspaper are rich in stories under such headlines as '10,000 Queue up to see God of Light', 'Roman Temple Crowd Clash with Police', and 'One Grab Ends a Roman Temple'.<sup>34</sup>

Neither the owners of the Bucklersbury House property, the Legenland Trust, nor Humphreys and Co., the builders, realised what they were getting into when they co-operated with the Council by enabling the Mithraeum excavation to be expanded, and it is everlastingly to the credit of all concerned that the work was allowed to go on. The fate of the temple foundations became a national *cause célèbre*. Questions were asked in the House, Minister of Works Sir David Eccles and Lord Mayor Sir Noel Bowater visited the site, cartoonists had a field day — and throughout the City and across the nation, building contractors prayed that it would never happen to them. It was small wonder, therefore, that once the Mithras matter had been resolved (by piling its stones and tiles in

a mountainous heap on an adjacent site for ‘reconstruction’ at a later date), the Bucklersbury House builders wanted to get on with their already delayed job and be rid of archaeologists and the ghosts of Roman London.

That was easier said than done. Much of the silted stream and flood plain of the river Walbrook meandered down the eastern third of the site from the National Safe Deposit Company building at the north to Cannon Street at the south, all of it literally bristling with Roman artifacts and structural remains preserved in immaculate condition. Roman oak pilings for revetments and ‘floating’ foundations were everywhere,<sup>35</sup> while the peatlike silt around them contained stratified deposits of artifacts capable of identifying and dating the timber structures, thus providing answers to questions probing to the very heart of Roman London. That such evidence would be revealed, need have surprised no one. In 1873, John E. Price published his report on his discoveries from the National Safe Deposit Company’s site, and in it he expressed regret that so much had been swept away unrecorded — that at a time when the digging was done by hand. Price ended his report with these words:

‘With the rapidity with which such a large quantity of earth has to be excavated and removed, and the dangers consequent on delay, there must naturally be a large number of objects which escape detection, besides those which find their way into other hands. Such are conditions which must ever exist unless an excavation in the city be undertaken *solely* on antiquarian grounds. This has never yet been done. We institute researches abroad, sometimes on doubtful sites, and critically examine every shovel-full of earth, often with no certain prospect of reward; but in a comparatively small space situate at home, and illustrative alike of the origin and progressive growth of this the chief city of the empire, sufficient interest has not yet been manifested to induce a properly organized investigation of any given site’.<sup>36</sup>

Nothing can detract from the importance of the Walbrook Mithraeum or dim the credit due to the RMLEC for its achievement, but the fact remains that failure to properly excavate and study the Walbrook valley while it still survived, robbed the City of a priceless chapter of its cultural history. One is tempted to describe it as a lost opportunity, but, in reality, it was no opportunity at all. Most of the relevant area was covered by the footings and rubble-filled basements of bombed buildings, ruins whose removal only became economically feasible when work began to erect a new building. The Corporation, whose niggardly support for the RMLEC from 1949 to 1962 amounted to only £550,<sup>37</sup> was unlikely to provide the several thousand pounds needed to clear the site. Without the degree of public funding that became possible in the early 1970s (which led to the successful and prolonged excavations on the Thames waterfront in the vicinity of Baynard’s Castle, and on the General Post Office site), neither the work force nor the laboratory facilities could be realised. Thus, Price’s dream of a large-scale area excavation for the purpose of studying London’s Roman roots, was no more practical in 1954 than it had been in 1873.

Even as the temple foundations were being recorded and dismantled, the builders’ draglines were cutting through the Walbrook silt and hauling Roman oak piles and planking out of the ground in their teeth.<sup>38</sup> Rarely was it possible to do more than photograph the destruction and to salvage individual artifacts as they spilled out of the loosened and dropped silt. On the afternoon of 2 April 1955, however, I was able to work for several hours alongside a Roman timber revetment, and from a stratum of black gravel beneath sealing layers of peat and sand came a vast quantity of Roman metal objects apparently deposited in the Trajan-Antonine period. The Excavation Register summary included the following: ‘hooks, linch pin, keys, chape, bronze needles, punches,



an iron pin with brass face terminal, bronze wire chain, other chains, decorated bronze studs, *phalerae*, two trumpet brooches decorated with applied pewter and tinning in centre, *as* of Domitian, unfinished tools, iron needles, *as* of Claudius, various knife blades, iron spatula, iron buckle, decorative hinges for chests (ivy leaf terminals), latch hooks, 3 goads iron, various stili, iron brackets, ties, etc. Pockets in gravel around piles yielded stili, bronze needles and a stamp of ELVILLI (Elvillus — Lezoux, Antonine).<sup>39</sup> The list does not mention the vast quantities of iron nails which, if my memory is correct, filled three hundredweight sacks — and this was what was retrieved by one archaeologist (with help from Ralph Merrifield) limited by the contractors' insistence that no digging should be allowed beyond a line against which their concrete was to be poured.

That night the looters who had plagued the site since the Mithras story broke, continued where we had left off, cutting deep holes into the sacrosanct banks, and when fatigue or an inability to haul away the spoils caused them to desist, they left the excavation walls pitted like an artillery firing range. The contractors blamed me, and the Guildhall archaeologists were subsequently barred from the site, thus ending any supervision of the destruction process. Nevertheless, the nocturnal looting went on, and, in an ultimate irony, some of the artifacts whose recovery had cost us so dearly, were later presented to the museum (after their novelty had worn off) and were accepted by the Corporation with expressions of effusive, if inappropriate gratitude.<sup>40</sup>

The Bucklersbury House site had been the only occasion on which I had worked simultaneously with the staff of the RMLEC, and arriving as I did in the wake of the enormous press publicity, and in the presence of many people young or old who might or might not have been legitimate volunteers or visitors, it was impossible for me to exercise the kind of control that had kept me in good grace with contractors on other sites. The resulting frustration, bordering on despair, lingers in the pages of the Excavation Register: 'E.R.222. Bucklersbury House. Small, timber-lined well "excavated" by unescorted boy with a coal hammer as his principle instrument. The deposit cannot be considered to be of any value'.<sup>41</sup>

With nothing getting published and no time to learn from what was being found, one might be forgiven for questioning whether the battle was worth fighting. 'We are in a very difficult position', I explained in a letter to A. W. G. Lowther, 'in that the builders are digging, and while they continue to do so we should be watching them, and while we are doing that it is very difficult to be writing reports on the last site but one. The only way to catch up would be to abandon the excavations for a season. That is not the museum's present policy, and I expect it is right — yet I cannot help wondering whether, if we don't publish the back material soon, we shall ever publish it at all — in which case all these years of hard work will have been wasted'.<sup>42</sup> It is true that the museum collections were being enriched as never before, but little was being learned from these acquisitions. Then, too, I was alone in my concern for the wasted medieval and post-medieval opportunities. Indeed, it is some measure of the validity of my concern that both Norman Cook's 1952 booklet and Ralph Merrifield's fine book in 1965 concerned themselves only with the archaeology of Roman London. Perhaps as a sop to me, however, there was talk of an eventual volume devoted to London domestic pottery 1500-1750; but, as I explained to Anthony Lowther, 'There does not seem to be much likelihood of anything moving in the near future. In the meantime much of the evidence has been split up — returned to the owners, and so forth'.<sup>43</sup>

Unable to foretell the remarkable improvements ten or twelve years down the road, I left the Guildhall Museum early in 1957 with only brief field notes and a mass of artifacts as my legacy. In my letter of resignation I tried to explain what the job of rescue archaeologist for the Corporation of London involved, in the hope that the then Librarian-Curator Arthur Hall would 'be able to make my shoes more comfortable for my successor'.

'I have found through experience that the role of archaeological assistant in London is not an enviable one', I wrote, 'for it is the duty of that person to spend much time on building sites where his presence can offer nothing but the prospect of delay, irritation and inconvenience to the builders. Without any official authority from the Corporation he must rely on tact, cunning, and self-effacement to achieve the results for which he is employed. He must frequently make personal contact with owners, architects and builders, and take immediate and independent decisions for which the Corporation will be responsible — thus bearing on his own shoulders a weight of responsibility far greater than is warranted by his status.

'The assistant must be prepared to excavate pits, wells, *etc.*, under conditions which sometimes threaten personal danger. This work must often be carried on alone, for he has no one to whom he can turn for labouring assistance when it is needed. The present staff of the museum is in no position to supply this need, nor, indeed, is it seemly that it should be so. Furthermore, the archaeological assistant has no means of transporting his equipment to and from the building sites nor of bringing back the quantities of resulting finds. He must be prepared to be a navvy who will work in all weathers and under any conditions however little they may befit the dignity of an officer of the Corporation. On the sites he will be torn between his duty to fulfil his paid purpose of recovering information and antiquities and his desire to avoid giving the builders cause to complain'.<sup>44</sup>

In 1978, the annals of those distant days have an almost Dickensian quality about them: the poverty of those on the bottom rungs of the Corporation ladder; the power-plays and jockeying for preferment further up; and the shadow of a lone figure trudging up King Street through swirling yellow fog with a sack on his back, staggering up endless flights of narrow Guildhall stairs (warmed by the smell of turtle soup being readied for a Lord Mayor's banquet), to the bitter cold of an attic laboratory. Alas, it was no Christmas tale with goose and plum pudding at the end, and there might be cogent reasons for letting it remain interred with Marley's bones were it not for the fact that this was a page from London's past that may one day be of documentary value.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Adrian Oswald 'On watching a building site' *Archaeol. News Letter* 2 no. 4 (August 1949) 57–58.

<sup>2</sup> Frank Lambert 'Recent Roman discoveries in London' *Archaeologia* 66 (1914–15) 225–274; also 'Some recent excavations in London' *Archaeologia* 71 (1921) 55–112.

<sup>3</sup> London Museum Catalogue: No. 1 *London and the Vikings* (London, 1927); *ibid.* No. 3 *London in Roman Times* (London, 1930); *ibid.* No. 6 R. E. M. Wheeler *London and the Saxons* (London, 1935).

<sup>4</sup> London Museum Catalogue: No. 7 *Medieval Catalogue* (London, 1940).

<sup>5</sup> Adrian Oswald and Howard Phillips 'A Restoration glass hoard from Gracechurch Street, London' *The Connoisseur* 124 no. 513 (September 1949) 30–36.

<sup>6</sup> *Archaeol. News Letter* 2 no. 1 (May 1949) 6.

<sup>7</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler 'The rebuilding of London' *Antiquity* 18 (1944) 152.

<sup>8</sup> Martin Biddle *et al.* *The Future of London's Past* Rescue Publication No. 4 (Worcester, 1973) 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 7.

<sup>11</sup> Oswald *op. cit.* in note 1, 58.

<sup>12</sup> *The Illustrated London News* (8 October 1949) 557.

<sup>13</sup> Donovan Dawe and Adrian Oswald *11 Ironmonger Lane* (London, 1952).

<sup>14</sup> Raymond Smith to I.N.H., formal communication, 25 November 1949.

<sup>15</sup> 'Two-Pot Luck found on bombed site' *Daily Herald* (6 March 1950). Variations on the same statement appeared in several other papers indicating that, one way or another, the fault indeed was mine.

<sup>16</sup> 'Digging up the City of London's Past' *The Sphere* (15 October 1949) 83.

<sup>17</sup> W. F. Grimes *The Excavation of Roman and Mediaeval London* (London, 1968) 128–129.

<sup>18</sup> Ralph Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965) following 164, Pl. 15.

<sup>19</sup> Adrian Oswald to I.N.H., personal communication, 21 March 1950.

- <sup>20</sup> I. Noël Hume and A. Noël Hume 'A mid-first century pit near Walbrook' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 11 pt. 3 (1954) 249–258.
- <sup>21</sup> Ivor Noël Hume *Discoveries on Walbrook 1949–50* (Guildhall Museum, London, 1950).
- <sup>22</sup> That injunction did not mean that no records were to be kept. On the contrary, it was after the arrival of Norman Cook that the museum's Excavation Register system was established to preserve the field notes and to create a numbering system that did not require an identifying site prefix.
- <sup>23</sup> Norman C. Cook *Finds in Roman London 1949–52* (Guildhall Museum, London, 1953).
- <sup>24</sup> Ivor Noël Hume 'Digging up the history of London' *London Calling* (British Broadcasting Corporation, London, 16 March 1950) 8–9.
- <sup>25</sup> Ivor Noël Hume, Summary reports in *Lloyd's Log* (December 1951) 6; (January 1952) 5 & 7; (March 1952) 5 & 7; additional pictures of the site appeared in *Lloyd's Log* (February 1952) 8 & 10. The plan of the Roman structural remains was reprinted by Ralph Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 18, 55.
- <sup>26</sup> Merrifield *ibid.* 54; also *Numismatic Chronicle* 6 ser. 15 (1955) 113 ff.
- <sup>27</sup> Merrifield *ibid.* following 164, 111.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 112–116.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 110; and for recently excavated writing tablets of the same type from Vindolanda see A. Bowman 'Roman Military Records from Vindolanda' *Britannia* 5 (1974) 360 ff.
- <sup>30</sup> Ivor Noël Hume *A Roman Bath-Building in Cheapside* (privately printed for the Sun Life Assurance Company, June 1956). The plan was reprinted by Merrifield *ibid.* 139, Fig. 25. More recently Peter Marsden has attempted the unenviable but courageous task of reassessing the Cheapside bath building on the basis of my incomplete notes and drawings, see P. Marsden 'Two Roman Public Baths in London' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 27 (1976) 30 ff.
- <sup>31</sup> Ivor Noël Hume 'Relics from the Wine Trade's own church' *Wine & Spirit Trade Record* (17 February 1958) 158–164.
- <sup>32</sup> An undated draft, c. April 1954.
- <sup>33</sup> Grimes *op. cit.* in note 17, 92–117, 237.
- <sup>34</sup> *Daily Express* (22 September 1954); *Daily Sketch* (22 September 1954); *Daily Mail* (24 September 1954).
- <sup>35</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 18, Pl. 21, 23–24.
- <sup>36</sup> John E. Price *Roman Antiquities Illustrated by Remains Recently Discovered on the Site of The National Safe Deposit Company's Premises, Mansion House, London* (London, 1873) 78–79.
- <sup>37</sup> Grimes *op. cit.* in note 17, 245.
- <sup>38</sup> See note 35.
- <sup>39</sup> Guildhall Museum Excavation Register No. 268. Some of these finds are illustrated by Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 18, Pl. 126–127, 129, 132–133, 139.
- <sup>40</sup> *Sunday Times* (14 April 1957).
- <sup>41</sup> The *Daily Express* described the boy's equipment differently, and had him 'grubbing around on the site each evening after school, using a cycle lamp, his mother's poker, and a small trowel' (7 October 1954).
- <sup>42</sup> I.N.H. to A. W. G. Lowther, personal communication, 11 January 1955.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>44</sup> I.N.H. to Arthur H. Hall, formal communication, 17 January 1957.

# TOWARDS THE FUTURE OF LONDON'S PAST

MAX HEBDITCH

'The present generation of archaeologists, administrators, City Fathers and site owners bears a heavy responsibility, and will certainly be blamed by posterity if it allows important evidence for London's early history to be destroyed without a very determined effort to record it. Unlike its predecessors, it can hardly plead ignorance as an excuse.'

Thus wrote Ralph Merrifield in 1965 in his book *The Roman City of London*, the first survey of the potential of Roman London since the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments volume in 1928.<sup>1</sup> His call was an echo of many that had gone before, which he himself admirably chronicled in the introduction to his book<sup>2</sup> — calls that had more often than not gone unheeded by authority but which had been answered to the best of their ability by many academics and amateurs over 140 years. But in 1965 how could it be ignored yet again? The achievements of Peter Grimes' excavations for the Roman and Mediaeval London Excavation Council, albeit yet again inadequately funded by the City, had demonstrated the potential knowledge that could be revealed by the application of advanced excavation techniques.<sup>3</sup> The detailed observation of building sites, first by Ivor Noël Hume (whose account of those days appears elsewhere in this volume), then from 1957 by Eve Rutter, and from 1961–1973 by Peter Marsden, all Field Officers of Guildhall Museum, had indicated the continuing value of close and meticulous observation of the excavation of others.<sup>4</sup> In this respect they inherited the mantle of the Society of Antiquaries' observers of pre-war days: E. B. Birley, the late Gerald Dunning and Frank Cottrill.<sup>5</sup>

In 1965 the situation was again pressing. Peter Grimes' excavations were largely at an end; most bombed sites were redeveloped. But property owners were now turning their attention to improving the office stock in other parts of the City. Areas of traditional city occupations were fast disappearing; the waterfront, in particular, was losing its maritime character, and a new dual carriageway was being driven from Blackfriars Bridge to the Tower. Something needed to be done and Guildhall Museum was the only agency that could possibly do anything.<sup>6</sup> However, the Museum was not in a very strong position. Under its Keeper, Norman Cook, it was a department of Guildhall Library whose Librarian and Curator at the time was A. H. Hall. Its temporary premises in the Royal Exchange were grossly unsatisfactory and provided no adequate working space. It was involved in the projected amalgamation with the London Museum, for which the necessary Act of Parliament received the Royal Assent the same year. Although the Museum accepted the responsibility for site observation and had undertaken some rescue excavations by depending largely upon the volunteer help of the City of London Excavation Group (later Archaeological Society), it was by no means universally regarded as the proper body to inherit the responsibility for large-scale research.

However, Guildhall Museum had made efforts to obtain a more responsible attitude on the part of the Corporation in archaeological matters. Two years previously, in October 1963, the Library Committee considered what could be done about archaeology on the new development taking place in areas not destroyed in the war. Here standing buildings had to be cleared, but this often took place only days before the foundations of the new structure began to go in. It was not like the long-vacant bombed sites, which, although covered with mounds of rubble, could be excavated at comparative leisure. This time there were considerable external economic pressures on the archaeologists, limiting the time for excavation even if they had had the money and resources for it. An attempt had been made, therefore, by the Library Committee to secure three things. First, when considering planning applications, the Corporation should have the archaeological potential of the site reviewed by the Keeper of the Museum. Second, if the Keeper thought that archaeological remains were likely, this operation should be confirmed by an independent archaeological panel. Third, planning permission should then be made dependent upon time for excavation being allowed. The archaeological needs were couched in modest terms ('a small excavation') and there was no indication of the resources that would be necessary to undertake the excavations. It was possibly envisaged that the Roman & Mediaeval London Excavation Council would undertake the work, although it had to all intents and purposes ceased excavation in order to concentrate on publishing. Had these proposals got through, the situation for archaeology would have improved vastly. Instead, the Corporation's legal officers advised that it was not possible to make archaeological excavation a condition of planning approval and there the matter rested. However, on the matter of site observation where construction work had already started, Guildhall Museum was in a slightly more favourable position, especially where the Corporation had a financial interest in the site. The archaeological work was given a legal basis by the inclusion of clauses in the building agreement allowing 'reasonable facilities to examine measure and record and remove any articles of historical or archaeological interest which may be disclosed'.

In the years following the publication of Ralph Merrifield's book the situation began to improve. Peter Marsden was able to direct excavations on a number of sites<sup>7</sup> and, when he and his volunteer team were committed at Billingsgate, Brian Philp was brought in to dig the south side of the Roman Forum on the Limebank development at the junction of Fenchurch Street and Gracechurch Street in 1968/69.<sup>8</sup> That these opportunities were afforded at all, sprang from the preparation in 1966 in the Corporation's Department of Architecture and Planning of a map of 'Known Roman sites of Archaeological importance'. The advice for this came from the Museum. Planning permissions for sites within the most important areas of this map included the following informative paragraph:

'It is considered excavation of the site may uncover remains of considerable archaeological interest, and it is requested that the Director of the Guildhall Museum be consulted in regard to this aspect of the matter'.

The title Director also indicates another significant change, for in that year Guildhall Museum, whose Keeper was President of the Museums Association and Deputy Director designate of the Museum of London, became an independent department of the Corporation. The Museum chief had direct access to the Committee for the first time.

The excavations that took place following these improvements in official attitudes, continued to be small scale and low cost, depending still largely on the work of weekend volunteers. Indeed no sum for excavations (other than the salary of the Field Officer) was included in the estimates for Guildhall Museum until 1968/69 when the Limebank site was excavated by Philp. That year £1,610 was spent (inclusive of outside grants amongst which was £500 from the Ministry of Public Building and Works, now the Department of the Environment). In the following year £107 was spent out of the Museum's allocation of £1,000 for digging. It is perhaps not altogether surprising that for 1971/72 the estimate of £1,000 was reduced to £500. Additional limited funds were forthcoming from time to time from other committees of the Corporation for the excavation of their own sites such as the Old Bailey extension.

In May 1971, I came from Bristol Museum to Guildhall Museum as Director, frankly amazed that such low sums were being spent on the archaeology of the most important urban site in Britain. At that time the Museum staff comprised Ralph Merrifield, John Clark, Hugh Chapman, Peter Marsden, Bill Rector and Irene Shaw: all were passionately concerned about the threat to archaeology in the City. Almost immediately estimates had to be prepared for the financial year 1972/73 and these included an increased sum for excavation purposes, intended to raise the Corporation's contributions towards a figure comparable to expenditure by museums in other towns. A figure of £3,000 was proposed towards which a grant of £1,500 was expected from the Department of the Environment. This was hardly as great as the Winchester Research Unit, for instance, but it was an improvement. At this stage no extensive review of potential archaeological sites had taken place. However, we decided that rescue work should be concentrated into fixed periods on a limited number of sites and that long never-ending weekend rescue digging on building sites should cease. An immediate check of available sites threatened with imminent development suggested that two would be available in 1972; Sir John Cass School, Aldgate<sup>9</sup> and the site of Baynard's Castle in Upper Thames Street<sup>10</sup> which was to be covered by the new dual carriageway along Thames Street. Jeremy Haslam had drawn the Museum's attention to the existence of archaeological features of medieval date on the latter site, revealed in a drain trench being dug as a preliminary to road-building. These I had missed when visiting the site for the first time. Information about both these sites was reported to the Department of the Environment in January and a grant of £1,500 was confirmed for the following year. However, the intended equivalent provision in the Corporation's estimates for 1972/73 was cut to £500.

These moves only took account of immediate problems. More serious consideration was needed about the future. In the *Annual Report of the Guildhall Museum for 1971*, I wrote as follows:

'It cannot be pretended that adequate time and resources were devoted to coping with the destruction of archaeological evidence in the City. Although the information recovered from excavation and observation was valuable to the history of the city, it was perforce piecemeal and scrappy. There is no substitute for proper excavation of more sites before construction work takes place. The decision not to excavate a site, whether forced on the Museum or consciously taken, is in many ways equivalent to destroying a portion of the documents in the City's archives. Some idea of the growing nature of the problem may be seen in the number of planning applications for rebuilding approved in the last two years: 16 in 1970 and 29 in 1971. These figures may be expected to increase as development continues to extend through areas not damaged in the war.'



We began to think in earnest about archaeological policy, and the part Guildhall Museum should play in it. At the same time the Museum staff were also re-displaying the Guildhall Museum's Roman Gallery and assisting the London Museum in preparing an exhibition on Chaucer which opened on Easter Saturday, 1972. But leisurely consideration was overtaken by events. Baynard's Castle became a public issue, almost in the manner of the Temple of Mithras<sup>11</sup> or the Bucklersbury Roman mosaic<sup>12</sup>. Baynard's Castle began as a Norman defensive structure in the west of the City, complementing the Tower of London. In the 13th century its site became part of the precincts of Blackfriars and a new castle, or palace, was established on the waterfront. Surviving depictions of the new castle, before its destruction in the Great Fire, indicated an extensive, turretted waterfront facade. Clearly such a major medieval building required examination and the excavations were planned to take place between April and September in those parts where the construction of side walls to the road would destroy ancient features. Those parts under the road-bed itself were to be left as they were unlikely to be disturbed. But in February 1972 it was learnt that the site of the turretted facade was required by 1 April, reducing the period from five months to one. Almost immediately Guildhall Museum was given extra funds by the Library Committee of the Corporation and an advance was made by the Department of the Environment on their grant for the financial year 1972/73. With Peter Marsden in charge, a high-speed excavation of the river frontage was mounted which demonstrated that archaeological deposits of Roman, Saxon and medieval date adjoining the Thames were extremely well preserved, greatly influencing our attitude to subsequent redevelopment schemes taking place between Thames Street and the River. Mr. Martin Biddle, Director of the Winchester Research Unit, visited the site on 21 March 1972 to discuss its importance. It is no doubt not unconnected that subsequently the pressure group known as *Rescue*, whose Chairman Biddle was, generated a great deal of publicity in the media between 26 March and 10 April on the lack of an adequate archaeological organisation in the City and the alleged meagreness of the Corporation's contribution. Over Easter weekend 30 March to 3 April, the spectacle of vast numbers of volunteers desperately working to record the river frontage under the control of Nick Farrant, an amateur archaeologist deputising for Peter Marsden, became front-page news. Much of the press and TV comment aroused was ill-considered and often inaccurate; as so often, the discrete matters of preservation and excavation became very confused. The furore finally led to questions in the House of Commons on 12, 19 and 26 April. The Corporation, and to a certain extent the Department of the Environment which had a responsibility in the matter, were under very great pressure.

The controversy was considered by the Library Committee of the Corporation in May 1972. They were advised that although expenditure in the previous financial year (1971/72) on excavations was higher than had been erroneously claimed in the press (approximately £8,140 of which approximately £1,440 had been spent on site for plant hire and volunteers' expenses) it was still small in relation to the need. For the remainder of the year more cash was required for the sites at Baynard's Castle, Aldgate and a further site which had come to the Museum's notice at Bush Lane and was expected to contain additional information about the late 1st-century Roman Palace of which other traces exist in the vicinity of Cannon Street Station.<sup>13</sup>

As a result the Library Committee was able to obtain a revised sum of £3,950 for 1972 with the Department of the Environment providing a matching sum. After some

persuasion the Department of the Environment also produced a further £8,500 to cover the whole costs of excavation on the waterfront west of the Baynard's Castle site which was being developed for the Post Office. The total expenditure on excavation (apart from salaries of permanent staff) in 1972/73 finally rose to £17,695, although the Corporation's share was only £3,950. An important contribution that year was an anonymous private donation of £1,000. Compared with 1968/69 when Guildhall Museum first had money for excavations, this was a large budget.

As already indicated, *Rescue* generated considerable publicity for their views, and they also communicated these to the Corporation in the form of a letter, originally intended for publication in *The Times*, which was placed before the Library Committee in July. In commenting on it I was obliged to point out that criticisms of the Corporation were substantially correct ('a single Field Officer to deal with the recording of all archaeology in the City of London . . . finance for archaeology in the City is inadequate, and compares very poorly with what is now available in many other towns . . . all effort has been concentrated on the single obvious and tangible monument . . . no consideration seems to have been given to the real importance of the site in the urban development of London . . . the setting up of an independent archaeological unit'). What was needed was an archaeological research unit which should in due course become part of the Museum of London. Meanwhile the resources of Guildhall Museum should be expanded. The Library Committee, very conscious of the City's responsibilities and concern for archaeology, agreed to request a further report into all the implications from the City Architect and Planning Officer and the Museum Director.

With the decisions of the Library Committee in July to take a detailed look at the problem and consult with other bodies, the Baynard's Castle affair might be said to be over. The site did not completely lose the attention of the media and well-publicised open days, combined with an exhibition on the archaeological potential of the City at August Bank Holiday weekend, brought some further attention. During the summer there was contact with Martin Biddle and Robert Kiln of *Rescue*, which was proceeding with its own survey of London's archaeological problems and organisational needs,<sup>14</sup> but a formal meeting did not take place until 24 October. As this fell into the programme of consultation which the Library Committee had determined upon, the meeting was also attended by representatives of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society and the Museum of London. The Roman and Mediaeval London Excavation Council, and the Department of the Environment were also invited to the meeting, but they were unable to be present. At this meeting, we presented the draft of a short booklet entitled *Archaeology in the City of London: an Opportunity* and explained Guildhall Museum's proposals for implementing that policy.<sup>15</sup> *An Opportunity*, prepared by all the Museum staff, was deliberately brief. It recounted the history of archaeology in the City and hinted at the problems which remained unsolved despite all that had been done since Guildhall Museum was founded in 1826. A series of maps, prepared with the assistance of the City Architect's Department, showed how much of the City's archaeology was already lost or inaccessible; how important were the areas that remained (listing 10 areas of the greatest significance as Category 1); and the extent and number of the proposed redevelopments that threatened these areas. The ways of meeting that challenge through the existing Museum structure was contained in a separate document which was to form the basis of the report requested by the Library Committee. The proposals received a fair measure of

support, although *Rescue* was still concerned that the archaeological unit might not be sufficiently independent to achieve the necessary financial resources and political muscle.

Following these consultations the booklet and report were placed before the Library Committee, together with letters on the matter received from *Rescue* and the Council for British Archaeology. The report emphasised that little could be done under existing powers to compel excavation, and that it would be most inadvisable to use the power to refuse planning consent under Section 79(1) of the Town and Country Planning Act 1971 on the grounds that excavation had not taken place; a course of action which had been suggested by Julian Amery, Minister for Housing and Construction, Department of the Environment, in a written parliamentary answer on 20 April 1972.<sup>16</sup> However, we reported that, despite the lack of statutory machinery, more archaeological research was likely to be done if there was more staff, more money and more goodwill from developers. We suggested a Department of Urban Archaeology within Guildhall Museum, an excavation and publications fund to attract outside contribution as well as Corporation and Department of the Environment grants, and the circulation of *An Opportunity* among developers and architects so that they at least understood what the archaeologists wanted. The general public's consciousness of environmental issues at that time was thought likely to be helpful. Following the Library Committee's consideration of the matter consultations took place with other Committees of the Corporation as a result of which their support was obtained.

In June 1973, the Library Committee was in a position to report to the Court of Common Council on the action that should be taken on archaeological matters if the opportunities presented by redevelopment were not to be lost. An essential element was securing the co-operation of developers, and the booklet was an essential part of that process. The report also recognised that without a lead being given by the Corporation on its own sites, the Museum would be in a very difficult position. The Court of Common Council approved the report on 28 June and asked all its committees to ensure that proper attention was given to the needs of archaeology in all matters with which they were concerned. It also agreed to receive a further report on the financial and staffing needs of Guildhall Museum. The report received widespread press coverage. Although in staffing terms they meant a 100% increase, our proposals were very modest.

The staff was to comprise a Chief Urban Archaeologist and four assistants. The main labour force was to be provided by staff employed on a fees and subsistence basis with the aid of the Department of the Environment grant. Conservation facilities would be provided from existing resources, which had been expanded by the addition of an Assistant Conservation Officer seconded from the London Museum. However, when the matter was considered by the Establishment Committee in July it was referred back to the Planning and Communications and Library Committees to examine 'the effective integrating of archaeological research with planning decisions' (by which the matter of future Museum of London involvement was meant). This prevented the staffing matters going before the Court for approval before the summer recess and threatened to delay the setting up of the unit. On 23 July 1973 the Chairman of the Library Committee, Francis F. Stunt, met the Chairman of the Planning and Communications Committee and agreed that there was no problem such as to cause delay in the setting up of the Department of Urban Archaeology. The Chairman of the Establishments Committee agreed to authorise advertising of the necessary posts pending approval by the Court of Common

Council. The advertisement for Chief Urban Archaeologist appeared in *The Times* on 10 August 1973. Meanwhile, *The Future of London's Past* was published by *Rescue*.<sup>17</sup> This volume, coming only three weeks after the City had announced its own programme, received considerable attention in the *Sunday Times* on 22 July 1973 and was the subject of a valuable leader in *The Times* on the following day. It contained a detailed analysis of our state of knowledge of the archaeology of the City and also included a study of the management structures and establishment for a very much larger archaeological research unit than that envisaged by Guildhall Museum proposals. The publicity was particularly valuable in re-stating the archaeological needs at a time when the Guildhall Museum's establishment proposals were jammed, and may have contributed to their unblocking. In October Brian Hopley was appointed Chief Urban Archaeologist in charge of the Department. Other posts were filled by Peter Marsden, already on the staff, Tony Dyson, Michael Rhodes and David Brown (no longer with the Museum).

Paralleling the main course of events leading to the creation of the Department of Urban Archaeology were a number of other developments in both the formation of archaeological policy and its execution.

The Corporation improved clauses in building contracts with which it was concerned to enable archaeological investigation to take place, although not in as strong terms as those used for example by Hampshire County Council.<sup>18</sup> The Corporation also undertook to advise the D.o.E. of all developments affecting either a scheduled monument or one in the course of scheduling. On these sites, it still felt that any investigation should be fitted into the builder's programme and restated its view (already referred to) that it could not itself make excavation a condition of planning consent. The Corporation believed that the matter could ultimately only be solved by the national legislation foreshadowed in a parliamentary answer on 19 April 1972 to one of the questions raised at the time of the Baynard's Castle affair: 'I hope to introduce a more general measure before long which would include powers of compulsory excavation in suitable cases'.

Early in 1973, the Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings of the Department of the Environment under the new Chief Inspector, Andrew Saunders, began to formulate a national policy for rescue archaeology. In the absence of a state service a network of regional archaeology units, each covering a number of counties, was proposed. These views were put forward at a national conference called by the D.o.E. in February 1973. To discuss the implications of these national proposals which appeared to cut across both Guildhall Museum's plans for field archaeology, and those being developed by the Museum of London under the new Director, Tom Hume, meetings were held between the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate, the Museum of London and Guildhall Museum. It was pointed out to the D.o.E. that the Board of Governors of the Museum represented just the kind of management envisaged for regional units elsewhere, representing all interested parties, and that as any organisation would take time to set up this should not inhibit other developments in the interim. As a result it was agreed that a plan for Greater London as a whole, and Museum of London involvement in it, could not be worked out until there was much more information about the archaeological need. To do this a working party was established, under the Chairmanship of Peter Grimes, which with the aid of a grant from the Department of the Environment, the Greater London Council and the Museum of London, employed two research assistants to carry out the

task. In the meantime Guildhall Museum should press on with its own proposals for the City.

However, while the organisational aspects of archaeology were being worked out, the pace of redevelopment did not slacken. I have already mentioned that the number of planning consents which involved destruction of archaeological deposits had risen from 16 in 1970 to 29 in 1971. In 1972 over 40 consents were granted. In my *Annual Report for 1972* I indicated that to all intents and purposes no archaeological work had been done on nine sites within the line of the City Wall where remains could have been expected and the Museum's only Field Officer, Peter Marsden, was by this time committed to an extensive post-excavation programme in the Baynard's Castle results. In 1973, therefore, the Museum had to recruit excavation directors from outside. The main site examined was Custom House and Wool Quay<sup>19</sup> between Lower Thames Street and the River, directed by Tim Tatton-Brown. A Roman prefabricated box-section timber quay of late 2nd-century date was revealed; another of the 13th century was also discovered and at the east end of the site a large section of a clinker-built ship had been incorporated in a medieval waterfront. Parts of the 14th-century and later custom houses were also found. The potential of waterfront archaeology revealed by the previous year's work at Baynard's Castle was amply demonstrated. At Christ Church, Greyfriars<sup>20</sup> road improvements required the demolition of the east end of the Wren church. The excavations directed by Tony Johnson showed that Wren had used the foundations of the medieval church to support his rather smaller structure. No traces were found of the important royal tombs within the church. Tony Johnson also directed excavations within cellars of standing buildings at 110-114 Cannon Street demonstrating that 18th and 19th-century building here had removed almost all earlier remains.<sup>21</sup>

It might appear to many that Guildhall Museum did little to meet the challenge posed by Ralph Merrifield in his book until the Department of Urban Archaeology began to operate in December 1973 with a greatly expanded programme, which in 1974 involved excavations at New Fresh Wharf, Seal House, Trig Lane, Botolph Lane, Ludgate Hill, Upper Thames Street, St. Mildred's Bread Street, Harp Lane, Angel Court and the G.P.O. site.<sup>22</sup> Some of these sites are still continuing. But I hope that this article has suggested, that while it cannot be claimed that all was well, it cannot be said that nothing was done. From 1965 onwards there was a steady expansion in the resources made available to Guildhall Museum for rescue archaeology by the Corporation and the Department of the Environment. The Baynard's Castle affair, however, was the catalyst in achieving more substantial improvements, firstly in getting more money for *ad hoc* excavations in 1972 and 1973, and secondly in establishing a proper archaeological unit in 1974. Within the Corporation it made archaeology matter to planners and engineers, and the Corporation's formal interest led to a more helpful attitude on the part of developers. It is interesting to compare the effects of Baynard's Castle with the Temple of Mithras affair of almost 20 years before. On the whole, despite the public outcry, the latter was counter-productive. It is perhaps a tribute to changing public attitudes to conservation matters generally, that Baynard's Castle had a helpful effect; it is also in no small measure due to the personal interest and energy of the late Francis F. Stunt, when Chairman of the Library Committee.

The achievements of the Department of Urban Archaeology, since 1975 part of the Museum of London, are for others to judge. Its annual funding stands at close on £¼

million annually — immense by the standards of five years ago. The money comes from a variety of sources, but the Department of the Environment and more recently the Department of Employment, through its job creation scheme, are the greatest single contributors. The Corporation's contribution both directly and indirectly, through its share of the running costs of the Museum of London, is still not large and private donations are small. However, the Museum of London does provide a certain measure of independence which is valuable for archaeological bodies operating in an area where there are few statutory provisions and goes some way towards meeting *Rescue's* proposals in *The Future of London's Past*.

Ralph Merrifield in 1965 drew an analogy between the archaeology of London and the Sibylline Books. Each generation is offered knowledge at a price. If it is not paid, that knowledge is destroyed. With each generation the price increases. The process of creating the Department of Urban Archaeology showed just how high that price had become.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London 3, Roman London* (London, 1928).
- <sup>2</sup> R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965) 1–28.
- <sup>3</sup> W. F. Grimes *The Excavation of Roman and Mediaeval London* (London, 1968) 218–241 provides an account of the work of the Excavation Council until 1962. The Council still exists to publish the results of these excavations.
- <sup>4</sup> Although at the time it was the policy of the Museum not to embark on extensive publications, preferring that the groups of artefacts recovered and the site records should be accessible in the Museum, interim accounts covering the period 1959–71 were published annually in *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 20 pt. 4 (1961) to 23 pt. 2 (1972).
- <sup>5</sup> Only some of the discoveries made at the time were reported: *Antiq. J.* 12 (1931) 437–439; 16 (1936) 1–7, 207–208; 17 (1937) 414–418; 25 (1945) 48–77.
- <sup>6</sup> Guildhall Museum was administered by the Corporation of the City of London whose elected body is known as the Court of Common Council. In common with all local authorities, the business of the Common Council is devolved to Committees. That controlling the Museum was the Library Committee. The main sources for the administrative history in this article are the published papers of the Common Council, which include the annual reports of the Director of the Guildhall Museum. The papers of the Library Committee and Museum for this period, which are not publicly available, have also been consulted.
- <sup>7</sup> For example the Huggin Hill baths, the Billingsgate baths and the City Wall at Old Bailey, all referred to in the reports cited in note 4; also the Roman palace at Cannon Street fully published in P. Marsden 'Excavation of a Roman Palace Site, in London, 1961–1972' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 26 (1975) 1–102; full publication of the Huggin Hill site followed in P. Marsden 'Two Roman Public Baths in London' *ibid.* 27 (1976) 1–70.
- <sup>8</sup> B. Philp 'The Forum of Roman London: Excavations of 1968–9' *Britannia* 8 (1977) 1–64.
- <sup>9</sup> H. Chapman and T. Johnson 'Excavations at Aldgate and Bush Lane House in the City of London, 1972' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 24 (1973) 1–56.
- <sup>10</sup> *Medieval Archaeol.* 17 (1973) 162–164.
- <sup>11</sup> Grimes *op. cit.* in note 3, 229–237.
- <sup>12</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 2, 4–5.
- <sup>13</sup> Chapman and Johnson *op. cit.* in note 9, 56–73.
- <sup>14</sup> M. Biddle, D. M. Hudson and C. M. Heighway *The Future of London's Past Rescue Publication No. 4* (Worcester, 1973).
- <sup>15</sup> Guildhall Museum *Archaeology in the City of London: an opportunity* (London, 1973, but dated 1972).
- <sup>16</sup> The view that excavation could not be compelled as a condition of planning consent has been maintained by many local authorities until recently. However, the present Secretary of State for the Environment, Peter Shore, has now imposed such a condition as part of the consent for the new St. Alban's chapter house; *Museums Bull.* 17 (1977–78) 106, 127–128.
- <sup>17</sup> Biddle, Hudson and Heighway *op. cit.* in note 14.
- <sup>18</sup> C. M. Heighway ed. *The Erosion of History* (Council for British Archaeology, London, 1972) 61.
- <sup>19</sup> T. Tatton-Brown 'Excavations at the Custom House Site, City of London, 1973' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 25 (1974) 117–219; 26 (1975) 103–170.
- <sup>20</sup> T. Johnson 'Excavations at Christ Church, Newgate Street, 1973'. *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 25 (1974) 220–234.
- <sup>21</sup> T. Johnson: forthcoming.
- <sup>22</sup> B. Hobley and J. Schofield 'Excavations in the City of London; First Interim Report, 1974–75' *Antiq. J.* 57 (1977) 31–66.

# SOME PRIORITIES AND PROBLEMS IN THE PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE THAMES BASIN

ROY CANHAM

The year 1976 saw the publication of two surveys relating to the Thames Basin. *The Archaeology of the London area: Current Knowledge and Problems* was produced as a special paper by the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, while *Time on our side? A Survey of the Archaeological Needs of Greater London* had the backing of the Department of the Environment, the Greater London Council and the Museum of London. Ralph Merrifield was actively involved in the preparation of both reports and thus he will influence the future. Of equal value for those engaged in the archaeology of the region in recent years has been Ralph's presence, and indeed leadership, in the *milieu* which gave rise to these documents. The following observations are, it is hoped, in keeping with the spirit of enquiry which he has encouraged in those around him. Furthermore the publication of the surveys is a plausible excuse for raising some general points concerning trends in the archaeological evidence for London's prehistory.

An area of archaeological research which has generated great interest in recent years is that concerned with the development of the landscape. Severe problems confront those interested in this investigation, even in regions naturally suited to it, largely caused by our poor record in preserving and investigating the types of feature which demonstrate aspects of land-usage. In the Greater London region the problem is overwhelming. In part this is caused by the nature of the evidence currently available, consisting largely of individual 'chance' finds rather than a body of excavated material from recognisable features.

But we must also accept that the total obliteration of the large-scale elements by which man has attempted to delineate and control areas chosen for stock-rearing and cultivation renders impossible a study of the ancient landscape and its development. Lynchets and drainage ditches, ranch boundaries, cattle enclosures and so forth will undoubtedly be identified within the urban region by those skilled in the techniques of excavation, but these will be individual discoveries occurring in small numbers rather than the recovery of sizeable complexes of such features which often results from aerial survey and surface inspection of more open and undisturbed country. In an area where even the traces of medieval ridge and furrow are noticeably absent (presumably destroyed), the likelihood of progress in this field of research is virtually nil.

The prospects of a deeper understanding of ancient settlement in the region by means of archaeological excavation would not appear at first sight to be any more promising. In territory where even the earthworks of medieval date have been severely eroded, the preservation of archaeological evidence relating to those distant ages might be regarded as highly fortuitous. However, the degree to which surface features have been erased does



not necessarily bear much relationship to the state of buried strata. It is true that on the downland of Britain the action of the plough has removed the surface elements, and frequently the occupation features, within and beneath the topsoil. On such terrain wind and the run-off of rainwater limit the accumulation of soil, which may be as little as 100–150 mm. An added factor, noted especially on the chalkland, is the slow dissolving of the surface of the bedrock resulting in the dissipation of archaeological stratigraphy. Conversely, the river valleys form zones in which materials will tend to accumulate, and this involves not only wind-borne particles and hill-wash from surrounding uplands but most effectively the deposits laid down whenever rivers overflow their banks and flood large areas. Topsoils with a depth of 300 mm. are not uncommon in the London Basin, and can be double this figure in places. In consequence the occupation strata on valley sites are occasionally preserved intact, while ancient features that were dug deep are likely to be undisturbed — at least as far as the effects of modern agriculture are concerned.

The destruction wrought by building and mineral extraction is of course immense. Many of the objects quoted in evidence of ancient settlement have been obtained from gravel pits and from foundation trenches, and their unearthing implies the obliteration of the archaeological levels in which they rested. Paradoxically, the places in which a succession of buildings has been erected over many centuries have turned out to be the best choices for excavation. The accumulation of debris in the centres of the small towns and villages which now form part of the urban complex has furnished a protective mantle penetrated only by cellars and the deepest of foundations. This is the circumstance in which it has in recent years been possible to trace the tentative beginnings of the first agricultural communities, in places such as Kingston and Twickenham.<sup>1</sup> Since many of the medieval settlements are located on the banks of the Thames, flooding has regularly aided the process of stratification, and probably inspired the residents to bring up levels of floors and streets to combat the problem. In excavations at Brentford there have been instances where the Romano-British horizon has been sealed by over a metre of topsoil, a deposit formed during the Saxon and medieval periods and which the structures of post-medieval date have only partially disturbed. Thus where the evidence of early man still survives in these long-held centres it survives in good form, the occupation strata untouched by intensive ploughing.

It is a problem to evaluate the opportunities which present themselves when building reconstruction is proposed in these promising areas. In the main the indications which suggest that many of the low-lying villages bordering the Thames witnessed some degree of human activity in prehistory consist of artifacts from adjacent stretches of the river. One is seeking to explore a possibility rather than to determine the bounds of known fact. Those who propose programmes of work are required to produce evidence in justification, for urban excavation can be expensive. Yet the chance to explore exists only when the continued survival of the archaeological strata is endangered, for modern building techniques in urban areas eradicate the accumulated levels in which the vestiges of extinct societies are embedded. To make progress in establishing the nature of ancient settlement in the urban region a commitment to explore on these terms is essential.

Our ability to investigate the remains of ancient societies is not greatly impaired by distance in time. Susceptibility to destruction and erosion stems not from the passage of the years but from factors of depth and location, and especially from the nature of the materials used to fashion the implements by which life was sustained. In the damp

environment of valley deposits, items fashioned from leather and wood, decayed remains of natural vegetation and grains of cereal will survive. Equilibrium in the buried state is equilibrium. If conditions are right for the preservation of this data, they are right for all time, not merely the more recent past.

There has been a tendency in archaeological excavation to regard large-scale undertakings as the sole means of establishing trustworthy results. This is a persuasive argument, but we should be mindful of explorations in which quality, not quantity, is the prime objective. The early promise of environmental archaeology has been somewhat blunted by the realisation that many sites are too readily contaminated as a result of agricultural processes and the action of earthworms.<sup>2</sup> Vast areas of archaeological settlement on the chalk downland will yield environmental evidence that may be suspect as a result. Thus a special virtue of necessarily limited forays into lower Thames Valley sites emerges. Factors of depth and relative moisture content provide a most useful situation.

If secure stratigraphy is a desirable circumstance, then the earliest phase of inhabitation offers the greatest potential, while the large flint tools which characterise the palaeolithic industries are durable artifacts produced in quantity. The geological agencies operative in the pleistocene period have taken their toll of the land surfaces on which palaeolithic hunting bands encamped, to which the number of handaxes that are abraded by rolling bears witness. But our heritage includes the spectacular preservation of land areas where the waste products of flint-knapping rest side by side with abandoned axes and scrapers, the span of human history separating the moment of manufacture from the incident of discovery. There is even the chance of recovering organic remains from such environments. Commenting upon the 19th-century discovery of sharpened birch stakes in the Stoke Newington strata, Collins has pictured research entering 'the realm of perishable material culture and habitation types'.<sup>3</sup>

The regard felt for these most ancient of human creations was more widespread a century ago than it appears to be today. The glory of the archaeological method has grown from the discovery that the structures which early communities fashioned could be explored by careful excavation. The appeal of the most distant ages became somewhat diminished by a total lack of structural evidence, and for those who were concerned to trace the origins of European civilisation in terms of ancient cultures the remoteness of the palaeolithic occupation tended to condemn it as irrelevant. The extraction of gravel in huge quantities from the Yiewsley pits in West Middlesex has occasioned hardly a murmur until recently,<sup>4</sup> yet the discoveries made in that region define it as one of the richest palaeolithic sites in Britain. In fairness, early trends in archaeological technique seemed to offer little hope of establishing anything more than the actual existence of groups of implements, given the lack of structural features and the almost total absence of artifacts in other materials. New factors have caused a reassessment of this lowly status. The study of artifacts in assemblages has achieved an independent respectability, for the intricacies of technology so revealed — whether it be in flint, metal or bone — form a sensitive register of the operation of human intelligence. Excavation of flint implement assemblages allied with the recovery of contemporary palaeontological data must lead us to a more thorough appreciation of the nature of these primitive communities and the manner in which their environment influenced them.

A small population may have managed to withstand the worst of the cold and remain

within the Thames Valley throughout the late pleistocene. However, the culture which emerges with the re-establishment of the forests about 10,000 years ago bears the signs of a North European origin and may have been entirely immigrant. It is apparent from the concentration of mesolithic finds that the Thames and its tributaries offered an environment in which activities of hunting, gathering and fishing were successfully prosecuted, but at present it is not possible to determine whether these conditions allowed a mesolithic community to survive for several thousand years, or whether the evidence represents a culture that flourished briefly in a climate that was specially suited to it. Occupation sites in low-lying parts of the valley are likely to have been buried beneath beds of silt deposited when water levels rose *c.* 6000 B.C. The occasional discovery of artifacts from deep in the alluvium is indicative of this. The excavations for the immense foundations to Bankside power station in Southwark in 1926 yielded a perforated antler pick from a depth of 5 metres, while deep sections examined in recent archaeological excavations revealed the buried alluvial horizon from which the object must have been dug.<sup>5</sup> A little further upstream building excavations on the same bank — and in the same deposit — revealed items of a similar style and date, during extensions to County Hall.<sup>6</sup> A small group from the site of the Admiralty Offices, Westminster, consisting of a flake and two scraping implements is evidence of mesolithic settlement on the other bank.<sup>7</sup>

Developments along the banks of the Thames often require massive excavation of alluvial material, and provide the chance of discovery so vitally needed. As with the ancient land surfaces preserved occasionally beneath pleistocene deposits, the situation bears the prospect of yielding substantial insight into culture and economic life, for most of the traces of human activity are likely to have been interred without disturbance. There is the added circumstance of the preservation, in an airless and water-logged environment, of organic substances in the form of contemporary floral and faunal remains and manufactured items. The transgression of the low-lying areas appears to have been a continuing feature of the last 8,000 years, so that careful research may resolve the question of the continued existence of the mesolithic population by locating occupation sites in a succession of geological contexts.

Whatever information can be compiled about the manner in which the post-glacial hunters subsisted in the London Basin must ultimately assist us in reconstructing the nature of the subsequent agricultural communities. There is much that clearly was new, probably as a result of actual immigration, but this need not rule out the possibility of well-established patterns of social and economic behaviour continuing to assert themselves. An indicator of continuity might be seen in the methods of working flint on neolithic settlements, which owe much to mesolithic traditions. There are obviously other areas in which evidence of sustained traditions might be established, particularly those relating to the procurement of food from the resources of the wild. The most urgent requirement, however, must be to discover the impact of the 'neolithic revolution' itself, specifically in the matter of population density. On the chalklands of Wessex the first societies which based their subsistence on food production represent a large increase in numbers over the pre-existing mesolithic population. The efficiencies of producing food as opposed to gathering it may well have engendered this increase. In terms of stray finds, principally axes in flint and stone, a similar flourishing of numbers occurred in the London Basin, and a beginning has been made in seeking out the physical features of settlement. The circumstances of discovery have been mostly well-preserved horizons

deeply buried in locations close to the Thames, and if this is a sample obtained from a widespread pattern of neolithic settlement then prospects are good for further discovery. We should not be unduly influenced by the scarcity of occupation sites at present, since the search for these by means of excavation is a relatively new feature of archaeological work in the areas bordering the lower Thames.

The most distinctive trait in the archaeology of the region is the manufacture of fine objects in metal over a long period. This tradition may have started *c.* 1500 B.C. and continued in one form or another until the beginning of Roman rule. Noteworthy groups of artifacts include the ogival daggers and flanged axes of the early bronze age,<sup>8</sup> a wide array of weapons belonging to the middle and late bronze age,<sup>9</sup> the Hallstatt-La Tène dagger series,<sup>10</sup> group II iron swords<sup>11</sup> and the ornate Celtic metalwork from the Thames at Battersea, Brentford, Wandsworth and Waterloo Bridge.<sup>12</sup> It is not possible to prove that the activity continued throughout this period without interruption, though this seems a likely hypothesis. The specifically industrial sites implied by the quantity and quality of the late bronze age metal work have never been discovered, with the possible exception of Coombe Warren, near Kingston.<sup>13</sup> It is a truly amazing development, for somehow the peoples who began as farmers on the Thames terraces acquired the essential skills and organised the supplies of raw materials which resulted in a manufacturing culture of outstanding ability. What can have inspired this departure? Between the peoples of Western Britain and Ireland who were exploiting the sources of copper from *c.* 2000 B.C. and the cultures of mainland Europe there was undoubtedly a flow of trade items in copper. Situated on a natural route between source and market, the population of the London region appear to have seized their chance of profit. Whether they entered the trade as middlemen, possibly organising the transportation of primitive copper tools and weapons along the Thames Valley, or merely imposed a levy on those intent on passing through, they became involved in the manufacture and went on to develop new techniques and new styles in bronze metalwork. In culture and material possessions this community may have been one of the richest in Europe by the first millenium B.C., yet the nature of their society is totally invisible to us, for the physical remains include not a single settlement. It is not known, for example, whether food production continued on the gravel terraces or whether the economic importance of the bronze industry was such that the food supply was obtained by bartering manufactured goods.

Those who cultivated the land in the period that followed the decline of the great bronze working industry ranged widely across the gravel terraces, along the banks of the Thames, and along the Chalk edge on the southern rim of the Basin.<sup>14</sup> The distribution of sites and finds formally classified as iron age and Romano-British indicates continuous activity in these zones over a duration of about a thousand years. Nor is there a great measure of difference between the late prehistoric and Romano-British sites in culture. It is evident that in addition to the areas where population groups were concentrated there was a more general dispersal of small communities across the length and breadth of the Basin than had occurred among the first agricultural societies. Furthermore, among the range of tool forms available to these people, the axe is no longer to be found in huge numbers. These two trends are indications that the land was now generally opened up, arable and grassland now predominating over forest. Substantial evidence gained from the excavation of settlements will be needed to clarify the nature of the economic basis, for it is possible that stock raising may have largely replaced agriculture in the changing landscape.

The limited effect on the local population of Roman civilisation is worthy of note. In a situation where the large-scale production of foodstuffs on the fertile terrace soils would have brought considerable wealth and position in an apparently envied society, the prehistoric farmers seem to have found little reason to alter their traditional way of life. Admittedly Roman pottery, metalwork and coinage were widely accepted, but deeper transformation which is implied by the construction in rural Britain of elegant villas, bath-buildings and shrines is only in evidence in the south-eastern quarter of the area.<sup>15</sup> Some explanation for this must surely feature among the priority issues in the archaeology of the region.

These are but a few of the problems posed by the evidence now made available to us in the two recent surveys. We can perhaps look forward to further definition of them by the authorities involved, presumably in the form of a series of specific aims which receive priority in archaeological planning. I have stated my belief that, in spite of surface erosion, the preserving effects of a river valley environment are crucial and valuable. There is thus opportunity, albeit very difficult to exploit. Furthermore, there is also a need to make these investigations for the following reasons. Although the study of settlement patterns is best accomplished in an area where the impact of modern technologies has not been felt, the localities of greatest interest are those to which man has returned repeatedly. The latter offer an opportunity of discerning the manner in which modes of social and economic life have developed and changed and the London region falls within this category. The archaeological information for the region demonstrates that the growth of the metropolitan zone stands at the head of a long history of settlement.

It is true that the territory around London had little to offer those who pioneered archaeological methods, with the exception of workers concerned with palaeolithic deposits. In a new field of enquiry importance is accorded to that which is most prominent, and so the excavation of field monuments took precedence over the study of implements in flint or bronze. Excavation has in fact continued to attract the greater interest, to the extent that it has at times been virtually synonymous with archaeology. In the meantime, the collection of artifacts from the Thames and from the soils of its gravel terraces has grown huge, and a small number of specialists has emerged who have concentrated on the examination of artifacts alone and have worked through the London material in their construction of British and European typologies. By means of this disciplined research the significance of the London region as an area of prehistoric settlement and, on occasion, as a centre of cultural development is now revealed. Since so much of the ancient material has been ripped from the earth without the opportunity for proper recording, we remain largely ignorant of the kind of society in which the artifacts were made and used. It is possible to draw on a fund of information from other parts, usually from other sections of the Thames Valley where conditions for excavation have been more favourable and where the pattern of settlement may have advanced along similar lines. Ultimately, however, the process is unsatisfactory, since those who dwelt in the Thames Basin appear to have influenced events significantly. The discovery and excavation of a range of prehistoric occupation sites within the London Basin is essential to a full understanding of the remarkable heritage in our possession.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Jean Macdonald 'Neolithic' in *The Archaeology of the London area: Current Knowledge and Problems* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper No. 1 (1976) 20.
- <sup>2</sup> C. Keepax 'Contamination of archaeological deposits by seeds of modern origin with particular reference to the use of flotation machines' *J. Archaeol. Sci.* 4, No. 3 (1977) 221-229.
- <sup>3</sup> Desmond Collins 'Palaeolithic and Mesolithic' *op. cit.* in note 1, 6.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 8-9.
- <sup>5</sup> A. D. Lacaille 'Mesolithic facies in the transpontine fringes' *Surrey Archaeol. Collect.* 63 (1966) 19-21.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 63.
- <sup>7</sup> A. D. Lacaille 'Mesolithic facies in London and Middlesex' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 20 pt. 3 (1961) 125-128.
- <sup>8</sup> J. C. Barrett 'The Bronze Age' *op. cit.* in note 1, 37.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 37-39.
- <sup>10</sup> E. M. Jope 'Daggers of the Early Iron Age' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 27 (1961) 307-343.
- <sup>11</sup> Stuart Piggott 'Swords and scabbards of the British Early Iron Age' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 16 (1950) 5-12.
- <sup>12</sup> R. A. Canham 'The Iron Age' *op. cit.* in note 1, 47.
- <sup>13</sup> D. C. Devenish 'Local bronze implements in Kingston upon Thames Museum' *Surrey Archaeol. Collect* 61 (1964) 1-9.
- <sup>14</sup> See Map 5 in *Time on our side? A Survey of the Archaeological Needs of Greater London* Report of a joint working party of the Department of the Environment, the Greater London Council and the Museum of London (1976).
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* Map 6.

# AN EARLY BRONZE AGE AXE FROM HARLINGTON

ALISON LAWS

The discovery of a flat axe of bronze was reported during a site visit by a member of the West London Archaeological Field Group in 1971. The site is situated to the south of the M4 motorway and east of Harlington church on the 75 foot contour some half mile west of the River Crane. It consists of a large area now under gravel extraction and is owned by Henry Streeters Sand and Ballast Company.

The object was found lodged in the gravel screening plant and therefore the site of its original provenance cannot be located exactly but the area that was being worked during the period of its discovery is known (TQ 0922 7830). It is unlikely, however, that the axe was buried in the gravel which in that area is located at between 7 and 25 feet below the present ground surface, for the drag line operator was at the time working only a few feet away from a section where approximately 1 foot of topsoil and 6 feet of brickearth rested above the surface of the gravel. The axe was probably dislodged from the section and fell into the drag line bucket to be transported back to the processing plant.<sup>1</sup>

## THE AXE

The axe is undecorated, apart from a slight trace of cabling along both sides, and has a narrow butt. The surface is uneven and pitted by corrosion except for areas along the sides where the original smoothed surface has survived in places. Both sides have a slight bevel across the centre and on one, the area between this and the cutting edge has been less affected by corroding elements and retains a smoother surface. The damage to the cutting edge would appear to have happened in antiquity and the rounded surface of the break indicates further wear after the event, most likely as a result of water rolling. The axe is unusually bright in colour, possibly due to abrasion in the pit or as a result of coming from a water logged deposit.<sup>2</sup>

The axe has a length of 156 mm., the original width of the cutting edge would have been approximately 70 mm. and the blade has a maximum thickness of 11 mm. at its centre. It weighs 39.7 gms.

## CHEMICAL ANALYSIS A. MARTIN-HOOGEWERF

Using an atomic absorption spectrophotometer the following results were obtained:  
Cu 87.8 %, Sn 9.1 %, Pb 0.1 %, As 0.1 %. (The sample may contain 0.05 % Zn.)





Early bronze age flat axe from Harlington (1:1)

#### DISCUSSION

Flat axes of this type made of tin bronze are amongst the earliest metal objects to reach the Thames Valley. Their development can be traced from the pure copper axes for which a late neolithic date is suggested.<sup>3</sup> Case, in his recent discussion of the beaker culture in Britain and Ireland, now points to the appearance of narrow butted copper axes in the highland zones as early as 2500 B.C. continuing into the early part of the second millenium.<sup>4</sup> However, an Irish rather than beaker origin is favoured for flat axes and halberds of copper.<sup>5</sup> The transition to axes made of tin bronze may be said to indicate the commencement of the true early bronze age<sup>6</sup> and it is to this group that the Harlington axe belongs.

Narrow butted flat axes of tin bronze are classified by Burgess as Group B and fall within his stage II/III of the early bronze age dating between 1900–1700 B.C.<sup>7</sup> This group includes products of the Migdale/Marnoch tradition named after a hoard from Sutherland to which the Harlington axe may be compared.<sup>8</sup> It has been suggested that these early bronze axes found in southern Britain may have been manufactured in the highland zones of Ireland and Scotland where the ores were plentiful, and traded along well-established routes to the lowland areas.<sup>9</sup> Alternatively, it may be that the raw materials were transported to the places of manufacture in the south.<sup>10</sup> Although only one stone mould of the Migdale type is known from the lowland area of Britain (from Suffolk), the absence of any other evidence may be explained by the fact that clay moulds, which were certainly in use in the late bronze age, were being employed and that these are less likely to have survived.<sup>11</sup>

A trade in flat axes between Ireland and southern Scandinavia and the Low Countries has been discussed by Butler and it is possible that the Thames Valley formed part of this trade route.<sup>12</sup> There also appear to be links between the early axe trade and the Wessex culture since flat axes are found in grave groups of the Bush Barrow type of Wessex I period.<sup>13</sup> On the basis of Burgess's dating criteria however, the Harlington axe would appear to belong to an early bronze working phase of pre-Wessex date during which time contact was being made by the highland smiths with the lowland cultures of the south.

#### THE WEST MIDDLESEX AREA IN THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

The earliest period of the bronze age to which this axe is assigned is not well represented in the west London area; there are few known finds and a dearth of field monuments. However, evidence from the gravel terraces of the area indicates that an almost total obliteration of archaeological features has taken place as a result of extensive occupation over a long period of time. During excavations at Heathrow in 1969, remains of a segmented ring ditch were discovered<sup>14</sup> and though any mound or burial which may have existed had been destroyed, comparison may be made with a similar feature from Stockbridge Down in Hampshire where a segmented ditch was found to surround a barrow containing a beaker burial.<sup>15</sup> A second ring ditch from the Heathrow excavations may also have surrounded a barrow<sup>16</sup> and a ring ditch was partially excavated during excavations at Bedfont in 1971.<sup>17</sup> A barrow in Sandy Lane, Teddington was excavated in 1854<sup>18</sup> and from it came a bronze ogival dagger of the type found beneath barrows dating to the second phase of the Wessex culture.<sup>19</sup> This mound also contained a fragment of an urn of possible Deverel Rimbury type.<sup>20</sup> In addition, a recent survey of the gravels of north west Surrey has revealed a proliferation of sites which include a number of possible

barrow ring ditches.<sup>21</sup> A possible barrow in Richmond Park called Olivers Mount has now been destroyed.<sup>22</sup>

The earliest metal object to come from the London area is a small tanged and rivetted knife of copper from the Thames at Mortlake and thought to be of beaker date.<sup>23</sup> A bronze halberd also of early bronze age date is known from the Thames at Lambeth<sup>24</sup> but no other flat axes of the Harlington type are known to the author to have come from Middlesex. A recent similar find has come to light from the town of Chertsey in Surrey<sup>25</sup> and examples of the more developed type of axe with side flanges and expanded cutting edges are known from the river at Kew, Kingston, Twickenham, Hammersmith, Teddington and Syon Reach and one example was found buried '4½ feet into the clay' at West Drayton.<sup>26</sup>

Few finds of beaker pottery are known from the London region and Barrett has suggested that the main area of beaker settlement was in the Upper Thames Valley,<sup>27</sup> though it should be noted that the majority of finds of beaker pottery from the London region are distributed in the Richmond–Hammersmith area.<sup>28</sup> Most of these are river finds and perhaps once again indicate the passage of newcomers along the major routeway of southern England. Land finds of beaker pottery are also known in West London from Ham<sup>29</sup> and Kew,<sup>30</sup> at Yeoveney Lodge near Staines, beaker sherds were found in the uppermost filling of the neolithic earthwork.<sup>31</sup> More recently, pottery of early bronze age date was found stratified beneath Roman levels during excavations in Staines.<sup>32</sup>

Several other pottery types are now thought to have existed concurrently with beaker types.<sup>33</sup> These include collared urns,<sup>34</sup> examples of which are known from Mortlake, Hammersmith<sup>35</sup> and Ham gravel pits.<sup>36</sup> It has also been suggested that the cremation cemeteries of Deverel Rimbury urns may have had origins in the early bronze age.<sup>37</sup> Urn cemeteries of this type are found predominantly in West London, at Ashford, Yiewsley Littleton Reservoir, Mill Hill Park (Acton), possibly at Kingsbury<sup>38</sup> and also recently at Kempton Park.<sup>39</sup> A possible Deverel Rimbury urn cremation was found in the side of the Teddington barrow and it has recently been suggested that these secondary burials can be interpreted as satellite burials not necessarily following long after the original burial.<sup>40</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

This small axe can be assigned to the middle period of the early bronze age and is the only example so far known from the London region to represent this early stage in the development of the flat axe. It has been suggested by Barrett that in an area which did not possess its own ores and relied on passing traders for its early metal objects, most of the population continued to use tools made of naturally occurring material and this pattern may be seen in the large numbers of flint daggers and stone battle axes which probably continued in use into the early bronze age.<sup>41</sup>

Contact between Ireland and Scandinavia and the Low Countries during the early bronze age has been indicated by finds of axes of Irish origin from the Continent,<sup>42</sup> and it is likely that the Thames formed part of this trade route bringing objects of metal through the region at an early stage of the metal working phase. The distribution pattern of flat axes may be seen to closely follow the Thames Valley. It is likely that the Thames tributaries were navigable at this date and the Harlington axe was found no great distance from the banks of the River Crane which flows into the Thames at Isleworth.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Information from Mr. Halliday of Streeters Gravel Company for which I am most grateful.
- <sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Stuart Needham for these observations.
- <sup>3</sup> D. Britton 'Traditions of Metal Working in the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Britain. Part I' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 29 (1963) 259.
- <sup>4</sup> H. Case 'The Beaker Culture in Britain and Ireland' in R. Mercer ed. *Beakers in Britain and Europe* (Oxford, 1977) 71-84.
- <sup>5</sup> C. Burgess 'The Bronze Age' in C. Renfrew ed. *British Prehistory* (London, 1974) 191.
- <sup>6</sup> I. M. Allen, D. Britton and H. H. Coghlan *Metallurgical Reports on British and Irish Bronze Age Implements and Weapons in the Pitt Rivers Museum* (Oxford, 1970) 75.
- <sup>7</sup> Burgess *op. cit.* in note 5, 192-193.
- <sup>8</sup> Britton *op. cit.* in note 3, 263.
- <sup>9</sup> J. J. Butler 'Bronze Age Connections across the North Sea' *Paleohistoria* 9 (1963) 27-47.
- <sup>10</sup> B. R. S. Megaw and E. M. Hardy 'British Decorated Axes and their Diffusion during the Earlier Part of the Bronze Age' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 4 (1938) 282.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 287.
- <sup>12</sup> Butler *op. cit.* in note 9.
- <sup>13</sup> S. Piggott 'The Early Bronze Age in Wessex' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 4 (1938) 52-106.
- <sup>14</sup> R. Canham, publication forthcoming.
- <sup>15</sup> J. F. S. Stone and N. Gray Hill 'A Round Barrow on Stockbridge Down, Hampshire' *Antiq. J.* 20 (1940) 39-51.
- <sup>16</sup> R. Canham, publication forthcoming.
- <sup>17</sup> N. Farrant 'An Iron Age Site at Bedford' *London Archaeol.* 1. No. 13 (1971) 305-309.
- <sup>18</sup> J. Y. Akerman 'Notes of Antiquarian Researches in the Summer and Autumn of 1854' *Archaeologia* 36 pt. 1 (1855) 175-176.
- <sup>19</sup> Victoria County History: *Middlesex* 1 (London, 1969) 43.
- <sup>20</sup> J. C. Barrett 'Four Bronze Age Cremation Cemeteries from Middlesex' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 24 (1973) 125.
- <sup>21</sup> D. Longley *The Archaeological Implications of Gravel Extraction in North West Surrey* Research Volume of the Surrey Archaeol. Soc. No. 3 (1976).
- <sup>22</sup> Museum of London archaeological finds index.
- <sup>23</sup> V.C.H. *op. cit.* in note 19, 37.
- <sup>24</sup> J. Barrett 'The Bronze Age' in *The Archaeology of the London Area, Current Knowledge and Problems*. London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper No. 1 (1976) 33-41.
- <sup>25</sup> On loan to Chertsey Museum (information from Stuart Needham).
- <sup>26</sup> Museum of London archaeological finds index.
- <sup>27</sup> Barrett *op. cit.* in note 24.
- <sup>28</sup> I am grateful to Roy Canham for unpublished information.
- <sup>29</sup> Museum of London archaeological finds index. (Acc. No. 53.119).
- <sup>30</sup> R. F. Jessup 'Two Early Bronze Age Beakers' *Antiq. J.* 12 (1932) 169-170.
- <sup>31</sup> *Archaeol. Newsletter* 7 No. 6 (1962) 131-134.
- <sup>32</sup> Information from Kevin Crouch.
- <sup>33</sup> C. B. Burgess 'Chronology and Terminology in the British Bronze Age' *Antiq. J.* (1969) 22-29.
- <sup>34</sup> I. H. Longworth 'The origins and Development of the Primary Series in the Collared Urn Tradition in England and Wales' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 27 (1961) 263-306.
- <sup>35</sup> V.C.H. *op. cit.* in note 19, 45-46.
- <sup>36</sup> Museum of London archaeological finds index.
- <sup>37</sup> J. Barrett 'Deverel-Rimbury: Problems of Chronology and Interpretation' in C. Burgess and R. Miket eds. *Settlement and Economy in the 3rd. and 2nd. Millennia B.C.* (Oxford, 1976).
- <sup>38</sup> Barrett *op. cit.* in note 20.
- <sup>39</sup> D. Sheppard 'Two Bronze Age Urns from Kempton Park' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 26 (1975) 281-282.
- <sup>40</sup> Burgess *op. cit.* in note 5, 176.
- <sup>41</sup> F. E. S. Roe 'The Battle Axe Series in Britain' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 32 (1966) 199-245.
- <sup>42</sup> J. J. Butler *op. cit.* in note 3.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Henry Streeters Sand and Ballast Company (in whose possession it remains) for permission to publish the axe, and to the staff of the Harlington pit for their interest and co-operation.

I am also indebted to the following for their invaluable help: Mike Cotton who drew the axe; Justine Bayley of the Department of the Environment who arranged for the chemical analysis; Roy Canham for encouragement and help and to both Stuart Needham and Hugh Chapman for their advice and help with the manuscript.

# AN IRON AGE DAGGER IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

JEAN MACDONALD

In May 1927 the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, bought an iron dagger in a fragmentary bronze sheath (Fig. 1 left and right) from the London antique dealers Fenton and Sons Ltd.<sup>1</sup> The dagger is recorded as having been found under Westminster Bridge, London, presumably in the Thames, and was described as Saxon. It came from the collection of another London dealer, Samuel G. Fenton, who had died in 1927 and was the brother of the late W. H. Fenton, a principal of Fenton and Sons.

There seems no reason to doubt the finding place attributed to the dagger, for other similar daggers are known from the same area of the Thames in west London<sup>2</sup> and the condition of the dagger itself, with its well-preserved blade, gold-coloured bronze bands<sup>3</sup> and pieces of wooden lining still preserved, suggest that it is a river find (cf. Fig. 3).

Its date, however, is another matter. The dagger<sup>4</sup> belongs to the early part of the iron age of southern Britain and is among the earliest iron daggers known from this country. Its true nature has become clearer following a recent restoration by the Conservation Department of the Royal Ontario Museum (Fig. 2) based on the few parallels available.

The well-preserved, double-edged dagger blade is 285 mm. long and 56 mm. wide, and has the stump of a rectangular-sectioned<sup>5</sup> handle-tang 8 mm. long. The blade, apparently flat with a slightly arched top, closely resembles the blade of a similar dagger from the Thames at Mortlake in the Museum of London (see No. 2 below; Fig. 3). Originally, the tang would have been covered with a grip, and the complete hilt is likely to have been T-shaped, with pommel bar and hilt guard (cf. Fig. 4).<sup>6</sup>

The sheath originally had a lining of ash-wood,<sup>7</sup> fragments of which remain. Ash seems to have been used for the sheath of a similar dagger from Luttre, Belgium (dagger No. 4, below).

Before restoration, four thin bronze<sup>8</sup> strips and part of a fifth, nearly 30 mm. wide, were loosely wrapped round the blade and the remains of the sheath lining (Fig. 1). At some time, the upper two surviving strips had obviously been replaced on the blade upside down, but are now mounted on the dummy blade in their correct positions (Fig. 2).

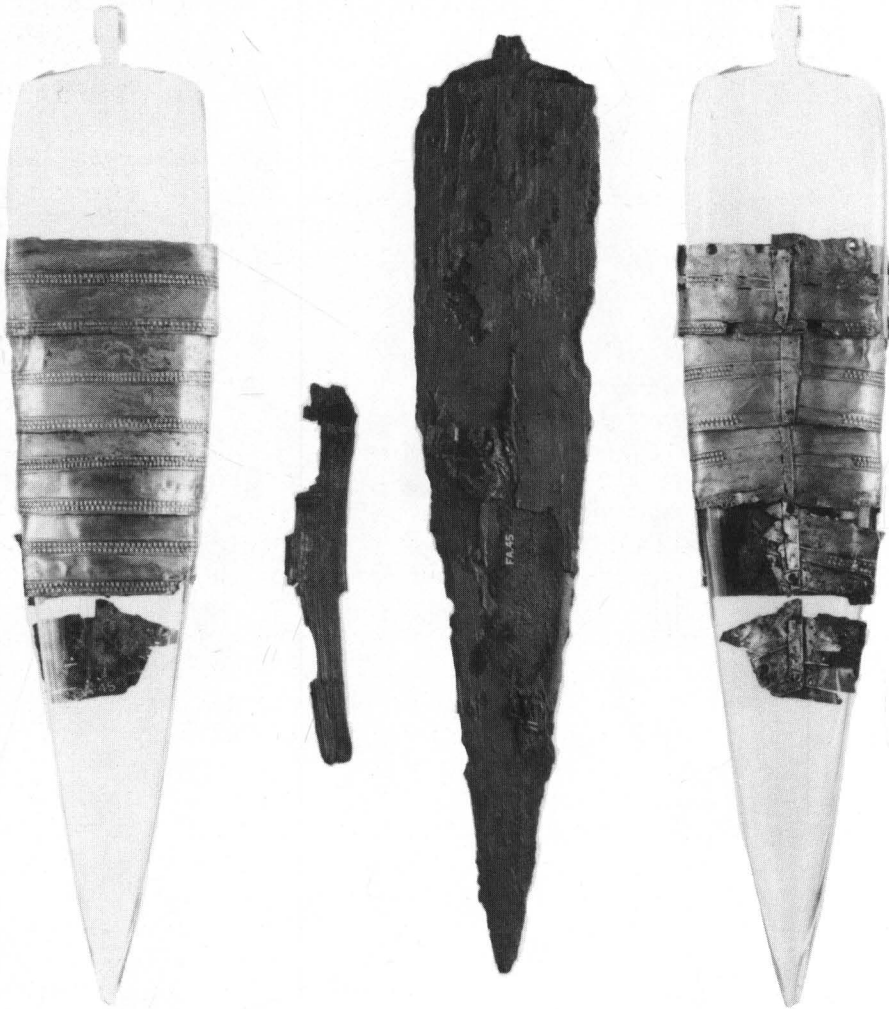
Each bronze strip is decorated with two bands of double rows of embossed dots between raised ribs, one band at the lower edge and one about halfway up. The ornament, complete on the front of the sheath, tapers out towards the centre back, where the ends of the strips are joined. This decorative plan closely matches those on daggers from the Thames (p. 49) and Luttre (cf. Fig. 4).



*(Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto)*

Fig. 1 Iron age dagger from Westminster Bridge now in Royal Ontario Museum, before restoration; (left) front, (right) back.

Fig. 2 shows how the strips would originally have been fitted together, slightly overlapping horizontally, so that when the sheath was intact the wooden lining would have been completely encased in matching bronze strips (cf. daggers No. 2 from Mortlake and No. 4 from Luttre). The upper surviving strip would have been the third down.



(Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto)

Fig. 2 Dagger from Westminster Bridge after restoration; (left) front, (right) back.

At the back of the sheath, some of the bronze strips seem to have been secured to each other with rivets or nails. The ends of each bronze strip would have been overlapped at about the middle of the sheath and fixed to the wooden lining, thereby joining the ends, with rivets or nails, some of which can be seen in Fig. 2 (right). The edges of the strips would then have been hammered over, concealing the rivets, as indicated in the

restoration (Fig. 2 right). The complete series of folded-over edges created a seam or rib-like effect down the middle of the sheath (cf. Figs. 3 and 4). The lowest two surviving strips appear to have been turned slightly upwards towards the central join to fit the strips to the taper of the blade, a trick used on all the analogous sheaths (cf. Figs. 3 and 4).

The photograph of the restored back of the sheath (Fig. 2 right) shows a tongue-shaped raised area on the left-hand side of the upper surviving strip. More complete examples of similar sheaths suggest that this marks the place where the lower end of a loop, probably iron,<sup>9</sup> for hanging the dagger and sheath from the wearer's belt, passed under the strip and was fixed to the wooden lining. The upper end of the loop would presumably have been fixed under the missing top strip. To balance this unsymmetrically placed loop, a corresponding loop would have been needed on the right-hand side of the sheath, forming a twin-loop suspension arrangement characteristic of this type of sheath. The sheath from the Thames at Mortlake, with four slits and raised areas (Fig. 3), shows how the loops are likely to have been placed. The bottom of the sheath would probably have been completed with a chape.<sup>10</sup>

This weapon clearly belongs to a small group of iron daggers first identified by Professor E. M. Jope in 1961. They are distinguished by sheaths made of thin bronze strips wrapped tightly round a wooden lining and joined at the back. All, where the evidence exists, had two loops for suspension, a distinctive British characteristic.

Such daggers seem to have been made in the middle/lower Thames valley, probably in the west London area, but the type was derived ultimately from daggers of the late Hallstatt culture (Hallstatt D) of south Germany and Austria of the 6th century B.C. They are the earliest iron daggers known from Britain,<sup>11</sup> dating presumably from the middle or later 6th century B.C.

No imported prototype for these daggers has been found in Britain, and the route by which the fashion was transmitted from central Europe to the Thames valley is uncertain;<sup>12</sup> nor has any contemporary model yet been recognised for the rather curious sheaths, though embellishment on the sheath from Luttre (No. 4 below) indicates that they may have been based on a leather original.

The Royal Ontario Museum's dagger is the fifth of the group to be recognised, three of the others coming from the Thames and the fourth from Luttre in Belgium.

1. Dagger in sheath, probably from the Thames at Mortlake (Museum of London, Layton Collection, O. 1763)<sup>13</sup>

Overall length 358 mm., blade length about 285 mm., maximum width of sheath below mouth mount 85 mm., thickness of blade *c.* 3.5 mm.

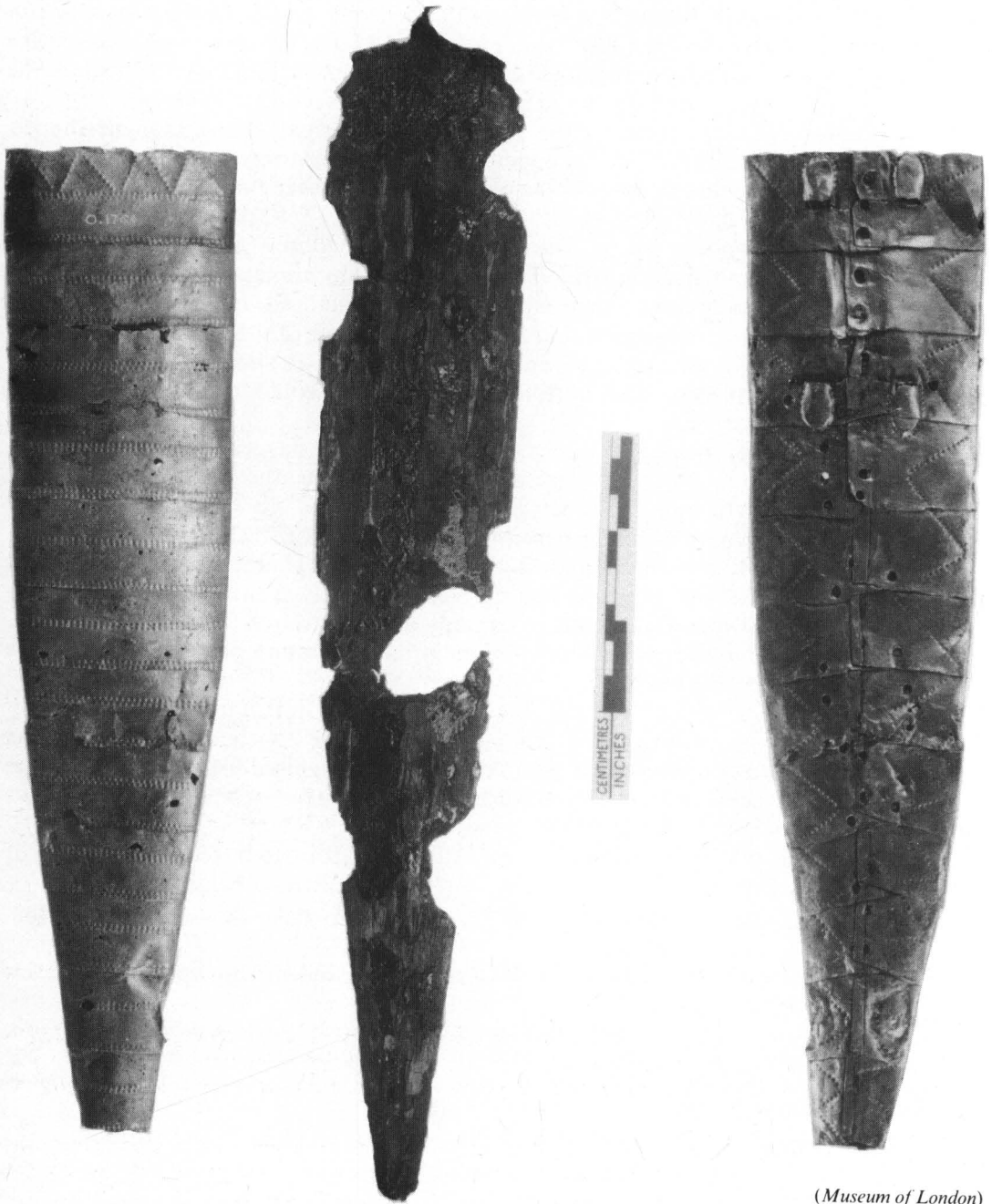
This dagger, nearly complete except for the chape, stands somewhat apart from the other four. It is the broadest, absolutely and in proportion to its length; and some of its features, like the complex grip covering the complete tang and the bronze settings on the sheath's iron mouth mount, have close parallels among the Hallstatt weapons of central Europe.

The dagger, apparently flat, retains its hilt guard and about half a horizontal pommel bar.

The fragmentary sheath lining is of unidentified wood.

On the front of the sheath the eleven remaining binding strips, which meet edge to edge, have borders of embossed dots. At the back, the lower strips are folded up to the very rib-like central join more irregularly than on any of the other daggers. This crude finish, presumably not meant to be seen, contrasts oddly with the astonishing degree of skill and meticulous care expended on other areas, like the grip. A stump of iron and holes in the top strip and the third down show there were two iron suspension loops.





(Museum of London)

Fig. 3 Iron age dagger from the Thames at Mortlake (No. 2 in text); (left) front, (right) back.

2. Dagger and sheath found in Thames ballast at Mortlake (Museum of London, Layton Collection, O. 1764)<sup>14</sup> (Fig. 3).

Length of dagger blade 312 mm., width about 54 mm., thickness about 2 mm.

The dagger blade is flat.

The sheath lining is thought to be of the inner bark of birch.

At the front of the sheath the binding strips, about 0.1 mm. thick, slightly overlapped horizontally, are decorated with two double rows of embossed dots, one at the bottom and one halfway up each strip, with a chevron row at the extreme top. At the back, a chevron of punched dots runs down each edge of the sheath, and the four raised areas marking the former positions of the ends of the two suspension loops are outlined with punched dots. Rusted impressions on the blade indicate that the loops were iron.

3. Dagger<sup>15</sup> with remains of sheath; found in the Thames (British Museum, 91.4-18.9).<sup>16</sup>

Given to the Museum in 1891 by A. W. Franks, then Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, with over 100 other antiquities of various origins.<sup>17</sup>

Estimated complete length of dagger blade 255 mm., width 45 mm., thickness about 2.5 mm.

The dagger blade is flat, with the remains of a rectangular-sectioned handle-tang.

The scraps of sheath lining, apparently of birch, show traces left by the decoration on the binding strips.

Seven strips remain out of an estimated ten. Largely golden in colour, they are about 0.1 to 0.2 mm. thick and range in width from about 27 mm. towards the top of the sheath to 20 mm. at the bottom. The second and third surviving strips from the bottom are fixed together, the others are loose. All strips have a rib a little below their upper edge. The upper five surviving strips also have a double row of embossed dots below a rib along their lower edges, so that when strips with this decoration were held in place, slightly overlapping horizontally, the lower and upper borders of adjacent strips would have merged, giving the effect of a double row of embossed dots between ribs, like the scheme on the Westminster Bridge dagger but more widely spaced. The two lowest surviving strips each have two bands of double rows of embossed dots between ribs, one at the lower edge and one halfway up. The decoration appears to have been carried round almost to the join down the back of the sheath, as it is on the Westminster Bridge dagger.

No traces of suspension loops remain on the existing strips.

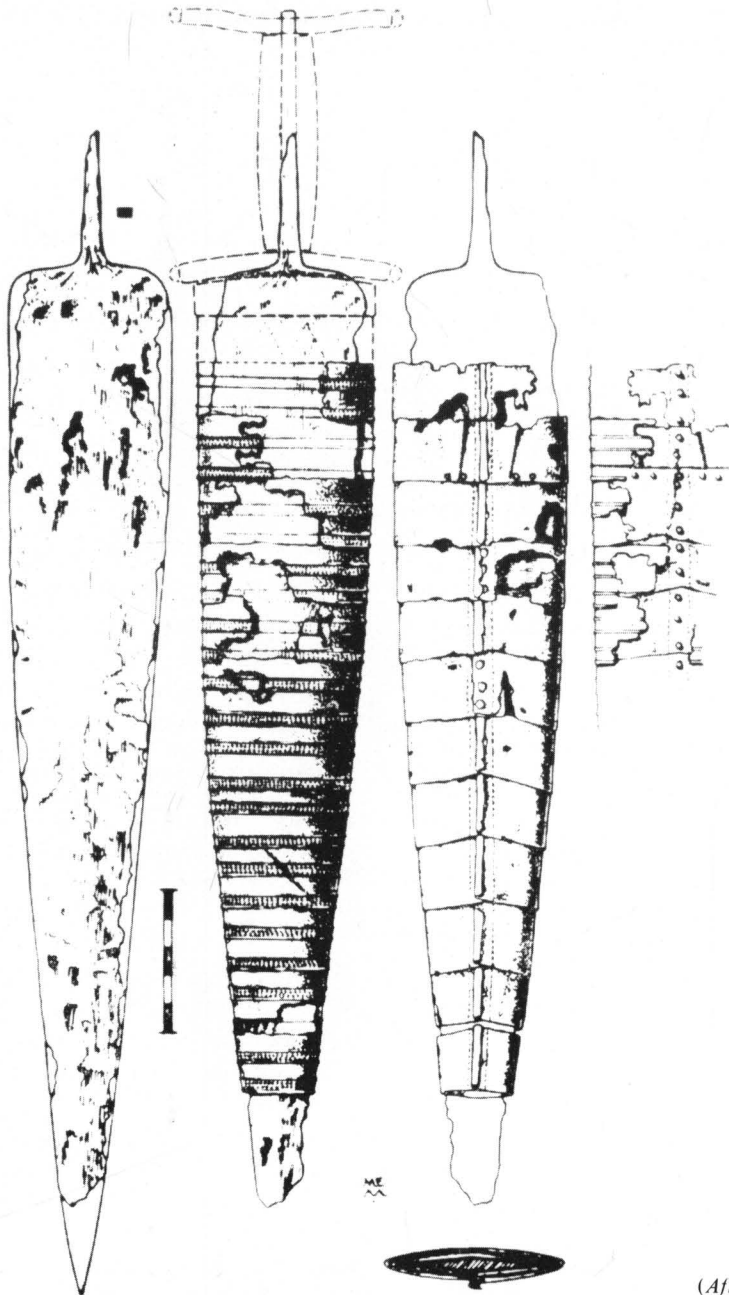
4. Dagger and sheath, found at Luttre (Hainaut) Belgium. (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels)<sup>18</sup> (Fig. 4).

In 1900 this dagger, then in the collection of Count Louis Cavens, was recorded as having been found in 1873 at Luttre, which is 11 kilometres N.N.W. of Charleroi on the north bank of a tributary of the Sambre, and about 20 kilometres S.W. of Court-St.-Etienne, the Hallstatt-culture site of a somewhat earlier period.<sup>19</sup>

Nothing is known of the previous history of the dagger, but its well-preserved condition and the golden patina of the bronze strips, smooth on the front face but with grainy patches and black spots on the back, show that it must have been preserved in a water-logged environment such as a river-bed — unlike the majority of contemporary Continental daggers, which come from graves.<sup>20</sup>

Length of dagger blade 334 mm., width 60 mm., thickness not more than 5 mm.

This is the longest and thickest dagger of the group. Unlike the other, almost flat, blades, it has a slightly lozenge-shaped section with a poorly-defined midrib.



(After M. E. Marien)

Fig. 4 Iron age dagger from Luttre, Belgium (No. 4 in text) in Musées Royaux, Brussels. From left to right: Iron dagger; dagger in sheath (front); back of sheath; interior of sheath with rivets. (Scale in cms.)

The sheath lining is made of two sheets of a wood closely resembling ash. The surviving pieces, 0.6 to 1.2 mm. thick, have on their outer surfaces bands of impressed lines and dots corresponding to those embossed on the binding strips.

The twelve bronze binding strips that remain out of an estimated fifteen or sixteen are not more than 0.2 mm. thick. On the front face of the sheath, each strip is ornamented with two bands of double rows of embossed dots between raised ribs, one at the bottom and one about halfway up, and the strips are overlapped horizontally by a few millimetres. At the back, the ends of the strips are attached to the wood lining with bronze rivets. The second surviving strip from the top, joined to the strip below with four rivets, has a raised triangular area on each side of the central seam, evidently marking the places where the lower ends of two suspension loops were formerly fixed beneath the strip.

On each side of the central back seam is a line of small oblong depressions, interpreted by Dr. M. E. Marien as imitations of stitch marks, indicating that this form of sheath cover was based on leather prototypes.<sup>21</sup> In 1900 the Luttre dagger was in fact described as '... un parazonium romain ... dans son fourreau de bois recouvert de minces bandes de cuivre doré ...'

These four daggers are identified as British products by the form of the sheaths for — apart from the Luttre example — neither bronze-banded sheath covers nor double suspension loops occur on daggers found on the European mainland.<sup>22</sup> Twin-loop suspension is almost conclusive evidence of British workmanship, since it was a long-lived peculiarity of British daggers. Later daggers, of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., found in this country have sheaths broadly similar to those of Continental daggers but fitted with two suspension loops instead of the vertical central strap of the Continental weapons.<sup>23</sup> For this reason, the Luttre dagger is taken to be a British export<sup>24</sup> and not the prototype of the Thames series.

The Westminster Bridge dagger, with its bronze banded sheath cover and apparent traces of a twin-loop suspension system, must therefore be counted as another British-made piece and an addition to this small and important group of early iron daggers. It resembles most closely daggers No. 3 from the Thames and No. 4 from Luttre, the three daggers matching each other so nearly in details of decoration as well as general form, that they could well be products of the same workshop.<sup>25</sup>

The four 6th century B.C. iron daggers with bronze-strip sheaths from the Thames in west London mark the introduction of a completely new Continental fashion in weapons<sup>26</sup> following the long series of bronze swords introduced by the same route.<sup>27</sup> Evidently the sophisticated bronze-working industry that had flourished in the area since the middle bronze age some 600 years<sup>28</sup> earlier had absorbed the new technique of iron-working.<sup>29</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The firm is no longer in existence; its last appearance in the Post Office London Directory is for 1950.

<sup>2</sup> The distribution pattern of these daggers demonstrated by Professor Jope in 1961 (E. M. Jope 'Daggers of the Early Iron Age in Britain' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 27 (1961) 329–330, Fig. 10), is unlikely to have been recognised in 1927.

<sup>3</sup> The bronze bands were gold coloured before the recent restoration of the dagger: information kindly supplied by Mrs. A. H. Easson, Assistant Curator, Greek and Roman Department, Royal Ontario Museum; cf. G. F. Lawrence 'Antiquities from the Middle Thames' *Archaeol. J.* 86 (1930) 73.

- <sup>4</sup> Accession No. 927 103 a-b in the Greek and Roman Department, Royal Ontario Museum. Dr. John Hayes, of this Department, has kindly given permission for this preliminary note, based on photographs and correspondence only, to appear in advance of publication by the Royal Ontario Museum. I would like to express my very deep gratitude to Mrs. A. H. Easson, Assistant Curator of the same Department, for her unstinted and patient help in answering enquiries and arranging for photography and analysis. Mrs. Easson has provided the firm facts about the dagger; any mistakes in interpretation are mine. I should like to thank, too, the Conservation, Photographic and Registration Departments of the Royal Ontario Museum for the photographs and information they supplied at short notice. I am indebted also to Mr. M. J. Hammerson who kindly drew my attention to this dagger. Professor E. M. Jope and Dr. Frank Schwappach have generously advised me about the dagger, but the responsibility for the contents of this note is mine.
- <sup>5</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mrs. A. H. Easson, Royal Ontario Museum.
- <sup>6</sup> cf. E. M. Jope *op. cit.* in note 2, Pl. 17.
- <sup>7</sup> I am greatly indebted to staff of the Department of Forestry of the University of Toronto for identifying the wood.
- <sup>8</sup> Staff of the Department of Metallurgy of the University of Toronto have kindly tested the metal and report that it is bronze composed of copper, tin and iron, the iron perhaps absorbed from the dagger blade.
- <sup>9</sup> cf. daggers Nos. 1 and 2 from the Thames at Mortlake.
- <sup>10</sup> cf. Jope *op. cit.* in note 2, 311, 327, 330, Fig. 1.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 307–343.
- <sup>12</sup> Belgium has been suggested as the immediate source: Christopher Hawkes 'Celts and Cultures: Wealth, Power, Art' in P.-M. Duval and Christopher Hawkes ed. *Celtic Art in Ancient Europe* (London, 1976) 4.
- <sup>13</sup> Jope *op. cit.* in note 2, 329–330 No. 1. Pls. 17, 18.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 330 No. 2.
- <sup>15</sup> I am most grateful to Dr. I. M. Stead and Mr. Ralph Jackson, British Museum, for allowing me to examine this dagger.
- <sup>16</sup> Jope *op. cit.* in note 2, 326, 330 No. 3, Fig. 2, 3.
- <sup>17</sup> Since no specific finding place is mentioned in the Museum register, it seems probable that the dagger was found in the London stretches of the Thames. A fragment from the sheath of a different type of early iron age dagger included in the gift from Franks and also recorded as 'found in the Thames' (British Museum 91.4–18.10) has been identified by Professor Jope as part of a dagger found in the Thames at Battersea (British Museum 59.1–22.7; Jope *op. cit.* in note 2, 330 No. 4, Pl. 20).
- <sup>18</sup> M. E. Marien 'Poignard hallstattien trouvé à Luttre (Hainaut, Belgique)' *A Pedro Bosch-Gimpera* (Istituto Nacional de Anthropologia e Historia, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 1963) 307–11, Figs. 1–4. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Frank Schwappach for drawing my attention to this publication.
- <sup>19</sup> M. E. Marien *Trouvailles du Champ d'Urnes et des tombelles hallstattiennes de Court-Saint-Etienne* (1958).
- <sup>20</sup> Jope *op. cit.* in note 2, 308, 321, but see note 24 below.
- <sup>21</sup> The moulded leather sheath of a Neolithic flint dagger from Germany cited by Dr. Marien is similar in appearance to the bronze-strip sheaths (A. Casau 'Ein Feuersteindolch mit Holzgriff und Lederschiede aus Wiepenkathen, Kreis Stade' *Mannus* 27 (1935) 199–209, Fig. 7; R. J. Forbes *Studies in Ancient Technology* 5 (Leiden, 1957) 14, 15). I do not know of a British parallel. Flint daggers of the Beaker culture would presumably have had leather sheaths. Surviving leather sheaths and bindings of bronze swords were evidently constructed on different lines from the bronze-strip dagger sheaths (J. M. Coles, Herbert Coutts and M. L. Ryder 'A Late Bronze Age Find from Pyotdykes, Angus, Scotland . . .' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 30 (1964) 186–190).
- <sup>22</sup> Jope *op. cit.* in note 2, 307–308, 326–327, 330. Marien *op. cit.* in note 18, 310. The one exception is a dagger, of early La Tène type, dated to the 5th century B.C., with two suspension loops, found at Kernavest, Brittany, and evidently made in Brittany (F. Schwappach 'Stempelverzierte Keramik von Armorica' *Marburger Beiträge Zur Archäologie der Kelten: Festschrift für Wolfgang Dehn* (1969) 239, 269). I am indebted to Dr. Schwappach for kindly supplying the reference.
- <sup>23</sup> The later daggers, numbering about 18, are derived mainly from La Tène I daggers of north-east France. They are concentrated in the Thames between Lambeth and Richmond, and hardly extend beyond the Thames valley. (Jope *op. cit.* in note 2, 312–321, 331–339 Fig. 10).
- <sup>24</sup> As the circumstances of its discovery are unknown, the possibility exists that it was brought to Belgium in recent times. There seems no reason, however, why the Luttre dagger should not have been traded to Belgium in the iron age, following a tradition established in the bronze age, when some British-made bronze weapons were evidently exported to Belgium and other parts of the Continent. Indeed, British-made late bronze age 'Thames type' swords found in Belgium and neighbouring areas come from rivers, like the Luttre dagger, and not land, like most bronze swords in central Europe; see M. J. Rowlands *The Organisation of Middle Bronze Age Metalworking* British Archaeological Reports 31(1) (Oxford, 1976) 150–152; and J. D. Cowen 'The Hallstatt Sword of Bronze: on the Continent and in Britain' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 33 (1967) 412–414, 449–452.
- <sup>25</sup> Marien *op. cit.* in note 18, 309, 311.
- <sup>26</sup> The very restricted distribution of the daggers and the low combined total (about 30) of Hallstatt and La Tène I type daggers known for the whole of Britain show that the fashion did not spread far beyond the Thames valley (E. M. Jope *op. cit.* in note 2, 329–339, Fig. 10). The daggers raise the interesting question what other weapons were in use in southern Britain during the early part of the iron age, since few early iron swords are known. Obvious possibilities are a switch to spears (Jope *op. cit.* in note 2, 321, 324) or the survival of bronze swords (Cowen *op. cit.* in note 24, 384).
- <sup>27</sup> C. B. Burgess 'The Later Bronze Age in the British Isles and North-western France' *Archaeol. J.* 125 (1969) 1–45.
- <sup>28</sup> Rowlands *op. cit.* in note 24, 168.
- <sup>29</sup> Jope *op. cit.* in note 2, 307, 327.

# THE LONDON AREA IN THE LATE IRON AGE: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE EARLIEST COINS

JOHN KENT

We are so used to thinking of the site of London as destined by nature to be the focal point of England's political and economic entity that it requires a considerable effort to envisage those times when it was otherwise. Pre-Roman London scarcely existed. 'The most important development in the Roman period was the origin of London itself'.<sup>1</sup> But though the London area of the late iron age has been thought of as 'virtually depopulated',<sup>2</sup> it is undoubtedly the source of fine metal-work, and is associated with certain characteristic coin-distributions. The dating and interpretation of these is crucial to the question of the importance of the region; that contemporary pottery has not yet been recognised underlines for us the fact that the solution of this particular enigma is not yet in our hands. A problem has been pin-pointed; a reassessment of one aspect of the evidence is here offered to honour a scholar who is at home with coins not least among his many and wide-ranging accomplishments.

The interpretation of the earliest Celtic coinages in Britain has for many years been based on the concept of migrations from Belgic Gaul, each marked by the import and distribution of characteristic gold coins.<sup>3</sup> This comprehensive hypothesis was fraught with two difficulties. Firstly, the rest of the archaeological material could scarcely be accommodated to it; the arrangements of the coins came in the end to be regarded as independent evidence for what were otherwise imperceptible migrations. Secondly, the dating implicit in the system, which was never easy to reconcile with the observed relationships of the coins, could not be made compatible with the latest and most fundamental studies of the Belgic coinage in its homeland.

The time is therefore clearly ripe for a reappraisal of the coin evidence.<sup>4</sup> It would be unwise to assert that we have reached a definitive position; that is a claim that only time can substantiate. But if we can throw off the shackles of a monolithic hypothesis, however magisterial, we become free to question all supposed certainties in the light of fresh propositions. We must not however throw out the baby with the bath-water. Much of what Allen and his predecessors did remains the indispensable foundation of our thought. The provenances they so meticulously recorded are essential to any interpretation.

The starting point for the new thinking must be Dr. Scheers' detailed study of the Belgic coinages.<sup>5</sup> She has argued convincingly that the series that we call Gallo-Belgic E and its successors (Fig. 1.1) was, though specifically attributable to the Ambiani, the coinage by the aid of which the Belgic confederacy fought Caesar between 58 and 50 B.C. This has

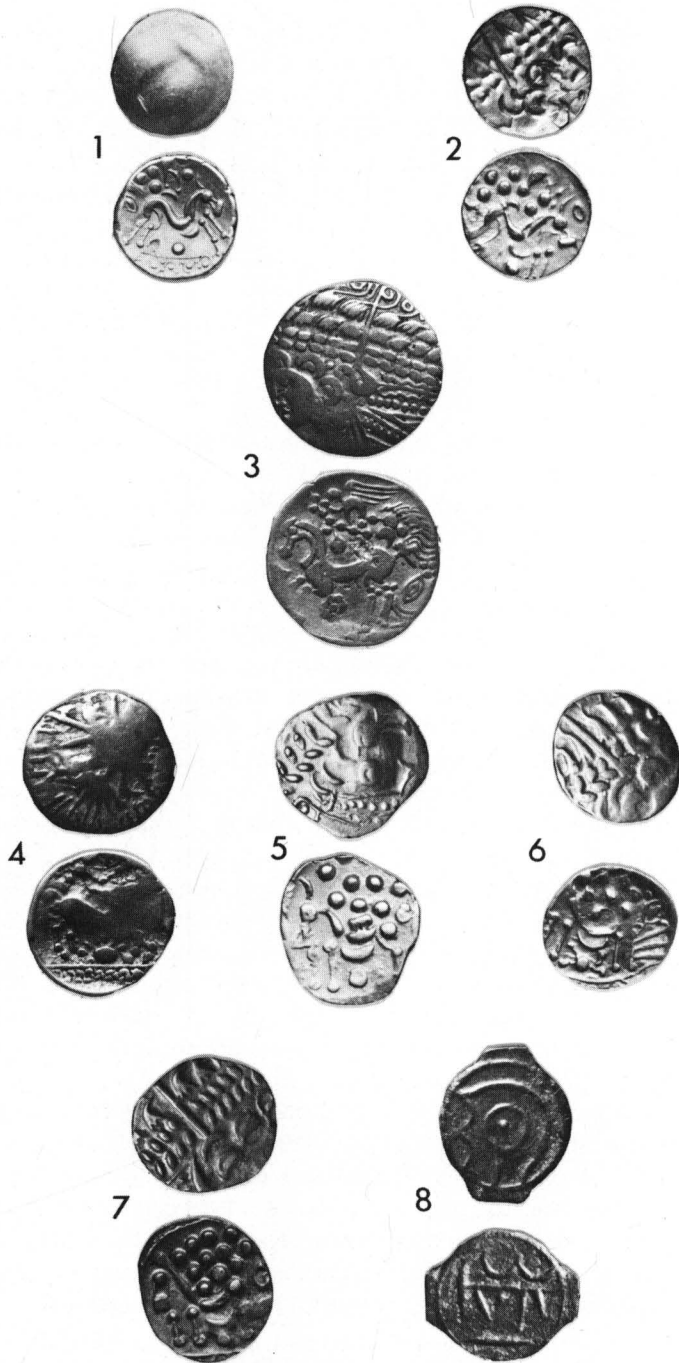


Fig. 1 1. Gallo-Belgic E stater. 2. Gallo-Belgic C stater. 3. Gallo-Belgic A stater.  
 4. Gallo-Belgic B stater. 5. British A stater. 6. British B stater.  
 7. Durotrigian silver stater. 8. British 'potin' coin (series 1). (All 1:1).

(British Museum)

important implications for Britain. In the first place, the date virtually rules out any significant migration. Movements of refugee chiefs are of course another matter, but they are not likely to have imported or circulated large amounts of coin. Secondly, Caesar tells us that the Gauls were constantly receiving help from the Britons.<sup>6</sup> Is it not likely that this help, probably in the form of corn to replace devastated crops and soldiers to swell depleted ranks, had to be bought? It is furthermore probable that these commodities were to be obtained among the most powerful peoples. Caesar cites two such powerful tribes, the Trinovantes, '*firmissima civitas*',<sup>7</sup> and the people of Cassivellaunus, which he does not name, and it is in their lands that we might expect to find the heaviest concentration of coins. The actual distribution is perfectly intelligible in these terms.<sup>8</sup> There is a concentration in north Kent, very little in the London area, a steady stream from north Berkshire along the Chilterns to Cambridgeshire, and from thence a number along the Essex-Suffolk border to the sea at Colchester. From Berkshire a line descends to the Sussex coast, where many have been found. The great majority of these staters are early in the continental series, and the almost inevitable conclusion must be that we have here payments made by the Belgic confederates to the principal tribes of south-east Britain between 58 and Caesar's invasion of 55 B.C.

The Gallo-Belgic E coinage was however by no means the earliest to reach Britain, nor was it influential in determining the typology of the earliest British series. That rôle belongs to another Belgic series, also attributed to the Ambiani, of somewhat earlier date; we call it Gallo-Belgic C (Fig 1.2). This is found freely in Kent, but only sporadically beyond. Its widespread influence we shall trace in a later paragraph; its date is clearly pre-Caesarian, whatever may have been the occasion of its export to Britain.

Earlier still, but, in spite of being considerably more numerous, not significantly different in distribution, is the Gallo-Belgic A series (Fig. 1.3). These coins, which comprise quarter-staters as well as staters, are often considerably worn and sometimes cut down. There are several recorded hoards in which they have been associated with series C<sup>9</sup> and one where they have been hoarded with series E.<sup>10</sup>

In general terms, we may say that the London area is in no way significant in the distribution of Series A, C and E. Series B (Fig. 1.4) however, which we judge from its weight and fineness to have been an early contemporary of A, behaves quite differently. It comes from a more westerly part of Belgic Gaul, the land of the Caleti. It is found in Britain, for the most part, in a fairly compact distribution centring on west London.

Gallo-Belgic C gave rise to several derivative series made in Britain. The earliest of these we call British A (Fig. 1.5). It is a coinage of Surrey, north Hampshire and the south coast; it is rarely found north of the Thames valley. Like the distinctive but very thinly distributed varieties struck in Essex and East Anglia, its area of currency seems to begin where that of Gallo-Belgic C ends. It might not be too fanciful to suggest that Gallo-Belgic C staters penetrating beyond Kent were for the most part recoined into somewhat baser and lighter pieces, by a decision of a ruler who commissioned British A. The British A stater is more or less similar in fineness and weight to Gallo-Belgic E, which may have suggested the standard and which would determine the date. British A is parent to yet lighter and baser series, which show a marked westward displacement. British B (Fig. 1.6) is characteristic of south Hampshire and Dorset, and is followed in turn by very similar silver pieces (Fig. 1.7), which are restricted to south Wiltshire and Dorset. These are ancestral to the hideous coinage of the Durotriges. This displacement is a feature very



unusual in the British coinage, and suggests an event of more than common magnitude. One thinks naturally of Caesar's invasions of 55 and 54 B.C., which must have had immense repercussions. It is however generally assumed that after his departure, things returned to the *status quo ante*. Let us briefly consider this proposition.

Caesar intervened in Britain ostensibly on behalf of the exiled ruler of the Trinovantes, who had been driven out by Cassivellaunus, a paramount chief of southern Britain. Cassivellaunus was the spearhead of resistance to Caesar, bore the brunt of defeat and had to sue for peace. The proposition that he resumed his career of successful aggression after Caesar's departure depends on two assumptions: first, that Cassivellaunus was a Catuvellaunian; second, that the Catuvellauni eventually conquered the Trinovantes. The first assumption is unwarranted by any authority; the second is at best very questionable.<sup>11</sup> The Catuvellauni seem to have emerged scatheless from the Claudian invasion; the Trinovantes, specifically, were dispossessed in order that the *colonia* at Camulodunum might be founded.<sup>12</sup> Can the Romans really have failed to recognise their true enemy? It is very possible that Tasciovanus, the 'great king',<sup>13</sup> and Cunobelinus, 'king of the Britons'<sup>14</sup> were Trinovantian, and that this *firmissima civitas*, relieved of its only significant opponent, was a major beneficiary of Caesar's invasion. Cassivellaunus and his house may well have suffered an irretrievable set-back. Dare we suggest that this is mirrored in the distributions of British A and B? Was Cassivellaunus perhaps the scion and progenitor of a Durotrigian royal house? Was he perhaps a principal recipient of Gallo-Belgic C and E staters, which he had begun to recoin into his own British A when he was driven westwards from his seat of power? Here at least are hypotheses deserving of serious consideration.

If we take the import to Britain of Gallo-Belgic C staters to have been the event precipitating the start of a native gold coinage, and the absence or scarcity of Gallo-Belgic C and E staters in the British A area to have been the result of recoinage, it follows that Gallo-Belgic B, which was evidently not recoined, must have arrived and gone to ground appreciably earlier. There seems no way of determining this date. Gallo-Belgic B is but rarely found in later contexts. Gallo-Belgic A coins, on the other hand, undoubtedly survived down to the time of Gallo-Belgic C, and indeed, some might have entered Britain with them. Thus might be explained the repeated associations of series A and C, as opposed to the relative isolation of B. We have already suggested that although they originate in different parts of Belgic Gaul, they are not necessarily much different in date. They might, for instance, represent the payments of competing Belgic rulers of a pre-Caesarian generation, different not only in origin, but also in destination. If one might hazard a guess, one might think of efforts by the coastal tribes of Gaul to stem the aggression of Diviciacus of the Suessiones, the king who, Caesar tells us, ruled on both sides of the Channel within the memory of his informants.<sup>15</sup>

The Gallo-Belgic B coinage has a centre of distribution slightly to the west of London. It is not alone in suggesting a pre-Caesarian focus of great importance in this region. The fine metal-work and swords from the Thames, though not in themselves specifically datable, point to the same conclusion. Even more significant are the numerous Thames-side finds of base 'potin' coins (Fig. 1.8). These are native copies of widespread continental series. A random scatter of British finds of continental pieces gives little idea of how or when the prototypes first became known; not surprisingly, there is no sign of the systematic import of these relatively worthless objects. As on the continent, there is

considerable evidence that they persisted in small numbers down to the time of the Roman conquest. As the coin-finds from Alesia<sup>16</sup> show, however, they are as a class substantially and probably entirely pre-Caesarian in origin. The wide distribution of single finds is probably of little significance in view of their individual longevity and slight intrinsic value. The survival of so large a proportion of specimens in hoards and the tight concentration which so many of these exhibit<sup>17</sup> suggest a very brief and localised currency for the great majority of examples, terminated by an emergency, the effect of which was to put an end to the environment in which the production and circulation of small change could continue. This picture is reinforced by the existence of a few large hoards at a considerable distance from the nucleus. The most suggestive of these is that from Snettisham, Norfolk.<sup>18</sup> Allen has expressed the view that the gold and 'potin' hoards are essentially parts of the same deposit. The gold coins comprised seven Gallo-Belgic A, four Gallo-Belgic C and one Gallo-Belgic D. The latter belongs to a series not found in the London area; it appears to be broadly contemporary with Gallo-Belgic E, and thus to belong to the 50s B.C. The absence of British A may be significant. Snettisham could support the contention that Gallo-Belgic A and C (and perhaps even D) were originally available in the London area. The 'potin' pieces may thus have been (on the chronology proposed above) contemporaries of Gallo-Belgic C and the earliest D, and therefore slightly pre-Caesarian. The Kentish 'potin' hoards, and, more importantly, the find from Carn Brea, Cornwall, may also be classed as 'refugee' hoards from the London area; the latter find associates Gallo-Belgic A, B and D with British A and illustrates another pattern of coin-availability at this period.

To what event should we attribute this presumed series of disasters and flights? Clearly, people of some wealth were involved. It would be attractive to think of Caesar's presence in 55–54 B.C., but the hypothesis scarcely permits it, and Caesar himself shows no knowledge of an important site on or near the Thames. If we can trace in the development of British A and its successors the fortunes of Cassivellaunus and his house, then the Class I 'potins' can hardly derive from the same authority; their distribution is compatible with that of Gallo-Belgic B, but not with that of British A, which skirts the London area to south and west without entering it. The events would therefore belong to a slightly earlier date, and might represent, for example, the resounding successes of Cassivellaunus against the Trinovantes, of which their exiled chief complained to Caesar, or against some nameless people during the course of his rise to pre-eminence.

If it were indeed the Trinovantes, then we should postulate a northerly and easterly displacement, not so much of the people themselves as of their centre of power, during the last century of Celtic independence. This at least would help to explain why it has never been possible to distinguish archaeologically Trinovantes from Catuvellauni<sup>19</sup> — and the latter become more nebulous than ever. It would be quite intelligible that the 'strongest people' of Caesar's day should have attracted the earliest gold coins to come to Britain, and also that they should have a Thames-side *oppidum* in what was then their heartland, where began the earliest use of a subsidiary base-metal currency. Whatever be the true historical explanation, the coin distribution certainly prompts the suggestion that there *was* such an *oppidum* a few miles to the west of London, and that it came to an end as a major site around, shall we say, 60 B.C. It would make a fascinating and most important discovery that would revolutionise our knowledge of the last period of the iron age. At least one of the bases of this Thames-side prosperity may be discerned in the iron

'currency-bars', whose eastern outlet along the Thames valley is clearly seen in their distribution.

This postulated site, commercial as well as political centre, might have grown and developed instead of London, had not the fortunes of war nipped it in the bud. It must have enjoyed many of London's natural advantages, and had not the Thames in the ensuing period become more of a frontier than a lifeline, it might have remained the British capital and become the Roman *colonia*. It has a real claim to be considered the forerunner of our modern capital city. And what a strange coincidence — for it can be no more than that — that, among his many fancies, Geoffrey of Monmouth chose to identify London with his New Troy, 'which by corruption of the original word, came to be called Trinobantum'.<sup>20</sup>

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> R. Merrifield 'Roman' in *The Archaeology of the London Area: Current Knowledge and Problems* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper No. 1 (1976) 50.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 47.
- <sup>3</sup> The classic exposition of this concept may be found in D. F. Allen 'The origin of coinage in Britain: a reappraisal' in S. S. Frere ed. *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain* Inst. Archaeol. Occasional Paper No. 11 (London, 1961) 97 ff. This also contains a corpus of finds, including hoards. This is now brought up to date by C. Haselgrove *Supplementary Gazetteer of Find-spots in Britain* (London, 1978).
- <sup>4</sup> For a preliminary statement, see J. P. C. Kent 'The origin and development of Celtic gold coinage in Britain' *Actes du Colloque Cochet* (Rouen, 1978).
- <sup>5</sup> S. Scheers 'Coinage and currency of the Belgic tribes during the Gallic Wars' *Brit. Numis. J.* (1972) 1. Dr. Scheers' thesis will shortly be published; this will place the detailed evidence at our disposal.
- <sup>6</sup> Caesar *de bello Gallico* IV, 20.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* V, 20.
- <sup>8</sup> Distribution maps may be found in the following works: *Ordnance Survey Map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age* (Chessington, 1962); R. P. Mack *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (London, 1964); B. Cunliffe *Iron-Age Communities in Britain* (Oxford, 1974); D. W. Harding *The Iron Age in Lowland Britain* (London, 1974); W. J. Rodwell 'Coinage, Oppida, and the rise of Belgic power in south-east Britain' in B. W. Cunliffe and R. T. Rowley eds. *Oppida: the Beginnings of Urbanisation in Barbarian Europe* Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Supp. Ser. No. 11 (Oxford, 1976).
- <sup>9</sup> Snettisham, Norfolk; Westerham, Kent; Clacton, Essex.
- <sup>10</sup> Clacton, Essex.
- <sup>11</sup> Dio Cassius LX.20.2 has been taken to mean that Caratacus and Togodumnus, the sons of Cunobelinus, were Catuvellaunian. However, Caratacus appears to have held a kingdom already in his father's lifetime. Both Tasciovanus and Cunobelinus had subsidiary kings beneath them, including, it may well be, a ruler of the Catuvellauni.
- <sup>12</sup> Tacitus *Annales* XIV.31.
- <sup>13</sup> Cf. his title RICON on some coins. I owe the translation to Miss Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, of St. Anne's College, Oxford.
- <sup>14</sup> Suetonius *Caligula* 44.
- <sup>15</sup> Caesar *de bello Gallico* II.3.
- <sup>16</sup> J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu 'Numismatique celtique d'Alesia' *Rev. Num. Belge* 101 (1955) 58.
- <sup>17</sup> There are at least six between Sunbury-on-Thames and St. James's Park.
- <sup>18</sup> Others at Lenham Heath and Birchington, Kent.
- <sup>19</sup> B. W. Cunliffe *op. cit.* in note 8, 75.
- <sup>20</sup> *Historia Regum Britanniae* I.17.

# A SURVEY OF ROMAN SITES IN GREATER LONDON

HARVEY SHELDON AND LAURA SCHAAF

## I INTRODUCTION

Many archaeologists, both professional and amateur, who have worked in recent years on aspects of the Roman settlements in Greater London have benefited considerably from Ralph Merrifield's support and encouragement. It is therefore appropriate that, on the occasion of his retirement from the Museum of London, an attempt should be made to bring together the information that is available about the area, and, perhaps more importantly, emphasise what needs to be done. For it is unfortunately true that despite the number of finds that have been recorded, our knowledge, even concerning the distribution of these settlements, is limited, while our understanding of their history is almost non-existent. As Ralph Merrifield recently wrote<sup>1</sup> their nature generally remains 'obscure' and 'elusive': undoubtedly this will continue to be the case until large-scale excavations, properly undertaken, provide students of the period with much fresh information.

## II METHODS

Much of the data concerning discoveries in the area is contained in the record cards compiled, largely from published sources and the records of the Ordnance Survey, by Roy Canham, Joanna Bird, Sally Kington and Alison Laws, and now housed in the Museum of London. These form the only reasonably comprehensive archive of Roman finds in Greater London, though it could be added to, and suffers in that many of the earlier records are vague and ambiguous.

In order to study the distribution of sites, a map has been included showing the Drift and Solid Geology of Greater London (Fig. 1). Five different categories of strata have been shown on this map: Alluvium, Chalk, London Clay, other clayey deposits, and sand and gravel. The Alluvium marks the courses of the major London rivers, and consists of complex fluvial deposits which can vary from clay to gravel. The Chalk and London Clay are shown as they occur in the area, but the two final categories are groupings of different strata of broadly similar types. Included as sand and gravel are: Flood Plain gravel, Taplow Terrace, Boyn Hill Terrace, Plateau, Pebble, and Glacial gravels, Thanet Beds, Bagshot Beds, Blackheath Beds, and Woolwich and Reading Beds, although these latter may include some areas of clay. The category of various clayey deposits comprises: Boulder Clay, Clay-with-flints, Claygate Beds, and Brickearth. The modern courses of rivers,<sup>2</sup> the probable major Roman roads, and known sites of the late pre-Roman iron age, Roman, and early (pagan) Saxon periods have been mapped. The archaeological sites are presented in the following classifications: buildings, stratified deposits (such as

pits and ditches), single and multiple cremation and inhumation burials, coin hoards, kilns, and for the Roman period alone, possible pottery scatters (Fig. 1), and chance finds of pottery and other objects (Figs. 2–8). Chance finds of single Roman objects such as coins have been excluded from Fig. 1 on the grounds that generally there is no evidence that they indicate the location of a settlement. Finds from the River Thames have also been left off. The distribution of both of these classes of finds has recently been plotted.<sup>3</sup>

The identifiable Roman roadside settlements at Brentford, Brockley Hill, Enfield, Old Ford, Crayford/Dartford, Ewell, and Staines have been treated separately and drawn as a series of detail maps (Figs. 2–8). The latter three which are partially or completely outside Greater London have been included as it seems rather unrealistic to leave them out of any discussion of the area. Conversely no attempt has been made to map the main urban centre of the region, *Londinium* and Southwark, or its immediate hinterland. This area is beyond the scope of this paper, and much of it has been treated in detail elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

Sites with evidence of buildings, stratified deposits, or coin hoards have been given numbers and more detailed information about them can be found in the Gazetteer of Sites.

### III THE DISTRIBUTION OF SITES

Most of the known sites lie on sand, gravel, or mixed clays (Boulder Clay, Clay-with-flints, Claygate Beds, and Brickearth). In contrast there are few sites on the London Clay, which covers about a half of the area, and which would have been more difficult to cultivate because of its poor drainage and heavy soils. The London Clay would, however, have been a valuable source of timber, especially oak, for building and fuel, and exploitation of this resource along with other suitable uses of the area such as for hunting, pig rearing, and tile and pottery manufacture probably account for the occurrence there of some sites. The limited number of sites which occur on Alluvium and Chalk might be explained by the danger of flooding and presence of marshy areas in the case of the former, and problems of water supply in the latter. The importance of a reliable water supply may also be seen in the location of the majority of sites along rivers or on boundaries between different types of geological deposit where springs would exist. Indeed the apparent popularity of geological boundaries for settlement, demonstrated on Fig. 1, may be the result of the presence there of different types of soil, and other natural resources, as well as springs.

Geographically this has resulted in a concentration of sites along the border between the Chalk and sand and gravel of south and south-east London, but a sparseness on the London Clay, particularly noticeable in a large area of north-west London as well as in parts of the north-east and south. The riverine distribution of many of the sites might suggest that transport by water, rather than by road was of considerable importance in the movement of agricultural products and other goods to and from market.

Apart from geological and geographical factors, the distribution of sites may also have been influenced by the needs of the administration. This might be most clearly seen in the location of small settlements on the major roads. The best known are found at Brentford and Staines (*Pontes*) on the Silchester road (Figs. 2 and 8), Brockley Hill (possibly *Sulloniaca*) on Watling Street North (Fig. 3), Enfield on Ermine Street (Fig. 4), Old Ford on the road to Colchester (Fig. 5), Crayford/Dartford (*Noviomagus*) on Watling Street South (Fig. 6), and Ewell on Stane Street (Fig. 7).<sup>5</sup>

Apart from Brockley Hill all lie at or near to known river crossings, and apart from Old Ford and Staines, all are between 14.5 and 21 km. (9 and 13 miles) from London.

#### IV LONDINIUM AND THE ROAD NETWORK

Literary sources as well as archaeological evidence make it quite clear that before the time of the British insurrection in A. D. 60 *Londinium* was of some significance within the new province.<sup>6</sup> It is now generally believed that this land on the north bank of the Thames, though of little importance before the Roman invasion of A. D. 43, was utilised early in the campaigns of the armies of Plautius. The geographical factors that determined its selection are seen in its position on the river at the first point upstream where harbouring facilities could be developed, and where, for the purposes of landward connections, a bridge could be constructed, thus allowing direct access to and from the south.

The development of the road network, radiating from *Londinium* and its environs, is usually regarded as demonstrating the site's focal importance within the system swiftly designed by the military authorities to ensure rapid communications and efficient distribution of supplies. The roads included those from the Kent ports (Watling Street — south of the Thames), Chichester and the Sussex coast (Stane Street), the early capital Colchester, Lincoln (Ermine Street), *Verulamium* and the North-West (Watling Street North), and Silchester and the West.

That all of these highways existed can hardly be doubted though their actual location on the ground is often in doubt or unproved. Firm evidence for the date of their construction is also rather limited, though it seems likely that all were built soon after the arrival of the invaders. Pottery from the construction layers of the Colchester road at Old Ford<sup>7</sup> suggests that the highway was in use not long after A. D. 43. Yet not all of the roads may be quite that early. Work in Southwark has resulted in the discovery of two major roads leading to the Southwark bridgehead. One was most probably the northern continuation of the combined Stane Street and Watling Street South. The second seems to be a link road between two crossings of the Thames, one at Southwark, the second at Lambeth. Neither need have been in operation before A. D. 50–55, and, if this was the case, they might suggest that the earliest Roman crossing point of the Thames was at Lambeth, rather than further downstream where more difficult alluvial terrain had to be encountered.<sup>8</sup>

Indeed the alignments of both sections of Watling Street on Lambeth and Westminster rather than on Southwark and the City have long been commented upon, and it may be that they also indicate the early prominence of an upriver crossing.<sup>9</sup> This need not affect the early importance of *Londinium*, even if the landward connection from the Kent coast was at Westminster. It is feasible that the Thames was used for the transport of supplies, landed at London for distribution along the roads to Colchester and the North, even if supplies intended for distribution to the West and North-West were landed further upstream at Westminster. Many other roads and tracks must have existed but they have not been shown on the map. Some, as Grimes has suggested, may have been prehistoric routes.<sup>10</sup> These may have been incorporated into the Roman system, and numerous minor roads could have been laid out by the authorities. The *Viatores* have described the possible courses of a number of these, though attempts to prove their existence by excavations have not proved conspicuously successful.<sup>11</sup>

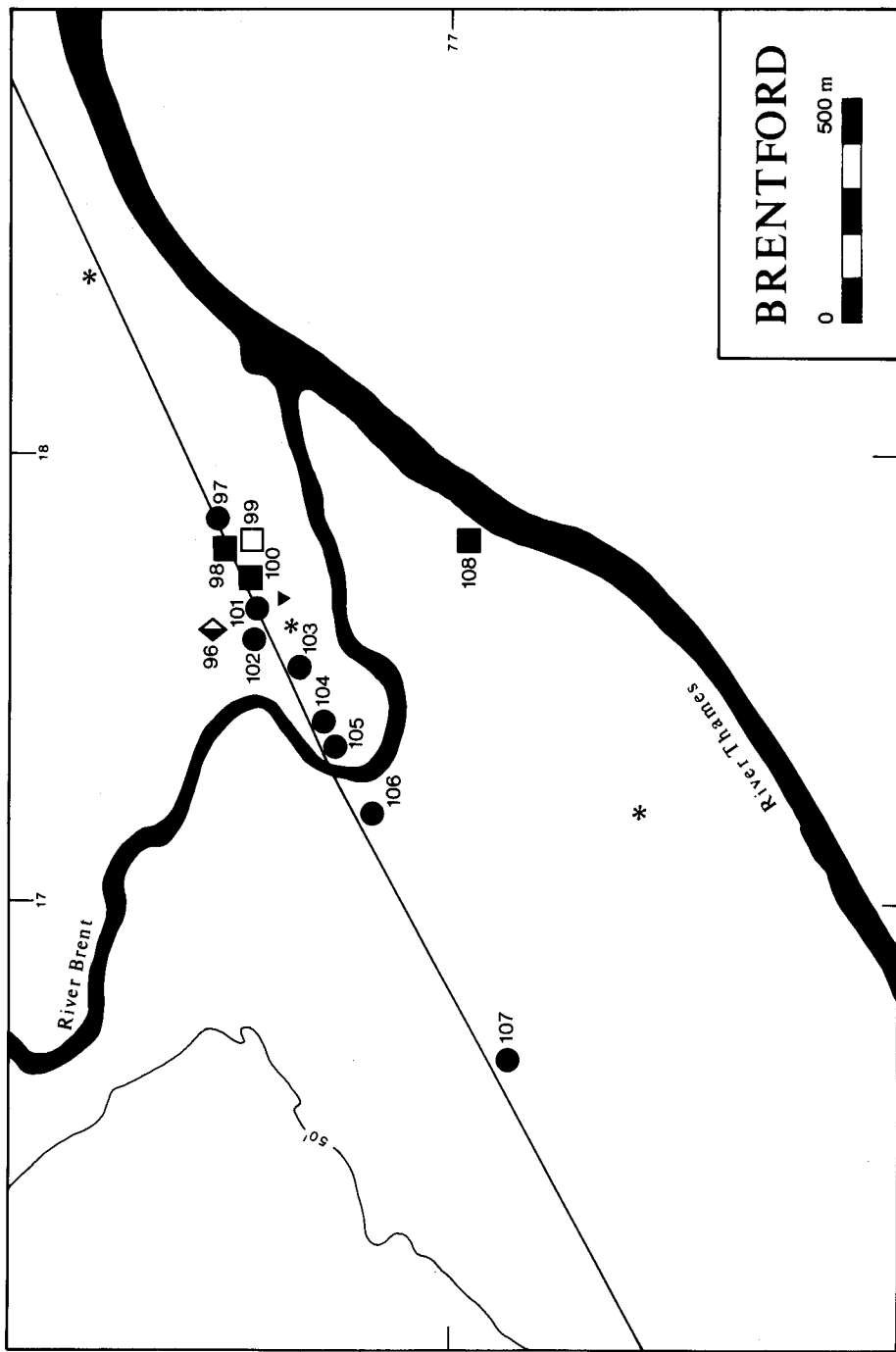


Fig. 2

## V SITES ON THE MAIN ROADS

## (A) Reasonably documented sites (Figs. 2–8)

## 1. Definition

So little is known of these settlements that it is difficult to classify them satisfactorily. The term 'small town' is often used in referring to sites found along the main roads which are clearly more extensive than isolated farms, but are smaller than the cantonal capitals with their civic buildings and regular street layout.<sup>12</sup> Recent general surveys have included Brockley Hill, Crayford, Ewell and Staines as well as Enfield<sup>13</sup> amongst this group of sites. Yet the term 'small town' requires subdivision and most of our examples might more adequately be described as 'roadside villages'.

## 2. Origin

The evidence for late pre-Roman iron age antecedents of these communities is limited. Sites 153 and 155 near Ewell, and 129 and 132 near Crayford may all have been late iron age farms which continued into the Roman period. In addition one iron age pit is known from Ewell (146) and a possible cremation from Dartford. Of the remaining five main road settlements only Brentford with one coin hoard (96) and a recently found pit, containing pottery that might be just pre-conquest in date (97), has yielded any evidence which might point to late iron age occupation. In short there is no body of material from any of these settlements comparable to that claimed from underneath the Essex 'small towns'<sup>14</sup> to indicate continuity from the late iron age. It is possible that much of the population came from nearby, though only the earthwork at Bushhill Park, Enfield (some 2 km. (1.2 miles) west of site 113) and some of the many sites revealed by air photographs near Staines can be identified as possible earlier locations.

It might then seem that most, if not all, were Roman creations. Many 'small towns' along Britain's major roads are now regarded as growing from forts established during the conquest campaigns<sup>15</sup> which attracted a civilian population that outlasted the use of the site as a base. This may be true here, though there is as yet little evidence to attest the presence of early military detachments in these centres. Indications of an early presence of this nature come from the cavalry helmet at Staines,<sup>16</sup> and less certainly, from recent finds at Enfield.<sup>17</sup> However their distances from *Londinium*, apart from Old Ford, suggest they served as posting stations established by the administration along the new roads. On continental analogy Rivet argues that *mutationes* (changing stations) would be established every 13 to 29 km. (8 to 18 miles) along the road,<sup>18</sup> while Richmond proposes the occurrence both of *mutationes* and *mansiones* (rest houses) at intervals of about 19 km (12 miles).<sup>19</sup> Whether these stations were the only part of military establishments left operative when the troops moved forward, or whether they were separately created to serve the *cursus publicus*, they are likely to have begun functioning as soon as the roads were built.<sup>20</sup>

## 3. Size

The quantity and quality of information is too limited to provide enough firm data to estimate the size of any of these settlements, or to reveal much of their layout, or the density of the structures within them. The distribution generally indicates settlements with buildings set close to the roadside covering distances of between 400 m. and 4 km. (0.3 and 2.5 miles).



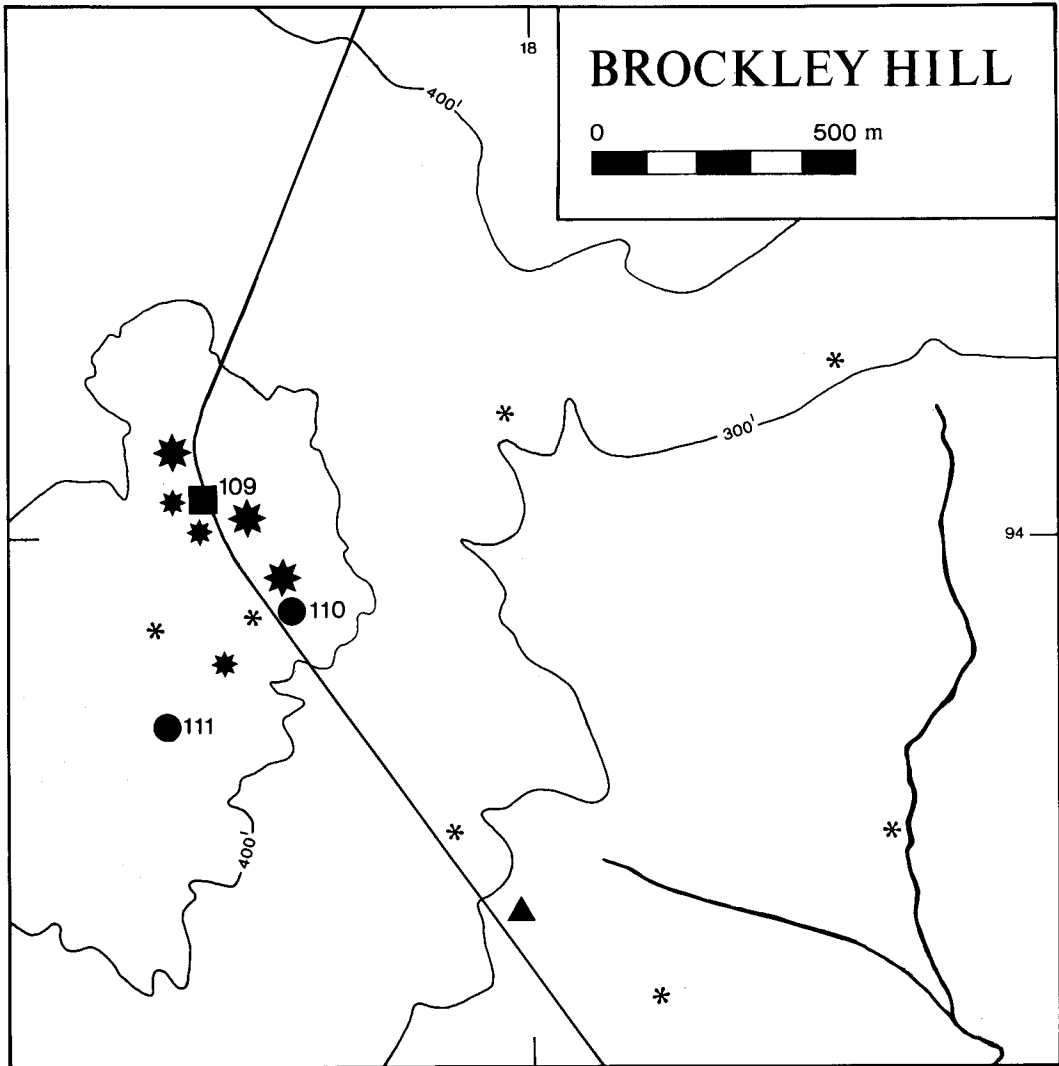


Fig. 3

In order to estimate roughly their size the length of road along which there is a concentration of finds has been multiplied by 100 m., which allows for a built up area of 50 m. on each side of the road. Calculations on this basis suggest that Staines, Brockley Hill, and Old Ford covered about 4 ha. (10 acres), and Ewell and Brentford about 6 ha. (15 acres). Enfield and Crayford would appear to be larger, nearly 20 ha. (50 acres) and 40 ha. (100 acres) respectively. No great reliance can be placed upon the latter two figures for, as can be seen in Figs. 4 and 6 they might represent over-calculations resulting from the conflation of separate nuclei.

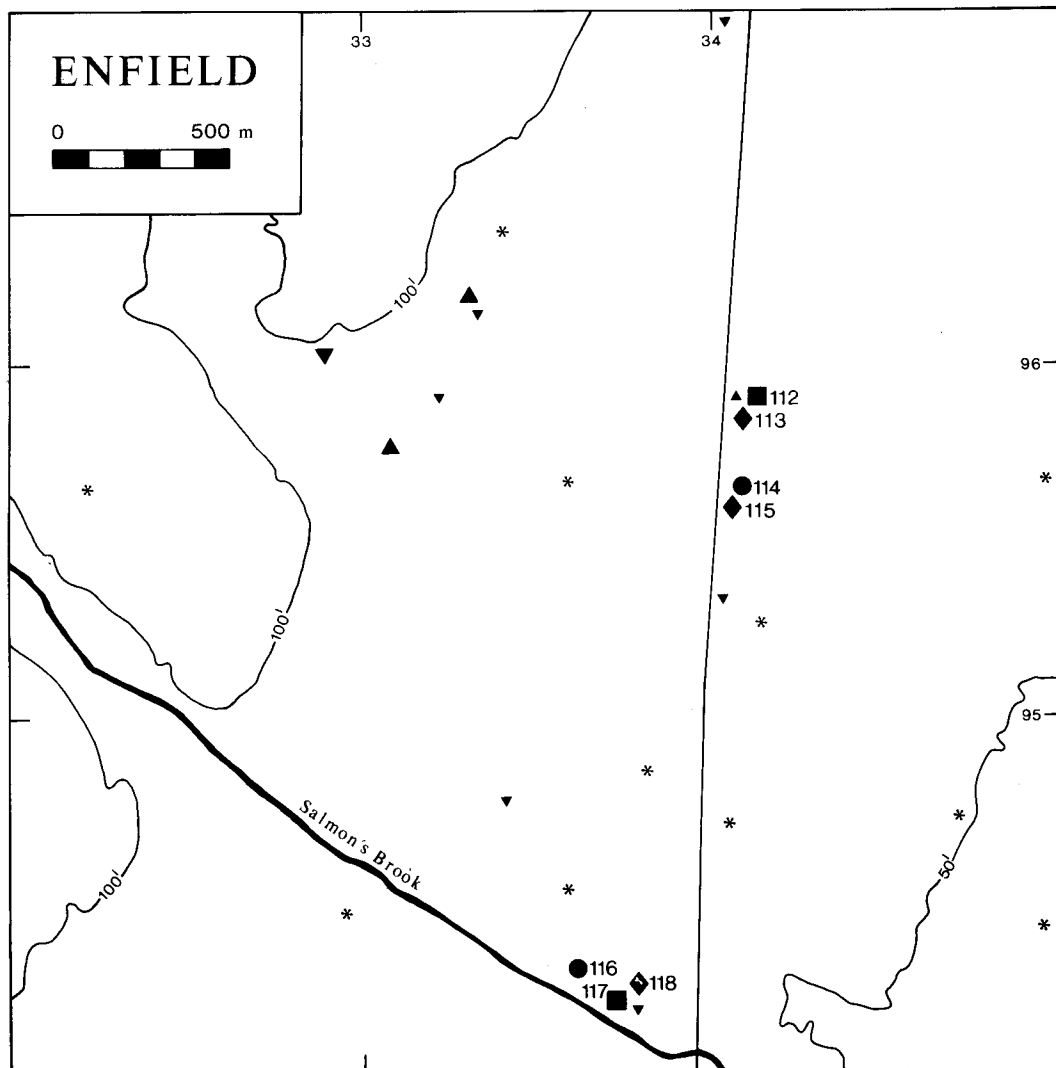


Fig. 4

The sizes of the 'small towns' within the province are generally imperfectly known. Though walls enclosing areas of between 1.5 ha. (3.75 acres) and 14 ha. (35 acres) occur, it is often not clear how much of the settlements they contain. Estimates of the overall sizes of these and, especially, those without recognised defensive circuits are very difficult to make as Todd has shown.<sup>21</sup> It is probable that London's settlements best fit his second category, where buildings 'straggle the roadside for anything up to a mile or more'.

#### 4. Historical development

Until much more evidence has been obtained, any attempt to chart the history of these settlements must be of the most elementary kind and it may well be that this attempt to treat them as a group will be shown to be misleading. For example at Brockley Hill most of the information concerns 1st- and 2nd-century pottery manufacture, and it may well be that the kiln sites were situated well outside *Sulloniacae* which might itself lie unlocated either to the north or south along Watling Street.<sup>22</sup> At Old Ford, apart from a few cremation burials and isolated 2nd-century features (120, 127) the mass of material comes from late Roman contexts. Admittedly the sites recently examined might be a westerly appendage and the earlier buildings could lie nearer to the ford,<sup>23</sup> though the possibility exists that this roadside settlement was almost entirely a late 3rd- and 4th-century one.

Only in Staines have traces of pre-Boudiccan structures — probably burnt down in the revolt of A. D. 60 — been recorded (162). No Claudio-Neronian buildings have been identified at the other settlements, though kiln debris of this period is known from Brockley Hill.<sup>24</sup>

Later 1st- and early 2nd-century expansion, so clearly evident in *Londinium* and Southwark, may also be seen at some of the roadside settlements. Clay and timber buildings constructed then have been found in Staines and Brentford. At both there is evidence of two phases of buildings, the first lasting until the Hadrianic, the second to the Antonine period. At Ewell excavations in St. Mary's Churchyard in 1970–71 uncovered a building with flint footings, built in the late 1st or early 2nd century (139). The complex site in Lincoln Road, Enfield (112), partially dug in 1975, revealed what may have been the floor of a round timber-framed building of similar date. No buildings of this period are known from Brockley Hill or Old Ford, and those from Crayford, recorded in the 19th century, are impossible to date on the information currently to hand.<sup>25</sup>

There is evidence from the stratified sequence in Staines of two post-Boudiccan fires, one probably occurring late in Hadrian's reign, the second perhaps some 50 years later, towards the end of the 2nd century (159, 162). Yet though some buildings perished in these blazes the overall situation appears more complex. At a site recently excavated (157) there were no traces of these fires, but the buildings of each period were demolished apparently at much the same time as the conflagrations occurred. Information from Brentford is less definite, though the successive structures were either burnt down or abandoned in the Hadrianic and late Antonine periods. At Ewell the building in the churchyard is thought to have been abandoned, possibly following a fire in c. A. D. 160, and the site was then apparently largely deserted until late in the 4th century.<sup>26</sup>

Rodwell has emphasised that many Essex towns suffered disastrous fires in the closing years of the 2nd century<sup>27</sup> perhaps suggesting an 'historical event' rather than a series of 'co-incidental accidents'. Indeed the fire at Chelmsford was so severe that, according to Wachter 'the settlement did not recover for nearly a hundred years'.<sup>28</sup> The possibility that these fires occurred in the London area exists in the findings from Staines, Brentford and Ewell, though there is as yet little to confirm or contradict it from the other roadside settlements.

Whether or not heralded by some disaster it seems possible that at or towards the end of the 2nd century some significant change in the pattern of settlement occurred. Neither at Staines nor at Brentford are there signs of buildings immediately succeeding those destroyed, demolished, or just abandoned towards the end of the 2nd century. Where the

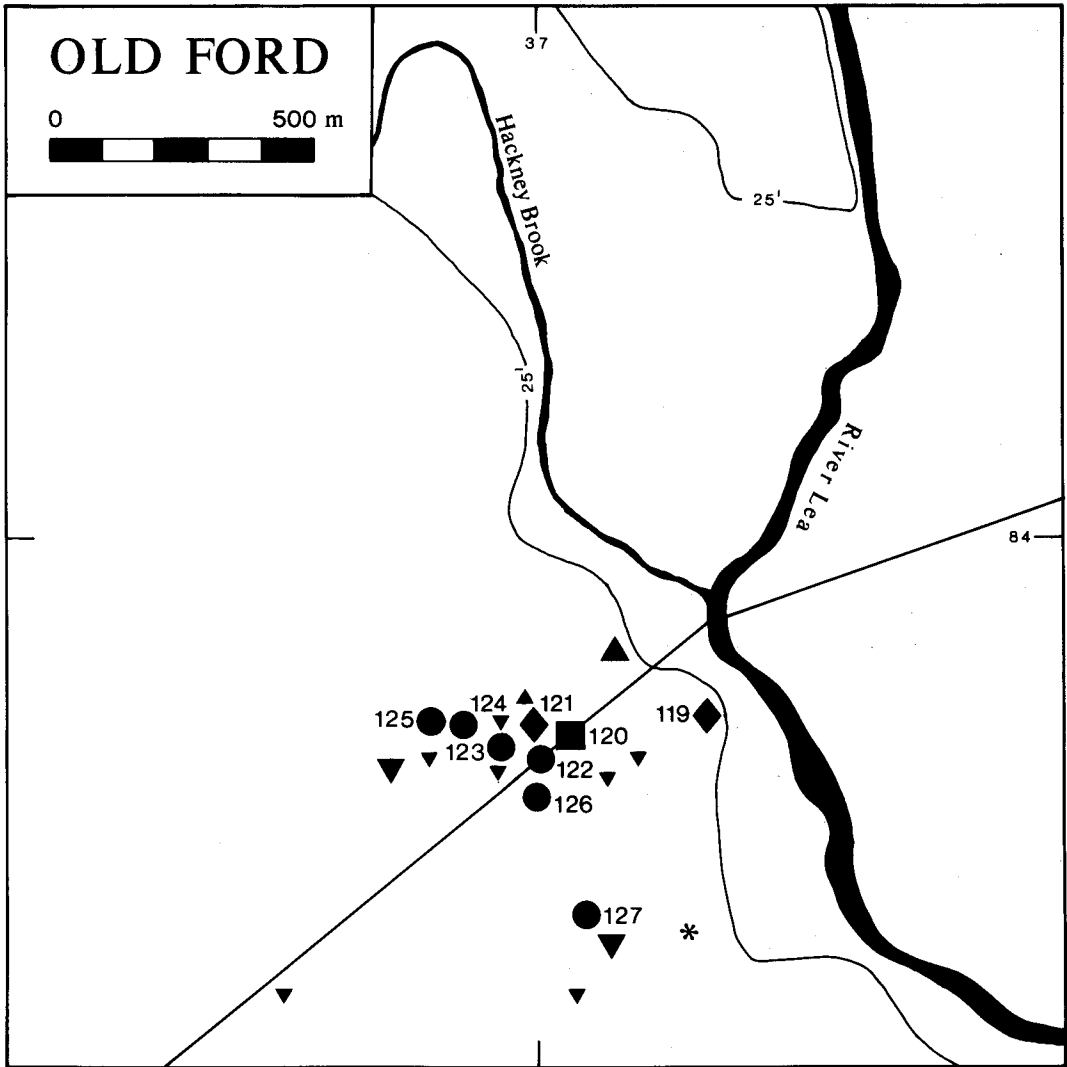


Fig.5

stratified sequences have been studied it has been observed that the remains of the latest clay and timber buildings were covered by deposits of dark earth containing 4th-century pottery, suggesting that much of the land previously built upon was later used for agricultural purposes. This phenomenon is now widely recognised in Southwark and similar evidence is also forthcoming from sites excavated to the west of the Walbrook in Londinium.<sup>29</sup>

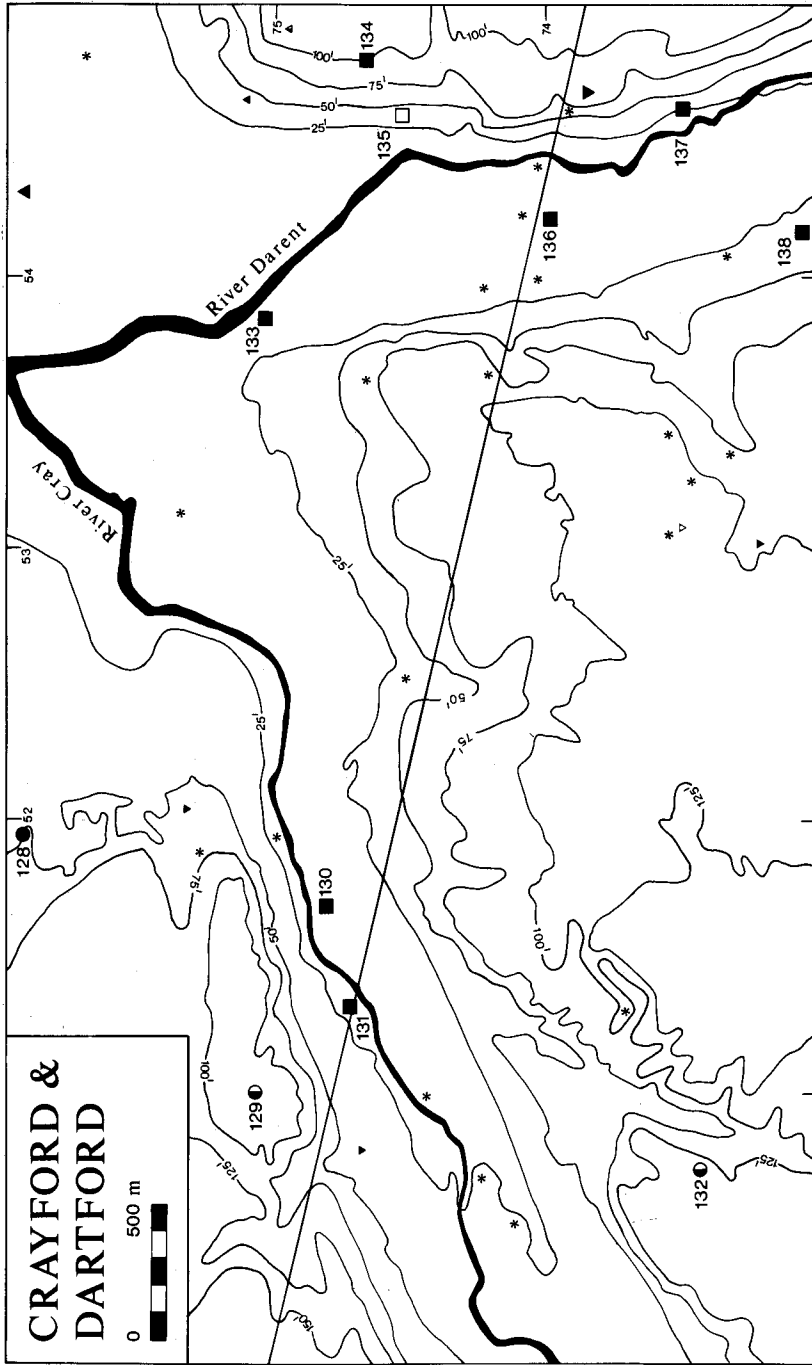


Fig. 6

Although it is not yet clear at what date the earth deposition took place the evidence does suggest a general decrease in the size of the built-up area of settlement at some time before, or at, the end of the 2nd century. The causes of this contraction are unclear, and would be difficult to ascertain from the archaeological record. Contributing factors at this time might have included disorders caused by the army revolt under Commodus, Albinus' attempt to gain the imperial throne, large-scale brigandage of the sort known from Gaul, or the spread to Britain of the Antonine 'Plague of Galen'.<sup>30</sup>

While quantities of late 3rd–4th-century material, including building debris, are found in most of the settlements, evidence for actual structures is not comprehensive. Stone buildings which might be late Roman were reported from Staines (161) and Crayford (130, 131, 133, 134, 136–138) in the last century, though the records contain little information which would provide dates for them. What might be a complex of late 3rd – mid 4th-century timber buildings with hypocausts was found to the south of Enfield (117), and a hut of similar date, with a cobbled floor, has recently been recognised at Brockley Hill (109). Traces of a 4th-century house with a timber frame have recently been reported from Staines (157) while at Ewell flint and greenstone foundations appear to indicate a late 4th-century building on the edge of Stane Street (139). Near to the Colchester road at Old Ford, what seems to be the cellar or sunken floor of a building that was in use at least until the 380s was found next to a tile built structure, possibly a corn-drying oven; both appear to have been abandoned at the same time (120).<sup>31</sup>

## 5. The economy

In his survey of the province Todd has demonstrated that few of Britain's 'small towns' can be shown to have been dependent on industrial activity.<sup>32</sup> This may well be true of London's roadside settlements and indeed within them very little evidence of economic activity of any sort has yet been identified. Residues from iron and bronze working occur at Brentford, Old Ford and Staines but these would be expected in any sizeable urban or rural settlement, and may not be of industrial significance. The only possible example of an industrially dependent settlement might be Brockley Hill. This site was clearly a major constituent of the *Verulamium* region potteries in the period c. A. D. 50–160 with wares which at times had a more than local distribution, reaching not only London but also the military zone in the north.

Todd has also suggested that the 'links of the small towns with agriculture was very strong', not only because they may have served as market centres for the surrounding countryside, but also because many of their inhabitants may have been farmers, or workers on nearby estates.<sup>33</sup> This hypothesis might also be applied to our roadside settlements, but will be difficult to test without much more extensive excavation. Not enough is known of house and ancillary building plans to confirm whether or not they were of rural character. Only at Old Ford has enough work taken place to show that fields, separated by ditches, lay both north and south of the main road. The ditches are likely to have been boundaries between agricultural plots which were presumably worked by the inhabitants. It is possible that more work on the other settlements will provide similar evidence.

If the life of these 'roadside villages' was bound up with agriculture and the countryside, then the preparation of food and drink, the processing of various commodities derived from animals and the land and the manufacture of finished products

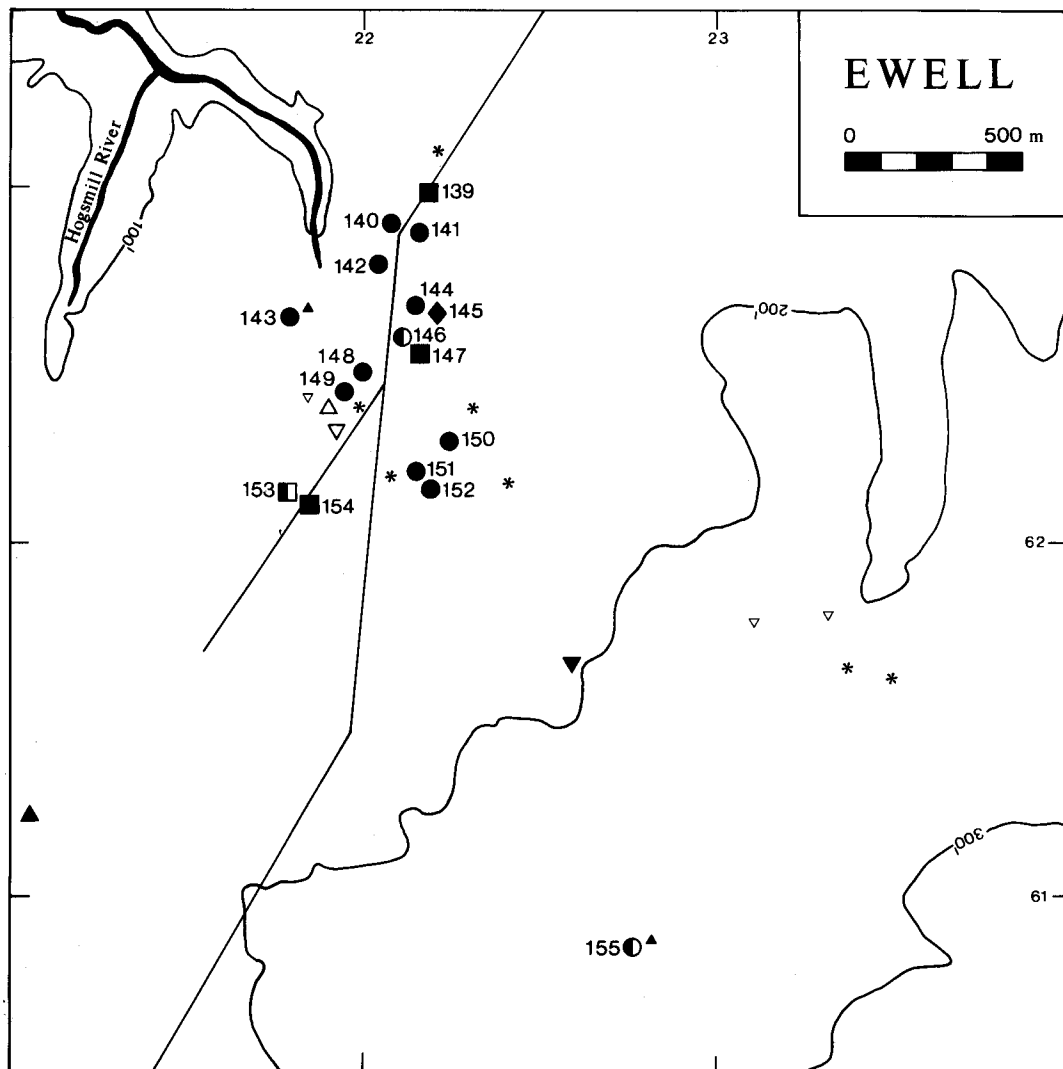


Fig. 7

may have been significant in their economy. The residues and waste products from the processing of many organic materials would be unlikely to survive, and the structures associated with them would be difficult to identify. Consequently it is not surprising that the 2nd-century wood-lined pits recently found at Enfield, which were thought to have contained liquids and to have had an 'industrial purpose' provided no specific information.<sup>34</sup>

## 6. Role of the roadside settlements

There is no evidence at present for any form of defensive circuits around parts or all of any of these settlements, though an enclosure for Ewell has been postulated on the rather slight basis of two ditches.<sup>35</sup> Neither have any public buildings been identified, nor are there indications of 'civic' features or amenities, such as regular street layout or public water supply, which might enable them to be accepted as 'towns'. The existence of a shrine at Old Ford might be inferred from the recent finding of a defaced figure, perhaps Mercury, deposited in a ditch at some time in the 4th century.<sup>36</sup> It has been suggested above that these settlements might have served as — or have contained — posting stations and other official roles are possible. Various authorities have postulated functions which might have been carried out in 'small towns' and these include the collection of taxes and custom dues as well as duties connected with local administration.<sup>37</sup> Thus roles in both provincial and cantonal government are possible.

Yet their relationship to *Londinium*, in terms of local government, is unknown. Despite the undoubted national importance of this city — the largest in the province — its urban status is unknown. From soon after A. D. 60, it might have ranked either as a *municipium* or *colonia*, or it could have progressed from the one form of chartered town to the other.<sup>38</sup> As a recognised Roman city it would have possessed land as its *territorium*. The size of this could have been considerable though Rodwell has estimated, on the basis of distances given in the Antonine Itinerary, that it extended no more than 3 or 5 km. (2 or 3 miles) from the town walls.<sup>39</sup> If this was the case, of the roadside settlements only Old Ford, at the Lea crossing, might have been included within it.

The growth of *Londinium* may have been faster than intended, even largely unforeseen in the years immediately following the Claudian invasion. If so, much of the surrounding land might have been apportioned to various *civitates* before the town achieved much prominence. Ptolemy, writing in the early 2nd century, but using 1st-century sources, attributed *Londinium* to the Cantii, perhaps indicating that much of the south-east belonged to that canton, at least early in the period.<sup>40</sup> Other *civitates* which might have extended into Greater London include those of the Trinovantes, in the north-east; the Catuvellauni, in the north-west; and the Atrebatas, in the south-west. If these roadside settlements were in the territory of the various southern *civitates*, they could have ranked as *vici*, possessing some local autonomy, and perhaps authority over *pagi*, the rural subdivision of these cantons.

## 7. Later history of the roadside villages

Our ignorance of the history of the roadside villages in the closing decades of the 4th century and afterwards could hardly be more complete. Evidence which may be of some assistance is limited but beginning to increase as a result of recent excavations. Finds include a buckle from Enfield (113), a spearhead from Staines (164) (thought to be early 5th-century by Russell Robinson), and part of a 5th-century glass jar from Old Ford (120). The roadside settlement there continued at least into the early decades of the 5th century, and the building with a sunken floor might be of Germanic rather than Romano-British construction. The earthwork in Pear Wood (111), just south-west of Brockley Hill, on the west side of Watling Street, has recently been investigated by Castle.<sup>41</sup> He has shown that it is at least a late 4th-century construction, and suggests that it is an easterly part of Grims Ditch, marking perhaps a 5th-century boundary between the territories of



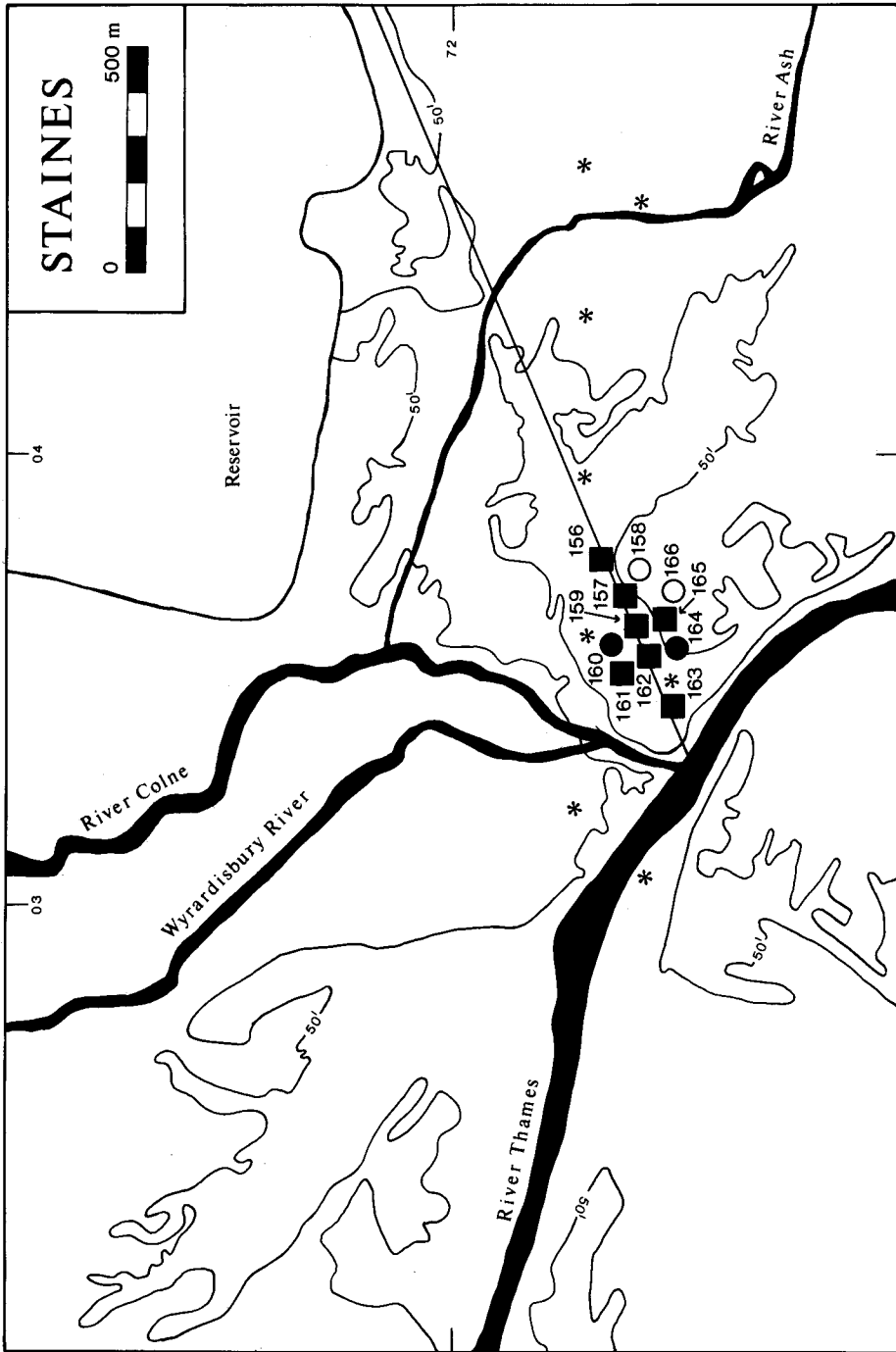


Fig. 8

two sub-Roman communities centred on *Verulamium* and *Londinium*. Work at Staines has also produced early Saxon pottery, some pits thought to be 5th-century and what might be a 5th- or 6th-century iron working area. An early Saxon hut is known from Brentford (99), and possibly a second from Dartford (135). Probable 6th-century burials occur singly at Dartford and in some number at Ewell. This evidence is as yet too fragmentary to reveal much of what may be a very complex series of developments, some of which may have originated long before the end of the 4th century.

Knowledge of later Roman defensive arrangements outside the City is at present confined to the building at Shadwell, which seems to have been erected *c.* A. D. 260–280, and has been interpreted as a signal station (35). This might have been one of a number erected inland as part of the Saxon Shore system of defences, for it seems probable that settlements on the Thames and the Lea, if not on other London rivers, were vulnerable to seaborne raiders.

Though — apart from near Brockley Hill — no earthworks have been identified, it is at least feasible that many of the London settlements were defended, if only as an added safeguard for *Londinium*, on whose approaches they lay. If so, when and how the villages were garrisoned is unknown. The presence of detachments of regular soldiers is possible as are other less orthodox arrangements. The early presence of *laeti* or *foederati* in Britain might be inferred from Probus' settlement of defeated Vandals and Burgundians into the province in the A. D. 270s.<sup>42</sup> How common action of this sort was is unknown, but considerable plantation of free or defeated tribal groups holding land in return for local defensive responsibilities is possible: it might explain 'Germanic' equipment and features such as the building at Old Ford. It is also conceivable that the 'Germanic' material post-dates the formal separation of Britain from Rome. In this case it might belong to settlers specifically brought in as allies by the British authorities — to defend the London area — a process which Morris believed explained the presence of early cemeteries at Mitcham.<sup>43</sup>

Yet without much more skilled excavation and analysis it will be impossible to chart the history of the settlements, and relate them to the fluctuating fortunes of the British and their enemies in the period between A. D. 410 and the Saxon reversals of Badon during the mid 6th century. It is perhaps to this later period that the Saxon features at Staines and Brentford and the burials at Dartford and Ewell belong.

#### (B) Other possible roadside settlements

Apart from the settlements described above and shown on Figs. 2–8, at least eleven sites with buildings or stratified deposits have been found, situated on or alongside the main roads. While these may only be individual farms it is possible that future work will show some to have been parts of larger settlements.

On the four main roads north of the Thames, only two sites have been recorded. At Burnt Oak (17) on Watling Street three pits with 3rd – 4th-century pottery have been found, and remains of a stone building along with burials and an earthwork have been observed at Ilford (30) where the London–Colchester road crossed the River Roding.

Along Watling Street, south of the Thames, a shrine may have existed at St. Thomas Watering (40) where a marble Janus head and possible building were reported in the 17th century, and there is evidence for at least four other settlements on this road. The recent discovery of two ditches, probably of 2nd-century date, possibly forming part of an enclosure at Asylum Road, Peckham (41) may mark a farm sited near the junction of the

London–Lewes Road and Watling Street. Further east in Deptford, at the Ravensbourne River crossing, a tessellated pavement and other remains have been reported (42). On Shooters Hill two sites have been found near to Watling Street: at 43 two circular ‘huts’ with 1st-century pottery and at 44 a pit with Roman material have been recorded. A fourth possible settlement may have existed at Welling, midway between Shooters Hill and Crayford, where a number of burials have been found.

There is virtually no evidence of any settlement along the northern part of the London–Lewes Road where it crossed areas of London Clay, but on the southern part four sites with Roman features have been examined (65, 66, 69, 70). At Fox Hill, West Wickham (66) a group of later 1st – mid 2nd-century pits and ditches, including a possible enclosure was found. The name Wickham, from *wicham*, is considered by Gelling<sup>44</sup> to be an early Saxon word, probably not used after about A. D. 600, incorporating the Latin term *vicus*, and its occurrence may indicate the presence of a settlement of that status in the area.<sup>45</sup> Further south along the road two sites have been excavated at Layhams Road, West Wickham (69) and Downe (70) with ditches and pits of 1st – mid 2nd-century date. In addition one loom weight of late iron age type was found on each site.

On the London–Brighton road at Croydon a number of Roman burials, coin hoards, and other finds have been made, and a roadside village may have existed there (see below).

There is little evidence for settlements on Stane Street near to *Londinium*. A single ditch possibly of Roman date has been reported at Stockwell (88), and finds of Roman pottery and other material at several places to the south, in Merton, may indicate a roadside farm or village.

The proximity of main roads could explain the siting of settlements at Burnt Oak (17), Downe (70), and Merton which lie on poorly drained clays. The influence of the roads can also be seen in the location of nearly half of these sites at some distance from known rivers, a feature which certainly is contrary to the overall settlement pattern.

It seems likely that the 1st – 2nd-century features found at Shooters Hill (43, 44), Fox Hill (66), Layhams Road (69), Downe (70), and Asylum Road (41) may all have belonged to farms. On present evidence only Croydon, with a substantial number of finds, seems likely to have been a larger settlement, perhaps approaching the size of some of those shown on Figs. 2–8. It should be noted, however, that as a majority of the better-known settlements were sited where a road met a river, more evidence of occupation may be forthcoming from the Roding and Ravensbourne river crossings where substantial buildings (30, 42) have been recorded.

## VI SETTLEMENTS AWAY FROM THE MAIN ROADS

### (A) Possible farms

Throughout the London area Roman sites occur which do not lie directly on the main roads. Although for the majority of them only limited information from observations or small scale excavations is available, it seems likely that most were farms or farming estates. Approximately 18 sites have remains of one or more substantial stone buildings (including at least three possible bath houses). On a further six sites ‘huts’ or timber buildings are reported, and on 23 sites Roman features, but no buildings, have been found. It seems certain that timber buildings were probably associated with many of the Roman features which have been investigated and have been missed on small-scale excavations.

### 1. South of the Thames

South of the Thames there are four areas with concentrations of sites: along the Cray Valley, and to the west at Keston, Beddington/Croydon, and Sanderstead. In the Cray Valley there is evidence for at least four stone buildings (47, 48, 50, 52). A bath house with five timber buildings, each of the latter within ditched enclosures 76 m. (250 feet) square has been recorded at Foots Cray (47). Excavations at Fordcroft (50) have revealed several rooms of a stone building along with other features broadly dated from the 1st to 4th century. Part of another stone building has been excavated at Orpington (52) also dated from 1st to 4th century. On two sites Roman features, but no definite structures, have been examined. A ditch, burials and 1st- to 4th-century material have been found at St. Paul's Cray (49), and at Ramsden (53) ditches, pits, ovens and a well have been excavated which appear to span the period mid 1st century B. C. to 1st century A. D. Reports of tiles, mortar, and other building material associated with Roman finds may indicate the existence of at least three more buildings in the northern part of the Cray valley (shown as pottery scatters on Fig. 1 and unstratified finds on Fig. 6). Possible evidence of late iron age settlement in the area comes from Orpington (51) where it has been claimed that a hut of that date underlay the stone building, and from Ramsden (54). A possibly iron age cremation burial has been found at St. Mary Cray. Early Saxon remains are limited to a mixed cemetery of 5th-century date which was situated near to the Fordcroft building (50).

At Keston, lying near the upper reaches of the Ravensbourne River, a number of sites have been investigated. The stone buildings examined include a villa, with associated features (61) of mid 1st- to 4th-century date, a mausoleum (60), and a bath house (58) dated from later 1st century to about A. D. 140. Near to the villa are four sites with pits and ditches of 1st- to mid 2nd-century date (59, 64, 67, 68). Finds of a probable late iron age date include structures excavated near the villa (63) and early 1st-century pottery discovered at North Pole Lane (68). A camp possibly used in this period lies about 800 m. north-east of the villa. Early Saxon, probably 6th-century, structures (62) have also been reported from the villa site.

A third area with a concentration of Roman sites is located near the River Wandle, to the west of and along the London-Brighton road at Beddington and Croydon. Two stone buildings have been found at Beddington; a bath house (74) with finds dating 1st to 4th century, and a second structure (75) of 3rd- or 4th-century date. Just to the east of Beddington lies Croydon which, as noted above, may have been a roadside village. Late iron age material has been recorded from near the Beddington bath building, and two probable sites of this date lay between Beddington and Croydon (79, 80). In addition to these, a hill fort possibly still used in the late iron age is known at Carshalton, some 3 km. (2 miles) to the south of Beddington. A number of early Saxon burials have been found in the area, notably the 5th- to 6th-century mixed cemetery at Beddington and the inhumation cemetery of similar date at Croydon.

To the south of Croydon, near to the London-Brighton road are two sites which have been dated late iron age to 2nd century A. D. At Limpsfield Road, Sanderstead (84) 'huts' and other features have been found, and at Kingswood (83) there was an enclosure with a 'hut' and cremation burials.

On twelve further sites south of the Thames traces of what may be Roman buildings or features have been recorded. Three of the sites (46, 73, 93) have remains of stone

buildings, and at two sites (45, 71) possible timber structures have been reported. However very little is known about any of these settlements. At Charlton (36) a number of circular huts and material dating from 1st century B. C. to 4th century A. D. has been found within an undated earthwork. On the remaining six sites (57, 72, 82, 86, 94, 95), pits and ditches, possibly associated with cultivation have been found. Three of the sites (82, 94, 95) have multiple features; at Croham Hurst (82) these date to 1st to early 2nd century and at Old Malden (94) 2nd- to 4th-century material has been found. Although only one pit was found at 86, the site lies in Farthingdown where an undated 'Celtic' field system and unstratified Roman as well as late iron age finds have been recorded.

## 2. North of the Thames

North of the Thames there is less evidence for settlements away from the main roads. There are 18th-century accounts of buildings and other Roman finds at Leyton (25) and Wanstead (27, 28). Remains of stone buildings have been recorded at Noak Hill (29), Wembley (4), and Ruislip (1), and what may have been a timber building has been found at Northolt (5). There is virtually no information available to suggest the function or date of any of these buildings. Finds of pits and ditches on six sites (8, 10, 19, 31, 33, 34) probably indicate the locations of other settlements. Ditched enclosures at West Ham (34) apparently date to the 1st and 2nd century, and at Heathrow (8) 1st- to 4th-century material was found as well as one late iron age feature. To the south of Heathrow, at Bedfont, early Roman ditches have been found (10). The site currently in the early stages of investigation at Rainham (32, 33) has material dating from late iron age to the 3rd century, and a Saxon inhumation cemetery of early 6th- to mid 7th-century date has been found about 2 km. (1.2 miles) to the north.

## 3. Along the Thames

The settlements on either side of the Thames at Fulham and Putney are marked by several pits and ditches (15, 90, 91) and possibly owe their existence to the presence of a ford. One possibly late iron age pit was found near to the Putney settlement (89).

## 4. Distribution and historical development

Although little is known about the majority of these sites a few general points can be made. Most of them are situated on land which would have been suitable for cultivation, usually sand, gravel, or brickearth. Only Norbury (71), Ruislip (1), Northolt (5), Bromley Common (57), and Old Malden (94) seem to be on London Clay, although all of these do lie near other deposits except Norbury which is located just to the west of the London-Brighton road. As with the overall distribution of sites (Fig. 0) most of the non-roadside settlements appear to lie on or near geological boundaries.

Geographically, there is a distinct riverine distribution of the sites away from the main roads. Of some 47 sites with buildings or stratified deposits, only eight are further than 1 km. (0.6 of a mile) from a known river: Bedfont (10), Highgate (19), Coombe Hill (93), Norbury (71), Sanderstead (84), Kingswood (83), Croham Hurst (82), and possibly Mitcham (73).

The distribution of the non-roadside settlements shows a concentration in the south-eastern part of the London area on the edge of the Chalk. This is matched by a similar concentration along the Chilterns just to the north-west of the Greater London

boundary, and hence beyond the area of this survey. The paucity of sites in north-west and south-central London is probably explained by the widespread occurrence there of London Clay. The relative scarceness of sites in areas of better land, along the rivers to the east of the Lea, and the lower reaches of the Wandle and Ravensbourne in south London, is more difficult to understand. It may be significant that while in the south-east chalk, flint, and ragstone were available, in these other areas local sources of building stone were not present, and timber would undoubtedly have been more widely used. As timber buildings are far more difficult to recognise, and since many of the stone buildings in the south-east first observed by antiquaries have attracted subsequent excavations revealing further sites, this might partially explain the distribution. A related factor might be that Roman stone buildings in areas of scarce resources might have been thoroughly robbed in later periods.

It is probable that most of the non-roadside settlements were farms. The large stone buildings at Wanstead (27, 28), Fordcroft (50), Orpington (52), Keston (58, 60, 61), and Beddington (74, 75) seem to have been villas, or structures associated with them. Certainly the locations of the majority of sites on good land either on rivers draining into the Thames or near to the main roads would have enabled any agricultural products easily to reach the smaller local markets such as those which may well have existed at the settlements shown on Figs. 2–8 or to pass directly to the major markets of *Londinium*.

Evidence with which to date the origin and trace the development of most of the non-roadside settlements is largely inadequate. It is possible that as many as 15 substantial structures have been located though little is known about their individual histories. Most no doubt were villas surrounded by farming estates, though some may have been the country residences of officials. Many may have developed from iron age farms reflecting, perhaps, the growing wealth of native landowners in the late 1st and 2nd centuries. Certainly late iron age material has been found in the vicinity of the Roman buildings at Beddington, Keston, and the Cray Valley, which have been partially investigated. Excavations on a number of villas in the Chilterns, Surrey and Kent have led individual excavators to suggest a temporary decline, even abandonment, in the later 3rd century. Whether this is true of the Greater London villas is unknown, but if so a date earlier in the century — as was claimed at Lullingstone<sup>46</sup> — might be preferred. Two sites examined since the Second World War just beyond the Greater London boundary in the north-west, at Sandy Lodge and Moor Park, showed evidence of occupation from c. A. D. 100 to c. A. D. 400. At both parts of 2nd-century stone buildings were revealed: at the former a ‘falling off of the site’s prosperity in the 3rd century’ was noted<sup>47</sup> and at the latter a period of disuse between c. A. D. 200 and c. A. D. 300 was claimed.<sup>48</sup>

How common this pattern may have been within Greater London is unknown: neither is it clear whether — as in other areas — major reconstructions occurred in the late 3rd or early 4th centuries. If this was the case — as seems likely — it would show that the area shared in the prosperity of Britain’s countryside in the earlier part of the 4th century,<sup>49</sup> a prosperity that may have been largely based on agriculture, which, according to Todd, ‘entered its heyday in the later 3rd century’.<sup>50</sup>

There is little specific information on how long the Greater London villas continued in use. Excavation in the Chilterns<sup>51</sup> have led to suggestions that some finally ended due to ‘confiscations’ imposed by Rome following Magnentius’ unsuccessful revolt in A. D. 351, while others may have been plundered and burnt in the ‘barbarian conspiracy’ of A. D.

367. Yet detailed excavations have shown that less imposing structures continued to be built on some of these sites until well into the 5th century at least, and it may be that this was more generally the case than is realised. At Keston there is evidence for a 'sunken-featured' building with early Saxon pottery probably dating to the 6th century and a second as yet undated 'timber-framed' building.<sup>52</sup> Whether these structures along with the existence of 5th – 6th-century Saxon cemeteries near to the Cray and Beddington buildings indicate true continuity of settlement or merely the re-use of a favourable location at various times is impossible to say.

Virtually nothing is specifically known of the economy of the villas in Greater London, the size of their estates, or the dwellings of their labour force. It is possible that much of the estates was divided into holdings worked by tenant farmers, but no rural concentrations are known of humbler dwellings near to villas which might, as in Essex,<sup>53</sup> be interpreted as the settlements of such *coloniae*. One possible example of such dwellings might be the group of five ditched enclosures with 'hut' floors found near to the Foots Cray stone bath building (47).

It is not easy to classify the other rural settlements. Future investigation in Putney and Fulham might reveal that they are really roadside settlements at another fording point on the Thames. It is difficult to accept that Fulham was enclosed by an earthwork in the late Roman period on the basis of the evidence so far offered.<sup>54</sup> Charlton might have been a hilltop village, similar to those known on the South Downs<sup>55</sup> while sites on the Thames gravels such as Heathrow and Bedfont to the west, and Rainham to the east, could be individual farmsteads or parts of larger estates.

The complex problem of land ownership within the area would be extremely difficult to investigate, even with much better data. It would be interesting to know how much of the land came under the control of *Londinium*, the various *civitates*, or the imperial authorities, and how much was privately owned. The paucity of sites in the north-west has led to the suggestion of its incorporation within an 'imperial reserve'<sup>56</sup> but might be explained by the absence of much good farming land in the area. Though the size of the *territorium* of *Londinium* is unknown, it is conceivable that much of the better drained land near to the city was both owned by and farmed from it.

### (B) Industrial sites

The only specifically industrial site known away from the roads lies on a ridge at the northern end of Highgate Wood, north of 19 where pottery was made at various times between c. A. D. 40 and 160 or slightly later. Though the site was operative for much the same period as the one on Brockley Hill there is a marked distinction between most of the products at each. At Brockley Hill the wares were of 'Romanised' type from the earliest in both form and fabric, and included flagons and mortaria. At Highgate there was a clear progression in both form and fabrics, as well as in kiln technology. The earliest vessels included 'Belgic' fine wares and 'native' bead-rim vessels, but by the early 2nd century production was concentrated on a fairly standardised range of jars, bowls and 'poppy head' beakers in a grey sandy fabric.

The Highgate site, which may have been periodically worked by itinerant potters, seems to have been quite small, and must have produced only a small proportion of the vessels required by the London market.<sup>57</sup> Other similar sites might be expected, established where suitable raw materials were available: these may have been destroyed unrecorded in the recent expansion of the metropolis.

Why Highgate and Brockley Hill ceased production before the end of the 2nd century might be explained by the internal economies of the pottery industry. Possibly it became cheaper — or more profitable — to transport pottery to London over long distances from larger and more permanent production centres. There is evidence for this in the large scale occurrence of the products of the Alice Holt, Oxfordshire and Nene Valley industries from the later 3rd century onwards, but in the period before that the information is inadequate. If changes of this sort do not explain the demise of Highgate and Brockley Hill, a fall in the demand for pottery might be inferred, and the reasons for this must be sought. It may be that there is a relationship between the cessation of production at these sites and the apparent contraction of the built-up area within some of the roadside settlements.

### (C) Possible religious sites

Although temples might be expected in the London countryside none have been definitely identified. One may have stood in Greenwich Park not far from the expected course of Watling Street (37). Excavations there, in 1902, uncovered parts of a stone building with tessellated floors. Amongst the finds suggesting a religious site were fragments of sculptures and inscriptions and, possibly as offerings, more than 300 coins, which were mostly late Roman. Not enough of the plan was revealed to show whether the building could be classified as a temple of Romano-Celtic type.

## VII THE DISTRIBUTION OF COIN HOARDS

Six iron age coin hoards are known from Greater London, all to the west of *Londinium*, and none lying more than 3 km. (2 miles) north of the Thames. The fact that three lie within 6 km. (4 miles) of Westminster could support the old idea that a pre-Roman village lay on Thorney Island near to the ford, a supposition that could only be proved or disproved by more archaeological work there.<sup>58</sup>

The 20 or so Roman coin hoards known from Greater London are too few in number, especially when separated into periods or areas, to provide much basis for historical or geographical analysis. It can certainly be shown that a very high proportion — about three-quarters — belong to the period after *c.* A. D. 260, but in this and other respects the distribution seems to reflect the provincial pattern as a whole.

It may not be without significance that two of the known hoards close at *c.* A. D. 180, two in the 290s, and quite a number appear to be of mid 4th-century date, but more hoards will be needed before peaks can be reliably detected. If so, it might be possible to see whether local disorders described by classical writers — such as the activities of Allectus' mercenaries in 296 and of the barbarians in the late 360s — can be inferred as the causes of increased hoarding.

Nearly one half of the known hoards occur in or near the roadside villages or other roadside sites while the rest are distributed in the countryside not necessarily near to known highways or settlements. The more remote hoards might indicate the presence of nearby farms or villages. One of these could be at Highgate, where two hoards, one of the early and one of the late 3rd century, have been found, and another might lie on the sandy alluvium at Rotherhithe where two further hoards, of the 2nd and early 5th centuries, are known.



## VIII BURIALS

In many cases it is difficult to calculate, from the records, the number of individuals found and the interments have therefore been classified simply as 'single' or 'multiple' burials. Altogether about 90 burial sites have been identified within the area of the survey though it is difficult to place much reliance on them as being 'representative'. For example it seems likely that many inhumations, either buried in a wooden coffin or more simply, and unaccompanied by durable offerings, will have been destroyed without trace. (Almost all the known inhumations were found because they were in stone or lead coffins.)

The figures, for what they are worth, show that about an equal number of single and multiple burial sites occur, and that they are similarly divided between the early rite of cremation and the later one of inhumation. More than one-third of the sites occur in the vicinity of the known roadside villages. More are known from the three northerly and easterly ones (Enfield, Old Ford and Crayford), and in each there is a preponderance of later rites (7 cremations as against 19 inhumations). For Old Ford at least this is compatible with other archaeological evidence. A similar proportion of the sites occurs near to known settlements or roads while the remainder are isolated. The latter might suggest settlements otherwise undetected in the countryside, for example at Welling, Bromley, Slade Green and Shirley in the south-east (cremations) and at Barking and Hornchurch in the north-east (inhumations). The rural burial sites do seem to reveal clear differences both in the density of their distribution, and in the proportion of cremations to inhumations in certain areas.

The western part of Greater London — that which lies west of both Ermine Street and Stane Street — is particularly empty. Only about one-tenth of the burial sites occur there, though it accounts for nearly half of the area, a reflection presumably of the generally sparse settlement which has been noted there. Similarly, the greatest concentration is in the south-east: nearly half the rural burial sites are found in the sector that lies east of the Brighton road and south of the Thames.

There is a marked preponderance of cremation over inhumation sites (8 – 1) in the area to the west of Ermine Street and Stane Street, and, especially, in the south-east (19 – 1), between the Thames and the Lewes Road. In contrast only in the area east of Ermine Street and north of the Thames (5 – 10), and between Stane Street and the Lewes Road (3 – 7) do the number of inhumation sites exceed those with cremations. At their face value these figures seem to suggest a shift in the later Roman pattern of settlement, away from the west and, especially, the south-east, and into the north-east and certain parts of the south. In the south-east at least this can hardly be squared with the settlement evidence, unsatisfactory as it generally is. Though future research may well demonstrate that the figures are anomalous, the possibility that changes occurred in the density of settlement within parts of Greater London during the periods, should not be discounted.

Though the paucity of late iron age burials is not confined to Greater London, only two probable examples are known there, both in the south and clearly they are no help in ascertaining the general whereabouts of pre-Roman sites. Fortunately there is more evidence for the pagan Saxon period. At least four cemeteries considered to have been in use during the 5th century are known from the south. Mitcham is thought to have started by the mid 5th century,<sup>59</sup> some of the Croydon graves contain Roman pots,<sup>60</sup> while St. Mary Cray and Beddington are both near substantial Roman buildings. Whatever the

relationship of these Saxon graves to the Romano-British settlements (see above) they indicate the part of Greater London that seems to have been first occupied in strength — reasonable farmland, near to rivers and close to well established Roman sites. Though the cemetery at Hanwell, north of the Thames, might have been in use in the late 5th century<sup>61</sup> the other pagan Saxon ones at Rainham, Greenwich, and Ewell cannot yet be dated that early.<sup>62</sup> They might therefore represent fresh incursions of population, unrelated to the Saxon settlements of the 5th century.

#### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this survey sites have been separated into those that lie on the major roads, and those that have been found beyond them, in the countryside. The distribution of the rural sites seems, not surprisingly, to reflect the need for productive farmland, a factor which can be seen most clearly by their general occurrence on sands and gravels and by their absence on the London clay. Geographically this is demonstrated by the comparative emptiness in most of north-west London as well as in parts of the north-east and the south. The occurrence of many of the sites near to geological boundaries might indicate the need to exploit differing habitats while their general riverine distribution presumably emphasises the necessity of water for sustenance, farming and the transport of produce.

Little is known in detail about most of these sites, but it seems reasonable to suggest that a number of them, where substantial buildings have been described, were villas, in the sense of Romanised farms set within large estates, while others might be smaller farms, either isolated or grouped into villages. There is some indication that many of these rural sites developed out of late iron age farms. Altogether some 15 or so villas might be known and as many as 30 other rural sites have been identified as the result of the discovery of timber buildings and features such as pits and ditches, while 90 more might be inferred from known scatters of pottery. The number of rural sites might be added to in areas where burials or coin hoards have been recorded apparently in isolation.

The network of main highways appears to have been laid down early, and what have been described as 'roadside villages' are found on them, mostly lying on or near to river crossings mainly between 14.5 and 21 km. (9 and 13 miles) from *Londinium*. Seven of these — the best known — have been discussed as a group, though it may be a mistake to regard them as similar, while others might be identified by more detailed work.

There is little to indicate as yet that these developed from pre-Roman centres, though there might have been farms in the vicinity, and it is suggested that they might have originated as official posts of the *cursus publicus* not long after A. D. 43. It is also possible that, in time, they may have had other administrative functions as well, and perhaps ranked as *vici* with some authority over the surrounding countryside. As the size of the *territorium* of *Londinium* is unknown, it is not clear whether they were set within it, or lay inside any of the various *civitates* which might have extended into what is now Greater London.

No public buildings have been identified within the 'roadside villages', nor is there any evidence of formal planning or defences, and even their size is unknown. It has however been calculated, on the basis of very inadequate data, that the built-up area of most of these settlements covered between 4 and 6 ha. (10 and 15 acres), though two might have been substantially larger. The information is certainly much too limited to allow estimates of variations in size at different times within the Roman period.

As in the countryside it might reasonably be inferred that much of the livelihood of the 'roadside villages' was dependent on farming and the processing of commodities derived from animals and the land. Again evidence for this is largely lacking: only at Old Ford has enough work been done to demonstrate the existence of agricultural plots, and these were mainly of late Roman date. A reliance on industrial activity can only be postulated in the case of one of the 'roadside villages', Brockley Hill, and then only in the 1st and 2nd centuries. Our knowledge of industrial activities in the countryside is equally limited, confined to the pottery established in Highgate Wood, which seems to have operated for much the same period as the one at Brockley Hill.

Any attempt to trace the historical development both of the communities on the main roads and those beyond them is severely hampered by the general shortage of reliable data. In the case of the roadside sites what evidence there is points to some sort of expansion during the later 1st and for much of the 2nd century. This seems to have come to an end late in that century and to have been followed by a period of contraction if not decay which continued until after the middle of the 3rd century. Though little is known from the rural sites their histories may well have followed rather than contrasted with this pattern. It is not clear whether the causes of this lay entirely within the province or were reflections of a more general imperial weakness.

Though it still needs to be clearly demonstrated locally some sort of revival in and after the later 3rd century, in the roadside villages and elsewhere, would fit well for the evidence of prosperity which has been generally adduced in Britain. It is uncertain to what extent continuity can be invoked in the development of settlements such as Old Ford at this time, and how much 'new' populations need to be envisaged. The distribution of later burial sites might be indicative of a changed emphasis in the density of settlement within various parts of Greater London.

Without much more work being done it will be virtually impossible to ascertain the later history of the roadside villages. Limited evidence could support the presence of Germanic elements at some of the roadside villages though whether these were brought in before the formal separation from Rome, or afterwards by the successor authorities is unclear. When, how, and in what way, these settlements were brought under Saxon domination, between *c.* A.D. 400 and *c.* A.D. 600, is unknown and it is not clear how many were just abandoned.

There is even less information as to the fate of the rural sites. Whether any of the villas were destroyed, as is supposed in some cases in the Chilterns, before A.D. 410, or continued in use afterwards, as is known from other examples there, is uncertain. Only at Keston has later use of the site been clearly demonstrated. The early pagan Saxon cemeteries in the south might reflect deliberate settlement by late or sub-Roman authorities, but the relationship of these new communities to the British ones, if the latter survived, in villas, smaller farms or villages, still requires elucidation.

Much more needs to be done if we are to achieve a better understanding of the Roman settlements in Greater London, for in all respects their history is hardly known. It is probable that more information can be obtained from a fresh study of the finds and records made by earlier generations, though this will require diligent research. A project of this nature will certainly need to be undertaken, perhaps by the Museum of London, before much confidence can be placed in the meaning of many of the entries on its card index. Together with adequate publication of the excavations undertaken in recent years,

this should increase the information now available about the area. Yet in isolation this will not be enough. Much of the work done so far has been small in scale, and many large detailed excavations will be needed before reliable conclusions can be drawn as to the nature and development of Greater London in the Roman period.

Archaeological remains are not unlimited, and many sites in the area have been wholly or largely destroyed unrecorded in the past. Even in recent years sites at Old Ford, Staines and Enfield (to take examples known to the writers) have been lost without enough resources being made available to allow archaeological work on the scale that was necessary. Others are now threatened. Apart from the roadside sites there is need for more extensive excavations on rural sites, and it could be said that professional coverage is particularly limited in areas where settlements probably existed in some density, especially the south-east, the south-west, and to the east of the Lea.

Great effort must now be made by all workers, both professional and amateur, to ensure that at least a greater proportion of those sites that face destruction are properly examined.

#### GAZETTEER OF SITES

Listed in this gazetteer are details of those late iron age, Roman, or early Saxon sites where buildings, stratified deposits, or coin hoards have been found. Information for a majority of these finds comes from the Museum of London record cards but some details have been provided by personal communication. For each site the reference number shown on Figs. 1 – 8 is given, followed by the Museum of London card number in parentheses, and an approximate six figure National Grid reference (all grid references listed here have the prefix TQ). The fourth column contains a very brief description of the major features on each site, and in the case of a coin hoard the name of the latest emperor whose coins were present is included. Information for the last two columns, showing respectively the date of finds and references, is less complete on the Museum of London cards. In some cases the details given on the cards have been added to but it was not found possible to provide complete dating or references for each site.

#### Abbreviations:

SFB: sunken-featured building

FB: 'framed' building

p.c.: personal communication

*Arch.*: Archaeologia

*Arch. Cant.*: Archaeologia Cantiana

*Arch. J.*: Archaeological Journal

*Brit.*: Britannia

*JBAA*: Journal of the British Archaeological Association

*JRS*: Journal of Roman Studies

*LAMAS*: Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society

*Lon. Arch.*: the London Archaeologist

*PPS*: Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society

*RCHM Middx.*: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Middlesex (1937)

*RCHM Rom. Lon.*: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Roman London (1928)

*SAC*: Surrey Archaeological Collections

*SAS Bull.*: Surrey Archaeological Society Bulletin

*VCH Kent*: Victoria County History, Kent

Centuries are shown as capital Roman numerals; A.D. unless otherwise stated.  
Dates given for coin hoards represent the date only of the latest coins in the hoard.

1 (F 75)	091 878	stone wall		<i>LAMAS</i> ; new ser. 7, 99–123
2 (F 37, 38)	154 933	coin hoard	A.D. 407–411	
3 (F 82)	144 822	coin hoard	early Roman date	
4 (F 61)	206 869	flint walls		<i>RCHM Middx</i> ; (1937); 886, 896
5 (F 567)	119 831	post holes - ? timber building	I	
6 (F 516)	201 809	coin hoard-Severus	A.D. 193–211	
7 (E 213)	177 807	tin coin hoard	late iron age	<i>Arch. J. 2</i>
8 (F 583)	057 765	pits, ditches	I–IV	
9 (E 106)	057 765	pit	late iron age	
10 (F 904)	076 737	ditches		
11 (F 860)	118 729	? coin hoard	House of Constantine	
12 (E 54)	165 731	coin hoard	late iron age	
13 (E 159)	232 785	coin hoard	late iron age	
14 (E 160)	270 800	Armorican coin hoard	late iron age	
15 (E 674)	242 761	pits, ditch	III–IV	<i>Lon. Arch. 2 No. 6</i> , 143
16 (F 474)	342 975	coin hoard	A.D. 180	
17 (F 762)	207 908	pits	late III–IV	p. c. Mrs. Grafton-Greene
18 (F 496)	291 891	coin hoard-Geta	A.D. 212	<i>LAMAS 23 pt. 2</i>
19 (F 631)	286 878	pit	I–II	<i>LAMAS 23 pt. 2</i>
20 (F 63,514)	287 881	coin hoard-Probus	A.D. 293	<i>LAMAS 23 pt. 2</i>
21	302 836	? coin hoard-Constantine	A.D. 306–337	p. c. Irene Schwab
22 (F 386)	301 821	coin hoard	A.D. 330–337	<i>JRS 14</i> , 230
23 (F 529)	284 811	? coin hoard	A. D. 364–378	<i>JBAA 2</i> , 392
24 (E 4)	297 798	coin hoard	late iron age	<i>PPS 20</i> , 85
25 (F 106)	376 870	'foundations'		
26 (F 853)	377 858	? coin hoard-Constantine	A.D. 306–337	
27 (F 844)	411 874	tessellated floor		
28 (F 171)	419 875	'buildings'		<i>Arch. 1</i> , 82–84
29 (F 835)	537 930	building		
30 (F 845)	435 860	building		
31 (F 828)	562 851	ditch		
32	545 820	ditch	late iron age	p. c. Pat Wilkinson
33	545 820	ditches, pit	I–III	p. c. Pat Wilkinson
34 (F 324)	413 822	ditch(es)	I–II	
35 (F 658)	350 806	stone and timber buildings	late III–IV	<i>LAMAS 26</i> , 278–280
36 (F 24)	419 786	circular 'huts'	mid I B.C. – A.D. IV	<i>JBAA new ser. 22</i> , 121
37 (F 16)	393 774	tessellated floors		<i>RCHM Rom. Lon.</i> 116–117 <i>SAC 28</i> , 140
38	361 789	coin hoard-Hadrian	A.D. 117–138	
39 (F 280)	360 788	coin hoard-Honorius, Arcadius	A.D. 388–402	
40 (F 550)	337 783	? building		<i>RCHM Rom. Lon.</i> , 150
41	349 773	ditches	I–II	<i>Lon. Arch. 3 No. 2</i> , 56
42 (F 505)	372 769	tessellated floor		
43 (F 798)	441 766	circular 'huts'	I	<i>RCHM Rom. Lon.</i>
44 (F 23)	435 764	pit		<i>VCH Kent 3</i> , 167
45 (F 186)	430 740	'hut floor'		
46 (F 184)	409 730	building- ? bath house		<i>JRS 30</i> , 182
47 (F 178)	480 712	stone bath house, 'hut' floors	I–II	<i>Arch. Cant. 70–72</i>
48 (F 154)	475 700	stone building	I	<i>Arch. Cant. 70</i> , 263
49 (F 145)	474 697	ditch	I–IV	<i>Arch. Cant. 72</i>
50 (F 628)	468 676	stone building, features	I–IV	<i>Arch. Cant. 83, 85, 87–90</i>
51 (E 22)	454 658	'hut'	late iron age	<i>Arch. Cant. 71</i>
52 (F 149)	454 658	stone building, features	mid I–IV	<i>Arch. Cant. 68, 71–73</i>
53 (F 151)	472 663	pits, ditches, ovens, well	late iron age-Roman	<i>Arch. Cant. 71 PPS 23</i>
54 (E 24)	472 663	see site 53 for details		
55 (F 103)	410 679	coin hoard	A.D. 295–308	<i>Arch. Cant. 70</i> , 264–265
56 (F 160)	460 677	coin hoard	A.D. 226–228	
57 (F 919)	419 664	ditch	I–mid II	
58 (F 641)	409 646	stone bath house, features	I–II	B. Philp <sup>63</sup>
59 (F 918)	414 639	gullies, ditch	I–II	B. Philp <sup>64</sup>
60 (F 147)	415 633	stone mausoleum	? III	B. Philp <sup>65</sup>
61 (F 146)	414 632	stone building, features	I–IV	<i>JBAA 2nd ser. 22</i>
62 (F 146)	415 633	SFB, FB	VI	<i>Arch. Cant. 69</i> , 84
63 (E 21)	414 632	huts, features	VI	B. Philp <sup>66</sup>
64 (F 630)	424 638	'farm'	late iron age	<i>Lon. Arch. 2 No. 10</i>
65 (F 861)	387 651	settlement		<i>Lon. Arch. 2 No. 2</i>
66 (F 107)	386 641	ditches, pits	I–mid II	B. Philp <sup>67</sup>
67 (F 143)	402 641	ditches, pits	I–II	B. Philp <sup>68</sup>

68 (F 740)	401 640 pits	I – mid II	B. Philp <sup>69</sup>
69 (F 547)	398 615 ditches, pits	I	B. Philp <sup>70</sup>
70 (F 575)	398 611 ditch, pits	I – II	B. Philp <sup>71</sup>
71 (F 729)	304 687 'huts'		
72 (F 508)	267 691 ditch		<i>SAS Bull.</i> Sept. 1967
73 (F 375)	289 673 building		<i>SAC</i> 60, 42
74 (F 372)	298 658 stone bath building, features	I – IV	<i>SAC</i> 60, 37
75 (F 373)	300 657 'outbuilding' (of site 74)	III – IV	<i>SAC</i> 6, 60
76 (F 775)	315 654 coin hoard	A.D. 360	
77 (F 696)	324 655 coin hoard	late Roman	
78 (F 451)	322 651 coin hoard	A.D. 351	<i>SAC</i> 19, 1–26
79 (E 119)	307 650 hearths	late iron age	<i>SAC</i> 36, 37
80 (E 84)	312 650 'underground houses'	late iron age	<i>SAC</i> 56, 137
81 (F 735)	320 640 coin hoard-Marcus Aurelius	A.D. 161–180	
82 (F 736)	338 626 pit, ditch	I – II	
83 (F 380)	352 608 'hut', features	early I – mid II	<i>SAC</i> 58, 35–46
84 (F 371)	343 605 'huts'	I – II	<i>SAC</i> 61; <i>SAS Bull.</i> Dec. 1967 as site 84.
85 (E 66)	343 605 pits	late iron age	
86 (F 693)	302 593 pit		
87 (E 145)	299 585 pit	late iron age	
88 (F 805)	303 762 ditch	I	<i>LAMAS</i> 25
89 (E 170)	237 762 pit	late iron age	<i>Lon. Arch.</i> 2 No. 10
90 (F 654, 458)	239 757 ditch, gully, hearth	I – IV	<i>Lon. Arch.</i> 2 No. 10
91 (F 459, 460)	240 756 ditches	I – IV	<i>Lon. Arch.</i> 2 No. 16; 432
92 (F 288)	221 724 ? coin hoard	early IV	<i>LAMAS new ser.</i> 11 pt. 3
93 (F 719)	203 705 'foundations'		
94 (F 388)	212 661 ditches	II – IV	<i>JRS</i> 39, 109
95 (F 774)	169 632 pits, ditches		<i>Lon. Arch.</i> 2 No. 10
96 (E 161)	175 774 coin hoard	late iron age	
97	178 775 ditch, pits	I – mid II	p. c. Alison Laws
98 (F 664)	178 775 pits, ditch, ? building	II – IV	<i>Lon. Arch.</i> 1 No. 13
99 (G 124)	178 775 SFB	early Saxon	p. c. Alison Laws
100	177 774 buildings, ditch, pits	I – IV	p. c. Alison Laws
101	177 774 pits, ditch		p. c. Alison Laws
102 (F 579)	176 774 pit	II	p. c. Alison Laws
103 (F 661, 580)	175 773 ? building, ditch	I	p. c. Alison Laws
104 (F 577, 660)	174 773 ditches, pit	I – IV	p. c. Alison Laws
105	174 773 ditches, pit	II – IV	p. c. Alison Laws
106 (F 864)	172 772 pits, ditches	II – IV	<i>LAMAS</i> 27, 179–205
107 (F 940)	166 770 ditch		
108 (F 193)	178 770 wattle structure	? IV	p. c. Alison Laws
109 (F 34)	173 941 'hut'	III – IV	<i>LAMAS</i> 27, 225
110	175 938 pit		<i>LAMAS</i> 27, 206–227
111 (F 951)	173 936 earthwork	? IV	<i>Brit</i> 5, 446
112 (F 678)	341 959 timber building, features	I – IV	<i>LAMAS</i> 28, 101–189
113 (F 678)	341 959 coin hoard	A.D. 330–348	as site 112
114 (F 431)	340 956 ditches	I – IV	G. R. Gillam <sup>72</sup>
115 (F 431)	341 957 ? coin hoard-Constantine	A.D. 306–337	as site 114
116 (F 669)	337 943 ditch	III – IV	<i>Lon. Arch.</i> 2 No. 2
117 (F 99)	337 942 timber structures	III – IV	G. R. Gillam <sup>73</sup>
118 (F 99)	337 942 coin hoard	III – IV	
119	373 837 coin hoard-Gallienus	A.D. 260–268	p. c. Harvey Sheldon
120	371 837 timber building, features	mid II – late IV	<i>LAMAS</i> 23, pt. 1, 42–77
121 (F 418)	370 837 coin hoard-Allectus	A.D. 293–296	
122 (F 651)	371 836 pits, ditches	IV	<i>Brit</i> 2, 3
123	370 836 ditc.	IV	<i>LAMAS</i> 23, pt. 2, 101–147
124 (F 946)	369 836 pits, ditches	III – IV	<i>Brit</i> 6, 269
125	369 837 ditches		<i>LAMAS</i> 28, 256
126	370 835 ditches		<i>LAMAS</i> 28, 255
127 (F 677)	371 833 ditches		<i>Lon. Arch.</i> 2 No. 6, 135
128 (F 318)	519 759 pits	I – II	<i>Arch. Cant.</i> 18, 307
129 (E 63)	540 751 ditches	late iron age	<i>PPS new ser.</i> 4
130 (F 333)	517 748 'building'		<i>Arch. Cant.</i> 18, 313
131 (F 357)	513 747 'foundations'		<i>Arch. Cant.</i> 18, 313
132 (E 177)	506 733 ditches	late iron age	<i>Arch. Cant.</i> 72, 186
133 (F 337)	358 750 ? 'foundations'		<i>Arch. Cant.</i> 22, li–lii
134 (F 345)	548 747 'foundation'		<i>Arch. Cant.</i> 55
135 (G 75)	546 745 ? SFB	VI – VII	<i>Arch. Cant.</i> 70

136	(F 330)	542 740	tessellated floor		<i>Arch. Cant.</i> 18, 312
137	(F 362)	546 737	'foundations'		<i>Arch. Cant.</i> 18, 312
138	(F 761)	542 730	'foundations'		<i>SAC</i> 69, 1-26
139		222 630	stone buildings	II - IV	p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
140		221 629	pit		p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
141		222 630	hearth, ditch		p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
142		220 628	pits		p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
143		218 626	ditch	? II	p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
144		222 626	pit	IV	<i>SAC</i> 58
145		222 626	coin hoard	late Roman	p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
146		221 626	pit	late iron age	p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
147		221 626	stone building, pits		p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
148		220 625	pits	I - II	p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
149		219 624	ditches		<i>SAC</i> 50, 9-46
150	(F 588)	222 623	pits	I - II	p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
151		221 622	pits		p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
152		218 622	pit		p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
153	(F 593)	218 621	? 'huts', hearth	? late iron age	<i>SAC</i> 50, 9-46
154	(F 593)	218 621	well, ? 'huts'	I - II	<i>SAC</i> 50, 9-46
155		228 608	pits		p. c. D. Temple, F. Pemberton
156		037 717	timber building	IV	p. c. Kevin Crouch
157		036 716	stone and timber buildings	I - IV	p. c. Kevin Crouch
158		036 716	pits, gullies	early Saxon	p. c. Kevin Crouch
159	(F 908)	036 159	timber buildings, features	I - II	<i>LAMAS</i> 27, 76
160		037 717	possible kiln	II	<i>LAMAS</i> 27, 74
161	(F 71)	036 716	'bath'		p. c. Kevin Crouch
162		036 716	timber buildings	I - II	<i>LAMAS</i> 27, 74
163		035 716	timber buildings	I - II	<i>LAMAS</i> 27, 74
164		036 715	pits, gullies	IV	<i>LAMAS</i> 27, 74
165		036 716	timber buildings, features	III - IV	<i>LAMAS</i> 27, 82-134
166		036 716	pit, gullies, ? timber building	early Saxon	<i>LAMAS</i> 27, 82-134

## NOTES

- 1 R. Merrifield 'Roman' in *The Archaeology of the London Area: Current Knowledge and Problems* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper No. 1 (London, 1976) 57.
- 2 It has been assumed that, in the Roman period, the rivers followed approximately the same courses.
- 3 Department of the Environment, Greater London Council and Museum of London *Time on our side? A Survey of the Archaeological Needs of Greater London* (London, 1976) map 6.
- 4 *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London 3 Roman London* (London, 1928); R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965); Southwark Lambeth Archaeol. Excav. Com. *Excavations in Southwark 1972-1974* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. and Surrey Archaeol. Soc. Joint Pub. No. 1 (London, 1978 forthcoming).
- 5 The Roman names are based on identifications of stopping places listed in the Antonine Itinerary, see A. L. F. Rivet 'The British section of the Antonine Itinerary' *Britannia* 1 (1970) 34-82.
- 6 Tacitus wrote that 'this town did not rank as a Roman settlement, but was an important centre for business men and merchandise'. *Annals* XIV M. Grant trans. *Tacitus: The Annals of Imperial Rome* (London, 1971) 329. For the archaeological evidence see R. Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 4, 35-40.
- 7 H. Sheldon 'Excavations at Lefevre Road, Old Ford, E3' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 21 pt. 1 (1971) 44.
- 8 SLAEC *op. cit.* in note 4.
- 9 I. D. Margary *Roman Roads in Britain*, 1 (London, 1955) 47-49.
- 10 W. F. Grimes *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (London, 1968) 44.
- 11 The *Viatores Roman Roads in the South East Midlands* (London, 1964) 117-125 (route 167), 185-201 (route 220).
- 12 A. L. F. Rivet 'The Classification of Minor Towns and Related Settlements' in W. Rodwell and T. Rowley ed. *Small Towns of Roman Britain* Brit. Archaeol. Rep. No. 15 (Oxford, 1975) 111.
- 13 They are included by Frere (Crayford and Staines), S. Frere 'The Origin of Small Towns' in Rodwell and Rowley *ibid.* 3, by Webster (Crayford and Ewell), G. Webster 'Small Towns without Defences' in Rodwell and Rowley *ibid.* 61-62, and by Rodwell (Enfield), W. Rodwell 'Trinovantian Towns and their Setting: A Case Study' in Rodwell and Rowley *ibid.* 86.
- 14 Rodwell *ibid.*
- 15 Frere *op. cit.* in note 13.
- 16 K. Crouch 'The Archaeology of Staines and the Excavation at Elmsleigh House' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 27 (1976) 77-80.
- 17 A. Gentry *et al* 'Excavations at Lincoln Road, Enfield 1974' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 28 (1977) 124.
- 18 Rivet *op. cit.* in note 12, 112.
- 19 I. A. Richmond *Roman Britain* (London, 1955) 92.
- 20 If *mansiones* only were listed in the Antonine Itinerary then they were sited within *Pontes, Noviomagus* and *Sulloniaca*. Of the London roads only Watling Street, the London-Colchester, and the London-Silchester highways were included in the Itinerary.
- 21 M. Todd 'The Small Towns of Roman Britain' *Britannia* 1 (1970) 116.
- 22 S. Castle 'Roman Pottery from Brockley Hill, Middlesex' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 27 (1976) 225.

- <sup>23</sup> Much of the land nearer to the ford seems to have been destroyed in quarrying, but Roach Smith, referring to a burial found in that area (see W. J. Owen *et al* 'Roman Burials at Old Ford, E3' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 24 (1973) Fig. 1) remarked on the great quantity of Roman coins found there (*Archaeologia* 31 (1846) 308–311).
- <sup>24</sup> Castle *op. cit.* in note 22, 223.
- <sup>25</sup> F. J. C. Spurrell 'Dartford Antiquities' *Archaeol. Cantiana* 18 (1889) 311–314.
- <sup>26</sup> F. Pemberton 'A Romano-British Settlement on Stane Street, Ewell, Surrey' *Surrey Archaeol. Collect.* 69 (1973) 1–9.
- <sup>27</sup> Rodwell *op. cit.* in note 13, 93.
- <sup>28</sup> J. Wachter *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London, 1976) 200.
- <sup>29</sup> SLAEC *op. cit.* in note 4.
- <sup>30</sup> For further discussion see SLAEC *ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> These were described as a 'clay-floored pit' and 'tiled structure' in Sheldon *op. cit.* in note 7, 52.
- <sup>32</sup> Todd *op. cit.* in note 21, 129.
- <sup>33</sup> Todd *ibid. loc. cit.*
- <sup>34</sup> Gentry *et al op. cit.* in note 17, 175.
- <sup>35</sup> F. Pemberton 'Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement in Ewell' *London Archaeol.* 2 No. 4 (1973) 84–86.
- <sup>36</sup> The sculpture was examined by T. F. C. Blagg. R. Merrifield 'Art and Religion in Roman London' in J. Munby and M. Henig ed. *Roman Life and Art in Britain* Brit. Archaeol. Rep. No. 41 part I (Oxford, 1977) 394–395.
- <sup>37</sup> For example Rivet *op. cit.* in note 12, 112–113.
- <sup>38</sup> Wachter *op. cit.* in note 28, 18.
- <sup>39</sup> W. Rodwell 'Milestones, Civic territories and the Antonine Itinerary' *Britannia* 6 (1975) 90–94.
- <sup>40</sup> This attribution is considered to be an error by Rivet in A. L. F. Rivet *Town and County in Roman Britain* (London, 1964) 145.
- <sup>41</sup> S. Castle 'Excavations in Pear Wood, Brockley Hill, Middlesex 1948–73' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 26 (1975) 274–276.
- <sup>42</sup> He sent them to Britain 'and gave them lands in that island to inhabit' Zosimus *Recent History* 1.LXVIII 3 in N. Lewis and M. Reinhold ed. *Roman Civilisation II* (New York, 1966) 435.
- <sup>43</sup> J. Morris *The Age of Arthur* (London, 1973) 109.
- <sup>44</sup> Rodwell *op. cit.* in note 13, 99.
- <sup>45</sup> Although the evidence is very limited Gelling does suggest that the term may be more than a simple compound; she writes (M. Gelling 'English Place-Names derived from the Compound *wicham*' *Medieval Archaeol.* 11 (1967) 87–104): 'The evidence seems to me to suggest that in the earliest period at which English place-names arose there was a type of settlement called a *wicham* which occurred close to Roman roads and usually near small Romano-British settlements and which derived its name from a connexion with the *vici* of Roman Britain.' She then notes that in a few cases the finds of early Germanic equipment from near the location with *wicham* names might indicate that these were the settlements of *laeti*. West Wickham positioned on the London-Lewes road with evidence of several Roman sites (including Keston) in the area, and the occurrence of Germanic equipment at Croydon, would seem to provide some evidence to support the theory. However at East Wickham, just north of Watling Street (South), the only other *wicham* site in the G. L. C. area, finds are limited to late Roman inhumation burials.
- <sup>46</sup> G. Meates *Lullingstone Roman Villa, Kent Ministry of Public Buildings and Works Guide* (London, 1969).
- <sup>47</sup> R. M. Jacobi 'The Prehistoric and Roman Sites at Sandy Lodge, Middlesex' *Uxbridge Record* No. 5 (March 1965).
- <sup>48</sup> A. Millard 'Interim Report on the Excavation of a Roman Building at Moor Park, Rickmansworth, Herts' *J. Ruislip District Natur. Hist. Soc.* No. 6 (1957).
- <sup>49</sup> S. Frere *Britannia* (London, 1967) 281. Frere comments on the 'exceptional' prosperity of the British curial class in the 4th century. Rivet believes that c.A.D. 300 a 'great revival' occurred in both town and country. Rivet *op. cit.* in note 40, 114.
- <sup>50</sup> M. Todd 'The *Vici* of Western England' in K. Branigan and P. J. Fowler ed. *The Roman West Country* (Newton Abbot, 1976) 117.
- <sup>51</sup> K. Branigan *Town and Country: The Archaeology of Verulamium and the Roman Chilterns* (Bourne End, Bucks, 1973) 126–128, 136–142.
- <sup>52</sup> B. Philp 'The discovery of a Saxon grubenhaus at Keston' *Kent Archaeol. Rev.* 25 (1971) 135.
- <sup>53</sup> Todd *op. cit.* in note 21, 117.
- <sup>54</sup> K. Whitehouse 'A section across Fulham Palace Moat' *London Archaeol.* 2 No. 6 (1974) 84–86.
- <sup>55</sup> B. Cunliffe *The Regni* (London, 1973) 95–103.
- <sup>56</sup> Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain, 3rd ed. (Cheshington, 1956) 12.
- <sup>57</sup> A. E. Brown and H. L. Sheldon 'Highgate Wood the Pottery and its Production' *London Archaeol.* 2 No. 9 (1974) 222–231.
- <sup>58</sup> W. Besant *South London* (London, 1901) 4–10.
- <sup>59</sup> M. G. Welch 'Liebenau inhumation grave II/196 and the dating of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Mitcham' *Medieval Archaeol.* 20 (1976) 134–136.
- <sup>60</sup> A. Meaney *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London, 1964) 234.
- <sup>61</sup> P. Rahtz 'A Gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon domestic settlement sites' in D. M. Wilson ed. *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1976) 422.
- <sup>62</sup> Meaney *op. cit.* in note 60, 88, 122, 240.
- <sup>63</sup> B. Philp *Excavations in West Kent 1960–1970* (London, 1973) 102–105.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 80–93.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 94–98.
- <sup>66</sup> Philp *loc. cit.* in note 52.
- <sup>67</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 63, 55–65.
- <sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* 66–67.
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* 68–76.
- <sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 77.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* 78–9.
- <sup>72</sup> G. R. Gillam *Prehistoric and Roman Enfield* (London, 1973) 13–14.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.



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# THE DISCOVERY OF THE CIVIC CENTRE OF ROMAN LONDON

PETER MARSDEN

The region around Gracechurch Street has long been known as the site of the Roman civic centre where the forum and basilica lay, and it is there that the earliest traces of the Roman city are to be found (Fig. 1). But it is exactly 50 years ago that the Royal Commission report on Roman London was published and finally buried the theory of a pre-Roman origin of London.<sup>1</sup> This was a view far from that of the 12th-century chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth who believed that the city was founded by Brutus about 1108 B.C., and an improvement on the unfounded belief often held in recent times that a small iron age settlement had once existed on the site. But a popularly held belief that had been retold for centuries was slow to die, and as recently as 1965 Ralph Merrifield still felt it necessary to reiterate the evidence of 1928, no doubt because popular history books still often erroneously state that London was created as a pre-Roman settlement.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, although the actual Roman origin of London is no longer disputed, the form of that initial occupation has been one of the most deeply controversial subjects and is still far from resolved. But as the Roman administrative centre in the Gracechurch Street area overlay some of the earliest traces of the city it has been clear for some time that there exists on this site the best chance of discovering how London originated and initially developed. Until now the absence of significant information has left plenty of scope for speculation, and theories have swung from London having developed from a military camp, to its having had a purely civilian origin. In 1909 it was suggested that 'it may be that at the time of the Claudian conquest a legion was posted here to guard the river passage, but soon passed on to the front, leaving the camp to form the nucleus of London'.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the Royal Commission suggested a civilian origin,<sup>4</sup> while more recently the possible military origins have once again been stressed.<sup>5</sup>

At last, though, there exist a few very fragmentary pieces of archaeological evidence from the earliest deposits, in which support has been seen for the military theory. But by stressing the possible military aspects there is a danger that this view may become increasingly thought to be more soundly based than the evidence probably justifies at this stage. More specifically it has been suggested that traces of the primary Roman occupation found in 1972 in Bush Lane, beside Cannon Street station, may have represented the foundations of a military storehouse similar to those found in the Claudian and Neronian military bases at Richborough and Fishbourne.<sup>6</sup> But in fact it is now clear that small parts of only six slots possibly for timber sleeper beam foundations were found, and as these belonged to *three* superimposed periods, it is also clear that they

form unsatisfactory evidence upon which to base a military interpretation of this site. They could equally well be interpreted as part of a civilian building such as that found in Fenchurch Street, dating from the period before the destruction by Boudicca in A.D. 60.<sup>7</sup>

More significant is the early Roman military camp or fort that was found by Hugh Chapman at Aldgate in 1972.<sup>8</sup> But even this undoubted military site showed every sign of being a very short-stay camp, perhaps built soon after the founding of *Londinium*. This was indicated not only by the dumped filling of the military ditch being clean redeposited clay, below which there was an absence of primary silting, but also by the location of the camp beside the main road to *Camulodunum*, remote from both the river and the known primary settlement area around modern Gracechurch Street.

Finally, a military interpretation has been given to the earliest features that were found overlying the natural subsoil below the forum on a site at the corner of Gracechurch Street and Fenchurch Street. Here the earliest Roman features, dating from before the Boudiccan destruction of A.D. 60, were clearly part of a planned Roman settlement with streets and buildings.<sup>9</sup> But whether the planning was military or civil is not clear, and so it would be unwise to stress the military interpretation until more certain evidence is obtained from other sites.

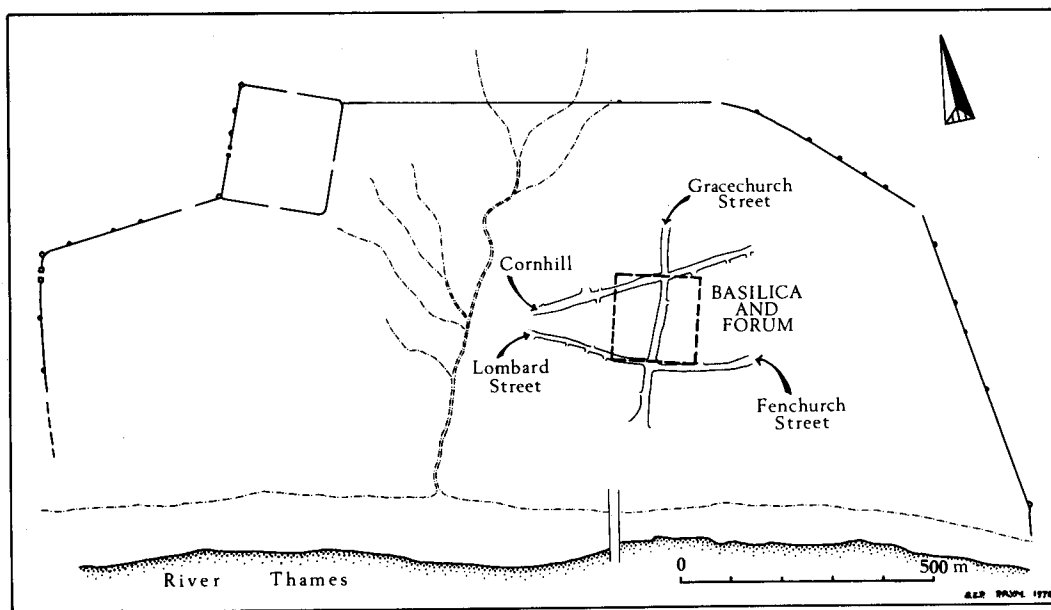


Fig. 1 Location plan to show the site of Gracechurch Street.

Because of the stress given to the military theory in recent years it is important at this stage to remember that, although the military beginning is still possible, it is also clear that there is no need for London to have originated either in this way, or even at the initial phase of the Roman conquest. It can be argued that the theory of an invasion period camp in the City does not take into account the fact that, as Dio implies,<sup>10</sup> the Britons who

retreated in advance of the Roman army presumably crossed the Thames at a ford. A Roman invasion camp such as has been proposed by Merrifield<sup>11</sup> is at least as likely to have been placed at a crossing such as Brentford, Battersea or perhaps Westminster, where there is some evidence that iron age fords might have existed, than at the City where an absence of iron age finds suggests that there was no ford. Such a camp at a ford would have had the added advantage of enabling the Roman army to police enemy movements during this critical phase in the invasion prior to the capture of *Camulodunum*. Similarly, the suggestion that after the initial invasion a military supply base might have been established at London does not take into account the fact that such a base already existed at Richborough until at least A.D. 85.<sup>12</sup> Indeed the comment by John Wachter is worth remembering in this context; if London had been the main depot, it is difficult to see how Richborough could have survived and maintained its usefulness.<sup>13</sup>

As the site of *Londinium* was apparently not at an established iron age ford, its attraction for settlement is likely to have been due to other circumstances. Much has been written about its site at the lowest bridging point on the Thames, but there was at least one other factor which may have been as important. This was the location of *Londinium* at about the tidal limit of the river at that time, thus enabling large sea-going trading ships to reach the port by using the tides and the deep water. Without this it would have been extremely difficult for large ships to sail upstream against the strong current and against the prevailing westerly wind. Moreover, on the evidence of the earliest groups of objects from London, the founding of this settlement need not have occurred much before A.D. 50, by which time the initial phase of the invasion was completed and the Fosse Way frontier established.<sup>14</sup> South-east England was then secure and sufficiently stable for merchants from the Continent to invest heavily in trade with Britain and to develop the new port of *Londinium*. There would then be little need for a military fort at London, just as invasion forts at *Camulodunum* and *Verulamium*, both native centres unlike London, were also abandoned by this time.<sup>15</sup>

But, however London was founded, it is clear that by A.D. 60 it was a commercial success, and a civil counterpart to the military port at Richborough. Through *Londinium* were funnelled the many imports and exports of the new province, and at this date according to Tacitus *Londinium* was 'not indeed distinguished by the title of 'colony' but [was] crowded with traders and [was] a great centre of commerce' (*commeatum maxime celebre*).<sup>16</sup>

The most obvious evidence of the earliest phase of London is the Boudiccan fire debris, and it is fitting in this tribute to Ralph Merrifield to recognise his contribution to the unravelling of the complex of archaeological discoveries, including the Boudiccan fire deposits, which occur in the Gracechurch Street area where London had its birth.<sup>17</sup> But this is not all, for he has made it possible for subsequent investigators to enlarge the area of research,<sup>18</sup> and since the publication of his major work in 1965 there have been three major site investigations each of which has added considerably to our knowledge of the early Roman settlement. Merrifield has repeatedly stressed the importance of the Gracechurch Street area in the study of the Roman city, and in 1965 was the first to reconstruct the main phases of its Roman development, showing how the town quickly grew from the initial settlement to become a self-governing city. He suggested that the first stage, before the Boudiccan destruction of A.D. 60, was the building of a small, possibly public, building with stone foundations beside the main east-west street. The

second stage was the construction of a much larger group of buildings, almost certainly also public, on a slightly different alignment, after the destruction of A.D. 60. Finally he suggested that this was superseded by the vast civic centre whose basilica and forum were far greater than any other in Roman Britain, the forum probably not being completed before the reign of Hadrian.<sup>19</sup>

Merrifield felt that there was a continuing military presence in London, particularly in the form of the governor's administrative headquarters, from the time that the city was founded, until the building of the palace, believed to have been the *praetorium* of the governor, probably in the 1st century, where Cannon Street station now lies. He further suggested that the large building underlying the great forum might have been 'an earlier *praetorium* possibly dating from the period of reconstruction after the fire of A.D. 60, and perhaps successor of a still earlier military headquarters building on the same site'.<sup>20</sup>

The key to the correct interpretation lay not so much in further excavation, but more particularly in the accurate plotting of existing archaeological discoveries on sites so that they were correctly placed in relation to each other. After many frustrated hours of trying to plot adjacent sites, and indeed of trying to discover an accurate large-scale survey of modern London upon which to plot the sites, the author is all too well aware of the enormous difficulty of reconciling different sites in this way. The recent publication by Brian Philp replotting many of the forum structures has met with similar considerable difficulties, particularly due to errors in the modern Goad survey map of the Gracechurch Street area, and in the modern survey of the site upon which he was excavating. This has, unfortunately, resulted in errors of up to 20 feet between some sites, and these helped to mask the true layout and nature of the Roman buildings.<sup>21</sup>

To some extent the problem has now been eased by using a calculator to convert measurements from the large site plans to the much smaller scale of the general plan, and plotting them onto an enlargement of the 50 inch Ordnance Survey map. It is remarkable that before the recent investigations were carried out, Merrifield was able both to plot the Roman walls as accurately as he did without the help of electronic aids, and to establish the main sequence of Roman buildings.

Although some modifications are needed to Merrifield's proposed Roman building sequence, his basic scheme still stands. Probably the most important revision relates to the building with stone foundations in the first phase, which Merrifield suggested might have been an early military headquarters, for instead of predating the destruction of A.D. 60, the walls are now known to be part of the great forum in the final phase.<sup>22</sup> The revised sequence of phases that seems best to fit the available evidence begins with a series of wattle and daub buildings, probably houses and shops, built alongside the main east-west street of the Roman city before A.D. 60; while where the forum was to be built there lay a large gravelled area which may be provisionally interpreted as a market place. The fact that the houses apparently extended to the edge of the open area suggests that this was not a forum courtyard surrounded by a formal range of shops. No certain trace of military occupation has been found on any site in this central area, though it is possible that the main street and the gravel spread may have had their origin beside the *principia* of an invasion period camp.<sup>23</sup>

The sequence continues with the Boudiccan fire of A.D. 60, after which there may have been a pause in major town redevelopment until the Flavian period. The major public building, which has long been known to underlie the large forum, has now been positively

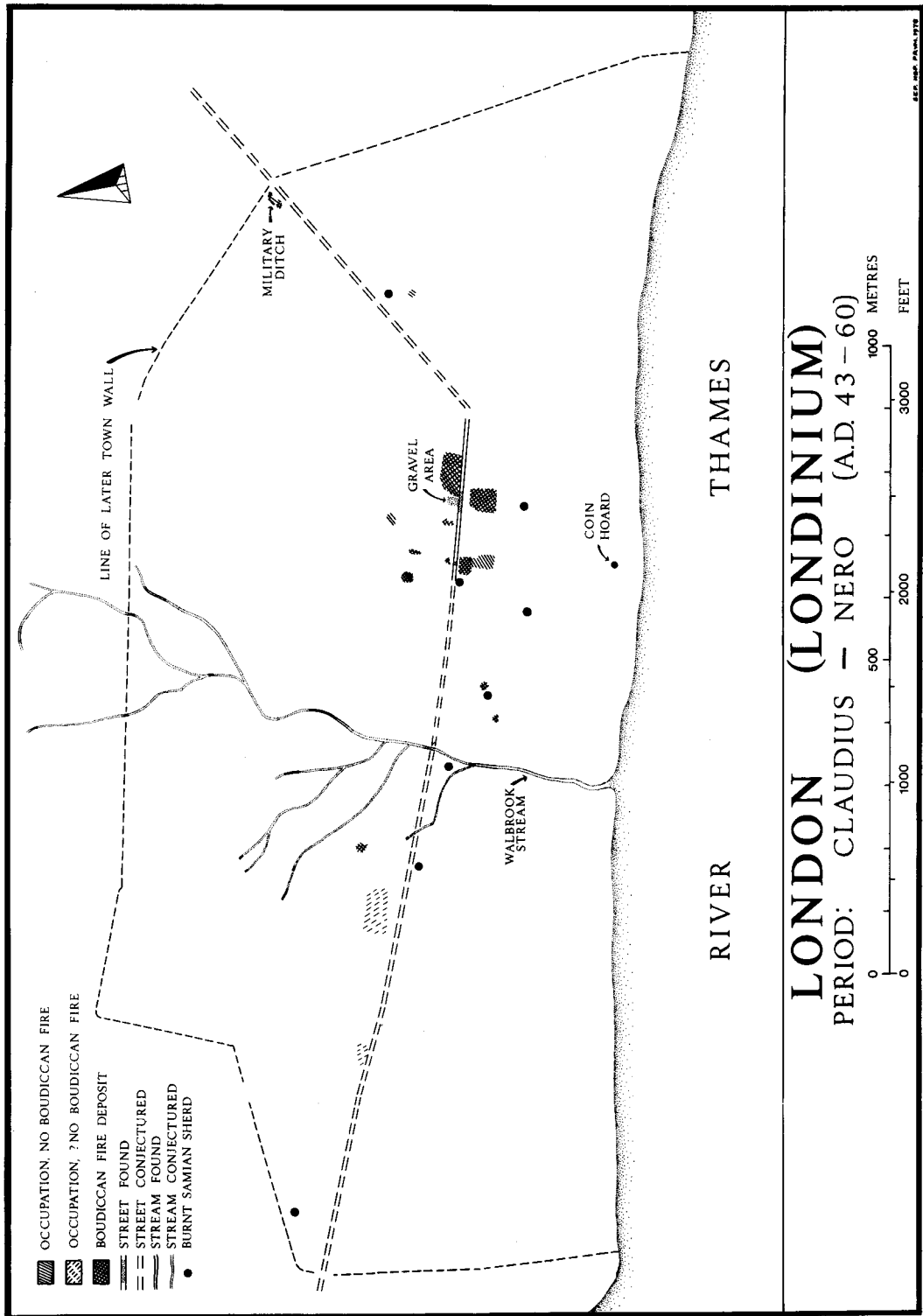


Fig. 2 Plan of *Londinium* during the period of Claudius and Nero.

identified as an earlier basilica and forum which may have been built during the Flavian period. The final stage, which probably occurred not earlier than the end of the 1st century, was the building of a second new and far larger basilica and forum whose presence was identified more than 50 years ago.<sup>24</sup>

#### THE BOUDICCAN DESTRUCTION OF A.D. 60 (Fig. 2)

Dr. Gerald Dunning made the first attempt to map the extent of the destruction of A.D. 60 by recording the distribution both of find spots of burnt samian ware of mid 1st-century date, and of those rarely recorded sightings of the burnt debris itself found *in situ*. There were very few sherds and even fewer records of the burnt debris, but nevertheless sufficient existed to suggest that the city of A.D. 60 had mostly been built on the east side of the Walbrook stream.<sup>25</sup> Ralph Merrifield was able to add to this in 1965 by recording several spots where the burnt debris had been seen more recently.<sup>26</sup> But though a scatter of large spots representing single burnt sherds on a small plan looks impressive as a distribution map, much more information was essential if even a basic understanding of the Boudiccan destruction was to be made.

Since 1960 a more detailed long-term study has been undertaken to examine those areas where both destruction and no destruction occurred, and it is now clear (Fig. 2) that, although there was a large area of conflagration, within this there were apparently major gaps in the areas of burning. This suggests, as might be expected, that some of the fires were separately started; while the discovery of traces of early Roman buildings in some of those unburnt areas, such as in Corbet Court off Gracechurch Street,<sup>27</sup> and in Plough Court off Lombard Street,<sup>28</sup> indicates that perhaps some buildings were left unburnt, or alternatively that they might have been demolished prior to or during A.D. 60.

The archaeological evidence makes it dramatically clear that the events of that year constituted a major catastrophe. The smouldering debris actually spilled out over the edge of the gravel surface of the main street.<sup>29</sup> From the debris also there is support for the statement of Tacitus<sup>30</sup> that there had been a mass evacuation of the city prior to the arrival of Boudicca's native forces. There is a general, though not total, absence of objects from most of the admittedly small number of portions of burnt buildings that have been investigated.<sup>31</sup> Some inhabitants, as Tacitus relates, remained to perish in the sacking of the city, and perhaps it was their possessions that remained behind in some of the buildings. In one, for example, grain was found beside a daub wall in a building that was perhaps a shop fronting the main street, while elsewhere domestic pottery has been found in others.<sup>32</sup>

From the beginning of *Londinium* the site that was to become the forum seems to have been reserved as an open space. Before A.D. 60 it was surfaced with gravel, and it was not covered by Boudiccan burnt debris. Perhaps it had been a market place which, together with an apparently formal layout of streets and buildings at least in the town centre, suggests that before A.D. 60 *Londinium* had been a carefully planned city, though it is not clear if the planning authority was civil or military. Many of the inhabitants were, no doubt, merchants from such established provinces as Gaul and Spain, perhaps one of whom then living in *Londinium* was Aulus Alfidius Olussa from Athens who died aged seventy before the end of the 1st century A.D. and was buried near Tower Hill.<sup>33</sup>

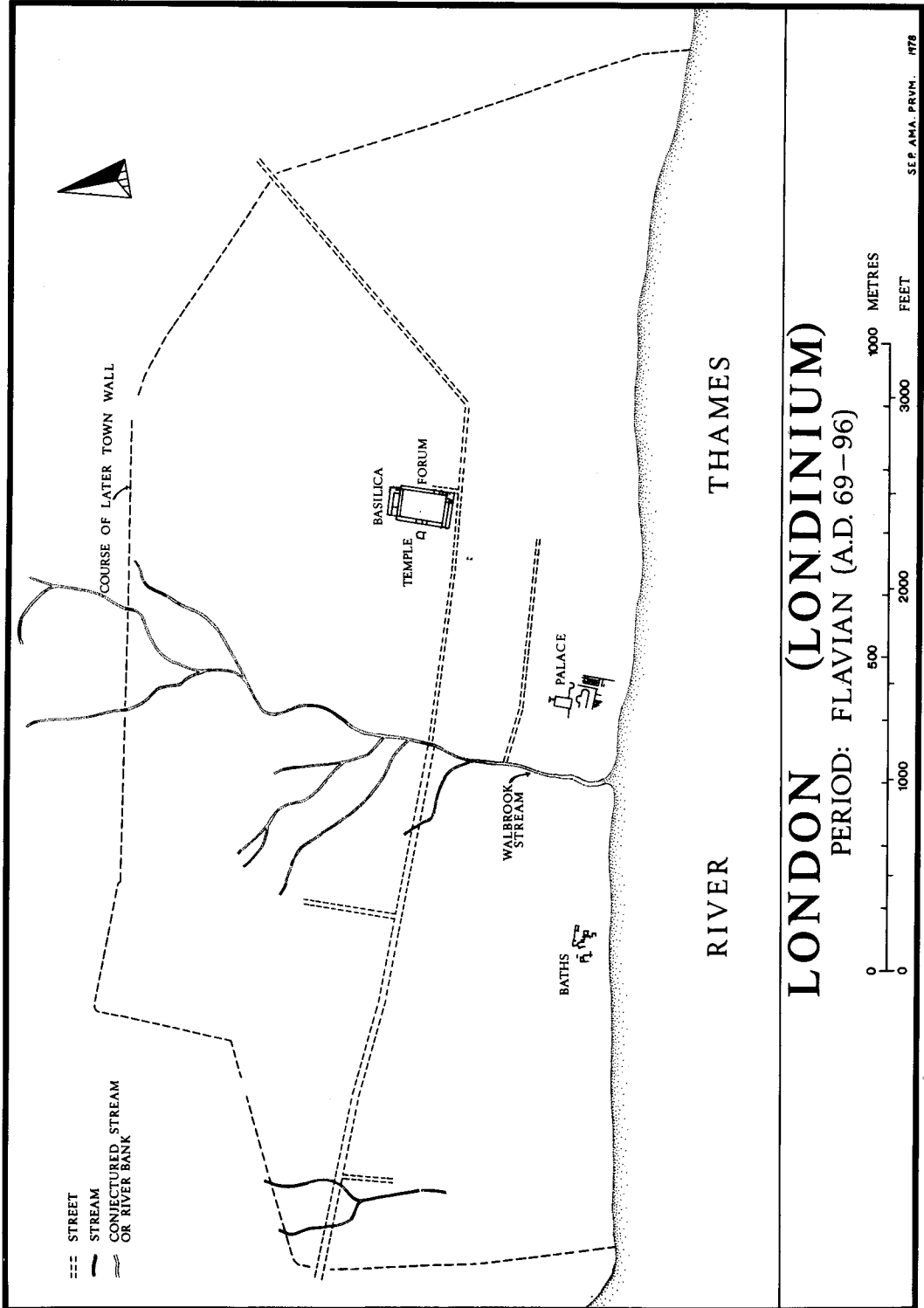


Fig. 3 Plan of Londinium during the Flavian period.



The aftermath of the Boudiccan destruction is unclear since there has been no detailed investigation of the immediate post fire deposits. Nevertheless, if we can judge from the fragmentary archaeological evidence recorded in the Gracechurch Street area and elsewhere in London, it seems that there may have been no immediate major redevelopment of the Roman city. No building has yet been found in London certainly dating from the years immediately following the Boudiccan sacking, and among the hints that a period of stagnation might have followed is the lack of any attempt to clear the fire debris from the main street.<sup>34</sup> A similar pause apparently followed the destruction of *Verulamium*<sup>35</sup> and is indicative of the profound shock that the uprising had on the Roman economy of the province. Presumably the merchants were unwilling to undertake a major re-investment in the province until security was assured. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that a major forum was to be built in due course, it is extremely likely that some form of slow recovery and rebuilding occurred in *Londinium* soon after the Boudiccan debacle.

#### THE FIRST BASILICA AND FORUM

(Figs. 3, 4)

The first forum and basilica complex was built on the site formerly occupied by the suggested pre-Boudiccan gravelled market place. Situated on the north side of the main east-west Roman street whose existence has long been known, it was only in December 1977 that the purpose of this building complex was positively identified. Part of this basilica had been found as long ago as 1881 by Henry Hodge,<sup>36</sup> but it was not until the 1930's that major portions of the buildings were recorded by Frank Cottrill and Adrian Oswald. But not enough had been found for their significance to be suspected, even though it was then that an associated temple was found. Indeed, the identification of the second basilica in 1924 and 1927/28 tended to direct attention away from the possible existence of a separate earlier building. For some time in the 1960's it seemed that some of the walls found by Cottrill in Gracechurch Street might have been part of a Celtic temple lying in the forum. But these walls formed the east end of the first basilica, and when the west end of the same building was found in 1964 on the opposite side of Gracechurch Street it was clear that a much larger Roman building had existed there.<sup>37</sup>

When Merrifield had plotted all the known Roman walls in the Gracechurch Street area onto the plan which was eventually published in 1965, it seemed that this large building might have extended southwards to the main east-west street of the Roman city, and that it predated the great forum now known as the second forum. There was no means of checking this without further excavation, and when a new development by Barclays Bank was planned at the corner of Gracechurch Street and Fenchurch Street in 1968 there was a chance that the south-east corner of the suspected 'pre-forum building', as it was then called, might be found. Brian Philp was invited to direct the excavation, since the author was already heavily committed in excavation on other sites, and in due course he uncovered the south-east corner almost exactly in the position which Merrifield had predicted. Unfortunately, the plan of the Roman building and its purpose remained uncertain due to the difficulties of accurate plotting. Ralph Merrifield suggested that it was perhaps the headquarters of the governor of the province;<sup>38</sup> John Wachter suggested that it was an administrative building of the *procurator*;<sup>39</sup> and Brian Philp considered that it was a 'proto-forum' of uncertain use as it underlay the known great forum.<sup>40</sup> Although it has taken about six months to clarify the many problems of plotting this Roman

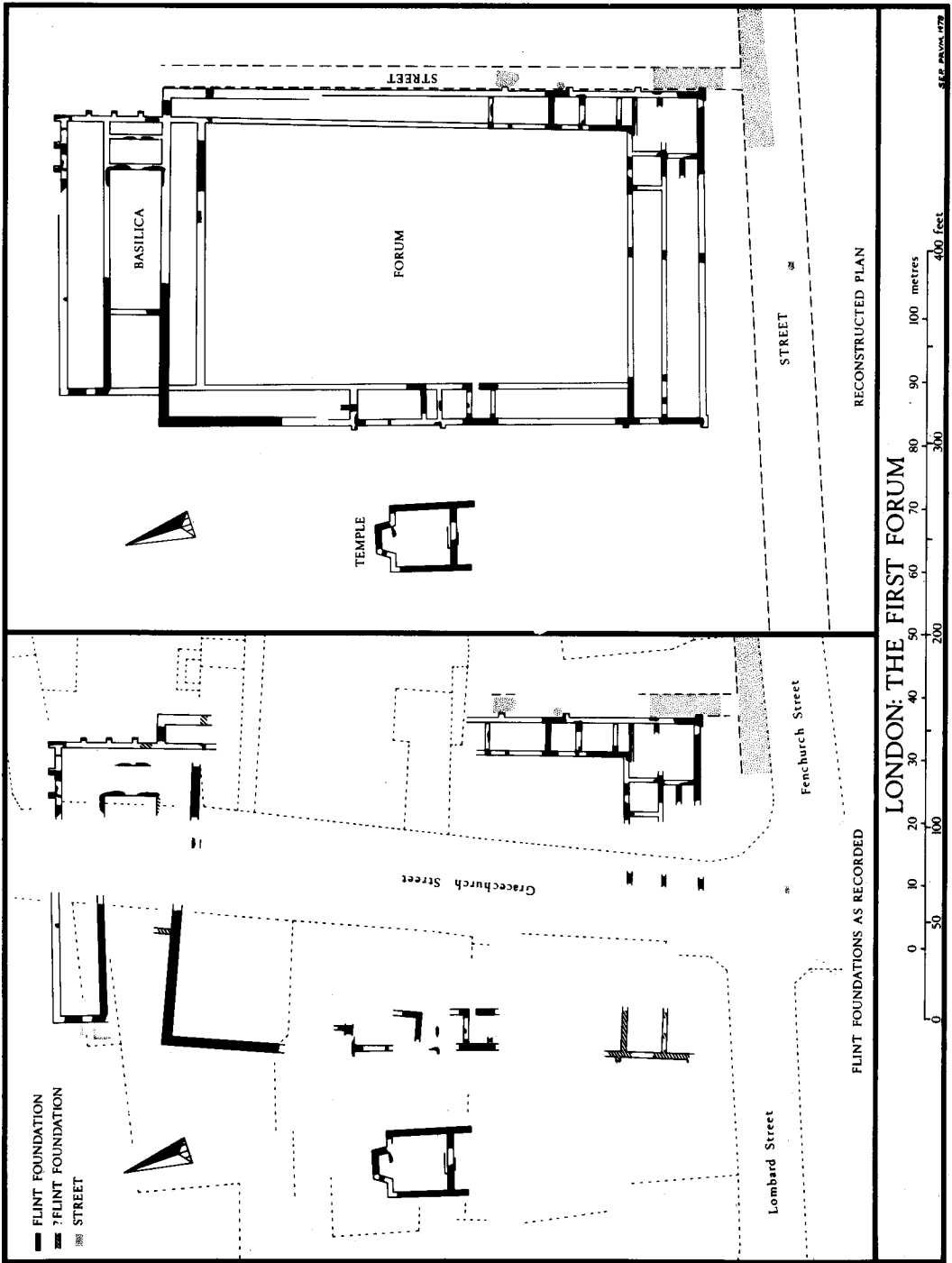


Fig. 4 Plan of the first forum and basilica.

building, the difficulties are still not all resolved. Nevertheless, at the end of 1977 it was possible to produce what is a reasonably accurate plan of the building based on original and often unpublished excavation accounts and plans, and there is now no doubt about its purpose; it was a basilica and forum with an adjacent temple predating the great forum whose existence has long been known (Fig. 4).

This first basilica and forum complex measures overall 104.5 m. long (north-south) and 52.7 m. wide (east-west), the length being exactly twice the width, and both buildings are characterised by buttressed outer walls (except the south wall of the forum), and by exceptionally deep foundations of flint and brown mortar whose construction is most unusual in Roman London. But the plan of the basilica itself is unusual in Roman Britain for, although similar elongated fora sometimes occur, as at Leicester<sup>41</sup> and Wroxeter,<sup>42</sup> a simple basilica without associated offices, comprising merely a nave, side aisles and tribunal compares much more closely with basilicae in Gaul, such as those of Augst, Paris and St. Bertrand.<sup>43</sup>

The basilica was about 44.5 m. long and 22.5 m. wide, possibly with a tribunal at its east end. The elongated forum court was surrounded by ranges of rooms, probably behind an inner portico, while the south wing appears to have had an outer portico facing the main east west street of the Roman city.

Streets apparently lay on both long sides of the forum, that on the east side being a minor street about 4 m. wide with one layer of metalling.<sup>44</sup> Little trace of the street on the west side has been found though it is perhaps indicated by the gap of about 10 m. between the first forum and the temple, and by several superimposed layers of gravel metalling found just west of the first basilica.<sup>45</sup>

The temple was a small building of classical type, though it was not built on a podium. Its association with the forum is inferred from its similar date and from having foundations of the same unusual construction. The alignment of the whole forum complex is a feature that is not yet fully understood as the building was not quite aligned on the main east-west street. This alignment seems to have been deliberately planned and was not restricted to the forum complex, since traces of buildings south of the main east-west street also follow the same line.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps it also reflects the existence at that time of a major street running roughly north south, diagonally to the main east-west street. As this did not lie on the east side of the forum, it presumably lay on the west, where several superimposed layers of gravel metalling have been recorded.<sup>47</sup>

Although this first forum survived long enough for a partial rebuilding to include a series of piers, it was evidently too small to remain as the civic centre of the rapidly expanding city. Its size (c. 104 m. × c. 53 m.: c. 5,512 sq. m.) is far less than the fora of other towns in Britain, as at Silchester<sup>48</sup> (c. 95 m. × c. 84 m.: c. 7,980 sq. m.) and Wroxeter<sup>49</sup> (c. 120 m. × c. 81 m.: c. 9,720 sq. m.), and only a quarter of the area of the basilica and forum that was to replace it in London. Nevertheless, the *ordo*, or city council, who used the building had been extremely vigorous in public works, having built baths and streets.

#### THE SECOND FORUM AND BASILICA (Fig. 5)

Until the rebuilding of the Leadenhall Market site in 1880/81 there was no evidence to show that the building now known as the second basilica was situated there. Indeed, it

had been suggested long before that the massive Roman walls, found in Bush Lane after the Great Fire of 1666, might have formed part of the basilica,<sup>50</sup> while in 1856 Charles Roach Smith suggested that it may have been situated in Clements Lane close to where part of an official Roman inscription had been found.<sup>51</sup> In 1880 Henry Hodge, an architect who had previously helped John Price, Secretary of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, to record the Roman bastion found in Camomile Street, visited the Leadenhall Market site to record the Roman walls there exposed.<sup>52</sup> These remarkable drawings, which include several watercolour sections of strata, showed the eastern half of the great hall of the basilica; but it is unfortunate that they remained unpublished for many years, and unknown even to the authors of the Victoria County History whose superb and comprehensive volume on *Roman London* was published in 1909.<sup>53</sup> The drawings were eventually published in 1915, though no interpretation was then offered,<sup>54</sup> and it was not until 1923 that W. Lethaby correctly identified the nature of the building,<sup>55</sup> his view being supported by the writers of the Royal Commission Report in 1928.<sup>56</sup>

It was then uncertain on which side of the basilica the adjacent forum lay, though it must have been either to the north or south. Views tended to favour the south side where in 1925 various chambers which might have been part of the forum had been found in Lombard Street. The uncertainty was so great, however, that one authority wrote in 1926, 'What now has been found may be a fragment of the Forum wall and its sheltering arcade. It may be that or half-a-dozen other things. It may be a portion of a row of shops in Roman Lombard Street, outside the forum wall. It may be a gateway, not necessarily of a public building. It may be a part of some inconspicuous person's house. There is ample room for speculation'.<sup>57</sup> Ample room indeed! Nevertheless, although the writer was correct in suggesting that the walls were part of the forum, it was not until 1965 that sufficient information had been discovered for a positive identification to be made,<sup>58</sup> primarily as a result of scattered discoveries by Cottrill, Dunning and Oswald during the intervening years.<sup>59</sup> A major problem had been that many of the forum walls and foundations were robbed and so were not easy to find on building sites. On the other hand the basilica was very little robbed, and its massive concrete foundations were easily seen. And so it was that in 1930 Gerald Dunning was able to draw the first reconstruction plan of the basilica,<sup>60</sup> a reconstruction that is still substantially correct, though later discoveries show that the building was even larger than previously suspected.<sup>61</sup>

More recently, however, there have been major advances in our knowledge of this second forum and basilica following excavations by Brian Philp<sup>62</sup> and others. The most recent took place in 1977 and were particularly spectacular, for the discoveries occurred in a small tunnel dug by the GPO along the whole length of Gracechurch Street, mostly at the level of the forum and basilica floors. This has resulted in many new features being discovered, such as the nature and level of the forum and basilica floors, and also it has exposed at one time most of the major structures that otherwise have been recorded in pieces by different people at various times over the last 100 years. For a short while it was even possible to walk, in an uncomfortable crouched position, across the entire width of the nave and side aisles of the basilica and to view its white concrete floor.<sup>63</sup>

The main elements of the second forum and basilica are now mostly clear. The whole complex occupied an area about 167.6 m. square, its central feature being a large unroofed forum courtyard originally surrounded on three sides by a colonnaded inner portico 9 m. wide. The columns themselves have not been found, but they are inferred

from the sleeper wall foundation that has been discovered, and by comparison with fora elsewhere, such as Wroxeter and Silchester, where columns have been found similarly placed. Beyond this inner portico lay a range of large chambers, presumably shops, while another portico 5.5 m. wide lay outside. On the fourth side of the forum courtyard lay the basilica whose vast hall was more than 30 m. wide, and was divided into a nave and side aisles separated by rows of brick piers that presumably once supported arcading. At the east end of the nave, and probably at the west end also, there was a semi-circular tribunal; while to the north of the hall lay ranges of rooms which no doubt comprised the office accommodation of the city council. These would normally have included the *curia* or council chamber, the treasury and the prison. The entire building occupied its own insula, the forum facing the main east-west street, while on the other two sides of the forum were new north south main streets, one of which seems to have led northwards to Bishopsgate.

Much of the northern range of the basilica remains to be found, especially the central and eastern parts of the building. In particular it should be possible to identify the *curia*, though if this was centrally placed beside the great hall, as was often the case, then it will lie beneath St. Peter's Church, Cornhill: a church that tradition claims was founded in A.D. 179.<sup>64</sup>

#### A QUESTION OF DATE

Because so many major changes in town planning occurred during the first 100 years of London's existence, doubts have been expressed about the purpose of the building here identified as the first forum. The latest publication on the subject was by Brian Philp, who concluded that the first forum, or the 'proto-forum' as he called it, was built during the decade following the Boudiccan destruction of A.D. 60.<sup>65</sup> Based on this John Wachter wrote 'to suggest that it was a forum implies a municipal status for London which, in all probability, it did not possess so early'.<sup>66</sup> Wachter then suggested that it was perhaps the *tabularium Caesaris* of the *procurator*, since it does not have the refinement of a governor's palace. Indeed comparison with the plans of palaces such as those at Aquincum,<sup>67</sup> Cologne, Dura Europos and London shows that the 'proto-forum' had none of the characteristics of a palace. Brian Philp correctly stated, however, that 'had this structure appeared in any other Romano-British town it would unhesitatingly have been identified as the forum'.<sup>68</sup> The problem of identification therefore does not rest in the plan of building, but with its date, since it is believed to be too early. In fact, a study of all the dating evidence shows that the building must be later than Philp suggested, and since the building has now been more accurately plotted it even more closely resembles a normal forum and basilica.

What, then, is the dating evidence for the construction of the building? Philp says that his evidence is 'mostly circumstantial', as indeed it is. He records some eight samian ware sherds of pre-Flavian date in three deposits contemporary with the construction of the building,<sup>69</sup> and since two of these deposits were apparently earlier clays which had been re-dumped to fill a foundation trench and level the land beside the 'proto-forum', it is unlikely that the objects in them will be contemporary with the construction of the building. They merely serve to show that the building was constructed after the Boudiccan destruction of A.D. 60.

There is little doubt however that the building is Flavian, since better dating evidence was found in 1935 by Frank Cottrill.<sup>70</sup> He discovered a pit containing Flavian pottery

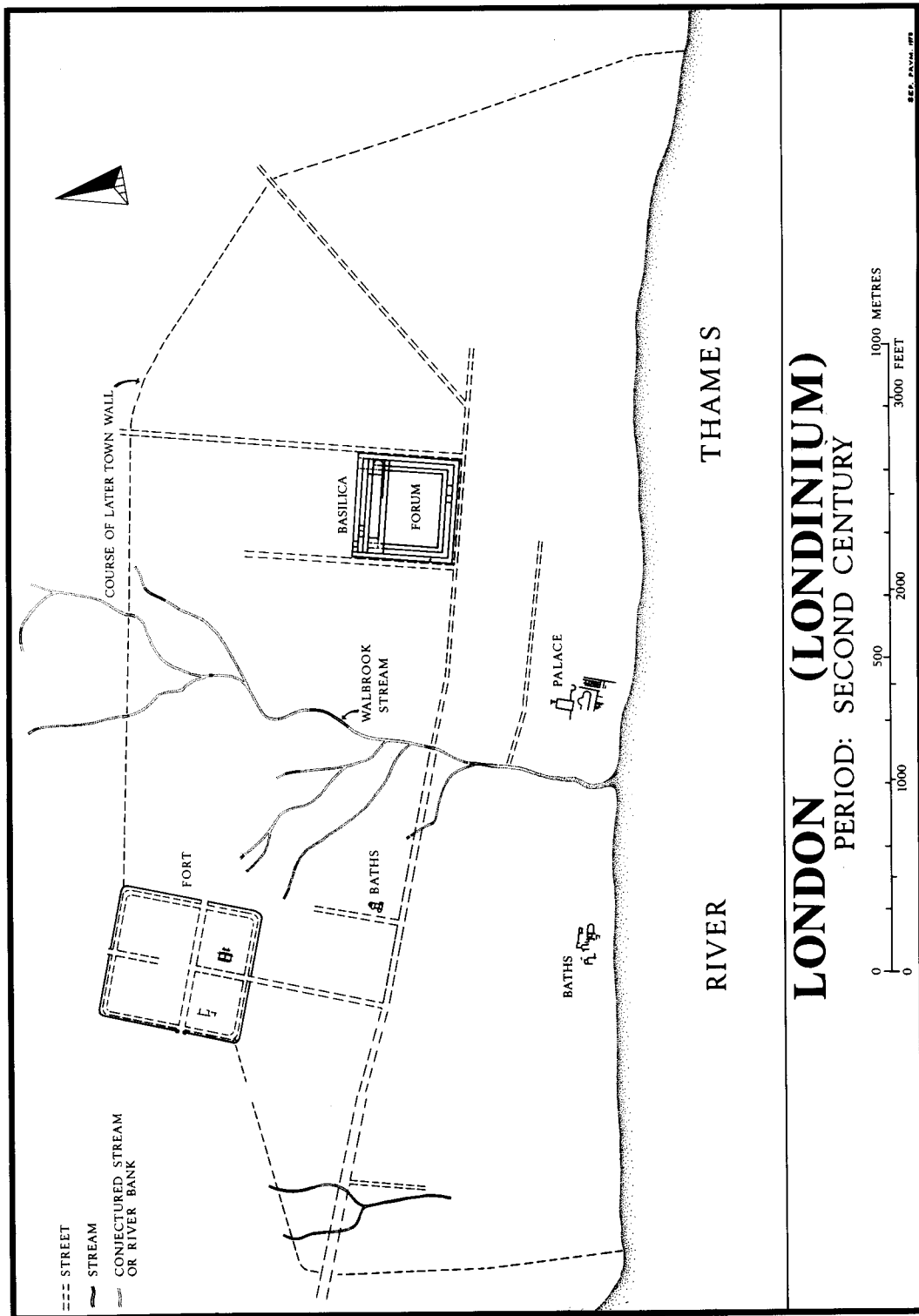


Fig. 5 Plan of Londinium during the 2nd century.

that had been cut by a wall of the building. Although the pottery was not published, the characteristics of Flavian pottery were well known in the 1930's and there is no reason to doubt the date.

The pit helps to explain a curious interpretation given for the evidence found in 1969.<sup>71</sup> It seems that before the 'proto-forum' was built the site of the building may have been levelled using clay and other compact materials, since firm deposits were necessary to avoid subsidence beneath the floors of the new building. East of the building, however, Philp found dumps of rubbish, which did not extend under the building, but which were overlain by the narrow road flanking the east side of the building. As these dumps were of mid-Flavian date, and therefore much later than his dating of the 'proto-forum', he concluded that the ground immediately to the east of the building had not been developed for many years after the completion of the building. In other words he suggested that it was waste land upon which rubbish had been gradually dumped over a period of years well into the Flavian period, not only immediately beside the 'proto-forum' but also in full view of the main east west street of the Roman city.<sup>72</sup>

This is an unlikely situation since it is difficult to believe that the completion of the forum did not also include the construction of a flanking street, from which could be viewed the architectural pretensions of the building represented both by the portico along the main street, and by the decorative elements on the remaining sides indicated by the regular buttress-like projections. Surely the date of the rubbish layers merely confirms the evidence of the pit found in 1935 to show that the forum was built about the middle of the Flavian period.

This conclusion, however, opens up a new problem, for Philp places the date of construction of the second forum to the end of the 1st century. Considerable dumps of soil and rubbish had been deposited to build up the land level for the second forum, and on this site these contained 'not a single coin or sherd' later than about A.D. 100.<sup>73</sup> This cut-off date was interpreted as reflecting the period during which the second forum was built.

Once again this seems to have been merely a *terminus post quem*, as there is evidence that the second forum was completed not earlier than the reign of Hadrian. The evidence, not yet published, was recovered from the site of All Hallows Church, Lombard Street, by Adrian Oswald in 1939.<sup>74</sup> On that site he apparently found a white cement floor, presumably of the second forum, which overlay the demolished walls of the first forum. Beneath the floor was a dump of builders rubbish two feet thick which contained pottery, the latest samian ware sherd of which was dateable to the period Hadrian-Antonine. The floor lay flush against a pier in the mortar of which was found a *quadrans* of Hadrian in excellent condition. On this basis it would seem that the second forum could not have been built before the reign of Hadrian.

Although the evidence to date the second forum is not clear there seems to be little doubt that the building was erected at some time during the 2nd century, and that its predecessor, which was built during the Flavian period, was indeed a forum and a basilica. Much of the confusion and uncertainty relating to all these Roman phases in the Gracechurch Street area results from the lack of full publication of many investigations, including those made in 1880/81 by Henry Hodge, and towards this end a comprehensive study is being prepared for publication in the near future.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, 3, *Roman London* (1928) 27. I wish to record here my thanks to Sara Paton who prepared the drawings that accompany this paper.
- <sup>2</sup> R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965) 30.
- <sup>3</sup> R. A. Smith 'Romano-British London' in W. Page ed. *The Victoria County History of London* 1 (London, 1909) 42.
- <sup>4</sup> R.C.H.M. *loc. cit.* in note 1.
- <sup>5</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 2, 34.
- <sup>6</sup> H. Chapman and T. Johnson 'Excavations at Aldgate and Bush Lane House in the City of London, 1972' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 24 (1973) 60–62; B. Cunliffe *Fifth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent* Rep. Res. Com. Soc. Antiq. London No. 23 (1968) 234–237; B. Cunliffe *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961–1969* Rep. Res. Com. Soc. Antiq. London No. 26. 1 (1971) 38–41.
- <sup>7</sup> B. Philp 'The Forum of Roman London: Excavations of 1968–9' *Britannia* 8 (1977) 9–15.
- <sup>8</sup> Chapman *op. cit.* in note 6, 5–6.
- <sup>9</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 7–9, 33–35.
- <sup>10</sup> Cassius Dio *Roman History* LX. 20.
- <sup>11</sup> R. Merrifield *Roman London* (London, 1969) 22.
- <sup>12</sup> Cunliffe *op. cit.* in note 6, 237.
- <sup>13</sup> J. Wachter *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London, 1974) 87.
- <sup>14</sup> S. Frere *Britannia* (London (Cardinal ed.), 1974) 91.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 87. See also P. Crummy 'Colchester, Fortress and Colonia' *Britannia* 8 (1977) 65–105.
- <sup>16</sup> Tacitus *Annales* XIV. 33.
- <sup>17</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 2, 81–84, 135.
- <sup>18</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 3.
- <sup>19</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 2, 140.
- <sup>20</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 11, 81.
- <sup>21</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, Fig. 9.
- <sup>22</sup> P. Marsden 'Archaeological finds in the City of London, 1961' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 21 pt. 1 (1963) 74–75.
- <sup>23</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 35.
- <sup>24</sup> W. R. Lethaby *Londinium, architecture and the crafts* (London, 1923) 41.
- <sup>25</sup> G. C. Dunning 'Two fires of Roman London' *Antiq. J.* 25 (1945) 49–71.
- <sup>26</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 2, 89–92.
- <sup>27</sup> P. Marsden 'Archaeological finds in the City of London 1963–4' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 21 pt. 3 (1967) 211, Fig. 13, section E-F.
- <sup>28</sup> P. Marsden 'Some discoveries in the City of London 1954–9' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 22 pt. 1 (1968) 32–36.
- <sup>29</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 17.
- <sup>30</sup> Tacitus *loc. cit.* in note 16.
- <sup>31</sup> B. Philp, for example, records only five sherds from the fire debris on the Fenchurch Street site (Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 45, 55). The absence of finds is a personal observation on several sites, and was recently confirmed by A. Boddington on a forum site at the corner of Lime Street and Fenchurch Street where no Boudiccan pottery was found.
- <sup>32</sup> Excavation by A. Boddington for D.U.A., report forthcoming. Also Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 2, 38 and 27a (site 293).
- <sup>33</sup> R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* 1 (Oxford, 1965) No. 9.
- <sup>34</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 16–17.
- <sup>35</sup> Frere *op. cit.* in note 14, 110.
- <sup>36</sup> F. Lambert 'Recent Roman discoveries in London' *Archaeologia* 66 (1915) 225–235.
- <sup>37</sup> Marsden *op. cit.* in note 27, 208–213.
- <sup>38</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 11, 81.
- <sup>39</sup> Wachter *op. cit.* in note 13, 91.
- <sup>40</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 35–37.
- <sup>41</sup> M. Hebditch and J. Mellor 'The forum and basilica of Roman Leicester' *Britannia* 4 (1973) 1–83.
- <sup>42</sup> D. Atkinson *Excavations at Wroxeter in the County of Salop, 1923–27* (Oxford, 1942).
- <sup>43</sup> R. G. Goodchild 'The origins of the Romano-British Forum' *Antiquity* 20 no. 77 (1946) 70–77.
- <sup>44</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 23–24.
- <sup>45</sup> Marsden *op. cit.* in note 27, 211, Fig. 13, section E-F.
- <sup>46</sup> Marsden *op. cit.* in note 28, 32–36; Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 2, 278, site 289.
- <sup>47</sup> Marsden *loc. cit.* in note 45.
- <sup>48</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 40.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>50</sup> W. Maitland *The History and Survey of London* 1 (London, 1755) 17.
- <sup>51</sup> C. Roach Smith 'On some late discoveries in Roman London' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 1 (1860) 32.
- <sup>52</sup> Lambert *loc. cit.* in note 36.
- <sup>53</sup> Page *op. cit.* in note 3, 1–146.
- <sup>54</sup> Lambert *loc. cit.* in note 36.
- <sup>55</sup> Lethaby *loc. cit.* in note 24.
- <sup>56</sup> R.C.H.M. *op. cit.* in note 1, 35–42.
- <sup>57</sup> W. Martin 'Roman remains: Lombard Street–Gracechurch Street' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* n.s. 5 pt. 3 (1926) 321.
- <sup>58</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 2, 136–140.
- <sup>59</sup> MS records in Museum of London.
- <sup>60</sup> *J. Roman Stud.* 21 (1931) 236–238.
- <sup>61</sup> P. Marsden 'Archaeological finds in the City of London, 1966–68' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 22 pt. 2 (1969) 16–18.
- <sup>62</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 24–28, 37–43.
- <sup>63</sup> *Current Archaeol.* 5 (1977) 370–371.
- <sup>64</sup> R. Whittington 'St. Peter's Church, Cornhill' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 4 (1875) 301.
- <sup>65</sup> B. Philp in *Kent Archaeol. Rev.* 16 (May 1969) 4 ff., and *op. cit.* in note 7, 19.
- <sup>66</sup> Wachter *op. cit.* in note 13, 91.
- <sup>67</sup> A. Boëthius and J. B. Ward-Perkins *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1970) 364–365.
- <sup>68</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 36.
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* 18.
- <sup>70</sup> *J. Roman Stud.* 25 (1935) 215.
- <sup>71</sup> Philp *op. cit.* in note 7, 22.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* 22.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 26.
- <sup>74</sup> MS records in Museum of London.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am particularly grateful to Sara Paton, John Maloney and Vanessa Mead for their help and painstaking efforts to help accurately plot the Roman structures.



# THE WATER SUPPLY OF LONDINIUM

JOHN WACHER

An encyclopaedic knowledge of Roman London must be reckoned among Ralph Merrifield's many and varied qualities. If he and I have not always seen eye-to-eye over matters of interpretation it is no fault of his, and it is with this in mind that I can, with a clear conscience, dedicate to him a short note on one of the less well-ventilated aspects of London's archaeology, in grateful appreciation for the help which he has often, with characteristic generosity, given me in the past.

As with most major towns of the empire, the existence of one or more aqueducts, providing fresh, running water to *Londinium*, is suspected, although the lines have never been established. But other sources were also tapped. Use was made of many wells dug through the gravel capping of the hills, on which the city stands, into the water-bearing strata beneath. In at least one case springs rising inside the boundaries were fed into a reservoir for subsequent use in a bath-house, while it is to be assumed that the Walbrook and its many tributaries, before they ultimately silted up in the late second century, were also used, since most rose outside the town to the north and, in the extra-mural lengths, may have been relatively unpolluted.

Sections of wooden water-pipe, together with the iron junctions for uniting lengths, have been found on the Bank of England site and near the Walbrook (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> They were rectangular in cross-section (127 mm. by 177 mm.) with circular holes (51 mm. in diameter) bored through the middle. Such holes were presumably made with a large hand auger, and indicate the excellent equipment of contemporary carpenters, who must have possessed accurate centering devices and augers of the requisite diameter with shafts of considerable length. The junctions, approximately 76 mm. in diameter, were circular iron bands, 76 mm. wide, with the metal tapering outwards from the centre to form sharp edges, which could thus be hammered into the opposing faces of two lengths of pipe so as to form a water-tight join around the central hole.

The laborious processes needed to produce such pipes largely precludes their being used for any purpose except that of carrying fresh, running water. Their comparatively small capacity would render them unsuitable as drain-pipes, especially as more readily available materials would normally be to hand; their enclosed nature makes them unsuitable for collecting surface water from buildings or streets. That being so, it is probably right to equate their presence in London with an aqueduct bringing running water to a distribution point in the town, from which such pipes would carry supplies to subsidiary users. Although the pipes themselves do not often survive, numerous examples of channels containing the iron junctions are known from urban sites in Britain,<sup>2</sup> and they clearly formed one of the commonest means of distributing fresh water to low-capacity consumers.

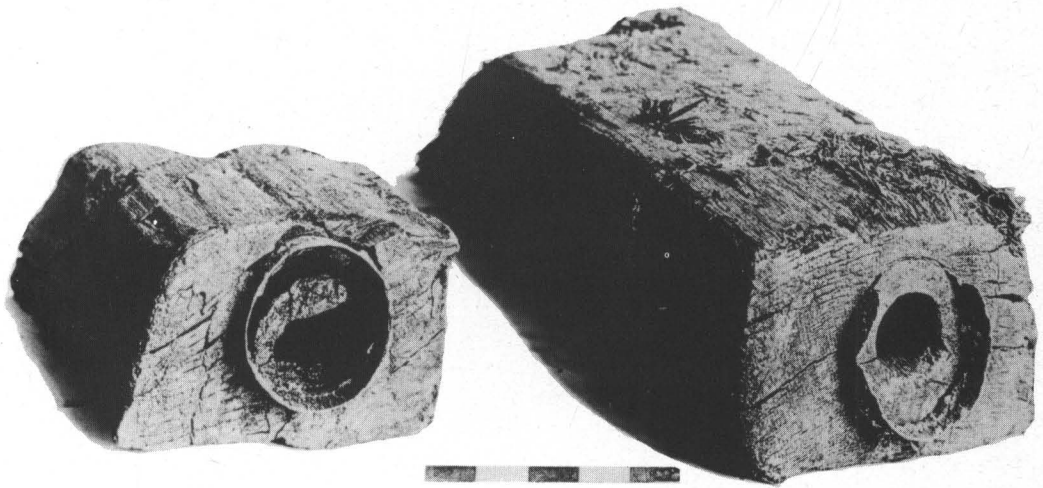


Fig. 1 Fragments of oak water-pipes with iron junctions. From the site of the Bank of England, 1927.

It is difficult to envisage the course of an aqueduct which served London, and, indeed, it is doubtful if one alone would have sufficed, because of the fall in ground level between the two main hills on which the city stands. Moreover, further areas of lower-lying ground separate the twin hills of the city from the water-bearing heights to the north. Any water would, therefore, have to be carried over this ground either on a raised structure, or in a closed channel or pipe, as at Lincoln,<sup>3</sup> or Lyons.<sup>4</sup> But there are several suitable sources at no great distance on the hills of Hampstead and Highgate, which would have provided an adequate head of water for a gravity flow. Certainly the place at which the Bank of England pipe was found lies not far from one of the highest points within the walls, where a distribution system might well be centred.

An alternative source of supply, as already indicated, may be envisaged in the various streams which ran through the walled area from north to south. But in general, although such streams would have been a useful addition to the water supply, particularly, owing to likely pollution within the walls, for industrial or non-domestic purposes, their level was too low for water to be carried by gravity from them to higher points inside the town. Nevertheless, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility for water to have been raised by mechanical equipment, such as pumps or water-wheels, in the way that must be postulated for the supply of running water to Leicester.<sup>5</sup> It may seem strange that nothing has been found of what may well have been a comparatively sophisticated system of water-supply. But it should be remembered that, although a case can be made for every major town in Roman Britain to have had access to running water from an aqueduct, the lines of only four urban aqueducts are yet known, and then not always with complete certainty or for their full lengths. It is even more surprising when it is realised that these lines can often be predicted with some accuracy and that the number of possibilities must be severely restricted by the lie of the ground and the relative positions of available sources and the town.

It is clear, however, that, despite the likely existence of one or more sources of running water derived from beyond the walls, a great deal of *Londinium's* water was obtained from wells and springs situated within them, as was the case with many other towns in Britain as favourably placed for harnessing such supplies. Perhaps the most notable example is the large Flavian bath-house on Huggin Hill,<sup>6</sup> which was served from large cisterns, terraced like itself into the hillside facing the Thames. The cisterns were filled by water draining out along the horizontal gravel-clay interface of the hill behind them. The system demonstrates how the maximum use was made of water resources which had, perhaps, only been discovered accidentally during the construction work.

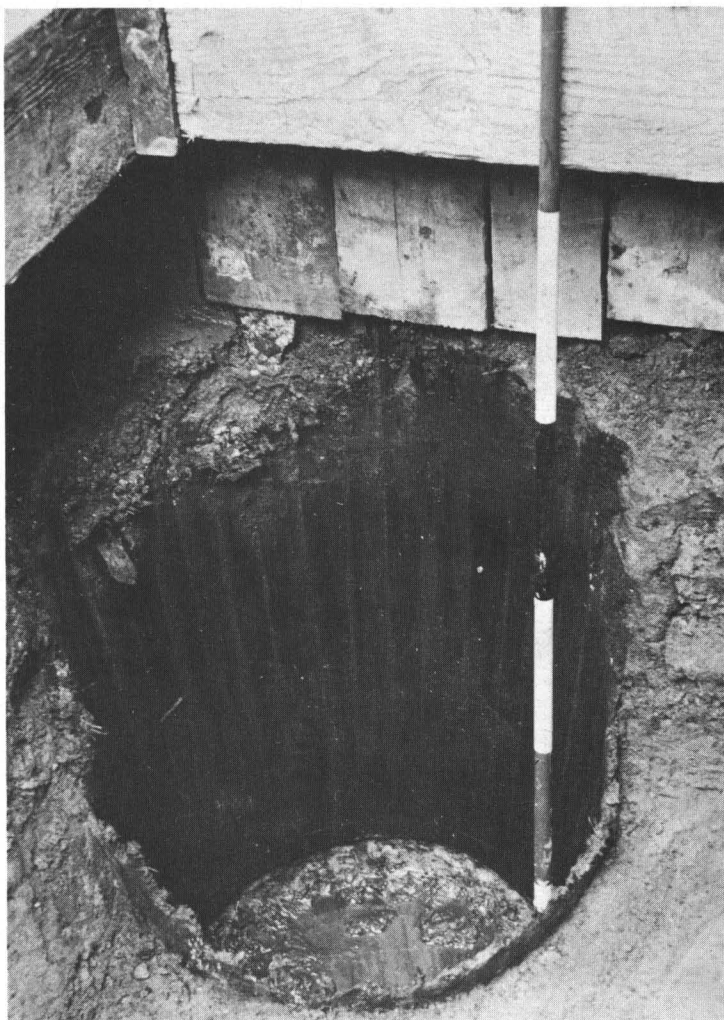


(Museum of London)

Fig. 2 Square Roman well. From the site of the Bank of London and South America, Queen Street, 1953–1954.

The incidence of wells in London is very high, and they have often been observed in the course of modern building construction as the only features deep enough to survive it. They varied in size, in shape, and in structural materials. In most cases, the upper parts were either square (Fig. 2), with carefully jointed wooden linings, or circular (Fig. 3), in which case barrels with tops and bottoms knocked out were used to line them. In one the two methods were used in conjunction, while in another two barrels, one above the other, were used. Below the upper work, which in some instances may be suspected of having supported a well-housing and a winch, they were usually circular and rarely lined, although one near the Walbrook had a lining of chalk rubble, which might possibly have

helped to purify the water by neutralising acids introduced by seepage from cess-pits. Despite knowledge of pollution generally in the Roman world, wells were sometimes dug in the vicinity of latrines.



*(Museum of London)*

Fig. 3 Roman barrel well. From the site of the Bank of London and South America, Queen Street, 1953–1954.

One area in particular, around Queen Street, seems to have been continuously used for the supply of water.<sup>7</sup> No less than twenty-one wells, of both main types, have been observed, and it may be that the vicinity was used to supply the public. Alternatively, we might be reminded of the practice of the grouping together of the practitioners of certain industries which depended on a copious supply of water, such as fulling, and suggest such a use here.

It is to be hoped that the foregoing account, though brief, will indicate areas in which further work is required to understand more fully the problems relating to the supply of water to *Londinium*. But it should perhaps be emphasised that drainage is the counterpart of supply and should be considered as an integral part of the problem. It is often possible to indicate, from a study of the lay-out and the falls of drainage systems, where the source of supply lies, or even, in the case of large capacity sewers, such as those at Lincoln or Leicester, whether there is copious running water or not and hence the existence of an aqueduct.

One last point is worth making as a derivative from the study of wells. If all the environmental evidence from the water-logged deposits, contained in the large number known in London, had received adequate study, we should now possess an even more comprehensive picture of the flora of a major town than we have for Silchester. It is to be hoped that this gap in our knowledge, which could contribute much to our recognition of the visual appearance of *Londinium*, can be filled before too long.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *London in Roman Times* London Museum Catalogue No. 3 (1930), 39; W. F. Grimes *The Excavation of Roman and Mediaeval London* (London, 1968) 96.
- <sup>2</sup> Cf. *Verulamium*: S. S. Frere 'Excavations at Verulamium, 1959' *Antiq. J.* 40 (1960) 19; Cirencester: J. S. Wacher 'Cirencester, 1960' *Antiq. J.* 41 (1961) 66; Caerwent: T. Asby *et. al.* 'Excavations at Caerwent . . . 1901-1903' *Archaeologia* 59 (1904) 93-94; Silchester: W. H. St. John Hope 'Excavations . . . Silchester, Hants, in 1902' *Archaeologia* 58 (1903) 419; Lincoln: *Britannia* 5 (1974) 422, to mention but five examples.
- <sup>3</sup> F. H. Thompson 'The Roman Aqueduct at Lincoln' *Archaeol. J.* 111 (1954) 106 ff.; J. S. Wacher *Towns of Roman Britain* (London, 1975) 126-131.
- <sup>4</sup> C. G. de Montauzan *Les aqueducs antiques de Lyon* (Paris, 1909).
- <sup>5</sup> Wacher *op. cit.* in note 3, 343-346.
- <sup>6</sup> *J. Roman Stud.* 55 (1965) 215.
- <sup>7</sup> R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965) 214-215.

# SOME REFLECTIONS OF GREEK SCULPTURE AND PAINTING IN ROMAN ART FROM LONDON

MARTIN HENIG

(Unless otherwise stated, dates are B.C.)

In discussing the religious beliefs of the inhabitants of *Londinium*, Ralph Merrifield draws attention to the prominence of foreign elements and the relative paucity of evidence for the practice of native, Celtic, cults.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the population — or rather that part of it which was capable of leaving epigraphic and artistic records — was firmly romanising in its tastes and aspirations. No doubt, as Tacitus implies in the much cited twenty-first chapter of his *Agricola*, London was not alone in the level of its culture, but it was surely larger than *Verulamium* and the two cities of Cogidubnus' realm, and the population must have been more cosmopolitan in character than the *colonia* at *Camulodunum* which may have ceased to be even the nominal capital of the province at about the time of which he was writing. If we wish to sample the quality of *Roman* civilisation in Britain from one site alone, London is thus the ideal choice. I have not hesitated to include the occasional piece of evidence from beyond the city limits wherever appropriate as, in any case, London had a vital function as a point for distribution of art-objects as well as of other products.

It is obvious that Roman art was derived from Greek art, and few scholars would now disagree that in certain fields such as portraiture the hellenic tradition remained vigorous and effective throughout the Roman period. Other areas of Graeco-Roman art were more static, but nevertheless even as copyists sculptors performed a valuable holding-action whereby the creations of the classical age were saved and transmitted to posterity. Obviously it is far easier to demonstrate the links between Greece and Rome from the prolific finds made in the Aegean world, Italy, North Africa and Narbonese Gaul than from those in a remote province in north-western Europe, but we must not forget *Agricola*'s own early training in Greek philosophy at the university city of Massilia, or the dedications of Demetrius — probably the *grammaticus* Demetrius of Tarsus, an acquaintance of Plutarch — to the gods of the governor's residence and to Ocean and Tethys at York.<sup>2</sup> Greek art could now come to Britain as readily as Greek ideas, and even Italian, Gaulish and local work is hereafter touched by hellenic concepts of form and aesthetics.

The majority of Graeco-Roman works of art lack exact pedigree; their 'Greek' ancestry is shown by their adherence to natural form. A delightful intaglio (Fig. 1) which portrays

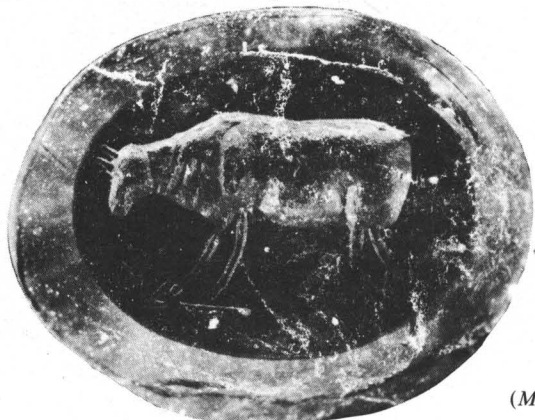


a heifer about to browse on a tussock of grass, from the posting station of *Sulloniacae* near Stanmore, north-west of London, is typical.<sup>3</sup> The 5th-century sculptor Myron made a magnificent statue of a similar animal which was widely celebrated in verse of which the following poem by Antipater of Sidon (1st century B.C.) is characteristic.<sup>4</sup>

'If Myron had not fixed my feet to this stone I would have gone to pasture with the other cows.'

Another epigram, attributed to Plato, assesses the quality of a gemstone representing cattle by the same yardstick — verisimilitude.<sup>5</sup>

'The little jasper stone is carved with five cows all looking alive as they feed. Perhaps they would run away, but now the little herd is confined in the golden pen.'



(Museum of London)

Fig. 1 Intaglio from *Sulloniacae*, Brockley Hill, portraying a heifer ( $\times 5$ )

Whether or not the *Sulloniacae* gem shows Myron's cow, we are justified in seeing here an attempt to create a small-scale masterpiece in full accord with Greek canons of taste. A similar animal study which betrays a Greek feeling for natural form is the red jasper intaglio found at Moorgate and portraying a charging boar (Fig. 2). The appearance of its exact counterpart on a native British silver coin (of Epaticcus) shows that the conception is at least as early as the beginning of the 1st century A.D., but in fact the naturalistic treatment of the creature's body is so close to the boars on Graeco-Persian gems that we are justified in accepting a continuous tradition.<sup>6</sup>



(Martin Henig)

Fig. 2 Intaglio from Moorgate portraying a charging boar ( $\times 5$ )

Another subject found very generally in the Greek and Roman world is Nike (Victory) driving in a chariot. A red jasper intaglio excavated just beyond the present boundary of Greater London, at Sandy Lodge between Northwood and Rickmansworth, portrays the goddess driving a four-horse team (Fig. 3). It is very like a western Greek signet of 5th-century date in general composition, although the mood of the Roman Victory and her team is altogether more restrained.<sup>7</sup>



(Martin Henig)

Fig. 3 Intaglio from Sandy Lodge, Hertfordshire portraying Victory driving a chariot ( $\times 5$ )

If Roman art is often based on Greek prototypes, variations in attribute, and even changes in a figure's sex, give a new interest to certain compositions; a Roman statue frequently has a completely different meaning from its prototype. Two examples may be noted amongst recent finds from Southwark and the City of London respectively. The former is a statuette of a male huntsman, wearing a short tunic and a belt which holds an eagle-headed knife or short sword. On his head is a Phrygian cap and he clasps a bow in his left hand; a deer stands at his right side and a hound at his left.<sup>8</sup> The identity of the figure is problematic. He may be Atys, although other explanations are possible. My own suggestion is that the figure is Aeneas, who as a Trojan wears a Phrygian cap (as, for example, on the Grand Camée de France) and as the progenitor of the Roman State might surely be endowed with the *parazonium* of the emperor; we may note that the tetrarchs in St. Mark's Square, Venice each wear a similar sword.<sup>9</sup> As Ralph Merrifield has already pointed out, the same figure appears on an altar from Goldsmiths' Hall, long held to portray Diana, and as a statue from Bevis Marks which has been published as Atys.<sup>10</sup> In formal terms it seems that these are probably Roman-period adaptations of a Hellenistic statue showing Artemis running and also taking an arrow from her quiver.<sup>11</sup> The hound (Southwark; Goldsmiths' Hall) and deer (Southwark) certainly belong to her, as does the bow carried by all three figures. An interesting parallel to the use of a Diana as a prototype for a male deity is provided by a gem from Canterbury which depicts Bonus Eventus in the manner of this running Artemis, although here it is the arm movements rather than the leg action which has been lost.<sup>12</sup>

An equally enigmatic find is the relief discovered re-used as building material in the late riverside wall at Blackfriars.<sup>13</sup> It portrays four seated women, three of them certainly Matres. Like the group discovered in the last century near St. Olave, Hart Street they are shown frontally and with studied formality.<sup>14</sup> The pose is reminiscent of the classicising 4th-century statue of Demeter found at Knidos and now in the British Museum.<sup>15</sup>



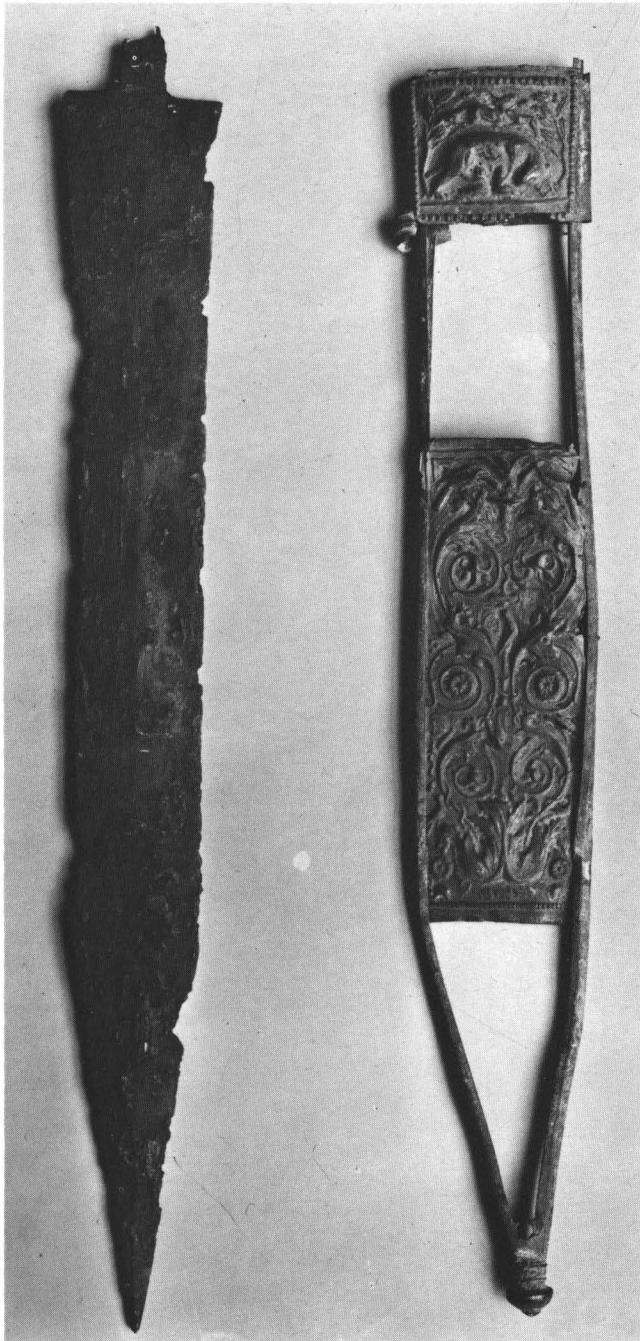
Although the cult of the Matres had a Celtic, probably Rhenish, origin it was given a Roman guise which meant that the types for the goddesses had to be borrowed from Greek Art, and what could be more appropriate than a corn goddess and goddess of fertility such as Demeter. The fourth goddess in the Blackfriars group suckles a child and has been interpreted by Ralph Merrifield as a deified empress. She is seated in a more relaxed manner than the other figures with a child comfortably perched on her left knee. Her head is slightly turned towards the right. Here is, surely, more than a reminiscence of Tellus or Italia as she is portrayed on one of the panels of Ara Pacis, a work that combines Alexandrian panache and inventive use of allegory with serene Augustan classicism.<sup>16</sup>

Not much Alexandrian work of this quality survives, but the Tazza Farnese, now in Naples, a large cameo-cup of about the 2nd century, was certainly carved in Egypt.<sup>17</sup> In place of Tellus, the central position is taken by a reclining female figure, Isis or Euthenia (the wife of Nilus), perhaps representing the Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra I and so a close parallel to the Blackfriars 'Dea Nutrix'. Behind her and to the right is an elderly bearded man leaning against a tree-trunk who must be Nilus. Reclining river-gods familiar from Roman-period art are almost certainly later creations. The famous statue of the Nile in the Vatican is either the original or is very close to the original of the type which is clearly Alexandrian but perhaps created for Augustus or one of his successors.<sup>18</sup> It owes a very great deal, especially in the face and long beard and in the heavy musculature of the chest, to the earlier hellenistic 'Tazza Farnese' type but is certainly more than a mere pastiche. A small marble figure of a river-god based on the reclining Nilus, was found in the 19th century by the Walbrook, not far from the Mithraeum. It is thought to date to the middle of the 2nd century A.D. and was presumably imported from Italy.<sup>19</sup>

The influence of Alexandrian hellenism is discernible in two other works found in the Mithraeum. The bust of Serapis is derived from the early 3rd-century cult statue created by Bryaxis the Younger, although the coiffure of the Walbrook head with its fore-locks may be a later, Antonine, adaptation; the carving out of the eyes is an indication of such a date.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, the spirit of the piece is certainly hellenistic, and the extremely rich treatment of the cascading locks of hair and full moustache is comparable with that of the Laokoon in the Vatican (which could be an Augustan or Tiberian adaptation of a 3rd- or 2nd-century statue).<sup>21</sup>

The other object from the London Mithraeum is a silver casket, cast and chased in relief with representations of men fighting beasts as well as with animals fighting each other.<sup>22</sup> Like the nilotic scenes on the famous mosaic from the great religious complex at Palestrina, landscape elements are intruded more as aids to the imagination than as attempts to provide literal verisimilitude.<sup>23</sup> The presence of a typically Egyptian motif of ichneumon and serpent as well as the presence of hippopotami and an elephant suggest that the scenes on the casket were taken from the work of some Alexandrian topographical painter.<sup>24</sup> Whether, of course, compositions such as the Palestrina mosaic and the Walbrook casket, which certainly employ a sort of visual shorthand, are to be taken as examples of Petronius' *Ars Compendiariae* or whether this term is rather a reference to some form of impressionism is one of the most vexed questions in Roman archaeology.<sup>25</sup>

All metalwork is portable and nothing more so than a sword scabbard. A beautiful example found at Fulham (Fig. 4) and now in the British Museum is dated to the reign of Augustus and was probably lost soon after the invasion of A.D. 43.<sup>26</sup> The body of the



*(British Museum)*

Fig. 4 Roman sword and scabbard from Fulham  
(Length of scabbard 522 mm.)

scabbard is ornamented with acanthus scrollwork inhabited by small animals very much in the manner of the screen wall of Ara Pacis.<sup>27</sup> The similarity even extends to the presence of birds standing on top of the scrolls like the swans shown on the great Augustan monument. Ara Pacis is Greek work, frequently ascribed to Pergamene artists, although the commission was executed according to the clear dictates of Roman patronage. Similar acanthus scrollwork is found in the borders of the early hellenistic mosaics at Pella and — even more apposite — on the body of the fine silver-gilt amphora from Chertomlyk in South Russia where, indeed, doves are shown perching on the tendrils.<sup>28</sup> As Mansel Spratling has pointed out to me, similar ornament must have influenced the Celtic craftsman responsible for the curvilinear design of the circular shield-boss from Wandsworth which incorporates much attenuated bird heads.<sup>29</sup>

If the most exciting works of art from London belong to the end of a living, hellenistic tradition the predominant taste was for reproductions and adaptations of 4th-century sculpture. This is only to be expected from what we know about Roman taste in Italy. As early as the 1st century B.C. artists were turning away from the disturbing visions and daring experimentation of the previous age back to the ordered beauty of classical art. However, predictably, most favoured the rather sentimental and self-conscious beauty of Praxiteles rather than the severe and intellectually demanding qualities of Pheidias.<sup>30</sup>



(Crown copyright)

Fig. 5 Intaglio from Tower of London portraying Athena Parthenos (× 5)

It is instructive to see how 'High Classical' conceptions were treated in Roman times. A red jasper intaglio (Fig. 5), found during recent excavations on the site of the riverside wall at the Tower of London, portrays Athena Parthenos.<sup>31</sup> She holds a little Nike (Victory) on her right hand and supports a spear and shield with her left hand. The serpent which accompanies her is not, as in the 'Varvakeion' statuette, represented beside

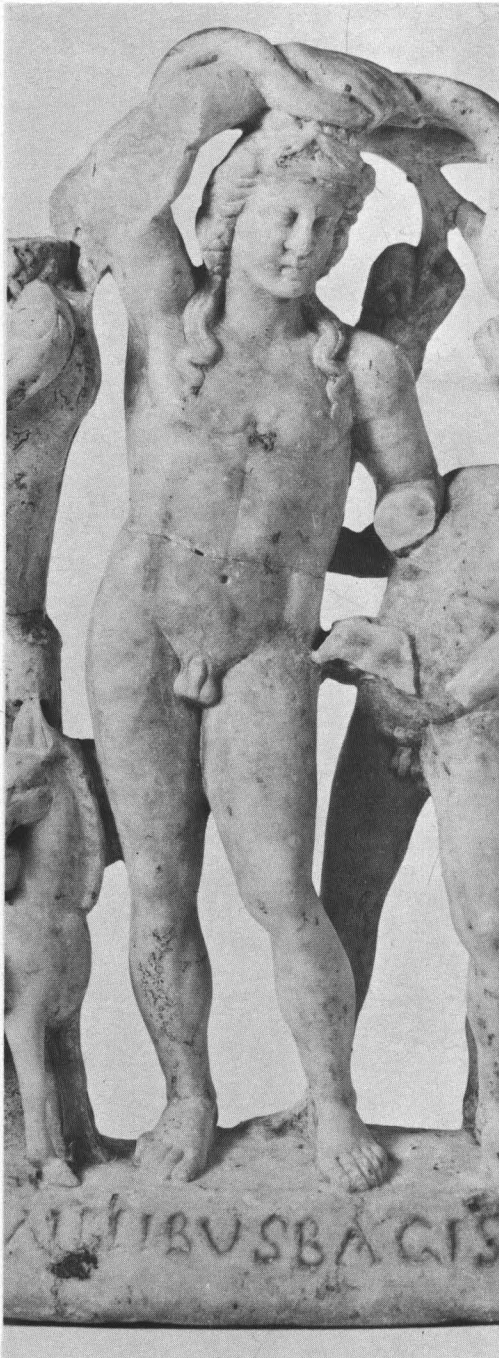
the shield but on the other side, below Nike. However, a scaraboid from Kourion, dated shortly after Pheidias' statue, proves that this variation was based on an early tradition.<sup>32</sup> Most Roman-period gems showing Athena leave out the snake altogether and our stone is certainly the best approximation to the famous cult image in Britain and perhaps brings us closer to the spirit of 5th-century Athens than any other work of art from Roman London.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, when it is compared with the Kourion intaglio the loss of monumentality is very apparent. The head no longer faces the spectator but looks downwards towards Nike, while the body has acquired a certain sinuosity especially in the exaggerated turn of the left leg. Grandeur has given way to prettiness and introspection.



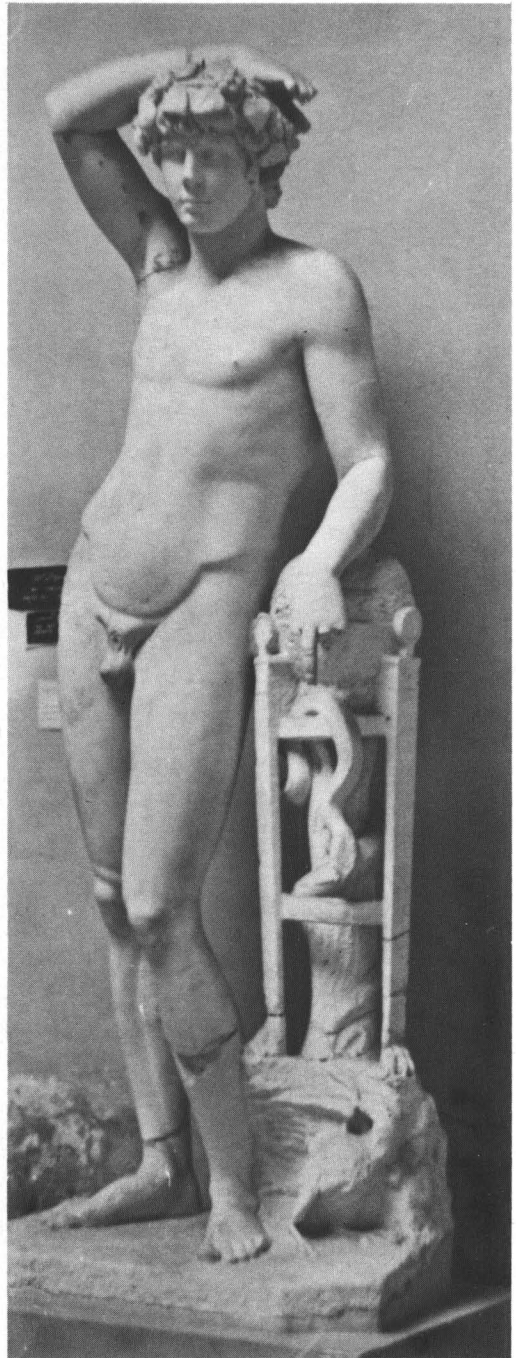
*(Martin Henig)*

Fig. 6 Intaglio from River Walbrook showing Theseus ( $\times 5$ )

Another jasper, found in the Walbrook, shows Theseus standing with the weight of his body supported on his right leg and his left leg flexed (Fig. 6). As I stated in my original, somewhat over-enthusiastic, publication, the type clearly owes much to Polykleitos,<sup>34</sup> but the change of attribute from a spear to a sword, and the pathetic downward turn to the head show us that this is by no means an exact copy of the *Doryphoros*. The spirit of the work is certainly later than the mid-5th century and it is possible that it represents a 4th-century statue of Theseus by Silanion of which little is otherwise known.<sup>35</sup> Another statue by Polykleitos depicted an athlete binding his hair, and a bronze figurine from the Thames showing a fillet-binder holding a mirror is in part a reminiscence of this 5th-century masterpiece.<sup>36</sup> For all that, the pose is more subtle and relaxed and is closer in feeling to the sweet and effeminate youth of the bronze statue found in the sea off Marathon which might even be a work of Praxiteles himself.<sup>37</sup>



(Museum of London)



(Mark Redknap)

Fig. 7 (left) Detail of Bacchus from group from Walbrook Mithraeum (Height 340 mm.)  
 (right) Marble statue from Leptis Magna showing the Lycian Apollo type used for a representation of Antinous-Dionysos.



Other Praxitelean works from London include a figurine of Mercury, based on the Hermes of Andros, and another of Apollo, both from the Thames.<sup>38</sup> More important is the marble Bacchus group from the Walbrook Mithraeum.<sup>39</sup> The god (Fig. 7) stands with his right hand held over his head, apparently holding a serpent; his left hand is broken off but may have held a wine-cup. The head and body are youthful, and in general the type approximates to a figure of a satyr pouring wine, apparently mentioned by Pausanias as standing in Athens in a temple dedicated to Dionysos.<sup>40</sup> Roman copies of the satyr are known and of one of them Gisela Richter writes, 'It has [Praxiteles'] gentleness and restraint, the composition and style are Praxitelean of an early period before he reached his maturity . . .'.<sup>41</sup> It is not surprising to find the type of the satyr used for the god himself and as a matter of fact, it came to be employed in representations of Apollo as well.<sup>42</sup>



*(Museum of London)*

Fig. 8 Bronze figurine of Demeter from the Thames  
(Height 72 mm.)

Another 4th-century sculptor, Lysippos, introduced a remarkable feeling for movement into his work. The marble figurine of Mercury seated upon his rock from the Walbrook Mithraeum does not do justice to its prototype, and Jocelyn Toynbee is surely right in describing it as 'a typical example of Graeco-Roman *genre* art as applied to a religious theme'.<sup>43</sup> A bronze figurine of Demeter (Fig. 8) found in the Thames is better.<sup>44</sup> There is a noticeable twist to the body and the *himation*, pulled tight against the legs but sagging more loosely over the figure's lap, has a plasticity which lends real conviction to the pose. The same fluidity may be seen on terracottas from Tanagra; later with Lysippos' pupil Eutychides and his famous Tyche of Antioch it assumes a more restless quality which is one of the hallmarks of high hellenistic art.<sup>45</sup> The London bronze, however, seems to reflect the taste of the 4th century rather than the 3rd.



(British Museum)

Fig. 9 Bronze archer from Cheapside (Height c. 277 mm.)

Perhaps the most individual genius of the 4th century was Skopas. He was a master of psychological insight, as can be seen from the fragmentary pedimental reliefs from Tegea,

and his work foreshadows the emotional strivings in hellenistic art.<sup>46</sup> In view of what has already been said about Roman taste, it is not surprising that there is only one work from Roman London which can really be called Skopaic. This is the remarkable statuette of an archer (Fig. 9) from Queen Street, Cheapside.<sup>47</sup> The short beard and piercing gaze of the eyes (accentuated by the use of silver) are reminiscent of many figures of Heracles, and the Cheapside figure may represent that hero shooting the Stymphalean birds. His tense, even anguished, expression as he strains every muscle in order to pull back the bow-string has a truly moving strength and quality.

So far I have implied that such aesthetic pleasure as we derive from any work of Roman provincial art is mainly a reflection of the beauty of its Greek prototypes. While this is doubtless often the case, there are occasions when a local artist can endow ancient forms with completely new life. Thus a cornelian intaglio, originally set in a gold ring, and thus belonging to a Roman of high rank (possibly a government administrator who worked in London and had an estate in the country), was found in the villa at Lullingstone, Kent.<sup>48</sup> It depicts Nike in a conception taken from the hellenistic Venus of Capua and adapted, perhaps in Flavian times, to the new role of Victoria Romana. The type is shown on Trajan's Column separating the pictorial accounts of the first and second Dacian campaigns, and was, evidently, well known in the 2nd century A.D.<sup>49</sup> Although there are mistakes in the cutting, the masterly use of texture and pattern in the goddess's wing and *himation*, a Celtic feature, render the gem a most attractive object and bear witness to the good taste of our putative 2nd-century commuter.

Within the City itself we may see the use of patterning in the drapery worn by the Matres in the statue-group from Hart Street discussed above as well as on a tombstone depicting a figure wearing a *pallium* with a servant standing beside him.<sup>50</sup> The conception of the latter group is an ancient one and was used, for example, in the later 5th century. The enveloping drapery was evidently thought to be an appropriate way of suggesting such qualities as piety, modesty and humility, all appropriate attitudes to assume in the world of the dead.<sup>51</sup> However, the spirit of the London tombstone with its linear treatment of the garments is very different from anything in the Greek world. We are reminded of the linearity of some later Roman and dark-age art in these islands.<sup>52</sup>

Finally it seems appropriate to say something of portraiture even though, strictly speaking, little was truly reflected. As far as imperial portraiture was concerned the aim remained what it had been in hellenistic times, to present the ruler to his subjects both as an individual and as an idea. Copying had its place, but here the works reproduced were usually contemporary ones: Cornelius Vermeule surveying the abundant evidence from Greece writes that 'in each decade the official images from Rome were awaited with eagerness. These portraits were sent to Athens or Corinth . . . In workshops in these cities the master image from Rome was copied mechanically and faithfully by some and with various degrees of creative freedom by others'.<sup>53</sup> It is very probable that the actual creators of these portrait types were Greeks, and in the case of Hadrian, the only emperor of whom a major portrait has been recovered from London, the light beard and curled hair mark a conscious return to the fashions of the 4th century.<sup>54</sup> The London bronze is evidently not a 'master' sent from Rome, and Jocelyn Toynbee believes that it may be a copy cast by a skilled Gaulish bronzesmith. Its erection must have been authorised by the emperor or his representative, as the younger Pliny's letter to Trajan requesting permission to set up his statue at Tifernum and the emperor's grudging acquiescence



make clear.<sup>55</sup> Official statues certainly did help to set some kind of standard. London must have possessed a considerable number, including no doubt at least one or two of the many portraits of Titus which Suetonius tells us were common in Britain.<sup>56</sup> Possibly the ultimate source for this curious piece of information was Tacitus' father-in-law, the governor Agricola.



*(Museum of London)*

Fig. 10 Marble head of woman from the Thames (Height 98 mm.)

Private portraits tended to follow imperial fashions. London has yielded little of real quality save a small marble head of a woman (Fig. 10) found in the Thames which is certainly an import.<sup>57</sup> The idealised features may be compared with Praxiteles' most famous statue, the Aphrodite of Knidos, and it is just possible that the London head is not a portrait at all but part of a miniature version of this or a similar late-classical work.<sup>58</sup> The tombstone of a soldier found re-used in the Camomile Street bastion is more significant, being made of British stone. The hair-style is Trajanic but the rather rounded head with prominent engraved eyes expresses a clearly conceived personality. This is portraiture in the later Greek tradition, although there may also be some admixture of an

Italian element in the slight bias towards caricature.<sup>59</sup> No doubt the artist was employed in a legionary workshop, and the relief thus serves to remind us that hellenistic standards of realism in portraiture were in large measure disseminated through the 'romanising' presence of the army. Awareness of the profound Roman debt to Greece varied amongst the civilian population from individual to individual and from class to class, but at least one of the occupants of the Lullingstone villa (it would be pleasant to think the owner of the Victory intaglio) may have had direct experience of the Greek East. Two male portrait busts were found in excavations at the site; one appears to be Hadrianic and the other is of later, Antonine, date. Both are of high quality and it may be suggested that they are portraits of deceased members of the owner's family brought to Britain with him when he came here, possibly from the Greek world.<sup>60</sup>

For the most part the Roman 'citizens' of London played safe in their choice of art. In this they were merely reflecting a prevailing conservatism which affected even the most educated members of Roman society: for example, when Cicero wished to purchase statues, he ordered reproductions from Athens. But if classicism was the norm, hellenistic baroque occasionally intrudes (even though, unfortunately, Britain lies beyond the area where the great series of 2nd- and 3rd-century A.D. sarcophagi with their admirable exuberance were freely distributed).<sup>61</sup>

The Roman city of London bequeathed little to posterity save its position and its name. However there were to be fresh attempts — albeit in the remote future — to explore the world of antiquity in the London area. This is not the place to follow the story of Renaissance and Neo-Classical art, but no lover of Inigo Jones' banqueting hall with Rubens' baroque ceiling, of Robert Adam's London houses or of St. Pancras Church (with its Athenian echoes) can fail to be aware that this renewed contact with Greek and Graeco-Roman art was a resounding success, indeed one that, arguably, provided insular art with its finest moment.

Although Ralph Merrifield's scholarship has often taken as its starting point the city which he knows so well, it has always sought to cast light on the world beyond. Thus I offer this short account of the first efforts to interpret the world of classical art to a British public to Ralph with both gratitude and affection.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> R. Merrifield *Roman London* (London, 1969) 168–204.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus *Agricola* 3; *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York I. Eburacum. Roman York* (London, 1962) 133 and Pl.65, No. 142.

<sup>3</sup> P. G. Suggett 'Report on Excavations at Brockley Hill, Middx.' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 19 pt. 1 (1956) 66, 73, Fig. 3, No. Mi 3; M. Henig *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* Brit. Archaeol. Rep. No. 8 pt. 2 (Oxford, 1974) 81 and Pl. 19, No. 597. I am grateful to Mrs. B. Grafton-Green for making it possible for the intaglio to be photographed.

<sup>4</sup> *Pal. Anth.* IX No. 720 (trans. W. R. Paton *The Greek Anthology* (Loeb. ed. 1917)).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* No. 747.

<sup>6</sup> M. Henig 'The Origin of some ancient British Coin types' *Britannia* 3 (1972) 219 and Pl. 13A and B; G.M.A. Richter *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans* (London, 1968) 132 Nos. 513–515.

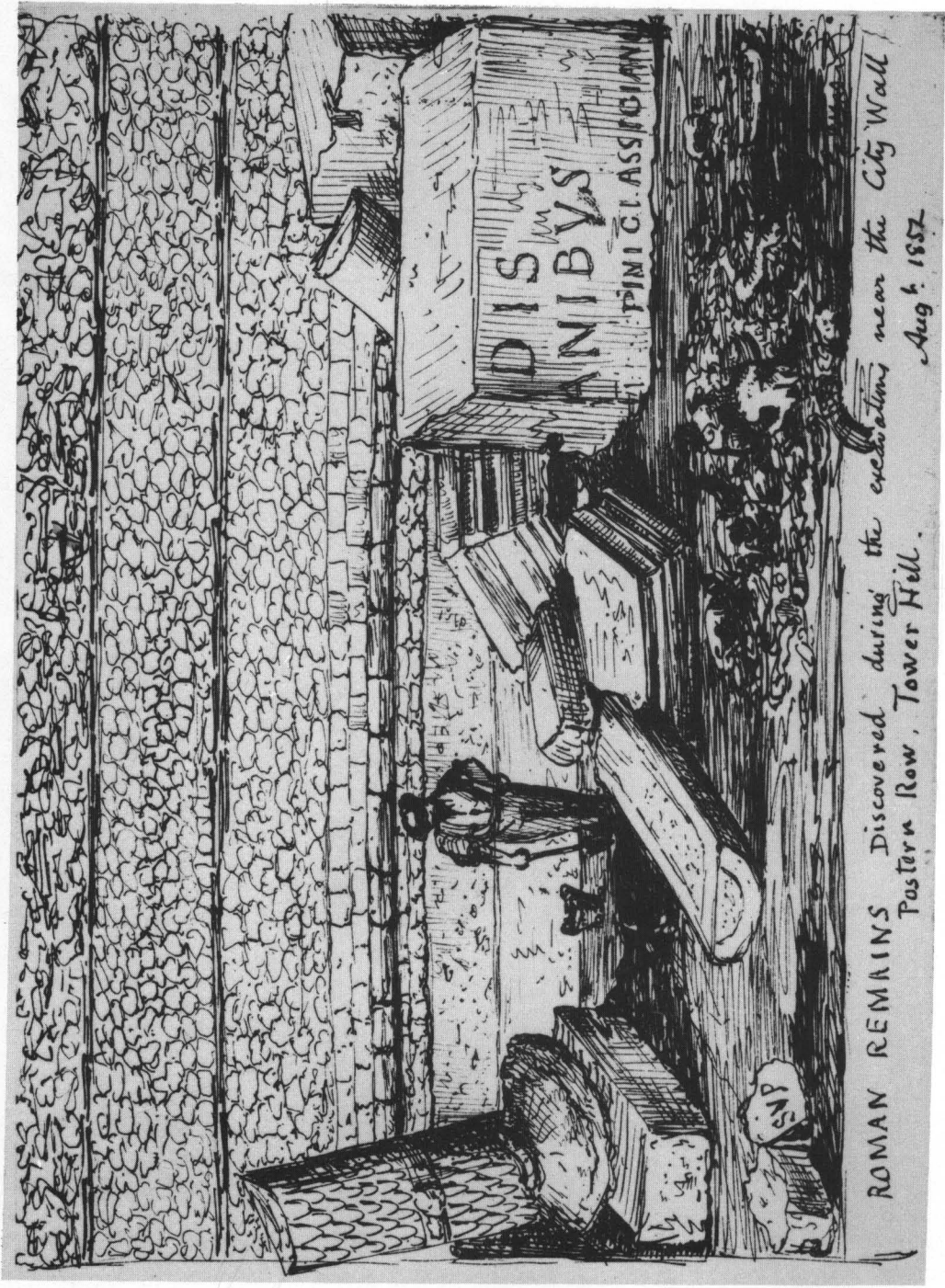
<sup>7</sup> Henig *op. cit.* in note 3, 43 and Pls. 10 and 34, No. 292; Richter *ibid.* 100 No. 336.

<sup>8</sup> R. Merrifield 'Art and Religion in Roman London: an inquest on the sculptures of Londinium' in J. Munby and M. Henig eds. *Roman Life and Art in Britain* Brit. Archaeol. Rep. No. 41 pt. 2 (Oxford, 1977) 398–400, Pl. 17.6.

<sup>9</sup> G.M.A. Richter *Engraved Gems of the Romans* (London, 1971) 104–105 No. 502; D. Strong *Roman Art* (Harmondsworth, 1976) 151 and Pl. 204; R. Goodburn in S. S. Frere *Verulamium Excavations I* Rep. Res. Com. Soc. Antiq. London No. 28 (Oxford, 1972) 132 and 138.

- <sup>10</sup> R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965) Pls. 86–87.
- <sup>11</sup> M. Bieber *Ancient Copies. Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (1977) 74–75 and Pl. 49, Fig. 293 (citing Pausanias VII. 26, on statue at Aegira).
- <sup>12</sup> M. Henig 'Roman gemstones: Figure-type and adaptation' in Munby and Henig *op. cit.* in note 8, 342 and Pl. 14. le; following Sestieri, I took the statue of the running Artemis to have been the work of the 4th-century sculptor Kephisodotos the Younger, but Bieber *ibid.*, 71–72 and Fig. 253, thinks that he was responsible for a standing goddess (not apparently taking an arrow from her quiver). Is it possible that the late, standing 'Diana Venetrix' is a conflation of the two types?
- <sup>13</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 8, 383–386 and Pl. 17. 3a.
- <sup>14</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 10, Pl. 88.
- <sup>15</sup> M. Robertson *A History of Greek Art* (London, 1975) 462 and Pl. 143C.
- <sup>16</sup> Strong *op. cit.* in note 9, 43 and Pl. 33.
- <sup>17</sup> Richter *op. cit.* in note 6, 151, No. 596.
- <sup>18</sup> Bieber *op. cit.* in note 11, 34, Pls. 12–13, Figs. 62–70; A. W. Lawrence *Greek and Roman Sculpture* (London, 1972) 268–269.
- <sup>19</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 10, Pl. 85; Jocelyn Toynbee *Art in Roman Britain* (London, 1962) 137–138, No. 29, Pl. 35.
- <sup>20</sup> Merrifield *ibid.* Pl. 76; Toynbee *ibid.* 143–144, No. 38, Pl. 43.
- <sup>21</sup> Robertson *op. cit.* in note 15, 541–542, Pl. 170a; A. F. Stewart 'To entertain an emperor: Sperlonga, Laokoon, and Tiberius at the dinner table' *J. Roman Stud.* 67 (1977) 76–90.
- <sup>22</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 10, Pls. 81–83; Toynbee *op. cit.* in note 19, 173–174, No. 110, Pls. 111–112.
- <sup>23</sup> H. Whitehouse *The Dal Pozzo Copies of the Palestrina Mosaic* Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Supp. Ser. No. 12 (Oxford, 1976) for the most probable reconstruction.
- <sup>24</sup> J. M. C. Toynbee *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London, 1973) 91, Pl. 33 (Ichneumon), 128–129, Pl. 53 (Hippopotamus).
- <sup>25</sup> Petronius *Satyricon* 2.
- <sup>26</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 1, 21 and Fig. 6; V. von Gonzenbach 'Tiberische Gürtel- und Schwertscheidenbeschläge mit Figürlichen Reliefs' in R. Degen *et al.* eds. *Helvetica Antiqua: Festschrift Emil Vogt* (Zurich, 1966) 183 ff., Pl. 1, Fig. 1 No. S2.
- <sup>27</sup> Strong *op. cit.* in note 9, 43, Pl. 36.
- <sup>28</sup> Robertson *op. cit.* in note 15, 487–488, Pl. 153a; D. Strong *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London, 1966) 8 and Pl. 21; M. I. Artamonov *Treasures from Scythian Tombs in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad* (1969) Pls. 162–164. The amphora is normally dated to c. 350. The gold casket from the putative tomb of Philip II at Vergina, Macedonia, is ornamented with the same sort of acanthus scrollwork, see *Sunday Times Colour Magazine* (5 February 1978).
- <sup>29</sup> J. Brailsford *Early Celtic Masterpieces from Britain in the British Museum* (British Museum, 1975) 14 ff.
- <sup>30</sup> Robertson *op. cit.* in note 15, 600–601; Lawrence *op. cit.* in note 18, 245.
- <sup>31</sup> I am most grateful to Geoffrey Parnell for bringing this intaglio to my attention. For the type see Robertson *ibid.* 311 ff.
- <sup>32</sup> Lawrence *op. cit.* in note 18, 134–135 and Pl. 30a, for the statuette; J. Boardman *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (1970) 198 and 288, Pl. 486 for the scaraboid.
- <sup>33</sup> B. Y. Berry *Ancient Gems from the Collection of Burton Y. Berry* (1969) 28 No. 47 for a Roman gem with the snake; Athena is depicted without the serpent on various stones from Britain, cf. Henig *op. cit.* in note 3, 36–37 and Pl. 8, Nos. 234–238.
- <sup>34</sup> M. Henig 'The veneration of heroes in the Roman army. The evidence of engraved gemstones' *Britannia* 1 (1970) 250–251 and Pl. 23A and B.
- <sup>35</sup> E. Zwierlein-Diehl *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen II. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Antikenabteilung Berlin* (Munich, 1969) 96 and Pl. 46, No. 222 for the suggestion (cf. Plutarch *Theseus* 4).
- <sup>36</sup> For the Diadoumenos, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* 4th ed. (1970) 191–192 and Fig. 695; Robertson *op. cit.* in note 15, 331, and Pl. 109b. For the figurine, J. M. C. Toynbee *Art in Britain under the Romans* (Oxford, 1964) 118 and Pl. 30; G. Lloyd-Morgan 'A bronze statuette from London Bridge' *Antiq. J.* 54 (1974) 85–86.
- <sup>37</sup> Robertson *op. cit.* in note 15, 390 and Pl. 126a.
- <sup>38</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 1, 172 and Fig. 49; G. E. Rizzo *Prassitele* (Milan and Rome, 1932) 75–76 and Pl. 112f; M. Bieber *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* revised ed. (New York, 1961) 17 and Fig. 14 (Hermes of Andros); Rizzo *ibid.* 83, Pl. 128, and Robertson *op. cit.* in note 15, 550, Pl. 174c (for the effeminate type of Apollo with long hair).
- <sup>39</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 10, Pl. 80; Toynbee *op. cit.* in note 19, 128–130, No. 12, Pl. 34.
- <sup>40</sup> Lawrence *op. cit.* in note 18, 191–192.
- <sup>41</sup> Richter *op. cit.* in note 9, 304–305, Fig. 729.
- <sup>42</sup> For the Lycian Apollo, Rizzo *op. cit.* in note 38, 79 ff., Pls. 119–120; Bieber *op. cit.* in note 38, 17–18, Figs. 15–21.
- <sup>43</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 10, Pl. 77; Toynbee *op. cit.* in note 19, 132–133, No. 20, Pl. 31.
- <sup>44</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler *London in Roman Times* London Museum Catalogue No. 3 (London, 1930) 46 and Pl. 19, No. 4.
- <sup>45</sup> Richter *op. cit.* in note 9, 37, Fig. 78; Robertson *op. cit.* in note 15, 470 ff., Pls. 149a and 150a.
- <sup>46</sup> Robertson *ibid.* 452 ff.; Lawrence *op. cit.* in note 18, 193 ff., Pl. 49b.
- <sup>47</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 10, Pl. 92; Toynbee *op. cit.* in note 36, 118 and Pl. 30.
- <sup>48</sup> Toynbee *ibid.* 373–374, Pl. 85c; Henig *op. cit.* in note 3, 44–45 and Pl. 10, No. 304.
- <sup>49</sup> T. Hölscher *Victoria Romana* (1967) 122 ff.; Bieber *op. cit.* in note 11, 43 ff., Pl. 21, Figs. 113 and 114, Pl. 22, Fig. 117.
- <sup>50</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 10, Pl. 100; and *op. cit.* in note 1, 151–152, Fig. 39; Toynbee *op. cit.* in note 36, 198. Although the tombstone is not closely provenanced and is apparently cut in imported marble, the style is decidedly Romano-British.
- <sup>51</sup> Robertson *op. cit.* in note 15, 367, Pl. 121b; Bieber *op. cit.* in note 11, 129 ff.
- <sup>52</sup> N. Pevsner *The Englishness of English Art* (1956) 120; also my study of late antique book illustration in a volume of studies on the *De Rebus Bellicis* edited by Mark Hassall (forthcoming).
- <sup>53</sup> C. C. Vermeule *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) 200.
- <sup>54</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 10, Pl. 90; Toynbee *op. cit.* in note 36, 50–51, Pl. 6; Lawrence *op. cit.* in note 18, 279; Robertson *op. cit.* in note 15, 504 and Pl. 157b ('Mausolus').

- <sup>55</sup> Pliny *Epistolae* X. 8 and 9.
- <sup>56</sup> Suetonius *Divus Titus* 4. The portraits of Vespasian and Domitian which ornament the lids of seal-boxes found in London are no doubt copied from prototypes prepared by a master die-engraver or gem-cutter (not necessarily different people) in government service. From what is known of gem cutting in the early imperial period, the most skilled practitioners are likely to have been of Greek extraction; H. Chapman and T. Johnson 'Excavations at Aldgate and Bush Lane House in the City of London, 1972' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 24 (1973) 48 and Pl. 4 (seal boxes); M. L. Vollenweider *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in Spätrepublikanischer und Augusteischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden, 1966) passim.
- <sup>57</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 8, 396 and Pl. 17.5c.
- <sup>58</sup> Robertson *op. cit.* in note 15, 390 ff., Pl. 127; Lawrence *op. cit.* in note 18, 189–190 and Pl. 48b.
- <sup>59</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 10, Pl. 95; Toynbee *op. cit.* in note 36, 186–187; cf. E. K. Gazda 'Etruscan influences in the funerary reliefs' *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römische Welt* 4 (1973) 855 ff. However, even gravestones show the predominance of Hellenistic realism over local conceptions of portraiture.
- <sup>60</sup> Toynbee *op. cit.* in note 19, 126–128, No. 10, Pl. 6; and *op. cit.* in note 36, 59–63, Pls. 10–11.
- <sup>61</sup> It is tempting to include the marble relief said to portray the Rape of the Sabine Women (Toynbee *op. cit.* in note 36, 144 and Pl. 37.b), but possibly a scene from Greek mythology such as the Rape of the Leucippides. It almost certainly comes from an early 2nd-century sarcophagus, but there is no proof that it is a genuine relic of Roman London (on sarcophagi, cf. J. M. C. Toynbee *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934)).



ROMAN REMAINS Discovered during the excavations near the City Wall  
 Postern Row, Tower Hill.  
 Aug. 6. 1857.

(M. J. Alexander)

Fig. 1. Sketch by A. H. Burkitt, dated 3 September 1852

# THE FIRST DRAWING OF THE 'CLASSICIANUS' INSCRIPTION

JOANNA BIRD

Ralph Merrifield has described the tombstone of Julius Classicianus, procurator of Britain from A.D. 61, as 'one of the most important historical documents of Roman Britain'.<sup>1</sup> The two surviving portions of the inscription were found separately in 1852 and 1935 during building works on Tower Hill, where they had been reused in the construction of Bastion 2 of the Roman city wall.<sup>2</sup> A sketch and letter by Alexander Horace Burkitt concerning the first publication<sup>3</sup> of the 1852 portion has recently come to light, and this account is offered to Ralph on the occasion of his retirement.

The letter was found by the author inside a secondhand book on early London,<sup>4</sup> and consists of a single sheet of paper folded in two, with the sketch on the first page and the letter on the third and fourth. It is written from the Bank of England, where Burkitt worked in the Bill Office,<sup>5</sup> is dated 3 September 1852, and is addressed to T. J. Pettigrew, then Vice-President and Treasurer of the British Archaeological Association. The text reads:

'My dear Sir, I have sent the paper on Signs.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Rolfe borrowed the original & one of his boys has made a copy of it & as this is possibly somewhat plainer than mine I have patched it up. I should like to have a copy for correction when printed.

'Enclosed is also my note of the Roman remains on Tower Hill. CRS [Charles Roach Smith] has been very busy there & if he publishes from his first sketches will be very incorrect as I cleaned out several of the letters in the inscription *after* he had made his copy. Scott has taken a rubbing & we have taken great care to have it *right* to the *inch* and taken the portraits of the others now in a very obscure yard in Spitalfields. On the other side is a rough sketch of what the plate will be like.

'I am dear Sir Yours very truly A. H. Burkitt.

'P.S. Tuesday. I have just read a note from Revd. Mr. Kell offering a paper on some coins &c found near Newport I. of Wight, he is a recently admitted F.S.A. & was nearly lost on the city excursion day, in *Liverpool St.* but I saved him. He will send up the paper together with an etching to illustrate the subject by *Mr. Barton* all of which I will forward to you when received for the B.A.A.<sup>7</sup> *I* have also saved *Windle*.'

Apart from the rather charming insight into contemporary antiquarian gaddings about London, the main interest of the letter lies in the sketch (Fig. 1) and the differences between it and the published illustration (Fig. 2).<sup>8</sup> At first sight these seem to sound a note of caution against taking early antiquarian drawings of portable objects too literally, but Burkitt himself describes the first as a 'rough sketch', and it is likely that he was taking a permissible licence in rearranging to his own taste what was probably only a workmen's dump. In the published etching, the stones have been arranged in a more artistic pile, dominated by the inscription and the decorated bolster. The mass of bones in the foreground has been reduced to a picturesque mound of skulls, and the workman with shovel and basket has been replaced by an unobtrusive group of shovel, pick and basket to provide the necessary scale.





*Roman remains discovered in Tower Hill London August 1852*

(Museum of London)

Fig. 2. Etching by A. H. Burkitt, from *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 8 (1853)

It is clear that Burkitt studied the stones further between the two versions — he himself refers to 'several visits to make drawings and measurements'<sup>9</sup> — and several more letters are legible on the published etching at the beginning of the third line of the inscription (AB. AI — the last a misreading of L). The decorated bolster was also changed: the sketch shows it as semi-circular in section, similar to the coping-stones from the wall<sup>10</sup> which are mostly absent from the later version, and it was subsequently redrawn as circular, with the imbrication corrected and the attached fragment of floral carving included.

Burkitt interpreted 'Classicianus' as indicating that 'the deceased was connected with the navy', and advanced an ingenious theory that this was supported by the monument's position overlooking the approaches to London from the Sea.<sup>11</sup> Charles Roach Smith subsequently identified<sup>12</sup> the tombstone correctly as that of Julius Classicianus, who was appointed procurator of Britain after the Boudiccan rebellion,<sup>13</sup> but this identification was not generally accepted<sup>14</sup> until the second portion, which included the words, *proc(uratoris) provinc(iae) Brita[nniae]*, was found in 1935.<sup>15</sup>

Very few of the stones seen by Burkitt — he mentions 125 worked stones 'making forty cart-loads'<sup>16</sup> — found their way from the yard in Spitalfields into museum care, and Roach Smith considered that most had been 'again applied to building purposes'.<sup>17</sup> Of those that did survive, the inscription and the decorated bolster illustrated by Burkitt are now incorporated, with the inscribed portion found in 1935, into the British Museum's reconstruction of Classicianus' tomb.<sup>18</sup> The tomb has been described by Frere as 'a precious national possession'.<sup>19</sup>

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965) 40.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 320.
- <sup>3</sup> A. H. Burkitt 'On excavations near the Roman wall on Tower Hill, London, August 1852' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 8 (1853) 240–242. The illustration from this was used again by Burkitt, with a brief descriptive note, in *Pub. Antiq. Etching Club* 4 (1853) 7 and Fig. 47.
- <sup>4</sup> A copy of W. R. Lethaby *London Before the Conquest* (London, 1902); unfortunately there was no indication of the book's previous owner(s).
- <sup>5</sup> Burkitt worked at the Bank from 1826, when he was 18, until 1854, when he emigrated to Australia to join his eldest son. He had previously worked for his father, a chemist and druggist, in Brighton, and in London lived with his grandfather, also a druggist, in Poultry; it is an interesting coincidence that Charles Roach Smith was also a chemist, and had a shop in Lothbury, behind the Bank (B. Hopley 'Charles Roach Smith (1807–1890) — pioneer rescue archaeologist' *London Archaeol.* 2 No. 13 (1975) 329). I am grateful to Mr. E. M. Kelly, Curator of the Museum and Historical Research Section of the Bank of England, for the information on Burkitt's life.
- <sup>6</sup> A. H. Burkitt 'Tradesmen's signs of London' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 9 (1854) 40–58.
- <sup>7</sup> E. Kell 'An account of coins, etc., found in a Marsh contiguous to Newport, Isle of Wight' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 8 (1853) 323–329. Hugh Chapman and Christine Bannan kindly provided references to these early volumes of the Journal.
- <sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Matthew Alexander, Assistant Curator of Guildford Museum, for the photograph of the sketch, and to the Museum of London for that of the published etching.
- <sup>9</sup> Burkitt *op. cit.* in note 3, 240.
- <sup>10</sup> The coping-stones were identified by Hugh Chapman.
- <sup>11</sup> Burkitt *op. cit.* in note 3, 241–242.
- <sup>12</sup> C. R. Smith *Illustrations of Roman London* (privately printed, London, 1859) 28.
- <sup>13</sup> Tacitus *Annales* XIV. 38. For a discussion of Classicianus' origins and his role in the aftermath of the Boudiccan rebellion, see S. S. Frere *Britannia* (London, 1968) 92.
- <sup>14</sup> Merrifield *loc. cit.* in note 1. Even R. G. Collingwood wrote that 'Roach Smith was obviously wrong to think of identifying him with Julius Classicianus': Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London Vol 3 Roman London* (London, 1928) 171 no. 6.
- <sup>15</sup> F. Cottrill 'A bastion of the town wall of London, and the sepulchral monument of the procurator Julius Classicianus' *Antiq. J.* 16 (1936) 1–7. For the text of the two stones, with discussion and references, see R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain Vol I Inscriptions on Stone* (Oxford, 1965) No. 12.
- <sup>16</sup> Burkitt *op. cit.* in note 3, 241.
- <sup>17</sup> Roach Smith *loc. cit.* in note 12.
- <sup>18</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 1, Pl. 6.
- <sup>19</sup> Frere *loc. cit.* in note 13.





*(Museum of London)*

Fig. 1 Roman votive plaques; No. 39 Tres Matres, from London

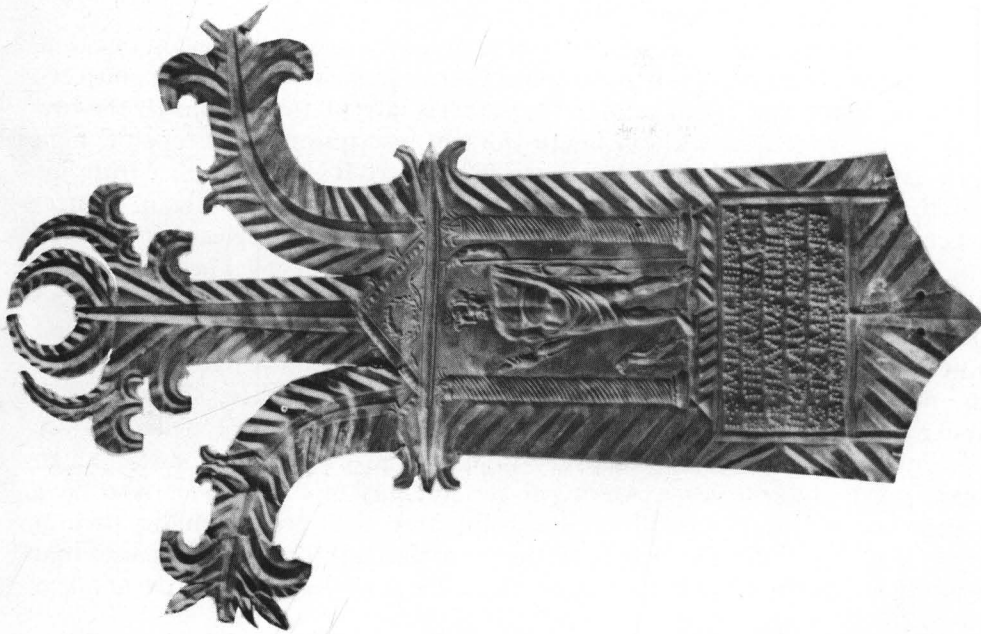
# A LONDINIUM VOTIVE LEAF OR FEATHER AND ITS FELLOWS

JOCELYN TOYNBEE

## INTRODUCTION

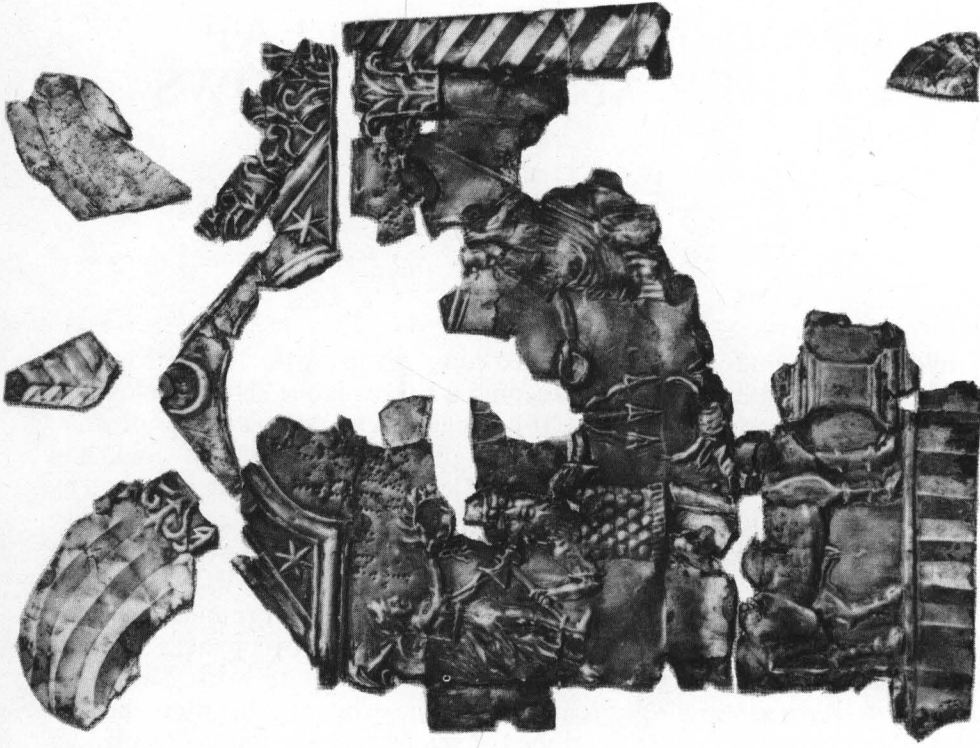
Since the Guildhall and London Museums joined company to create the new Museum of London, Ralph Merrifield has had in his keeping a silver plaque (No.39 below) on which the Tres Matres are portrayed (Fig. 1). It belongs to a well-known class of small objects mostly of silver, sometimes with traces of gilding, very rarely of gold, and occasionally of bronze, which take the form of stylised leaves or feathers characterised by diagonal ribbing or veining. In this ribbing or veining are inset — one plaque may have had attached to one end of it (Fig. 4.2) — a figure, or figures, in repoussé of a deity, or deities, and/or a dedicatory inscription in punctured or engraved lettering. Such inscriptions are contained either in rectangular or square panels or in roundels, or they occupy the field of, or the space below, the figure-work, unconfined by a panel's framing, or they occupy the field of the ribbing or veining where there is no figure-work. The figure, or figures, are often depicted as standing or seated in a shrine, while at other times they are shown in a roundel or applied directly to the ribbed or veined background. A few plaques carry an inscription-panel that was never inscribed; some have neither inscription nor figure-work, their whole surface being ribbed or veined.

Found in many instances on or near the sites of temples, these objects were at one time held to have served as ornaments for ritual or priestly crowns.<sup>1</sup> There is, indeed, one piece of evidence known to me that might seem to support this interpretation, namely the row of five triangular veined leaves, without figure-work or inscriptions, that tops the high tiara worn by king Antiochus I of Commagene (69 – c. 31 B.C.) on a relief from his monumental tomb at Nemrud Dagh in eastern Anatolia;<sup>2</sup> and Galatia in central Anatolia, where three of these leaves or feathers were found (see catalogue Nos. 9, 10, 38 below), is not so far from Commagene. But the use of this oriental royal head-dress as a model for Roman provincial ritual crowns would appear to be most unlikely. We have no evidence that knowledge of this form of tiara-decoration had penetrated westwards; and it is to be noted that the Commagenian Jupiter Dolichenus, a favourite figure on plaques of Austrian and German provenance (see catalogue Nos. 1–6) is never shown with it there. Moreover, the crown theory does not fit with the inscriptions on the plaques (see catalogue below); while the recent discovery of Christian equivalents of the pagan plaques makes it wholly untenable. Among those students of the plaques who have interpreted them correctly as votive offerings is Ralph Merrifield,<sup>3</sup> to whom this attempt to produce a new survey and discussion of all the decorated and/or inscribed pieces that are known to me is dedicated with admiration and affection — *votum solvi laeta libens merito*.



(British Museum)

Fig. 2.1 No. 1 Jupiter Dolichenus, from Heddernheim.



(British Museum)

Fig. 2.2 No. 3 Jupiter Dolichenus, from Heddernheim.

## CATALOGUE

(Unless otherwise stated, the objects are of silver)

## I. ORIENTAL DEITIES

## (a) Jupiter Dolichenus

1. From Heddernheim, probably from the Dolichenum: British Museum
- <sup>4</sup>

Height 240 mm. (Fig. 2.1)

Inscription: *I O M Dolicheno u/bi ferrum nascit/ur Flavius Fidelis/et Q(uintus) Iulius Posstim/us ex imperio ipsi/us pro se et suos [sic].* Below the figure-work, on a rectangular panel.Figure-work: Jupiter Dolichenus stands half-draped, his body facing the spectator, his head turned to the left, in a shrine with spirally fluted columns and a flat entablature. He holds a *fulmen* in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. To the left of the god, on the ground, is an eagle facing to the left.

2. From Heddernheim, probably from the Dolichenum: British Museum
- <sup>5</sup>

Height 225 mm.

Inscription: *I O M Do/licheno/Domitius/Germanus/v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).* On a rectangular panel.

No figure-work.

3. From Heddernheim, probably from the Dolichenum: British Museum
- <sup>6</sup>

Height 168 mm. (Fig. 2.2)

Inscription: *I O [M]/Dolic(he)/no tibi/T Dam. . .* In the field above the figure-work.Figure-work: On the left, turned three-quarters towards the right, Jupiter Dolichenus stands on the back of a bull, which faces to the right. He wears a coat of mail reaching to the knees and holds a *bipennis* in his right hand and a *fulmen* in his left. His beard is long and flowing and on his head is a conical cap. To the left of Jupiter a Victory hovers rightwards, holding a palm in her left hand and with her right about to crown the god with a wreath. On the right, facing the god a draped woman stands leftwards, holding a *patera* in her right hand and a sceptre in her left. She is almost certainly the god's consort, Juno Regina, standing on the back of a doe, now lost, that faced leftwards. Between the bull and the lost doe a small round altar stands on the ground. God and goddess are in a shrine with Corinthian columns and a broken gabled pediment.

4. Unrecorded provenance: Berlin Museum (Antikenabteilung) (Inv. No. Misc. 3479)
- <sup>7</sup>

Height 129 mm. (Fig. 3.1)

Inscription: *I O M Doli/cheno An/tonius Pro/clus O (centurio) Ger/mani v(otum) s(olvit)/l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).* On a rectangular panel.Figure-work: Jupiter Dolichenus stands half-draped facing towards the left, with his body confronting the spectator, in a shrine with gabled pediment and spirally fluted columns. He holds a reversed spear in his left hand and a *fulmen* in his right.

5. Unrecorded provenance: Berlin Museum (Antikenabteilung) (Inv. No. Misc. 3478)
- <sup>8</sup>
- .

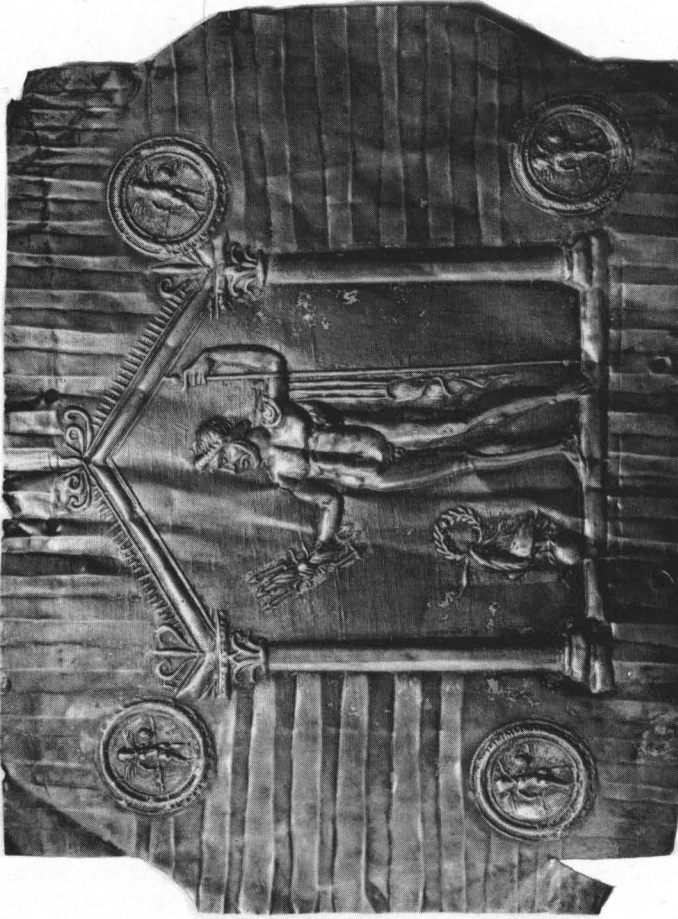
Height 114 mm. (Fig. 3.2)

No inscription.



(Antikennmuseum, Berlin)

Fig. 3.1 No. 4 Jupiter Dolichenus, from unknown German provenance.



(Antikennmuseum, Berlin)

Roman votive plaques

Fig. 3.2 No. 5 Jupiter Dolichenus, from unknown German provenance.

Figure-work: Jupiter Dolichenus stands towards the left, with his body facing the spectator, in a shrine with empty pediment and unfluted columns. He is naked save for a cloak draped over his left shoulder. He holds a sceptre in his left hand and a *fulmen* in his right. To the left of him an eagle with a wreath in its beak perches on a globe which rests on the ground. To the right and left of the shrine are four discs, two on a level with the capitals of the columns and two on a level with their bases. In each disc is a winged cupid holding a spear and a small round shield and striding rightwards.

6. From the Dolichenum at Mauer a. d. Url: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.<sup>9</sup>

Height 254 mm. (Fig. 4.1)

Inscription: *I O M Dolicheno/Maria ex voto/posuit*. Below the figure-work on a rectangular panel.

Figure-work: Jupiter Dolichenus stands, with his body facing the spectator and his head turned leftwards, on the back of a bull, which wears an ornamental body-belt and faces right. He wears a crested helmet, a cuirass and a pleated tunic. He brandishes a *bipennis* in his right hand and grasps a *fulmen* in his left.

Of the twenty-three votive offerings from the Mauer a. d. Url site nos. 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, 22, 25,<sup>10</sup> and eight others carry dedicatory inscriptions for Jupiter Dolichenus, but only no. 7 (described above, No. 6) has figure-work. More than half of the Mauer dedicators are women, presumably making offerings to the soldiers' god on behalf of their soldier men-folk. Among the dedicators besides Maria are Ulpia Iuliana *pro sal(ute) C(ai) Vib(i) Honorati fili*, Marius Ursinus, Iulia, wife or daughter of Pastor, Claudius Maternus, Vera, and Probus and Marina (a joint dedication).

(b) Juno Regina

7. From the Dolichenum at Mauer a. d. Url: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.<sup>11</sup>

Height 184 mm.

Inscription: *Iuno(ni) R(eginae)/Vict(ura)v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

No figure-work.

For what is almost certainly a representation of Juno Regina, see Jupiter Dolichenus, No. 3 above.

(c) Jupiter Sabazius

8. From Vichy: Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye.<sup>12</sup>

Inscription: *Numin(i) Aug(usto) Deo Iovi Sa/basio C. Iul(ius) Caras/sonus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

No figure-work is illustrated. But the site is said to have yielded eleven pieces dedicated to Jupiter Sabazius, who is described as standing half-draped in a shrine and holding a spear or sceptre and a *fulmen*. No ribbing or veining is mentioned, but it would seem to be highly probable that these objects belong to the votive leaves or feathers group.

(d) Helios

9. From Pessinus (Bala-Hissar) in Galatia: British Museum.<sup>13</sup>

Height 285 mm.; diameter of disc 90 mm. (Fig. 4.2)

No inscription.

Figure-work: On a disc with beaded border, shown in the publications as attached to the broad end of a leaf or feather, is the full-face radiate and draped bust of Helios. Behind each of his shoulders the fore-parts of a horse are seen springing to right and left respectively away from him. It is not certain that the disc and the leaf or feather originally belonged together. But for figured discs associated with this type of votive plaque, see Jupiter Dolichenus, No. 5 above, and Water Newton (below p. 144 and Fig. 9).



(Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

Roman votive plaques



(British Museum)

Fig. 4.1 No. 6 Jupiter Dolichenus,  
from Mauer a. d. Url.

Fig. 4.2 No. 9 Helios, from Pessinus.



(e) Oriental Warrior-god (?)

10. From Pessinus (Bala-Hissar) in Galatia: British Museum.<sup>14</sup>

Height 260 mm. (Fig. 5.1)

No inscription.

Figure-work: A male figure stands against the veined or ribbed background, facing the spectator. He is described by Walters as Mithra, but he has none of Mithras' characteristic attributes. He seems to be hooded, wears a cloak, a metal cuirass, a pleated tunic, trousers, and soft boots and holds in his left hand a fruit or pine-cone, while with his right hand he grasps a *patera* over a small flaming altar on his right. In front of the altar there stands a cock. His closest parallels would seem to be Palmyrene warrior-gods.

(f) Mithras

11. From Stockstadt: Saalburg Museum.<sup>15</sup>

Height 130 mm.

Inscription: The reading is uncertain, but it may be:-

*D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) et S(oli) s(acrum) [or s(ocio)] Argata v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)*. Below the figure-work.

Figure-work: Against the back wall of a shrine with gabled pediment and spirally fluted columns is displayed a cave containing the tauroctony. The scene shows the usual accompanying figures and objects, but Mithras' head is, unusually, surrounded by stars. Above the cave, in the pediment, is a rendering of Mithras' rock-birth.

12. From Deneuvre: present location uncertain.<sup>16</sup>

Height not recorded.

Inscription: *Deo in|ivicto[sic]/German(us)/[votum?]sol(vit)*. In four lines across the field of the ribbing or veining.

No figure-work.

## II. GRAECO-ROMAN DEITIES

(a) Jupiter

13. From Stony Stratford: British Museum.<sup>17</sup>

Height of panel 75 mm., height of rest 143 mm.

Inscription: *Deo|Iovi et Vulca(no)|Vassinus|cum velli|nt me con|sacratum|conserva(re)|promisi dena|rios six pro vo|to sa [lutis r] est(itutae)*. On a square panel. This inscription, which does not appear to tally with the figure-work that Walters groups with it (No. 18 below), would seem to be a dedication to the Roman Jupiter in association with the Roman Vulcan (see No. 18).

No figure-work.

(b) Apollo

14. From Stony Stratford: British Museum.<sup>18</sup>

Height 87.5 mm.

No inscription.

Figure-work: This fragmentary piece shows Apollo seated and facing to the left in a shrine with empty gabled pediment and spirally fluted columns. The god wears a wreath and holds a *plectron* in his right hand while his left rests upon a lyre at his side.





(British Museum)



(Fürsten zu Wied Collection)

Roman votive plaques

Fig. 5.1 No. 10 Oriental warrior-god,  
from Pessinus.

Fig. 5.2. Nos. 15-16, 23 Mars, Mercury and Fortuna,  
from Niederbieber.

(c) Mars

15. From Niederbieber: in the possession of the Fürsten zu Wied.<sup>19</sup>

Height 280 mm. (Fig. 5.2)

No inscription.

Figure-work: This piece, perhaps trimmed in ancient times to its apsidal shape, displays two superimposed scenes. Above is a double shrine, each half having its own gabled pediment, but with the central of the three spirally fluted columns shared between them. The left-hand shrine contains the figure of the Roman Mars, the right-hand one that of Fortuna (No. 23 below). Below is a much larger shrine containing a much larger figure of Mercury (No. 16 below). Mars, who is completely nude, stands facing the spectator. He wears a crested helmet, holds a reversed spear in his right hand, and rests his left on the shield at his side.

(d) Mercury

16. From Niederbieber: in the possession of the Fürsten zu Wied.<sup>20</sup>

Height 280 mm. (Fig. 5.2)

No inscription.

Figure-work: See Mars, No. 15 above. Mercury stands, with his body facing the spectator and his head turned to the left, in a shrine with broken pediment and columns spirally fluted in the lower half of each. Below the pediment there is a curtain tied back against the column on either side. The god wears a winged *petasos* and is nude, save for a cloak draped over his left shoulder and forearm. He holds a purse in his right hand and a *caduceus* in his left. To the right of him is a cock perched on a tall vase or *cippus*; to the left of him a goat stands towards the right.

17. From the site of the legionary fortress and *municipium* at *Apulum* in Dacia: Alba Julia Museum, Romania.<sup>21</sup>

No inscription.

Figure-work: This plaque is very fragmentary. Preserved are the legs and lower part of the body of the god, wearing a cloak and standing facing the spectator. Below his extended right hand grasping a long purse (?) is a cock.

(e) Vulcan

18. From Stony Stratford: British Museum.<sup>22</sup>

Inscription: See Jupiter, No. 13 above. A Vulcan grouped with the Roman Jupiter would seem to be the Roman god rather than a native smith-god; and one would expect the same to be the case with the two renderings of him from Barkway (Nos. 19-20 below).

No figure-work.

19. From Barkway: British Museum.<sup>23</sup>

Height 168 mm.

Inscription: *Nu(mini) Vulco(no)*. Below the figure-work on a rectangular panel.

Figure-work: Vulcan, looking left, but with his body facing the spectator, stands in a shrine with empty gabled pediment and spirally fluted columns. He wears a conical cap, a short slipped tunic and boots. In his left hand he holds a hammer, in his right tongs. A folded cloak is draped over his left forearm.

20. From Barkway: British Museum.<sup>24</sup>

Height 87.5 mm.

No inscription.

Figure-work: God and shrine are practically identical with those on No. 19.

(f) Hercules

21. From the Dolichenum at Mauer a. d. Url: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.<sup>25</sup>

Height 80 mm.

Inscription: *Herculi|Aug(usto) Aur(elius) Mer(cator? -curius? -curialis?) s(olvit) v(otum) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)*. On a square ansate panel.

No figure-work.

## (g) Minerva

22. From the 4th-century temple on Maiden Castle, Dorset: Dorchester Museum. Bronze.
- <sup>26</sup>

Height 188 mm.

No inscription.

Figure-work: The figure of Minerva is very crudely worked. She stands facing the spectator within a decorative rectangular frame, perhaps intended to represent a shrine. She wears a crested helmet, a long tunic and an *aegis*. In her right hand she holds a spear, while her left hand rests on the shield at her side.

## (h) Fortuna

23. From Niederbeiber: in the possession of the Fürsten zu Wied.
- <sup>27</sup>

Height 280 mm. (Fig. 5.2)

No inscription.

Figure-work: See Mars, No. 15 above. Fortuna in the upper right-hand shrine stands with her body facing the spectator and her head turned towards the left. She wears a long tunic and a cloak. In her left hand she holds a cornucopia, in her right hand a rudder.

24. From the site of the legionary fortress and
- municipium*
- at
- Apulum*
- in Dacia: Alba Julia Museum, Romania.
- <sup>28</sup>

No inscription.

Figure-work: This plaque is very fragmentary. All that is left of Fortuna (?) are her head and chest facing the spectator, part of her cornucopia held in her left hand and parts of a rudder (?) at her right side. On either side of her is a spiral column.

## (i) Victory

25. From Stony Stratford: British Museum.
- <sup>29</sup>

Height 87.5 mm.

No inscription.

Figure-work: The picture shows a double shrine. Each portion has its own separate empty gabled pediment, but the central of the three spirally fluted columns is shared between them. The left-hand shrine is occupied by a native Mars (No. 32 below), the right-hand one by a Victory who advances rapidly rightwards, turning her back to Mars. Her long tunic swirls round her hips and legs and she carries a palm-branch. Her head and arms are lost.

## III. CELTIC DEITIES

## (a) Native Mars: Toutates

26. From Barkway: British Museum.
- <sup>30</sup>

Height 512 mm. (Fig. 6)

Inscription: *Marti/Toutati/Ti Claudius Primus/Attii liber(tus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. On an ansate rectangular panel.

No figure-work.



*(British Museum)*

Roman votive plaques

Fig. 6 Nos. 26, 28–34 Mars Toutates (right) and unnamed native Mars, from Barkway and Stony Stratford.

## (b) Native Mars: Alator

27. From Barkway: British Museum.<sup>31</sup>

Height 180 mm. (Fig. 7.1)

Inscription: *D(eo) Marti Alatori/Dum(nonius?) Censorinus/Gemelli fil(ius)/v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. Below the figure-work on an ansate rectangular panel.

Figure-work: The god stands in a shrine with gabled pediment and spirally fluted columns. His body faces the spectator, while his head is turned to the left. He wears a knee-length tunic, a metal cuirass, a crested helmet and greaves. He holds a spear in his right hand, his left rests on the shield at his side.

## (c) Native Mars: unnamed

28–34. From Barkway and Stony Stratford: British Museum.<sup>32</sup>  
(Fig. 6)

No inscriptions.

Figure-work: All of the seven pieces show an unnamed native Mars standing, with his body facing the spectator and his head turned leftwards, including No. 31, where Mars is grouped with an unidentifiable deity, and No. 32, where a second shrine is occupied by Victory (No. 25 above), and excluding No. 28, where Mars looks rightwards. In all cases Mars wears a crested helmet, a knee-length tunic and a metal cuirass, and holds a spear in his right hand, resting his left on the shield at his side. In Nos. 28, 30 and 31 greaves are worn, boots in Nos. 29, 32–34. All are in shrines with empty gabled pediments, apart from No. 30 which has a flat entablature, all these shrines having spirally fluted columns. But the gods of Nos. 29 and 31 are in decorative rectangular frames: cf. the Maiden Castle Minerva, No. 22 above. No. 28 is further exceptional in that the god has two shrines — an inner, smaller one, in which he stands, and an outer, larger one, enclosing the inner one. These minor variations relieve the standardisation of the divine figures.

## (d) Cocidius

35. From Bewcastle: Carlisle Museum.<sup>33</sup>

Height 120 mm.

Inscription: *Deo Cocidio*. Below the figure-work.

Figure-work: This plaque and No. 36 below are obviously extremely crude and illiterate imitations of those of the Barkway and Stony Stratford type. Cocidius would appear to be a local form of Mars: cf. the altar from Carlisle dedicated *Marti Cocidio*.<sup>34</sup>

Here the god stands wholly and rigidly facing the spectator in a shrine with rounded roof and spirally fluted columns. He wears a short tunic, holds a very heavy and clumsy spear in his right hand, and rests his left on a cylindrical shield at his side.

36. From Bewcastle: Carlisle Museum.<sup>35</sup>

Height 80 mm.

Inscription: *Deo/do Coc(i)d(io)/Auntinus o*. Below the figure-work.

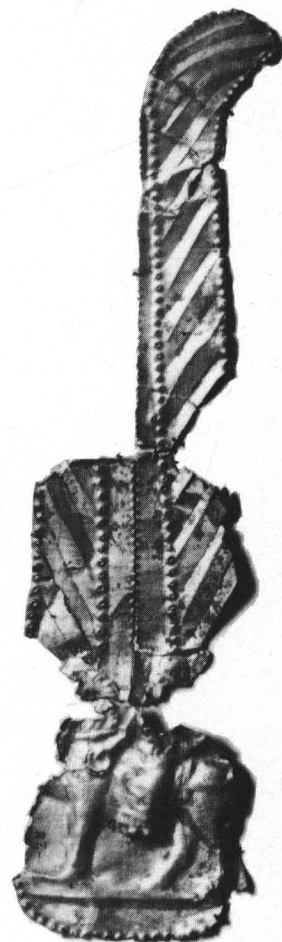
Figure-work: The god stands facing the spectator in a shrine similar to that on No. 35 above. He holds a spear in his right hand, but the object in his left is undecipherable. The outer row of notches along the edge of the plaque may represent the leaf or feather markings, which are quite clearly rendered on No. 35.



*(British Museum)*

Roman votive plaques

Fig. 7.1 No. 27 Mars Alator, from Barkway.



*(British Museum)*

Fig. 7.2 No. 38 Epona, from Pessinus.

(e) Abandinus

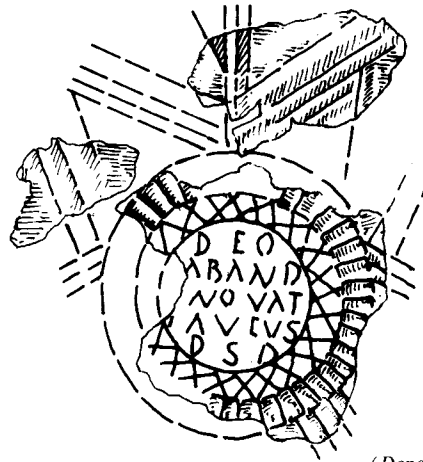
37. From a temple site at Godmanchester: at the Department of the Environment. Bronze.<sup>36</sup>

Diameter 55 mm. (Fig. 8)

Inscription: *Deo|Aband|(i)no Val|ancus|d(e) s(uo) d(edit)*. In a roundel.

No figure-work.

This plaque was found with four other bronze leaves or feathers, on which, as on the bronze from Cavenham Heath<sup>37</sup> and on a number of the silver ones from Mauer a. d. Url (see above), there is



(Department of the Environment)

### Roman votive plaques

Fig. 8 No. 37 Abandinus, from Godmanchester.

neither inscription nor figure-work; the Water Newton Christian silver hoard (see below) also contains some uninscribed and undecorated leaves or feathers. The god Abandinus is otherwise unknown.

(f) Epona

38. From Pessinus (Bala-Hissar) in Galatia: British Museum.<sup>38</sup>

Height 265 mm. (Fig. 7.2)

No inscription.

Figure-work: At the base of the leaf or feather, directly backed against the veining or ribbing, is a goddess seated side-saddle on a horse or mule which paces leftwards. Her body faces the spectator, but her head is turned to the left. She holds a *patera* in her right hand and grasps with her left a fold of her cloak. Her long tunic reaches to her feet. Walters calls her Selene, but there is no trace of a crescent and her attitude and attributes are those of Epona, who could have been worshipped in Celtic Galatia along with oriental gods.

(g) Tres Matres

39. From London, Moorgate Street: Museum of London.<sup>39</sup>

Height 112 mm. (Fig. 1)

No inscription.

Figure-work: The three Mothers are seated on a bench within a rectangular shrine. Above the head of each goddess is a rounded arch forming a kind of canopy. All three are fully draped in long tunics and cloaks. Each holds a branch or reed (symbol of fertility?) in her left hand and a *patera* in her right. Although all three face the spectator, their attitudes are not rigidly hieratic, but free and naturalistic, the right- and left-hand figures being slightly turned towards the central one.

## (h) Jupiter Poeninus

40. From the temple site on the Great St. Bernard Pass: Hospice Museum.<sup>40</sup>

Height 240 mm.

Inscription: *Iovi Py/nino [sic] [e] /x voto/C(aius?) I(ulius?) p(osuit?) /v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) [merito?]* On a rectangular ansate panel.

Figure-work: One account<sup>41</sup> describes this as a crude human figure — representing Jupiter Poeninus? The published illustration<sup>42</sup> seems to show a minute human figure below the inscription. Jupiter Poeninus was a local Alpine god worshipped on the Pass. This is the only silver plaque found with a large number of non-leaf or feather bronze plaques dedicated to the god either in thanksgiving for a safe crossing of the Pass, or as a prayer for one, by army officers and soldiers, civilian officials and private persons. This plaque is particularly palm-leaf like (see p. 144 below).

## DISCUSSION

The above catalogue of figured and/or inscribed plaques makes no claim to be exhaustive. But on the assumption that it may be taken to be reasonably representative, the following conclusions may be drawn. All are from the provinces, none from the Mediterranean areas, and from the northern and western provinces, apart from Anatolian Galatia, with its admixture of Celtic elements in its population. The style of the figure-work that most of them display is, however, if provincial, well within the classical tradition and would seem to be the product of classically trained craftsmen. Exceptions are the bronze Minerva plaque from Maiden Castle, Dorset, which, while wholly classical in motif, is crude in execution, and the two naïve Cocidius plaques from Bewcastle, obviously local work, but still faintly reminiscent of the Romano-Celtic Mars.

That these leaf or feather plaques were votive objects offered at shrines would appear to be established beyond any doubt. Many were found on or near the sites of temples, those of Jupiter Dolichenus at Heddernheim and Mauer a. d. Url, of Mithras at Stockstadt, and of Abandinus at Godmanchester, for example; or, as at Vichy, Barkway and Stony Stratford, they came to light in caches that seem to suggest the nearby presence of shrines as yet undetected. Five are certainly, two very probably, from Roman Germany — one from Stockstadt, one from Niederbieber, three from Heddernheim and two from unrecorded German provenances; three are from Galatia, sixteen from Roman Austria — Mauer a. d. Url, two from Romania — (*Apulum*), twelve from Gaul — Deneuvre and Vichy, one from Switzerland — Great St. Bernard Pass. Britain is a productive source, having yielded sixteen — seven from Barkway, five from Stony Stratford, one from Maiden Castle, one from Godmanchester, and two from Bewcastle. The fact that of all these only two, both from Britain (Maiden Castle and Godmanchester) are of bronze, the rest of silver, occasionally gilded, attests their character as votive gifts of value. Feathers or leaves uninscribed and unfigured, which are not included in this study, whether of silver or of bronze, were clearly less elaborate, and perhaps cheaper, offerings of the same type.

In the above catalogue the deities represented in the figure-work and/or named in the dedicatory inscriptions are without exception pagan. Of the oriental gods the Commagenian Jupiter Dolichenus, together with Juno Regina and Jupiter Sabazius, being the subject of thirty-two of the pieces listed, account for far and away the largest number of dedicatory offerings. A large proportion of these are from the military areas of Roman Austria and Roman Germany. In Britain Celtic gods, native forms of Mars, the Tres Matres, and the otherwise unknown Abandinus, predominate, again with a military

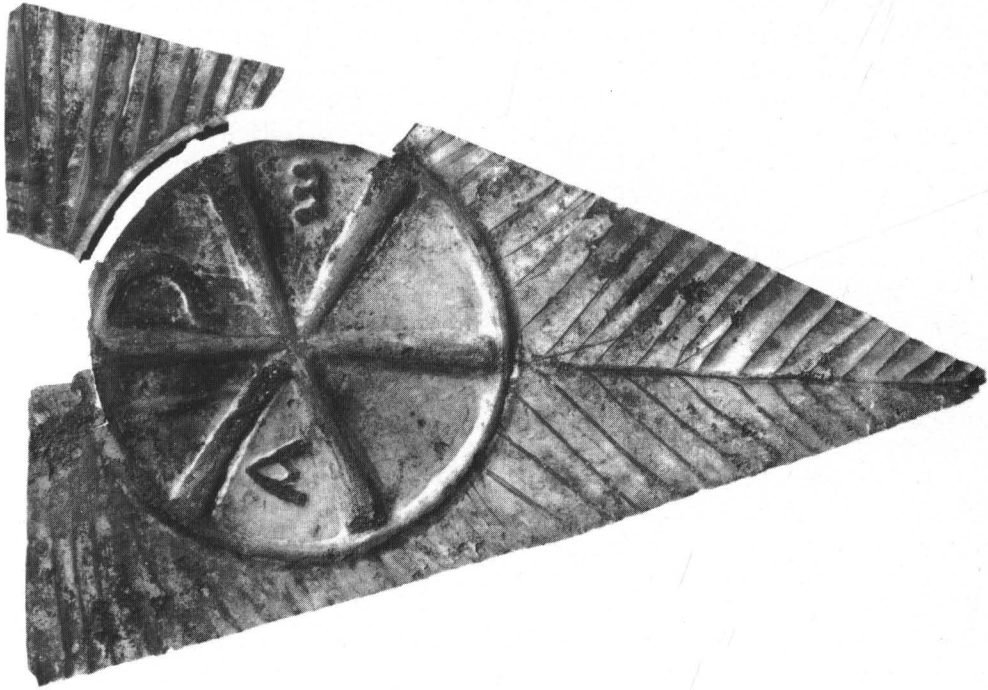


emphasis. Of the Graeco-Roman deities, the Roman Jupiter, Apollo, the Roman Mars, Mercury, Vulcan, Hercules, Minerva and Fortuna all appear,

As regards the chronology of these objects — there is little evidence for enabling us to assign them to more precise dates than the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. The Central European pieces are likely to antedate the destructive barbarian raids of the middle of the 3rd century. The dedication to Hercules Augustus at Mauer a. d. Url suggests, perhaps, the reign of Commodus; and the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus is believed to have reached its zenith under the Severan dynasty. The temple at Godmanchester, near which the Abandinus plaque was found, has been dated to the later 3rd century. The temple and 'priest's house' where the Maiden Castle Minerva came to light has been dated by its coins to the second half of the 4th century; but that is no proof that all the other finds from the site are so late. The Bewcastle pair was discovered among 3rd-century debris. For the rest no dating criteria have been recorded.

Roman Britain has the distinction of having produced the only Christian examples of leaf or feather plaques so far known. Since the spectacular discovery of the Water Newton hoard of Romano-Christian silver, made in February 1975, has already been fully catalogued, discussed, and illustrated,<sup>43</sup> only a few observations on it need be made here. Of the eighteen plaques of this type in the treasure, including one gold disc (Fig. 9 top left; diameter 49 mm.), eight are inscribed with the Chi-Rho monogram in a roundel (e.g. Fig. 9 right; height 157 mm.), two with the Chi-Rho in a space reserved for it in the leaf or feather field. Except in one case the monogram is accompanied by Alpha and Omega. Eight have no inscription. One of the pieces with the Chi-Rho in a roundel has also a longer text — *Anicilla votum quod promisit complevit* — (Fig. 9 bottom left; width 100 mm.), confirming in this Christian context the votive, as against the crown-decoration, function of all the plaques of this class, pagan as well as Christian. For there can be little doubt that the Christian plaques, probably dating from the early 4th century after the Peace of the Church, when the Chi-Rho could be openly displayed, were modelled on the inscribed and figured pagan ones, which were, as we have seen, plentiful in Britain. The Christian pieces could, indeed, have been made in this country either by native craftsmen or by immigrants, perhaps from southern Gaul, where the open Rho (as contrasted with the closed one), found on eight of the fifteen occurrences of the monogram in the treasure, was especially prevalent.<sup>44</sup> The Chi-Rho monogram, commonly used in early Christian art, not only as an inscription, but to represent Christ Himself, takes the place on the Water Newton plaques of the deities depicted or named in inscriptions on the pagan plaques. The Chi-Rho is, in fact, a figure-inscription.

Noll has suggested<sup>45</sup> that the leaf or feather form of these plaques was intended to represent a stylised palm-leaf — obviously most appropriate to military deities such as Jupiter Dolichenus, Mars and Minerva, but also applicable to other heavenly patrons as victors over death, disease and evils of all kinds, and as givers of prosperity and fruitfulness. The power to secure such benefits for their suppliants would, moreover, be even greater if two or more deities were combined on a single votive palm-leaf, for instance, Jupiter with Vulcan, Mars with Victory, Mercury with Mars and Fortuna (see catalogue above). Similarly, plaques dedicated to a whole variety of deities were sometimes offered in the same pagan shrine. If a palm-leaf was, in fact, the interpretation that antiquity put upon these objects, we can understand why early Christians adopted the form for votive offerings in churches — to symbolise the victory of the Cross.



(British Museum)

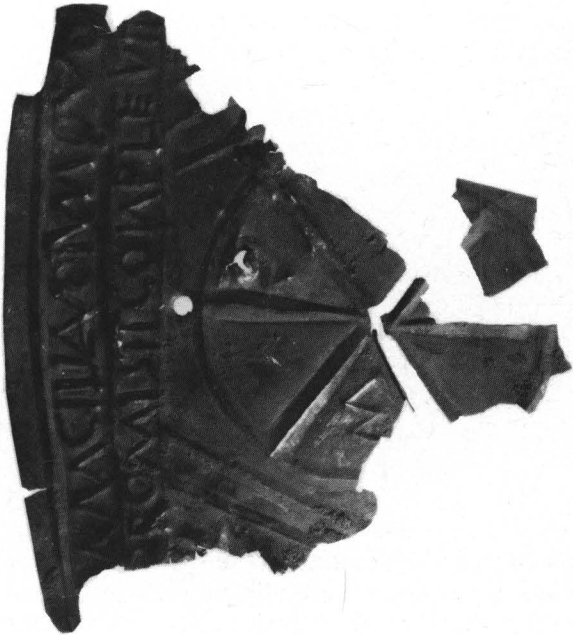


Fig. 9 Romano-Christian plaques from Water Newton.

How these plaques were dedicated in temples and churches we do not know. Some of the pagan pieces (e.g. No. 1 in catalogue above<sup>46</sup>) and some Christian ones (e.g. Water Newton, Fig. 9) are pierced by small holes near the bases or at the centre, as though for mounting the plaques, by means of tiny rivets, on a now-vanished strengthening backing — of wood or leather or linen. But most exhibit no signs of having been attached to anything. Were they displayed on shelves or brackets fixed to the interior walls of religious buildings? Or were they simply piled on plates, offered at altars, whether pagan or Christian, or before pagan statues, and then stored away in treasuries?

That metal leaves of this type were produced and esteemed for their intrinsic value, quite apart from their religious role as votive offerings, can be deduced from the miniature in the *Notitia Dignitatum* that depicts the insignia of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*.<sup>47</sup> There, in the company of bags, dishes, and coffers of coins and of elaborate buckles, are five plain leaves, presumably of gold or silver, unscribed and unfigured, resting with their broad ends bottommost, apparently on a kind of shelf and leaning, with their pointed ends uppermost, against a wall. This picture may give us some idea as to how the votive plaques were set out in temples and churches.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> N. Layard 'Bronze Crowns and a Roman Head-dress from a Roman site at Cavenham Heath, Suffolk' *Antiq. J.* 5 (1925) 258–265; R. E. M. Wheeler *London in Roman Times* London Museum Catalogue No. 3 (London, 1930) 47.
- <sup>2</sup> R. Ghirshman *Iran* (London, 1962) Fig. 79.
- <sup>3</sup> R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965) 228 No. 134 and Pl. 89.
- <sup>4</sup> K. Zangemeister 'Neue Dolichenus-Inschriften' *Bonner Jahrb.* 107 (1901) 61–62, Pl. 6, Fig. 1; H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Silver Plate, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* (London, 1921) 55–56 No. 224 Fig. 64; Layard *op. cit.* in note 1, 264; A. H. Kan *Jupiter Dolichenus* (Leiden, 1943) Pl. 19 Fig. 22; P. Merlat *Répertoire des Inscriptions et Monuments Figurés du Culte de Jupiter Dolichenus* (Paris, 1951) Pl. 33; O. Doppelfeld ed. *Römer am Rhein* (1967) 247–248 No. C.214, Pl. 95.
- <sup>5</sup> Zangemeister *ibid.* 63, Pl. 6 Figs. 2 and 3; Walters *ibid.* 56 No. 225; Merlat *ibid.* Pl. 32; Doppelfeld *ibid.* 247 No. C. 213.
- <sup>6</sup> Zangemeister *ibid.* 63, Pl. 7 Fig. 1; Walters *ibid.* 57 No. 226, Fig. 65; Kan *ibid.* Pl. 15, Fig. 24; Merlat *ibid.* Pl. 34; Doppelfeld *ibid.* 247 No. C. 212.
- <sup>7</sup> E. Gerhard 'Jupiter Dolichenus' *Bonner Jahrb.* 35 (1863) 31–33, Pl. 1 (left); Zangemeister *ibid.* 63–65, Pl. 7 Fig. 2; Merlat *ibid.* Pl. 31 Fig. 2.
- <sup>8</sup> Gerhard *ibid.* 33–34, Pl. 1 (right); Zangemeister *ibid.* 63–65; Merlat *ibid.* Pl. 31 Fig. 2.
- <sup>9</sup> R. Noll *Der Grosse Dolichenusfund von Mauer a. d. Url* Führer durch die Sonderausstellung (Vienna, 1941) 13 No. 7; 27 Fig. 7; Kan *op. cit.* in note 4, Pl. 8 Fig. 14 No. 3.
- <sup>10</sup> Noll *ibid.* 13–14.
- <sup>11</sup> Noll *ibid.* 14 No. 20.
- <sup>12</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 13 No. 1496.
- <sup>13</sup> Walters *op. cit.* in note 4, 58 No. 228, Fig. 66 (centre); Layard *op. cit.* in note 1, 264, Fig. 7 (centre).
- <sup>14</sup> Walters *op. cit.* in note 4, 58 No. 229, Fig. 66 (right); Layard *op. cit.* in note 1, 264, Fig. 7 (right).
- <sup>15</sup> F. Drexel *Das Kastell Stockstadt Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes des Roemerreiches* 33 (1910) 93 No. 61, Fig. 9; *Germania Romana* 4 (2nd ed. Bamberg, 1928) 57–58, Pl. 35, Fig. 2; F. Saxl *Mithras* (Berlin, 1931) 19 Fig. 59; M. J. Vermaseren *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* 2 (The Hague, 1960) 94 No. 1206, Fig. 316.
- <sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 12, 13 No. 4735; *Bull. Soc. Nat. Antiq. France* (1890) 289–294, Fig. on 300.
- <sup>17</sup> Walters *op. cit.* in note 4, 62–63 No. 237, Fig. 74 (above).
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 63 No. 238, Fig. 75.
- <sup>19</sup> W. Dorow *Römische Altertümer in und um Neuwied* (1827) Pl. 14, Fig. a (above); P. La Baume 'Signumscheibe und Merkurrelief von Niederbieber' *Bonner Jahrb.* 177 (1977) 565–568, Fig. 2 (above).
- <sup>20</sup> Dorow *ibid.* Pl. 14, Fig. b (below); La Baume *ibid.* Fig. 2 (below).
- <sup>21</sup> *Alsófehérmegyei Történelmi, Régészeti és Természettudományi Társulat* 4 (Érkönyve, 1891) Pl. 8; *Apulum* 15 (1977) 219, Fig. 4.
- <sup>22</sup> Walters *op. cit.* in note 4, 62–63 No. 237, Fig. 74 (above).
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 61–62 No. 235, Fig. 72.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 62 No. 236, Fig. 73.
- <sup>25</sup> R. Noll 'Zu den Silbervotiven aus dem Dolichenusfund von Mauer a. d. Url' *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Instituts in Wien* 38 (1950) 127–133, Fig. 46 in col. 127.
- <sup>26</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler *Maiden Castle, Dorset Rep. Res. Com. Soc. Antiq. Lon. No. 12* (Oxford, 1943) 75–76, 131, 133, Pl. 39B.
- <sup>27</sup> Dorow *op. cit.* in note 19, Pl. 14, Fig. a (above); La Baume *loc. cit.* in note 19.
- <sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 21, Pl. 7; *Apulum* 15 (1977) 221, Fig. 6.
- <sup>29</sup> Walters *op. cit.* in note 4, 63 No. 239, Fig. 76.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 59–60 No. 230, Fig. 67.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 60–61 No. 231, Fig. 68.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 60–61, 63–64 Nos. 232–234, 237, 239–241, Figs. 69–71, 74, 76–78. Here numbered 28 to 34 in the text.

- <sup>33</sup> I. A. Richmond *et al.* 'The Roman Fort at Bewcastle' *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Archaeol. Soc.* 38 (1938) 208 and Fig. 14; *J. Roman Stud.* 28 (1938) 204(a), Pl. 34, Fig. 2.
- <sup>34</sup> R. P. Wright and E. J. Phillips *Catalogue of the Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in Carlisle Museum, Tullie House* (Carlisle, 1975) 26 No. A2.
- <sup>35</sup> Richmond *loc. cit.* in note 33.
- <sup>36</sup> *Britannia* 3 (1972) 320 and 4 (1973) 325.
- <sup>37</sup> Layard *op. cit.* in note 1, 261, Fig. 4.
- <sup>38</sup> Walters *op. cit.* in note 4, 56 No. 227, Fig. 66; Layard *ibid.* 264, Fig. 7 (left).
- <sup>39</sup> Wheeler *op. cit.* in note 1, 47, Pl. 20; Merrifield *loc. cit.* in note 3.
- <sup>40</sup> H. Dessau ed. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1962) No. 9336; *Inscriptiones Italiae* 11.1 (1932) 38 No. 105; E. Howald and E. Meyer *Die römische Schweiz* (1941) 218 No. 87; F. Stähelin *Die Schweiz in Römischer Zeit* (Basle, 1948) 344–348; Noll *op. cit.* in note 25, col. 138 No. 34; *Bull. Soc. Nat. Antiq. France* (1904) 181–184, Fig. on 182.
- <sup>41</sup> *Inscriptiones Italiae ibid, loc. cit.*
- <sup>42</sup> *Bull. Soc. Nat. Antiq. France* (1904) Fig. on 182.
- <sup>43</sup> K. S. Painter *Water Newton Early Christian Silver* (British Museum London, 1977); J. P. C. Kent and K. S. Painter eds. *Wealth of the Roman World* (British Museum London, 1977) 29–33.
- <sup>44</sup> M. A. Frantz 'The Provenance of the Open Rho in the Christian Monograms' *Amer. J. Archaeol.* 2 ser., 33 (1929) Pl. 3 opp. 12.
- <sup>45</sup> Noll *op. cit.* in note 25, cols. 137–141.
- <sup>46</sup> Noll *op. cit.* in note 9, 27, Fig. 5.
- <sup>47</sup> See for example B. Overbeck *Argentum Romanum* (Munich, 1973) Fig. on 57.



(Museum of London)

Roman statuettes;

Fig. 1 Nos. 1-3 Mother goddesses. (1:1)

# SOME INTERESTING TYPES OF CLAY STATUETTES OF THE ROMAN PERIOD FOUND IN LONDON

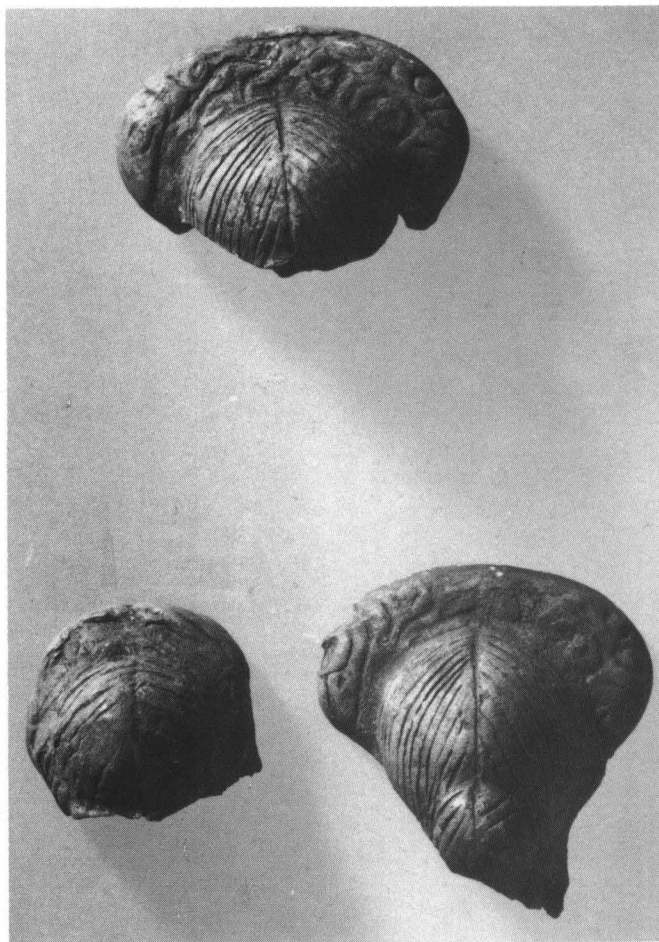
FRANK JENKINS

Compared with other pottery forms produced in the potteries of Roman Gaul, principally in the 2nd century of our era, clay statuettes may have been of less economic importance, but they were in sufficient demand for the potters to produce them as profitable sidelines. The industry was organised on mass production lines, and by employing the mould technique any number of statuettes of a single type could be mechanically produced. Hence, the only person who could claim to be an artist was the modeller who created the original model whence the moulds were taken. No claim can be made that these statuettes display a high order of artistic merit, but as the last to be made in antiquity, they are not without interest to archaeologists and students of provincial Roman ceramic art.

According to the pattern of the distribution of the find-places in Britain, and the comparatively large number of statuettes found in *Londinium* and its immediate extra-mural environs, it seems that the city was one of the principal markets in this country. The scope of this paper is confined to describing and discussing a few of the types in the London collections, which, for various reasons, are particularly interesting.

## A. MOTHER GODDESS

1. Find-place: Liverpool Street.  
Present location: Museum of London (Acc. No. 2088).<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1 right).  
Lacks the head, otherwise complete. The goddess is holding an infant to each breast.
2. Find-place: Austin Friars.  
Present location: Museum of London (Acc. No. A243).<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1 left).  
Lacks the head, otherwise complete. The goddess is holding an infant to each breast.
3. Find-place: Copthall Court.  
Present location: Museum of London (Acc. No. A244).<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 1 centre).  
Lacks the head, otherwise complete. The goddess holds one infant to the right breast.
4. Find-place: Aldgate; from a pit of late 2nd – early 3rd-century date.  
Present location: Museum of London (Acc. No. 26401).<sup>4</sup>  
Front of the base showing the feet of the goddess emerging from under the hem of the skirt.
5. Find-place: Aldgate; from same pit as A4 above.  
Present location: Museum of London (Acc. No. 26402).<sup>5</sup>  
Fragment of the right side of the basket chair with stylized plaited design outlining the front edge.
6. Find-place: New Fresh Wharf (Thames Waterfront); in a deposit of mid 3rd-century date. Excavations by the Museum of London, Department of Urban Archaeology (Site Inv. No. NFW 74.166, 75.4.284).  
Fragment of the front half showing the right arm of the goddess, a portion of the head of an infant who is held at the right breast, and a portion of the skirt of the robe.



(British Museum)

Roman statuettes;

Fig. 2 No. 8 Mother goddesses. (1:1)

7. Find-place: New Fresh Wharf (Thames Waterfront); in a deposit dated second half of 2nd century (same site as A6 above). Excavations by the Museum of London, Department of Urban Archaeology (Site Inv. No. NFW 74, 75.4.389).  
Small fragment of the left side of a basket chair.
8. London; find-places not recorded.  
Present location: British Museum (Acc. Nos. 56. 7-1. 325, 326, and 328).<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 2).  
Three fragments of detached heads.

The goddess is portrayed as a dignified matron seated in a high-backed basket chair in the act of suckling either one or two infants. For this reason, although her true identity is at present unknown, she is referred to as the *dea nutrix*.<sup>7</sup>

An examination of the garment worn by the goddess reveals that it is what might be termed a maternity robe worn over an ankle-length *tunica*. There is no evidence to suggest that it opened down the front, or that it was secured by any kind of fastening. It seems to have consisted of a single rectangular-shaped piece of material designed to hang down the front and back of the body, with a hole provided for the head and a v-shaped cut to form the collar, and open at the sides from top to bottom to leave the arms bare. The garment is gathered together in front to expose both breasts, and hangs in deep, narrow loop-like folds between the legs. It seems noteworthy that this style of robe is worn only by the Central Gaulish *deae nutrices*, for the nursing matrons portrayed by the clay statuettes derived from the Rhine-Mosel *officinae* wear a quite different style of garment which is worn to leave only one shoulder and breast exposed, and is not open at the sides. Unlike the Central Gaulish matrons the Rhine-Mosel versions nurse only one infant, who is not suckling.<sup>8</sup> In view of these differences it is possible that in the Central Gaulish series we have a regional variation of the garment worn by nursing mothers. A common feature is that the skirt of the garment hangs in deep v-shaped folds represented by incised lines from the mould. The hem of the skirt is represented by a single incised line bounding a raised band, evidently to indicate the double thickness of the cloth. Very little has been attempted by the modeller to suggest the roundness of the legs of the goddess concealed by the skirts.

The basket-chair is a piece of furniture exclusive to the Central Gaulish statuettes of the *dea nutrix* type. The date at which the basket chair first appeared in western Europe is uncertain, but by the 2nd century of our era the type had been firmly established on the carved stone and marble sculptures of the west, to which time these clay statuettes of the *dea nutrix* belong.<sup>9</sup> The chair has a rounded back which supports the goddess up to the level of her shoulders, while the sides curve round towards the front to form the arms. The chair was apparently designed to stand on the ground on a semi-circular base without feet.

Although the definition varies from statuette to statuette dependent upon the condition of the moulds and the efficiency of the moulding, the woven wickerwork and the outlines of the vertical canes which supported it are discernible. The pattern of the weave is indicated by short obliquely incised lines arranged in herringbone formation in vertical bands up the sides and the back of the chair. There is also a band of plaited design outlining the edges of the back and the sides. All these features are characteristic of the chairs in which the *dea nutrix* is seated, and are exclusive to those of Central Gaulish manufacture, for the chairs of the clay statuettes of nursing mothers of Rhine-Mosel origin never display any signs of basketry.<sup>10</sup>

The discovery of statuettes and the moulds for same at Toulon-sur-Allier and elsewhere in the Allier district proves that this part of Central Gaul was the centre of production of statuettes of the *dea nutrix* type.<sup>11</sup> It is possible that they are inferior copies of the *deae nutrices* which bear the name of Pistillus, who seems to have had his *officina* at Autun (Saône-et-Loire), and depicted the basketry in a more realistic fashion.<sup>12</sup>

All the statuettes of this type found in London now lack the heads, so the hair-styles affected by the goddess are unknown. The general style of these statuettes, however, is



very similar to two complete examples found at Canterbury and another from Welwyn, and therefore the hair-styles should be similar.<sup>13</sup> There are two styles. One Canterbury example has the hair drawn up on either side of the head leaving the ears uncovered, and secured in a large chignon perched high on the crown. The other Canterbury example and also that from Welwyn have the hair parted in the centre and arranged in deep, full waves to frame the brow, almost concealing the ears. It is gathered or plaited in a spreading pad up the back of the head, and is secured high up on the crown. Another hair-style is represented by pieces of detached heads from unspecified sites in London (No. 8 above), which are closely similar to those from actual moulds found at Toulon-sur-Allier, Vichy and Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre.<sup>14</sup> This hair-style resembles the elaborate creations affected by high-ranking ladies of fashion at the late Flavian and Trajanic courts.<sup>15</sup> The hair, which probably incorporated alien hair, is piled high in the front in a large roll, has a central vertical parting down the back of the head, and is secured in a small neat bun at the centre. As represented on the statuettes, the roll of hair is ornamented with small motifs in relief resembling a letter S in retrograde fashion, perhaps to indicate small curls. If the statuettes reflect contemporary hair-styles then it follows that they were produced during the period from the late 1st century to the reign of Trajan, because under Hadrian the ladies of fashion favoured a simpler coiffure based on classical Greek and Hellenistic models.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately the statuettes found in Britain which are of the *dea nutrix* type are not closely dated, but what evidence there is suggests that they arrived in this country at some date in the latter part of the first half of the 2nd century.

As this type of statuette has been found at a number of sites of Romano-Celtic temples in Gaul, there is every reason for regarding them as cult objects, and the matron they portray as a goddess.<sup>17</sup> The use of these statuettes as grave offerings is also well attested. The concept of an enthroned matron nursing or suckling infants as one manifestation of the universal mother-goddess appeared at a very early date in the Mediterranean world. She was primarily concerned with fertility, and her appearance in the guise of a nursing mother strongly indicates her concern with that quality in human beings.

The fusion of Roman and foreign elements had a prime place in Roman policy which is well displayed in Roman provincial religion. It is possible that in this process of *interpretatio Romana*, a native Gaulish mother-goddess, equipped with her newly acquired iconography from classical sources, was introduced into the Romano-Gaulish pantheon. Her worshippers would have made of her what they wanted her to be. Hence, as her clay images in this instance so strongly display the human motherhood theme, and the usual attributes of a goddess of agriculture are absent, the fertility of human beings must be indicated. If this is true, then it would be only natural for her worshippers to turn to her as a great goddess who bestowed fertility, and presided over the safe delivery and protection of newly born children. Her presence in funereal surroundings does not conflict with this idea for it was to her each individual returned at death.

#### B. 'VÉNUS À GAINE'

9. Find-place: Bank of England, Lothbury side.

Present location: British Museum (Acc. No. 1928. 7-13. 10).<sup>18</sup> (Fig. 3).

This is possibly one of the most enigmatic statuettes in the whole series produced in the Gaulish *officinae*. Compared with most other statuettes of Venus from that source, the style is more primitive looking and the quality of workmanship is of a much lower order.<sup>19</sup>



*(British Museum)*

Roman statuettes;

Fig. 3 No. 9 'Venus à gaine'. (1:1)

It belongs to a series which includes various versions of a nude female personage known for convenience of identification as the 'Vénus à gaine'. It has an interesting pattern of distribution in Gaul following the Allier and the Loire northwards into Normandy and Brittany. The goddess is nude, or almost so, and stands stiffly erect in a frontal attitude between what are, perhaps, two *stelae* which are adorned on the front and rear faces with a distinctive ornamentation in relief, which is sometimes distributed over her body.

It is at present the sole example of the type found in Britain. It is now 115 mm. high and lacks the head. It was cast in a two-piece mould in rather flat relief, the front and rear halves being subsequently luted together. The arms are rather spindly and ill-proportioned. The goddess stands stiffly erect, and is nude except for a broad band, edged with a bead row, which covers the breasts. A necklace of circular beads hangs round the shoulders. The right hand is placed on the body just below the breasts, and possibly holds some object, an apple or some other fruit. The left arm hangs stiffly by the left side with the back of the hand facing the observer, and the badly modelled fingers are slightly outspread.

The goddess stands between two *stelae* which are ornamented with various embossed motives. Those on the *stèle* to the left of the goddess consist of three rosettes on the front and six Maltese crosses within circles on the back. The *stèle* to the right has ten raised studs up the front, and seven small crescents within circles at the back. It is, of course, possible that these motifs were merely space-fillers because the artist who created the original model abhorred a vacuum in his design. On the other hand they may have had some religious significance like the allied designs carved on a series of funeral *stelae* concentrated in the Pyrenean valleys, where they are evidently rooted in the religious conceptions of the region, and are probably survivals of Iberian symbolism.<sup>20</sup> At present it is impossible to determine whether much earlier Iberian ideas influenced the ornamentation of these statuettes of the 'Vénus à gaine' type, but other evidence may have a useful bearing on our enquiry.

Other types of clay statuettes of Venus contemporary with the 'Vénus à gaine' type are particularly numerous in Brittany and Normandy which comprised the Gaulish province of Armorica, a remarkable number having been found in the Breton megaliths, which are closely associated with a traditional mother-goddess cult of great antiquity.<sup>21</sup> This association of the clay statuettes of Venus, therefore, may be significant, for there is a wealth of evidence from many sites in Gaul which strongly suggests that they represent a native goddess in Roman guise; hence she is frequently referred to as the 'pseudo-Venus'. In other words she is another manifestation of the universal mother-goddess and her presence in the Breton megaliths as well as elsewhere in Armorica ought to indicate that the cult lasted at least until Roman times. It follows, therefore, that if the 'Vénus à gaine' is a manifestation of the mother-goddess of Celtic origin, and as the clay statuettes which portray her have their main distribution in Armorica, then it was a cult indigenous to that region. Although the possibility is not stressed, it is perhaps worthwhile to mention that the 'Vénus à gaine' derives her name because she stands between two pedestals or *stelae*, which may be menhirs adorned with the traditional symbols of her cult which stem from much earlier conceptions of the mother-goddess of the megalithic monuments. Until more positive evidence is available these attractive theories remain unproven. Perhaps, therefore, it is prudent to regard this rather primitive style of statuette, with its distinctive

ornamentation, as a Celtic adaptation of one of the classical art-types of Roman Venus, possibly indigenous to Armorica.

The location of the industry which produced the London statuette and its Gaulish counterparts is debatable. It is true that two examples have been found at Toulon-sur-Allier, and one fragment came from the debris of a kiln at Vichy which suggests that they were products of the important industry in that region.<sup>22</sup> This prompted Jullian to suggest that the Allier potters produced this unusual type for people living in the western part of France, *i.e.* Armorica.<sup>23</sup> Coutil, on the other hand, basing his conclusions on a study of the pattern of distribution of the find-places, suggested that the centre of production lay somewhere in Normandy.<sup>24</sup> In supporting this, Blanchet pointed out that, as the kilns which made clay statuettes had been found further westward at Reze (Loire-Inférieure) and at Treguennec (Finistère) it was no longer necessary to assume that Armorica was supplied with statuettes from the Allier.<sup>25</sup> In view of what has been said it will be readily apparent that the source of manufacture of the London example of the 'Vénus à gaine' must remain an open question.

Since it is the only example found in Britain it tells us virtually nothing of how it reached London. It could have arrived as part of a consignment of other types of statuettes in the course of trade, or perhaps as a single item in the baggage of a Gaulish immigrant who wished to continue the worship of his homeland goddess on alien soil. It is possible, but far from certain, that the owner was a native of Armorica.

C. DIANA LUCIFERA

10. Find-place: Leadenhall Street (1878).

Present location: Museum of London (Acc. No. 18001).<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 4).



(Museum of London)

Roman statuettes;

Fig. 4 No. 10 Diana Lucifera. (1:1)

This is the upper part of a statuette made of white clay, of which only the head of a female personage surmounted by a crescent moon and surrounded by a veil now survives. When complete the statuette would have been very similar to a complete example, not from the same mould, found at Nijmegen (Holland) in a Roman cemetery which was in use between A.D. 70 and 260.<sup>27</sup> This displays a slightly better quality than that from London. It portrays the female personage poised as if ascending in flight. Around the head crowned with a crescent moon, a large veil billows up, as with the London example. She wears a short *tunica* which is caught in at the waist, over a full length garment, the skirt of which billows out behind her. In her left hand she holds a torch with the flame pointing downwards, and an empty *patera* in her right hand.



Roman statuettes;

(British Museum)

Fig. 5 No. 11 Thorn-puller. (1:1)

These clay statuettes are evidently cheap mass-produced inferior copies of the fine sculptured statues of Diana Lucifera,<sup>28</sup> the art-type of which goes back to the 4th century B.C., and were evidently made in the 2nd century of our era, probably at Cologne, an important centre and the most northern of those which specialised in the production of clay statuettes by the mould technique. Versions in bronze are also known and have been discussed by Neugebauer.<sup>29</sup> The swirling veil is probably symbolic of the all-enshrouding night but it has been said that it assimilates the deity to the sea-goddess.<sup>30</sup> The torch evidently proclaims her as the 'light-bearer'.

D. THORN-PULLER (*SPINARIO*)

11. Find-place: Queen Victoria Street.

Two incomplete examples.

Present location: British Museum (Acc. Nos. 1942. 4-6. 1 and 2).<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 5).

These two incomplete statuettes of nude, seated male personages of which only the torsoes and the stumps of the limbs now survive, were found with a group of samian pottery in a layer of debris attributed to the second fire of Roman London which occurred between the years A.D. 125 and 130.<sup>32</sup> Both examples bear traces of a dark red pigmentation which could be the result of contact with intense heat, or have been applied by the potter to reproduce the colour of samian pottery.

The subject is a nude youth seated on a rock, caught in the act of extracting a thorn from his foot. These statuettes, therefore, are reproductions in clay of the *Spinario*, the well-known Graeco-Roman sculpture in marble, a bronze replica of which (apparently from a fountain) was set up in front of the Lateran in Rome where it was seen by Master Gregory in the 12th century.<sup>33</sup>

That these statuettes were made in Central Gaul at Toulon-sur-Allier is proved by the presence of several moulds in the debris of the kilns situated in the Champ-Lary.<sup>34</sup> These statuettes had a widespread distribution, and examples have been found in Austria, Holland, West Germany and Britain.<sup>35</sup> Several of these were found in graves but they do not seem to have had any obvious ritual purpose. Perhaps these statuettes were merely household ornaments which the dead enjoyed in life and were thought to be appropriate offerings to accompany them into the after-life.

12. Find-place: London; precise site not recorded.

Present location: British Museum (Acc. No. 83.5-9.12). (Fig. 6).

This example of the Thorn-puller was acquired by purchase by the British Museum in 1883. It now consists of the torso complete with the head but lacks the limbs and the rock on which the youth would have been seated. The hair is arranged in deep waves to frame the face and is caught up in a kind of knot on top of the head. It hangs in curls close to the back of the head.

An interesting feature is that the torso is decorated with a band drawn in a dark pigment, consisting of two parallel lines bounded by dots and short strokes, which lies diagonally across the front and continues over the left shoulder across the back. Large cordate leaf motifs outlined with the same pigment are distributed over the rest of the torso. This use of pigments is rather rarely displayed in the wide series of clay statuettes made in the Rhineland and Central Gaul.



(British Museum)

Roman statuettes;

Fig. 6 No 12 Thorn-puller. (1:1)

The potters who employed this technique evidently followed the conventions of decorating marble sculpture developed in much earlier times by the Greeks. One is tempted to think that the technique was more common than is now apparent, for it is conceivable that many more statuettes were similarly treated, but that centuries of burial in the soil have destroyed all trace of the pigments.

It is virtually certain that this example found in London was made at the Champ-Lary kilns at Toulon-sur-Allier, where a mould for the front half of the head and torso of a remarkably similar Thorn-puller was found. The mould has the name of Tiberius incised





*(Museum of London)*

Roman statuettes;

Fig. 7 No. 13 Bust of child. (1:1)

in semi-cursive script on the reverse side. Several signed examples of his work are known at Toulon-sur-Allier, where the industry flourished throughout much of the 2nd century.<sup>36</sup>

**E. BUST OF A CHILD**

13. Find-place: Great Winchester Street, London (1867).

Present location: Museum of London (Acc. No. 2090).<sup>37</sup> (Fig. 7).



This portrays a bare shouldered, chubby-faced child, evidently the infant Bacchus for he has richly curled hair wreathed with clusters of grapes. He wears a simple necklace which has a knot of crescentic form or an attached pendant. The short shaft of the plinth on which the bust is mounted is adorned with leaves in relief.

Fairly close parallels in white clay were found with many other clay statuettes in the temple area at Dhronacken (Hochwald)<sup>38</sup> where they served as votive offerings. An identical example found with a very large number of other clay statuettes at Altrier (Luxembourg) prompted the suggestion that they were manufactured in the vicinity of that village.<sup>39</sup> This, however, has not been proved by excavation and it is equally possible that the whole collection may have been the contents of an as yet unidentified temple.

A slightly different version, represented by the front half of a clay mould, was found with other moulds and clay statuettes in the debris of a kiln at Carden (KreisCochem) on the left bank of the river Mosel, thus proving the site of one centre of production for these busts of the infant Bacchus.<sup>40</sup> In the absence of a spectrographic analysis of the fabric of the London example one can only rely on a visual examination. The clay is dark reddish in colour and closely resembles the fabric produced in the kilns at Trier where the local clays fire to that colour. Hence, it is quite possible that the London bust was made at Trier.

Unfortunately all those examples of busts that have been cited are undated, but from what information we possess of the Mosel industry a date in the second half of the 2nd century seems to be possible for the London bust to have reached Britain.

#### F. BUST OF SMILING YOUTH

14. Find-place: Liverpool Street, site of the railway station (1872).

Present location: Museum of London (Acc. No. 2106).<sup>41</sup> (Fig. 8).

This portrays a youthful, smiling male personage, bare shouldered and apparently completely bald. His true identity is quite unknown, but many years ago, Tudot, who based his opinion solely on the smiling expression, proposed that he was a god named 'Risus', that is, 'the smiling one'. In the view of Blanchet, however, there was no sound evidence to support Tudot's theory and in consequence the name 'Risus' could only be used to identify the busts of smiling youthful personages.<sup>42</sup> Here it must be said that Blanchet intended that the name should be applied not only to the type of bust now under discussion but to other types which differ in certain details.

The use of busts of this type as offerings to the gods is proved by an example closely similar to the London example which was found in the temple area at Gusenburg (Hochwald) with many clay statuettes of various types.<sup>43</sup> The use of the busts as grave offerings is strongly suspected, for it is recorded that the one under discussion was found with urns and human bones in excavations during the construction of the Liverpool Street railway station where cremation burials were also found.<sup>44</sup> A bust of this same type found at York, in an area in which a small cremation cemetery is known to exist, is thought to have come from a disturbed grave.<sup>45</sup> At present it is difficult to give the reason for the use of busts of this type as grave offerings. It does not seem reasonable to regard individual busts found in this context as portraits of the dead person or of an ancestor, for there are far too many identical copies widely distributed in the western provinces of the Roman empire. Perhaps the smiling youthful personage was a cheap substitute for a more costly sculptured bust which would have been an exact portrait of the dead, but which the mourners could not afford to buy. On the other hand, they may have regarded the smiling



*(Museum of London)*

Roman statuettes;

Fig. 8 No. 14 Bust of smiling youth. (1:1)

personage as a benign spirit who was supposed to ward off evil influences from the grave and its contents.

It is virtually certain that busts of this so-called 'Risu' type were products of the Central Gaulish industry. A mould has been described by Tudot,<sup>46</sup> and there are also examples of these busts found at Toulon-sur-Allier and Vichy (Allier).<sup>47</sup> The London example cannot now be dated by the associated archaeological material but it is reasonable to think that it probably arrived in Britain between the years A.D. 130–150.

## NOTES

- 1 *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 27 (1871) 373.
- 2 R. E. M. Wheeler *London in Roman Times* London Museum Catalogue No. 3 (London, 1930) 48 and Pl. 21 No. 5.
- 3 *Ibid.* 49 and Pl. 21 No. 6.
- 4 H. Chapman and T. Johnson 'Excavations at Aldgate and Bush Lane House in the City of London, 1972' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 24 (1973) 48 No. 21 and Fig. 23.
- 5 *Ibid.* 48 No. 22 and Fig. 23.
- 6 C. Roach Smith *Collectanea Antiqua* 6 (London, 1868) 329 and Fig.
- 7 F. Jenkins 'The Cult of the *dea nutrix* in Kent' *Archaeol. Cantiana* 71 (1957) 38–46.
- 8 F. Hettner *Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande* (Trier, 1901) 65 Pl. 9 Nos. 17–20, are examples.
- 9 Joan Liversidge *Furniture in Roman Britain* (London, 1955) 16–24.
- 10 Hettner *loc. cit.* in note 8.
- 11 M. Rouvier-Jeanlin *Les Figurines Gallo-romaines en Terre Cuite au Musée des Antiquités Nationales (Gallia Supp. No. 24, 1972) Nos. 306–310, 365–366, 387, 395 and 398.*
- 12 H. Vertet and G. Vuillemot 'Figurines gallo-romaines en argile d'Autun' *Collections du Musée Rolin* (Marcelin-Autun, c. 1973) 15–33 and Pls. 1 and 2.
- 13 Jenkins *op. cit.* in note 7, Pl. 1a–b, both from Canterbury; *Current Archaeol.* No. 3 (July 1967), illustration on 78, from Welwyn (Herts.).
- 14 Rouvier-Jeanlin *op. cit.* in note 11, Nos. 306–307, Toulon-sur-Allier; No. 387, Saint Pourçain-sur-Besbre; No. 398, Vichy.
- 15 For the Trajanic hair-styles, cf. H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham *The Roman Imperial Coinage* 2 (London, 1926) Pl. 9 No. 160, Plotina and Matidia; No. 161, Marciana; Pl. 12, No. 216 Marciana.
- 16 J. M. C. Toynbee *The Art of the Romans* (London, 1965) 36.
- 17 L. de Vesly *Les fana ou petits temples gallo-romaines de la région normande* (Rouen, 1909) 21, 23, 114–115, 150; S. J. de Laet 'Een Gallo-Romeins Heiligdom op de Steenberg te Hofstade bij Aalst (Oostvlaanderen)' *Cultureel Jaarboek van de Provincie Oostvlaanderen* (1950) 269–314.
- 18 *Antiq. J.* 7 (1927) 524–525 and Fig.
- 19 A fairly close parallel is given in E. Tudot *Collection de Figurines en argile, oeuvres premières de l'art gaulois avec les noms des céramistes qui les ont exécutées* (Paris, 1860) 23, 33, Pl. 24.
- 20 Marcel Probé *The Art of Roman Gaul* (London, 1961) 69–70. Illustration 179, a funeral *stèle* from Agassac (Haute Garonne), is a good example.
- 21 Petit Mont, Arzon and Er-Bé, St. Gildas-de-Rhuys (Musée J. Miln-Z. le Rouzic, Carnac); Mané Rutual, Locmariaquer (Musée Château Gaillard, Vannes).
- 22 Rouvier-Jeanlin *op. cit.* in note 11, 138 Nos. 210–211, Toulon-sur-Allier; A. Blanchet 'Etude sur les figurines gallo-romaines en terre cuite de la Gaule romaine' *Mém. Soc. Antiq. France* 51 (1891) 165–166, Vichy.
- 23 C. Julian 'Remarques sur un essai d'inventaire des *figlinae* gallo-romaines' *Revue des Études Anciennes* 1 (1899) 149 note 4.
- 24 L. Coutil *Les figurines en terre cuite des Ebuovices, Velio et Lexovii. Etude générale sur les Vénus à gaines de la Gaule romaine* (Evreux, 1899).
- 25 A. Blanchet 'Etude sur les figurines en terre cuite de la Gaule romaine, Supplément' *Mém. Soc. Antiq. France* 60 (1901) 202–204.
- 26 F. Jenkins 'Romano-Gaulish clay figurines as indications of the mother-goddess cults in Britain' in *Hommages à Albert Grenier* 3 *Collection Latomus* 58 (1962) 851 and Pl. 175 Fig. 9.
- 27 Found in the Nijmegen Hees cemetery and now in the Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam, Nijmegen, Inv. No. XIX b. 6; Jenkins *ibid.* Pl. 175 Fig. 10.
- 28 J. Ferguson *The Religions of the Roman Empire* (London, 1970) Pl. 29. Now in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.
- 29 K. A. Neugebauer 'Selene auf Weltkugel' *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 28 (1933) 83–86, Figs. 1–3 and Pl. 11.1. One is published in 'Romische Kleinkunst' *Bilderheft des Römische-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* (Mainz, 1957) Pl. 3. Another bronze, probably of Italian workmanship of the 1st century A.D., is in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin, Antikenabteilung.
- 30 Ferguson *loc. cit.* in note 28.
- 31 F. Jenkins 'Romano-Gaulish clay figurines found in London' in *Hommages à Marcel Renard* 3 *Collection Latomus* 103 (1969) 320–321 and Pl. 129 Fig. 6.
- 32 G. C. Dunning 'Two fires of Roman London' *Antiq. J.* 25 (1945) 48–77; also R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965) 46 who cites the revised date based on the study of the samian pottery by B. R. Hartley.
- 33 A. M. Smith *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum* 3 (London, 1904) 108–109; *Magister Gregorius De Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*.
- 34 Rouvier-Jeanlin *op. cit.* in note 11, No. 625, a prototype model from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (Allier), and Nos. 626–634 and 636–637, moulds from Toulon-sur-Allier.
- 35 Jenkins *op. cit.* in note 31, 321, for list of find-places.
- 36 Rouvier-Jeanlin *op. cit.* in note 11, No. 626.
- 37 Jenkins *op. cit.* in note 31, 324 No. 52 and Pl. 127 Fig. 2.
- 38 Hettner *op. cit.* in note 8, 76 Pl. 11 Nos. 15–17.
- 39 J. Dheedene 'Alttrier – Un atelier de figurines en terre cuite?' *Helenium* 1 (1961) 221–222 Fig. 18.
- 40 *Bonner Jahrb.* 136–137 (1932) 297 and 324; *Bonner Jahrb.* 146 (1941) 219 Pl. 28 Fig. 1.
- 41 *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 28 (1872) 75–76.
- 42 Blanchet *op. cit.* in note 25, 199.
- 43 Hettner *op. cit.* in note 8, 92; Pl. 13 No. 45.
- 44 *Loc. cit.* in note 41.
- 45 *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England, An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, I Eburacum, Roman York* (London, 1962) 69 Pl. 31, described therein as a product of the Rhineland but in view of the evidence it ought to be from the Allier district in Central Gaul.
- 46 Tudot *op. cit.* in note 19, Pl. 8.
- 47 Rouvier-Jeanlin *op. cit.* in note 11, Nos. 671 and 673, Toulon-sur-Allier and Vichy (Allier), respectively.

# A LATE ROMAN GRAVE-GROUP FROM THE MINORIES, ALDGATE.

DONALD HARDEN AND CHRIS GREEN

## INTRODUCTION (D. B. H.)

When the invitation came to me to contribute to this volume in honour of Ralph Merrifield, it occurred to me at once that the most appropriate subject I could choose would be this late Roman grave-group of three vessels from the Minories, since it was Ralph who obtained the group for the Museum of London. He first saw the group when it was in the possession of R. R. Fairburn, Esq., M.C., and, realising its importance, published a photograph of the vessels in his *The Roman City of London* (1965), and later obtained it, first as a loan for the 'Glass in London' exhibition in the London Museum in 1970, and shortly thereafter as a gift for ultimate inclusion in the Museum of London, where it is now displayed. The group is a small one, it is true, containing only two pottery flagons and one glass flask, but it is nonetheless of considerable interest, as I hope this paper will show.

My one anxiety was that, although I could trust myself to deal with the glass vessel, I was not so confident in regard to the pottery. Happily this problem has been solved by Chris Green, whose work in the field of Roman pottery has enabled him to complement my discussion of the glass flask. To my very great pleasure, therefore, this paper appears under our joint names.

## THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY (C.M.G.)

The grave-group was recovered by workmen on the site of St. Clare House, Minories, during rebuilding work in 1955 (see Fig. 2 for location; the position of the burial on the site is only approximately known).<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately no human remains were recovered, or at least none were saved, and so it is uncertain whether the burial was a cremation or an inhumation.<sup>2</sup> The date we suggest does not preclude either rite, but the balance is in favour of inhumation, and three further burials, all inhumations, were recorded at the time.

The St. Clare House burials formed part of the eastern cemetery of *Londinium*; this lay to the south of Aldgate.<sup>3</sup>

## THE GLASS FLASK (D.B.H.)

This vessel (Figs. 1 and 3, left; Acc. No. 70.68/1; height 128 mm., diameter at lip 48 mm., maximum body diameter 80 mm.) is of a simple shape, with funnel neck and globular body, one of the most natural shapes at the disposal of a glass-blower. It is, alas, incomplete, about one-third of the body being missing.

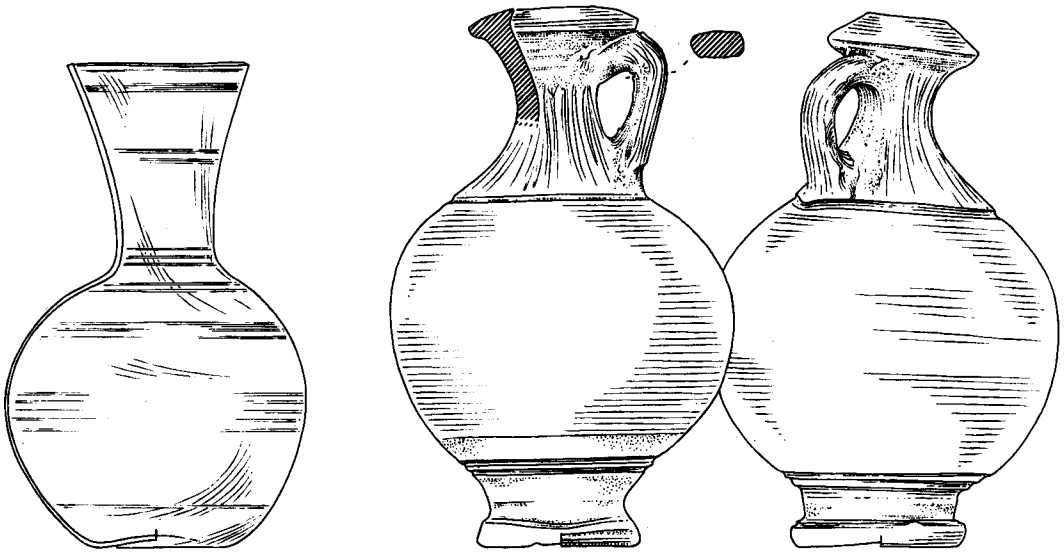


Fig. 1 A late Roman grave-group from the Minories, Aldgate: (left) the glass, (right) the pottery. (1:2).

### *Description*

Plain, knocked-off rim, lip finely wheel-ground with slight outward bevel. Tall funnel neck with markedly concave sides, tapering to a tooled, round-angled junction with shoulder. Globular (almost truly spherical) body with flattened bottom, slightly concave on under side. No pontil-mark.

On neck and body numerous groups of wheel-incisions, all now rather faint, owing to the incidence of weathering, and only partially visible in the photograph (Fig. 3). With careful study under a glass, however, their pattern becomes clear (Fig. 1): two groups near rim; two half-way down neck; three just above junction of neck and shoulder and two more just below it; three high on body; five round middle of body; and one just above bottom. There is no other decoration, and since these wheel-incisions and the grinding of the lip would be added after the vessel had cooled, the absence of a pontil-mark is not surprising.

The glass is colourless, with greenish tinge showing only on the fractured edges, and is very bubbly, the bubbles, as we might expect, being elongated vertically on the neck and horizontally on the body. There are few, if any, impurities, but many striations, especially on the neck and shoulder. Apart from the vessel being incomplete, its glass is ill-preserved. Most of the surface inside and out has developed a thin, whitish, enamel-like weathering film, which has flaked off in places, leaving faint pitting with iridescence. There are some internal strain-cracks, most noticeably on the neck.

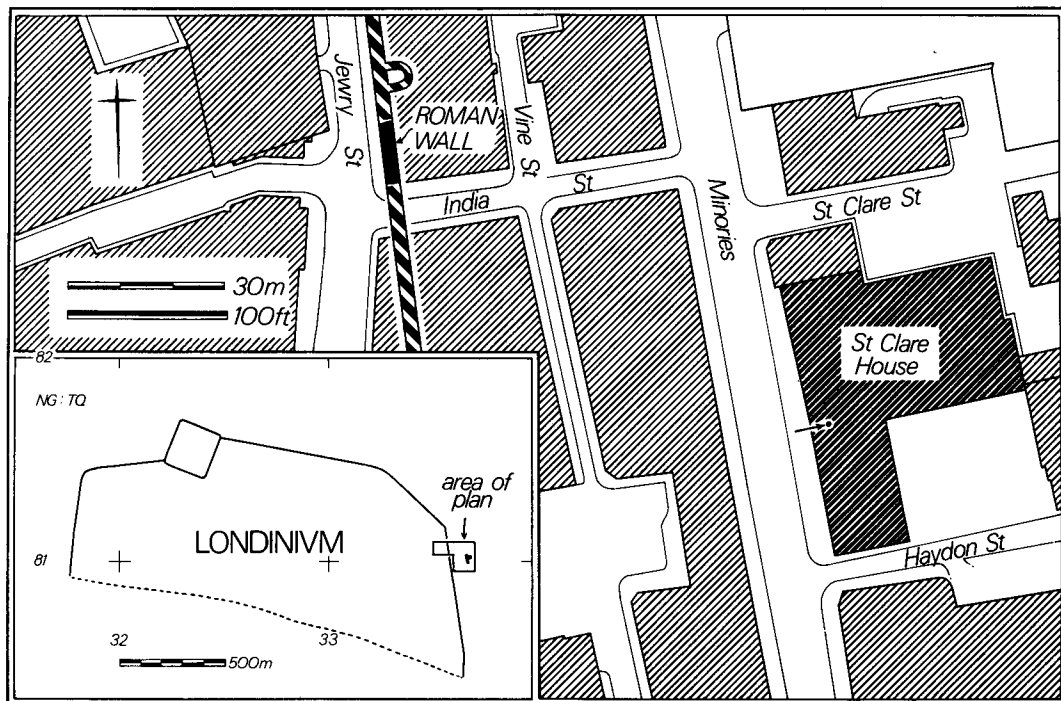
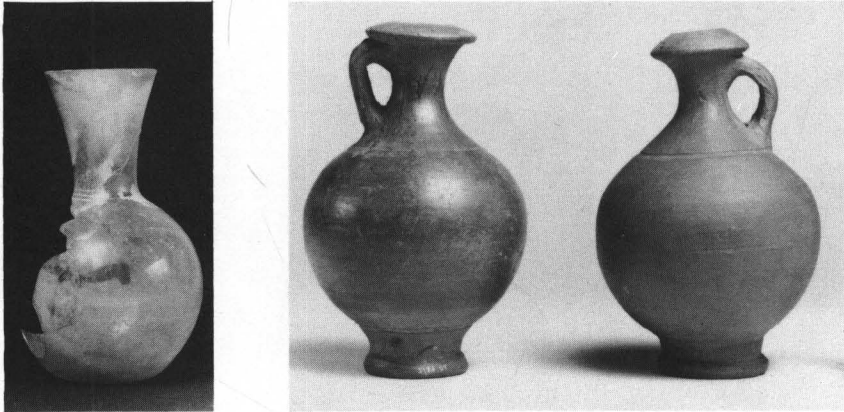


Fig. 2 The location of St. Clare House, Minories. The approximate position of the burial is arrowed.

### Commentary

This flask is a typical example of Isings form 104*b*, a globular flask with a funnel neck and flattened, slightly concave bottom, her form 104*a* being exactly comparable, but with a tubular base-ring.<sup>4</sup> Morin-Jean includes both these forms in his form 40, and though examples of each are illustrated, they are not differentiated in the discussion.<sup>5</sup> The type is, he says, of oriental origin, but he provides no evidence in support of this view, moving instead directly into a discussion of the frequency of the type in the valleys of the Rhine and Moselle, and of how it becomes rarer as one proceeds farther westward or southward. He describes the vessels as colourless or greenish, often full of impurities and striations, and says that, although they appear first in the 3rd century, they are far more frequent in 4th-century interments, especially in Germany, accompanying belt-plaques and brooches of the second half of that century. This brief account, though written over 60 years ago, is still substantially correct.

Isings confirms Morin-Jean's view that her form 104*a* (with base-ring) and her form 104*b* (with flattened, concave bottom) begin sometime in the 3rd century, but occur in far greater numbers in the 4th. She cites three examples of 104*b* from 3rd-century *milieux* at Mainz, Nijmegen and Remagen, and many more from 4th-century graves at these and other sites. Of form 104*a* she records 3rd-century pieces from Cologne and Strasbourg, but all her other examples of this variety are not only 4th-century, but fall mainly in the second half of that century, particularly good examples of this late date being those from



(Museum of London)

Fig. 3 A late Roman grave-group from the Minorities, Aldgate: (left) the glass, (right) the pottery. (1:3).

graves of the last third of the century at Mayen in the Eifel,<sup>6</sup> no less than nine being found in eight of the 27 interments in that cemetery. It may be noted, too, that these Mayen graves yielded no example of form 104*b*, and this supports the general impression gained from other evidence that, although both forms are roughly contemporary, the variety with concave bottom starts and ends earlier than the variety with base-ring.

Morin-Jean and Isings provide no more than summary illustrations of either form. For good photographs and drawings of form 104*a* we need look no farther than the illustrations of those from Mayen.<sup>7</sup> Photographic illustrations of form 104*b* are not so easy to find,<sup>8</sup> and so I include (Fig. 4) photographs of three examples in the British Museum from Rhineland sites, all decorated with groups of wheel-incisions. There are good drawings of this form in an old, but still very valuable, article by Behrens<sup>9</sup> giving an account of four centuries of Roman glass in the Mainz area (Rheinessen). Among his illustrations of late Roman grave-groups examples of this form appear in his Figs. 12–15 and 20. Those in Figs. 13, 15 and 20 are especially pertinent, since they, too, like the three British Museum pieces, bear patterns of wheel-incisions in groups. Indeed such patterns are particularly characteristic of this form. As typical, well-preserved parallels for our flask from the Minorities, I reproduce (Fig. 5) two fine specimens found by Dr. Renate Pirling in grave 3040 in the great Roman and early medieval cemetery at Krefeld-Gellep which she has been excavating for many years.<sup>10</sup> This grave is of chronological value since it contained an *aes* of Constans of A.D. 341 and must, therefore, belong to the mid 4th century at the earliest. The Minorities example, being colourless, is not likely to be as late as this. Colourless glass, in general, is characteristic of the 2nd and 3rd centuries and, although it still occasionally occurs quite late in the 4th century, it is normally not to be expected after the early years of that century. Our piece, therefore, should occupy a reasonably early place in the series of vessels of form 104*b*.

All the examples so far cited come from the Rhine-Moselle region, or from north France as far west as Amiens, Rouen and Vermand.<sup>11</sup> That the type must frequently have crossed the Channel is certain, but so far I know only two other possible instances in



(British Museum)

Fig. 4 Funnel-necked bottles, green, with groups of wheel-engraved lines, late 3rd to early 4th century A.D. (1:3).

British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities: (left) 54.2–22.1, from Trier (?), given by J. H. Anderdon; (centre) 72.5–17.1, from Cologne (Herstatt coll.), given by the Executors of Felix Slade; (right) 55.8–4.8, from the Rhineland, brought at the W. Chaffers sale.


Britain. The first is from an inhumation-burial at Chilgrove, Sussex, illustrated long ago in *Archaeologia*, but not in sufficient detail for its identification with form 104*b* to be unassailable.<sup>12</sup> The second is a fragmentary and very broken specimen found in cremation-group 10 in the cemetery at Baldock, Herts., and now in Letchworth Museum (Acc. No. 3229). This cemetery was excavated by W. P. Westell between 1925 and 1930 and published in 1931,<sup>13</sup> at which time cremation-group 10 was dated *c.* 120–140, an almost impossibly early date for this form of vessel.<sup>14</sup> The uncertainties attached to these two instances lend added importance to our vessel from the Minories.

How far south and east of the Rhine-Moselle region can form 104*b* be traced? It does not, apparently, occur in southern France; Morin-Jean, had he known examples from there, would surely have mentioned them. It appears, however, at Aquileia at the head of the Adriatic, that great centre of glass-making and the glass trade in Roman times, where Calvi<sup>15</sup> catalogues five examples (Nos. 296–300) which she places among her bottles as type A $\alpha$ , illustrating Nos. 296 and 297.<sup>16</sup>

An example still farther removed from the Rhineland comes from Chiaramonte Gulfi (ancient *Acrillae*) in south-east Sicily. This piece, of clear sea-green glass (height 175 mm.), undoubtedly belongs to form 104*b*, but instead of being undecorated, or decorated with wheel-incisions only, its body is covered with an engraved scene in three parts: (i) a horseman with two dogs chasing two stags into a net; (ii, behind i) a man on foot attacking a boar with a spear; and (iii, above ii) a leaping bear. As some matt areas of the surface show, this engraved decoration has been, at least in part, enhanced by painting.



Above the design, on the shoulder, is an inscription

ΦΟΥΡΤΟΥΝΑΤΙΩΝ · ΠΙΕ · ΖΗΧΑΙC 

‘Drink, and long life be yours, Fortunatianus’

This vessel has often been published, notably (with good illustrations) by P. Orsi<sup>17</sup> and (more readily accessible) by Fremersdorf.<sup>18</sup> Despite the Greek inscription the piece was almost certainly made and decorated in the Rhineland. Nor is it the only Rhenish vessel of this form with elaborate decoration, for a glass of the same shape from Köln (Römisch - Germanisches Museum, Köln, Acc. No. 38.612; height 122 mm.) has on the body an elaborate painted design in three scenes (a sacrifice, a grape-harvest, and a banquet) below an inscription

PRISSIA · HABEAS · APOLLINEM · PROPITIVM 

‘May Apollo be gracious to thee, Prissia’

The design has largely disappeared now,<sup>19</sup> but being fired on, it has etched the surface of the glass and left sufficient traces of its outline to enable its general appearance to be deciphered, as Fremersdorf<sup>20</sup> shows in four drawings of the vessel on which the decoration has been reconstructed.<sup>21</sup>

The Chiaramonte Gulfi piece would seem to have travelled farther than any others of these glasses that originated in the Rhine-Moselle region, for I can point to no flask from farther east or south that adopts all the main elements of Isings form 104*b*.

What, then, of the view expressed by Morin-Jean that his form 40 (which includes Isings form 104*b*) is of eastern origin? Since Morin-Jean cites no eastern examples in support of this statement, we are left guessing what he really meant. Nonetheless, by making it, he certainly succeeded in misleading later writers such as Isings, Vessberg and Calvi. The fact is that Morin-Jean’s form 40 only covers vessels with plain, knocked-off rims and excludes those with rounded or folded rims. Isings, however, is prepared to include all three varieties of rim in her forms 104*a* and 104*b*, and so is Vessberg in his equivalent Cypriote form,<sup>22</sup> and, although the two vessels of this form which Calvi illustrates<sup>23</sup> have knocked-off rims, another of her five (No. 299) has a rounded rim.

This failure to differentiate knocked-off from rounded and folded rims when classifying vessels of this general shape has led these scholars to equate some eastern types from Egypt, Cyprus, and the Syro-Palestinian region with the very distinctive western flasks of Morin-Jean’s form 40.

From Karanis in Egypt, for example, I published<sup>24</sup> three varieties: (i) with rounded rim (No. 635, nearly complete, with flattened concave bottom, and Nos. 636–637, rim and neck fragments); (ii) with rounded(?) rim and coil-base (No. 638); and (iii) with knocked-off rim, and, where extant, coil-base (Nos. 639–646, three nearly complete, the rest rim and neck, or neck only, extant). Here the number of specimens, all incomplete, is minimal and none corresponds exactly with Morin-Jean form 40.

It is the same story in Cyprus. Vessberg<sup>25</sup> illustrates one flask with funnel neck, globular body and concave bottom, but it has a rounded rim and is thus in parallel (as Vessberg says) with Karanis, No. 635 (see above): but he proceeds to equate it, wrongly, with Morin-Jean form 40 and with a Palestinian type of the 5th to the 7th century, which is quite different in shape, having a deep, funnel mouth above a short cylindrical neck. Vessberg also illustrates<sup>26</sup> a globular flask with knocked-off and ground lip, but its neck is cylindrical. It seems, therefore, that there are no Cypriote examples of the type we are seeking.

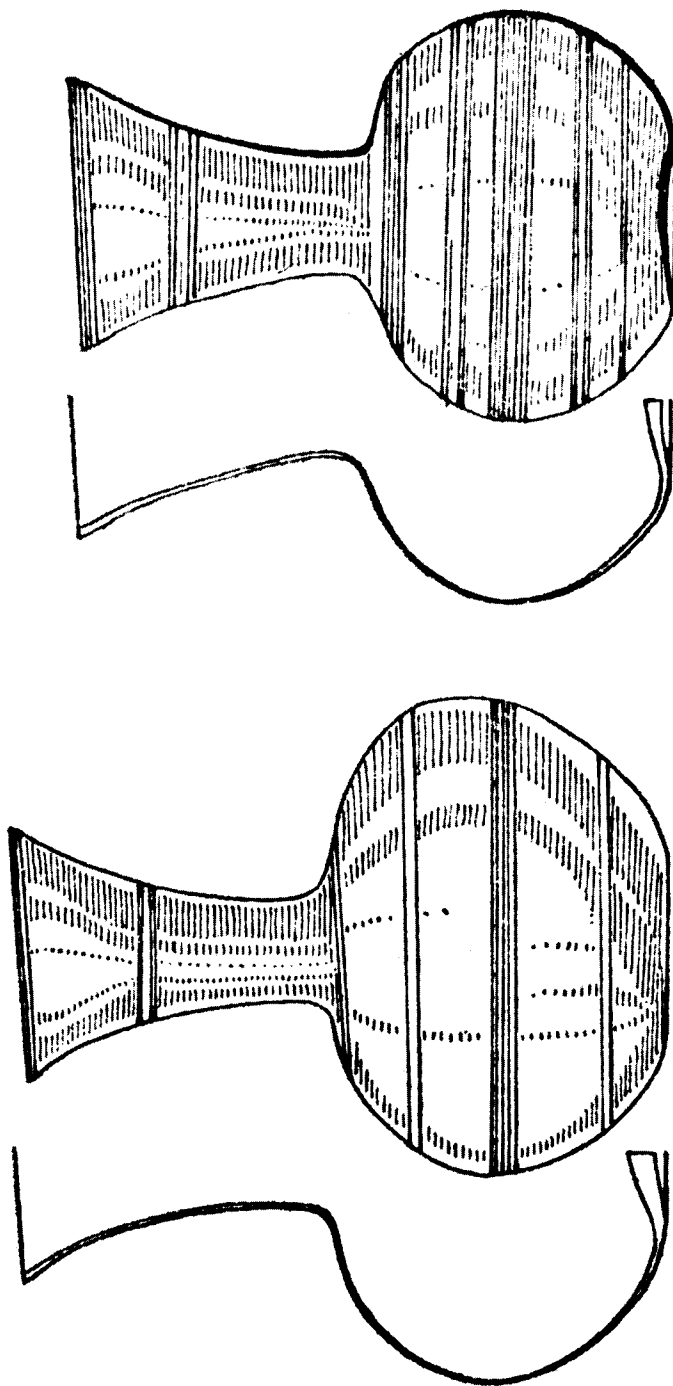


Fig. 5 Glass flasks from grave 3040, Krefeld-Gellep cemetery, Germany. (1:2). (After R. Pirling, *Kölnener Jahrbuch* 9 (1967-68) 39 Fig. 8)

Nor do I know any example parallel with Morin-Jean form 40 from the Syro-Palestinian area. The vessels from Bezet (el Bassa) and Gush Halas (el Jish) in Israel and Gerasa in Jordan cited by Isings<sup>27</sup> bear no resemblance to it. The nearest Palestinian parallels for the shape seem to be two flasks with ribbed bodies, one from Beth Shearim, catacomb 13, mid 3rd to mid 4th century (N. Avigad's excavations, 1953–58) and the other from Ĥuqoq tomb IV, 3rd to 4th century (B. Ravani's excavations, 1956–57). Barag lists these as type 15.12–1 in his classification of Palestinian types.<sup>28</sup> Others, less close, are some flasks from Jordanian tombs at Beit Ras and Ajlun,<sup>29</sup> to which attention is drawn by Pirling,<sup>30</sup> and Barag's types 15.12 and 15.12–2, which are found, for instance, at Samaria in tomb E 220 I, ascribed by Barag to the mid 3rd to the mid 4th century.<sup>31</sup> But all these, once more, have rounded rims.<sup>32</sup>

The conclusion from these facts is obvious. Since the three books cited, Harden for Egypt, Vessberg for Cyprus and Barag for Palestine, provide, between them, a reasonably full conspectus of the types current in the Roman period in the three areas, we may assume that the very characteristic western type, Morin-Jean form 40, was not known in the east, and that, if Morin-Jean's statement that form 40 is 'of oriental origin' is to have any meaning, it can only be that he was speaking in the most general terms, on the basis that all glass types in the west have eastern equivalents, however much their details, at times, may have been altered, either on the way westward or after their arrival.

#### THE POTTERY FLAGONS (C.M.G.)

The two nearly identical wheelthrown flagons in Hadham Ware (Fig. 1, centre and right, Acc. Nos. 70.68/2 and /3; and Fig. 3) are preserved intact and in excellent condition, without any obvious trace of wear. They have disc-mouths, closely restricted necks, short plain handles of subrectangular section applied to the body (rather than tanged through it), and almost flat bases without footrings. In each case there is a single groove above, and a double groove below, the body. 70.68/3 is a rather bright orange-red in colour (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/12), while 70.68/2 is duller (2.5 YR 5/10). The vessels are burnished in bold facets as shown in the illustration and photograph; the upper parts of the rims and the bodies are horizontally treated, while the backs of the handles and the necks are finished with vertical strokes. A slip was probably applied to the leather-hard pots to encourage a high burnish (very successfully achieved in the case of 70.68/2). Unburnished areas — the interior, inaccessible areas below the rims and handles, and a zone above the foot — are left distinctly rough. Neither vessel is particularly regularly finished.

The attribution of the vessels to the Hadham kilns of north-east Hertfordshire (between Little Hadham and Much Hadham, some 41 km. (26 miles) north of the City of London) can be made quite confidently, even though the fabric<sup>33</sup> is not visible in fracture. The attractive colour, strongly finished surfaces, and the obviously sandy fabric are all distinctive, and the freely executed vertical burnish on the neck serves to distinguish Hadham vessels from other late Romano-British 'red' finewares in almost every instance. Unfortunately the Hadham kilns, though probably very numerous and excavated on a number of occasions, are as yet unpublished,<sup>34</sup> so that it is difficult to say how typical or common the present form is. Certainly there is no published source for paralleling the Minories vessels very closely, and other examples are not known from London.

COLCHESTER *Insula XV 'Mithraeum'*-

Coin evidence for the date of the pottery group from Room D

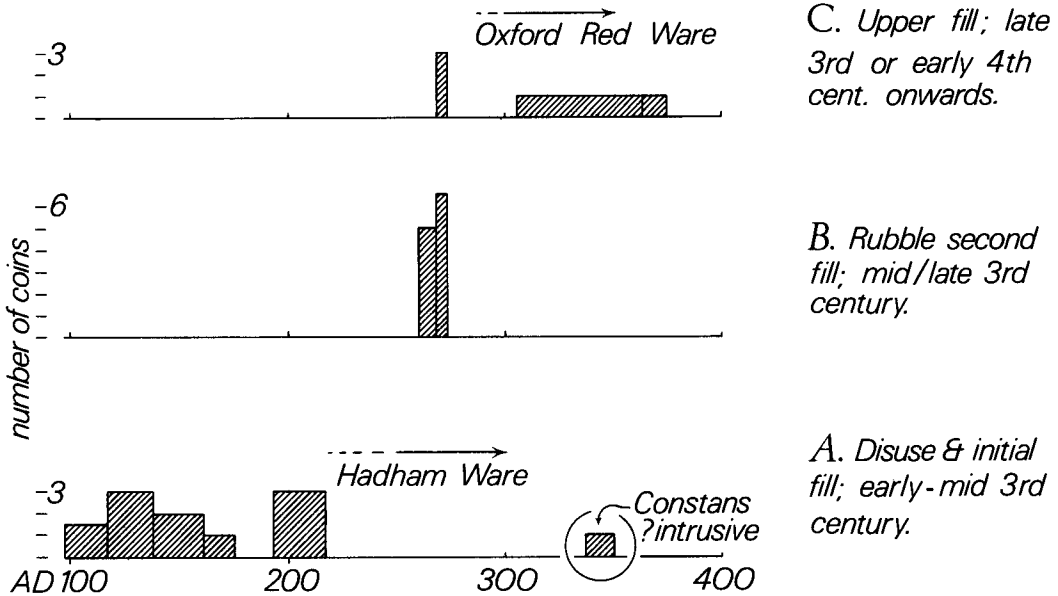


Fig. 6 Diagrammatic representation of the dating evidence for the pottery from the Colchester 'Mithraeum'.

When did the flagons arrive in London? Their probable inhumation context and position in the Aldgate cemetery just outside the City wall are of little help in dating, and in any case their period of use (if any) before burial is quite unknown. The first question to decide is during what period Hadham Ware was used in London; once this is settled, the possibilities raised by the form of the vessels may be examined.

Towards the end of the Roman occupation, Hadham Ware is well attested in London from later 4th-century deposits, the best published evidence to date being a group with a date later than A.D. 364 from Angel Court, Walbrook,<sup>35</sup> where it accounted for c. 5% of all pottery and in the order of 10% of all finewares. At this period Hadham redwares were produced on a very large scale, and used as 'tableware' in East Anglia and the Home Counties to the north of London; they are much rarer south of the Thames and towards the Midlands, though far-flung examples occur well outside these areas. Dates for the earliest use of the ware are much harder to establish. In East Hertfordshire, a late 2nd- and 3rd-century cremation cemetery at Puckeridge<sup>36</sup> produced Hadham Ware vessels, but since this site is only 5km. (3 miles) from the kilns, early use is to be expected there. London, like most of Britain, is notoriously poor in deposits of known 3rd-century date (although see below for a probable exception). The best published evidence for the early use of Hadham Ware at any distance from the kiln site comes from the supposed mithraeum in *Insula XV* at Colchester, 58 km. (36 miles) due east of the Hadhams.

The Colchester 'Mithraeum' evidence, published by Hull,<sup>37</sup> requires careful examination. Hull ascribed the initial fill of the disused building, containing Hadham Ware flagons amongst a large pottery assemblage, to the mid 4th century on the basis of a single coin of Constans (A.D. 337–350). However, the nature of the pottery renders this date quite improbable, and by representing the published coin evidence graphically (Fig. 6)<sup>38</sup> it can be suggested that the 'Mithraeum' was disused at least 100 years previously, some time in the first half of the 3rd century. The Constans issue must have been intrusive, or an accident of excavation in waterlogged conditions; the absence of coins of Tetricus I (A.D. 268–273), common on the rest of the site, is particularly noteworthy. Only in the uppermost fill of the building, alongside late 3rd- and 4th-century coins, does the ubiquitous Oxford red colour-coated ware appear, confirming the conventional date in the later 3rd century for its widespread use outside the Oxford region.<sup>39</sup> So in Colchester, at least, Hadham Ware is amongst the earliest of the late Roman colour-coated wares to appear; we might expect it in the City, which is closer to the kilns, at the same date, i.e. the first half of the 3rd century. There are signs that this is precisely the case, for sherds of Hadham Ware flagons are present in one of the later layers on the London waterfront at Billingsgate Buildings, Lower Thames Street (Context 222)<sup>40</sup> in association with other pottery which is notable for its remarkable similarity to the Colchester 'Mithraeum' group. Unfortunately the London group is relatively very small, and has the serious disadvantage of containing a Saxon sherd, perhaps due to wholesale redeposition, or as a result of material being trodden in during the construction of a Victorian cellar. But despite the possible 'impurity' of the London group, it is tempting to consider its Hadham sherds as early or mid 3rd-century examples, particularly since none of the other Roman sherds need be any later.

On the available evidence, the occurrence of Hadham Ware flagons in a London burial may indicate a date significantly earlier than the 4th-century range which has so far been the only safe assumption for their use. As far as the Minories group is concerned, this may tend to favour the 3rd-century option now open to us, rather than simply broadening the possible date range for the grave, since much the closest morphological parallels for the flagons occur in later Central Gaulish and East Gaulish samian fabrics. Samian flagons are not particularly common in this country, and are unlikely to outlive the last quarter of the 3rd century, even as antiques. A samian flagon of late 2nd-century date from Dymchurch, Kent<sup>41</sup> bears more than a passing resemblance to the Minories pots, and many are similar in a more general fashion. (It is perhaps worth pointing out that the Hadham Ware flagons might well, on the face of it, have been more valuable objects to their owner than the frequently soft and shoddy late samian counterparts.)

A word of caution is necessary, however. Morphological similarity is a dangerous ground on which to argue a 3rd-century date for the Minories pots, especially since the Hadham potters seem to have observed their technological traditions very conscientiously over a span of at least 150 years. Stylistic conservatism is indeed a strong possibility, and disc-mouthed flagons in general are a common enough Roman style at most periods. So the early date is a suggestion, not a certainty, and will remain so unless very much stronger evidence emerges to support (or refute) it.

## CONCLUSION (D.B.H. AND C.M.G.)

It will be seen from the two main sections of this paper, each drafted independently and without consultation, that our combined result is clearly working towards a date in the 3rd rather than the 4th century for this Minorities grave. Groups have seldom been ascribed to this period in London, and it may be a valuable exercise to consider whether other vessels or assemblages might not belong to the same poorly understood century. Unless London suffered a decline of the most catastrophic proportions in the 3rd century<sup>42</sup> its missing material goods must be somewhere, and the first place to look for them is amongst those currently ascribed to the 2nd and 4th centuries.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> A note of the finds appeared in P. R. V. Marsden 'Some discoveries in the City of London, 1954-9' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 22 Pt. 1 (1968) 32-42; they were first illustrated in R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965) Pl. 124.
- <sup>2</sup> Inf. P. R. V. Marsden. In the exhibition guide *Glass in London* (London Museum, 1970) Item 34, it is stated that the vessels were found in a stone coffin, but this seems not to have been so, as the only stone sarcophagus found at the time had already been filled with the concrete of a modern wall-foundation.
- <sup>3</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 1, 95; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London Vol. 3 Roman London* (London, 1928) Appendix 1, 152-169 gives details of burials found up to that time, and bibliographic references to the earlier work of Roach Smith and others.
- <sup>4</sup> C. Isings *Roman Glass from Dated Finds* (Groningen and Djakarta, 1957) 123f.
- <sup>5</sup> Morin-Jean *La Verrerie en Gaule sous l'empire romain* (Paris, 1913) 91ff., Figs. 104-108.
- <sup>6</sup> W. Haberey 'Spätantike Gläser aus Gräbern von Mayen', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 147 (1942) 257ff.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Pls. 31-32, Figs. 5-9, 12, 19, 22.
- <sup>8</sup> Cf., however, [S. Loeschcke *et. al.*] *Beschreibung römischer Altertümer gesammelt von C. A. Niessen* 2 vols (Köln, 1911) Pl. 40, Nos. 551, 553, 559, 579-580, and Pl. 41, No. 184; also E. Spartz *Antike Gläser* Kataloge der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel I (1967) Pl. 25, No. 104, and Pl. 27, No. 116.
- <sup>9</sup> G. Behrens 'Römische Gläser aus Rheinhessen' *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 20-21 (1925-26) 62-77.
- <sup>10</sup> R. Pirling 'Neue Funde römischer Gläser aus Krefeld-Gellep' *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 9 (1967-68) 39, Fig. 8.
- <sup>11</sup> See Morin-Jean *loc. cit.* in note 5; Figs. 105-107, however, are both of Isings form 104a.
- <sup>12</sup> *Archaeologia* 31 (1846) 312 ff., Pl. 9, bottom centre. I am indebted to Miss Jennifer Price for drawing this reference to my attention.
- <sup>13</sup> W. P. Westell 'A Romano-British Cemetery at Baldock, Herts.' *Archaeol. J.* 88 (1931) 247 ff. (for cremation-group 10 see 257 and Pl. 5, opp. 294).
- <sup>14</sup> I noted this piece many years ago thus: 'Fragmentary and very broken flask, colourless, H. c. 115 mm., D. c. 90 mm. Plain rim, probably finished by grinding, funnel neck, globular body, concave bottom. Two thin wheel-cut lines on body, one near shoulder, the other near bottom. Paper-thin glass.' These words strongly suggest that the vessel belongs to form 104b. Why, then, was it in such an early cremation-group, since the type does not seem to occur elsewhere before the 3rd century? There were, it is true, some late Roman inhumations in the same plot of ground. Yet there is no reason to claim inaccuracy in Westell's recording; his facts are clear and precise, and even if his date for group 10 were advanced a little (the pottery does appear to be 'Antonine' rather than pre-Antonine in date), there is no doubt that this large cremation-cemetery, as a whole, ceased to operate by c. 200.
- <sup>15</sup> M. C. Calvi *I Vetri romani del Museo di Aquileia* (Aquileia, 1968) 145 ff.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* Pls. 23 and M, No. 6 respectively. If her drawing is correct, however, the neck of No. 297 is too nearly cylindrical for the piece to belong to the form we are discussing.
- <sup>17</sup> *Rivista del R. istituto d'archeologia e storia dell'arte* 4 (1932-33) 61 ff.
- <sup>18</sup> F. Fremersdorf *Die römischen Gläser mit Schliff, Bemalung und Goldauflagen aus Köln* Die Denkmäler des römischen Köln 8 (1967) 190, Fig. 49, Pl. 272.
- <sup>19</sup> See O. Doppelfeld *Römisches und frankisches Glas in Köln* (1966) 68, Pl. 164.
- <sup>20</sup> Fremersdorf in *Germania* 26 (1942) 42 ff., Pl. 6; and *id.*, *op. cit.* in note 18, 192 ff., Pl. 274.
- <sup>21</sup> Two other glasses of this shape bearing Latin inscriptions, but with only sparse decoration, are also extant: Behrens *op. cit.* in note 9, 71, Fig. 14 (destroyed during the second world war), and Fremersdorf *op. cit.* in note 18, 111, Pl. 114.
- <sup>22</sup> O. Vessberg and A. Westholm *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* 4 Pt. 3 *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus* (Stockholm, 1956) 155, Fig. 48, Nos. 13-15.
- <sup>23</sup> Calvi *op. cit.* in note 15, 145 ff., No. 296, Pl. 23, and No. 297, Pl. M No. 6.

- <sup>24</sup> D. B. Harden *Roman Glass from Karanis* University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 41 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1936) 191–195, 215, Nos. 635–646, Pls. 18 and 19.
- <sup>25</sup> Vessberg *op. cit.* in note 22, 155, type AI  $\gamma$  1, Fig. 48, No. 14; and see also 202.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 154, Fig. 48, No. 12.
- <sup>27</sup> Isings *op. cit.* in note 4, 124.
- <sup>28</sup> D. Barag *Glass Vessels of the Roman and Byzantine Periods in Palestine* (Hebrew University, Jerusalem, unpub. doctoral thesis, 1970) Pls. 11 and 13 respectively and, for the type, Pl. 42.
- <sup>29</sup> D. B. Harden in *Annales 3me Congrès des 'Journées Int. du Verre', Damas, 1964* (1966) 52 ff., Figs. 10 and 12.
- <sup>30</sup> Pirling *op. cit.* in note 10, 42 n. 35
- <sup>31</sup> Barag *op. cit.* in note 28, Pls. 9 and 42.
- <sup>32</sup> I pass by one vessel, although it is probably eastern, which does have a knocked-off and wheel-ground lip, because its neck is short in comparison with its body and is not sufficiently funnel-shaped. It is an engraved flask inscribed YΓEIA (see D. B. Harden 'Late Roman wheel-inscribed glasses with double-line letters' *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 9 (1967–68) 47, No. 9, Pl. 9, No. 5) now in Erwin Oppenländer's collection: *Gläser der Antike, Sammlung Oppenländer* (Hamburg, 1974) 188, No. 519, with illustration on 189.
- <sup>33</sup> In the hand, Hadham Ware fabrics have a fine, but distinctly sandy texture. Under a low-power microscope or strong hand-lens, fairly abundant angular and subangular inclusions of red-black ironstone, typically up to 0.25 mm. in diameter, are immediately obvious and distinguish this fabric from contemporary Oxfordshire red colour-coated wares. The matrix is also seen to contain abundant quartz grains of similar shape, generally around 0.1 mm. or less in size, with occasional coarser quartz and lumps of grog. Mica is virtually, if not entirely, absent, in contrast with the Oxfordshire vessels. The details of the fabric are very consistent. Thin-section examination by S. A. Mackenna of a sherd from the Bromley Hall farms at Hadham showed an anisotropic clay matrix without any further distinctive inclusions, though a small proportion of the fine sand proves to be flint or chert, and the section also exhibited the presence of a slip. The Hadham kilns also produced a grey reduced version of this fabric, which is found in very small quantities in London, and coarser grey 'cooking' wares which probably found only a local distribution.
- <sup>34</sup> Excavated material is deposited in Hertford Museum and elsewhere. Successive notes have appeared in *J. Roman Stud.* 55 (1965) 211, and 58 (1968) 194, and in *Britannia* 1 (1970) 289. The approximate distribution of Hadham finewares is shown in M. G. Fulford *New Forest Roman Pottery* Brit. Archaeol. Rep. No. 17 (Oxford, 1975) 137, Fig. 61. A useful late 4th-century Hadham Ware series can be found in S. Geddes *The Late Roman pottery from Verulamium Theatre* (M.A. thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University of London, 1977, publication forthcoming) 9 ff., Pls. 3–4; see also the Walbrook group cited below (note 35), and vessels 36–45 of the Colchester group discussed below (note 37).
- <sup>35</sup> (Museum of London, Acc. No. E. R. 1582). C. Orton 'The Roman Pottery' in T. R. Blurton 'Excavations at Angel Court, Walbrook, 1974' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 28 (1977) 14–100.
- <sup>36</sup> C. R. Partridge 'Excavation and fieldwork at Braughing, 1969–1973' *Hertfordshire Archaeol.* 5 (1978) (in press).
- <sup>37</sup> M. R. Hull *Roman Colchester* Rep. Res. Com. Soc. Antiq. London No. 20 (Oxford, 1958) 107–145. The interpretation of the building as a mithraeum is now also viewed with some doubt: see, e.g., J. S. Wachter *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London, 1974) 116.
- <sup>38</sup> Based on the lists published by Hull *op. cit.* in note 37.
- <sup>39</sup> See C. J. Young *Oxfordshire Roman Pottery* Brit. Archaeol. Rep. No. 43 (Oxford, 1977) 133–134.
- <sup>40</sup> (Museum of London, Acc. No. E. R. 4008). Excavations by Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London, 1974: C. M. Green 'The Roman Pottery' in D. Jones in *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* (forthcoming).
- <sup>41</sup> B. M. Prehistoric and Romano-British Dept., Acc. No. 93.6 – 18.34, illustrated in C. Johns *Arretine and Samian Pottery* (British Museum, 1971) Pl. 11a, left. Being entire, its source is difficult to determine, but it is either a Central Gaulish or Rheinabern product of the late 2nd century. The associated samian vessels (from the construction of the sea-wall at Dymchurch in the 1840s) are mainly East Gaulish, where determinable (inf. Catherine Johns). Another samian vessel almost identical in form with the Minorities flagons comes from Heybridge, Essex (from a gravel pit opposite Boucherne Farm: now in Colchester and Essex Museum, Acc. No. 5193.26). It is in an East Gaulish fabric. The bottom fill of the Colchester 'Mithraeum' produced a rather smaller flagon which differs slightly in form from the examples mentioned above. It is illustrated by Hull *op. cit.* in note 37, 134, Fig. 62, no. 47, and 135. The fabric is unusual, and is unlikely to be samian, Hadham Ware, Oxford Ware, or a Colchester product.
- <sup>42</sup> As has been argued by Harvey Sheldon, 'A decline in The London settlement, A.D. 150–250?' *London Archaeol.* 2 No. 11 (Summer 1975) 278–284; for the contrary view that it is merely *recognisable* artifacts which are scarce see J. Morris *et. al.* 'London's decline A.D. 150–250' *London Archaeol.* 2 No. 13 (Winter 1975) 342–345.

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Fig. 1 Clay mould taken from cheek-piece of a Roman cavalry helmet, (left) cast (right) mould (1:1).

# EVIDENCE FOR A ROMAN CAVALRY HELMET FROM LONDON

HUGH CHAPMAN

Museum of London Accession Number 2118 is a clay mould (Fig. 1) found in Basinghall Street before 1908. It was included in the Guildhall Museum catalogue of that year,<sup>1</sup> published again in 1910<sup>2</sup> and subsequently included by Professor Toynbee in her survey of Roman art in Britain.<sup>3</sup> The mould, which is oval in shape, measures 134 × 73 mm. and has a maximum thickness of *c.* 20 mm. It is made of red-brown coloured *terra-cotta* probably from the brick-earth deposits<sup>4</sup> that cap the two gravel terraces on which Roman London developed. The mould shows a standing male figure 'wholly classical in style'<sup>5</sup> wearing a plumed Etrusco-Corinthian helmet, muscled cuirass with overlapping skirt of *pteruges*, and greaves; his left hand (on the mould) supports a spear and the other rests on top of an oval shield. The arms and armour are characteristic of an officer serving in the legions in the second half of the 1st century B.C., and are closely paralleled by one of the figures depicted on the 'Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus'.<sup>6</sup> Traces of a double cable border are visible around the central figure. The humped back of the mould has been roughly smoothed with the fingers, and many finger-tip impressions can be clearly seen. A circular mark of a different colour in the centre of the back indicates that when fired the piece originally had a handle or knob of clay, now broken away.

There is no doubt that the figure represents the god Mars, and the appropriateness of this deity becomes evident when it is realised that the mould has been taken from the embossed decoration on the cheek-piece of a military helmet.<sup>7</sup> It is the cabled border that gives the game away. Cheek-pieces of Roman helmets had cusps in the forward edge to clear the eyes and mouth of the wearer and often a recess in the rear edge for the ear. A border, usually with cabled motif, is commonly found surrounding and delineating the decorated zone and it invariably followed the outline of the outer edge of the cheek-piece. Thus the curving impressions of the border on the mould in front of the face and shield of the figure, mark the cut-out cusps for the eyes and mouth, leaving a projecting lobe for the protection of the cheek bone.

The maximum depth of the impression in the mould is *c.* 5 mm. indicating that the original cheek-piece was highly embossed and comes therefore from an auxiliary cavalry helmet, a group which has recently been fully documented and discussed by the late Russell Robinson.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to determine whether the piece belonged to a standard service helmet or to the highly decorated and lighter sports or parade helmets. Likewise it is not possible to tell from the mould alone whether the original decoration was hand-worked with a punch or die struck.

A date in the 2nd century A.D. would seem most likely and it should be noted that auxiliary cavalrymen would at this time be a common sight in London, if, as has been

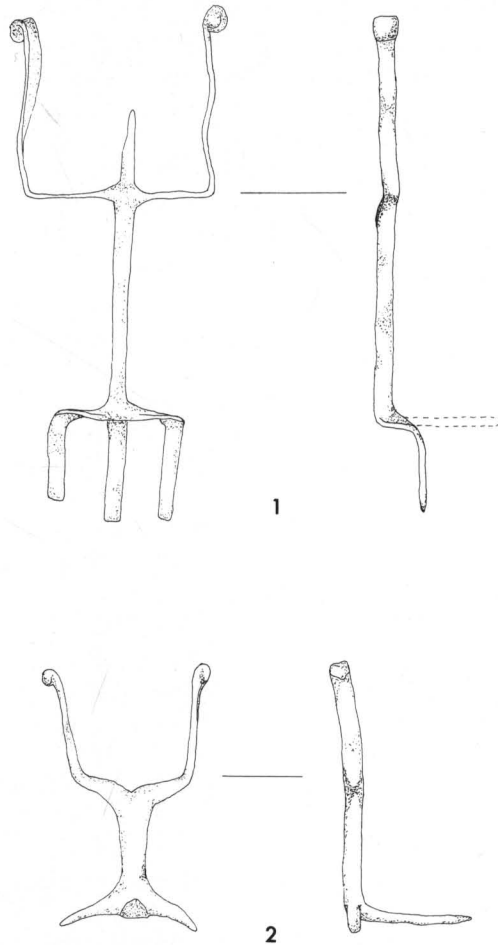


Fig. 2 Roman helmet crest supporters; No. 1 from National Safe Deposit collection; No. 2 from unknown City site (1:2).

argued,<sup>9</sup> the Cripplegate fort held the bodyguard of the governor, a unit that included some 500 *equites singulares*, picked men from the auxiliary cavalry *alae*.

There is evidence for three other Roman military helmets from London and for a fourth from nearby Staines (*Pontes*). The best known is the bronze legionary helmet of mid-1st century A.D. date, said to be from the Thames at London, and now in the British Museum.<sup>10</sup> From the Museum of London collection come two helmet crest supporters,<sup>11</sup> one of iron (Acc. No. 3567) (Fig. 2 No.1), part of the National Safe Deposit collection<sup>12</sup> recovered from the stream-bed of the River Walbrook to the west of the Mansion House, and a second of copper-alloy (Acc. No. 1856) (Fig. 2 No. 2), which, though it has no precise provenance, is almost certainly from its condition and patination a Walbrook find.<sup>13</sup> Both supporters are likely therefore to date to before A.D. 155.<sup>14</sup> The fourth object

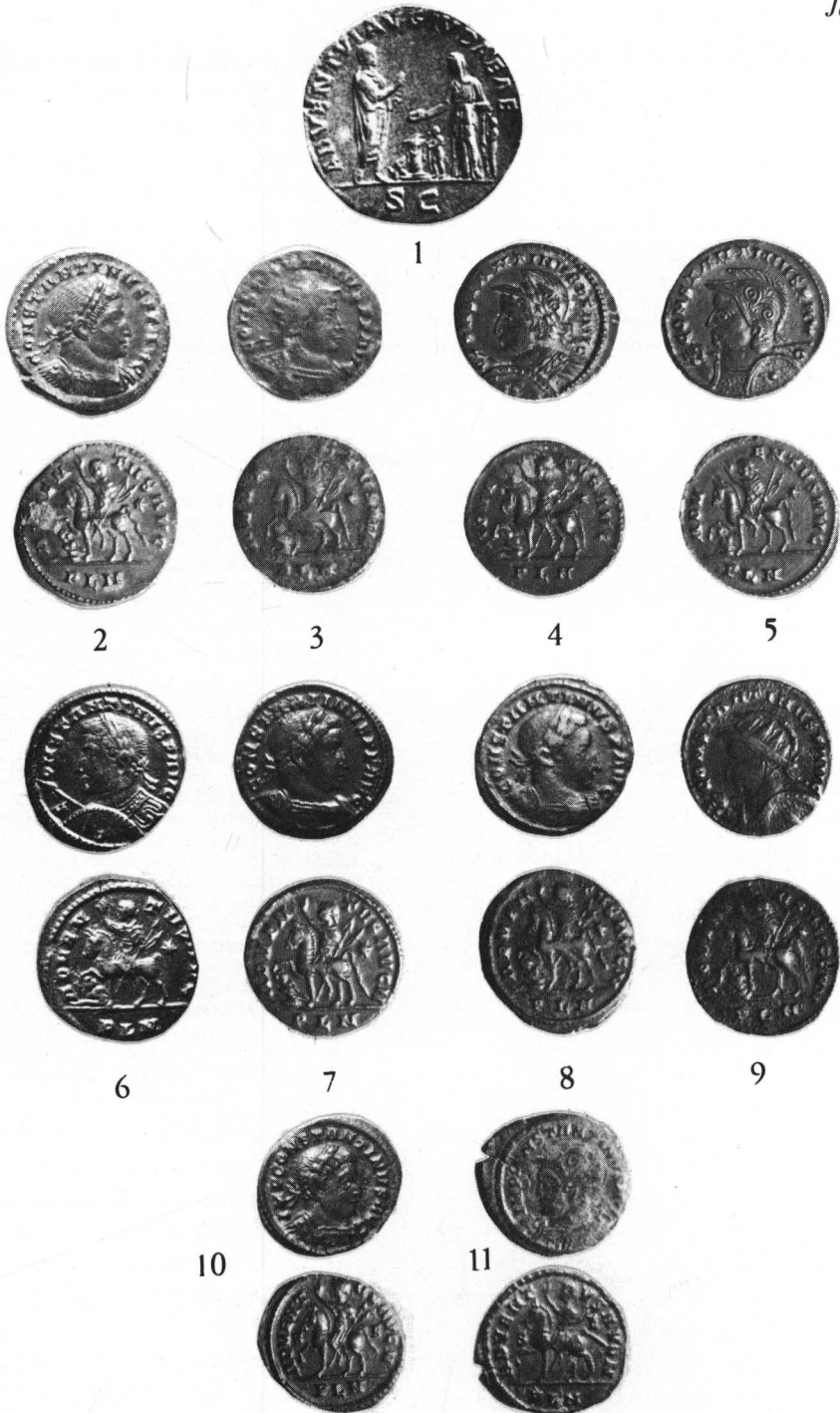
was excavated at Staines in 1969 and is a fragmentary cheek-piece from a cavalry service helmet decorated with a male head surrounded by a cabled border embossed on the outer bronze sheet. It is dated to the second half of the 1st century A.D.<sup>15</sup>.

It remains to discuss the purpose for which the mould was taken and here Professor Toynbee by suggesting<sup>16</sup> that it was used to make *appliqué* figures for relief decoration on pottery, has already provided the answer. The famous 'Harry Lauder' mould of a Celtic wheel god from Corbridge<sup>17</sup> is a close parallel.

The mould thus reflects both military and civil activity in London, providing on the one hand an addition to the decorative repertoire applied to Roman armour and on the other a brief insight to the source of decorative detail for pottery manufacture, as well as a comment on the extensive practice of pirating and copying of designs that was rife in the classical world.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the Collection of London Antiquities in the Guildhall Museum* (London, 1908) 71 No. 60 and Pl. 12 No. 3.
- <sup>2</sup> F. Haverfield in R. H. Forster and W. H. Knowles 'Corstopitum: Report on the Excavations in 1909' *Archaeol. Aeliana* 3rd ser. 6 (1910) 226 and Fig. 6A.
- <sup>3</sup> J. M. C. Toynbee *Art in Britain under the Romans* (Oxford, 1964) 403 (not illustrated).
- <sup>4</sup> Visual identification only.
- <sup>5</sup> Toynbee *loc. cit.* in note 3.
- <sup>6</sup> D. Strong *Roman Art* (London, 1976) 21 and Pl. 19; also R. B. Bandinelli *Rome the centre of Power, Roman Art to A.D. 200* (London, 1970) 52 and Pl. 53.
- <sup>7</sup> During the drafting of this note, the discovery of a letter (dated 9 December 1923) in the Museum's files from W. R. Lethaby to Frank Lambert, Museum Clerk at Guildhall Museum until 1924, indicates that Lethaby too had spotted that the mould was a 'squeeze' from the cheek-piece of a helmet.
- <sup>8</sup> H. Russell Robinson *The Armour of Imperial Rome* (London, 1975) 89 ff. esp. Pls. 286, 287, 401-406.
- <sup>9</sup> M. Hassall 'Roman Soldiers in Roman London' in D. Strong ed. *Archaeological Theory and Practice* (London, 1973) 234.
- <sup>10</sup> *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* 3rd ed. (British Museum London, 1964) 67 No. 5 and Pl. 26.
- <sup>11</sup> For crest supporters see Robinson *op. cit.* in note 8, Figs. 62-74.
- <sup>12</sup> For the publication of the site and some of the objects see J. E. Price *Roman antiquities . . . discovered on the site of the National Safe Deposit Company's premises, Mansion House, London* (London, 1873).
- <sup>13</sup> The majority of the Roman military equipment from London comes from the River Walbrook or its feeders, but this distribution can have no particular significance for military activity inside the city, since the pattern is the same for many other classes of objects.
- <sup>14</sup> For the dating of the material from the stream-bed of the River Walbrook see R. Merrifield 'Coins from the bed of the Walbrook and their significance' *Antiq. J.* 42 (1962) 38-52.
- <sup>15</sup> H. Russell Robinson in K. Crouch 'The Archaeology of Staines and the Excavation at Elmsleigh House' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 27 (1976) 77-80, Fig. 3 and Pl. 1.
- <sup>16</sup> Toynbee *loc. cit.* in note 3. This is perhaps a suitable opportunity to point out that the clay mould of a cupid supposedly from London and published in the same volume by Professor Toynbee (403 & Pl. 90 c, d) has since been identified as originally coming from Xanten and not from London. It formed part of Houben collection auctioned at Cologne on 4 June 1860 and subsequently found its way into the Guildhall Museum collection between 1903 and 1908. The piece was returned to the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, in 1971-72 for inclusion in display at Xanten Museum then being prepared.
- <sup>17</sup> For the original publication see Haverfield *op. cit.* in note 2; also J. M. C. Toynbee *Art in Roman Britain* (London, 1962) 191 No. 161 and Pls. 164-165. For examples of Romano-British pottery with *appliqué* decoration see Toynbee *op. cit.* in note 3, 401 ff.



(Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum)

The *Adventus* coinage of Constantine the Great of the mint of London (1:1).

# CONSTANTINE THE GREAT IN BRITAIN — THE EVIDENCE OF THE COINAGE OF THE LONDON MINT, A.D. 312–314

JOHN CASEY

Compared with the previous 100 years the history of the 4th century appears to be extraordinarily well documented with secular historians of the quality of Ammianus Marcellinus and numerous ecclesiastical authorities. Supplementing these is a wealth of legal enactments and a series of eulogies addressed to individual rulers. Yet for all this richness of documentation any close examination of events reveals how even a year-by-year narrative of events eludes us, to the extent that the date of an event of such consequence as the Battle of the Milvian Bridge may still, occasionally, be questioned.<sup>1</sup> Further there are numerous lacunae in even the best recorded reigns; it is to examine numismatic evidence which may fill one of the lacunae in our knowledge of one short period in the reign of Constantine the Great that this paper is devoted. In pursuing this investigation the author is conscious of the contribution which Ralph Merrifield has made to both numismatics and the history of Roman London; it is hoped that what follows will illuminate both of these aspects of Ralph's work.

The sources for the reign of Constantine are too numerous to adumbrate here but if we restrict ourselves to listing the primary sources for his early years of imperial power they consist of five panegyrics addressed to him, on festal occasions, between 307 and 321,<sup>2</sup> Lactantius' *De Mortibus Persecutorum*,<sup>3</sup> and the three Greek works of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, the *Ecclesiastical History*, the oration in praise of Constantine on his *tricennalia* and the posthumous *Life of Constantine*.<sup>4</sup> These contemporary sources are augmented by Constantinian legal enactments preserved in the Theodosian Code<sup>5</sup> and the Code of Justinian.<sup>6</sup>

There are a number of other 4th- and 5th-century writers bearing upon the reign, ranging from the hostile references in the works of the emperor Julian, the nephew of Constantine, to the late, but important, *Historia Nova* of Zosimus.<sup>7</sup> As might be expected, in such an age, religious events hold primacy in the minds of most of these writers and secular events are frequently passed over in silence. Of these authorities both Lactantius and Eusebius were well acquainted with Constantine personally, the former as tutor to the emperor's son Crispus and the latter as religious adviser.<sup>8</sup>

Our sources can be further supplemented with epigraphic material and the evidence which can be derived from the prolific coinage of the period. Insofar as it is a tool of direct historical application the coinage of the 4th century differs in many ways from that of earlier periods. From the later 3rd century an increasing use of unspecific coin types had been evident with the direct evidence of specific events and their commemoration giving

place to generalisations relating to imperial policy and aspirations. But whilst specific events are less often commemorated this is not, as we shall see, entirely the case. Further the reorganising of mints by Diocletian on a diocesan basis ensured that each area of the empire contributed its coin production quota, nearly always of coins with types shared by other imperial mints. Deviation of mint from the common stock of reverse types is readily noticeable. So too are deviations from what might be termed diplomatic propriety. The joint rulers of the period acknowledged their imperial colleagues in the coinage of their mints on a reciprocal basis. The neglect to issue coins in the name of a colleague was invariably the sign of hostility. Such hostility might be resolved by diplomacy, and the resumption of reciprocal coinage, or war and the absorption of hitherto 'hostile' mints by the victor. Numismatic means are a powerful tool for establishing both political events and their chronology and consequences. Not only the rapid sweep of imperial events but also the rapid escalation of financial crises ensured a frequent change of coin types in the period under review.

The mint of London was established early in the reign of the usurper Carausius and survived the fall of the separatist regime, in 296, to participate in the coinage of the empire down to 326, when the mint closed and the staff transferred to other establishments.<sup>9</sup> With the suppression of Carausius and Allectus London ceased to mint coins in gold or silver, coins in these metals being supplied by a mint less vulnerable to usurpers at Trier. Production was restricted to billon issues, these issues being, with few exceptions, similar to those of the Trier mint.

However, on three occasions in the early decades of the 4th century London displayed an originality of type unparalleled by contemporary mints controlled by Constantine. The type is similar in all three emissions though the issues are separated, one from the other, by a number of years. The symbolism of the type has its origins in the 3rd century and represents the emperor, on horseback, making a formal entry into an imperial city, an *ADVENTVS AVG(usti)* or imperial state visit.

An imperial *adventus* was an event of very considerable consequence for the community thus visited, either as an individual city or for the province in which it was situated. The event was accompanied by an elaborate ceremonial. The rite itself originated in the Hellenistic east<sup>10</sup> and finds its earliest numismatic representation, in the Roman world, in the coinage of Hadrian whose numerous provincial tours stimulated a series of issues commemorating the *adventus* involved in these visits. By the middle of the 3rd century the peripatetic nature of the emperor's office, the result itself of the need to meet military threats in person, enhanced and further formalised the *adventus*. The frequency of imperial visits, especially of the military emperors Aurelian and Probus, to the strategically vital cities of the Balkans, resulted in a redefinition of the iconography of the event in the coinage.<sup>11</sup> Whilst Hadrian is represented as being greeted by a personification of the province visited (Fig. 1, No. 1) the 3rd-century type, which became the normal representation thereafter, was of the emperor riding to the left, with hand raised in imperial salutation. Normally the emperor carries a spear in his left hand and the *sagum*, or military cloak, billows out behind him. A captive may be seated below the descending hoof of the imperial horse. The imagery is one of victory, of the emperor making a triumphal entry, a ceremony something less than the full state triumph which could only properly be celebrated in Rome or Constantinople. The nature of the ceremony in the late Roman period can be reconstructed from two *adventus* at Rome, that

of Constantius II in 357<sup>12</sup> and that of Honorius after the defeat of Alaric in 404.<sup>13</sup> On each occasion the imperial entourage was greeted at a distance from the city by members of the Senate and the general population who conducted the emperor into the city with acclamations. Other accounts of similar events speak of torchlight processions, flower strewn roads and of citizens wearing festive garlands and waving palm branches in the welcoming parade. It is worth noting that the emperor, though shewn mounted on the coins, usually entered the city in an elaborately decorated and jewelled open carriage. An address to the Senate, or town council, was followed by an address to the population. A donation of money to the populace was a normal component of the *adventus*. In cities operating a mint the *adventus* coins were struck for this donative; cities without mints had no access to special coins for the occasion. Honorius, after a welcome of great spontaneity, achieved a certain amount of popular disfavour for failing to distribute a largesse.<sup>14</sup>

Besides the intangible honour of greeting the ruler the *adventus* presented the welcoming community with opportunities to acquire more material benefits. Direct access to the monarch was an extra-ordinary privilege in the later empire and, especially after the reforms of Diocletian which did so much to remove the emperor from contact with any but court officials, such access represented a unique opportunity to initiate reforms, moderate legislation or solicit privileges. As early as 122, when Hadrian visited Britain we are told that he ‘put many things right’ in the province.<sup>15</sup> Constantine remitted taxes when he visited Autun in 311<sup>16</sup> and Julian restored earthquake stricken Nicomedia.<sup>17</sup> One might then expect tangible and less tangible results to derive from an imperial visit, but before examining such possible effects in Britain, it is necessary to establish that events which might produce such effects actually took place. We must first examine the content and dating of the London coins depicting the *adventus* scene.

The London *adventus* coins are issued in three series (I–III), each of these issues will be considered separately:

### I.

*Obv.* FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C

Bust right, laureate, cuirassed.

*Rev.* ADVEN—TVS AVGG

Constantine riding left, hand raised in salutation, captive below horse.

Mintmark:  $\overline{\text{PLN}}$

*RIC* VI (London) 82

This issue, dated by *RIC* to ‘c. summer 307’, presents problems on several accounts. In the first instance it is by no means certain that this is a genuine ancient production. Our present knowledge of the coin rests entirely on a cast and clearly independent confirmation of its authenticity is needed. If we accept it as authentic several further problems arise. The use of the *tria nomina* in the obverse legend is characteristic of extremely early issues in new reigns and in this instance represents a reversal of policy by the London mint whose accession issues, datable to 306, have the short legend CONSTANTINVS NOB CAES and variants. The use of the title *caesar* is itself correct for the period since; although Constantine was proclaimed *augustus* by the army at York in 306, he eschewed the use of this unconstitutional title until after 25 July 307 and may not, indeed, have styled himself *augustus* until after 25 December of that year.<sup>18</sup> In the light of this the reverse presents apparent constitutional nonsense. However, closer



consideration of the usage of the period indicates that the actions of a single ruler might be taken as representative of the actions of all rulers of the imperial college, thus although only Maximianus Herculeus went to Carthage in 298 the *adventus* as recorded by that mint is struck in the names of Diocletian and the caesars also.<sup>19</sup> The use of the title AVGG [ustorum] on the reverse might be a mint error or a correct estimation of the true position of Constantine and an assimilation of him into co-imperial status with Galerius. In any event it is unlikely that any single view of Constantine's constitutional position was prevalent at the time. The purported date of the piece can be established by the absence of issues in the name of Severus II bearing the  $\overline{\text{PEN}}$  mintmark. Severus was defeated and stripped of imperial rank by Maxentius early in the summer of 307. The issue, then, should date to the second half of 307. Constantine may have contemplated a visit to Britain at this period. In the early autumn following his accession at York in mid 306, a serious revolt broke out among the Chatti, Ampsivari and Bructeri, settled by Constantius on the west bank of the Rhine. The tribesmen pillaged Lower Germany and Gallia Belgica but were conclusively defeated before the winter of 306–307. Early in 307 Maximianus Herculeus, the recently retired colleague of Diocletian, joined Constantine in Gaul and, probably at the end of April, celebrated the marriage of his daughter Fausta to Constantine. Maximian returned to Rome before July. It is extremely unlikely that Constantine would contemplate leaving his domains whilst the meddlesome Maximian still resided within his territory. Nothing is known of Constantine's precise movements after July and an *adventus* might have been contemplated. However, the body of coinage that would have accompanied such an event does not seem to have been produced and, in the light of the extremely tenuous nature of the numismatic evidence, it is perhaps best to discount any visit of Constantine at this time. Had such a visit been planned it may have been curtailed by the political problems raised by the unexpected defeat of Severus.

II. The second series of *adventus* coins is the largest. There are three reverse legends which are combined with seven obverse bust types and three obverse legends.

1. (Fig. 1, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, )

Rev. ADVEN—T—VS AVG

Constantine riding left, hand raised in salutation, captive below horse. (Reverse common to all types)

		<i>Bust type</i>			
		Y			
Obv. 1.	CONSTANTINVS AVG				
2.	CONSTANTINVS P AVG	BB	C	CC	Z
3.	CONSTANTINVS PF AVG	BB	C	CC	G

Mintmark  $\overline{\text{PEN}}$                       RIC VI (London) 133–141

2. (Fig. 1, Nos. 7, 8)

Rev. ADVEN—TVS AVG N

Obv. 1. —

2. CONSTANTINVS P AVG                      C
3. CONSTANTINVS PF AVG                      C

RIC VI (London) 142–143

3. (Fig 1, No. 9)  
 Rev. ADVENT – VS AVGG NN

Obv. 1. –

2. –

3. CONSTANTINVS PF AVG

C CC

RIC VI (London) 144–145

*Bust types:*

B. Right facing, laureate, draped.

BB. Left facing, helmeted, cuirassed, spear over right shoulder, shield on left arm.

C. Right facing, laureate, cuirassed.

CC. Left facing, helmeted, cuirassed, forward pointing spear in right hand, shield on left arm.

G. Right facing, radiate, helmeted, cuirassed.

Y. Left facing, laureate, cuirassed, forward pointing spear in right hand, shield on left arm.

Z. Left facing, cuirassed, spear over right shoulder, shield on left arm.

This series is dated by *RIC* to ‘c. mid-310 to late-312’ but the scheme of dating there proposed needs careful examination. The coinage covered by the mintmark  $\overline{\text{PLN}}$  must be seen in relation to the events which culminated in the defeat of Maxentius by Constantine at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge on 28 October 312. It is the opinion of the author of *RIC VI*, and of other students of this coinage, that this *adventus* issue relates to events in Rome and commemorates Constantine’s entry into the capital city after his victory. The arguments advanced to support this view may be summarised by quotation:

‘Taken as a whole, these coins (i.e. this issues marked  $\overline{\text{PLN}}$ ) must reflect Constantine’s impending clash with Maxentius and his ultimate victory over him.’<sup>20</sup>

‘ADVENTVS AVG . . . must refer to Constantine’s threatened or actual presence at Rome to fight Maxentius.’<sup>21</sup>

‘The only notable variations from the norm established in 309 lay in the array of special types adopted at London to celebrate the conquest of Italy in 312.’<sup>22</sup>

The consensus, then, is that these coins refer to Rome. Is it possible, however, that they should be taken at face value and that they represent an actual visit to Britain made before the campaign which culminated in the capture of Rome?

First we must attempt to establish the date of the issue more closely. The mark  $\overline{\text{PLN}}$  precedes the mark  $\overline{\text{PLN}}$  which is associated with coin types alluding to Constantine’s capture of Rome. Types as explicit as ROMAE AETER AVGG (*RIC VI* (London) 269–271) and ROMAE RESTITVTAE (*RIC VI* (London) 272–274) obviously celebrate the events of October 312 and can be dated from that period into 313. Of the coins bearing the earlier mark (i.e.  $\overline{\text{PLN}}$ ) some issues bear obverse portraits depicting the emperor with consular regalia. These effigies must be referred to a date after 1 January 312, when Constantine entered his second consulship, his first being held in 307. None of the *adventus* coins under consideration exhibit consular busts and it might be claimed, on this evidence, that they must predate January 312. But this is not necessarily the case. Of the six substantive types issued under this mark three have consular busts and these three appear, to judge from the number of bust varieties involved in each issue, to be the largest emissions in volume. Since the consular element in these issues is very small in relation to the normal laureate and cuirassed effigies, which make up the bulk of the issues, it is likely that the striking of the consular bust variety occupied only a short interlude in the production of the types. Thus the bulk of the coins may have been struck over the life-span of the mintmark with the consular varieties being produced in January 312 as a

festival issue. Certainly to move only the *adventus* types and a few minor varieties into the period before 312 and to consign all types with a consular component into 312 would be incompatible with the surviving volume of the latter coinage. In fact the *adventus* issues may well post-date the early months of 312. At least we can say that they were not being issued in January of that year when the consular coinage will have been struck for distribution in a celebratory donative.<sup>23</sup> We may also claim, in the light of the discussion of the substantive issues, that the *adventus* issue was of short duration. It is also possible to remove this issue from the context of the entry into Rome and thus loosen its attachment to a date in the last quarter of 312 or the early months of 313. Insofar as it is claimed that they refer to events in Rome the *adventus* coins are placed in a unique position in the Constantinian coinage. There is no precedent for an imperial mint striking such a coinage for a distant city and certainly the far more important mint of Trier, Constantine's Gallic capital, does not display the curious foreknowledge of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge with which the *procurator monetæ* of London is credited. Rome itself, the most important mint in the empire in terms of innovation of symbolic coin types, failed completely to produce an *adventus* coinage at this time. Indeed it could be argued that Constantine's entry into Rome did not formally constitute an *adventus* at all.

If we tabulate the *adventus* coins of the Constantinian period we will see that there is a consistent association between the issue of celebratory coins, often gold multiples, and the presence of the emperor. There is no example of striking for a distant event.

ADVENTUS ISSUES, 296–335 (London issues excepted)

<i>RIC reference</i>	<i>Issuer</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Historical circumstance</i>
VI Carthage 1–26	Diocletian, Maximianus and caesars.	<i>aurei</i> , <i>argentei</i> , <i>folles</i> .	296–298	Maximian in Africa to suppress the Quinquegentiani
VI Ticinum 111	Constantine	9 <i>solidi</i>	313	Constantine and Licinius hold conference in Milan Feb. 313
VII Aquileia 27	Constantine	<i>solidus</i>	318–319	Constantine in residence for 318–319.
VII Sirmium 19	Crispus	1.5 <i>solidi</i>	321	Constantine in residence from late 320 to spring 324. Crispus held his consular procession in the city in 321.
VII Nicomedia 52,58	Constantine	1.5 <i>solidi</i> <i>solidus</i>	late 324	Entry into Nicomedia after the defeat of Licinius at Chrysopolis.
VII Antioch 48	Constantine	<i>solidus</i>	late 324– early 325	None known
VII Constantinople 41	Constantine	1.5 <i>solidi</i>	330	Arrival for dedication of the new capital.
VII Nicomedia 160	Constantine	1.5 <i>solidi</i>	330	None known
VII Siscia 27	Constantine	1.5 <i>solidi</i>	334 <sup>24</sup>	Constantine in the Balkans July – August, 334.
VII Thessalonika 203	Constantine	1.5 <i>solidi</i>	late 335	Constantine at Nicopolis close to Thessalonika on 23 October 335.

The presumption on the evidence of similar issues is that the *adventus* coinage indicates an entry into London at a date between mid 310 and late 311 or between some time after

January 312 and Constantine's departure for his Italian campaign. Such a postulated visit must be compatible with the evidence from the attested movements of the emperor in these periods. The information that we have is as follows:

- 310 Early in the year Maximianus the former colleague of Diocletian defeated by Constantine at Marseilles in late 309, raised further plots against Constantine and was induced to commit suicide.  
Constantine left Marseilles for Trier to celebrate his *quinquennium* and hear a panegyric delivered on, or shortly after, 25 July 310.<sup>25</sup>
- 311 On, or shortly after 25 July 311, Constantine was present in Trier at the presentation of a further panegyric.<sup>26</sup>
- 312 Campaign against Maxentius started and seven cities in northern Italy captured. Final battle fought on 28 October and Constantine resident in Rome until at least 18 January 313.

The evidence is very slender for the emperor's movements and even the events of 312 are very badly recorded. The date at which Constantine moved against Maxentius is problematic, the only fixed point being the date of the final battle. It is probable that the campaign started in the summer but even this is uncertain. There is no need to prolong the war backwards into spring, the general impression that is given by the, admittedly unspecific, sources is of a lightning swoop on Italy. There is, then, nothing in the information which we have to positively prohibit a visit to Britain in the period after July 310 and before July 311 or from that date to some time in the summer of 312. We can perhaps narrow the range down still further since the panegyric of 310 contains no mention of a visit made or one in prospect. It is reasonable to assume that short of the greatest emergency, as in the case of Constans, a cross Channel expedition would not be made in the winter season so that the months from October to March may be eliminated for both 310–311 and 311–312. The negative evidence of the panegyric would tend to make the supposed crossing a preliminary to the events of the summer of 312. This suggestion has some contemporary literary backing. But before considering the literary evidence which supports an *adventus*, it is as well to dispose of a reference which has been taken to indicate that Constantine campaigned on the Rhine immediately before advancing into Italy, an event which would seriously limit the time into which a visit to Britain could be fitted. The panegyric of 313<sup>27</sup> merely states that:

*Rhenum tu quidem toto limite dispositis exercitibus tutum reliqueras . . .*  
'You left the Rhine under the protection of the forces stationed along it.'

It is also made clear that soldiers from the Rhine, led by Constantine, were included in the invasion force and that the speed with which that force reached Italy was remarkable:

*Quis enim crederet tam cito a Rheno ad Alpes imperatorem cum exercitu pervolasse?*  
'Who could believe the speed with which the army and its leader swept from the Rhine to the Alps?'

This rhetorical flourish has been embroidered by scholars into a campaign on the Rhine to which has been assigned the building of the fortress of *Divitia* at Deutz, a structure which on archaeological and epigraphic grounds cannot predate the victory in Italy.<sup>28</sup>

Having dealt with the negative evidence let us turn to the positive indications of a visit. Writing at the end of the 5th century the historian Zosimus listed the troops allocated by Constantine to the attack on Maxentius:

'Having gathered together forces from the barbarians he had conquered by the spear and Germans and other Celtic peoples, besides some raised in Britain . . . he marched from the Alps into Italy.'<sup>29</sup>

This passage demonstrates that Britain was within the area influenced by the impending civil war and can be reasonably construed to indicate that units of the diocesan army contributed to the Constantinian field force which participated in the campaign. Such a reduction of troops in Britain will have necessitated some redistribution of manpower though not necessarily the imperial presence. However, the passage may be read in conjunction with a neglected reference in a contemporary source, which appears to state positively that, between his accession in 306 and his departure for Italy, Constantine visited Britain.

Eusebius's *Life of Constantine* was composed by one of the emperor's closest religious associates between 337 and 340 and whilst dealing primarily with spiritual matters, sets these within the political framework of Constantine's reign. In a resumé of his early career the events immediately following Constantine's accession are specified:

'As soon as he was established in power he began to care for the interests of the rest of his father's share of the empire and visited with much considerate kindness all those provinces which had previously been under his father's government, and reduced to civilisation the barbarian peoples round the Rhine and the western ocean. He contented himself with checking the incursions of others and drove from his territory, like untamed and savage wild beasts, those whom he saw were incapable of a settled and civilised life. Now that this was settled he turned his eyes to the rest of the civilised world, meanwhile he crossed to the nations of the Britons which lie within the Ocean itself, and arranging them he examined other parts of the whole, to tend what needed help'.<sup>30</sup>

The passage is open to criticism on the grounds that Eusebius does not record that Constantine was proclaimed in Britain and that, knowing the emperor had a connection with Britain, he has had to invent an episode to accommodate this. On the other hand the sequence of events is logical within the framework of Constantine's other activities at this period. If the passage is paraphrased the order of events in the Eusebian narrative is as follows:

1. Proclamation of Constantine. The place is unspecified but Eusebius knew that it was in the context of Constantius's funeral.
2. Attacks on various Germanic peoples on the Rhine and other barbarians making inroads into Roman territory (by implication these latter events are not in Britain).
3. Visit to Britain.
4. 'Examines other parts of the whole (i.e. his father's territory) to tend what needed help'.

We need not examine the evidence for the proclamation since this is well documented. The second Eusebian statement clearly relates to the events of late 306 and the winter of 307 when Constantine fought the Chatti, Ampsivari and Bructeri on the Rhine. This campaign ended in a victory and the capture of the barbarian leaders.<sup>31</sup> The final statement must be an allusion to Italy and specifically to Rome, territory which was technically Constantinian since it had formed part of Constantius's domains. The narrative of the Italian campaign follows immediately, initiated because 'He . . . perceived that the head of all, the royal city of the Roman empire, was bowed down by the weight of tyrannous oppression.' Eusebius thus preserves the correct order of events in every particular of his narrative where this can be checked from an independent source. There is no reason, given the supplementary evidence of the *adventus* coinage and Zosimus's reference to troops being withdrawn from Britain, to doubt that the reference to a visit to Britain is in essentials, correctly placed.

Before considering the results of any such visit we should consider the third series of *adventus* coins struck in London.

III. The third series of coins is struck under two mintmarks.

1. (Fig. 1, Nos. 10, 11)  
*Obv.* IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG  
Bust right, laureate, cuirassed.  
*or*  
Bust left, helmeted, cuirassed, spear across right shoulder, shield on left arm.  
*Rev.* ADVENT-VS AVG N  
Constantine riding left, hand raised in salutation.  
Mintmark  $\frac{SIF}{PLN}$  *RIC* VII (London) 1, 2.
2. *Obv.* IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG  
Bust right, laureate cuirassed  
*Rev.* ADVENT-VS AVG N  
Constantine riding left, hand raised in salutation.  
Mintmark  $\frac{SIF}{MLL}$  *RIC* VII (London) 21.

The date of these coins is established by the absence of issues in the name of Maximinus Daza bearing either of these marks. Given the absence of Daza, the coins must date to after September 313. As compared with the Series II coins the present issues are struck at a lighter weight standard (*c.* 3.5 grammes as compared to *c.* 4.5). The only iconographic innovation is the omission of the seated captive beneath the emperor's horse.

We need not repeat here the arguments advanced when considering the Series II coins to establish the probability that these *adventus* issues represent visits to Britain. Once again the mints that might be expected to strike ceremonial types fail to do so. Thus the statement that 'We have no particular reason for assuming an imperial visit to Britain in 313–314. Presumably, therefore, they commemorate Constantine's return to Gaul and Trier after the conference at Milan'<sup>32</sup> need not delay us. More relevant to our enquiry is, once again, the schedule of Constantine's known movements in the period covered by the issue of the coins. These are:<sup>33</sup>

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| October 312 | to, at least, 29 January 313, Resident in Rome.   |
| March 313.  | Constantine conferred with Licinius in Milan, issued the Edict of Toleration and celebrated a dynastic marriage between his daughter, Constantia, and his imperial colleague. |
| August 313  | to late March 314. A series of edicts issued from Trier throughout this period indicate the presence of the emperor in his Gallic capital throughout these months.            |

After March there is a considerable gap in our knowledge<sup>34</sup> the next direct evidence of Constantine's movements being the battle fought on 8 October 314 at Cibalae in Illyricum where Licinius and Constantine met in the opening engagement of their first civil war. Following Cibalae, Constantine established himself in Sirmium, moving to Italy to celebrate his *decennalia* in Rome and remaining there from July to late September. We thus have a fairly full record for the period with a gap between late March and early October, 314.

The Series II coins are dated by *RIC* to 313–314 (  $\frac{SIF}{PLN}$  ) and to 314–315 (  $\frac{SIF}{MLL}$  ). Both marks include issues for Licinius, a courtesy which seems to have been extended to Constantine's opponent even whilst war was raging in the Balkans. Strange behaviour

indeed for a mint elsewhere credited with foreknowledge of events and a keen sense of anticipation of imperial movements on the Continent. If we are to contend that the two issues relate to a single event it follows that the dating of the coins is too wide. If it is accepted that the weight of the evidence indicates that they represent another visit to Britain then it is possible to fix the date of the coins more closely to the period between April and October 314 when there is an hiatus in our sources as to the movements of the emperor. It is not necessary to see the mint marks as representing striking in terms of calendar years, changes of mark during the course of a single year are quite common.

We have reviewed, at length, the evidence both literary and numismatic for three issues of *adventus* coins; one of these issues is represented by only a single, suspect, example and two of which are represented in considerable numbers physically and by numerous varieties. Of the varieties, confined to bust types, those representing the emperor facing left with spear and shield are almost certainly struck as donatives, perhaps for distribution ceremonially.<sup>35</sup> Both Series II and Series III coins exhibit these types. Assuming that the coins are direct evidence for imperial visits is it possible either to suggest the reasons for them or to see tangible results from them? We will exclude from consideration the questionable evidence afforded by the Series I coin and concentrate attention on the events which may pertain to the other two issues.

It is a natural tendency to see imperial visits in terms of insular military events, such a pattern is well established in the history of Britain in the Roman period. The visits of Claudius, Hadrian, Septimius Severus and Constantine all provide occasions when military considerations dictated the nature of the event and there can be little doubt that only the most pressing necessity brought imperial visitors to Britain. The pressing consideration in 312 would clearly be the necessity to deplete the forces of Britain, in some rational way, to provide troops for the impending struggle with Maxentius. Archaeology, which ultimately depends for its dates on historical events as yet knows nothing of those postulated in this paper. In the period with which we are concerned the fixed points, and some are more firmly fixed than others, are 296 when, it is alleged, changes were wrought on Hadrian's Wall, 305–306 when Constantius Chlorus campaigned in the north and 343, when Constantine made his dramatic Channel crossing in winter. It is natural to assign individually observed archaeological phenomena to these circumstances. Nonetheless there is, perhaps, some hint of the effects of troop withdrawals which might have resulted from Constantine's presence in 312. The outpost fort of Hadrian's Wall at High Rochester was almost certainly abandoned at this time, the absence of coins of the period 330–341 from the site is eloquent testimony<sup>36</sup> to its dereliction before the date advanced by I. A. Richmond.<sup>37</sup> It is possible that Bewcastle was also abandoned<sup>38</sup> and that Risingham was temporarily evacuated and subsequently re-occupied for a short period.<sup>39</sup> South of the Wall a thinning of garrisons can be detected possibly at Ebchester<sup>40</sup> and certainly at Piercebridge. This fort hitherto described as Constantinian was built in the mid-3rd century and was abandoned between *c.* 300 and *c.* 353,<sup>41</sup> being re-occupied thereafter. It is likely that the civilian element of the Piercebridge population may have moved to the newly planned and built *vicus* at nearby Greta Bridge.<sup>42</sup> Elsewhere military activity is less easy to define, nor need it have been extensive since the whole force deployed by Constantine in Italy amounted to only 40,000 picked men<sup>43</sup> of which only a small component need have been drawn from Britain. If, as has been suggested, the redeployment involved the northern military command it may have been the moment at

which the office and command of the *Dux Britanniarum* was instituted. A full consideration of military events stemming from the propositions advanced in this paper must await further research. It may be, however, that the dispositions made by Constantine inadvertently put in train the events which brought his son Constans so hurriedly to Britain a generation later. In any event a further visit in 314 seems to have been necessary after the Italian campaign and after a struggle with Frankish forces on the Rhine frontier. It is after this second visit that Constantine took the title *Britannicus Maximus*. The title, surely indicative of military intervention in Britain, is first recorded in 315.<sup>44</sup>

One further event may be ascribed to an imperial visit in 314, the renaming of one of the provinces which constituted the diocese at that date. In the Diocletianic reconstruction of Britain the two extant provinces of Britannia Superior and Britannia Inferior were divided into four. By the early 4th century these small provinces are named as Britannia Prima (Wales and the West), Britannia Secunda, with York as its capital, Flavia Caesariensis with its capital at Lincoln and, finally, Maxima Caesariensis with London as its centre.<sup>45</sup> Of the latter two provinces Flavia Caesariensis clearly received its name from the caesar Flavius Constantius, the reconqueror of the island after the episode of the usurpation of Carausius and Allectus. Maxima Caesariensis is much more of a problem. Given that one province is named for the caesar of the West it would seem logical to name the other province for the caesar of the East, Galerius Maximianus. But if we are to form Maxima from Maximian it is unreasonable to name the other province Flavia rather than Constantia especially as the formation Maxima would appear to contemporaries to be derived from the name of the western emperor, Maximianus Hercules. The evidence for the names of the provinces is derived from an extremely closely dated document, the Verona List. This document records the division of the empire as it existed in the brief period between the meeting of Constantine and Licinius in Milan in March 313 and the capture of Licinius's Balkan possessions by Constantine after the battle of Cybalae fought in early October 314.<sup>46</sup> The date of the first record of the name of the province is thus some twenty years after it was supposedly conferred.

It is by no means unlikely that the name of the province, as recorded in the Verona List, has undergone a change since the days of the Tetrarchy. It has been suggested that the parallel to Flavia Caesariensis would be Galeria Caesariensis, if the province was in fact named after the Eastern caesar.<sup>47</sup> Assuming this suggestion to be correct and that the original name of the London centred province was Galeria Caesariensis we must explain by what process it came to be recorded as Maxima Caesariensis in the Verona List. We have already seen that there is strong evidence to suggest that Constantine visited Britain in 314 and that certainly by the next year he bore the title *Britannicus Maximus*. In the same year he took one other title, that of *Maximus Augustus*. This title, which is recorded epigraphically in 314<sup>48</sup> derives from the defeat of Maxentius. The assumption of the epithet Maximus certainly had political implications and indicated the claim of imperial seniority over Licinius. It is significant that it was Licinius who travelled to Constantine for the meeting in Milan and not *vice versa*. The derivation of Maxima Caesariensis from Constantine's new title is perfectly reasonable on linguistic grounds; further the title and provincial name are compatible with the extremely close date limit set by the Verona List. Finally we have the strong presumption that Constantine was himself in London at the relevant time for the conferment of the new title on the province. Should this be the actual



sequence of events then the Verona List is even more closely dated to between April and October 314.

There is naturally a strong temptation to date the change of London's name to *Augusta* to this period. This temptation is moderated by the behaviour of the capital's mint, which continued to strike issues with the mintmarks which are abbreviations of 'London' to the end of its working life. It is unlikely that a new official name, conferred by an emperor in person, would not at once be used on the most explicit symbol of the city's importance, its coinage.

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# CADWALLO, KING OF THE BRITONS, THE BRONZE HORSEMAN OF LONDON

JOHN CLARK

Ralph Merrifield displayed characteristic caution in *The Roman City of London* over the attribution of human skulls found over many years in the Walbrook stream-bed<sup>1</sup> to a massacre by followers of Boudicca in A.D. 60, and understandably relegated to a footnote the unsubstantiated story related by the eccentric 12th-century historian Geoffrey of Monmouth of the decapitation of a whole Roman legion on this same spot.<sup>2</sup> The parallel between Geoffrey's tale and the finds of skulls was also noted by R. E. M. Wheeler in the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments' volume on Roman London; Wheeler's suggestion of the survival of 'some remote traditional echo of an actual event' is open to doubt.<sup>3</sup>

Geoffrey of Monmouth ('Galfridus Monemutensis') was presumably born, or brought up, in Monmouth; between 1129 and 1151 he was in Oxford, and in 1152 in London, when he was ordained priest and consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, though he does not seem to have visited his see before his death in perhaps 1155.<sup>4</sup> It was during his period in Oxford, in about 1136,<sup>5</sup> that he completed the major work for which he is famous, his *Historia Regum Britanniae* ('History of the Kings of Britain'). This volume, which relates the largely legendary history of Britain from its colonisation by the Trojan Brutus, through the times of Leir, of Lud, of Cymbeline and of Arthur and Merlin, to the events that followed the death of Cadwallader in A.D. 689, has proved a source of inspiration and exasperation to historians ever since. Geoffrey's own sources included Bede, the *De Excidio Britanniae* of Gildas, the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius, and others less reputable, or even non-existent, and discussion of these sources has been long and occasionally acrimonious.<sup>6</sup> A near contemporary, William of Newburgh, complained that 'everything this man wrote about Arthur and his successors, or indeed about his predecessors from Vortigern onwards, was made up, partly by himself and partly by others, either from an inordinate love of lying, or for the sake of pleasing the Britons'.<sup>7</sup> A modern historian who saw in Geoffrey's work a forerunner of Sellar and Yeatman's *1066 and All That* has stated bluntly 'It ought not to be necessary to warn that no word or line of Geoffrey can legitimately be considered in the study of any historical problem; but the warning unfortunately remains necessary'.<sup>8</sup>

Indeed it does, for I intend in this paper to consider, legitimately or not, a few lines of Geoffrey which relate to London.

The last few chapters of the *History* deal with the lives of Cadwallo, king of the Britons, and his son Cadwallader. The earlier part of Geoffrey's account makes it clear that his 'Cadwallo' is Cadwallon of Gwynedd ('Catgublaun' in Nennius and 'Caedwalla' in

Bede), the British king who in 632 joined the Mercian Penda in a successful attack on English Northumbria, only to be defeated and killed the following year by Oswald of Northumbria in battle near Hexham.<sup>9</sup> In Geoffrey's version Cadwallo is not killed, but lives on as a rather shadowy overlord to Penda and the rulers of the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.<sup>10</sup> Geoffrey ends his account of Cadwallo as follows:

'Finally, at the end of 48 years, that most noble and most powerful man, Cadwallo king of the Britons, weighed down by age and infirmity, passed from this life on the 15th of the kalends of December [17 November]. The Britons placed his body, preserved with balsam and spices, in a certain bronze figure cast with wonderful skill to the measure of his height. Then they placed the figure, in armour, on a bronze horse of wonderful beauty, and set up on the west gate of London as a symbol of the aforesaid victory and as a warning to the Saxons. And they also built a church below in honour of St. Martin, in which memorial services are held for the man himself and for Christian dead'.<sup>11</sup>

As elsewhere, Geoffrey is sparing with dates. Cadwallo's assumption of the crown in Britain was contemporary, according to Geoffrey, with that of Edwin in Northumbria,<sup>12</sup> which can be dated to 616;<sup>13</sup> 48 years from that date puts Cadwallo's death in 664, which agrees more or less with the length of rather more than 23 years Geoffrey allows for the reign of Cadwallo's successor Cadwallader who died in 689.<sup>14</sup> Later chroniclers however placed Cadwallo's death in 676, 677 or 678.<sup>15</sup> The 'true' date may have been of little consequence to Geoffrey, and relating as it does to a king already dead more than 30 years whose activities are for the most part legendary its relevance to the modern historian seems slight.

However, Geoffrey's story of Cadwallo's burial and commemoration in London gives rise to a number of interesting speculations, concerning the church dedicated to St. Martin, the west gate of London, the identity of a king so honoured in London, and the nature of his monument; some consideration is given here to these topics.

#### THE CHURCH

Though the honour of association with the legendary Cadwallo has on occasion been claimed for the much more notable foundation of St. Martin-le-Grand,<sup>16</sup> there seems no reason to doubt the identity of the church of St. Martin 'below' (*subtus*) a west gate with St. Martin Ludgate, the only church so dedicated placed in such close proximity to any of London's westward gates; this identification is favoured by the early chroniclers.<sup>17</sup> It would indeed be foolish to accept Geoffrey's account as evidence for the founding of St. Martin Ludgate in 664 — or 677 — though an early foundation date for a church dedicated to St. Martin of Tours is far from impossible.<sup>18</sup>

What must be beyond dispute is that when Geoffrey was writing the church existed (which is in itself of interest, for this, *c.* 1136, would seem to be, so far, the earliest documented reference to this particular church<sup>19</sup>), and had done so long enough that his story of its ancient origin would cause no great surprise to contemporary readers.

#### THE WEST GATE

Conditional upon this identification of the church is, not surprisingly, the identification of Geoffrey's 'west gate of London' as Ludgate. With accustomed contrariness Geoffrey refuses to dispel our doubts by using the name *Ludgate*, with which he is perfectly familiar and about the etymology of which he holds decided views.<sup>20</sup> The Latin form, then, is not a proper name 'the West Gate', but more generally 'the (*or a*) west gate'. Yet the implication

remains that in Geoffrey's time it was Ludgate which, of the two western gates, seemed the more appropriate setting for a noble monument. It did, after all, open on to the road leading towards the king's palace at Westminster, the road which had earlier been known as Akeman Street, the 'Bath Road',<sup>21</sup> presumably the high road to the West; the early Norman fortifications of Baynard's Castle and the Tower of Montfichet were strategically placed to guard this landward approach to the city as well as the river;<sup>22</sup> and within the wall the route to the cathedral church itself was short and direct. The 16th-century historian John Stow stated that Newgate had been 'about the reign of Henrie the first, or of king Stephen' a *new gate* in fact, and that previously traffic from the west had entered by Ludgate.<sup>23</sup> Excavation has proved Stow essentially wrong, in that there had existed a Roman gate on the site of Newgate;<sup>24</sup> yet Geoffrey's story suggests that if indeed the old Roman gate at Newgate was still in use after the Roman period it was, before the rebuilding that Stow implies, of minor importance compared with Ludgate.

#### THE KING

In one sense Geoffrey's Cadwallo was indeed that king of Gwynedd who was killed in 633; but there were other rulers with similar names in the 7th century. According to Nennius Catgublaun (Cadwallon) was succeeded by his son Catgualart, who died in a great plague which ravaged Britain<sup>25</sup> (possibly the plague of 664<sup>26</sup> — the year to which Geoffrey apparently assigns the death of the father, Cadwallo, see above p. 195). Geoffrey's Cadwallo is also succeeded by his son, Cadwallader, during whose reign there is plague and famine; but Cadwallader survives, finally, after years in exile, renouncing all claim to the throne of Britain to make a pilgrimage to Rome where he dies on 20 April 689 — one of only three specific dates in the whole *History*.<sup>27</sup>

This uncharacteristic precision, and Geoffrey's own comment that 'this was the youth whom Bede called Cliedwalla',<sup>28</sup> adequately identifies Cadwallader, and Geoffrey's source. Bede tells the story of a 'Caedwalla', who abdicated his throne (after only two years' rule), went on pilgrimage to Rome, was baptised in the name of 'Peter', and died there on 20 April 689; he was buried in Rome, and Bede transcribes the inscription on his tomb, which reveals his age to be about 30.<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, this Caedwalla was not the son of Cadwallon, nor, in spite of a name which suggests Celtic family connections, king of the Britons; he was of the royal house of the Gewissae, king of the West Saxons.

Geoffrey, or his source, has clearly confused and conflated three kings with similar names. He says that 'Cadwallo' was still remembered in divine services at the church of St. Martin in his own day; is he simply mistaken in his assumption that it was his British hero-king who was commemorated? A British king would hardly be so honoured in a church in Saxon London in the 7th century; a West Saxon king might be. London was admittedly not a West Saxon town at this date — indeed, if it had been, the cathedral church of St. Paul would have been the appropriate place for its ruler to be remembered.<sup>30</sup> The status of London at the end of the 7th century is not clear, though Mercian and East Saxon interests certainly predominated. But the rule of the West Saxon kings extended to Surrey, which lay within the see of the Bishop of London, so that Caedwalla's successor Ine could write of Eorcenwald, Bishop of London, as 'my bishop'.<sup>31</sup> Earlier, c. 685–7, Eorcenwald had witnessed a grant by Caedwalla himself of land for a monastery at Farnham.<sup>32</sup> Could Bishop Eorcenwald have taken a hand in seeing that this most Christian of his royal flock, who had died in the odour of sanctity and was buried far from

his native land, was fitly commemorated by the building of a church within sight of the cathedral and by the inauguration of appropriate services of remembrance?



(Museum of London)

Fig. 1 Claudius . . . or Cadwallo?  
The bronze horseman on an *aureus* of Claudius A.D. 46–47.

#### THE BRONZE HORSEMAN

The coming of a man of bronze who for many ages would guard the gates of London on a bronze horse was 'foretold' in the incredibly obscure and tedious 'Prophecies of Merlin' that Geoffrey incorporated in his *History*.<sup>33</sup> This 'man of bronze' may symbolise Cadwallo, but the bronze horseman that Geoffrey describes in such detail seems far more than a symbol. The idea of encasing a human body in bronze is more a theme for a horror story than a history,<sup>34</sup> but Geoffrey has every justification for using the word 'wonderful' when describing the effigy. He states positively that the figure is 'cast' (*fusa*); the *casting* of a life-size human figure, in the round, on horse-back, was beyond the technical competence of English craftsmen not only of the 7th but even of the 12th century. The earliest life-size effigies cast in bronze in medieval England seem to have been those of Henry III and Eleanor of Castile set up in Westminster Abbey in the 1290s.<sup>35</sup> There was however one earlier period when a large bronze equestrian statue might have been erected in London — the Roman period.

The best known of Roman bronze equestrian figures is that of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol;<sup>36</sup> there is no direct evidence for the existence of anything of this quality in Roman London. Yet no Roman town of any pretensions seems to have lacked numerous statues of bronze or stone, standing, on horse-back, in chariots, honouring the emperor and his family, provincial rulers or local notables; in the forum at Pompeii places were reserved for some 70–80 equestrian statues, with a further place for a full-length figure behind each.<sup>37</sup> Fragments of a number of large bronze statues have of course been found in London;<sup>38</sup> none can be positively identified as from equestrian figures, but they must represent only a very small fraction of the images that once adorned the Roman city.

One may also look to the Roman world for statues set up on top of gateways, or rather arches, for Geoffrey's description sounds remarkably like that peculiarly Roman monument, a triumphal arch. For example, contemporary coins show an equestrian statue surmounting an arch commemorating Claudius' British victories<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 1), and such triumphal arches seem regularly to have been crowned by groups of bronze statuary, usually equestrian or chariot groups.<sup>40</sup> Is it possible that such an arch survived in London long enough for its memory to have come down to Geoffrey's time?

However, there is another possibility — an early archaeological find. Ralph Merrifield has expressed the view that discoveries of skulls in the Walbrook in Geoffrey's own time, similar to those made in the 19th and 20th centuries, may have formed the basis for the strange story of decapitations referred to in my first paragraph.<sup>41</sup> Could not a find, made in the area of Ludgate, of fragments of a bronze effigy of a man on horseback lie behind Geoffrey's description of Cadwallo's monument?

The customary place in a Roman town for the erection of an honorific equestrian statue, whether of an emperor or of some other notable, would seem to have been the forum.<sup>42</sup> Ludgate is admittedly a long way from the forum of *Londinium*, while a bronze equestrian statue would be an unlikely ornament for a private tomb in the city's western cemetery.<sup>43</sup> However, the recent finds of sculptured stones from the riverside wall<sup>44</sup> suggest that there were monumental buildings in the western half of the city as well as the eastern, where a life-size bronze statue may not have been out of place.<sup>45</sup> There had certainly been, in the years before Geoffrey wrote his *History*, a number of building operations near Ludgate and on Ludgate Hill which might have revealed archaeological remains — the building of Baynard's Castle and the Tower of Montfichet, and the works for the new cathedral begun after the fire of 1086–1087.<sup>46</sup>

Perhaps the honour of having been the first historian to record archaeological finds of Roman material from the soil of London should be accorded not, as it usually is, to Elizabethan antiquaries, but to their forerunner by some four-and-a-half centuries, the much maligned Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Ralph Merrifield's introductory chapter in *The Roman City of London*, on the history of archaeology in the City, should have begun not with the 'fair pavement' recorded by John Stow<sup>47</sup> but with Geoffrey's bronze horseman.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> P. Norman and F. W. Reader 'Recent Discoveries in Connection with Roman London' *Archaeologia* 60 (1906) 176.
- <sup>2</sup> R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965) 37 and 76 note 16.
- <sup>3</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London 3, Roman London* (London, 1928) 16.
- <sup>4</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, trans. and ed. L. Thorpe *The History of the Kings of Britain* (London, 1966) 10–13.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 38 note 1.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 14–19 for references to and comment on these arguments.
- <sup>7</sup> Quoted *ibid.* 17 from his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*.
- <sup>8</sup> J. Morris *The Age of Arthur* (London, 1973) 428.
- <sup>9</sup> F. M. Stenton *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 3rd ed. 1971) 80–1; Bede, trans. L. Sherley-Price *A History of the English Church and People* (London, 1955) ii. 20, 138; iii. 1, 141–142.

- <sup>10</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth *op. cit.* in note 4, xii. 10–13, 277–280.
- <sup>11</sup> From the Latin text printed by A. Griscom *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (London, 1929) xii. 13, 529.
- <sup>12</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth *op. cit.* in note 4, xii. 2, 268–269.
- <sup>13</sup> Stenton *op. cit.* in note 9, 79.
- <sup>14</sup> Twelve years of peaceful rule, a period of civil war and plague, and eleven years in exile before his final retirement to Rome and death in 689, Geoffrey of Monmouth *op. cit.* in note 4, xii. 14–18, 280–284.
- <sup>15</sup> R. Holinshed *The Historie of England* 113, in *Chronicles* (London, 2nd ed. 1587); J. Speed *The History of Great Britaine* (London, 3rd ed. 1650) 339; J. Stow *The Annales of England* (London, 1592) 62. Their source appears to be the *Flores Historiarum* of Roger of Wendover (d. 1236), who dates the event to 676; J. A. Giles trans. and ed. *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History* (London, 1849) 102–103.

- <sup>16</sup> A. J. Kempe *Historical Notices of the Collegiate Church of St. Martin-le-Grand, London* (London, 1825) 4 dismisses this suggestion.
- <sup>17</sup> Holinshed, Speed and Stow, *loc. cit.* in note 15.
- <sup>18</sup> That at Canterbury was reputed to have existed before the arrival of Augustine's mission, Bede *op. cit.* in note 9, i. 26, 70. For the 'sub-Roman or early Anglo-Saxon' date of the chancel of that church see H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* 1 (Cambridge, 1965) 143–145.
- <sup>19</sup> M. B. Honeybourne on her 'Sketch Map of London under Henry II' in F. M. Stenton *Norman London: an Essay* (Historical Association, London, 1934) gives 1174 as the earliest recorded date. I am indebted to A. G. Dyson for an earlier reference, c. 1166, in a charter in M. Gibbs ed. *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London* Camden 3rd series, 58 (London, 1939) 137–138, no. 179; there is a further reference in charter no. 169, *ibid.* 131–132, dated to 1164–1179.
- <sup>20</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth *op. cit.* in note 4, iii. 20, 106.
- <sup>21</sup> The Strand appears as 'akemannestraete' in a charter of King Ethelred's time, M. Gelling 'The Boundaries of the Westminster Charters' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* new ser. 11 (1952–1954) 101–104.
- <sup>22</sup> Stenton *op. cit.* in note 19, 7–9.
- <sup>23</sup> J. Stow *A Survey of London* (London, 1603) 35–36. An earlier edition, (London, 1599) 30, dates the building to the reign of Henry II or Richard I.
- <sup>24</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 2, 319–320 for references.
- <sup>25</sup> Nennius *Historia Brittonum* § 64; A. W. Wade-Evans trans. and ed. *Nennius's 'History of the Britons . . .'* (London, 1938) 82.
- <sup>26</sup> Bede *op. cit.* in note 9, iii. 27, 195; however the early *Annales Cambriae* (Wade-Evans *op. cit.* in note 25, 91) place the plague that caused Catgualart's death in 682.
- <sup>27</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth *op. cit.* in note 4, xii. 18, 283–284.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 14, 280. A better reading of the name in Geoffrey seems to be 'Chedwaldā'; J. S. P. Tatlock *The Legendary History of Britain* (University of California, 1950) 251.
- <sup>29</sup> Bede *op. cit.* in note 9, v. 7, 279–280. The story appears also in G. N. Garmonsway trans. and ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1953) 40–41, *sub anno* 688.
- <sup>30</sup> The East Saxon king, Sebbi, was buried in St. Paul's c. 695, Bede *ibid.* iv. 11, 225; his tomb was still pointed out up to the time of the Great Fire of 1666, W. Dugdale *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London, 1658) 92–93.
- <sup>31</sup> The Laws of Ine, in D. Whitelock ed. *English Historical Documents* 1, c. 500–1042 (London, 1955) 364.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 445.
- <sup>33</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth *op. cit.* in note 4, vii. 3, 172.
- <sup>34</sup> D. L. Sayers 'The Abominable History of the Man with Copper Fingers' in *Lord Peter Views the Body* (London, 1928).
- <sup>35</sup> L. Stone *Sculpture in Britain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955) 142–143.
- <sup>36</sup> D. Strong *Roman Art* (London, 1976) 113, Pl. 151.
- <sup>37</sup> L. Friedländer, trans. J. H. Freese *Roman Life and Manners Under the Early Empire* 2 (London, 1909) 278–295.
- <sup>38</sup> Notably the head of Hadrian from the Thames, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments *op. cit.* in note 3, 44, Pl. 1, and the arm, hands and foot, *ibid.* Pls. 2–3.
- <sup>39</sup> H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham *The Roman Imperial Coinage* 1, *Augustus to Vitellius* (London, 1923) 125 nos. 8–15, Pl. 5. 86.
- <sup>40</sup> J. B. Ward-Perkins *Roman Architecture* (New York, 1977) 210 and 295, Pls. 373–374; and e.g. E. Nash *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* 1 (London, 1968) 100, Pl. 101 (Arch of Augustus) and 127, Pl. 134 (Arch of Septimius Severus). Tatlock *op. cit.* in note 28, 374–375, suggests that Geoffrey would have known of such monuments from contemporary pilgrims' descriptions of Rome.
- <sup>41</sup> Merrifield *loc. cit.* in note 2. Cf. Tatlock *ibid.* 33.
- <sup>42</sup> Friedländer *loc. cit.* in note 37. A large base, possibly for an equestrian statue, together with fragments of statuary bronze have been found on the site of the forum at Gloucester, H. Hurst 'Excavations at Gloucester, 1968–1971: First Interim Report' *Antiq. J.* 52 (1972) 57, Pls. 12b, 13a.
- <sup>43</sup> But see Friedländer *op. cit.* in note 37, 297, for bronze effigies as tomb monuments. For the location of this western cemetery and the possibility of burials near Ludgate see R. Merrifield *Roman London* (London, 1969) 134–135.
- <sup>44</sup> C. Hill 'The Roman and Medieval Defences' in B. Hobley and J. Schofield 'Excavations in the City of London: First Interim Report, 1974–5', *Antiq. J.* 57 (1977) 45–51; and T. Blagg 'The decorated stones from the riverside wall' *ibid.* 63.
- <sup>45</sup> Hugh Chapman must share the credit (or blame) for the further suggestion, the implications of which we leave to the mature consideration of other speculative historians, that the monumental arch which can be reconstructed from some of these sculptured stones (*ibid.* and T. F. C. Blagg 'The London Arch' *Current Archaeol.* 57 (July 1977) 311–315) — and which it should be remembered was demolished in the 4th century — was surmounted by a bronze statue. From the evidence of its reliefs this London arch was not strictly *triumphal*, but Nash *op. cit.* in note 40, 25, Pl. 14 (entrance to the Colosseum) and 119, Pl. 123 (*Arcus ad Isis*) show that not only arches commemorating victories were so ornamented.
- <sup>46</sup> G. H. Cook *Old St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1955) 27–28. Stenton *op. cit.* in note 19, 8, quotes a charter of Henry I, c. 1114, granting part of the ditch of his *castellum*, perhaps Baynard's Castle, for the building of the wall of the church.
- <sup>47</sup> Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 2, 2.



# TWO SAXON LAND GRANTS FOR QUEENHITHE

TONY DYSON

'It is an interesting fact that [at Lambeth Hill] the boundary between the former parishes of St. Mary Mounthaw and St. Mary Somerset seems to have coincided with the Roman walls, even following their kink. There was also archaeological evidence that part of the wall at least had been visible in the early Middle Ages, for refuse layers containing imported Pingsdorf pottery of the eleventh-twelfth centuries lay piled against it'. (Ralph Merrifield<sup>1</sup>).

Beyond their immediate interest, these two sentences embody the dogma and ritual of the practising topographer. Central to all reconstructions based upon documentary, cartographical and archaeological evidence is the assumption that a vital element of physical continuity will inform the successive development of any given locality. This is very obviously true of such natural durable features as rivers, contours and terrain, and to some extent the same is also true of such man-made features as buildings, roads and boundaries. The problem is that in this case the relative, but variable, impermanence of artificial structures — as well as of any written evidence for them — often prevents a satisfactory demonstration of the fact. The evidence of Lambeth Hill, confirmed by the fact that parish boundaries would for preference observe existing property boundaries,<sup>2</sup> provides an instance, of which there were doubtless very many, where Saxon or early medieval people might with advantage incorporate or adapt surviving Roman structures for their own purposes. But, interesting as such a case undoubtedly is, it is by no means easy to gauge its significance. The street plan of late medieval London shows all too plainly that the post-Roman populations ignored much of the previous pattern, just as at Winchester the ever-widening early medieval high street, while following the direct Roman line between two opposing gates, otherwise ignored the alignments of Roman buildings fronting on to the original limits.<sup>3</sup>

A satisfactory explanation of these contradictions as anything more than simple chance or convenience is not going to be reached overnight, if ever. In any case, as has recently been stressed, the mere physical survival of buildings is not as important an issue as the continuity of actual occupation within them between the Roman and Saxon periods, a phenomenon particularly evident in the fact that several urban Anglo-Saxon royal palaces were located on the sites of prominent Roman buildings.<sup>4</sup> But either case rests upon the same kind of evidence, differentiated only by the firm establishment of early dates, and if anything like a satisfactory answer is to be given to either question it can only be based upon a general review of individually recorded cases. The burden of this

paper is to draw attention, after the example of Ralph Merrifield, to the existence of another instance of this kind at Queenhithe, 200 yards east of Lambeth Hill and in the same waterfront district of the City. The basic evidence dates, or purports to date, from the late 9th century and demonstrates a varying degree of topographical continuity from that date back to the late Roman period and forwards, if not to the present day, at least to the intensive property redevelopment of the 1960s. Perhaps, if the conclusions are valid, the later link is the more significant, but the earlier is interesting in as much as the evidence seems to conflict, rather than conform, with the archaeology.

The evidence in question consists of two separate grants of property made by King Alfred, not long after his recapture of London from the Danes in 886, in favour of two senior ecclesiastics. The potential interest of these records is considerable, and for two reasons. From a purely topographical viewpoint, they contain either precise bounds or measurements which while not uncommon in charters relating to rural areas — as for example at Hampstead<sup>5</sup> — are much rarer in cases concerning pre-Conquest English towns in general, and for London are unique. And in a much wider sense, their interest is enhanced by the fact that charters of Alfred and of his successor Edward the Elder are far less common than those of previous or subsequent reigns,<sup>6</sup> an accident which to some extent may be due to prevailing political conditions but which is certainly disproportionate, at least as far as towns are concerned, to the intensity of royal activity which underlay the 'Alfredian' revival of the period.

An essential element in this urban renewal was the establishment of markets, and it is a noteworthy fact that the definition of market rights was the purpose of at least one of these London documents. This was a grant issued in 889 in favour of the bishop of Worcester, and while lacking a clear indication of the location of the property involved it contains precise measurements.<sup>7</sup> The other, dated 898–899 and made out to both the bishop of Worcester and the archbishop of Canterbury, is more exactly located to what was later known as Queenhithe and specifies various roads or lanes as bounds.<sup>8</sup> The unusual form in which these grants — particularly that of 898–899 — are recorded, the first at the beginning of the 11th century and the second as late as the 12th, has provoked considerable doubt as to their authenticity as they stand but rather less as to their actual content.<sup>9</sup> But it is a curious fact that neither document has received a detailed examination in its topographical context and the available discussion of any one of them has usually been conducted in apparent ignorance of the other.<sup>10</sup> Although James Tait brought them briefly together in the general context of pre-Conquest urban development,<sup>11</sup> Eilert Ekwall, who was far less ready than many to dismiss them, was the first to suggest what is *prima facie* an open possibility: that the two grants were closely connected and may indeed both relate to the same property.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, further discussion of the content, authenticity and relationship of these documents seems justified not only because of the light they may throw upon a significant detail of the early topography of London but also because of the general context of the period to which they belong.

The better known of the two grants is the later, dated 898–899, which contains the specific reference to Queenhithe and details a profusion of unnamed thoroughfares which served as property bounds. The extant texts explain that Alfred the king, Plegmund archbishop of Canterbury, Aethelred the ealdorman (*dux*) of Mercia and Waerferth bishop of Worcester met at the place called Chelsea to discuss the restoration of the city

of London (*instauratio urbis Lundonie*). Among other matters, the convention granted to Archbishop Plegmund and Bishop Waerferth a plot of land (*iugerum, agrum*<sup>13</sup>) each at the place called Aethelred's hithe (*ad locum qui dicitur Aetheredes hyd/Atheredyshythe*). The two plots were separated by a public road (*via publica*) which extended northwards from the Thames; the plot to the west was assigned to Canterbury, that to the east to Worcester. The former was bounded to the west by a narrow road or lane (*artam semitam*), and the latter was similarly delimited to the east (*viam artam*). Both plots extended to a wall (*murum*) beyond which, and within the width of their respective properties, the two beneficiaries were privileged to moor boats (*navium stationes*). The fourth, and therefore northern, side, described as the head (*caput*) of the two plots, was defined by a road or lane (*semita*) leading to the east.

The identity of *Aetheredes hyd* with Queenhithe is established by a charter of 1151–1152 in which 'Edredeshede called Ripa Regine anglice Quenhyth' was confirmed to Holy Trinity Aldgate by William of Ypres.<sup>14</sup> Holy Trinity (founded 1108) had held the hithe, or the rent from it, since Henry I's queen Matilda (d. 1118) had first granted it to them.<sup>15</sup> Henry's second queen, Adeliza, seems to have held it after her husband's death in 1135,<sup>16</sup> but it must soon have reverted to Stephen's queen who farmed it to William, the royalist mercenary commander,<sup>17</sup> probably in 1141 when she and William successfully upheld Stephen's cause during his temporary captivity.<sup>18</sup> Albeit 'at Queenhithe' it is by no means clear exactly where these plots lay. The wall which divided the southern end of the two plots from their moorings can be identified with the Roman riverside wall which at Baynard's Castle to the west, and very probably further to the east, lay beneath or very close to the line of Thames Street.<sup>19</sup> Accepting for the moment William Page's suggestion that the northern end of the plots was marked by the line of Knightrider Street,<sup>20</sup> it would be reasonable to suppose that the three north-south thoroughfares described in the 898–899 grant as running between these extremities are to be identified with certain of the modern streets between Fish Street Hill to the west and Garlick Hill to the east (Fig. 1). Of these, Bread Street, Huggin Hill and Little Trinity Lane would best answer to the description 'at Queenhithe', but in the absence of any further indication of the size of the plots there is little hope of any closer definition.

In any case, can even this much be accepted? Five copies of this document survive, all in Canterbury cathedral or diocesan archives, and none at Worcester. The earliest, dating to the 12th century, was made between two and three centuries after the transaction which it describes. For this reason alone the authenticity of the grant might well be called in question, and the peculiar form of the copies, especially the dual award to joint beneficiaries,<sup>21</sup> invites further scepticism. In its favour there is at first only the general consideration that for the purpose of establishing an unwarranted claim to a property no forger would profitably invent a description of bounds which could readily be demonstrated as false, and no-one in the 12th or later centuries would bother to pretend that Canterbury or Worcester still possessed Queenhithe. And as far as form is concerned the 898–899 grant is perhaps best considered as what it proclaims itself to be: a memorandum recording the fact that such a grant had been made on a public occasion, rather than the actual text of the grant. It is, technically, evidentiary rather than dispositive,<sup>22</sup> so that it need not be considered as irredeemably suspect on grounds of form.

The five copies, in order of date, are:

1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 189, f. 199v. Priory cartulary, 12th century. (Printed below as an Appendix).
2. Canterbury, Dean & Chapter, Register P, f. 20. Priory cartulary, early 13th century.
3. } Lambeth Palace, MS 1212 { p. 406 : Birch 577 } Diocesan, but in part priory,
4. } { p. 321 : Birch 578 } cartulary, 13th – 14th centuries.
5. Oxford, Bodleian, Tanner MS 223, f. 14v. Diocesan cartulary, 16th century.

The last, which is merely a late copy, in a revised order, of material in the Lambeth cartulary, need not be considered further. Although in each of the remaining four texts the descriptions of the property granted are virtually identical, in other respects no one copy conforms exactly with any other. The most obvious discrepancy is that one of the four (no. 3) is dated 898 while all the others are dated 899. Given the somewhat casual form of the grant this may be no more than scribal error, but there are further peculiarities which suggest that this is not an adequate explanation. For while they vary slightly between themselves the 899 copies as a group include certain phrases which do not appear in the 898 text, and *vice versa*. In the first category is *et successoribus eius*, inserted in nos. 2 and 4 after the name of Archbishop Plegmund, a modification of possible significance in view of the limited tenures of some pre-Conquest land grants. The other principal variation concerns the definition or description of the church of Canterbury which immediately follows the name of the episcopal beneficiary. Here, no. 1 has *ad opus monachorum*, and nos. 2 and 4 have *ad opus ecclesie Christi et monachorum*, while no. 3 has merely *ad ecclesiam Christi*. Finally, no. 4 qualifies the church of Worcester as the church of St. Mary. The choice, or omission, of these formulae does not seem to be determined by the provenance of the cartularies — diocesan or priory — or by the dates of the copies, although no. 1, the earliest, is also the simplest with only one insertion compared with either three or four in the other texts.

As a group the 899 texts appear to emphasise the interests of the Christ Church monks, and the contrast is best displayed by Lambeth Palace MS 1212 which contains the unique 898 text and also the most elaborate of the 899 texts. The fact that there are two copies is explained by the composition of the volume which consists of a miscellany of transcripts by various hands<sup>23</sup> which falls into eight sections differentiated by the source or nature of the material.<sup>24</sup> The 899 text appears in the fifth of these sections, headed, 'Transcripts from an (*or* the) ancient Canterbury book: memoranda of charters and councils of the archbishops and church of Canterbury',<sup>25</sup> while the 898 text appears in the eighth section which is headed 'Transcripts from reliable documents or land charters anciently called landbook [s]'.<sup>26</sup> The use of the technical term *landboc* suggests that the authority for the 898 transcript was a pre-Conquest original, whereas the basis for the 899 version was apparently only an earlier copy in a book of unspecified antiquity. Now while an appeal to an ancient source is not perhaps unexpected in a post-Conquest fabrication, it is perfectly clear that the Lambeth texts were by no means pure invention. In the margins opposite the texts are the rubrics *rethereshid* (898) and *Rederhithe* (899), while *Redishithe* appears in the contents list for the fifth section of the MS.<sup>27</sup> These are in fact early

medieval forms of Rotherhithe (Surrey), on the south bank of the Thames, a locality with which Canterbury had no known connexion.<sup>28</sup> It looks very much as if the 'Lambeth' copyists were completely oblivious of any former association between Christ Church and Queenhithe and could only make sense of their text by identifying *Aetheredes hid* with an entirely different waterfront which happened to have a vaguely similar name. In other words, their purpose was not to perpetrate, or even to perpetuate, a fraud, but was merely antiquarian.

The Lambeth texts, then, apparently have an ancient tradition behind them, and the 898 version may be a copy of a pre-Conquest original. But was the original genuine? There is at least a good chance that it was, since of the 23 items listed by Sawyer from the section of MS 1212 which is said to derive from landbooks only four are definitely spurious.<sup>29</sup> The 898 text is in good, though not quite impeccable, company. B. W. Kissan, the severest critic of the 898–899 grant, which he condemned as spurious, based his attack upon the inclusion of references to the monks of Canterbury and to the church of St. Mary Worcester when neither existed in the late 9th century.<sup>30</sup> But he used Kemble's collection of charters which (unlike Birch's) contains only the 899 Lambeth text,<sup>31</sup> and was consequently unaware of the 898 version which omits these offensive words. As there are in fact two different versions, one of which must be later than other, the version said to have been copied from an actual landbook (898) is likelier to represent the more authentic and accurate text. Seen in this light, and in the light of the general textual principle that successive copies of an original manuscript tend to acquire more and more accretion in the way of amplification or clarification, a somewhat different interpretation is possible. An early text more closely resembling 898 could easily have been updated at Canterbury, without necessarily criminal intent, soon after 983 when St. Mary Worcester was rebuilt as a cathedral by Oswald<sup>32</sup> and later than 997 when monks replaced the previous community of semi-regular clerics at Canterbury.<sup>33</sup> In this way a new text would arise, such as could form the basis of the copies exemplified by the 899 version.

The supposition that, if the 899 versions must be later than 997, the 898 text may be earlier than 983 receives some support from the presence in the latter of phrases which do not occur in the former. In the 898 text Aethelred is described as ealdorman of part of Mercia (*dux partis regionis Merciorum*) instead of, as in the 899 text, simply *dux Merciorum*. During the reign of Alfred and until, at the latest, 919 when Edward the Elder overcame the last of the Five Boroughs, such a description would aptly reflect the fact that eastern Mercia was under Danish occupation. But it was a description of purely topical significance which would be of little relevance — as the 899 texts bear out — at a date much later than the expulsion of the Danes from Mercia. Consequently if the 898 version was not contemporary with, or based upon an original contemporary with, the Danish occupation, its later use would suggest a very sophisticated forgery. Yet the likelihood that this was the case is somewhat reduced by the fact that the 898 text also includes Aethelflaed among those who attended the council at Chelsea, and moreover describes her as the sister of the king. In a more formal and orthodox charter of Alfred such an anachronism would indeed indicate forgery, for Aethelflaed was the daughter of Alfred and the sister of Edward the Elder. But even as it is, at any date anyone who was familiar with Aethelred's political standing might also be expected to know which of the two kings was his father-in-law. At a later date, neither fact was of great significance and could safely be omitted, as the 899 texts in fact omit them. At an earlier date, closer to the event,

it is however even less likely that, whatever their purpose, contemporaries could commit such a howler. It is, in truth, very hard to reconcile these two phrases, the one scrupulously accurate and the other downright inept, with either a fabricated or an authentic text.

The unavoidable conclusion is that the 898 text has been tampered with, which in turn throws some doubt upon the 'reliable document anciently called a landbook' from which it is said to have been copied. But though mutually incompatible in the context of a grant of Alfred, the two references to Aethelred and Aethelflaed are individually most likely to have originated no later than the first quarter of the 10th century, and can in fact be reconciled by the assumption that the only period when Aethelflaed could be described — if she had to be mentioned at all — as the king's sister was the reign of Edward the Elder (899–924). Perhaps a copyist of that period, who regarded his Alfredian text more as an informal internal memorandum than as a solemn legal document subject to divine and earthly sanctions, helpfully inserted a gloss to explain the role of Aethelflaed. Or perhaps, if the simplest explanation is preferable, he merely wrote Alfred where he should have written Edward. From internal evidence alone the 898–899 grant cannot be authenticated, but certainly cannot be rejected out of hand for it is incredible that the option of so much more formal and impressive a document should have been neglected by a forger in favour of the existing inept and eccentric memorandum.

One serious problem, at first sight, is the absence of any copy of the 898–899 grant or of any other reference to Queenhithe in the Worcester cathedral records. It is true that after the Conquest Worcester claimed the patronage of the church of St. Mary 'le Strand' but since the bishop's inn was located in the street called the Strand it is more probable that the claim related to the local church of St. Mary than to St. Mary Somerset on the Thames strand near Queenhithe.<sup>34</sup> In particular Kissan very properly pointed out that the reliable 'Hemming' cartulary at Worcester, which contains many unimpeachable pre-Conquest charters, does not contain the 898–899 grant.<sup>35</sup> But the Hemming cartulary does include another, earlier, charter of Alfred relating to London which might at the same time account for the absence of, and corroborate, the later Queenhithe privilege. The Hemming charter of 889 is couched in an altogether more orthodox form, and has the considerable advantage of appearing in a section of the cartulary which was compiled at the beginning of the 11th century.<sup>36</sup> The text, which is unique,<sup>37</sup> is therefore little more than a century later than the transaction which it records, compared with the three centuries which separate fact and record in the case of the 898–899 grant. The compilation of this portion of the Hemming cartulary, probably during the episcopate of Bishop Wulfstan (1003–1016),<sup>38</sup> followed soon after, and was no doubt occasioned by, the re-organisation of the Worcester estates by Bishop Oswald (961–992).<sup>39</sup> It has therefore a definite historical context.

Where the later grant was addressed jointly to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Worcester, the 889 privilege was addressed exclusively to the bishop and church of Worcester by Alfred and Aethelred *subregulus et patricius Merciorum*. It consists of an award of the use for market purposes of a courtyard or enclosure<sup>40</sup> (*curtem*), described as an ancient stone building known to the citizens as *Hwaetmundes stan* which is stated to have extended from the public street (*strata publica*) to the city wall (*murum eiusdem civitatis*). Although, as will be seen, measurements are also provided, no further detail of location is given: the enclosure is simply *in Lundonia*. On this evidence, a possible

identification might be with part of the area between the modern Newgate Street and the stretch of city wall extending from Newgate to Aldersgate. At least this could be said to have the merit of fitting the description of 'a small portion of the profitable land (*gaziferi agelluli*) called *Ceolmundingachaga* in the street of London not far from the Westgate (*Uuestgetum*),' which Burgred of Mercia had granted to Bishop Alhun of Worcester in 857.<sup>41</sup>

To this conjecture little objection could at first sight be raised by a stipulation in Alfred's grant that if any of the bishop's men traded outside in the public street or on the 'trading shore' (*ripa emtoralis*) they would be liable to royal dues as much as they would be liable to the bishop if they bought or sold within the 'courtyard'. Such a provision may simply be making the formal distinction between the bishop's franchise and the royal prerogative of toll which would apply in the places specified, and thus have no particular bearing on the location of the courtyard. But since the Saxon kings were entitled to a variety of dues on all land, and the effect of their land grants was merely to relieve the recipients of an obligation to pay some of them, the same would apply to most of the rest of the city, as well as to the street and the shore. It is much more likely that these two places were singled out for a more specific purpose: to anticipate confusion likely to arise from the immediate proximity of the street and the shore to the courtyard. In this way, the public street of the stipulation may be seen as the public street mentioned in the bounds, and the 'trading shore' as synonymous with the city wall, the lower end (*inferiori loco*) of the courtyard area as detailed with the measurements, as well, it will be recalled, as the southern bound of the Queenhithe grant of 898–899.

In a case where the bishop of Worcester was twice within a decade accredited with rights in properties on the London waterfront and where both times a wall was described as the southern boundary, the question readily arises whether the two were not adjacent, even identical; whether, since one definitely concerned the later Queenhithe, the same was not also true of the other. Queenhithe is, after all, the earliest named centre of commerce on the river. Billingsgate first appears *c.* 1000<sup>42</sup> and Dowgate, which in the 13th century was said to be subject to the same regulations as Queenhithe, is first recorded in Edward the Confessor's reign.<sup>43</sup> The 898–899 grant carefully detailed a provision for the mooring of boats which suggests an important but restricted privilege of more than routine interest. A restriction of this kind is also implied by the use in the 889 charter of the term *ripa emtoralis*: either because the volume of trade at this period was still relatively small or because the king wished to control what there was, or both, commercial activity seems to have been confined to a particular section of the waterfront. The possibility that the term had a peculiarly local significance and that the locality in question was the Queenhithe area, may be suggested by the fact that from the 13th century St. Michael Queenhithe and St. James Garlickhithe, 200 feet to the east, bore alone of all the Thameside churches the designation *ad Ripam*.<sup>44</sup> None of the later waterfronts of the City was known as a hithe, and even the major (and generally earliest mentioned) quays are distinguished by the suffix '-gate', descriptive only of their immediate locations. It may be that in some technical sense *ripa* was synonymous with hithe (O. E. 'hythe', a landing place), or at least that 'hithe' had some special connotation of status. The term first appears in connexion with the 'port' of London in 743–745 when Aethelbald granted to Bishop Milred of Worcester the toll of two ships at 'lundentunes hythe',<sup>45</sup> and elsewhere on the Thames it is found in at least seven modern place-names which later developed into sizeable and

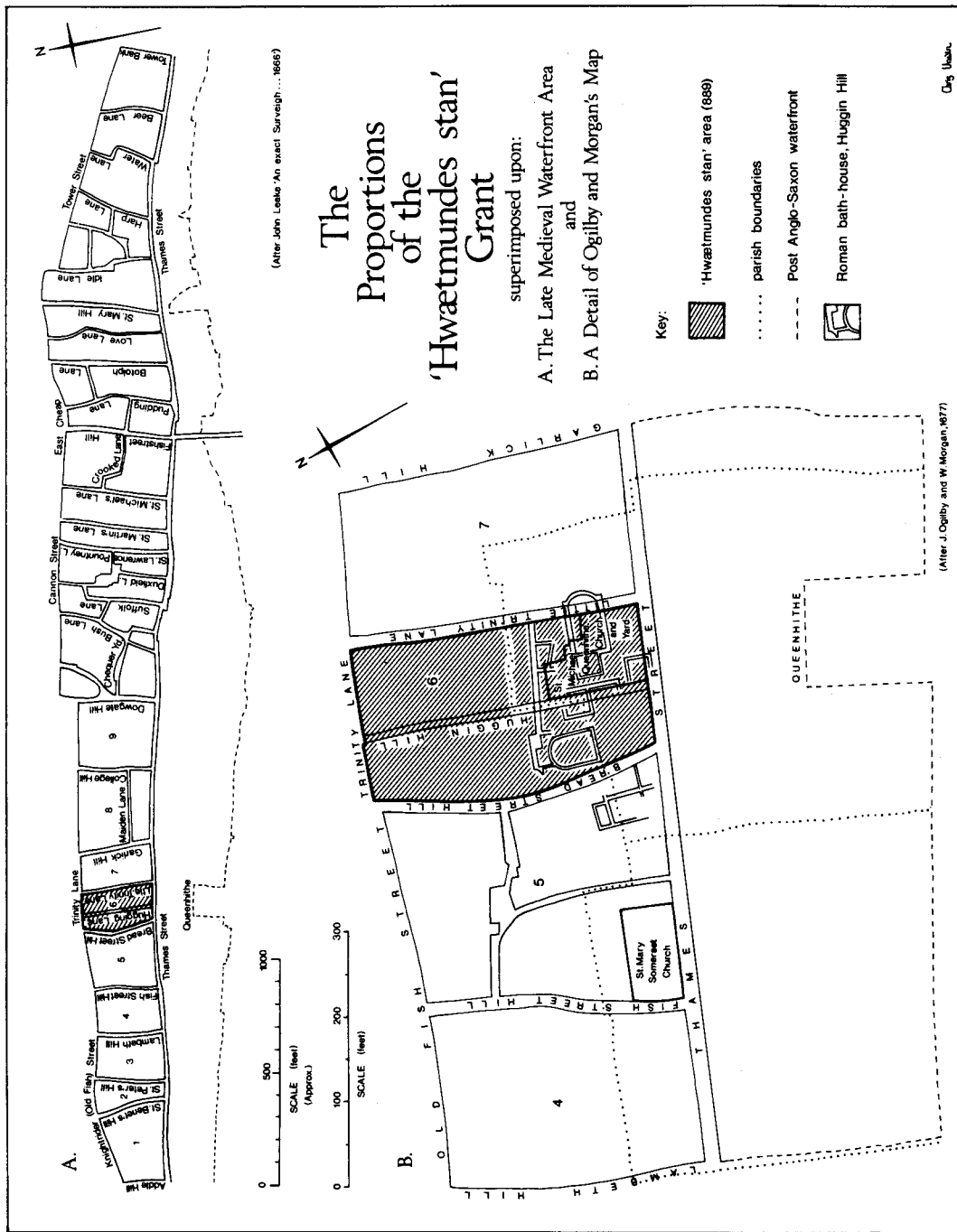


Fig. I



distinctive communities.<sup>46</sup> But whether or not hithe or *ripa* possessed some qualitative superiority over a mere quay, it is at least a reasonable hypothesis that the *ripa emtoralis* of 889 applied to Queenhithe.

Can it be more than that? The only remaining clue is provided by the measurements with which the 889 charter was supplied, presumably because there was no other means of defining the eastern and western bounds. One length of 26 perches and two widths, 13 perches and 7 feet at the northern or upper end (*superiori parte*) and 11 perches and 6 feet at the southern or lower end (*inferiori loco*) are given. An immediate problem is the equivalence of the perch in this context. It was clearly more than seven feet, but it is also clear that the measure varied widely from place to place throughout the medieval period between extremes of 9 and 26 feet,<sup>47</sup> an official median value of 16½ feet not being established until the late 12th century.<sup>48</sup> But even if absolute 9th-century equivalents are elusive, the fact that the length of the 'courtyard' area was almost twice the width of its northern end may help to isolate possible locations on early and modern plans of the city. Leake's map of 1666 and the earliest satisfactorily scaled plan of London, Ogilby's Survey of 1677, suggest that a likely area for a plot of these rough proportions and of a length at all compatible with 26 × c. 16 feet is the strip of land in the western half of the City bounded by Upper Thames Street to the south, the line of Knightrider and Old Fish Streets and Trinity and Cloak Lanes to the north, and by Addle and Dowgate Hills to the west and east (Fig. 1A). From Dowgate Hill eastwards, the north-south lengths of 'insulae' fronting on to Thames Street would be inordinately extended by reaching as far north as Cannon Street and Eastcheap and, save at the extreme eastern end of the latter, next to the Tower, none of the proportions conforms exactly with those indicated by the charter of 889.

In this document the relation of the flat perches in the two widths (13 at the upper end and 11 at the lower) to the length (26) is respectively × 2 and × 2.363. The mean between this ratio and that of 1.928 and 2.125 for dimensions of 14, 12 and 27 perches — compensating for the extra feet whose relation to the perch is unknown — would be 1.962 and 2.304. These figures can be compared with the results of similar calculations from the corresponding dimensions of the nine *insulae* between Addle and Dowgate Hills as represented by Ogilby's map (Fig. 1B):<sup>49</sup>

	North	South	East	West	Mean East/West	Ratios: width/length		Same on 1951 O.S.	
						North	South	North	South
1. Addle Hill-St. Benets Hill	313	346	342	225	283.5	0.905	0.819	0.906	0.842
2. SBH-Peter's Hill	147	62	319	347	333	2.265	3.37	2.226	3.242
3. PH-Lambeth Hill	172	187	306	327	316.5	1.840	1.692	1.697	1.697
4. LH-Fish Street Hill	200	178	297	301	299	1.495	1.679	1.446	1.585
5. FSH-Bread Street Hill	225	287	328	300	314	1.395	1.094	1.246	1.057
6. BSH-Little Trinity Lane	180	160	340	340	340	1.888	2.125	1.886	2.121
7. LTL-Garlick Hill	172	190	334	335	334.5	1.944	1.760	2.106	1.820
8. GH-College Hill	384	325	350	350	350	0.911	1.076	0.898	1.081
9. CH-Dowgate Hill	252	304	355	350	352.5	1.398	1.159	1.307	1.195

Of these nine sets of ratios it can be seen that the closest comparison with the 889 charter is offered by *insula* 6, Bread Street Hill/Little Trinity Lane which, since it lies

immediately north of modern Queenhithe, is a coincidence of considerable interest. A further comparison of the 9th- and 17th-century measurements can be tabulated thus

	(1) Ogilby 1677	(2) 899 (perches)
(a) North/south (Great Trinity Lane to Thames Street)	340	26
(b) East/west (upper end: Great Trinity Lane)	180	13 (+ 7 feet)
(c) East/west (lower end: Thames Street)	160	11 (+ 6 feet)

Division of the totals in feet in (1) by the perches in (2), with an adjustment for the surplus feet in the latter, produces absolute values for the perch:

- (a)  $340/26 = 13.076$   
 (b)  $180 (-7) = 173/13 = 13.3$   
 (c)  $160 (-6) = 154/11 = 14$

While little reliance can be placed upon decimal places in calculations based upon a plan of 100 feet to the inch, it is clear that the agreement between these perch values (13–14 feet) is very close, indicating an equally close correspondence between the relative proportions of the 889 ‘courtyard’ area and those of the *insula* north of Queenhithe. In the near contemporary assessment by the Burghal Hidage of the defensive needs of the walls of Winchester, and in the pre-Conquest bounds of the manor of Godbegot in the same city, both expressed in perches, the standard of  $16\frac{1}{2}$  feet can be applied without apparent difficulty to modern, or more modern, data.<sup>50</sup> Given the wide range of recorded perch values, the London equivalents can be seen to conform reasonably closely: that they do not do so exactly is presumably attributable to a variation in the Mercian perch, for the 889 charter, though embodying the grant of a West Saxon king, is almost certainly of Mercian composition.<sup>51</sup>

An identification of the ‘courtyard’ area of the 889 grant with the *insula* between Bread Street Hill and Little Trinity Lane involves a further topographical consideration. Roughly between these two thoroughfares and straddling Huggin Hill, the remains of a Roman bath-house which had been built in the late 1st century and unaccountably demolished in the late 2nd were discovered in 1964–1969.<sup>52</sup> The pertinence of this revelation to the description of the market courtyard as an ancient stone building called *Hwaetmundes stan* is clear: as Ekwall had commented in 1954, profane houses built of stone by Anglo-Saxons were rare in this period, and the building may well have been the ruin of an old Roman house.<sup>53</sup> There is indeed ample evidence of the neglect of stone in buildings of the early and middle Saxon periods, and a recent list of some 170 domestic settlement sites contains only eight cases of the use of stone other than in floors or footings.<sup>54</sup> The problem is that there was little in the surviving archaeological evidence at Huggin Hill to corroborate the charter more firmly. The buildings which followed the bath-house consisted only of scattered and incoherent remains of poor quality<sup>55</sup> which cannot easily be recognised as a courtyard. But it is not impossible that the establishment in the 10th or 11th centuries of the church and churchyard of St. Michael Queenhithe at the southern end of the site between Huggin Hill and Little Trinity Lane might help to explain this discrepancy particularly if, as is likely, the courtyard building was used as a quarry for the church. ‘Quarry’ is in fact a common connotation of the O.E. place-name element *stan*,<sup>56</sup> as also is a specific association with Roman features. *Hwaetmundes stan* may perhaps be considered in the same light as Staines (O.E. *Stana*), identified as the site of the Roman posting station and river crossing of *Pontes*, and, further afield, with Stanway (Essex and Herefordshire), Stanwick (Yorkshire), Stannington

(Northumberland) and Stainton (Durham), all of which are located on, or near, Roman roads or structures.<sup>57</sup>

The conclusions to which the evidence so far reviewed would seem to point is that the market courtyard awarded to the bishop of Worcester in 889 is identical with the area of land bounded in more modern times by Bread Street Hill and Little Trinity Lane, immediately north of Queenhithe, and must therefore bear some relation to the property at Queenhithe granted to the same bishop and to the archbishop of Canterbury in 898–899. What the relation was in the topographical as well as in the institutional sense is a somewhat more intractable matter. Topographically, there are two possibilities. Either the bishop of Worcester ceded, or was required to cede, half his market area of 889 to the archbishop of Canterbury in 898–899 or, at that date, the archbishop was given a new piece of land immediately to the west of Bread Street Hill. Institutionally, the first alternative is improbable. Had it operated, there might be expected to survive at Worcester some explanation of how the 889 charter came to be modified. And for what it is worth, the fact that in the 13th century Canterbury possessed rents from wharves in both St. Michael Queenhithe and St. Mary Somerset<sup>58</sup> to the west would favour the second alternative since the southern portion of the Bread Street Hill/Little Trinity Lane *insula* is totally within St. Michael's parish, while the *insula* to the west lies in both parishes.<sup>59</sup> But none of these considerations is conclusive, and on the basis of two individual bishops, each properly concerned with his own particular personal and diocesan interests, there can be little hope of a satisfactory explanation of the precise arrangements at Queenhithe or of the documentation which underlies them.

On the other hand it would be inappropriate to regard these grants as random gifts casually made out in favour of random ecclesiastics. The award of 898–899 had, after all, the very specific context of a council at Chelsea called to discuss the restoration of London, and it was issued as a result of these deliberations jointly to two of the most prominent participants. Both bishops were given adjacent plots and each shared the same particular privilege of mooring, so that there can be little doubt of a definite co-operative purpose to the enterprise. Plegmund of Canterbury and Waerferth of Worcester were no ordinary bishops and their significance was more than purely ecclesiastical. They were among Alfred's chief advisers and his principal assistants in the spiritual regeneration upon which the king laid so much emphasis both in his own writings and in the literary translations which, with his sponsorship and acknowledgement, they undertook.<sup>60</sup> It is more than likely, as their presence at Chelsea demonstrates, that their duties extended to the equally urgent business of governance and administration. Of this aspect of Alfred's programme of reconstruction little is definitely known, but it is a historical commonplace that it was to his policies, maintained and extended by his son and successor Edward the Elder, that the remarkable 'national' recovery of the first quarter of the 10th century is chiefly attributable.<sup>61</sup>

Prominent among these expedients was the establishment of a network of fortified *burhs* which, apart from their obvious military significance, provided the basis of local administration and secure locations for markets through which an equally urgent economic recovery could be achieved. It is more than probable that similar considerations underlay the arrangements at Queenhithe, which would also be consistent with the continuity which has been argued for the London mint throughout the reign of Alfred; emerging in the reign of Athelstan (924–939) as the largest in the country, with

eight moneys compared with seven at Canterbury and six at Winchester.<sup>62</sup> Whoever held market privileges and mooring facilities on the 'trading shore' was not holding it simply as a casual token of royal favour; he was sharing with the king in the control, administration and some of the profits of what had been, and what by the restoration of the city was intended to become again, the greatest centre of commerce in England.

What is especially striking is a comparison of London with the circumstances of another charter, also belonging to the last years of Alfred's reign, which provides the best evidence of the contemporary concern with the interdependent military and economic roles of towns. In this, the ealdorman Aethelred and his wife Aethelflaed, Alfred's daughter, having responded to a request from bishop Waerferth to fortify the town of Worcester, now granted to the bishop half the rights which belonged to themselves 'in market place and in street', and reserved to the king dues on goods brought into Worcester, and to the bishop the rights which had previously belonged to his church.<sup>63</sup> In fact, the same dignitaries who were involved at Queenhithe were also involved at the same date in a transaction at Worcester which constitutes the crucial hard evidence of a critical stage in the development of the English borough. London was not of course Worcester; whereas the king held most of the former the bishop possessed most of the latter. Points of detail vary, but the main preoccupations of the Worcester charter are clear and in its main elements it mirrors some of the arrangements at Queenhithe. In both cases the royal right of toll in goods coming into the town was safeguarded and, as Tait pointed out,<sup>64</sup> in 889 Alfred still retained the right of tolls on the street and shore despite the fact that nominally at least he had committed the charge of London to the ealdorman Aethelred.<sup>65</sup> At Queenhithe the bishops were not given an exclusive franchise, and the stipulations reflect a need to define the rights of different individuals in novel circumstances, just as at Worcester the interests of king, ealdorman and bishop were carefully distinguished.

The coincidence of personnel is as obvious as that of policy. Though Alfred was not directly involved at Worcester, Waerferth and Aethelred were directly concerned in both towns. Alfred's daughter appeared at Worcester as, according to one of the versions of the 898-899 grant, she did at London. As ealdorman of Mercia her husband Aethelred's role at Worcester is clear; for London, which had previously long formed part of Mercia, he had been given responsibility by the king. Perhaps this was largely for diplomatic reasons, and it may not in practice have amounted to very much. But the fact remains that the success of Alfred's offensive against the Danes depended upon a reconciliation of the ancient kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia. Both Waerferth of Worcester and Plegmund of Canterbury were Mercian by birth. In these circumstances there can be little remaining doubt that the Aethelred commemorated by *Aetheredes hyd* was Aethelred the ealdorman.<sup>66</sup> The arrangements at Queenhithe, dimly outlined in the surviving texts, lie remarkably close to the springs of Alfredian policy.

Policies, like personalities, change, and since an arrangement of this kind is unlikely to have long outlived the conditions from which it arose it might be possible to account in very general terms for some of the obscurity in these records. Plegmund died in 914 and Waerferth in 915. After Aethelred's death in 911, his wife Aethelflaed continued his Danish campaigns in northern Mercia in concert with Edward the Elder but on her own death in 918 her estates were seized, and her daughter dispossessed, by her brother. Edward was clearly determined to preserve the unity of England, and there is evidence at this time both of growing Mercian disaffection and, in the selectivity of the events

recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, of a deliberate suppression of the facts of the Mercian contribution to the English recovery.<sup>67</sup> In such an atmosphere there might well have been a strong temptation on the part of the king to repossess the lucrative Queenhithe franchise at the earliest opportunity, and it is not impossible that a token rent, of the kind recorded at Canterbury in the 13th century, was transferred to Christ Church at this time. Perhaps the tampering evident in the 898 text, which is most likely to have occurred before the end of Edward's reign, reflects such changes, just as, a century later, it was necessary for quite extraneous reasons to emphasise the interests of the Canterbury monks. But however uncertain the fate of the Queenhithe franchise, there seems to be a good case for regarding the Alfredian grants not as fabrications, or at best as inconsequential privileges, but as evidence for the reasonable presumption that the restoration of London epitomised the restoration of the English kingdom as a whole.

#### APPENDIX: THE TEXTS OF THE 898–899 GRANT

The previously unpublished text printed below is from the Canterbury Priory cartulary now at Corpus Christi Cambridge, and is the earliest and simplest of the five surviving copies of the 898–899 grant. Against this readings are supplied from the remaining three relevant texts, in each case from the original MSS — although the Lambeth texts (*C* and *D* below) have been printed by Birch (see above pp. 203–204). Variant readings have a series of letter references; mere variations of spelling a numerical sequence.

*B* Canterbury, Dean & Chapter Register P, f. 20

<i>C</i> } <i>D</i> }	Lambeth Palace MS 1212	{	p. 406 (Birch 577) 898
			p. 321 (Birch 578)

*A* Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 189, f. 199v.

<sup>a</sup>A)nno d(ominice) i(n)c(arnationis) dccxcix.<sup>a</sup> Contigit convenisse<sup>1</sup> i(n) loco q(u) d(icitu)r celehith.<sup>2</sup> Aeluredu(m)<sup>3</sup> rege(m) 7 plegomu(n)du(m)<sup>4</sup> ar(chi)ep(iscopu)m. <sup>b</sup>atheredu(m)<sup>5</sup> q(u)o(que)<sup>c</sup> duce(m)<sup>d</sup> m(er)cioru(m). 7 <sup>e</sup> colloq(u)iu(m)<sup>6</sup> habuisse de instauratione urbis Londonie.<sup>7</sup> <sup>f</sup>Accidit t(un)c te(m)poris affuisse<sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup>ven(er)abile(m) werefridu(m).<sup>8</sup> wigoracense(m)<sup>9</sup> ep(iscopu)m<sup>h</sup>. Igi(tur)<sup>i</sup> i(n)t(er) multa<sup>j</sup> alia colloq(u)ia<sup>10</sup> dati<sup>11</sup> <sup>k</sup>s(un)t a rege<sup>k</sup> Aeluredo.<sup>12</sup> <sup>l</sup>i<sup>o</sup>.<sup>13</sup> agri<sup>l</sup> i(n) loco<sup>m</sup> q(u)i d(icitu)r aetheredes hythe.<sup>14</sup> Un(us)<sup>15</sup> ar(chi)ep(iscop)o <sup>n</sup>dorob(er)nie adop(us) monaco(rum);<sup>n</sup> alt(er)<sup>16</sup> v(er)o<sup>o</sup> Werefrido<sup>17</sup> ad <sup>p</sup>Wigoracense(m) eccl(esi)am.<sup>p</sup> Est au(tem) via puplica<sup>18</sup> a flumi(ne) tamisie dividens h(ec) duo iugera. <sup>q</sup>tendens i(n) aq(u)ilone(m). Ambo au(tem) iugera i(n) muru(m) p(ro)telant(ur) 7 ext(ra) muru(m) naviu(m) stationes tante s(un)t<sup>r</sup> latitudinis. q(u)ante 7 iug(er)a<sup>s</sup> i(n)t(ra) muru(m). Habet v(er)o iugeroru(m) eccl(esi)e Chr(ist)i arta(m) semita(m) i(n) occidente. iugeru(m) eccl(esi)e Wigoracensis<sup>t</sup> arta(m) via(m)<sup>u</sup> ab oriente. Cap(u)t<sup>19</sup> a(m)bo(rum) iugero(rum) semita t(e)nd(e)nte<sup>20</sup> ad oriente(m) dirimit(ur).<sup>v</sup>

*a-a.C* omits. *b.C* adds 'nec non'. *c.C* omits. *d.C* adds 'partis regionis'. *e.C* adds 'Aethilflaedum sororem regis eosque'. *f-f.C* has 'adfuisseque'. *g.C* adds 'virum'. *h.C* has 'aepiscopum. uuigoracensem'. *i.C* omits. *j.C* omits. *k-k.B* has this inserted superscript; *C* has 'sunt ab eis' for 'Aeluredo'. *l.C* has 'iugera'. *m.C* has 'ad locum'. *n-n.B, D* have 'dorobernie plegomundo et successoribus eius ad opus ecclesie Christi et monacorum'; *C* has 'plegmundo ad ecclesiam Christi'. *o.C*

omits. *p-p.* *B* has 'ecclesiam Wigoracensem'; *C* 'ecclesiam uigornacensem'; *D* 'ecclesiam sancte Marie. Wigoracensem'. *q.* *C* adds 'et'. *r.* *C, D* omit 'sunt'. *s.* *C, D* add 'sunt'. *t.* *B, D* have 'Wigoracensis ecclesie'; *C* has 'Wygornacensis ecclesie'. *u.* *C* has 'viam artam'. *v.* *B* has 'Si quis hoc donum ab alterutra ecclesia minuerit minuat ei omnipotens deus vitam eternam'; *C* 'Et hoc factum est anno dominice incarnationis dccc<sup>o</sup>xviii. Siquis hoc donum minuerit. ab alterutra ecclesia minuat ei omnipotens deus vitam eternam'. *D* omits the dating clause, but continues 'Siquis . . . vitam eternam' as in *C*.

1. convenire *C*. 2. celehyt *B*, celchylt *C*, Celchyth *D*. 3. A]lvuredum *B*, Alfredum *C*, Eluredum *D*. 4. plegmundum *C, D*. 5. Aetheredum *B, C*. 6. conloquium *C*. 7. lundonie *C, D*. 8. uuaerfridum *C*, Werfridum *D*. 9. Wigoracenes *B*, uuihgoracensem *D*. 10. conloquia *C*. 11. data *C, D*. 12. aluredo *D*. 13. duo *C*. 14. Aethredes hythe *B*, Aetheredes hyd *C*, Atheredyshythe *D*. 15. unum *C, D*. 16. alterum *C, D*. 17. uuerifrido *C*. 18. publica *B, C, D*. 19. capud *B*. 20. tendens *D*.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965) 221.
- <sup>2</sup> C. N. L. Brooke and G. Keir *London 800–1216: The shaping of a City* (London, 1975) 133, 166–169; Alan Rogers 'Parish boundaries and urban history: two case studies' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 35 (1972) esp. 47–48, 54–55, 63, note 2.
- <sup>3</sup> Martin Middle 'Towns' in D. M. Wilson ed. *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1976) 107–109.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 106.
- <sup>5</sup> See Margaret Gelling 'The Boundaries of the Westminster Charters' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* n.s. 11 (1952–4) 101–104; P. H. Sawyer *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an annotated list and bibliography* (London, 1968) nos. 805, 894, 1040, 1043, 1450.
- <sup>6</sup> F. M. Stenton *Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955) 14–15, 50–51.
- <sup>7</sup> Sawyer *op. cit.* in note 5, no. 346; William de Gray Birch *Cartularium Saxonum* 2 (London, 1887) no. 561.
- <sup>8</sup> Sawyer *ibid.* no. 1628; Birch *ibid.* nos. 577–578.
- <sup>9</sup> Sawyer *ibid.* briefly quotes comments on these grants: Ekwall considered both grants — and W. H. Stevenson that of 889 — to be genuine. J. Armitage Robinson described the 898–899 grant as 'alleged'; Chaplais regarded the 889 grant as 'possibly not authentic', and Florence Harmer believed that it might be authentic in substance though spurious in its existing form. On the whole the 889 document is more favourably regarded than that of 898–899, and only B. W. Kissan (see below) dismissed the latter outright.
- <sup>10</sup> E.g. William Page *London: its Origin and Early Development* (London, 1923) 130–132; B. W. Kissan 'The London Deanery of the Arches' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* n.s. 8 (1940) 227.
- <sup>11</sup> James Tait *The English Medieval Borough* (Manchester, 1936) 23.
- <sup>12</sup> E. Ekwall *The Street Names of the City of London* (Oxford, 1954) 35–40, esp. 38, and note 1.
- <sup>13</sup> The two readings derive from two distinct versions in which this grant survives. See below, pp. 203–205.
- <sup>14</sup> G. A. J. Hodgett ed. *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate* London Record Society 7 (1971) no. 977. An intermediate form, dating from within two decades before the Conquest is *portumque vocatur Etheredishythe* (W. Dugdale, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Badinel *Monasticum Anglicanum* 1 (London, 1817–1830) 386).
- <sup>15</sup> Hodgett *ibid.* no. 979; H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davies ed. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* 3 (Oxford, 1969) no. 502.
- <sup>16</sup> Dugdale *op. cit.* in note 14; vol. 4, 42, no. VIII, a grant to Reading Abbey of 100s. *de heda mea Londonie* (from Brit. Lib. MS. Harley 1708, f.18).
- <sup>17</sup> R. H. C. Davis *King Stephen 1135–1154* (London, 1967) 69 and note 7, 70.
- <sup>18</sup> Hodgett *op. cit.* in note 14, nos. 975–976, 978, 980. The basic outline is clear, though the precise details and dates are rather obscure.
- <sup>19</sup> See my documentary survey in C. Hill, M. Millett and T. Blagg *The Roman Riverside Wall of London* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper (forthcoming).
- <sup>20</sup> W. Page *op. cit.* in note 10, 130–132. Page's assertion (130, note 11) that the land divided between the two prelates was 'on the west of Ethelredshithe' — or, as on p. 131, 'the eastern part' of the hithe — does not square with the text, of which four versions (rather than only one) survive. The four medieval transcripts examined say only that of the two adjacent *iugera* or *agri* in the place called Aetheredes hithe, the Canterbury plot lay to the west, and the Worcester plot to the east. I have not been able to follow Page's attempt in note 11 to fix the extent of the hithe in relation to wards and sokes.
- <sup>21</sup> Cf. Stenton *op. cit.* in note 6, 22: 'Charters combining two transactions in a single text always invite scrutiny'.
- <sup>22</sup> A distinction which in any case may not have been valid at the time. Cf. Eric John *Land Tenure in Early England* (Leicester, 1964) Appendix II; Pierre Chaplais 'The authenticity of the royal Anglo-Saxon diplomas of Exeter' *Bull. Inst. Historical Research* 39 (1968) esp. 33–34. I owe these references to Mr. Alexander Rumble of the English Place-Name Society.
- <sup>23</sup> Cf. G. R. C. Davis *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* (London, 1958) no. 159.
- <sup>24</sup> Listed by M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1932) 828–834. It is quite possible that the individual sections were not originally bound together; the continuous pagination in sequence is of post-medieval date.
- <sup>25</sup> Lambeth Palace MS 1212 p. 304: *Transcripta de veteri libro Cantuar': memoranda de cartarum et conciliorum archiepiscoporum et ecclesie Cant'*.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* p. 384: *Transcripta de codicellis primariis sive cartis terrarum antiquius dictis landboc*.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* p. 287: *xlvi. Aluredux rex dedit ecclesie Christi unum agrum apud redishithe et unum wigoracensi ecclesie iuxta Tamisiam*. A similar synopsis for the 898 copy appears on p. 383, and both bear a striking resemblance to the 13th century statement which Kissan (*op. cit.* in note 10, 227 and note 121) quotes from Cotton Galba E iii (a chronicle of the kings of

- England from A. D. 178 to the reign of John, compiled by a Christ Church monk). The chronicle statement cannot therefore be regarded as an independent witness.
- <sup>28</sup> Between 1094 and the Dissolution the manor of Rotherhithe belonged to Bermondsey (*Victoria County History of Surrey* 4 (London, 1912) 87). Following the rubrics, the *Aetheredes hid* grant is associated here with Rotherhithe, but the identification is firmly repudiated in favour of Queenhithe by J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton in *The Place Names of Surrey* English Place-Name Society 11 (1934) 29.
- <sup>29</sup> These figures are compiled from Sawyer *op. cit.* in note 5, 58. Apparently genuine are nos. 22, 40, 110–111, 155, 168, 170, 175, 177, 286, 489, 497, 1188, 1202, 1266, 1438 and 1628; doubtful, nos. 108 and 164, and definitely spurious, nos. 230, 515, 546 and 981.
- <sup>30</sup> Kissan, *op. cit.* in note 10, 227. He also regarded the fact that neither Canterbury or Worcester possessed Queenhithe after the Conquest was a further indication that this grant was spurious. In fact it merely fails to corroborate it. In any case, he states (*ibid.* 228) that Canterbury was in receipt of rents from wharves in the parishes of St. Michael Queenhithe and St. Mary Somerset in the 13th century. See p. 210 below, and note 58.
- <sup>31</sup> J. M. Kemble *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* (London, 1847) no. 1074. In fairness to Kissan, his principal concern was the general body of Canterbury records relating to London rather than an examination of individual points of detail.
- <sup>32</sup> A. E. E. Jones *Anglo-Saxon Worcester* (Worcester, 1958) 65–66.
- <sup>33</sup> R. A. L. Smith *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (Cambridge, 1943) 1–2.
- <sup>34</sup> R. R. Darlington ed. *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory* Pipe Roll Soc. n.s. 8 (1968) 1–li. A complication here is that the church on the Strand was also known as Holy Innocents. A reference to the soke of Worcester is recorded in 1164–1179, but without specific location (L. C. Loyd and D. M. Stenton ed. *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals* (Oxford, 1950) 80, no. 123).
- <sup>35</sup> Kissan *op. cit.* in note 10, 227.
- <sup>36</sup> Brit. Lib. Cotton Tiberius A xiii, ff. 18–19. G. R. C. Davis *op. cit.* in note 23, no. 1068, describes this volume as two 11th-century cartularies with a 15th-century index.
- <sup>37</sup> Birch *op. cit.* in note 7, no. 561 reads against Kemble's transcript *op. cit.* in note 31, no. 316, an odd refinement since both derive from the same text.
- <sup>38</sup> Davis *loc. cit.* in note 36.
- <sup>39</sup> F. M. Stenton *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 3rd edition 1971) 485–486.
- <sup>40</sup> Cf. R. E. Latham ed. *Revised Medieval Latin Wordlist* (London, 1965) 127.
- <sup>41</sup> Birch *op. cit.* in note 7, no. 492; Sawyer *op. cit.* in note 5, no. 208.
- <sup>42</sup> Ethelred II, Code IV; A. J. Robertson *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (Cambridge, 1925) 71 ff.
- <sup>43</sup> H. T. Riley ed. *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis 1, Liber Albus* (London, 1849) 240–241. Dowgate first appears in 1150–1151 when Duke Henry of Anjou confirmed to the citizens of Rouen privileges which they had enjoyed there in the time of King Edward the Confessor (Cronne and Davis *op. cit.* in note 15, no. 729).
- <sup>44</sup> Hodgett *op. cit.* in note 14, 119, nos. 1018, 1030; M. Weinbaum ed. *The London Eyre of 1276* London Record Soc. 12 (1976) no. 457. St. James *super Ripam* appears *temp.* John (*Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* 2 (London, 1894) A 2125). It must be admitted that such references are in the minority, and may only serve as an abbreviated form of *Ripa Reginae*. Nevertheless the term, though widely applicable, is strictly localised.
- <sup>45</sup> Birch *op. cit.* in note 7, no. 171; Sawyer *op. cit.* in note 5, no. 98.
- <sup>46</sup> Cf. E. Ekwall *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names* (Oxford, 4th edition 1960) under Chelsea, Erith, Lambeth, Maidenhead, Putney, Rotherhithe and Stepney.
- <sup>47</sup> R. E. Zupko *A Dictionary of English Weights and Measures* (Wisconsin, 1968) 120.
- <sup>48</sup> F. W. Maitland *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1897) 372–379. The section entitled 'Measures and Fields' in his essay on the hide contains probably the best discussion available of these problems.
- <sup>49</sup> The agreement between Ogilby and modern O.S. plans is very close, although the western extension of Cannon Street and the construction of Queen Victoria Street in the last century have gradually led to the neglect and disappearance of much of the Knight rider Street alignment (see my survey *op. cit.* in note 19), rendering an exact comparison difficult in the western portion of this area.
- <sup>50</sup> M. Biddle ed. *Winchester Studies* 1, *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1976) 272–273, 37–38, though the question is not discussed in detail in the present volume.
- <sup>51</sup> Cf. W. H. Stevenson ed. *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Oxford, 1904) lxxi, note 3. The earliest evidence for an organised royal scriptorium in which land grants were drafted by the king's own staff is the reign of Athelstan (924–939) (Stenton *op. cit.* in note 6, 53–54). Previously the beneficiaries might, and often did, draw up a diploma themselves and present it to the king for ratification (S. B. Chrimes *An Introduction to the Administrative History of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1959) 11–13).
- <sup>52</sup> P. R. V. Marsden 'Two Roman Public Baths in London' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 27 (1976) 3–30, esp. 20–26; Fig. 20.
- <sup>53</sup> Ekwall *op. cit.* in note 12, 37. The relevant passage in the 889 charter is, *curtem que verbotenus adad antiquum petrosum edificium id est aet Hwaetmundes stane a civibus appellatur*.
- <sup>54</sup> P. Rahtz 'Buildings and rural settlement' in Wilson *op. cit.* in note 3, 53, Appendix A, 405–452. The earliest secular stone building recorded in London was recently found on the corner of Milk Street and Russia Row, and is provisionally dated to the 11th century.
- <sup>55</sup> Marsden *op. cit.* in note 52, 23.
- <sup>56</sup> A. H. Smith *Place-Name Elements* 2 *English Place-Name Soc.* 26 (1956) 143–144.
- <sup>57</sup> Ekwall *op. cit.* in note 46 *s.n.* and entry for 'stan'.
- <sup>58</sup> Kissan *op. cit.* in note 10, 228; see note 30.
- <sup>59</sup> The more likely second alternative means that the three north-south roads detailed in the 898–899 grant constitute the earliest references to Little Trinity Lane, Bread Street Hill, and, probably, Fish Street Hill. M. Biddle and D. Hill ('Early Saxon Planned Towns' *Antiq. J.* 51 (1971) 70–85) have seen some evidence of a planned street grid at London from modern maps, and cited these two Alfredian grants in support of the possibility. The present interpretation would modify this evidence to the extent that, while reducing the

geographical incidence to a single location, it shows that at that location roads not evident in 889 appear in profusion in 898–899.

- <sup>60</sup> Stenton *op. cit.* in note 39, 270–271; H. R. Loyn *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (London, 1962) 281–283; R. H. C. Davis 'Alfred the Great: Propaganda and Truth' *History* 56 (1971) 176, 179–182.
- <sup>61</sup> Stenton *ibid.* 264–265, 319; Loyn *ibid.* 132–136.
- <sup>62</sup> Brooke *op. cit.* in note 2, 378.
- <sup>63</sup> Birch *op. cit.* in note 7, no. 579; Stenton *op. cit.* in note 39, 528–529; Loyn *op. cit.* in note 61, 140.
- <sup>64</sup> Tait *op. cit.* in note 11, 23. Had Tait been less

suspicious of the two Queenhithe grants, particularly that of 898–899, he would perhaps have made more of his comparison of the 889 charter with the Worcester charter.

- <sup>65</sup> Stenton *op. cit.* in note 39, 259–260.
- <sup>66</sup> Though not in itself conclusive it is interesting that the spelling of 'Aethelred' (*Aethered*) and *Aethered(es hyd)* is identical in the 898 and in two of the 899 texts of the 898/899 grant.
- <sup>67</sup> F. T. Wainwright 'Aethelflaed Lady of the Mercians' in H. P. R. Finberg ed. *Scandinavian England* (Chichester, 1975) 305–310, 323–324 (reprinted from P. Clemoes ed. *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies... presented to Bruce Dickins* (London, 1959) 53–70).

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# LONDON CHANTRIES AND CHANTRY CHAPELS

LAWRENCE S. SNELL

During the 13th and 14th centuries the chantry movement established itself as one of the foremost manifestations of the religious life of the time. Men were convinced that the salvation of their souls would depend largely upon the prayers and masses to be offered long after they were dead and did what they could by endowing chantries to remind the faithful of their need. For example, Sir Edmund Shea, goldsmith of London, by his will, made in 1487, directed that 'at every common assembly to be made in the church of St. Thomas of Acres [St. Thomas Acon], of the mayor, aldermen and commons of the City' the door of his chantry chapel should be opened 'so that the priests of the fellowship of his craft, if they shall be there, or else the priests singing there for his soul might stand within the closet at the said altar and say evensong, to the intent that his fellowship might among their devout meditations remember the poor soul of his body there lying interred'.<sup>1</sup> John Carpenter the younger, common clerk of the City of London and one of the executors of Richard Whittington, prefaced the deed by which he re-endowed the decayed chantry over the chancel at St. Paul's to pray for the soul of Richard Whittington and others, with the words 'It should be the fervent desire and solicitous care of the prudent and devout men to provide advantageously for the increase of divine service in perpetuity, especially through the continual celebration of the solemnities of masses in which for the well-being of the living and the repose of the dead to God the Father His only begotten Son is offered in the Host by the hands of the priests'.<sup>2</sup> By the 15th century all the larger churches contained a number of chantries, often signified by a separate altar or chantry chapel, and there were probably few parish churches in England without some such foundation.

London was of course particularly rich. In the 14th century the city had some 280 chantries in its churches; old St. Paul's had 35. Royalty, the nobility, great ecclesiastics and wealthy merchants founded chantries, and the endowments took the form of lands or dwelling places with lands attached, rents and other possessions, as well as money. One of London's most famous chantries was that of Henry V in Westminster Abbey. The altar was to be dedicated in honour of the Annunciation of the Virgin and All Saints, and eight wax candles were to burn about his tomb during High Mass and vespers every day. Masses to the number of 20,000 were to be said for the king's soul at the altar, and for a whole year 30 poor persons were to recite the Psalter of the Virgin there, concluding with the petition 'Mother of God remember thy servant Henry who puts his whole trust in thee'.<sup>3</sup> This chapel was of course later to be eclipsed in splendour by that of Henry VII, also in Westminster Abbey. This was a very considerable establishment, including three

monks known as the king's chantry monks, two *conversi*, three monk scholars who were to have exhibitions at Oxford University, thirteen almsmen or king's bedesmen and three bedeswomen. Masses for the souls of Henry and his family were to be sung daily, and a hundred wax candles, each twelve pounds in weight and nine feet long, were to burn during the office. It was very richly endowed.<sup>4</sup>

In its simplest form a chantry is a mass celebrated at an altar for the well-being and good estate of the founder during his life-time and for the repose of his soul after death. From 1279 onwards the Patent Rolls record licences for the alienation in mortmain of lands and tenements to chaplains who are to celebrate divine service daily in specified churches for objects stated by the founder.<sup>5</sup> There was, for example, a chantry founded in 1455 in St. Stephen's, Westminster, for the soul of William Lyndwood, Bishop of St. David's and Keeper of the Privy Seal. In that year licence was granted by Henry VI to Robert Pyke, clerk, and Adrian Grenebough, the bishop's executors, to establish a perpetual chantry for the healthful estate of the king and his consort, Margaret of Anjou, and for their souls after death, as well as for the soul of the departed bishop. It was served by two priests, one to sing masses in the chapel of St. Mary-in-the-Vaults, and the other in the chapel of St. Mary-of-the-Pew.<sup>6</sup> In March 1403 a licence was issued for the endowment of a chantry of two chaplains in St. Paul's for the soul of John of Gaunt,<sup>7</sup> and a licence for the founding of Thomas More's chantry in St. Paul's was issued in 1415.<sup>8</sup>

The chantry priest was the incumbent of a permanently endowed benefice, the revenues of which were made over in perpetuity to him and his successors. He entered into a freehold like that of a rector or vicar, being presented by the founder/patron and instituted in the usual way. He was thus independent of the incumbent and held the chantry until he died, resigned, or was deprived. There were also unendowed chantries, which were established for a term of years or existed upon uncertain offerings. The priest, often called a stipendiary, was nominated by the patron and could be removed by him at will. His position was much less secure than that of the priest of a beneficed or endowed chantry. For example, John Weston in his will of 1407 established a chantry of this kind in the church of St. Mary-at-Hill, Eastcheap. He ordered that on the death of his wife a property which they held jointly should go to the rector and parishioners of the church, on condition that out of its profits they met certain specified charges, one of which was the payment of six marks a year for the support of a chaplain.<sup>9</sup> Robert Fuller, ex-abbot of Waltham and ex-prior *in commendam* of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, in his will, dated 1540, desired to be buried in St. Sepulchre's, Newgate, and ordained that two priests should sing masses there for his soul and for the souls of the founders and benefactors of the suppressed priory. The masses were to continue for a period of seven years and the priests had a stipend of £8 a year.<sup>10</sup>

Often certain benefactions were associated with the setting up of a chantry: for example, Robert Drope, draper and mayor (d. 1485), founded a chantry in the church of St. Michael Cornhill, and was buried on the north side of the choir 'under a fair tomb of grey marble'. He also left £20 for marriage portions for poor maids of the parish and £10 for the poor of the ward as well as 300 shirts and smocks and 100 gowns of broadcloth. £16 was distributed to the poor at his funeral and his house in Cornhill was sold for the upkeep of the highways.<sup>11</sup>

To establish a chantry even of the most modest type was an expensive undertaking. Sometimes the founders seem to have given part of their hereditary estates, sometimes to

have left the family estates intact, providing for the chantries with land specially acquired for the purpose. For example, in 1330 Sir John Pulteney bestowed a messuage and four shops on the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, to maintain two chantries — one in the priory church and another in the church of St. Thomas the Apostle in Knightrider Street.<sup>12</sup> In 1246 a London cordwainer named Algrand granted a piece of land to the church of St. Augustine by St. Paul's Cathedral for the enlargement of the church, to include an altar dedicated to Our Lady. In acknowledgment of the gift, he, his wife Rose and his first wife Alice were to be made 'participants in all the benefits and prayers which should be made in that church for ever'.<sup>13</sup> After lands and tenements, by far the commonest form of endowment for a chantry was an annual pension. Many people, especially citizens of London, bequeathed property to their relatives or friends on condition that they made specified payments to a chaplain. For example, when Rose Wrytell, a widow living in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill in London, made her will in 1323, she left her two tenements in that parish, together with 20 pence of annual rent, to Robert Hammond, corder of London, and Margery his wife, her niece: 'to have and to hold the ij tenements . . . and also to receive yearly the said xxd of quit rent to the said Robert and Margery and to the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten . . . yielding and paying vj marks yearly . . . which vj marks I bequeath to the sustentation of an honest priest to sing divine service every day and year evermore in the . . . church of St. Mary-at-Hill at the altar of Saynt Edmund the King and Martyr'.<sup>14</sup>

The expenses of setting up a chantry included many costly furnishings. For example, the two priests who served the altar in the chantry of Canon Roger of Waltham in old St. Paul's Cathedral had for their use two pairs of vestments, one for daily use consisting of a chasuble of gold cloth on canvas, the other a similar chasuble of silk; albs, amices, stoles, maniples; an altar frontal of gold cloth; cloths to cover the altar and to wrap the vestments; two altar towels, one with a frontal of gold bordering; a chalice and paten of silver gilt weighing 20 ounces and valued at 30s; a missal worth 20s; two blessed corporals in a case; a box for altar breads; two hand towels; two pewter cruets; a small bell; a brazier valued at 3s; and a 'good key' to the chapel door. For these the chantry priests were 'for ever to answer according to the oath they took on their admission'.<sup>15</sup> In other words the endowments would have to be ample enough to maintain the fabric, vestments, ornaments, candles and missals, money for distribution to the poor at the obit, and a stipend for the priest.

In choosing chaplains patrons were expected to have regard to the wishes of the founder, which were often expressed with considerable precision. Generally founders wanted to be certain that the service for which they were providing would be carried out. Usually the minimum qualification was that the chaplain should be in priest's orders, and sometimes founders prescribed other qualifications such as that no chaplain should be presented unless he was of good and honest report and sufficiently trained in church music and grammar. Many founders laid down that the chantry priest should hold no other benefice with or without cure of souls, and that promotion to other benefices should, *ipso facto*, render the chantry void. For example, either of the two chaplains serving John of Gaunt's chantry in St. Paul's was to be removed after three monitions if he should obtain an ecclesiastical office or benefice, be a public fornicator or otherwise criminous, or excessive in eating, drinking, gesture or apparel, or be offensive to the other.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, it was laid down regarding the priest of John Weston's chantry in St.

Mary-at-Hill that 'if the same priest so chosen dishonestly behave him then I will that he be ammoved and put from his service . . . and another honest priest in his stead . . . be chosen'.<sup>17</sup> Some founders however were willing that their chaplains should hold other preferments or inherited property, provided it was of small value and did not interfere with the duties of the chantry. The trustees of Gregory's chantry in St. Anne's, Aldersgate, were exhorted 'that all Inordynate affection singular favour or movyngs or wrytyngs of eny persons of whatsoever dignite they shall bee sette asyde, that ye in tyme comyng in noo maner admytte or receyve to syng or pray for the Soules in forme and maner in the said testament. And in this our Reformacion specified ner suffre to contynue in the same perpetuyte eny preste or Chapleyn that is or shalbe beneficed and charged with Cure of Sawles the exilitie of the Benefice or other cause whatsoever hit be not withstanding: Ner that also ye admytte or suffre to contynue eny preste in the said perpetuyte that by free Chapell or prebende or by eny other meanes shall or may of and by spirituall or temporall goods or office yerely expende more than vj marcs'.<sup>18</sup>

The life of the chantry priest was not a very busy one. He had no cure of souls. Apart from his daily mass and the recitation of the office of the dead at such time as suited him, he was simply under a general obligation to take part in the daily choir offices. He was under no canonical obligation to help the parish priest in his general duties, unless such help was laid down in the foundation charter. For example, in addition to saying a daily mass the priest of Gregory's chantry in St. Anne's, Aldersgate, was to say *Placebo* and *Dirige*<sup>19</sup> with Commendation four times a week, and to preach eight sermons in the course of each year in London and the neighbourhood.<sup>20</sup> The chaplain of the chantry in the church of St. Nicholas in the Shambles 'was bound to be in the church at all the canonical hours both night and day',<sup>21</sup> but the priest of a chantry in St. Martin's-le-Grand was, in 1371, specifically exempted from the duty of following the choir at night against his will.<sup>22</sup> Sometimes the chantry priest's duties included the keeping of a school for local children. For example, Sir George Monoux, a London draper and mayor in 1514, founded a chantry at the parish church of Walthamstow on the outskirts of London, and in the *Records of Chantries in Essex, 1547*, we read of 'Lands and tenements put in feoffment by Sir George Monoux, gent., to the maintenance of a priest to sing mass in the church and also to teach a few scholars during the term of twenty years; and one Sir John Hughson, clerk, of the age of forty years and of good conversation, literate and teaches a school there, is now incumbent hereof . . .'.

The chantry foundations of the wealthy often provided for the establishment of an almshouse or hospital. Here were accommodated a number of poor men (bedesmen) who were cared for by the chantry priest, who distributed their fuel and allowances. Often they wore special clothing bearing the arms of the founder and were under obligation of attending church daily to pray for the souls of their benefactors. The most important of the twenty or so 'hospitals' in medieval London was St. Katherine's by the Tower. Founded in 1148 by Queen Matilda, its master, brothers, sisters and poor persons were to offer prayers and attend masses for the queen's two children, Baldwin and Matilda. Later kings and queens added chantries to this foundation, as did nobles and great ecclesiastics.<sup>23</sup> Other London hospitals included St. Mary's within Cripplegate, known as the Elsing Spital. It was founded by William Elsing, a London mercer, 'for the sustentation of an hundred poor men', and a number of chantries were founded in the hospital during the 14th century.<sup>24</sup> The Hospital of the Virgin Mary and Nine Orders of

Holy Angels at Brentford was founded in 1446 by Master John Somerset, physician and chaplain to the king and, from 1441 to 1446, Chancellor of the Exchequer. It had a community consisting of a chaplain and his clerk; nine poor men, weak or impotent, to wit blind, lame or withered; and two sober and industrious men to serve the nine. At the same time there was founded a gild of a master, brethren and sisters, to be called the Gild of the Nine Orders of Holy Angels by Syon. This gild was to administer the hospital and chapel.<sup>25</sup> A chantry was added to this hospital in 1511, the two priests of which were to pray for the souls of Henry VIII, Hugh Denys (the founder) and John Denys.<sup>26</sup>

Very similar were the 'colleges' attached to parish churches, several of which were to be found in London. One of the best known was the College of the Holy Ghost and St. Mary, founded by Richard Whittington at the church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal, which he rebuilt. Whittington was buried in this church in 1423, and the college was served by five priests, one of whom was rector of St. Michael's, and thirteen poor men, each of whom received 14d a week with other provisions. They were all bound to pray for the good estate of Richard Whittington and his wife, Alice, their founders, for the founders' parents, and for Richard II and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester.<sup>27</sup> In 1334 Adam Franceys, mercer and twice mayor, Peter Fenelon and Henry Frowyk joined to found a chantry college for five priests who were to sing mass daily at the altar of Our Lady in the Guildhall chapel.<sup>28</sup> The seven chantry priests at St. James', Garlickhithe, were formed into a college in 1481 'because they associated with laymen and wandered about instead of dwelling among clerks as was fitting'.<sup>29</sup>

Another popular form of ecclesiastical endowment was connected with fraternities, brotherhoods and gilds. The gild secured the use of an altar in their parish church and provided an endowment to pay the priest to say mass daily for the brethren and sisters of the gild living and departed. This was rather like a co-operative chantry and provided a way in which people who were not wealthy enough to set up their own chantries could obtain the benefits of soul masses. At one time there were around seventy gilds and fraternities attached to London churches. In the church of St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge, a chantry was founded 'by the better folk of the parish': 'Of their great devotion and to the honour of God and Our Lady Mary the Virgin . . . they caused to be made a chantry, to sing an anthem of Our Lady called *Salve Regina*, every evening'.<sup>30</sup> At St. Sepulchre's, Newgate, the Gild of St. Stephen supported a priest; every member was to be present at the corporate mass on St. Stephen's day and make an offering of one farthing or more.<sup>31</sup> At All Hallows', Barking, there was a religious gild dedicated to St. Mary, that was under royal patronage, and in the church there was a chapel of St. Mary which Henry VI granted to the gild.<sup>32</sup> Another royal foundation was the Gild of Our Glorious Saviour Jesus Christ and of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Martyr St. Barbara, founded by Henry VIII in St. Katherine's by the Tower. The bedesmen had the duty of praying, *inter alia*, for Henry VIII, Queen Catherine, Cardinal Wolsey, and many nobles and gentlemen and their ladies.<sup>33</sup> There was also a fraternity known as 'Brothers of the Bridge' composed of the priests and clerks making up the foundation of the chapel on London Bridge which was founded by Peter de Colechurch in 1200 in honour of St. Thomas Becket, and the priests of other chantries founded in the chapel.<sup>34</sup>

The desire to be remembered after death in the intercession of the church led many persons to leave money for an obit. A moderate endowment would ensure the recitation of masses on the first, seventh and thirtieth days after the death of the testator, with an

obit (a mass said or sung on the anniversary of the death for a few years or in perpetuity) once a year. Sometimes the testator would arrange for a trental of masses, *i.e.* a set of 30 masses for the repose of a soul, whether said on a single day or on successive days: for example, when a member of the Gild of St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre's church, Newgate, died a trental of masses was said and all the brethren were required to attend the Dirge.<sup>35</sup> Obits became very popular. Payment for them was usually made to the parish priest, who was responsible for the due observance of the rite, and in many cases was required to distribute alms to the poor out of the payment received. There were a number of obits kept in the royal collegiate chapel of St. Stephen in the Palace of Westminster: for example, £50 was bequeathed in 1399 for the perpetual obit of Dean Sleaford, and a like amount in 1425 for the obits of Canon Orgrave. In 1471 an endowment of £100 was made to ensure a daily mass and obits for Canon Crecy and Thomas, Lord Stanley.<sup>36</sup> When William Cambridge, a London grocer, founded a chantry at St. Mary's-at-Hill in 1431, he willed that the mayor, the sheriffs and the City swordbearer should be present at the obit and should receive 6s 8d, 3s 4d, and 1s 8d each respectively.<sup>37</sup> John Bart, mercer, who died in 1460, directed his executors to maintain an obit for ten years in the church of St. Michael Bassishaw.<sup>38</sup>

Besides these endowments of chantries, gilds, obits and colleges there was a considerable number of small endowments for providing lamps and lights in churches. These lamps were always burning and were emblematic of the continuous presence of Christ on his altar where the Blessed Sacrament was always reserved, and of the unceasing intercession offered through the saints before whose altars they burned. For example, the foundation charter of the chantry founded by the gild attached to St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge, laid down that during the singing of the *Salve Regina* every evening five lights were to burn in honour of the five principal joys of the Virgin,<sup>39</sup> and at St. Sepulchre's, Newgate, the Gild of St. Stephen provided a light to be burned before the image of St. Stephen. The gild also provided candles for the requiem mass said on the death of each member,<sup>40</sup> and Henry Yevele, master-mason at Westminster Abbey during the rebuilding of the nave, on his death in 1400, left money to maintain a light at the image of the Salutation of the Virgin in St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge.<sup>41</sup>

These then were the lesser religious foundations which were left untouched by the suppression of the monasteries<sup>42</sup> but were dealt with by Henry VIII and Edward VI a few years later. Legislation with regard to them began in 1545 when the war with France and Scotland made fresh monetary supplies essential. The Parliament which met in November 1545 passed the Chantries Act, 'An Acte for the Dissolution of Colleges, Chantries, and Free Chapells at the King's Majesties Pleasure'.<sup>43</sup> The Act vested in the king absolutely all 'colleges, free-chapelles, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherheddes, guildes and stipendarie prestes havinge perpetuities for ever' which had been illegally dissolved before Christmas 1545, and enabled him during his life to issue commissions to enter into any others and take them into his possession. Henry died on 28 January 1547 and with him died the power to seize the chantries, the power to issue commissions to enter being limited to his life and to warranty under his hand. The chantries were respited and the work of suppression was bequeathed to Edward VI and the young king's uncle, the Duke of Somerset. It was under the latter's direction that the chantry lands, which Henry VIII had earmarked for seizure but had not lived to receive, followed the monastic lands into the Court of Augmentations.<sup>44</sup>

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> John Watney *Some Account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon* . . . (London, 1892) 52.
- <sup>2</sup> W. Dugdale *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London, 1658) App. XXXV, 274–275.
- <sup>3</sup> G. H. Cook *Mediaeval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (London, 1947) 130.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 47.
- <sup>5</sup> By the end of the 13th century the acquisition of lands by religious foundations increased to such an extent that control was necessary. Accordingly, in 1279, the Statute of Mortmain (Edw. I) was passed, which forbade the alienation of lands and rents in such wise that they should come into 'dead hand'. If the proposed founder of the chantry or other such endowment proved that he would have sufficient property left to meet the Crown dues, a licence was duly granted under the Mortmain Act.
- <sup>6</sup> Cook *op. cit.* in note 3, 184.
- <sup>7</sup> Patent Roll 386, m. 33; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405* 214.
- <sup>8</sup> Patent Roll 398, m. 31; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1413–1416* 365.
- <sup>9</sup> H. Littlehales ed. *The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St. Mary at Hill), A.D. 1420–1559* Early English Text Society 125 (London, 1904) 97–98, 93.
- <sup>10</sup> Cook *op. cit.* in note 3, 38.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 40.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 116.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 4.
- <sup>14</sup> Littlehales *op. cit.* in note 9, 12.
- <sup>15</sup> Cook *op. cit.* in note 3, 11.
- <sup>16</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1408–1413* 386.
- <sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.* in note 14.
- <sup>18</sup> W. McMurray ed. *The Records of Two City Parishes* (London, 1925) 25.
- <sup>19</sup> *Placebo Domine in regione vivorum* (I will please the Lord in the land of the living): Psalm cxvi; *Domine dirige nos* (Direct us, O Lord, in all our doings): Psalm v.
- <sup>20</sup> McMurray *op. cit.* in note 18, 12.
- <sup>21</sup> R. C. Fowler, C. Jenkins and S. C. Ratcliffe ed. *Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria, diocesis Londiniensis, A.D. 1362–75* 1 (London, 1927–1938) 42.
- <sup>22</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1370–1374* 85.
- <sup>23</sup> Cook *op. cit.* in note 3, 33.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 34.
- <sup>25</sup> M. B. Honeybourne 'The Leper Hospitals of the London Area' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 21 pt. 1 (1963) 56.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 57.
- <sup>27</sup> Cook *op. cit.* in note 3, 35.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 185.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 51.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 40.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 20.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 40.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* 34.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* 45.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 20.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 184.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 58.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* 39.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 40.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 20.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 41.
- <sup>42</sup> The smaller houses, those with incomes below £200 p.a., were dissolved in 1536 (27 Hen. VIII c. 28), and all other houses in 1539 (31 Hen. VIII c. 13). *Vide* L. S. Snell *Chantry Certificates* Hist. Assoc. Short Guides to Records no. 6 (from *History* 48 no. 164 (1963) 332–335); L. S. Snell *The Chantry Certificates for Devon and the city of Exeter* (Exeter, 1961) introduction, ix ff.
- <sup>43</sup> 37 Hen. VIII c. 4.
- <sup>44</sup> Owing to the magnitude of the transfer of real property from the monasteries to the Crown in 1536 and 1539 it was considered necessary to set up a special office to deal with the confiscated monastic estates, and property from future dissolutions perhaps already in the king's mind — 27 Hen. VIII c. 27.

# CLOTHING AND TEXTILES AT THE COURT OF EDWARD III 1342–1352

KAY STANILAND

This study of clothing supplied to the court of Edward III in the mid 14th century draws heavily upon an unpublished post-graduate thesis written by the author when a student at the Courtauld Institute of Art in 1967. It also incorporates subsequent documentary research which has similarly remained unpublished.

In 1846 full transcripts of the wardrobe accounts of Edward III for the years 1344–1345 and 1345–1349 were published in *Archaeologia*<sup>1</sup> because the latter account contained the first documentary record of the Order of the Garter. The absence of references to the Order in the former account provided a firm basis for disputing Froissart's statement, so long accepted, that it was established at the Round Table held by Edward at Windsor in 1344. The commentary accompanying the transcripts by Sir Nicholas H. Nicolas discusses and elaborates upon the documents solely from the point of view of the Order and mentions only briefly the wealth of additional information contained in this valuable source. The Garter robes were in fact only a very few amongst a huge assortment of garments, accessories, furnishings and liveries ordered for the King, his family, friends and court for the jousts, feasts and entertainments which were held in the years following his victorious return from Crécy. Despite the publication of Nicolas' mammoth transcription, of which he claimed 'No document has been before printed that affords so much or such accurate information respecting the costume of the Fourteenth century as the Wardrobe accounts now given to the Public: nor is there any printed Record which throws so strong a light on the general character of the Court of King Edward the Third',<sup>2</sup> 130 years later little or no attention has been given this rich source of evidence by any historian, and certainly not by historians of dress. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that there exists a whole corpus of accounts containing further rich quantities of information awaiting discovery, transcription and translation from medieval Latin shorthand, and assimilation of their contents. French royal accounts have fared somewhat better, a large quantity having been published in 1851 and 1874<sup>3</sup> and used to great effect by Joan Evans in her study of *Dress in Medieval France* published in 1952.

It is true that such documentary sources as these accounts must be handled with infinite care because of the pitfalls presented by the historian's own transcription and translation, his understanding of the meaning of the terms employed (Latham's *Medieval Latin Word List*<sup>4</sup> is by no means complete or reliable from the dress historian's point of view), and, last but certainly not least, the unreliability of the original scribe. The opportunity to examine (though incompletely) two further accounts of Edward III covering parts of the years 1342 and 1352<sup>5</sup> produced a further great quantity of information regarding clothing



and textiles supplied to Edward's court. This was enormously valuable because it provided completely new evidence, expanding areas only slightly covered by the printed account, as well as completely substantiating assumptions based upon common sense when absolute fact had been missing. Complete transcription and translation of these accounts, coupled with more exploration of further contemporary documentary sources, would certainly produce a much more reliable corpus of information concerning the mid 14th-century clothing and textiles than can be offered at present.

The format of the royal wardrobe accounts utilised here varied, thus producing different and incomplete types of information. In all accounts a brief description of the item is given. The 1342 account also includes particularly full and explicit details of the amounts of materials required and their cost, plus the amount of time and cost of labour. An unsupported total cost of each item is all that is provided by the 1344–1345 account. The 1345–1349 account frequently names the particular royal tailor involved (see Appendix), giving details of materials supplied, but no costs at all, while the 1352 account lists the costs of labour in some detail but only occasionally specifies amounts or costs of materials.

For ease of discussion the material contained in the accounts has been grouped into a variety of relevant categories according to usage or association, although it should be noted that there is not necessarily any organised grouping within the accounts themselves.

#### BASIC AND EVERYDAY CLOTHING

The popular belief that earlier periods of English history were, generally speaking, much less hygienic owing to lack of bathing or laundry facilities is one discredited by the 1344–1345 account which shows that the court at least did not allow the lack of such equipment as we enjoy today to lower their own standards of cleanliness. Indeed the contemporary ideals of gentility specified that a traveller should be offered fresh clothes and washing facilities as well as food and a bed. Until the advent of mechanical means of cleaning upper layers of clothing, it has been the practice for many hundreds of years to rely upon a linen undergarment similar to the outer garments to protect them from the majority of body secretions.

There are ample illustrations in the 14th-century manuscript illuminations and carvings of men's underwear, which consisted of linen undershirt and underbreeches. It seems very likely that some of the more intimate items of Edward III's clothing were in fact made by a member of his household from lengths of linen supplied to his tailor for unspecified purposes. No underbreeches ('braccas') are listed in the 1345–1349 account, and those few mentioned in 1344–1345 were either of wool or of wool lined with linen which sound more like special fortification against the cold endured on long rides — and it should be remembered that the royal household was continually on the move — or could even have been for wear in the jousts. Normally the underbreeches illustrated look rather like pyjama trousers with long straight legs and a belt (breech clout) slotted through the waist. Just at this time men's tunics were becoming shorter and illustrations begin to show men wearing the much briefer garments which became more usual in the following century. The accounts similarly make little reference to undershirts. Two 'camisias' made for the King in 1344–1345 were lined throughout, flounced, buttoned down the front to the knee, and had long lined sleeves buttoned to the elbow. At a cost of 2s each these were

considerably more expensive than the quantities (53) of linen robes ('robas') ordered at the same time in both the old and new styles ('de antiquo modo'; 'de novo modo') which took either  $5\frac{1}{2}$  or 6 ells of linen each (9 ells when lined), but could cost only 8d each. Alternatively it is possible that all these garments were in fact for summer outer wear.

On their legs men wore hose ('caligas') made from fine woollen cloth, cut on the cross so that they would fit smoothly and seamed down the back of the leg. They were carried to a point at the top so that they could be tied securely to the breech clout. Large quantities of these appear in the accounts. For his journey to Portsmouth 77 pairs of hose of various colours and bound with silk ribbon required some  $57\frac{3}{4}$  ells of cloth and 24 pieces of silk ribbon. Records of footwear do not appear in any of the accounts consulted.

That the King did bathe is apparent from the linen objects ordered specifically for this purpose, although the form some of them took is not yet clear. They include 'coopertoria' (coverings) and 'auriculorum' (pillows/cushions) whose use is explained by reference to contemporary illustrations showing the bather sitting in a large wooden tub which was draped over the top with linen sheets. Of less obvious purpose are the 'foteclothes'/'votclothes pro pedibus Regis' which could contain up to 14 ells of linen, or 'chausons' (?linen socks).

For women underwear consisted only of a linen undertunic ('camisia'), probably long, simple, round-necked garments with long straight sleeves. Many were ordered for the trousseau of Princess Joan, the King's fourth daughter (b. 1335) who was contracted to marry the eldest son of Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon early in 1348 and was to die of the plague in Bordeaux when on her way to Spain. She was also provided with more than 40 pairs of cloth stockings ('caligas'). It seems not unlikely that these were in fact only worn to above the knee and were held in place by a tie or garter — hence the possible origin of the Order of the Garter.

Head wear for either sex does not appear in any great quantity. Hoods ('capuci') generally came together with a garment or as part of a set of garments and were rarely ordered separately; they were worn by both sexes and generally lined (with cloth in summer and fur in winter). It is probable that the term 'volupere' may be identified as a close-fitting cap,<sup>6</sup> several of which were included in Princess Joan's trousseau, whilst those ordered for her father ('pro capite Regis') were bound with silk ribbon and decorated with pearls. It seems likely that 'coverchiefs' can no longer be identified as female veils since the accounts contain references to them (long and short, and striped with black silk) being made for the King as well as Princess Joan. Otherwise the increasingly complicated arrangement of linen veils worn by women were probably made up by a female servant from the quantities of linen supplied to the ladies of the royal household for unspecified use.

For upper wear the principle garment for both sexes was the tunic, over which a further garment (supertunic usually) could be worn. A considerable number of terms for garments exist in the accounts but with little indication of the variation which each term represents. It is equally possible to find as many, if not more, examples of such variations in the shape/style of garments from all manner of contemporary illustrations. In the Edward III accounts the terms 'tunica' and 'cota', taken by dress historians to indicate the same garment, are used side by side as if they do in fact refer to different garments. Possible variations from some norm may be indicated by such additional descriptive details as long, short, flounced, buttoned, open, closed, etc. which occur with great

regularity in the accounts showing that the clerk therefore knew very precisely what form a garment took. We must then assume that he meant something very specific when employing such terms as 'ghita', 'courtpec', 'cotehardie', 'capam', 'cloca', 'mantellum', 'corsetta', 'clamidis', 'caban', 'doublett', 'aketon', 'jupoun', etc. It is impossible to be completely certain of the form which many of these garments took and continuous redefinition by different authors is only causing greater confusion. Wild guesses and uninformed solutions produce persistent myths without any basis, but difficult to dislodge. Latham<sup>7</sup> translates the term 'cloca duplicata' (used in 1371) as a 'doublet' for no obvious reason, implying a sleeved close-fitting garment when all that seems to be indicated is a lined (or doubled) cloak — and he had already defined a 'cloca' as a cloak. Similarly the term 'corsetta' has been almost universally associated with the body-shaping piece of underwear of much later origin (the term 'corset' only replacing 'stays' at the end of the 18th century). Although redefined in 1952 by Joan Evans as a long enveloping outer garment akin to a cloak or mantle (it was usually lined with 300 miniver skins) the myth will no doubt continue, being too attractive despite the considerable arguments against such a definition.

Although upper and outer garments were ordered separately, it was also very usual to order them in sets termed 'unam robam' (the term 'robam' could also mean a single garment). For example: 'a robe of 6 garments, being 1 cloak, 2 open supertunics, 1 closed supertunic, 2 tunics and 3 hoods' (for the King), or 'a robe of 5 garments containing 2 supertunics, 1 cape, 1 mantle and 1 tunic' (for the Queen). These sets of clothing all matched, and contained from three to six garments and there are a variety of combinations of garments. But how these groupings had come to be made is not indicated.

Seasonal requirements were met not only by adding or subtracting layers of clothing, but also by making them of thicker or thinner materials. For increased warmth in winter furs were widely used and such accounts as these list vast quantities of furs supplied for clothing at court. By far the most extensively employed skin was miniver, the pale winter bellies of red squirrels, ubiquitous in illustrations of medieval life. Some idea of the quantities of furs used (though obviously many may well have been 'recycled') may be gained from one entry only, for the robes given by the King to his eldest son the Prince of Wales (the Black Prince) for the feasts during the 21st year of his reign (1347–1348) *i.e.* Christmas, Easter, Pentecost (Whitsun), Christmas. The robe for Pentecost, of fine Brussels cloth lined with silk, was obviously not furred, but the other 3 robes (individual garments not listed) each comprised:

- 14 ells fine cloth
- 1 cloak of 200 miniver skins
- 1 mantle of 100 miniver skins
- 3 furs each of 200 miniver skins
- 2 hoods each of 40 miniver skins

Ermine appears from time to time, but was not used in great quantity, and other furs mentioned include gris, pople, letus, beaver, white hare and rabbit. Large quantities of lambskin (both black and white) of varying quantities were provided for the less elevated courtiers together with their own liveries, which were a regular feature of medieval court life.

## CLOTHING FOR THE JOUSTS

The accounts under consideration all contain a great number of entries connected with items provided for the King's jousts and tournaments with which these years after Crécy abound. It is clear that there is much neglected material in these which, if brought together, analysed and compared, would be of enormous interest to students of medieval armour and jousting equipment.

The centre for preparations for the jousts was London, the Tower of London specifically. There are a great many references to the carriage of items backwards and forwards, in the care of valets, often to be repaired and always very carefully protected against the elements. The 1352 account has numerous entries concerning the King's armour, transported not only round England but across to Calais, burnished and polished at the Tower of London by 3 valets for 12 days and 4 valets for 8 days each at 6d per day using a gallon of oil which cost 12d and 6 bushels of bran at 4d per bushel. The same account refers to the mending of swords, a coat of mail, an aventail (helmet mail), 1 pair of guisseaux (thigh armour) and 2 pairs of greaves for the King; the swords were provided with girdles decorated with silver and laton, and scabbards.

The 1345–1349 account similarly contains a great deal of information concerning the clothing and equipment provided both for the King himself as well as by him for his relatives and friends for the jousts with which they entertained themselves. Again the variety of terms used to describe the garments produces uncertainty as to their actual form. Both the 'aketon' and 'doublett' appear to have been padded (*i.e.* stuffed and quilted) garments covered with patterned material or embroidery, and two flounced doublets each had a 'lorica' (a cuirass of boiled leather) attached in some way. The 'jupoun' is not recorded as having any stuffing, probably because it was worn in association with armour as a decorative covering and was not a protective garment in itself.

It is unclear whether the term 'harnesium' means only the horse-trappings or could include the covering for the rider as well, since these had the particular function of identifying riders in the field from the coats of arms or other decorative devices with which they were ornamented. For the hastiludes at Windsor David the Bruce, King of Scotland, at that time a prisoner of Edward III in the Tower of London but treated with great civility nevertheless, was provided with a harness worked with his own arms. At the jousts at Lichfield the King wore a harness which bore the arms of Sir Thomas de Bradeston and for the hastiludes at Canterbury in 1348–1349 he provided harnesses for himself and seven others (the Dukes of Lancaster and Suffolk, John de Grey, Robert Maule, John Chandos, and John and Roger de Beauchamp) stamped with the arms of the knight Stephen of Cosyngton.

## RICH AND CEREMONIAL CLOTHING

A considerable number of the entries in the accounts are for garments of some splendour which were obviously ordered with specific occasions in mind. Many of these occasions are not recorded, but where they are it is possible to see that the court of Edward III was indeed rich and colourful, little of which splendour remains today in the royal court with the possible exception of coronations.

The *birth of a royal child* precipitated activity throughout the royal household, for the event was celebrated with considerable display and feasting. When William of Windsor, the fifth son of Edward III and his Queen, Philippa of Hainault, was born in May 1348 he was provided with a cradle draped with fine green cloth, the hood lined with miniver, and with a coverlet of rich silk also lined with miniver. For the feast of his mother's uprising one month later he was provided with a large bed of green taffeta embroidered with red roses, figures, serpents and other work in gold and silk comprising a canopy and back, 3 curtains, 8 cushions and 8 wool hangings ('tapet'). His mother was equally magnificently provided for. On the eve of the feast she had a robe of blue velvet of four garments (mantle, cape, open supertunic, and tunic) worked with gold birds within circles of large pearls, the whole ground powdered with tiny work of pearls, silk and ? sequins ('doublett in garnistura'), all garments being lined with miniver and possibly the mantle trimmed with ermine. For the feast day itself the Queen had a robe of red velvet of five garments (2 supertunics, 1 cape, 1 mantle, and 1 tunic) embroidered with oak and other trees, under each tree being a lion of large pearls, the whole ground powdered with tiny work of pearls and silk. Her room was hung with silk stamped in gold with the letter 'S' and her bed was of cloth of gold and scarlet cloth furred/lined with miniver (1,780 skins), with a velvet coverlet also lined with miniver. Nineteen tents of blue, green and white material were provided for the accompanying jousts and numerous other entries record the preparations in the Queen's Chapel as well as articles for the use of the baby's nurses. Comparison with other records show that this was not in the least an exceptional occasion.

A *royal marriage* was similarly the occasion for extravagant display, and the young Princess Joan was provided with a large trousseau when she set out on her journey to Spain. This included six sets of clothing in fine cloth (rose, scarlet, blue, violet, white and green), some embroidered, riding and other outer garments requiring vast quantities of miniver, gris and ermine skins (19,376; 3,224; 684 respectively) for linings, plus lengths of materials, ribbons, trimmings, pins (12,000) for her veils, silk and linen thread, etc. etc. There were also grand vestments and furnishings for her chapel, bed and room hangings, and gold and silver for her chapel and personal use. The clothes for the actual marriage festivities included a robe of red velvet and another (of 4 garments) of cloth of gold, a tunic and mantle of cloth of gold for the solemnization of the marriage, a mantle, open supertunic and tunic of cloth of gold and a mantle for supper on the day of the nuptials, and a robe of 5 garments of cloth of gold for the day of the solemnization of the marriage. The wearing of cloth of gold wedding dresses was traditional for medieval (and later) royal brides. Edward's sister Eleanor was provided with robes of cloth of gold and a tunic and mantle of red velvet for her marriage to Reynald, Count of Guelders, in 1331, and Joan's sister Mary wore a robe of cloth of gold of Lucca furred with ermine when she was married to the Duke of Brittany at Woodstock in 1361.

The royal year was punctuated by a series of *feasts* to celebrate important occasions in the Church calendar. These were always made the occasion for great display wherever the court happened to be and all accounts contain records of the many clothes ordered for the King, his family and friends, gifts which in turn would be reciprocated. Clothing provided for the jousts has already been mentioned, but a further form of entertainment consisted of 'ludi' performed rather by household servants than by the royal family themselves. The details of the costumes provided are indeed most fascinating for they form some of the

earliest documentary evidence for performances recorded. Not only were decorated tunics provided, but also head decorations in the form of ‘viseres’ (masks), ‘crestes’ (?as in heraldry), and ‘capitum’ (heads). Those prepared for the Feast of the Nativity (Christmas) at Guildford in 1347 seem to indicate that some story was acted out:

- 14 likenesses of women
- 14 likenesses of men with beards
- 14 likenesses of angels heads of silver } ‘viseres’
- 14 ‘crestes’ with upturned legs and shoes } ‘crestes’
- 14 ‘crestes’ with mountains and rabbits }
- 14 painted cloaks
- 14 heads of dragons
- 14 painted white tunics
- 14 heads of peacocks
- 14 pairs of wings for the same heads
- 14 tunics painted with peacocks eyes
- 14 heads of swans
- 14 pairs of wings for the same heads
- 14 painted linen tunics
- 14 tunics painted with stars.

The materials supplied for the making of these items were 46 pieces of buckram, 66 ells of linen, 6lb. linen thread and 8 deerskins. It is interesting to note that for this same feast the King was provided with a robe of 4 garments and 2 hoods of green cloth embroidered with pheasants’ feathers, and a further 8 robes and hoods in the same material and embroidery were provided for earls and knights of the King’s chamber.

The next Christmas, spent at Otteford, saw provision of:

- 12 heads of men with above them a lion’s head
- 12 heads of men surmounted by elephants’ heads
- 12 heads of men with bats’ wings
- 12 heads of wildmen (‘wodewose’)
- 17 heads of virgins
- 14 supertunics of red worsted decorated with gold
- 14 green worsted tunics.

Epiphany, twelve days later, was celebrated at Merton, and there were more ‘ludi’ requiring:

- 13 heads of dragons
- 13 heads of men with diadems
- 10 ‘courtepies’ of black buckram and white linen.

These ‘ludi’ are generally associated with mumming practices, perhaps in the form of interludes; the latter two especially seem to relate to enactments from contemporary romances such as the ‘Romance of Alexander’ one copy of which<sup>8</sup> includes several marginal illustrations of just this sort of entertainment.

The magnificence which attended the royal family in all their activities also accompanied them to their grave. The joy of Edward III and his Queen upon the birth of their son William was short-lived, for he died on 5 September 1348, being barely 3 months old, and a burial place was prepared for him at Westminster. A chariot draped with black cloth probably held the coffin which was covered with rich cloth of gold. Round this were placed four black cloth hangings and 60 penons of black silk stamped with gold, 170 candles and torches, and fifty poor people (to act as mourners) dressed in black cloth.

Very little is known about the funerals of either Edward or Phillippa although they were probably of the same manner as that of their eldest son, the Black Prince, who died in 1376, a year before his father. According to the instructions in his will his body lay in state in Westminster Hall before it was taken to Canterbury on a bier pulled by twelve black horses and accompanied by a long train of mourners including barons, knights, heralds, and noblemen of the Prince's own household. In front were carried his achievements (insignia of rank) — a crested helm, a shield of arms, a banner of arms, a coat of arms, a pair of gauntlets, a sword, and a pair of spurs.<sup>9</sup>

#### GIFTS OF CLOTHING AND LIVERY

The lavishness of gifts of clothing at Edward's court has already been noted and, like all noble households, the practice of gifts of food and clothing to officers and servants had become formalised to a considerable degree. Even though the 1345–1349 accounts contain a large number of entries concerning the distribution of such livery, it is still not absolutely clear just how far this came to producing a form of household uniform. A vague pattern may be discerned through the usually decisive factors of quantity and quality of cloth, although the evidence is by no means adequate. An even more decisive factor at this point would be to know whether the same *colours* were handed out to the same people each year.

The more senior royal falconers rode on horseback and received annually a 'cotam' and 'cloca' of 5½ ells of striped cloth and a lambskin. Those who went on foot received only 3 ells of striped cloth. All received strong leather gloves. Additional clothing seems to have been supplied to these servants, not unnaturally, in winter: senior falconers having a length of russett cloth and a black sheepskin, whilst the remainder received 5½ ells of striped cloths and a lambskin. Striped cloth was widely distributed for livery at court, possibly because it was distinctive in itself, identifying in a large and changing community the servants and their masters. Striped cloth was probably also much cheaper as it could disguise poor dyeing.

As one rose in rank so the quality of material improved. The most important people in the account were the Justices of the King's Bench and the Barons of the Exchequer who received robes at the Feasts of All Saints, Christmas and Pentecost in 1347 and 1348. The winter robes received at All Saints consisted of coloured cloth with a fur and hood of lambskin, whilst those at Christmas were again of coloured cloth but had a hood and fur of miniver and a deerskin. The summer robes given at Pentecost were of coloured cloth lined with silk.

#### TEXTILES

As frequently mentioned above a considerable number of terms are used in the wardrobe accounts to denote different materials but even when grouped according to raw material it is still impossible to distinguish with any certainty what one might call grades of weight or quality.

#### *Cloths*

Although England was the largest producer of raw wool she was excelled by Flanders as the greatest weaving centre and cloth of Brussels appears in the accounts as a fine wool cloth, one of the few cloths with its origin specified, and the only one outside England. It is

possible that a number of other fine cloths mentioned in the accounts were also manufactured abroad, particularly the highly-regarded scarlet cloth. Analysis showed that the cloths termed 'pannus longus' were used exclusively for the royal family and were probably the finest, lightest cloths which could be so produced because long staple was employed in spinning the thread. The term 'pannus curtus' probably relates to cloth made from short staple and consequently not so fine; it was used for distribution to senior officers of the royal household. Striped cloths were produced in Ghent as well as Yorkshire and were generally provided as livery for more junior servants of the royal household. Other terms used for cloth include 'pannus de Semprinham', 'pannus de Chalours', 'pannus de frys/frieze', 'pannus laghton', 'pannus cantelyn', 'pano barling' and 'pannus de Candelwykstrete'. 'Worsted' was frequently employed for such furnishings as beds and hangings on walls as standards, pennons and streamers.

### *Silk*

There was at this time no silk industry in England and therefore all such fabrics must be regarded as imports. Although obviously coming into England in growing quantities, it is not surprising to find that most silken materials were provided for garments for ceremonial occasions, the majority of plain weave so that they could be suitably embroidered. Thus we find frequent use of velvet (red, blue, green, purple and white) for sets of ceremonial garments, hangings, and jousting tunics and harnesses where it was particularly suitable for heraldic devices. Only once is a richer velvet indicated: for a robe of four garments for the King were supplied 2 lengths ('pannus') of green and gold velvet, a mantle of 24 ermine skins, a hood of 70 miniver skins, 2 furs each of 240 miniver skins, and 60 'letuses' (?snow weasels) probably for the border. Satin does not appear very often in the accounts; it was used for jousting doublets and to form garters on a harness but never appears in use for longer garments, hangings, etc. The term 'taffeta' may be assumed to refer to a material rather like the modern material. It again does not often appear in the accounts — twice for bed hangings (339 ells for little William of Windsor's bed), and once for a jousting doublet.

More spectacular silks appear to be represented by the terms 'rakematiz' and 'cigaston'. These appear to belong to a category of cloths of gold, to which a number of less specific references are scattered throughout the accounts. Princess Joan was provided with a set of chapel vestments of blue and gold 'rakematiz' powdered with serpents and dragons, which certainly suggests something like the surviving fragments of patterned silks generally classed as 'Lucchese' today. Robes of two garments for the King, the Duke of Lancaster, and three knights of the King's Chamber were made from cloth of gold ('cigaston') powdered with stars and crescents of gold and lined with miniver; only the King's robe was trimmed with ermine. A further robe of these garments made for the King was of 'cigaston' of which the ground was deep blue ('ynde color') powdered with wings and lozenges woven in gold; this appears to have been an unusually rich assemblage as it had a hood of 160 miniver skins, a fur (lining) of 240 miniver skins, a cloak of 320 ermines, a mantle of 34 ermines and 40 'letuses' for edging. 'Cigaston' was also used for 'jupouns' given to three knights at the jousts and two 'corsettas' included in Princess Joan's trousseau.

The term 'samyt' appears a great deal in contemporary literature but only once in the accounts (a 'doublett de blu samyt' for the King). It is thought to be a form of damask,



and frequently appears to include gold. 'Tartaryn' is similarly thought to be a cloth of gold though references to it in the 1345–1349 accounts do not mention gold. It was used for altar covers and hangings, and a few robes.

Less rich silken fabrics appear to be represented by such terms as 'camoca', 'cendall' and 'syndon'. Whilst the two latter materials were widely used for making room and bed hangings, lining garments, etc., 'camoca' could in its richest form appear to be a patterned silk of some kind and was used for dresses and doublets at the jousts, cushion covers, bed coverings, and elsewhere was much used for ecclesiastical vestments.

### *Linen*

Terms for materials made from linen and similar bast fibres exist in quantity in the accounts and were used for a considerable number of purposes. The very finest linens were undoubtedly imported, 'tele de Reynes' (Rheims) and 'tele de Paris' being always used for royal underwear, bed linen, ecclesiastical vestments etc., although both English linen and linens of Aylesham and Wilton are also specified. It is dubious whether the material termed 'bokeram' can be associated with the present day textile of that name, since it was widely used, though not necessarily for rich purposes and was probably of a stronger weave. The term 'canabo' certainly represents a tough canvas as it was used for tents, ships' sails etc. Cotton appears only as a fibre used for stuffing mattresses or garments for the jousts, although it has been suggested that the term 'carde' indicates a fine cotton muslin.

The continuous production of such large quantities of clothing and other textile items for the use of the royal court, objects frequently far more elaborately decorated than most people (including historians) today realise, has implications that relate directly to London, its merchants and inhabitants. Little or nothing is now known about the organisation of this side of court life, a minor aspect admittedly for those more concerned with the results of political power struggles, but of considerable interest to those interested in the economic and social history of London and the scanty remains of that society.

The requirements of this section of the Wardrobe must themselves have provided a powerful stimulus to trade in London, for there can be little doubt that the vast quantities of cloth and furs, plus all the smaller necessities, were supplied by a network of traders and merchants of whom these accounts remain silent. The majority of the furs certainly found their way to London from Baltic and Mediterranean ports although some other skins, particularly the quantities of lambskins used for livery and deerskins used for harnesses, could have been of home production, brought into the city for resale either to the home market or for export. Only the 'cloth of Candelwykstrete' can for sure be thought of as a London product although weaving was an important industry still in 14th-century London. Finer cloths and all silks were imported and possibly the quantity of home decoration is an indication of the limitation of supplies or of appropriately patterned silks. It seems likely that silk ribbons were woven in England from the imported raw material.

It has been impossible to do any more than mention in passing some of the rich decorative effects applied to all manner of clothing and furnishings at the court. Lack of surviving examples of secular embroideries has tended to mislead historians as to the

prevalence and application of decorative techniques but the explicit descriptions in these accounts leave no doubt that considerable effort was expended upon decorating items even for such brief use as the 'ludi' or a single joust. Painted cloth was extensively used for just such occasions as the jousts and the 'ludi' and for large quantities of streamers and banners for processions on land and water, whilst the technique of appliqué provided quick and effective decoration, and again lent itself to the heraldic and symbolic devices prevalent at the time. To produce all that Edward and his court desired necessitated a great deal of skill in organisation and for this the King depended in particular upon his tailor, John Marreys, and his armourer John of Cologne. The main nerve centre would appear to have been the Tower of London from which carts set out regularly with the requirements of the King wherever he might be. That the embroidery and other decorative techniques were carried out under workshop conditions does not seem an unreasonable conclusion to draw, for it is clear that an army of skilled workers was, at this time at least, regularly needed. These included artists to draw out the designs for the male and female embroiderers, and to completely paint items. As was always the case until more recent times, the cost of labour was minimal compared with the cost of materials. In 1342 the wages of these workers varied from 2½d to 10d per day, and by 1352 9½d per day had become the standard wage (except for the female workers who only earned 3½d), painters earning 12½d. There is the distinct impression to be gained from these accounts that much work was carried out under pressure, for additional workers were apparently brought in when work was not progressing fast enough and there are occasional records of the purchase of quantities of candles specifically to enable the continuation of work through the night. In 1352 some 874 working hours were put into a red velvet robe of 5 garments for the King's daughter Isabella which was heavily embroidered. Of the 51 people involved, 3 were artists ('protrattor') working a total of 26 days, 9 were sewing women working a total of 117 days altogether, and the remaining hours were contributed by 39 workers (16 for 30 days, 12 for 9 days, 11 for 13 days). How their work was otherwise divided is not made clear, nor are the costs of the materials included. Less elaborate garments naturally took far less time. The 1352 account includes a tunic for the King of blue 'samytell' stuffed and quilted in the style of a 'doublett' which took 3 men 5 days to make. In addition to a central workshop it is clear that sewing work may also have been carried out elsewhere. The 1345–1349 account shows how each member of the royal family was provided with their own tailor (see Appendix) who collected the materials for the King's gifts of clothing from the central store and presumably saw to their being made up. The extent of his responsibilities can be judged from the amount of work accorded to William of London upon the birth of William of Windsor in 1348, for he was not only responsible for all the clothes but also for all the beds and hangings made for both mother and child; the arrangements for the baby's mourning were made by John of Cologne, the King's armourer. Both the King's armourer and his tailor appear to have earned in the region of 12d per day in the early 1340s.

Archaeological evidence which supports the information and activities outlined in the above paper is, as far as I know, very slight although it is possible that appropriate finds have been made and are either not published or not recognised. A thorough survey of excavated medieval textiles remains to be made and published and although the ecclesiastical embroidery ('opus anglicanum') has been considerably studied, as the result of so many surviving examples, secular medieval embroidery has been virtually ignored

despite the wealth of information to be gleaned from a source such as the wardrobe accounts. The recent discovery of large quantities of textile fragments on the Baynard's Castle site will extend knowledge in this area considerably, but an incomplete examination of the finds has proved disappointing as although they contrast a good range of different weights and weaves of cloth, a few examples of silks, and such useful technical evidence as buttonholes,<sup>10</sup> or hems, there is nothing which directly relates to the information gathered from the wardrobe accounts. Such evidence does, however, exist elsewhere in England and Scotland, in Scandinavia and the Continent, as well as in a few very rare non-archaeological examples. It is to be hoped that the publication of this, and possibly more information from contemporary documents, will enable archaeologists to identify and evaluate finds relating to medieval clothing and thereby extend our knowledge of this much neglected period of costume history.

## APPENDIX

*Tailors to the Royal Family, 21–23 Edward III*

King Edward — John Marreys  
 Queen Phillippa — William of London  
 Queen Isabella of England — Will'o Galeys  
 Prince of Wales — Will'mo de Stratton  
 Lionel of Clarence — Thome de London  
 John of Gaunt — Ricardo de Walton  
 Edmund of Langley — Ricardo do Zeuele  
 Isabelle — Johanni de Bromlegh  
 Joanna — William de Lynham  
 Mary — William de Mertok  
 Elizabeth de Burgh — Robert Pynel  
 Margaret — Thomas of Glamorgan  
 Elianore, Countess of Arundel — Thomas of Tameworth

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Sir Nicholas H. Nicolas 'Observations on the Institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter' *Archaeologia* 31 (1846) 5–103; Public Record Office E.101/391/15.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 148.
- <sup>3</sup> L. C. Douet D'Arcq *Comptes de l'Argenterie des rois de France au XIV<sup>e</sup> siecle* (Paris, 1851), and *Nouveau Recueil Comptes de l'Argenterie* (Paris, 1874).
- <sup>4</sup> R. Latham *Revised Medieval Word List* (London, 1965).
- <sup>5</sup> Public Record Office E. 101/389/14, E.101/392/4.
- <sup>6</sup> Not a wrapper as in Latham *op. cit.* in note 4, 517. In the 'Miller's Tale' Chaucer refers to the young wife's 'tapes of her white volupere'.
- <sup>7</sup> Latham *op. cit.* in note 4, 92.
- <sup>8</sup> Bodl. Lib. MS. 264.
- <sup>9</sup> W. H. St. John Hope 'On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England' *Archaeologia* 60 (1907) 519–570.
- <sup>10</sup> J. Nevinson 'Buttons and Buttonholes in the Fourteenth Century' *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society* 11 (1977) 38–44.

# KING HENRY OF WINDSOR AND THE LONDON PILGRIM

BRIAN SPENCER

Towards the end of the 15th century a ship, caught in a sudden storm, struggled to cross the Channel to England. Its plight was not unusual (ships of the time being very small and often overladen) and would not have been recorded but for its remarkable cargo: an elephant, the first, so far as we can tell, to have been sent across the Channel since 1255. A continental tour with the elephant had repaid its showman-owner well, after the 5,000 ducats it had cost him when he bought it from a side-show in Venice. There, in the early 1480s, just before the Arabs put a stop to Venetian package-tours to the Holy Land, English pilgrims could have seen this fabulous animal, which less venturesome fellows were now prevented by a freshening wind from observing in London itself. For the storm so imperilled the ship that the cargo had to be persuaded to go overboard.<sup>1</sup>

The elephant and its ignominious end epitomise both the novelties and hazards that a pilgrim might expect to encounter at this time. Yet paradoxically, since men had not the slightest doubt that miracles constantly took place, one fundamental way of circumventing life's hazards, not least those at sea, was by a vow of pilgrimage, by a bargain struck between a saint and his devotee, always provided that the devotee was not so imprudent as to fail in the fulfilment of his vow. When the storm-stricken *Carrygon* also had to jettison its cargo in 1479, the London Mercers' Company put on record that 'pilgrimage mony promysed' had been duly paid.<sup>2</sup> London's businessmen, at the focal point of trade and traffic, were nevertheless sensing a marked increase both in the romantic appeal of far-off lands and in the sophistication of international tourism. A commercial treaty of 1471 acknowledged that English gentlemen might wish to cross the Channel and look at France purely for pleasure<sup>3</sup> and by the 1490s travel books were pouring from London's first printing-presses. But equally these Londoners had few illusions about the difficulties and dangers of long-distance travel. It was only in the staggering quantity of the valuables stolen from him that the king's brother-in-law, Earl Rivers, differed from the generality of pilgrims ambushed on their way to Rome in 1475.<sup>4</sup> Even stay-at-homes were minded of the sea's mysterious power by the roar of the tide-race at London Bridge and by boats capsized there — not just the flimsy wherries that ferried the travelling public, but substantial, stately vessels like the Duke of Norfolk's private barge.<sup>5</sup> Aside from the expense of distant travel, such daunting factors were perhaps themselves enough to satisfy the vast majority of Londoners with making pilgrimage to objectives no more than three or four days' journeying from home.<sup>6</sup>

It so happens that a souvenir of such a local pilgrimage was the first acquisition (no. 75.1/1) to be entered in the records of the new Museum of London. This object — a rather

drab-looking hat-badge of lead alloy on which is depicted the figure of a king [6]<sup>7</sup> — was the gift of Mr. Nigel Mills who had found it on the Thames foreshore at The Anchor tavern, Bankside.

The Anchor's predecessor, The Castle, was a hostelry well known to medieval travellers requiring bed and board. In daylight hours and until 1546, it operated also as a licensed brothel, its licensee getting into trouble in 1506 for failing to draw a line between his day and night services. The Castle and the row of rival establishments that lay to the east of it looked for custom to the Thames, the capital's bustling highway. Uncharacteristically, their signs were 'not hanged out', as Stow observed, 'but painted on the walls' to face the river; and, like The Castle, most had landing places for the convenience of arriving and departing guests.

As if to reflect the intensity of cross-river traffic in the medieval capital, a very similar leaden souvenir [3] was found in 1866 on the north bank directly opposite The Anchor. This badge, from Brooks Wharf, was written-up the following year by Syer Cuming, who concluded that it was 13th-century at the latest and commemorated a pilgrimage to one of the many shrines of St. Oswald, the Northumbrian king and martyr.<sup>8</sup>

During the 1860s Cuming produced several papers on pilgrim signs, for then these objects were emerging in abundance from patches of buried medieval foreshore exposed by works on City wharves and warehouses. Deeper dredging, and the building of new bridges, of Cannon Street Station and of the Embankment helped swell the flow of finds, which had first come to notice during the construction of the approaches to new London Bridge. Early collectors of these badges, like Roach Smith and Thomas Hugo, were joined by many more. Navvies who tried but evidently failed to keep them all supplied were reinforced by two shadowy (or were they really shady?) characters, William Smith and Charles Eaton, who gave up professional mudlarking for an easier life, faking and selling to the trade a batch, initially, of 12,000 leaden images, smeared in Thames mud, and later to be affectionately called 'Billies and Charlies'.

Then, from about 1870, as Victorian redevelopment slackened, the flow of genuine pilgrim badges dwindled. Billy and Charlie, too, went out of business and before long most of the pilgrim signs found at London had been handed to the British and Guildhall Museums to form the backbone of our present public collections. For the next hundred years, until about 1973, new discoveries of pilgrim souvenirs at London and elsewhere became a rare by-product of archaeological excavations and were more often than not isolated chance-finds.

Thus a badge [1] identical to the one from Brooks Wharf was found in 1952 during the demolition of a house at Colnbrook, Bucks., some four miles east of Windsor on the road to Hounslow. Originally, from the flashing of tin that still covers its back, the badge must have had a bright, silvery look. After passing to the British Museum, it was identified as the souvenir of a pilgrimage to the shrine of either St. Edward or St. Edmund and assigned, partly because of its diaper ground, to the 14th century.<sup>9</sup> This use of diaper, however, also appears at a much later date, as the background, for example, to the figure of Henry VII on his double ryal of 1489. Similarly the king's figure on the badge, minute though it is, accords well enough in the general character and proportions of its robes and crown with conventional figures of the English king in the last quarter of the 15th century.

A suggested advancement of the badge's date is now buttressed by some firmer evidence. From the mould that cast the badges found at Colnbrook and Brooks Wharf

came another [2], discovered by Mr. John Wacher<sup>10</sup> during his excavation of the outer town ditch near the Bargate at Southampton, in deposits datable to c.1490–1510.<sup>11</sup> It would be possible for such a souvenir to have been a century old when lost or thrown away, for pilgrim signs were sometimes treated as heirlooms. But here this outside chance was virtually ruled out when another badge [9], practically identical with that from the Anchor foreshore, was one of several leaden badges found by Mr. Peter Marsden<sup>12</sup> during his investigation of the vast dump of refuse used to fill in Baynard's Castle Dock between 1487 and 1500.

Even from a more general standpoint the conclusion can be reached that English pilgrim badges of medallion form belong, almost without exception, to the 50 or 60 years that preceded the Reformation. By 1480 continental sanctuaries had responded to the trend of Renaissance fashions in hat-ornaments. Accordingly many were mass-producing souvenirs of solid, regular shapes — circular, square, lozenge, polygonal and shield-shaped<sup>13</sup> — often stamped on wafer-thin flans of brass, like the badges of the Virgin and Child on a crescent and of Our Lady of Boulogne<sup>14</sup> in Fig. 5 a,b. Both these badges can be closely paralleled in Flemish still-life paintings of the early 16th century.<sup>15</sup> All told, well over a hundred different types of pilgrim signs from various continental shrines were copied by Flemish miniature-painters as border decorations between 1480 and 1530, and almost every badge they handled was a medallion with stitching-holes.<sup>16</sup>

In England traditional, livelier forms persisted. Badges continued to be made as silhouettes of irregular shape (e.g. Fig. 3) but were sometimes set in regular frames [33, 99]. In regard to frames at least, designers at England's principal shrines, Canterbury and Walsingham, had often imitated the modish jewels of the well-to-do and, when gold medallions became *de rigueur* in the late 15th century, both shrines tried converting stock subjects into medallion forms. Two examples of this, depicting the head-reliquary of St. Thomas of Canterbury and the scene of his martyrdom,<sup>17</sup> are illustrated on Fig. 5 c,d.

A souvenir of this sort was brought into the home of the Frebrygges in Aldermanbury, London, perhaps at the time of Canterbury's Jubilee indulgence of 1470. It was described as a medallion with the figure of St. Thomas depicted on it — 'such figures are often brought home by those who visit his holy resting-place as a sign of their pilgrimage and to remind them of the holy martyr.' In 1486 Miles Frebrygge, who was then nine months old and doubtless teething and in need of distraction, had the badge put into his hand by an older boy. 'And anon, as is the way of such, he must put it to his mouth, and, since children love nothing better than swallowing things, he had no sooner got it in his mouth than he would have it in his belly.'

But the badge got stuck in his throat despite frantic manipulation by his father and others present. Seeing the child choke to death, 'in unimaginable alarm and anxiety' they all 'appealed unceasingly for the aid of God's most compassionate Mother and the most noble King Henry that death might not so overtake his child', until, by God's mercy and by 'the saintly power of the glorious King Henry', the lifeless baby coughed up the badge and recovered. The father lost little time in setting out for King Henry's tomb at Windsor, there to give thanks, report the miracle, exhibit the offending Canterbury badge and leave it at the shrine as a votive offering.<sup>18</sup>

The record of this miracle, which was later to be authenticated by a commission of inquiry, says much for the posthumous virtues of King Henry VI. Of equal interest to us now is its insinuation that St. Thomas of Canterbury, London's particular hero and

chosen protector, was losing his grip on the devotion of the populace. For 15th-century pilgrims the ups and downs of fashion were all important. Their fickle tastes were tempted by the latest fad, the newest saint. Yet Londoners had been journeying to Canterbury for 300 years, had poured riches on their martyr's shrine and carried home their leaden souvenirs in tens of thousands. Not only had he been their 'best physician' but the souvenirs that commemorated him had themselves been thaumaturgic and were suspended in churches everywhere, to be rushed as need arose to the sick and the dying.<sup>19</sup>

Their fame as prophylactic charms was such that as late as 1480 the king of France sent to Canterbury for one so that he could wear it in his hat.<sup>20</sup> Yet, as we have just seen, only six years later such a badge was to bring tribulation to devotees who lived but two minutes' walk from Becket's hallowed birthplace. In those few years the newest, and almost the last, of England's medieval saints, King Henry VI, had risen to prominence and become one of the main objects of popular veneration.

There is then every likelihood that Frebrygge senior would return from Windsor wearing a new-fangled badge bearing the image of a king. This could well have been of the medallic sort, examples of which, apart from those already mentioned, have turned up at Ludlow, Oxford, Salisbury, Bristol and Rouen (where in 1485 Henry Tudor assembled French mercenaries for his landing at Milford Haven). All these badges and several others like them recently found at London afford impressive testimony of a flourishing cult. So much evidence of popular religious enthusiasm for a royal saint in c. 1500 could only relate to King Henry VI.

Explicit proof of the king's identity came to light in September 1974, when Mr. Mills recovered more pilgrim signs from the Thames mud near The Anchor. Among them was a lozenge-shaped medallion [17] of a king essentially like the figure on circular badges but flanked by the initials R and H. The royal monogram would normally read HR for 'Henricus Rex'. The reversed order of the letters on the badges suggests they are shorthand for the invocation, 'Rex Henrice!' Five other badges of this kind, though all from different moulds [19, 22], have been found since then, while others depicting the king alone [23] or accompanied by the rose or the crowned ostrich feather of Lancaster [25, 29] or enigmatic flower-spikes [26] have also emerged as recent finds or rediscoveries. In 1977 a circular medallion with the letter H beside the king [16] was found by Mr. John Hayward near Bankside Power Station.

Around 90 pilgrim signs connected with the king are catalogued below. Half of them have been found since 1973. This dramatic surge of new finds is not the handicraft of a modern Billy or latterday Charlie. It bears witness to the arrival of the metal detector on Thames-side, or rather, to the serendipity and doggedness of a new brand of find-it-yourself collector, an assiduous group among the many searchers of the Thames foreshore, who, having first set forth with detector in one hand and Ivor Noël Hume's *Treasure in the Thames* in the other, have developed an eye as well as an appetite for an early artifact and, for the most part, a commendable readiness to share the knowledge of their discoveries, and sometimes the finds themselves, with a wider public.

Though some of these badges can be only tentatively linked with King Henry, the total is still impressive by any standards. It adds considerable weight to the claim that 'the Windsor pilgrimage became as national an institution as that to Canterbury, but short-lived, and for lack of a Chaucer passed entirely out of the English mind'<sup>21</sup> — a claim that some might still regard as extravagant since much of the evidence on which it was based

might be viewed as too subjective, even propagandist, to be trustworthy.<sup>22</sup> Nearly 300 pilgrim signs from Canterbury are known to have been recovered from the soil, by far the biggest number of surviving badges from any shrine in medieval Christendom. But Canterbury's souvenirs were accumulating during three-and-a-half centuries, whereas Windsor's would have been the product of three or four decades.

Pure chance must play a part in this and it would be wrong to conjure up bold claims by the juggling of numbers. It should be stressed, however, that the great mass of medieval pilgrims passed on their way without the slightest written trace. For them a cheap, devotional trinket was the only record that conventions of piety expected for such a normal undertaking. Nor is it very surprising that only an infinitesimal proportion of these flimsy, mass-produced souvenirs has managed to survive at all. As yet, for example, there are no known surviving pilgrim signs from Regensburg, yet, although it was a relatively minor shrine, account books show that over 50,000 badges were sold at the church's shop between 1519 and 1522.<sup>23</sup> Throughout the whole of Europe only a handful of badges now remain to attest the international fame of the Swiss monastery of Santa Maria at Einsiedeln, yet in 1466, in the space of fourteen days, 130,000 badges were disposed of at two pfennigs a time.<sup>24</sup>

Comparative figures of this kind show up the significance of the size of this assemblage of surviving Windsor badges. They also convey a glimpse of raucous, jostling crowds which, even in the later 15th century, still headed for the fashionable shrines at times of festival or epidemic. In 1496, 142,000 pilgrims were counted at the gates of Aachen in one day.<sup>25</sup> In September 1471, when plague was rife, Sir John Paston, reporting from the West Country and then from London, left an impression of towns deserted and roads thronged with pilgrims — never before so many people seen on pilgrimage at once, he writes; the king and queen off to Canterbury and the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk away on foot to Walsingham, or so he had been told by a travelling Norfolk worsteds-man.<sup>26</sup>

Paston's royal pilgrims were Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville. Four months earlier Edward had returned in triumph to the capital from his victory at Tewkesbury and, within hours, the captive Henry VI, last of the Lancastrian dynasty, had been put to death in the Tower. Giving out the story that Henry died from 'pure displeasure and melencoly', Edward then took steps to lay his ghost completely. To disarm rumours of his survival he arranged for Henry's body to be taken under guard to St. Paul's and there briefly exposed to public view. To forestall the onset of a popular religious cult the body was then moved to Blackfriars under the close watch of soldiers from the Calais garrison and finally rowed up river for burial in the comparative seclusion of Chertsey Abbey.<sup>27</sup>

Edward knew well enough the tendency among the people towards the spontaneous veneration of dead heroes. The conventional pattern of religious life was often interrupted by sporadic outbursts of religious enthusiasm. New saints, new wonder-working images were created overnight by popular acclaim and often just as quickly ignored. One saint by popular consent, for instance, was a parish priest, John Schorn, whose cult was more durable than most. His tomb at North Marston in Buckinghamshire attracted pilgrims from 1314 onwards. Though the church rarely sanctioned such local cults, it was powerless to control them and the clergy were fully conscious of the wealth to be gained from exploiting them. A later vicar of North Marston, aiming to boost the offerings of pilgrims, dug up a head from the graveyard, sprinkled it with blood and exhibited it as the head of a saint, to wit Master John Schorn; the vicar was sentenced by



his bishop to make four barefoot pilgrimages to Lincoln, not for his blasphemy, but for attacking the archdeacon's official who came to investigate the offence.<sup>28</sup> Another priest, a Fleming this time, accounting for the elegance and splendour of his parish church in 1483 said, 'All this was paid for out of the offerings of pilgrims who appeared in droves receiving consolation from our Blessed Lady and buying badges at the door.'<sup>29</sup> Considerations of this kind may have prompted Bishop Beauchamp to make John Schorn's remains a money-spinner for the new St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle. About 1480 he had them removed from North Marston to the first completed portion of the chapel — the John Schorn Tower (now called the Lincoln Chapel) — and commissioned an imposing shrine for them. He too doubtless took the step of publicising this new pilgrimage by arranging to sell badges at the door (see pp. 248–249, 257–258 below).

But there were more subtle and more important ways of exploiting simple devotees. Experience had shown that popular sanctity was likely to be accorded to prominent political figures who died by violence, no matter how black their reputation in life had been. A violent end could generally be guaranteed to be looked upon by ordinary folk as equivalent to martyrdom. From the time of Becket onwards, political leaders had found this a ready basis for manipulating opinion. With comparative ease a political saint could be used as a rallying-point by one faction or another. The opposition of an anti-royal cult was exceedingly difficult to quell. A recognised and effective technique for increasing popular support for the crown was to foster a pro-royal saint. When Archbishop Scrope of York was executed in 1405 for his opposition to Henry IV's usurpation of the throne, he was immediately venerated as a martyr. Thereafter his miracle-working tomb became the starting-point of an unquenchable anti-Lancastrian cult that lasted until the deposition of Henry VI. Even then his cult persisted and was used to bolster up the new dynasty of York.<sup>30</sup>

In 1471 Edward IV took guard against the possibility of counter-blows from this two-edged weapon of dynastic politics. But in Henry's case there was a background of true holiness to strengthen any popular reaction to his murder and within a year of his burial came the first manifestations of a cult, not at Chertsey, but here and there in far-off churches. Memorials to the dead Lancastrian king were being openly venerated in Ripon and Durham cathedrals and his brand-new statue, commissioned for the screen in York Minster as one of the series depicting the English royal lineage, began to attract pilgrims and their offerings. By the summer of 1473 this incipient cult had perhaps become sufficiently active in the capital for the king to issue proclamations there. These complained that under the pretext of pilgrimage far too many people were wandering about from town to town in vagabondage, sowing seditious language and stirring up trouble. Henceforth, no-one was to go on pilgrimage without a letter of authority under the king's great seal, stating the reasons for the pilgrimage, the pilgrim's place of origin and his destination.<sup>31</sup> It was in that year also that Edward decided to indulge his taste for splendour by rebuilding St. George's Chapel on a magnificent scale. As the chapel was to be his chosen burial place, it may be that he hoped to turn Windsor into the centre of a Yorkist dynastic cult. Meanwhile, however, the arrangements made in 1478 for installing the remains of John Schorn there would provide a makeshift counter-attraction to the growing Chertsey pilgrimage.

In 1479 the Archbishop of York was prevailed upon to forbid the veneration of the Minster's statue of Henry 'lately king of England in fact but not by right' and to condemn

those who made offerings to it in contempt of the universal church and in defamation of King Edward IV.<sup>32</sup> The following year the London Mercers' Company, which had recently been in hot water with the king, took the precaution of advising its membership that pilgrimages to King Henry had been forbidden,<sup>33</sup> a weighty consideration for the business world not simply on a point of politics but as a matter of practical consequence to a time-honoured method of marine insurance. But royal prohibitions could not banish miracles from a public that was overwhelmingly anxious to believe in them. No-one could deprive the people of Westwell in Kent of the miracle in August 1481 when their appeals to King Henry set free and revived the corpse of a little boy who had been swept along a mill-chute and trapped beneath the water-wheel.<sup>34</sup> Proclamations against pilgrimage may not have reached the ears of country folk who now began the trek to Chertsey to pay homage to the new saint.

Edward was succeeded to the throne by his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester in 1483, and the veneration of King Henry grew more intense. There were more reports of miracles, always the crucial test of sanctity, and the cult became more deeply tinged with anti-Yorkist sentiment. The miraculous power that enabled scrofula or King's Evil to be cured by royal touch descended from Edward the Confessor to his lawfully anointed successors. When Agnes Freman was afflicted by the disease in 1484 her parents rejected the advice that they should take her to Richard III. They said they would ask no favour of a usurper and instead obtained their remedy by vowing a pilgrimage to King Henry's tomb.<sup>35</sup> In July of that year Thomas Fullar of Hammersmith expressed the view to a crowd at Cambridge that Henry VI was not only Christ's worthy champion but the champion of the oppressed, for Henry had just brought Thomas back to life after he had been wrongfully hanged and carted off for burial. Fullar, however, was among the last of Henry's devotees to visit Chertsey,<sup>36</sup> for in August Richard III took steps to place the cult under closer supervision by having King Henry's body moved from Chertsey Abbey to the new St. George's Chapel within the walls of Windsor Castle.

But when Richard and the Yorkist line perished at Bosworth Field so shortly afterwards, the pious followers of the last Lancastrian found all constraints removed and their hero flaunted as the sainted ancestor of Henry Tudor. A monarch who was totally unknown to nearly all his abruptly acquired subjects could not afford to miss any opportunity to win popular affection and esteem. It was now that pilgrims began to flock to Windsor and that King Henry's cult found wider expression in hymns, books of hours, statues, panel paintings, and stained glass windows.

By 1495 the Windsor pilgrimage had been given further stimulus by the news that proceedings had been started to secure the formal canonisation of King Henry. Not only that, but Henry VII was planning a new tomb for his martyred ancestor and another alongside it for himself. Additional inducements were potent indulgences won from the pope for Windsor's pilgrims, equivalent to those that could be obtained at the Chapel of the *Scala Coeli* outside Rome.<sup>37</sup> A unique though much damaged woodcut<sup>38</sup> (Fig. 1) in the Bodleian Library may be the remnants of a printed set of these indulgences or simply a devotional souvenir,<sup>39</sup> either of which are likely to have been available to King Henry's pilgrims in the 1490s. The picture conveys something of the daily scene at Henry's shrine and reminds us that it was, above all, the performance of miracles that gave the pilgrimage (or any pilgrimage) its vitality.



(Bodleian Library, Oxford)

Fig. 1 Woodcut showing pilgrims at the feet of King Henry VI, c. 1490;  
ht. approx. 350 mm. MS. Bodl. 277, f.375 v.

The pilgrims depicted at King Henry's feet must stand for well-known miracles. The man with a noose round his neck to the left of the king is probably Thomas Fullar mentioned above. The young woman to his right is likely to be Helen Barker, parishioner of St. Martin Orgar, London, who cut her throat while insane but recovered after King Henry had been invoked. His miraculous intervention cured the mortal wounds of the two young men, one of them from Barnet, who are kneeling next to her.<sup>40</sup> The record continues with the votive offerings left by pilgrims as reminders of past miracles. Among the wax effigies on a shelf to the left of the king is a boy-figure, probably the one offered at the shrine in 1490 by the parents of John Lynkolne of London. On the right of the picture the crutches may be those that Hervey Acke of St. Helen's Bishopsgate thankfully left behind as evidence of his cure at the shrine. The model ship is probably the one put up by William Sawndirson, whose ship ran aground on the Norfolk coast but was lifted off on appeal to King Henry and, though damaged, finished its voyage to London.<sup>41</sup>

Against the macabre background of appalling infant mortality, it is no surprise to find that many of King Henry's miracles were associated with children in and around the capital. A boy in the parish of St. Botolph's Aldersgate was cured of a growth on his face. In July 1491 eleven-year-old Elizabeth Styrman of Stratford at Bow recovered from the plague after her father vowed to go barefoot to Windsor and 'took the measure' of her body, so that a candle exactly her length could be offered at the shrine. The same traditional sick-bed ritual helped young Agnes Alyn of St. Dunstan's parish near the Tower to recover her sanity; and with King Henry's help a three-year-old boy from the same parish came to no harm after swallowing a large brass pin.<sup>42</sup>

The Thames presented a special hazard to those children who lived nearby. In 1485 William Granger of Stepney, then six years old, fell off a boat at its moorings and was drowned. His body was dragged from the water and two hours later came back to life after his father vowed to take a four-pound candle to Windsor. Later on, the body of another child, Joan North, was recovered from the river. She, too, came back to life after her father bent a penny over her forehead. A week later the family set out for Windsor to give thanks not only for this blessing but also for the healing of a disfiguring growth on their son's lip. Despairing of finding a medical cure, his mother had entrusted him to the care of King Henry; whereupon the boy left the room and was next seen rolling wildly about in the mud. He then shouted to his mother, 'King Henry has thrown me on the ground and rolled me about till my lip bled. And he has told me to come to him, riding with you, mother, and not on my wooden horse.' These remarkable incidents took place down by Thames Street in July 1499.<sup>43</sup>

It was perfectly in character that Henry should advise the little boy to put away his playthings. Eton College and King's College Cambridge bear witness to his passionate interest in the moral training of young boys. He himself had succeeded to the throne of both England and France when nine months old, sole heir to England's hero warrior, Henry V, and potentially the greatest king in Christendom. By the time that he was three he was being paraded on horseback through the city's streets and making pilgrimage to the miracle-working rood in St. Paul's. But it was earlier still, in November 1423, that he gave the first intimation of his destined saintliness. Having set out for Westminster from Windsor, he and his mother, Queen Catherine, spent the first night at Staines. At the prospect of travelling the next day, a Sunday, he 'cried and shrilled and wold not be caried firther', and so departure was impossible. But on the Monday he was 'blythe and

gladde' when they resumed the remaining three days' journey, by way of Kingston, Kennington, Southwark and finally through the City, in great triumph, sitting 'in his moder lappe' to meet his parliament at Westminster.<sup>44</sup>

It was in the rosy light shed by such exemplary Christian virtues and by his potency in death that Tudor Londoners now looked back on his disastrous reign. The saying went that 'Harry of Monmouth won all; Henry of Windsor lost all'. But time was healing England's pride wounded by the loss of France and restoring the composure shattered in the bitterness of civil war. As stories of Henry's miracles multiplied, men forgot his exasperating incompetence, his careless disdain for the duties of a king in this age of personal government; so much so, that the weight of London opinion may have supported a bid to bring the royal martyr back to the capital.

In February 1498 Henry VII was invited to consider the possibility of moving the body to Westminster Abbey, chiefly on the grounds that the dead king, it was claimed, had chosen to be buried there. This prompted Chertsey Abbey to make a rival bid for the return of the body to its charge, while St. George's Chapel vigorously defended the status quo. The controversy was submitted to the king's council. After hearing depositions and witnesses from all three contestants the king and council judged in favour of Westminster. In reaching this decision they had been convinced by the evidence of a dozen elderly local people, including the dean's former barber, two scribes, a clerk of the signet office, a lavender and a weaver from Westminster, a tailor and a marbler from London, and a chantry priest from St. Paul's. At one time or other most of them had been present on occasions between 1458 and 1461 when Henry VI had wandered about the Abbey trying to decide where his future tomb should stand. A few had seen him come to that momentous decision and call for Thirsk, the master-mason then working on Henry V's chantry chapel, to mark out the site on the floor with his pick.<sup>45</sup>

By 1498 work had already started on a new tomb for Henry VI at Windsor. But Henry VII now turned his attention to the creation of a magnificent Henry VI Chapel at Westminster (the present Henry VII Chapel) as a fitting shrine for his venerated ancestor and a final resting-place for himself. The processes that were to lead to the canonisation of King Henry were also pressed forward and in 1504 papal approval was given to the proposed translation of his body from Windsor to Westminster. But Henry VII died before either objective had been accomplished, and with the Tudor dynasty now safely established, both plans had been quietly dropped by about 1529, when Henry VIII himself joined the Windsor pilgrims and made offerings to King Henry and St. George.<sup>46</sup>

The cult was to persist until the Reformation and even then, because of its royal connections, seems to have been allowed to continue for a time. As late as 1543 Robert Testwood saw pilgrims especially from Devon and Cornwall coming to Windsor 'by plumps, with candles and images of wax in their hands, to offer to good King Henry of Wyndsor, as they called him' and 'to kiss a spur and to have an old hat set on their heads'.<sup>47</sup>

The old hat was one of King Henry's. In his lifetime he had been held up to ridicule for his indifference to appearances and for going about in shabby, unfashionable clothes. From adolescence onwards he had consistently rejected the ins and outs of fashion, behaviour that seemed odd and even reckless in an age notorious for ostentatious pageantry. Men expected social differences to be marked by outward show and kings to impress the populace by their magnificence.<sup>48</sup> With his death memories soon faded.

Dynastic ideology and imagination could now ensure that in death Henry looked nothing but a proper king.

On pilgrim badges, as on memorials of a grander sort, he is invariably robed in state. He is usually given a mantle, the slack of which is drawn up to hang loosely from the forearms, and a caped hood, the hood lying on the shoulders and looking like a rolled or stand-up collar, the cape sometimes shaded perhaps to suggest ermine or some other enrichment. He wears a ponderous crown and holds an orb in one hand and a sceptre with the fleur-de-lys in the other. Those emblems of regality are occasionally reinforced by an extra crown at his elbow [31, 33, 34], while at his feet are often to be found the heraldic antelope [36–41] (and Fig. 1) or the lion [43–49], which were sometimes used together as the supporters of his coat-of-arms. The antelope, whose tail is forked in three [41] and whose bellowing expression and saw-toothed horns derive from bestiaries, not nature, was also a mark of his identity. Henry used it as his badge and had its white body powdered with gold spots (cf. [41–42]) to distinguish it from his father's badge. The same animal also creeps from behind the king on one of the lozenge-shaped badges [29]; though it is given a curious rabbit-like head, it possesses the distinctive forward-pointing serrated horns of the antelope.

The king is seen at his most spectacular in a badge [57] recently found at London by Mr. Roger Smith and his brother Ian. Sitting astride a little dappled horse,<sup>49</sup> he wears a massive crown with a dome-like arrangement of arches, doubtless once topped by a ball-and-cross finial. His riding-outfit includes a jaunty jerkin, belted and pleated, and long boots with turnover tops and extravagantly long, pointed toes of the kind that were beginning to go out of fashion by 1480 and had vanished altogether by 1500. On the other hand, the arched crown, which also appears on standing figures (e.g. [38, 52]), was just becoming the standard form. Though it was already to be seen by 1450 in the decoration of Henry V's chantry chapel, it did not make its appearance on the coinage till the 1490s, when it replaced the traditional low, open crown of the Middle Ages.<sup>50</sup> What may be other versions of the equestrian king [60–63] replace the sceptre with a sword of state.<sup>51</sup>

The king in majesty and a richly-caparisoned, ambling horse combine to present a notion of a royal progress and, more specifically perhaps, an idealised concept of Henry returning triumphantly from exile in 1470 for the brief restoration that was so soon to end in death for him. There can be little doubt that this category of badge owed something to a type of souvenir that had been popular with Canterbury pilgrims since the time of Chaucer.<sup>52</sup> The example illustrated here (Fig. 5e), found in 1977 at Bankside by Mr. John Auld, retains the red painted surfaces of the archbishop's cloak, mitre and cross, rare explicit evidence that pilgrim badges, like the souvenirs of popular heroes in a later age, could be 'penny plain, twopence coloured'. In this and similar badges, Archbishop Becket, like King Henry, concentrates his gaze on the loyal spectator in the crowd, and ignores the way ahead, which in Becket's case is neatly taken care of by a boy page leading his horse. These souvenirs seem likely to have been made for the *Regressio Sancti Thome*, a festival held annually to celebrate the archbishop's return to Canterbury at the end of six years' exile. He was murdered only three weeks later and men soon began comparing his last days with the Passion of Christ and likening his triumphal progress into Canterbury to Christ's entry into Jerusalem.<sup>53</sup>

If the Windsor badges were designed to convey a somewhat similar concept of the triumphant monarch in procession receiving the acclaim of his subjects, then it was a

wishful picture, at variance with contemporary testimony. Restored by Lancastrian leaders to the public eye in 1470, this royal monk *manqué* took not the slightest interest in self-promotion by show and pageantry. Sometimes led by the hand and always dressed in a long blue gown, he was exhibited to the people in processions about the City: 'The which was more lyker a play then the shewyng of a prynce to wyne mennys hertys, ffor by this mean he lost many & wan noon or Ryght ffewe, and evyr he was shewid In a long blew goune of velvet as thowth he hadd noo moo to chaunge with.'<sup>54</sup>

But the same London observer writes sympathetically and movingly of the 'long enprisonement and many Injuyres, dyrysions & scornys' so patiently borne by this 'Goostly and vertuous prince' who, finding himself restored to the throne of England, 'took noo grete Rejoyse In pride But mekely thankid God and gave alle hys meynd to serve & plese hym, and fforcid lytill or noo thyng of the pomp or vanytees of this world.' While pilgrim signs might in their minor way seek to compensate for this lack of pomp, they do also give a hint or two of Henry's other-worldliness.

In one case [16], though orbed and sceptred still, King Henry is seen to be in a kneeling posture, his voluminous robe spread out around and behind him, his rosary emerging from the bottom of his cape. The same attitude, even more tentatively drawn, appears on one of the badges with the antelope [41]. His indifference to adversity may be the message of those badges [64] that show him rising up in majesty or in saintly triumph behind the ramparts of the White Tower.<sup>55</sup> And the purse at his belt [46, 47] may refer to his famed propensity for alms-giving and rash generosity, an aspect of his piety and character that would have special appeal for pilgrims, both for those who came closer to salvation by the giving of alms as well as for the destitute whose very lives depended on receiving alms and hospitality.

A strand of this idea may be woven in the story of a seaman who thrice saw apparitions of King Henry wearing a pilgrim's pouch as well as the familiar blue velvet gown and yellow cap. The man had been shattered by a cannon-ball while serving under Sir Thomas Everingham, one of Richard III's captains, in a naval skirmish with the Scots. Helped forward by these visions and by the subsequent intercession of King Henry, he began a miraculous, if slow, recovery and, hearing that the king's body had just been moved from Chertsey, he sent a wax image of himself in gratitude to Windsor and eventually arrived there in person to give testimony.<sup>56</sup>

Several badges have been found that take the form of purses and pilgrims' pouches and it is tempting to conjecture that, like the purses at the king's belt, they too were linked with the same popular but otherwise unrecorded philanthropic element in the cult of King Henry. Certainly, all the badges in this category belong to the two or three decades in which the Windsor pilgrimage was at its peak. One type, a pouch with lattice ornament [78] is a product closely related to a badge representing the king [34], to judge from the pearl-work and tassels that are common to both. Badges depicting purses with horizontal bars and pendent frames [73, 75] can be fairly precisely dated<sup>57</sup> and both this kind of purse and the embroidered and tasselled pouch were in fashion simultaneously between c. 1480 and 1500.<sup>58</sup>

One recently discovered badge [81] is remarkable in being a miniature replica of a purse-frame, which, though virtually two-dimensional, has stitching-loops so precisely arranged and of such practical size that the badge must surely have been sold with a little cloth or leather bag attached to it. The pinnacles that rise above its bar and the panel of



openwork beneath it as well as its whorl-ornament have their full-size counterparts in a fine, late 15th-century, wrought-iron purse-frame found (1976) on the Southwark foreshore by Mr. Tony Allen and given by him to the Museum of London.

Whether these badges were thought to commemorate an actual relic we may never know. What is more certain is that many of Henry's personal belongings, which he gave away with careless indifference or absent-mindedly let drop, were collected and preserved by families that gave him shelter when he wandered about Lancashire and Yorkshire as a fugitive during the 1460s. His choice of footwear — round-toed farmer's boots and shoes always black<sup>59</sup> — had raised many a courtly eyebrow; but after his death such unkingly objects were to be venerated as mementoes of his ascetic and humble approach to life. Some items, like his spurs or a chip of his bedstead, were to come into the possession of the shrine at Windsor and were exhibited there as relics.

Best known of all, perhaps, was the old red velvet hat of his that has been already referred to and which Windsor's pilgrims were still donning as a 'Sovereigne Medicine against the Headache'<sup>60</sup> at the time of the Reformation. Though it may have been less efficacious, it can be supposed to have been a more comfortable appliance than the bell of St. Guthlac which pilgrims were also putting on at this time, and for the same reason, at Repton priory.<sup>61</sup> The Windsor relic was possibly commemorated by a badge that takes the form of a tall-crowned hat with a top-knot and turned-up brim [67], a hat that would have been fashionable in the 1450s and is similar to the hat originally given to Henry VI in a portrait painted at the end of the 15th century but believed to record a likeness from life of the 1450s.<sup>62</sup> If this is so, then it was a neat conceit on the part of the badge's designer to give it a brimful of Henry's lozenge-shaped signs and on the hatband another, circular badge that incorporated a plume.<sup>63</sup>

Rumour had it — Thomas More would prefer to say it was common knowledge — that Henry had been 'stykked with a dagger, by the hands of the duke of Gloucester.'<sup>64</sup> This murder weapon, 'the holy dager that kyled kinge Henry', 'schethe and all', could be seen by pilgrims who stopped at the chapel on the bridge across the Thames between Caversham and Reading. The chapel appears to have leaped to fame and prosperity under the stimulus of the Windsor pilgrimage. Patronised by Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York, it came high on the list of vicarious pilgrimages she undertook in the spring of 1502 and, like St. George and King Henry at Windsor, was the frequent recipient of her offerings.<sup>65</sup>

By 1538 its priest was thought by some to have nothing more to do than tend his garden, take the offerings and keep an eye on the relics, chief among which was reckoned to be an angel with one wing that brought to Caversham 'the spere hedde that percyd our Saviour is syde upon the crosse'.<sup>66</sup> Whether this ever formed the subject of a pilgrim souvenir is not yet known. What does seem likely is that certain badges representing dagger sheaths [68, 69] once housed miniature replicas of the murder weapon. These are to be distinguished from the miniature swords and sheaths commemorating the weapon that murdered Becket. In the 14th century these Canterbury sword sheaths were combined with a shield charged with bears' heads and by the end of the 15th with the small buckler then in use.<sup>67</sup>

Other minor relics associated with England's new saint doubtless reached churches far away from Windsor.<sup>68</sup> In 1500, the churchwardens of Pilton, Somerset, included 'brochys of King Henry' among their church's valuables,<sup>69</sup> an interesting sidelight on the rating of



pilgrim signs as secondary relics and one of many instances of gifts of badges to parish churches by returning pilgrims. Souvenirs from Compostella and Canterbury seem similarly to have been deposited in the bridge chapel at Bridgnorth, but here, a relic of greater interest was 'Kyng Haryes cote', to which, according to the town's Great Leet Book, was fastened 'an old nobull of 6s 8d of the gyfte of Marget Bryne'.<sup>70</sup> The noble's value stood at 80 pence from 1344 to 1464, when it became 100 pence. In the following year the coin was replaced by the ryal and the angel. It is a likely guess that those old Henry VI nobles which had still escaped the melting-pot by the 1480s would be sought after by King Henry's adherents and cherished as devotional objects.

This would explain why, shortly before the Reformation, Margaret Bryne had come to offer her family's treasured coin to King Henry's coat. It may also account for the mass-production of leaden hat-badges which, at their best, are passable imitations of nobles with the king standing in a ship and holding shield and sword [82]. Inscriptions on them are shortened versions of the legends on the nobles of Henry V and Henry VI or, for that matter, of Henry VII's ryal. These badges might conceivably date from the time of Henry VI or even from his father's day, but purely from the point of view of fashion they would fit in better with the growing habit of pinning medallions on hats and of wearing gold coins as amulets in Henry Tudor's reign.<sup>71</sup> As pilgrim signs, they would be hard to link with anywhere other than the sanctuary at Windsor.<sup>72</sup>

In less careful hands the designs of subsequent 'issues' of these badges began to wander from the original [89]. The inscription grew garbled and was abandoned altogether. The example found most recently in London [90] shows the king, increased in stature, wearing an arched crown and holding a sceptre instead of the sword and shield. Only the shadow of the underlying coin-design remains and the king's figure begins to fall in line with the stock pattern of the Windsor souvenirs. This badge is, and always was, a poor object. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the wearing of it gave its owner so much comfort or pleasure that, after the badge had lost its pin, he drilled it with holes so that he could stitch it to his hat.

Coins often played an important part in thaumaturgic rites. A remarkably high proportion of King Henry's miracles followed the bending of a coin in his honour and the making of a simultaneous vow to take it to his tomb. The practice of coin-bending, however, was an old one, based on the belief that a saint would expect to receive the very coin used at the time of a vow. Underpinning this practice also was the widely held opinion that a pilgrimage without an offering was of no value and that gifts should be as generous as pilgrims could truly afford. Their offerings in coin or jewellery enabled popular pilgrim churches to express the spiritual splendour of their saints in dazzling material form. At Canterbury, for example, the treasure removed to the royal coffers from Becket's shrine in 1538 filled 26 carts. Windsor's pilgrims were reminded of their dues to King Henry by an imposing wrought-iron collecting-box which still survives there. With four key-holes and as many coin-slots, it stands nearly four feet high. Round its eight sides is wrought a continuous arcade with a large letter H beneath each arch. A penny inserted by one London pilgrim may have entitled him to a cheap memento of his gift to the alms-box — a badge with the letter H surrounded by a row of eight arches arranged like the petals of a flower [91].

At a cost of 25 shillings, another collecting-box, evidently identical in all but the decoration, was made for the shrine of King Henry's bizarre companion, John Schorn.<sup>73</sup>

There was, however, a curious, if fortuitous, compatibility between the cults of Windsor's two uncanonical saints: on the one hand, the king, who was endowed with qualities that, by the standards of the time, would have been unexceptionable in a priest, and who was possessed by the devil in two bouts of insanity; and on the other, the parish priest and exorcist, whose knees grew horny from long devotions and whose claim to lasting fame was that he conjured the devil into a boot.

The circumstances of John Schorn's encounter with the devil are not available to us.<sup>74</sup> We have to make do with cryptic, pictorial representations of the story, mostly in the form of pilgrim signs. These badges — 17 or so, all found at London — are included in the catalogue below since they, too, are likely to be, as it were, the return tickets of London pilgrims to King Henry's tomb. All the badges represent Master Schorn as a priest in the presence of a large, long-toed jackboot, not unlike those worn by the equestrian King Henry [57, 61]. Usually, the badges catch him in the middle of a sermon. He can be presumed to be telling the stories of his own miraculous deeds and experiences in much the way that parish folk would hear them still being repeated as *exempla* from 15th-century pulpits, polygonal pulpits like those depicted on the badges. He preaches either to the accompaniment of angels [92] or while nonchalantly but firmly squeezing his devil-trap, allowing the congregation just a warning glimpse of the foul fiend within it [96, 99].

To remind us that Schorn was a holy man of parts a flower-spike or leafy stick in a water-jug sometimes stands beside his pulpit [96, 98]. This is probably an allusion to the occasion when he was prevailed upon by the fervent prayers of his parishioners to bring relief to North Marston at a time of excessive drought. He struck the ground with his staff and forthwith there appeared a life-giving, everlasting spring, the miracle-working (and, as it happened, chalybeate) waters of which afforded cures to sufferers from the ague and from gout and so attracted pilgrims from afar. In 1480 the dean of St. George's Chapel, besides taking possession of Schorn's remains, secured the living of North Marston<sup>75</sup> and thereby control of the residual cult centred on Schorn's image and his famous well. If the origin of the well is, in fact, commemorated by Schorn's flowering rod, there arises a faint, but intriguing, possibility of the conflation, in the popular imagination at least, of the cults of Schorn and King Henry; for it is hard to explain the presence of the flower-spikes that appear on some of King Henry's badges [26] except as attributes transposed from his neighbour, John Schorn.

According to a hymn written on the flyleaf of a mid 15th-century book of hours,<sup>76</sup> the scope of Schorn's protection extended to all feverish ailments, not just the ague. From it we also learn that he alleviated toothache, rescued the drowning, assisted the blind and consoled 'unhappy boys who are in sadness', an attribute he most certainly shared with King Henry. Yet the many references made to Schorn by ardent reformers in the 1540s make it plain that it was his marvellous boot, his fame as an exorcist, that had made his name a household word. It is appropriate that the pilgrim badge most recently found at London [108] should reinforce his usual mimed exhortations by causing him to exclaim 'Cave! Cave!' (Beware! Beware!) on a scroll down his middle, while the devil, a hideous horned puppet with clawed feet, is tucked under his arm and peers balefully round his elbow as if expecting to be thrust down into the depths of the awaiting boot. Having returned from Windsor, the owner of this somewhat battered and fragmentary badge lost it or intentionally dropped it in the shallows of the Thames near a jetty that then faced Baynard's Castle from the Southwark side.

Here, at one end of a busy medieval river-crossing it was found again in 1977. At the same time, from adjacent stretches of the medieval foreshore, where perhaps no man had set foot since Shakespeare's day, were recovered scores of pewter badges originating from places near and far.<sup>77</sup> Why pilgrims should have dropped them there and why pilgrims generally should have parted with their souvenirs in similar water-side places elsewhere is a question that first raised itself in mid-Victorian times. It was then that pilgrim signs were being found in similar profusion at, and almost without exception at, major river-crossings, not just in England but throughout the whole of Europe.

It seems unrealistic to interpret such a preponderance of river-finds either as casual losses or as accidental survivals. They are best explained as 'offerings', thrown into rivers by returning pilgrims, a practice that has many earlier parallels<sup>78</sup> and was perhaps rooted deep in folk-belief. But this practice would be at odds with a body of evidence showing that pilgrim signs were cherished by their owners as proof of pilgrimage and as potent talismans. However, it is also apparent that pilgrims were in the way of collecting more than one badge at a shrine. In *The Tale of Beryn*, the 15th-century continuation of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, the Miller, who admittedly was shoplifting, picked 'his bosom full of signs of Canterbury brooches'. Many other pilgrims are recorded as having honestly obtained extra souvenirs for relatives or friends in need of saintly help or protection, while household account-books show that the well-to-do sometimes made bulk purchases of badges to meet their personal ostentatious requirements or to equip their followers and servants.

Thus pilgrims may have had no practical difficulty in complying with two kinds of magical or mystical belief, the one requiring the sacrifice of a pilgrim sign, the other calling for its retention. And if they sought to propitiate or give thanks to long-forgotten river-gods, they were evidently gratifying one of man's basic instincts. When the new Museum of London opened to the public in 1976, arrangements had been made to exhibit the Lord Mayor's coach above a shallow trough of water to protect its woodwork from the hazards of low humidity. From the day of opening this incongruous-looking pool became a repository for the coins of many lands, regular if surreptitious sacrifices made by tourists to the latest habitat of London's water-sprites. It may be that the sprites transfer these offerings from time to time to the museum's official, plastic alms-box. If this is what they do, then we may suppose that they will be graciously smiled upon by that saintly patron of art and scholarship, Good King Henry of Windsor.

## CATALOGUE

All the badges are of lead or pewter and have (or originally had) pins and clasps at the back cast in one piece with them. Illustrations are numbered in sequence with the catalogue numbers; badges are reproduced actual size except for no. 81 which is 3:4. Badge no. 2 is illustrated from a photograph by Mr. John Wachter. All other photographs of badges were taken by, or under the supervision of, Mr. Barrington Gray, Senior Photographer at the Museum of London. The author acknowledges with gratitude the help given by colleagues in the various museums mentioned and by several archaeologists and collectors, not all of whom, unfortunately, can be specifically named below.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Identical:	cast from the mould used for the preceding specimen, any variation arising from imperfections in casting or from damage.
Bankside, 1977:	see Appendix
BM:	British Museum, Department of Medieval & Later Antiquities
MOL:	Museum of London
JA:	Collection of Mr. John Auld
JH:	Collection of Mr. John Hayward
RS:	Collection of Messrs. Roger and Ian Smith

## KING HENRY VI

*Figure of a king*(a) *on circular medallion*

King wears open crown, caped hood and (usually) mantle: orb in right hand, sceptre over left shoulder; diapered background.

*Fig. 2*

- 1 Crown with curved, spreading base; orb appears to rest on draped cloth, but this may be a faulty rendering of the mantle of no. 5 *etseq.* Found during the demolition of a house, Colnbrook, Bucks. (BM 1952 11-4 1).
  - 2-3 Two others identical. From early 16th-century deposit in outer town ditch, Southampton, 1956 (badge now lost). From Brooks Wharf, Upper Thames Street, 1866 (Brent coll., Canterbury Mus.).
  - 4 Almost identical. From redevelopment site beside the Avon, Salisbury, 1976, with several other pilgrim signs (anon. collector).
  - 5 Smaller crown; king wears mantle which hangs from forearms in loose folds. Find-spot unknown (BM OA693).
  - 6-8 Identical. From Thames foreshore, The Anchor, Bankside, 1973 (Nigel Mills coll., MOL 75.1/1). Two, one very worn, from Bankside, 1977 (JH).
  - 9 Almost identical. From late 15th-century infill, Baynard's Castle Dock, 1972 (Dept. of Urban Archaeol., MOL).
  - 10-13 Similar, but differing slightly from each other. From garden near Ludlow Castle, 1971 (anon. owner). From excavations by Oxfordshire Archaeol. Unit at 31-34 Church Street, Oxford — site of the Westgate Centre (Museum of Oxford). Two, one of them (13) gilt coloured, from Bankside, 1977 (RS, JH).
  - 14 King with perfunctory crown and long straight hair. From a collection of badges, the others of French origin, evidently found at Rouen (private collection).
  - 15 Similar. From Floating Harbour, Bristol, 1892 (Bristol Mus. G2778).
  - 16 Orb and sceptre reversed; deep cape from which emerges rosary; voluminous robe spreads at base to suggest kneeling posture; letter H left of king; background powdered with pellets. From Bankside, 1977 (JH).
- (b) *on lozenge-shaped medallion*
- Figure of king similar to that in first group, except that it is usually not full-length; orb in left hand, sceptre across right shoulder; lightly-hatched background.
- 17 King flanked by letter R and H. From Thames foreshore, The Anchor, Bankside, 1974 (Nigel Mills coll., MOL 75.1/2).
  - 18-20 Almost identical. Found beneath cottage wall, St. Peter's Street, Northampton, 1973 (temporarily held by Northampton Development Corporation). Two others, from Bankside, 1977 (JH).

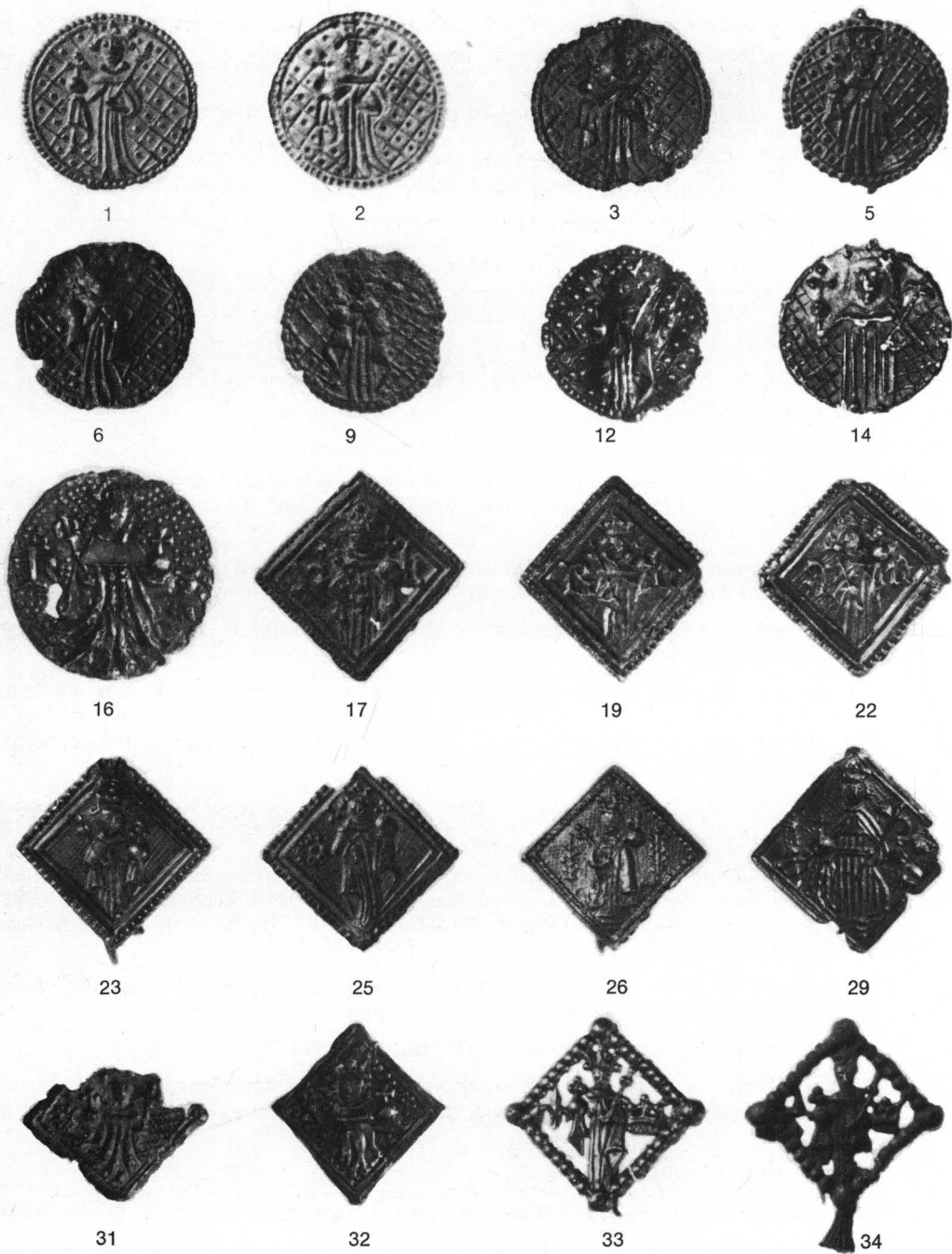


Fig. 2 Pewter badges found at London except for 1 (Colnbrook, Bucks.), 2 (Southampton), 14 (Rouen) and 31 (Canterbury).

- 21–22 Similar but letter R reversed. Two, from slightly different moulds, from Bankside, 1977 (RS, JH).
- 23–24 King without the initials or other emblems. Two, very similar to each other, from Bankside, 1977 (JH).
- 25 Rose left of king. From London (BM 56 7–1 2083).
- 26–28 King on pedestal and flanked by flowering spikes. From Bankside, 1977 (JH). Another almost identical, from London; (BM 91 4–18 26). A degenerate version, from London (MOL 8782).
- 29 King on pedestal; orb and sceptre reversed; crowned feather to king's left, forequarters of antelope gorged (cf. 36–42) to right. From Bankside, 1977 (JH).
- 30–31 King reduced to almost half-length; crown left of king. From Thames foreshore near The Anchor, Bankside, 1974 (JA). Another identical, from river Stour, Canterbury, 1864 (Rolfe coll., Canterbury Mus.).
- 32 Similar, but background powdered with pellets. From Bankside, 1977 (RS).
- (c) *within a lozenge-shaped frame*
- 33 King flanked by fleur-de-lys and crown. From Bankside, 1977 (JH).
- 34 Similar, but basal knob of pearled frame finished as a tassel. From Thames foreshore between Southwark Bridge and Queenhithe, 1976 (RS).
- 35 A fragment. From Thames foreshore, N. bank, W. of London Bridge, 1977 (Miss Ryves).

*King standing, as a silhouette*

King crowned and robed in state holds the orb in his left hand and sceptre in his right.

- (a) *above an antelope*

*Fig. 3*

- 36–37 Antelope facing right. From London (BM 56 7–1 2082). Another identical, from Thames at London (BM 65 12–20 101).
- 38–40 King wears arched crown and broad belt; orb, which has cross on its side, borne on a cushion; antelope faces left, its tail forked. Two, one incomplete, from Bankside, 1977 (JA, JH). Another, incomplete, from London (MOL 8895).
- 41 King with open crown; orb in right hand; low, belted waistline suggests a kneeling attitude; beaded edges from neck down, perhaps a rosary; forked-tailed antelope powdered with spots. From Thames foreshore at Queenhithe, 1975 (Mr. Nigel Mills).
- 42 King's cape cross-hatched; long sceptre in left hand; antelope gorged and powdered with spots. Find spot not known (BM OA709).
- (b) *above a lion*
- 43 King with arched crown and long sceptre; cape cross-hatched. From Bankside, 1977 (JA).
- 44–45 Similar. From Bankside, 1977 (JH). From King's Lynn (Norwich Mus. 133.22.08).
- 46 Purse at king's belt. From Bankside, 1977 (JH).
- 47–48 Similar, but purse placed to left. From river Stour, Canterbury, 1864 (Rolfe coll., Canterbury Mus.). Another from river bank, Salisbury (see 4) (anon. collector).
- 49 Orb in front of king's chest and long sceptre across his body. From Bankside, 1977 (RS).
- 50–51 Fragments (crowned heads) (BM OA696; JH).



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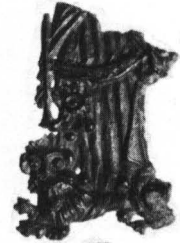
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Fig. 3 Pewter badges found at London except for 45 (King's Lynn) and 47 (Canterbury).

(c) *on a grassy mound*

- 52–54 King with arched crown and sceptre on right shoulder. From Bankside, 1977 (JA). Another identical, from Steelyard, Upper Thames Street (MOL 8886). Another almost identical from Bankside, 1977 (JH).
- 55–56 Similar, but orb and sceptre reversed; and larger cruder version; both from Queenhithe, 1870 (MOL 8745–6).

*King on horseback*

(a) *with orb and sceptre*

*Fig. 4*

- 57 King wears double-arched crown, a pleated jerkin and long boots with turnover tops and long, pointed toes; dappled horse has a bell on its crupper. From Bankside, 1977 (RS).
- 58 A crude version, the horse facing right. From Dowgate Hill, 1869 (MOL 8888).
- 59 Part of a similar badge. From London (BM 56 7–1 2172).

(b) *with a sword*

- 60–62 Upper half of king wearing crown, perhaps originally arched, and buttoned jerkin with full sleeves gathered at the wrist; left hand grasps hilt. From the Mill Fleet, King's Lynn (King's Lynn Mus. PB69). Very similar figure astride a horse and wearing piked boots and holding sword or large dagger. From London (BM 36 6–10 47). Another almost identical, from Bankside, 1977 (JH).
- 63 Part of similar badge, the rider as in 60–62, the horse comparable to 57. From Palmer Lane, Coventry (Coventry Mus.).

*King in castle*

- 64–66 King with crown and caped hood; top of sceptre and orb now missing; behind ramparts of a keep with central door and drip-moulding, two small circular apertures and twin corner towers with cupolas. From Thames, London (BM 96 5–1 73). Others identical, from Thames, London (BM 1904 7–20 28) and King's Lynn (Norwich Mus. 133.22.08).

*Possible relics*

(a) *Hat*

- 67 Narrow brim, split and turned up at front, with lozenge-shaped badges or brooches; tapering crown with band round middle and plume emerging from circular badge; fashion appropriate to 1450s. From Thames, London (BM 96 5–1 80).

(b) *Dagger sheath*

- 68–72 Decorated with pellets and wavy lines and with chape of late 15th-century type. From Thames, London (MOL 8899). Others similar but smaller from Bankside, 1977 (two: JA), from Steelyard, Upper Thames Street, 1865 (MOL 8902) and from Thames foreshore, N. Bank, immediately E. of Southwark Bridge, 1978 (MOL 78.84/11).

(c) *Purses and pouches*

None of these badges has a pin. All were suspended from a loop at the top.

- 73–74 Purse represented with suspension bar, pendent loop and bag knotted at base; *c.* 1490–1500. From London (BM 56 7–1 2115). Another identical, from London (MOL 8771).
- 75–76 Larger purse, its bag gathered at stitching-holes; part of dagger-blade inside. From King's Lynn (King's Lynn Mus. PB122). Similar badge, complete with arcaded panel above purse-bar. Find-spot unknown (BM 36 6–10 56).





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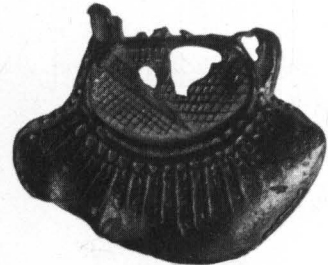
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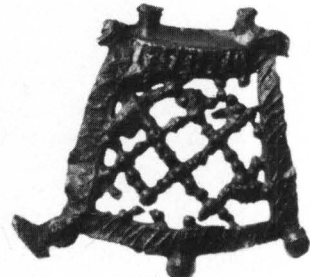
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Fig. 4 Pewter badges found at London except for 60 and 75 (King's Lynn).

77–78 Pouch or wallet of late 15th-century type; loop handle; bag ornamented with pearled lattice-work and with tasselled knots at base (cf. 34). From Steelyard, Upper Thames Street (MOL 22509). Another identical, from Bankside, 1977 (RS). (A more complete example found on the Thames foreshore near Queenhithe by Mr. A. J. Essery after this catalogue had gone to press shows that these objects were cast in pairs then joined together back-to-back to form a miniature pouch with an open top).

79–80 Two larger versions from London (BM 36 6–10 56 and 1904 7–20 29).

Fig. 5

81 Purse-frame, c. 1500; ht. 25 mm; pinnacles above bar and panel of openwork with stitching-eyelets beneath; eyelets round 'pendent' loop, from Bankside, 1977 (Mr. R. P. Marsh). Illustrated here with bag restored and at three-quarters actual size.

(d) *Imitation gold coins*

82–84 King in ship based on obverse side of gold nobles; inscribed HENRICVS DEI GRAS REX ANG. From Thames foreshore, N. end of Southwark Bridge (Nigel Mills coll., MOL 75.1/3). Two others identical, both from London (BM 56 7–1 3011 and MOL 4013).

85 Similar badge except that lettering more precisely cut. From Thames foreshore near N. end of Southwark Bridge, 1977 (Mr. Tony Sutton).

86 Similar, but central motif reduced in size; ship's hull compass-drawn; unintelligible inscription; traces of gilding. From Thames foreshore near N. end of Southwark Bridge, 1978 (RS).

87 Similar but shield omitted and inscription garbled; very worn. From Bankside, 1977 (JA).

88–89 Similar but larger figure of king, to right of mast, holds sceptre instead of sword; shield present, garbled legend. From foundations of Palace of Westminster (BM 51 2–18 1) and from Thames at London (BM 56 7–1 3012).

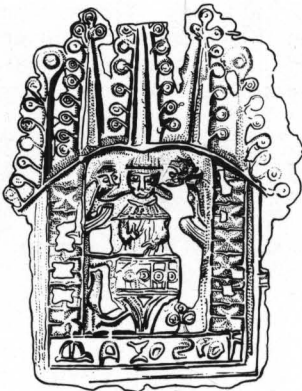
90 King at centre, filling the space above ship's hull; no inscription, the border being hatched; stitching-holes substituted for a broken pin. From Bankside, 1977 (JH).

*Letter H*

91 Circular badge with Lombardic H at centre; surrounded by 'arcade' of cusped arches; tiny flower to left and, originally, corresponding flower to right. From London, precise find-spot not recorded (MOL 78.2).

#### MASTER JOHN SCHORN

92–95 92 figured in text: priest with coif and academic hood preaches from pulpit; flanked above by angels, below by boot and flower; beneath canopy with crocketed pinnacles; inscribed below MA IO SCOR (Magister Iohannes Schorn); clips behind frame for attaching coloured paper backing to set off openwork (in this faulty casting almost non-existent). From Thames, Queenhithe, 1866 (MOL 8774). (Forged copies of this badge were sold soon after its discovery). Another very similar from Puddle Dock, Blackfriars; H. Syer Cuming 'On signacula found in London' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 19 (1863) Pl. 8, Fig. 1 (present whereabouts unknown). Preacher and pulpit of similar size; preacher holds document in right hand. From Thames, London (Canterbury Mus.). Pulpit from larger version. From Bankside, 1977 (JH).



92



96

- 96–98 96 figured in text: preacher thrusts devil by the tail into boot; flower-spike in pot to right of pulpit; triangular-headed canopy topped by trefoil and two small pinnacles. From Thames, London (Canterbury Mus.). Another identical from Thames, London (MOL 8775). Another almost identical from Bankside, 1977 (RS).



99

- 99 Figured in text: devil-in-boot in front of pulpit; framed by triangular-headed scroll with unintelligible inscription. From Thames, London (Soc. of Antiquaries, London).
- 100 Bust of Schorn, boot to his left, in circular frame. From Bankside, 1977 (JA).
- 101–106 Standing figure with book and rosary; right hand grasps boot out of which emerges grotesque, open-mouthed devil's head. From Thames, London (BM 56 7–1 2089). A smaller version. From Thames, London (MOL 57.32/4). Similar, but rosary omitted and caped hood added. From Bankside, 1977 (RS). Similar; boot takes form of shapely leg, its upper part, above Schorn's hand, being squeezed into folds. From Brooks Wharf, 1867 (MOL 8755). (When found this had, as detached fragment, Schorn's nimbed head and devil; *Catalogue of . . . the Guildhall Museum* (London, 2nd ed. 1908) Pl. 80, 9. Both features were slightly falsified in H. Syer Cuming 'On signacula found in London' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 24 (1868) Pl. 17 Fig. 3 to accord with Cuming's identification of the figure as that of St. Etheldreda). Upper half of similar badge. From Thames, London (Soc. of Antiquaries). Incomplete figure of Schorn with book and rosary (MOL 8834).
- 107 Standing figure, wearing hood, gown and rosary; devil-in-boot to right; within oval, cabled frame, approx. 35 mm. high; W. Sparrow Simpson 'On Master John Schorn' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 23 (1867) 257; Cecil Brent 'Pilgrims' Signs' *Archaeol. Cant.* 13 (1880) Pl. 29, no. 18. (Present whereabouts unknown).
- 108 Standing figure, wearing hood and gown, holds devil under left arm and, probably, rod in raised right hand; devil with horns and clawed foot (above Schorn's left hand); fragment of boot to right; damaged inscription on scroll appears to read 'c(a)ue, cave', fragment of label beneath Schorn's feet begins 'mre'. From Bankside, 1977 (JH).

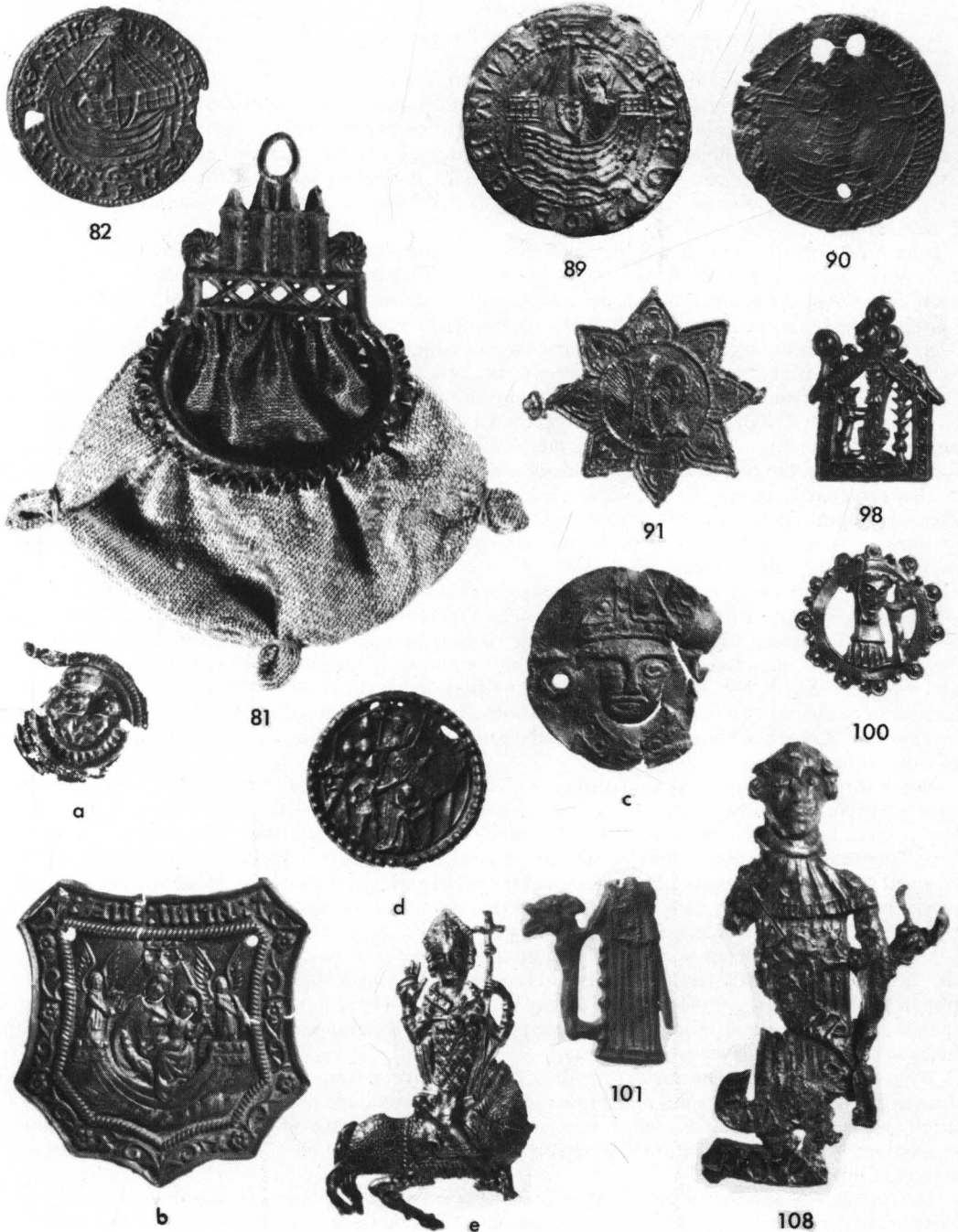


Fig. 5 Pewter and brass badges found at London (81 reduced to 3:4); a-d (see p. 237), e (p.245).

## APPENDIX

## DISCOVERIES NEAR THE SITE OF FALCON STAIRS, BANKSIDE, 1977

The numerous references above to discoveries at Bankside in 1977 require amplification.

As part of a projected residential development commissioned by the Southwark Borough Council near Bankside Power Station, contractors began excavations for a car park in the spring of 1977. The site of the car park, bounded by the Thames on the north and Bankside on the south, measured about 15m. (N-S) × 78m., its western edge lying approximately 80m. east of Blackfriars railway bridge. It was centred on TQ 319805. Later the contractors excavated another much smaller site, on the same strip of land but a short distance downstream.

John Auld, John Hayward and Roger and Ian Smith share a spare-time interest in discovering, identifying and conserving antiquities from the mud of the Thames. They belong to a group of people who, during the past few years, have submitted considerable quantities of river-finds to the London Museum and to its successor, the Museum of London, for study, recording and publication.

Noticing one day that contractors had started work on the car park site, Messrs. Hayward, Smith and Auld looked into two trial-holes there. In the sections, they saw a brown, organic layer of a character that seemed familiar to them from close knowledge of the composition of the Thames foreshore. In this layer they could also see one or two recognisably medieval objects. Discovering that professional archaeologists had already examined the sections and, after removing samples, had taken no further action at the site, and finding that the area was about to be cleared to a considerable depth, they asked permission to search the spoil-heaps.

They completed a thorough search of soil from the brown layer in eight different patches spread across the site and covering about a seventh of its area. Subsequently they were allowed to continue their intensive but unobtrusive 'rescue' work for a short time on the second site to the east, before its contents, too, became part of the infill of the Surrey Docks.

The outcome was that, between them, they recovered a remarkable number and diversity of antiquities which, apart from a few Roman coins, belong to the 13th century and later, and, in the main, to the period *c.* 1450–1550. They lost little time in depositing all this material with the Museum of London for full examination and recording. The finds range from metalwork of fine quality to simple wooden implements and a pottery urinal. The 38 pilgrim signs from Bankside listed above<sup>79</sup> represent only 15% of the total number of medieval hat-badges recovered from both sites, though within this total, they are, with the possible exception of a series of 14th- and 15th-century badges from Canterbury, the largest group from a single pilgrim-centre.

Messrs. Smith, Auld and Hayward also took note of some stratigraphical characteristics of the site and of structural remains that were exposed as the contractor's work proceeded, plotting some of these and the approximate find-spots of individual objects on a site-plan. Some of their observations should be mentioned here. They found, for example, that the brown layer, which they took to be former foreshore, lay above barren clay and gravel, that it was about 60cm. thick at the edge nearest the street and here contained much organic matter in the way of leaves, twigs and reeds, and that it gradually shelved away to nothing near the present river frontage. At the western end of the site were signs of an inlet or creek and near the middle were substantial remains of a jetty — thick planks on top of stake-pointed uprights which increased in length as they advanced towards the river. The jetty had been sealed by a layer at least a metre thick containing pottery fragments that were judged to be entirely of 16th-century date. The same deposit was noticed on other parts of the site and near the waterfront was seen at one point to have been topped by cobbling and at another to have had a revetment of massive vertical timbers.

What conclusions are to be drawn from these observations and from the accumulated finds? A satisfactory answer will not be possible until much more research has been done on the history and topography of the neighbourhood in the late medieval period. But it seems desirable to put forward a few preliminary suggestions here, however tentative, since such a significant proportion of the finds have a bearing on the subject of this paper.

The timber jetty appears to have been in the same north-south alignment as Falcon Stairs, which were in existence in the late 16th century and stood at the end of Falcon Lane (named after the Falcon Inn that stood beside it), which in turn led into Bankside (or Willow Street, as the westerly part of modern Bankside was formerly called).<sup>80</sup> The site's western edge coincided with the western boundary of the liberty of the Clink, the area of Southwark that fell under the jurisdiction of the medieval bishops of Winchester. Immediately upstream lay Paris Garden Manor, its river-frontage accommodating the king's bargehouse, a scatter of

private dwellings and, from the later 16th century at least, Paris Garden Stairs. Directly within the site's western limit lay Catte Dock and, near it, the outlet of a dyke that linked with a network of ditches draining the marshes and with a mill-pond on the site of buildings that now stand at the northern end of Hopton Street. Between the pond and the Thames stood, from the 12th century onwards, a mill or mills driven by water captured from the marshes and from the tides of the Thames. The second site down river appears to be on or nearly on the site of Mouldstrand Dock which stood from the 15th century close to where Willow Street was once joined by Love Lane, running south.

Though there are signs of growth in Southwark's western reaches during the early 16th century, the main speculative developments were to come in the second half of the century. These were marked in particular by the arrival of the bear-pits and theatres. The archaeological evidence from the car park site raises the possibility that here, as part of the Elizabethan ventures, reclamation of the medieval rivershore took place behind a new timber waterfront and that stairs replaced the medieval landing place.

The nature and quantity of the finds from what appear to have been foreshore deposits on both sides of this jetty also suggest that by the late Middle Ages the short stretch of riverside between Paris Garden and Mouldstrand Dock was a vital link in an extremely busy traffic route. On general grounds this appears likely enough, for across the river, around the Fleet valley, lay London's most populous suburb and, along or near the Thames, the City's aristocratic quarter, with the royal Baynard's Castle and the town houses of many noblemen. Residents at this end of the city or anyone approaching London from the west who was bound for Southwark and places beyond would have probably found it more convenient to cross the river in the Blackfriars area instead of at London Bridge. Traffic patterns that were one day to make Blackfriars Bridge the first bridge to be built across the Thames between London Bridge and Westminster were perhaps already being foreshadowed by the late 15th century.

The landing-places on the river's southern foreshore around Falcon Stairs linked not only with lanes leading east to the bridge foot and the Borough High Street but also with a way across the Lambeth Marshes to the routes which converged on London Bridge from the south-west. One of these, the Portsmouth Road, was used as far as Kingston as a way to and from Windsor. Faced today with a journey from Windsor Castle to the City, a Londoner would normally cross the Thames at Windsor or Datchet and continue the rest of the way on the north side of the river. This appears to have been the chosen route of the one London pilgrim, Elizabeth Lowe, who made any allusion to the circumstances of her journey. We learn that, on returning towards London from Windsor, she was overtaken by misfortune at Longford in Middlesex.<sup>81</sup> We can infer from this that she had crossed the Thames at Windsor, had passed through Colnbrook (cf. [1]) and was bound for home via Hounslow, Brentford and Chiswick.

It was briefly noted earlier, however, that when the infant Henry VI travelled from Windsor to Westminster, he evidently set out on the south side of the Thames as far as Egham, before crossing Staines Bridge to spend two nights at an inn. From there he proceeded, still on the north side of the Thames, until the river was crossed again at Kingston Bridge, then the first bridge across the Thames above London Bridge. From Kingston he continued by way of Wandsworth and Lambeth, across St. George's Fields into Southwark and over the bridge into London. This route to the capital was one that he and other 15th-century monarchs, with their many followers, regularly took. There is every likelihood that Londoners too would be inclined to follow the royal path. For those of them who returned on foot it would be natural to make for a well-defined short-cut across the Thames, thereby saving a mile and avoiding the congestion at London Bridge. This and the heightened importance of Baynard's Castle as a centre of court life under Henry VII may go some way towards accounting for the discovery of so many travellers' souvenirs from Windsor on this particular stretch of Southwark shore directly facing Baynard's Castle.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> C. D. Hassler ed. *Fratri Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae, et Egypti Peregrinationem* 1 (Stuttgart, 1843) 99.

<sup>2</sup> L. Lyell and F. D. Watney eds. *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company 1453–1527* (Cambridge, 1936) 134.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Rymer ed. *Foedera...* 11 (London, 1704–1735) 686.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Papal Registers: Papal Letters* 13 (1955) 221–222.

<sup>5</sup> John H. Harvey ed. *William Worcestre Itineraries* (Oxford, 1969) 361.

<sup>6</sup> This is borne out by the distribution of find-spots of pilgrims' souvenirs and by statistical evidence derived mainly from miracle books; Ronald C. Finucane *Miracles and Pilgrims* (London, 1977) 152–172.

<sup>7</sup> A number in square brackets refers to the relevant illustration and the corresponding catalogue entry.

<sup>8</sup> H. Syer Cuming 'On signacula found in London' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 23 (1867) 327–328, Pl. 16, Fig. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Hugh Tait 'Pilgrim Signs and Thomas, Earl of Lancaster' *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 20 (1955) 40.

- <sup>10</sup> To whom I am much indebted for this information.
- <sup>11</sup> Colin Platt and Richard Coleman-Smith eds. *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953–1969* 1 (Leicester, 1975) 145–146.
- <sup>12</sup> Whom I wish to thank for awaiting my written comments with sublime patience and for now agreeing that they can be offered instead to our colleague Ralph Merrifield.
- <sup>13</sup> See my article 'Medieval pilgrim badges' in J. G. N. Renaud ed. *Rotterdam Papers: a contribution to medieval archaeology* (Rotterdam, 1968) 137, 139.
- <sup>14</sup> Found respectively by Mr. Tony Pilson (1978) near the north end of Southwark Bridge and by Mr. John Auld (1977) at Bankside.
- <sup>15</sup> Books of hours: (i) Brit. Lib. MS Add. 18852, f.184, c.1500; (ii) Sir John Soane's Mus. MS 4, f.122 v, after 1512.
- <sup>16</sup> Kurt Köster 'Religiöse Medaillen und Wallfahrts-Devotionalien in der Flämischen Buchmalerei des 15 und Frühen 16 Jahrhunderts' in *Buch und Welt: Festschrift für Gustav Hofmann* (Wiesbaden, 1965) Pl. 1–4, 6, 8–12.
- <sup>17</sup> The first was found (1965) by Mr. Peter Richey on the Thames foreshore near Queenhithe. The head of St. Thomas is sometimes on a diapered ground: C. Roach Smith *Collectanea Antiqua* 1 (London, 1848) Pl. 31; London Museum *Medieval Catalogue* (London, 1940) Pl. 67, 9. The second was found (1976) by Mr. Roger Smith on the Thames foreshore at Queenhithe. For a Walsingham badge of medallion form see Roach Smith *ibid* 7 (1878) 146. Unlike continental types, English medallion badges were invariably fitted with a pin and clasp.
- <sup>18</sup> Miracle no. 113 in P. Grosjean ed. *Henrici VI Angliae Regis Miracula Postuma ex Codice Musei Britannici Regio 13. C. VIII* (Brussels, 1935) which contains accounts of 166 miracles from a compilation based on official inquiries c. 1500; 23 of these are translated in Ronald Knox and Shane Leslie eds. *The Miracles of King Henry VI* (Cambridge, 1923).
- <sup>19</sup> Brian Spencer 'The ampullae from Cuckoo Lane' in Platt and Coleman-Smith *op. cit.* in note 11, vol. 2, 224–245; J. C. Robertson ed. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (Rolls ser., 1875–1885) I 354, III 152.
- <sup>20</sup> J. B. Sheppard 'Some MSS from the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury' *Archaeol. J.* 33 (1876) 158.
- <sup>21</sup> Knox and Leslie *op. cit.* in note 18, 5.
- <sup>22</sup> E.g., H. E. D. Blakiston in *History* n.s. 9 (1924–1925) 239–241, 322; L. F. Salzman 'Some Sussex Miracles' *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* 66 (1925) 76.
- <sup>23</sup> Edith Mayer-Wurmbach 'Kölner "Zeichen" und "Pfennige" zu ehren der Heiligen Drei Könige in Achthundert Jahre Verehrung der Heiligen Drei Könige in Köln (Cologne, 1964) 209.
- <sup>24</sup> O. Ringholtz *Geschichte des fürstlichen Benediktinerstiftes U.L. Frau von Einsiedeln . . .* (Einsiedeln, 1904) 445.
- <sup>25</sup> Kurt Köster 'Pilgerzeichen-Studien . . .' in *Bibliotheca docet: Festgabe für Carl Wehmer* (Amsterdam, 1963) 78–79.
- <sup>26</sup> Norman Davis ed. *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century* 1 (Oxford, 1971) 440–443.
- <sup>27</sup> For the cult of Henry VI see Grosjean *op. cit.* in note 18, introduction 129–262; Knox and Leslie *op. cit.* in note 18, 1–16; Cardinal Gasquet *The Religious Life of King Henry VI* (London, 1923); Leonard Smith 'The Canonization of King Henry VI' *The Dublin Review* 168 (1921) 41–53; J. W. McKenna 'Piety and Propaganda: The Cult of King Henry VI' in Beryl Rowland ed. *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in honour of Russell Hope Robbins* (London, 1974) 72–88; A. P. Stanley *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (London, 3rd ed. 1869) 159–165, 600–619.
- <sup>28</sup> Bishop Alnwick's Court Book in A. Hamilton Thompson *The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947) 238.
- <sup>29</sup> Jonathan Sumption *Pilgrimage: an Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London, 1975) 161 citing *Anecdota ex codicis hagiographicis Johannis Gielemans 3* (Brussels, 1895) 20, 395–396.
- <sup>30</sup> J. W. McKenna 'Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda: the Cult of Archbishop Scrope' *Speculum* 65 (1971) 608–628.
- <sup>31</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls 1468–1476* 298–299; Corp. of London Record Office, Journals of Courts of Aldermen & Common Council 8 f.526.
- <sup>32</sup> J. Raine ed. *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* 3 (Rolls ser., 1894) 336–337.
- <sup>33</sup> *Loc. cit.* in note 2.
- <sup>34</sup> Grosjean *op. cit.* in note 18 no. 1.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* no. 6.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* no. 40.
- <sup>37</sup> *Cal. Papal Registers: Papal Letters* 13 (1955) 667; Rymer *op. cit.* in note 3, 563, 565, 591, 644, 672.
- <sup>38</sup> Campbell Dodgson 'English Devotional Woodcuts of the Late Fifteenth Century . . .' *Walpole Society* 17 (1929) 104–108; Grosjean *op. cit.* in note 18, introduction 257–258; Ellen Ettlinger 'Notes on a Woodcut depicting King Henry VI being invoked as a Saint' *Folklore* 84 (1973) 115–119.
- <sup>39</sup> Printed souvenirs were at this time available to continental pilgrims; E. H. van Heurck *Les Drapelets de Pèlerinages en Belgique et dans les pays voisins* (Antwerp, 1922). These succeeded but also overlapped souvenirs painted on paper or vellum. On the latter see L. Smith ed. Paolo Vergerio *Epistolario* (Rome, 1934) no. 86; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MSS 5163–5164, 11035–11037, 11060–11061; Francis Wormald 'The Rood of Bromholm' *J. Warburg Inst.* 1 (1938) Pl. 7 a, b.
- <sup>40</sup> Grosjean *op. cit.* in note 18 nos. 40, 112, 130, 13.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* nos. 25, 35, 124.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* nos. 117, 132, 39, 162.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* nos. 116, 156, 155.
- <sup>44</sup> A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley eds. *The Great Chronicle of London* (London, 1938) 128.
- <sup>45</sup> Grosjean *op. cit.* in note 18, introduction 180–194. But see also John Harvey *English Mediaeval Architects* (London, 1954) under 'John Essex' and 'John Thirsk'.
- <sup>46</sup> J. P. Collier ed. *Trevelyan Papers prior to A.D. 1558* (Camden Soc. 67, 1857) 153.
- <sup>47</sup> John Foxe ed. S. R. Cattley *Actes and Monuments* 5 (London, 1838) 467.
- <sup>48</sup> Publicist techniques based on this principle were used to bolster up the monarchy during Henry's minority; J. W. McKenna 'Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422–32' *J. Warburg Courtauld Inst.* 28 (1965) 145–162.



- <sup>49</sup> The large rumber-bell on top of its crupper is also a striking feature of the horses depicted (1511) in Sydney Anglo ed. *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster* (Oxford, 1968).
- <sup>50</sup> Many pewter badges are in the form of crowns (e.g. London Museum, *op. cit.* in note 17, Pl. 71, 32–33) and might commemorate any royal saint of wide appeal. The few that show the crown in its closed form are perhaps to be regarded as possible Windsor souvenirs. More likely candidates still are crowned ostrich feathers (Brit. Mus. 56 7–1 2146; Mus. of London A14611, both from London), much enlarged versions of the motif depicted on no. 29.
- <sup>51</sup> It could also be interpreted as a long dagger, the supposed instrument of his martyrdom.
- <sup>52</sup> St. Edward the Confessor, too, appears as a king on horseback on a late 14th-century badge found at Westminster; he is represented as an old man with a large beard (Mus. of London 8744).
- <sup>53</sup> Tancred Borenius *St. Thomas Becket in Art* (London, 1932) 7–8.
- <sup>54</sup> Thomas and Thornley *op. cit.* in note 44, 212–217.
- <sup>55</sup> Part of one is illustrated in my catalogue of pilgrim badges in Norfolk museums (Norwich Museum publication, forthcoming).
- <sup>56</sup> Grosjean *op. cit.* in note 18 no. 37.
- <sup>57</sup> London Museum *op. cit.* in note 17, 162 ff.
- <sup>58</sup> See, e.g. a MS of c. 1480–1485; Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope eds. *The Pageant of . . . Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick* (London, 1914) *passim*.
- <sup>59</sup> John Blacman *De Virtutibus et Miraculis Henrici Sexti* in Thomas Hearne ed. *Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres* (Oxford, 1732) 9–11.
- <sup>60</sup> William Lambarde *Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum et Historicum* (London, 1730) 422 (Lambarde visited Windsor in the 1570s); and *loc. cit.* in note 47.
- <sup>61</sup> Victoria County History *Derbyshire* 2 (1907) 62.
- <sup>62</sup> Oliver Millar *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London, 1963) 50. For a similar tall hat with top-knot or tail see Dirk Bout's 'Portrait of a Man', 1462, in the National Gallery.
- <sup>63</sup> Among recent finds at London are late 15th-century pewter plume-holders, with a pin and clasp at the back and a badge of St. George and the dragon mounted at the front. Together with several other contemporary badges of St. George, they may simply reflect the enormous rise of interest in St. George during Henry VII's reign. They would nonetheless have been appropriate souvenirs for pilgrims to St. George's Chapel. Founded primarily for the Knights of the Order of the Garter, the chapel had a great image of St. George beside the high altar as well as several important relics and pieces of plate associated with him; Maurice F. Bond ed. *The Inventories of St. George's Chapel Windsor Castle* (Windsor, 1947) 148–151, 166–179.
- <sup>64</sup> H. Ellis ed. *The New Chronicle . . . by Robert Fabyan* (London, 1811) 662; R. Sylvester ed. *The History of King Richard III by Thomas More* (New Haven, 1964) 8.
- <sup>65</sup> N. H. Nicholas ed. *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York . . .* (London, 1830) 3, 29, 42, 50. In 1479 the chapel was alleged to be in a state of neglect; Victoria County History *Berkshire* 2 (1907) 248.
- <sup>66</sup> T. Wright ed. *Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries* (Camden Soc., 1843) 221–226.
- <sup>67</sup> Spencer *op. cit.* in note 13, Pl. 4, 8.
- <sup>68</sup> An examination of Henry VI's remains in 1910 suggested not only that he suffered a violent death but that his body was plundered for relics during transfer from Chertsey; W. H. St. John Hope 'The Discovery of the Remains of King Henry VI . . .' *Archaeologia* 62 (1910) 533–542.
- <sup>69</sup> E. Hobhouse ed. *Church-wardens' accounts of Croscombe, Pilton . . .* (Somerset Record Soc., 1890) 64.
- <sup>70</sup> Historical MSS Comm. *Tenth Report, Appendix Part IV* (1885) 424.
- <sup>71</sup> Renaissance portraits provide evidence of this. From the reign of Henry VII, if not before, royal and saintly virtues commingled in the touching-pieces given by the king as amulets to those he touched for the King's Evil. Gold coins were found in two of the early Tudor woollen caps found in Moorfields; *Catalogue of . . . the Guildhall Museum* (London, 2nd ed. 1908) 157–158.
- <sup>72</sup> A further complication is presented by two badges found (1862) at Paris near Pont Saint-Michel and Pont Saint-Charles (and possibly a third from Pont Notre-Dame); A. Forgeais *Collection de Plombs, Histories trouvées dans la Seine* 3 (Paris, 1864) 190–194. Like the ryal and half-ryal of 1465 these have a rose on the side of the ship. But the rose on the badges is of a different sort, matching that on Henry VI badge no. 25. These badges are inscribed AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA, a possible link with King Henry's altar at Windsor and the alabaster image of Our Lady associated with it. In 1534 the precentor at Windsor noted that the image had accumulated 'moche ryches and many costly jewells' and he seemed apprehensive about their future; Bond *op. cit.* in note 63, 179. A reformer was dismayed to see people kissing and licking the image or wiping their hands on it before stroking their own heads and faces; *loc. cit.* in note 47.
- <sup>73</sup> W. H. St. John Hope *Windsor Castle* 2 (London, 1913) 459.
- <sup>74</sup> On the cult of John Schorn see especially W. Sparrow Simpson 'On Master John Schorn' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 23 (1867) 256–268 and 'Master John Schorne' *Rec. Buckinghamshire* 3 (1870) 354–369; Hope *op. cit.* in note 73, 411. For surviving paintings on church screens, J. L. Nevinson and J. A. Hudson 'Sir John Schorne and his boot' *Country Life* 131 no. 3391 (1 March 1962) 467–468; E. Clive Rouse 'John Schorne's Well at North Marston' *Rec. Buckinghamshire* 18 pt. 5 (1970) 431–436.
- <sup>75</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls 1476–85* 170, 181.
- <sup>76</sup> Now in the possession of St. George's Chapel, Windsor; M. F. Bond 'The John Schorn Book of Hours' *Annual Report of the Society of the Friends of St. George's . . .* (1949) 19–27.
- <sup>77</sup> See Appendix.
- <sup>78</sup> Ralph Merrifield *The Archaeology of London* (London, 1975) 34. The 'offerings' of pilgrims may have been as such an emotional response to a safe home-coming as a courteous gesture to the forces of nature. This is suggested by the growing number of badges found in the moats of castles and manor-houses. The possibility that two or three King Henry badges [1, 11, 18] were deliberately concealed under house foundations, on the other hand, would be consistent with the frequent use of pilgrim signs as talismans.
- <sup>79</sup> By courtesy of Mr. John Hayward another is reproduced on the title-page of this volume.



<sup>80</sup> This interpretation of the topography is based mainly on Philip Norman 'The Accounts of the Overseers of the Poor of Paris Garden, Southwark . . . ' *Surrey Archaeol. Collect.* 16 (1901) 55–109; C. L. Kingsford 'Paris Garden and the Bear-baiting' *Archaeologia* 70 (1920) 155–171, and Ida Darlington ed. *Bankside and St. George's Fields*, Survey of London 22 (London, 1950) and 25 (London, 1955).

<sup>81</sup> Grosjean *op. cit.* in note 18, no. 23.

# THE DRESS OF THE CITIZENS OF LONDON 1540–1640

JOHN NEVINSON

One is often asked, what did people look like in Tudor and Jacobean times? For Royalty, the nobility and gentry, one can refer to portraits, to effigies on funeral monuments, and, with less confidence, to monumental brasses. All these show persons grandly dressed in rich robes and gowns, often with a profusion of jewellery which they can seldom have worn. But these pictures do not help us to visualise what they looked like in their everyday dress. Sir John Harington wrote smugly:—

‘The Queene loveth to see me in my laste frize jerkin, and saith “’Tis well enough cutt”. I will have another made liken to it. I do remember she spit on Sir Mathew’s [Arundel’s?] fringed clothe and said “The fooles wit is gone to ragges”.’<sup>1</sup>

What were these jerkins?

It is here proposed to set down some impressions of Londoners and of the people in the streets, which can be gleaned from the notes of foreigners visiting England and other sources, and, where this proves possible, add pictorial illustrations. But for the beginning of the period there is a lack of anything like the full descriptions of Chaucer’s pilgrims in the *Canterbury Tales*, of which the Ellesmere manuscript supplies an illustrated edition.<sup>2</sup>

In the early 16th century, one visitor to London remarked that the English dressed in the French style, but that as they were bigger, their clothes looked more clumsy;<sup>3</sup> another wrote that while the Queen, Catherine of Aragon, dressed in the Spanish fashion, the King’s guard wore green in the German fashion ‘with certain slashed hoods’.<sup>4</sup> Even in the middle of the century, to Italian eyes both men and women in London appeared to be dressing ‘molto grossamente’, or, as John Florio would have put it ‘most clownishly’ or ‘lubberdly’.<sup>5</sup> The description is vague, but visitors, such as Erasmus, who was well received in learned circles, would comment on the English habit of kissing one another on all occasions, yet say nothing about their clothes. Nicander Nucius in 1545, while admiring the height and complexion of the English and approving the courtesy of the nobles, asserted that the rabble and the mob were turbulent and barbarous in their manner, but did not describe them.<sup>6</sup>

Full descriptions of the different articles of dress are singularly hard to find, but John Skelton’s account of the slatternly clothes worn by Elinor Ruming, the alewife of Leatherhead, Surrey, would have held good for her London counterpart. John Harvey proved that Alianora Romyng actually existed — she was a member of a family of brewers, and, as a ‘common tippelar of ale’, who sold at an excessive price by small measures, she was fined 2d. at the Manor Court in 1525.<sup>7</sup> After full allowance is made for Skelton’s satirical comments on the cleanliness of the old lady, the actual garments he

describes are those which a prosperous alewife would have worn when dressed up on two occasions:

‘ . . . and yet she will jet  
 like a jollivet (gay young wench)  
 in her furred flocket (cloak with sleeves)  
 and gray russet rocket (skirt)  
 . . . her hood of Lincoln green  
 it has been hers, I ween  
 more than forty year . . .

Upon the holy day  
 when she doth her array  
 and girdeth in her geets (gyte, gown)  
 stitched and pranked with pleats  
 her kirtle, Bristol red  
 with clothes upon her head  
 that weigh a sow of lead  
 writen in wondrous wise  
 after the Saracens’ guise . . .  
 like an Egyptian  
 capped about . . .  
 with a pair of heels  
 as broad as two wheels  
 she hobbles as a goose  
 with her blanket hose  
 her shoon smeared with tallow . . .’

With neither dress is there a mention of a linen coif, which would have been worn under hood or headdress. The gipsy hat worn on a holy day is a surprise; there are a few portraits of continental ladies wearing cart-wheel or other ‘Bohemian’ hats<sup>8</sup> but no contemporary English example can be traced.

As for the men, servants in the large households wore blue coats with their master’s badge or crest on the sleeve; poor men are described as wearing the cast-off clothes of the rich, when these are reduced to rags. There are occasional references later on in plays, and crude wood-cuts may show pictures of beggars.<sup>9</sup> The flat woollen cap is mentioned only incidentally as a feature of a humble citizen’s dress. Examples of these knitted caps with baggy crowns and soft brims have been dug up in London from time to time and are extremely difficult to date; several, now in the Museum of London (Acc. Nos. 33.239/1–22) were found in what had been swampy ground in Moorfields and these, together with shoes, are almost the only surviving articles of the dress of Londoners. During the 16th century these caps were gradually falling out of use, and were replaced by bonnet-shaped caps of such richer materials, silks or velvets, as the wearer could afford. Then, in 1571, in order to protect the wool trade, it was ordained that every one except the nobility and gentry should wear flat woollen caps (‘Statute caps’) on Sundays and Holy Days. The caps were not to be specially smartened up by fulling in a mill; Ordinance 24 of the Haberdashers’ Company, date uncertain but before 1567,<sup>10</sup> reads:

‘Item yt is ordeyned that no person presume to fulle hewres ne cappes at the myllne, but only to full theym by myght and strength of man, and that with hand & Fote, upon payne of forfeiture of all such hures & Cappes soo fulled at the myllne’.

‘Hure’ or ‘hewre’ (Latin *hura*) is described as ‘Pileus villosus — shaggy cap’.

The apprentices of London were a disorderly crowd, prone to cry ‘Clubs’ or even to attack strangers in foreign clothes; their masters provided them with short coats or doublets, and they wore caps. To quote John Stow:<sup>11</sup>

‘In the time of Queene Marie . . . all apprentices in London wore blew Cloakes in the Summer and in the Winter blew gownes . . . it was not lawful . . . to weare their Gownes lower then to the calves of their legges . . . their Breeches and Stockings were usually of white broad cloath, viz. round Slops, and their Stockings sowed up close thereunto as if they were all but one piece; they also wore flat caps’.

The Ordinances of the Lord Mayor and Common Council were recapitulated in 1582:<sup>12</sup>

1. That no apprentice whatsoever shall wear any apparel but what he receives from his master.
2. (ordained) to wear no hat, nor anything but a woollen cap, without any silk in or about the same.
3. . . . to wear neither ruffles, cuffs, loose collars, nor other than a ruff at the collar, and that only a yard and a half long.
4. . . . to wear no doublet but what was made of canvas, fustian, sackcloth, English leather or woollen, without any gold silver or silk trimming.
5. . . . to wear no other cloth nor jersey in hose or stockings than white blue or murrey.
6. . . . to wear no other breeches but what shall be of the same stuff as the doublet and neither stitched laced or bordered.
7. . . . to wear no other than a plain upper coat of cloth or leather with neither pinking, stitching, edging or silk about it.
8. . . . to wear no other surtout than a cloth gown or a cloak lined or faced with cloth cotton, or baize, with a fixed round collar without stitching guarding lace or silk.
9. . . . to wear no pumps, slippers or shoes but of English leather without being pinked edged or stitched.
10. . . . to wear no sword, dagger or other weapon but a knife, nor a ring, nor jewels of gold nor silver, nor silk in any part of his apparel on pain of being punished . . . (by his master).

These ordinances were revised in 1611, when prices of approved cloth were set out, silk buttons allowed, but, as before, the emphasis was on what was prohibited, hat bands, ruffs, piccadills, whalebone in collars and so forth, rather than on what was worn.

The distinctive dress of the children in the London charity schools and orphanages is mentioned from time to time; the long gown worn over breeches and shirt by the boys of Christ’s Hospital, the Blue Coat School, has continued with some variations up to the present day. However, in 1553, shortly after the foundation, they walked to attend a service at St. Mary Spittle:

‘all clothed in plunket coats and red caps, and the mayden children in the same livery with Kerchiefs on their heads’<sup>13</sup>

and Henry Machyn notes that at the same date the children were given ‘shurtes and smokes’ (smocks) and the girls ‘Mucketors’ (i.e. muckinders, Kerchiefs — French *mouchoir*).<sup>14</sup>

There is also some written evidence from accounts, about the dress of school-boys. At Westminster in 1571, a boy was provided with a gown, a doublet of sack-cloth lined with canvas, a ‘payre of scabylyonyans’ (the dramatists called them ‘slops’) and ‘hamsher (Hampshire) carsey uper hoose’. The gown which at an earlier date was of russet fustian lined with yellow, later resembled a black university gown with hanging sleeves ending in a point.<sup>15</sup>

After the middle of the 16th century the lack of pictorial representations of clothes begins to be made good. One of the most outstanding developments at the Reformation

was that the nations and cities of western Europe began to take a more personal interest in one another. Fables, the marvels of the East, and tales of dwarfs, giants and monsters were no longer enough to satisfy their curiosity. Helped by the spread of printing they were able to look at maps of countries and plans or bird's eye views of towns; and, at the foot of the maps or accompanying them, there were often wood-cuts or engravings depicting the dress of most of the peoples of the world. For exact dating, these small pictures need to be used with great care, since the map-makers had a regrettable tendency to copy and rely on what others had drawn. The first and best known London group (Fig. 1.1) is that at the foot of the map of London by Francis Hogenberg.<sup>16</sup> In this, the London merchant is the prominent central figure. He wears a long gown trimmed with fur; it has a high collar, waist-band, and the long sleeves hang open from above the elbow, showing the doublet worn underneath. The narrow ruff appears above the collar of the gown; his hat is small with a single brim and a decorative hat-band, not related to the flat cap familiar in Holbein's drawings and portraits of merchants, and his shoes are no longer broad-toed as in Henry VIII's time. His servant has a smart doublet with rather long skirts and false sleeves hanging behind; he wears a narrow ruff and a hat like his master. He is not to be mistaken for an apprentice, though in addition to his master's sword he carries the small round shield, which apprentices used when fighting with clubs.

The merchant's wife, on the right, wears a close-bodied gown over a hooped petticoat in the style of a Spanish farthingale. The single vertical slash on either side of the bodice has an improbable look on a woman's garment, and so have the false sleeves attached apparently to the shoulders but flowing away to a knot behind. One is reminded of Stubbes' strictures on English women:<sup>17</sup>

'The women there haue dublets and Ierkins, . . . buttoned up the brest and made with wings welts and pinions on the shoulders, and points, as man's apparel is for all the world, . . . some with sleeves hanging down to their skirts, trayling on the ground or cast over their shoulders like Cow-tayles'.

In fact, for the merchant's wife, Hogenberg has copied a wood-cut in one of the earliest costume picture books, Francois Deserpz' *Recueil de la diversité des habits* 1562; this, although it asserts 'Le tout fait apres le naturel' includes some monsters for good measure. How authentic is the wood-cut of 'L'Angloise'? (Fig. 1.2)

'Ainsi vestue est une femme Angloise  
Par le dessus son bonnet est fourré  
On la cognoist (bien qu'aux lieux on ne voise)  
Facilement à son bonnet carré'.

It is a pity that the miniver bonnet (*menu vair* should be squirrel fur, but in England was the term for plain white fur) was not more carefully drawn, since otherwise it would illustrate a difficult passage added to the later editions of John Stow's *Annales*.<sup>18</sup>

' . . . at which time (tenth or twelfth year of Queen Elizabeth) and for three or four yeares after, all citizens wiues in generall were constraigned to wear white knit Caps of wollen yarn unless their husbands were of goode value in the Queenes booke or could prove themselves gentlemen by descent; and then ceased the womens wearing of Minevor caps, otherwise called three corner Caps which formerly was the usual wearing of all grave Matrons. These Minevor Caps were white, and three square, and the peakes thereof were full three or four inches from their head, but the Alderman's wives and such like made them Bonnets of velvet, after the Minevor Cap fashion but larger, which made a great show upon their heads, all which are already quite forgotten'.



1.1



1.3



1.2



1.4

Figs. 1.1 London Merchant and his wife, with their servants (1572).  
(Detail from map by F. Hogenberg)

1.2 L'Angloise (From F. Deserpz *Recueil de la diversité des habits*)

1.3 English women (c. 1570). (By Lucas de Heere; Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 28330)

1.4 Londoners dancing at Bermondsey (c. 1570). (Detail from S. H. Grimm's copy of  
Hoefnagel's painting at Hatfield)

The miniver bonnet or cap had developed from the Henry VIII fashion shown in some of Holbein's drawings of ladies.

The maid, as depicted by Hogenberg, wears an apron, but otherwise her dress is almost as smart as that of her mistress, and her peaked French hood belongs to the world of fashion.

One important source for the details of the dress of Londoners is to be found in the manuscripts illustrated by Lucas de Heere, who was born in Ghent in 1534. He was a portrait painter, a designer of tapestries, and also a poet, a friend of Karel van Mander who later printed some biographical notes about him. As a Protestant refugee he was in England from 1567, signing his verses in autograph albums and painting his device of a Siren playing her harp.<sup>19</sup> Possibly he was an imitator of Christoph Weiditz, a traveller in Spain and the Netherlands in 1529–1531, who recorded in attractive watercolours and with fair accuracy the costumes of the people he saw in the various provinces, as Albrecht Dürer had done earlier when he met with the Irish mercenaries.<sup>20</sup> In any case Lucas de Heere compiled a similar manuscript book, which is now in the University Library at Ghent; it has the title *Theatre de tous les peuples . . .* and a dedication in a later hand to a Flemish nobleman. More probably it was prepared in England, perhaps intended as a study for wall decorations in the London house of the Lord High Admiral, Edward Clinton, afterwards Earl of Lincoln. My notes, made in 1953, show that Plates 60–80 depict English, Scottish and Irish dress of all classes and dates, and though the manuscript has never been printed in facsimile, most of these plates have been reproduced by Dr. Th. Chotzen in his study of another manuscript by de Heere in the British Library.<sup>21</sup> This, with the title *Beschrijving der Britsche Eilanden*, is a history of the English, very simply written perhaps for a school-boy.

The most important London illustration in this manuscript is of a group of ladies (Fig. 1.3) some of whom appear, singly, in the manuscript in Ghent. The London citizen's wife, on the left, has a grey gown, edged (guarded) with black velvet, and with a turn-down collar. The gown is worn over a high-collared bodice, with a ruff; the fore-sleeves are pink and there is a pink petticoat to match. Her hair is almost completely hidden by a white linen coif, over which there is a cap bound with wire. The second lady, described as a 'Rich Citizen's Wife' has a brown long-sleeved gown similarly guarded, and worn open to show a green stomacher and a very grand red brocade petticoat. The collar to her shift, with a narrow ruff edge, is worn open. Her cap, set back, shows more of her hair and has projections at each side, not closely corresponding with the miniver cap mentioned above. Her young daughter is dressed as the first citizen's wife but with a fuller crown to her cap. All the ladies wear gloves.

The fourth figure, 'a country-woman as they go nowadays' wears a grey-brown dress with tight sleeves, the bodice laced over a red stomacher. She has a neck-kerchief spreading over her shoulders, a chin-clout, a ruff and an apron. Her hair is covered by a kerchief and over all there is a high-crowned felt hat. This figure was destined to be copied many times under various names.

After Lucas de Heere, the work of Joris (Georg) Hoefnagel the engraver, needs to be considered; his costume figures are always minute and where they correspond to de Heere's, one is inclined to give the older artist the credit for originality, since a copyist often tends to reduce rather than extend the size of his work. As a young man Hoefnagel had travelled in Spain and then became friendly with Abraham Ortelius and the

cartographers. He was in England by 1571 and his best known surviving work is at Hatfield House, the so-called 'Marriage at Bermondsey', which Dr. Erna Auerbach discussed in detail.<sup>22</sup> Briefly, her conclusions were that the crowd of well-dressed figures are ladies and gentlemen assembling for some festivity other than a marriage — there is no bride, dressed as such, and the lady in black being escorted from the church may be Queen Elizabeth. There are, however, figures of less important people, Londoners, in front of the kitchen and banqueting table at the inn. The detail (Fig. 1.4) showing these is taken, for the sake of clearer reproduction, from the careful drawing by S. H. Grimm (1787) in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

The men dancers have unbuttoned their doublets, one wears a jerkin as well, they have ruffs and high-crowned hats, and their short full breeches are padded or paned (slashed) to show a lining. The women wear neck-kerchieves spreading over their shoulders, and ruffs, but their aprons show that they are shop-keepers rather than gentry; their high-crowned felt hats are of the mid-Elizabethan fashion. The maid in the centre of the group has a stay-bodice laced in front in country style and shorter skirts; her coif fringed round over the forehead is of the type also worn by the two maids carrying large dishes. The two servitors following them and the fiddlers are dressed in the same style as the men dancers, but it is to be noted that when doublets are buttoned they have the full padded 'peascod' effect, seen, but much more accentuated, in the portraits of gentlemen. Some of these figures and in particular a group of citizen's wives not shown in Fig. 1.4 are closely related to Lucas de Heere's watercolours. The date usually assigned to the picture at Hatfield is 1570, but the costumes in this group could be slightly later.

The most detailed description of the head-dresses of London ladies is best included at this point although it is of Jacobean date. In a letter to Venice in 1618 Horatio Busino writes of the English ladies:<sup>23</sup>

'Some wear on their heads worked bands with fine lace, which, falling over the forehead, form what our Venetian dames term 'the Mushrooms' on the temples. Others wear a large piece of work above the ear, so that they look as if they bore the wings of Mercury's headgear; others wear hats of various shapes; others a very small top-knot. Some wear a moderate size silk kerchief surmounted by a piece of crape plaited in such a shape that it looks precisely like a woman's breast. Some have black velvet hoods turned over from the back of the neck to the forehead. Others wear embroidered caps covering the whole head, whilst others in conclusion, wear their auburn hair uncovered and curled over up to the very plait of the tresses, on which they place a chaplet of silk and gold, wearing moreover a plume on the head, sometimes upright, sometimes at the back of the head and sometimes even transverse'.

Apart from the horned style, which is late Elizabethan, and the plumes, to which reference will be made later, these head-dresses were current in London long before Busino's stay in 1618. There was, of course, a social distinction between the wearing of French hoods and hats — at a feast of the Fishmongers' Company in 1626 Lady Gryme and other gentlewomen wore hoods, while 'Mistress Dennington and one wife more' wore hats.<sup>24</sup> Embroidered caps, many of which survive, were indoor wear for middle-class ladies.

Joris Hoefnagel's work also includes a line of costume figures at the foot of an engraved bird's eye view of the City of London, published in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572). The citizen's wives are grouped with the noble ladies at the left hand end of the line<sup>25</sup> but on the right (Fig. 2.1) there is the figure of a countrywoman bringing in poultry, vegetables and flowers to a London market and, in the background,





2.1



2.3



2.2



2.4

Figs. 2.1 London women and a water-bearer (1574). (Detail from map by J. Hoefnagel)

2.2 Poor men from almshouses, at Sir Philip Sidney's funeral (1587). (Detail from T. de Bry's engraving)

2.3 The English Merchant, seen in Venice (1598). (From C. Vecellio *Habiti antichi e moderni* f. 279)

2.4 The English seaman seen in Venice (1598). (From C. Vecellio *Habiti antichi e moderni* f. 282)

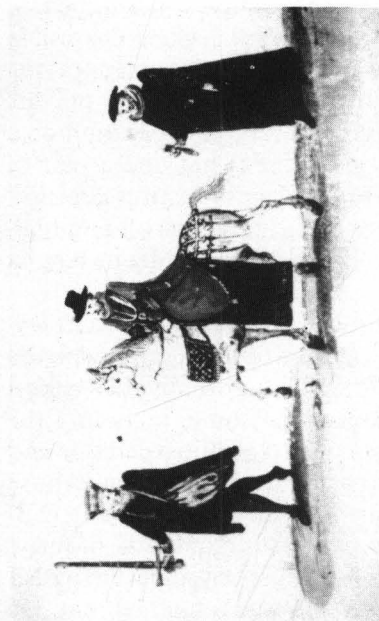
another with bundles, riding on a donkey; both are muffled about the head and shoulders and have wide-brimmed hats.

In the centre of Fig. 2.1 here are two fishwives with aprons, but otherwise in their best clothes and hoods; it seems unlikely that they really would have worn ruffs or even frilled shifts whilst cleaning fish at the tub. The scene illustrates one of the harmless tales put across to foreign visitors such as Thomas Platter in 1601.<sup>26</sup> He recorded how the fishwife would slit open a pike to show whether it was fat enough; if the customer was dissatisfied, the pike was put back into the tub, where, he was told, it would rub against the tench and heal up again. On the right of Fig. 2.1 is the first picture of a Thames water-carrier, bearing his churn-shaped wooden 'tankard', a familiar figure. Water for household use was carried both up from the Thames and from conduits. The water-bearers belonged to a fraternity which never became a City Livery Company; it was centred in Billingsgate and had St. Christopher for its patron.

One other engraving, fortunately on a larger scale, is found with Thomas Lant's record of the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney in 1587. This takes the form of a long strip of thirty plates engraved by Theodor de Bry.<sup>27</sup> Most interesting are the poor men, probably from almshouses (Fig. 2.2). Their long gowns have shoulder yokes and slightly full sleeves. They mostly have turn-down collars, attached to their shirts, but a few of the collars are frilled and may have been starched. Some poor men have the flat cap with a loose crown, a relic of the earlier fashion, others, the newer style felt hat with a high crown and a corded hat-band. Sir Philip's household servants have cloaks, peascod doublets like their masters, and felt hats with even higher crowns, so that they could almost pass for gentlemen.

Towards the end of the 16th century a number of books were published especially in Germany and Italy, with pictures of the costumes of different countries, including England. Where the publishers needed London figures they would copy, adapt, or use their imagination. Jost Amman's woodcut of 1586<sup>28</sup> has 'Matrona Anglica Londiniensis' in a most ornate dress, and, over it, an elbow-length high-collared jacket, nearest in appearance to the best dress in Alsace, Strassburg. Caspar Rutz<sup>29</sup> includes an engraving 'Opulentus mercator Londinensis' elaborating Hogenberg (Fig. 1.1) and adapts the Merchant's wife giving her a new hair-style and a feather fan, but retaining her muff on a cord, and false sleeves, knotted at the back. Her maid is given a flat hat and a pair of gloves, and her dress is described as 'Vulgariarum feminarum in Anglia vestitus gentilis'. A copy of Hoefnagel's servant Rutz now dressed even more fashionably in ruff and high hat, but still with the sword and toy shield with the title 'Plebei adolescentis in Anglia habitus'. Londoners can never have looked like these.

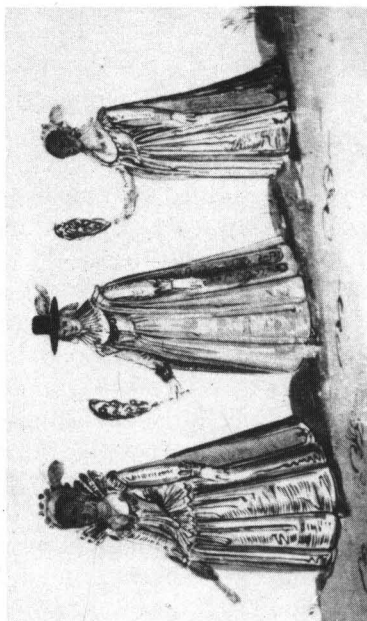
But in Venice, Cesare Vecellio claimed that he took more trouble over accuracy. Admittedly he copied his English nobleman from Hans Weigel's wood-cut, and depicted an English widow in black weeds and a strange draped hood with long streamers — like a Jesuit Friar, he said. Many foreigners came to Venice, but while some, including the students, dressed as Italians, merchants and seamen did not, and Vecellio's artist friend Christoph Krieger, known as Guerra, may have drawn from the life two men, whose pictures were added to Vecellio's second edition 1598.<sup>30</sup> The English merchant (Fig. 2.3) was described as wearing clothes not sumptuous but serviceable; his cloak was of finest black though other colours had been seen. Under this he wore a waist-length jerkin with a neck-opening and a small ruff; his breeches were fairly full and he had a high felt hat. He carried gloves and a handkerchief, but of course wore no sword.



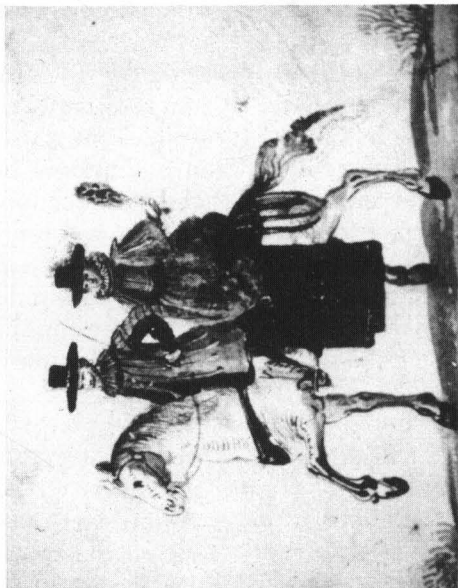
3.1



3.2



3.3



3.4

- Figs. 3.1 Lord Mayor's procession (c. 1623). (From Album of G. von Holzschuher; Brit. Lib. Egerton Ms. 1264 f. 25)  
 3.2 Lady Mayoress' procession (c. 1623). (From Album of G. von Holzschuher; Brit. Lib. Egerton Ms. 1264 f. 26)  
 3.3 Three ladies of London (c. 1623). (From Album of G. von Holzschuher; Brit. Lib. Egerton Ms. 1264 f. 23)  
 3.4 Citizen of London and his wife, riding (c. 1623). (From Album of Tobias Oelhafen; Brit. Lib. Egerton Ms. 1269 f. 55)

The English were, Vecellio said, skilled and intrepid sailors, and he shows the English seaman (Fig. 2.4) wearing a short loose woollen jerkin over a doublet, and long very full breeches brown or white, padded and with many pleats. His shaggy woollen cap (Monmouth thrummed cap is the English term) is seldom depicted elsewhere, and another copyist Bertelli mistook him for a Breton.

By the beginning of the 17th century there is yet another source for pictures of Londoners. Travellers and particularly students from abroad kept autograph albums, collecting the signatures and mottoes from eminent persons, princes and professors, and most of all from their friends. In its origin, the *Album Amicorum* had been the German *Stammbuch*, recording coats of arms and family trees. By the end of the century printed albums could be bought with blank shields supported by knights or ladies in the costumes of different countries, awaiting the heraldic painter and the signatures. Next, the vogue spread from Italy to have small figures painted into the books, such as the Doge of Venice, or ladies typifying the various Italian cities. For England many albums have a wide choice of figures, not all painted or inscribed in London, ranging from King James I to the Thames water-bearer.

In the City of London the visitor was most impressed by the Lord Mayor (Fig. 3.1); no city in Europe had his equal. He is usually painted on horseback in his robes and full insignia, preceded by the sword-bearer, wearing his special fur hat and followed by the City Remembrancer in a black gown.<sup>31</sup> Many albums have sheriffs, aldermen, and judges as well, not very clearly differentiated. As a pair to the Lord Mayor's picture, the Lady Mayoress (Fig. 3.2) walks in procession, her train supported by her gentleman; she is preceded by two gaily-dressed pages, each with a staff from which hangs a nosegay. Her gown is of red and black velvet, with French farthingale, and ruff, all beginning to be a little old-fashioned.

The descending social scale is illustrated by a fanciful procession (Fig. 3.3) in the album of Georg von Holzschuher,<sup>32</sup> which contains no signatures added in London. First comes a court lady in a French farthingale, next a rich lady of the City wearing a felt hat and an elaborate gown, next, perhaps her daughter, dressed in Court style with a deep décolletage. All have ostrich feathers, and illustrate Busino's comment:

'Some lay their bosoms bare, whilst other cover them; some carry in their hands feather fans, others nothing . . .'<sup>33</sup>

Hats and again the feather fan are conspicuous in the picture of the citizen and his wife shown riding in Tobias Oelhafen's album (Fig. 3.4). The lady in a blue bodice, short cape and mauve petticoat is certainly not dressed for travel or riding any distance, while the man wears a longish cassock over a doublet.<sup>34</sup>

If a stranger made a longer stay in London, as did Michel van Meer in 1614–1615,<sup>35</sup> he might have other figures added such as the citizen's wife and her maid, carrying a basket (Fig. 4.1). The former is in the style of the lady, wearing a farthingale, engraved in the border of a map by Iodocus Hondius, published in John Speed's *Theatre of Great Britain*.<sup>36</sup> From the same source came the rather well-dressed countryman (Fig. 4.2) usually shown carrying game in his basket or with a dead hare slung from the stick over his shoulder.

The countrywoman on horseback (also on Fig. 4.2) has a more elaborate and fashionable dress than at her earlier appearance in Hoefnagel's print (Fig. 2.1). In many albums this rider is a fishwife with panniers, her mouth muffled up to exclude the mist from the Thames marshes, where agues were rife.



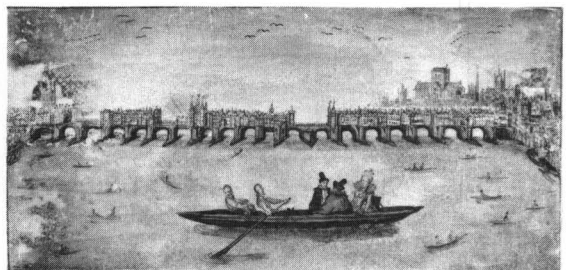
4.1



4.3



4.2



4.4

- Figs. 4.1 Citizen of London's wife, and her maid (1614). (From Album of M. van Meer; Edinburgh Univ. Lib. Laing Ms. III. 283 f. 146 v.)
- 4.2 Countryman, and woman on horseback (1614). (From Album of M. van Meer; Edinburgh Univ. Lib. Laing Ms. III. 283 f. 147)
- 4.3 London water-bearer and his dog (c. 1623). (From Album of G. von Hozschuher; Brit. Lib. Egerton Ms.1264 f. 28)
- 4.4 Thames watermen below London Bridge (1614). (From Album of M. van Meer; Edinburgh Univ. Lib. Laing Ms. III. 283 f. 408 v.)

But the London figure most commonly found depicted in albums is the water-bearer (Fig. 4.3), no longer the young and active man at the conduit (Fig. 2.1), but an old man, wearing a black smock over a white doublet and red breeches, yet carrying his empty tankard on his shoulder as before. When, as here, the water-bearer is represented as blind, he is led by a dog carrying a lantern in its mouth. If this is credible, there surely must have been a known character who resembled him, and it is surprising that no mention of him has been found in a popular ballad, pamphlet or play. Cob the water-bearer — this was the regular London slang name — is a character in Ben Jonson's play, *Every Man in his Humour*, but he is not the blind man with the dog who is painted in the Albums.

One might have expected to see other tradesmen and craftsmen, shoe-makers, silversmiths, tailors or butchers, in the albums, but they are missing and so are their apprentices. Thames watermen, rowing in pairs with gentlemen and ladies as passengers (Fig. 4.4) do appear, sometimes with London Bridge in the background; they wear white shirts and breeches. Accidents might happen to a wherry, and there is a unique picture of a student friend of Rhabanus Gies (Fig. 5.1) in his shirt drying himself before the fire at an inn at Greenwich, on 7 September 1620.<sup>37</sup>

Most of these pictures are so alike in style that they might have been painted in the same studio, perhaps by refugee artists from the Low Countries, but neither the artists nor the shops selling their work have been traced. A rare example in a different style is the carter (Fig. 5.2) wearing a yellow sheepskin jacket over his doublet and breeches. The heavy cart transporting bales of goods, each with a merchant's mark on the canvas, is of the high-wheeled type of which Busino writes:<sup>38</sup>

'street carts . . . which passing along on broad and high wheels do not yield or give way (to anyone) . . . the fashion of gloves is so universal that even the carters wear them . . . going about dressed in good cloth, with a linen overgarment . . .'

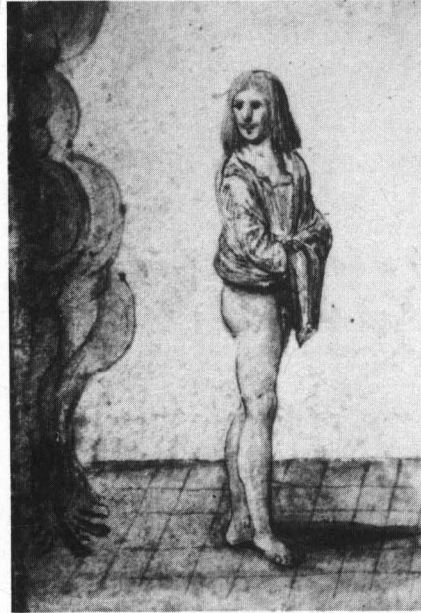
On the right is a Smithfield porter carrying a basket of meat. He wears a cap, a full linen smock, and knee-length breeches apparently supported by a belt. This picture does not look like other amateur work in this album, but no other pictures of Londoners have been found painted in this style.

London was never a quiet city; public announcements were made by Criers, and a Whiffler preceded the Lord Mayor, clearing the way with his staff. The Bell-man was a familiar figure and there is a wood-cut of him walking briskly and ringing his bell, on the title-page of Thomas Decker's pamphlet *The Bellman of London* (1608). He wears a belted knee-length gown lined with fur; it has a fur collar and is tailored with wings on the shoulders to support his staff. His high felt hat is of good quality. Decker's second pamphlet, *Lanthorn and Candlelight, or the Bell-mans second Nights walke*, also has a wood-cut, smaller and with the bellman in his 'night gown' a sort of overcoat with wide facings long sleeves and deep cuffs. On his head is a peaked hood with a flap above the forehead.<sup>39</sup>

The street criers of London, the tradesmen advertising their wares or soliciting custom, and the itinerant sellers of fish, fruit and vegetables, added to the din, and at some date, probably well into the 17th century, several illustrated broadsheets of street cries were published.

Few are preserved but a preliminary study of them was made by Professor F. P. Wilson.<sup>40</sup> They are printed from large copper plates (7 by 10 inches) with a central figure and 36 small arched compartments, each with a crier and his or her cry. On the first, the





5.1



5.2

Figs. 5.1 Paul Lingelsheim after his accident (7 September 1620). (From Album of Rhaban Gies f.198)

5.2 London carter and market porter (1614). (From Album of M. van Meer; Edinburgh Univ. Lib. Laing Ms. III. 283 f. 494)

crier in the centre is seeking in vain for ‘a little mayden childe of the age of 24 years’ (a contradiction in terms); the men are in the longer skirted doublets of James I’s time, and the seller of hats has a flat cap in his hand and on his head a pile of high-crowned steeple hats of the 1620’s. The women, mostly wearing gowns and aprons, with kerchieves covering their ears, are fairly convincing. In the second plate, the men’s clothes are distinctly old-fashioned. In the centre the rat-catcher is best known for his shout:

‘He that will have neither Ratte nor Mowsse  
Lette him plucke of(f) the tilles and set fier of his howse’

He wears a long-waisted peascod doublet and padded breeches,<sup>41</sup> and the Cooper and the criers of ‘Cherrieripe’ and ‘Pens and ink’ look Elizabethan. The women criers, however, have longer skirts, many sweeping the ground, and are certainly of the 1620s or later. Although there is a copy of this broadsheet amongst Thomas Platter’s papers in Basel it must have been acquired as a souvenir some time after his London journey in 1599. The plate was re-cut and sold in London probably in the 1640’s, with the imprint of John Overton at the White Horse, and cannot have seemed out of date then.

So, although these broadsheets need to be mentioned, their value for dating or authenticating costumes is minimal. They are simply not in the same class as their counterparts engraved by M. Merian and his French contemporaries. It was not until the mid 17th-century series of ‘Cries’ appeared, in which Wenceslas Hollar’s influence can be traced, that the way was clear for developments which led to Marcellus Laroon and so to Hogarth.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to give even a brief appreciation of the work of Wenceslas Hollar in London. His numerous small but most accurate portraits and representations of London ladies have yet to be studied as illustrations of the dress of different classes. Wenceslas Hollar had the benefit of training abroad, possessed an acute eye for the qualities of materials and especially of furs, and he was familiar with the outstanding work of the French engravers Jaques Callot, and Abraham Bosse.

From 1640 onwards, thanks to Hollar, the standards of engraving and of the portrayal of dress improved greatly, and Londoners become recognisable as such. Popular dress does not undergo the year to year changes of fashion, but it is hoped that these notes may give some guidance to those studying the earlier period, when sources are of variable reliability, and details are far more difficult to determine.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Harington *Nugae Antiquae* (1594) T. Park ed. (London, 1804) 167

<sup>2</sup> G. Chaucer, Ellesmere Ms. Facsimile ed. (Manchester, 1911)

<sup>3</sup> A. Malfatti ‘Itinerarium Britannicum’ (1493) *Two Italian accounts of Tudor England* (Barcelona, 1953) 86

<sup>4</sup> *Despatches of Seb. Giustiniani* (1515) R. Brown trans. (London, 1852) 90

<sup>5</sup> Malfatti *op. cit.* in note 3, ‘Ritratti del Regno de Inghlaterra’ (1550) 96

<sup>6</sup> *Nicander Nucius* (1545) J. A. Cramer trans. Camden Soc. Pub. No. 17 (London, 1841) 10

<sup>7</sup> *Times Literary Supplement* (24 October 1926)

<sup>8</sup> Hans Mahler, portrait of Anne of Austria at the Society of Antiquaries of London. See also F. Deserpz *Recueil de la diversité des habits* (Paris, 1564) G.5 ‘L’egyptienne’.

<sup>9</sup> Arden of Faversham Act. II. 1 line 53. A. V. Judges *Elizabethan Underworld* (London, 1930) 90

<sup>10</sup> Haberdashers’ Company Ms. XXVI. 3.a (1567)

<sup>11</sup> J. Stow *The Annales of England* E. Howes ed. (London, 1631) 1040

<sup>12</sup> J. Aubrey Reeves *Worshipful Company of Grocers* (London, 1923) 111

<sup>13</sup> H. D. Traill and J. S. Mann *Social England* 3 (London, 1902–1904) 214

<sup>14</sup> *The Diary of Henry Machyn* J. G. Nicols ed. Camden Soc. Pub. No. 42 (London, 1848) 32–33

<sup>15</sup> L. E. Tanner *Westminster School* 2nd ed. (London, 1951) 26

<sup>16</sup> G. Braun and F. Hogenberg *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572); whole map reproduced in A. M. Hind *Engraving in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* 1 (Cambridge, 1952) Pl. 34



- <sup>17</sup> P. Stubbes *Anatomy of Abuses in England* . . . (1583) F. J. Furnivall ed. (London, 1877) 73
- <sup>18</sup> Stow *op. cit.* in note 11, 1039
- <sup>19</sup> The best account of Lucas de Heere is in Frances Yates *The Valois Tapestries* (London, 1975) Ch. 4
- <sup>20</sup> T. Hampe ed. *Der Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927)
- <sup>21</sup> *Theatre de tous les peuples* University Library, Ghent Ms. 2466. *Beschrijving der Britsche Eilanden* Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 28330. See also Th. M. Chotzen and A. M. E. Draak *De Sikkel* (Antwerp, 1937)
- <sup>22</sup> E. Auerbach and C. Kingsley Adams *Paintings at Hatfield House* . . . (London, 1971) 53 No. 49 and Pls. 30, 31.
- <sup>23</sup> *Calendar of State Papers (Venetian)* 15 (1909) 270. I have not seen Busino's original 'Anglipotrida' letters (Venice Biblioteca di San Marco Cod. MCXXII) and have used Mr. Rawdon Brown's old translation, as published in 1909.
- <sup>24</sup> Fishmongers' Company Ms. 5570/2 p.172
- <sup>25</sup> Hind *op. cit.* in note 16, Pl. 35b
- <sup>26</sup> Thomas Platter *Englandfahrt in Jahre 1599* H. Hecht ed. (Halle, 1929) 50
- <sup>27</sup> Illustrated in full in Hind *op. cit.* in note 16, Pls. 60–69
- <sup>28</sup> Jost Amman *Gynaecium or the Theatre of Women* (1586) reprinted by Holbein Soc. Pub. No. 7 (Manchester, 1872) Pl. y. 3
- <sup>29</sup> Casper Rutz *Sacri Romani Imperii ornatus* (Mechlin, 1588) Pl. 19
- <sup>30</sup> Cesare Vecellio *Degli Abiti antichi e moderni* (Venice, 1590, 2nd ed. 1598)
- <sup>31</sup> There is also an earlier very rare engraving of the procession below Norden's view of London, see Hind *op. cit.* in note 16, Pl. 112.
- <sup>32</sup> Album of Georg von Holzschuher; Brit. Lib. Egerton Ms. 1264
- <sup>33</sup> Busino's letters *op. cit.* in note 23, 270–271
- <sup>34</sup> Album of Tobias Oelhafen; Brit. Lib. Egerton Ms. 1269
- <sup>35</sup> J. L. Nevinson 'Sketches of 17th-century London' *Country Life* 142 (16 November 1967) 1256–1257
- <sup>36</sup> Hind *op. cit.* in note 16, Vol. 2 Pl. 39
- <sup>37</sup> Album of Rhaban Gies; private collection
- <sup>38</sup> Busino's letters *op. cit.* in note 23, 246. There is a woodcut of a London cart in T. Harman *A caveat or warning for common cursetors* (1575) (London, 1814 reprint).
- <sup>39</sup> Both woodcuts are reproduced in Judges *op. cit.* in note 9, Pls. 14–15
- <sup>40</sup> F. P. Wilson *Illustrations of Social Life Shakespeare Survey* 13 (1960)
- <sup>41</sup> Hind *op. cit.* in note 16, Vol. 3 Pls. 211, 212

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# THE PLATE PURCHASES OF A TUDOR LAWYER

PHILIPPA GLANVILLE

Between 1550 and his death in 1570, John Bowyer esquire, J.P. of Lincoln's Inn and Camberwell, in keeping with his time and social standing, spent substantial sums on silver. As was customary he maintained carefully annotated lists of his plate and jewels, whether acquired by gift, by casual purchase, by commission from a Cheapside goldsmith or by inheritance. Normally such memoranda ceased to have any practical value on the death of their compiler and were destroyed but John Bowyer used spare sheets in a volume relating to the family estates, which included renewals of leases, details as to common land and notes as to acreage, all of which had relevance for his heirs. The manuscript therefore survived and was passed on through the Bowyer family and their successors. Extracts from it which did not include the plate lists transcribed here were published by Lysons in *The Environs of London* when the manuscript was owned by Joseph Wyndham, F.S.A. In 1953 the surviving Bowyer family papers were given by Sir P. Bowyer-Smyth of Hill-Hall, Essex to the Essex Record Office who passed to the Minet Library, Lambeth those manuscripts relating to John Bowyer including a copy of his will and that of his wife and other papers relating to the Camberwell lands.<sup>1</sup>

The leather-bound commonplace book of miscellaneous items relating to the Bowyer family and their estates, in which the plate accounts were included, contains also a Bowyer family tree and domestic memoranda kept by John Bowyer such as a list of the wedding apparel bought for his second wife Elizabeth Draper for their wedding on 17 June 1550 and a list of household equipment such as a bed, and irons, brass, sheets and blankets which he had lent to various members of his family. This article will give a sketch of Bowyer's life and activities and discuss his plate and jewel lists, which are unusually detailed.

The picture given by the plate lists enables us to amplify the general assumptions made about the Tudor use of plate as a status symbol and investment. These are now a historical commonplace; they have been largely based on contemporary comments such as those by William Harrison and Etienne Perlin. Surviving Tudor inventories and wills demonstrate the value set on plate and the urge to acquire some pieces, however small, but very little detailed evidence survives as to the timing, motive and mechanism of individual purchases, except in the case of the Crown and certain noble families.<sup>2</sup> John Bowyer's accounts enable us to reconstruct the pattern of plate-purchasing of a rising gentleman, one of a class far more typical of Elizabethan England than wealthy noblemen and courtiers. John Bowyer came to London from Shepton Beauchamp in Somerset and there acquired an estate by marriage to a wealthy heiress, an education and a profession. In all

this he was typical of that class who supposedly benefitted from the fluid economic and social conditions peculiar to Tudor England. His career provides illustrative detail for several aspects of the debate stimulated by such historians as Professor Tawney and more recently Lawrence Stone on the changing structure of Tudor society.<sup>3</sup>

I am grateful to my husband who in the course of research some years ago for his doctoral thesis drew my attention to the Bowyer papers at Camberwell, and to the staff at the Minet Library, particularly to Miss Williams the Borough Archivist who gave permission for photography.

John Bowyer's life story, in so far as it can be pieced together, is in no way untypical of his class and background. The son of a Somerset family, John Bowyer and Joan daughter of William Brabant of Bruton, John was born, presumably, about 1520 since he entered Lincoln's Inn in March 1540, a step normally taken by young men at between 18 to 20 years of age.<sup>4</sup> This suggests a background of some substance. The cost of study at an Inn of Court was considerably more than at Oxford or Cambridge and there were no compensatory aids such as sizarships or scholarships for poor but able candidates. However, his family was not included in either of the 16th-century heraldic visitations of Somerset (1530 and 1571), suggesting that they were wealthy yeomen rather than aspiring to esquire or gentry status.

On 29 April 1540, a month after his entry to the Inn, John married his first wife, Anne Jenes, by whom he had three children. During the 1540s he progressed through the various stages of his legal education. He was twice chosen as candidate for the mastership of the Christmas revels at the Inn, in 1545 and 1546, and was called to the bar in 1548.<sup>5</sup>

By 1549 his first wife had died and he was in a position to arrange an advantageous match for himself with Elizabeth Draper of Camberwell whose late father, Robert Draper, had been a royal servant from 1531 at least, to his death in 1548. In the early 16th century two branches of the Draper family had settled in Camberwell. In 1517 William Draper was sponsor at the baptism of Christopher Muschamp at St. Giles Church and a few years later Elizabeth, Robert Draper's wife was sponsor to another Muschamp child, Elizabeth. The family came from Nottinghamshire but married into the City and established themselves as Surrey gentry.<sup>6</sup>

Robert Draper as page and, later, yeoman in the Jewel House was employed by Thomas Cromwell in the stripping of monastic and cathedral treasures during the 1530s. He personally collected from Lincoln Cathedral the jewels and plate ornamenting the shrine of St. Hugh. The pickings, both official and unofficial, possible to an energetic servant of Henry VIII, are well known from the career of Thomas Cromwell; his henchman was apparently also profiting from his connections. In 1532, with the threat of royal displeasure already in the air, he was leasing land in Camberwell from the Abbot of St. Saviour's, Bermondsey, and on his patron's attainder Draper acquired Cromwell's lands in Camberwell. At Robert Draper's death in 1548 he left a widow, Elizabeth, two daughters, Benedicta and Elizabeth, and two sons, Matthew and Henry.<sup>7</sup>

Although the Jewel House declined in national significance after its peak of activity in the 1530s, it played an essential part in the royal household and Draper's position brought him into daily contact with both major officers of the crown and London's leading goldsmiths. That these contacts were not purely formal is clear from the people chosen as sponsors or godparents for her children by Draper's daughter Elizabeth. In an age when patronage and influence was a fact of life, John Bowyer married not only a

wealthy woman but also a place in a network of connections with the Court and the City which his wife at least was anxious to foster.

John Philipson, Master of the Wardrobe, whose gift at the 1560 christening of the baby John was a gilt bottle, was no doubt a friend from the days of Robert Draper's employment in the Jewel House; the nature of the link with 'Lady Unton', who gave two spoons on the same occasion, is more difficult to establish. Anne, the daughter of Thomas Seymour, Duke of Somerset, uncle and Protector to Edward VI, married Edward Unton in 1555 but is said always to have retained her title as Countess of Warwick from her first marriage. She had been a familiar figure at Edward VI's Court; as Edward Unton and made Knight of the Bath at the 1559 Coronation, the Bowyer reference of 1560 may merely reflect the recent improvement in her husband's status.<sup>8</sup>

The Bowyer family links extended not only to the Court but also into the City. One of his relatives by marriage, Sir Christopher Draper, son of John Draper, Flintham, Nottinghamshire, was one of the elite, the governing class of London. Sir Christopher, citizen and ironmonger, was first cousin to Elizabeth Bowyer and was connected through his mother to the Essex family of Gunson or Gunston, whose most prominent member in the mid 16th century was Sir Benjamin, treasurer of the navy. The two men were linked not merely by family but also by commercial interests. Between 1548 and 1570 Christopher Draper was regularly supplying naval stores from the Baltic to Gunson, acting for the Crown. In 1567 Benjamin Gunson and Draper's wife 'My Lady Draper, the Mayoress of London' were sponsors at the baptism of Bowyer's son Benjamin. Each gave the child a spoon. A further family link with that tight-knit body of prosperous men who controlled the City's government and trade, came through Bowyer's mother-in-law. She was the daughter of John Fifield or Lowe; her first cousin, the merchant tailor Simon Lowe of Camberwell, presented the couple with a fine gilt silver spoon as a wedding present and with Christopher Draper sold Bowyer some land in Camberwell in 1560. Elizabeth's brother Matthew also married into the City; his wife Sence (or Cynthia) Blackwell was the daughter of William, town clerk of London from 1540 to 1570. Sence Draper was sponsor to Luke Bowyer in 1562. Their marriage was childless and on Matthew's death in 1577 Edmund, Bowyer's eldest son, inherited Matthew's Camberwell lands.<sup>9</sup>

The Draper marriage provided Bowyer with a home on Camberwell Green, shared by his mother-in-law until her death in 1554. His wife's brothers also lived in Camberwell. Elizabeth and John had eleven children. All were baptized at St. Giles, Camberwell, where John Bowyer was the principal resident landowner.

As a substantial local gentleman John Bowyer fulfilled all the duties required of him by the government; he served as a justice of the peace and was indeed a member of the quorum, the inner group of justices, among the 30 or 40 for the county, who sat regularly to hear cases. This was no doubt due to his legal training and experience since membership of the quorum was effectively restricted to those with the knowledge and ability to administer the law.

In 1558 he provided men for the county muster. In the last two years of his life and indeed until a week before his death he was active on the commission for sewers for Surrey and Kent, with responsibility for the district between the river Ravensbourne and Putney Church. The low-lying countryside of the south bank was particularly vulnerable to flooding and the commissioners met every month at the court house in Southwark to plan

their defensive activities, to order and supervise repairs to the riverside wall, to ensure that drainage ditches were scoured and that local landowners contributed to their share of the cost. With Bowyer on the 14-man commission, although by no means always present, were the Recorder and Common Sergeant of the City, local landowners and four knights; regular attenders were two ex-Lord Mayors, Bowyer's cousin by marriage, Sir Christopher Draper, and another possible connection by marriage, Sir William Garrard.<sup>10</sup>

Despite his advantageous family position, Bowyer appears not to have been drawn into the City. His professional career as a barrister and his local duties no doubt occupied his time, particularly since he played a full part in the administrative life of Lincoln's Inn, acting in turn as Keeper of the Black Book, Treasurer and Governor and sitting on the building committee. With other benchers he shared in the cost of building new sets of chambers for the members in the 1560s. These eventually reverted to the Inn but for a period of years or lives the builders and then their descendants enjoyed the right of nominating the occupants. He joined the Inn just before the massive increase in admittances which took place after 1550; in the decade of his arrival, there were 16 calls to the bar, whereas between 1560 and 1569 calls more than trebled to 54.

All the Inns were experiencing this explosion of students and all were building in the second half of the century; at Lincoln's Inn the kitchens were replaced in 1555 and a gallery added to the Hall in 1565 at the cost of the Inn. With the keen demand for accommodation, chamberbuilding could be a lucrative business for individual benchers. Bowyer's set of chambers in the new building, in which he had invested and which he entered in 1568, were shared with his son Edmund.<sup>11</sup>

Although Bowyer was clearly an active member of his profession it has not been possible to reconstruct the details of his legal activities. One glimpse of Bowyer at work occurs in the Lambeth churchwardens' accounts where on two occasions in 1566 he gave counsel to the parish in their dispute with the Archbishop of Canterbury on the cutting down of some trees. His fees, of 5 and 10 shillings on this occasion, were presumably paid in small denomination coins from the weekly church collections.<sup>12</sup> The Tudor lawyer, like other professional men, would receive much of his fees in small change. Of this coin, Bowyer's goldsmiths were no doubt the ultimate recipients.

From obscure beginnings Bowyer achieved a standing both in his locality and in his profession. His son Edmund was to build on this modest success, becoming a justice, sheriff and deputy Lord Lieutenant for Surrey. He was knighted in 1603. John Bowyer died on 10 October 1570 and was buried at St. Giles, Camberwell. His widow married again, to William Forster and was buried at Camberwell in 1605. Their funeral monument survives although not in its original position (Fig. 1). In his will Bowyer carefully disposed of his bed and his bedding but made no reference to his plate. Shortly before his death he had disposed of much of it and most of the rest belonged ultimately either to his wife or to his children.

Apart from the lands in Camberwell which came to John Bowyer at his marriage, he had acquired by the time of his death substantial holdings both locally and in Somerset and Dorset. The purchase of a Dorset estate, the manor of Bluntherhayes, in 1569 might well have been the immediate cause of his sudden need for money in the summer of that year when he disposed of so much of his plate.<sup>13</sup>

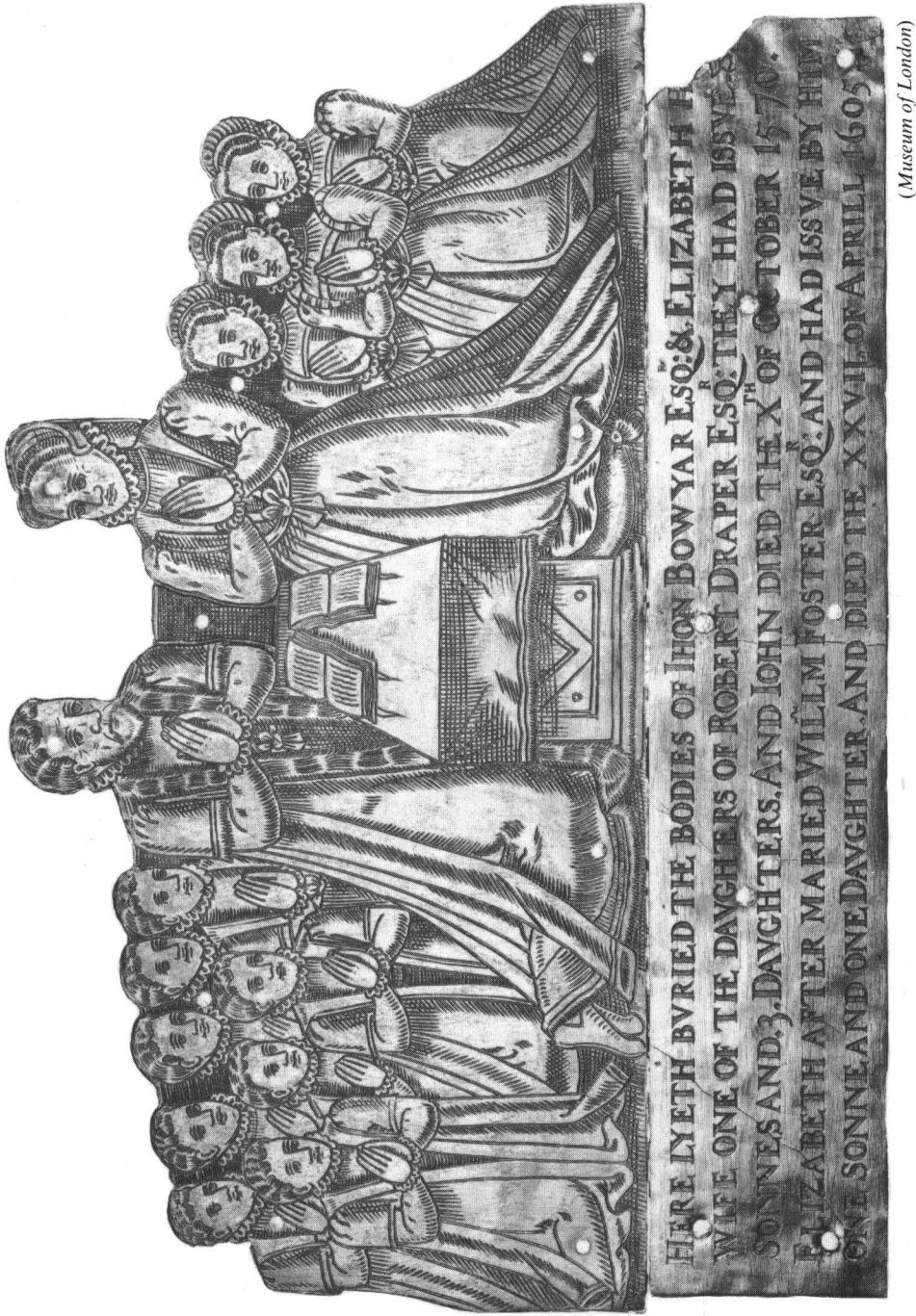


Fig. 1 Brass of John and Elizabeth Bowyer, St. Giles Church, Camberwell. The brass is no longer in its original position due to a later reconstruction of the church.

Three of the goldsmiths from whom Bowyer made his purchases were leaders of their craft in the City; they lived and had their premises in the premier City district for their trade, Goldsmiths' Row, Cheapside. Affabel Partridge, who worked at the sign of the Black Bull in the Row, was supplying plate to the Jewel House from at least 1558 to 1576. Thomas Metcalf, at the Bell, was Bowyer's preferred goldsmith, providing over fifty per cent of his purchases. He appears to have had special links with the legal profession; his cousin George was steward of Lincoln's Inn and in his will (in 1576) he left gold rings with death's heads of 40s value to the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, and the Solicitor General and a cheaper ring to William Fleetwood, the City Recorder. Alderman John Langley at the sign of the Adam and Eve, from whom Bowyer bought a cup and cover in September 1568, was of a higher social standing in the City.<sup>14</sup> Bowyer's relations with his goldsmiths demonstrate the range of activities with which they expected to be involved: not merely selling and buying plate and jewels but making to order and on occasion lending on security. Their willingness to accept payment in almost any form — broken plate, foreign coins or English coins no longer current — was guaranteed by their daily need for precious metal in whatever form. As Professor Reddaway comments, 'Anything to do with gold or silver and its uses was a concern of the Row'.

The other purchases where Bowyer gives only an address — 'at the end of Lombard Street', outside Temple Bar and at the Rose next the Savoy 'in my brother Garret's house' — cannot be linked to a known goldsmith. Possibly the latter two references are to the same man. They appear several pages apart in the manuscript and in compiling his list Bowyer may possibly have used different geographical locations for the same premises. The location of the shop is a strange one since the Goldsmiths' Company strove until the early 17th century to keep its working members in its own property and close to the Hall for ease of supervision.

Shortly before his death Bowyer appears to have been selling a piece of plate to an unnamed goldsmith on behalf of his Inn; at any rate, his heir was requested by the Treasurer for 1570/71 for 53s 4d in settlement *pro uno calice huius hospicii*.<sup>15</sup>

In the mid 16th century debasement of the currency made plate of guaranteed purity a better investment than coin. It is no coincidence that the earliest English silver pieces bearing the full set of London hallmarks were appearing in the 1540s, the decade when Englishmen's faith in their currency was most severely shaken. For nearly 20 years from 1544 to 1562 the Crown experimented with the coinage, issuing new denominations, altering the silver content and sometimes at the same time the face value of current coinage so that plate with its guarantee of weight for value became ever more attractive.<sup>16</sup>

Two of Bowyer's stoneware pots at least were paid for in 'old groats'. In these transactions he was disposing of coin which in that month, September 1551, had a higher silver content and therefore usefulness to the goldsmith than its current face value. The 1551 experiments with the coinage were particularly drastic and disturbing; all but the most recent and most debased issues of silver groats and testons in circulation were worth more as bullion than their face value — originally 4d and 1s respectively. Some of Henry VIII's testons were worth 1s 10½d and a more recent issue, of 1549, was worth 10d. The ordinary proportion in the coinage of 11 ounces 2 dwt. of silver to 18 dwt. of alloy had been gradually changing until in 1551 it had been reduced to 3 ounces of pure silver to 9 ounces of alloy. Proclamations in April and October called down the teston from 1s. to 9d and then 6d and the groat from 4d to 3d and then 2d.<sup>17</sup> However, at his goldsmith Bowyer

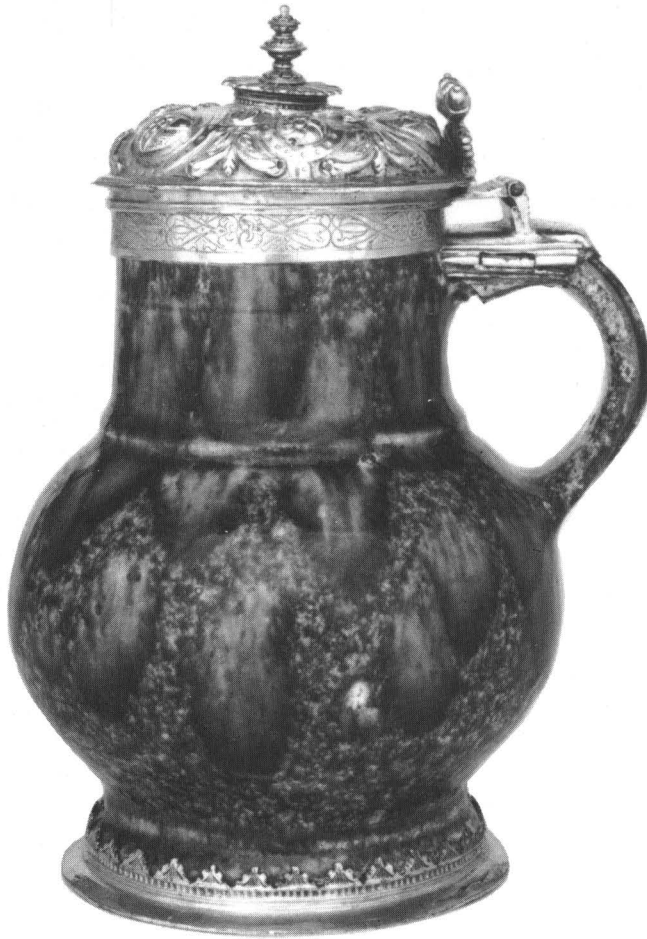
presumably could obtain the full value of the metal; although it was illegal and specifically prohibited by statute and by repeated proclamations, goldsmiths were necessarily involved with both melting down and buying and selling coin at a higher price and value than it was rated by statute. In his purchases Bowyer used at various times other alternatives to current English coins; in 1564 he supplied the gold with which Metcalf extended his wife's chain; in 1561 he bought a parcel gilt goblet for 'Spanish money' and another year paid for the cruses and 'flat piece' with 48 ounces of Spanish money. The goldsmith (unnamed) demanded foreign coin equivalent to the weight of the silver to be fashioned, plus 2d an ounce, presumably to cover variations in the precious metal content of imported currency. Foreign coins circulated quite widely in England, particularly in London; in 1561 the Crown issued engravings of the commoner foreign coins in proclamations on rates of exchange.

Bowyer's purchases of plate are a more useful indicator of his preferences than the items acquired by gift. He was, as might be expected, no trend-setter; none of his pieces is specified as being 'in the new fashion' or in any way unusual apart from the cruses bearing legal tags. The two mazers, one inherited, the other purchased locally, were a form of drinking vessel rapidly becoming obsolete. His progress from the modest silver-mounted stoneware pots which were his earliest recorded commissioned pieces to the fashionable nest of goblets, cruses and salts which he purchased in his prosperous middle years was typical of contemporary practice and exemplifies the universal Tudor desire to possess some item of silver to display at the table, however small.

Increasing prosperity in the middle of the century coincided with a passion common to all classes for silver-mounted drinking vessels in novel or exotic materials such as glass, coconut, porcelain or chalcedony, at the top of the financial scale, down to stoneware, tin-glazed or lead-glazed earthenware for the less wealthy. Silver-mounted pottery vessels have survived in disproportionately large numbers since the relatively small silver content of their lids and mounts was not considered worth the trouble stripping off. Those surviving pottery vessels which can be dated by their hallmarks or less closely by their form range from 1540 to about 1600, falling off rapidly to the end of the century. This coincides neatly with evidence from the inventories of the royal plate in which changes in demand for specific shapes can best be assessed. Already by 1540 some members of court at least owned mounted stoneware vessels. Several of the late Thomas Cromwell's glass and pottery jugs, taken over by the Crown after his fall in 1540, were included in the great catalogue of royal possessions at Henry VIII's death and of the 17 stone-mounted jugs listed in 1574 only three had been acquired after 1559. Court taste was already swinging to an alternative and more exotic material, crystal, available to London goldsmiths as a result of the Edwardian stripping of the churches.<sup>18</sup> (Fig. 2).

That the demand for stone-mounted vessels spread beyond the court is clear from surviving examples with merchants' marks (used by those not eligible for that mark of gentry status, a coat of arms). Several of Bowyer's purchases at least had on the lid his initials; he did not achieve gentry status until appointed to the commission of the peace. Reference to such pots occur in wills; in 1542 William Walle, a Londoner of unknown status, left a great stone pot with a silver-gilt cover and six small pots with silver lids along with other plate to pay his debts. The plate listed parallels Bowyer's holdings some 20 years later almost exactly — both had gilt salts with covers, a nest of goblets parcel-gilt, standing cups, pots and spoons apart from the stone pots.<sup>19</sup> Bowyer did not acquire any





*(British Museum)*

Fig. 2 Pot with silver-gilt mounts, the yellow and blue tin-glaze coated with brownish lead-glaze, in imitation of contemporary German stoneware; mounts London c.1550 (British Museum, Franks Coll.).

other examples of mounted pottery and in this one sees confirmation of the attitude, common to his class and time, that plate was for status and for investment, not for satisfying the whims of fashion. That the stone pots had acquired some sentimental value at least is indicated by his gift of one to his daughter Elizabeth.

The most elaborate piece of silver on the Bowyer plate cupboard was the large cruse or ale cup with four dolphins on the cover which came from Robert Draper and was presumably the fruit of his connections with the court and goldsmiths. Several other pieces were also gifts; Elizabeth's brother Henry gave her elder children Edmund and Elizabeth a number of items including a silver-gilt grater and a spoon each.

The list of christening gifts present no surprises. The spoons given to John, Matthew and Luke were presumably apostle spoons bearing the image of their name saints. This design of spoon was introduced in the 15th century and was particularly appropriate for a christening gift. Several of the Bowyer family spoons were apostle spoons; Elizabeth had half a dozen from her father with a dove (for the Holy Ghost) engraved on their caps and John Bowyer bought two more locally in September 1560.<sup>20</sup>

This lack of sentiment for the form taken by a particular quantity of silver is demonstrated by the inventories of the City of London's plate discussed elsewhere in this volume. In her paper on City plate Miss Masters demonstrates that pieces presented to the Corporation might well be re-fashioned within 10 or 20 years (see p 301). The fashion cost only a few shillings. John Bowyer paid a shilling an ounce for the cost of making his gilt cruces weighing 28 ounces and some years before again paid a shilling an ounce for the mounts of his stoneware pots.

The price paid for the metal itself varies considerably, depending on the condition of the piece, whether or not it was gilt or partly gilt, on the state of the coinage at the time, and on the currency with which the purchaser paid for his acquisitions. Comparative figures are unobtainable but a few examples of the prices paid may illustrate the variability per ounce; the price was also rising steadily during the 16th century. In about 1531 John Porth's silver was valued at between 2s the ounce (for silver on two mazers) to 3s 6d the ounce for a gilt standing cup. At about the same period the Crown was paying 5s 2d for gilt plate.<sup>21</sup>

The Edwardian church commissioners recommended that church plate should be disposed of for at least 4s 4d the ounce. Several London parishes did better than this; the churchwardens of St. Mary at Hill in 1551 sold some miscellaneous pieces of silver — clasps from a book and plates from the boy bishop's mitre — for 5s 8d and a large 23-ounce gilt chalice and pax for 5s 11d. In 1559 the Crown was paying 7s 6d per ounce for gilt plate. These were standard items produced in large numbers as customary gifts for those making offerings to the Crown at New Year. This price compares closely with Bowyer's range of 5s for plain 'white' silver (1551) to 7s 7d per ounce paid in 1560 for a salt all gilt.<sup>22</sup>

Domestic plate of the 16th century is extremely rare because of the general unsentimental approach, which valued silver for its investment potential rather than for its use or beauty, and the ease and cheapness with which shapes of vessel regarded as old-fashioned could be remade without any loss of metal. In the 20-year period of his prosperous second marriage, Bowyer did not apparently dispose of any of his plate in this way — that is, he does not record having any of his existing pieces re-fashioned. Undoubtedly, however, he shared the contemporary view of plate as a convenient form of saving and as an alternative for ready cash. When in 1569 he did dispose of several items it was clearly linked to a sudden need for cash; he accepted rather less per ounce for the three cruces, goblet and 'flat piece' than he had paid for them. The goldsmith might well have reduced the total because two of the cruces were engraved with legal tags, presumably requested by Bowyer at the time of purchase, which would limit their re-sale value. A few days after the first 1569 sale he made an agreement with his familiar goldsmith, Thomas Metcalf, in which he used the security of his nest of goblets (bought in 1561) initially to raise a loan; at 56 ounces the heaviest and most expensive single purchase of plate made by Bowyer, its use as a pawn demonstrates the convenience of plate for this purpose. The

marginal notes make it clear that he was unable or unwilling to redeem this valued and substantial possession and indeed disposed also in that year of another of his more massive purchases, the pair of large gilt cruces weighing 20 ounces supplied by Metcalf some years before. Although this sale is not included on a note of sales in June/July 1569 on a sheet inserted into the commonplace book between folios 240, 241, if it is added to the other six items disposed of between June and July, the total raised from Metcalf is £33 11s 8d.

In the jewellery lists the group of gifts and bequests is far larger than those items listed as purchases. These are effectively just the presents that Bowyer bought for his wife, such as the gold bracelets which were presumably intended to be worn as a set with the gift from her brother of a chain 'flagon fashion'.

The curious expression 'flagon fashion' presumably refers to the shape of the links of the chain and bracelet. This might be assumed to resemble the contemporary vessel now called a pilgrim bottle; the flat circular body of the bottle carried suspension rings top and bottom and might easily suggest itself as a descriptive term for a solid, flat, circular element in a continuous chain. Certainly the expression persisted until the end of the century in common use as a term for a type of bracelet or chain. In 1598 two flagon chain bracelets were valued at £4 and a flagon chain at £8. The OED definition suggests that the chain and bracelet might have been made for the suspension of a small bottle or flacon but this seems unlikely.

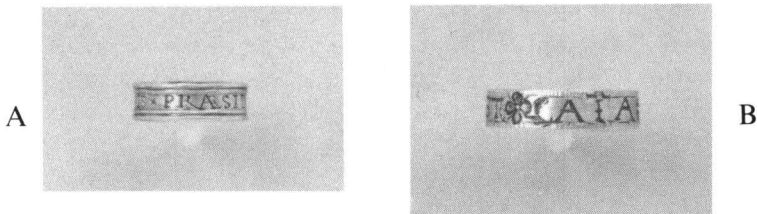
The little gold book was no doubt intended, in the current fashion, to hang at her girdle. It would have been in the form of a pair of covers to contain a miniature devotional book, like that dating from about 1540 exhibited in the recent British Museum exhibition, *Jewellery through 7000 Years*. The weight of gold purchased by Bowyer is commensurate with such a use; the British Museum book, which is enamelled, weighs just over 4 ounces (116.03 grams). Designs drawn by Holbein for an English client about 1533–1540 indicate that the fashion was already 25 years old by the time of Bowyer's purchase. It was to vanish, as so many of the decorative and elaborate forms of Tudor personal ornament did, in the early years of Charles I's reign.<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth's girdle book might well have hung on occasion from the chain of gold links of which the original half had been a gift from her father Robert Draper, and the rest added at her husband's expense. Such chains were worn either around the neck or waist, or suspended from the waist; a girdle book can be seen hanging from a gold chain in the contemporary portrait of Queen Mary I by Hans Eworth, of about 1553.

The largest category of Bowyer's jewellery, although not necessarily the most valuable, was his rings. Rings were important symbols in Tudor society and the gift of a ring formed part of marriage, death and other social rituals.<sup>24</sup> Bowyer's collection reflects contemporary attitudes to ring-giving and illustrates several aspects of his family life and professional activities. The most personal of the rings, his wife's wedding ring, was commissioned from a London goldsmith. It was engraved in the contemporary style with an appropriate motto and a cypher of the initials J & E, and the letters of their surname. A longer version of the motto appeared on the wedding ring of Sir Thomas Gresham. Bowyer's might well, like Gresham's, have been a gimmel or double-hoop ring in which the interlocking of the hoops symbolized the eternal union of the newly-married couple.<sup>25</sup> There is no mention of jewellery associated with his first wife; no doubt had his financial

standing allowed, she would have had at least a gold wedding and also perhaps a betrothal ring but these could have been unobtrusively and readily disposed of to a Cheapside goldsmith in part-exchange after her death.

The closeness of Bowyer to his wife Elizabeth's family is again apparent. The ring with a turquoise from his mother-in-law-to-be had been associated with an occasion of such significance to him that some 20 years later the location of the giving came readily to his pen; 'given in my study at Lincoln's Inn 1549'. This may have been at the time of his formal betrothal to Elizabeth. At all events the association of time, place and gift suggest a solemn family occasion. His mother-in-law favoured his son Edmund, his eldest son by his second marriage. Shortly before her death in 1554 she distributed rings to Edmund and to her daughter.

Two other items, the sergeant's rings given to Bowyer by Mr. Pickerell and Sergeant Rokeby, relate to his professional life. The custom that candidates for admission to the rank of sergeant-at-law should distribute rings to an established list of recipients was first described by Sir John Fortescue in *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* in the mid 15th century. It survived as an obsolete and indeed fossilised ritual until the mid 19th century. The newly-elected sergeants, now qualified to act as pleaders in the Courts of Common Pleas and Star Chamber, distributed to certain officers of the Crown, ecclesiastical and legal dignitaries and friends in their particular Inn of Court rings, of 20 shillings weight, each ring 'with some posy in it in praise of laws'. These were broad hoops of gold, engraved outside with a legal tag or motto (Fig. 3). Apparently at one call the same motto was usually taken by all the sergeants. Several examples survive, notably at the Inner Temple,<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 3).



(Victoria and Albert Museum)

Fig. 3 Tudor sergeants' rings: A is engraved *EX REGIS PRAESIDIUM*, the motto of the call of 1577. B is mid 16th century (Victoria and Albert Museum M. 53–1960; M. 51–1960).

The Rokeby who was friend of John Bowyer had been admitted to the Inn in 1529, called to the bar in 1534 and admitted as sergeant-at-law in 1552 when Bowyer had achieved the status of barrister. Ralph Rokeby came from a family with a long tradition of distinguished service at Lincoln's Inn. His son, Sir Ralph, claimed in a family chronicle compiled before his death in the 1590s that 'There hath been a Rokeby continually a lawyer and governor of the bench of Lincoln's Inn since the time of Henry VI'.<sup>27</sup> Bowyer contributed with the rest of his Inn towards the gift of £6 13s 4d, contained in a pair of gloves, presented on their election day, 12 October 1552, to Rokeby and the other newly-elected sergeant. A description in the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn of the procedure of creating new sergeants-at-law illustrates the elaborate ceremonial attached to this important advancement in a barrister's status and authority. Early in the morning the six newly-made sergeants, all in livery gowns trimmed with marten fur, were led by the Warden of the Fleet and his tipstaves into the Hall of Lincoln's Inn where the justices were

assembled. The Chief Justice after a 'Godly though somewhat prolix and long declaration of their said duties', put their coifs on their heads, the distinctive mark of sergeant and gave them their hoods. Then all went in solemn procession to Westminster Hall to the bar of the Court of Common Pleas where the newly-made sergeants presented rings to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal, the President of the Council, the two Chief Justices and as many of the justices 'as could then there conveniently sit'. Although as a young barrister Bowyer would not have qualified for attendance at the Court of Common Pleas, at Westminster Hall, he received his ring immediately afterwards at the feast held for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in Lincoln's Inn. The ring was no doubt engraved with the motto taken by the 1552 call, *Plebs sine lege ruit*.<sup>28</sup>

However, the identity of Mr. Pickerell presents a problem; Dr. J. H. Baker, who has been compiling a definitive list of early sergeants-at-law, is not familiar with the name. Pickerell was almost certainly not a sergeant-at-law, although it would seem improper if so for him to present a lawyer with a sergeant's ring. Perhaps this Mr. Pickerell was the Richard Pickerell who entered the Inn on 29 October 1559, the same day as Thomas, Bowyer's son by his first marriage, entered by special admission. In that case the ring may well have been already old and presented to Bowyer as a memento of Richard's father, a theory which receives some support from the message engraved on it. This presumes that the sergeant's motto in this case was either engraved inside the ring or had been erased so that the alternative motto, characteristic of those used on rings given as bequests, could be inserted.<sup>29</sup>

The emphasis on metal content and value characteristic of Tudor plate inventories is carried through into the list of Bowyer's and his wife's jewels; the weight of items made of gold alone, without stones, was to have been recorded in each entry, although the figure was not inserted for any of the gold chains. One might speculate that Elizabeth resented this close scrutiny of what had been in two cases at least gifts to her, from her father and brother respectively. The weight of the gold rings is given in terms of contemporary coin; ducat, angel and royal. As indicated by the coin weights, their wedding ring was comparatively heavy, 13 grams or more as compared with a Victorian 18-carat gold signet at 10 grams and a modern wedding ring at 6 grams.<sup>30</sup>

In these transcripts the spelling has been modernized and figures transcribed into arabic numerals. Where necessary the modern year date is given in brackets. I have regrouped the 35 entries relating to silver to bring out more clearly the various sources from which John Bowyer was acquiring his plate; the original entries occupy six folios. Folio 254 is headed 'Plate' and lists items acquired between 1550 and 1561 from various sources; 255 and 255 verso list plate acquired between 1560 and 1568, with a separately-headed section for the four entries about stone pots with silver mounts falling between two purchases from the same goldsmith, Thomas Metcalf, one of 1561 and a second of 1560 (Fig. 4). It seems probable, therefore, that the order of the entries was not chronological but was dictated by the method of storage of the plate within the Bowyer household; like items, whatever their date of acquisition, appear together, such as the salts, the two mazers, one bought and the other a family gift, and spoons which were, respectively, gifts, bequests and purchases. The christening gifts were listed together, although not so described, on folio 254 verso. The marginal notes added by John Bowyer to many entries give the date of purchase or sale and name of purchaser with, in several



cases, the price obtained on resale. The latest transaction took place in 1569. The jewels are listed on folio 257 (Fig. 5). Here they have been divided into purchases and gifts.

Bowyer made many of the entries in the commonplace book. The style of his handwriting and its legibility varies enormously from section to section. The estate business is clearly set out, with columns; the two pages detailing his admission and those of his sons to Lincoln's Inn are written in law-French, beautifully inscribed with those scrivener's elaborate flourishes and tailpieces characteristic of Tudor legal documents and appropriate to a proud record of family achievement. Unfortunately, the plate lists were nothing more than rough notes for his own use and in places, particularly in folio 254, Bowyer's hand becomes unreadable. From the context the word missing from the purchase of '3 little spoons' in December 1559 must be some form of foreign currency but none of the contemporary terms fitted the reading (m/w - 11 - - - rc/th).

### EXTRACTS FROM MINET LIBRARY MS. V1/230

#### PURCHASES IN DATE ORDER

*Fact' in Sept-  
ember anno  
domini 1551  
per Garret  
cop'ltura'*

[September 1551]

Item a stone pot with flowers on the side white which cost 5d and in ounces of old silver at 5s the ounce — of silver in groats of my own: and the cover hath this mark on the top BYR white and gilt and cost for the workmanship 4s.<sup>31</sup>

Item a great stone pot the price of 8d and in silver of my own in groats and paid for the making of the cover and this mark on the cover.

[November 1551]

*Fact' Novembr'  
1551*

Item a stone pot of dark colour which cost 2s and covered and lipped white with silver with this mark on the cover BYR weighing 3¼ oz after 5s the oz and the making cost 5s to him at the Rose next to the Savoy in my brother Garrett's house.

[June 1554]

Item a salt with a cover all gilt weighing — ounces and in all — bought of Abell (Affabel) Partriche at the sign of the Black Bull in Cheapside in June Anno 1554.

26s 8d

[1559]

Item 3 little spoons with knobs of silver bought for weight of [illegible] December anno 1559

8s

[September 1560]

These spoons beareth each end of the caps of the apostle the picture of the Holy Ghost.

Item 2 apostle spoons bought of Richard Bassington of Camberwell: in September a<sup>o</sup> 1560 3½ oz.

17s

Item a mazer with a band silver all gilt bought of Ric. Bassington of Camberwell in September 1560.

5s 4d



I had a Ring w<sup>th</sup> a stone of gold w<sup>ch</sup> was made of gold  
 gold & fine silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was set with a mass of  
 gold & silver of gold w<sup>ch</sup> was given by my father  
 in lawe Edw<sup>rd</sup> Darro to Elizabeth's daughter by his w<sup>ill</sup>  
 w<sup>ch</sup> was set in a diamond set in gold & silver  
 of gold & silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was given by my father  
 I had a little ring of gold w<sup>ch</sup> was  
 I had a ring of gold & silver w<sup>ch</sup> was set with a mass of  
 gold & silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was given by my father  
 I had a ring of a turkie's feathers a black w<sup>ch</sup> was  
 I had a Ring w<sup>th</sup> a stone of my mother's name in gold  
 & silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was set in a diamond set in gold  
 I had a little turkie's feathers in a w<sup>ch</sup> was  
 I had a Ring w<sup>th</sup> a diamond of 2 grs & 20 grs  
 I had a Ring w<sup>th</sup> a Ruby. turkie.  
 I had a Ring w<sup>ch</sup> was set with a diamond & made for my  
 mother's wedding Ring in June a<sup>o</sup> 1550: and was  
 given by my father: Deus vobis comitatus. J. E. B. M.  
 I had a turkie's feathers of gold w<sup>ch</sup> was a small in gold  
 I had a Ring w<sup>th</sup> a stone of gold & silver of my  
 mother's name: engraved about / memore moris  
 I had my Ring w<sup>th</sup> a stone of gold.  
 I had a Ring w<sup>th</sup> a stone of gold & silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was  
 set in a diamond set in gold & silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was  
 I had a Ring w<sup>th</sup> a stone of gold & silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was  
 set in a diamond set in gold & silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was  
 I had a Ring w<sup>th</sup> a stone of gold & silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was  
 set in a diamond set in gold & silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was  
 I had a Ring w<sup>th</sup> a stone of gold & silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was  
 set in a diamond set in gold & silver & w<sup>ch</sup> was

(Museum of London)

Fig. 5 The list of jewellery (f.257).



[December 1560]

Item a salt weighing  $15\frac{3}{4}$  ozs all gilt bought at the goldsmiths without Temple Bar beforehand [two words illegible] at 7s 7d the ounce in vigill. Nat. Dom. 1560 £5 19s 6d

[January 1561]

Item of Metcalf a goblet parcel gilt weighing 12 oz at 5s 4d the oz bought in January 1560 [1561].

[April 1561]

Item bought in April a<sup>o</sup> 1561 3 spoons like to those that follow [i.e. 1559: 'with knobs of silver']. 21s

*Sold in estate  
1569 for  
5s 8d the oz.*

[May 1561]

Item bought of Thomas Metcalf of Cheapside goldsmith 18 Maii anno 1561 and anno 3 regno Elizabethae a nest of gilt goblets of silver with a cover weighing 61 oz at 6s the oz.<sup>32</sup> £18 6s

*one sold in  
June 1569*

Item eodem die there bought 2 littel cups of silver one parcel gilt the other white weighing  $12\frac{1}{2}$  oz at 5s 8d the oz. £3 6s 8d

*Sold in  
June 1569*

[December 1561]

Item bought at the end of Lombard Street for the weight of Spanish money at 2d the oz one goblet parcel gilt weighing 15 oz lacking a quarter.

[June 1563]

*Sold Mich. 1568  
Sold June 1569*

Item bought of Metcalf in June 1563 2 white cruses of silver parcel gilt engraved about the one of them *Sequere Justiciam per Iuvenies* and about the other is engraved *Sequere iusticiam et iuvenies vitam*.<sup>33</sup>

In vigill. nat. dom. 1567.

Item bought of Metcalf 1 great salt like the before [i.e. 1560: 'a salt . . . all gilt'] weighing  $12\frac{3}{4}$  ounces at 7s the oz. £4 19s

[September 1568]

Item a cup with a cover of silver fixed all white weighing  $15\frac{1}{4}$  oz after the rate of 5s the ounce bought at the sign of Adam & Eve in Cheapside in the Goldsmiths Row 29 September 1568.<sup>34</sup>

Not dated

*Sold for £6  
in 1569*

Item bought of Metcalf 2 gilt cruses weighing 28 oz for the weights in Spanish money and 28s for the fashion.

*Sold again  
in June 1569*

Item bought of Thomas Metcalf a flat piece white weighing 12 oz for the weight in Spanish money And a little cruse parcel gilt weighing  $8\frac{1}{4}$  ounces for the weight in Spanish money And a piece of 2s 2d which cruse is graven about the belly of the cup. viz merit' pro p'rcbus.

GIFTS

First a cruse or ale cup of silver and gilt with a cover of silver and gilt with 4 dolphins on the top of the cover weighing 17 oz — of the gift of Robert Draper gent to Elizabeth his daughter.

Item a little mazer with a band of silver and gilt of the gift of my father in law Mr. Draper to my wife.

Item 6 spoons of silver and gilt at the ends and the pict[ure] of an apostle at every end given to Elizabeth my wife by her father and spoons weigheth —

Item a little gilt salt given by Henry Draper to my son Edmund Bowyer.

Item 1 gilt spoon given by Henry Draper to my son Edmund Bowyer by his testament.

Item one white silver spoon given by him to my daughter Elizabeth Bowyer/and gilt the ends/by Henry Draper.

Item grater of silver and gilt all given by Henry Draper by his will to my daughter Elizabeth Bowyer.

*given to  
Elizabeth  
fact' in  
Decembris a<sup>c</sup>  
1560*

Item 1 stone pot with a cover of silver white with the letters of AFE graven upon the top of the cover of the gift of Eleanor Harman.

Item 1 spoon of silver all gilt with the letter of MSL at the end: weighing — of the gift of Simon Lowe of London Mercer at the marriage of my wife June Anno Domini 1550.

CHRISTENING GIFTS

Item 2 little spoons all gilt given to my son John Bowyer by my lady Unton at his christening on palm [Sunday] 1560.

I. a little bottle of silver all gilt given to my said son by Mr. John Philipson Master of the Wardrobe at his christening the same time 1560.

Item given to my son Matthew a gilt spoon by Matthew Draper.

Item given to my son Luke by Doctor Jenes a gilt spoon.

Item given to my son Luke by my sister Sence Draper a gilt spoon.

Item given to my son Benjamin by my Lady Draper the mayoress of London 1567 1 gilt spoon.

Item given to my son Benjamin at the same time by Mr. Benjamin Gunson 1 gilt spoon.

## PURCHASES OF JEWELLERY

Item a ring weighing 2 angels and a ducat made for my wife's wedding Ring in June 1550 and within graven these words *Deus nos Coniugit IEBYR* [cypher of John and Elizabeth Bowyer].<sup>35</sup>

Item bought of Thomas Metcalf 12 Aug 1561 anno 3 Eliz Regis a pair of bracelets of gold flacons weighing 3 oz — £8 10s

Item bought of Mr. Metcalf 19 die Junii Anno 1564 and anno Regno Domino Elizabeth etc Septimo a Book of gold weighing 2 oz di and di quarter (2 $\frac{3}{8}$  oz) at 42s the oz and for making and fashion 10s — £7 5s

Note this chain hereafter as much more was made of my own gold in June 1564 at Metcalfs and the fashion cost 6s 8d.

First a chain of gold weighing — and a cross of gold to the same weighing — given by my father in law Robt Draper to Eliz his daughter by his will: which cross hath my diamonds set therein and the chain hath 96 couple of links and one odd link.

## GIFTS AND OTHER JEWELLERY

Item a chain of gold flagon fashion given to my wife by her brother Wm. Draper.

Item a ring with a turquoise of my mother-in-law's gift in my study at Lincoln's Inn 1549.

Item a ring with a blue sapphire given to my son Edmund in May 1554 by my mother in law at the time of her sickness and dd. [given] to me to keep for him.

*Given to my wife by her mother at the time of her sickness as above said*

Item a ring with a square diamond.

Item a ring with a turquoise.

Item a sergeant's ring of Mr. Sergeant Rokeby's gift at Sergeants Feast Mich. 1552.

Item a sergeant's ring of gold of the gift of Mr. Pickerell engraved without *memento moris*

Item a carved hoop of gold weighing a Ryall in gold.

Item a Ring with a turquoise having a black vein in.

Item a Ring with a diamond of divers squares.

Item a Ring with a Ruby table.<sup>36</sup>

Item my Signet with a blue stone.

Item a little chain of gold weighing —

Item given me by — of Wood Street London.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> D. Lysons *The Environs of London* 1 pt. 1 (London, 2nd ed. 1810). The volume is now at the Minet Library, Lambeth; MS.VI/230.
- <sup>2</sup> The Crown's plate purchases are well documented through inventories of the royal household, New Year's gift rolls and goldsmiths' accounts; for a discussion of sources, see the introductory chapters in A. J. Collins *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I: the inventory of 1574* (London, 1955).
- <sup>3</sup> Essentially the point of debate is whether, and if so why, a recognisably new group was benefitting from the social and economic conditions peculiar to the period; see the literature on 'the storm over the gentry' in M. Levine *Tudor England 1485-1603* (Cambridge, 1968).
- <sup>4</sup> For an incomplete Bowyer pedigree, see *The Visitations of Surrey Harleian Society* 28 (London, 1889). Further details are to be found in the commonplace book cited in note 1, f.1 and lv. 'John Bowyer or Boyer' in *Records of . . . Lincoln's Inn. Admissions from 1420-1893* 1 (London, 1896).
- <sup>5</sup> W. R. Prest *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth and the early Stuarts* (London, 1972) 27, 29. N. P. Baildon and R. F. Roxburgh, ed. *Records of . . . Lincoln's Inn. The Black Books* 1 (London, 1897) 271, 272, 287. Bowyer first entered an Inn of Chancery, Strand Inn, in 1538 for his preliminary legal education. Among his Lincoln's Inn contemporaries was William Forster of Crowhurst, Surrey. He was to marry Bowyer's widow. Minet Library MS. VI/230, f.281.
- <sup>6</sup> *The Visitations of Surrey op. cit.* in note 4, 'Draper': W. H. Blanch *Ye Parish of Camerwell* (London, 1875) 51.
- <sup>7</sup> Draper was admitted 'to the fellowship of St. Dunstan' in 1531; Goldsmiths' Company, Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes. Victoria County History *Surrey* 4 (London, 1912) 32. Blanch *op. cit.* in note 6 *passim*.
- <sup>8</sup> *The Visitations of Berkshire Harl. Soc.* 56 and 57 (London, 1907 and 8). Lady Cicely, widow of Sir Alexander Unton, her mother-in-law, married again. R. Strong 'Sir Henry Unton and his portrait' *Archaeologia* 99 (1965) 55, 57.
- <sup>9</sup> *The Visitation of London . . . 1568 Harl. Soc.* 1 (London, 1869) 'Draper', 'Lowe'. *The Visitations of Essex Harl. Soc.* 13 (London, 1878) 'Gunson'. *Acts of the Privy Council of England 1542-1604* 32 vols. (London, new series 1890-1907) 'Gunson', 'Draper'. On the close-knit family connections of the major city families, see F. F. Foster *The politics of stability: a portrait of the rulers in Elizabethan London* (London, 1977).
- <sup>10</sup> He was on the commission of the peace by 1558: Blanch *op. cit.* in note 6, 66. The last commission for sewers meeting he attended was on 6 October 1570: London County Council *Court Minutes of the Surrey and Kent Sewer Commission 1569-1579* (London, 1909).
- <sup>11</sup> For tables of admission rates see Prest *op. cit.* in note 5, 52. Baildon and Roxburgh *op. cit.* in note 5, 325, 334, 354, 358. Edmund had been admitted to the Inn on 11 March 1564, when he was only 12.
- <sup>12</sup> *Lambeth Churchwarden's Accounts and Vestry Book Surrey Record Society* 18 (London, 1941) 85, 86.
- <sup>13</sup> Prerogative Court of Canterbury: PCC 34 Lyon. The possessions in his will were characteristic of a wealthy yeoman but through his legal training and local standing he carried the 'port and countenance of a gentleman', the essential mark of gentry status.
- <sup>14</sup> Their careers are discussed in T. F. Reddaway 'Elizabethan London — Goldsmiths' Row in Cheap-side, 1558-1645' *Guildhall Misc.* 2 no. 5 (1963) 181-206. Langley at least, with several other prominent London goldsmiths, was a fellow-resident of Thames-side Surrey.
- <sup>15</sup> Baildon and Roxburgh *op. cit.* in note 5, 179.
- <sup>16</sup> C. Oman *The Coinage of England* (Oxford, 1931) 253, 264-265.
- <sup>17</sup> R. W. Heinze *Proclamations of the Tudor Kings* (Cambridge, 1976) 243. The confusion created may be imagined; in 1552 the churchwardens of St. Martin's in the Fields were allowed 20s for the fall in value of cash they had in hand.
- <sup>18</sup> See Collins *op. cit.* in note 2; Society of Antiquaries MSS. 129, 89v. This list was actually compiled in 1550. The fashion is discussed in P. Glanville 'The Parr Pot' *Archaeol. J.* 127 (1970) 147-155.
- <sup>19</sup> *London Consistory Court Wills 1492-1547 London Record Society* 3 (London, 1967) 93-94. Sir William More of Loseley in 1558 listed among his household plate 'a great stone jug garnished with silver, white, weighing 8½ oz': J. Evans 'Extracts from the private account book of Sir William More' *Archaeologia* 36 (1856) 293. Compare a piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with mounts of the 1560s. Another may bears an enamelled merchant's mark and hallmark for 1556/1557 (M.106-1913). One of Bowyer's pots at least might have been tinglazed to imitate stoneware, like the example in the Franks collection, British Museum, with mounts of the 1560s. Another may have been painted to imitate Iznik ware; compare for example Museum of London jug A.22832.
- <sup>20</sup> C. Oman *English Domestic Plate* (London, 1934) 69. An early 17th-century writer regarded the custom of giving a piece of silver as a mid Tudor innovation: 'it was not the use and custom (as now it is) for godfathers and godmothers generally to give plate at the baptism of children (as spoons, cups and suchlike) but only to give christening suits with little bands and cuffs wrought either with silk or blue thread': E. Howes *Annales or a Generall Chronicle of England begun by John Stow . . . augmented to 1631* (London, 1631).
- <sup>21</sup> H. Littlehales ed. *The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St. Mary at Hill), A.D. 1420-1559* Early English Text Society 125 (London, 1904) 57. 1528-1534: Collins *op. cit.* in note 2, 108.
- <sup>22</sup> Littlehales *ibid.* 389. *Calendar of State Papers Domestici 1547-1565* Addenda, 486.
- <sup>23</sup> H. Tait *Jewellery through 7000 Years* (London, 1976) 173-176 and Pl.24.
- <sup>24</sup> C. Oman *British Rings* (London, 1974) 35, 71. Certain gemstones were regarded as having 'virtues' or protective powers associated with them; Bowyer's collection of rings is typical of its period in that it includes several turquoises which supposedly protected a rider from falling off his horse — a useful attribute to a man travelling regularly, as Bowyer was between Camberwell and Chancery Lane. The blue stone in Bowyer's signet ring was presumably engraved with his arms or, as on the lids of his stone pots, with his initials.
- <sup>25</sup> Tait *op. cit.* in note 23, 258. The ring was a loan exhibit at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1912; Dalton Catalogue of Finger Rings (London, 1912) 159.
- <sup>26</sup> Report on the legal profession c. 1540, Brit. Lib. Harl. MS 7371, f.22.

- <sup>27</sup> T. D. Whitaker *An History of Richmondshire* (1823) 128 cited in Prest *op. cit.* in note 5, 37. Rokeby had been formally linked with Bowyer in 1548 at the moot which qualified Bowyer to call himself a barrister: Minet Library MS VI/230, f.341.
- <sup>28</sup> The call described is that of 1547: Baildon and Roxburgh *op. cit.* in note 5, 278–282. Some 250 inscriptions from sergeants' rings are recorded in a typescript list at Lincoln's Inn Library.
- <sup>29</sup> Oman *op. cit.* in note 24, 79.
- <sup>30</sup> Information on coin weights from British Museum Dept. of Coins and Medals.
- <sup>31</sup> Cypher of Bowyer.
- <sup>32</sup> 'nest of goblets'. This comprised a set of small ribbed cups or beakers fitting into one another with a cover. The bottom one might be gilt and the others partially gilt, down to the ribs or studs. No examples survive. Collins *op. cit.* in note 2, 41–42.
- <sup>33</sup> 'white cruses . . . parcel gilt'. In the royal plate lists (1574) only 3 cups were white in 227 items. Gilding lent splendour to the vessel and protected it from unsightly oxidation; most items had gilding applied to some part of the surface at least.
- <sup>34</sup> i.e. John Langley's shop: Reddaway, *op. cit.* in note 14, 200.
- <sup>35</sup> The gold angel of Edward VI or earlier weighed 5.2 grams, the ducat 3.5 grams and might have been issued by the Bishopric of Salzburg or by Hamburg or Emden but was most likely to be Spanish at this date in England.
- <sup>36</sup> 'Ruby table', i.e. table-cut. Fancy-cutting, which enhanced the colour and brightness of the stone, was popular in the 16th century: see the many examples, both set and unset, in London Museum *The Cheapside Hoard of Elizabeth and Jacobean Jewellery* (London, 1928).

# THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIC PLATE 1567–1731

BETTY R. MASTERS

Until the opening of the Mansion House in 1752 the lord mayor of the City of London was accustomed to keep his mayoralty in his own mansion house or in one hired by him for the occasion, and it was here that the civic plate was lodged for the term of his office although it may well have been taken to Guildhall for such special feasts as the lord mayor's banquet, or perhaps on occasion to the hall of his company, and was certainly borrowed for use in Westminster Hall at the coronation banquets of James II and William and Mary.<sup>1</sup> When Thomas Pullison succeeded Sir Edward Osborne as lord mayor in October 1584 the chamberlain's accounts record the payment of 12d for carriage of the plate 'from the olde Lord Maiiores to the newe' and of 2s 6d to Humfry Wynnington, clerk of the chamber, for 'writinge one paire of Indentures betwene this accomptaunte and my Lord Maior for the Cities plate delivered to the said Lord Maior'.<sup>2</sup> The plate indenture whereby the chamberlain delivers the City's plate into the custody of the new lord mayor and the lord mayor stands bound to redeliver the same at the end of his term of office is still drawn up annually although the plate now remains permanently in the Mansion House.

The City's collection of plate has been greatly enlarged and enriched over the past two hundred years or so by purchases, by gifts from distinguished visitors to the City, and by the tradition which grew up that each lord mayor on vacating the office should add one item. Sadly, only one piece in the present great accumulation dates from before the Great Fire of 1666, and the Christopher Cup of silver gilt, hallmarked 1662, is sometimes on this account called the Fire Cup. It was not, however, that all the other plate was destroyed in 1666. Surviving lists of plate dating from shortly before and after the Fire make it clear that this was not so, and indeed it would be only to be expected that the removal of the valuable civic plate from the house of Sir Thomas Bludworth, then lord mayor, before the flames reached Gracechurch Street, would have been a matter of high priority. What is true is that the Christopher Cup is the only piece of pre-Fire plate to have escaped subsequent refashioning. Refashionings were of frequent occurrence. Unlike the modern collection in which the major pieces are largely ornamental in character, much of the plate of the 16th and 17th centuries was in regular use. Pieces became 'battered and bruised' and when this happened or they became unfashionable in design the aldermen did not hesitate to order that they be melted down and remade, although they usually took great care that any inscription recording the name of the donor of the original piece should be engraved upon the new. Such inscriptions were repeated through several refashionings (occasionally to the confusion of later writers about the plate).<sup>3</sup> The Christopher Cup is a

case in point being already the second refashioning of a bowl given to the City only eighty-two years earlier by Robert Christopher in 1580.

The chamberlain was responsible for the City's plate as he was for the City's cash and an inventory of the plate, or after 1718 a copy of the plate indenture, is often to be found at the end of his annual account. A small number of draft City's Cash accounts which survive for the 16th century yield four such inventories: 1567, another which can be dated between 1569 and 1572 (hereafter referred to as *c.* 1570), 1585 and 1586.<sup>4</sup> Although these are headed 'Plate remaining in the hands of the Chamberlain' there is no doubt that they list the contents of the plate indenture. The surviving engrossed City's Cash accounts which begin only in 1632–1633 contain lists for each of the years 1633–1651 and for most of the years 1693–1731. Some original plate indentures survive intermittently from 1650 onwards.<sup>5</sup> In addition an inventory of the contents of the Chamber taken on the death of Robert Brandon, chamberlain, in 1591, includes a list of plate for use in the lord mayor's house which is useful in varying slightly in form from the stereotyped pattern of the annual inventory,<sup>6</sup> and an inventory of furnishings and other goods to be found in Guildhall and other Corporation buildings which was taken at the beginning of the chamberlainship of Thomas Player in 1651 also includes the plate.<sup>7</sup> The items listed in the inventories and indentures between 1567 and 1731, which include the lord mayor's chain and jewel as well as the bowls, cups, dishes and spoons used for civic entertaining, are the subject of this paper. The swords, mace, crystal sceptre and other insignia were not included and are not discussed here.

When they compiled the London section of their great work on Corporation plate and insignia, Jewitt and St. John Hope made invaluable researches in the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen and traced many of the orders relating to the plate.<sup>8</sup> But they did not have access to the inventories and indentures and in consequence were unable to indicate the size of the collection at any one time. The inventories and indentures, moreover, usually give a fuller description of individual pieces than is to be found in the court orders relating to acquisition, alteration and repair, and in the 17th and 18th centuries they often identify specifically items which were the exchange of earlier pieces of plate.<sup>9</sup> Although the Christopher Cup is the only surviving pre-Fire piece, the inventories show that nearly all the early 18th-century plate now in the collection has an ancestry going back to the 16th or early 17th centuries. Other information not known to Jewitt and St. John Hope comes from entries in the chamberlain's accounts of payments to goldsmiths and from a few surviving goldsmiths' bills.

Goldsmiths who are known to have been responsible for the making or repairing of the City's plate include the following names — although it is improbable that the aldermen among them, who include some of the great goldsmith-bankers, were the actual craftsmen but rather had been charged by the court of aldermen or the lord mayor with seeing that the necessary work was carried out. (The references within square brackets are to the notes on the history of individual pieces given below). Sir Martin Bowes, alderman and donor of the earliest jewel of office of the lord mayor in 1558[8], was also responsible for work upon the plate [6]. John Wetherall, a common councilman, remade some silver trenchers in 1559 [5]. Richard Matthew mended and gilded the City's greatest livery pot and gilt basin in 1586.<sup>10</sup> Thomas Hampton and Christopher Wace or Wasse, another common councilman, made unspecified exchanges of plate in 1600 and 1603 respectively.<sup>11</sup> Richard Gossen supplied a new jewel for the lord mayor in 1607[8].

Richard Clay remade two great pots [1] and a basin [10] as well as repairing and burnishing other plate and supplying a diamond for the jewel in the place of one lost in 1632. The charges for Clay's work totalled £155 0s 4d against which was offset old plate to the value of £95 1s 8d.<sup>12</sup> In 1640 Thomas Francis remade two standing cups and covers [2] – [3], refashioned the bowl given by Robert Christopher as another standing cup and cover [11], repaired and burnished other plate, and provided leather cases for several of the pieces. His charges totalled £64 3s 4d against which he allowed £44 3s 4d for the old plate.<sup>13</sup> Thomas Vyner, soon to become an alderman, refashioned a late 16th-century silver bowl as six tankards in 1643 [14]; and in 1654 during his own mayoralty was ordered to be paid for the making of new trenchers from old plate [13].

Francis Meynell, goldsmith, was appointed with his fellow alderman, Sir Richard Ford, on 6 November 1662 to view some of the plate which was reported to be 'out of fashion battered and unhandsome for service' and to recommend what pieces should be altered and in what fashion in order 'to make the same more usefull and preserve the memory of the Donors'. Two weeks later Meynell was instructed to enlarge the small trencher plates belonging to the city [13] and he must afterwards have arranged for the alteration and repair of other pieces for on 28 January 1664 the court of aldermen allowed his bill for 'change and alteracion of divers peeces of the Cities plate' in the very large amount of £454 3s 4d, a sum which must be presumed to represent the balance between the cost of the work and the value of the old plate surrendered.<sup>14</sup> The next surviving list of plate, dated 1669, reveals that many of the most important pieces of plate as well as the trenchers had been exchanged since the indenture of 1662, and it must be presumed that most of these changes were included in Meynell's bill which unfortunately is not extant (see [1], [2]–[3], [6], [9], [10], [11], [14] and [16]). The Christopher Cup [11], the only piece surviving from this date, bears the maker's mark WM.

Minor repairs were executed by Richard Mart in 1676 and Godfrey Beck in 1672 and 1677 whose bills survive.<sup>15</sup> In 1674 Sir Robert Vyner, nephew of Thomas and also an alderman and lord mayor, charged for making four new tankards in exchange for old [14], gilding a large basin and three standing bowls and covers [2]–[3], [11], and carrying out other repairs. His charges totalled £60 11s 2d against which was offset £26 15s 0d for the old tankards. The bill was not paid until 1679 and was signed on his behalf by Bernard Eales for receipt of the balance. In 1678 Eales acknowledged 'for my self and partner Robert Vyner jun<sup>r</sup>' payment of a bill of £59 1s 0d for a large gilt cup and cover.<sup>16</sup> In 1689 Edward Gladwin remade a basin and three ewers [6] and four tankards [14] with other minor repairs. His charges totalled £147 12s 6d against which he allowed £92 7s 4d for old plate. John Partridge made a silver monteith in 1699 in exchange of old plate [9], and Deputy Lawrence Coles three tankards [14] and a gilt bowl<sup>17</sup> as well as 'boyling burnishing & beating ye brussis outt of tenne doz of plattes' in 1705. Sir Robert Child, alderman, was responsible in 1719 for remaking the trenchers [13] and repairing the pearl sword.

In 1721 Benjamin Pyne remade three flagons [1], two cups and covers [2]–[3], and three basins and ewers [6], all of which are still among the Mansion House plate and bear inscriptions that they were repaired in 1721 in the mayoralty of Sir John Fryer. All have been repaired and regilt a number of times since. Pyne also remade two tankards and repaired a third [14].



The collection of civic plate in the 16th and 17th centuries was small. It seems certain that it was supplemented as need arose by the plate of the lord mayor's company and by his personal plate and this may explain the otherwise curious absence of a salt from any of the civic inventories within the period 1567–1731 since these pieces would have figured prominently among company and personal plate. On the other hand, although small, the civic collection was exceptionally rich in silver and even silver-gilt trenchers which would have been rare outside royal and noble households and were therefore provided in quantity for the lord mayor. Their presence in the collection gives some indication of the splendour of civic entertainments.

By 1567, the date of the first surviving inventory, some items of plate known to have been in the City's possession earlier had disappeared. The most notable are the gold cup and cover garnished with pearls and precious stones which was given to the City by Richard III in 1484, a garnish of silver vessels valued at £184 and given by Sir Thomas Lovell in 1522 which was sold by order of the court of aldermen in 1548, and silver-gilt vessels worth £100 which came to the City in 1537 under a legacy of Sir Bartholomew Rede, goldsmith and former lord mayor, who had died in 1505.<sup>18</sup>

There are only nine entries in the inventory of 1567, of which two relate to the lord mayor's chain and jewel, ten in *c.* 1570, twelve in 1585 and thirteen in 1586. The sequence of the entries generally follows the order of acquisition of the items by the City. Six of the entries in 1567 refer to pieces of plate acquired in payment or part payment of fines for discharge from civic office and allocated for use in the lord mayor's house, but this did not prove to be a continuing source of growth, further additions to the collection being made by way of gift or purchase. In 1586 the collection comprised in addition to the chain and jewel, two great pots or flagons, two smaller livery pots, two standing cups and covers, two basins and ewers, a great bowl, a dozen spoons and six dozen trenchers, all of silver-gilt or parcel-gilt. To these were soon added a great bowl of English silver, another silver-gilt basin and ewer and three voiders parcel-gilt while the number of trenchers, now all of silver, had doubled to twelve dozen before 1633. Thereafter the collection showed little growth<sup>19</sup> until well into the 18th century though individual pieces were remade, changed in form and sometimes much increased in weight by the addition of new metal. From the 1730s on there is a considerable increase of plate, particularly of table silver, which doubtless reflects an increase in civic entertaining and the stimulus given by the opening of an official residence for the lord mayor in 1752.

Occasionally items of other than precious metals are included in the inventories. The Chamber inventory of 1591 mentions a table knife and carving knife hafted with white bone and one other table knife and carving knife hafted with black bone and six squirts of latten 'for the defence of fyer' as being for use in the lord mayor's house. A voiding knife given by Sir John Garrard occurs in the plate inventories 1617–1662, and six squirts are listed from 1651–1662. The plate indenture of 1651 also includes two velvet hoods provided at the charge of the City and appointed to pass from lord mayor to lord mayor. These figure in all the lists up to 1718 after which only one hood is included. Sir Thomas Vyner endorsed the plate indenture during his mayoralty with acknowledgement of the receipt of a great bible, covered with velvet, embossed with silver-gilt, and with silver-gilt clasps. This does not appear in the post-Restoration inventories. Two large iron chests in which to keep the plate were provided in the mayoralty of Sir George Merttins, 1724–1725, and are listed thereafter.

There follows a transcription of entries from two of the inventories with a note following each entry or group of entries as to the acquisition and subsequent history of the pieces listed. For convenience of reference each entry has been given a number. Nos. [1] to [13] are taken from the inventory of 1586 and together comprise the whole of that inventory. Nos. [14] to [17] are additional items listed in the inventory of 1633. All the plate was subject to frequent minor repairs. The notes which follow are generally confined only to exchanges or major alterations. Repairs and regilding as well as wear probably account for small differences to be found from time to time in the recorded weights of individual pieces.

## THE INVENTORIES

The majority of references that follow are to the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen (hereafter Rep.) and to Jewitt *op. cit.* in note 8, vol. 2 (hereafter Jewitt). All documents cited are in the Corporation of London Records Office.

Plate and Jewells remainyng in the handes of  
the nowe Chamberlen [1586]

[1] Fyrste towre greate gylte pottes parcell of the fyne of Mr John Browne sometyme Alderman for his discharge of Aldermanshipp and Maioraltye wayng CClxviiij oz [1586]

Listed, with minor variations in weight, in the inventories 1567–1591. Possibly but not certainly the original pots given by John Brown in 1527. In November 1527 Brown, an alderman since 1523, had offered two great standing pots of silver and gilt worth £80 in return for discharge from further civic office (Rep. 7, ff. 147, 147b) and on 19 December 1527 it was ordered that the lord mayor should have their custody and use. (Rep. 5, f. 128b, quoted by Jewitt 126 but wrongly ascribed to 1519).<sup>20</sup>

Exchanged 1632 for two fair great livery pots of silver all gilt weighing 316 oz. made by Richard Clay, and costing £105 6s 8d at 6s 8d the ounce. For the old pots, then weighing 276 oz., he allowed 5s 2d the ounce (City's Cash 1/1 f. 50; Rep. 47, f. 69b; inventory 1633).

Weight increased to 327 oz. 5 dwt. between 1662 and 1669 probably as the result of repairs or regilding. Possibly by direction of Francis Meynell 1662–1663. No mention of an exchange. (Plate indenture 1669).

Exchanged again in 1721, together with another great gilt pot weighing 134 oz. (see [9]), for three great wrought gilt decanters engraved with the arms of the City together weighing 540 oz. which were made by Benjamin Pyne. The term 'decanters' is used both in Pyne's bill and in succeeding inventories up to at least 1814; from 1830 the same pieces are listed as flagons. Pyne charged £274 10s 0d for these at 5s 8d per ounce for the materials, 2s per ounce for the fashioning and 2s 6d per ounce for the gilding, plus £13 10s 0d for the duty at 6d per ounce, £3 3s 0d for engraving the coats of arms, and £3 12s 0d for three cases. For the three old pots, described in his bill as flagons, he allowed £126 1s 9d (Misc. MSS. 165. 7; Plate indenture 1721). Pyne's great decanters or flagons are still among the Mansion House plate (reference JSG 4–6), present weights 175 oz., 174 oz., and 173 oz. 10 dwt.

[2] Also a standinge Cupp with a Cover antique worke allgilte wayng lxxv oz [3] Also one other standinge Cupp with a Cover with a crowne imperyall allgilte and wayng xlvi ounces [1586]

Listed in the inventories 1567–1591 and bracketed with entries [4], [5] and [6] as part of a fine paid by Sir William Denham, alderman 1531–1542 and sheriff 1534–1535, for

A note of such parcels of plate, Jewels and other things  
 as belongeth to the plate of the City, and by the gift of the Mayor  
 and Aldermen appointed to pass from the Mayor to  
 the Mayor for the space of the same

Impressed to the great gilt plate, part of the  
 gift of the Mayor and Aldermen for the  
 for the exchange of the Mayor's plate, and  
 Mayor's plate, weighing 1 lb. 10 oz. 2 gr.

Item a standing cup antique work all gilt weighing 1 lb. 10 oz. 2 gr.

Item one other cup with a cover with the Mayor's  
 Imperial weighing 1 lb. 10 oz. 2 gr.

Item one dozen of spoons all gilt weighing 1 lb. 10 oz. 2 gr.

Item two dozen of the Mayor's part of the  
 weighing 1 lb. 10 oz. 2 gr.

Item a Basin and Cover of silver all gilt  
 antique work, made by the Mayor of the  
 City weighing 1 lb. 10 oz. 2 gr.

Item a collar of front gold, the collar of the  
 of the gift of the Mayor and Aldermen, the  
 being lately enlarged with the Mayor's  
 weight and two knots weighing 1 lb. 10 oz. 2 gr.

A fair Jewell of gold of the gift of the Mayor  
 the Jewell being altered and made more fair  
 than before being a great Emerald, the  
 Capricious mount fashion a great Chalif, the  
 male pointed diamonds, the great pearls  
 and one fair Emerald pearl hanging at the  
 lower parts of the said Jewell, the  
 stones and pearls were all given by the  
 Mayor the Mayor being the fairer  
 of the Capricious was given by the Mayor  
 Martin Knight, the Mayor, and the fairer  
 on into pearls pendant, but the Jewell  
 was lately prohibited and put pendant, at  
 the gift of the City with weighing in all for  
 one in quarters in gold and silver to the

Fig. 1 Inventory of City plate, 1591.

(The Corporation of London)

discharge from further civic office. Possibly but not certainly the original cups given by him in 1542. Denham had entered into a bond on 27 November 1542 to pay £200 in ready money and £100 in plate which should include two dozen new silver trenchers and which was appointed for use in the lord mayor's house. (Rep. 10, ff. 281b, 282b).

An order of 12 December 1566 for the repair and regilding of a standing cup and cover probably relates to either [2] or [3]. (Rep. 16, f. 147b, quoted by Jewitt 126).

The inventory of 1633 lists as its second entry two great fair standing cups with covers all gilt together weighing 128½ oz., presumably an exchange with the above between 1591 and 1633.

Exchanged again 1640 for two fair standing cups with covers all gilt 'matted fashion', each weighing 62 oz., for which Thomas Francis charged at the rate of 6s 10d the ounce. For the old cups and covers then weighing together 122 oz., he allowed 5s 4d the ounce. Francis also supplied three leather cases for these two cups and for the Christopher cup which he refashioned at the same time (see [11]) at a cost of £1 (City's Cash 1/3, f.139b; inventory 1640).

Exchanged again between 1662 and 1669 for two great standing cups with covers all gilt weighing 108 oz. 16dw. (Plate indenture 1669). Possibly by direction of Francis Meynell, 1662–1663. Regilt together with the Christopher Cup [11], by Sir Robert Vyner in 1674 for £13 9s 6d (Misc. MSS. 165. 7).

Exchanged again in 1721 for two gilt bowls or cups with covers weighing 121 oz. 4 dw. made by Benjamin Pyne, who charged £59 11s 0d at 5s 8d per ounce for the materials, 20d per ounce for the fashioning and 2s 6d for the gilding, plus 12s for engraving 'ye Coats and Compartments' and £3 0s 6d for the duty. For the old cups, then weighing 103 oz., Pyne allowed £28 6s 8d at 5s 6d the ounce (Misc. MSS. 165. 7; Plate indenture 1721). Pyne's cups are still among the Mansion House plate (reference JSG 2–3), present weights 63 oz. and 60 oz. 15 dw.

[4] Also one dozen of spones algylte wayinge xxxij oz [1586]

Also listed as part of the fine paid by Sir William Denham in 1542 (see [2]). Regilt by order of 12 December 1566 (Rep. 16, f. 147b, quoted by Jewitt 126). Described as above in the inventories 1567–1591. Probably remade one or more times. The inventories 1633–1654 give the weight as 29 oz. Melted down in 1654 with other plate for the making of new trenchers (see [13]).

[5] Also towe dozen of Trenchers parcell gilte beinge late Burnished and gylded waying CCv oz di [1586].

Also listed as part of the fine paid by Sir William Denham in 1542. The trenchers may originally have been of silver only in accordance with his bond (see [2]). John Wetherall or Wetherhilles remade the City's silver trenchers in 1559 adding new silver (Rep. 14, f. 246) but by 1567 the Denham trenchers, the only ones then in the inventory, were already parcel-gilt and were shortly to be regilt. In the inventory of c. 1570 the description is as above. For the later history of the City trenchers see under [13].

[6] Also one Bason and Ewer allgilte Antique worke chased with the Armes of this Citie wayinge Cxxix oz di of the gyfte of Sir Willyam Denham knight and Alderman for his fyne for his discharge of Aldermanship and Maioraltye [1586]

Listed under the above description and weight in the inventories 1567–1591. The original basin and ewer given by Denham in 1542 together with items [2] – [5] appear to have been refashioned in 1565–1566 (Inventory 1567)<sup>21</sup> perhaps by Sir Martin Bowes, alderman and goldsmith, to whom the City's gilt basin and ewer was entrusted on 28 November 1564 to be newly gilt and repaired as he should see fit. (Rep. 15, f. 398b, quoted by Jewitt 126).<sup>22</sup>

The inventory of 1633 gives the same description but the weight as 158 $\frac{3}{4}$  oz., presumably in consequence of an exchange.

Exchanged again between 1662 and 1669 for a basin and ewer of silver all gilt weight 154 oz. (Plate indenture 1669). Possibly by direction of Francis Meynell 1662–1663.

Exchanged again in 1689 for a basin and ewer of silver all gilt weight 197 oz. In 1689 Edward Gladwin received with other plate a basin and three ewers totalling 254 oz. for which he allowed £65 12s 4d at 5s 2d the ounce and supplied in exchange a basin and three ewers weight 275 oz. for which he charged £110 0s 0d at 8s the ounce including the making, chasing and gilding (Misc. MSS. 165.7; Rep. 95, f. 35). The three ewers must have been the Denham ewer, the North ewer (see [10]) and a ewer which in its original form had been purchased by the City in 1621 (see [15]) together with one of the associated basins.

Exchanged again in 1721. Benjamin Pyne allowed £130 7s 0d at 5s 6d the ounce for all three of the City's basins and ewers and in exchange supplied three wrought gilt basins and ewers together weighing 598 oz. 7 dwt. for which he charged £304 3s 11d at 5s 8d per ounce for materials, 2s per ounce for fashioning and 2s 6d per ounce for gilding plus £14 19s 0d for duty at 6d the ounce, £4 8s 0d for engraving the coats of arms, 15s 0d for the inscriptions and £4 10s 0d for six cases (Misc. MSS. 165.7). In 1721 and later plate indentures the three basins and ewers, which were made to a similar pattern, form a single entry but, as usual, the exchange with the earlier pieces ([6], [10], [15]) continues to be recorded for some time. Pyne's basins and ewers, hallmarked 1721, are still among the Mansion House plate. Of the three basins, now known as rosewater dishes, the two with reference JSG 7–8, present weights 145 oz. and 139 oz., must be regarded as the descendants of the basin given by Denham in 1542 and that purchased by the City in 1621 [15]. JSG 9 has an inscription 'The gift of the Lady North' encircling her arms, in addition to the City arms and an inscription that it was repaired in the mayoralty of Sir John Fryer in 1721 which appear on all three dishes, and is the descendant of the North basin given in 1567 [10]. This weighs 132 oz. 5 dwt. The three helmet shaped ewers, reference JSG10–12, are engraved with the City arms and now weigh 63 oz. 15 dwt., 57 oz. 5 dwt. and 57 oz.

[7] Also the Collor of Fyne gould with the letters SS of the gyfte of Sir John Allen knyghte and Alderman deceased latelye enlarged and nowe wayinge xxxix oz quarter [1586]

The collar of SS, which appears in all the inventories, was bequeathed by John Allen or Alleyn, lord mayor 1525–1526 and 1535–1536, for the use of the lord mayor in his will of 3 August 1545. It was ordered to be enlarged with four esses two knots and two roses of gold on 11 November 1567 and has been frequently repaired and 'new set'. (Jewitt 111–114 quotes Allen's will and many extracts from the Repertories).

[8] A Juell of Fyne goulde geven by Sir Martyn Bowes late knight and Alderman decessed with fayre raysed worke and enamelled with some goulde addyd ther unto havinge a great Emerald and towre Saphires mone fasshion with a greate Balyste three poynnted Dyamondes and foure greate pearles which

stones and pearles were also geven by the said Sir Martyn Bowes knight late lorde maior of this Cytie Also one fayre Saphire of the gyfte of Sir Roger Martyn knight late Lorde Maior allso of this Cytie wher unto is also lately added one pearle which coste the Cytie viij<sup>li</sup> as in the ix<sup>th</sup> accompte of Mr. Heton late Chamberlen [1571–1572] apperethe. [1586]

The collar of SS is believed to have been without a pendent jewel until 1558 when Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith and lord mayor 1545–1546, gave a jewel or cross of gold set with rich stones and pearls. (See Jewitt 114–116 for extracts from the Repertories relating to this jewel and its successor). Its weight was 4 $\frac{3}{8}$  oz. (Inventory 1567). The sapphire added by Sir Roger Martyn, presumably in commemoration of his mayoralty of 1567–1568, since it is not in the inventory of 1567 but in that of *c.* 1570, is said in the Chamber inventory of 1591 to be ‘the fairest’ of the three sapphires. The cross was ordered to be ‘newe made’ on 7 October 1572 when the additional gold and the pearl purchased by the City for £8, the ‘faire oriente pearle pendaunte unto the sayde Jewell’ as it is described in 1591, must have been added. The weight of the whole jewel thus ‘altered and made more fayre than before’ was increased to 4 $\frac{7}{8}$  oz. 6 grains (1591).

By resolution of 19 November 1607 a new jewel was purchased of Richard Gossen goldsmith for £480 of which sum the Bridge House estates contributed one half. The old jewel was ordered to be kept by the chamberlain to the City’s use as a remembrance of the donor and not sold, and, complete with Sir Roger Martyn’s sapphire, was still in the chamberlain’s counting house in 1651. (Guildhall inventory 1651 in City’s Cash 1/8, f. 2v). The pendent pearl, however, was transferred to the new jewel which in the plate inventory of 1633 is described as follows:

Also one faire Jewell of Gold weighing vij ounces and a quarter and three halfpenny weights set with these diamonds following viz one great diamond cut with fawcetts one great losing [lozenge] diamond three great triangle diamonds one rose diamond five great table diamonds six lesser table diamonds thirteen lesser table diamonds six lesser table diamonds lxxxxvij lesser table diamonds. Suma of all the said diamonds is Cxxxij which Jewell and diamonds cost the Citty iij<sup>l</sup>Cxxx<sup>li</sup> by order of Court the xix<sup>th</sup> of November 1607 whereunto is added one pearl which cost the Citty viij<sup>li</sup> as in the ninth accompt of Mr. George Heaton late Chamberlein appeareth [1571–1572].

This jewel can be seen in the portraits of a number of lord mayors of the late 17th and 18th centuries although depicted apparently with a considerable degree of artistic licence. It was ordered to be new set on 24 October 1706 by which time the number of diamonds was reduced to 132, and continued in use until 1802. It has long been realised that Jewitt and St. John Hope erred in believing the jewel of 1607, of which they knew no description, to be the present jewel. The latter, which has at its centre an onyx cameo carved with the City arms, was made in 1802 by Rundell, Bridge & Co. (Rep. 206, pp. 276, 280; Rep. 207, pp. 31, 144). The present encircling wreath of diamonds dates from 1867. It has been repaired and remounted on a number of occasions.

[9] Also towe Lyverye pottes which hearetofore remayned in the Chamber of London white And nowe lately gilded and appointed nowe and from hensfourthe to serve the Lorde Maior the one wayinge xlix oz quarter and thother wayinge xlvij oz di. [1586]

First listed in the inventory of *c.* 1570. The inventory of 1567 had as its first entry the following item which is not found *c.* 1570 or later: ‘twoo livery pottes of silver weying lx [. . . ou]nces quarter which was bought for a present to have been geven to the French [Ambas]sador’. The position of this entry in the inventory suggests that these pots came into the City’s possession before those acquired from Alderman John Brown in November 1527 ([1] above) which are there listed second, and the City had in fact made

valuable gifts to ambassadors from France in October 1527.<sup>23</sup> On 7 October 1568 it was ordered that 'the citties two newe great silver pottes which were heretofore prepared to have byn geven for a present shallbe well gilt' and used in the lord mayor's house. (Letter Book V, f. 193b, quoted by Jewitt 127). It is possible that the two silver pots of 1527 had been refashioned in 1568 and were then ordered to be gilt but on the other hand it is usual, following an exchange, for the new piece of plate to take the same position in the inventory as its predecessor. In 1591 the weight of these pots is given as 53½ oz. and 52½ oz.

Exchanged 1621 for two livery pots of silver all gilt. The chamberlain was allowed £40 12s upon his account for this exchange and the repair of other plate. The goldsmith is not named. (Rep. 36, f. 6b). Described in the inventory of 1633, after this exchange, as two fair plain pots all gilt weighing 114 oz. and 114½ oz.

Exchanged again between 1662 and 1669 for two great pots all gilt weighing 262 oz. 16 dwt. (Plate indenture 1669). Possibly by direction of Francis Meynell in 1662–1663.

In 1700 one pot weight 134 oz. is listed.<sup>24</sup> The other, weight 127 oz., has been exchanged for a silver bowl or monteith engraved with the arms of the City and weighing 179 oz. 10 dwt. The chamberlain's account of 1699–1700 records the payment of £33 10s 0d to John Partridge, goldsmith, who received two old silver tankards as well as the gilt pot towards the making of a new monteith. (Inventory 1700; City's Cash 1/23, f. 129b).

In 1721 the pot weighing 134 oz., together with two other great pots, was exchanged for three great decanters made by Benjamin Pyne (see under [1]). The silver monteith continues to be listed in the inventories into the 19th century but it would seem cannot be identified with the large silver monteith now in the collection, reference JS4. The latter is also of date 1699 and of weight 176 oz. 5 dwt. but has the maker's mark of William Lukin and is said to have been the gift of William Dormer, swordbearer 1741–1746. No record of the presentation has been traced but the letters, WD, are engraved on the monteith on the opposite side to the engraving of the City arms.

[10] Also a fayre bason and Ewer of sylver agylte of the Gyfte of Dame Margrete Northe wydowe late wyfe of Sir Edwarde Northe knight Lord Northe deceased to thentente the same shallbe yearelye occupyed at the Lorde Maiores Feaste and also at his house so longe as the same shall enduer wayinge Cxli<sup>y</sup> oz [1586]

Given to the City on 9 December 1567 by Lady North, widow, for use in the lord mayor's house (Rep. 16, f. 312b, quoted by Jewitt 126). Her fourth husband had been the first Baron North and her second Sir Robert Chertsey, alderman 1545–1551 and sheriff 1547–1548. Listed in the inventories c. 1570–1591 and in 1591 described as of silver double gilt.

Exchanged by order of 15 October 1618 for a fair basin and ewer chased all gilt weighing 161 oz. (Inventory 1633). The order of this date instructed the chamberlain to amend defects in the plate in which he was to be assisted with the advice of the common hunt, an officer of the lord mayor's household having responsibility for the hounds and hawks used by the aldermen in hunting. William Middleton, the holder of the office, had formerly professed the trade of a goldsmith. (Rep. 33, f. 417). In 1633 this basin and ewer is said to have been 'lately amended', probably by Richard Clay who in 1632 had provided a basin of silver chased and all gilt, weighing 101 oz., for £34 10s 11d at 6s 10d the ounce in exchange for an old basin of 97½ oz. on which he allowed 5s 1d the ounce. (City's Cash 1/1 f.50).

Exchanged again between 1662 and 1669 for a basin and ewer chased and gilt weighing 126 oz. 4 dwt. (Plate indenture 1669). Possibly by direction of Francis Meynell in 1662–1663.

The ewer and perhaps the basin exchanged by Edward Gladwin in 1689 and both basin and ewer by Benjamin Pyne in 1721, the latter pieces being now among the Mansion House plate. For particulars of these exchanges, see under [6] above.

[11] Also one greate gilte boule with a Cover with the Armes of this Cyte wayinge xliij oz di of the gifte of Mr Roberte Christofer Clotheworker and one of the Secondaryes of the Compter. [1586]

Given to the City on 26 April 1580 (Rep. 20, f. 66, quoted by Jewitt 127)<sup>25</sup> and listed in the inventories 1585–1591 and 1633–1639. Robert Christopher was a clerk of the Mayor's Court 1541–1552, secondary of the Bread Street (later Wood Street) Compter 1552–1557 and secondary of the Poultry Compter 1557–1584.

Exchanged 1640 for a fair standing cup with a cover all gilt matted fashion weighing 41 oz. 17 dwt. 12 grains made by Thomas Francis who remade two other standing cups and covers (see [2]) at the same time. He charged 6s 10d per ounce for the new work and allowed 5s 4d the ounce for the 'ould broad bowle' and cover. (City's Cash 1/3, f. 139b; inventory 1640).

Exchanged 1662 for a standing cup with a cover all gilt and recorded in the next surviving plate indenture as weighing 37 oz. 6 dwt. This piece, hallmarked 1662 and with an inscription that it was the gift of Robert Christopher, is still among the Mansion House plate (reference JSG 1). The maker's mark is shown as WM and it was perhaps made by direction of Francis Meynell, alderman and goldsmith, who was paid for the refashioning of much of the collection at this date (see p. 303) Regilt, together with [2] – [3], by Sir Robert Vyner in 1674 for £13 9s 6d (Misc. MSS. 165. 7) and since repaired and regilt many times. A major restoration was carried out in 1863.

[12] Also towe dozen of trenchers of sylver parcell gilte with the Armes of this Cyte wayinge Cxxxvij oz quarter which weare provyded at the Charges of the Cytye and appoynted to passe from Lorde Maior to Lord Maior yearlye to be occupied in their houses according to an order of Courte taken the xxv<sup>th</sup> of Februerie [*recte* October] 1580 [1586]

Purchased by the City for £36 12s and ordered on 25 October 1580 to be used in the lord mayor's house. (Letter Book Z, f. 94b, quoted by Jewitt 127). Listed in the inventories 1585–1591. For the later history of the City trenchers see under [13]

[13] Item more two dozen of Sylver trenchers parcell gilt with the armes of the Cytye engraven gyven by the bequest of the Lady Nycholas deceased late wyfe of Sir Ambrose Nycholas late knight and Alderman of London decessed waighing Clxxxiiiij ounces and halfe. [1586]

Listed for the first time in the inventory of 1586. Sir Ambrose Nicholas had been lord mayor in 1575–1576 and was an alderman 1566–1578.

By 1633 the trenchers which towards the end of the 16th century had numbered six dozen ([5], [12] and [13]) had increased to twelve dozen. These are listed in two entries. Firstly, two dozen silver trenchers all white weighing  $204\frac{1}{4}$  oz. engraved with the arms of the City and of Lady Elizabeth Nicholas which were the exchange of the parcel-gilt trenchers described above, and secondly, ten dozen silver trenchers all white engraved with the City arms and weighing all together  $1118\frac{3}{8}$  oz. which had been provided by several orders at the cost of the City.<sup>26</sup> (Inventory 1633).



Exchanged again 1654, with a dozen spoons [4] and a silver voider [17], all of them being much worn, for ten dozen new silver trenchers of which two dozen were engraved with the arms of Lady Nicholas in commemoration of her original gift. The latter weighed 292 oz. 15 dwt., and the other eight dozen 1167 oz. 10 dwt. This work was ordered to be done during the mayoralty of Sir Thomas Vyner who in the next year's account, 1654–1655, was paid a sum of £73 2s, representing the balance of the charge for the new work of £410 7s 4d (including some repairs to other plate and a case for the mace) over the value of the old plate which was assessed at £337 5s 3d. (Rep. 63, f. 106b, quoted by Jewitt 129–130; City's Cash 1/8, f. 184v).

Exchanged again in 1662–1663 when Francis Meynell was ordered to enlarge them. Two dozen continued to be engraved with the arms of Lady Nicholas as well as the City's arms and these weighed 437 oz. 8 dwt., and the other eight dozen 1745 oz. 3 dwt. (Rep. 69, f. 15b, quoted by Jewitt 130; plate indenture 1669). By 1693 the weight is given as 1684 oz. but they are still described as the exchange of the pre-1662 trenchers.

In 1719 the Nicholas trenchers were increased in weight to 465 oz. presumably as the result of repairs since they are still described as being the exchange of those formerly weighing 292 oz. 15 dwt. The other eight dozen, weight 1863 oz. 5 dwt., are said to have been exchanged and new made by order of 3 March 1719. This was a general order for repair of the pearl sword and the City's plate by Sir Robert Child, goldsmith and alderman, whose company was paid £216 8s 9d by order of 9 February following (Plate indenture 1719; Rep. 123, p. 241; Rep. 124, pp. 120–121). These continue in the inventories to 1731. There now survive in the Mansion House plate ninety-two silver plates, hallmarked 1737, made by Paul De Lamerie (reference JS 7) and it is conceivable that these were a remaking although no order or payment has been traced.

The remaining items are taken from the inventory of 1633.

[14] Also one great white Bowle with a Cover of English silver with a Manakin holding a pickaxe in his hand standing on the topp of the said Cover being the gift of Sir Bevis Bulmer knight weighing Cxxxj ounces and the silver at the assay weigheth xj ounces and xvij penny weight fine. [1633]

Made of newly mined silver from Combe Martin in Devon and presented to the City by Bevis Bulmer esquire on 24 October 1594. (Rep. 23, f. 307, quoted by Jewitt 127).

Ordered to be melted down and made into small pots, 14 November 1643 (Rep. 57, f. 8b, quoted by Jewitt 128). Fashioned into six silver cans or tankards weighing 137 oz. 2 dwt. by Thomas Vyner who charged £37 14s 0d at 5s 6d the ounce, plus 3s 0d for the inscriptions, and allowed £34 18s 6d for the bowl, then weighing 132 oz., at 5s 3½d per ounce, leaving a balance to be paid to him of 58s 6d. (Inventory 1644; City's Cash 1/5, f. 52).

Exchanged again between 1662 and 1669 for four cans or tankards weighing 108 oz. 17 dwt. (Plate indenture 1669). Possibly by direction of Francis Meynell 1662–1663.

Exchanged again in 1674 for four cans, weight 110 oz., costing £31 12s 6d at 5s 9d the ounce. £26 15s 0d at 5s 0d the ounce was allowed for the four old cans then weighing 107 oz. (Misc. MSS. 165. 7. Receipted bill signed by Bernard Eales for Sir Robert Vyner).

Exchanged again in 1689 for four tankards, weight 116 oz. 8 dwt., costing £32 19s 6d at 5s 8d the ounce plus 2s 0d for the inscriptions. £26 15s 0d was allowed upon the four old tankards, weight 107 oz. at 5s 0d the ounce. (Misc. MSS. 165. 7. Receipted bill of Edward Gladwin). These continue to be described in the inventories as the exchange of six tankards.

Two of the four tankards exchanged for one in 1700. The three tankards now weigh 109 oz. 10 dwt. (Inventory 1700).

Exchanged again by order of 22 December 1704, being bruised and not fit for use, for three tankards, one weighing 62 oz. 18 dwt. and the other two 64 oz. 5 dwt. These were made by Deputy Lawrence Coles, goldsmith, who charged £38 3s 0d at 6s 0d the ounce and allowed £28 1s 4d for the three old tankards. (Rep. 109, pp. 96–97, 458, 479; Misc. MSS. 165. 7 Coles' bill; inventory 1711).

The two smaller tankards were exchanged by order of 14 February 1721 and the larger repaired. This was the work of Benjamin Pyne who charged £25 10s 0d for the new silver tankards, weight 73 oz. 15 dwt., at 6s 11d the ounce with the duty, plus 6s 0d for the inscriptions thereon, and 2s 6d for mending the third tankard. For the two old tankards he allowed £16 18s 6d at 5s 5d the ounce. (Rep. 125, pp. 223, 497; Misc. MSS. 165. 7 Pyne's bill; inventory 1721).

Exchanged again in 1731. These three tankards, hallmarked 1731 and with the maker's mark of Samuel Jefferys of Wapping Old Stairs, are still among the Mansion House plate (reference JS 1–3), present weights 53 oz., 36 oz. 10 dwt. and 36 oz. All three bear an inscription, 'The Gift of Bevis Bullmer'. The spouts are the work of George Ivory 1845.

[15] Also more one faire Basin and Ewer of silver chased and all guilt weighing CCxij ounces and a half provided at the Charges of this City and appointed also to passe from Lord Maior to Lord Maior. [1633]

Purchased by order of 23 October 1621 at a cost of £70 16s 8d at 6s 8d the ounce plus 2s 6d for enamelling the City's arms. (Rep. 35, f. 290, quoted by Jewitt 131; Rep. 36, f. 6b). The goldsmith is not named. Listed unchanged in the inventories up to 1672 after which none survives for twenty years.

The ewer and perhaps the basin exchanged by Edward Gladwin in 1689 and both basin and ewer by Benjamin Pyne in 1721, the latter pieces being now among the Mansion House plate. For particulars of these exchanges, see under [6] above.

[16] Also more to large silver voyders parcel guilt engraven with the Armes of this City and the Armes of Sir John Gerrard late knight and Alderman of London deceased being the gift of the said Sir John Gerrard the one weighing Cxij ounces and xvij penny weight and the other weighing Cx ounces and xij penny weight. [1633]

Presented 15 February 1617 by Sir John Garrard, lord mayor 1601–1602, 'as a remembrance and token of his love'. (Rep. 33, f. 61b).

Exchanged between 1662 and 1669 for two large silver voiders weighing 211 oz. 4 dwt. engraved with the arms of the City and of Sir John Garrard. (Plate indenture 1669). Possibly the work of Francis Meynell 1662–1663. These are still in the plate indenture of 1731, weight 206 oz. 5 dwt., but are not listed in 1763.

Sir John Garrard also gave at the same time a voiding knife engraved with his own and the City arms. This remains in the inventories up to 1662.

[17] Also more one silver voyder parcell guilt engraven with ye Armes of this City and the Armes of John Hudson broderer deceased late Butler to the Lord Maior and Sheriffs of this City weighing lxx ounces and three quarter of an ounce bequeathed by the said John Hudson to be yearly used in the Lord Maiors house [1633]

Received by the City on 9 August 1617 (Rep. 33, f. 155b, quoted by Jewitt 130). Listed in the inventories up to 1653. Being 'decayed and worne useless' it was melted down with other plate in 1654 for the making of new trenchers (see [13]).

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Repertory of the Court of Aldermen 90, f. 76; 95, f. 4. All documents cited are in the Corporation of London Records Office.
- <sup>2</sup> Chamber Accounts, vol. 2, f. 6v. Similar payments occur in 1585, f. 142.
- <sup>3</sup> G. C. Maclean 'The Mansion House Plate' *The Connoisseur* 34 (November 1912) 139–145 is unreliable as to the history of the plate.
- <sup>4</sup> Chamber Accounts, vol. 2, at end of vol.; vol. 1, f. 44v; vol. 2, ff. 64–64v; 160v–161v.
- <sup>5</sup> Eight between 1650 and 1662, 1669, 1672, 1673, 1706, 1725, 1763, some of these being badly mutilated. Many indentures survive from 1807 onwards.
- <sup>6</sup> Repertory of the Court of Aldermen 22, ff. 292–292b.
- <sup>7</sup> City's Cash 1/8, f. 1.
- <sup>8</sup> L. Jewitt, ed. W. H. St. John Hope *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales* (London, 1895).
- <sup>9</sup> The earlier inventories often list the original piece first, thus, piece A (old) being lately exchanged for piece B (new). Later the usual order is piece B (new) which was the exchange of piece A (old).
- <sup>10</sup> Chamber Accounts, vol. 2, f. 142.
- <sup>11</sup> Repertory of the Court of Aldermen 25, f. 211b and 26 (1), f. 177b, both quoted by Jewitt *op. cit.* in note 8, vol. 2, 129.
- <sup>12</sup> City's Cash 1/1, f. 50.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 1/3, f. 139b.
- <sup>14</sup> Repertory of the Court of Aldermen 69, ff. 6, 15b and 268, all quoted by Jewitt *op. cit.* in note 8, vol. 2, 130, who retains old style dating; City's Cash 1/11, f. 221v.
- <sup>15</sup> Misc. MSS. 165.7 include these bills and those of Vyner, Gladwin, Coles and Pyne mentioned below.
- <sup>16</sup> See note 24 below.
- <sup>17</sup> This bowl weight 39 oz. 6 dwt. made in exchange for a bowl weight 40 oz. 17 dwt. has not been indentified with any item in the inventories.
- <sup>18</sup> Jewitt *op. cit.* in note 8, vol. 2, 124–125. For the two great pots of which Jewitt found no further mention, see under [1] below.
- <sup>19</sup> A silver basin and ewer, the gift of Robert Tichborne, lord mayor 1656–1657, which is listed in the plate indenture of 1662 is no longer in the indenture of 1669.
- <sup>20</sup> Ff. 126–135 of Repertory 5 have been bound out of sequence and properly belong to 1527.
- <sup>21</sup> This inventory adds to the above description 'latelic exchanged as in the laste accompte apperethe . . .'. These words are followed by 'for a basson' struck through and the rest of the entry is missing owing to mutilation of the paper.
- <sup>22</sup> Bowes had also given a basin and ewer for use in the lord mayor's house in 1542 receiving in exchange an equal weight of whole and broken silver and gilt but making no charge for the workmanship (Rep. 10, f. 293b, quoted by Jewitt 125). Nothing further is known of this piece which had disappeared by the time of the inventory of 1567.
- <sup>23</sup> R. R. Sharpe *London and the Kingdom* 1 (London, 1894) 377.
- <sup>24</sup> Bernard Eales and his partner Robert Vyner junior had supplied a gilt cup and cover weighing 134 oz. 12 dwt. in 1678 but not apparently by way of any exchange (Bill in Misc. MSS. 165. 7).
- <sup>25</sup> The words transcribed by Jewitt as 'one bolle whyte & cover' should read 'one bolle wythe a cover'.
- <sup>26</sup> The origin of all these is not certain. The City had bought two dozen silver trenchers and three dozen parcel-gilt in 1618 and three dozen silver in 1621 as well as the two dozen parcel-gilt in 1580 [12] which would probably have been remade at least once since trenchers were subject to much wear (Rep. 33, f. 417, Rep. 34, f. 18b and Rep. 35, f. 290, quoted by Jewitt 131; Rep. 36, f 6b).

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# THE TROUSSEAU OF PRINCESS ELIZABETH STUART

VALERIE CUMMING

Royal weddings have always fascinated the public mind. Descriptions, observations, speculations about such events are not a recent innovation, although with the improvements in public communications the minutiae of these occasions have filled thousands of pages of print. However, despite this stripping away of privacy from royal persons, the details beloved of biographers and fashion commentators, namely specific personal preferences in clothing, and the sums of money expended, are a well kept secret. Such secrecy is fortunately of little moment after the considerable passage of time, and a detailed analysis of a royal trousseau in the early 17th century is more feasible than one of the last quarter of the 20th century.

In 1835 *The Warrant to the Great Wardrobe on the Princess Elizabeth's Marriage* was published in *Archaeologia*.<sup>1</sup> The Princess Elizabeth was a sixteen year old girl, the only surviving daughter of King James I and his consort Queen Anne, and, as a daughter of a royal house of some consequence, could have been expected to make a great match, particularly as she was much admired for her beauty (Fig. 1). James, however, wanted a protestant match, and eventually the ill-fated Elector Palatine was selected as a suitable husband for the princess. The impeccable protestantism of the groom recommended him to his future father-in-law, as well as more subtle political implications of such an alliance, and James was more than willing to celebrate the betrothal and wedding in some style.

The Great Warrant contains details of the bride's trousseau, servants' liveries, masque costumes, and furnishings for the bride's apartments. It was a costly business. Lord Hay was paid £6,252 'to provide apparell and other necessaries for the Lady Elizabeth', Lord Harington received £1,829 for the same purpose, and a further £3,914 for her jewels and servants' liveries. £995 was paid to various merchants for materials.<sup>2</sup> The total expenditure of £12,990 (an almost incalculable sum in modern terms) was probably the largest amount of money ever spent on the princess's personal requirements in the whole of her long lifetime. As wife to the Elector Palatine she was allowed twenty-four new dresses a year, and £600 to spend on ribbons, stockings and laces between 1613 and 1620.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of an inventory such as this one is manifold, but as with all such lists, the contents require interpretation to be of any real use to social historians. The dress of the court of James I is often considered of little consequence, marking time, as it were, between the sumptuous and highly idiosyncratic English fashions worn at the court of Elizabeth I, and the French inspired elegance of the court of Charles I. James's reign can be seen as a period of transition, with all the consequent political and social problems, but the origins and ultimate conclusions of these problems must be sought in the preceding and succeeding reigns. The puritans condemned James's court for its scandals, its loose morals, its excesses and luxury, and the plays of Webster, Tourneur and their fellow



(National Portrait Gallery)

Fig. 1 Princess Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, studio of M. J. Van Miereveldt c. 1623.

dramatists reflect a mood of corruption and broken values, disillusionment and uncertainty which reflected the contemporary mood. Set against this background, the awkward and extravagant fashions also seem to reflect the uncertain mood of the time. As a contemporary commentator observed, 'The English I say are more sumptuous than the Persians because despising the golden meane they effect all extremities'.<sup>4</sup> Shortly before Princess Elizabeth's betrothal ceremony the royal family suffered a great loss when

Henry, Prince of Wales, unexpectedly died, aged only eighteen. So on the occasion of her betrothal the princess wore black satin trimmed with silver, with a plume of white feathers in her hair.<sup>5</sup> There is a portrait of Queen Anne, painted *c.*1612–1613 (Fig. 2) wearing black, almost certainly painted whilst in mourning for her son. The princess may well have been similarly dressed at her betrothal.

Although Prince Henry's untimely death undoubtedly cast a gloom over the celebrations surrounding Princess Elizabeth's wedding, it in no way deterred King James's determination that his daughters nuptials should be handsomely marked. Hence the considerable and detailed expenditure on the princess's personal wardrobe, the liveries for her servants and her room furnishings. Although the main concern of this article is with the princess's clothing, the information concerning liveries and furnishings for her apartments also contains many interesting details.

The status of the individual servants inevitably dictated the richness and decoration of the garments accorded to them. Provision is made for women attendants, pages, footmen, grooms, a coachman, a 'madman' (jester) and a physician. The last of these is only mentioned once but is allowed 18 yards of black wrought velvet for a gown.<sup>6</sup> The four female attendants were provided with two different livery gowns, one set was made of black silk grosgrain, the other set of a more practical tawny coloured woollen cloth.<sup>7</sup> Tawny, a dull yellowish tan colour, was very popular for late 16th- and early 17th-century liveries, and was used for the pages, footmen, grooms and coachman. There were four pages attached to the princess's household, and each was provided with two sets of livery; of the six footmen mentioned, two were senior to the others judging by the difference in quality of their liveries. The pages, boys of good family attached to a royal household as a form of training in the ways of court and society, had cloth of gold doublets trimmed with gold lace, hose (breeches) of tawny velvet with matching velvet cloaks. Their second set of livery was less flamboyant, consisting of satin doublets, cloth hose, and cloth cloaks lined with velvet.<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere in the Warrant are details of the material ordered from the mercer for lining these clothes, of garters edged with gold lace and trimmed with roses with silk stockings for the pages, worsted for the footmen, and an order for pumps (soft silk or leather shoes) trimmed with roses and edged with copper lace.<sup>9</sup> In appearance the pages in their finest suits must have looked something like Prince Henry himself, painted *c.* 1610 (Fig. 3).

Although the cost of individual items of clothing, the cost of material and the tailor's bill are not specified in the Great Warrant, it is possible to hazard a reasonable guess by referring to the wardrobe accounts of Henry, Prince of Wales for 1608, when at the age of fourteen he would have been close in size and age to Princess Elizabeth's pages. It is helpful to quote one entry fully:<sup>10</sup>

‘ To Alexander Wilson, tailor, for making a doublet and hose of green satin cut and raised, cut out upon taffeta, lined with taffeta, the facing and pockets of taffeta, laid with silk lace, silk, stitching and sewing satin to the collar, and small furnishings, as Holland cloth, baize, canvas, rugg, bombast, fustian and hair, price the making,		
To Robert Grigg for eight yards of green satin for the said suit at 17/- the yard		£6 16s
To Alexander Wilson for cutting and raising the same		£2
To Robert Grigg for thirteen yards and half of taffeta to lace under the cuffs, and to line them, at 15/-		£10 2s 6d
To him, for half a yard of satin for the collar at 17/-		8s 6d
To Alexander Wilson for two ells and half of Holland for the same suit, at 10s		£1 5s



(National Portrait Gallery)

Fig. 2 Queen Anne of Denmark, attributed to W. Larkin c. 1612/13.

To him for five yards of baize at 4s	£1
To him for two ells of canvas at 3s 4d	6s 8d
To him for two yards of rugg at 1s 8d	3s 4d
To him for 1lb and half of bombast at 1s 6d	2s 4d
three yards fustian, at 1s 6d	4s 6d
two lb. hair, at 1s 6d	3s
To him for making a cloak of green velvet, uncut, laid with green silk lace, lined with green satin, printed and raised in manner of embroidery and also an ell high with flowers, silk, stitching, and sewing ribbons and buckram, price the making	£1 10s
To Robert Grigg, for eight yards of green uncut velvet for the same cloak, at £1 9s	£11 12s
To him for eight yards of green satin to line the same cloak at 17/- the yard	£6 16s
To Alexander Wilson for pinking and raising the same	
To him for two yards of buckram, at 1s 8d	4s 4d'

It takes very little mathematical skill to realise the disproportionate amount spent on material, compared with the cost of the tailor's services. The £38 0s 7d spent on materials compared to £3 10s for the skilled construction is almost the reverse of 20th-century practice, but reflects the early 17th-century preoccupation with luxury goods in a society in which labour was cheap, even when highly skilled.

Apart from liveries the Great Warrant also mentions materials and costumes for maskers. The costumes were for use in *The Lord's Masque* by Thomas Campion and Inigo Jones, which was being performed at court during the wedding festivities. Again the materials specified were of fine quality: tawny, white, crimson, colour de roy (a tawny shade) and black satin, cloth of silver, various coloured taffetas, gold and silver spangled lace, striped tinsel and gold and silver tinsel.<sup>11</sup> These were used to make costumes for eight ladies and eight pages. Costumes for six of the speakers are also mentioned, consisting of 'antique coat armour' for Orpheus, 'breeches and mantle' for Labelle, Mania's 'robe with double sleeves and petticoat', Entheus's 'robe and mantle' and Sibilla's 'robe, petticoat and veil'.<sup>12</sup>

The subject of masques is a very wide one, but one well served by publications, particularly in recent years.<sup>13</sup> Its importance, in the context of this article, lies in the fact that ladies and gentlemen of the court and, on occasion, members of the royal family, took the leading roles and wore lavish and fanciful costumes. Queen Anne was passionately devoted to masques, which accounts for their popularity at James's court.<sup>14</sup> The cost of costumes can be judged by the bill for £1,071 for dressing fourteen of the Queen's ladies who appeared in *Tethys Festival* in 1610.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps not a large sum when compared to the amounts of money spent on one dress for a special occasion, but certainly an extravagance when it is considered that such costumes were invariably used only once, and were too fanciful to be worn in any other circumstances.

Rooms were sparsely furnished and so an attractive appearance and warmth was introduced in the form of upholstery and hangings, and a number of these are described in the Great Warrant. Henry Waller, the king's joiner, was asked to provide an audience chair with a canopy frame, 4 stools, tables, including a folding walnut table, bedsteads and a screen surmounted by a carved lion, and packing cases for these items to travel in.<sup>16</sup> Three of the stools and the screen were gilded and painted by 'John de Creet or Serjaunte paynter'.<sup>17</sup> John de Critz has an identifiable body of work attributed to him,<sup>18</sup> but the role of painter at James I's court is readily grasped from this commission; he was an artisan who was expected to do painting commissions of any nature. Respect for artists and their achievements was a late development in the reign, encouraged by connoisseurs like the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Buckingham and Prince Charles.





(National Portrait Gallery)

Fig. 3 Henry, Prince of Wales, attributed to R. Peake c. 1610.

The material specified for the upholstery and hangings in the princess's apartments was of the best quality: black and crimson taffeta, white cloth of silver, yellow cloth of gold, crimson velvet, damask and satin, all ordered in quantities of over 100 yards, with velvet for the bridal chamber specified at 445 $\frac{3}{4}$  yards.<sup>19</sup> These materials, when made up, were to be decorated with yellow Spanish ribbon, fine sewing silk, gold fringe, tassels, spangles and lace.<sup>20</sup> William Brothericke, one of the professional embroiderers attached to the court, was required to embroider 'One whole suit of hangings upon crimson velvet, richly garnished and embroidered all over with cloth of gold and cloth of silver, lace of gold, part with plates (spangles or sequins) and chain lace of gold without plates, Venice twists, and gold and silver and coloured Naples silk'.<sup>21</sup>

As the names imply many of these items were imported. The sumptuous satins, velvets and silk materials would have been imported mainly from Italy at this date. Linen of the finest quality was usually imported from the Low Countries, and some cotton was starting to arrive from India. Even fustian, the coarse twilled material with linen warp and cotton weft, much used for linings and bedding, was imported from Italy or Ulm in Germany. Woollen cloth was mostly home produced, following the impetus given to this traditional English product when refugee weavers started to settle in East Anglia and Kent in the 1560s. James I tried, unsuccessfully, to introduce the silkworm into England as a foundation for an English silk industry, but even much later in the century when a native silk industry was established, again largely due to the influence and expertise of foreign refugees, the finest materials, in terms of design, still came from abroad, but from France rather than Italy.

Both the patterned and plain materials were decorated by embroidery, lace and fringes. Patterned materials in the early 17th century were woven with small floral motifs of a fairly naturalistic kind. Brocaded silks, damasks and stamped and patterned velvets can be recognised by the use of similar recurring design motifs. These materials provide one of the few noticeable links with European fashion at this date. Similar materials, colours, designs were used all over Europe, but the style of clothing that they were used for is what determines the wearer's nationality. Lace was also imported, primarily from Italy where lacemaking was a highly developed technique. English lace at this date was usually the cutwork variety, more akin to embroidery than the Italian laces. The Great Warrant indicates that a great deal of gold and silver lace was used. James I had given Sir Giles Mompesson a patent for its production in England, and approximately £10,000 of silver and gold bullion was spent on it every month.<sup>22</sup>

The colour of materials was largely dictated by the available range of natural dye-stuffs, but within this restriction personal tastes seem to have inclined towards rich, strong hues. Princess Elizabeth's wardrobe of dresses, petticoats, nightgowns and riding dresses included 8 black dresses, perhaps relating to mourning for Prince Henry, but also reflecting the more sombre fashions to be found at a provincial German court at this date; 6 dresses of cloth of tissue, a material made from precious metals and silk which could be various plain colours or woven with a flower pattern, 6 dresses of cloth of silver or gold with black, purple, tawny and white in the weave, 2 dresses in shades of green, grass green and sea green, and plain satins in ash coloured silk grosgrain, tawny satin and dear coloured satin (a pale greyish yellow hue).<sup>23</sup> The colour preference was for distinctive colours, and a similar taste is found in the colours chosen for petticoats and nightgowns. Obviously these strong shades were an admirable foil for the rich lace and embroidery



(Private Collection)

Fig. 4 Queen Anne of Denmark, after M. Gheeraedts the Younger c. 1610.

then applied to them. They may also reflect the contemporary interest in colour symbolism. In the last years of the 16th century there had been considerable demand, particularly in Italy, for books on colour symbolism and heraldry. Heraldry had contributed to the association of certain colours with vices and virtues.<sup>24</sup>

There is a certain discrepancy in the Great Warrant between the amounts of material ordered from two of the king's mercers for Princess Elizabeth's dresses, Robert Grigg (who had supplied Prince Henry two years earlier) and Thomas Wodderoue, and the number of items of clothing that John Spens, the tailor, was required to make. However, this does not greatly alter the value of the entries when calculating the amounts of material required for particular garments, and the manner in which they were constructed. The princess, as was usual at this date, had her formal clothing made by a tailor. Although certain Spanish pattern books for tailors working at the end of the 16th century and beginning of the 17th century have been found, they deal purely with men's clothing, not women's. Seamstresses seem to have been employed to make up the more informal items of dress, underclothes, linen jackets etc., as is apparent from Lady Anne Clifford's diary entry when she wore a new black nightgown and 'those white things Nan Horn made for me'.<sup>25</sup> The tailoring craft retained its hold on female fashions throughout the 17th century, with men also making the farthingales (wired petticoats) and whale bone bodies (stays or corsets) for their female customers.

John Spens, the tailor, was asked to make 25 gowns, 2 nightgowns, 8 petticoats, 5 farthingales, 2 pairs of stays, 1 doublet, 2 mantles and cloaks, one collar and 2 safeguards (protective garments used when riding), for the princess's trousseau.<sup>26</sup> A second tailor, Robert Heus, made another 12 farthingales for the princess.<sup>27</sup> Another tailor, Robert Baker, made 18 collars.<sup>28</sup> Provision was made in the ordering of material for 2 riding gowns, but which of the tailors made these is not certain. The list of trimmings provided by Benjamin Henshawe, silkman, and Christopher Weaver, silkman, was delivered respectively to 'sundry tailors, to be employed upon our said daughters apparel'<sup>29</sup> and to 'sundry artificers, to be employed upon our said daughters apparel'.<sup>30</sup>

The dresses of the princess and her attendants for the wedding are well recorded in contemporary accounts. The bride's dress was variously described as being cloth of silver with rich silver embroidery on it,<sup>31</sup> and as richly embroidered white satin,<sup>32</sup> but the former description is certainly the more accurate one as such a dress is described in the Great Warrant. The material was ordered from the mercer John Hull, 'four and thirty yard of rich white Florence cloth of silver to make one gown for a bride maiden, and to form another'.<sup>33</sup> The tailor John Spens made the dress, 'a train gown of rich cloth of silver embroidered all over in flowers with silver, purl and plate, lined with taffeta, trimmed with rich purl lace, with goldsmith's work',<sup>34</sup> and what appears to have been a matching collar was also made by him, 'a collar of white cloth of silver, lined with taffeta, and stitched with silk'.<sup>35</sup> The princess wore her hair loose, a customary symbol of virginity, and on her head she wore a 'crown of refined golde, made Imperially by the pearles and diamonds thereupon placed, which were so thicke beset that they stood like shining pinnacles upon her amber haire'.<sup>36</sup> She had thirteen attendants,<sup>37</sup> dressed in cloth of silver like herself, but not so richly decorated.<sup>38</sup> Robert Grigg had provided 'one hundred & twenty yard of cloth of silver for six gowns for six bride maids', and sleeve material of coloured tissue for 'eleven bryde maidens sleeves, viz. each (to) have three yard'.<sup>39</sup>

It is likely that the dresses of the princess and her attendants were made in the style



(National Portrait Gallery)

Fig. 5 Mary Throckmorton, Lady Scudamore, M. Gheeraedts the Younger c. 1614/15.

much favoured by her mother for formal court wear (Fig. 4). The long popularity of this style of dress with its wide skirt and low oval neckline owed much to Queen Anne's continued preference for it. The bizarre combination of formality and allure seems to have suited the queen's taste, and she wore this style until her death in 1619. Certain portraits of court ladies painted wearing this style of dress point to a stylization of several features which would lend support to the view that there was an identifiable form of court dress for ladies between 1603 and 1619. The same features always recur: a high collar, an oval neckline accentuated by decorative rosettes (usually three in number), a natural waistline and the tip-tilted line of the farthingale, up at the back of the skirt, down in the front, which can be discerned even in half length portraits. There is a uniform quality about such dresses which seems too studied to be coincidental.

Apart from this formal style of dress there were also less exaggerated styles, notably rich embroidered bodices and petticoats, worn without a farthingale, but often with a wide diagonal scarf or sash sweeping down from the shoulder across the bodice and the upper part of the skirt. Skirts and bodices were also worn under an overgown, possibly a fashion for the winter months (Fig. 5). There were also informal nightgowns, of which the princess had two, one of carnation satin and one of 'rich cloth of tissue'.<sup>40</sup> There were riding gowns, naturally worn without a farthingale, and cloaks.

Each gown (or dress) required 20 $\frac{3}{4}$  yards of material, but at this date the average width of silk materials was 18" or 21"; accounts always specify if material is an ell (27") wide. A usual request to a tailor about such a dress would have been, 'for making a gown of cloth of tissue wrought in borders with gold, silver and coloured silks, lined with taffeta, trimmed with gold and silver lace with whale bone cutting, sizing canvas, & stiffening'.<sup>41</sup> The rigid line of the bodice, so noticeable in portraits, was achieved by this considerable use of canvas, stiffening and whalebones between the silk and the lining. A nightgown, in contrast, took only 16 yards of material and was worn without a farthingale. The informality went further than that however, for a nightgown was made with stiffening only to support the bodice between the gown and its lining.<sup>42</sup> It seems likely that these garments evolved from a loose negligée worn in the privacy of the bed-chamber, into a rich but informal dress which a lady wore when she wanted to look elegant but feel comfortable. Lady Anne Clifford recorded in her diary the types of occasion when a nightgown was suitable dress, for example in the country she would wear one in the house once her husband had left for London,<sup>43</sup> when she felt unwell,<sup>44</sup> or for attending church.<sup>45</sup>

At James I's court the favourite sport was hunting,<sup>46</sup> and both sexes rode and hunted. Princess Elizabeth had two riding dresses in her trousseau. Both were coloured satin woven with gold, silver and coloured silk patterns.<sup>47</sup> The two safeguards, one of green satin, the other of murrey satin, were intended for wear with riding dresses.<sup>48</sup> The material seems rather an impractical choice for sport, but the fact that only two were ordered, presumably to last one season in the field, may indicate that for ladies the sport of hunting may have been considered more of a social event than an opportunity to prove exceptional equestrian prowess.

Keeping warm in draughty palaces and on long journeys was always a problem at this date. It is interesting to notice that the princess's petticoats (not undergarments, but skirts) beneath their splendid satin or tissue exteriors were often lined with plush,<sup>49</sup> a material similar to velvet but with a longer nap. In a similar manner the velvet mantles and cloaks were also warmly lined with French muff, a soft, thick woollen material.<sup>50</sup>



The collars made for the princess by Robert Baker were of 'white satin lined with taffeta, stitched with silk and stiffened' and there were also 'tissued and embroidered collars'.<sup>51</sup> There were several fashions in collars ranging from the high standing fan shaped collars trimmed with lace which were worn with court dress (Fig. 4) to the smaller falling collars, similar to that seen in the portrait of Prince Henry (Fig. 3).

The undergarments made for Princess Elizabeth consisted of farthingales and 'whale bone bodies'. The former were made of wire, covered with taffeta and stitched with silk.<sup>52</sup> The distinctive shape of the farthingale in this period was a wheel shaped structure placed high in the skirt, on a level with the waistline. The long busk point of the boned bodice, which rested on this frame, produced the fashionable tilt. The contemporary term for stays, or corsets as they would be called today, was 'whalebone bodies', and girls wore them from an early age. Lady Anne Clifford's daughter wore her first pair when she was just two and a half years old.<sup>53</sup> These, however, would have been very lightly boned. The number and firmness of the bones increased as the child grew into a young woman, and it is no exaggeration to state that a growing body could be moulded in this manner into the fashionable shape of the period. The princess's stays were rather splendid, consisting of 12 pairs in different shades of red, bound with silver lace.<sup>54</sup>

The sumptuous material and lavish decoration on clothing was very expensive, although, as we have seen earlier, the actual cost of making the garments was not high. At the time of Elizabeth's wedding the court ladies spent small fortunes on their clothes. Lady Wootten wore a dress on which the embroidery alone cost £50 per yard, whilst Lord Montague's two daughters' dresses cost £1,500. The unfortunate Arabella Stuart, detained in the Tower of London, but hoping to be allowed to attend the wedding, bought four new dresses, one of which cost £1,500.<sup>55</sup> Such expenditure was not unusual in court circles, although to place it within some sort of sliding scale of prices, it is salutary to know that a house could be rented for £56 a year,<sup>56</sup> that a groom in the king's stables received 1/- a day,<sup>57</sup> and that an artist, in this instance the celebrated miniaturist Isaac Oliver, received £32 for three miniatures.<sup>58</sup>

There is one major omission from the Great Warrant, for there is no mention of underclothes, nightwear or embroidered linen clothing. These were the items which a seamstress or the princess's female attendants would have made for her. Beneath the layers of gown, petticoats, farthingale and stays was worn a chemise. These were made of fine linen, sometimes embroidered, sometimes trimmed with lace. Ladies were fastidious about changing their linen, as these lines from *The Malcontent* indicate:

'... use your servants as  
you do your smocks, have many, use one and change often,  
for that's most sweet and courtlike.'<sup>59</sup>

Nightclothes are rarely mentioned, although by this date ladies did wear nightdresses. They were similar to chemises, being made of linen with lace or embroidery decoration.

Embroidered linen clothing became popular in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the chief articles worn were jackets, chemises, waistcoats, hoods and coifs. This type of embroidery could be worked in the home, but professional embroiderers worked at court and in private households.<sup>60</sup> Designs for embroidery were often the work of a skilled draughtsman who prepared the motifs in pattern form for the embroiderers. These designs were usually of flowers, birds and beasts worked in black and coloured silks with silver and gold thread, lace and spangles on the finest examples. The informal nature of

these garments can be assessed from the few portraits in which they are found. They are either worn by ladies at their toilet or nearly hidden by other, richer, garments (Fig. 5).

Ironically, in British collections, these items of linen underclothing and embroidered work survive in some quantity, whereas the rich dresses are not to be found, even in a partial or remade form. Perhaps this then is the justification for the reappraising of early wardrobe accounts, like that of Princess Elizabeth.

Costume history, in its art historical context, can be applied successfully as both an end in its own right and as a useful aid for art historians wishing for additional information when dating paintings. However, for the social historian much more information is required if the clothing of a period is to be understood within the larger canvas of social behaviour and the decorative arts. Princess Elizabeth Stuart was a Scottish princess whose early adult life was formed and moulded by an English court, based mainly in London. She benefitted from the richness of choice open to an aristocratic young woman in a fashionable European capital city in the early years of the 17th century. The Great Warrant throws light on both the international and insular elements in the fashions of the time. It also reflects the importance in great households of furnishings and the livery of servants as well as briefly introducing that most extraordinary of Jacobean court entertainments, the court masque. It is an example of the fascination with appearances which is so crucial when examining the world of the court in the early 17th century, an exclusive and heightened world certainly, but no less important because of that.

## NOTES

- 1 'Warrant of King James the First to Great Wardrobe for apparel, etc. for the Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth'. Communicated by Sir Frederick Madden, K.H., F.R.S. and S.A. in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary. *Archaeologia* 26 (1836) 380–394. I have modernised spelling and expanded abbreviations when this seemed required for the sake of ready comprehension.
- 2 J. Nichols (ed.) *The Progresses of King James I 2* (London, 1828) 622.
- 3 C. Oman *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (London, 1964) 181.
- 4 F. Moryson *An Itinerary* (London, 1617) 178.
- 5 Oman *op. cit.* in note 3, 69.
- 6 Madden *op. cit.* in note 1, 384.
- 7 *Ibid.* 384 and 393.
- 8 *Ibid.* 390.
- 9 *Ibid.* 385 and 392.
- 10 Extract from the Wardrobe Account of Henry, Prince of Wales *Archaeologia* 11 (1808) 90–91.
- 11 Madden *op. cit.* in note 1, 384, 385, 386, 390, 392.
- 12 *Ibid.* 390.
- 13 Notably the comprehensive study by R. Strong and S. Orgel *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (London, 1973).
- 14 E. C. William *Anne of Denmark* (London, 1970) 67.
- 15 P. Reyher *Les Masques Anglais* (Paris, 1909) 71.
- 16 Madden *op. cit.* in note 1, 393.
- 17 *Ibid.* 392.
- 18 See R. C. Strong *The English Icon* (London, 1969) 259–268.
- 19 Madden *op. cit.* in note 1, 384, 385, 390.
- 20 *Ibid.* 386, 391.
- 21 *Ibid.* 390.
- 22 N. E. McClure (ed.) *The Chamberlain Letters 1* (New York, 1939) 471.
- 23 Madden *op. cit.* in note 1, 383, 384.
- 24 M. C. Linthicum *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1936) 18 ff.
- 25 V. Sackville West (ed.) *The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford* (London, 1923) 96.
- 26 Madden *op. cit.* in note 1, 387–389.
- 27 *Ibid.* 393.
- 28 *Ibid.* 394.
- 29 *Ibid.* 385–386.
- 30 *Ibid.* 386–387.
- 31 Chamberlain in McClure *op. cit.* in note 22, 423.
- 32 Nichols *op. cit.* in note 2, 542.
- 33 Madden *op. cit.* in note 1, 384.
- 34 *Ibid.* 388.
- 35 *Ibid.* 389.
- 36 Nichols *op. cit.* in note 2, 542.
- 37 Chamberlain in McClure *op. cit.* in note 22, 495.
- 38 The number of Attendants was disputed. Chamberlain mentions 13, see McClure *ibid.* 423; whilst in Nichols the number is '14 or 15' *op. cit.* in note 2, 542.
- 39 Madden *op. cit.* in note 1, 383.
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 *Ibid.* 387.
- 42 *Ibid.* 389.
- 43 Clifford in Sackville West *op. cit.* in note 25, 42.



<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 45.<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* 83.<sup>46</sup> G. P. V. Akrigg *Jacobean Pageant* (London, 1962) 159.<sup>47</sup> Madden *op. cit.* in note 1, 383.<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 389.<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 387.<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 389.<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 394.<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 393.<sup>53</sup> Clifford in Sackville West *op. cit.* in note 25, 66.<sup>54</sup> Madden *op. cit.* in note 1, 387.<sup>55</sup> Chamberlain in McClure *op. cit.* in note 22, 424.<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 503.<sup>57</sup> Nichols *op. cit.* in note 2, 411.<sup>58</sup> E. Auerbach *Nicholas Hilliard* (London, 1961) 234.<sup>59</sup> J. Marston *The Malcontent* (London, c. 1603) IV, ii, 48.<sup>60</sup> G. Wingfield Digby *Elizabethan Embroidery* (London, 1963) 26.

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# SOUTHAMPTON HOUSE AND THE CIVIL WAR

ROSEMARY WEINSTEIN

The earliest known illustration of the north front of Southampton (later Bedford) House, Bloomsbury and the adjacent remains of Civil War fortifications is a late 17th-century pencil and wash drawing in the Museum of London (Fig. 1). It is unsigned and undated, on parchment, and in contemporary frame. The provenance is also unknown, but the number '97' in a later hand on the back suggests part of a larger collection.

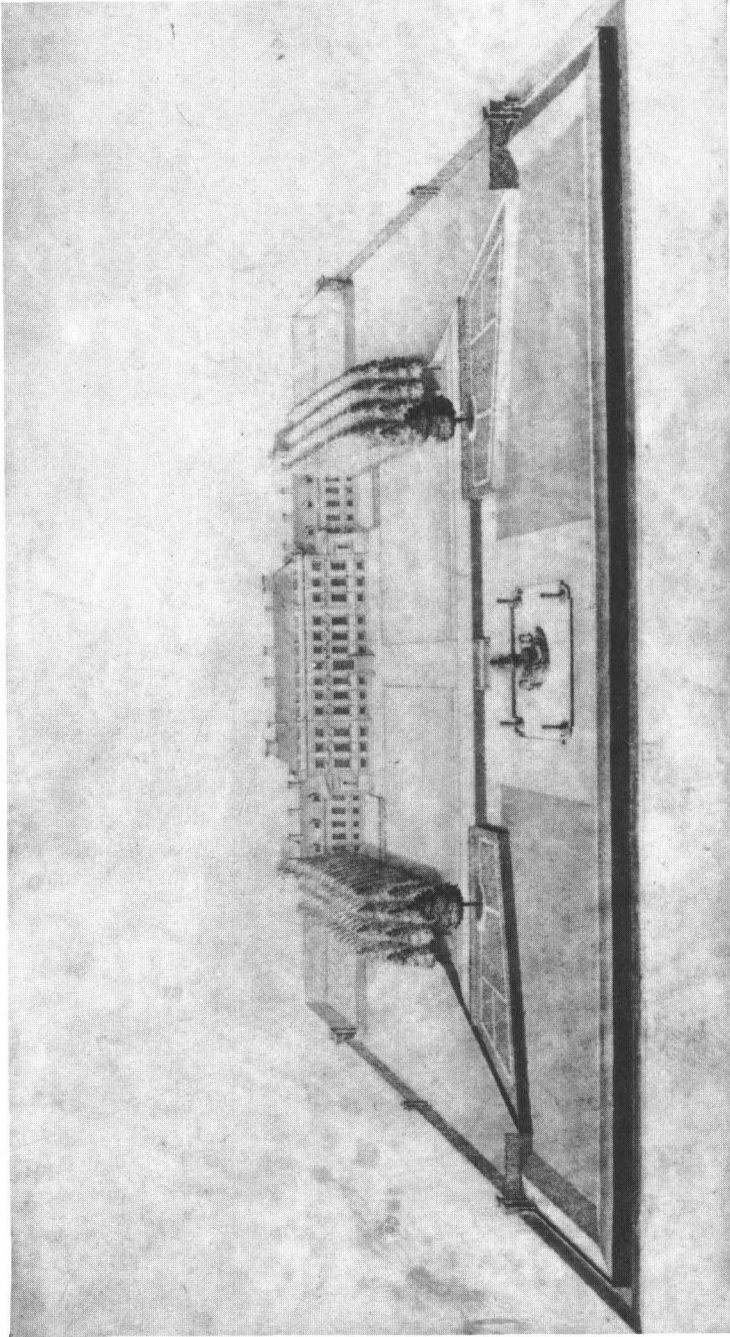
The drawing shows a brick building comprising a three-storey central block with two-storey wings. A small projecting 'pavilion' containing a niche and topped by a half pediment masks the junction of the main block with the wings. The garden layout incorporates the earthworks of 1642–1643 — the remains of two quadrangular-shaped bastions joined by a length of rampart — which looked out over open ground towards Hampstead and Highgate. Rows of trees lead from the house to the bastions and steps lead down from a central walk to the fountain in the lower garden — once the ditch of the fort. This lower garden is bounded by a brick or stone wall, about 4 feet in height, with an earth bank inside creating a raised walk. Coupled classical columns linked by iron railings mark the garden's east and west boundaries.

One other 17th-century view of the house exists — an etching of the south front by John Dunstall, a topographical and botanical draughtsman and etcher (d. 1693). Dunstall, a drawing master in St. Anne's parish, Blackfriars, used the etching to illustrate his treatise *The Art of Delineation*<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 2).

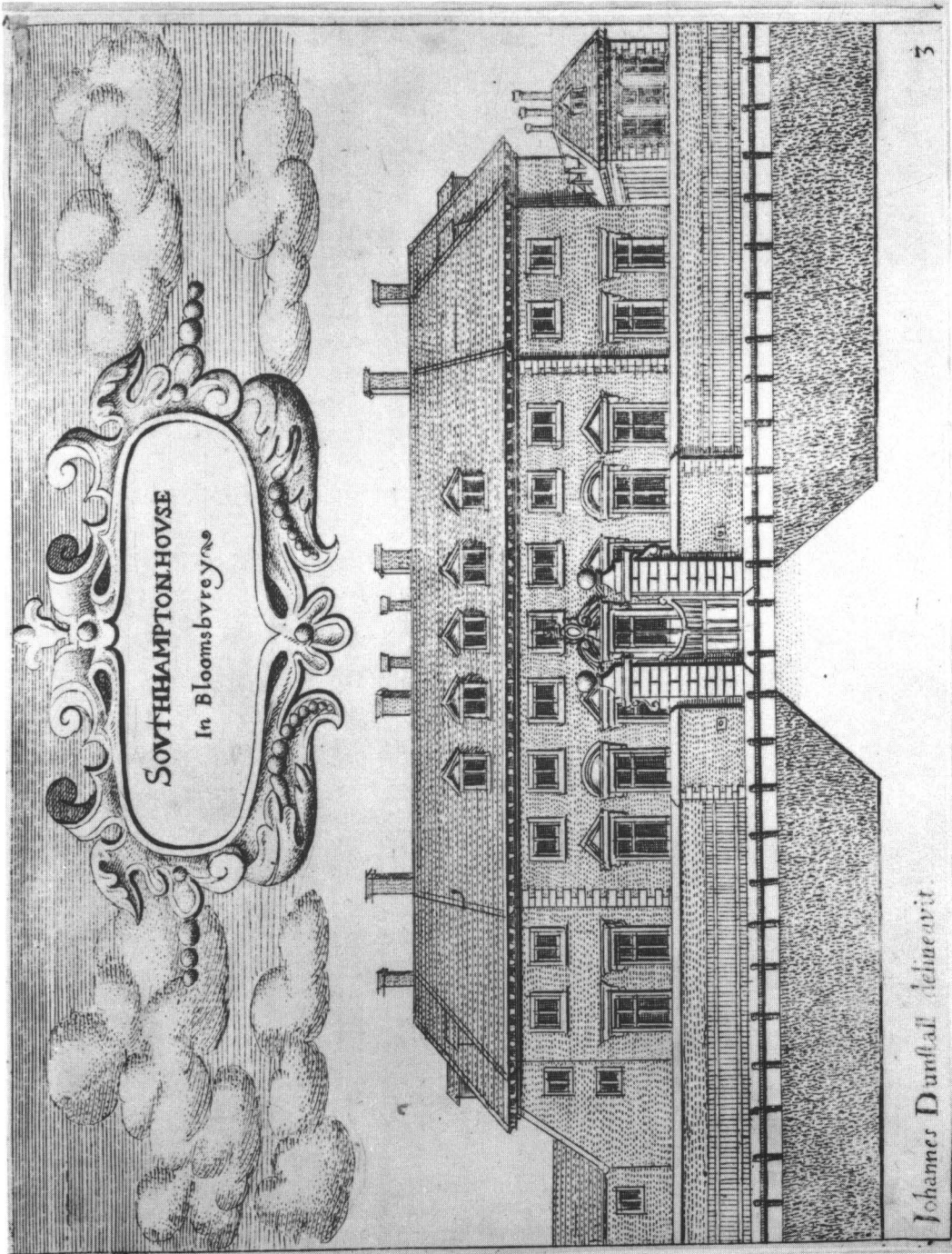
Although various conjectures regarding the architect have been made, including inevitably Inigo Jones (d. 1651) and John Webb, no evidence exists to support the theories. Estate accounts concerning the finishing of the house mention payments totalling £5,096 15s 4d to one Thomas Bayly during 1660–1663, but do not indicate his status.

Bloomsbury Manor, formerly the property of the London Charterhouse, had been granted by Henry VIII in 1545 to Thomas Wriothesley, then Lord Chancellor. Two years later Wriothesley became 1st Earl of Southampton. Part of the estate remains in the possession of the Dukes of Bedford, his descendants by marriage.<sup>2</sup> The Tudor Earls of Southampton however continued living at their town house at Holborn Bars — the site now occupied by Southampton Buildings — and leasing Bloomsbury Manor to tenants.

The beginning of the 17th century saw increasing commercialisation of the Earl's Bloomsbury property. The Liquorice Garden (growing plants for medicinal purposes) and the Great Cherry Orchard, both probably market gardens, were landmarks on the north side of High Holborn, the former covering the area approximately between the



(Museum of London)  
Fig. 1. Southampton House, north front, late 17th century. (M.o.L. Acc. No. 49.44).



5

(Society of Antiquaries)

Fig. 2. Southampton House, south front facing Bloomsbury Square, late 17th century.

present Bury Street and Coptic Street, the latter extending across Bloomsbury Square to Southampton Row, as shown on an estate map of proposed plans of the house in 1657.<sup>3</sup> These gardens were to disappear under building developments started by the Earl in 1661.

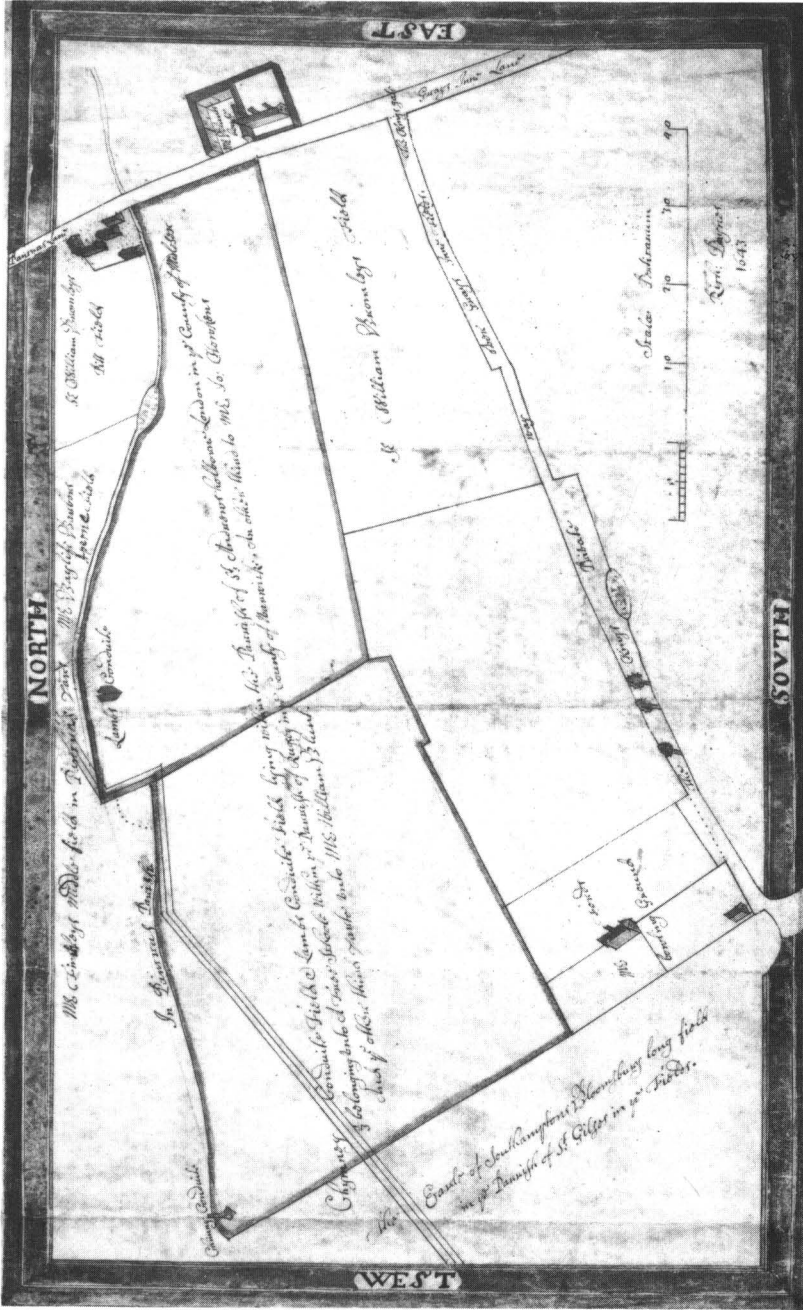
London continued to extend itself along Holborn. The first era of building was just prior to 1600. Stow remarks in his *Survey* that, 'On the high-street [Holborn] have ye many faire houses builded and lodgings for gentlemen, inns for travellers and such like, up almost (for it lacketh but little) to St. Giles-in-the-Fields'.<sup>4</sup> By 1623 houses lined both sides of the road from the Bars to St. Giles, despite Elizabethan and Jacobean Acts of Parliament and proclamations to restrain building. Parton<sup>5</sup> records that at this date the number of houses rated for St. Giles parish amounted to 897, of which 136 were newly erected in Bloomsbury.

Thomas Wriothlesley, the 4th Earl, (1607–1667) in keeping with this pattern of development, proposed to pull down his Holborn town house and build tenements on the site. His application to the Privy Council for a licence to do so was refused in March 1636/1637 but granted in December 1640. It also contained permission to build a new residence for himself and family on a five-acre site in the Long Field behind the old manor house at Bloomsbury. The latter, depicted in Braun and Hogenberg's map of London, 1572, appears to be to the south of the site of Bloomsbury Square, its successor being built across the present Bedford Place to the north of the Square.

The date of the commencement of the new Southampton House has never been ascertained. It is possible the Earl started about 1640 but postponed the project on the outbreak of war; certainly either the new building or the old Bloomsbury manor house had become known as Southampton House by 1643.<sup>6</sup> With the outbreak of war the royalist Earl left London for his estates at Tichfield, Hampshire, and to campaign for Charles I.

The City authorities, being officially anti-Royalist, prepared two distinct fortifications of London — the first in October 1642 of the streets leading from the suburbs into the City: 'The Committee for the Militia of London have given order that Trenches and Ramparts, shall be raised neere all the Roads and highwaies that come to the City, as about St. James, St. Gyles in the Fields, beyond Islington and about Pancras Church in the Fields, and they are now busily at worke about them'.<sup>7</sup> In February 1643, when the King's approach had made a stronger defence inevitable, more fortifications were ordered: 18 miles of trenches linking 24 forts and redoubts round London's perimeter. Included in this list of fortifications are 'two batteries and a breastwork at Southampton House. One redoubt with two flankers by St. Jiles in the Fields, another small worke neere the turning'.<sup>8</sup>

Evidence of these fortifications is provided by William Lithgow's 'Surveigh of London' in 1643, a record of his perambulation along the entire length of the defences from Gravel Lane, Wapping, to Tothill Fields, Westminster, then crossing the river to Lambeth and so on to Rotherhithe. Walking westwards from Islington, Lithgow came to Pindar of Wakefield's Fort on the right of Farringdon Road near Exmouth Market. Next he reached the fortifications in the gardens at the back of Southampton House (mistakenly called Northampton by him, probably in confusion with the Earl of Northampton — owner of Clerkenwell Manor House): 'I presently rancountred with Northampton Fort, consisting of two divided quadrangled bulwarks, and each of them garnished with four demi-culverins of brasse the intervening distance fortified: the two former bodies are



(Public Record Office)

Fig. 3. Map of Chimney Conduit and Lamb's Conduit Fields, Richard Daynes, 1643. The Civil War breastworks are represented by the three parallel lines crossing the north-west corner.

pallosaded, double ditched and the middle division whereof barricaded with stakes a yard high and each of them hooked with three counter-thwarting pikes of iron'.<sup>9</sup> As a spectator of the construction work on several occasions he records the size of the ramparts — 3 yards thick and on the ditch side 6 yards high.

Other contemporary writers describe the construction work organised by bands from the City Companies and the various parishes. The Court of Common Council ordered that ministers should 'stir up the parishioners' to complete the fortifications with the aid of their children and servants.<sup>10</sup> 'This day', we read in May 1643, 'the whole company of gentlemen Vintners went out with their wives, servants and wine porters. On Thursday the Shoemakers of London took 4,000 and all the inhabitants of St. Clement Danes. On Friday at least 9,000 men women and children of St. Giles in the Fields, Queen Street and other parts there about.'<sup>11</sup> Even the 'clerks and gentlemen' participated. Those belonging to Parliament and the Inns of Court were mustered in the piazza at Covent Garden at 7 o'clock in the morning with 'spades, shovels, pickaxes and other necessities'.<sup>12</sup> Fishwives marched from Billingsgate through Cheapside to Crabtree Fields, near Rathborne Place, 'the goddess Bellona leading them in a martial way'.<sup>13</sup> Lithgow estimates the number of able-bodied men at 100,000 and comments on the 'indefatigable multitudes of the Citie never heretofore practised nor exercised'.

The difficulty and expense of the task did not escape the Venetian ambassador in London: 'The plan of the work is commanded by experts, but to complete and defend them must necessarily be most difficult'.<sup>14</sup> The extra effort even involved working on Sundays — exceptional for Puritans. In order that people should concentrate fully on their defence commitments Parliament ordered that all shops should be closed and trades stopped 'so that they may with the greater diligence attend the defence of the said places'.<sup>15</sup> But business suffered through frequent military duties: 'Trade and estates [were] much decayed by reason of the great and often service at the forts'.<sup>16</sup>

The City had authority from Parliament to tax the suburbs to raise money for the forts, £12,000 being advanced as early as 1643.<sup>17</sup> This was totally inadequate and there is much evidence in the City records of complaints of unpaid bills. A Committee of Arrears, sitting at Weavers' Hall, was to pay outstanding amounts to the 'Gunners and mattresses, the timber merchants, carpenters, bricklayers and others employed in the fortifications in and about London'.<sup>18</sup> More specifically relating to our area, J. Young freemason was paid £3 in March 1646 for repairing the stonework at the breach by the Pindar of Wakefield Fort and at that near Tyburn Road done in September/October 1644.

Lithgow comments on the damage done to grazing lands in the vicinity of the Crabtree Fort and forecasts great hardship for local farmers. Sometimes, however, the fortifications were made an unfair excuse for not paying adequate rent for land said to have been so damaged. In Lawrence Sheriff's Will dated 22 July 1567, one-third of the income of a field north of Holborn called Conduit Close was left to Rugby School, and during the Civil War the tenants refused to pay the moderate rent because breastworks had been constructed across it from the Pindar of Wakefield Fort to Southampton Fort. Rugby School Trust Papers indicate that John Howkins 'hath not dureing that tyme paid any part of the £5 increase of rent But for about 3 or 5 years together deducted severall sumes out of the said £10 per Annum . . . for pretended damage sustained by Breast Works at London drawn through the said close and for Taxes out of the said Rent'.<sup>19</sup>

A coloured parchment map (1643) of Chimney Conduit Field and Lamb's Conduit



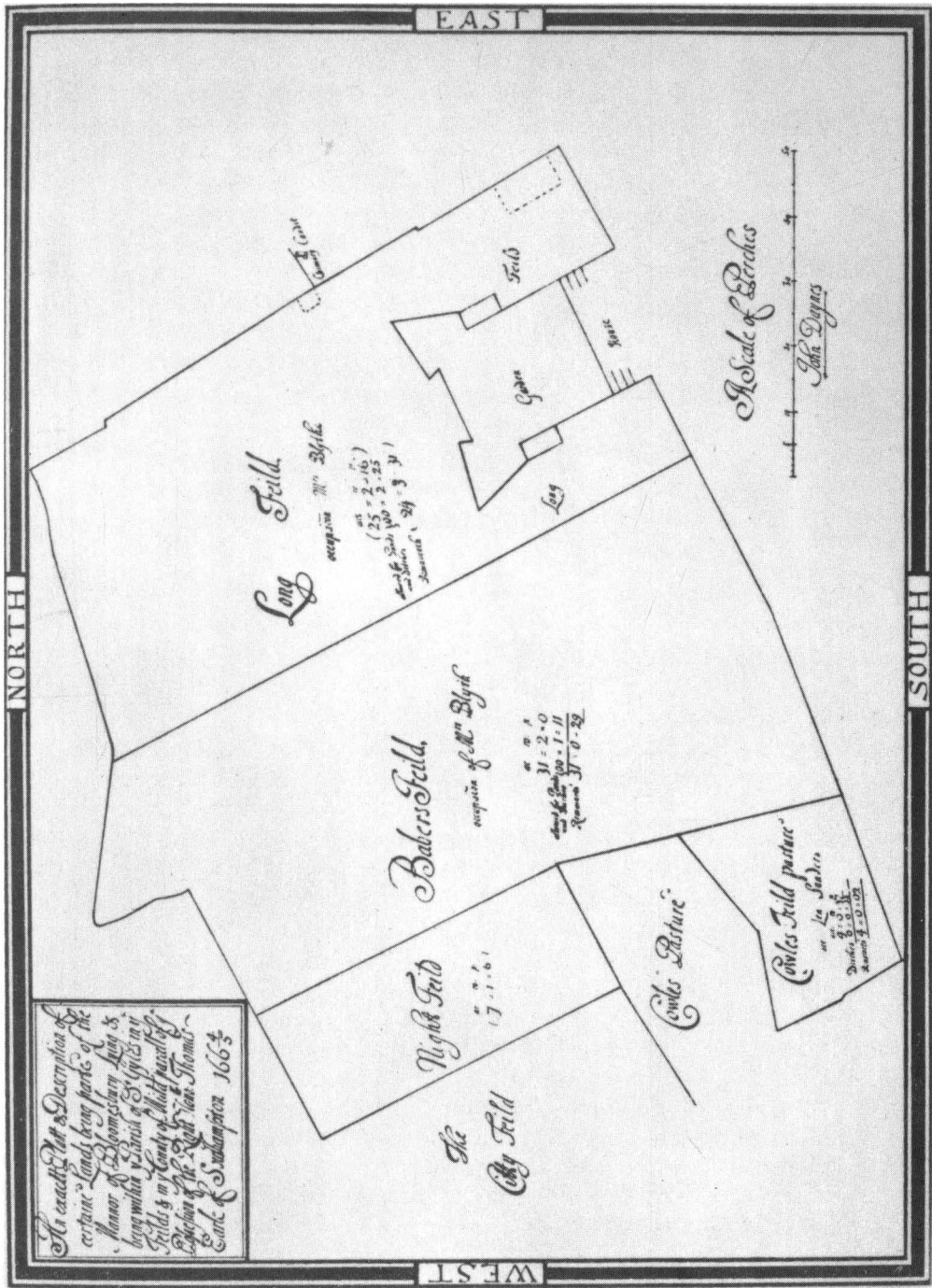


Fig. 4. John Daynes' Bloomsbury Estate map, 1664/1665.



Field in St. Andrew's parish Holborn by Richard Daynes,<sup>20</sup> shows the Rugby property in question, with John Howkins as one of the tenants (Fig. 3). The map also shows adjacent holdings with the names of owners, their houses coloured yellow with red roofs and a green boundary line round the two fields. Most significantly it indicates the line of the offending breastworks running from Southampton Row at their south west point, crossing Queen Square south of Chimney Conduit (located at the north-west corner of the Square — No. 20)<sup>21</sup> to veer north of Lamb's Conduit (88 Lamb's Conduit Street) towards Guildford Place. The kink in the north east section of the trenches near Lamb's Conduit survives as a property boundary on a 1686 Rugby estate map.<sup>22</sup>

Also surviving is a map of the adjoining property to the west<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 4). Drawn by John Daynes in 1664/1665 this map shows part of Bloomsbury Manor including Chimney Conduit on its eastern boundary and the outline of the old fortifications now gardens to the north of the house. Fig. 5 shows the probable line of breastworks and fort superimposed on R. Horwood's map of London and Westminster. Richard and John Daynes had been working in the area for some time, the Earl having commissioned Richard Daynes to survey the south-east corner of his property, Pond Piece, in 1656.<sup>24</sup>

The well-known map of the fortifications, drawn by George Vertue in 1738 for Maitland's *History of London*, and said to be copied from Wenceslaus Hollar's 6 sheet map of the City, is the only map to identify all the defences. Published nearly one hundred years after their construction the map can be accepted only as a general indication of their location, but was considered sound enough to be used as a basis for potential fortifications by Thomas Lascelles and George Gregory of the Office of Ordnance in preparation for a possible assault by Prince Charles Edward in 1745.<sup>25</sup>

A series of drawings of these fortifications<sup>26</sup> said to be done by a Captain John Eyre, pupil of Hollar, and an officer in Cromwell's own regiment, was published about 1853. These drawings, now known to be fakes, include the illustration of the bastions at Southampton House (Fig. 6). Only one bastion appears to be within the garden wall. Eyre, reputed to have been won over from the Royalist cause by the trial of John Hampden, was mortally wounded at Marston Moor and died at Bakewell in 1644.

London's defences were never attacked. On 11 November 1642 came the encounter at Turnham Green — the closest the Royalist army ever came to London. In September 1647 after friction between Parliament and the Army, all forts were ordered to be demolished.

The Earl of Southampton maintained his estates compounding for his 'delinquency in adhering to the King', by a payment on 26 November 1646 of £6,466, that sum being assessed as a tenth of the value of his personal property.<sup>27</sup>

At some unknown date he returned to the building of his Bloomsbury residence. In 1661 the Earl received further letters patent. This time he obtained permission to demolish numerous wooden buildings and rebuild in brick and stone according to a new approved design. The area permitted him for development was that bounded by the present Great Russell Street, Southampton Row and Kingsway, High Holborn, and (approximately) Dyott Street. The principal part of the scheme was to be Southampton (later Bloomsbury) Square, complete with market. This early speculative venture places him, to quote Miss Jeffries Davis 'among the creators of the London square'.<sup>28</sup> A passing reference only is made in the 1661 licence to Southampton House itself, connecting it with the Long Field which lay 'between the walls of the Court of the Mansion of the said earl and the Cherry Garden'.<sup>29</sup>

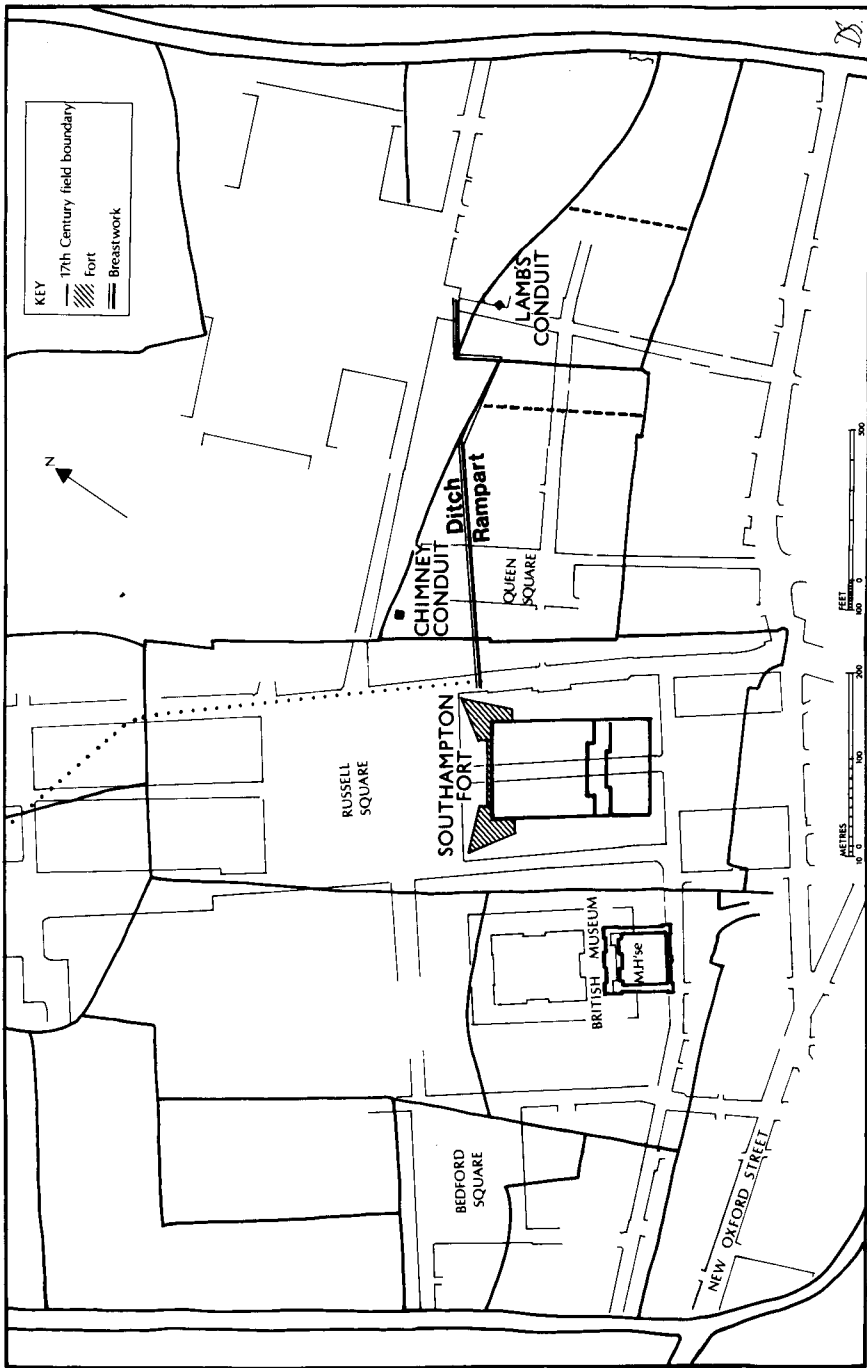


Fig. 5. Conjectured location of Civil War breastworks between Southampton Fort and Guildford Place (as shown on Daynes' map Fig. 3).

A chart of London and the Thames estuary<sup>30</sup> produced for the Navy Office in 1662 by Sir Jonas Moore (1617–1679) mathematician, Surveyor-General of the Ordnance and Fellow of the Royal Society, records the state of building near Southampton House before demolition of the ‘ruinous and decayed’ tenements (Fig. 7). It is also the earliest accurate record of the Southampton House fort, showing again the outlines of the former earthworks in the Long Field. In addition, the map clearly indicates the ditch surrounding the fort’s two bastions.

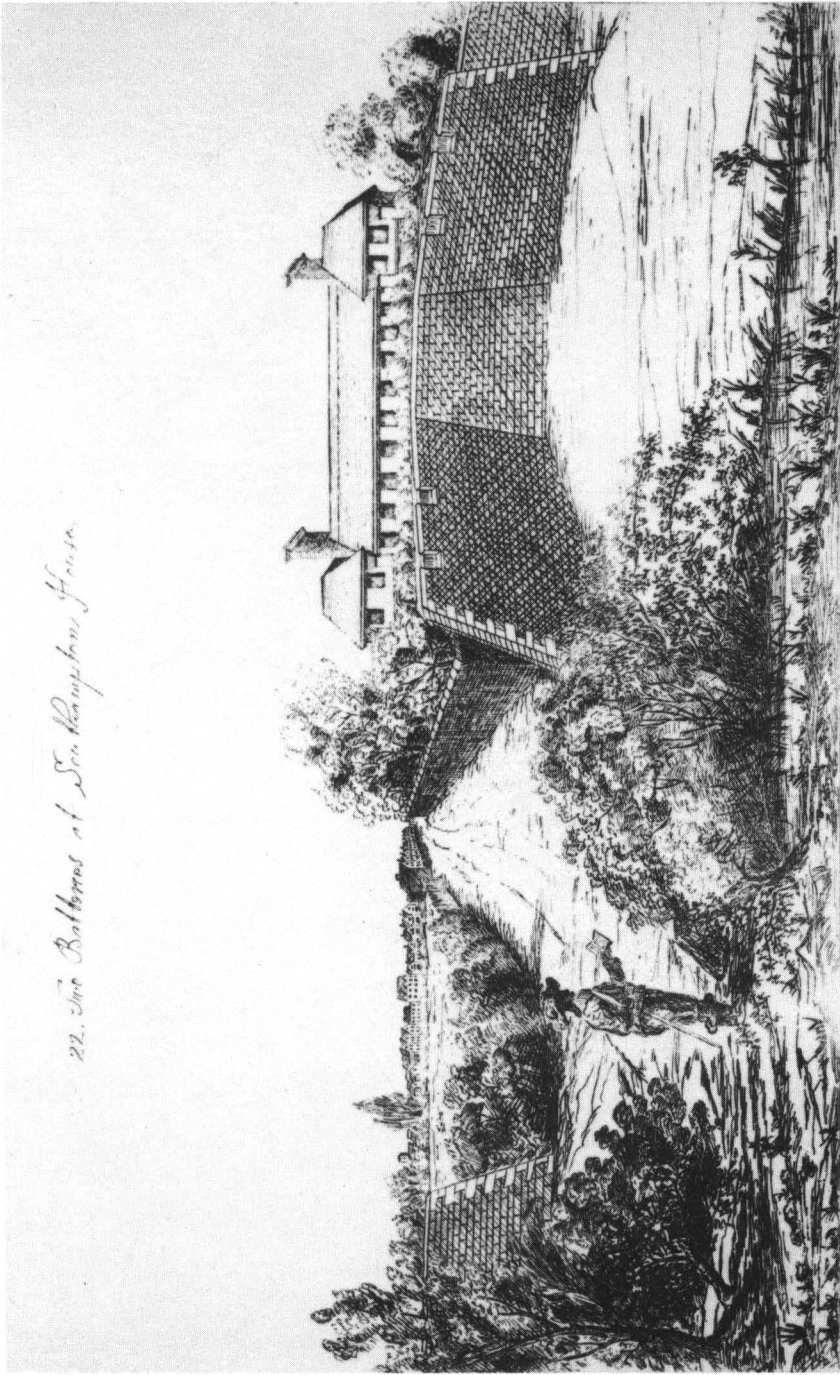
A series of maps by Hollar show subsequent stages of the Earl’s building scheme. On a pre-Fire map (c. 1664)<sup>31</sup> the ruinous buildings have been swept away leaving the open space labelled ‘Southampton Buildings’, the present Bloomsbury Square. Hollar has not however included the house which pre-dated the square. A second map showing pre-Fire London, but published as an inset on John Overton’s ‘A New and exact map of Great Britain . . . London’ (probably c. 1668), clearly shows both Southampton House (No. 15) and the space for Southampton Square (Fig. 8). Hollar’s map of burnt London in 1666 includes an inset, also with house and square, although the latter is now called Southampton Market.<sup>32</sup>

By 2 October 1664 the project was well under way when Pepys walked ‘through my Lord Southampton’s new buildings . . . a very great and a noble work’. Evelyn had already visited it on 21 July and was there again on 9 February 1664/1665: ‘Dined at my L: Treasure[r]s the Earl of Southampton in Blomesbury, where he was building a noble Square or Piazza and little Town; his own house stands too low, some noble rooms, a pretty cedar chapel, a naked garden to the north, but good air’. Miss Scott Thomson notes this new use of the word ‘square’ — first found in 1663 in leases granted by Southampton for the space in front of his house.<sup>33</sup>

A skeleton survey of Bloomsbury, c. 1751, from High Holborn and St. Giles High Street to the ends of the gardens of Montague House and Bedford House, provides the only known floor plan of Southampton House, probably showing the same arrangement of rooms as commented on by Evelyn (Fig. 9). Later inventories give further details.<sup>34</sup> The single flight of stone steps, leads up from the courtyard to the front door, on the first floor of the central block. One entered the front door into the great hall with the principal rooms — two drawing rooms and a dining room — to left and right. Also on this floor were smaller drawing-rooms, another eating room and several bedrooms and dressing rooms including those of the Earl and Countess. Here too was the cedar-panelled chapel. The attic storey above contained 24 rooms for members of the family and chief servants, with 32 rooms and household offices comprising the servants’ hall, kitchens, wash-houses *etc.* on the ground floor and in the two wings.

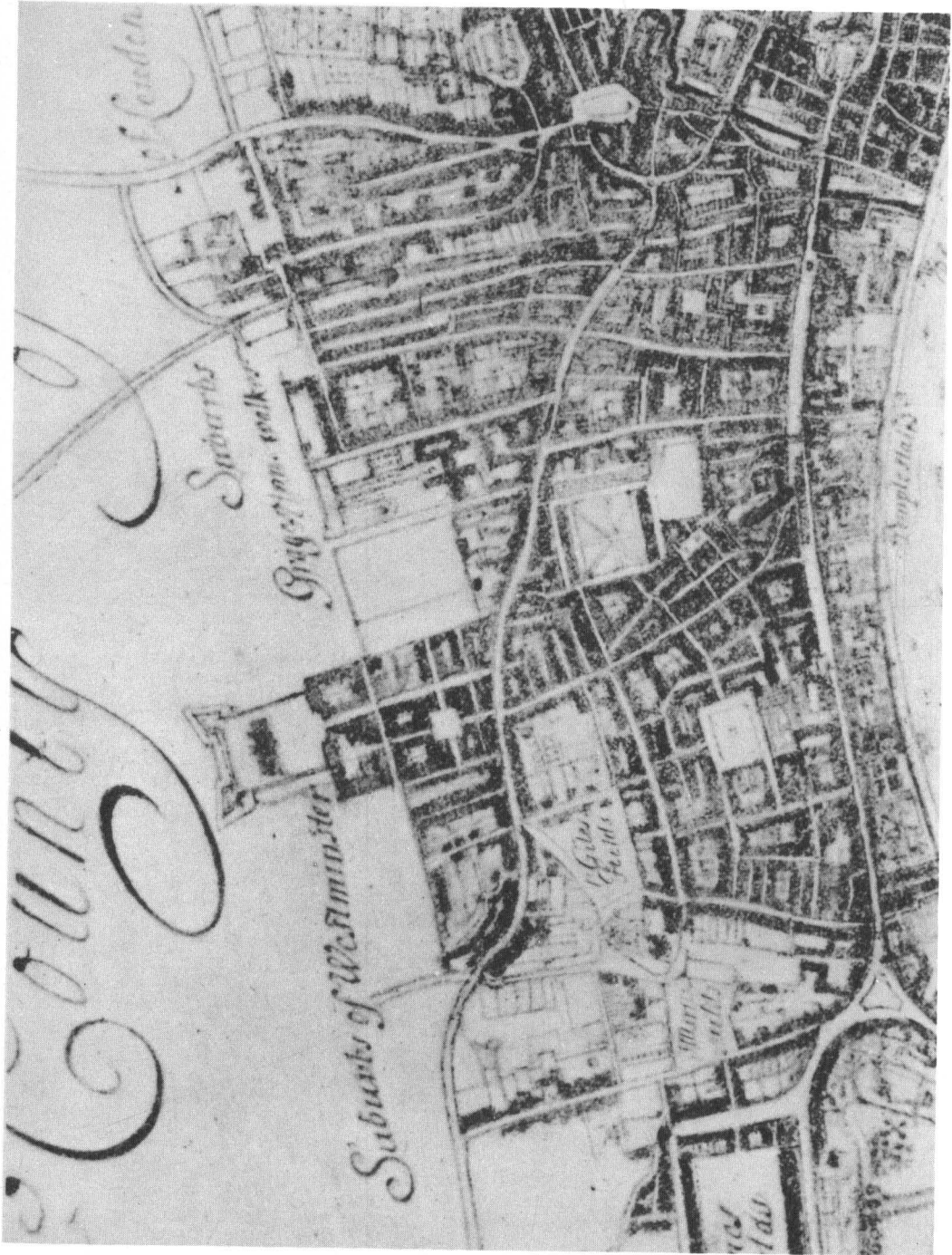
Outside the garden is no longer ‘naked’ but with rows of trees, probably lime and acacia, on either side of the four grass plots laid out with intersecting paths according to the fashion of the day. A terrace walk runs east-west linking the former bastions. Little has changed since the 17th-century view was drawn. Strype remarks in 1720 on the ‘curious Garden’ of Southampton House.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps he was referring to the inclusion of the bastions in its layout. But the Earl in so doing was setting no new fashion.<sup>36</sup>

Twelve volumes of accounts, six income, six expenditure, for October 1660–October 1663<sup>37</sup> provide considerable evidence regarding the finishing of Southampton House. These accounts, of Thomas Corderoy, receiver to the 4th Earl of Southampton record



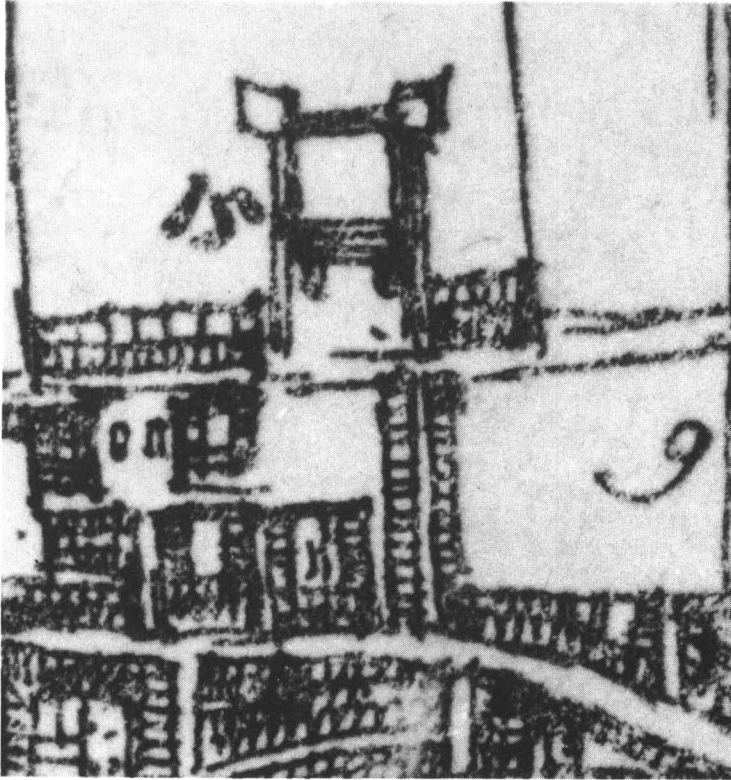
(Guildhall Library)

Fig. 6 Alleged Eye drawing of Southampton House fortifications.



(Public Record Office)

Fig. 7. Earliest visual record of Southampton House. Detail from Jonas Moore's map of London and the Thames, 1662.



(British Museum)

Fig. 8. Detail from Holler's *A Map of Both Citties London and Westminster Before the Fire*, showing Southampton House (15) and the area to the south of the street now cleared for the square. To the right is Grays Inn Fields (9).

payments to Thomas Bayly totalling £5,096 15s 4d for this period. Most of these are simply for 'finishing' or 'repayre' work:

'to Tho Bayly towards ye finishing of my Lords  
house in ye Longe field in London  
the 5th 12th and 27th of Octo 1660            300.00.00'

The accounts make the first reference to the chapel:

'to Tho Bayly 16th of Jan 1661 by Mr Wilkinson  
and Mr Osgood towards ye Chapell at  
Southampton house                            41.12.00',

and £1.18.00 to Mr Taylor, the Earl's chaplain 'for a great bible for ye Chapell at Southampton house ye last of Jan, 1662'.

In January 1662 the Earl obtained the licence to hold a market on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at Bloomsbury. Earlier references to the leasing of plots on 'the market place' in 1661 indicate its prior, irregular existence. Bayly was soon at work here:

'to Tho Bayly the 9th of Septem 1663 towards  
ye Building of ye markett                    20.00.00'

plus a further £100 towards building the market house. Although the shops in the fish and flesh shambles were providing rents that year the market seems not to have thrived.<sup>38</sup>

But amongst the business details and domestic expenditure — for drawing room hangings, pictures by Lely and Dixon,<sup>39</sup> looking-glasses, sconces on the stairs and payments for guitar and harpsicord masters — some bills of October 1660 echo the national unrest:

‘to a porter and a carman for carrying  
a chest of gunns to Southampton house 000.02.02’

and

‘to Mr Hunt then for Pike staffes  
for ye defence of Southampton house 002.01.00’.

In December of that year the Earl, by this time Lord Treasurer to Charles II, was writing from Southampton House to the Deputy Lieutenants of Norfolk concerning musters in that county:

‘his Majesty taking notice of the great quantities of arms and munition sent down into several counties of this kingdom, and most probably lodged in the hands of disaffected persons to his Government, hath commanded the Lords Lieutenants, that they cause a strict search to be made of all arms and munition in all suspected places. . . The like reason hath induced the Lords of his Majesty’s most honourable Privy Council to take notice of several persons, who exempt themselves from being of the trained bands, sending reasons not to be allowed. . . In Remedy whereof their lordships have directed that I should cause the statutes of the 4th and 5th year of Queen Mary, concerning musters, to be put in execution against such defaulters. . . I am further directed thereby to return a perfect muster roll of all the forces of the county of Norfolk, both horse and foot to ye honourable Board: which course is yearly to be observed. . . And chiefly I am to require you, what his Majesty’s letter concludes with, “That you use all possible diligence to prevent any tumults, insurrections, numerous and unlawful meetings to the disquieting of the peace of his Majesty’s good subjects”. The importance of the service in so dangerous a season is argument enough to press this duty upon you. . . ’<sup>40</sup>

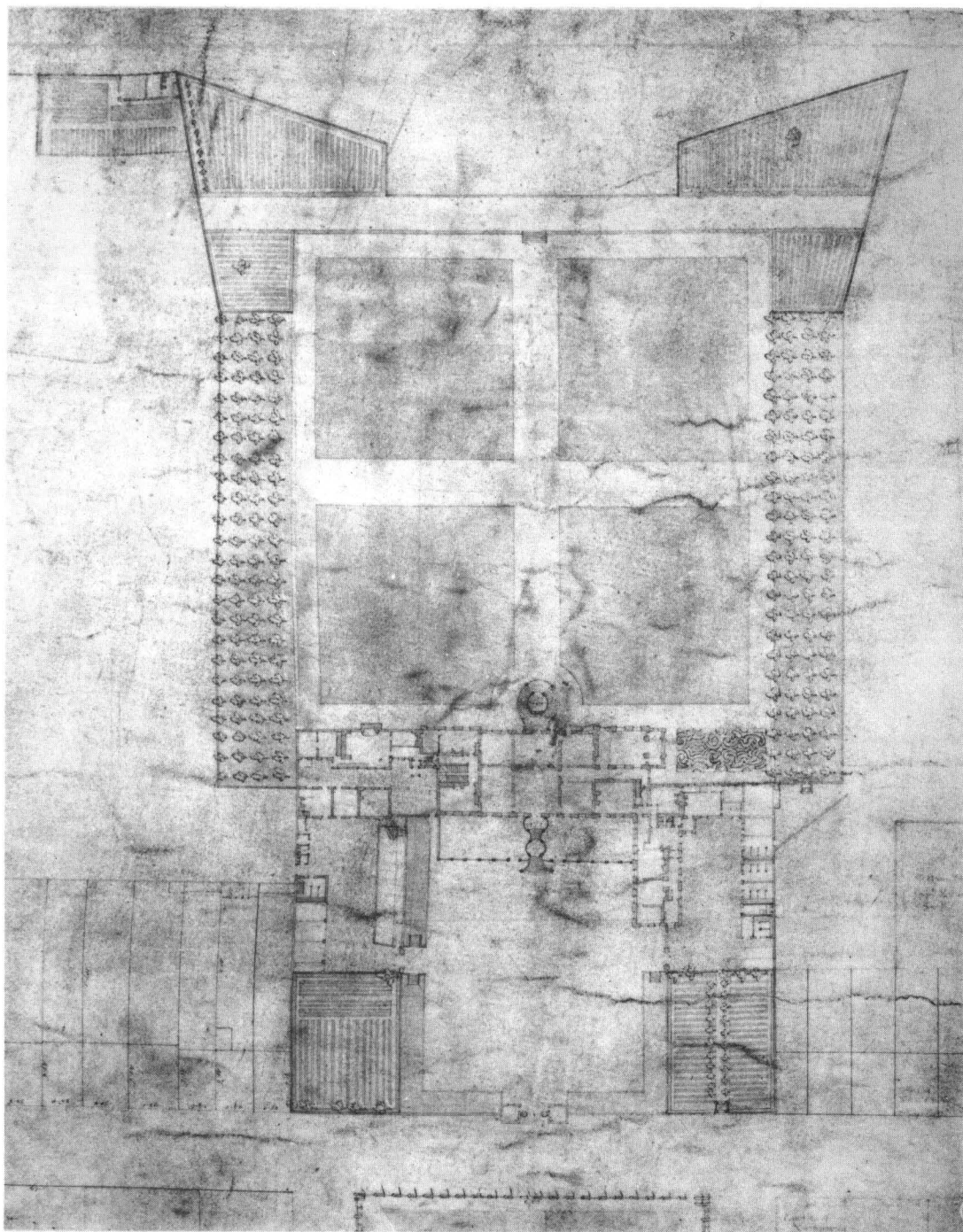
This violent and uncertain state of public opinion, later fostered by the severity of the ‘Clarendon Code’ with its intolerance and persecution of nonconformists, lasted throughout the reign of Charles II.

1661 was to prove a decisive year. By August the Lords of the Council were requiring the Earl to establish the militia of his lieutenancy (Hampshire). The Earl passed on the command to his deputy lieutenants, enclosing the letter to him from the Council.<sup>41</sup> This correspondence indicates the important feature of the Restoration settlement on its military side: the revival of the militia organisation of the counties under the lords lieutenant, eclipsed by the professional army under the Commonwealth.

The King, adopting the Cromwellian attitude that government could be founded upon the support of the standing army, was dissatisfied with this outcome. A rising of religious fanatics in London under Thomas Venner, a cooper who attempted to establish the monarchy of King Jesus, was quickly put down by General Monk with a troop of horse. This insurrection gave the King the opportunity of retaining a bodyguard of troops. These troops, initially three regiments, formed the nucleus of a new standing army which numbered 8,700 by the end of the reign.

The estate accounts of Thomas Corderoy record nine instances of the carriage of guns





*(Trustees of the Bedford Estates)*

Fig. 9. Only known floor plan (c. 1751) of Southampton House.



and shot from Portsmouth and London particularly in August and September 1662. Some of the guns are specified as 'old', but it was common practice to refurbish old weapons, particularly ex-government stock. Whether the guns were intended for the defence of Southampton House, Tichfield, or for the county militias is not known.

Southampton, like many country gentry with experience of the Interregnum, was suspicious of a standing army. Disillusioned with the corruption of the court and the impossibility of bringing 'the expense of the court within the limits of the revenue',<sup>42</sup> Southampton died on 16 May 1667. With his daughter Rachel's marriage in 1669 to William Russell son of the Earl of Bedford, the Bloomsbury property passed into the Bedford family.

Southampton House itself was demolished in 1800 and Bedford Place built on the site. Vertue records the fortifications as visible in 1746 — 'complete to this day in the Duke of Bedford's garden'<sup>43</sup> — and their outline survived on maps up to the first edition (1799) of R. Horwood's 'Plan of London and Westminster'.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Brit. Lib. Add MSS 5244; Society of Antiquaries, Westminster — Whitehall Vol. 6, 82.
- <sup>2</sup> Gladys Scott Thomson *The Russells in Bloomsbury 1669–1771* (London, 1940) and Eliza Jeffries Davis 'The University Site' *London Topog. Rec.* 17 (1936) 19–139.
- <sup>3</sup> Bedford Estate Office, and published by Scott Thomson *op. cit.* in note 2.
- <sup>4</sup> John Stow *A Survey of London* (London, 1599) 361.
- <sup>5</sup> John Parton *Some account of the hospital and parish of St. Giles-in-the-Field* (London, 1822) 107.
- <sup>6</sup> Corporation of London Records Office, Journals of the Court of Common Council 40 f. 52.
- <sup>7</sup> Brit. Lib. E240 (49) 'England's Memorable Accidents, 24th–31st October 1642'.
- <sup>8</sup> J. Court of Common Council *loc. cit.* in note 6.
- <sup>9</sup> Guildhall Library *Somers Tracts* IV, 534. Demiculverin: artillery piece with calibre of about 4½ inches, length 9 feet and weight 3,000 lb., point blank range 400 yards; at 10 degree elevation 2,400 yards. Palisade: palings of strong timber.
- <sup>10</sup> Brit. Lib. 'A Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament, 1643, Sat. April 29th'.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* Nos. 47, 48, 50, 51.
- <sup>12</sup> Brit. Lib. 669 f. 7 (20) *Thomason Tracts*.
- <sup>13</sup> Guildhall Library *Somers Tracts* IV, 538.
- <sup>14</sup> *Cal. Venetian State Papers, 1642–1643* (London, 1925) 256.
- <sup>15</sup> Brit. Lib. E 669 f. 5 (87) *Thomason Tracts*.
- <sup>16</sup> Corporation of London Records Office, Letter Book QQ ff. 148b, 149b, 150, 150b, 153.
- <sup>17</sup> J. Court of Common Council *op. cit.* in note 6, ff. 56, 59, 59b, 61, 65, b.
- <sup>18</sup> *Cal. State Papers Domestic, 1644 and 1645* (London, 1890) 408. Matross: a gunner's assistant.
- <sup>19</sup> 'Breviate of Legal Proceedings Respecting the Endowment of the Rugby School Charity', quoted in W. H. D. Rowse *History of Rugby School* (London, 1898).
- <sup>20</sup> Public Record Office MPA/2.
- <sup>21</sup> Philip Norman 'On an Ancient Conduit-head in Queen Square, Bloomsbury' *Archaeologia* 56 pt. 2 (1899) 251–266.
- <sup>22</sup> Brit. Lib., Crace Map Portfolio XV no. 27.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* no. 15, and published in Jeffries Davis *op. cit.* in note 2.
- <sup>24</sup> Bedford Estate Office. Included on the 1656 map are the Earl's stables and stable yard. These are described as being 'lately erected' on a deed of 1606 leasing the adjacent land. A parallel survives in the stables on the north side of the Strand later built over by the Earl of Bedford. See F. W. Sheppard ed. *St. Paul Covent Garden Survey of London* 36 (London, 1970) 22.
- <sup>25</sup> Public Record Office S.P. 41/37.
- <sup>26</sup> Guildhall Library. *Fortifications of London: a set of facsimiles of views*, issued by Peter Thompson (London, 1853?)
- <sup>27</sup> *Cal. Procs. Committee for Compounding* 2 (London, 1889) 1507.
- <sup>28</sup> Jeffries Davis *op. cit.* in note 2, 54.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* Appendix VI.
- <sup>30</sup> Museum of London, on loan from the Public Record Office.
- <sup>31</sup> Brit. Mus. Print Room P1000 Hollar Vol. VIII.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* P1004.
- <sup>33</sup> Scott Thomson *op. cit.* in note 2, 45.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* 35–36, 231–232.
- <sup>35</sup> *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster. . . brought down from the Year 1633. . . to the present Time by John Strype* 4 (London, 1720) 84.
- <sup>36</sup> Mock fortifications ranged in date from Sir Henry Fanshawe's at Ware Park, Herts in the late 16th century to Henry Fox, Lord Holland's at Kingsgate, Kent, laid out c. 1762. (See *Country Life* 114 (1953) 1968–1969).
- <sup>37</sup> Nottinghamshire Record Office Portland MSS DD5/P/7.
- <sup>38</sup> Strype *op. cit.* in note 35.
- <sup>39</sup> Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680) most eminent portrait painter of Charles II's reign. Dixon — probably John Dixon (d. 1715), miniature and crayon painter, a pupil of Lely. Appointed 'keeper of the king's picture closet' under William III.
- <sup>40</sup> Brit. Lib. Add MSS 5847 p.314.
- <sup>41</sup> Brit. Lib. Sloane MS 813 ff. 26, 27.
- <sup>42</sup> See Clarendon's Continuation of his *Life* 3 (1759) 780–790, for character sketch of Southampton.
- <sup>43</sup> Brit. Lib. K.20.16.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Mrs Marie Draper, Archivist to the Duke of Bedford for her invaluable help throughout the preparation of this paper, Sir John Summerson for his comments on the architecture of Southampton House, Frank Kelsall, Historic Buildings Division GLC for drawing my attention to the Corderoy estate accounts, and David Sturdy for the preparation of the map, Fig. 5.

# NEW LIGHT ON SOME 18TH-CENTURY PIPEMAKERS OF LONDON

ADRIAN OSWALD

Among a list of tobaccopipe exporters to the Hudson's Bay Company it is possible to isolate some London makers who also had insurance policies with the Sun Company, and to identify some of their products from dated deposits in London. An attempt has also been made to trace the products of some London makers who were not recorded as exporters. Some degree of evolution of typology of pipe bowls has resulted and some light is also thrown on the workplaces of the makers.

In the Hudson's Bay Company records the following are given as exporters of tobacco pipes<sup>1</sup> (known London pipemakers in **bold**):

1676	Samuel Harcourt:	Pipes and Toys, £27 8s 4d
1681	<b>William Manby:</b>	42 gross pipes
1690	William Potter:	900 small and 450 middling pipes to Port Nelson
1691	Anthony Morry:	1 doz. painted pipes, 6 doz. brown pipes to Port Nelson
1692	David Kingston:	15 Copper Tobacco pipes, also supplied Brass Kettles to Port Nelson
1693	William Potter:	12 long and 6 short Turkey pipes, also supplied livery lace to Port Nelson
1693	Samuel Clarke:	13 gross Tobacco pipes and small parcel of wampum pipe jewels, also supplied locks to Port Nelson
1696	William Potter:	16 and 44 gross to Albany River
1702	<b>William Swaine:</b>	10 gross
1706	John Carter:	11 gross
1708	<b>William Pinkard:</b>	24 gross (also 1715)
1716-1721	David King	
1722-1723	<b>John King</b>	
1731-1747	Millicent Williams	
1748-1753	<b>Thomas Dormer</b>	
1754-1756	Thomas Dormer and Son	
1757-1769	Thomas Dormer	
1770	Thomas Dormer and Thomas Smith	
1771-1774	<b>Thomas Smith</b>	
1775-1780	Tidy and Evans and Tidy and Co.	
1782-1787	<b>Rogers and Pothill</b> (also 1789, 1793)	
1788	Pothill and Rogers	
1790	Rogers (also 1792)	
1791	Rogers and Co. (also 1794)	
1795	Pothill (also 1796)	
1797-98	Pothill and Co.	
1799-1806	N. and N. <b>and R. Pothill</b>	

The record continues into the 19th century, when the main exporters were:

1807–1830 Thomas Duggan  
1831–1870 the Ford family

In the Manuscript Department of Guildhall Library, London, are volumes giving details of insurance policies taken out with the Sun Company between 1745 and 1775.<sup>2</sup> 32 tobaccopipe makers are listed and it seem possible to identify pipes with the following, with some degree of certainty:

Henry Blundell	policies in 1745, 1750, 1764
John Clamtree	policy in 1765
John and Thomas Clamtree	policy in 1765
William Clark	policy in 1768
*Thomas Dormer	policy in 1770
William Goulding	policies in 1757, 1762
Stephen Hillary	policy in 1766
Sarah Langley	policies in 1745, 1749, 1756
†Edward Manbey	policies in 1746, 1760, 1767
†Richard Manbey	policy in 1746
†William Manbey	policies in 1755, 1758
†Richard Pinkard	policy in 1761
*William Rogers	two policies in 1772
*Thomas Smith	policies in 1760, 1764, 1771
Patrick Ruttledge	policy in 1759
William Tappen	policy in 1763
Joanna Tappen	policy in 1772
Valentine Watts	policy in 1749

\*Occurs in Hudson's Bay list

†Surname occurs in Hudson's Bay list

In the question of identification between the two lists the attribution of Hudson's Bay exporters to London rests on the occurrence of the names in lists of pipemakers<sup>3</sup> at the appropriate dates. The names of Smith and Rogers are found on non-London lists but the amounts of the London policies make it very probable that their wealth was acquired by export. The names Pinkard and Manbey are found only among London makers.

The identification of pipes with makers is full of pitfalls and depends on unusual intitial combinations, preferably combined with dated deposits both matching the recorded maker's dates and the absence within the date bracket of more than one maker with the same initials. In the case of London, the occurrence of crowns and other symbols over the initials on the spurs of the pipes was particular (or nearly so) to that city.<sup>4</sup>

This form of signing (whatever it may indicate) is commoner in London than anywhere else. For instance, in a complete study of the pipes at the Norwich museums, the writer found only four pipes so signed and at Bristol they are rare. At Plymouth from hundreds of marks only five were recorded. This is the pattern everywhere and it is a fair conclusion that such crowned marks must usually be attributed to London.

Dated deposits which have been used in identifying pipes with makers in the above lists are:

1. Bedford Square: Miss D. Le Faye in 1972 and 1973 recovered from a gas main trench on the north side of the square large quantities of pipes and pottery and has

kindly allowed me to make use of the marked pipes. This deposit was previously noticed by Miss Mavis Bimson who dated it to a filling to make-up levels when the Square was built, i.e. 1770–1780.<sup>5</sup>

2. Wood Street: material from pits at Nos. 4–9, the site of Tom's Coffee House, date range *c.* 1720–1750.<sup>6</sup>
3. Farringdon Street: a deposit with a closing date of *c.* 1740.<sup>7</sup>
4. Fulham and Putney: deposits in the Thames explored by D. R. Atkinson, with a date range of *c.* 1760–1810.<sup>8</sup>

The following list is divided into two sections, namely exporters and home producers. Of the former only John King, Pothill and William Swaine do not occur in the Sun Policy list. Details given below are in date sequence.

#### A. EXPORTING PIPEMAKERS

##### 1. William Manbey and the Manbey family (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 Nos. 11–16)

###### *William (1)*

- St. Botolph's, Aldgate  
 1681 exporting to Hudson's Bay Co.  
 1687 married at St. Botolph's, Aldgate (*aet.* 48)<sup>9</sup>  
 1696 signed Oath of Allegiance as *Senr.* and a member of the Tobacco Pipe Makers' Co.<sup>10</sup>

###### *William (2)*

- 1680 apprenticed to Thomas Trigg<sup>11</sup>  
 1690 Free in the Merchant Taylors' Co.  
 1693 tobaccopipe maker by trade (i.e. member of Tobacco Pipe Makers' Co.) on apprenticeship of son Richard (1); at Botolph's, Aldgate  
 1696 signed Oath of Allegiance

###### *William (3)*

- 1719 Free by apprenticeship  
 1739– children baptized at St. Anne's, Limehouse;  
 1746. address Green Dragon Alley:  
 Ann 1739–1740, Edward 1740–1741, Mary 1742, Sarah 1743, Susannah 1746<sup>12</sup>

1755 and 1758 insurance policies

#### Details of policies:

*Vol. 110 no. 146586 (10 May 1755). Near Kidney Stairs in Limehouse.*

Household goods in dwelling house, brick	£150
Wearing apparel therein	150
Stock in workhouse opposite dwelling house timber	50
A workshop in Sarsnet alley near his dwelling house timber	80
Utensils and stock therein	80
On his warehouses in the said alley, timber	40
Stock therein	50
	£600

*Vol. 123 no. 161348 (21 Feb. 1758), for the same amount.*

The policies are for a value three times greater than the average of the home producers. The workshop was apparently apart from the dwelling house. Horwood's Map of 1799 shows Green Dragon Alley next to a Pipemaker's yard with Kidney Stairs close by. The Parish registers of St. Anne's, Limehouse 1740–1748 give the following makers from Green Dragon Alley: James Carroll, Edward Henwood, William Huggins, Richard Measer, John Saltonstall; and from Sarsnet Alley: William Barnes and Thomas Stallwood.<sup>13</sup>

Examples of the pipes of the William Manbeys are shown in Fig. 1. They cover the period c.1680–1770. Crowned W/M marks occur during the whole of this period.

In the London list of tobacconipipe makers<sup>14</sup> the maker other than the Manbeys with the initials W/M is William Mitchell of Bermondsey whose name occurs in the Marriage Licences of Salisbury Diocesan register in 1700 but who is not recorded in the London Freedom records of this period or in the Oath of Allegiance lists, who may indeed never have been a Master or even a journeyman. All the evidence suggests that the W/M marks from London during this period belonged to the Manbey family. Crowned W/M marks are found at Port Royal, Colonial Williamsburg and Louisbourg, and in view of the export record above and prosperity recorded in the relative policies, must surely be attributed to the Manbeys, assuming that the descendants of the first William continued to export.

The suggested sequence of pipes to be related to the various Williams is given in Fig. 1. The marks on the back of the bowl, C or GR, FR and WM wreathed (nos. 9, 10, A and B) are found on pipes with W/M marks, plain and crowned, on the spur. These spur marks were incorporated in the moulds whereas the marks on the back of the bowl were added by stamp after the formation of the pipe but before firing. The GR mark has been connected by I. C. Walker<sup>15</sup> with the coronation of George III in 1760. If correct and if the pipes were made by William Manbey (3) it would mean his working life lasted over 40 years. It seems more likely that these back-of-bowl marks relate to a possible William Manbey (4) who had his children in his twenties and whose workspan covered the period c. 1740–1770. The attribution of the FR mark is uncertain. In the period of the Seven Years War 1756–1763 there was considerable production of pottery and glass commemorating Frederick the Great of Prussia and here may lie the solution. The style of both the *lion passant* and the *three crowns* occurs on Dutch marks. Armorial pipes were made c. 1750 onwards by this maker and have been found at Chiswick and Colonial Williamsburg.<sup>16</sup>

*Richard (1)*

- St. Mary, Whitechapel
- 1693 apprenticed to father William (2)
- 1701 Free
- Took apprentices:<sup>17</sup>
- 1718 J. Bear (probably Beast) £6
- 1718 W. Burgess £7
- 1719 W. Bray £5
- 1723 J. Everitt £5

*Richard (2)*

Montague Court, Old Montague Street,  
 St. Mary, Whitechapel  
 1729 Free by patrimony, son of Richard (1)  
 1746 Insurance policy

## Details of policy:

*Vol. 77 no. 106792 (20 Nov. 1746)*. Montague Court in Old Montague Street in the parish of St. Mary, Whitechapel.

Household goods, utensils and stock in trade in his dwelling house, brick	£100
Wearing apparel	20
Utensils and stock in his shop adjoining, timber	50
Utensils and stock in his sheds adjoining, timber	30
	<hr/>
	£200

Pipes marked R/M are shown in Fig. 2 nos. 11–15. No. 11 with a crowned mark must, on shape, be attributed to Richard (1). No. 13 could be either Richard, 1710–1740. No. 12, spurless, from St. Mary's City, Maryland, is typical of the English export pipes of the 18th century. No. 14 is the type found in the Wood Street and Farringdon Street deposits c. 1740–1750. No. 15 is a Colonial Williamsburg example and Audrey Noël Hume instances 14 varieties of the mark from Capt. Orr's dwelling at Williamsburg dating to 1740–1755. Many of these have a cross incised in the interior of the bowl at its base caused by a projection on the plunger which formed the bowl.<sup>18</sup> Heelless types as no. 12 also have this mark. A decorated armorial pipe with this interior mark from Williamsburg is attributed to this maker.<sup>19</sup>

These interior marks occur in the Cheminant Collection from London on bowls marked R/M, I/A, I/B, M/C, T/H, W/M (crowned and plain), I/P, R/S and R/T. In the collector's view these bowls belong to the second half of the 18th century.

*Edward*

The Hermitage  
 1725 Free by apprenticeship  
 1746, 1760, 1767 insurance policies  
 1763 The Hermitage (*Mortimer's Directory*)

Possibly *Sen.* and *Jnr.*, the former at Aldgate, the latter at the Hermitage. An Edward, son of William Manbey, was baptized 1740.<sup>20</sup>

## Details of policies:

*Vol. 77 no. 105572 (11 July 1746)*. Lower Smithfield in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate.

Household goods and furniture in dwelling house, brick and timber	£150
Wearing apparel	50
Workhouse and warehouse adjoining his dwelling, timber	100
Utensils and stock therein	200
	<hr/>
	£500

*Vol. 132 no. 176564 (4 July 1760). Near Hermitage Bridge in Lower East Smithfield.*

Household goods in dwelling house, brick and timber	£150
Wearing apparel therein	50
Workshop adjoining and communicating behind his house	100
Utensils and stock therein	200
Timber shed opposite the workshop	20
Utensils and stock therein	80
	£600

*Vol. 177 no. 246870 (1 July 1767). Near the bridge at the Hermitage.*

On his houses situate in Butts Lane, Deptford in the County of Kent in the tenure of William Mitchell Shopkeeper, brick part tiled and part covered with tarpaulin <i>(In a different hand)</i>	£200
See Ind. no. 20 P 131	
<i>Do</i> 25 290	
Indorsed to Nathaniell Spry of St. Mary Ax Esq. as Mortgagee as per indenture No. 22 dated 1782. Ent 5th April 1782. B. Poole.	

It will be seen that Edward enlarged his premises between 1746 and 1760 adding another workshop. Nonetheless any pipes marked E/M are rare in London. Fig. 2 no. 16 shows such a pipe in the Atkinson Collection and another of the same type with a base mark is in the Green Collection from the Thames, in the Museum of London. By 1767 Edward had invested money in property in Deptford in the same lane that Sarah Langley dwelt (below p. 357).

2. William Swaine (Fig. 2 No. 17)

- Probably of St. Mary's, Whitechapel
- 1694 apprentice of William Pinkard (below)
- 1701 Free by apprenticeship
- 1702 exporting to Hudson's Bay Co.

The pipe in Fig. 2 no. 17 is perhaps his, but there was a William Synkins (? Simpkins) working in St. Olave's Southwark at this date for he had a daughter baptized in 1699 and a William Sunkin (? the same) of the same parish had a son baptized in 1709. There must be therefore some element of doubt.

The elapse of only one year from Freedom to export seems very short but there is no William Swaine *Senr.* in the 1696 Oath of Allegiance.

3. William Pinkard and the Pinkard family (Fig. 2 Nos. 18–22)

*William*

- Tobaccopipe maker by trade in St. Mary's Whitechapel
- 1696 Phillip (2) became his apprentice
- 1701 as Freeman of Bakers' Co. gave testimony of Wm. Swaine's faithful service.
- 1708 exporting to Hudson's Bay Co.
- and 1715

Pipe no. 18 may be William's as typologically it falls within the period 1690–1720 and a similar pipe and mark was found at Claybank, Virginia in a 1680–1700 context.<sup>21</sup> But it



should be noted that William Phelps *Sen.* and *Junr.*, Free 1686 and 1699, were working in London at this time.

*Phillip (1)*

1696 signed Oath of Allegiance as a member of the Tobacco Pipe Makers' Co.

There are pipes marked P/P of same shape as no. 18 (above) from the Thames in the Green Collection, Museum of London.

*Phillip (2)*

1696 apprenticed to father William  
1703 Free

*John (1)*

1703 Free

*John (2)*

1732 Free by patrimony, son of John (1)

*Richard*

Montague Court, Old Montague St., St. Mary,  
Whitechapel. (See also Richard Manbey and  
Thomas Smith)

1761 insurance policy

Details of policy:

*Vol. 134 no. 180016 (16 Jan. 1761).* Montague Court in Old Montague Street in the parish of St. Mary, Whitechapel.

Household goods in his dwelling house, brick	£100
Wearing apparel therein	20
Utensils and stock in his shop adjoining, timber	50
Utensils and stock in his shed adjoining	30
	<hr/>
	£200

Fig. 2 nos. 19–22 show pipes possibly made by him but there are other possible makers *viz.* Robert Pattison who under policy Vol. 112 no. 148486 (17 Sept. 1755) had the tenure of a house and shop, brick and timber, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey, from John Martin of Overbury, Worcs., insured for £300. An outside possibility would be Robt. Phipps apprenticed to Wm. Wilder 1740 for £3 but not otherwise recorded.

Pipes nos. 19–22 are dated thus:

Nos. 19 and 21 by Atkinson to 1730–1750 and 1740–1760

No. 20 at Port Royal has the RP mark on the back of the bowl and crowned R/P on the spur from Marx's excavations and with R/S on the spur in Mayes' report in a level dated by him 1680–1740.<sup>22</sup> I. Noël Hume considers this closing date on the ceramic evidence should be at least post-1760.<sup>23</sup> The type of mark on the back of the bowl resembles those of WM above and WG below from post-1760 contexts.

No. 22 on the style of leaf decoration on the front mould should date 1760–1780.<sup>24</sup>

It would seem possible that the RP on the back represents Richard Pinkard taking over earlier moulds.

4. John King

(Fig. 3 Nos. 23 and 24)

Bishopsgate Without

*John (1)*

1689 a freeman when he took Solomon Slaide apprentice  
 1692–1698 assessed for Poll Tax in Bishopsgate Without<sup>25</sup>  
 1696 took Oath of Allegiance as a member of the Tobacco Pipe Makers' Co.  
 1722–1723 exporting to Hudson's Bay Co.

*John (2)*

1733 Free by apprenticeship  
 1740 son George apprenticed to Elizabeth Phillips of Bristol for £3, John then described as 'late of the City of London, tobacco pipemaker'.

Possible pipes of John (1) are shown in Fig. 3 nos. 23, 24, but James Kingsley, Free 1708, is another possibility.

Kings as makers are recorded from:

London: Richard 1642–1663, Stoke Newington  
 Jonathan and William, journeymen (1696 Oath of Allegiance)  
 William c. 1850, Borough (on a pipe)  
 Bristol: Richard 1660  
 William 1695  
 John 1739–1754<sup>26</sup>

5. Thomas Dormer

(Fig. 3 Nos. 25–28, A–F)

1748–1770 exporting to Hudson's Bay Co.  
 1763 The Hermitage (*Mortimer's Directory*)  
 1770 insurance policy

Details of policy:

*Vol. 197 no. 282534 (22 March 1770). Brewhouse Yard near Hermitage St.*

On his dwelling house, brick	£ 350
Wash House adjoining, brick and timber	10
Warehouse adjoining, brick and timber	30
Workshop adjoining, brick and timber	200
Shed adjoining, brick and timber	20
Shed and Stable in the back yard near the above, timber	20
Fences and Sandpit adjoining each other	10
Warehouse facing his dwelling house (tenure Tony Poller)	35
Warehouse adjoining (tenure of Saycorn Cooper) timber	25
Timber House adjoining his own (tenure of Capt. Proud)	350
Shed behind said house (tenure of Johnson, Bricklayer)	50

£1100

This is the only policy which includes a stable and a sandpit. The stable would imply that Dormer was marketing his pipes by horse within the range of his neighbourhood. The sandpit, perhaps, was used for breaking down his clay.

The amount of insurance is very large for a pipemaker and household goods and wearing apparel are not included. Dormer's prosperity relative to other makers surely must be due to his export trade *cf.* Smith and Rogers (below). In view of the entry in the Hudson's Bay records of *Dormer and Son* 1754–1756 it is possible that the above policy belonged to the son. TD marks have been closely studied by Walker.<sup>27</sup> He notes that the mark on the back of the bowl (Fig. 3 no. 26) occurs at Louisbourg in a mid-1750s context. This is the very time when *Dormer* becomes *Dormer and Son* in the export record and the mark may represent the combination of father and son.

The style of this mark is very rare in England, outside London it seems to occur only at Salisbury *c.* 1770–1780.<sup>28</sup> T/D marks are uncommon in England; three are shown in Fig. 3 nos. 25–27 and two more are in the Elkins Collection from the Fulham site. It would seem most of Dormer's production went for export. He seems to have been making armorial pipes before 1755, for Audrey Noël Hume illustrates one with T/D on spur and THO — above the Hanoverian Arms from Colonial Williamsburg in a deposit prior to that date.<sup>29</sup>

## 6. Thomas Smith

(Fig. 3 Nos. 30–32)

- 1760, 1764 Booth St., Spitalfields
- 1771 Brewhouse Yard, Hermitage Stairs, Wapping
- 1770 exporting to Hudson's Bay Co. with Thomas Dormer
- 1771–1774 exporting alone
- 1760, 1764 and 1771 insurance policies

A Thomas Smith is given in the Land Tax Records at Well St., Mile End, 1758–1764 and Samuel St. 1765–1770.<sup>30</sup> There may or may not be a connection. It seems probable since Well St. opens out east of Lower Booth St. (Horwood's Map 1799).

### Details of policies:

*Vol. 135 no. 179501 (22 Dec. 1760).* Lower end of Booth St., Spitalfields.

Household Goods, Utensils and Stock in his dwelling house, partly brick and timber	£150
Utensils and Stock in his workshop near, brick and timber	50
	£200

*Vol. 157 no. 215407 (26 Dec. 1764).* Booth St., Spitalfields.

Household Goods and Utensils in his dwelling House	£100
Wearing apparel therein	50
Utensils and Stock in Workshop adjoining	100
Utensils and Stock in his warehouse and workshop adjoining each other separate from the aforesaid	50
	£300

*Vol. 206 no. 298672 (24 June 1771).* Brewhouse Yard near the Hermitage Stairs, Wapping

Household Goods in dwelling house, brick	£150
Wearing apparel therein	50
Utensils and stock in his burning room, warehouses and shop adjoining, timber	400
	£600

Smith in his earlier policies was part of the pipemakers' complex situated at Montague St. and Montague Court and Booth St., Spitalfields, and which included Richard Manbey, Richard Pinkard and Samuel Sturgess. By 1771 he had joined the Hermitage group (Edward Manbey, Thomas Dormer and William Rogers) and had doubled his wealth and included a kiln of his own. This must have been due surely to his association with Thomas Dormer in Brewhouse Yard.

His pipes are commoner in London than other exporters', being found in the Wood St. deposit c. 1750, at Bedford Square (Fig. 3 no. 32) and along the Thames foreshore (Atkinson and Cheminant Collections). There is a crowned mark in the Elkins Collection. There seems to be no record of his marks in the U.S.A. or at Port Royal.

His prosperity and association at the Hermitage with the other exporters Dormer and Rogers makes the identification of the Smith in the Hudson's Bay Records with the Smith of the policies very probable. It must be noted that there were other makers with the initials T/S within the period 1750–1780, namely:

- Thomas Skinner (*Jnr*), who took C. Weaver apprentice for £10
- Thomas Simpson, who took T. Tapster for £10
- Thomas Sparepoint, who had a policy with the Royal Exchange Co. in 1758 for £300.

7. William Rogers

(Fig. 4 Nos. 33 and 34)

- 1772 insurance policies
- 1782–1794 exporting to Hudson's Bay Co. (*no initial is given in the records so this identification is an assumption, but likely in view of the policy sums*).

Details of policies:

*Vol. 213 no. 308139 (10 Feb. 1772). 2 Hermitage Bridge, the Hermitage.*

On his house in front in care of his servants ( <i>There are deletions here: ? 'not finished' after 'in front'</i> ).	£ 250
Household goods therein	40
On his now dwelling house adjoining behind	250
Household goods therein	280
Wearing apparel therein	100
Washhouse adjoining	60
Utensils therein	20
Kilnhouse adjoining	90
Utensils and stock therein	40
Kilnhouse and workshop over	120
Utensils and Stock therein	250
Worksheds at the end of the yard adjoining the above	100
Utensils and Stock therein	90
Workshop adjoining on the Southside of the yard	50
Utensils and stock therein	60
	<hr/>
All brick and timber	£1800

Vol. 215 no. 312963 (2 July 1772).

On his house in front, brick and brick knogging not finished	£ 600
On his now dwelling house adjoining behind	250
Household goods therein	370
Wearing apparel therein	100
Warehouse adjoining	60
Utensils and stock therein	20
Kilnhouse adjoining	90
Utensils and stock therein	40
Kilnhouse and workshop over	120
Utensils and stock therein	250
Workshop at the end of the yard adjoining	100
Utensils and stock therein	90
Workshop adjoining on the South side of the yard	50
Utensils and stock therein	60
	<hr/>
All brick and timber except as above mentioned	£2200

The other references to kilns in the policies are differently phrased e.g. 'burning room' (Thomas Smith above), 'burning house' (William Clark below) and policy no. 139595 (1755) of Samuel Sturgess of Booth St., Spitalfields. The amounts of Rogers's policies are much higher than any other maker, perhaps he increased his wealth by firing other makers' pipes as well as by export.

As with other exporters there appear to be few of his pipes found in London. Fig. 4 nos. 33 and 34 represent two such, and there are plain and crowned W/R marks from Queenhithe in the Elkins Collection. There are none at Port Royal and one only at Colonial Williamsburg.

Rogers was associated in the Hudson's Bay records with Pothill (below) from 1782–1793 and also had his own company in 1791 and 1794. In view of his wealth in 1772 it would seem probable that his working life began c. 1760 and lasted for over a generation and the scarcity of his pipes is peculiar.

#### 8. N. and R. Pothill; Pothill and Co.; Rogers and Pothill.

An M. R. Polhill (Pothill) is recorded as a pipemaker in 1799 at 2 Lower East Smithfield in *Holden's Triennial Directory* (cf. Edward Manbey above for the address).

A William Rogers is given as a tobacconist in Whitechapel in *Kent's London Directory* 1754 as are Davenford and Polhill in the Borough, Southwark. In 1763 Polhills and Taylor were working as tobacconists in the Borough (*Mortimer's Directory*).

Edward and Robert Polhill (Pothill) are given as tobacconists in 1785 at 35 Borough in *Kent's Directory of Eminent Trades*.

It seems probable that Pothill was acting as a merchant running an import-export business in pipes and tobacco, and perhaps the association with Rogers may have been connected more with the tobacconist side than the pipemaking.

#### B. PIPEMAKERS WITH POLICIES BUT NOT IN THE HUDSON'S BAY LIST

##### 1. Henry Blundell

(Fig. 4 No. 35)

## Details of policies:

*Vol. 75 no. 103912 (12 Nov. 1745)* and *Vol. 90 no. 124064 (25 Dec. 1750)*. Unicorn Alley, Kent St., Southwark. (This alley was west out of Kent St. at its junction with White St. and immediately south of St. George's Church).

On Household goods and stock in trade in his dwelling house, being two houses laid into one.	
Timber built	£ 60
On his stock in a shed, timber	30
On his stock in another shed near his house, timber	10
	<hr/>
	£100

In policy *Vol. 151 no. 205920 (7 Jan. 1764)* the values were increased to £200:

Household goods and stock in his dwelling house	£ 80
Plate therein	50
Household goods in a small house adjoining his own occupation	10
Stock in two sheds	60
	<hr/>
	£200

Clearly Henry Blundell in nearly 20 years of manufacturing had prospered, as witnessed by the acquisition of plate and another house.

The cause of his prosperity may well lie in the production of pipes with the Royal Arms and others with the Arms of the Watermen.<sup>31</sup> His plain pipes were as Fig. 4 no. 35.

He is recorded in *Mortimer's Directory* in 1763. No other maker with initials HB is recorded within the period 1740–1770. A Hennery Blundell was a journeyman in 1696 (Oath of Allegiance).

## 2. Sarah Langley

(Fig. 4 No. 36)

Perhaps the widow of John Langley, Free 1721, who took S. Gandy apprentice in 1735 for £3. Parish of St. Luke's, Deptford.

## Details of policies:

*Vol. 75 no. 103171 (20 Aug. 1745)*. Butt Lane, Deptford.  
(Described as widow, pipemaker, shopkeeper and distiller).

On dwelling house and still house adjoining, brick and timber	£150
On household goods, Utensils and Stock in trade therein	350
	<hr/>
	£500

*Vol. 89 no. 120020 (13 Feb. 1749)*.  
(Description as above)

Dwelling house and still house	£150
Household goods, utensils and stock	320
Wearing apparel	30
	<hr/>
	£500

*Vol. 114 no. 152213 (2 May 1756).*

(Described only as pipemaker and shopkeeper)

On dwelling house and workshop adjoining, brick and timber	£150
Household goods, utensils and stock therein	200
Wearing apparel	50
	£400

Sarah Langley is a good example of the often-felt need of the pipemaker to do more than one job, usually to keep an alehouse. By the amounts of the policies this method of work was clearly profitable, although it will be seen that by 1756 she had dropped the distilling side of the business. A pipe attributable to her (Fig. 4 no. 36) came from the Farringdon St. deposit *c.*1740.

It has been noted that Edward Manbey (above) also possessed property at Butts Lane.

### 3. Valentine Watts

(Fig. 4 Nos. 37–40)

Details of policy:

*Vol. 87 no. 118060 (5 Oct. 1749).* In the back lane called Kings Head Lane in Lambeth.

Household goods, Utensils and stock in trade in his Dwelling house and workshops adjoining and communicating, Brick and Timber	£200
--	------

King's Head Yard is situated between High St. and the river west of Lambeth Church and Ferry St. (Horwood's Map 1799). The name Watts is found in the parish registers but not associated with a trade.

A John Watts took T. Turner apprentice for £3 10s in Whitechapel in 1731<sup>32</sup> and the name occurs among Bristol pipemakers in the late 17th and early 18th century. A John Watts was working in Drury Lane 1828.<sup>33</sup>

Pipes marked V/W occur at Bedford Square (Fig. 4 no. 37) and also marked R/B with WATTS on the back of the bowl (nos. 38 a, b). The V/W mark also was found at Fulham post-1760 (no. 39) and in excavations at Lambeth.<sup>34</sup> The Watts mark on the back with nothing on the spur occurs at Kennington (no. 40) and in the Lambeth excavations. Watts on the back with R/B on the spur occurs at Lant St. Southwark (no. 38b; Cuming Mus.) and Vauxhall (Atkinson Collection). R/B bowls with Hanoverian Arms were found at Wood St. *c.* 1745–1750. The Watts on the back of the bowls may well be a descendant of Valentine but the V/W on the spurs is such an unusual initial combination that surely it must represent Valentine, although the finds from Bedford Square would suggest a working life *c.* 1745–1770, much the same period as the R/B marks. The latter could belong to Richard Bryant, Free 1733, who took Wm. Goulding apprentice in 1740, Robert Baldwin of Chymister Alley who in 1749 voted in Westminster Polls or Richard Boucher of Vinegar Yard, Belton St., (see Patrick Rutledge below) who took a policy Vol. 170 no. 236577 (1766) for £100.

A William Watts is recorded as a tobacconist in Bread St. 1754 (*Kent's Directory*)

#### 4. William Goulding

(Fig. 4 Nos. 41–43)

*William (1)*

1712 Took John Guy of St. Dunstan's Stepney apprentice for £5<sup>35</sup>

*William (2)*

1740 Bound apprentice to Richard Bryant for £5<sup>36</sup>

1752 Anne, daughter, baptized<sup>37</sup>

1757 and 1762 insurance policies

#### Policies:

*Vol. 120 no. 159188 (21 Sept. 1757)* for £100. Fare St., Horsley Down (Bernondsey).

*Vol. 143 no. 193234 (14 Oct. 1762)* for £200.

#### Details of latter:

Household goods in dwelling house, timber	£ 70
Wearing apparel therein	50
Utensils and Stock therein	80
	<hr/>
	£200

It will be seen that assuming William (2) started work in his own right on completion of apprenticeship *c.* 1749 he managed to double his modest policy in five years between 1757 and 1762. Few pipes marked W/G have been found in London, of these Fig. 4 no. 41 probably refers to William (1) and no. 42 to William (2). There appear to be no crowned marks in England. However pipes marked W/G on the base and WG in a circle on the back of the bowl (Fig. 4 no. 43) have been found in some numbers in the U.S.A. Some of the latter have T/D on the base, just as some pipes marked W/G on the base have TD on the back. The earliest WG on the back pipes in the States seem not to be earlier than 1770 and found on revolutionary sites *c.* 1780.<sup>38</sup> If these pipes are Goulding's he must have had a working life of 30 years. The only maker at present known from London with these initials was William Greenland first mentioned in *Boyle's Directory* 1795 and working still in 1817. His working life seems too late for the pipes.

#### 5. Patrick Rutledge

(Fig. 5 Nos. 44 and 45)

1759 insurance policy

1763 Vinegar Yd., St. Giles (*Mortimer's Directory*)

#### Details of policy:

*Vol. 128 no. 169987 (10 Aug. 1759)*. Near the Nags Head at Highgate.

(Described as Pipemaker and Tallowchandler).

Household goods, utensils and stock in Trade in Dwelling house, brick and tiled	£ 80
Wearing apparel therein	20
	<hr/>
	£100



Pipes in Fig. 5 nos. 44 and 45 may well have been by this maker although if both belong they would imply a working life of about 30 years. There is an example from Queenhithe in the Elkins Collection.

Vinegar Yard on Horwood's Map 1799 lay east out of Belton St. and south of Broad St. with High Holborn on the east. It was occupied by two other pipemakers who held Sun policies: Richard Boucher (see Valentine Watts) and William Brown, the former for £100, the latter for £200.

In view of the two different addresses of Rutledge it may well be that the above policy only covered one of his two businesses.

6. William and Joanna Tappin (Tappen) (Fig. 5 Nos. 46 and 47)

Details of policies:

*Vol. 144 no. 196281 (1 Feb. 1763).* William Tappin. In Puddle Dock Hill, Black Fryers.

Household goods, utensils and stock in dwelling house, brick	£100
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*Vol. 212 no. 309735 (17 April 1772).* Joanna Tappen.

Household goods in dwelling house, brick	£ 40
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Utensils and Stock therein	140
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Wearing apparel therein	20
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£200

These pipemakers (presumably Joanna is the widow) are of interest as their workplace was inside the old City Walls, the site lying between Carter Lane and Queen Victoria St. Only John Howard (1767) of Queenhithe of the policy holders (Vol. 175 no. 243436) had an address within the walls.

William died presumably *c.* 1765–1770 and the pipe recorded in Fig. 5 no. 46 has both the older-fashioned base mark and the spur mark (both occurring in the Wood St. and Farringdon St. deposits *c.* 1740–1750). Joanna's pipes have only spur marks and the Fulham one no. 47 the thinner stem introduced *c.* 1760.

No other makers of the period with appropriate initials are known.

7. John Clamtree (Fig. 5 Nos. 48–50)

Details of the policy:

*Vol. 158 no. 216971 (7 Feb. 1765).* At the Hand and Pipe in Liquor Pond St. (Liquor Pond St. was part of the present Clerkenwell Road from Grays Inn Road east to Leather Lane).

On household goods and stock in his dwelling house, brick	£150
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Wearing apparel therein	50
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Utensils and stock in his workshop brick behind his dwelling house	100
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£300

There are three other makers with these initials covering the period 1745–1775: James Carroll of Green Dragon Alley, Limehouse, who had children baptized 1744 and 1745;<sup>39</sup> Joseph Coules of Bristol who voted in Bristol Polls as a London outvoter in 1754, and from Playhouse Yd., Drury Lane in 1774, Featherstone St., Moorfields 1781, Hermitage Bridge, Wapping 1785; John Carrier who married in 1760 at Southwark as a widower.<sup>40</sup>

It will be seen that the pipes marked I/C (Fig. 5 nos. 48–50) which were found in the Bedford Square and Fulham deposits cannot be safely attributed to any one maker. The interest in John Clamtree lies in the association of the name. Two John Clamtrees appear as journeymen in the Oath of Allegiance. Another John (perhaps the above) was married at Sudbury in 1743 *aet* 21. Joseph (or Jeffrey) worked in Brick St., Piccadilly, 1805–1811 as did William 1805–1807.

Joseph *Jnr.* worked at Hereford St. 1837–1840 and Lyon St., Caledonian Rd., 1856–1865, and Clamtree and Fitt (Noah) worked in Brunswick Square 1854. Samuel Fitt *Snr.* worked in Whitechapel 1839–1859 and *Jnr.* in Bow 1896–1898. The name Fitt occurs as pipemakers frequently in Norwich and Norfolk in the 19th century.<sup>41</sup>

8. John and Thomas Clamtree

(Fig. 5 No. 51)

Details of policy:

*Vol. 162 no. 2246658 (16 Sept. 1765).* At Bell Wharf in Lower Shadwell.

Household Goods in dwelling house, brick	£ 80
Wearing apparel therein	20
	<hr/>
	£100

There is no mention of stock or tools etc.

A pipe marked T/C, Fig. 5 no. 51 was found in Bedford Square and in a well in Cripplegate Buildings 1740–1770 (dated by pottery etc.).

9. Stephen Hillary

(Fig. 5 Nos. 52–55)

1763 Great Windmill St. (*Mortimer's Directory*)

Details of policy:

*Vol. 168 no. 234408 (14 June 1766).* Opposite Queens Head Court, Gt. Windmill St.

Household Goods in dwelling house, brick	£ 70
Utensils and Stock therein	80
Wearing apparel therein	50
	<hr/>
	£200

The initial combination is unusual and makes identification more probable. Samuel Harris of Petticoat Lane, Whitechapel, who was made Free of Bristol by patrimony in

1781 voted as a London outvoter in 1781 and his pipes could be presented by Fig. 5 no. 54, but pipes nos. 52 and 53 from Bedford Square are too early for him and presumably are Hillary's, as might be expected from the proximity of his workplace to the square. SH marks on the stem are known from Queenhithe (Atkinson and Elkins Collections) but belong certainly to the first half of the century. A full name on a stem from Pontefract (Fig. 5 no. 55) *c.* 1750 is unusual and may represent the original home of Hillary.

#### 10. William Clark

(Fig. 5 No. 56)

Details of policy:

*Vol. 181 no. 255845 (7 April 1768).* Queens Court near the Bull and Gate, High Holborn.

Household Goods in Dwelling House, Brick and Burning Room adjoining	£ 50
Utensils and Stock	50
	<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> £100

A pipe from Bedford Square (Fig. 5 no. 56) may well be his as there appears to be no other suitable maker for the period and like Hillary (above) his place of work was close to the square.

#### CONCLUSIONS

It will be seen that pipemakers who were exporters were much better off than those catering for the home market. The common value of a policy of a home producer was £200. Of the London makers 16 had insurances for this amount, six were insured for £100, three for £300–400 and there were six above £500 of which one, Sarah Langley, had three trades. The common value for a potter working on his own was about £600. Apart from the description of the buildings the only individual mention of anything other than household goods and wearing apparel is the mention of plate in Henry Blundell's second policy. The brevity of the policies is tantalising; really only in the cases of Thomas Dormer and William Rogers is it possible to reconstruct the layout of their premises.

The policies show colonies of pipemakers working close together; e.g. at the Hermitage, Edward Manbey, Thomas Smith, Thomas Dormer and William Rogers. Of the 31 policy holders only two (if William and Joanna Tappin are taken as one) had workplaces within the perimeter of the City Walls, between 1745 and 1772. Between 1689 and 1734 there were six such, whose addresses were recorded in the Freedom records.<sup>42</sup>

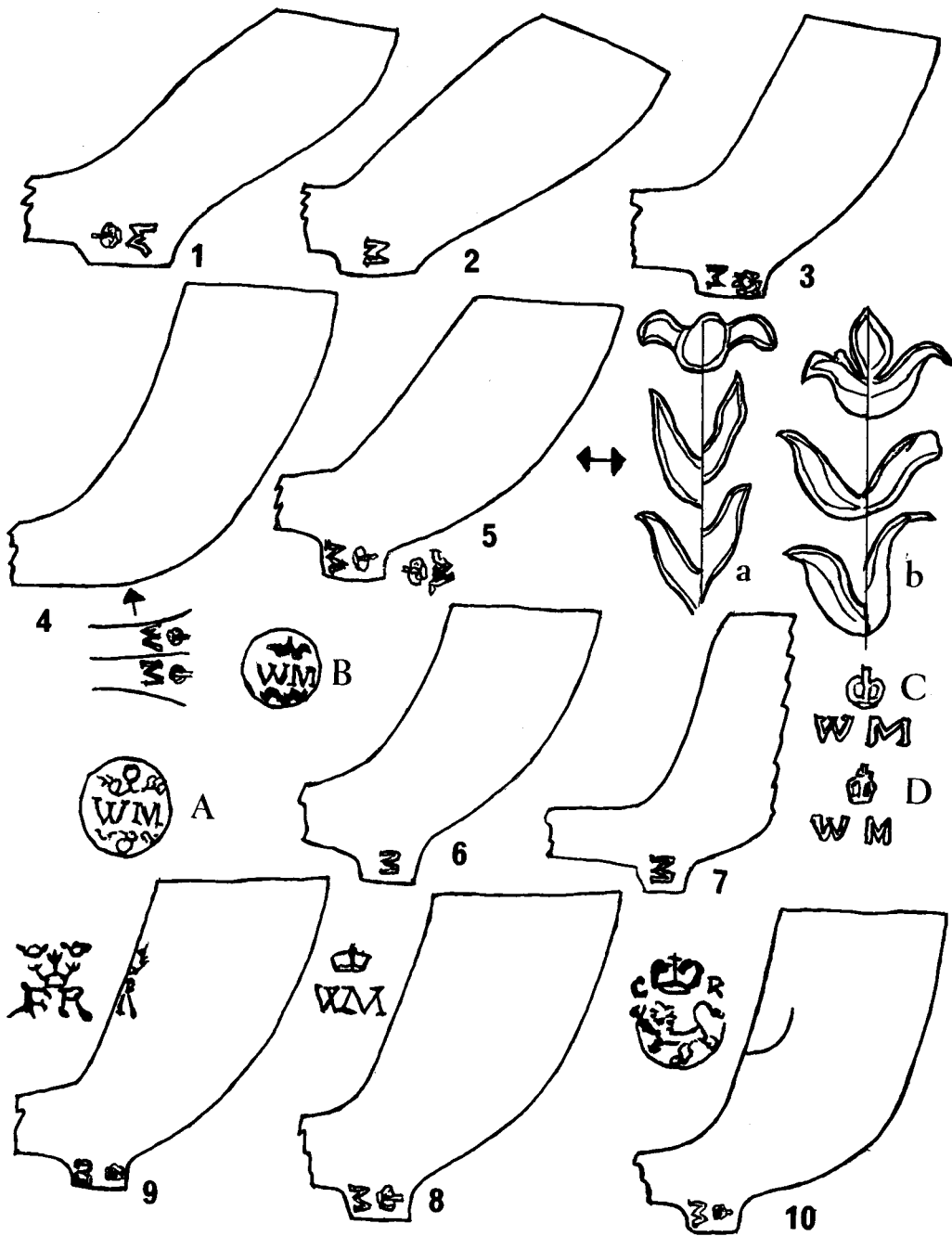
The identification of pipes with their makers by their marks is clearly both difficult and uncertain but the export records would seem to make such a task more probable for the names recorded. Of the non-exporters the rarity of unusual initial combinations must remain the principal guide.

Some evolution of bowl shape combined with stem and bowl thickness can be recognised from the pipes figured. D. R. Atkinson in an unpublished Ms. has drawn up a typology for 18th-century London pipes which shows a progressive thinning of the stem,

a narrowing of the base until it becomes a spur together with a flaring of the bowl. The pipes illustrated in this paper conform to some extent with his typology but they also show a continuance of older types (e.g. no. 46, William Tappin) into the mid 18th century. This raises the vexed problem of the life of moulds and the variety of lines used by one maker. 50 or even 100 years would not be too long for the survival of a metal mould, but fashion in lines or types would change more quickly, except perhaps in the case of pipes with a trademark value (e.g. the T D pipes in America).<sup>43</sup>

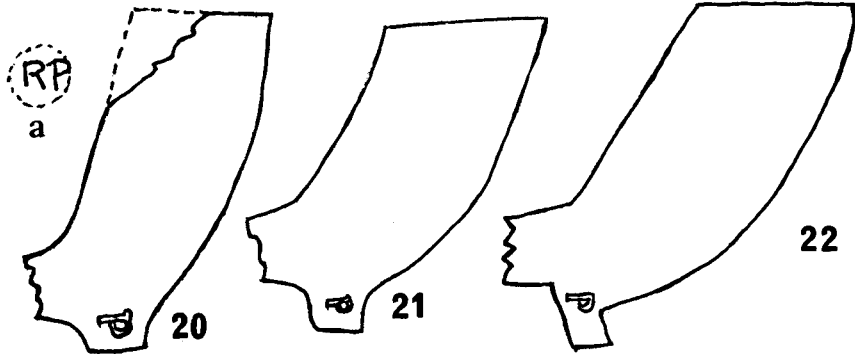
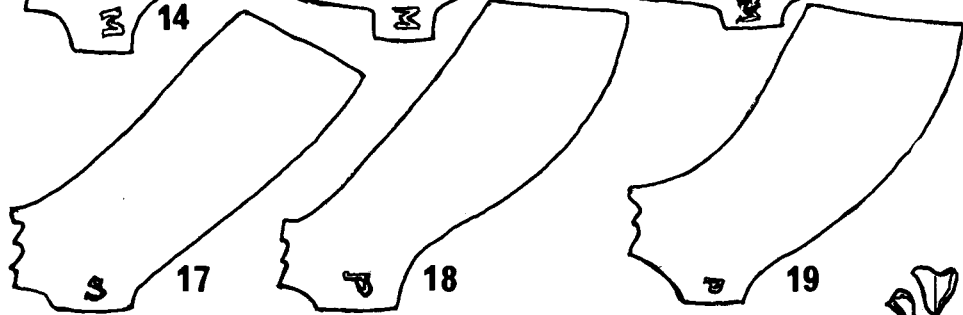
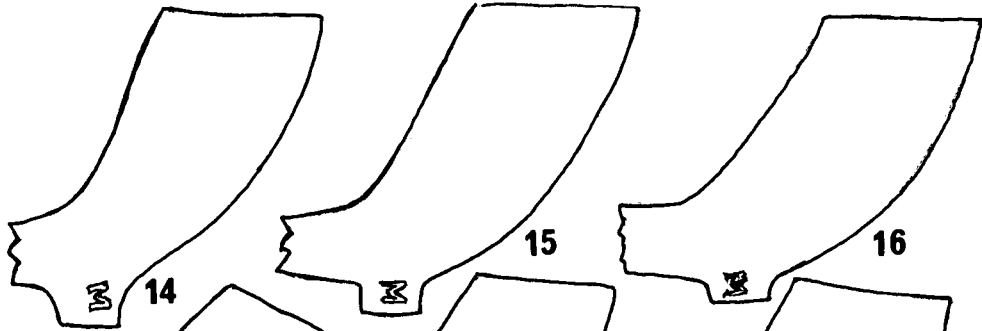
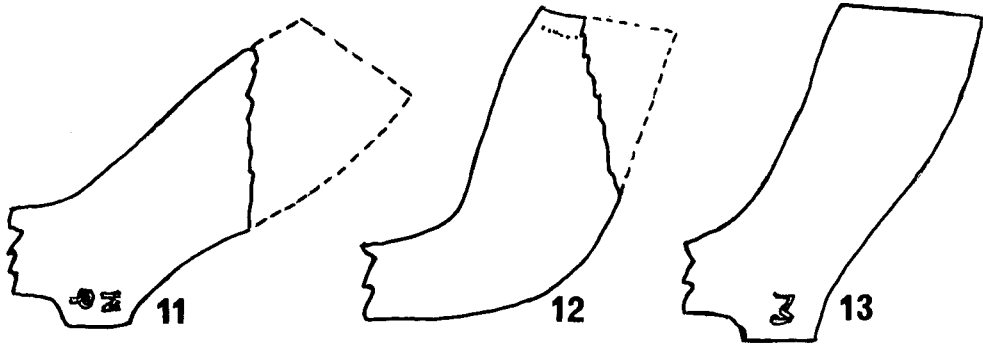
Fig. 1.

1. W/M crowned. Red Cross St. (Cuming Mus.)
  2. W/M crowned. London (Cheminant Coll.); Ipswich Mus. } *William Manbey* (1) or (2)
  3. W/M rosette over. Colonial Williamsburg. *William Manbey* (3)
  4. W/M crowned on base of spurless pipe. Colonial Williamsburg and St. Mary's City, Maryland. *William Manbey* (3) early type.
  5. W/M crowned. Chiswick (Gunnersbury Park Mus.). Leaves on front mould as **a** which is perhaps the same as **b** from Colonial Williamsburg, c. 1750. *William Manbey* (3)
  6. W/M crowned. Bankside Power Station, in a deposit c. 1740–1770. *William Manbey* (3)
  7. W/M. Fulham (Atkinson Coll.); Hammersmith (Rundle Coll.) Type of bowl in Bedford Square deposit 1770–1780. ? *William Manbey* (4)
  8. W/M crowned. incuse on back of bowl. Colonial Williamsburg. The bowl mark differs from the more normal as A and B.
  9. W/M crowned. FR surmounted by three crowns incuse on back of bowl. Queenhithe (Cheminant Coll.) *William Manbey* (3) or (4)
  10. W/M crowned with crowned *lion passant* to left and GR or CR incuse on back of bowl. Gunnersbury Park Mus.; Louisbourg, c. 1755–1760; Port Royal (Marx). *William Manbey* (3) or (4)
- A. Mark incuse back of bowl on type as no. 9 Colonial Williamsburg.  
 B. Mark incuse back of bowl on type as no. 9 Colonial Williamsburg.  
 C. }  
 D. } Crowned marks on spurs of bowls from London showing different sizes (Atkinson Coll.)



**Fig. 2**

11. R/M crowned. London (Atkinson Coll.) *Richard Manbey (1)*
  12. R/M on base of heelless bowl St. Mary's City, Maryland (cf. no. 4) *Richard Manbey (1) or (2)*
  13. R/M London (Atkinson Coll.); Plymouth. *Richard Manbey (1) or (2)*
  14. R/M St. Olave's Hart St. (Museum of London). Complete pipe 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins long. *Richard Manbey(2)*
  15. R/M Colonial Williamsburg. *Richard Manbey (2)*
  16. E/M. Three Cranes Wharf (Atkinson Coll.). *Edward Manbey*
  17. W/S Thames (Cheminant Coll.). Pipes dated 1683 of this shape are known. ? *William Swaine*
  18. W/P. Bankside Power Station; Port Royal (Marx). *William Pinkard ?*
  19. R/P London (Atkinson Coll.)
  20. R/P Queenhithe (Cheminant Coll.). With mark RP incuse on back of bowl (a), Port Royal (Marx) and with the same mark but with R/S on spur (Mayes) Richard Sands, Free 1728, most likely maker for the latter.
  21. R/P London (Atkinson Coll.)
  22. R/P Queenhithe (Cheminant Coll.). Armorial pipe with Prince of Wales feathers in place of the Royal Arms, no supporters, shield surmounted by a crown and rose and thistle. Leaves on the front mould as a indicate a date of c. 1760–1780.
- 19/22 *Richard Pinkard?*

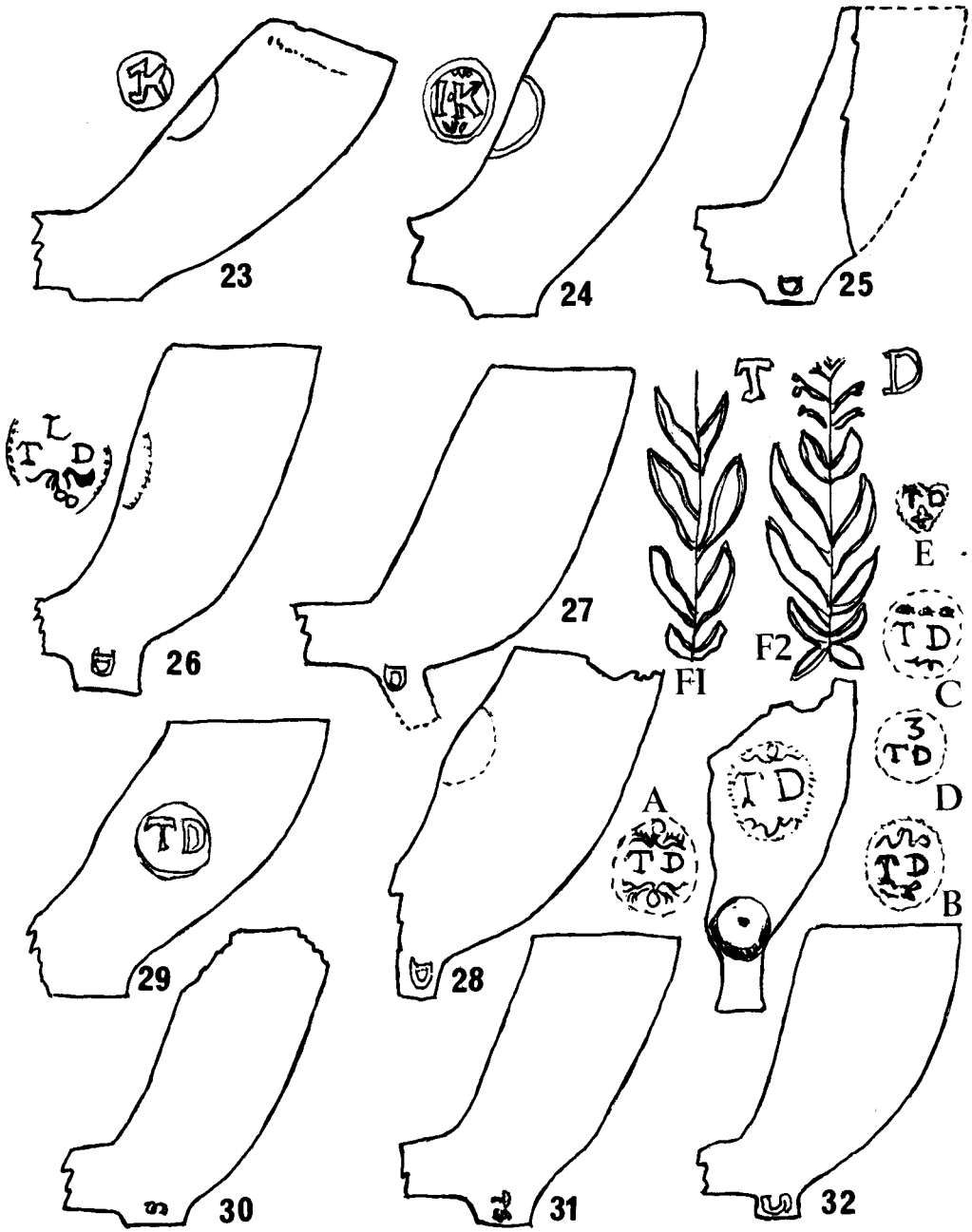




## Fig. 3

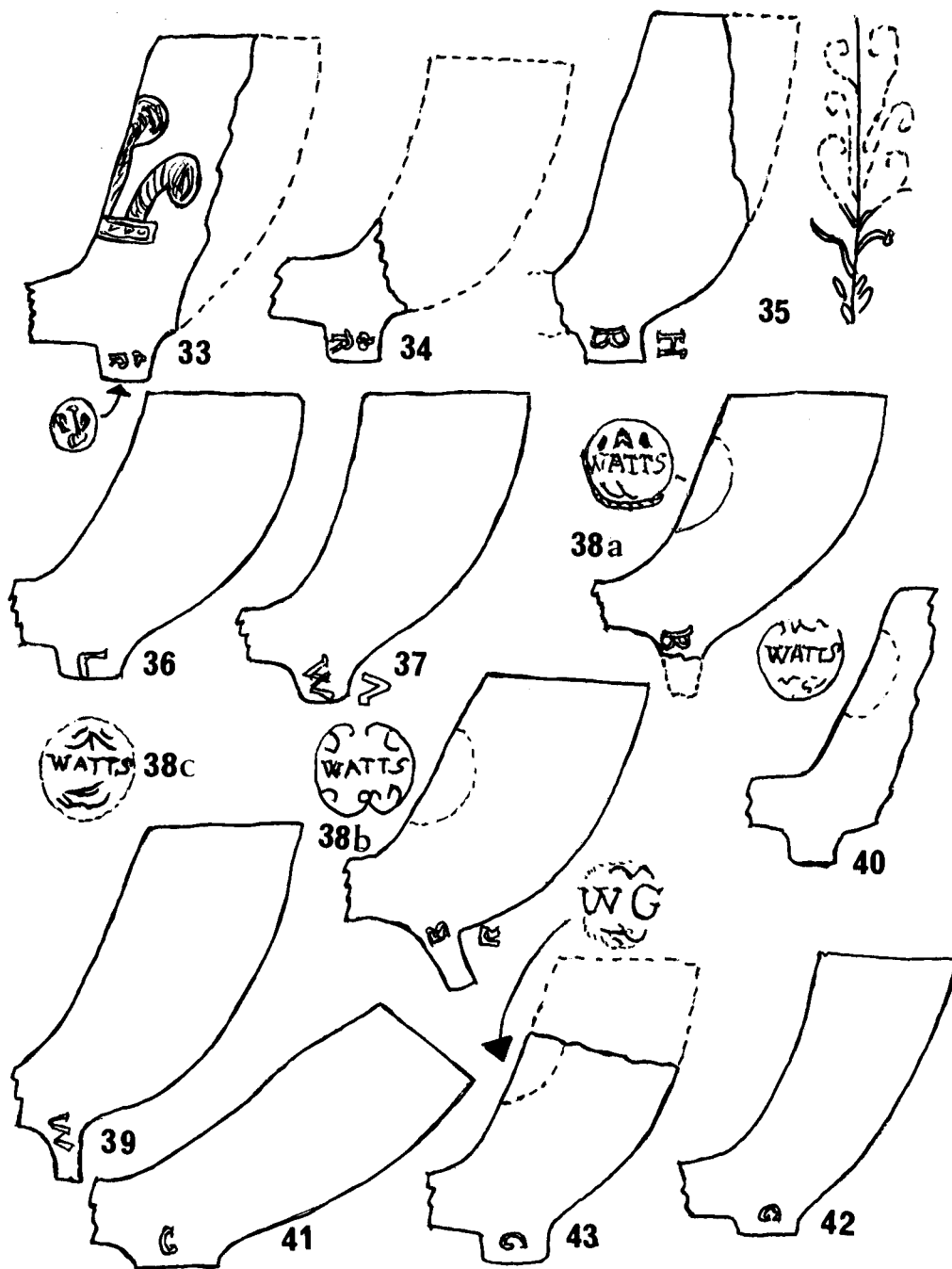
## Bowls

23. I/K. St. Mary Aldermanbury (Musuem of London.) }  
 24. IK relief on back of bowl. Queenhithe (Elkins Coll.) } *John King*
25. T/D. Bow (Atkinson Coll.). *Thomas Dormer*
26. T/D. T<sup>E</sup>D (probably) incuse on back of bowl. Queenhithe (Elkins Coll.). This mark occurs clearly as an E at Louisbourg in an undated deposit. *Thomas Dormer and Son?*
27. T/D. Queenhithe (Elkins Coll.) }  
 28. T/D TD incuse on back of bowl. Warren County Carolina. } *Thomas Dormer*
29. TD relief in cartouche side of bowl. Bristol. This is probably by *Thomas Dennis* of Bristol 1734–1781 and shows a very different type of mark from those found in the New World.
- A.–E. marks on back of bowl. Post c. 1760
- A. Louisbourg.  
 B. New York; Ticoideroja.  
 C. Colonial Williamsburg — spurless type as no. 4.  
 D. Port Royal, with figures 2 and 3 over TD.  
 E. Colonial Williamsburg, on type as no. 26. Probably not *Dormer*
- F1. type as no. 26. Bowls with arms of Hanover with TD in  
 F2. relief on top of bowl and leaves in front mould line. } *Thomas Dormer*
- F1. Louisbourg undated; Fort Loudon 1756–1761  
 F2. Port Royal (Mayes)
30. T/S Thames (Cheminant Coll.). *Thomas Smith*
31. TS/TS (double mark) Thames (Cheminant Coll.). *Thomas Smith*
32. T/S. Bedford Square. *Thomas Smith*



## Fig. 4

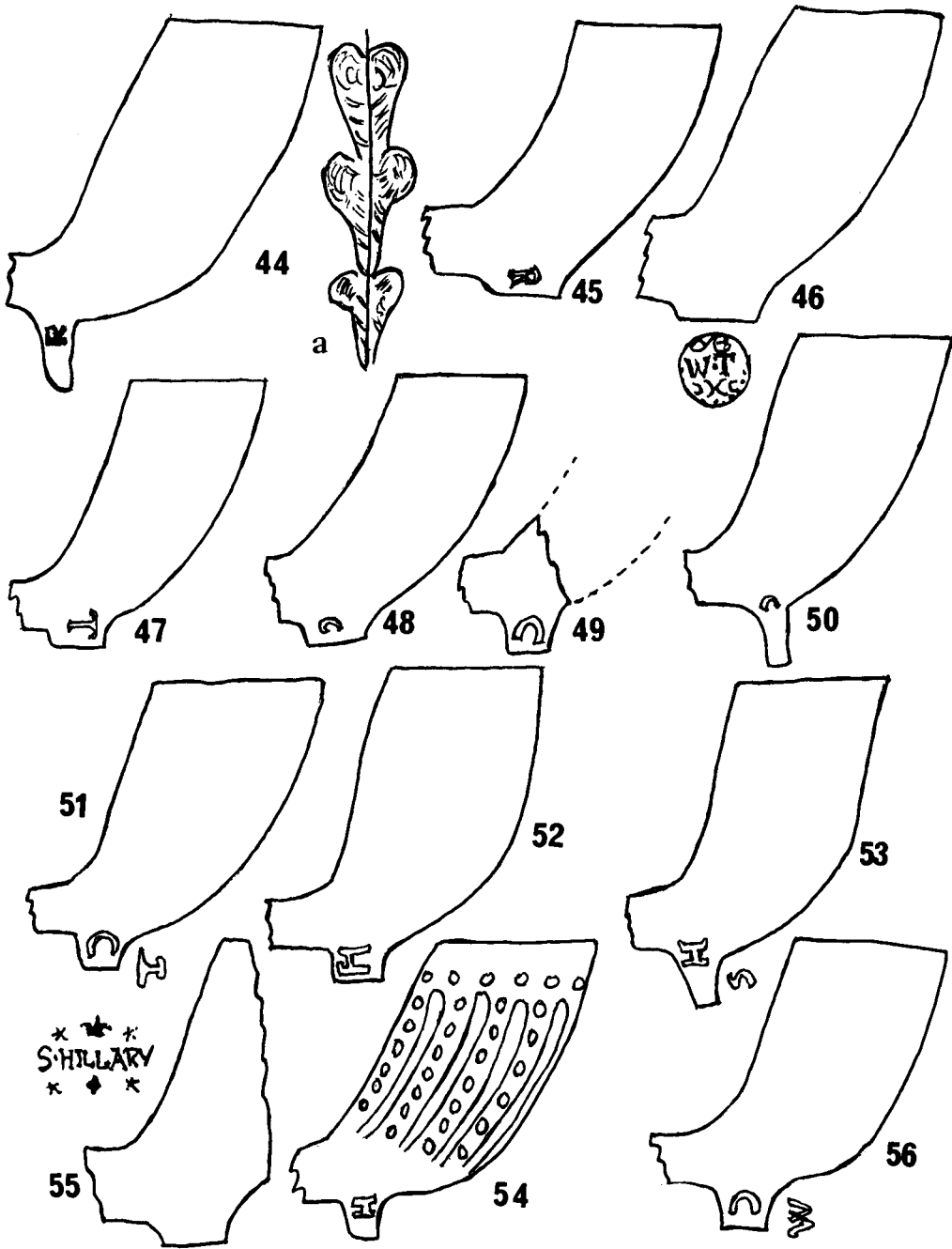
33. W/R Crowned. E. End London (Cheminant Coll.) Prince of Wales Feathers on bowl, crowned leaf (?) on base.  
This crowned mark also occurs from the Thames (Green Coll., Museum of London) and in Walthamstow Museum. *William Rogers*
34. W/R St. James Garlickhithe (Atkinson Coll.); Thames (Green Coll., Museum of London).  
*William Rogers*
35. H/B. Arms of Hanover, with front mould scrolls as **a**. The initial **B** is identical with that on all pipes with Royal Arms and the Watermen's Arms (Atkinson and Oswald *op. cit.* in note 4, Fig. 12). *Henry Blundell*. The mark occurs on a non-armorial pipe from Fulham (Atkinson Coll.).
36. S/L. Bankside Power Station, from a pit dated c. 1690–1740. *Sarah Langley*
37. V/W. Bedford Square. *Valentine Watts*
- 38a. R/B on spur. WATTS incuse back of bowl — Bedford Square
- 38b. R/B on spur. WATTS incuse back of bowl — Lant St. (Cuming Mus.)
- 38c. R/B on spur as 38a. WATTS on back of bowl. Vauxhall
39. V/W. Fulham (Atkinson Coll.). *Valentine Watts*
40. WATTS only on back of bowl. Kennington (Atkinson Coll.); Lambeth excavations.
41. W/G. London (Atkinson Coll.). Crowned at Port Royal. *William Goulding (1)*
42. W/G. Thames (Cheminant Coll.; Gunnersbury Park Mus.) *William Goulding (2)*
43. W/G. back of bowl. Colonial Williamsburg.



## Fig. 5

44. P/R Queenhithe (Cheminant Coll.) and (a) Armorial Arms of Hanover with Prince of Wales feathers on front mould (Cuming Mus.) *Patrick Rutledge*
45. P/R. Bankside Power Station. Pit with closing date *c.* 1760. *Patrick Rutledge*
46. WT on base. Wood St. Complete pipes 13½, 15¾ ins. long. *William Tappen*
47. I/T. Thames (Cheminant Coll.); Fulham (Atkinson Coll.). *Joanna Tappen*
48. I/C. Thames (Cheminant Coll.)
49. I/C. Bedford Square
50. I/C. Fulham (Atkinson Coll.). I/C (Cheminant Coll.)
51. T/C. Bedford Square. *Thomas Clamtree*
52. S/H. Bedford Square.
53. S/H Bedford Square.
54. H. Fulham, Atkinson Coll.
55. S. HILLARY incuse across stem. Pontefract (Lawrence Coll.) *c.* 1750.
56. W/C. Bedford Square. *William Clark*

} *John Clamtree?*} *Stephen Hillary*



## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> E. R. Krause 'The Origins, Types and Quantities of English Trade Goods used by the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870' (Ms.). Extract supplied by Dr. I. C. Walker.
- <sup>2</sup> Mrs. E. Adams has published details of these policies relating to potters and has noted those taken out by pipemakers in *Trans. Eng. Ceramic Circle* 9 pt. 1 (1973) 67-108 and 10 pt. 1 (1976) 1-38. Copies of the pipemakers' policies for this paper have been supplied by the Manuscript Department of Guildhall Library.
- <sup>3</sup> The most comprehensive lists published to date are contained in Adrian Oswald *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist* Brit. Archaeol. Reports 14 (Oxford, 1975).
- <sup>4</sup> D. R. Atkinson and Adrian Oswald 'London Clay Tobacco Pipes' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 3rd ser. 32 (1969) 204.
- <sup>5</sup> M. Bimson 'Relative distribution of pottery types in an eighteenth century deposit' *Trans. Eng. Ceramic Circle* 5 pt. 5 (1964) 292-293.
- <sup>6</sup> Atkinson and Oswald *op. cit.* in note 4, 195.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* (Museum of London E.R. 288).
- <sup>8</sup> D. R. Atkinson has prepared a study of these pipes and has allowed me to consult his Mss.
- <sup>9</sup> Vicar Gen. Canterbury.
- <sup>10</sup> Public Record Office C213/171/78, Oath by the Masters of the Company of Tobacco Pipe Makers of the Cities of London and Westminster.
- <sup>11</sup> Freedom records. Lists of pipemakers were compiled by the late J. V. Woodman from the Chamberlain's admissions 1681-1734 and some records of 1668/1669 and published in Atkinson and Oswald *op. cit.* in note 4. All mentions of Freedoms derive from these lists.
- <sup>12</sup> Parish records of St. Anne's Limehouse; extracts from the papers of the late Aubrey Toppin in the possession of the English Ceramic Circle.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup> Oswald *op. cit.* in note 3.
- <sup>15</sup> Iain C. Walker 'TD pipes — a preliminary study' *Bull. Archaeol. Soc. Virginia* 20 no. 4 (1966) 86-102.
- <sup>16</sup> One such is illustrated by A. Noël Hume 'English Clay Tobacco Pipes bearing the Royal Arms from Williamsburg, Virginia' *Post-Medieval Archaeol.* 4 (1970) Pl. 6A.
- <sup>17</sup> Guildhall Library, Index of apprentice bindings 1710-1772.
- <sup>18</sup> A. Noël Hume 'Clay Tobacco Pipe Dating in the Light of Recent Excavations' *Bull. Archeol. Soc. Virginia* 18 no. 2 (1963) 23.
- <sup>19</sup> Noël Hume *op. cit.* in note 16, 142.
- <sup>20</sup> Parish records *op. cit.* in note 12.
- <sup>21</sup> Atkinson and Oswald *op. cit.* in note 4, 206.
- <sup>22</sup> Port Royal excavations by Robert F. Marx are covered by typescript reports issued by the Jamaica National Trust Commission for the years 1967 and 1968. Later excavation was reported by P. Mayes *Port Royal, Jamaica, Excavations 1969-70* (Jamaica National Trust Commission, 1972); pp. 109-117 deal with the tobacco pipes.
- <sup>23</sup> In *Conference on Historic Sites Archeol. Papers* 8 (1974) 124-128 Dr. Noël Hume reviewed Mayes' excavation report above and showed that some of his dating was clearly erroneous.
- <sup>24</sup> Dating of armorial pipes is considered in detail in a paper by D. R. Atkinson and Adrian Oswald to be published shortly.
- <sup>25</sup> Information from R. H. Cooper.
- <sup>26</sup> Full details of Bristol makers are recorded in Iain C. Walker *Clay Tobacco Pipes with particular reference to the Bristol Industry* (National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks, Canada, Ottawa, 1977). The King family is described pp. 1191-1193.
- <sup>27</sup> Walker *op. cit.* in note 15.
- <sup>28</sup> D. R. Atkinson 'Further Notes on Clay Tobacco Pipes and Pipemakers from the Marlborough and Salisbury Districts' *Wiltshire Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Mag.* 67 (1972) Fig. 1 no. 24. This is the mark of Benjamin Morgan *Sen. or Jr.* of Fisherton Anger 1761-1819. The date of the pipe is c. 1770-1780.
- <sup>29</sup> Noël Hume *op. cit.* in note 16, Pl. 6B.
- <sup>30</sup> Information from R. H. Cooper.
- <sup>31</sup> Atkinson and Oswald *op. cit.* in note 4, Fig. 11.
- <sup>32</sup> Apprentice bindings *op. cit.* in note 17.
- <sup>33</sup> Oswald *op. cit.* in note 3.
- <sup>34</sup> Stephen Walker is producing a report on these excavations.
- <sup>35</sup> Apprentice bindings *op. cit.* in note 17.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup> Parish Registers, St. John Horsley Down.
- <sup>38</sup> Walker *op. cit.* in note 15.
- <sup>39</sup> Parish records *op. cit.* in note 12.
- <sup>40</sup> Surrey Marriage Licences.
- <sup>41</sup> Oswald *op. cit.* in note 3.
- <sup>42</sup> Freedom records *op. cit.* in note 11.
- <sup>43</sup> The inventory of Henry Hoar Pipemaker of Bristol 1727 lists no less than ten different moulds of pipes with such names as *Dutch, Gantlet Virginia, Jamaica*. The Mould Agreement signed by the Bristol makers in 1710 gives the lengths of these pipes and confines manufacture to five types only. It seems likely therefore that some of Hoar's moulds date from his Freedom in 1699. The term *T.D.* continued in use as the description of a particular line into the 19th century; a price list of the firm of McDougall of Glasgow of 1875 quotes *Ring T.D.* pipes at 2 shillings and 4 pence per gross, *Cork T.D.* at 1 shilling 10 pence, *Long T.D.* at 2 shillings 2 pence and *Junk T.D.* at 2 shillings.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to all the following:

In America, L. T. Alexander, Dr. and Mrs. Noël Hume and Dr. I. C. Walker for all information on pipes from Colonial Williamsburg.

In the West Indies, R. F. Marx and P. Mayes for details on Port Royal and drawings.  
Miss D. Le Faye and Stephen Walker for information on work at Bedford Square and Lambeth.  
R. H. Cooper for full copies of the Oath of Allegiance and other documents.  
C. R. H. Cooper, Keeper of Manuscripts, Guildhall Library, for copies of the policies.  
Miss A. Reeves of the Greater London Record Office for help with Parish Records.  
F. J. Collins, Hugh Oak Rhind and Simon Lawrence for much general assistance.



# COADE ARTIFICIAL STONE: FINDS FROM THE SITE OF THE COADE MANUFACTORY AT LAMBETH

CHRISTOPHER NEWBERY

## HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Coade's Artificial Stone Manufactory was established in 1769 at Kings Arms Stairs, Narrow Wall, Lambeth. The proprietors were Mr. and Mrs. Coade and their daughter Eleanor, a family recently moved from Dorset. However, it was Eleanor who seems to have been the real driving force behind the enterprise from the beginning, and although unmarried, she was afforded the title 'Mrs', as was the convention at that time for women in business. It is to her as Mrs. Coade that reference is made in this article.<sup>1</sup>

The artificial stone produced at the Coade Manufactory was really a variant of ceramics known as stoneware but it had special qualities which were well expressed by Mrs. Coade in a handbook<sup>2</sup> to her new exhibition gallery opened in Westminster Bridge Road in 1799. 'Portland Stone, Marble and other natural calcareous materials, are considerably impaired, and, in time, totally defaced by the chemical properties of the atmosphere; but the high degree of Fire to which this Artificial stone is exposed in the kilns, gives a durability resembling Jasper or Porphyry. FROST and DAMPS have no effect upon it, consequently it retains a sharpness not to be diminished by the changes of climate'. She also pointed out that artificial stone was unaffected by 'electric and common fire' and perhaps most importantly that it had 'a preference to Portland Stone in point of cheapness, especially in proportion to the enrichment of the work'.

However, Mrs. Coade could not claim to be the first to manufacture artificial stone. In 1722 Richard Holt had taken out two patents, one for a method of producing pieces of artificial stone and marble by casting them in moulds, and a second for a new method for forming and moulding whiteware. Holt published a pamphlet<sup>3</sup> about his work in 1730, but probably went out of business shortly afterwards. By coincidence, Holt seems to have established his works on or near the eventual site of the Coade Manufactory. Another of Mrs. Coade's predecessors was Daniel Pincot who was manufacturing artificial stone in Goulston Square, Whitechapel, in 1767. Three years later he published an essay<sup>4</sup> about artificial stone in which he dismissed Holt's work as 'durable but without taste' and stated that he had recently opened a factory 'by King's Arms Stairs, Narrow Wall, Lambeth, opposite Whitehall Stairs'. Pincot's exact relationship with the Coade family remains unclear, but it seems likely that he sold his factory to them within a year or two of its opening.

In contrast to Holt's and Pincot's enterprises the Coade Manufactory was an instant and enduring success, and leaving competent production technique aside, this can largely be attributed to Mrs. Coade's business acumen and her shrewd choice of the sculptor John Bacon (the Elder) as an employee.<sup>5</sup> Bacon first learnt to model figures when apprenticed from 1754–1762 to a Mr. Crisp who had a china factory at Lambeth. By the time Bacon joined Mrs. Coade in 1769 he had won various awards from the Society of Arts, and in that year won the first Gold Medal for sculpture awarded by the Royal Academy.<sup>6</sup> At the Coade Manufactory he produced fashionable copies of classical pieces, designed one-off pieces in the classical style and supervised the production of standard architectural ornaments. It was Bacon's reputation which encouraged architects like Robert Adam<sup>7</sup> and James Wyatt<sup>8</sup> to commission designs from the Coade Manufactory, even when the business was comparatively new in the early 1770s.

The main output of the factory reflected the prevailing taste for classical architecture. Mrs. Coade was assiduous in purchasing volumes like Stuart and Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens* so that the re-discovered elements and motifs of classical architecture could be copied. In addition she also had her share of Gothic commissions, one of her most prestigious being for work at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, during the 1790s.<sup>9</sup> By 1784 she had such a wide range of products available that she issued *A Descriptive Catalogue of Coade's Artificial Stone Manufactory*<sup>10</sup> which listed 778 articles with their sizes and prices, including statues, vases, capitals, friezes, coats of arms, key-stones, chimney pieces and many other varieties of ornament for both internal and external use. In addition to the catalogue and at about the same time, engraved plates of Coade designs, which had been made in previous years, were assembled into booklets.<sup>11</sup>

Towards the end of the 18th century Mrs. Coade took her cousin John Sealy into partnership and the factory's artificial stone products were now marked 'Coade and Sealy' rather than 'Coade' as formerly. Coade Stone had long been displayed at the Manufactory but its site was rather obscure so a new gallery was opened in the nearby but busier Westminster Bridge Road in 1799. The façade to this building was elaborately ornamented in artificial stone,<sup>12</sup> while inside was a wide range of Coade Stone products and a few pieces in natural stone, all of which could be viewed for the cost of one shilling.

John Sealy died in 1813 and the elderly Mrs. Coade called in a distant relation, William Croggon, to help run the business, although he was not made a partner. Croggon's work books which survive complete from 1813 until Mrs. Coade's death in 1821,<sup>13</sup> indicate that there was still a demand for garden ornaments, statues, fountains and vases, but there was a declining interest in elaborate architectural ornament. To counter this trend Croggon branched out into the production of *scagliola*, an imitation of marble for use inside buildings. When Mrs. Coade died, Croggon bought the business and became involved in several large building projects. Friezes, capitals and other architectural features in Coade Stone (as it was still known) were provided for John Nash's Buckingham Palace, and £20,000 worth of work was executed for York House,<sup>14</sup> though it is likely that he was never paid for the latter, since the Duke of York was notoriously bad at honouring tradesman's debts, and it may have been the major cause of his bankruptcy in 1833. When he died two years later his son Thomas Croggon re-established the business, but he was more interested in producing materials like bituminous felt than artificial stone. However, a few pieces of Coade Stone were still produced, including the lion which adorned the Red Lion Brewery not far from the Manufactory in Lambeth and

now stands outside County Hall. On its paw can be found the name 'COADE', the initials 'W.F.W.' (the initials of the sculptor, Woodington), and the date, 'May 24th 1837'. In the same year the Manufactory was taken over by Messrs. Routledge, Greenwood and Keane, and subsequently by Messrs. Routledge and Lucas. *Terra-cotta* and *scaglioli* were produced there for a number of years, but very little Coade Stone.<sup>15</sup> The demise of the former Coade premises finally came in 1840 when the stock in trade was sold to a Mr. Blanchard of Blackfriars Road.<sup>16</sup> For over a decade Coade Stone had suffered from a change of fashion brought about through competition from brick, stucco, cement and cast iron, and it is perhaps surprising to find that as late as 1855 Blanchard was advertising himself as being 'late of Coade's original works and successor to them'. He finally seems to have gone out of business in the 1870s.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE NATURE OF COADE STONE AND ITS METHOD OF PRODUCTION

Analysis of material from the site of the Coade Manufactory<sup>18</sup> has shown that Coade Stone's chief ingredients were china clay, which was almost certainly brought by sea from the West Country, and a finely ground grog prepared from previously fired stoneware. Broken Coade Stone may have been ground up and used as an alternative and sand may also have been added. The addition of grog gave greater stability to the body and helped produce an exceptionally low rate of shrinkage of only one inch in twelve compared with a more normal 20%. Other ingredients were added to induce vitrification at a lower temperature than normal. Fluxes like marl or felspar, may have been added and crushed glass or 'cullet' has been positively identified in one of the Coade samples.

When kneaded together, the ingredients formed a clay body which was difficult to work and was therefore pressed into plaster moulds produced from artists' models made of ordinary clay, so that detailed work could be mass-produced more easily. Surviving moulds indicate that the production of any one piece might require a single mould or a pair of moulds depending on the nature of the item. An arm for a statue for example, would have had a pair of moulds, while a flat acanthus leaf ornament would have had only one. Where two moulds were used the two halves of the clay cast would have been joined by means of a slip, and kept in position by the moulds which were then locked together. Absorption by the plaster moulds allowed the casts to be removed and where necessary they were then hand-modelled. Further drying out was prevented by wrapping them with damp cloths. In some cases sprigs (enrichments prepared in matrices) were also added.

Some of the detailed information about the press-moulding method used at the Coade Manufactory and included in the description above was provided by an eye-witness who published a report in the *Somerset House Gazette* for 13 March 1824. We are equally fortunate in being able to learn about the firing process from a letter written by a Mr. Lygo in 1790 and quoted by Llewellyn Jewitt.<sup>19</sup>

The letter referred to Mrs. Coade's experienced foreman, W. J. Coffee, who had been persuaded to give information about his work after a dispute with his employer concerning his wages. Until the dispute Coffee had apparently been responsible for building, packing and firing the three kilns, one small, one intermediate and one large, this being 9 ft. in diameter and about 10 ft. high. They all had three fire-holes 14 ins. across and all the kilns were muffled about 2 ins. thick. The firing was done with Hartley coal and continued for four days and nights until the fireman felt that the stone had been fired-up



(Guildhall Library)

Fig. 1 A view of the Coade Manufactory, Narrow Wall, Lambeth. c. 1780s.

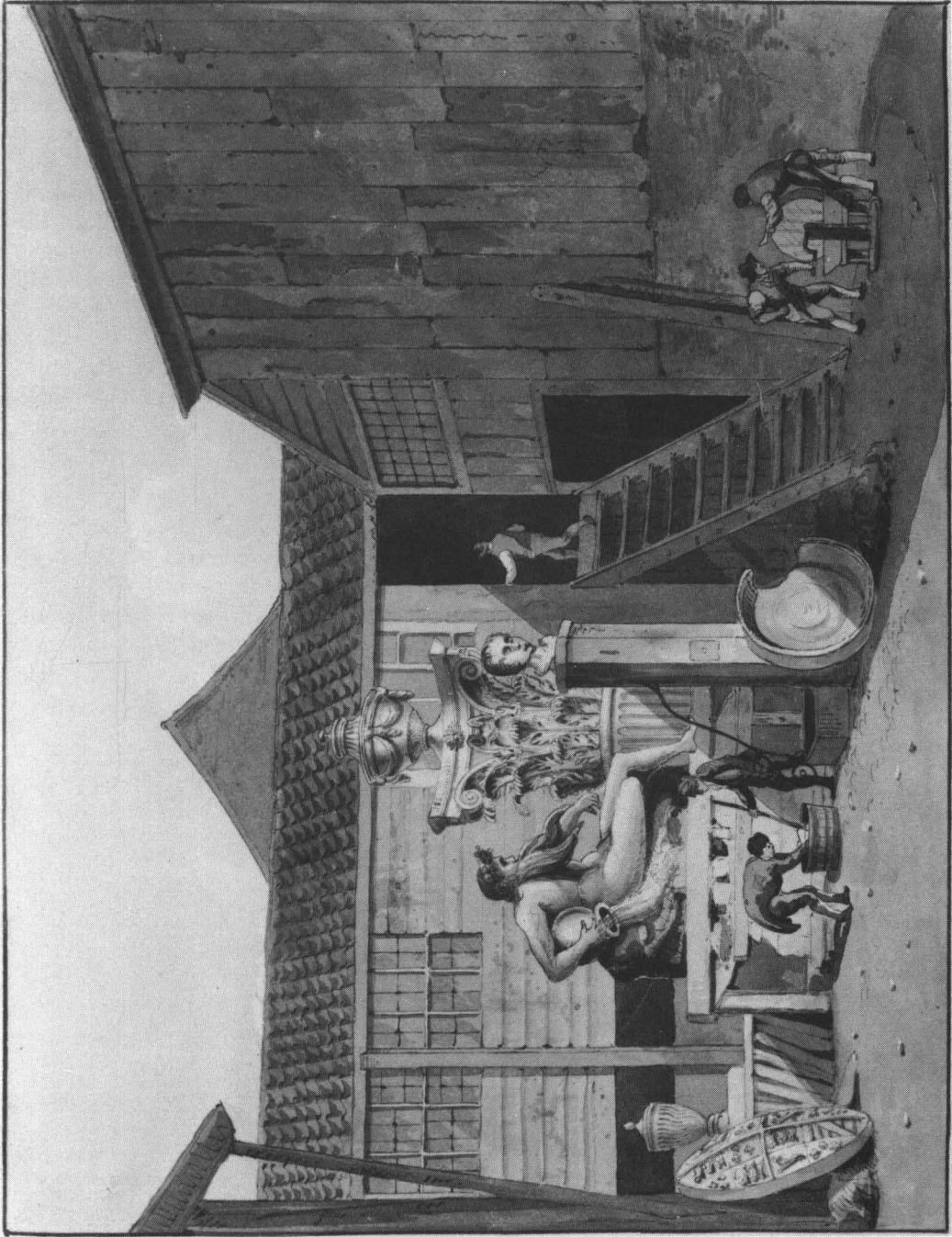
(to the correct temperature) at which point he stopped-up all the openings without lowering the fire. Figures as high as 9 ft. are known to have been fired successfully although larger pieces were often produced in sections and cemented together afterwards. For parts that required strengthening like the limbs of a figure, dowels, at first of bronze and later of iron, were inserted into the Coade Stone.

It is not clear whether Mrs. Coade really had a secret formula or whether she merely encouraged her competitors to think that she had. Perhaps the latter is more likely, and the trade name 'Lithodipyra' which she used for a time in the 1790s must have added to the mystery for many contemporaries. It was indeed an accurate allusion to the method of manufacture for the stone ('litho') did indeed go twice ('di') into the fire ('pyra'), once as clay and then as clay mixed with grog. Secret formula or not, the manufacturing process provides an interesting example of the pottery trade in transition from hand-made one-off processes to mass-production techniques.

#### THE COADE MANUFACTORY AND FINDS FROM THE SITE

The Manufactory was situated north of College Street, Lambeth with a frontage on to Narrow Wall. It formed a part of property belonging to Jesus College, Oxford,<sup>20</sup> and a watercolour of the Manufactory dating to the 1780s<sup>21</sup> reveals it to have been a substantial domestic-style residence two storeys in height with dormer windows in its roof (Fig. 1). Another watercolour<sup>22</sup> of c. 1800 provides additional details showing a yard surrounded by some of the Manufactory's outbuildings (Fig. 2). Few modifications to the premises seem to have been made during Mrs. Coade's lifetime except for the addition of Coade Stone embellishments to the *porte cochère*.<sup>23</sup> However, shortly before William Croggon obtained a new lease in 1828 major alterations to the building were made including the construction of an imposing entrance, which can be seen in a watercolour of about 1827 by John Buckley,<sup>24</sup> fronting on to the newly straightened Narrow Wall, then re-named Belvedere Road. Croggon's lease described the ground as approximately 195 feet from east to west and 85 feet from north to south. At some time about 1837 the entire frontage of the Manufactory was rebuilt again as shown in a lease plan of 1837<sup>25</sup> when Thomas Routledge became the new tenant. The plan also reveals the internal layout of the premises. The facilities included a model room, show room, workshops, various sheds and two yards. The building remained, substantially unaltered, until it was demolished in 1950.

During the preparation of the South Bank site for the Festival of Britain in 1951 a trench was dug which cut across the site of the Manufactory.<sup>26</sup> The section revealed by the trench consisted of three clearly defined layers above the black river silt. The top 2 ft. layer consisted of modern hardcore and other modern debris. Beneath was a 4 ft. layer of dark earth containing fine brick rubble, plaster casts and moulds, fragments of Coade Stone and pieces of fused brickwork. The latter probably formed part of the fabric of the kilns but no clues as to their location or size were revealed. Other finds from this layer included some pieces of fused glass or 'cullet' (probably a by-product of the firing process), some calcined flints found in a heap and a few clay pipes of about 1770–1800. Within this same layer and some 4 ft. 3 ins. below ground level was a grinding pan. The bed of the pan consisted of a granite slab,<sup>27</sup> 5 ft. in diameter, and 8 ins. thick in the grinding surface with a square central hole just over a foot across. The rim of the pan was formed by pieces of Coade stone L-shaped in section and giving the completed pan an



(Guildhall Library)

Fig. 2 One of the yards at the Coade Manufactory. Prominent in the watercolour is a variation of 'The River God', which was No. 1 in the 1784 *Catalogue*.

internal diameter of just over 7 ft. and a depth of 13 ins. Small quantities of white clay were found under the joint between the granite slab and the Coade Stone rim, while some fine fired-clay grog came from under the rim. The grindstone must have been the means by which the fired stoneware or Coade Stone was reduced to the powdered grog necessary for the manufacture of Coade Stone.

The layer beneath the level of the Coade works consisted of 3 ft. of dark earth containing large quantities of delft pottery fragments, including unglazed pieces and wasters. There were also saggars for delft plates and stoneware jugs, although a few stoneware fragments were found. The clay pipes in this lowest layer, as revealed in the trench, covered the period from the late 17th century to the middle of the 18th century. This layer was discovered in other areas of the Festival of Britain's South Bank site during its clearance and can therefore be interpreted as a levelling of the ground prior to the erection of the Manufactory and surrounding buildings.<sup>28</sup>

The catalogue below lists those finds which are contemporary with the Coade Manufactory. They are now in the collection of the Museum of London.<sup>29</sup> Since some of the fragments have proved difficult to identify, the list does not represent an exhaustive survey of the finds, but it indicates the wide range of products that were available.

## CATALOGUE

### I COADE STONE

The complete examples which were discovered are likely to have been unsold stock or display samples from the showroom at the Manufactory, while incomplete pieces were probably either wasters from the debris or broken when thrown away at some stage near the end of the Manufactory's lifetime. It is difficult to date the Coade pieces. Some either match or are very similar to pieces advertised in the 1784 *Catalogue* but popular pieces were produced continuously over many years and some may have been produced as late as the 1830s.

1. Cornice. Straight cornice 1ft. high by 1ft. wide. The 'foot-run' was Mrs. Coade's standard unit of measurement. She also used it for other architectural features like fascias, friezes and mouldings.
2. Cornice. Curved run of cornice 10½ ins. high by 10½ ins. wide. The Roman numeral XII is marked on its upper moulding which either indicates the type of cornice or its position in a numbered series.
3. Ornament for wood or stone chimney piece. A patera with a plain six-leafed flower 1 in. in diameter by ½ in. deep. The 1784 *Catalogue* includes a large number of these ornaments, a dozen 'fine-plain-leaf'd flowers' 2 ins. in diameter costing 3s for example.
4. Ornament for wood or stone chimney piece. Oblong shape with concave ends and central decoration. ⅘ ins. high by 1¼ ins. wide by ¾ ins. deep.
5. Ornamental ball (half of). Probably for surmounting a gatepost pillar, the ball is 10 ins. in diameter and has a small flat base. It appears to have a fire crack. As a completed product it would have been cemented to a matching half.
6. Acanthus leaf (upper portion). The type of acanthus leaf ornament produced for use on Corinthian capitals had a pronounced curl to the upper portion which necessitated casting in separate moulds. 4⅘ ins. wide by 1⅘ ins. deep.
7. Archivolt.<sup>30</sup> A piece of fluted archivolt, 5 ins. high by 4½ ins. wide at the top, with 'Coade' marked on its reverse side. This type is illustrated in an engraved plate of a Coade decorated doorway bound with other plates in booklet form about 1784.
8. Voussior or keystone.<sup>31</sup> Vermiculated, 10 ins. high by 7½ ins. wide at the top. In the 1784 *Catalogue* a similar 'Rustic Stone (for an Arch)' 10½ ins. high by 6¾ ins. wide at the top was advertised as costing 3s.



9. String Course. Of guilloche and flower design with plain mouldings at top and bottom. This example is 9 ins. high by 1 ft. wide, but it was a popular catalogue number and the height was altered to fit particular commissions by the addition or subtraction of mouldings at top or bottom. The guilloche and flower design string course was used on Mrs. Coade's Lyme Regis house and on a number of properties in London including 20 Portman Square and houses in Wellclose Square, Gower Street and Cheyne Street.<sup>32</sup> The same design was also used for impost blocks, usually without top and bottom mouldings, and examples can be seen in Harley Street.
10. Baluster. A broken piece comprising the lower half.  $5\frac{7}{8}$  ins. in diameter. A baluster  $5\frac{3}{4}$  ins. in diameter and 1 ft.  $11\frac{1}{2}$  ins high was advertised in the 1784 *Catalogue* as costing 5s 6d.
11. Panel or Tablet. Four fragments of a floral design, originally making up a panel or tablet approximately 1 ft. 6 ins. square.
12. Pedestal(?) broken, with a base 7 ins. square.

## II PLASTER OF PARIS MOULDS

It is impossible to tell whether the surviving moulds are block moulds (the original moulds made from the clay models) or working moulds. However, a few of the moulds can be dated from inscriptions on their reverse sides and it is clear that these moulds were retained for a considerable length of time. If this was the general policy a huge number of moulds would have accumulated over the years and some sort of retrieval system would have been necessary to cope with the situation. In these circumstances it is probable that only the block moulds were retained for future use.

1. Stylised wing. One half of a pair of moulds. The wing impression in the mould is  $6\frac{3}{4}$  ins. across and is marked 'pelian office tripod' on the reverse. Although mis-spelt, this clearly indicates that the mould was for a wing which formed part of a tripod (a classical altar) set amidst a group of figures made for the Pelican Life Insurance Office which had premises in Lombard Street, City of London.<sup>33</sup> The group was executed in the 1790s so the mould must have been kept for over 40 years.
2. Arm for a statue (part of). One half of a pair of moulds, the broken mould would have produced a piece of arm 10 ins. long. Inscribed on the reverse of the mould is '(P)andora R. Arm'. Unfortunately, no trace can be found of Pandora either in the 1784 *Catalogue* or in other surviving records like Croggon's work books.
3. Rectangular piece for a statue. One half of a pair of moulds, the feature is unidentifiable, but the mould is inscribed on the reverse, 'Hop(e) Bac(k) Side A'. A statue of 'Hope with Anchor' costing 55 guineas was ordered in 1818 for the Hope Fire Offices' new premises in Oxford Street. This would have been a large statue as the 4 ft. 6 ins. size (the standard Coade size), cost about 20-25 guineas at that time. Another Hope was produced for a set of 'Hope, Meekness, Charity and Faith' made for the vestibule of the Chapel of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich in 1790. It is probable that the moulds made for the 1790 statue of Hope would have been re-used in 1818, thus considerably reducing the cost of the latter commission. Another figure of Hope was commissioned by Mr. Love of Glasgow in 1799, and set of Hope with Charity and Faith was ordered by Mr. Connor of Cork in 1821.<sup>34</sup>
4. Piece for a statue. A single mould, the feature is again unidentifiable but on the reverse is inscribed '2 Flora'. This mould could have been for a part of any one of many Floras produced by the Coade Manufactory. No less than six Floras of different size and design are listed under 'statues' in the 1784 *Catalogue*. However, Flora is often the Flora from the Farnese collection usually with its pair Pomona and an illustration of these figures survives in one of the engraved plates of Coade designs.<sup>35</sup>
5. Arm or leg of a statue (part of). One half of a pair of moulds, the portion of arm or leg is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long. Inscribed on the reverse are the letters 'C.P.' which probably refer to the name of the statue.
6. Three individual fingers. One half of a pair of moulds. The mould would have produced fingers approximately 3 ins long, which indicates that they were for a fairly large statue. The inscription on the reverse is very difficult to read but it is tempting to decipher the letters P(—)mdor(—) as a mis-spelling of Pandora.



7. Circular piece for a candelabra. One half of a pair of moulds. The mould is broken but if complete the cast would have had a diameter of 6 ins. On the reverse of the mould is inscribed '(———) ELABRA'. The 1784 *Catalogue* lists 'An elegant candalabrum composed of three figures on a Pedestal' 3 ft. 8 ins. high and costing £12 12s. In addition, a set of candalabra was designed by Thomas Hopper for the Gothic conservatory at Carlton House.
8. Animal's horn(?). One half of a pair of moulds. The mould is incomplete so its identification as a mould for a short curved horn  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high and 1 in. wide can only be tentative. However, it does appear similar to the horns of a satyr decorating a keystone illustrated in one of the engraved plates of Coade designs.<sup>36</sup> On the reverse of the mould is the inscription 'left a — arch' which might indicate a connection with a keystone for an arch.
9. Leg of a small figure. One half of a pair of moulds. The mould was for a leg 6 ins. long with drapery around the thigh. The leg might have been part of a figure used to decorate wood and stone chimney pieces.
10. Arm of a small figure. One half of a pair of moulds. The mould would have produced an arm only  $2\frac{1}{4}$  ins. long so the figure must have been small and may have had the same use as no. 9 above.
11. Leg of a figure. One of a pair of moulds. The mould was for a leg appearing from under a billowing skirt, the foot having a shoe on it.  $3\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. wide. It is possible that this piece was part of a figurative plaque.
12. Foreleg and hoof of an animal (horse?). One half of a pair of moulds.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long.
13. A Bird's Wing. One half of a pair of moulds.  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high by 7 ins. wide. A mould which was possibly for a component part of a statuary group. It is more naturalistic than the wing for the tripod of the Pelican Life Insurance Office, no. 1 above.
14. Acanthus leaf (lower portion). A single mould. The type of acanthus leaf produced by this mould would have been for a Corinthian capital. 1 ft. high.
15. S-shaped Motif. A single mould. This mould would have produced a very deep S-shaped ornament  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high.
16. Acanthus Leaf. A single mould. The leaf produced by this mould would have had a relatively flat profile with a 'segmented' spine,  $4\frac{7}{8}$  ins. high. Acanthus leaves of a similar type can be seen on the mouldings of doorways in Bedford Square, London.
17. Acanthus Leaf. A single mould. For a leaf with a relatively flat profile and a double-ribbed spine. 4 ins. high.

### III PLASTER OF PARIS CASTS

A number of plaster casts were discovered with small holes for threading wire through so that they could be hung up. Some of them still have their wire loops intact. This suggested that these were discarded display samples from the Manufactory's showroom when it closed. A number of other plaster casts were found without holes through them and these were probably part of the reserve stock of plaster ornaments for internal use. However, a number of the plaster casts are broken and the absence of a hole for a wire loop cannot guarantee a particular piece was not in fact a display sample.

It is probable that many of the designs represented by the plaster casts were also manufactured in Coade Stone. Some of the plaster casts certainly seem to match entries in the 1784 *Catalogue* which only lists artificial stone products. The lack of a catalogue for plaster casts is to some extent explained by Mrs. Coade in her handbook to the Westminster Bridge Road Gallery of 1799. She admits that, 'At the Manufactory are a great variety of other casts in Plaster of Paris, of Statues, Vases, Busts and Models in Bass-relievo', but goes on to warn prospective customers, '. . . that as Plaster-casts are so liable to be injured and defaced by the slightest touch and even by long continuance in damp rooms they are found in time very expensive, so that (notwithstanding it forms a branch of our business) we can seldom recommend them, for though it may appear to be a saving of expense at first, yet it frequently happens, either through the carelessness of

servants, accidents by carriage, or otherwise, they have been rendered unfit for their situation and ARTIFICIAL STONE have at last been substituted in their stead’.

- 1–16 Display samples
- 1–6. Waterleaf mouldings. There are four different designs, and two of the designs are represented by two different sizes. An example  $2\frac{7}{8}$  ins. high can be matched in 1784 *Catalogue*, a foot run in Coade Stone costing 1s 3d.
- 7–8. Acanthus leaf mouldings. Two varieties, one  $3\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high and the other 3 ins. high with the number ‘1751’ inscribed on its reverse. This number probably refers to the type of design.
- 9–10. Honeysuckle mouldings. One is slightly curved and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high, the other straight and 4 ins. high.
11. Moulding with band of rectangles containing diagonal crosses with raised dots in the latter’s interstices,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high.
12. Guilloche moulding. Piece of curved guilloche moulding 1 in. wide mounted on a base. Inscribed on the side of the base is the name ‘Gandy’, which presumably refers to the architect J. M. Gandy (1771–1843) who probably commissioned the design.
13. Floral motif (*bas-relief*). The motif consists of a honeysuckle ornament within a broad leaf shape  $4\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high.
14. Floral motif (*bas-relief*). Laurel leaf design  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high.
15. Floral motif (*bas-relief*). Six-leafed ornament 4 ins. high and inscribed ‘INDIA’ on the reverse. This name could refer to the design or to a particular commission.
16. Honeysuckle ornament.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high by  $6\frac{1}{4}$  ins. wide.
- 17–36. Plaster casts for internal use.
17. Egg and dart moulding.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high. Inscribed ‘Bath Room’ on the reverse. This moulding was probably part of a particular commission.
18. Egg and dart moulding.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high. Similar to no. 17 above but with a more pronounced dart.
19. Waterleaf moulding.  $1\frac{5}{8}$  ins. high.
20. Honeysuckle moulding.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high.
21. Honeysuckle moulding. Similar design to no. 20 above 3 ins. high.
22. Moulding with an overlapping circle motif.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high.
23. Crowned profile head.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high. This may have been part of a term for one side of a chimneypiece and profile heads for this purpose are included in the 1784 *Catalogue*.
24. Pedestal.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high. The upper surface is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins. square and is inscribed with centering lines (two diagonals bisecting a circle) for positioning a figure or similar ornament.
25. Pedestal. An elaborate piece of tiered pedestal 5 ins. high with a projecting curvilinear form. It probably formed part of the pedestal for a statuary group.
26. Roundel 1 ft. 5 ins. in diameter, it has plain mouldings around the perimeter. It may have been intended for a medallion.
- 27–28. Cornices. Two incomplete pieces of cornice with the same profile form, 7 ins. high.
29. Section of necking for a capital. The honeysuckle design of this piece is an exact copy of that found on the Erechtheion’s Ionic order capitals, publicised by Volume II of Stuart and Revett’s *Antiquities of Athens* which came out in 1789. Mrs. Coade produced copies of these capitals in 1895 for Benjamin Latrobe’s Ashdown House. Further examples of the honeysuckle necking can be seen at Chelmsford Town Hall.<sup>37</sup>
30. Laurel wreath motif (*bas-relief*). Approximately 5 ins. long.
31. Laurel wreath ornament. Approximately 11 ins. long and with a diameter of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  ins.
32. Patera.  $2\frac{3}{8}$  ins. diameter, with a complex star design.
33. Patera. 6 ins. diameter, with a ten-leafed flower design.
34. Lotus leaf motif (*bas-relief*). Incomplete.  $4\frac{1}{8}$  ins. high by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. wide (max.).
35. Shallow vase motif (*bas-relief*). Incomplete vase is  $2\frac{5}{8}$  ins. high by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. wide.
36. Star ornament. Five-pointed star, each point having a radius of  $4\frac{1}{8}$  ins.

I have omitted until now what is by far the largest group of plaster casts. This group consists of acanthus leaves of all shapes and sizes, but most would seem to have been produced for Corinthian capitals. There are eight different varieties of acanthus leaf which fall into the display sample category. One of these types is a broad acanthus leaf which may have been associated with a composed capital. In addition there are no less than 18 types of acanthus leaf among the plaster casts for internal ornamentation. Varieties are distinguished both by decorative detail and by their form which can be essentially flat, triangular or rectangular. It is perhaps unnecessary to single out pieces for comment but a few examples have special features. A broken piece of acanthus leaf has a piece of copper wire  $\frac{3}{32}$  ins. in diameter inserted into the back of the plaster; this was presumably to strengthen its join with another section of the ornament. Three pieces of acanthus leaf ornament of triangular form have moulded numbers on the upper edges where the curved section of the leaf mould had been joined. In one case the number was '4' and in the other cases the number was '2'. These numbers presumably refer to the type of acanthus leaf they represented and perhaps aided the identification of the upper part of the leaf if it had a matching number. It is difficult to draw any conclusions from this surviving mass of acanthus leaves except to say that they must have been popular at one stage of the Coade Manufactory's lifetime!

Finally, mention should be made of a group of four plaster casts which have borders around their designs with 'tongues' and 'recesses' as if for a mould. Three are the lower portions of acanthus leaves and the other is a complete honeysuckle ornament. It is possible that these were 'masters' for producing block moulds and retained in case anything happened to the latter.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> George Coade died in 1770, but his wife Eleanor survived until 1796. Because their daughter was also called Eleanor there has been confusion over which Mrs. Coade was really running the business. The author of Chapter 15 ('Coade's Artificial Stone Works') of Sir H. Roberts and W. H. Godfrey ed., *South Bank and Vauxhall 1*, Survey of London 23 (London, 1951) suggests that it was Eleanor Coade senior. However, I am inclined to agree with S. B. Hamilton's view that it was her daughter, a view expressed in an article titled 'Coade Stone' in *The Architectural Review* 116 (Nov. 1954) 295–301. Alison Kelly tacitly concurs with Hamilton on this point in an article titled 'Mrs Coade's Stone' in *Connoisseur* 197 no. 791 (January 1978) 14–25.
- <sup>2</sup> *Coades' Gallery, or Exhibition in Artificial Stone, Westminster-Bridge-Road* (London, 1799). Copy in British Library.
- <sup>3</sup> R. Holt *A Short Treatise of Artificial Stone* (London, 1730). Copy in British Library.
- <sup>4</sup> D. Pincot *An Essay on the origin, Nature, Uses and Properties of Artificial Stone, Clays and Burnt Earths in General* (London, 1770). Copy in British Library.
- <sup>5</sup> Mrs. Coade admitted her debt to Bacon in the handbook to the Westminster Bridge Road Gallery, *op. cit.* in note 2.
- <sup>6</sup> R. Gunnis *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660–1851* (London, 1968) 24–28.
- <sup>7</sup> Examples of Adam's use of Coade Stone on London buildings include string courses and oblong plaques with swags and paterae on the front of 20 Portman Square (1775–1777) and various ornaments on the Adelphi (early 1770's). For further examples of Adam's use of Coade Stone on buildings outside London see Kelly *op. cit.* in note 1.
- <sup>8</sup> James Wyatt used a Coade Stone string course and Ionic capitals on Heaton Hall Greater Manchester (1772). See Kelly *ibid.* for other examples.
- <sup>9</sup> For details of other Gothic commissions see Alison Kelly 'Mrs. Coade's Gothic' *Country Life* 161 no. 4170 (2 June 1977) 1514–1516.
- <sup>10</sup> Henceforth referred to as 'the 1784 Catalogue'. It was not illustrated. Copies exist in the British Library, Sir John Soane's Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum Library.
- <sup>11</sup> Copies of these untitled booklets can be found in the British Library, the Guildhall Library and Sir John Soane's Museum. Some of the engraved plates have late 1770's dates but they were not completed as a group until about 1784.
- <sup>12</sup> An engraving by S. Rawle of the entrance to the Gallery can be found in Daniel Lysons *Environs of London 1* (London, 1811).
- <sup>13</sup> The workbooks for these eight years survive in the Public Record Office. (C111/106).

- <sup>14</sup> £20,000 is the figure given in a letter of 1850 in the possession of Mr. James Croggon of Grampound.
- <sup>15</sup> The Charity Boy on the Vinters' Hall, City of London, has an 1840 date stamp.
- <sup>16</sup> Blanchard was a competitor and former employee of Mrs. Coade. Other 19th-century competitors included J. G. Bubb and J. C. F. Rossi. For details of their work see Alison Kelly 'Imitating Mrs Coade' *Country Life* 162 no. 4193 (10 November 1977) 1430–1432.
- <sup>17</sup> Gunnis *op. cit.* in note 6.
- <sup>18</sup> Analyses of some of the finds was conducted by the Building Research Station of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and by the Chemical Branch of the Public Health Department of the L.C.C. Hamilton *op. cit.* in note 1.
- <sup>19</sup> Llewellyn Jewitt *The Ceramic Art of Great Britain* (London, 1878).
- <sup>20</sup> For a plan of Jesus College property in 1804 see Roberts and Godfrey ed. *op. cit.* in note 1, 60.
- <sup>21</sup> Watercolour in a bound volume in Guildhall Library print room. It appears to be a copy, possibly by G. Yates, of an earlier version reproduced by Kelly *op. cit.* in note 1, 14–15.
- <sup>22</sup> Watercolour thought to be by G. Shepherd, c. 1800. Guildhall Library print room.
- <sup>23</sup> A watercolour by C. Tomkins c. 1801 shows these embellishments. Guildhall Library print room.
- <sup>24</sup> Watercolour reproduced in Roberts and Godfrey ed. *op. cit.* in note 1, Pl. 38(b).
- <sup>25</sup> Lease plan reproduced *ibid.* 61.
- <sup>26</sup> If the trench were located on a plan of the Festival of Britain site it would pass between the Dome of Discovery and the Transport Pavilion.
- <sup>27</sup> The granite slab is preserved in an obscure position almost under Charing Cross Railway Bridge, near the Royal Festival Hall.
- <sup>28</sup> I am indebted to Mr. F. J. Collins, formerly of the G.L.C. Historic Buildings Division, for information about the finds from the Coade Manufactory site.
- <sup>29</sup> The survival of these finds is entirely due to the efforts of Mr. F. J. Collins and a colleague who risked life and limb in their recovery during the preparation of the Festival of Britain site. The finds have recently been transferred from the G. L. C. Historic Buildings Division to the Museum of London.
- <sup>30</sup> Not yet handed over to the Museum of London.
- <sup>31</sup> Not yet handed over to the Museum of London.
- <sup>32</sup> Information from Alison Kelly and F. J. Collins.
- <sup>33</sup> The statuary group survives in the grounds of the Horniman Museum.
- <sup>34</sup> Information from Alison Kelly.
- <sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 11.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup> Information from Alison Kelly.

# THE IMPACT OF THE 1797 TAX ON CLOCKS AND WATCHES ON THE LONDON TRADE

CHRIS ELLMERS

In the course of the 18th century the London clock and watchmaking trade enjoyed a prodigious expansion from the small-scale manufacture of costly, but technically simple, pieces for an exclusive market to the large-scale production of pieces, highly varied in their technical and visual quality, selling in markets as diverse as farming villages in Ireland and wealthy eastern princedoms.<sup>1</sup> Market factors, especially the notable concentration of purchasing power in London and access to valuable foreign markets through the trading activities of the port, provided the same geographic attraction for the trade as they had in the previous century. The relationship between the market and product, however, became more and more subtle. On the one hand market demand prompted production and on the other technical and design innovations, together with new methods of production, widened the market. The scientific lead which Thomas Tompion and Daniel Quare had already established for London was continued in the 18th century by George Graham, Thomas Mudge, John Harrison and John Arnold.<sup>2</sup> By the end of the century clock and watchmaking was one of London's leading trades employing thousands of workers. Although there are no statistics relating explicitly to the number of watches completed in London, some indication of the scale of operations is given by the returns of the number of watchcases marked at Goldsmiths' Hall in 1796—6,576 gold cases and 185,102 silver.<sup>3</sup> The numbers of watches exported from London were also substantial.

TABLE 1 Watches exported from London year ending 5 Jan. 1793

	Number	Value £	Value per Watch		
			£	s	d
Gold	484	7,260	15	0	0
Metal	595	1,190	2	0	0
Silver	14,005	52,530	3	15	0
	<hr/> 15,084	<hr/> 60,980			

Source: *Parliament Report from the Committee on the Petitions of Watchmakers of Coventry etc.* (London, 1817) Appendix 4, 13.

To achieve such a large output the watchmaking trade had had to become both specialised and highly subdivided. As early as 1686 Sir William Petty had chosen watchmaking to illustrate the advantages of subdivision of labour.

'In the making of a *Watch*, If one man shall make the *Wheels*, and another the *Spring*, another shall Engrave the *Dial-plate* and another shall make the *Cases*, then the *Watch* will be better and cheaper, than if the whole work would be put upon any one man'.<sup>4</sup>

A list of members of the Clockmakers' Company compiled about 1740 noted the trades of movement maker, motion maker, repeating motion maker, springmaker, chainmaker, watch engraver, watch gilder, finisher, casemaker, springer and liner, shagreen casemaker and clock engraver, besides those designated simply as 'watchmaker' and 'clockmaker'.<sup>5</sup> R. Campbell writing in 1747 referred to the London watchmaking trade being divided into movement makers, wheel cutters, spring makers, chain makers, cap and stud makers, case makers, dial cutters, dial enamellers, gilders and finishers.<sup>6</sup> He was the first to discuss the 'watchmaker' as an entrepreneur organising the production of watch parts by outworkers, employing finishers to assemble and complete the work, but having his own name engraved on the backplate whereby he 'is esteemed the Maker, though he has not made in his Shop the smallest Wheel belonging to it'. Subdivision of labour, as Petty remarked, made for a better and cheaper watch. It was encouraged by a growing market and facilitated by a wide range of tools which enabled workers to become more specialised and productive.<sup>7</sup> One effect, as Adam Smith observed in 1776, was that 'a better movement of a watch, that about the middle of the last century could have been bought for twenty pounds, may now perhaps be had for twenty shillings'.<sup>8</sup>

By 1817 there were an estimated 102 separate branches of the watchmaking trade.<sup>9</sup> This progressive tendency towards greater subdivision, to gain scale economies in terms of lower costs, was paralleled by a move towards an increased geographic localisation. In a system where manufacture relied upon watch and clock parts being passed around between countless outworkers it was logical that proximity would be at a premium. It minimised the cost, and effort, of transferring the work and maximised the information field of the individual worker by giving recourse to a wider range of mutually beneficial services and trade contacts. As the century progressed the working part of the London clock and watchmaking trade became firmly established in the parishes to the north of the City. By the 1790s most of the specialist workers lived in an area running from the eastern fringe of Holborn, through Clerkenwell and St. Luke, Old Street, to the western part of Hoxton, extending northwards into Islington and southwards to Smithfield, Cripplegate and Moorfields. Within this area the greatest concentration of workers were to be found in the neighbouring parishes of Clerkenwell and St. Luke.

The organisation of the watch trade, however, was more complex than suggested here. Despite the introduction of machines, watchmaking remained a highly labour intensive trade involving careful, and often painstaking, work at the bench. Campbell remarked that 'all the Branches require a Mechanic Head, a light nice Hand, to touch those delicate Instruments . . . and a strong Sight, there being scarce any Trade which requires a quicker Eye or steadier Hand'.<sup>10</sup> In 1764 one watch finisher set something of a record by assembling and finishing a watch in fourteen hours.<sup>11</sup> John Grant, an eminent watchmaker with a shop in Fleet Street, said that 'Sometimes a Watch sold for 150 Guineas is intrinsically, with respect to the Materials, not worth 20s — the Materials are increased in value, in many Instances, by Labour, a Thousand Times'.<sup>12</sup> As the price of labour was high in London — watch finishers earning up to 30 or 40 shillings a week in 1747<sup>13</sup> — the possibility of having some of the more basic tasks undertaken in lower cost areas offered great attractions. This appears to be one of the reasons why the area around

Prescot in south-west Lancashire became the major centre for the production of rough movements at this time.<sup>14</sup> Philip Andreas Nemnich, on a visit to the British Isles in 1805 and 1806, explored the complex system of linkages that existed between the London and provincial trades:

'Many of the inner parts of the watch come from Lancashire and are assembled in London; some parts also come from Coventry, but these are not considered so good. Watch springs are made, as far as England is concerned, only in London, and are sent to Lancashire and elsewhere. . . . The wheel-work is cheaper in London, but not nearly so good as in Lancashire. . . . Cases are made best in London and are sent to Coventry and Derby and even to Lancashire'.<sup>15</sup>

Although the history of the London trade was generally one of prosperous expansion there were, inevitably, some setbacks. As early as 1764 the Clockmakers' Company was investigating reports of the illicit import of watches from Geneva.<sup>16</sup> In 1780 there were numerous complaints from a large section of the London trade on the same subject.<sup>17</sup> In exchange for the support of the Clockmakers' Company in preventing such imports a large number of prominent makers joined the Company as Honorary Freemen, marking the beginning of a period of close collaboration between the trade and the Company.<sup>18</sup> In 1784 the Government introduced a duty of eight shillings per ounce on wrought gold and sixpence per ounce on wrought silver.<sup>19</sup> By adding to the production cost of watchcases this reduced the competitiveness of British makers with the Swiss and French in the market for gold watches.<sup>20</sup> Some help came in 1787 when an import duty of 27½ per cent was imposed on all clocks and watches coming into this country. This, however, proved difficult to enforce and there were continued complaints of 'the Clandestine importation of foreign Gold watches'.<sup>21</sup>

The trade remained on this slightly precarious footing when France declared war on Britain in February 1793. Few manufacturers could have welcomed the idea of a war even though it promised a stop to French imports. War was likely to threaten the export markets and, by drawing funds to the war effort, reduce sales at home: 'a watch', observed one trader in 1817, 'being in general the first article put off in times of distress, and the last put on again when distress is removing'.<sup>22</sup> To support the cost of the war, Pitt hastily introduced widespread increases in taxes and duties. His budget for 1797 imposed additional taxes of over two millions. Included in this was the doubling of the duty on wrought gold and silver, the new rate standing at 16 shillings and 1 shilling per ounce respectively.<sup>23</sup> In July, Pitt introduced a completely new tax on the ownership of clocks and watches<sup>24</sup> which he had calculated would produce £200,000 per annum.<sup>25</sup> The taxes imposed were 10 shillings upon each gold watch; 5 shillings upon each clock; and 2 shillings and 6 pence upon each silver or metal watch. The main exemptions were for one clock or watch belonging to a household exempted from house and window tax; for clocks made of wood costing less than 20 shillings; for servants in husbandry. The tax did not apply to the stock of clock and watchmakers, but they had to pay a personal tax, presumably for the privilege of exemption, amounting to 2 shillings and 6 pence per annum in London and 1 shilling outside.

Having already interfered with the supply side of the market by increasing the cost of cases through the double duty, Pitt's action now threatened to impair demand. A clash with the watch and clockmakers became inevitable. The first battle lines were drawn on 5 July, while the Bill was still going through Parliament, when 'a considerable number of watch manufacturers', meeting at the Aldersgate Street Coffee House, decided to

approach the Clockmakers' Company to explore the possibilities of taking joint action to oppose the tax.<sup>26</sup> For this purpose the meeting selected a committee to meet with the Clockmakers' consisting of Benjamin Webb, Peter Upjohn and Joshua Rigby of Clerkenwell, Charles Smith of St. Luke and John Brooks of Cripplegate.<sup>27</sup> On 6 July when they attended a Special Court of the Clockmakers' Company to meet with the committee designated to receive them they were informed by John Jackson, the Master, that 'the Company were most heartily inclin'd to cooperate with them, in every measure that might be thought likely to prevent the proposed tax'.<sup>28</sup> Jackson had already written to George Rose, Secretary to the Treasury, stating that the tax threatened the 'total annihilation of their trade' and requesting a meeting to state the Company's objectives more fully.<sup>29</sup> As a meeting with Pitt had been promised for the next day the committee of the Clockmakers' Company drew up a petition to present on behalf of the Company and the trade in general. This referred to the 'great number of persons employ'd in the manufacture of these articles, which upon the smallest computation is supposed to amount to twenty thousand persons, in the Metropolis alone'.<sup>30</sup> It also criticised the double duty and the annual plate-licence<sup>31</sup> for being the cause of much present unemployment and distress. Furthermore the Company said that the proposed tax had caused a panic leading to the cancellation of orders, the giving up of clocks and watches, stockpiling and the possibility of 'an immediate and total stagnation of the trade'. The two committees met again on 8 July to draw up another petition. Whilst they recognised that 'the use of a clock or watch may be considered as a luxury as well as a conveniency' which when 'viewed superficially. . . may be fairly considered as a proper object of Taxation,' they recommended that it would be expedient 'to consider whether laying on the impost will produce the expected supply and whether its effects will not prejudice the industrious Mechanic more than it will benefit the Revenue'.<sup>32</sup> In the events which were to follow their view was to be completely vindicated. The petitioners added that the war had caused the loss of export markets in Spain, Italy, Turkey, the Netherlands and America. Significantly they also took the opportunity to propose a reduction in the standard of gold used in the manufacture of watchcases from 22 carats to 18 carats. To press the point a comparison was made between the relative costs of pair-case gold watches made in Switzerland and England.

<i>Pair-case gold watch made in Switzerland</i>	
2 oz. of Gold 18 carats	
fine at 66s 3d per oz.	
	<hr/>
	£6 12 6
	<hr/>

<i>Pair-case gold watch made in England</i>	
2 oz. of Gold 22 carats	
fine at 81s per oz.	£8 2 0
Duty at 16s per oz.	£1 12 0
	<hr/>
	£9 14 0
	<hr/>

or as was more likely:

1 oz. 10 dwts. of gold	
18 carats fine	
at 66s 3d per oz.	
	<hr/>
	£4 19 4½
	<hr/>



Having presented these details to Pitt, and finding him receptive to the idea, the committee of the Clockmakers' Company met on 10 July to recommend a further reduction of the standard to 14 carats on the grounds that this was the one in every day use in France and Switzerland.<sup>33</sup> At this rate the cost of a gold pair-case watch made in England would be:

1 oz. 10 dwts. Gold 14 carats			
fine at 51s. 6d per oz.	£3	17	3
Duty at 11s per oz.		16	6
		<hr/>	
	£4	13	9
		<hr/>	

This offered a reduction of £5 0s 3d on the cost of a 22 carat gold pair-case watch making it more competitive with the Swiss product. These details were conveyed to the Goldsmiths' Company in a joint letter signed by John Jackson, on behalf of the Clockmakers' Company, and Charles Smith, chairman of the trade committee.<sup>34</sup> Pitt had also approached the Goldsmiths on the matter.<sup>35</sup> Although the Goldsmiths did not disagree with a reduction of the standard in principle, they felt it improvident to decide on what the standard should be without more careful consideration.<sup>36</sup> Pitt could take no further action, but he assured the Clockmakers' Company that, as the Goldsmiths had not disagreed to the proposals in principle, there was still a reasonable chance of a law being passed in the next Session of Parliament.<sup>37</sup>

During the next few months the impact of the tax on clocks and watches began to be felt. Although no overall figures of clock and watch production exist some indication of the decline is given by a comparison of the number of gold and silver watchcases marked at Goldsmiths' Hall for comparative periods of 1796 and 1797.

TABLE 2. Watchcases marked at Goldsmiths' Hall, 1796–1797

<i>1796</i>	<i>Gold*</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>1797</i>	<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>
May	442	12,692	May	318	14,801
June	533	16,172	June	302	13,608
July	557	16,341	July	335	13,198
August	603	15,358	August	268	12,389
September	577	16,179	September	168	10,780
October	589	16,734	October	169	9,543
<hr/>			<hr/>		
Six months 1796	3,301	93,476	Six months 1797	1,566	74,319
<hr/>			<hr/>		

\* 'A pair of cases is considered as two' (see Note 3).

Source: Guildhall Library MS 2710/5, Clockmakers' Company Court Minute Book 1778–1804, ff. 346–348.

A further memorial from the trade describing the effects of the tax was received by the Clockmakers' Company on 16 November.<sup>38</sup> On this occasion, however, the 'Court were unanimously of the opinion not to concur in the same'. As no copy of this memorial has been traced it is not possible to explain this breakdown in the previously good relationship and common bond which existed between the Company and the trade.<sup>39</sup> On 21 November the trade committee presented another memorial to the Company which met with 'its approbation and support', but did not result in any joint action.<sup>40</sup> Instead, the committee of the Clockmakers' Company drew up their own memorial for Pitt which

they presented to the Company for approval on 27 November. This re-emphasised the issues raised in the petition of 6 July and added, as one more contributory factor to the depression, 'that the usual great demand for the Country Trade after Harvest has nearly failed'.<sup>41</sup> It also noted widespread unemployment, increased applications for parish relief and the likelihood of emigration to the detriment of British industry, including the cotton trade which depended upon clockmakers to set up, and maintain, its machinery.<sup>42</sup>

The large-scale unemployment which was by now apparent in the watchmaking districts posed serious problems. With destitution and starvation commonplace parish authorities faced the unenviable task of attempting to meet the additional call for parish relief from a dwindling poor rate. Furthermore, Pitt had new proposals for a threefold increase of the assessed taxes, including that on clocks and watches, which, if they came into operation, could only aggravate the situation. On 12 December the Clerkenwell Vestry set up a committee to draw up measures to prevent the proposed increases in the assessed taxes becoming law and for obtaining the repeal of the clock and watch tax.<sup>43</sup> This committee included Benjamin Webb, Peter Upjohn and Richard Bayley, all of whom, as shall be seen later, owned large watchmaking businesses. Webb and Upjohn had been members of the trade committee set up on 5 July to liaise with the Clockmakers' Company (see above). Amongst other local tradesmen on the committee were Edward Bracebridge and William Travers, both prominent watchmakers, and Thomas Gibbard and Thomas Gooch, watchcasemakers.<sup>44</sup> Also on the committee were William Robertson, Churchwarden of St. James Clerkenwell, watch movement maker, and James Storer, Overseer of the Poor, watch and clock manufacturer.<sup>45</sup> The memorial, which this committee put to the Vestry on 14 December, was a radical attack on Pitt's proposals.<sup>46</sup> It deplored the exclusion of an effective tax on 'landed and funded property', especially 'when the manufacturing and trading parts of the Nation are almost wanting the common Necessaries of Life [and] the *Rich* are not even deprived of their Luxuries'.<sup>47</sup> Implicitly, the proposed taxes were seen to endanger the structure of the artisan economy and 'produce a dangerous chasm in Society by destroying that beautiful gradation from the *highest* to the *lowest* orders. . . leaving but two sorts of people the *rich* and the *poor*; . . . it is therefore opening a Door to a System of Tyranny'. The committee estimated that the inhabitants of the parish numbered 'Twenty one Thousand; nearly Seven Thousand of whom, were lately employed in, and dependant upon the Watch and Clock trades and that most of them are now unemployed'.

The Vestry of the neighbouring parish of St. Luke also passed a resolution for the repeal of the clock and watch tax on 14 December.<sup>48</sup> To enlist support for its cause, the Clerkenwell Vestry had ordered the minutes of 14 December to be printed in *The Times*, *Morning Herald*, *Courier* and *Morning Chronicle*.<sup>49</sup> On 15 December it published a handbill stating that if the proposed tax increases went ahead some two thirds of the inhabitants would be unable to meet the cost, especially if the increases included the 'duty on their staple commodity'.<sup>50</sup>

Within days of their vestry resolutions, both Clerkenwell and St. Luke had drawn up parliamentary petitions. These were both presented to the House by William Mainwaring, M.P. for Middlesex, on 18 December.<sup>51</sup> Shorn of any comment on the principle of the assessed taxes, the Clerkenwell petition concentrated on the hardships experienced by the clock and watchmakers in consequence of 'a Diminution of More than one Half' their trade.<sup>52</sup> The petition from St. Luke made a case for 'some Thousand of

Artificers, hitherto employed in the several Branches of the Clock and Watch making trades' who, having exhausted their savings, were now forced to apply for parish relief.<sup>53</sup> The petition concluded 'that this dreadful Privation of Comforts is effected (in Part, at least, if not wholly) by a Tax laid on an Article, both useful and ornamental, and in the Performance of which this Country is unrivalled, it is to be feared the Want of Employ will lessen, if not destroy, the Art, and the Trade, in Consequence thereof, be severed from this Country ever after'.

Following quickly on the efforts of the vestries, 'A Petition of the Manufacturers of, and Dealers in, Clocks and Watches resident in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, the Borough of *Southwark*, and the Vicinities thereof' was presented to Parliament on 28 December.<sup>54</sup> By now the petitions were achieving a standard format in cataloguing complaints relative to the drop in production, unemployment, emigration and the loss of overseas markets. Another petition for the repeal of the tax was drawn up by the London 'workmen in the Clock and Watch Trade'. This clearly met with the approval of the Vestry of St. James's Clerkenwell who 'ordered that Leave be given for such Petition to lie for signatures in the Vestry Rooms of St. James's and St. John's Churches and Penton Ville Chapel, and in the Committee Room of the Workhouse'.<sup>55</sup> When this petition was presented to Parliament on 11 January, 1798, it complained bitterly that:

'Many Thousands of the Petitioners, who were formerly enabled to support themselves and Families with Decency and Comfort, are now, from Want of Employment, reduced to a state of Want and Misery, of Poverty and Wretchedness; and that the Petitioners humbly appeal to the Feelings of the House, whether Men, who have formerly been accustomed to live in Credit and Reputation, and have many of them paid Parliamentary and Parochial Taxes, can long endure the mortifying circumstances of applying to their Parishes for a temporary Relief, or of being compelled to dispose of their Furniture, and even the implements of their trade, to procure the Necessaries of Life for themselves and Families'.<sup>56</sup>

During January and February the provincial trade was busy organising support for the repeal of the clock and watch tax and petitions were sent to Parliament on behalf of the clock and watchmakers of Bristol, Leicester, Prescott, Newcastle, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Carlisle and Derby.<sup>57</sup>

Meanwhile, with hardship increasing throughout January, Clerkenwell again took the initiative by launching a Society to supply 'GOOD NUTRITIOUS MEAT SOUP' to the 'Distressed Mechanics, and Others' living in the 'parishes of *Clerkenwell*, *St. Luke*, *Islington*, *St. Sepulchre*, *St. Andrew*, or any others'.<sup>58</sup> Although soup was supplied to anyone at 'one penny per quart' it was primarily intended to help 'that very numerous and industrious class of mechanics, who were of late employed in the various branches of the Clock and Watchmaking business'.<sup>59</sup> By 13 March subscriptions to the soup society totalled £800,<sup>60</sup> including £150 obtained by Joseph Reyner, a City merchant, from Lloyd's who also gave 50 tons of potatoes and five chaldrons of coal.<sup>61</sup> The first distribution of soup commenced from the 'Soup House', located near the workhouse in Coppice Row, on 3 March and continued until 19 May. During that period 2,900 families, comprising some 12,300 individuals, were supplied with soup.<sup>62</sup> Although soup kitchens were established in other parts of London,<sup>63</sup> the Clerkenwell kitchen had no rivals on the grounds of quality, a line in the popular song *Soup-House Beggars* running 'for there's no parish far or near makes soup like Clerkenwell'.<sup>64</sup>

The long awaited Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry to investigate the numerous petitions for the repeal of the tax on clocks and watches sat between 21 and 23 February

under the chairmanship of William Mainwaring.<sup>65</sup> The rapid decline in the London watchmaking trades can be seen in the following tables drawn up from evidence given to the Committee.

TABLE 3 Watches Sold 1795 – 1798

(i) Richard Bayley, watch maker, Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell

	1795	1796	1797
Jan 1 — June 30	1,886	1,725	1,900
July 1 — Dec 30	1,984	1,908	1,040
	<u>3,870</u>	<u>3,633</u>	<u>2,940</u>

(ii) Smith and Upjohn, Watchmakers, Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell

	1795	1796	1797
Jan 1 — June 30	N.G	1,452	1,360
July 1 — Dec 31	N.G	<u>1,936</u>	<u>947</u>
		<u>3,388</u>	<u>2,307</u>

(iii) Benjamin Webb, Clock and Watch Manufacturer, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell

	1795	1796	1797
Jan 1 — June 30	N.G	1,220	1,088
July 1 — Dec 31	N.G	<u>1,190</u>	<u>565</u>
		<u>2,410</u>	<u>1,653</u>

(iv) Charles Smith, Watch Manufacturer, 118 Bunhill Row, St. Like

	1795	1796	1797
Jan 1 — June 30	N.G	2,081	1,938
July 1 — Dec 31	N.G	<u>2,159</u>	<u>1,088</u>
		<u>4,240</u>	<u>3,026</u>

Source: *Commons Journals* 53 (1797–1798) 326–336.

TABLE 4 Watches Sold in Selected Months 1796 – 1798

	Richard Bayley	Smith & Upjohn	Benjamin Webb
November 1796	232		231
December 1796	514		126
January 1797	300		125
February 1797	334		267
November 1797	116		123
December 1797	109		53
January 1798	75	54	47
February 1798	59	48	6

Source: *Commons Journals* 53 (1797–1798) 326–336

TABLE 5 Employment and Wages 1797 – 1798

	<i>Previous to the Act</i>		<i>Since the Act</i>	
	Number employed over 100	Weekly Wage Bill £100 – 150	Number employed under 20	Weekly Wage Bill under £20
Richard Bayley	N.G.	£120 – 130	N.G.	£20 – 25
Smith & Upjohn	N.G.	£100	N.G.	£20 – 25

Source: *Commons Journals* 53 (1797–1798) 326–336

The high rate of the tax on gold watches led to a proportionately greater reduction in their sales compared to silver watches. Richard Bayley said that whilst he normally produced between 200 and 300 gold watches a year he had only sold five since the passing of the Act and not received a single order for a new one. The sale of gold watches by Benjamin Webb had fallen in a like manner from between 100 and 200 a year to only four or five. Bayley also stated that he had changed the cases of 200 gold watches to silver at the requests of customers. A great many similar conversions had been undertaken by Peter Upjohn. Webb said that he had converted more gold watches since the passing of the Act than in the whole of his 27 years in the business. Bayley, Upjohn and Webb emerge from the report of the Parliamentary Committee as large scale manufacturers employing large numbers of outworkers producing predominantly low priced silver watches for the home market. The evidence given by John Grant of Fleet Street, however, shows that even the most fashionable of makers felt the impact of the tax.

‘In Clocks, since the Act, by taking the same time in the preceding Years, there is a Difference in my Trade of nearly Two Thirds Decrease — In Watches a Decrease of about Half. The Clocks and Watches I make are of the best Quality — none of Common Sort. . . We thought, before the passing of the Act, that the higher Watches and Time Pieces which I make would not be affected by the Tax; but we find it otherwise’.

John Gregson, watchmaker of Bruton Street, Mayfair, whose work was also ‘of the most valuable sort’ said that his ‘Business within the last Six Months has decreased more than One Half’. At the other end of the scale of high class watchmaking came the sad story of Whitfield Greenwell, watch finisher ‘in the Repeating Line, and the very best Kind of Work’ who had not a single watch to finish since the Act began.

As the petitions to Parliament had shown, the only options open to people like Greenwell was to spend their savings, if they had any, or to apply for parish or charitable relief. Abraham Rhodes, vestry clerk of St. James Clerkenwell, in evidence to the Parliamentary Committee, said that the Clerkenwell Guardians had relieved 150 watch and clockmakers since the Act, their number exceeding a quarter of those receiving parish assistance.<sup>66</sup> It was added that their numbers would have been greater if it had not been for a charitable society established in Clerkenwell and the fact that many artisans had pawned their possessions.<sup>67</sup> The charitable society referred to had been established to relieve the 'Distress of the Clock and Watch Makers resident in the Parishes of Clerkenwell, St. Luke's Old Street, and the Neighbourhood'.<sup>68</sup> This society, having received £100 from a body previously set up to help redeem pawned tools, visited the unemployed clock and watchmakers to decide who should receive assistance. Within the space of four days sixteen investigators visited 1,101 distressed artisans having as dependants 886 wives, 1,945 children and 301 apprentices.<sup>69</sup> Before the introduction of the tax the gross weekly earnings of these artisans had been £1,511, reduced to £417 by February 1798. Between them they had pawned property to the value of £1,503 to make up for loss of income.<sup>70</sup>

While the Parliamentary Committee was taking evidence, the Clockmakers' Company and the London trade presented a joint petition along the lines of the one submitted on 28 December.<sup>71</sup> By now it was generally expected that Parliament would repeal the tax, but that trade would take some time to pick up. To provide assistance through this period an appeal was launched by the 'General Committee for the Relief of the Distressed Watch and Clockmakers', consisting of a consortium of influential M.P.'s including William Mainwaring (Middlesex), George Byng (Middlesex), Henry Thornton (Southwark), Harvey Christian Combe (London), William Wilberforce (Yorkshire), the Lord Mayor, bankers, merchants and other public figures.<sup>72</sup> Within six days £673 had been subscribed to this society<sup>73</sup> and questionnaires were sent out to workers asking for details of their families, the value of tools, clothing and furniture pawned and possessions sold.<sup>74</sup>

Finally, on 15 March the resolution from the Parliamentary Committee for the repeal of the clock and watch tax received its second reading and a bill was ordered to be drawn up.<sup>75</sup> The resolution received a third reading on 23 March,<sup>76</sup> the Act coming into force on 10 May.<sup>77</sup> Further improvements were promised for the trade with the repeal of the duties in gold and silver plate used in watch cases in March.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, following representation to the Goldsmiths' Company by a group of eminent watchmakers — Isaac Rogers, John and Myles Brockbank, Paul Philip Barraud and James McCabe<sup>79</sup> — and a great deal of correspondence between the Clockmakers' Company, the Treasury and the Goldsmiths<sup>80</sup> an Act was passed in June permitting the manufacture of gold wares at the lower standard of 18 carats.<sup>81</sup>

At a meeting of the 'Committee for the relief of the Distressed Watch and Clock Makers' on 14 July it was revealed that subscriptions had reached £2,825 of which £2,468 had gone to 1,233 families for the redemption of pledges and a further £168 towards supplying 600 families with bread and other articles.<sup>82</sup> They had also discovered that the total amount of articles pawned and sold during the existence of the Act was £5,258. The committee decided at the meeting to close the appeal, 'considering how liberal a subscription has been already obtained', even though 'the Watch Trade appears to have not yet materially revived, and the Distress in some degree to continue'.

Free of the tax on ownership, however, home demand gradually improved whilst the production of cheaper watch cases, made possible by the repeal of the duty and the lowering of the standard, enabled London makers to regain some of the market for gold watches from the Swiss as indicated in the table below.

TABLE 6 Watchcases Marked at Goldsmiths' Hall 1796–1802

	<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>
1796	6,576	185,102
1797	3,355	140,393
1798	3,523	125,275
1799	7,597	160,074
1800	9,396	154,144
1801	10,006	136,569
1802	10,618	161,334

Source: Parliament *Report from the Committee on the Petitions of Watchmakers of Coventry etc.* (London, 1817) Appendix 2, 12.

During the course of its short life Pitt's tax on clocks and watches had proved disastrous in terms of sales, earnings and employment. It created a plethora of committees and petitions whose primary objective was the repeal of the Act. Furthermore, it dealt a vicious blow to an industry which was already showing signs of weakness. Psychologically, at least, it took the trade a long time to recover from an experience which had shown exactly how vulnerable it was to sudden changes in market forces. During the vicissitudes of the early 19th century the events of 1797–1798 remained a constant parameter for those older hands who had lived through it.<sup>83</sup> For all this, it was something less than ironic that Pitt's tax raised only £2,600 in revenue for the government.<sup>84</sup>

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Guildhall Library MS 2710/5 Clockmakers' Company Court Minute Book 1778–1804, Special Court held 11 December 1780: the Company stated 'we export Clocks and Watches to all commercial countries, except France, and particularly to Holland, Flanders, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, East and West Indies, China, etc': Parliament *Report from the Committee on the Petitions of Watchmakers of coventry etc.* (London, 1817) gives details of the home and Irish Markets.
- <sup>2</sup> T. P. Camerer Cuss *The Country Life Book of Watches* (London, 1967) 45–77.
- <sup>3</sup> Parliament *op. cit.* in note 1, Appendix 2, 12. Returns of watchcases marked give only a general guide to watch production. There is no way of telling what proportion of the totals are comprised of the inner and outer cases used for finished 'pair case' watches. The returns do not include gilt metal watchcases, or those in enamel or other coverings applied to base metals. Further complicating factors are that some London watchcases were supplied to provincial makers, some were fitted with Swiss movements and some finished London movements were exported without cases.
- <sup>4</sup> W. Petty *An Essay Concerning the Multiplication of Mankind* (London, 1686).
- <sup>5</sup> Guildhall Library MS 3939 ff.23–26.
- <sup>6</sup> R. Campbell *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747) 250–251.
- <sup>7</sup> By the late 18th century a wide variety of clock and watchmakers' tools were available to the London toolshops from the catalogues of Wyke and Green of Liverpool; Peter Stubs of Warrington; and Ford, Whitmore and Brunton of Birmingham.
- <sup>8</sup> Adam Smith *The Wealth of Nations* (London, 1776) quoted in C. M. Cipolla *Clocks and Culture* (London, 1967) 71.
- <sup>9</sup> Parliament *op. cit.* in note 1, 77.
- <sup>10</sup> Campbell *op. cit.* in note 6, 252.
- <sup>11</sup> *Antiquarian Horology* 1 no. 5 (1953–1956) 68.
- <sup>12</sup> *Commons Journals* 53 (1797–1798) 334.
- <sup>13</sup> Campbell *op. cit.* in note 6, 252.
- <sup>14</sup> F. A. Bailey and T. C. Barker 'The Seventeenth Century Origins of Watchmaking in South-West Lancashire' in J. R. Harris ed. *Liverpool and Merseyside* (London, 1969) 1–15.
- <sup>15</sup> Quoted in G. H. Baillie *Watches their History, Decoration and Mechanism* (London, 1929) 272–273.
- <sup>16</sup> Guildhall Library MS 2710/4 Clockmakers' Company Court Minute Book 1729–1778, Courts held 19 June and 27 November 1764.
- <sup>17</sup> Guildhall Library MS 2710/5 *op. cit.* in note 1, Court held 9 October 1780; Guildhall Library MS 3951/2–3.
- <sup>18</sup> Guildhall Library MS 2710/5 *ibid.* Courts held 6 November 1780, 2 April, 21 May, 2 July 1781.
- <sup>19</sup> Act 24 Geo. III, Cap. 53
- <sup>20</sup> Guildhall Library MS 2710/5 *op. cit.* in note 1, Special Court held 11 December 1786.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* Court held 3 November 1788, Special Courts held 17 September 1789 and 18 January 1790, Court held 22 February 1790.
- <sup>22</sup> Parliament *op. cit.* in note 1, 15.
- <sup>23</sup> Act 37 Geo. III, Cap. 90 s.16, 17, 18 (22 June 1797).
- <sup>24</sup> Act 37 Geo. III, Cap. 108 (19 July 1797).
- <sup>25</sup> E. P. Thompson 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism' *Past and Present* 38 (1967) 67.
- <sup>26</sup> Guildhall Library MS 2710/5 *op. cit.* in note 1, Special Court held 6 July 1797.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* gives only the names of the trade committee. *Kent's London Directory* (1797) gives their trades and addresses as:  
Benjamin Webb, wholesale watchmaker, 21, St. John's Sq.  
Peter Upjohn (Smith & Upjohn), wholesale watchmaker, 58, Red Lion St.  
Joshua Rigby, watchmaker, 6, Berkeley Street.  
Charles Smith, wholesale watchmaker, 118, Bunhill Row.  
John Brooks, Clock and watchmaker, 4, Bridgewater Square
- <sup>28</sup> Guildhall Library MS 2710/5 *loc. cit.* in note 26.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> This additional penalty amounted to £2 6s 0d per annum payable to the Excise by casemakers, pendant-makers, watchmakers and retail vendors.
- <sup>32</sup> Guildhall Library MS2710/5, *op. cit.* in note 1, Special Court held 7 July 1797.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* Committee Meeting held 10 July 1797.
- <sup>34</sup> Sir Walter Prideaux *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company* 1 (London, 2 vols. n. d.) 291–292.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 289–290.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 292.
- <sup>37</sup> Guildhall Library MS 2710/5 *op. cit.* in note 1, Committee Meetings held 14 and 21 July 1797.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* Special Court held 16 November 1797.
- <sup>39</sup> A manuscript copy of a draft petition to the Chancellor of the Exchequer from the 'Committee of Clock and Watch Makers' in the Goldsmiths' Library, London University, MS 755 ff. 122–123 may be the petition in question. This contains one paragraph which makes a special case for the manufacturer of higher quality watches.  
'We beg leave to observe that the Exemptions in the late Act, tend to relieve only the Classes of Workmen concerned in the Manufactory of low priced watches, and the Articles connected therewith and although they do undoubtedly deserve every proper degree of attention yet we must take the liberty to say that it is to the superior Classes of Workmen and those employed in the Manufactory of the high priced articles, we are indebted for that eminent and unrivalled degree of credit which this country has attained to of late years, especially the article of Pocket Watches. This most valuable Class of Men we fear we are in greatest danger of losing by the operation of the Tax; they are deprived of nearly their whole Employment and there is very Serious Ground of apprehension that they will be induced in consequence thereof to emigrate. . . [and] . . . will carry with them the Choicest Secrets of our Trade'.  
This section has been crossed through in pencil in the draft. When the Clockmakers' Company rejected the memorial from the trade it decided to draw up its own on behalf of the 'generality of the Trade'.



- <sup>40</sup> Guildhall Library MS 2710/5 *op. cit.* in note 1, Committee Meeting held 21 November 1797.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* Committee Meeting held 27 November 1797.
- <sup>42</sup> Other petitions against the tax made this point and it was cited again during the depression of 1817, see Parliament *op. cit.* in note 1, 42–43. See also Bailey and Barker *op. cit.* in note 14, 12–13.
- <sup>43</sup> Finsbury Library, Vestry Minute Book St. James's Clerkenwell 1776–1803, Vestry 12 December 1797.
- <sup>44</sup> The occupations of the committee have been taken from *Kent's London Directory* (1797).
- <sup>45</sup> The occupations of Robertson and Storer are given in *Commons Journals op. cit.* in note 12, 335.
- <sup>46</sup> Finsbury Library *op. cit.* in note 43, Vestry 14 December 1797.
- <sup>47</sup> For an overall view of taxation at this period which draws a similar conclusion see P. Mathias *The First Industrial Nation* (London, 1969) 39–43.
- <sup>48</sup> Finsbury Library, Vestry Minute Book St. Luke 1797–1804, Vestry 14 December 1797.
- <sup>49</sup> Finsbury Library *loc. cit.* in note 46.
- <sup>50</sup> Goldsmiths' Library, London University, MS 755 f. 105. This appears to have been printed for distribution to M.P.s.
- <sup>51</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* 68 (1798) 497.
- <sup>52</sup> *Commons Journals op. cit.* in note 12, 158.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 158–159.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 167–168.
- <sup>55</sup> Finsbury Library *op. cit.* in note 43, Vestry 29 December 1797.
- <sup>56</sup> *Commons Journals op. cit.* in note 12, 178–179.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 174, 230, 232–233, 239, 247, 250, 251, 316.
- <sup>58</sup> Finsbury Library, printed handbill entitled 'At a numerous and respectable Meeting, held at the Crown Tavern, Clerkenwell Green, on Monday 29 of January 1798, for the Purpose of Taking into consideration the situation of the distressed Mechanics, and Others'.
- <sup>59</sup> Finsbury Library, printed handbill entitled 'Address to the Benevolent and Humane for the purpose of extending the laudable intention of a Society, instituted for the Relief of the Poor, by supplying them with Good Nutritious Meat Soup'.
- <sup>60</sup> Guildhall Library, printed handbill entitled 'The Case of the Distressed Watch and Clock Makers' (13 March 1798).
- <sup>61</sup> *Commons Journals op. cit.* in note 12, 333.
- <sup>62</sup> *A Brief Account of the Soup Society instituted in Clerkenwell* (1799) cited in W. Pinks *The History of Clerkenwell* (London, 1881) 117.
- <sup>63</sup> The Clerkenwell soup kitchen was modelled on one already established in Spitalfields by the Society of Friends, *ibid.*
- <sup>64</sup> T. Cromwell *History and Description of the Parish of Clerkenwell* (London, 1828) 259.
- <sup>65</sup> *Commons Journals op. cit.* in note 12, 326–336; the Committee reported on 27 February.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* 335.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* 333.
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* The number of apprentices appears small and it may be that where children were apprenticed to their fathers they were listed as 'children' rather than 'apprentices'. In addition many children, especially in the lesser branches of the trade, would have worked for their fathers, but not served regular apprenticeships.
- <sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>71</sup> Guildhall Library MS 2710/5 *op. cit.* in note 1, Adjourned Court, 22 February 1797.
- <sup>72</sup> 'The Case of the Distressed Watch and Clockmakers' *op. cit.* in note 60.
- <sup>73</sup> Guildhall Library, handbill entitled 'At a Meeting of the General Committee for the Relief of Distressed Watch and Clock Makers. March 19, 1798', bound with 'The Case of the Distressed Watch and Clock-makers'.
- <sup>74</sup> A blank questionnaire is preserved in the Goldsmiths' Library, London University, MS 755 f.108. A manuscript note dates this 22 March 1798.
- <sup>75</sup> *Commons Journals op. cit.* in note 12, 373.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 405.
- <sup>77</sup> Act 38 Geo. III, Cap. 40 (10 May 1798).
- <sup>78</sup> Act 38 Geo. III, Cap. 23 (9 March 1798).
- <sup>79</sup> *Prideaux op. cit.* in note 34, 293–294.
- <sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* 293–299; Guildhall Library MS 2710/5 *loc. cit.* in note 1, Special Courts 16, 23, 25 March 1798.
- <sup>81</sup> Act 38 Geo. III, Cap. 69 (21 June 1798).
- <sup>82</sup> Goldsmiths' Library, London University, MS 755 f. 109.
- <sup>83</sup> There were numerous petitions about the depressed state of the trade from 1812 onwards. The Report of the 1817 Parliamentary Committee found that the trade had 'never recovered from its former state of 1796'; Parliament *op. cit.* in note 1, Report, 3.
- <sup>84</sup> Thompson *op. cit.* in note 25, 68.

# MR. MOON THE PRINTSELLER OF THREADNEEDLE STREET

CELINA FOX

'I am afraid I came away with very savage sensations as to the *disgrace* of being represented anywhere by such a buffoon. It is time the City should go to school and acquire a little of that education which has left them so shamefully behind.'

Lady Eastlake's impression of Francis Graham Moon was gained at a *conversazione* held for the French lady artist Rosa Bonheur in 1855. It is a scarcely flattering, though tantalising glimpse of a Lord Mayor of London who was considered to be almost unique as a man of culture in that office. Not since Alderman John Boydell (1719–1804) in 1790 had a print dealer attained the civic heights and been so conspicuously associated with the world of arts and letters. But to a sophisticated blue-stocking, married to the Lord Clark figure of the day,<sup>2</sup> perhaps the man of business weighed uppermost: a print dealer was, after all, a trader in art not a gentleman connoisseur. Being unfamiliar with the ways of the City, perhaps also she was less than appreciative of Moon's rise from poverty to riches. Indeed, appropriately enough, his career virtually followed that of Hogarth's 'industrious'prentice' of a century earlier: serving his master conscientiously, marrying well, growing rich and becoming Sheriff, Alderman and Lord Mayor.<sup>3</sup> Moon, in fact, may have been lacking in polish but as I hope to show in this brief account of his career, he certainly was no fool.

Francis Graham Moon was born in London on 28 October 1796 in the parish of St. Andrew Holborn. He was the youngest son of Christopher Moon, whose family had been for nearly a century gold and silversmiths in the City. However, his father died in 1810 leaving his family ill-provided for and Francis was placed with a Mr. Tugwell, a bookseller and stationer of 55 Threadneedle Street. Here he apparently made his way through his 'activity, industry and intelligence' and when his master retired in 1817, Moon took over the business. His strong City links were to remain with him for most of his life for when he married on his birthday in 1818 Ann Chancellor, the daughter of a Kensington carriage builder, he set up home at 19 Finsbury Square. The following year he moved his shop to 20 Threadneedle Street, on the east side of Finch Lane, which was to remain his principal business address for the next thirty years.<sup>4</sup>

He prospered and in 1825 brought off his first major coup, the purchase of the stock of Messrs. Hurst, Robinson & Co. when they went bankrupt. The firm had been the successor to the illustrious Boydells and therefore had connections with most of the leading British artists. David Wilkie's letter from Venice bears witness to the panic in the art world the news of this 'great failure' created, at a time when many painters depended for the greater part of their income on the sale of engraving rights:

If the amount of debts be so great as 500,000l., they cannot pay five shillings in the pound. Their stock at this time will go for nothing; will depress printselling and engraving, and even art itself; for if it



(Museum of London)

Fig. 1 The Right Hon. Francis Graham Moon, Lord Mayor (*Illustrated London News* 11 November 1854 (vol. 25) 460).

comprises the most saleable things now going, it has likewise all the unsaleable things of former ages . . . their affairs must turn out, in the event of a sale at this time of stagnation, very poorly. All engravers and all publishers must suffer, whether creditors or not.<sup>5</sup>

For Moon, however, things turned out more fortunately. He was in a position to obtain the greater part of the stock cheaply and it was suggested to him by Henry Graves, a clerk in the old establishment and Thomas Boys, an accountant for the assignees, that a new firm should be formed as its successor under the joint names of Moon, Boys and Graves. Moon agreed and thus became the chief and responsible partner of what was probably the largest print publishing concern in the world, operating from 6 Pall Mall as well as maintaining his own establishment in the City.<sup>6</sup>

From the firm's business agreements one can deduce that Wilkie's gloomy prognostication was not fulfilled. The artist's own popular prints were handled at a profit to all concerned. In an elaborate agreement of 1828, for instance, the partners arranged for the engraving of 'The Chelsea Pensioners reading the gazette of the Battle of Waterloo' to be undertaken by John Burnet, a leading line engraver, paying him £1,575 in instalments and a third of the profits and paying Wilkie £1,200 for the copyright.<sup>7</sup> In 1834, they managed to acquire the services of the highly esteemed engraver George Doo to reproduce the artist's 'The Preaching of John Knox before the Lords of the Congregation', owned by Sir Robert Peel. Wilkie assured his patron, 'every consideration has been given to the care and security of the picture, and a consideration being made to me expressly by Mr. Moon, the work will be proceeded in through all its stages under my superintendence'. Towards the end of 1835 he was reporting on 'the masterly hand of Mr. Doo, who is proceeding upon it with energy, strength, and delicacy. It will be my largest print, and almost the largest in the line manner ever engraved in this country'. Doo's energy appeared to flag somewhat, however, for apologies for the delay in returning the work to Peel continued at intervals until 1838.<sup>8</sup> Series of works were undertaken by the firm: in the early 1830s, engravings after Turner's Views in England and Wales and illustrations for Sir Walter Scott's Poetical Works. There were commissions for portraits after Reynolds, animals after Landseer, topographical views, historical tableaux and sentimental genre. Nevertheless, by the beginning of 1836, Moon had left the partnership, preferring to conduct business on his own and it is after he had quitted the concern that nearly all his great publications were issued.<sup>9</sup>

One of the pillars on which Moon's success was founded was, as the *Illustrated London News* expressed it, 'the many proofs of esteem in which he has been held by the highest personages in the realm'. He published prints after the state portraits of George IV and William IV, the former work being entrusted to him on the recommendation of Sir Thomas Lawrence. But it was Queen Victoria who 'condescended to give Mr. Moon her most zealous and active patronage'. According to the *Illustrated London News*, 'all, or nearly all, the most beautiful engravings in which the Royal family of England are represented, emanated from that temple of the Arts over which Mr. Moon had presidency'.<sup>10</sup> These included prints after Leslie's works 'The Queen receiving the Sacrament at her Coronation' and 'The Christening of the Princess Royal' and Wilkie's 'The Queen's First Council'. Winterhalter's famous painting of 'The Royal Family' was exhibited in 1847 by express permission of Her Majesty at St. James's Palace and subscribers' names for the engraving were allowed to be taken there. However, it was not a commercial success. The initial outlay was considerable: Samuel Cousins received 3,000

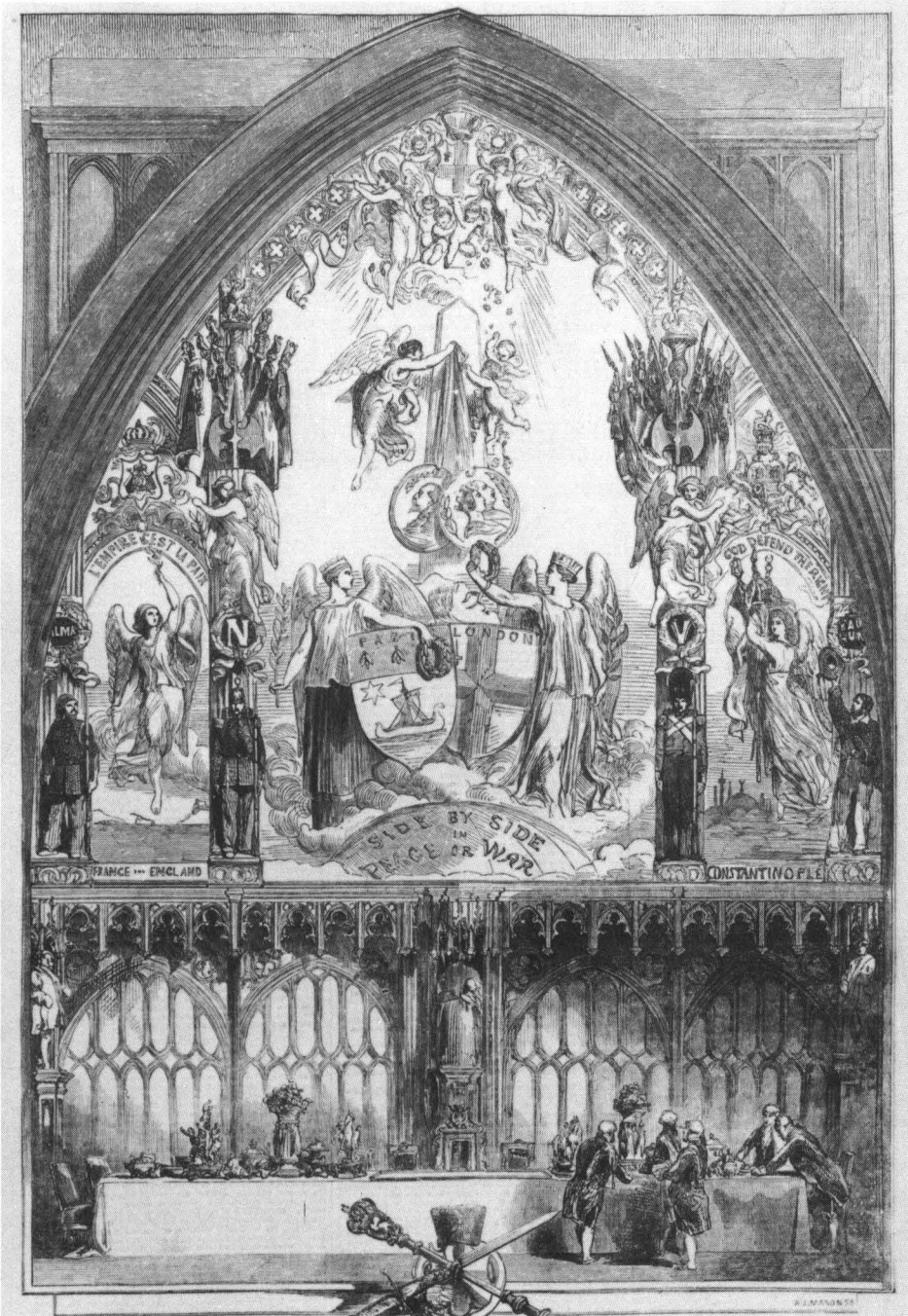
guineas for engraving it and Winterhalter 1,000 guineas for the copyright. Furthermore, Cousins' masterly interpretation was preceded by a large lithograph of the picture, badly executed in France, produced by command of the Queen at her own expense and presented to each subscriber. This confusion spoiled the sale of the line engraving. It is perhaps fortunate that such patronage, however quixotic, led to equally illustrious commissions from abroad: the Emperor of Russia, the Kings of Prussia and of Hanover and Louis Philippe of France who even went so far as to receive Moon as a private guest at St. Cloud.<sup>11</sup>

Moon was ever ready to exploit the advantages that this strong 'establishment' aura gave him. In 1843 the prospectus was circulated for 'The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House', painted by William Salter, which was to be engraved in line by William Greatbach. Accompanying the subscription form was a plan of the picture, a list of the people who attended the banquet and a four page account of the significance of Waterloo. Couched in the hyperbolic terms of Victorian publicity, it aimed at appealing to the patriotic heart:

'What the interest of this subject is, to those who were contemporary with the battle of Waterloo, can be understood by every man who contemplates that great event and its immediate effects. Our enthusiasm as Englishmen, and our gratitude to the victors of that memorable day, have already been caught by our children; and when all those who are here represented shall have passed away, and their memories, instead of their brows, are wreathed in patriotic laurel; another and another generation will gaze with inexpressible interest on this national picture, containing the portraits of men, whose names are as immortal as their country's glory, and with admiration like our own, will appeal to it as the most faithful record of an event which has undying fame.'<sup>12</sup>

The picture was not, however, as accurate as the advertisement made out. The *Art-Journal* recorded that the artist had introduced into the composition his own portrait and that of his publisher, Mr. Moon. Lest anyone be shocked, it reassured its readers, 'They occupied subordinate positions, and are by no means intrusive; and though it may not have been in perfectly good taste to have placed them there at all, we can see no very serious objection to associate an artist and a publisher with the greatest soldiers of the century'.<sup>13</sup> *Punch* was less indulgent, reporting on the 'small features of a small man' there by right of service on the field of Waterloo. 'He was a young man then', the paper added facetiously, 'but the effect of the British bayonet made a lively impression upon him. It was from that effect the Alderman dates his passion for steel engraving'.<sup>14</sup>

Undoubtedly Moon's greatest publishing venture was that of David Roberts' *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia* which originally came out between January 1842 and the end of 1845 in twenty parts.<sup>15</sup> Roberts was a successful topographical artist whose reputation had already been enhanced through the reproduction of a set of his Spanish sketches by tinted lithography. Before he left for the east, therefore, he gave Messrs. Finden the right of first refusal on the copyright and use of the drawings. Unfortunately, four months after his return, they had still made no offer and so he approached John Murray. The publisher first agreed but after calculating that an outlay of £10,000 was necessary, reached the conclusion that the risk was too great. Roberts then applied to Moon who at once agreed to the publication plan proposed by the artist and paid him £3,000 for the use of the drawings. The cost was even greater than Murray had supposed for Moon spent £50,000 on the venture. However, by exhibiting the drawings in London and other principal towns, his subscription list was by May 1841 nearly double Murray's estimate. He made use of his society connections and showed the



(Museum of London)

Fig. 2. Allegorical Picture, by Absolon and Fenton, Painted for the Inaugural Dinner of the Lord Mayor, in the Guildhall, 9 November 1854 (*Illustrated London News* 11 November 1854 (vol. 25) 461).



drawings to the Queen and the Archbishops before they were shown to the public. All subscribed and the Queen graciously allowed the work to be dedicated to her.<sup>16</sup> The prospectus waxed lyrical on Moon's hopes for the project:

'He feels that it would be altogether superfluous to dwell on the interest which attaches to countries, the seat of the earliest civilization of the most picturesque and peculiar habits of mankind, of the original learning, and above all, of the two great revelations of the Divine Will. If it is natural to regard the scenes of remarkable events in heathen history with classic emotion, how much more natural, powerful, and solemn must be the feelings excited by scenes among which lay the greatest events of human nature from the beginning of time, and which shall probably be again the theatre of events still more influential, superb, and comprehensive: the very plains trodden by the patriarchs — the very cities in which the prophets and apostles preached — the very mountains and waters hallowed by the presence of the Great Sovereign and Inspirer of them all . . .'<sup>17</sup>

Louis Haghe's lithographs met with almost universal praise, not least from Roberts himself, 'Haghe has not only surpassed himself, but all that has hitherto been done of a similar nature. He has rendered the views in a style clear, simple, and unlaboured, with a masterly vigour and boldness which none but a painter like him could have transferred to stone.'<sup>18</sup>

Not everyone agreed with the *Art-Journal's* verdict that it was 'one of the grandest achievements in Art ever produced'. Ruskin thought the lithographs were unsatisfactory, especially Haghe's treatment of the foliage and he found fault too with the original drawings, believing they were not real studies.<sup>19</sup> *Punch* made a baser insinuation. Mocking as usual Moon's royal support, it concocted an item of news from Windsor:

'Mr. F. G. MOON has this moment displayed to her Majesty and the Prince, a porcupine tooth-pick set in pewter, presented to Mr. F. G. MOON by the King of Madagascar, in "admiration of HIS WORK of *The Holy Land*, by David Roberts, R.A.'" (David Roberts, R.A., getting nothing.)

Such digs as these reveal that he was thought, at least by some, to have too much brash vulgarity and a way with publicity which overshadowed the men who did the real work: the artists and engravers. *Punch* quoted a letter in 1843 addressed to *The Times* from the artist John Lucas, 'Allow me to correct a mis-statement which appeared in your columns . . . the portrait of His Royal Highness Prince Albert was *painted by me* and *not* by Mr. Moon, that gentleman being *simply connected* with the publication of the plate now in process of engraving by Mr. Samuel Cousins A.R.A.'<sup>20</sup>

There is some evidence that these slurs were not mere illustrations of the hypersensitivity of artistic spirits. On 17 December 1842 a meeting was held by artists at the Freemasons' Tavern. It was called so that artists could specifically disassociate themselves from an organisation called the National Art Union which was run, like the more respectable Art Union of London, along lottery lines, offering prizes in art works and engravings to members. However, the National Art Union was, George Clint the miniature painter and engraver alleged, 'a private interested scheme, emanating chiefly from printsellers with a view of disposing their dead stock'. The printseller most involved and clearly identifiable in a slaughtering attack on the 'grovelling rat-like character' of dealers by the sculptor Patrick Park was Moon:

'Behold this gay deceiver, with his royal introductions, his back-stairs influence with the palace, his valet-like acquaintance with great names, knowledge of mighty deeds, and boasted friendship with great artists. Take him, if you have courage, by the arm; walk into his shop, — that splendid temple, — look at his tables covered with volumes in red velvet, blue velvet, and yellow, with their gilded emblazonments and coats of arms, advertising prints of Royal Marriages and Coronations, productions of all unheard-of artists, only patronized by the all unheard-of publisher.'<sup>21</sup>



(Museum of London)

Fig. 3. Grand Reception of the Emperor and Empress of the French, by the Lord Mayor and Corporation, in the Guildhall. The Recorder Reading the Address (*Illustrated London News* 28 April 1855 (vol. 26) 397).



Despite the exaggeration, it presents a vivid portrait of 20 Threadneedle Street and the sales technique adopted by the proprietor. He evidently had a manner, described with more delicacy in his *Art-Journal* obituary, which was ‘peculiarly bland and persuasive; politeness carried, perhaps, to excess, but which made its way and satisfied “customers”, few of whom, then, had any real experience in Art, but were content to be instructed by one whose business it was to “know all about it”.’<sup>22</sup> Lady Eastlake was, perhaps, not simply being over-conscious of social and educational distinctions. The specific charge was that he had sold to the National Art Union two plates for proofs entitled ‘The Lattice’ and ‘The Mask’ after Landseer, which had already been worked as ‘Mantilla’ and ‘Twelfth Night’, but with their letters removed. He also disposed of two engravings after Turner’s ‘Ancient and Modern Italy’, but retained twenty-five unlettered proofs. Fortunately for Moon, when the matter was raised in public before the select committee on Art Unions in 1844, the National Art Union had gone out business.<sup>23</sup>

It must in fairness be said that many artists — Landseer, Leslie, Prout and Roberts among them — spoke of the liberal and generous treatment they had received at his hands. The *Art-Journal* conceded that although at first his own art knowledge was small, ‘in process of time he became a thorough judge of excellence, and aimed to produce it by judicious and yet liberal expenditure’.<sup>24</sup> His own taste in art, as revealed in the sale of his collection at Christie’s in spring 1873, was of a conventional but by no means ‘unheard-of’ kind. He owned three Wilkie’s, Prout’s ‘Venice’ and ‘The Rialto’, several (ironically enough) Eastlakes and drawings by Haghe, Harding, Muller, Stanfield, Cook and Copley Fielding.<sup>25</sup> In 1843, Moon was presented with a testimonial by the artists and amateurs of the metropolis at a public dinner. It was a copy in silver of the Warwick vase, mounted on a superb plateau which recorded, ‘This tribute was offered by artists and amateurs in testimony of Mr. Moon’s public spirit and love of Art, and of the liberality and taste which he has shown in his intercourse with painters and engravers’.<sup>26</sup> *Punch* sourly commented, ‘As a particular patron of Mr. MOON’s “fine arts”, *Punch* will not subscribe a farthing’.<sup>27</sup> But it is with something more akin to wry affection that Thomas Hood coined the rhyme below:

Mid graphic gems  
At F.G.M’s  
Whose taste no man impugns  
I spent an hour  
Would that were all  
I spent at F.G. Moon’s.<sup>28</sup>

By the beginning of 1853, Moon could afford to retire from business a rich man. In 1848 he had moved house from Finsbury Square to 69 Oxford Terrace, Edgware Road and the following year to 28 (later known as 35) Portman Square. He had a home in the country and one in Brighton.<sup>29</sup> His immense stock was brought by Boys for 15,000 guineas. In order to prevent the issue of worn impressions for which he might be held responsible, he stipulated that his name should be removed from all the plates before any further prints were taken. A letter dated 15 February 1853 thanked his former colleague for the courtesy and kindness he had received from the trade for over thirty-eight years.<sup>30</sup> His shop on the corner of Finch Lane was acquired by the City Corporation as part of a road widening scheme. However, when it was completed, the surplus property was again bought by Moon for £4,905.<sup>31</sup> This does not appear to be the end of his property transactions in the



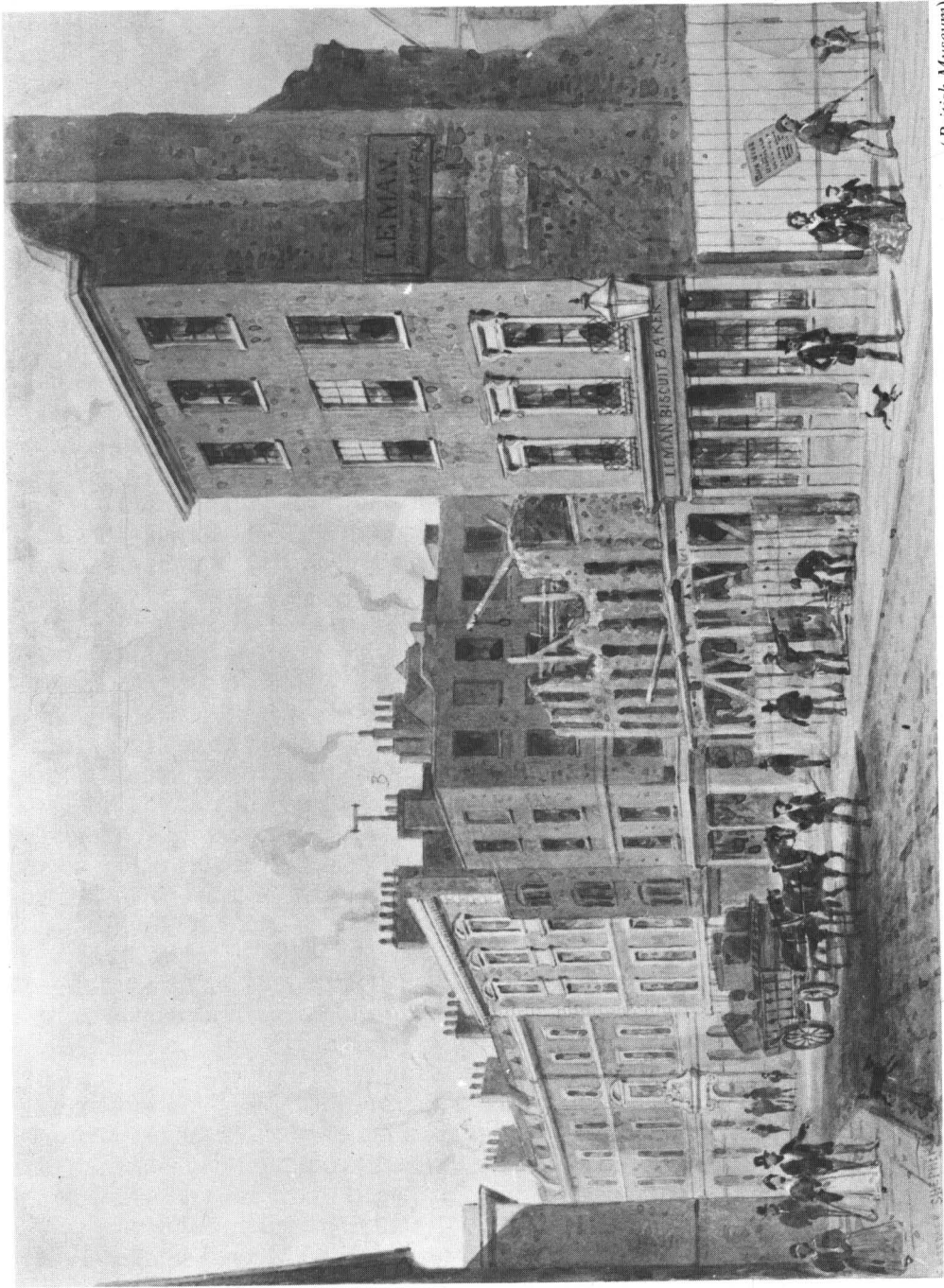
(British Museum)

Fig. 4. Alderman Moon's Print Shop in Threadneedle Street, corner of Finch Lane. Watercolour by T. H. Shepherd. (7½in. × 7½in. Crace Collection, Portfolio 25, Sheet 6, 11. British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings).

City. According to the *Builder*, Moon was one of the first to realise the potential for office building.<sup>32</sup> He leased 1 and part of 2 Freeman's Court by the new Royal Exchange from Magdalen College, Oxford, perhaps partly for use as a store. When improvements were proposed to the east end of the Royal Exchange, Moon helped to negotiate reasonable terms of compensation for Magdalen, acting closely with the College architect and

surveyor, Edward I'Anson. Clearly this relationship was profitable for there is some evidence that Moon also acquired land to the north and south of the Royal Exchange. The *Builder* reported that he commissioned I'Anson to design Royal Exchange Buildings and it was at his suggestion that the architect used white glazed tiles to line the interior walls.<sup>33</sup> Whatever the extent of this property development, the profits undoubtedly contributed to the sum Moon left on his death in 1871 of £160,000.<sup>34</sup>

A successful businessman, a man of property with a house in a fashionable part of town, a worthy member of both the Stationers' and Lorimers' Companies, was clearly destined to rise in the City hierarchy. In 1830 he was elected a member of the Common Council for the Ward of Broad Street. In 1843 he was made Sheriff with his friend Sir John Musgrove and the following year he became Alderman of Portsoken Ward.<sup>35</sup> Ten years later he was Lord Mayor. Despite his retirement from business he was determined to keep up the cultural trappings of his former trade, manifesting whenever possible his continued interest in art and literature. On Lord Mayor's Day, the great banqueting hall of Guildhall was specially decorated. An allegorical painting designed by David Roberts representing the English and French as allies both in peace and war entirely filled the great east window with the gothic screen serving as a base.<sup>36</sup> Moon frequently invited artists and men of letters to his City feasts and gave dinners for the societies to which he was attached: the Garrick, Noviomagus and the Society of Antiquaries of which he was a Fellow. The vice-chancellors, college heads and officers of Oxford and Cambridge were also invited, a mark of respect that had not previously (and probably has not since) been paid to them. A little of Lady Eastlake's disdain filters through the *Art-Journal* obituary when describing this stage of his career, 'He was not a good speaker, but he had "a business way with him" that *told* even when orators were sitting by his side.' But, the journal added generously, the 'geniality of his nature amply compensated for his lack of the graces of speech'. Few men could be more agreeable in society, few 'had a heartier relish for wit and humour'.<sup>37</sup> The high point of his year in office was his reception at the Guildhall on 28 April 1855 of the Emperor and Empress of the French on their state visit. According to the *Illustrated London News*, 'His Imperial Majesty shook hands in a friendly and familiar manner with his Lordship, expressed his delight at making his acquaintance, and his hope that his acquaintance might be of long duration'.<sup>38</sup> In May he received a snuffbox from the Emperor; more important, on 4 May, the same day his first grandson was born, he was created a baronet. In June the Lord Mayor and Corporation set off for a week in Paris to enjoy the hospitality of the Prefect of the Seine. Moon's daughter Louisa has left us with a full account of this 'memorable visit', with its never-ending round of balls, receptions and banquets. She was quite overcome by the magnificence, the tables laden with flowers, the 'fairy-like' scenes as well as the kindness met with by one and all. There were visits to Fontainebleau, to Versailles and to the 'most splendid' but hitherto corpseless tomb of Napoleon. But the climax of festivities was reached at a grand state dinner for four hundred at the Invalides on 7 June. There were bouquets for the ladies, a band at one end in a gallery and at the other forty or fifty young girls dressed in white who sang 'God Save the Queen' and 'Vive L'Empereur': 'all the aristocracy of the land were there; the dresses the company the every thing were most superbly grand'.<sup>39</sup> Turbot and ham, truffles galantine, filet de boeuf, chicken and lobster, truffled pheasant and artichokes were consumed, washed down with Pichon Longueville,



(British Museum)

Fig. 5. View in Threadneedle Street, pulling down for improvements. Watercolour by T. H. Shepherd, 1854. (9½ × 7in. Grace Collection. Portfolio 25, Sheet 6, 14. British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings).

Clos de Vougeot, Champagne and Château Lafite, to a background accompaniment of Handel, Weber, Meyerbeer and Auber. The Lord Mayor's speech was suitable modest in the face of such splendour:

'proofs of cultivation of genius and of art make us feel but mere pigmies. But we trust that that higher cultivation of genius and of art, of which in London we feel ourselves to be deficient, may be supplied by that warmth of heart in the English character, which can never respond with other than sincerity to receptions such as these.'

One civic guest in the wake of the feast was heard to remark, 'Our Mansion House is but a mere lodge compared to this and our civic festivities are not worthy to hold a candle to those of Paris'.<sup>40</sup>

On 28 February 1859, Sir Francis Graham Moon was nominated by Napoleon III Knight of the Legion of Honour. A series of letters written to his wife from Paris when he went to receive the decoration reveals his essentially simple but warm nature. His wife lived to see their fifty-second wedding anniversary though incapacitated by ill health from active exertion for many years. It was said, however, that Moon owed much of his prosperity to her. She was the more prudent and checked his disposition to speculate, guiding him in many of his more important undertakings.<sup>41</sup> Their closeness was remarked upon even in her absence. 'I am quite joked about my writing so often home. Sir Wm [an anonymous companion] thinks we are full of attachment to each other, and he is write (*sic*)!!!' He assured her on the comfort of his hotel and reported on the fine late March weather, 'The Parisians are out, taking their ices in the open air. The trees are looking green and in fact this is a city of pleasure. The very air gives an elasticity to one's feelings'. Again he wrote, 'This place Paris is the most amusing city. People all look happy and cheerful from ten in the morning until night, thousands are parading, entertainments morning, noon and night'. Hyde Park, he thought, was a desert compared to the rides there, which were blocked with carriages and equipages. He conscientiously looked for a bonnet for her and spent a day in the Louvre 'in amusement and instruction', before receiving a warm welcome from the Prefect and a sumptuous dinner. He preened himself on his appearance at formal receptions, 'You should have seen me with my red ribbon; the French think I am English and then they look at the sparkle in my coat, like a piece of Uranium'.<sup>42</sup> He was flattered to be remembered and received as an equal by the aristocracy, thus curiously fulfilling *Punch*'s mocking prophesy of fifteen years earlier: 'MOON wears the grand cross of the Legion of Honour at his button-hole, and had been twice mistaken for the English Ambassador. He often refers to the mistake with pleasure'.<sup>43</sup> In fact, when he did meet Lord and Lady Cowley, our Ambassador and his wife in Paris, he was pleased to be greeted as an old friend and even confided in on matters of high diplomacy. There are many jocular references to his new-found elevation. When he wrote that he had been introduced to the Countessa de Noe, he added, 'so you see Lady Moon I was the object of great curiosity in the Saloon of Fashion'. 'You must not be surprised', he wrote again, 'if you find it will take some time to restore me to my proper station, for here, if I was a Duke (a "Lord" they call me) I could not be made more of'. After a particularly lavish banquet where he had managed to eat everything set before him he wrote, 'Oh Alderman, my late Lord Mayor, I said to myself you will have to pay for this tomorrow morning'. He made his way back to the hotel 'where I smoked a cigar and unrobed myself of the decorations of the Legion of Honour and found I was gradually awaking from the dream, simply Francis Graham Moon!!!'<sup>44</sup>

Moon was a self-made man who had risen through hard work to the forefront of his trade. His career indicates that even in the 19th century the progress of an 'industrious 'prentice' was not merely the stuff of a Whittington legend but could be accomplished in practice. At a time when the City was being developed and improved, when offices were replacing small shops, when traditional business methods were being supplanted by large scale enterprises, it is not surprising that such an ambitious man as Moon should occasionally sail near the wind. Nor is it difficult to see why, to cultured society, his manner should leave something to be desired. By Victorian standards of class, he was undoubtedly lacking in breeding but by Victorian standards of respectability he died 'an estimable man, a worthy citizen'.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps his epitaph should be the lines he wrote to his wife from Paris on 8 April 1859:

'It seems a long time since I left and after all pleasure it is an equal consolation to know, have a harbour of rest — and with those whom we really love, and are so dear. My wife and family are always uppermost in my thoughts; I picture to myself the happy and anxious life we have led and how thankful we ought to be, that our life as "Sidney would say" has not been a blank sheet of paper . . . May you my dearest Ann, live many years to enjoy the labour of your life, and witness the ripening of the fruit you have so nurtured (your family) by your continuing energy, and example of Duty Duty Duty! I wish I could reward my own heart — that I had possessed so high a principle'.<sup>46</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Lady Eastlake to Mr. Lane, 18 July 1855. I am indebted to Jeremy Maas for allowing me to quote from this letter in his possession.

<sup>2</sup> See Charles Eastlake Smith ed. *Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake* (London, 1895). For an account of the life of Sir Charles Lock Eastlake (1793–1865), painter and art historian, secretary to the royal commission on the decoration of the Houses of Parliament, President of the Royal Academy and Director of the National Gallery see Lady Eastlake's Memoir in Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts* (London, 1870 edn.).

<sup>3</sup> Hogarth's series of engravings entitled 'Industry and Idleness' was published in 1747. See Ronald Paulson *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (New Haven and London, 1970 revised edn.) 194–202.

<sup>4</sup> See S. C. Hall 'Obituary' *Art-Journal* n.s. 11 (1872) 19; 'The New Lord Mayor' *Illustrated London News* 25 (1854) 460. Addresses compiled from Kent's, Pigot's and the Post Office *London Directories* for these years, in the Guildhall Library.

<sup>5</sup> Allan Cunningham *The Life of Sir David Wilkie* 2 (London, 1843) 312–313. Letter to Miss Wilkie, 26 May 1826.

<sup>6</sup> *Art-Journal op. cit.* in note 4, 18; *Illustrated London News loc. cit.* in note 4.

<sup>7</sup> Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 46, 140.20. 19 October 1828.

<sup>8</sup> Cunningham *op. cit.* in note 5, vol. 3, 82, 111–112, 230–231, 238.

<sup>9</sup> Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 46, 140.49; *Art-Journal op. cit.* in note 4, 18.

<sup>10</sup> *Illustrated London News loc. cit.* in note 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Art-Journal op. cit.* in note 4, 18–19. The most recent public display of this work was at the Royal Academy in 1977. See Jeremy Maas 'This Brilliant Year'. *Queen Victoria's Jubilee 1887* (London, Royal Academy catalogue, 1977) 25–26.

<sup>12</sup> Moon prospectus. Library, Victoria & Albert Museum.

<sup>13</sup> *Art-Journal loc. cit.* in note 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Punch* 10 (1846) 184.

<sup>15</sup> For the publication history of the volumes see J. R. Abbey *Travel in Aquatint & Lithography 1770–1860* 2 (London, 1956) 334–341.

<sup>16</sup> James Ballantine *The Life of David Roberts, R.A.* (Edinburgh, 1866) 140–141.

<sup>17</sup> Moon prospectus. Library, Victoria & Albert Museum.

<sup>18</sup> Ballantine *op. cit.* in note 16, 146.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Twyman *Lithography 1800–1850* (London, 1870) 223–224, quoting passages from Ruskin's *Modern Painters*.

<sup>20</sup> *Punch* 4 (1843) 54, 90.

<sup>21</sup> G. H. Gregory *Report of the Proceedings and Resolutions of the General Meeting of Artists, held at the Freemasons' Tavern, December 17, 1842* (London, 1843) 8–10, 12–14.

<sup>22</sup> *Art-Journal op. cit.* in note 4, 18.

<sup>23</sup> Parl. Papers, 1845 (612), VII, *Select Committee on Art Unions*, qus. 1714, 1716, 2893, 3301–3304, 3763, 4414. Other dealers including Henry Graves, Henry Leggatt, Dominic Colnaghi and Thomas Boys would have nothing to do with it.

<sup>24</sup> *Art-Journal op. cit.* in note 4, 18.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 19.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 18.

<sup>27</sup> *Punch* 4 (1843) 112.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in 'The Late Alderman Sir Francis Graham Moon' *The City Press* 28 October 1871, 2, col. 6.

<sup>29</sup> A scrapbook compiled by Louisa Clarke, née Moon, includes a watercolour of a country house, several cottages and a carriage. The house is inscribed 'Dear Wormley [Hertfordshire] where we spent some of our happiest days.' I am indebted to Bruce R. D. Clarke for allowing me to quote from this scrapbook in his possession. Western House Brighton was probably bought to improve Lady Moon's health.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

- <sup>31</sup> Corporation of London Records Office, London (City) Improvement Act of 1852, schedule; Common Council Minutes, 20 December 1858, 269; Improvement Committee Report, 20 December 1858.
- <sup>32</sup> *The Builder* 54 (1888) 77–78. I am indebted for this reference to Ralph Hyde.
- <sup>33</sup> Magdalen Library, Oxford, *Freeman's Court Book*. Moon rented the property annually for around £1,150 from 1846 until his death, when his son the Rev. Edward Graham Moon took over the lease. *London Bridge Committee Minute Book*, 1, 169–178, 11 March — 22 April 1844; *The Builder* *loc. cit.* in note 32; *Illustrated London News* *op. cit.* in note 4, 462.
- <sup>34</sup> Somerset House. Will proved 22 January 1872.
- <sup>35</sup> *Illustrated London News* *op. cit.* in note 4, 460–462.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 462.
- <sup>37</sup> *Art-Journal* *loc. cit.* in note 4.
- <sup>38</sup> *Illustrated London News* 26 (1855) 395.
- <sup>39</sup> Clarke scrapbook *op. cit.* in note 29.
- <sup>40</sup> *Morning Chronicle* 11 June 1855.
- <sup>41</sup> *Art-Journal* *op. cit.* in note 4, 20.
- <sup>42</sup> Clarke scrapbook *op. cit.* in note 29.
- <sup>43</sup> *Punch* 7 (1844) 245.
- <sup>44</sup> Clarke scrapbook *op. cit.* in note 29.
- <sup>45</sup> *Art-Journal* *op. cit.* in note 4, 18.
- <sup>46</sup> Clarke scrapbook *op. cit.* in note 29.

# EARLY VICTORIAN TELEGRAPHS IN LONDON'S TOPOGRAPHY, HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

FRANCIS CELORIA

## SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Archaeologists in the City and the London boroughs have come across wires, cables, conduits, insulators and battery cell fragments which have been regarded as 'modern' and have been pushed aside or ignored. The author recalls finding near London Bridge Station underground gutta-percha-covered wires of the late 1840s or early 1850s and admits shamefacedly to failing to recognise them or save them for a museum. This study tries to make amends by compressing available physical evidence and sources into a format that may be useful one day for London's archaeologists.

It must be emphasised that the materials described below are only the 'tip of the iceberg' of possible finds. Further, it should be noted that since this study was written in honour of Ralph Merrifield, it should try to contain something about the folklore and folklife of telegraphy as well as strive, however inadequately, towards the high standards of meticulous curatorial documentation that marks his career.

The study begins in 1837 with the Euston-Camden Town railway telegraphs and ends notionally in 1870 when the inland telegraphs were nationalised so that they could be run by the Post Office. There will be some inevitable chronological overlaps with subsequent developments and there has to be omitted any reference to the 'pneumatic' tube telegraphs or to the telephone system which was introduced in the 1880s. Instruments are neither excavatable nor objects of topography; they are accordingly not discussed, though there is one in the Museum of London.

The illustrations are independent of the text and are intended as a portable guide-chart for archaeologists who want an overview of potential topographic and artefact finds.

## THE SCIENTIFIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Telegraphy was in a way science fiction coming true. All the required electrical theory was known before 1830 and techniques of making wires and batteries as well as those for coating wires with india-rubber were known before the first telegraph message was sent. The electro-magnet or solenoid was also known, though in 1837 Ohm's Law was not necessarily fully understood or applied by the first telegraphists.

The first telegraphs in Britain were adjuncts of the new railway system and for many years telegraph arteries coincided with the railways. The public and the world of business



were soon invited to participate. By the early 1840s the public paid a shilling for admission to see the telegraph office at Paddington and Londoners could transmit messages to Slough at a standard rate.

Telegraphy brought in a new class of 'clerks' as well as 'electricians' (the future electrical engineers). These were generally middle-class people though some of the manufacturers, like W. T. Henley and Willoughby Smith, were of humble origin. It is interesting that many of the first 'electricians', W. F. Cooke, E. B. Bright, C. T. Bright, Edwin Clark, J. Latimer Clark and W. H. Preece all were middle-class persons who, because of reduced circumstances, were obliged to forge a new profession for themselves. None of these was a trained engineer; each went ahead through personal talents advancing his subject and profession.

#### BRIEF CHRONOLOGY

As with most inventions, various forms of electric telegraphs had already been produced in Germany and elsewhere when in July 1837 William Fothergill Cooke and Charles Wheatstone set up for Robert Stephenson's stretch of railway line between Euston and Camden Town the first telegraph in everyday use. By April 1839 there was a more elaborate system between Paddington and West Drayton<sup>1</sup> operating for the Great Western Railway. This was not essential for the running of trains, but the telegraph for the London-Blackwall line, opened 6 July 1840, was undoubtedly necessary for stopping and starting the rope-drawn trains.<sup>2</sup>

More significant as an example of the wider communications available out of London was the opening in November 1841 of the Tooley Street, London Bridge, telegraph station for direct communication with Dover.<sup>3</sup> Steamers took messages to the French side for relaying to Paris by telegraph. In January 1845 two of the four wires of the newly completed Nine Elms to Southampton and Gosport were for Admiralty use.<sup>4</sup> After being officially accepted telegraphy became commercially attractive and in 1846 an act was passed on behalf of the Electric Telegraph Company which had a capital investment of £300,000.<sup>5</sup>

In the late 1840s there were many technical improvements yet as late as January 1849 the possibility of sending messages directly between London and Birmingham or Manchester was still 'considered a great telegraphic feat'.<sup>6</sup> But between 1850 and 1852 there was progress on many fronts. Three new companies received parliamentary acts,<sup>7</sup> the number of patents began to increase and (6 November 1852) telegraphic communications were established between London and Paris.<sup>8</sup> Oddly enough it was only in the same year that London and Bristol were directly connected.<sup>9</sup>

Despite this progress, London was not well served internally until in 1859<sup>10</sup> the London District Telegraph Company was founded to provide a telegraphic network, mainly overhead, inside a four-mile radius around Charing Cross. Another company, the Universal Private Telegraph Company, was established in 1861 to link firms, private premises, and police stations.

The 1860s were difficult times for the telegraph companies operating in and from London both because of financial problems as well as bad weather. In 1868 the Postmaster General received powers to take over any telegraph company, though not compulsorily.<sup>11</sup> In 1869 a new Telegraph Act went further in giving the Postmaster General the exclusive privilege of carrying telegraph messages.<sup>12</sup> By February 1870 the

Post Office had taken over the inland companies.<sup>13</sup> The take-over disseminated the national networks well beyond the original railway framework of telegraphs.

In 1880, years after cities in other parts of the world, the first street 'fire annunciators' were introduced in the City and Southwark.<sup>14</sup> Already telephones were being developed and new underground and overhead lines began to figure in London's topography. The complexity of wires over London streets and buildings was so alarming both aesthetically as well as from the point of view of safety that it was necessary to control matters by the London Overhead Wires Act of 1891.<sup>15</sup>

#### IMPACT ON LONDON LIFE

It will be assumed that the telegraphs in London only affected the middle and upper classes and only impinged on the lower classes in matters of shopping and trade and in cases where official use of the wires affected the activities of a criminal. Servants will have sent telegrams for their masters and mistresses but at the present state of study one cannot lay hands on evidence that, say, a journeyman or a cook or any other private individual below the level of the middle class sent telegrams before 1860 to announce, for example, a death or serious illness. The penny-post would have sufficed in most of such cases. Victorian history always produces surprises so one must be ready to find a few examples of working class use of the wires, that may after all be 'the exceptions that prove the rule'.

In 1855 when telegraph wires were being suspended across the Thames between two tall buildings close to Blackfriars Bridge<sup>16</sup> a 'waggish policeman informed some of the spectators that preparations were being made for a flying match between an Irishman and an Objibbeway Indian'. He was believed and soon there was a great gathering of 'Arabs, young and old, from the neighbouring courts and alleys'. When a telegraph man explained what was going on, one of the crowd declared 'that them's only the telegraph wires'.

Charles Dickens and contributors to his journals often referred to the telegraphs as they appeared to the householder who might be approached for wayleaves allowing wires to be affixed to their houses. Perhaps some working-class houses were included in the routes of the wires of the London systems.<sup>17</sup> But, all in all, the impact was probably on the 'bourgeoisie'. A magazine published by Dickens volunteered this information: 'The telegraph, as at present existing, is not a popular institution. Its charges are high; its working is secret and bewildering to the average mind'.<sup>18</sup>

#### POLITICAL AND LEGAL ASPECTS

The first British telegraphs were civil, being almost entirely based on the railways and their economy. But in 1844 the state intervened for the first time when the Regulation of Railways Act enacted that:

'... every Railway Company ... shall be bound to allow any Persons authorized by the Lords of the said Committee ... to establish and lay down upon such Lands adjoining the Line of such Railway a Line of Electric Telegraph for Her Majesty's Service ... open for the sending and receiving of Messages by all Persons alike ...'<sup>19</sup>

While the exclusive employment by the Admiralty of two of the four wires of the telegraph lines between Nine Elms and Gosport from early 1845<sup>20</sup> can be said to be official use, the first complete state intervention took place in April 1848 when Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, invoked the Electric Telegraph Company's act of 1846 and

took over the telegraphs during the Chartist disturbances. The idea was not merely to have immediate contact with the military and magistrates or mayors of cities in the north, but to prevent Chartists sending cypher messages to each other.<sup>21</sup> The government paid £500 3s 8d for services received from the company.

Until 1870 when the government, through the Post Office, took over the telegraphs, there had been no definite policy about the relation between state and the telegraph companies. Various governments may not have liked the wires to be in private hands but were unwilling to undertake the responsibility of operation. Analogous ambiguities of attitude prevailed for a time in the U. S. when Congress at first subsidised Samuel Morse's telegraph but later had cold feet and left the field to private enterprise.

In Britain politicians found the telegraph convenient for election information and for 'foreign intelligence'. Many London clubs had telegraphic apparatus so that an M.P. or a minister could time dining and arrival for a division to a nicety.

In legal matters the telegraphs were used by lawyers to fetch witnesses or to expedite various transactions. This aspect did not win much public attention but the arrest by telegraphy at Slough in 1844 of two pick-pockets (Oliver Martin and Fiddler Dick) who had set off from Paddington was bound to be more spectacular as was the capture of a murderer by means of a message on the same lines in 1845.<sup>22</sup> This created an impact a little like that of trapping Crippen by wireless telegraphy.

#### TELEGRAPHS AND THE PRESS

News has often been illogically valued for its freshness and editors have always looked for speedy channels of communication. By the time the telegraph was invented more than one newspaper was availing itself of information carried by pigeons. Provincial newspapers would be bound to welcome the near-instantaneity of the telegraph for up-to-date news. It is therefore not surprising that on 7 August 1847 it was the *Manchester Times* that was able to claim in its second edition that it was the first journal to contain a telegraphically transmitted report of a meeting. In the same year the *Manchester Examiner* published for the benefit of members of the Corn Exchange weather details telegraphed from ten towns.<sup>23</sup> By the early 1850s many London and provincial papers were regularly receiving political, sporting and other news over the wires.<sup>24</sup>

Paul Julius Reuter, finding that his pigeon and horse-relay news collecting agency at Aachen was threatened by the telegraphs, boldly set up an office in London in October 1851. His timing was good for a month later the Dover-Calais cable was inaugurated. Reuter began in a small way in two rented rooms in No. 1, Royal Exchange Buildings in the City with only a 12-year old boy to help him. At first he supplied news from continental bourses to the Stock Exchange but within a year or two he was collecting and distributing political and general news. Such activities were the foundations of the great news agency that was to bear his name.<sup>25</sup>

The telegraph was very early a reality for the sub-editors of provincial papers who worked furiously all evening, often past midnight, to cope with 'pie', the jumbled string of piecemeal news items sent from the 30 instruments of the office at Threadneedle Street. Unless there was a crisis 'no sounds are heard save the intermittent click of the handles of the instruments and the shrill and tumultuous rhythm of the bells'.<sup>26</sup>

Much of the news sent to the provinces was under the control of C. V. Boys who was in charge of the 'Intelligence Department' of the Electric Telegraph Company in the period

1846–1870. He prepared a summary of news for provincial papers before 7 a.m. and another despatch at 6 p.m. During the day he sent news about prices, shipping, and parliamentary debates.<sup>27</sup>

The Telegraph Act of 1868 allowed news to be transmitted at very cheap rates. It is possible that at certain periods news produced a good deal of the revenues of private telegraph. A hint of this can be derived from a satirical dialogue about telegraphic delays and the insolence of clerks published in *Punch* in 1862. A man is driven to fury by the lackadaisical attitudes of three clerks. One of them says to him 'Well you can write to the papers and say so. And as the papers pay our salaries, of course we shall all get the sack'.<sup>28</sup> Of course the newspapers did not pay the salaries of the telegraph clerks but the implication about revenues from the transmission of news is clear.

#### COMMERCIAL ASPECTS

By 1844, when rates were still favourable, one could find the telegraph being used for retail purchases. On 11 November the poulterer Harris, of Duke Street, Manchester Square, was asked by telegraph to send 6 pounds of whitebait and 4 pounds of sausages to Mr. Finch of High Street, Windsor, by the 5.30 p.m. Paddington train, or not at all. The following telegraphed reply relieves readers' anxieties over 130 years later as to whether the fish and sausages arrived:

'Paddington, 5.27 p.m. — "Messenger returned with articles, which will be sent by the 5.30 train, as requested"'.<sup>29</sup>

Messages went at a shilling tariff but by 1854 the 50-word order would have cost 8s 6d to send.

The above examples are light-hearted but the real importance of telegraphy was realised after 1850 when links were established with the continent. A London wine merchant could telegraph to the middle of France and ask about the grape harvest — and he could speculate accordingly.

There were opportunities after 1860 onwards, to use the commercial and 'private' wires of the London District Telegraph Company and of the Universal Private Telegraph Company. But it has been suggested that Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow were better furnished with telegraphic links to other towns than London itself.<sup>30</sup>

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS

The physical appearance of London was not spectacularly altered by the telegraphs until the early 1860s when there was a considerable increase in the number of telegraph offices and overhouse systems of wire. In the earlier period the topographical aspects were less obvious but they are sufficient for chronicling briefly.

The offices of the Electric Telegraph Company at Founder's Court, Lothbury, in the City, was approached by a 13-foot wide entrance. This had over the electric clock a plaque marked 'Central Telegraph Station'.<sup>31</sup> Inside was an impressive hall with classical pillars surrounded by galleries and counters.<sup>32</sup>

More visible to Londoners was the office of the company at No. 488 Strand. The outer shell of the building still stands and up to 1977 one could walk around inside the first floor room of the curved frontage. There were at least six needle instruments there in the period 1852–1855 together with a Bain's printing apparatus using chemically treated paper tape.<sup>33</sup>

There were two very conspicuous features connected with this office. One was the metal bail which was dropped at one o'clock at the triggering of a telegraphic signal from the Greenwich Observatory. The other was the electric clock outside at the top of a standard surrounded by four bollards.

#### STREET FURNITURE

As early as 1847 there were iron boxes or posts in the streets into which the wires were brought up for inspection. There was, for example, one of these set up early in that year on the west side of Waterloo Bridge Road.<sup>34</sup> Others in London about 300 to 500 yards apart 'in the various streets between the terminus of each railway and the central station' at Lothbury.<sup>35</sup> These were also called 'proving boxes' and, in an 1851 Act of Parliament<sup>36</sup> 'testing boxes'. By the 1870s there were also 'flush-boxes' which were underground and were reached by removing rectangular man-hole covers in the pavement.

In the 1870s flush-boxes or 'joint-boxes' in the City were of a coffin shape. The upright mark for every fifth joint box was not surprisingly called a tombstone. We know that in 1875<sup>37</sup> the 'flush-box half-way between St. Paul's Alley and Ludgate Hill Bridge' was able to cope with a cable of 110 wires.<sup>38</sup>

Since gas pipes of those days were leaky, the keyholes of the testing posts offered a useful gas jet for the cabmen at the corner of Seymour Street and the Euston Road who enjoyed using them for lighting pipes. On some occasions a person striking a match on the post received an explosive surprise.<sup>39</sup>

#### ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS

The environment, natural or man-made, that might affect London's telegraphy could be daunting. Soot and condensation droplets on insulators were a major menace but wind and heavy snow could and did bring down wires. The snow storms of January 1866 hit the private companies very hard.<sup>40</sup> Lightning could affect instruments but many devices were produced to counteract this. 'Electrical storms', perhaps linked with the aurora borealis, often affected transmission.

Mice could nibble cables and insects and microfungi would often attack gutta-percha. A flock of birds leaving a wire simultaneously could so vibrate it that multiple shorts occurred. We are told that a goose in full flight could break a no. 8 gauge wire (c. 0.17 in. or 4.3 mm.). This gauge had a maximum breaking weight of 1075 lbs.<sup>41</sup>

Underground lines near steam pipes or bakeries were frequently harmed or disturbed.<sup>42</sup> The history of environmental influences on the telegraphs could fill a book.

#### THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF LONDON TELEGRAPHS

In a study of this kind, which is written with the Museum of London's function in mind, space can only be found to outline two aspects of Victorian telegraphy: the *topographical* and the *archaeological*. The topographical aspect is intended to supplement and to help interpret parts of the museum's extensive collections of topographical materials in the form of drawings, paintings and photographs of the London scene. The archaeological aspect is hopefully intended to help the London archaeologist recognise a few of the telegraphic artefacts or contexts that might be encountered in rescue work or research excavations. To warn the reader about the abbreviated nature of this outline, it should be

sufficient to remind ourselves that this study mentions just over a dozen insulators, though over a hundred types were used or made in the Metropolis between 1837 and 1887.

The arrangement of this study begins with posts or poles and goes on to consider insulators. With the overhead arrangements covered, it seemed logical to deal with conduits and pipes and then to describe first batteries and then wires.

#### TELEGRAPH POLES

Telegraph 'posts', as they were originally called, were first set up in 1842–1843 along the Paddington–West Drayton–Slough stretch of the Great Western Railway. The 'inventor' was William Fothergill Cooke and he claimed this in a court affidavit<sup>43</sup> wherein he stated that these posts were erected according to some of the designs in his patent specification of 1842.<sup>44</sup>

Details are uncertain but we can say that the Paddington–Slough posts were of two kinds. One kind was the winding or wire-tightening post with ratchet and pawl that was spaced about a quarter of a mile from the next one.<sup>45</sup> These posts were about 16–18 feet high and of square cross-section.<sup>46</sup> The other kind was represented by the intervening 'standards' supporting the stretched wires. The distance between these posts was between 45 and 70 yards.<sup>47</sup>

Telegraph posts were slightly tapered being, for example 8 inches square at the bottom and about 6 or 7 inches across at the top.<sup>48</sup>

Cast iron standards with ash tops were also used by Cooke for long stretches of the Great Western line.<sup>49</sup> Their pattern was avowedly a London one since these columns were said to be similar to those 'which are now commonly used for lamp posts for gas lights in the streets of London and other towns'.<sup>50</sup>

The early posts of Cooke and his staff are not likely to have survived though there is evidence that creosoted poles of the late 1840s were still standing in the 1870s on the Fareham–Portsmouth line.<sup>51</sup> Archaeologists who ask for evidence of post-holes, so familiar for them, may be disappointed since the posts were often lowered into stepped pits of rectangular section.

The only material evidence we have of the earliest telegraph post is a post-top in the Science Museum<sup>52</sup> which has long been used to hold specimens of the earliest insulators. An old label says it was used by W. F. Cooke but it is wise to share the museum staff's caution about it since it could have been put together as a replica without much difficulty. The best test for it is to find whether it has been impregnated by zinc chloride, mercuric chloride or copper sulphate or creosote. Such treatment would show that it was not a carpenter's replica. The type is one which was definitely used on the South Eastern Railway and on other lines set up under Cooke's influence. Such posts were still being shown in *Punch* in the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>53</sup>

The introduction of horizontal post arms occurred in England around 1852.<sup>54</sup> E. Highton<sup>55</sup> or some other early telegraph pioneers had around 1852 introduced arms in the form of an X, probably for the British Telegraph Company.

Charles Wheatstone's patent specification no. 2462 of 1860 for a cable of bunched insulated wires supported by one or more strong wires was put into practice and one could see across the Strand as late as 1873 the wire-supported cable that had belonged to the private wires of the Universal Private Telegraph Company. The support was not a single upright but a triangular mast.<sup>56</sup>

By 1855 'the general decay of telegraph poles began to develop itself'.<sup>57</sup> This mainly occurred near the ground line (or the 'wind and water line'). Various attempts were then made to scrape or cut off the affected portions and to coat the poles with asphalt and other substances or to house them in cylinders of iron or earthenware<sup>58</sup> but these methods were not very effective.

There had before 1855 been considerable experimentation in treating poles. Until Pasteur's findings about micro-organisms became widely known, much of the treatment was done on a rule-of-thumb basis. Broadly the methods of treating poles fall into two groups: (1) charring, with or without tarring, and (2) chemical impregnation.

Charring consisted of a thorough blacking of the lower 6 feet of a pole over a moderate fire and then coating with tar and other substances. (Sir) Charles Tilston Bright was a leading exponent of charring in the early 1850s.<sup>59</sup>

Chemical impregnation included either creosoting or the use of metal salts. Creosote, which became generally available from the distillation of coal tar, contains anti-microbial phenol. The invention (1838) is generally attributed to John Bethell.<sup>60</sup> W. F. Cooke used creosoted poles outside London around 1848–1849.<sup>61</sup>

Other methods of chemical impregnation included Kyanizing, Burnettizing and Boucherizing. Kyanizing, devised by John Howard Kyan (1774–1850), was impregnation in mercuric chloride.<sup>62</sup> W. F. Cooke was recorded in 1843 as using 'the ordinary precaution of charring, pitching, and kyanizing the posts'.<sup>63</sup>

Burnettizing, tried in 1844–1845 for some early telegraph poles, used a solution of zinc chloride. Such Burnettized poles were still standing in 1876. They were of 'seasoned foreign timber, tapered, chamfered, Burnettized and painted'.<sup>64</sup> The process was developed by Sir William Burnett (1779–1861). The zinc chloride could damage metal fittings.

Boucherizing was impregnation with copper sulphate (or 'blue vitriol'). Dr. Auguste Boucherie announced his method in 1837<sup>65</sup> at Bordeaux and by 1841 it was well known in Britain,<sup>66</sup> but as late as 1855 its details were being notified as something new to an engineering meeting of officers of the Electric Telegraph Company.<sup>67</sup>

Several other processes were tried in the 19th century using a range of chemicals<sup>68</sup> which were in theory good fungicides but were easily leached out of the pole. Today metal salts and compounds of phenol are still used, but in systematic combinations.<sup>69</sup>

The woods used for poles in Victorian telegraphy were varied. W. F. Cooke used ash but he and his successors generally used square-section Baltic timber. This was generally Scotch fir (*Pinus sylvestris*) which might be referred to in terms of the country or port from which it was shipped, e.g. 'Memel' (Poland), 'Riga', 'Danzig', 'Norway', 'Swedish' etc.<sup>70</sup>

Larch was used from the end of 1850 by Charles Tilston Bright for the Magnetic Company and was still used in many areas well after 1870.<sup>71</sup> Larch poles were of circular cross-section.

#### INSULATORS

Early attempts to use tarred felt or similar material for supporting and insulating wires were soon seen to be unsuccessful. W. F. Cooke around 1842–1843 used a goose quill.<sup>72</sup> Two of these quills, in all probability used between Paddington and Slough about 1842–1843, are preserved in the Science Museum in London.<sup>73</sup>

The next type of insulator was a circular disc of stoneware fixed at right angles to the post, for the wire to be threaded through the hole. The specimen in the Science Museum<sup>74</sup> is really a little pulley with one edge blunted for contact with the wood of the pole. If the post belongs to the 1842–1843 period, then that is a starting date for this disc insulator. However the Science Museum label says that the insulator is of 1840. If this is so there is a discrepancy. If, however, we follow W. H. Preece's statement of 1878:

'The first insulator ever employed was, I am told, a goose-quill . . . that was replaced by a simple ring — a flat disc of brown earthenware'.<sup>75</sup>

then the ancient label is wrong. However J. H. Greener who worked under W. F. Cooke on the Blackwall Railway around 1840 said in 1878 that:

'In those early days there was a bit of a ring for the wires to rest upon, fixed by staples'.<sup>76</sup>

This uncertainty about dating may seem unsatisfactory but few unmarked ceramic objects, even of the 19th century, can be given as close a date-range as 1840–1845.<sup>77</sup>

Next, around 1845, W. F. Cooke introduced a brown stoneware barrel with a longitudinal hole for threading the wire through. There was also a repairman's version with a longitudinal slit for inserting the wire without needing to cut it or thread it through. These two types are preserved in the Science Museum.<sup>78</sup>

The insulator is shown incidentally in W. F. Cooke's and C. Wheatstone's 1845 patent<sup>79</sup> but it was not claimed as a new invention. The barrel insulator was used until 1848<sup>80</sup> or 1851.<sup>81</sup>

The thread-through principle was continued by C. V. Walker, telegraph superintendent of the South Eastern Railway line, who around 1850 introduced a hollowed apex-to-apex, biconical insulator which remained in use until at least 1878. We know that an order for this stoneware insulator was ordered from Doulton's of Lambeth on 4 April 1850.<sup>82</sup> The stoneware was rather variable and in 1852 Walker ordered white 'porcelain' equivalents from André Pillivuyt & Cie of Foëcy, Cher, France. These were delivered on 31 January 1853 (how meticulous a chronicler was Walker!). No specimen has apparently survived in a museum of this type of insulator that was used between London Bridge station and most other stations in Kent.

The next stage in the development was that of the bell or shed<sup>83</sup> insulator. This could be a bell on a spindle, with the wire supported near the top of the bell, or the bell would hold the hook from which the wire was suspended. The purpose of the bell was to keep off rain and condensation. It should be noted that many of these early insulators used a *metal* cap or bell or shed which was well insulated from the spindle. This was to protect the insulator from damage.

The inventor of the bell insulator, which is ancestral to those used up to recently, is hard to discover, but the basic features of the early versions can be dated to the period 1845–1850.<sup>84</sup>

The only bell or shed insulator of the 1840s that has apparently survived is in the Science Museum.<sup>85</sup> This great flat-topped drum of stoneware, from which dangles a sturdy iron hook, is because of its flat top perversely different from any patented type. It is closest, however, to J. L. Ricardo's 1848 design<sup>86</sup> except that the patent drawing shows the spindle fixed by a nut at the open top which is sealed with mastic.

There were many insulator types tried in the 1850s on both sides of the Atlantic but in this abbreviated account it is only possible to mention a few basic types that were to



influence later designs. J. Latimer Clark's double-bell or double-shed 'invert' insulator of 1856<sup>87</sup> was the predecessor of many insulators used to the present.

Sir Charles Tilston Bright after laying down the first Atlantic cable in 1858 introduced<sup>88</sup> double-shed insulators of ceramic or glass which were used by the Magnetic Telegraph Company which had some lines running out of London.

Around 1860–1861 there came a spate of ebonite or vulcanite insulator designs. The main patents in the U. K. were that of C. F. Varley in early 1860<sup>89</sup> and that of H. A. Silver and H. Griffiths of 1861.<sup>90</sup>

Several of these ebonite insulators are on a specimen post (no. M. 741) in the Science Museum.<sup>91</sup>

In 1861 C. F. Varley produced a type of insulator<sup>92</sup> that consisted of two ceramic caps, one inside the other. The two components were joined by an insulating cement and mounted on the screw top of the supporting pin or spindle. 'Varleys' are easy to recognise, either because of the cement layer between ceramic cups or because sometimes the outer cup (or bell or shed) is of brown stoneware and the inner cup is of white ceramic. 'Varleys' went on being manufactured well into the 1870s or even later, and are said to have remained on posts until the early years of this century.

Another type of insulator said to be designed by Varley<sup>93</sup> is the 'Z' insulator. This was a double-bell or double shed insulator made in one piece. It has been argued (humorously) that a cockroach crawling from outside to the bottom of the inner shed has to go along a locus or path like the letter Z but little evidence has been found to back this.

By the 1870s some interesting new types were on the market and in general use. At the Victoria Works, Victoria Road, Charlton, W. C. Johnson and S. E. Philips were making an insulator with an internal trough at the bottom of a shed containing oil. They patented this in 1876.<sup>94</sup>

Ultimately there came on the London scene double-shed insulators with a bevelled edge to the top. These appeared around 1877<sup>95</sup> in several forms and one variety with vertical sides was to be known as the Post Office No. 1 type.<sup>96</sup>

#### CARRIERS OF UNDERGROUND CABLES AND WIRES

This section attempts to outline the basic features of all the underground conduits that may have been used in London before 1870. The Science Museum has parts of the 1837 'fossil telegraph', as it came to be called, but other London examples, of the 1840s, are only in cable form. Accordingly much of our knowledge has to be derived from patents, contemporary handbooks or examples from outside London.

#### CARRIERS, CHANNELS AND TROUGHS 1837–1853

Available information is summarily listed below with just enough detail to enable a London archaeologist to identify a find.

- (1) 1837: *Euston–Camden Town timber wire support*. This was a bevel-sided prism or spar of wood with five copper wires embedded in the upper surfaces (Science Museum inventory no. 1867.37).<sup>97</sup>
- (2) 1847: *W. Reid's lidded channelled sleeper*. This had a longitudinal iron plate screwed over the top. Underneath was a channel cut in the wood holding cotton-covered wire in lead tubes.<sup>98</sup> This trough was a prototype of many that followed. Reid's troughs with 'light shifting lids' were laid between London Bridge and Greenwich in the earth topping of the brick viaduct.<sup>99</sup>
- (3) 1852: *W. T. Henley's iron or zinc troughs*. A shallower trough made a size larger served as a lid.<sup>100</sup>

- (4) 1852: *W. Reid's and T. W. B. Brett's troughs*. These were probably of iron with lids that could be wedge-clamped. Sections could be square or triangular or compounded<sup>101</sup> with combinations of differing segments.
- (5) 1852: *C. A. Newton's and G. L. Fuller's troughs*. These were shallow thick-lidded troughs that could be of wood or earthenware or glass with metal lids. Wedged square hoops held the lids down.<sup>102</sup>
- (6) 1853: *W.T. Henley's trough and half-pipe system*. Generally these were square-section troughs with various types of clamps or split circular-section pipes held by two-piece interlocking collars. This complex patent<sup>103</sup> and the designs of Charles Tilston Bright were influential in the 1850s.

#### TUBES AND PIPES

For a time W. F. Cooke used iron tubes which were originally designed as gas pipes. These were used on the Great Western Railway (1838–1839)<sup>104</sup> and, in a double row, by the Blackwall Railway (1840). The tubes used for the G. W. R. were made in Staffordshire.<sup>105</sup> As late as 1847 he used similar tubes for the London and North Western Railway in the 'Primrose Tunnel'<sup>106</sup> in south Hampstead.

The diameters of these iron tubes, which are probably ancestral to the modern iron conduit, are uncertain. The tubes used on the G. W. R. were 'not more than an inch and a half in diameter'.<sup>107</sup> But the financial statements, dated 4 and 11 March 1839, of 'John Russell, Gas Tube Manufacture & c.' of Wednesbury states that the tubes were '¾ in.'. <sup>108</sup>

When the Electric Telegraph Company received its empowering act in 1846, it was required to lay down in the permitted streets 'Pipes or Tubes, not being of larger Size than three inches Bore'.<sup>109</sup> By 1853 the limit for 'Pipes or tubes was not to be of larger Size than Six inches Bore'.<sup>110</sup>

We have some theoretical terminus dates for pipes laid down by private companies before the Post Office take-over in 1870. In 1862 the United Kingdom Telegraph Company was obliged by Act to mark its underground pipes as follows:

'All Tubes or Pipes laid by the Company underground shall be marked so as to distinguish the same from the Tubes or Pipes of any other Company'.<sup>111</sup>

We know that in early 1848 cast iron 3-inch socket pipes were used to link the central station at Lothbury with the Strand Office, across London and Waterloo Bridges to the railway stations and across Hyde Park (in earthenware pipes) to Paddington Station. These 'pipes' were 'cast with a flat surface on one side, upon which were the initials E. T. C.'. <sup>112</sup>

The wires, wrapped with tarred yarn, were sleeved in lead and then threaded through the pipes which may well have been made for gas mains. Around 1852 (Sir) Charles Tilston Bright was putting down what may be called half-pipes. The wires were put down on the lower trough, and then the top half was fixed on.<sup>113</sup>

In 1874, after growing agitation about the unsightly appearance of overhead wires in the Metropolis, the Post Office, which had taken over the inland telegraph companies, went on using 3-inch pipes. These were said to be 9 feet long and could hold about 72 wires. Some 4-inch pipes were used to hold 120 wires of prepared no. 7 gauge.<sup>114</sup>

#### BATTERIES

Trough batteries have been in existence since around 1800. By 1837, when the first working telegraph was in operation between Euston and Camden Town, batteries of adequate power were generally available. Such batteries were wood troughs (usually teak or oak)<sup>115</sup> which contained alternating plates of zinc and copper. Some of these copper

elements were, as it were, wrapped round both sides of the zinc. At some stage W. F. Cooke added sand to the acid, perhaps around 1844.<sup>116</sup> Components varied considerably; thus in the early 1850s gutta-percha might be used for the trough.<sup>117</sup> In 1849 Charles V. Walker, telegraph superintendent of the South Eastern Railway, substituted 'graphite' plates for the copper. This graphite was gas carbon.<sup>118</sup>

There were other batteries introduced during the early days of telegraphy. These, like Smee's or Grove's, were occasionally manufactured and used in the London area though their main use was to be in the U. S. A. Alfred Smee's battery,<sup>119</sup> introduced 1840, had a plate of amalgamated zinc on each side of a central plate of silver or platinum, the whole being immersed in sulphuric acid.

W. R. Grove's cell (invented in 1839) had in one of its early stages of development a clay-pipe bowl as a porous jar. The bowl held the positive zinc in dilute sulphuric acid while outside this was a platinum negative in nitric acid. It was a powerful but alarmingly fizzy battery that was only used in London for experimental purposes.<sup>120</sup>

Frederick Daniell's cell of 1836<sup>121</sup> was not used for telegraphy until about 1852 or 1853. It was still being used for some London in-office circuits in the 1880s and, doubtless, even later though the Leclanché cell would have been a serious rival. The Daniell cell had a long history and one might better speak of the Daniell principle whereby two metals, copper and zinc, were kept in two separate and different liquids with a porous partition between them. Daniell and later workers used organic membranes (e.g. ox-gullets) but subsequently porous pots were used. Generally the copper was the outer or encircling element which was generally in copper sulphate. The zinc was in the porous container which could contain sulphuric acid or common salt or zinc sulphate in solution.

In the laboratory the Daniell cell is generally a cylindrical 'pot' but in the telegraph service the cells were placed in partitioned troughs. One may provisionally suggest that three forms of the Daniell were used in London.

- (1) *John Fuller's 'ordinary sulphate battery'* (1852+). This was a teak trough 24" long, 4" wide and 5½" deep with glued slate partitions separating the zinc and copper. This was used until the 1870s.<sup>122</sup>
- (2) *John Muirhead's 'chamber battery'* (1857+). This was a box (not a trough) about 26" long by 5" wide by 5¾" deep containing five ceramic ('porcelain') or ebonite vessels. Each of these vessels was subdivided into two cells — making ten cells in all. Each cell contained a narrow, red, porous earthenware pot. The porousness was controlled by a coating of melted 'paraffin'. Some 20,000 of these cells were in use in 1877 at the Central Telegraph Station of the Post Office.<sup>123</sup>
- (3) *The United Kingdom Telegraph Co. Battery* (1858+). This was a return to the 'pot' system. The cell container was a large cylindrical 'earthenware' jar, 5" high, 4½" wide, holding two pints. The internal pot was 'saturated with paraffin for half an inch at its base and at its top'. The large circular zinc element weighed 2¼ lb. These details are derived from information published in 1879.<sup>124</sup>

Other batteries used in the London area included Edward Tyer's railway telegraph battery.<sup>125</sup> This was in a glass jar. A platinized silver plate was suspended from the rim into dilute sulphuric acid. The zinc connecting rod was intruded into the bottom of the jar where there was a pool of mercury containing scraps of zinc.<sup>126</sup>

Archaeologically speaking, the most frequently found remains of batteries in London and elsewhere are of Leclanché cells which were first used in London telegraphy early in 1869. Leclanché cells were being made by the Silvertown works within a year.

Distinctive of the battery are the square-sectioned glass jars with a circular neck that has a spout-like niche at the corner for holding the zinc rod upright. Inside the jar would

have been a porous cylinder (or a container made of sacking) holding a long flat rod of gas carbon embedded in manganese dioxide or combinations of other materials with this chemical. In the space surrounding the porous container was a zinc rod in a solution of ammonium chloride.

It should be pointed out that Leclanché cell parts excavated or retrieved will mostly belong to circuits for door bells. Only context can indicate whether they were used for telegraphy. The Leclanché cell, which is the ancestor of many present-day dry batteries, was invented by Georges Lionel Leclanché who patented it in 1866.<sup>127</sup>

Though this account is intended to go only to 1870, one should mention in passing the powerful Fuller bichromate cell that was used on Metropolitan Railway circuits in the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>128</sup>

#### TELEGRAPH WIRES AND THEIR INSULATION 1837–1870

The variety of wires used in the first fifty years of London's telegraphy was considerable. Copper, iron, brass and various alloys were tried and developed. The conductivity of the copper in that period was considerably improved by cutting down impurities. By 1870 very high standards were required regarding strength and the manner of annealing wires. The notes below are a basic summary of a vast subject. The fibrous coverings (silk, cotton, hemp etc.) of wires are not considered in this study.

The six copper wires, covered with gas tar, used by Cooke and Wheatstone were 1.61 mm. or .063 in. (mean of 20 readings) in diameter. This is within the range of .062 to .070 in. for Victorian wires of no. 16 gauge. These figures are derived from a specimen in the Science Museum (inventory no. 1867.37).

Also in the Science Museum (inventory no. 1884.184A) is a quill-insulated iron wire which because of the pale grey metallic salt on it may have been galvanized. The diameter is about 3.5 mm. or 0.12 in. which makes it no. 11 or 12 gauge. This wire is of the period 1843–1845.

A piece of London's first underground cable of 1844 is also in the Science Museum (inventory no. 1923.239). It is a short (152 mm.) length which is about 12 mm. in external diameter. Nine copper wires are embedded in what appears to be pitch or tar. There is no way of telling whether the wires were put in bare or covered with fibre. The outside of the cable consists of a lead sheath about 2 mm. thick. Owing to the way this cable was cut the diameter of the wires is uncertain. The range appears to be between 1.6 mm. and 2 mm. Perhaps this is approximately the old no. 16 gauge.

#### JOINTS

The earliest wire joints in London telegraphy were the largely useless bellhanger's joints which could be varied by lapping thinner wire round and through the joint.<sup>129</sup>

W. F. Cooke in his 1838 patent<sup>130</sup> advocated the use of a screw and nut to join two looped ends of wire. The joints referred to above were used exclusively before 1849 and were still to be seen in 1862. In 1859 Edwin Clark designed a very thorough joint which gave the two ends of the wire a slight L-turn. Between these right-angle turns galvanized iron binding wire of no. 20 gauge was bound round and soldered.<sup>131</sup> This joint was called the Britannia joint because of Clark's connection with the Britannia Tubular Bridge. Apprentices were taught how to make this joint as late as the 1950s. Ancient or abandoned overhead lines in England and Scotland still could be seen to have an occasional Britannia joint in the late 1970s.

#### RUBBER FOR INSULATING WIRES

W. F. Cooke obtained in 1840 a wire 'rope' covered with rubber and cotton from Sievier's London Caoutchouc Company.<sup>132</sup> Charles Wheatstone stated before a railway enquiry in February 1840 that his partner was using rubber-insulated wires in an iron tube on the Great Western Railway.<sup>133</sup>

Rubber was more elastic and resilient than gutta-percha, being as well more resistant to higher temperatures. It was marginally a better insulator and its inductive capacity was lower than that of gutta-percha. It suffered the disadvantage of being affected by moisture and of reacting badly with copper, oils and resins.

Rubber was also used in telegraphy for insulating compounds. Of these Leonard Wray's compound (1858) was the best known. It consisted of three components (1) rubber (or bitumen) with (2) powdered silica (as glass or flint, or kaolin was used) with (3) lac or shellac.<sup>134</sup>

#### GUTTA-PERCHA FOR INSULATING WIRES

Gutta-percha is, like rubber, a polymer. Its advantage as an insulator is that, though it oxidises badly in the air, it is inert under water. A specimen sent to Britain from Malaya in 1843 triggered off great interest and by 1845 it was realised by such workers as Michael Faraday and William Siemens that it was ideal for electrical insulation.<sup>135</sup>

By the end of 1848 the techniques for covering wires with gutta-percha were known and<sup>136</sup> being applied on the railway between London Bridge and Dover.<sup>137</sup> C. F. Varley, however,<sup>138</sup> said that 'gutta-percha covered wire was first used in the streets of London in 1849'. There were three no. 16 gauge wires to a gutta-percha cylinder. Fortunately an example of this has survived in the Science Museum (inventory no. 1923.43). It is possible this stretch of gutta-covered wires was that laid in 1849 by the Electric Telegraph Company between its Lothbury headquarters and Shoreditch.

Gutta-percha was to have a controversial history and its success as a commercial proposition was dependent on its reputation over decades as an underwater insulator. For underground or overground use we have one telling quotation from an eminent electrical engineer: 'the greatest enemy we have to contend with in London is oxidation' of the gutta-percha.<sup>139</sup>

#### SOURCES

Though the references are intended to serve as a quarry for background studies relating to London's telegraphic history, it must be emphasised that a great deal of unexamined information still exists in libraries and archives. One may instance the Public Record Office and British Railways Archives, the library of the Institution of Electrical Engineers in London, Post Office Records and the Engineering Societies Library in New York which houses J. Latimer Clark's huge library of telegraphic publications and records. The New York Public Library houses C. V. Walker's scrapbook which includes leaflets not available elsewhere as well as near unique tapes from the earliest printing telegraphs.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> E. T. MacDermot, rev. C. R. Clinker *History of the Great Western Railway* 1 (London, 1964) 325.
- <sup>2</sup> C. E. Lee 'The London & Blackwall Cable Railway' *The Railway Magazine* 87 no. 53 (September 1941) 424–425; T. R. Powel 'London's loneliest line...' *ibid.* 79 no. 469 (July 1936) 47–51.
- <sup>3</sup> *The Times* (26 November 1841) 5 col. f.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* (4 February 1845) 5 col. c.
- <sup>5</sup> Electric Telegraph Co. Act 1846 (9 Vict. chap. xlv); see also generally J. Kieve *The Electric Telegraph, A Social and Economic History* (Newton Abbot, 1973).
- <sup>6</sup> E. Clark *Great Marlow Literary and Scientific Institution Inaugural Lecture . . . December 12, 1853* (Great Marlow, n. d.) (Copy in Engineering Societies Library, New York, 656.254 c54).
- <sup>7</sup> British Electric Telegraph Co. Act 1850 (13 & 14 Vict. chap. lxxxv) 1213–1232; Magnetic Telegraph Co. Act 1851 (14 & 15 Vict. chap. cxxxviii) 2403–2418.
- <sup>8</sup> *Illustrated London News* 21 no. 588 (6 November 1852) 371; *ibid.* no. 589 (13 November 1852) 396.
- <sup>9</sup> Kieve *op. cit.* in note 5, 48–49.
- <sup>10</sup> *The Times* (1 January 1859) 3 col. e.
- <sup>11</sup> The Telegraph Act 1868 (32 & 33 Vict. chap. cx) 1057–1074.
- <sup>12</sup> The Telegraph Act 1869 (32 & 33 Vict. chap. lxxiii).
- <sup>13</sup> F. E. Baines *Forty years at the Post Office, A personal narrative* 2 (London, 1895) 24–31.
- <sup>14</sup> E. B. Bright 'On a system of electric fire-alarms' *J. Soc. Telegraph-Engineers and Electricians* 13 (1884) 51–64, with discussion 64–73; R. von Fischer Treuenfeld 'The present state of fire-telegraphy' *ibid.* 17 (1888) 258–290, with discussion 290–307.
- <sup>15</sup> London Overhead Wires Act (54 & 55 Vict. chap. lxxvii).
- <sup>16</sup> *The Electrician* 1 no. 3 (23 November 1861) 36.
- <sup>17</sup> Kieve *op. cit.* in note 5, 57.
- <sup>18</sup> 'House-top Telegraphs' *All the Year Round* 2 no. 31 (26 November 1859) 107.
- <sup>19</sup> Regulation of Railways Act (7 & 8 Vict. chap. lxxxv).
- <sup>20</sup> *The Times* (4 February 1845) 5 col. c.
- <sup>21</sup> F. C. Mather 'The railways, the electric telegraph and public order during the Chartist period, 1837–1848' *History* 38 (February 1953) 40–53.
- <sup>22</sup> Kieve *op. cit.* in note 5, 42; G. Hubbard *Cooke and Wheatstone* (London, 1965) 107–112.
- <sup>23</sup> As noted in *The Mechanics' Magazine* 47 no. 1254 (21 August 1847) 184.
- <sup>24</sup> Kieve *op. cit.* in note 5, 70.
- <sup>25</sup> G. Storey *Reuters' Century 1851–1951* (London, 1951) 12–31.
- <sup>26</sup> 'Special Wire' *All the Year Round* 20 no. 490 (12 September 1868) 333–334.
- <sup>27</sup> Baines *op. cit.* in note 13, vol. 1, 158.
- <sup>28</sup> *Punch* 43 (20 September 1862) 118.
- <sup>29</sup> *Quarterly Review* 95 (London, June–September 1854) 128.
- <sup>30</sup> *The Electrician* 4 no. 79 (8 May 1863) 10.
- <sup>31</sup> *Illustrated London News* 12 no. 299 (22 January 1848) 34.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 35.
- <sup>33</sup> T. P. Shaffner *The telegraph manual . . .* (New York etc., 1859) 233 Fig. 1 and 242–243.
- <sup>34</sup> *Illustrated London News* 10 no. 245 (9 January 1847) 27.
- <sup>35</sup> W. H. Hatcher 'The Electric Telegraph' *The Engineer's and Contractor's Pocket-Book for the years 1847 and 1848 . . .* (London, 2nd ed. 1847) 385.
- <sup>36</sup> Magnetic Telegraph Co. Act 1851 (14 & 15 Vict. chap. cxviii) 1952 § xxxvi.
- <sup>37</sup> C. E. Preece 'On underground telegraphs' *J. Soc. Telegraph Engineers* 2 (1873) 375–376.
- <sup>38</sup> C. Fleetwood 'Underground telegraphs — the London Street work' *J. Soc. Telegraph Engineers* 4 (1875) 397.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 403–404.
- <sup>40</sup> C. Fleetwood 'Underground telegraphs — the London Street work' (discussion) *J. Soc. Telegraph Engineers* 5 (1876) 37. Other references to storms might include (for 1849) *The Times* (21 April 1849) 8 col. c; (for 1862) *The Electrician* 3 no. 61 (2 January 1863) 105; (for 1876) *Scientific American* n.s. 34 no. 18 (29 April 1876).
- <sup>41</sup> W. H. Preece 'Recent advances in telegraphy . . . Lecture II — Delivered 28th April, 1879' *J. Soc. Arts* 27 no. 1404 (17 October 1879) 973.
- <sup>42</sup> Noted by C. E. Spagnoletti and J. Latimer Clark in Fleetwood *op. cit.* in note 40, 31 and 39.
- <sup>43</sup> *ETC v. Nott & Gamble In Chancery, Between The Electric Telegraph Company, Plaintiffs; and John Nott, John Gamble, and Douglas Pitt Gamble (sued as Philip Dodd Gamble), Defendants . . .* 126–127 (Judgment was given on 13 January 1847. A copy of the publication is in the Engineering Societies Library, New York: 621.382 (10071)).
- <sup>44</sup> No. 9465 of 8 September 1842.
- <sup>45</sup> Hatcher *op. cit.* in note 35, 380–381.
- <sup>46</sup> F. Whishaw 'The Electric Telegraph — Mr. Cooke's improved system as applied to the Great Western Railway' (from a Paper read before the Society of Arts by Francis Whishaw Esq., Secretary) *The Mechanics' Magazine . . .* 38 no. 1034 (3 June 1843) 467–468.
- <sup>47</sup> 60–70 yards: F. Whishaw 'Cooke's improved arrangements of the conducting electric telegraph. (Second Communication)' *Transactions of the society constituted at London for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce . . .* 54 (December 1843) 173; 45–55 yards: Hatcher *loc. cit.* in note 45.
- <sup>48</sup> Whishaw *ibid.*
- <sup>49</sup> Whishaw *op. cit.* in note 46, 468; J. C. Bourne *The history and description of the Great Western Railway . . .* (London, 1846) 58.
- <sup>50</sup> W. F. Cooke's patent specification no. 5465 of 8 September 1842, 10 and sheet I, Fig. I, B.
- <sup>51</sup> Preece *op. cit.* in note 41, 46.
- <sup>52</sup> Inventory no. 1884.184.
- <sup>53</sup> *Punch* (4 February 1860; 9 July 1870).
- <sup>54</sup> Preece *op. cit.* in note 41, 976; C. C. Adley 'The Electric Telegraph . . . Minutes of Procs. Instn. Civ. Engineers 11 (1851–1852) 315 Fig. 5; and F. R. Window *ibid.* 344 Fig. 85 and 342 Fig. 12.
- <sup>55</sup> E. Highton's patent specification no. 12959 of 29 January 1850, 32–33 Fig. 3.
- <sup>56</sup> *Electrician* 4 (8 May 1863) 9.
- <sup>57</sup> W. Langdon 'On the decay and preservation of telegraph poles' *J. Soc. Telegraph Engineers* 3 no. 8 (1874) 186.
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 191.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* 190–191; R. Sabine *The history and progress of the electric telegraph with descriptions of some of the apparatus* (London, 2nd ed. 1869) 217; reports of the Electric Telegraph Company's *General Quarterly Meeting, December 29th 1854, Engineering Subjects* 12 (Post Office Records: POST 81/201).
- <sup>60</sup> J. Bethell's patent specification no. 7731 of 11 July 1838.

- <sup>61</sup> Preece *op. cit.* in note 41, 976; Langdon *op. cit.* in note 57, 196.
- <sup>62</sup> J. H. Kyan's patent specifications nos. 6253 and 6309 of 1832 and no. 7001 of 1836.
- <sup>63</sup> Whishaw *op. cit.* in note 46, 467–469.
- <sup>64</sup> C. V. Walker 'Inaugural Address' *J. Soc. Telegraph Engineers* 5 (1876) 11.
- <sup>65</sup> M. Paulet *Traité de la Conservation des Bois* . . . (Paris, 1874) 216–224.
- <sup>66</sup> For example see *Gardener's Chronicle* (1841) 71, 197.
- <sup>67</sup> *Seventh Officers' Quarterly Meeting of the Electric Telegraph Company, 5th July 1855*, 9 (Post Office Records: POST/81/20).
- <sup>68</sup> See e.g. Langdon *op. cit.* in note 57, 189–190, 203; Sabine *loc. cit.* in note 59.
- <sup>69</sup> For example fungicidal dinitrophenol and sodium fluoride are used with insecticidal arsenious anhydride.
- <sup>70</sup> Langdon *op. cit.* in note 57, 181–201.
- <sup>71</sup> E. B. Bright and C. Bright *The Life Story of the late Sir Charles Tilston Bright* . . . 1 (London, 1899), 425.
- <sup>72</sup> W. H. Preece in J. Gavey 'Insulators for aerial telegraph lines' *J. Soc. Telegraph Engineers* 7 nos. 22 & 23 (1878) discussion, 168; C. V. Walker in *ibid.* 175; 'General Classification of Objects in the Exhibition' *J. Soc. Telegraph Engineers and Electricians* 10 (1881) 39; W. F. Cooke's patent specification no. 4465 of 8 September 1842, 18–19 and Fig. *u*.
- <sup>73</sup> Inventory number 1884.184A and 1884.184B.
- <sup>74</sup> Inventory number 1884.184C.
- <sup>75</sup> W. H. Preece in Gavey *loc. cit.* in note 72.
- <sup>76</sup> In *ibid.* discussion, 183.
- <sup>77</sup> It is just possible that some of these insulators survived to be illustrated in *Punch* 33 (26 September 1857) 132. Unfortunately the details are ambiguous.
- <sup>78</sup> Inventory numbers 1884.184D and 1884.184F.
- <sup>79</sup> Patent specification no. 10655 of 6 May 1845.
- <sup>80</sup> Bright and Bright *op. cit.* in note 71, 427.
- <sup>81</sup> W. H. Preece in a ms. report for colonial telegraphs (photocopy in Science Museum).
- <sup>82</sup> C. V. Walker in Gavey *op. cit.* in note 72, discussion 174–175.
- <sup>83</sup> In the U.S. telegraph engineers referred to sheds as 'petticoats'.
- <sup>84</sup> Early patents showing the bell or shed principle include M. Poole's no. 11481 of 11 December 1846; A. Brett's and G. Little's no. 11576 of 11 August 1847; J. L. Ricardo's no. 12262 of 1 September 1848, and Edwin Clark's metal-capped suspension stoneware insulator in no. 13336 of 12 November 1850. It is possible that Alexander Bain introduced a bell insulator in 1845 (*Mechanics' Magazine* 52 no. 1378 (5 January 1850) 13 Fig. 4). Other designers, William H. Bright and A. Spowers, also designed bell insulators at the time (*ibid.*).
- <sup>85</sup> Inventory number 1884.184E; the label says that the date is 1847.
- <sup>86</sup> J. L. Ricardo's patent specification no. 12262 of 1 September 1848.
- <sup>87</sup> J. Latimer Clark's patent specification no. 2831 of 29 November 1856.
- <sup>88</sup> C. T. Bright's patent specification no. 2601 of 18 November 1858.
- <sup>89</sup> C. F. Varley's patent specification no. 206 of 27 January 1860.
- <sup>90</sup> H. A. Silver's and H. Griffith's patent specification no. 569 of March 1861.
- <sup>91</sup> This post also includes insulators based on W. Andrews' patent specification no. 2548 of 18 October 1860. A wood insulator with an ebonite inner shed on the same pole can also be partially compared to an item in W. Andrews' patent specification no. 710 of 21 March 1861.
- <sup>92</sup> C. F. Varley's patent specification no. 3078 of 9 December 1861.
- <sup>93</sup> Gavey *op. cit.* in note 72, diagram '4 and 8' and 141, 148, 151, 161; W. H. Preece and J. Sivewright *Telegraph* (London, 1876) 186 Fig. 111.
- <sup>94</sup> Patent specification no. 3534 of 8 September 1876.
- <sup>95</sup> E.g. J. H. Cordeaux's patent specification no. 522 of 7 February 1877.
- <sup>96</sup> Gavey *op. cit.* in note 72, diagram 4, Fig. 6 and 149, 161.
- <sup>97</sup> W. F. Cooke's and C. Wheatstone's patent specification no. 7930 of 11 June 1837; W. F. Cooke, ed. F. H. Webb *Extracts from the private letters of the late Sir William Fothergill Cooke, 1836–39* . . . (London & New York, 1895) 8; W. H. Preece 'Communication' *J. Instn. Electrical Engineers* 26 (1897) 634–635.
- <sup>98</sup> W. Reid's patent specification no. 11974 of 23 November 1847.
- <sup>99</sup> *Report of the Joint Committee . . . to inquire into the construction of submarine telegraph cables* . . . (London, 1861) 93; usually found in *Accounts and Papers: Thirty-five Volumes -- (24) -- Harbours Post Office: Telegraphy/Session 24 January–28 August 1860. Vol 62* (1860).
- <sup>100</sup> W. T. Henley's patent specification no. 680 of 9 November 1852, Figs. 13 and 3a, also 5.
- <sup>101</sup> W. Reid's and T. W. B. Brett's patent specification no. 14166 of 12 June 1852.
- <sup>102</sup> C. H. Newton's and G. L. Fuller's patent specification no. 17 of 1 October 1852.
- <sup>103</sup> W. T. Henley's patent specification no. 1779 of 30 July 1853.
- <sup>104</sup> Cooke *op. cit.* in note 97, 57 (letter 44 of 8 June 1838); *Mechanics' Magazine* 783 (11 August 1838) 320; W. F. Cooke *The Electric Telegraph: was it invented by Professor Wheatstone? . . . Part 1* (London, 1857) 24; 'Fifth Report from the Select Committee on Railway Communication: . . . Reports from Committees: Twelve Volumes — (10) — Merchant Seamen's Fund: Railways/Session 16 January — 11 August 1840. Vol. 13 (1840) 3 para. 321 and 8–9 para. 343; *The Times* (5 December 1839) 3 col. d.
- <sup>105</sup> British Railways Board Archives: GEN 3/6.
- <sup>106</sup> *ETC v. Nott & Gamble op. cit.* in note 43, 128. Cooke said that this was constructed according to his patent specification no. 7614 of 18 April 1838 (esp. sheet B, Fig. Q).
- <sup>107</sup> *The Times loc. cit.* in note 104.
- <sup>108</sup> *Loc. cit.* in note 105.
- <sup>109</sup> Electric Telegraph Co. Act 1846, 992.
- <sup>110</sup> Electric Telegraph Co. Act 1853, 3707 § 42.
- <sup>111</sup> United Kingdom Telegraph Co. Act 1862.
- <sup>112</sup> C. T. Fleetwood 'Underground Telegraphs' *J. Soc. Telegraph-Engineers and Electricians* 16 no. 67 (1887) 407–408, with discussion, 421–437.
- <sup>113</sup> Bright and Bright *op. cit.* in note 71, 431.
- <sup>114</sup> Fleetwood *op. cit.* in note 112, 416; and cf. Fleetwood *op. cit.* in note 38, 390–399.

- <sup>115</sup> J. Sivewright 'Batteries and their employment in telegraphy' [lecture given 10 March 1875] *J. Soc. Telegraph Engineers* 4 (1875) 127; 'Senex' in 'The Battery. Letters to a Young Student of Electricity . . . No. X. Oct. 18 [1855]' *Our Magazine* . . . 5 (1855) 228.
- <sup>116</sup> The troughs were said in 1847 to be 2 feet long and 6 inches wide (E. Cressy *An encyclopaedia of civil engineering* (London, 1847) 600) or, according to another account, 30" × 5½" containing 24 slate partitioned cells 1¼" wide. The plates were said to be 4¼" × 3½", the zinc being 3/16" thick (C. V. Walker *Electric telegraph manipulation: . . . being Manipulations in the Scientific Arts Part 5* (London, 1850) 7).
- <sup>117</sup> 'General Classification . . . Exhibition' *op. cit.* in note 72, 40; E. C. Baker *Sir William Preece, F. R. S. Victorian Engineer Extraordinary* (London, 1970) 232.
- <sup>118</sup> C. V. Walker in Sivewright *op. cit.* in note 115, discussion, 151.
- <sup>119</sup> Hatcher *op. cit.* in note 35, 370–388; A. Smee 'On the Galvanic Properties of the Metallic Elementary Bodies, with a description of a new Chemo-Mechanical Battery' *The London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science* [= *Philosophical Magazine*] 16 no. 103 (January–June 1840) 319–321; *ibid.* 'On the Galvanic Properties of the Elementary Bodies, and on the Amalgamation of Zinc' *The London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science* [= *Philosophical Magazine*] 16 no. 103 (January–June 1840) 424; it has been alleged that Smee's battery could be filled with sand (W. H. Preece in A. Bennet 'New forms of galvanic batteries' [lecture given 14 April 1875] *J. Soc. Telegraph Engineers* 4 (1875) discussion, 198–199).
- <sup>120</sup> W. J. King *The Development of Electrical Technology in the 19th century: I. The Electrochemical cell and the Electromagnet . . .* (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1962) 243; Sivewright *op. cit.* in note 115, 39; G. B. Prescott *History, theory, and practice of the Electric Telegraph* (Boston & London, 1860) 26–28. Grove's original battery with 12 clay pipe bowls in 12 small drinking glasses is in the Science Museum (inventory no. 1876.821).
- <sup>121</sup> For general details see King *ibid.* 241–242. In an 'archaeological' account of this size there is no space to discuss the Daniell's success in overcoming polarisation.
- <sup>122</sup> W. H. Preece 'Recent Advances in Telegraphy . . . Lecture I. — Delivered Monday, April 21st, 1879' *J. Soc. Arts* 27 no. 1403 (10 October 1879) 965; 'General Classification . . . Exhibition' *op. cit.* in note 72, 40; Sivewright *op. cit.* in note 115, 127–130; John Fuller's patent specification no. 944 of 19 April 1853.
- <sup>123</sup> Preece *ibid.*; Preece and Sivewright *op. cit.* in note 93, 21–22; *The Electrician* 1 no. 13 (31 January 1862) 147.
- <sup>124</sup> Preece *ibid.* 968.
- <sup>125</sup> E. Tyer's patent specification no. 52 of 10 January 1854.
- <sup>126</sup> Sivewright *op. cit.* in note 115, 140, 149–150; Bennet *op. cit.* in note 119 (appendix) 223–224.
- <sup>127</sup> The French patent is no. 71865 of 1866 and the British one, in the name of A. H. Brandon, is no. 2623 of 10 October 1866.
- <sup>128</sup> Rudall in M. F. Roberts 'On Batteries' *J. Soc. Telegraph Engineers* 6 no. 19 (1877) discussion, 277–278; L. M. Fishback *Elementary Treatise on Electrical Batteries from the French of Alfred Niaudet* (New York, 4th ed. 1886) 218–220; 'Telegraphic apparatus in use in the British Postal Telegraph Department. XV. Batteries — (continued)' *The Telegraphic Journal and Electrical Review* 8 no. 181 (15 August 1880) 275.
- <sup>129</sup> 'Random Papers by a Practical Man. III — Joints' *The Electrician* 1 no. 21 (28 March 1862) 247.
- <sup>130</sup> W. F. Cooke's patent specification no. 7614 of 18 April 1838.
- <sup>131</sup> 'General Classification . . . Exhibition' *op. cit.* in note 72, 38; 'Random Papers . . .' *loc. cit.* in note 129; Bright and Bright *op. cit.* in note 71, 429.
- <sup>132</sup> T. F. Cooke *Authorship of the Practical Electrical Telegraph of Great Britain* (Bath & London, 1868) 113.
- <sup>133</sup> 'Fifth Report . . .' *op. cit.* in note 104, 3 para. 321.
- <sup>134</sup> L. Wray's patent specification no. 2270 of 12 October 1858.
- <sup>135</sup> E. F. A. Obach *Cantor Lectures on Gutta Serena* (Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, London, 1898) 3 and *passim*.
- <sup>136</sup> Preece *op. cit.* in note 37, 406.
- <sup>137</sup> *Report of the Joint Committee . . . loc. cit.* in note 99.
- <sup>138</sup> Fleetwood *op. cit.* in note 112, 408–409.
- <sup>139</sup> C. F. Fleetwood in W. H. Preece 'The behaviour and decay of insulating compounds used for dielectric purposes' *J. Soc. Telegraph Engineers* 9 (1880) discussion, 238.

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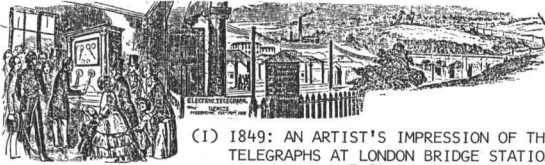


## Fig. 1

## Some topographic antiquities

1. *The Historic Times* (2 February 1849) p. 36
2. *Illustrated London News* (22 January 1848) p. 34
3. *Punch*, vol. 11 (3 October 1846) p. 136
4. *Illustrated London News* (11 September 1852) p. 205
5. W. F. Cooke's patent specification no. 9465 of 8 September 1842
6. W. Hatcher in *The Engineers' and Contractors' Pocket Book for the Years 1847 and 1848 . . . .* p. 375
7. *Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*, vol. xi for 1851–1852 (1852) p. 342
8. D. Lardner *The Electric Telegraph* (1854) p.137
9. *Punch*, vol. 47 (30 July 1864) p. 48
10. *Punch*, vol. 55 (8 August 1868) p. 61
11. *Journal of the Society of Telegraph Engineers*, vol. 3 (1874) pp. 186, 191
12. *Punch*, vol. 55 (15 August 1868) p.71
13. *Punch*, vol. 38 (4 February 1860) p. 49

# Some topographic antiquities of London's telegraphs

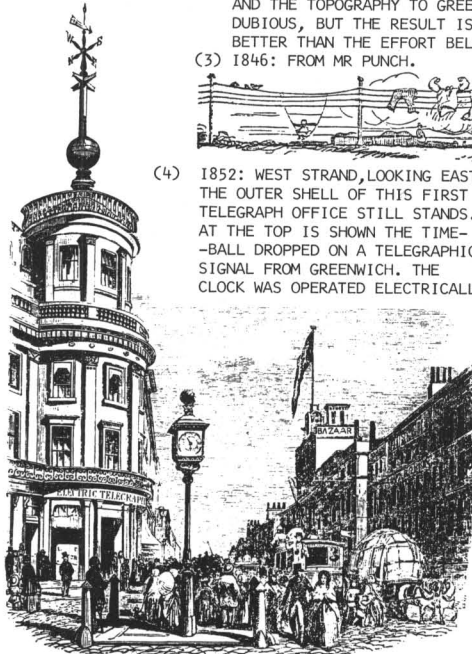


(1) 1849: AN ARTIST'S IMPRESSION OF THE TELEGRAPHS AT LONDON BRIDGE STATION. THE INSTRUMENT IS THREE TIMES TOO LARGE AND THE TOPOGRAPHY TO GREENWICH IS VERY DUBIOUS, BUT THE RESULT IS A LITTLE BETTER THAN THE EFFORT BELOW.

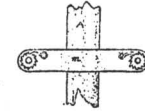
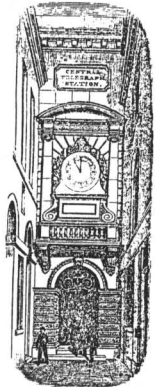
(3) 1846: FROM MR PUNCH.



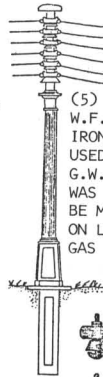
(4) 1852: WEST STRAND, LOOKING EAST. THE OUTER SHELL OF THIS FIRST TELEGRAPH OFFICE STILL STANDS. AT THE TOP IS SHOWN THE TIME-BALL DROPPED ON A TELEGRAPHIC SIGNAL FROM GREENWICH. THE CLOCK WAS OPERATED ELECTRICALLY.



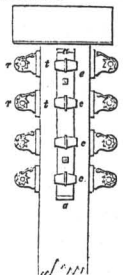
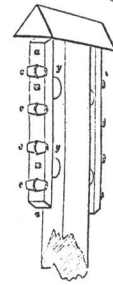
(2) 1848: THE NEW CENTRAL STN AT FOUNDER'S COURT, LOTHBURY, CITY. THEY MADE THE BEST OF A NARROW ENTRY INTO A LARGE GALLERIED BUILDING.



(7) 1842-52: A SIMPLE WINDING POST

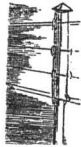


(5) 1842-43: W.F. COOKE'S IRON POST USED ON THE G.W.R. IT WAS SAID TO BE MODELLED ON LONDON GAS LAMPS.

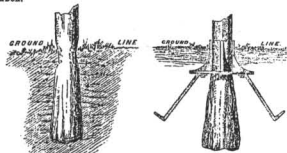


(6) 1845-1860s: SOME TYPICAL POSTS OF S. ENGLAND. NOTE W.F. COOKE'S "BARREL" INSULATOR ON LEFT AND WINDING POST ON RIGHT.

(12) 1868: A POST ACCORDING TO MR PUNCH.



(8) 1853-55: TYPICAL POSTS OF THE TIME WITH EDWIN CLARK'S INSULATORS.



(11) 1870s: DECAY ON THE GROUND LINE - AND AN ATTEMPT TO PREVENT IT.



THE WORST MANAGED RAILWAY RUINING OUT OF LONDON.



(10) 1868: MR PUNCH'S RATHER UNKIND VIEW OF THE SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY WITH A GLIMPSE OF POSTS OF THE TIME. BUT NOTE FIG. 12 PUBLISHED A WEEK LATER. ONE MUST BEWARE OF ARTISTIC LICENCE AND ARCHAISM.



— PORTRAIT OF THE HASS —  
WHO SENDS THE FAIR TELEGRAMS TO THE FATHER.

(9) 1864: A RARE AND RATHER UNINFORMATIVE VIEW OF A TELEGRAPH OFFICE OF A PRIVATE COMPANY (PUNCH)

(13) 1860: DISRAELI ON A POST, AS SEEN BY MR PUNCH.

## Fig. 2

## Towards an archaeology of London's telegraphs

*Some early insulators*

- A Science Mus. Lond. 1884.184C
- B Science Mus. Lond. 1884.184D
- C M. Poole's patent specification no.11481 of 11 December 1846
- D *Ibid.*
- E A. Brett's and G. Little's patent specification no. 11576 of 11 August 1847
- F Science Mus. Lond. 1884.184E
- G J. L. Ricardo's patent specification no. 12262 of 1 September 1897
- H A. Wilke (ed.) *Das Buch der Erfindungen*. . . vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1897) p.110
- I W. H. Preece: Ms. Report on Insulators for South Africa (photostat in Science Mus.)
- J J. L. Clark's patent specification no. 2831 of 29 November 1856
- K T. P. Shaffner *The Telegraph Manual* (N. York, 1859) p. 534
- L Science Mus. Lond M. 741
- M Science Mus. Lond M. 741
- N C. F. Varley's patent specification no. 3078 of 9 December 1861
- O W. T. Henley's patent specification no. 734 of 23 March 1861
- P W. C. Johnson's and S. E. Philips' patent specification no. 3534 of 8 September 1876
- Q J. H. Cordeaux's patent specification no. 522 of 7 February 1877
- R Illustration from Dr. M. Pope, Portsmouth Polytechnic. R is a Post Office 'No. 1' insulator and introduced before 1907. S is a 'pothead' used as a 'terminal and leading in' insulator, introduced between 1907 and 1909. It was usually numbered by the Post Office as no. 16 ( $\frac{5}{8}$ " spindle) or no. 17 ( $\frac{3}{4}$ " spindle).

*Some Early Wire Joints*

- A *The Electrician* vol. I, no. 21, (28 March 1862) p. 247
- B *Ibid.*
- C W. F. Cooke's patent specification no. 7614 of 18 April 1838
- D E. B. and C. Bright *The Life Story of the Late Sir Charles Tilston Bright*. . . vol. I (1899) p. 429

*Examples of Early Batteries*

- A W. F. Cooke's and C. Wheatstone's patent specification no. 8345 of 21 January 1840
- B C. V. Walker, *Electric Telegraph Manipulation* (1850) p. 17
- C *Punch* vol. 33 (26 September 1857) p. 132
- D D. Lardner *The Electric Telegraph* (1854) p. 132
- E A. Cazin *Traité théorique et pratique des piles électriques* (Paris, 1881) p. 209
- F A. Niaudet *Traité élémentaire de la pile électrique* (Paris, 1878) p.89

*Cables, Pipes and Troughs*

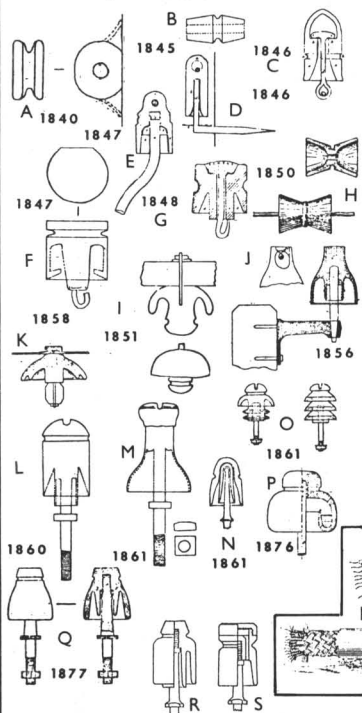
- A Science Mus. Lond. 1867.37
- B Science Mus. Lond. 1923.239
- C *J. Soc. of Telegraph Engineers and Electricians*, vol. 16, no. 67 (London etc., 1887) p. 404
- D Science Mus. Lond. 1923.43
- E As for C above, p. 409
- F R. Dodwell *A hand book to the electric telegraph* 2nd ed. (London etc., 1862) facing p. 54
- G As for C above, p. 410
- H W. T. Henley's patent specification no. 1779 of 30 July 1853
- I As for C above, p. 409

*Overground Aspects*

- Testing posts: *Handbook to the Electric Telegraph*. . . 3rd ed. (London, 1858) p. 29
- Survival: *The Penny Illustrated Paper* (28 June 1873)

# Towards an archaeology of London's telegraphs

## Some early insulators

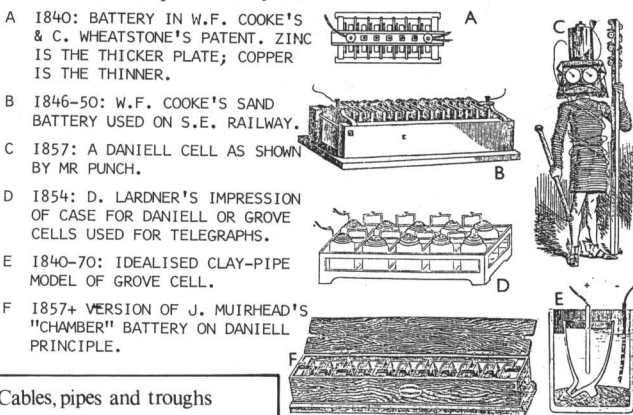


A-Q: A SELECTION FROM VARIOUS SOURCES OF INSULATOR DESIGNS OF 1840-77.

THE FOLLOWING ARE IN THE SCIENCE MUSEUM: A (49 MM HIGH), B (78 MM LONG), F (120 MM HIGH, INC. HOOK), L (218 MM HIGH), M (222 MM HIGH).

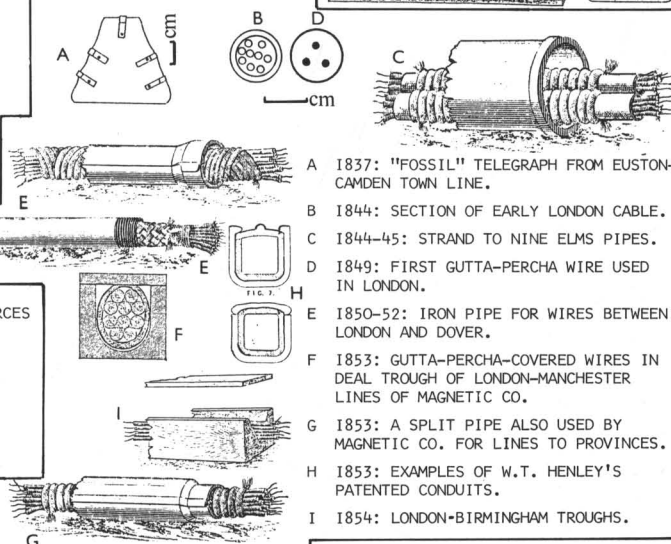
R AND S ARE MODERN TYPES STILL APPEARING IN BRIT. SPECIFICATIONS.

## Examples of early batteries



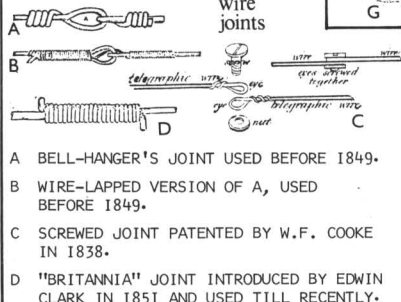
- A 1840: BATTERY IN W.F. COOKE'S & C. WHEATSTONE'S PATENT. ZINC IS THE THICKER PLATE; COPPER IS THE THINNER.
- B 1846-50: W.F. COOKE'S SAND BATTERY USED ON S.E. RAILWAY.
- C 1857: A DANIELL CELL AS SHOWN BY MR PUNCH.
- D 1854: D. LARDNER'S IMPRESSION OF CASE FOR DANIELL OR GROVE CELLS USED FOR TELEGRAPHS.
- E 1840-70: IDEALISED CLAY-PIPE MODEL OF GROVE CELL.
- F 1857+ VERSION OF J. MUIRHEAD'S "CHAMBER" BATTERY ON DANIELL PRINCIPLE.

## Cables, pipes and troughs



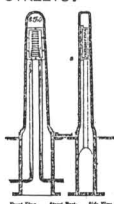
- A 1837: "FOSSIL" TELEGRAPH FROM EUSTON-CAMDEN TOWN LINE.
- B 1844: SECTION OF EARLY LONDON CABLE.
- C 1844-45: STRAND TO NINE ELMS PIPES.
- D 1849: FIRST GUTTA-PERCHA WIRE USED IN LONDON.
- E 1850-52: IRON PIPE FOR WIRES BETWEEN LONDON AND DOVER.
- F 1853: GUTTA-PERCHA-COVERED WIRES IN DEAL TROUGH OF LONDON-MANCHESTER LINES OF MAGNETIC CO.
- G 1853: A SPLIT PIPE ALSO USED BY MAGNETIC CO. FOR LINES TO PROVINCES.
- H 1853: EXAMPLES OF W.T. HENLEY'S PATENTED CONDUITS.
- I 1854: LONDON-BIRMINGHAM TROUGH.

## Some early wire joints



- A BELL-HANGER'S JOINT USED BEFORE 1849.
- B WIRE-LAPPED VERSION OF A, USED BEFORE 1849.
- C SCREWED JOINT PATENTED BY W.F. COOKE IN 1838.
- D "BRITANNIA" JOINT INTRODUCED BY EDWIN CLARK IN 1851 AND USED TILL RECENTLY.

1847 ONWARDS: WIRE TESTING POSTS IN STREETS.



## Overground aspects

1873: SURVIVAL IN THE STRAND OF PRIVATE TELEGRAPH COMPANY WIRES LIKE THOSE IN CHARLES WHEATSTONE'S 1860 PATENT.



# THE SOUTH METROPOLITAN CEMETERY, WEST NORWOOD, AND ITS MEMORIALS

ERIC E. F. SMITH

Much has been written about country churchyards but until quite recently urban cemeteries have been ignored. This paper is an attempt to show that they can be places of great interest. This applies to all the older cemeteries and particularly to that group which came into being in the suburbs of London in the period 1832–1842. In origin these were all privately owned cemeteries which aimed to provide an attractive place of burial, pleasantly landscaped, away from the central area where ancient graveyards were becoming dangerously over full. Kensal Green was the first in 1833 and the second, which is the subject of this paper, was the South Metropolitan Cemetery at West Norwood in 1837. Five more followed in quick succession. Highgate in 1839, Nunhead, Brompton and Abney Park in 1840, and Tower Hamlets in 1841. (The year quoted is that in which the cemetery was actually opened). By about 1900 all these had been overtaken by the urban sprawl of modern London and now they in their turn are all crowded and, in two cases, closed. It is hoped that renewed public interest may save them and the memorials they contain from unnecessary destruction.

The South Metropolitan Cemetery Company was incorporated in 1836 and some 40 acres of land were acquired in what was then called Lower Norwood. The cemetery was consecrated by the Bishop of Winchester on 7 December 1837 with the exception of about one fifth of the area in the north-east sector which, being allotted to non-conformist interments, was left unconsecrated. The first burial took place a few days later, that of a lady named Harriet Raincock, from The Circus, Tower Hill, the daughter of an East India Company official who had acquired a family grave on the hill slope almost in the centre of the ground. The headstone is still there in Square 91. William Tite (he had not yet received a knighthood) was the Company's architect and designed the Episcopal Chapel on the hill top, a building of stock brick and Portland stone, in a late gothic style, and also the nearby Dissenters Chapel, similar but rather smaller. Both had colonnades at each side for memorial tablets and catacombs beneath, 95 under the Episcopal Chapel and 50 under the Dissenters Chapel, estimated to provide space for some 3,500 coffins. The cemetery was surrounded in part by a high brick wall and in part by handsome cast iron railings which still exist. There were originally four entrances but only one is now in use. To this there is an ornamental arch, designed by Tite, with over it an inscription 'South Metropolitan Cemetery Incorporated A<sup>o</sup>. D<sup>ni</sup>. MDCCCXXXVI' together with shields bearing the arms of the dioceses of Canterbury and Winchester (Fig. 1). Above the



(A. G. Rigden)

Fig. 1 South Metropolitan Cemetery, West Norwood.  
Ornamental entrance arch 1836 designed by Sir William Tite.

pedestrian entrance to the right is carved a crown and a scroll inscribed 'Deus Deo' and on the inner side the date 1837. Within the main outlines, the early 19th-century lay-out can still be seen, although in these days of financial stringency it is difficult to prevent the rapid spread of undergrowth and brambles. The two chapels were damaged by enemy action in the last war and very unfortunately were later demolished. The catacombs remain but all the memorials in the colonnades and inside the chapels have gone, presumably unrecorded. The only tablet now known to have been in the Episcopal Chapel is that to Sir William Tite 'Member of Parliament for the City of Bath and Architect of the new Royal Exchange of London' who died 20 April 1873 and was buried beneath in catacomb 90. The Dissenters Chapel which had been seriously damaged by bombs was replaced by the present crematorium. The Episcopal Chapel remained until 1960 and then was pulled down to make way for a rose garden. In the north-east corner of the ground is a small enclave acquired in 1842 by the Greek Community in London. This was enlarged in 1872 and in it was built a chapel designed by J. O. Scott. It also contains a great many large and elaborate memorials and a group of magnificent mausoleums, including two for the Ralli family, one designed by G. E. Street and the other by E. M. Barry. Near the south-west corner of the ground is a tiny section enclosed by iron railings which was purchased by the City parish of St. Mary at Hill in 1847 and contains 42 graves. Some three hundred and fifty or so bodies were removed there from the church vaults in

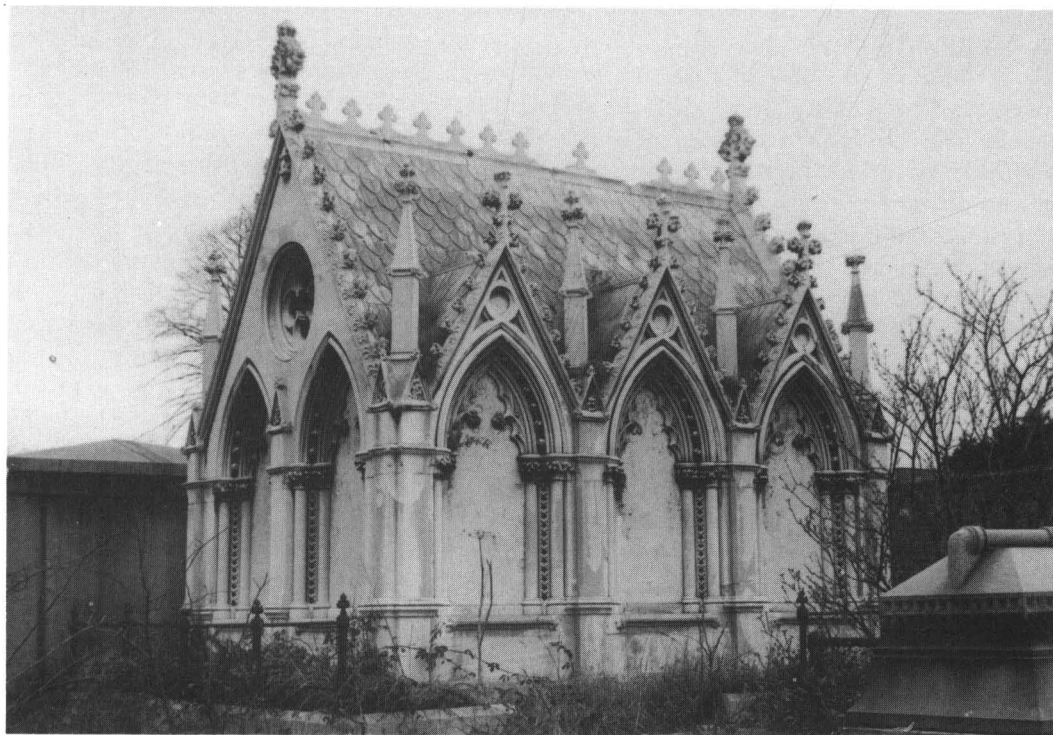
1892 including that of a former rector and antiquary, the Revd. John Brand. The South Metropolitan Cemetery was taken over by the London Borough of Lambeth in 1966 and re-named West Norwood Cemetery. It has since been given the name of the West Norwood Memorial Park.

It is impossible to say how many memorials now remain but the total is vast and the number of graves made since the opening is in the region of 42,000. The memorials are a representative selection of the various types of design prevalent during the century or more since 1837. It would need a well organised effort by a large group of enthusiasts to make a complete transcript of every inscription, in so far as they are legible, but a card index giving all the relevant details is in course of compilation and will it is hoped prove useful to future generations of local historians and genealogists if used in conjunction with existing cemetery records. As will be generally appreciated the monumental inscriptions complement these by supplying the exact date of death, frequently the date of birth and sometimes even the date of marriage, and also the relationship of those interred in a particular vault. Often members of the same family who have died abroad or at sea are also recorded and those who fell in action in the Great Wars of 1914–1918 and 1939–1945 in many instances have their names and details of their deaths inscribed in proud remembrance on their parents' graves. It is thus necessary to refer to the official record to ascertain precisely who is in a particular grave. Those named on the memorial do not always lie below and conversely the name of the last person to be buried has often not been added. In at least one case a person's name appears on two memorials, her father's and her husband's. In certain instances much additional information appears which can be valuable to a local historian.

Though primarily a place of burial for those living in South London the cemetery in fact served a far wider area. The Norwood district in Victorian times was a favourite place of residence for retired colonial officials and former Indian Army officers and these lie there in large numbers, their records faithfully detailed upon their gravestones. Dotted about the cemetery are some 20 or more large mausoleums of varying degrees of magnificence (in addition to those in the Greek section), several with no inscription of any kind to indicate their ownership. The largest was erected near the entrance by a surgeon named Maddick in 1931 and the two most attractive are the Berens tomb designed by E. M. Barry in 1858, and that of the Dodd family by Thomas Allom in 1865 (Fig. 2). Perhaps, too, mention may be made of the little anonymous gothic mausoleum of 1891 with statues flanking the entrance door and an inscription 'Erected as a last tribute of love to the memory of a perfect wife and mother'.

Though it is true that some memorials have an artistic importance, the writer feels strongly that memorial stones should not be destroyed merely because they are commonplace or not to the taste of present generations. It is often stated in defence of clearance schemes that all important grave stones will be retained. But who is to say what stones, to future ages, will be important? At Norwood time, enemy action, vandalism and unfortunate policy decisions in recent years have taken their toll. Even those monuments which were to have been maintained by the cemetery company 'in perpetuity' are now endangered by the regrettable modern fashion for 'lawn cemeteries'. At the time of writing however enough remains to make a worthwhile study, and it is the purpose of this paper to give some indication of the value of the memorials as an historical record. Perhaps too it may inspire someone to take a similar interest in nearby Nunhead Cemetery before it is too late.





(A. G. Rigden)

Fig. 2 South Metropolitan Cemetery, West Norwood.  
Family vault of George Dodd designed by Thomas Allom, 1865.

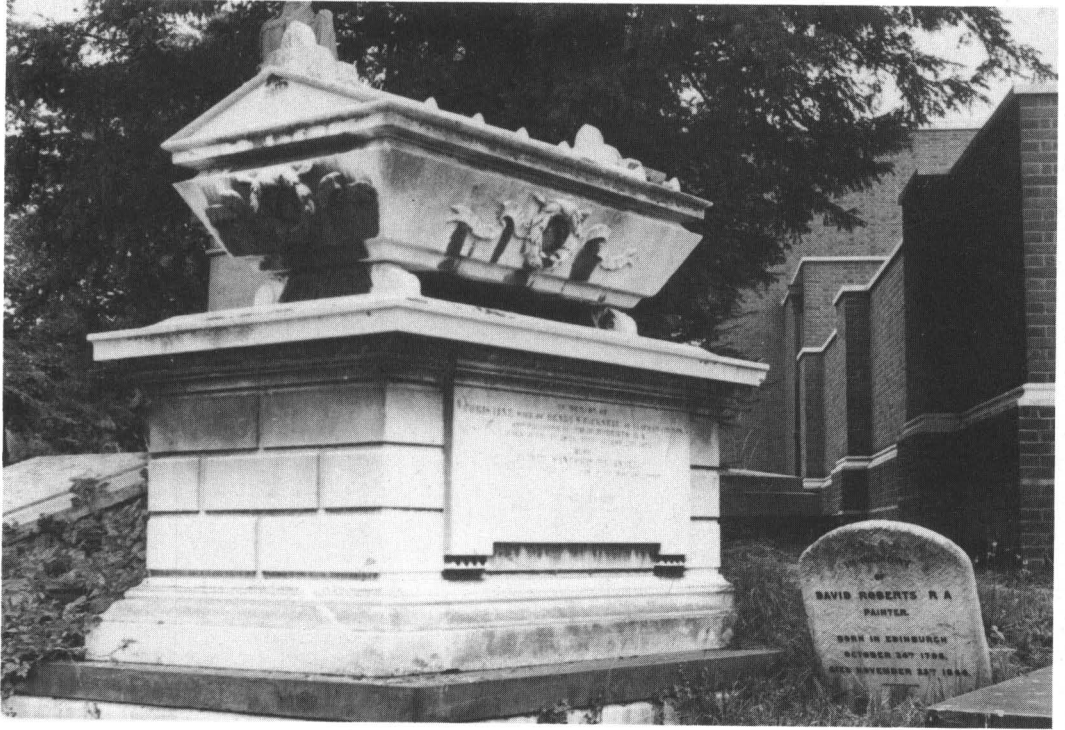
The monumental inscriptions may best be described in groups and here it seems appropriate that pride of place should be given to the antiquaries. (*The date in brackets is in all cases the year of death*). Some 17 Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London have been listed, a mixed bag as might be expected. Sir Edward Brabrook (1930), one-time President of the Anthropological Society and later of the South Eastern Union of Scientific Societies. At the time of his death at the age of 91 he had been a Fellow of the Society for 69 years, a period only once exceeded. The Revd. John Brand (1806) an antiquary of the old school, whose body was removed here from St. Mary at Hill, the church of which he was rector from 1784–1806. He was for the same period Resident Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries and has been described as ‘an amiable muddler’. The Revd. Henry Christmas (1868), numismatist and prolific author, and one time librarian of Sion College. An enquiry into his proceedings while in office revealed that instead of buying theological books for the library he was using the funds to purchase novels for his wife and daughter. Sir Francis Cook (1901), head of a drapery business founded by his father in St. Paul’s Churchyard and best known for his magnificent art collection housed for many years at Doughty House on Richmond Hill. He died a millionaire. Thompson Cooper (1904), who with his father compiled the first two volumes of the *Athenae Cantabrigiensis* and who wrote 1,422 entries for the original



*Dictionary of National Biography*, a total far exceeding that of any other contributor. He was an authority on the history of shorthand. James Crosby (1865). Henry Syer Cuming (1902), founder of the museum in the Walworth Road that bears his name. Henri Favarger (1922). Thomas Grissell (1847). John William Grover (1892), an engineer amongst other things concerned with the erection of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Albert Hall and the author in 1887 of a valuable book on the history of Clapham. Thomas Jolley (1854), notable only in so far as his portrait hangs in the Society's rooms in Burlington House. P. M. Johnston (1936), Vice-President of the British Archaeological Association and of the Surrey Archaeological Society and distinguished as an architect particularly for his many church restorations. Sir Alfred Temple (1928), Keeper of the Guildhall Art Gallery. Sir William Tite (1873) architect and Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries. Sharon Turner (1847), a student of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and author of a four volume *History of England up to the Norman Conquest*. Joseph Whitaker (1895), publisher, and founder of the famous *Almanac* that bears his name and which first appeared in 1868. Sir A. W. Woods (1904) Garter King of Arms. Distinguished men, some of them, in their own fields, but only two attain even passing mention in Dr. Joan Evans' *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*.

The City is naturally well represented by innumerable business men who made their money there and then retired to the quiet suburbs south of the river, and here also lie five Lord Mayors of London. Sir Thomas Gabriel (1891), Lord Mayor 1866–1867; Sir William Hunter (1856), Lord Mayor 1851–1852; Sir John Key (1858), Lord Mayor 1830–1832; Sir William McArthur (1887), Lord Mayor 1880–1881; Sir F. W. Truscott (1895), Lord Mayor 1879–1880. With them are Anthony Brown (1853) Chamberlain of London; Charles Pearson (1862), City Solicitor and promoter of the Metropolitan Railway; and a group of Aldermen, Sir Joseph Causton (1871), Charles Farebrother (1858), John Lainson (1844) and Sir John Pirie (1851); Richard Brook (1880) 'Deputy of the Ward of Cheap and Senior Member of the Corporation of London', and Jeremiah Evans (1865) '32 years Common Councilman and Deputy for the Ward of Candlewick'.

The Artists (painters, engravers, sculptors) provide a list that contains a few well-known names and are listed alphabetically, but priority may perhaps be allowed to a lady artist Sophia Raincock who died in Rome in 1890 and was buried in the first vault to be made here for her sister Harriet in 1837. They were both daughters of William Raincock of the India House in the City and although she exhibited regularly it is doubtful whether anyone now recalls Sophia Raincock's name. J. Priestman Atkinson (1923), 'Punch' artist. William Bennett (1871) a water colourist who lived in Clapham Park and produced a great many attractive landscapes. George Cattermole (1868), also of Clapham, was well known as a book illustrator. He was a friend of Charles Dickens and illustrated two of his novels, *Barnaby Rudge* and *The Old Curiosity Shop*. David Cox, junior (1885), a third Clapham resident, was a water colour artist of repute. Louis Haghe (1885) noted in his day for his water colours and lithographs. Walter Hann (1922) artist of stage scenery. H. S. Leifchild (1884), a sculptor whose work can be seen on at least one memorial in the cemetery. Philip Phillips (1864) an earlier theatrical scene painter. Samuel Prout (1852) whose output was large and who specialised in paintings of picturesque old towns on the continent, many of which were engraved. Mario Raggi (1907), by birth an Italian, a sculptor whose work included the statue of Lord Beaconsfield in Parliament Square, Westminster. David Roberts (1864) famous for his topographical paintings of Europe



(A. G. Rigden)

Fig. 3 South Metropolitan Cemetery, West Norwood.  
Memorial to Henry Sanford Bicknell (1818–1880) and wife Christine (1821–1872) and  
headstone to her father David Roberts (1796–1864).

and the Middle East, whose grave is marked by a small headstone beside the magnificent memorial to his son-in-law Henry Sanford Bicknell (Fig. 5). William Collingwood Smith (1887) another painter in water colour. James Sherwood Westmacott (1900), sculptor son of the better known Henry Westmacott. His work includes two of the statues in Sir Charles Barry's House of Lords. H. M. Whichelo (1867), artist and drawing master. William Frederick Woodington (1893) sculptor and painter, perhaps only remembered now by his brewery lion which stands guard at the foot of Westminster Bridge, outside County Hall. William Wyon (1851) medallist and Chief Engraver at the Royal Mint. Henry Zimmerman (1915) a member of the Royal Society of British Artists. To these may be added a group of kindred spirits closely connected with the arts. John Allnutt (1863) Elhanen Bicknell (1861) and his son Henry Sanford Bicknell (1880) (Fig. 3), three wealthy collectors and patrons of the artists of their day. Frederick Crace (1859) interior decorator, and also well known for his remarkable collection of maps, prints and drawings of London bought by the British Museum in 1880. Sir Henry Tate (1899) who left his collection of contemporary art to the nation and to house it built at his own expense the Tate Gallery, opened in 1897. He also gave a Free Library to Brixton in 1893. He lies in an ornate *terra-cotta* mausoleum just behind the crematorium.

Architects and builders are well represented. James Bailey (1850), surveyor and architect, of Lambeth, whose memorial is in itself worthy of notice. John Belcher (1913) architect of many commercial buildings in London including the Mappin and Webb building (temporarily reprieved) overlooking the Mansion House. He also designed one London church, Holy Trinity, Kingsway. William Burges (1881) architect of Cardiff Castle restoration, of Cork Cathedral and of his own house in Melbury Road, Kensington, though mercifully he was not allowed to carry out his plans for decorating St. Paul's Cathedral. He lies beneath a stone of his own design carved with a recumbent floriate cross and placed there in memory of his parents. Thomas Talbot Bury (1877), architect and engraver, pupil of Augustus Pugin and designer of 35 churches. Thomas Cubitt (1855) the great Victorian builder and developer in Pimlico, Belgravia and Clapham Park. Sir William Cubitt (1861), engineer and designer of docks, canals and railways. William Herbert (1863) another London builder, who erected (from designs by John Nash) the charming block in West Strand opposite Charing Cross Station now being carefully restored by Coutts Bank. George Jennings (1882), proprietor of an artificial stone works in Dorset whose work is much in evidence in the streets of some southern suburbs of London. Sir Horace Jones (1887), City architect, designer of the old Guildhall Library, various City markets and, with Sir J. Wolfe Barry, the Tower Bridge. James Thomas Knowles, senior (1884), architect of the Grosvenor Hotel, Victoria, impressive under its heavy coating of soot. George Porter (1856) architect of the present west front of Bermondsey Parish Church and some almshouses in Penge. Sir William Tite (1873) architect to the South Metropolitan Cemetery Company, whose most notable remaining work in London is the Royal Exchange in the City. He was buried in the catacombs and has now no memorial. Ebenezer Trotman (1865), of Furnival's Inn, an architect, but one unknown to fame. James Weir (1905) designer of many non-conformist chapels.

Musicians are represented by Sir James Barnby (1896) composer and conductor for 24 years of the Royal Choral Society. R. K. Bowley (1870) who originated the plan for a triennial Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace. W. W. Hedgcock (1932) Director of Music at the Crystal Palace. E. D. S. Holmes (1900), composer. Alfred Hunter (1911) an organ builder of repute with works in High Street, Clapham. R. D. Limpus (1875), composer, founder of the College of Organists and organist at St. Andrew Undershaft and St. Michael, Cornhill. Sir August Manns (1907) Musical Director at the Crystal Palace. James Turle (1882), composer, and organist for many years at Westminster Abbey, where he has a memorial in the cloisters.

The somewhat longer list of authors may suitably be introduced by three librarians, Lewis Hertslet (1870), Librarian at the Foreign Office, William Maltby (1854) bibliographer and Librarian at the London Institute and Walter White (1893), author of numerous travel books and Librarian of the Royal Society. The Revd. S. Benson (1881) of St. Saviour's, Southwark, who wrote a guide book to that church which went into several editions. S. L. Blanchard (1845) an author and journalist popular in his day. John Britton (1857) antiquarian and author of a number of topographical works including *Cathedral Antiquities*, 1814; *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*, 1824; *The History of the Ancient Palace . . . at Westminster*, 1834; all illustrated with excellent engravings. He was joint author with E. W. Brayley of a number of volumes in *The Beauties of England and Wales* series. His monolithic memorial is the most extraordinary

in the whole cemetery. G. Baldwin Brown (1932), art historian and author in 1905 of *The Care of Ancient Monuments*. The Revd. J. Baldwin Brown (1884), Congregational divine and a voluminous writer. The Revd. J. E. Cox (1890), editor of *The Annals of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London* of which church he was vicar for 38 years. The Revd. T. C. Dale (1. 37), author of *The Inhabitants of London in 1638* and other scholarly works, and a distinguished genealogist. Sir James Dods (1916), author and journalist. A. H. Forrester (1872), artist and writer who used the name of Alfred Crowquill. Benjamin Hanbury (1864), author of *Historical Memorials relating to the Independents*. Charles W. Heckethorn (1902) author of several books of London history including *Lincoln's Inn Fields*, 1896, and *London Memories*, 1900. The latter contains a very good chapter of local history research entitled 'South Lambeth Road. A microscopic bit of topography'. Douglas Jerrold (1857) dramatist, journalist and humourist, and his son W. B. Jerrold (1884). Edward William Lane (1876), an arabic scholar who made the first accurate translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*. Gordon Maxwell (1942) author of light-weight topographical books, particularly on Middlesex. He was Mentioned in Despatches for his part in the Zeebrugge Raid of 1918 with the R.N.V.R., and though his memorial is here he was cremated and his ashes scattered elsewhere. Thomas Miller (1874), bookseller, poet and novelist. Sir William Napier (1860), historian of the Peninsular War and biographer of his brother, General Sir Charles Napier. The Revd. A. Povah (1901) author of an excellent volume on St. Olave, Hart Street, of which church he was rector. A. B. Reach (1856), journalist, author of a number of humorous works and editor of the *Illustrated London News*. F. W. Robinson (1901) novelist friend of A. C. Swinburne. The Revd. W. Sparrow Simpson (1897), Rector of St. Vedast, Foster Lane and Sub-Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, and author of three useful volumes on that cathedral. Walter Theodore Watts-Dunton (1914), author, remembered mainly through his friendship with the poet Swinburne who lived with him for many years at his home on Putney Hill. Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd (1854), judge, author and friend of the essayist Charles Lamb. John Yarrow (1898), author of some volumes of commemorative verse.

Few types of fame are more fleeting than that of the actor, and of the twelve here listed perhaps only the first two will arouse even the faintest of memories: Lionel Brough (1909) and his daughter Mary Brough (1934). Paul Cinquevalli (1918). G. A. Conquest (1901). H. T. Craven (1905). G. B. Davidge (1842). F. A. Everall (1900). G. A. Lee (1851). D. W. Osbaldiston (1851). T. F. Robson (1864). R. J. Smith (1855). Harriet Waylett (1851).

The next group became household names because they were successful business men or women. Here lie Mrs. I. M. Beeton (1865) of *Household Management and Cookery Book* fame. Sir Henry Bessemer (1898) steel manufacturer. Edward Bumpus (1896) London bookseller. P. B. Cow (1890) of the rubber industry. John Doulton (1873) founder of the firm which bears his name, and in an adjoining grave John Watts (1858) his first partner. Sir Henry Doulton (1897) his son, who introduced art work into a business which in its earliest days was solely utilitarian. He lies in a family mausoleum of *terra-cotta*, but his father's memorial, which is some distance away, is of pink Aberdeen granite. William Edgar (1869), draper, of Swan and Edgar. James Epps (1907) who made cocoa a popular drink. James Holloway (1889) a London builder. Lawson Johnston (1900) originator of 'Bovril'. Edward Mappin (1875) an original partner in the cutlery firm. T. W. Stoughton (1917), of Hodder and Stoughton, the publishers. It is sometimes said that Jeremiah Colman, founder of the mustard firm, is buried here but this is not so, although there are

several memorials to that family. The widow and children of Moses Merryweather (1873) famous as a fire-engine manufacturer in Victorian times lie here, but where he himself is buried is so far undiscovered.

The graves of medical men are legion and a brief selection must suffice. Sir James Alderson (1882), appointed Physician Extraordinary to the Queen in 1874, and President of the Royal College of Physicians. John Hilton (1878), appointed Surgeon Extraordinary to the Queen in 1867, and President of the Royal College of Surgeons. James Hopgood (1897), a solicitor by profession but Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Royal Free Hospital for 22 years. In 1877 he persuaded the medical officers there to accept students from the London School of Medicine for Women and thus opened the way for their qualifying for a place on the Medical Register. William Marsden (1867), Surgeon and Founder of the Royal Free Hospital in 1828 and later the Brompton Cancer Hospital. Alphonse René le Mire de Normandy (1864), chemist, who patented a method for distilling sea water for drinking purposes on board ships. Nathaniel Bagshaw Ward (1868), doctor and botanist, inventor of 'Wardian cases' for the transportation of living plants and one of the founders of the Microscopical Society.

Inevitably there are many names that do not easily fit into any special category and the following 25 come under this heading. All of them persons who for a variety of reasons have some small claim to remembrance. James Busby (1871) British Resident in New Zealand and introducer of the vine into Australia. John Carver (1889) 'for 48 years in the service of the Queen and the late Prince Consort'. Colonel Joseph Crowe, V.C. (1876) 'first South African born recipient of the Cross', decorated for bravery in action during the Indian Mutiny in 1857 when serving with the 2nd Seaforth's. W. Earnshaw (1845) treasurer for many years of the Clapham Cricket Club, who was presented by the Club with a splendidly decorative silver inkstand, last seen in a dealer's window in Rome. Ann Fowler (1876) 'for forty years the faithful servant and much valued friend of David Cox, senior', the artist. Joseph Hamel (1862), botanist, born in Russia and a member of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg; author in 1854 of a book on John Tradescant's voyage to the White Sea in 1618. Reader Harris, K.C. (1909) founder of the Pentecostal League. Miss Amy (1858) and Miss Sarah Hawkes (1858) who kept a school at Clapham where two of the sisters of the poet Shelley were educated and where he met his first wife Harriet Westbrook. John Hudson (1869) Governor of the Queen's Prison, a debtors' prison in Borough Road. Henry Irving (1851) 'formerly of Her Majesty's 1st Regiment of Grenadier Guards. He served and was badly wounded in the Peninsular War'. Katti Lanner (Mrs. Geraldini) (1908), in her day a ballet dancer of international fame. J. Scott Lidgett (1953) Methodist theologian and educationalist. James Manning (1866) Her Majesty's Ancient Serjeant at law. Gideon Algernon Mantell (1852), surgeon, geologist and discoverer of the iguanodon; also author of several books on geology (Fig. 4). William Mortlock (1884) 'the great Surrey cricketer'. Christopher Pond (1881), who built the Criterion Theatre and Restaurant and was connected with the visit of the first English cricket team to Australia in 1861. Baron de Reuter (1899) founder of the famous press agency. G. H. Rogers-Harrison (1880), Windsor Herald. The Revd. Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1892), the famous non-conformist preacher. Richard Thornton (1865), once a well-known figure in the City who made a fortune on the Baltic Exchange, and was Master of the Leathersellers' Company. John Wilde (1886) 'late of the Households of the Duke of York, George IV, William IV and of her present Majesty, Queen Victoria'. C.



(A. G. Rigden)

Fig. 4 South Metropolitan Cemetery, West Norwood. Grave of Gideon Algernon Mantell (1790–1852), surgeon and geologist. The stone has been repainted and re-lettered.

Rowland (1871) Clerk of the Journals of the House of Commons and W. E. Walmisley (1875) Clerk of the Journals of the House of Lords. Finally Charles D. Turner Bravo (1876) famous only for his part as the deceased in the famous Balham murder trial a century ago.

The last 20 or so memorials to be mentioned have inscriptions which are themselves of interest recording as they do passages in the lives of otherwise unrecorded Victorians. Of all the many battles fought during that long reign the best remembered is undoubtedly The Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava. Two survivors of that nightmare charge lie here, both men of the 13th Light Dragoons: Henry Wickham (1892) who has no memorial and John Withers (1911) who also fought in India and who died on his 88th birthday. A third, John Cory of the 11th Hussars, 'one of the 600 in the Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava October 25th, 1854' is named on the family memorial but is buried at Beaufort, S. Carolina. The following 25 need no introductory note:

John Bailey (1882), 'Engineer in the Metropolitan Fire Brigade in which he served 23 years, during 15 of which he was in charge of the Clapham Fire Station. Having previously served his country in the Crimea and China Wars he died 20th October 1882 from the effects of over exertion and exposure at the great fire at Wood Street, City, aged 46 years'.

J. S. Barwise (1844), 'late of Fureedabad in the district of Juanpoor, North India, who was murdered on the night of Sunday, 15th December, 1844 by a band of assassins generally supposed to have been hired for the purpose by Raja Mahed Naraim Singh, a Hindoo landholder with whom law suit had been pending for several years', aged 54.

Richard Belton (1875), 'He was for many years on the Tooting – London Omnibus and the cost of enlarging this grave to receive his earthly remains was defrayed by a few inhabitants of Balham and Tooting as a token of their respect and appreciation of his honesty and civility'.

Mary Bright (1844), erected by John Bright of Brixton Hill to his wife who died at the age of 62. 'This monument is erected as a just tribute to the memory of departed worth and excellence and perpetuates the grateful remembrance of kindness and attention in very early youth, ripened by time into affection, consummated by twenty years connubial happiness'.

J. L. Chabot (1878), who with his two children was drowned 3 September 1878, when the pleasure steamer Princess Alice was rammed by a liner and sank in the Thames off Woolwich with great loss of life. There are a number of other stones recording victims of this tragedy.

George Collins (1874), a tribute to an old employee, 'This tablet is erected out of respect for his memory by his late employer Mr. A. Braby for whom and for whose predecessors he worked 56 years on the same premises, viz. Bangor Wharf, Bevedere Road, Lambeth, his first and only place of employment'.

Henry Dawkins (1857), a civil servant 'interdicted by Parliament from mingling his ashes with those of his wife and family who lie buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster, graveyard'.

Colonel John Enoch (1855), 'Assistant Quartermaster at the Headquarters of the Royal Welch Fusiliers with whom he served in the Peninsular Campaign and at Waterloo'. He died aged 70 and lies beneath a splendid memorial carved with the regimental colours, sabres and trumpet. With him lies his son-in-law Thomas Lewis 'late





(A. G. Rigden)

Fig. 5 South Metropolitan Cemetery, West Norwood. Grave of John Wimble (died 1851). A good example of the more elaborate memorials of the mid 19th century.



surgeon of the King's Regiment of Dragoon Guards. He entered the army during the Peninsular War, was present at the Siege of Badajoz and the Battle of Salamanca, and served in the West Indies, Australia, India and China'. He died in 1874 aged 81.

The Revd. J. F. Field (1902), 'to whose untiring energy the restoration of Southwark Cathedral was largely due'. It is regrettable that this memorial has recently been destroyed.

Toyotani Ishigam (1878); a somewhat unexpected memorial in the form of a cross surmounting a tall pedestal with an inscription to a Japanese student in medicine at the University of Edinburgh of a great merit who died of phthisis after a residence of five years in Scotland. 'Erected by the naval department of the Japanese Government'.

H. M. Jeffrey (1908), who died at East Dulwich aged 25 on his return from South Africa. 'He served with bravery throughout the Boer War 1901-1902 in the 11th Battn. Imperial Yeomanry and Imperial Light Horse. In 1906 he volunteered and fought in the Zulu Rebellion with the Transvaal Mounted Rifles'.

Mary Lyde Lyde (1866), whose memorial includes a tribute to her son Malcolm Thomas, Lieutenant Colonel, Indian Staff Corps, and Administrator of Radhampur, who died of cholera in 1900, aged 47. 'His life was given for the people committed to his charge in zealous and self-sacrificing endeavours to mitigate their sufferings from Famine, Plague and Cholera'.

R. Maynard (1805), 'whose remains were removed from Deadman's Place, Southwark, August 1845' with those of other members of the family. This was a non-conformist burial ground and the site is now covered by the vast brewery on Bankside.

Maria Moore (1843) a Brixton lady, 'her death, which was instantaneous, was caused by the upsetting of a stage coach'.

Lieut. Colonel Sir F. B. Norman, K.G.B. (1901), Indian Army; he fought in 'the Indian Mutiny, Umbeylah, Bhootan, Hazara, Afghanistan, Kandahar, Burmah'.

General Brook Bridges Parlbly, C.B. (1873); he died at Upper Norwood, aged 90, and his headstone (now destroyed) recorded his service; 'Joined Madras Army 1800; at battle of Argaum and storming of Gawilghur in 1803; wounded severely in action at Lassoulgaum in 1804; as a lieut-colonel served in the Burmese War 1825; commanded 28th and 43rd regiments Madras Native Infantry at the storming of Melldon in 1826'.

Colonel J. C. Porte, C.M.G. (1919) Commander R.N. and Wing Commander Royal Naval Air Service; inventor of British Flying Boats, 'who after a life of strenuous endeavour and glorious achievement in the service of his King and Country died at Brighton on the 22nd October 1919 aged 35 years'.

J. R. Poynor (1887), born at Leicester in 1829 'he was apprenticed to the Printing and Temperance Publishing business of Mr. Thomas Cook in whose employ he continued for more than 20 years assisting at the commencement of the Tourist and Excursion Business of his employer at Leicester, from whence he removed to London and continued in the joint service of Thomas Cook & Sons to the end of his life.'

Eliza Roberts (1878), 'She was for many years one of the sisters of St. Thomas's Hospital and afterwards in the Crimea during the war did much to alleviate the sufferings of the sick and wounded'. She died aged 76 at Swanley, Kent.

Major Arthur Rule (1915), A Crimea Veteran with the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour. 'Forty nine years a Yeoman of the Guard. Formerly in the XXth regiment and the Post Office Rifles'.

John Martin Smith (1892), 'the originator of the words 'not negotiable' for crossed cheques. These words make a cheque absolutely worthless to any but the rightful owner'. However valuable the idea may have been the inscription reads oddly on a tombstone.

Richard John Smith (1855), 'His dramatic career was marked by ability and his private character by suavity. Possessing both an informal mind and cultivated tastes he was honoured by his private friends as the very reverse of the assumed characters by which he was professionally known'. The *Dictionary of National Biography* says he was 'eminent in assassins, sorcerers, moss-troopers and infernal parts'!

Charles Walker (1886), Colour-Sergeant in Her Majesty's 55th Regiment and also one of Her Majesty's Body Guard. He 'served with the above regiment in the China Wars 1841 and 1842, and Crimean War, Alma, Inkerman, Siege and Fall of Sebastopol, the repulse of the sortie of 26th October and the attack on the Redan'.

John Wimble (1851), 34 years of whose eventful life was passed on the seas. He lies beside his wife Mary Ann (1886), who shared some of his perils, beneath a fine monument surmounted by a somewhat weatherbeaten carving of a merchantman. On the four sides are vigorously carved panels depicting shipwrecks in which he was involved (Fig. 5).

Lastly perhaps in someways the most splendid inscriptions are on two graves within the Greek enclosure. One is to 'The Princess Eugenie Nicephoru Comneni Palaeologu, descendant of the Grecian Emperors of Byzantium', who died in 1934, and her three sons 'Princes of the House of Palaeologu', and the other records her husband Colonel Edmund Hill Wickham, of Horsington, Somerset, died 1907, his son Constantine, died 1900 and 'Laura, daughter of Nicholas Testaferrata, Marchese di Noto of Malta, widow of Theodore Attardo de Cristoforo de Bouillon, Prince Nicephoru Palaeologu (Hereditary claimant to the Grecian Throne 1863)' who died in 1912. According to *The Times* obituary, the Princess, who claimed descent from Constantine the Great and at one time laid claim to the throne of Greece, was received with Royal honours when she visited that country in 1898.

Biographical brevity has been essential in this paper but further details can be obtained in most cases from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, *Boase Modern English Biography* or *Who Was Who*. With regard to the cemetery itself the most useful works are *The Parish of St. Mary, Lambeth Pt. 2 Survey of London 26* (London, 1956); J. B. Wilson *The Story of Norwood* (London, 1973) and James Stevens Curl *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (London, 1972). The same author has an important paper on Nunhead Cemetery in *Trans. Ancient Monuments Soc.* n.s. 22 (1977). E. W. Brayley *A Topographical History of Surrey 3* (London, 1880; edition updated by E. Walford) has a description and small plan of the Norwood Catacombs.

## APPENDIX

LIST OF THOSE PERSONS COMMEMORATED IN  
THE SOUTH METROPOLITAN CEMETERY  
WHO ARE ALSO INCLUDED IN THE DICTIONARY OF  
NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

*(at the time of writing all but 6 of the memorials to the 102 persons listed can still be seen)*

			Location <sup>1</sup>
A'Beckett	Sir William	1806-1869	11,988.52/3
Alderson	Sir James	1794-1882	16,436.34
Baggallay	Sir Richard	1816-1888	13,875.33
Barnby	Sir Joseph	1838-1896	26,739.120
Belcher	John	1841-1913	33,607.93
Bessemer	Sir Henry	1813-1898	27,463.99
Bicknell	Elhanen	1788-1861	5,930.38
Blanchard	Samuel Laman	1804-1845	1,345.32
Bowley	Robert Kanzow	1813-1870	12,851.33
Brand	Revd. John	1744-1806	24,633.19
Brande	William Thomas	1788-1866	1,177.98
Britton	John	1771-1857	5,235.119
Brough	Lionel	1836-1909	29,546.108
Brown	Gerald Baldwin	1849-1932	7,167.40
Brown	James Baldwin	1820-1884	7,167.40
Burges	William	1827-1881	4,478.34
Bury	Thomas Talbot	1811-1877	5,935.7
Carver	Revd. Alfred James	1826-1909	23,256.50
Cattermole	George	1800-1868	8,071.23
Christmas	Revd. Henry	1811-1868	261.64
Conquest	George Augustus	1837-1901	23,245.108
Cook	Sir Francis	1817-1901	67.63
Cooper	Thompson	1837-1904	27,866.29
Craven	Henry Thornton	1818-1905	31,155.124
Cox	David, junior	1809-1885	20,991.88
Crace	Frederick	1779-1859	6,642.34
Crichton	Sir Alexander	1763-1856	1,478.62
Cubitt	Thomas	1788-1855	649.48
Cubitt	Sir William	1785-1861	7,740.36
Doulton	Sir Henry	1820-1897	22,589.36
Easthope	Sir John	1784-1865	121.34/5
Field	Joshua	1786-1863	3,804.27
Forrester	Alfred Henry	1804-1872	13,816.123/4
Gassiott	John Peter	1797-1877	8,728.62
Gilbart	James William	1794-1863	8,659.115
Grover	John William	1836-1892	24,709.98
Haghe	Louis	1806-1885	18,219.88
Hanbury	Benjamin	1778-1864	7,139.53
Hannen <sup>2</sup>	Sir James	1821-1894	331.61
Hertslet	Lewis	1787-1870	12,628.60
Hilton	John	1804-1878	17,174.91
Jerrold	Douglas William	1803-1857	5,452.97

Jerrold	William Blanchard	1826-1884	5,452.97
Jones	Sir Horace	1819-1887	12,335.89
Jones <sup>3</sup>	James Felix	1810-1878	17,159.67
Key	Sir John	1794-1858	5,641.33
King	Thomas	1835-1888	22,559.119
Lane	Edward William	1801-1876	16,152.61
Lee	George Alexander	1802-1851	2,892.74
Leifchild	Henry Stormonth	1823-1884	2,038.7
Lidgett	John Scott	1854-1953	11,221.41
Limpus <sup>4</sup>	Richard Davidge	1824-1875	12,687.91
Lowry	Henry Dawson	1869-1906	31,654.43
McArthur	Hannibal Hawkins	1788-1861	22,050.41
McArthur	Sir William	1809-1887	7,752.59/60
Maltby <sup>5</sup>	William	1763-1854	725.46
Manning	James	1781-1866	42.70
Manns	Sir August Friederich	1825-1907	31,828.81
Mantell	Gideon Algernon	1790-1852	273.100
Marsden	William	1796-1867	269.62
Maudslay	Joseph	1801-1861	4,361.77
Maxim	Sir Hiram	1840-1916	34,481.124
Miller	Thomas	1807-1874	2,921.7
Moffat	Robert	1795-1883	13,026.56
Napier	Sir William Francis Patrick	1785-1860	6,853.23
Newmarch	William	1820-1882	12,852.91
Norman	Sir Francis Booth	1830-1901	29,725.104
Normandy	Alphonse René le Mire de	1809-1864	9,170.18
Phillips	Richard	1778-1851	2,902.57
Pritchard	Sir Charles Bradley	1837-1903	30,742.64
Prout	Samuel	1783-1852	3,107.60
Punshon	William Morley	1824-1881	18,582.60
Raggi	Mario	1821-1907	26,018.86
Reach	Angus Bethune	1821-1856	1,363.97
Roberts	David	1796-1864	5,930.38
Robinson	Frederick William	1830-1901	24,413.118
Robson	Thomas Frederick	1822-1864	9,307.78
Smith	Richard John	1786-1855	4,385.19
Stevenson	Sir Thomas	1838-1908	26,543.95
Spurgeon	Revd. Charles Haddon	1834-1892	24,395.38
Talfourd	Sir Thomas Noon	1795-1854	1,452.34
Tate	Sir Henry	1819-1899	19,897.38/39
Thomas	David	1813-1894	12,801.8
Thornton	John	1783-1861	5,629.62
Tite	Sir William	1798-1873	Cat. A.
Turle	Henry Frederic	1835-1883	11,845.74
Turle	James	1802-1882	11,845.74
Turner	Sharon	1768-1847	781.64
Ward	Nathaniel Bagshaw	1791-1868	4,870.48
Watson	James	1799-1874	15,089.11
Watts-Dunton	Walter Theodore	1832-1914	11,576.97

Waylett	Harriet	1798–1851	2,892.74
Webster	Richard Everard	1842–1915	16,457.76
Whitaker	Joseph	1820–1895	17,887.89
Whitaker	Joseph Vernon	1845–1895	17,887.89
White	Walter	1811–1893	25,346.24
Wimshurst	James	1832–1903	30,413.81
Winter	Thomas	1795–1851	154.61
Woodington	William Frederick	1806–1893	16,784.117
Woods	Sir Albert William	1816–1904	12,786.47
Wyon	William	1795–1851	2,842.33
Youl	Sir James Arndell	1811–1904	31,004.104

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> The numbers are the grave numbers and the section number, the cemetery being divided into squares on the plan.
- <sup>2</sup> Sir J. Hannen is buried in Catacomb K, but his name is on the family memorial 331.61

- <sup>3</sup> The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* incorrectly calls him John.
- <sup>4</sup> Buried in the vault of Edward Gilbert.
- <sup>5</sup> Buried in the vault of Joseph Kendall.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express his thanks to the Cemetery Superintendent and her staff for all their assistance in his research.

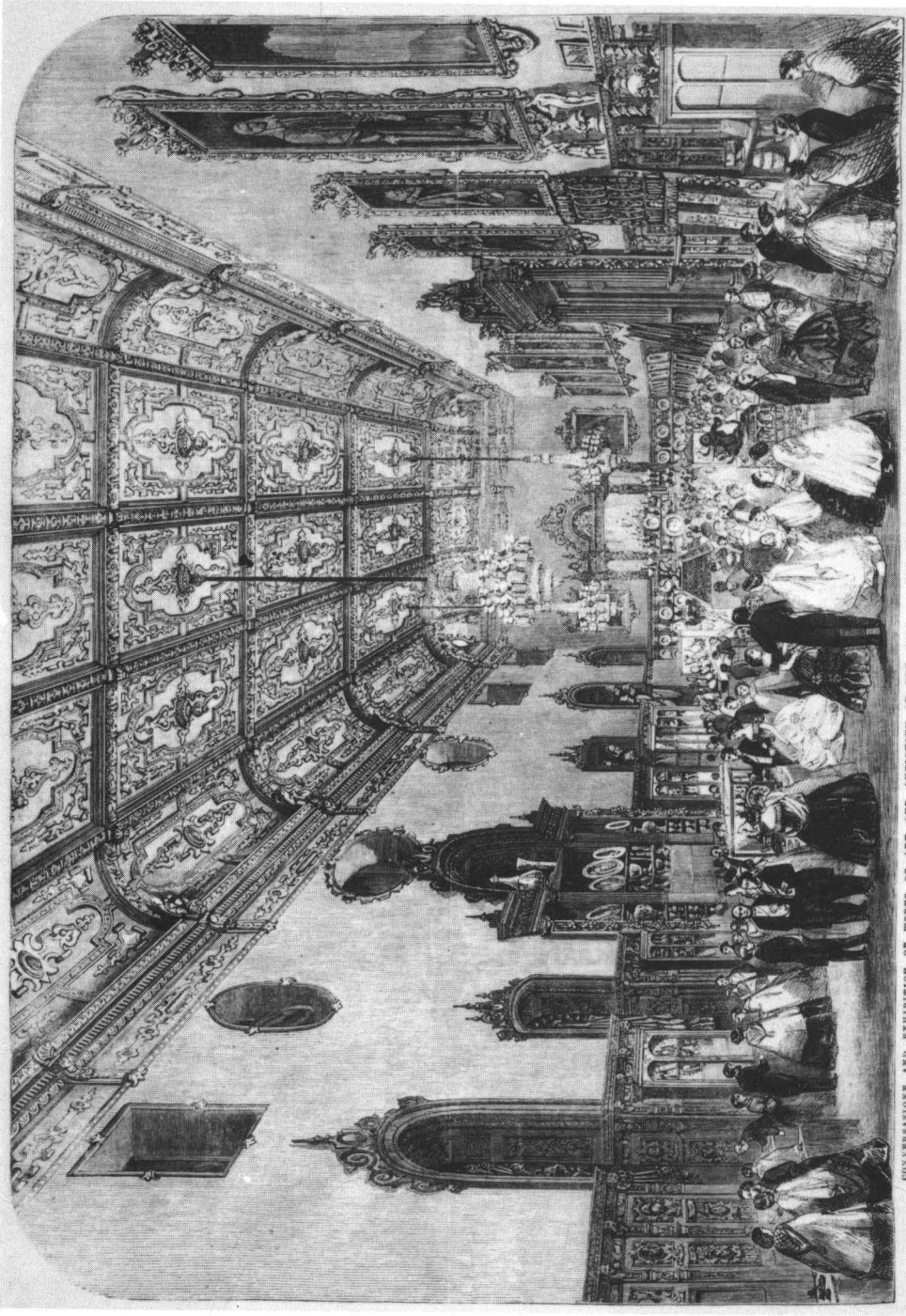
# A CONVERSAZIONE AT THE IRONMONGERS' HALL

VICTORIA MOGER

Overshadowed by the twin giants, the Great Exhibition of 1851 and its successor the International Exhibition of 1862, the Exhibition of Antiquities and Works of Art given by the Ironmongers' Company in May 1861 has been overlooked by historians of the grand exhibitions of the last century. At the time it received wide-spread and enthusiastic press comment and it is remembered today by the magnificent 600-page illustrated catalogue, published under the supervision of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, which stands as an impressive testimony to the extraordinary achievement of the exhibition organisers.<sup>1</sup>

The precise origins of the exhibition are obscure. George Russell French in his preface to the catalogue claimed that it was 'with a view to exhibit the general advancement which of late years has been made in the production of iron and the perfection of our present machinery that the *Conversazione* had its rise' and that the scheme 'gradually assumed larger proportions'. Such an initiative by one of the City Companies had no direct precedent<sup>2</sup> although the members of the Court of the Ironmongers' Company no doubt subscribed to the view, prevalent in the 19th century, that 'exhibitions are always beneficial and beneficial to all',<sup>3</sup> as educators of good taste and promoters of good design. In the event over 700 invited guests were entertained on the evening of 8 May by a dazzling display of nearly 2,500 objects laid out in the Ironmongers' Hall in Fenchurch Street. Ironwork and machinery were only two of the thirty-eight categories of 'works of art' on view. These ranged from miniature portraits, illuminated manuscripts and holograph letters, engravings and bookbindings to arms and armour, glass, jewellery, and the great charters and grants of arms of the City Companies.<sup>4</sup>

In January the Court had adopted the suggestion of a fellow member, Thomas Howard, (proprietor of the King & Queen Iron Works in Rotherhithe) to hold a *Conversazione* to 'consist of objects of Art and Manufacture' for the entertainment of families and friends of members.<sup>5</sup> The expense was to be met by the Company. At the end of the month a committee of nine was appointed (including the Master, Richard Birkett and the two wardens, John Walker Baily and Charles Luckombe) to superintend the arrangements. The minutes of the meetings of this committee are sparse and generally unrevealing, but it appears that initially the committee concerned themselves principally with who should be invited rather than what the substance of the *Conversazione* should be. In February<sup>6</sup> they agreed to hold a private view for members on the evening of 9 May (later changed to 8 May) to which the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and their Ladies, and the Masters and Clerks from the City Companies and their Ladies should be invited. 'Several



CONVERSATION AND EXHIBITION OF WORKS OF ART AND ANTIQUITY AT THE HALL OF THE IRONMONGERS' COMPANY, FENCHURCH-STREET, ON THE 18th INST.

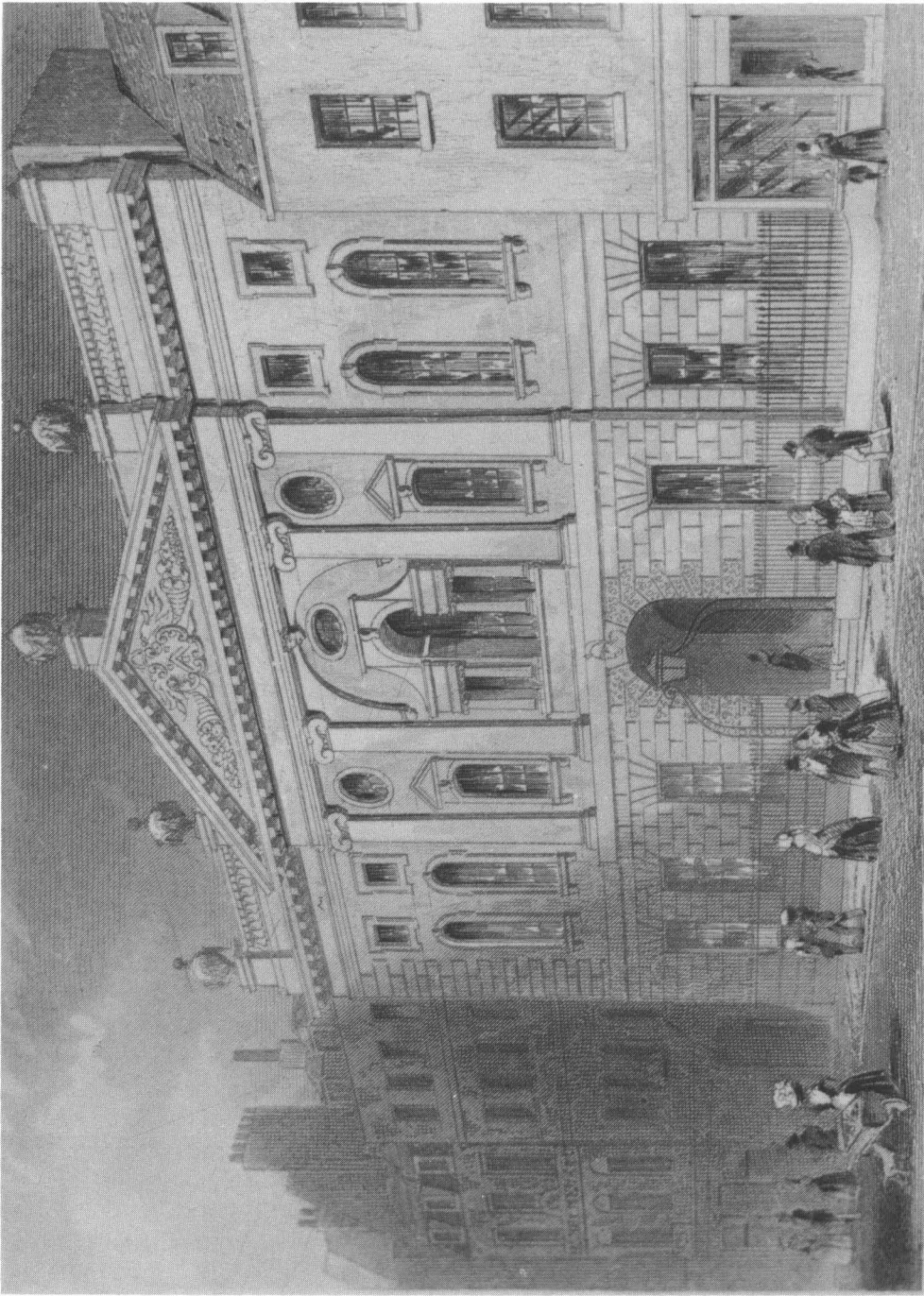
(Museum of London)

Fig. 1 The Conversazione and Exhibition of Antiquities and Works of Art, Ironmongers' Hall (From the *Illustrated London News* 18 May 1861).

literary and scientific gentlemen' were to be added to this select band of City dignitaries. At a later meeting the Clerk, Simon Adams Beck, was instructed to write to members and other institutions and private individuals requesting objects for loan. His brief, however, was very vague. When writing to Messrs. Crowley & Co., Kelham Works, Sheffield (6 April) he confesses: 'I cannot send you any particulars respecting the *Conversazione* beyond stating that the Company hoped to be able to exhibit rare works of art and antiquities particularly . . . connected with the Iron Trade'.<sup>7</sup> To the City Library Committee of the Corporation of London he wrote (28 March): 'The Master and Wardens have directed me to request that you will kindly aid the object they have in view by a loan for the occasion of *any* (my italics) objects of antiquarian and general interest from the Library and Museum of the Corporation of London'.<sup>8</sup> As late as 24 April<sup>9</sup> the committee decided to admit 'portraits of a general interest to a limited extent' and also pictures belonging to members of the Company. At the same meeting Mr Adams Beck was directed to write to several of the minor City Companies, to whom application had not already been made, for objects of interest. These rather general appeals did not deter contributors and offers flowed in. In April the committee decided to ask seven 'archaeological friends' to join them as honorary members presumably with the intention of benefiting not only from their specialist advice but also from their assistance in sharing the now increasing burden of organisation. Some of the new members, notably the Rev. Thomas Hugo, possessed distinguished collections themselves and lent a number of items to the exhibition.<sup>10</sup> On 27 April the guest list was finally settled, and 1,058 invitations were sent out for 8 May.<sup>11</sup> Although the decision was not minuted it must have been at about this time that the committee decided to extend the *Conversazione* into a semi-public exhibition (admission by ticket only) and keep it open on 9, 10, 11 May reserving the evening of 10 May for a private view for the honorary members of the committee and a few 'friends and lovers of antiquity'.

It is certain that had the committee kept to their original intention of limiting the duration of the exhibition to one night only they would have forfeited the wide acclaim their efforts received in the daily and periodical press. Notwithstanding the elaborate language of the Victorian newspaper critics their admiration was unmistakable: 'On our entrance the scene was of a character which well-nigh exceeds description. It seemed as if the contents of scores of museums were ransacked for their choicest and best treasures'.<sup>12</sup> The Entrance Hall was filled with ironwork, gates, chests and machinery, the Dining Room was hung with pictures, the Drawing Room with engravings and the Corridor was lined with portraits and autographs. But it was the Banqueting Hall itself which caught the eye of the City Press reporter: 'It was one blaze of beauty not only for archaeological eyes but for lovers of artistic excellence of every period'. The 'blaze' was provided by the heaps of gold and silver plate, including the plate from 24 City Companies and Civic Insignia, notably the maces from the 26 Wards of the City of London. The whole was lit by chandeliers. The list of exhibits singled out for comment is too long to include here but first and foremost in every resumé of the exhibits is the Benevenuto Cellini shield (said to have been presented to Henry VIII by Francis I at their meeting on the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520) which was lent by the Queen.<sup>13</sup> An indication of the importance of the *Conversazione* in the minds of the contributors is the fact that the Sword of State of Edward III was lent by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, leaving its resting place in Westminster Abbey for the first time ever except when required for State ceremonies.





(Museum of London)

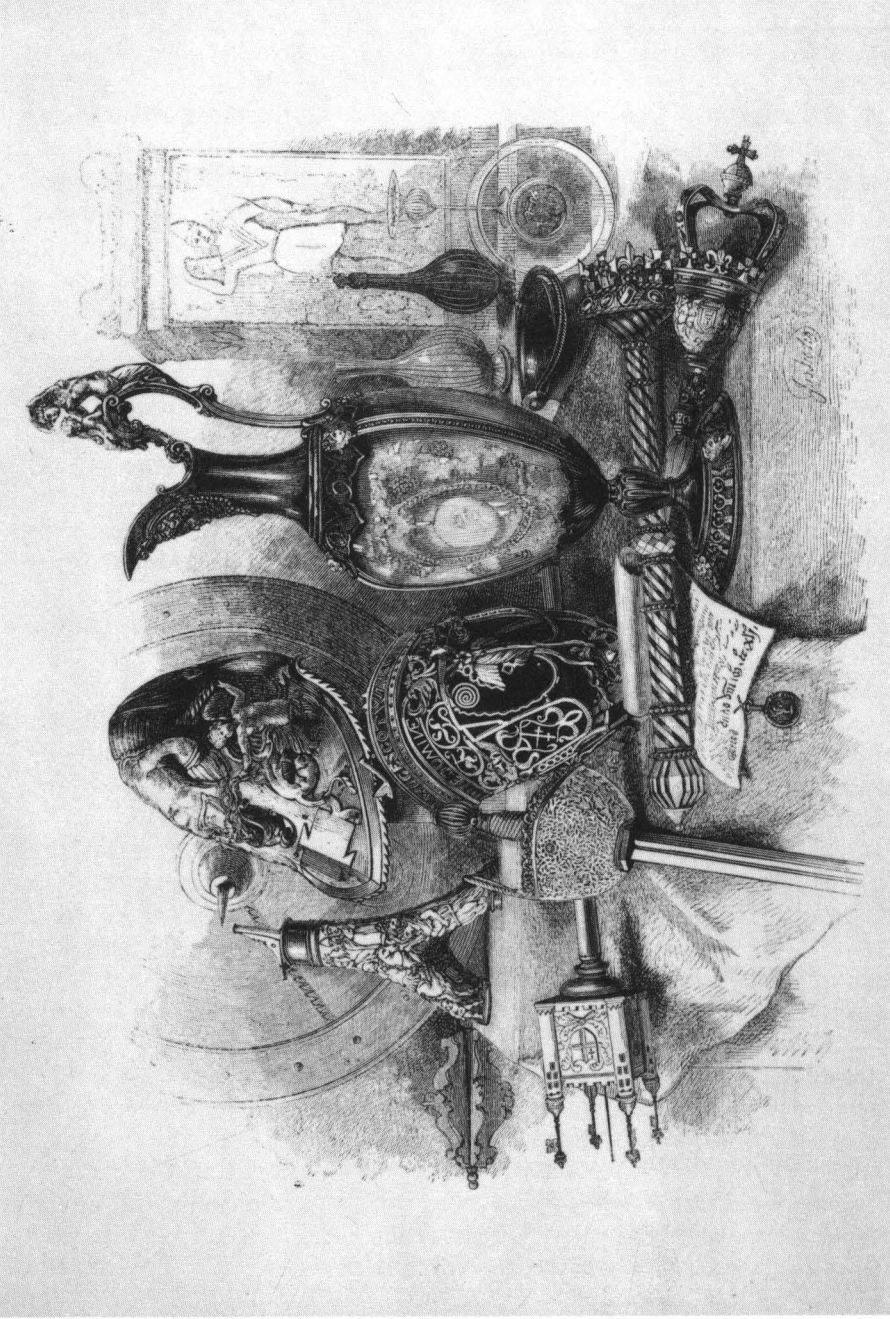
Fig. 2 Facade of the Ironmongers' Hall (From W. I. Bicknell *Illustrated London* (c. 1848)).

Responsibility for the arrangement of the objects was entrusted to one member of the committee, the archaeologist and architect Charles Baily, who was assisted by the Rev. James Beck and a Mr Chaffers. A refreshment tent had been erected in the courtyard of the Hall (the ground had been boarded over, free of expense to the Company, by another member of the committee, Mr Silver), and musical interludes were provided by two professional singers, the Misses Eyles and Poole.

On the evening of 10 May it was announced that the Prince Consort would visit the exhibition on the following morning. Prince Albert had been informed of the event in March when the committee sent him a handsomely bound copy of John Nicholl's history of the Ironmongers' Company with a request that he might honour the *Conversazione* with his presence. The Prince not only came, and as it turned out it was his last official visit to the City for he died on 14 December 1861, but also lent his recently acquired triptych by Grunewald, 'supposed to be the only work of the Master in England'.<sup>14</sup>

When the doors finally closed at 5 o'clock on 11 May between 3,000 – 4,000 people had visited the exhibition. Nobody seemed quite sure of the numbers although each visitor was supposed to sign his or her name in the visitors book on arrival. Mr Adams Beck noted afterwards that tickets of admission to members should have been limited for each particular day so as to prevent crowding on any one day, and that greater care should have been taken by those at the doors of the exhibition since several parties had been admitted who strictly should not have been there.<sup>15</sup> The criticisms which followed were perhaps predictable. *The Art Journal* preferred the current fashion for trade exhibitions and thought the *Conversazione* was 'too decidedly archaeological' and felt that the collections were a trifle miscellaneous and that in future it would be well to aim at some 'one grand result'. The *Art Journal* critic agreed with the reporter from *The Times* (13 May) who regretted that 'a collection containing so many treasures of the utmost rarity in every department of art should be brought together merely to be seen for a day or two and then dispersed' and hoped that the Company would keep the exhibition open a little longer. These sentiments were echoed on all sides but the committee felt, because of the 'amount of wealth committed to their care' and the 'irreparable nature of the loss had an accident occurred', that they must close after three days.<sup>16</sup> It appeared then that nothing further was to be done. The committee were formally thanked for their great zeal and energy and for the 'admirable manner in which they carried out the wishes of the Court'. The Master and the Wardens were authorised to issue invitations to dine at the next Masters Day to 'such of the contributors to the late Exhibition of Works of Art as they shall think fit'; the honorary members of the committee were each given a copy of Mr Nicholl's history and presumably the indefatigable Mr Adams Beck had to arrange for the return of the exhibits for it seems that the committee did not meet again.

However, several of the honorary members of the committee were also members of the Council of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. On 15 May 1861 a special Council meeting was held for the express purpose of 'considering the propriety of publishing with the assistance of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers the Catalogue of Works of Art and Antiquities held at their Hall . . .'. The Hon. Secretary, Mr Sass,<sup>17</sup> explained the object of the meeting which then resolved that: 'the Society should, with the permission of the Ironmongers' Company, superintend the publication of a descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the late Exhibition. . . ' and that 'subscription should be solicited from persons interested and that such subscriptions be received as for an



(Museum of London)

Fig. 3 A group of objects from the exhibition including: An 'Altar to Diana' found on the site of Goldsmiths' Hall in 1830, a 16th-century Italian steel helmet, the Tower Ward Mace, its head representing the White Tower, specimens of glass from the collection of Felix Slade, and a claret jug with silver-gilt mounts presented to John Nicholl, Master of the Ironmongers' Company, in 1860. (Wood engraving after a photograph by William Bailey; from the catalogue of the exhibition).

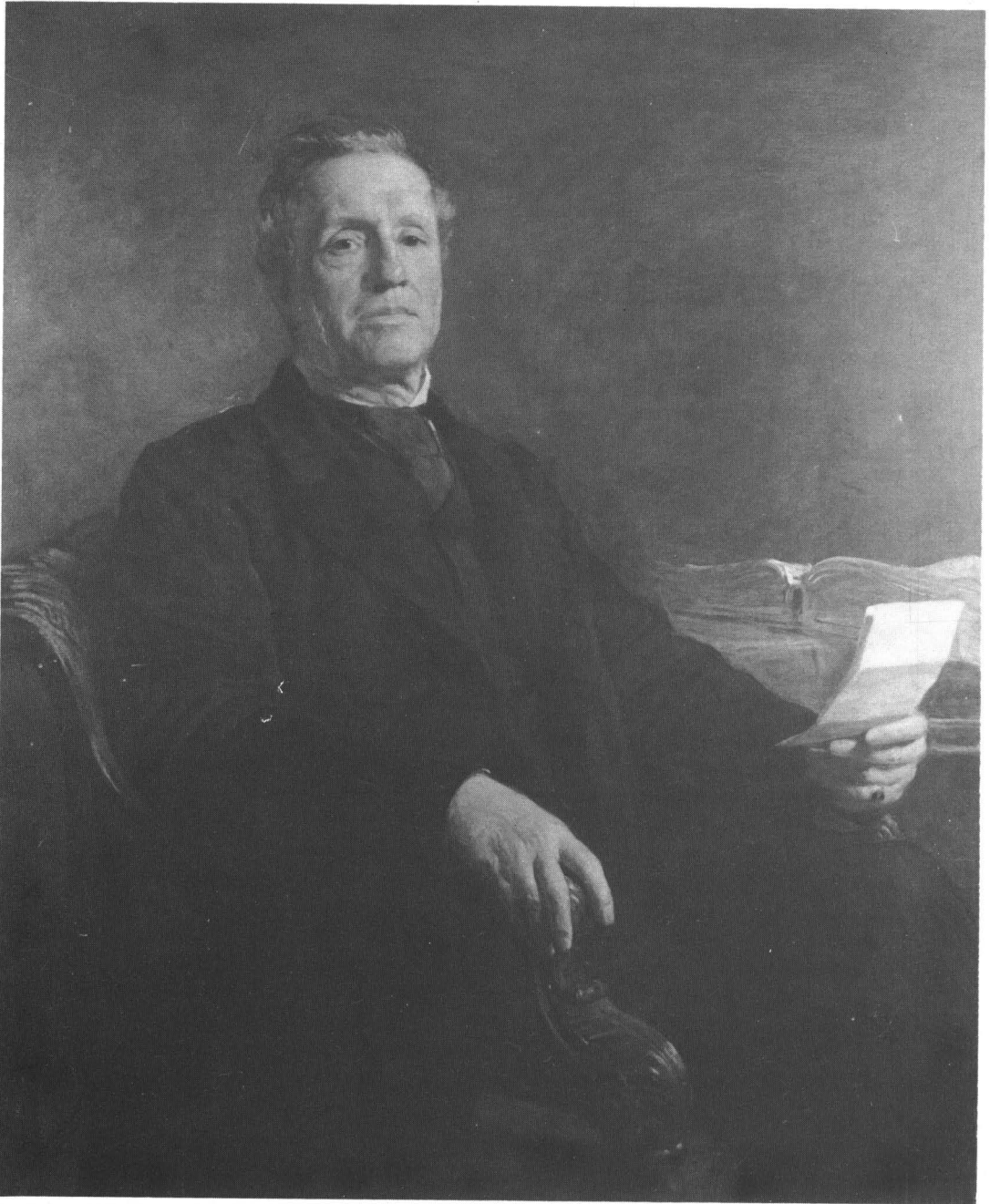
equivalent number of copies of the work at a price to be settled hereafter'. A committee was then appointed to confer with the Ironmongers' Company on this subject.<sup>18</sup>

The first mention of the proposed catalogue in the Ironmongers' Company records is a letter from Mr Adams Beck to Mr Joseph Warren of Ixworth, Suffolk, (13 March 1862) who had lent a collection of Saxon and Medieval personal ornaments to the Exhibition: 'the catalogue. . . is not published by the Ironmongers' Company but by the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society by private subscription, and your informant is quite mistaken in supposing that the Company intend to present a copy to each of the 150 exhibitors. They would be delighted to do so if they could afford it but as the Exhibition cost upward of £1,000 it cannot incur such an expense'. (Fig. 1).<sup>19</sup> In January 1863 the Company found itself out of pocket, partly because of 'the extraordinary expenses including the *Conversazione*' and a number of economies were instituted which no doubt caused some dismay: 'At 5 of the committee meetings no dinners be provided and that all dinners except the 4 Court dinners, to which guests are invited, no wine to be supplied except port, sherry and light claret' and expenditure on wine 'be reduced to £500 p.a.'<sup>20</sup>

In April 1862 the company subscribed £26 5s. 0d. towards the expense of the catalogue, and in May Mr Adams Beck wrote to Mr Sass accepting with gratitude the Society's offer to superintend the publication of the catalogue and stating that: 'application will be made to each member of the Company for a subscription'. This letter obviously gave rise to a misunderstanding for Mr Adams Beck found himself defending the over-zealous behaviour of Mr Sass to J. M. Tatham, 6 Great Carter Lane, Doctors Commons (2 July 1862): 'I am very sorry that Mr Sass should have annoyed you and I think he was mistaken in applying to members of the Company for their subscriptions except through me. I think my original letter explained to you that the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society had agreed to obtain subscriptions for publishing the catalogue and they undertook it because the Company felt that they could not ask subscriptions except from their own members. Mr Sass as Secretary of the Society has taken great pains about the catalogue and I suppose he thought that on this account he was to collect all the subscriptions'.<sup>21</sup>

As it turned out the catalogue was not completed until August 1869. The reason for the long delay is not quite clear but it seems that the editor, George Russell French,<sup>22</sup> although given able assistance by Charles Baily who drew many of the illustrations, was left to edit the entire work on his own. Unfortunately a large quantity of manuscripts relating to the exhibition and to the catalogue, which were in his possession, were dispersed before his death in 1881. 274 wood blocks, from which the engravings in the catalogue were made, were sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge on 28 April 1881.

Together with eight copies of the catalogue they fetched a total of £63 8s. 0d. 500 small paper (in two volumes) and 100 large paper copies (in four volumes) of the catalogue were actually printed, although only 400 of the small copies were issued, the others being destroyed. By 1881 the small paper edition was being advertised for sale at £1 16s. 0d. and in the sale copies fetched between £1 4s. 0d. and £1 6s. 0d. each. The original price was three guineas.<sup>23</sup> From that time the exhibition and its magnificent memorial have been left generally unnoticed and it is to be hoped that henceforth they may arouse the interest and attract the attention that they so richly deserve.



*(North Thames Gas)*

Fig. 4 Portrait of Simon Adams Beck, Clerk of the Company, by Henry T. Wells R.A. Mr Adams Beck was also the Governor of the Gas Light and Coke Company and gave his name to the Beckton Gas Works built by the Company on a site near Barking Creek, in 1868.

## APPENDIX

## EXPENSES OF CONVERSAZIONE

Mr Chandler	Disbursements	131.	7.	8.
Mr Walter	Glass Cases	128.	5.	6.
Taylor & Fisher	Upholsterers & do.	125.	11.	2.
Webster	Refreshments	87.	19.	8.
Ashby & Horner	Carpenters	59.	13.	1.
Waterlow & Sons	Printing, etc.	47.	4.	11.
Ridsdale	Gas fittings	39.	0.	0.
B. Edginton	Marquee	30.	0.	6.
W. Baily & Sons	Ironmongery, Oil, etc.	24.	9.	2.
Josh. Green	Van hire	13.	19.	11.
J. W. Silver & Co.	Red padding	13.	2.	2.
H. & S. Gardner	Hire of lamps	13.	15.	0.
Gas		7.	3.	4.
		<hr/>		
		721.	12.	1.
Mr Chaffers	Removals, attendance, etc.	30.	12.	0.
Music		16.	16.	0.
Art Journals		11.	5.	0.
Jealls for attendance		8.	3.	2.
Detectives		7.	10.	0.
The Rev. Jas. Beck for expenses of Dr.	}	5.	5.	0.
Rock, Morgan & Ready				
Smith & Field		5.	4.	0.
City Press		1.	2.	0.
		<hr/>		
		£807.	15.	3.
Wine Consumed	doz.	B.		
Port	7.	11.		
Sherry	11.	0.		
Madeira		6.		
Chablis	3.	8.		
Champagne		6.		
Brandy		4.		
			Chater	5. 19. 2.
			Gladwell	6. 0. 0.
			<hr/>	
			819.	14. 5.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *A Catalogue of the Antiquities and Works of Art, exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall, London in the month of May 1861.* Compiled by a Committee of the Council of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. Ed. G. R. French. Large paper edition (4 volumes) (1863-1869); small paper edition (2 volumes) (1869) pp. 642, wood-engravings 331, lithogs 3, facs. 3.

<sup>2</sup> In January 1860 the Painter-Stainers held a small trade exhibition (35 exhibitors) at their Hall. Prizes were awarded for marbling, graining, writing, arabesque, glass work and medieval and ecclesiastical ornament. Similar competitions were held in the succeeding 4 years.



- <sup>3</sup> M. Boucher de Perthes, President of the 'Société Royale d'Emulation', Abbeville, recommended holding an international exhibition in 1834. *Official Illustrated Catalogue of the International Exhibition London 1* (1862) ch. 4, 13.
- <sup>4</sup> 'The grants of arms and charters of the various Companies afforded interest to many, since a large portion of them were only brought to light by the spirited enterprise of the Company with which the exhibition originated'. *Athenaeum* (May 11 1861).
- <sup>5</sup> John Nicholl *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers* 2nd ed. (1866) 455–456.
- <sup>6</sup> Ironmongers' Company Court Minutes. Guildhall Lib. Ms. 16967, Vol. 25.
- <sup>7</sup> Ironmongers' Company Letterbooks. Guildhall Lib. Ms. 17080, Vol. 9.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>9</sup> I. C. Court Minutes *op. cit.* in note 6.
- <sup>10</sup> The honorary members of the Committee were:
- (i) *Joseph Jackson Howard* Esq., LL.D, FSA.  
A clerk in the G.P.O. and an eminent genealogist. Founder and editor (until 1902) of *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*. He lent several charters and charter seals to the exhibition.
- (ii) *Rev. Thomas Hugo* MA, MRSL, FLS, FSA.  
A keen antiquarian and artist of some note. He possessed an unrivalled collection of wood-cuts by Thomas Bewick some of which he lent. His other contributions included: 27 Pilgrim Signs (several found in the Thames in 1856), the central part of a 14th-century ivory triptych (found in Haydon Square, Minorities in 1853), a skate from Moorfields, stone celts found in the Thames and a hornbook (found in the wainscot of a house in Fenchurch Street in 1858).
- (iii) *Bernard Bolingbroke Woodward* Esq.  
Librarian to the Queen and Keeper of the Royal Collection of Prints and Drawings.
- (iv) *George Scharf* Esq., FSA.  
An artist and illustrator of archaeological works. He was Art Secretary to the Manchester Exhibition of 1857 and later became first Director of the National Portrait Gallery.
- (v) *Richard Rivington Holmes* Esq., FSA.  
Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, an archaeologist, artist and authority on book-bindings. He succeeded Bolingbroke Woodward as the Queen's Librarian in 1870.
- (vi) *H. W. Sass* Esq.  
Secretary to the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society 1858–1862. He lent a miscellaneous group of objects to the exhibition including an 18th-century repeater watch bearing a portrait of the Young Pretender, a Georgian glass rattle and a Regency glass goblet made for the Prince Regent for the entertainment he gave at Windsor for the Allied Sovereigns in June 1814.
- (vii) *Rev. James Beck*. Cousin to the clerk.
- <sup>11</sup> A full guest list is given in the Ironmongers' Company records. Guildhall Lib. Ms. 17110, nos. 1 and 14.
- <sup>12</sup> *City Press* 11 May 1861.
- <sup>13</sup> Sir Guy Laking refuted the attribution to Cellini who would only have been 19 years old in 1520: '[It is] so unlike that master's work and . . . so assertively later in style and workmanship that the appellation remains a mere name.' *A Record of European Arms and Armour 4* (London, 1921) 246.
- <sup>14</sup> Royal Collection, now kept in Hampton Court. The attribution to Grunewald is doubtful.
- <sup>15</sup> Guildhall Lib. Ms. 17110, nos. 1 and 14.
- <sup>16</sup> I. C. Court Minutes *op. cit.* in note 6.
- <sup>17</sup> See 10 (vi).
- <sup>18</sup> London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Council Minutes.
- <sup>19</sup> I. C. Letterbooks *op. cit.* in note 7.
- <sup>20</sup> I. C. Court Minutes *op. cit.* in note 6.
- <sup>21</sup> I. C. Letterbooks *op. cit.* in note 7.
- <sup>22</sup> Surveyor to the Ironmongers' Company. At the same time he was presumably working on his magnum opus *Shakespeareana Genealogica* which was published in 1869.
- <sup>23</sup> Large paper copies were sold originally at 5 guineas.

# 'HOW I BEGAN THEATRE HUNTING' SOME DISCURSIVE RECOLLECTIONS

COLIN SORENSEN

My first distinct memory of noticing or, to be more accurate, really looking at an historic London building, can be fairly precisely 'dated' to the autumn of 1936, when someone, probably my father, since he and I often explored London together, pointed out to me a row of men with pickaxes standing high above us along the edge of a roof and sharply outlined against the sky. A small crowd had gathered, in what I now know was Leicester Square, to gaze up at the men who, as we watched, could be seen cutting away at the uppermost stonework of a great grey, and very shabby building. The whole front of this building was covered, or so it appeared, with intricate decoration in a style that seemed to have been copied from an illustration to *Ali Baba* or *Sinbad the Sailor* — except that there were no bright colours to enliven the criss-cross patterned tracery, the pointed arches of the windows or the mosaic-covered domes that rose above the roof. It all looked very old and tired and streaked with grime.

What I was watching that morning in Leicester Square in the mid-1930s was, I was much later to realise, the final chapter in the story of the famous Alhambra Theatre — originally opened, as the short-lived Panopticon of Science and Art, in 1854. During its lifetime, this astonishing building became and remained (until its removal 82 years later in order to make way for the present Odean cinema), the home of circus, music-hall and theatre. It may well have been Britain's first film studio as well as a pioneer in the showing of films.<sup>1</sup>

The Alhambra certainly made a rich and important contribution to the story of London's places of entertainment. Having failed as a temple of 'scientific and artistic edification', it became briefly, in 1858, a circus and two years later, a music hall. In the 1860s, among many notable performers who appeared at the Alhambra were Blondin the tight-rope walker and Leotard, 'the daring young man on the flying trapeze'. Both of them performed, unprotected by a safety net, above the heads of the patrons who, from the evidence of contemporary illustrations, continued unconcernedly eating, and more particularly drinking, at rows of tables. In 1871, the tables were removed and the pit fitted with seats like a normal theatre.

Burnt down in 1882, and rebuilt a year later, the Alhambra continued, sometimes as music hall and sometimes as theatre, for three decades and more. During the First World War it was here that George Robey, in *The Bing Boys are Here*, sang 'If you were the only girl in the world' to Violet Lorraine, before audiences full of war-weary troops on leave in 'Blighty'.



After the war a notable event at the Alhambra was the arrival of the visual splendour and technical virtuosity of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet, transferred there in 1919 from the Coliseum. By the 1930s, however, the old theatre, along with its younger neighbours, the Empire (opened in 1882), Daly's (1891), the London Hippodrome (1900) and, just a few yards away, the London Pavilion (1885), located at the heart of London's 'theatreland', was suffering mortally from the tremendous popularity and overwhelming financial power of the 'talkies'. (Only the London Hippodrome was to survive the 1930s intact as live theatre. Since 1958 it has become the Talk of the Town cabaret-restaurant).

Of course, I couldn't have known or guessed at any of this as I watched the demolition gang at work among the crumbling embellishments of what the Alhambra's original architect, a Mr. T. Hayter Lewis, had described in 1852 as its 'saracenic' decorations. I do, however, distinctly remember that the crowd standing around us was in an obviously sentimental mood and that from what I overheard them saying, somewhere inside, beyond this peeling, shuttered façade, there was, thrilling word, a theatre.

From all that people had told me about theatres — I having not yet been to one — I realised that very special sorts of magical 'happenings' occurred in them. I certainly now wanted, more than ever before, to get inside a theatre and to find out more about them.

Such was my persistence to achieve this ambition that, within a few months of that first — and last — glimpse of the Alhambra, I was taken for the first time into the mysterious, strangely intoxicating, interior of a theatre. Curiously, I can't remember what the play was that I had been brought to see, or even which theatre. But what I *can* still distinctly recall is the almost tangible, billowing cloud of warm air, heavy with the smell of size, distemper, grease paint and hot dust that swept almost audibly forward and upward over the audience as the curtain rose. From that moment, theatres were for me very powerfully, 'special' places, and the architecture *of* (or should it be *for*?) entertainment one of my 'special subjects' — to use our unlovely professional terminology.

It was from that moment, too, that I became as happy just to be in a theatre, looking at it and studying it, as to be there to watch a performance. Indeed, I often went to the theatre and much enjoyed an evening's 'theatre watching' without gaining any clear idea of what was happening on the stage. As a visual experience, I found that many entertainments could frequently be much improved by transferring one's attention to the forms and structures, the decorations and the mysterious shadows and glinting highlights to the left and right of the proscenium. Alternatively, one could look up at the roof, where all kinds of subtle sonorities of light and colour moved and changed. And, of course, it was an excellent way of listening to music.

An 'architect' as opposed to a purely practical, utilitarian, builder (although both are noble callings), has always been as much concerned with evoking feelings and responses as with how to ensure that a roof stays on or that walls remain upright. The temples, churches and theatres of the past were, however much it may now be forgotten or disregarded when they are meticulously excavated and dismembered in a relentless quest for dates and data, or expensively renovated to serve as a 'heritage' symbol or tourist attraction, originally carefully, *artfully*, designed and decorated to hatch and catch a *magic*. They were, in today's jargon, 'centres for multi-media audience participational experiences' shaped to help audience or congregation (the choice of appropriate collective noun is often difficult), towards the experience of a spiritual conversion, or the renewal of

an existing faith, or just to encourage the temporary suspension of disbelief in order to heighten awareness or simply to aid escapism.

When I began to add voracious reading and, later, corresponding with others about theatres and theatre architecture, to my own theatre watching — as one might begin as a bird-watcher and slowly turn into an ornithologist (if that's not claiming too exalted a parallel) — I soon came across references to a number of British architects whose names had never ever been mentioned during the five years that I had studied architectural history: Finch Hill and Paraire, W. G. Sprague, C. J. Phipps, Bertie Crewe and, above and most productive of all, Frank Matcham.

It turned out that these generally unknown Victorian and Edwardian specialist architects had created the settings that every night prepared hundreds of thousands of theatre-goers, in London and elsewhere, to change gear, as it were, and to get into a receptive frame of mind, to feel enlivened, excited by being in a 'special place'. Their theatres may never have been 'temples' of the muses but they were, and where they survive, are at least a setting for a sort of magic. As I had long been able to confirm, they were places having a magic of their own that would work when the main, on-stage, magic sometimes didn't.

Matcham's London theatres — including the Coliseum, Palladium, Metropolitan, Edgware Road, Victoria Palace, London Hippodrome and Lyric, Hammersmith — prove him to have been, if not a Nicholas Hawksmoor, a Fischer von Erlach or a Balthazer Neumann, certainly a not insignificant figure of late Central European Baroque. He was a master, not of a 17th or 18th century ecclesiastical or palatial baroque, but of a late 19th century city dwellers' baroque that came alive in the light of gas-lamps and footlights.

My 'theatre watching' and reading turned to active 'theatre hunting' one day in 1952. I was living and working in Vallance Road, Stepney, in an old pub which had been converted into a centre for social work by Mary Hughes, the daughter of Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's School Days*, and a much-loved character in East London. Although she had died some years before, her fame was such that 'Miss 'ughes 'ouse', or the 'Dewdrop Inn', as she had rather archly renamed it, was known for miles around.

On my first day there I climbed a twisting staircase and clambered out on to the flat roof where, from among the chimney pots, one could see acres of bombed streets and warehouses. To the north a viaduct carrying the railway out of Liverpool Street blocked the view, but in every other direction stretched semi-derelict streets, warehouses and factories, interspersed with groups of 'pre-fabs' erected to house some of the hundreds of local families who had been 'bombed out' during the war.

Among the most noticeable buildings to the south of our old pub, and standing between it and the Whitechapel Road, was a massive windowless block rising some four or five storeys above the surrounding roofs. I couldn't, at first, guess what it might once have been since it was clearly badly damaged and seemed to have lost the covering of its oddly-shaped roof. So, on my first free day I decided to investigate.

From street level, in Vallance Road, the tall block was hidden by a row of shop fronts with living accommodation above. At one point, however, this was interrupted by a very tall slit-like opening or doorway some 30 or 40 feet high. Although blocked below by hoardings to a height of 10 or 12 feet, the upper part was open and through it I could see,

across an uninterrupted space, to where, some hundred feet beyond, the view was entirely filled by a vast white-washed wall. I already half-guessed what this gigantic doorway indicated, but on turning the corner into Whitechapel Road all uncertainty was dispelled. From where I stood advertisement hoardings ran westward for some distance, joining two blocks of buildings, but between these, about half way along, there rose from behind the hoardings a curious flat-topped tower pierced by empty, eyeless, windows and with a faded 'For Sale' notice projecting from it. And, confirming my guess, I could just read, above the dim shapes of two relief-sculptures of draped figures, the words, 'Pavilion Theatre'.

Although I had seen odd references in a number of books on London theatre history to the Pavilion — once known for its great size as the 'Drury Lane of the East' and one of the city's greatest melodrama and pantomime theatres — I was sure they had all indicated that, like the Alhambra, the Empire and Daly's Theatre that had once stood together in Leicester Square, it had been demolished in the 1930s to make way for yet another 'super' cinema. Whatever the explanation, it had clearly *not* been destroyed.

The Pavilion was no longer alive, certainly, but its dead and derelict carcase still survived, apparently forgotten, behind the hoardings. I realised that the massive brick 'box' that I had seen from the roof of our ex-pub headquarters was the stage loft where once the 'flown' scenery and backcloths had been suspended. The tall opening I had noticed in Vallance Road was the special door through which pieces of scenery had been taken to be stored in the scene dock at the side of the stage. Through this also passed the scenery used by the many touring companies who travelled round London and to the provincial theatres, complete with baskets of costumes, stage 'props' and copies of their own musical arrangements or 'parts', marked for use by the host theatre's resident orchestra.<sup>2</sup>

As may be imagined, I was determined to get into the building somehow and, a day or so later, after some mercifully unobserved acrobatics, I succeeded. Having managed to climb through an inadequately blocked-up door in the side of the building away from the road, I found myself in the first of a series of dark and very damp-smelling rooms, once offices and stores I supposed, that seemed to lead, one out of the other, towards where I guessed the stage to be. I was entirely unprepared, however, for the sight that came into view as I crossed the last of these side rooms.

In front of me, through an opening where a door had once hung, was the ghost interior of a huge, half-disintegrated, theatre. Two tiers of decorated plaster-fronted balconies, supported on a ring of cast-iron pillars, inscribed a wide horseshoe curve on either side of the stage. This was framed by a proscenium formed by pairs of giant corinthian columns flanking the stage boxes. Filling the upper part of the proscenium opening hung a vast timber framework, covered in canvas — the 'interval' curtain, much of which was now ripped and drooping in tatters. On the undamaged parts could still be read the faded advertisements for local shops and tradesmen, a once-typical feature of most popular theatres and music halls.

From above, the light filtered down into the body of the theatre through the web of roof timbers that had once supported the outer skin of lead and slates, and from the underside of which had hung the plaster ceiling of the auditorium. This latter had, long ago, crashed to the ground and now lay, disintegrated by rain and overgrown with weeds, covering what had once been the railed-off space for the orchestra and the seats in the pit.

After looking at this scene of neglect and decay, I used what was left of a wooden side staircase that survived behind the lower stage box to climb on to the stage itself. This was not, as I had expected a flat surface of planking, but a steeply raked series of parallel transverse joists,<sup>3</sup> separated by gaps of a foot or more, between which could be seen a forest of vertical supporting timbers, and, resting between them, the drums of scenery-moving gear, all closely packed into a cavernous pit about twenty or perhaps, thirty, feet deep.

To cross the stage it was necessary to walk on a planked area of the fore-stage, close to where the footlights had once been, and where, in the centre, yawned the black rectangle of the traditional 'grave' trap (so-called from its use as the 'dig' in *Hamlet* from which Yorick's skull is excavated during the preparation of Ophelia's grave). On either side of this were the square holes that had once held the 'star' traps through which pantomime acrobats, thrust upwards from below on a tiny platform, were rocketed high above the stage by the release of heavy iron counter-weights, aided by the muscles of the stage mechanics.

Fixed to the inside of the proscenium on the stage left was a complex mass of rusty iron piping. From a control box fitted with various levers, this branched and spread upwards and downwards, disappearing up into the flies and to the sides and rear of the stage. By means of this network every part of the vast stage had once been illuminated by the strong but subtle light of hundreds of gas jets. The smell of coal gas, mingled with that of the oranges and the hot pies which could be bought from piemen moving among the audience, was a frequently commented upon characteristic of Victorian London's popular theatres — of which the Pavilion had once been one of the largest and most important.

A whitewashed recess in the brickwork at the far side of the stage contained a very rusty and fragile spiral staircase that wound up about thirty feet to the fly-floor — a projecting wooden gallery bracketed out from the side of the stage, and hidden from the sight of the audience by the proscenium arch. Along the fly-floor's outer handrail sprouted rows of wooden cleats around which had once been lashed a forest of scene-shifting ropes attached to the hanging scenery. Dozens of these ropes had to be tied and untied each night by the fast-moving stagehands as the play progressed. The complicated and spectacular transformation scenes which came at the climax of the Christmas pantomimes, for which the Pavilion was famous all over London during its heyday in the 1880s and 90s, required split-second timing and upwards of a hundred trained stage staff, working below, at the sides and above the stage.

Having reached the none-too-secure vantage point of the fly-floor, the stage seemed a disturbingly long way down. Pigeons fluttered occasionally across the huge empty space where the painted skies, forests and baronial halls had once hung, while others rested nearby, perching on the handrail of an iron catwalk, suspended on tiebars, that stretched precariously across behind the top of the proscenium, to the other fly-floor on the opposite side.

Behind me, through a small doorway was a long, narrow room — or what had once been a room, for it had lost both floor and ceiling. Only the floor joists remained and to these was fixed a wide central table, running from end to end. Above the table hung a gas pipe, spiked at regular intervals with taps and 'fantail' burners. Although everything was covered inches deep in bird droppings and the mirrors had long gone from where they



(Colin Sorensen)

Fig.1 The Pavilion Theatre, Whitechapel in 1952.

'... audiences ... composed of about four thousand persons, and a vast congregation besides who were turned from the doors yesterday, attested to the confidence with which the population of eastern London regards the ability and will of those who control the old Pavilion Theatre to place before the public a suitable Christmas menu of pleasure ...'  
 (*The Times* 1882).

must have been fixed in the middle of the table, it was clear that this had been a main dressing room. Dancers and actors disguised as fairies, robbers, sailors or 'general crowd' had once hurried up and down the same spiral staircase that I was about, none-too-confidently, to descend. I can well remember that the silence of this vast, dead, building was acutely oppressive. So was the strange sense of half-hearing and seeing the actors, stage hands, dancers, musicians, and the huge crowds that had once packed the now-wrecked auditorium and jostled and called to each other in the main entrance passageway and the bars and other public rooms that opened off it in that part of the building that lay behind the entrance in Whitechapel Road.

Many theatres built in the quickly growing districts of 19th century London, like the Pavilion in Whitechapel (and its near neighbour, the Standard Theatre in Shoreditch), were erected on plots of comparatively inexpensive land located behind the ribbon of shops and other buildings which already lined the main thoroughfares. The proprietors would buy and demolish or convert one of the shops to form the entrance, connecting it to the auditorium by a passageway. This method of insinuating a large theatre as close as possible to a busy street — where it was likely to attract maximum attention and the largest possible audience — was later adopted by a number of major music halls, such as the famous Bedford in Camden Town. It is also a characteristic feature of many of the large cinemas built in the 1920s and 30s.

The Pavilion Theatre which I explored on that early spring day twenty-five years ago was, strictly speaking, the second to stand on the site, having been built to the designs of G. H. Simmons in 1858 to replace an earlier building of the same name opened in 1828 but burnt down in 1856. Major reconstruction in 1874 by the noted and prolific theatre architect, J. T. Robinson (father-in-law of Frank Matcham), and subsequent large-scale alterations in 1894 by Ernest Runtz (who was later to design the interior of the second, and last, Gaiety Theatre in the Strand<sup>4</sup>), had in effect created a new building. The interior, furnished in a colour scheme of 'modified primary tints, viz., terracotta walls . . . old gold, electric blue upholstery', with 'the Circles treated in blues, creams and gold' was described enthusiastically in the Private View invitation of 18 December 1894, as was the new Act Drop, that was painted to depict 'the latest East End improvement, to wit, the Tower Bridge'.

I returned to the Pavilion many times in the next few years and spent hours photographing and taking notes. I almost invariably had the whole building to myself, but on one or two occasions I was visited by, or found myself confronting, others whose surprised reactions on finding they were not alone were varied. An (unofficially) off-duty policeman offered me a conspiratorial cigarette. Someone (very definitely not a policeman) offered me extreme and immediate violence — which I did not stay to accept. There were some other very odd things that happened there but this is not the place to recount them. I discovered a number of interesting items, illustrating the history of the building, which I now treasure both for their own sake and for the memory of the strange place from which they came.

In addition to photography and note taking, I began to do what I could to find out the history of the old theatre. I read of its great days in the 19th century, when East London had a dozen or more theatres almost as large as the Pavilion. Each served densely populated localities, intensely loyal to its own theatre, and idolising its leading actors and actresses.



(Colin Sorensen)

Fig. 2 The Pavilion Theatre, Whitechapel in 1952.

'It is perhaps the most cosmopolitan pit in the metropolis. Here may be seen the bluff British tar; the swarthy foreign sailor fully arrayed in a picturesque sash, a red mob-cap and a pair of ear-rings; the Semitic swell in glossy broadcloth and the rorty coster, a perfect blaze of pearly buttons . . . the respectable tradesman accompanied by his wife, five children and a large bag of provisions and a bottle of enormous dimensions'.

(*The Referee* 1883)



In an area that had long had a large Jewish community, it was not surprising that the Pavilion had a number of Jewish managers. The most notable was Isaac Cohen, who reigned for nearly 30 years, until 1905. By the turn of the century, however, the arrival of thousands of Jews from Russia, Poland and Central Europe who had fled from persecution in their own countries and settled in London had entirely changed the character of the 'Pav's' audience and, inevitably, its productions.

Gone were the spectacular melodramas and annual pantomimes full of rhyming couplets, local jokes and endless puns. They were replaced by plays and musical entertainments given in Yiddish, that (now dying) mixture of Hebrew, German and other languages, the special common tongue of the immigrants.

The 'Pav', that could seat 2,650 people lingered on, often, as the years went by, three-quarters empty, 'as filthy, neglected and unromantic as the corridors of our tenement',<sup>5</sup> until, having briefly served as a boxing arena, it finally closed in 1934. It was soon forgotten, and with the advent of war the plans to replace it by a cinema were shelved. Surrounded by advertisement hoardings, it virtually disappeared from sight and memory. During the war, bomb blast and vandalism opened the building to the elements and slowly it began to fall and fade away, until it looked as I found it in 1952.

In 1960, Mr. John Earl, whom I was later to meet in connection with the listing for preservation of Wilton's Music Hall in Wellclose Square, photographed the theatre for the Historic Buildings Division of the then L.C.C. He also, most valuably, measured the stage machinery. This highly important piece of 19th century technological history was, alas, destroyed by an over-hasty demolition gang's 'accident' when, later in the same year, the old building eventually fell before the bulldozer. Although a fragment of an inner wall still remains, showing traces of the waxy-looking 'pompeian red' so familiar to experienced 'hunters' as a clue that they are looking at a fragment of a mid 19th century theatre, the rest of the site is now a lorry park.

I am grateful to the Alhambra, Leicester Square, and the Pavilion, Whitechapel, for the part they played in making me first look at, and then look *for*, theatres. I have had many surprises and disappointments in my theatre hunting. I have also made a number of important finds. Of the Pavilion and the Alhambra there survive playbills, photographs, drawings, and recollections — of which the foregoing is a short, personal, fragment — but, however painstaking, no excavations could now yield further evidence. Of the other dozens of theatres which I have hunted for since 1952, many had already gone, and most of those which I found have now disappeared.

Detailed references to the Alhambra and Pavilion have been included in a number of studies of the London theatre, but there are, so far as I know, few, apart from A. E. Wilson's book,<sup>6</sup> which set the Pavilion, the Standard, the Britannia, and the rest of their local contemporaries, within the context of that major but largely separate aspect of the capital's theatrical life; the theatres of East London. And even Wilson understandably in view of the inevitable complexity of the subject, omits all but passing references to the growth, importance and inter-related influence of the 'penny gaffs' and music halls on the theatrically rich history of the area.



## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> For four years from 1896, R. W. Paul, the pioneer British film-maker had a studio on the roof of the Alhambra where he made short one-minute newsreel and 'interest' items for showing in the theatre downstairs, and the first truly narrative film to be made in Britain, *The Soldier's Courtship*, with a cast of three actors.
- <sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, most of the theatre's scenery and costumes, which were much praised locally, would have been made on the premises by the resident stage-carpenter, property-master and costume-mistress.
- <sup>3</sup> Between which had once moved the grooved runners of the moveable scenery 'flats'.
- <sup>4</sup> The exterior of the Gaiety, a familiar London landmark from 1903 to 1954, with its upper storey colonnade and dome topped by a winged angel dominating the corner of the Strand and Aldwych, was designed by Norman Shaw.
- <sup>5</sup> From Emanuel Litvinoff's description of a visit to the Pavilion in its last years, included in his fragment of autobiography *Journey through a Small Planet* (London, 1972).
- <sup>6</sup> A. E. Wilson *East End Entertainment* (London, 1954). See also D. Howard *London Theatres and Music Halls* (London, 1970) and V. Glasstone *Victorian and Edwardian Theatres: An Architectural and Social Survey* (London, 1975).

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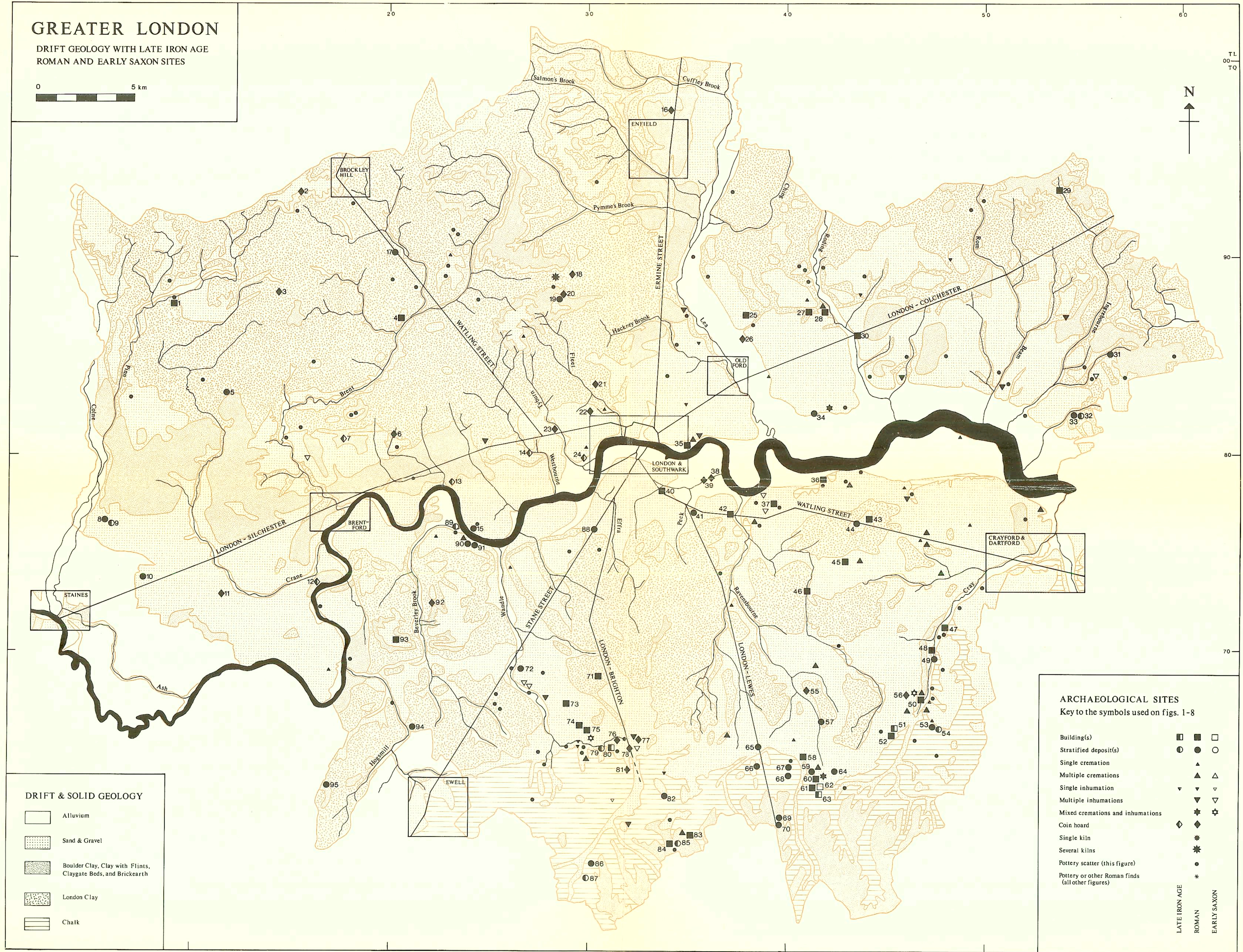


Fig. 1



