

**Transactions**  
**Volume 35 1984**



**London & Middlesex Archaeological Society**



34  
1593

*Hon. Editor:*  
Tony Wilmott, B.A., M.A., M.I.F.A.  
34, Almshouse Lane,  
Newmillerdam,  
Wakefield, WF2 7ST

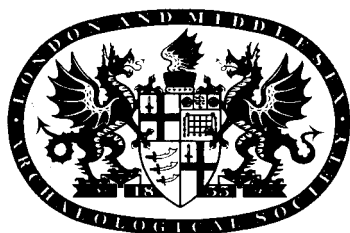
**Editor's Notes:**

The Editor will be glad to consider papers for publication. New contributors should obtain a copy of 'Notes for Contributors' from the Editor before submitting a paper.

Front cover: John Hawtrey J.P., 1593 and wife Bregget, Ruislip, Middlesex.  
(*Rubbing*: D. A. Chivers)



LAMAS LIBRARY  
REFERENCE ONLY



*Transactions of the*  
*London & Middlesex*  
*Archaeological Society*  
*incorporating the*  
*Middlesex Local History Council*

*Volume 35*

*1984*

*Museum of London, London Wall, London EC2Y 5HN*

ISBN 0 903290 29 4



Printed in Great Britain by  
Page Bros (Norwich) Ltd

# CONTENTS

Officers .....	iv
128th Annual Report and Accounts, 1982–3 .....	vi
Dendrochronology and Roman London. <i>J. Hillam, R. Morgan and I. Tyers</i> .....	1
Roman Wells in London; Further Notes. <i>Tony Wilmott</i> .....	5
A Cache of Roman Intaglios from Eastcheap. <i>Martin Henig</i> .....	11
Two Inscribed Finger Rings from the City. <i>Martin Henig</i> .....	17
Roman Bone Hinges from the City. <i>C. E. E. Jones</i> .....	19
A Roman Military Object from London. <i>Graham Webster</i> .....	23
Excavations at Roman Road, Old Ford. <i>Peter S. Mills</i> .....	25
Sitewatching at Gardiner's Corner. <i>Robert Whytehead</i> .....	37
Property Destruction in Civil War London. <i>Stephen Porter</i> .....	59
John Conyers: London's First Archaeologist. <i>J. Burnby</i> .....	63
A 'Mortuary' Sword from Hounslow. <i>P. Philo</i> .....	81
A Mace for Mincing Lane Precinct. <i>Rosemary Weinstein</i> .....	87
Surgeon's Hall, Old Bailey. Designed by William Jones. <i>G. C. R. Morris</i> .....	91
Excavations at Burlington Road. <i>Peter S. Mills</i> .....	101
The Brasses of Middlesex. Part 24: Northolt, Norwood, Pinner and Ruislip. <i>H. K. Cameron</i> .....	109
The Lethieullier Tomb at Clapham. <i>Sarah Markham</i> .....	135



# London & Middlesex Archaeological Society

*incorporating Middlesex Local History Council*

ESTABLISHED IN 1855

## **Patrons:**

The Most Rev. The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY  
The Right Rev. The BISHOP OF LONDON  
The Right Hon. The LORD MAYOR OF LONDON  
H.M. LIEUTENANT FOR GREATER LONDON AND CUSTOS  
ROTULORUM  
H.M. ASSISTANT LIEUTENANT for the MIDDLESEX AREA of GREATER  
LONDON  
The Very Rev. The DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S  
*COUNCIL AS AT 2nd MARCH, 1984*

## **President:**

Professor JOHN WILKES, B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

## **Past Presidents:**

Professor W. F. GRIMES, C.B.E., D.Litt., M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A. (1950–1958)  
D. B. HARDEN, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.M.A. (1959–1964)  
R. MICHAEL ROBBINS, C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A. (1965–1970)  
ARNOLD J. TAYLOR, C.B.E., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., Hon. V.P.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.  
(1971–1973)  
RALPH MERRIFIELD, B.A., F.S.A., F.M.A. (1974–1976)  
M. G. HEBDITCH, M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A. (1977–1979)  
Dr VALERIE PEARL, M.A., D.Phil., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S. (1980–1981)

## **Vice-Presidents:**

ARTHUR H. HALL, F.S.A., F.L.A. Miss E. D. MERCER, B.A., F.S.A.  
S. W. HOWARD, M.C., F.I.B. W. J. SMITH, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.  
E. E. F. SMITH, F.S.A. N. M. D. FUENTES  
C. H. J. FARTHING, O.B.E., B.A., F.S.A. A. TRIBE, F.C.A., F.S.A., A.T.I.I.

## **Trustees:**

BARCLAYS NOMINEES (Branches) LTD.

## **Bankers:**

BARCLAYS BANK LTD.  
(Cocks, Biddulph Branch)

## **Council:**

N. M. D. FUENTES (Chairman)  
K. A. BAILEY, M.A. (Deputy Chairman)  
*Ex-Officio:* The Officers mentioned in Rule 9

Mrs. K. EYRE, B.A.  
J. C. WHITTICH, B.A., F.R.S.A.  
Dr G. J. DAWSON, M.A., Ph.D., A.M.A.  
Dr T. HARPER SMITH, Ph.D., M.Th., B.D., A.K.C.  
Mrs. R. WEINSTEIN, B.A., F.S.A.

Mrs. B. SHEARER, B.A.  
J. SLADE, F.S.A. (Scot.)  
P. H. THOMPSON  
D. WHIPP, B.A.

## *Co-opted:*

D. G. CORBLE H. L. SHELDON, B.Sc., F.S.A.

**Editorial Advisory Committee:**

*Ex-Officio:*

Professor JOHN WILKES, B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

N. M. D. FUENTES

JOHN A. CLARK, M.A., F.S.A., A.M.A.

*(Chairman of Council)*

*(Hon. Secretary)*

H. CLEAVER, M.A., A.C.A.

*(Hon. Treasurer)*

HUGH CHAPMAN, B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., A.M.A. *(Hon. Editor)*

**Archaeological Research Committee:**

*Chairman:* H. L. SHELDON, B.Sc., F.S.A.

*Secretary:* J. COTTON, B.A., M.A., Museum of London, London Wall, EC2Y 5HN

**Historic Buildings and Conservation Committee:**

*Chairman:* D. G. CORBLE

*Secretary:* Mrs. J. BIRCHENOUGH, 116 Manor Lane, SE12 8LR.

**Local History Committee:**

*Chairman:* K. A. BAILEY, M.A.

*Secretary:* J. SLADE, F.S.A. (Scot.), 20 Bendemeer Road, SW15.

**Youth Section:**

*Chairman:* N. M. D. FUENTES

*Secretary:* Mrs. K. EYRE, B.A., Museum of London, London Wall,  
EC2Y 5HN.

**Honorary Editors:**

HUGH CHAPMAN, B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., A.M.A.

A. DOIDGE

A. R. WILMOTT, B.A., M.A., M.I.F.A.

**Honorary Librarian:**

D. R. WEBB, B.A., F.L.A.

**Honorary Treasurer:**

H. CLEAVER, M.A., A.C.A.

**Honorary Secretary:**

JOHN A. CLARK, M.A., F.S.A., A.M.A.

**Honorary Auditors:**

Mrs C. H. ALLEN, F.C.A.

R. R. P. SMITH

# London & Middlesex Archaeological Society

*incorporating Middlesex Local History Council*

128th ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR ENDING  
30 SEPTEMBER 1983

## Meetings

At the Annual General Meeting on 25 February 1983 the President, Professor John Wilkes, gave an Address on *Views of Roman London*. Other lecture meetings during the season 1982-83 were on the subjects of *The Calverts Buildings Excavation, Southwark* by David Beard on 22 October 1982, *The Castles of Normandy* by Derek Renn on 12 November, *Excavations on the site of St Mary's Nunnery, Clerkenwell* by Peter Mills on 10 December, *The Palace of Debate: Westminster 1834-70* (The George Eades Memorial Lecture) by Professor Michael Port on 28 January 1983, *The Making of a Lord Mayor: Sir John Leman (1544-1632)* by Rosemary Weinstein on 11 March and *Excavations on a site of the Icenian Client Kingdom at Thetford* by Tony Gregory on 22 April. An extra evening of archaeological films was arranged on 13 October. The first lecture of the 1983-84 season was on 30 September, when Martin Henig spoke on the subject '*Paved with Gold*'—*Jewellery from Roman London*.

A Special General Meeting was called on 22 April to consider the need for increased subscription rates, as indicated in last year's report. The new rates were approved as follows: Ordinary Members £7.50, Joint Members £8.50, Student Members £3.00, Corporate Members £10.00, Affiliated Local Societies £7.50. The Society's Rules were amended to extend Student Membership to anyone undertaking full-time education.

At the annual Stow Service held at St Andrew Undershaft on 20 April the address was given by Martin Holmes; at the Pepys Service at St Olave, Hart Street on 2 June Sir David Tibbits spoke on the subject *Pepys and the Royal Navy*, and a bust of Pepys was unveiled in the adjacent garden.

During the year our Hon. Director of Meetings, Edward Biffin, found it increasingly difficult, for personal reasons, to find time to devote to the organisation of the Society's activities, leading to some problems with the programme of visits. However visits were arranged in the London area *Around and About Regents Park* on 2 October, to *Limehouse to Shoreditch* on 6 November, *Churches in Westminster* on 5 February, *Fishmongers Hall* on 24 February and *Chipping Barnet* on 5 March. Outside London were the *Ramble from Welwyn* on 19 July and a long weekend around *Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor* on 23-26 September. Due to the failure of the coach to turn up the coach tour to *Portchester and Butser Hill* on 9 July could not take place as planned, some members however travelled by rail to see Butser. A further continental tour took place on 27-31 May, based on Ghent, and visiting towns and sites in *Belgium*.

## Publications

Volume 32 of *Transactions* was issued at the end of 1982. The decision was taken to change the Society's printers, leading to some further delays in the production of Volume 33. However, the fifth of the Society's *Special Papers*, *Medieval Waterfront Development at Trig Lane, London*, by Gustav and Chrissie Milne, was published and issued to members. During the year our Hon. Editor, Lawrence Snell, retired, after serving in that post since 1967, and the Society's thanks are owed to him for his work on our publications during this long period. Dr Hugh Chapman, who had already, as Hon. Assistant Editor, been responsible for the editing of *Special Papers* and of much of recent volumes of *Transactions*, took on the duties of Hon. Editor. The Society was very fortunate in finding in Andrew Doidge someone willing to edit the *Newsletter*, and the third issue of the year, that for September 1983, appeared in a new and improved format under his editorship.

During the year it was decided to proceed with an index of *Transactions* from Volume 18 to Volume 32, and Mr F. H. C. Tatham, a member, was commissioned to undertake the indexing.

## Council

The Society's Council met five times during the year. Matters discussed included the further implications of the Government's plans for an independent Commission to take on the ancient monument functions of the DoE, the reorganisation of archaeology in Greater London and the future of the Society's library. In its last meeting of the year Council turned to the problems which might arise should the Government proceed with its proposal to abolish the GLC.



### Archaeological Research Committee

The Committee met five times during a year in which the new Greater London Archaeological Service was officially launched, on 2 April 1983, with the aid of a substantial grant from the GLC. Whilst undertaking to assist the new organisation in its first months of existence, the Committee also felt the need to review and reassess its own future in changing circumstances—a healthy process which continued to stimulate discussion throughout the year. Other topics discussed included problems related to sites in Shadwell and Kingston.

As usual, the Committee arranged the annual Conference of London Archaeologists, the twentieth, which was held at the Museum of London in April. This year's theme was *Archaeology and the River Thames*, and speakers included Dr John Penn, Stuart Needham and Peter Marsden. Although it was successful, there was a noticeable fall in demand for tickets, a problem seen elsewhere, and one which caused the Committee some concern.

The Borough Secretaries group continued to meet to keep in touch with archaeological activity throughout Greater London, and gave consideration to how its functions were affected by the new Archaeological Service; similar concerns were discussed by the Joint Working Party on London Archaeology, on which the Society is represented and which serves as the London regional Group of the Council for British Archaeology.

### Inner London (North) Archaeological Unit

In April 1983 the Unit, originally set up under the auspices of the Society, became part of the new Greater London Archaeological Service, taking responsibility also for several north London Boroughs which had previously had no professional archaeological coverage. As such it is under the supervision of a committee of the Board of Governors of the Museum of London. However, the Unit's steering committee, on which the Society is represented, continued to meet, and discussed its possible future role as a local advisory committee. It also seemed unwise, in view of the uncertain future of the GLC, which funds the Service, to disband the committee prematurely.

During the year the Unit was active at Spital Square (site of St Mary's Hospital), Rossington Street, Hackney, Elstree Hill, Harrow, and St Clare Street, Aldgate; work was planned on the major site at the Royal Mint (the Abbey of St Mary Graces). The Unit's booklet *The Archaeology of Camden* was published. Following the establishment of the new Service staff began the task of producing archaeological surveys of those northern Boroughs not previously included within their area.

### Historic Buildings and Conservation Committee

During the year 124 listed building applications were considered, compared with 148 and 89 in the two preceding years. In twelve cases opposition to the proposals were expressed, in two cases successfully. In four cases permission was granted, in one of which all the planning authorities were opposed to the development, but following a public inquiry were overruled by the Secretary of State. In the remaining six cases the outcome was not known at the end of the year.

The principal sources of applications were:

	1982-83	1981-82
City of Westminster	25	19
Richmond	11	11
Merton	9	7
Camden	9	21
City of London	7	12
Tower Hamlets (including LDDC)	7	16

Out of a total of 33 planning authorities twelve Boroughs produced no applications and eight produced one each.

The Committee continued to maintain good contacts with the national societies and with the GLC's Historic Buildings Division.

### Local History Committee

The principal activity during a relatively quiet year was the Seventeenth Local History Conference in November 1982. The main speaker was Ralph Hyde, who spoke on the little-known contemporaries of the Tithe Apportionment Maps, the Parochial Assessment Maps of London and Middlesex, 1836-48. Dr A. Lynch spoke on the history of the Great North Road in Middlesex and the Conference closed with a paper

by Dorian Gerhold on the use of Chancery and Exchequer records by the local historian. There was the usual array of exhibits and publications testifying to the health of local history societies in most parts of London.

The Committee spent much time discussing its role in relation to the newly-formed British Association for Local History, which has taken over the role of the former Standing Conference for Local History. Whereas the latter consisted mainly of representatives of the various county bodies, the new organisation has, wisely, aimed at a broader constituency of individuals and local societies. This has, however, somewhat obscured the position of the county-level bodies such as our Committee, and a meeting of representatives in March discussed possible developments, and a working party was set up to consider further the role of the county bodies.

Proposals for another in the series of informal seminars on themes of mutual interest to local societies were being developed towards the end of the year, and co-operation with the Historic Buildings and Conservation Committee was actively developed.

### **Youth Section**

The Youth Section enjoyed a full programme, the winter meeting at the Museum of London in January on Saxon and Viking London proving very popular, with a chance to handle original material, and films on the excavation of viking ships.

The Easter meeting began with a visit to the Calverts Buildings excavations in Southwark, then returned to the Museum of London to the study of pilgrim badges. Rather different was the summer meeting, a day trip to Kew to visit the pumping station and the Piano Museum.

In June Victoria Woollard handed over the running of the Youth Section to a Museum of London colleague, Karen Turner, though both collaborated on the organisation of a four day course in the summer. This included a visit to the Iron Age Farm at Butser, the excavations at Winchester Palace, Southwark, a flint-knapping demonstration and workshop, and visits to the *Images of Augustus* exhibition at the British Museum and to Sir John Soane's Museum.

Further issues of the Section's *Newsletter* were produced, and a small group of members of the Section now meets regularly to plan the contents of the next issue.

The Society's thanks are due to Mrs Woollard for her efforts over the past few years, and to all those other people who have so willingly given up time to give talks to the Youth Section.

### **Membership and Finance**

Membership figures show little overall change, though the continuing loss of libraries and other institutions in membership is worrying. Membership at 30 September 1983 (with 1982 figures in brackets) was 912 (915), made up as follows:

Ordinary Members	701	(691)
Life Members	44	( 47)
Student Members	21	( 23)
Honorary Members	6	( 7)
Institutional Members	102	(107)
Affiliated Societies	38	( 40)

The accounts for the year to 30 September 1983 again show a small surplus, despite the very heavy publications expenditure and attendant postal costs. The indications are that the year to 30 September 1984 will require a high degree of support from the membership to make good the reduction to investment income. The increase in membership subscriptions at 1 October 1983 was vital in this respect and the number of members renewing their subscriptions at the new rate will be the key factor in determining the scale of the Society's activities in the immediate future.

These are the last of the Society's accounts to be presented by Allan Tribe. Council wishes to express the Society's gratitude to him for all his work as our Hon. Treasurer since 1968, and in particular for the way in which he has dealt with the funds available for rescue archaeology, a responsibility he has undertaken not only for our own Society but for other bodies. Indeed his efforts have been essential over the years to the work of a number of archaeological teams in London.

By direction of council  
NICHOLAS FUENTES,  
Chairman of Council

JOHN CLARK, MA, FSA, FMA,  
Hon. Secretary



[illegible]

## LONDON &amp; MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

[illegible]

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and attached Income and Expenditure Accounts with the books and vouchers of the Society as submitted by the Honorary Treasurer. We have verified the Bank Balances and Securities with the Society's Bankers. In our opinion and to the best of our knowledge, these Accounts together with the Notes, are correct and in accordance with the books and records of the Society.

(Signed) O. T. Allen, FCA, R. R. P. Smith, BSc(Econ), AIB  
Honorary Auditors

17th February 1984

# DENDROCHRONOLOGY AND ROMAN LONDON

J. HILLAM, R. MORGAN and I. TYERS

We have been prompted to write this note in response to a paper by Dr John Fletcher in this journal<sup>1</sup>. We feel the general reader and the professional archaeologist might be confused by certain aspects of tree-ring dating presented there, and we want to comment on two points in particular—the accuracy of estimating felling dates in the presence of sapwood, and the possibilities and pitfalls of dating timbers with short series of growth rings. The dating of the Roman Custom House quays presented by Fletcher is based on material which can be included in both categories. We also present a summary of other tree-ring work which has been carried out on the Roman waterfront structures in London.

## SHORT SEQUENCES

The crossmatching of short oak tree-ring sequences and their absolute dating is a difficult and controversial process. The number of rings found to be acceptable varies according to laboratory, but it is not usually less than 50. Below this, the uniqueness of the ring pattern may be questionable. However, a high proportion of archaeological wood samples submitted for analysis have fewer than 50 rings for example 61% of the oak timbers from the Iron Age causeway at Fiskerton, Lincolnshire were short sequences. If we were to ignore these samples, we would be losing a great deal of information and dating potential.

Experience has shown that the actual number of rings is less crucial to successful dating than the number of related samples. For example, one sample with 30 rings is probably undatable, whereas several samples, all from the same context, might be datable. The single 30-year pattern might not be unique, but several ring patterns can be crossmatched with each other, and with a reference or master chronology. This latter process, where

pattern A matches B, B with C, A with C, and so on, is called replication, and is a fundamental principle of dendrochronology. Without it, tree-ring dating would not be a reliable dating method.

The basic requirement for the analysis of short ring sequences therefore is that several samples must be examined from the same context. The Somerset Levels short sequences, mentioned by Fletcher<sup>2</sup>, for example, are used for relative dating on single period structures with very large numbers of samples<sup>3</sup>. Short sequence samples should contain sapwood, and preferably retain the bark surface, since initial assumptions have to be made about their contemporaneity.

The short sequences from Custom House do not meet these requirements. The dating of Quay B to AD137–42 relies on one timber, III 1, which has 39 rings. The *t*-values given for it, and the other Custom House short sequences, are low and require greater replication to be accepted by most dendrochronologists. Since neither the ring widths nor the tree-ring graphs of the short sequences are presented, the match between III 1 and I D (39 years overlap), and between III 1 and I C (26 years overlap) cannot be examined, but the possibility of these being chance high value correlations cannot be ruled out<sup>4</sup>. On these grounds therefore, the dating of Custom House Quay B, based on the short ring sequences, can only be accepted with caution. There is no question about the dates of the longer sequences without sapwood, which give a felling date of post-AD122 (based on 10 years minimum sapwood allowance—see below).

## SAPWOOD ESTIMATION

When we consider the sapwood, the outer growth of an oak-tree which is both softer and more vulnerable to decay than the heartwood<sup>5</sup>, it is clear that the variation in sapwood number is large and cannot easily be related to other measurable variables. The only rigorous method for estimating sapwood numbers is to study a large number of samples with full sapwood and statistically describe the variation in a way which can be subsequently applied to samples that lack some or all of their



sapwood. In the British Isles this method has been applied to data from several different areas and the results show a range of around 10–55 years<sup>6</sup>. For most archaeological purposes this is quite adequate. However numerous attempts have been made to relate sapwood number to a further variable in order to reduce this range<sup>7</sup>. These experiments have shown that, for trees of 100 years or more total age, the use of average ring widths or tree-age for sapwood estimations is of little value.

Fletcher presents some figures which show the 'likely' number of sapwood rings for trees younger than 100 years and with different average rates of growth<sup>8</sup>. If correct these figures would be gratefully accepted by archaeologists and dendrochronologists since they suggest that the sapwood number varies by as little as five years for fast grown young trees. Since timbers of this sort are so common on archaeological sites it would increase the applicability and accuracy of dendrochronology by a significant extent. However, comparison between Fletcher's published values and values derived from actual data, shows that, although the trends in

Our data derive from 106 samples from Iron Age and Roman sites in England. The Roman timbers are from southern England (mostly from the City of London, and Southwark), the Iron Age site is Fiskerton in Lincolnshire. All samples are from trees younger than 100 years. Conclusions drawn from such a data set are readily applicable to sites such as Custom House. Even so, we do not consider the sample size to be adequate for any but the broadest interpretation. Fletcher's values are based on 'fewer than' 67 trees<sup>9</sup>, and are used in a way that implies they are not 68% or 95% ranges (one & two standard deviations respectively) but absolute limits. Publication and use of such values attempts to give dendrochronology a greater accuracy than it is capable of under these circumstances.

Dendrochronologists and archaeologists must become reconciled to the fact that where there is no bark surface but some sapwood the felling date of a sample can only be estimated to within as much as 45 years. Where there are two or more samples that have overlapping felling date ranges

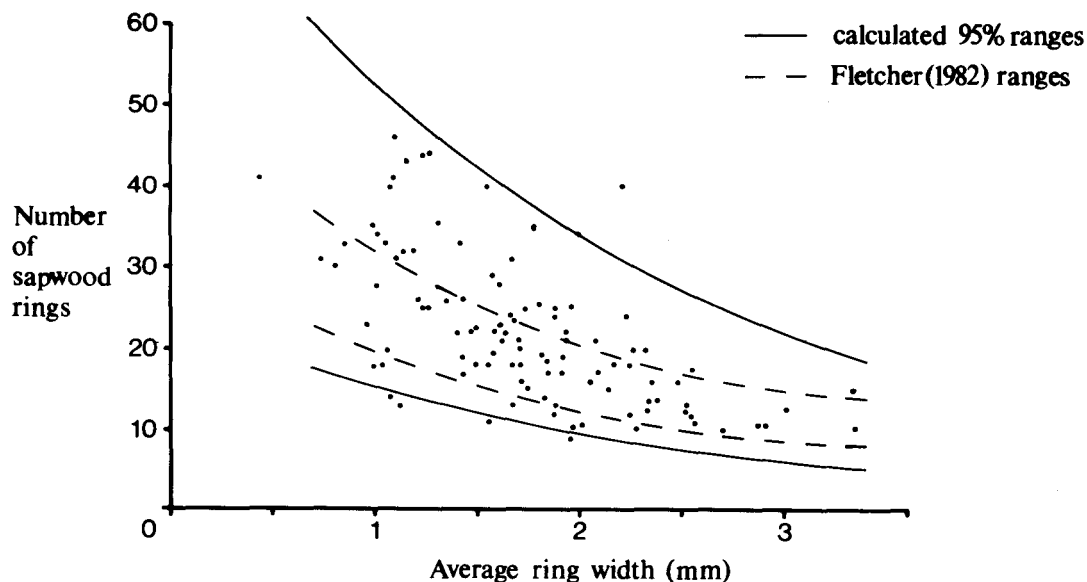


Fig. 1 Relationship between average ring width and number of sapwood rings for trees of less than 100 years of age.

the data are similar, the variability is considerably underestimated. Figure 1 illustrates the variability in sapwood numbers: five of the observed values lie outside the lines that denote the 95% confidence limits for the data set. By contrast, 46 lie outside the limits set by Fletcher's values.

and are assumed to be contemporary the likely range of felling for the feature can be reduced, see for example Quay 2 at Pudding Lane (Fig. 2). The limitations of the method are clear, when the bark surface is present, a felling date accurate to the year or even the season, can be given. Without it,

## ROMAN LONDON WATERFRONTS

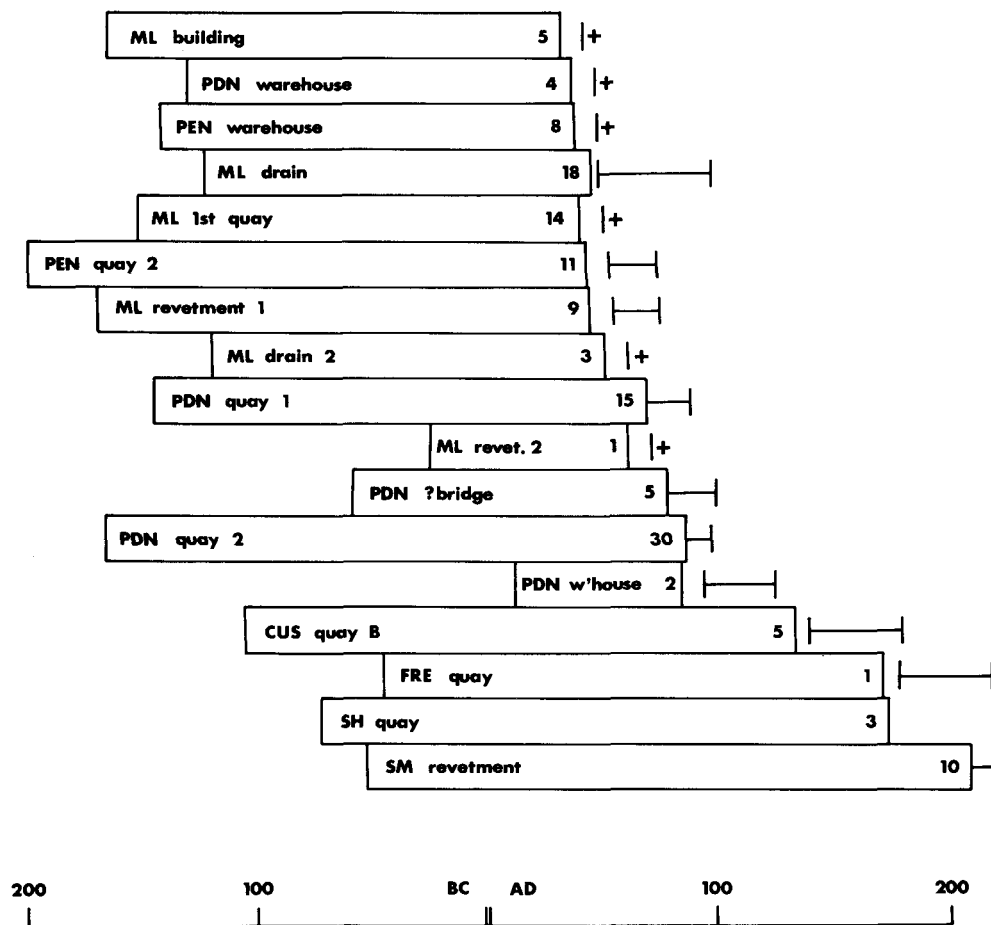


Fig. 2 Relative positions of the ring sequences from waterfront structures in London. Sapwood estimate is 10–55 (95% confidence limits), based on Roman sapwood data from southern England. Key: ML—Miles Lane; PDN—Pudding Lane; PEN—Peninsular House; CUS—Custom House (as dated by Fletcher but our sapwood estimate); SH—Seal House; FRE—New Fresh Wharf. Horizontal bar—estimated felling dates; + — *terminus post quem*. Minimum number of timbers dated is given at right hand side of each bar.

an accuracy of less than 15 or 20 years is only possible if the structure to be dated is represented by many timbers, such as the 30 samples from Quay 2 at Pudding Lane.

## DATING LONDON WATERFRONT STRUCTURES

Tree-ring results for the other Roman waterfront structures are illustrated in order to demonstrate how sapwood affects dating accuracy (Fig. 2). Several structures associated with the 1st century quays have been dated. These were excavated at

Miles Lane<sup>10</sup>, Peninsular House and Pudding Lane<sup>11</sup>. The 2nd century quay is thought to run under Lower Thames Street<sup>12</sup>, but the 3rd century waterfront structures have been dated from Seal House and New Fresh Wharf<sup>13</sup>.

Whilst several hundred ring sequences have been dated altogether from these structures, the problems of interpreting the results has been great, since most of the timbers had no sapwood. None of the fourteen timbers which were dated from the 1st century quay at Miles Lane, for example, had sapwood. Their felling date can therefore only be expressed as a *terminus post quem*. Other structures had one or two timbers with sapwood, and hence estimated felling dates cover a wide range of calendar dates. This is illustrated by the first phase of a drain at Miles Lane. With information from the excavators about the archaeological interpretation of the sites, it may be possible to make suggestions about the dating of these structures, but that dating will not be precise. Precise dates depend on complete samples; for instance we know the foundation piles for a building immediately to the north of the riverside wall at St. Peter's Hill were felled in the years AD293, 294 and 295, because most of the samples were complete and retained their bark surface<sup>14</sup>. We also know that the dating is reliable because although some of the ring sequences were short, the crossdating is well replicated.

## CONCLUSIONS

We feel that the use of short ring sequences without adequate replication, and the use of sapwood estimates based on statistically small groups of samples can only damage an otherwise reliable and independent dating technique.

Dendrochronologists should publish their results in detail. The basis for calculating sapwood estimates should be explained, and if short sequences are used for dating, such dating should be backed up by *t*-values, matching graphs, and

most importantly replication. A close liaison between the dendrochronologist and archaeologist is always helpful, and the dendrochronologist should always be prepared to justify his or her results. Tree-ring dating has a valuable role to play in archaeology, but its application will not be assisted by the publication of unsupported and unrealistic results.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The work at the Sheffield Dendrochronology Laboratory is funded by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England.

J. Hillam and R. Morgan,	I. Tyers,
Department of Archaeology and Prehistory,	Department of Greater London Archaeology,
The University,	Museum of London,
Sheffield S10 2TN.	London Wall, London EC2Y 5HN.

## NOTES

1. J. Fletcher, 'The waterfront of *Londonium*: the date of the quays at the Custom House site reassessed' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 33 (1982) 79–84.
2. *ibid.* 83.
3. R. A. Morgan, 'Tree-ring studies in the Somerset Levels: the Sweet Track 1979–1982' *Somerset Levels Papers* 10 (1984) 46–64.
4. With short overlaps there is a greater chance of a spurious matches being found by the computer programs used. Further details are given in J. Hillam, R. Morgan and I. Tyers, 'Sapwood estimates and the dating of short ring sequences' in *Brit. Archaeol. Rep.* (forthcoming).
5. See H. Sheldon and I. Tyers, 'Recent dendrochronological work in Southwark and its implications' *London Archaeol.* 4 (1983) 355–61. fig. 1.
6. See Hillam, Morgan & Tyers *op. cit.* in note 4.
7. For example, M. G. L. Baillie, *Tree-ring Dating and Archaeology* (London 1982); M. K. Hughes, S. J. Milson & P. A. Leggett, 'Sapwood estimates in the interpretation of tree-ring dates' *J. Archaeol. Science* 8 (1981) 381–90.
8. Fletcher *op. cit.* in note 1, fig. 3.
9. Fletcher *op. cit.* in note 1, 82.
10. L. Miller, 'Miles Lane: the early Roman waterfront' *London Archaeol.* 4 (1982) 143–47.
11. G. Milne, 'Further evidence for Roman London Bridge?' *Britannia* 13 (1982) 271–76; N. Bateman & G. Milne, 'A Roman Harbour in London: Excavations and observations near Pudding Lane, City of London 1979–82' *Britannia* 14 (1983) 207–26.
12. Bateman & Milne (1983) *op. cit.* in note 11 fig. 1.
13. J. Hillam & R. Morgan, 'New Fresh Wharf: Tree-Ring Analysis of the Roman Timbers' in *Excavations at New Fresh Wharf, City of London 1974–8; I—Roman* *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special paper* (forthcoming).
14. J. Hillam, 'Recent tree-ring work in Sheffield' *Current Archaeol.* 96 (1985) 21–6.

# ROMAN TIMBER LINED WELLS IN THE CITY OF LONDON: FURTHER EXAMPLES

TONY WILMOTT

## I. INTRODUCTION

In the course of research into the unpublished records of certain early

workers in the archaeology of the City of London, details of a number of sites in which Roman timber-lined wells had



Fig. 1 Roman wells: Location map of well sites mentioned in the text.

been found were brought to light. On all of these sites the wells were the only elements of the archaeology to have been recorded. These records and excavations do not appear in Merrifield's (1965) gazetteer of Roman London, nor were they available for inclusion in previous notes on wells and water supply (Wilmott, 1982a, 1982b). For this reason a location map is included as Fig. 1.

The first two sites to be noted here were excavated by the late G. C. Dunning. A number of Dunning's unpublished excavation records were recently presented to the Museum of London by Professor W. F. Grimes. Among these notes were references to the well sites, though the relevant texts were missing. The other three sites were recorded in limited detail by Mr Francis Greenway in notes presented to the British Museum together with his collection of antiquities from City sites. I am grateful to Catherine Johns of the British Museum for allowing access to this material.

## II. THE SITES

### A. 71-74, MARK LANE (Fig. 1a)

An interim report on the site appeared in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (1934, 212) and includes a brief description of the well which demonstrates that it was of jointed box-frame construction. The Guildhall Museum Accessions Register includes the following entries which add substantially to details of the well:

Acc. No. 13206; Two oaken boards 38ins. (0.96m) long, 17½ins. (0.44m) wide, and nearly 2ins. (50mm) thick. One has, at each end, a mortice 6½ × 2ins. (165 × 50mm) and the other has corresponding tenons. They formed part of a Roman well constructed of 12 such boards with its bottom 26ft (7.92m) below the present street level in 1933.

Roman flagon: Ring necked type 11½ins (292mm) high, rim diameter 3½ins (89mm), bulge 7½ins (190mm), base 3ins (76mm). Three reeded handle. Found at the bottom of the same well.

The flagon is now in the Royal Ontario Museum (Acc. No. 939.9.88), but has been identified by M. J. Hammerson (Museum of London manuscript

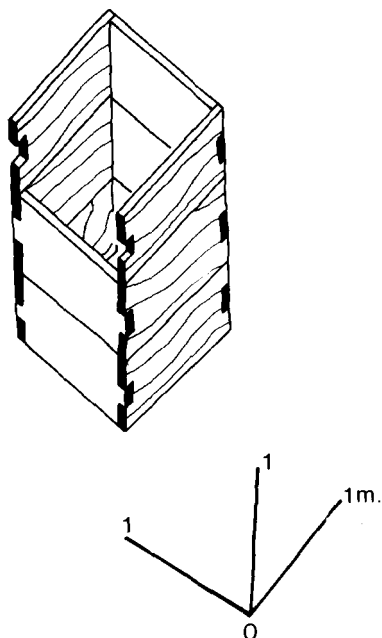


Fig. 2 Roman wells: Reconstruction of well and bridled joints from 71-74 Mark Lane.

notes) as a 1st-2nd century Verulamium Region type (*c.f.* Green, 1980, 49).

The description of the boards makes a reconstruction of the well (Fig. 2a) possible. The corners were jointed with a bridled joint (Fig. 2b). Like other such wells in the City the opposing sides consisted of identically treated boards; two with two mortices each and two with two tenons each. The twelve boards recorded would make up three surviving box-frames. No provision for corner braces on the top edges of the boards was made. The well was therefore of the same construction as that at 33-35, Poultry (Wilmott, 1982a, Fig. 21) and at 8, Union Street, Southwark (Marsh, 1978, 224-5). Both of the last mentioned wells were 2nd-3rd century in date, while the only recorded pottery from Mark Lane was late 1st-2nd century.

The present street level in Mark Lane is +14.20m O.D. and the bottom of the well thus lay at approx. +6.28m O.D. Given three surviving box-frames the surviving depth of the well was 1.32m. The well would have been certain to have penetrated into natural gravel in order to reach ground water. The top of natural brickearth on the adjacent site of 69-70, Mark Lane was +9.60m O.D. (Museum of London manuscript notes). The relative thinness of the brickearth cap here is reflected by the level of +9.45m O.D. at the top of the natural gravel recorded at Mariner House, Crutched Friars, only 100m south of the Mark Lane site (Museum of London notes. These levels are shown on the geological map of London in Marsden, 1980, 16). The levels imply that the well was indeed sunk into the natural gravel.

#### B. 143-9, FENCHURCH STREET/ 18-20, CULLUM STREET (Fig. 1b).

This well was excavated in 1931 on a site close to that of the Roman forum. Very few records of the well survive. It is described in the Museum of London Accessions Register as a well of 'rectangular form, lined with wooden staves, and was, therefore, probably of box-frame construction. The following pottery was found in its fill.

*Verulamium Region Whitewares* (Green, 1980, 49: Fig. 3).

1. Flagon (*c.f.* Green, 1980, No. 66). Now in the Museum of Sydney, New South Wales (*The Times*, 29th March, 1938).
2. Flagon with double handle, ring-neck and a squared-off body. Dr. Paul Tyers comments

that this vessel probably dates to the Hadrianic-Antonine period. The squared body is unusual. M.o.L. Acc. No. 12691 (illustrated).

#### *British Mica Dusted Ware* (Fig. 3)

3. Flagon of a form imitating a bronze vessel. Dr Paul Tyers comments that this is not the local London mica-dusted fabric, but the vessel probably dates to the Hadrianic-Antonine period. M.o.L. Acc. No. 12692 (illustrated).

#### *Miscellaneous Flagons*

Three body sherds of other flagons of indeterminate origin were recorded. M.o.L. Acc. Nos. 12693-5.

#### *South Gaulish Samian ware*

Dragendorff 18/31 plate with the Domitianic-Trajanic stamp M. CRESTIO. The stamp is that of Crestio of La Graufesenque (pers. comm. G. Marsh). M.o.L. Acc. No. 12696.

#### C. ALDERMARY HOUSE, WATLING STREET/QUEEN STREET (Fig. 1c)

A full report on this site has appeared in a previous volume of these *Transactions* (Wilmott, 1982a). This report included details of 18 Roman wells found here, and on the adjacent site of Lloyds Bank International. Two wells were recorded by Greenway on the western edge of the site, bringing the total of wells on both sites to 20. All the levels below are estimated from those below street level given by Greenway.

Both wells were lined with barrels, one to each well. Only one of the two wells were examined. This was defined at a level of *c.* +8.15m O.D. in a 1st century 'occupational level', and the bottom of the well penetrated natural gravel, lying at *c.* +6.60m O.D. The barrel-well clearly did not penetrate London Clay, the highest level of which on the site was +5.23m O.D. (Wilmott, 1982a, 3-4).

All pottery recovered from the well is reported to have been of 1st century date. This is consistent with the date derived from pottery analysis for all other barrel wells so far excavated from Roman contexts in London (Wilmott, 1982a, 23, 47-8).

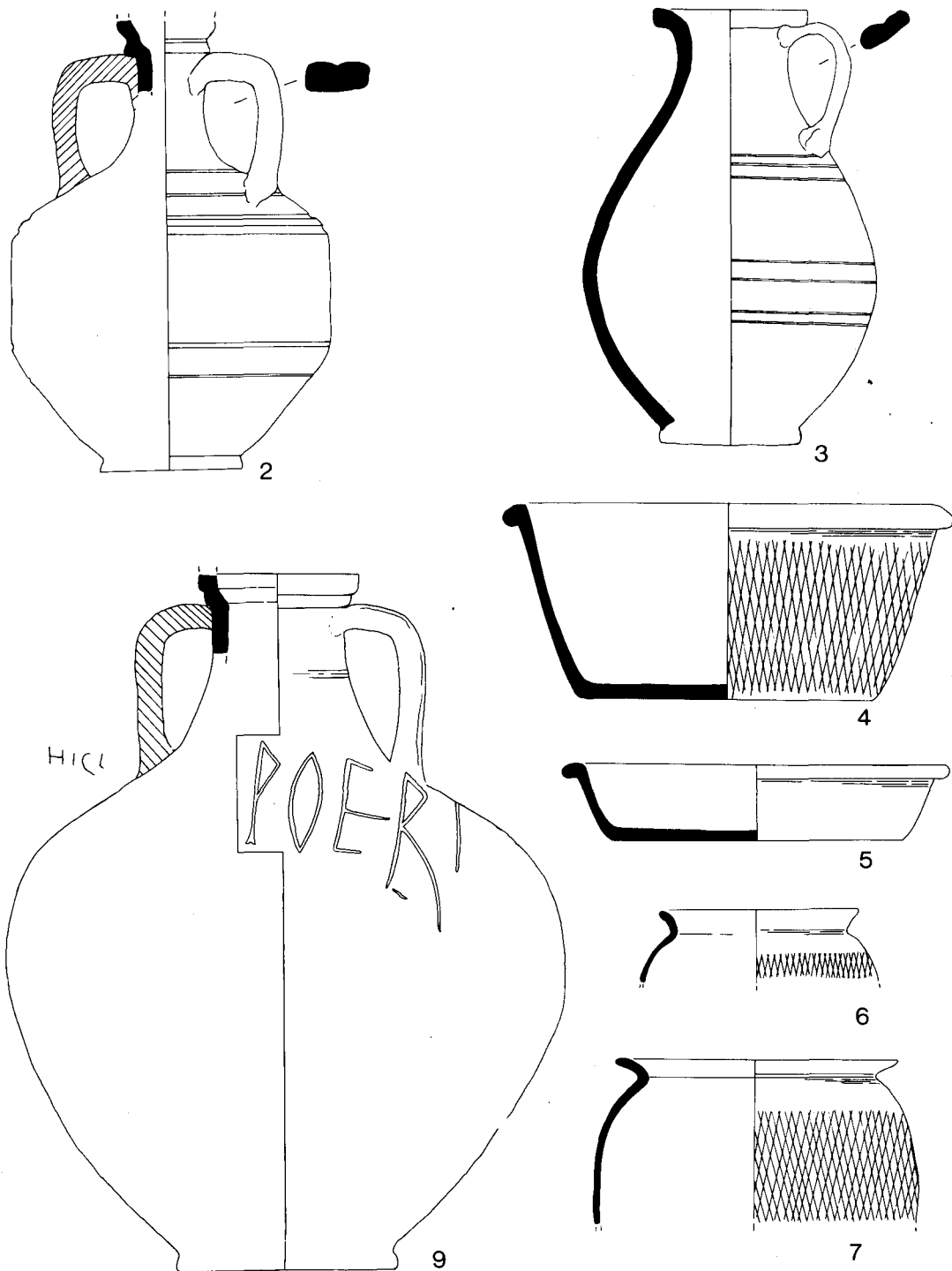


Fig. 3 Roman wells: Pottery from the wells at Fenchurch Street (2–3), Moorfields (4–7) and Whitechapel (9) (4).

Fragments of two stamped barrel staves were recovered from the well, and are preserved in the British Museum (Acc. Nos. 1961, 5-9, I-2). One was stamped twice on the inner face with the letters FVSC MAC. The other was stamped twice, saltirewise across the vent hole, Q. VET[TI] CATULLI giving the name of the cooper or the merchant whose goods were being transported in the barrels as Q. Vettius Catullus. Also upon this stave was the figure X which had been scored by the bung hole to indicate to the cooper the sequence of staves to be used in raising the barrel (*Journal of Roman Studies*, 1961, 195-96).

#### D. MOORFIELDS (Fig. 1d)

Greenway does not accurately locate this well. His sketch shows it to have been of box-frame construction and he mentions that the frames were jointed. The bottom of the well was lined with chalk, and the lower frames were held in place with oak branches which were neither dressed nor squared (*c.f.* Wilmott, 1982a, Well 24, Fig. 18). The filling of the well comprised a deposit of clay 1.52m deep with black mud 3.05m deep lying above it. A number of finds were recovered from this well. Most of these are now lost, including woodwork, an iron rod and a complete flagon. The rest of the objects are in the British Museum.

#### Pottery

*Black burnished ware I* (see Farrar, 1973; Williams, 1977)

- 4-7. Two cooking pots, a bowl and a dish, all of mid-second century date. (illustrated).

#### Metal

Greenway refers to two iron hooks which lay at the bottom of his well in association with the object described below.

8. Pewter or other lead alloy flagon. The vessel is 240mm in height and is in poor condition, as it has been crushed flat and cracked on one side. It has not been turned, but may have

been lathe spun, the three small zones of linear decoration suggesting that some lathe work was done. The rim has a wide, sunken disc around the lip. The vessel has a thick strap handle, rising from a leaf shaped handle escutcheon on the side of the wide part of the body. The handle is slightly curved, turning to meet the rim in a virtual right-angle, level with the top of the flagon. The handle is wider at this point and is splayed to meet the neck. This wide splay is relieved by the carving of a deep scallop on each side of the handle.

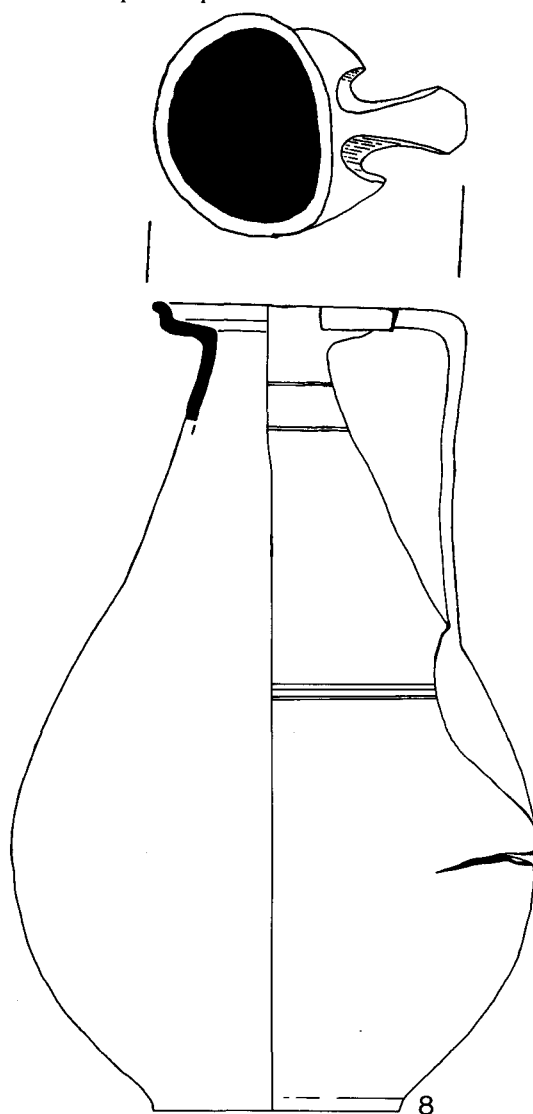


Fig. 4 Roman Wells: Pewter flagon from the Moorfields well ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ).



The Romano-British pewter industry has been discussed by Peal (1967) and Jones (1983). Though no metallic analysis has been undertaken on this object as advocated by Jones (1983), it seems possible that it is a product of the late Roman pewter industry in Britain (Peal, 1967, 22). The only parallels in form to this flagon are 4th century bronze examples, a particularly close parallel coming from Hauxton (Cambs) (Eggers, 1966, 139). British Museum Acc. No. 1959, 5-3. I (illustrated).

## Wood

Greenway records the discovery of a bucket or barrel, and of a wooden post. The latter is of interest as it seems possible that it may have formed part of the mechanism at the well-head. Greenway's sketch makes the object impossible to reconstruct in terms of scale. It shows a square-sectioned piece of wood tapering to a narrower, round-sectioned stem. There were projections on all four faces and also on the end of the object.

## E. WHITECHAPEL (Aldgate).

The well here is not precisely located. It was constructed of one large, complete barrel, 2.18m in height with a further halved barrel placed beneath it. One of the staves in the complete barrel was branded with three separate marks. At the top were the letters MCS, in the centre T. SENBON, and at the base AVITI.

The significance of this multiple stamping is obscure (*Journal of Roman Studies*, 1961, 195-96). Only one find survived from this well.

*Verulamium region Whitewares* (Green, 1980, 49).

9. Large, bulbous flagon, originally having two handles. The vessel is incised on the body with the word POERI. Catherine Johns and the writer have noticed a further, possibly stamped inscription HICL beneath the surviving handle. British Museum loan from Mr F. Greenway, 1960 (illustrated).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- FARRAR (1973), R. A. M. Farrar 'The Techniques and Sources of Romano-British Black Burnished Ware' in A. P. Detsicas (ed). *Current Research in Romano-British Coarse Pottery*. C.B.A. Res. Rep. 10 (London, 1973) 67-103.
- GREEN (1980), C. Green 'The Roman Pottery' in D. Jones *Excavations at Billingsgate Buildings, Lower Thames Street, London 1974*. London: Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper 4 (1980).
- JONES (1983), C. E. E. Jones, 'A Review of Roman Lead-Alloy Material Recovered from the Walbrook Valley in the City of London', *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 34 (1983) 49-59.
- JOURNAL ROMAN STUDIES (1934), 'Roman Britain in 1933' *J. Roman Studies* 24 (1934) 212.
- JOURNAL ROMAN STUDIES (1961), 'Roman Britain in 1960' *J. Roman Studies* 51 (1961) 195.
- MARSDEN (1980), P. R. V. Marsden *Roman London* (London 1980).
- MARSH (1978), G. Marsh '8 Union Street' in *Southwark Excavations 1972-74* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc., Surrey Archaeol. Soc. Joint Publication I (1978) 224-26.
- PEAL (1967), C. A. Peal, 'Romano-British Pewter Plates and Dishes', *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* 60 (1967) 19-37.
- WILLIAMS (1977), D. F. Williams 'The Romano-British Black Burnished Industry: An essay on characterization by Heavy Mineral Analysis' in D.P.S. Peacock (ed) *Pottery and Early Commerce: Characterisation and Trade in Roman and later Ceramics* (London 1977) 163-215.
- WILMOTT (1982a), T. Wilmott 'Excavations at Queen Street, City of London 1953 and 1960 and Roman timber lined wells in London' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 33 (1982) 1-78.
- WILMOTT (1982b), T. Wilmott 'Water Supply in the Roman City of London' *London Archaeologist* Vol. 4, No. 9 (Winter 1982) 234-242.

*The Society is grateful to the Museum of London for a publication grant towards the cost of this article.*

# A CACHE OF ROMAN INTAGLIOS FROM EASTCHEAP, CITY OF LONDON

MARTIN HENIG

## INTRODUCTION

A group of four Roman intaglios was discovered in December 1983 during archaeological excavations at 23–29 Eastcheap, London EC3<sup>1</sup>. They were found together in a small pit which was among the earliest features on the site and which appears to have been dug at a time when the ground was being prepared for the first major phase of building. The overlying structures were of timber and were destroyed by a major fire which the associated finds suggest was that normally

of the buildings occurred between c. 50–55 and the Boudican revolt.

## DESCRIPTION

The gemstones are in extremely good condition and show no sign of having previously been mounted in rings. The following descriptions are of the actual gems and are designed to accompany the photographs. 'Left' and 'Right' would, of course, be reversed in impression.

1. (58) Nicolo with pale blue upper face on a dark ground. The surface is crazed.

*Shape*<sup>2</sup> F4; an oval cut with upper and lower edges bevelled.

*Dimensions* Upper face excluding bevelled frame, 14.5mm by 12mm; maximum measurements 16mm by 14mm. Thickness 3mm.

*Device* Bust of Roma wearing an Attic helmet in profile to the left.



Fig. 1 Eastcheap Intaglios: The Intaglios (†).

attributed to the Boudican revolt of AD 60–1.

Apart from the gems, the pit contained a small group of pottery, including an almost complete Lyons ware beaker and sherds in local coarse fabrics. The pottery associated with the subsequent buildings was similar, but also included plain samian of Neronian date. Since there were no typically Claudian finds, we may thus conclude that the digging of the pit, the deposition of the gems and the occupation

Her long tresses cascade down the nape of her neck, parallel to the three long plumes of the helmet-crest.

Cornelius Vermeule (1959, 71 pl.iv.7 and 8 = Walters 1926, nos 1812, 1813) illustrates two sards in the British Museum which display the same conception of the goddess, and compares them with coins of Nero (*ibid.* 31, pl. 1.4–8)<sup>3</sup>. A nicolo from Fenny Stratford, Buckinghamshire, in the Ashmolean Museum displays a similar head, but is much more schematically engraved (Henig 1978, no. 248). The wide dissemination of the type is indicated by the presence of a close parallel to the Roma on our stone on a gem from Umm Queis (Gadara) in Jordan (Henig and Whiting 1985, no. 161).



Plate. 1 Eastcheap Gems: Intaglios from Eastcheap.

2. (59) Onyx with a blue-grey upper face on a dark ground. Some crazing of the surface.

*Shape* F4; oval with upper and lower edges bevelled.

*Dimensions* Upper face excluding bevelled frame, 12mm by 11.5mm maximum measurements 14mm by 13mm. Thickness 1.5mm.

*Device* A pair of clasped right hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) within an olive-wreath tied with ribbons<sup>4</sup>. The name ALBA has been scratched (retrograde) below the hands, subsequently obliterated and again scratched, more clearly, above. This marking-out is the first stage in cutting a device on a gem (see Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977, no. 44a). The lack of a final polish within the cut areas suggests that the gem is unfinished although, as Professor Boardman points out (*pers. comm.*), the scratched name could simply be a subsequent idea for improving the gem which was never executed.

In terms of style, the best parallel to the wreath on a gem is a nicolo in the British Museum (Walters 1926, no. 2648) where it surrounds a lamp of a type which Donald Bailey (1980, 214–5 no. Q.1028) assigns to the second half of the 1st century AD.

3. (60) Banded agate, black with a transverse white band running through it. The band is edged with a translucent, yellowish border.

*Shape* F1; oval with bevelled edge.

*Dimensions* 13.5 by 11.5mm. Thickness 2mm.

*Device* Pegasus walks towards the left. His right foreleg is raised, the other three touch the ground line.

The type is best represented by an agate from the cache found in the House of Pinarius Cerialis at Pompeii (Pannuti 1975, 183 no. 10 fig. 15)<sup>5</sup>. For style, although here Pegasus is shown in the act of taking off into the air, we may compare a fired clay sealing from the public record office at Cyrene burnt down in the Jewish revolt of Trajan's reign (Maddoli 1965, 123 no. 822).

4. (61) Nicolo with pale blue upper surface on a dark ground. The surface is crazed.

*Shape* F4; oval with upper and lower edges bevelled.

*Dimensions* Upper face excluding bevelled frame, 9.5 by 9mm; maximum measurements 12mm by 11mm. Thickness 3mm.

*Device* A naked discus-thrower (*discobolus*) walks right, looking over his shoulder left. In his left hand he holds a discus and in his right a palm of Victory. Below his feet is a short ground line.

The theme reappears on a cornelian from Bath (Henig 1978, no. 520 = Henig in Cunliffe 1969, 82, no. 14 pl.xii) where the athlete is about to throw the discus, and his prize, a palm, stands in a vase in front of him. The gem is an interesting reflection of the growing Hellenisation of the upper classes of Roman society in the middle of the 1st century AD. Discus-throwing and athletics, with their obligatory sacred nudity, were traditionally part of the Greek, not Roman, games, and their introduction to the West did not meet with the approval of some conservatives. The Younger Pliny, for example, writing at about the same time as the deposition of the Eastcheap gems, observed that 'the games had corrupted the morals of Vienne, as they corrupt everyone in Rome. But the vices of Vienne remain within their own walls; ours spread abroad. In the Empire as in the human body, the

worst disease is that which starts from the head' (*Epistles* iv. 22). Tacitus tells us that the games which Nero instituted in Rome in AD 60 were frowned upon as an encouragement to the youth of the City to indulge in homosexual practices: 'They would be compelled to strip naked, put on boxing-gloves and practise that form of exercise instead of war and arms' (*Annals* xiv. 20).

## DISCUSSION

The four gems display very different subjects and hardly at first sight invite close stylistic comparison. Nevertheless, they seem to me to belong together in the same way as the much larger, but more or less contemporary, cache from the House of Pinarius Cerialis (Pannuti 1975): the product of the same studio or of neighbouring studios. They thus allow us to advance the hypothesis that a merchant in gems operated from a shop or stall on this site, and that the stones may actually have been engraved there by *gemmarii* resident in London. The following reasons may be adduced for this statement.

- (a) All the stones are very fresh, without any sign of scratching; the nicolos and the onyx show some crazing, but this is not the result of use. The choice of a similar material for three of them may be significant.
- (b) No. 2 is not fully polished, and the owner's name was only sketched out, not executed. This gem might be regarded as unfinished.
- (c) Some small points of stylistic comparison may be made: for instance, the execution of Pegasus's hocks with that of the *discobolus*'s ankle, or the outlining of the discus with that of the leaves of the wreath and the guard on Roma's helmet. Nevertheless, the markedly linear treatment employed above all for Pegasus (Classicising Style) contrasts with the ready use of pelleting on the clasped hands (knuckles and

ends of fingers) and on the olives and ribbons of the surrounding wreath. More than one hand was surely at work on these gems.

The best parallel to the cache so far published from Britain is that from Bath (Henig in Cunliffe 1969), although the likeness may not now be as obvious as the published report, based on my earliest research in glyptics, suggests. Recent re-examination of the Bath gems by David Zienckiewicz and George Boon shows more wear than we should really expect from 'mint' gemstones, and it is more likely that the stones were lost from the rings of bathers and were carried down the waste-pipe from the baths into the main outfall drain leading from the Spring. Nevertheless, the stylistic resemblances between many of the gems described in the report (*ibid.*, 72–5; cf. *Britannia* 7 (1976) 284–5) seem valid and there is a very good chance that a high proportion came from a common source, perhaps a *gemmarius* working at Bath. The date, Flavian or even Neronian, also holds. We may note the presence of similar studies of an athlete at Bath and Eastcheap, and also compare the treatment of the head of a Maenad on a Bath nicolo (Henig in Cunliffe 1969, 83 no. 16) with the Eastcheap Roma, but the London intaglios, especially Nos 1–3, are of superior quality, as we might expect.

In the context of 1st-century London it may be pointed out that in early Flavian times there was a goldsmith operating in the Cannon Street area, on a site which was later to be the East wing of the Palace (Marsden 1975, 100–1 fig. 46). It is not hard to envisage an area south of the nucleus of early Roman London, towards the river, thronged with craftsmen including workers in luxury products, rather like the *Via Sacra* area in Rome, or the *Via dell'Abbondanza* in Pompeii (cf. I. Calabi Limetani, *s.v. Gemmarius* in *Enciclopedia*

*dell'Arte Antica* iii (Rome 1960), 808–9). Tacitus's famous description of London before it was overwhelmed by disaster as a place frequented by merchants (*Annals* xiv. 33) certainly does not exclude such a possibility. On rather more slender evidence I have suggested the possible presence of a gem-workshop in 2nd-century London at Southwark (Henig in Dennis 1978, 402–3 nos 167–8), but the gems from St Thomas Street belong to a period when Roman glyptic art was in decline. The Eastcheap intaglios date from its apogee and comprise the most important find of gems from the metropolis.

#### NOTES

1. By the Department of Urban Archaeology of the Museum of London, supervised by Sue Riviere. The initial recording of the finds was undertaken by Jo Groves and Angela Simic. The drawings are by Emma Rigby, the photographs by John Bailey. Thanks are also due to Dr Paul Tyers for information about the date of the associated pottery, to Dr R. Harding and Mr E. A. Jobbins of the Geological Survey for comments on the petrology, and to Francis Grew for general comments. Finds catalogues and archive reports on the structures and finds are held in the Museum of London and may be consulted on request. The gems themselves are also stored in the Museum under the site code EST 83; for ease of reference the individual accession numbers (59–62) have here been added in parentheses before each description.
2. The form-types are those illustrated in Henig 1978, fig. 1.
3. Also note a sard in Paris (Vermeule 1959, pl. viii.2) and a plasma in Vienna (Zwierlein-Diehl 19/9, no. 1071), both with much fuller busts, the latter dated by Dr Zwierlein-Diehl to the end of the 1st century BC.
4. For the *dextrarum iunctio* on gems see Zazoff 1975, nos. 1332–3, and for an olive wreath surrounding clasped hands (and a parrot above), Furtwängler 1896, no. 8036. Note also Berry 1969 no. 90, with cockerels, cantharus, cornucopiae and *dextrarum iunctio* within wreath.
5. Also note Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1130, a cornelian dated to the 1st century BC, and Henig and Whiting 1985, no. 161 a gem from Gadara, Jordan.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BAILEY (1980), D. M. Bailey *A Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum* Vol 2: Roman Lamps made in Italy (London 1980).  
 BERRY (1969) B. Y. Berry *Ancient Gems from the collection of Burton Y Berry* (Indiana 1969).  
 BOARDMAN AND SCARISBRICK (1977), J. Boardman and D. Scarisbrick *The Ralph Harari Collection of Finger Rings* (London 1977).  
 CUNLIFFE (1969), B. W. Cunliffe *Roman Bath Res. Rep. Soc. Antiq. London* No. xxiv 1969.  
 DENNIS (1978), G. Dennis '1–7 St Thomas Street' *Southwark Excavations 1972–1974* Vol 2 London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. and Surrey Archaeol. Soc. Joint Publication No. 1–1978.  
 FURTWÄGLER (1896), A. Furtwängler *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Geschnittenen Steine* (Berlin 1896).  
 HENIG (1978), M. Henig *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* Brit. Archaeol. Rep. No. 8 2nd edition Oxford 1978.  
 HENIG AND WHITING (1985), M. Henig and M. Whiting *Engraved Gems from Gadara in Jordan. The Sa'd Collection of Intaglios and Cameos* Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph No. 6 Oxford 1985.  
 MADDOLI (1965), G. Maddoli 'le cretule del Nomophylakion di Cirene' *Ann. Scuola Archaeologica di Atene* 41–42 (1965) 39–145.  
 MARSDEN (1975), P. Marsden 'Excavation of a Roman Palace Site in London, 1961–1972' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 26 (1975) 1–102.  
 PANNUTI (1975), U. Pannuti 'Pinarius Cerialis, Gemmarius Pompeianus' *Bollettino d'Arte* 60 (1975) 178–90.

VERMEULE (1959), C. C. Vermeule *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge Mass. 1959).

WALTERS (1926), H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* (London 1926).

ZAZOFF (1975), P. Zazoff *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen* Vol 4: Hannover, Kestner-Museum (Wiesbaden 1975)

ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL (1979), E. Zwierlein-Diehl *Die Antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien II* (Munich 1979).

# TWO INSCRIBED FINGER RINGS FROM THE CITY OF LONDON

MARTIN HENIG

This note is concerned with two inscribed, iron finger rings which are unusual in that the inscriptions occur on copper alloy strips inlaid in their bezels. The first was

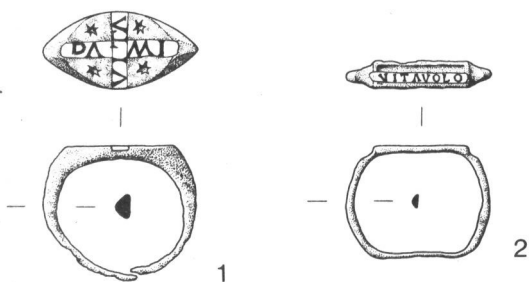


Fig. 1. The inscribed rings.

found in 1974 during excavations by the Guildhall Museum's Department of Urban Archaeology at New Fresh Wharf in the City of London<sup>1</sup>. It was recovered from a foreshore deposit dating to the Hadrianic period, but contaminated by a small quantity of later material. It has a thin hoop of flattened section (ext. dia. 20mm) widening out to an oval bezel (Fig. 1 No. 1; Pl. 1).

The type is characteristic of the late 1st and early 2nd centuries AD<sup>2</sup>, but the ornamentation of the

bezel itself is distinctive and unusual. It consists of inlaid strips of copper alloy set in the form of a right-angled cross in which the short axis appears to cross the long axis. In the centre of each quadrant of the cross is a six-pointed star. Under the microscope (X40 magnification), it is evident that each star consists of three stamped or incised lines which intersect at their mid-points. The inlaid cross bears an inscription, picked out in niello<sup>3</sup>. On the long axis are the letters DA, to the right MI; on the short axis, turning the bezel through 90 degrees clock-wise, we read the word VITA. Thus the full inscription would appear to read *da mi(hi) vita(m)*—"Give Life to me!"

This invocation may be read as a love charm, but the words could equally have a deeper significance as a request to the gods (or perhaps, specifically, Jupiter) to grant the wearer eternal life. An indication that such a meaning might indeed be intended here is suggested by the addition of the four stars, one in each quadrant of the cross. These stars indicate the heavens and are found on coins with the legend *Aeternitas*, for of all existing things, the heavens alone seemed eternal<sup>4</sup>. Gems from York, Silchester and Caerleon show a crescent surrounded by stars<sup>5</sup>. An

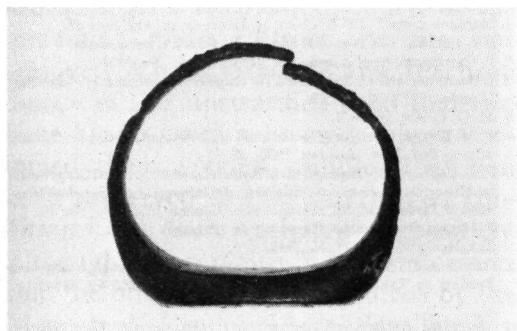


Plate 1. DA MI VITA ring.

intaglio found at Chester depicts a crescent and star, one on each side of a solar torch, and another from Chesterholm shows Jupiter Sarapis between two stars<sup>6</sup>. Amongst other glyptic material, we may note a gem engraved with four stars around an enigmatic, but probably cel-

A bronze ring from Bonn bears the formula *Da Vita*, and a 3rd century gem found at Ribchester proclaims *Ave Mea Vita*—"Hail my Life"<sup>11</sup>. Amongst recent finds, we may also note a 2nd or 3rd century open-work ring from Bedford inscribed *EVSEBIO VITA*<sup>12</sup>.

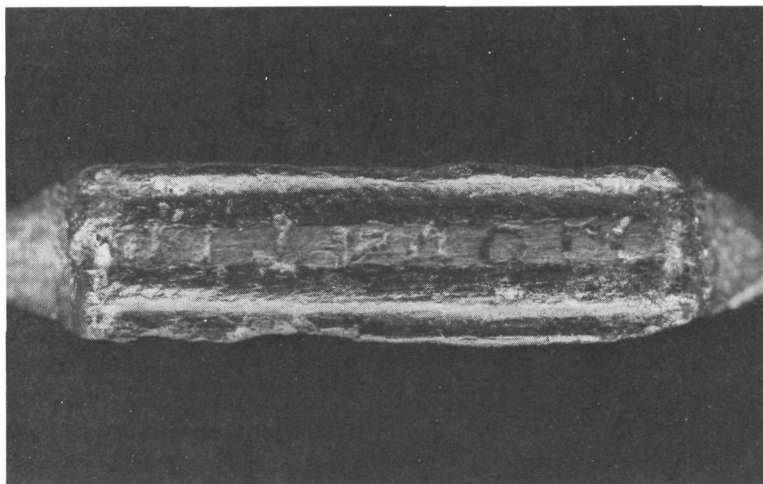


Plate 2. Bezel of *VITA VOLO* ring.

estial, motif *S*, set in a gold ring dedicated to Jupiter ruler of the sky<sup>7</sup>.

The second ring to be described here, also from London (exact provenance unknown), provides the closest parallel to the above in technique of manufacture (Fig. 1 No. 2; Pl. 2)<sup>8</sup>. In the Guildhall Museum Catalogue of 1908 it is incorrectly described as being of bronze with an inlaid strip of gold<sup>9</sup>. It is, in fact, of iron and copper alloy, like the New Fresh Wharf ring. The inscription is now generally accepted as reading *VITA VOLO*, "I wish for life"<sup>10</sup>. Two rings do not make a workshop, but they certainly do not make a local origin less likely.

Rings and gems carrying short legends referring to "Life", some of them love-tokens, others less certainly so, are fairly common.

*The Society is grateful to the Museum of London for a publication grant towards the cost of this article.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am most grateful to Michael Rhodes for his assistance, and for allowing publication of the New Fresh Wharf ring in advance of the full report on the finds from that site.

## NOTES

1. Site Code: NFW 74; Reg. No.: 275. For site report, see L. Miller, J. Schofield and M. Rhodes *The Roman Quay at St. Magnus House, London* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper Forthcoming (London 1985).
2. M. Henig *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* 2nd. Edit. (Oxford 1978) 35f., Fig. 1, Ring form III.
3. For preliminary publication, see M. W. C. Hassall and R. S. O. Tomlin 'Inscriptions' in N. B. Rankov, M. W. C. Hassall and R. S. O. Tomlin 'Roman Britain in 1981' *Britannia* 13 (1982, 396-422) 416, No. 54.
4. Manilius *Astron* I, 495 ff. Coins: cf. Henig *op. cit.* 112, note 63.
5. *ibid.* 106; No. 409, App. 81; and D. Zienkiewicz, pers. comm.
6. P. Carrington, pers. comm.; and Henig *op. cit.*, No. 355.
7. J. Boardman and D. Scarisbrick *The Ralph Harari Collection of Finger Rings* (London 1977) 29, No. 39.
8. M. O. L. Acc. No. 825.
9. E. M. Borrajo *Catalogue of the Collection of London Antiquities in the Guildhall Museum* 2nd. Edit. (London, 1908) 29.
10. R. G. Collingwood 'Inscriptions of Roman London' in Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London. Vol. III. Roman London* (London 1928) 176, No. 49.
11. F. Henkel *Die Römischen Fingerringe der Rheinlande* (Berlin 1913) 82, No. 833; Henig *op. cit.*, 275, No. 745.
12. Hassall and Tomlin *op. cit.*, 411; C. Johns 'A Roman gold ring from Bedford' in 'Exhibits at Ballots' *Antiq. J.* 61 (1981, 335-69) 343-5.



# A NOTE ON ROMAN BONE HINGES FROM THE CITY OF LONDON

C. E. E. JONES

The article by Fremersdorf (1940) and the note in the Verulamium excavation report by Waugh and Goodburn (Frere 1972) identify the cylindrical bone objects that occur on Roman sites as hinges. These authors illustrate how the hinges function in structures with either a vertical or horizontal axis citing examples manufactured and discovered outside the British Isles (see Fig. 1)<sup>1</sup>. From an initial survey of British excavation reports it would appear that British finds consist only of the outer bone sheath and do not contain the central wooden spindle and pegs as illustrated in Fig. 2<sup>2</sup>. That the internal fitting fails to survive can be attributed to unfavourable burial conditions. It is of interest to note, therefore, the recent discovery of two hinges from the City of London that consist of both outer case and inner spindle.

The 1983/84 excavation of a River Thames waterfront site at Billingsgate Lorry Park by the Museum of London's Department of Urban Archaeology uncovered waterlogged deposits that included Roman material. After the archaeological excavation, much of the remaining material from the site was removed by private contractors. It is from dumps of this unstratified spoil that two bone hinges were recovered. These contained their wooden spindles that had been preserved in the waterlogged conditions of their original deposition. Although one remains in private ownership the other hinge was acquired by the Museum of London (Accession Number 84.126).

The Museum hinge (Fig. 3) is the more complete of the two examples. It measures 70mm long and along one face are two perforations, some 6mm in diameter and spaced 21mm apart. Made from a limb bone of an ungulate this double hinge is polished and decorated with incised lines. Since its recovery some shrinkage of the wood inside has occurred due to drying out and the central spindle no longer fits tightly within the case. However, the spindle, made from the wood of an ash tree (*Fraxinus* sp.)<sup>3</sup> clearly shows how the inner piece of wood had holes bored into it, their position corresponding to the holes made in the bone. Into these inner holes were fixed wooden pegs which then protruded beyond the bone casing. The Museum example retains one of these pegs whilst the hole for another peg is clearly visible in the wooden shaft directly beneath the one in the bone case.

The second hinge brought into the Museum for recording and published here with permission of the owner, is shorter (26mm) but of similar diameter (Fig. 3). It is a single hinge, having only one perforation (8mm diameter) and whilst polished, has no incised decoration (cf. Waugh and Goodburn p. 151 no. 190). A minute hole in the bone wall opposite the main perforation suggests damage caused by the drill bit penetrating too far when boring the main hole. The wooden spindle was found inside the hinge, but shrinkage and the loss of its peg mean that it is no longer permanently fixed inside the case. Nonetheless it is again clear that this spindle was prepared so that the inner and outer holes were aligned and a peg could be slotted in and affixed to the wooden shaft. It has not been possible in this instance to have the wood identified and in neither example, because of the extensive working of the bone, has it been possible to determine precisely the species of animal from which they derive<sup>4</sup>. However the perforation in the single hinge lies in a natural longitudinal groove. This feature has been identified in other examples as the point of fusion between the third and fourth metatarsals found in cattle (MacGregor 1985, 208, note 75), a species identification which may well hold true for this bone.

A third and previously unpublished bone hinge was recovered from the Walbrook streambed in the City of London during the 1950s<sup>5</sup>. It now forms part of the Greenway Collection in the British Museum (Prehistoric & Romano-British Department). Originally deposited in waterlogged conditions this single hinge, 20mm in length, also retains the central wooden spindle. Despite some shrinkage the spindle still has the subrectangular section that enabled it to fit tightly and without movement within the similarly shaped shaft of the bone casing, whilst each protruding terminal is of a circular cross section. In common with the single hinge mentioned above, the perforation lies in a natural longitudinal groove, again diagnostic of bovine origin. MacGregor (1985) notes that when situated in this groove the perforations and pegs would be hidden from view when the hinge was fitted. It may well be that such a feature, along with the application of wax (MacGregor 1985, 203) facilitated the rotary movement of the hinges. Many other hinges including the double hinge mentioned above (Acc. No. 84.126), however, lack such a groove.

The opportunity was taken to publish these London hinges for, despite not having datable contexts, their almost com-

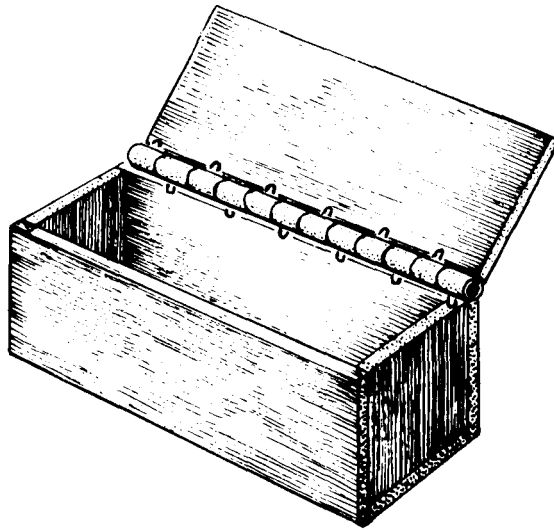


Fig. 1 Roman bone hinges: A wooden chest from Egypt and now housed in the Ashmolean Museum [E3701] illustrating the use of single hinges (N. A. Griffiths).

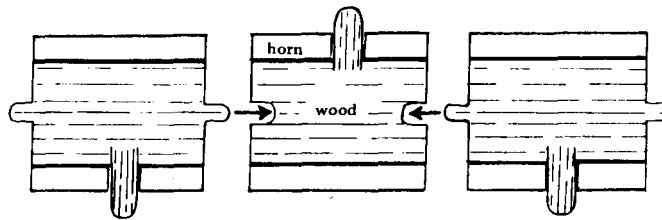


Fig. 2. Roman bone hinges: Section diagram showing internal features.

plete state makes them of special interest. Together the three hinges certainly form a unique set of finds from the City of London, probably from the rest of the country, and the presence of a peg in the double hinge remains unparalleled from Romano-British contexts.

#### NOTES

1. Fremersdorf refers to examples from Mainz, Trier, Vindonissa, Pompeii and Egypt while Waugh and Goodburn cite hinged boxes from Egypt which are now housed in the Ashmolean Museum to demonstrate how the hinges work. McWhirr (1982, 58-9) also provides clear illustrations of the individual components and how they link together to form the complete hinge. (A replica wooden cupboard has been constructed and

is displayed in the 1st-century Roman room setting in the Museum of London, showing a vertical door hinge made as described by Fremersdorf.)

2. Spindles are known to have been made from other organic materials although British examples are again rare. A long bone spindle (c. 73mm long) is recorded from Chelmsford and a possible bone spindle has been recorded from Verulamium in late 1st to 2nd-century deposits (Frere 1972, fig. 54, 191). The latter has been published as a hinge segment but may indeed be a spindle. I am grateful to S. Grep for bringing these two items to my attention. There is also the possibility that iron pins may have been used in constructing hinges; see MacGregor (1985) who makes reference to possible evidence from August.

3. Analysis of the wood was undertaken by J. Nation of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Laboratory to whom I would like to express my thanks. Boxwood plugs are known from Vindonissa, where hinges were preserved in waterlogged conditions (Fremersdorf 1940; MacGregor 1985).

4. My thanks to Barbara West, Acting Environmental Officer, Department of Urban Archaeology, who kindly examined both hinge sections.

5. I am indebted to Stephen Grep for notifying me of this example and to Ralph Jackson for details of its recovery and structure.

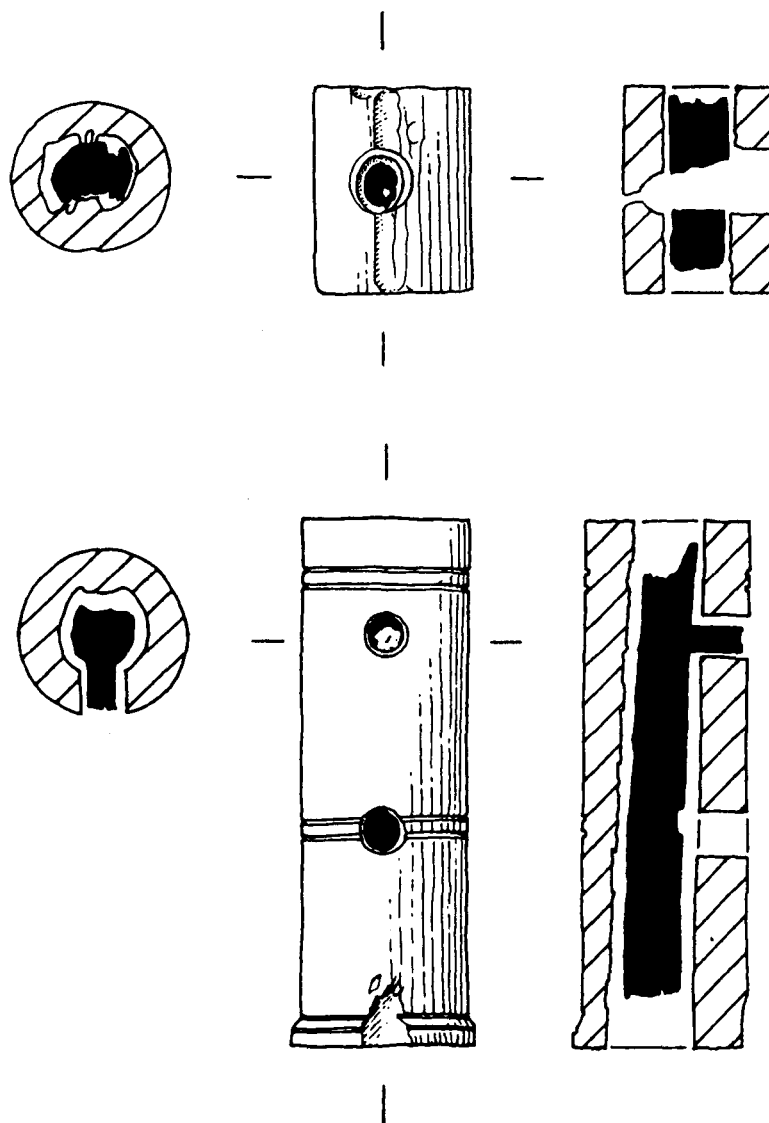


Fig. 3. Roman bone hinges: The single hinge (above) and the double hinge (M.o.L. Acc. No. 84.126) below (E. Rigby and A. Sutton). Scale 1/1.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- FREMERSDORF (1940), F. Fremersdorf 'Römische Scharnierhänder aus Bein' *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga Arheološkoga Društva* (Zagreb 1940) 321-37.  
 FRERE (1972), S. S. Frere *Verulamium Excavations Vol. I* (1972).  
 MACGREGOR (1985), A. MacGregor *Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn* (London, 1985).  
 MCWHIRR (1982), A. McWhirr *Roman Crafts and Industries* (Princes Risborough 1982) 58-9.  
 WAUGH & GOODBURN (1972), H. Waugh and R. Goodburn 'Non-ferrous objects: the objects of bone' in S. Frere (1972) 149-51.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank E. Taylor for permission to publish the hinge which he recovered. Thanks are due to Anne Sutton and Emma Rigby for their illustrations, and also to Alan McWhirr and Nick Griffiths for permission to reproduce the illustration of the hinged box (Fig. 1). I am indebted to Jenny Hall and Hugh Chapman who encouraged publication of these hinges.

*The Society is grateful to the Museum of London for a publication grant towards the cost of this article.*

# A MILITARY OBJECT FROM LONDON IN THE PITT-RIVERS COLLECTION IN THE SALISBURY MUSEUM

GRAHAM WEBSTER

In going through the metal artifacts of Roman date in the Salisbury Museum<sup>13</sup> a remarkably fine military apron terminal was noticed in the Pitt-Rivers Collection recently acquired by the Museum. The label attached to it states that it comes from 'Excavations in the City of London' (Acc. No. 3M 6A 27). Although this object does not have an attractive appearance, probably through being retrieved from a burnt deposit, it has an unusual feature, apart from its quality, in that the domed stud is still attached, whereas in many cases this has become detached and

lost. Complete mounts are rare and of one from Richborough where the stud is still in position, only half survives<sup>2</sup>. An apron terminal comes from Verulamium where the stud has become detached<sup>3</sup>, thinner and inferior examples are common from Aislingen<sup>4</sup>, Rheingönheim<sup>5</sup> etc. The London example is of finer quality than the usual thin strip types with their rather perfunctory niello decoration. All the other pieces have the usual silvered finish but on the one under discussion there are traces of gilt on the stud. Better quality of equipment does not necessarily signify a difference in units since it is evident from the decorated dagger scabbards<sup>6</sup> that men were able to improve the quality of their equipment and even add decorative studs and mounts<sup>7</sup>.

The Pitt-Rivers object is yet another to add to the growing collection of military equipment of the Claudian period found in London<sup>8</sup> and which would appear to support the suggestion that there was a fort on the N. bank of the Thames.

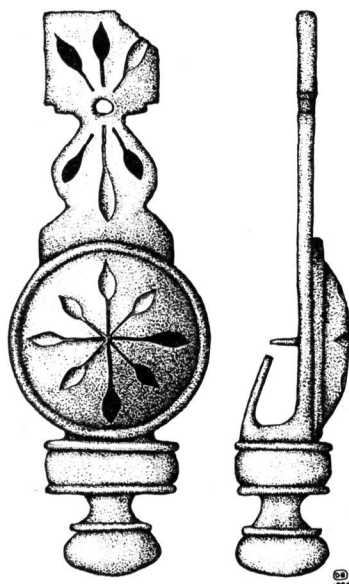


Fig. 1 A Roman military object from London (I/I).

## NOTES

- 1 I am most grateful to the Curator P. R. Saunders and the Archaeological Assistant, Mrs Conybeare for allowing me access to the material, and for their kind help in sorting it.
- 2 *Richborough*, V. 1968, B. W. Cunliffe. ed. Rep. of Soc. of Antiqs. No. 23, Pl. XXXVII, No. 126.
- 3 Sheppard Frere, *Verulamium I*, Rep. of Soc. of Antiqs. No. 28, Fig. 23, No. 49.
- 4 G. Ulbert, *Die Römische Donau-kastelle Aislingen und Burghöfe*, *Limesforschungen* 1, 1959, Taf 18, Nos 1-3, with examples of detached studs, Taf 19, Nos 1-5.
- 5 G. Ulbert, *Das Frühromische Kastell Rheingönheim*, *Limesforschungen* 9, 1969, Taf 28, Nos 24-26.
- 6 For a list up to 1970 see G. Ulbert, 'Das römische Donau-Kastell Rississen' *Urkunden zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte aus Südwürttemberg-Hohenzollern* Teil 1, Heft 4 (1970), 16-19; and the additional British examples and a discussion by the author, in *The Production and Distribution of Roman Military Equipment* Brit. Archaeol. Repts. International Ser. 275 (1985) 214-9.

7. Tacitus informs us (*Hist.*, 57) that the soldiers on the Rhine in support of Vitellius contributed their Belts, decorations and silver ornaments from their armour (*balteos phalerasque, insignia armorum argenteo*) which may imply that some of the equipment was solid silver, although no examples have

been found. It seems unlikely that *phalaras* here means, as some have assumed, military awards given for acts of valour.

8. Those found up to 1969 are listed in *Arch. j.* 115 (1960), 84–6, Nos 138–159.

# EXCAVATIONS AT ROMAN ROAD/PARNELL ROAD, OLD FORD, LONDON E3

PETER S. MILLS

## SUMMARY

*The Roman London-Colchester road, dating from the 1st-4th centuries, was examined. Successive phases, generally paralleled by phases of construction found during earlier work were identified.*

## INTRODUCTION

During June-September 1980 the Inner London Archaeological Unit carried out a limited excavation across the line of the main, Roman London-Colchester road. The site, at the junction of Roman Rd/Parnell Rd (TQ 36978355), was to be landscaped forming a public garden. The area threatened with destruction (max. length 22m, max. width 6m) lay near sites investigated by Harvey Sheldon on behalf of the London Museum during 1969-70 and 1971 (Sheldon 1971, 1972) at Lefevre Rd, Appian Rd and Parnell Rd. On these sites the road, as well as inhumations and features associated with a possible Roman settlement, were examined (Fig. 1).

## THE EXCAVATION PHASE I

(Fig. 2)

The initial phase comprised a raised bank of brickearth (194, 196, 198) over dark gravel (210). This gravel appeared to be the base foundation for the road but though examined it was not bottomed. Sheldon, however, found a comparable gravel overlay the natural sand and gravel. Capping the brickearth bank were two layers (0.25m thick) of rammed gravel (165, 188) which formed the main *agger* of the road, 6.5m wide. Running parallel to this consolidated track were two auxiliary roadways at a lower level. To the north a hollow-way (215) worn down to the gravel (210) formed a path some 5m wide. This was bounded on the north by a slight bank (192) running parallel to the main track. This may have been the upcast of a small northern ditch destroyed by later features.

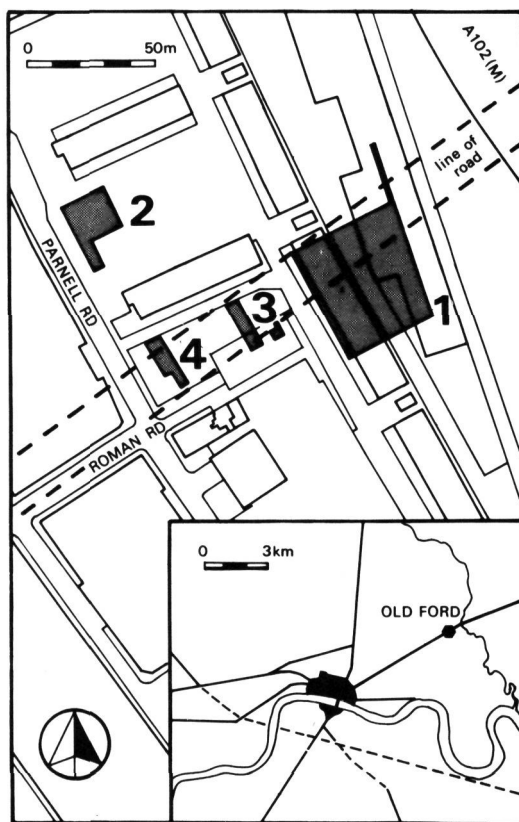


Fig. 1 Roman Rd/Parnell Rd: Inset Roman London and Old Ford; Site Locations: 1 Lefevre Road Sept 1969-June 1970; 2 Parnell Road Oct. 1970-Feb. 1971; 3 Appian Road Feb-April 1971; 4 Roman Road/Parnell Road June-Sept 1980.

To the south of the main track ran a thinly metalled pathway (151), with an excavated width of 3.5m, over a bedding of brickearth (200, 202) on the gravel (210).

The total width of the road during this phase was 15m.

The heavy traffic using the central *agger* resulted in the surface becoming deeply cut by ruts. There was evidence that this surface was maintained by isolated patching and backfilling of the ruts. As neither the south nor north pathways showed any signs of ruts they are likely to have been used by pedestrians and livestock.

This layout of a triple lane road was found by Sheldon at his previous excavations (Sheldon 1971, 1972) and he lists the documentary evidence for such roads.

Little dating material was recovered though some fragments of mid 1st century pottery were noted.

### PHASE IA

Cut into the north bank (192) was a small gully (133) with a rounded terminal cut at its west end by a posthole (135): the gully produced some early Roman material.

The north side of the central track, damaged by heavy traffic, was remetalled with gravel (155).

### PHASE II

The north bank was raised (131) and a dump of compact sand (125), gritty loam (123) and sandy clay (213) with patchy gravel metalling (147) laid over the northern hollow-way. The new metalling in the hollow-way spread slightly up the bank, increasing the width of the road to 16.3m.

A more evenly distributed gravel resurfacing (117) over sandy gravel (71) brought the northern track up to a similar height to that of the southern.

### PHASE III

(Fig. 2)

A major rebuilding of the road involved raising the height of the southern subsidiary pathway and remetalling it.

On the south side a bank of gritty sand (127) was laid over the earlier surface and capped with gravel of variable thickness (121). At this time the central track was still higher than the south path, the two having a total width of 9m.

During this period the north roadway was cut by a posthole (184) and buried beneath an accumulation of soft sand and loam (84). Such a deposit suggests the north track had fallen into disuse by this point. A patchy scatter of gravel (109) over this was probably not metalling but debris thrown up by traffic passing along the main carriageway.

### PHASE IIIA

(Fig. 2)

At the north end of the site a pit (80) cut through the raised bank (131). This pit and two possible ditches (66, 68) were extensively cut away by a linear ditch (73) parallel to the road. Notable amongst the pottery from this ditch (73) was a mid 1st century AD vessel in the native tradition, possibly derived from an earlier ditch. The ditch (73) was recut, though the new ditch (33) was not as wide or deep.

The pit (80) had some mid-late 2nd century sherds in its fill. The two early ditches (66, 68) produced early-mid 2nd century pottery. Both the ditch (73) and the narrower recut (33) contained some Antonine (138–180) material.

Unfortunately, due to modern disturbance truncating the stratigraphy, it is not clear if this ditch was contemporary with Phase III or Phase IV.

### PHASE IV

(Fig. 2)

A number of postholes (90, 105, 107) and a shallow gully (167), containing late 2nd–early 3rd century pottery, cut into both the main and north tracks indicate that these parts of the road had fallen into disuse. The postholes and the main *agger* were sealed by an accumulation of fine loam (46), itself cut by a gully (69). This loam contained pottery *c.* AD 240 and the gully some 4th century sherds.

On the south side very sandy loam (74, 104, 115, 119) also accumulated, but gravel surfaces (62, 78, 102) over the loam implied it was still used by traffic. This section of the road, now slightly higher than the central track, had an excavated width of 4.1m. It has been noted elsewhere (Sheldon, 1971, 48) that the north side was abandoned, the road alignment seemingly shifting to the south.

### PHASE V

The southern gravel surfaces were later cut by a posthole (60), indicating that even the south roadway had been abandoned.

On the south further loam (53) covered the posthole (60) and gully (69), while on the north loam (35, 41) covered the northern side of the road.

### PHASE VI

The area apparently remained open ground until the 19th century when small terraced houses were built on the site. Their associated foundations and services caused some disturbance to the Roman stratigraphy.



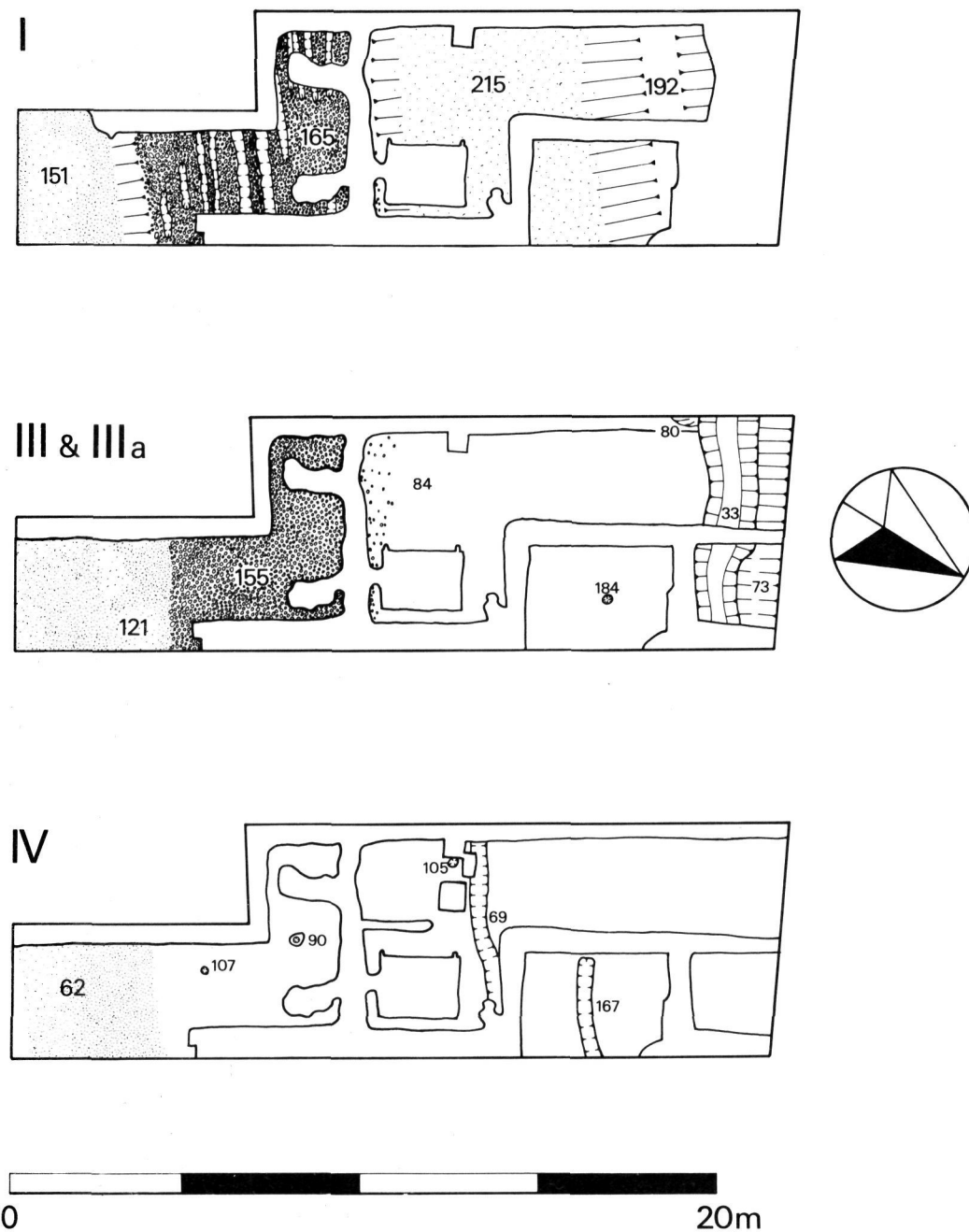
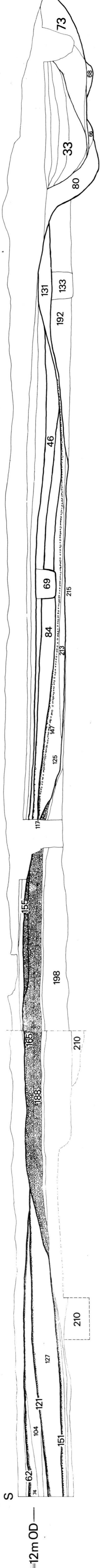


Fig. 2 Roman Rd/Parnell Rd: Phases I, III, IV.

WEST SECTION



EAST SECTION

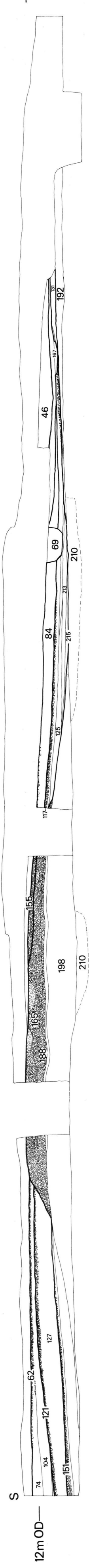


Fig. 3 Roman Rd/Parnell Rd: Sections at Roman Road; East Section Reversed.

## DISCUSSION

Previous work on the road indicated variations in construction. The main phases found are summarised below:

Lefevre Road (exc. 1969–70)

Phase I: Raised central carriageway; low south path, lower north path (=I Appian Rd, I Roman Rd). ? post Conquest.

Phase II: North pathway raised to level of south (=II Roman Rd). ? Flavian (69–95).

Phase III: South track raised to height of centre *agger*; north pathway abandoned (=II Appian Rd, III Roman Rd). ? Traj-Had (98–138), some Antonine (138–192) material.

Phase IV: South track raised above height of centre *agger* (?=IV Roman Rd). Both carriageways apparently in use until the late 4th century.

Appian Road (exc. 1971)

Phase I: Raised central track with two lower auxiliary pathways; the central track had no compacted gravel core, only a thin gravel spread (=I Lefevre Rd, I Roman Rd). No dating material ? post-Conquest.

Phase II: South tract raised to height of central *agger*; ? north side abandoned (=III Lefevre Rd, III Roman Rd). One piece of late 1st/early 2nd century pottery from the gritty sandy bank (=Roman Rd 127), but an early 3rd century coin (218–222) from a gravel surface similar to that found near the south track may indicate a later date.

The quantity of material present at Appian Rd and Lefevre Rd indicated the proximity of a settlement; this was absent at Roman Rd/Parnell Rd. Furthermore the pottery at Roman Rd/Parnell Rd was predominantly 2nd century, whereas the material from the other sites was mainly late Roman: these variations may indicate a shifting settlement centre. However, the

areas examined to date have not revealed even the exact location of the settlement, let alone details of its development.

In broad terms the excavation at Roman Rd/Parnell Rd confirms the general development on the road shown by Sheldon at Appian Rd and Lefevre Rd. Curiously, the sequence of alterations is almost identical at Roman/Parnell Rd and Lefevre Rd although the Appian Rd excavation, with its variant construction, lay between them. Sheldon suggested that the Lefevre Rd site had a sturdier construction to account for the slope to the River Lea where heavy traffic would cut deeper into the hill. However, as Roman Rd/Parnell Rd shows a very similar design it appears that the Appian Rd section is anomalous for reasons unknown.

## THE POTTERY

The Samian

By Joanna Bird

Phase II

Feature 169

Dr 31, Central Gaul, Antonine.

Dr 31, Central Gaul, early-mid Antonine.

Phase IIIa

Feature 73

Dr 37 foot, Central Gaul, Antonine. Context 208.

Dr 31, Central Gaul, Antonine. Context 208.

Dr 31 R probably, Central Gaul, later 2nd century. Context 56.

Dr 18/31, Central Gaul (Les Martres), early 2nd century. Context 57.

Feature 33

Dr 36, Central Gaul, Antonine. Context 206.

2 × Dr 33, Central Gaul, Antonine. Context 206.

Dr 33 foot, Central Gaul. Context 206.

Dr 33 base, stamped (see following report SF16); the base has been deliberately trimmed down. Context 34.

Dr 33, Central Gaul, Antonine. Context 50.

Dr 30 or 37, Central Gaul, mid-late Antonine. Context 206.

Dr 31, Central Gaul, Antonine; slightly burnt. Context 34.

2 × Dr 31, Central Gaul, Antonine. Contexts 34 and 37.

Dr 31, Central Gaul, mid-late Antonine. Context 50.

Dr 31, stamped (see following report SF9). Context 55.

Dr 31, Central Gaul, Antonine. Context 206.

Dr 31 R probably, Central Gaul, later 2nd century. Context 56.

Dr 18/31, Central Gaul (Les Martres), early 2nd century. Context 57.

Dish sherd, East Gaul, Antonine—early 3rd century. Context 206.

Dish sherd, Central Gaul, probably Hadrianic. Context 34.

Dish sherd, Central Gaul, Hadrianic-Antonine. Context 37.  
2 Central Gaulish sherds. Context 206.

#### Phase IV

##### Feature 69

Dr 31 or 31R, stamped (see following report SF50)

#### Phase IV or V

##### Feature 58

Dr 33, Central Gaul, Antonine.

Dr 35, Central Gaul, Antonine.

#### Phase V

##### Feature 41

Bowl foot, Central Gaul, Antonine.

Dr 18/31 or 31, East Gaul, Antonine.

Walters 79, Central Gaul, later 2nd century East Gaulish sherd.

##### Feature 29

Dr 31R, Central Gaul, later 2nd century.

Dr 33, Central Gaul, Antonine.

Walters 79R or Lud TgR, Central Gaul, late 2nd century.

#### Phase VI

##### Feature 145

Dr 31, Central Gaul, mid 2nd century; burnt.

##### Feature 1

Dr 37 in the style of Paternus II of Lezoux. The beadrow is on Stanfield & Simpson, 1958, pl. 105, no. 13, the medallion, cupid, circle and terminal on pl. 105, no. 12; the other motifs are not identifiable. *c.* AD 160–90.

Dr 31R/Lud Sb, East Gaul, late 2nd century—mid 3rd century.

Dr 31R, Central Gaul, later 2nd century.

Dr 31, Central Gaul, Antonine.

Walters 79 or Lud Tg probably, Central Gaul, later 2nd century.

Dr 33, Central Gaul, Antonine.

Rim. Dech 72 probably, Central Gaul, Antonine.

Sherd, closed form with incised decoration; Central Gaul, Antonine.

##### Feature 16

36. Dr 36/Curle 15 variant, East Gaul (Trier). The broad rim is decorated with three bands of barbotine, comprising short spirals between rows of commas. Later 2nd Century—mid 3rd century. Illustrated Fig. 5.

##### Feature 25

Dr 31R, Central Gaul, later 2nd century.

##### Feature 121

Dr 33, East Gaul, later 2nd century—mid 3rd century.

##### Feature 183

Dr 36, South Gaul, Flavian.

## The Stamped Samian

### Brenda M. Dickinson.

##### Feature 33

###### SF16

Carantinus 5a 33 CARANTIN retrograde Lezoux.b.

Carantinus's forms link with Cinnamus ii. His stamped, and unstamped, decorated bowls turn up in Scotland and one of his plain forms occurs at Inveresk. *c.* AD 145–175.

###### SF9

Crucuro ii 1a 31 CVR [CVROFEC] Lezoux.a.

This stamp has been noted on form 38. His output also includes

forms 18/31R—31R (from Corbridge) and 27 (several, one with stamp from Camelon). *c.* AD 140–170.

##### Feature 69

###### SF50

Quadratus iii 1b 31 or 31R QV[ADRATI] Lezoux.b.

A stamp noted on form Ludowici Tg and, many times, on form 31R. He also made forms 79 and 79R and his stamps turn up on Hadrian's Wall and at Malton. *c.* AD 160–190.

##### Notes

a. A die found at the kiln site.

b. Other dies of this potter found at the kiln site but not this one.

## Roman Coarse Pottery

### By Wendy McIsaac

#### Introduction

This report describes the more diagnostic coarse pottery from the more significant contexts of the site. A complete catalogue of the Roman pottery is part of the site archive, which may be consulted at the offices of the Department of Greater London Archaeology (North Section), Museum of London, Imex House, 42 Theobalds Road, London, WC1.

In reading the report, it should be remembered that the inclusions were identified at 20× binocular magnification. The 'Southwark' forms refer to the typology of Marsh and Tyers (1978).

#### Phase I

##### Feature 198

Two sherds brown with red-brown margins, very worn rough surface with protruding flint *c.* 0.5–3.0mm in matrix  $\leq 0.1$ mm, mica.

Seven sherds red-brown with darker core, very worn. Clear, white and pink quartz, 0.2–0.6mm and occasionally larger, red iron ore up to 1.5mm. These are similar to sherds from the earliest phase at Lefevre Rd (Sheldon, 1971, 44). Mid 1st century. Probably from the Essex area (P. Tyers, *pers comm*).

#### Phase Ia

##### Feature 133

This feature contained only four small sherds, which cannot be given a closer date than 'early Roman'.

#### Phase II

##### Feature 123

This feature contained two very small sherds of unidentified Roman grey ware.

##### Features 71

This feature contained 22 sherds (325g) in total. The majority were in 2nd century fabrics (eg Verulamium region, grey wares and worn S. Spanish amphora sherds), but there were seven sherds (145g, probably all from the same vessel) in late Roman shelly ware. These appear to be contamination from a later feature.

#### Phase III

##### Feature 84

This feature contained two sherds of unusual mortaria, which have not been matched locally, and one sherd of amphora, probably Cr. 20.

Phase	III				IIIa			IV		IV/V		V	
Feature	82	84	66	68	80	73/207	33/204	167	46	69	58	41	29
Verulamium region:													
white						127	165					5	5
grey						20							
red			30		160	37	20				30		5
Other red wares					860*	162	154	360			340	240	
'grey' wares:													
BB1							50	5					
Colchester 306													800
Tilford?												35	
other				25	72	772	1651	870	2	150	480	1830	732
Amphora:													
Dr 20		110		225			420					450	
other			75			5					210	525	80
Grogged wares										145	10	325	
Veg.-tempered ware												20	
Shelly wares:													
'type 1'						905	450					10	
'type 2'							860					75	
late Roman										45	15		
other				100		1075	355				20		
Mortaria:													
Oxfordshire white								5			10	50	130
other	25												
Fine wares:													
roughcast ccw						15	40						
Oxfordshire ccw										100			
Nene Valley ccw										10	5	230	50
Samian						60	480			10	10	15	90
Total	25	110	105	350	1092	3178	4645	1235	7	460	1130	3810	1892

Fig. 4. Roman Rd/Parnell Rd: Amounts of Roman pottery in Phases III–V, by broad Fabric groups, expressed as weight (gr).

#### Phase IIIa

##### Feature 66

This feature contained sherds of the jar (no. 3), see Feature 80, as well as four of white-slipped flagon and three of amphora, probably S. Spanish.

##### Feature 68

This feature contained one sherd each of amphora (probably Dr 20) and hand-made shelly ware (probably 1st century), and four very small sherds of very fine grey wares, Southwark forms IIE and IIIF, 2nd century.

##### Feature 80 (Fig. 5)

###### Flagon

1. Ring-necked. Grey with cream surfaces. White-grey quartz, 0.2–0.5mm. Verulamium region. Cf Southwark form IB9, AD 130–180/200+.

###### Jars

2. BB2. Slipped and burnished. Quartz 0.2–0.5mm.  
3. Red with grey to buff core; off white-cream slip on exterior, rouletting on shoulder. White, colourless, clear and pink quartz, 0.2–0.8mm; red iron ore 1.0mm; ?black iron ore; limestone 1.0–1.5mm; mica. Sherds from this jar were also found in Features 66, 73 and 33.

###### Bowls and dishes

BB2. Lattice decoration. Quartz <=0.1mm, occasionally larger up to 1.0mm; mica. Cf Southwark form IVH3? AD 130–140+. Not illustrated.

#### Feature 73

##### Flagons

4. Ring-necked. Red with off white slip. Quartz 0.2–0.5mm; red iron ore; grog; frequent mica. Cf Southwark form IB9. AD 130–180/200+. Context 57.

5. Ring-necked. Buff with red core and greyish surfaces. White, clear and grey quartz, 0.2–0.5mm. Verulamium region. Cf Southwark form IB2 or (probably) 5. Hadrianic. Context 209.

##### Jars

6. Bead rim. Hand-made brown to black fabric with frequent shell c. 1.5–2.00mm, occasional quartz up to 1.0mm, soft red inclusions = ?red iron ore c. 2.5mm. Context 209.

Slipped and burnished. Quartz <=1mm. Possibly Southwark form IIE. Context 56. Not illustrated.

Slipped and burnished. Quartz <=0.1mm, occasionally larger. Possibly Southwark form IIE. Context 57. Not illustrated.

BB2. Slipped and burnished. Quartz 0.2–0.5mm, occasionally larger; ?flint. Context 57. Not illustrated.

7. Slipped and burnished with barbotine dot decoration. Quartz <=0.1mm. Cf Southwark form IIIF6. Mid-late 2nd century. Context 57.

8. Slipped and burnished. Quartz <=0.1mm. Cf Southwark form IIIF4. 2nd century up to mid Antonine. Context 57.

Red with grey core; brown colour-coat, clay pellets on exterior. Roughcast AD 70–150. See Greene (1978) 17. Contexts 56 and 57. Not illustrated.

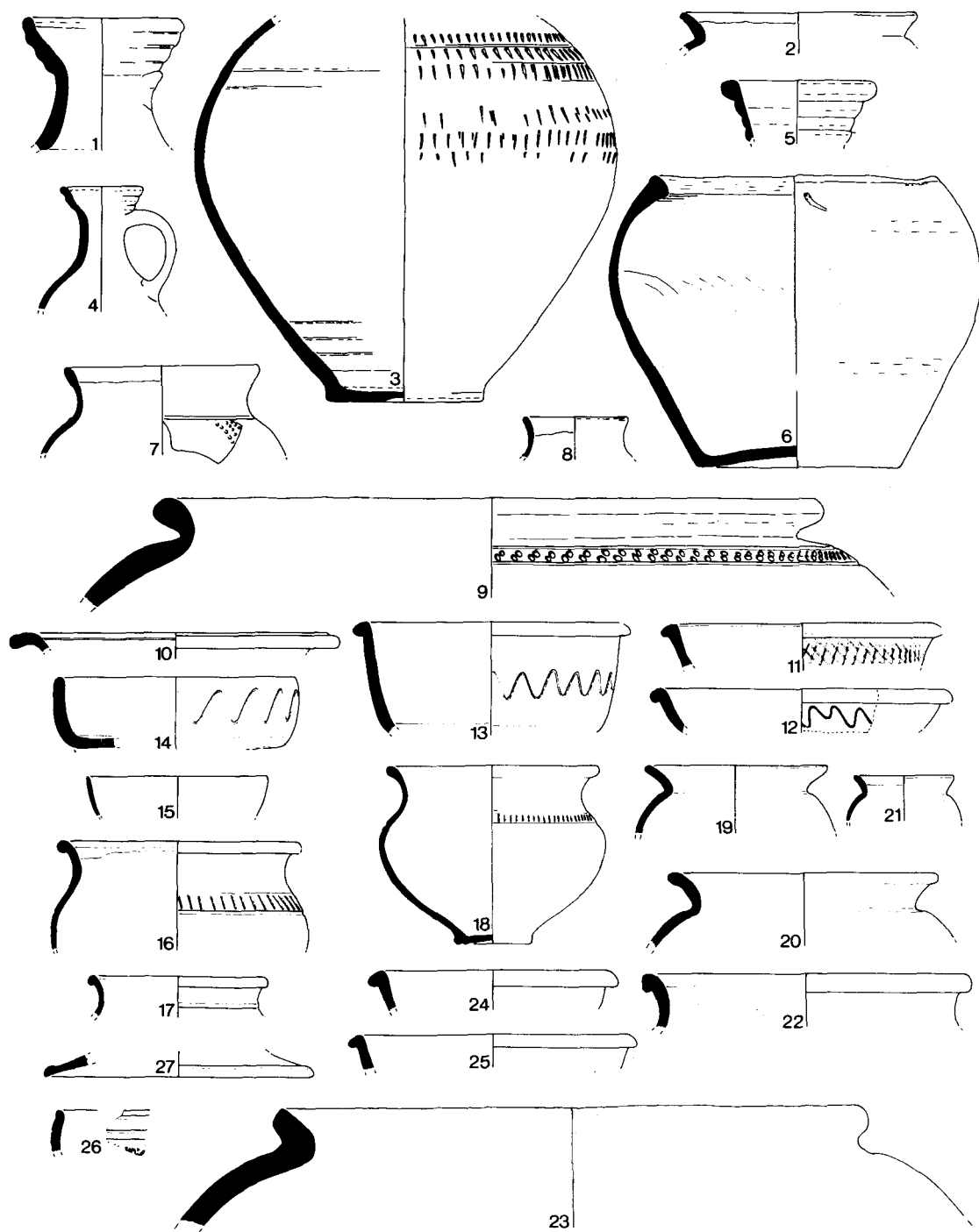


Fig. 5 Roman Rd/Parnell Rd: Pottery from Roman Road Nos 1-27. (1/4).

Slipped and burnished. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. Contexts 208 and 209. Not illustrated.

Slipped and burnished. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. Context 209. Not illustrated.

9. Hand-made brown to black fabric with zone of impressed decoration on shoulder. Fairly frequent shell up to 2.0mm; occasional quartz *c.* 0.3mm; occasional red iron ore; mica. *Cf* Southwark form IIM. Context 209. 1st/2nd century.

#### Bowls and dishes

10. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm, occasionally up to 3.0mm. *Cf* Southwark form IVF. Up to mid 2nd century. Context 64.

BB2. Slipped and burnished, lattice decoration. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm, occasionally up to 0.3mm. *Cf* Southwark form IVH1. AD 130+. Context 57. Not illustrated.

11. BB2. Slipped and burnished, lattice decoration. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm, occasionally up to 2.0mm. *Cf* Southwark form IVH1. AD 130+.

12. BB2. Slipped and burnished, wavy line decoration. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm, occasionally up to 3.0mm. *Cf* Southwark form IVH, no. 1256. Context 57.

13. BB2. Burnished, wavy line decoration. Burnt. Clear and white quartz, 0.2–0.5mm; occasional limestone, *c.* 0.5mm; possibly black iron ore. Possibly *c.* Southwark form IVH. Context 208.

14. BB2. Burnished, wavy line decoration. Mainly clear and white quartz, 0.2–0.8mm. Friable fabric. Possibly *c.* Southwark form IVJ2. AD 120/130+. Context 208.

15. Eggshell ware. See Marsh (1978) 129, and 147 type 13. Context 56.

#### Lids

Red-brown to black surfaces with red margins and grey core. Clear, white and colourless quartz 0.3–0.5mm; red iron ore. Context 57. Not illustrated.

Grey. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. Context 64. Not illustrated.

#### Feature 33

#### Jars

16. Slipped and burnished with vertical lines on shoulder. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. *Cf* Southwark form IIE. Context 34.

17. Slipped and burnished. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. Possibly *c.* Southwark form IIE. Context 34.

Slipped and burnished. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. *Cf* Southwark form IIE. Context 50. Not illustrated.

Slipped and burnished. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. Southwark form IIE/IIIF. Context 55. Not illustrated.

18. Slipped and burnished with vertical line decoration on shoulder. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. *Cf* Southwark form IIE. Context 206.

19. BB2. Slipped and burnished. Quartz 0.3–0.5mm. *Cf* Southwark form IIF?5. Context 50.

BB2. Burnished, lattice decoration. Clear, rose and grey quartz, 0.3–0.5mm. Southwark form IIF. Context 206. Not illustrated.

BB1. Burnished. Quartz *c.* 0.3mm. Context 34. Not illustrated.

20. BB1. Burnished. Quartz *c.* 0.2mm. Context 206.

Sherds of roughcast colour-coat beaker. Context 34. Not illustrated.

Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm, occasionally up to 0.5mm. Context 34. Not illustrated.

21. Burnished with well finished surfaces. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. Context 55.

22. Slipped and burnished. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. Context 206.

Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. Not illustrated. Context 206.

23. Handmade vesicular laminated fabric, reddish brown with grey core; a little shell *c.* 2.0mm; occasional soft white inclusions (?limestone); red iron ore up to 1.2mm; occasional flint up to 5mm. Here referred to as 'type 2': probably from Essex.

1st/2nd century (P. Tyers, *pers comm.*) This example from Context 138, but several similar sherds from Context 206.

Handmade vesicular fabric. Dark grey with reddish brown core. Occasional red or grey quartz 0.2–0.5mm; vegetable tempering; occasional red iron ore up to 0.5mm; mica. Not illustrated. Context 50.

Mortarium rim. Verulamium region white ware. Burnt. Not illustrated. Context 206.

#### Bowls and Dishes

24. BB2. Slipped and burnished. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm, occasionally up to 0.3mm. *Cf* Southwark form IVH, AD 120/130+. Context 34.

BB2. Slipped and burnished. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm. *Cf* Southwark form IVH. Not illustrated. Context 50.

25. BB2. Slipped and burnished. Quartz 0.1–0.2mm. *Cf* Southwark Form IVH1, AD 130+. Context 50.

BB2. Burnished with diagonal line decoration. Quartz 0.2–0.5mm. *Cf* Southwark form IVH? Not illustrated. Context 206.

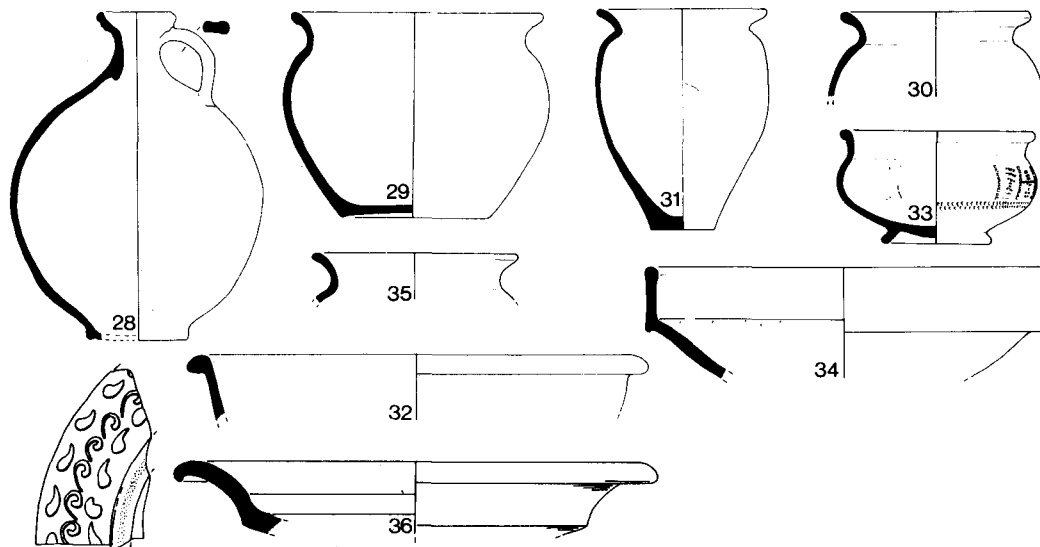


Fig. 6 Roman Rd/Parnell Rd: Pottery from Roman Road Nos 28–36. (1/4).

BB1. Burnished with lattice decoration. Cf Southwark form IVJI? AD 120–180/200. Not illustrated. Context 206.

26. Essex/London ware. Red; stamped decoration. Quartz *c.* 0.5mm; very micaceous; a little black iron ore. Cf Rodwell type 2C (1978, 239). Context 206.

Clear and white quartz 0.2–0.5mm. Southwark form IVH5–7. Not illustrated. Context 34.

#### Lid

27. Reddish buff with grey core. Clear and colourless quartz *c.* 0.3mm; red iron ore *c.* 0.4mm. Context 206.

Also sherd of folded beaker from Context 34.

#### Phase IV

Feature 167 (Fig. 6)

##### Flagons

28. Ring-necked flagon. Grey with red exterior and reddish-brown interior surface; off-white to orange slip. Quartz  $\leq 0.1$ mm, rarely up to 0.3mm; grog *c.* 0.5mm; red iron ore *c.* 0.3mm. Similar to Southwark form IBB, although body of this example appears more rounded and less pear-shaped.

##### Grey Wares

##### Jars

29. Clear, white and yellow/brown quartz, 0.2–0.6mm.

30. As no. 29.

Everted rim. Slipped. Clear and colourless quartz, 0.2–0.3mm; some flint. Not illustrated.

Everted rim. Slipped, clear and white quartz, 0.2–0.4mm. Not illustrated.

##### Folded beakers

31. Slipped. Clear and colourless quartz, 0.2–1.0mm; flint; mica.

Quartz ( $\leq 0.1$ mm; a little black iron ore. Not illustrated. Base. Clear and colourless quartz, 0.2–0.6mm; mica. Not illustrated.

##### Bowls and dishes

32. BB2. Burnished. Clear, white and colourless quartz, *c.* 0.6mm; grog. Southwark form IVH.

This group of pottery was relatively well preserved. The forms suggest at least a later 2nd century date. The absence of samian and colour-coated wares, and the less common fabrics, eg the grogged bowl and those containing flint, might suggest an early 3rd century date.

#### Feature 69

##### Colour-coated wares

All but one sherd was from the Oxfordshire potteries. These included vessels:

33. Form C. 97, AD 240–400+ (Young, 1977, 173).

34. Form C. 78, AD 340–400+ (*ibid.*, 166).

##### Grey Ware

35. Everted rim jar, burnished. Clear, white and pink quartz, *c.* 0.2mm; possibly some grog; mica.

##### Shell tempered

Probably late Roman shelly ware. Black to brown with abundant shell up to 2.0mm; some mica. Not illustrated.

##### Grogged storage vessels

Red-brown with grey core, wheelmade or finished. Clear, white, red and pink quartz, 0.3–0.5mm, occasionally larger. Not illustrated. Also found in other late features, eg 58 and 41.

#### Phase V

##### Feature 41

See Fig. 4 for details. The pottery suggests ploughsoil with some contamination. There are some intrusions, but the dating is mainly 4th century.

##### Feature 35

See Fig. 4. Although overlying 41, the pottery was much less

broken up. The types, eg Colchester 306, suggest that it may be derived from an individual feature earlier than 41.

## Summary

The material from the excavations at Roman Road was predominantly Roman. It ranged in date from the mid 1st century to the 4th century. Very little pottery was found associated with phases I–III. None of the road surfaces had any pottery on them although two brooches of 1st/2nd century date were recovered (see below). The greatest quantity of pottery came from a ditch to the north of the road (Phase IIIa, see Fig. 4), probably of Antonine date.

Comparisons with excavations by Sheldon at Appian and Lefevre Roads (Sheldon 1971; 1972) show a difference in the emphasis of the date of the assemblages. In both these excavations the features lay mainly to the south of the road. A small amount of 2nd century material was recovered, but most, including nearly 200 coins from Appian Road, was late Roman. This contrasts with the site reported on here, which lay on the north side of the road. Only four coins were recovered and the material from features was predominantly 2nd century in date.

## THE COINS

By M. J. Hammerson

#### Phase V

Possibly Antoninianus. Date uncertain, possibly *c.* AD 250–85. Feature 53.

Illegible copper alloy coin, *c.* 15mm diameter. Probably irregular, later 3rd–mid 4th century. Feature 41.

Quartered copper alloy coin. Illegible. Possibly an As (1st–2nd century), but more likely a mid-4th century Centenionalis. One break looks recent, suggesting a halved coin. Feature 41.

Copper alloy coin. House of Theodosius, AD 379–402. Reverse illegible. Feature 41.

#### Phase VI

Irregular copy, Claudius II; type of AD 270, DIVO CLAUDIO, with reverse of CONSECRATIO with altar. Produced *c.* 270–90 (copy of R.I.C. 257ff.) Copper alloy, 16mm. Feature 1.

Constantinian, *c.* AD 325–350. Possibly irregular. Copper alloy, 17mm. Feature 25.

## SMALL FINDS

(Fig. 7)

By Wendy McIsaac

### Copper alloy

1. Part of brooch. Only spring and spring cover survive. Appears closest to Collingwood Group E or H. Mid 1st–2nd century. Feature 151, Phase I.

2. Object in very poor condition. Possibly a corner fitting for a casket. Feature 198, Phase I. Not illustrated.

3. Head stud brooch (Collingwood Group Q) with vertically corrugated sidewings and cover containing traces of red enamel. There is a headstud and at least four rectangles on the bow from



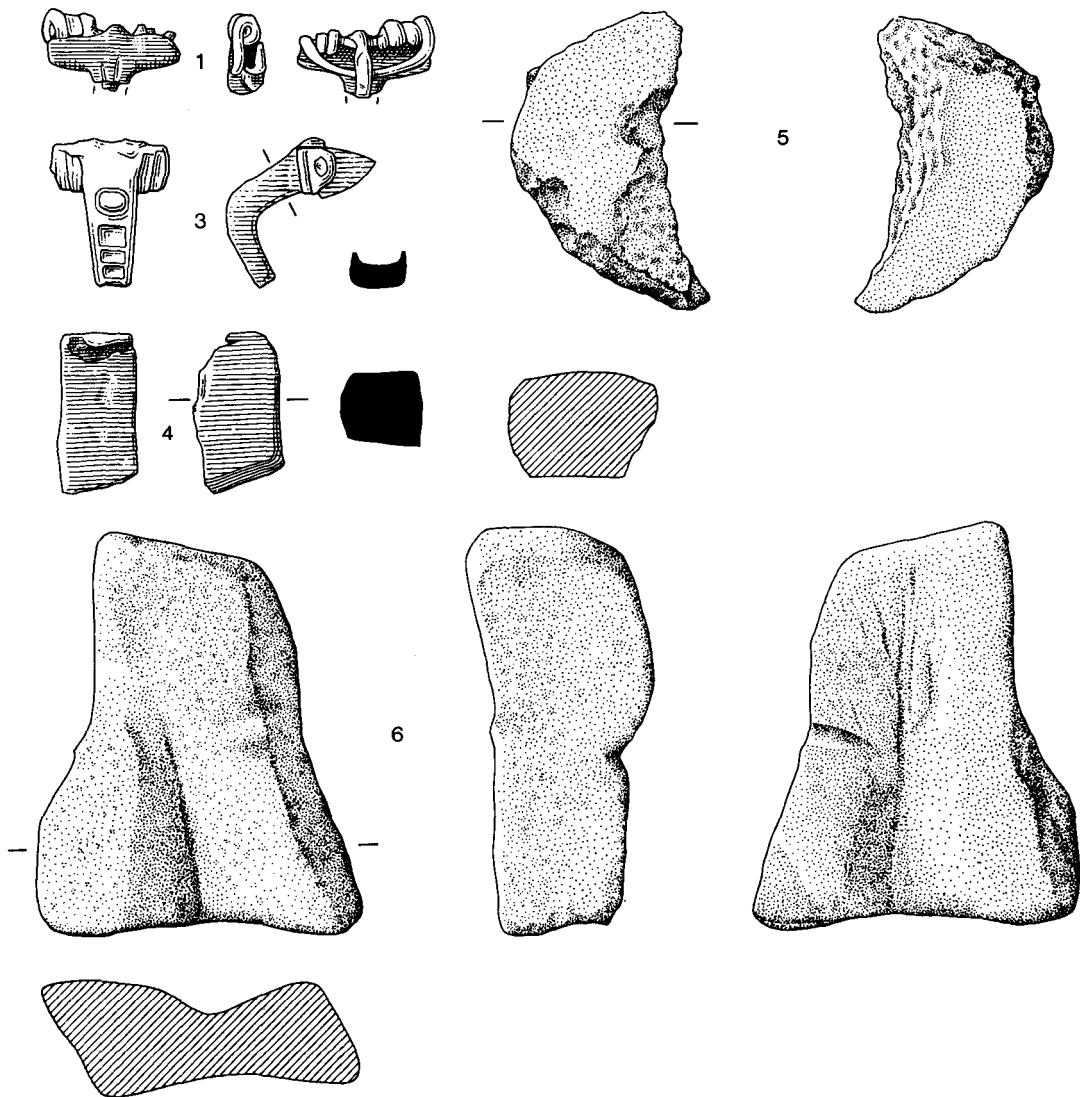


Fig. 7 Roman Rd/Parnell Rd: Small Finds from Roman Road. Nos 1, 3, 4 (1/1; nos 5, 6 (1/2)).

which the enamel has been lost. Part of the bow and catchplate are missing. This brooch is similar to an unstratified example in the Museum of London, Acc. No. 81.282/6. Group Q brooches are thought to have been manufactured from the third quarter of the 1st century and continued well into the 2nd century (Bateson, 1981, 21). Feature 117, Phase II.

4. Rectangular shaped object tapering to a point at one end. At the opposite end there is a corroded iron deposit. The shape of the object suggests a plumb-bob—an inverted conical weight with a small knob pierced to take a string. The object was recovered from a Roman context and is likely to be of Roman date. This layer did suffer from a small amount of contamination from overlying post-Roman deposits. Feature 41, Phase V. The illustration is of a very similar, but broken, object from Feature 25, Phase VI.

## ABRASIVE STONES

By Clive Orton

5. Roughly semi-circular fragment of stone object in a microcline and muscovite-bearing sandstone. Probably Pennant Grit of the Bristol Coalfield area. It has two parallel surfaces, one (shown here as the lower) very smooth and slightly concave, the other less smooth. The edges are irregular. Probably part of a rubbing stone, ie the upper stone of a non-rotating quern (Curwen, 1937, 134). From Feature 41, Phase V).

6. Roughly trapezoidal stone object, probably a whetstone. Microcline, muscovite and clay-bearing sandstone, either Pennant Grit or (more likely) Millstone Grit of the north of England. Each face has a longitudinal V-shaped groove, presumably caused by

sharpening metal blades on the stone. From Feature 29, Phase V.

There were also small fragments of Niedermendig lava quernstones from Feature 169, Phase II.

## THE ANIMAL BONES

By Alison Locker

A small group of animal bones were recovered, ox (*Bos* sp.), sheep/goat (*Ovis* sp./*Capra*.), pig (*Sus* sp.) and horse (*Equus* sp.) were identified, all except the horse showing signs of butchery and representing food debris.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Unit would like to thank LB of Tower Hamlets for allowing time for the excavation and the DoE for providing funds to carry out the work. Thanks are also due to the supervisors, Dave Jeffrys and Ben Booth, and the numerous volunteers who worked on the site.

Wendy McIsaac would like to thank P. Tyers and M. Hammerson for helping to identify some of the pottery, and for their comments on it. Jenny Hall gave valuable comments on the small finds.

Fig. 4 was produced by C. Orton.

Clive Orton would like to thank D. Moore of the British Museum (Natural History) for thin-sectioning and identifying the sources of the abrasive stones.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BATESON (1981), J. D. Bateson *Enamel Working in Iron Age, Roman and sub-Roman Britain*, Brit Archaeol Reps 93 (1981).  
 CURWEN (1937), E. C. Curwen 'Querns', *Antiquity* 11 (1937) 133–151.  
 GREENE (1978), K. Green 'Imported Fine Wares in Britain to AD 250: A Guide to Identification' in Arthur, P. and Marsh G. D. (eds.) *Early Fine wares in Roman Britain*, Brit Archaeol Reps 57 (1978) 15–30.  
 MARSH (1978), G. D. Marsh 'Early Second Century Fine wares in the London Area' in Arthur P. and Marsh G. D. (eds.) *Early Fine Wares in Roman Britain*, Brit Archaeol Reps 57 (1978) 119–223.  
 MARSH AND TYERS (1978), G. D. Marsh and P. A. Tyers 'The Roman Pottery from Southwark' in Bird, J. L., Graham, A. H., Sheldon, H. L. and Townend, P. (eds.) *Southwark Excavations 1972–74* London & Middx Arch Soc and Surrey Arch Soc Joint Publication 1 (1978) 533–82.  
 RODWELL (1978), W. Rodwell 'Stamp-Decorated Pottery of the early Roman Period in Eastern England' in Arthur, P. and Marsh, G. D. (eds.) *Early Fine Wares in Roman Britain* Brit Archaeol Reps 57 (1978) 225–92.  
 SHELDON (1971), H. L. Sheldon 'Excavations at Lefevre Rd, Old Ford, E3, September 1969–June 1970' *Trans London Middx Arch Soc* 23, Part 1 (1971) 42–77.  
 SHELDON (1972), H. L. Sheldon 'Excavations at Parnell Road and Appian Road, Old Ford E3', *Trans London Middx Arch Soc* 23, Part 2 (1972) 101–47.  
 STANFIELD and SIMPSON (1958), J. A. Stanfield and G. Simpson 'Central Gaulish Pottery'.  
 YOUNG (1977), C. J. Young *The Roman Pottery Industry of the Oxford Region*, British Archaeol Reps 43 (1977).

*The Society is grateful to the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission of England for a publication grant towards the cost of this article.*

# SITEWATCHING AT GARDINER'S CORNER, ALDGATE, E1

ROBERT L. WHYTEHEAD

## SUMMARY

*A sitewatching exercise at Gardiners Corner, Aldgate, E1, showed that the entire site had been quarried for gravel in the early 14th century. Traces of Tudor and later occupation were recorded.*

## INTRODUCTION

The aim of the sitewatching exercise on the site of Gardiners Corner, Aldgate, E1 (TQ 33808125) (Fig. 1) was to seek evidence of the Roman cemetery known to have existed on the east side of the City of London (RCHM 1928, p. 157). The nature and speed of the development severely limited opportunities for controlled excavation. It became clear however that the site had been almost entirely quarried for gravel in the medieval period and only residual evidence for the cemetery survived.

## GEOLOGY

The natural deposits on site consisted of London Clay overlain by sand and gravel. Although most of the sand and gravel had been removed in the medieval period traces of brickearth were observed overlying the gravels in two places along the north side of the site surviving up to 0.30m in depth (Figs 2, 3). The surface of the gravels was in these places between 10.70m OD and 11.05m OD. The brickearth comprised slightly orange light brown sandy clay. The extent of later disturbance made it impossible to establish the level of the Roman ground surface.

## GRAVEL PITS

Almost the entire area had been excavated between the late 13th and mid 14th centuries in order to extract natural sand and gravel deposits. The full depth of these gravels only survived along the northern edge of the site, up to 2.0m south of the southern boundary for properties facing onto Whitechapel High Street, (Wall 80, below).

The gravel had been extracted in a series of small

pits, on average  $2.0 \times 3.0$ m in plan, dug side by side to an average depth bottoming out at c. 8.50m OD and a maximum depth at 7.50m OD. Some of the pits appeared to have cut through the backfill of neighbouring ones (Fig. 3, Section 1), others were cut and backfilled in groups of two or three at a time. These groups appeared to have homogenous fills of grey or greenish grey clay loam interspersed with tip lines of gravel. The pits were probably not left open for long. There was no evidence of silting up but there were some signs of trample and of the soft sandy sides slumping in. The backfill of the pits contained only scattered pottery and bone, and did not appear to have been used for rubbish disposal. The finds did, however, include a sizeable proportion of Roman pottery, fragments of human bone, and in one layer, 245, in pit 251, cremated bone associated with fragments of Roman pot and redeposited brickearth. The association of this material suggests that Roman burials were made in the vicinity in the early topsoil and brickearth and that those levels were used to backfill the gravel pits. In addition pit 251 contained fragments of a bell or cauldron mould, waste from an industry known to have been established in Aldgate in the late 13th century (Stahlschmidt 1884, 2-3).

Further evidence from trial trenches dug by the Inner London Archaeological Unit on the sites of 9-25 Camperdown Street and 9-15 Great Alie Street, (Ref 1: by kind permission of Central and City Properties Ltd) as well as by the Department of Urban Archaeology on the east side of Mansell Street to the south of Braham Street (Fig. 1), suggest that almost the entire block bounded by Leman Street, Great Alie Street, Mansell Street, lying south of the properties facing onto Whitechapel High Street, was excavated for its gravels. These deep and extensive workings must have been a major feature of the topography of East London in the late medieval period.

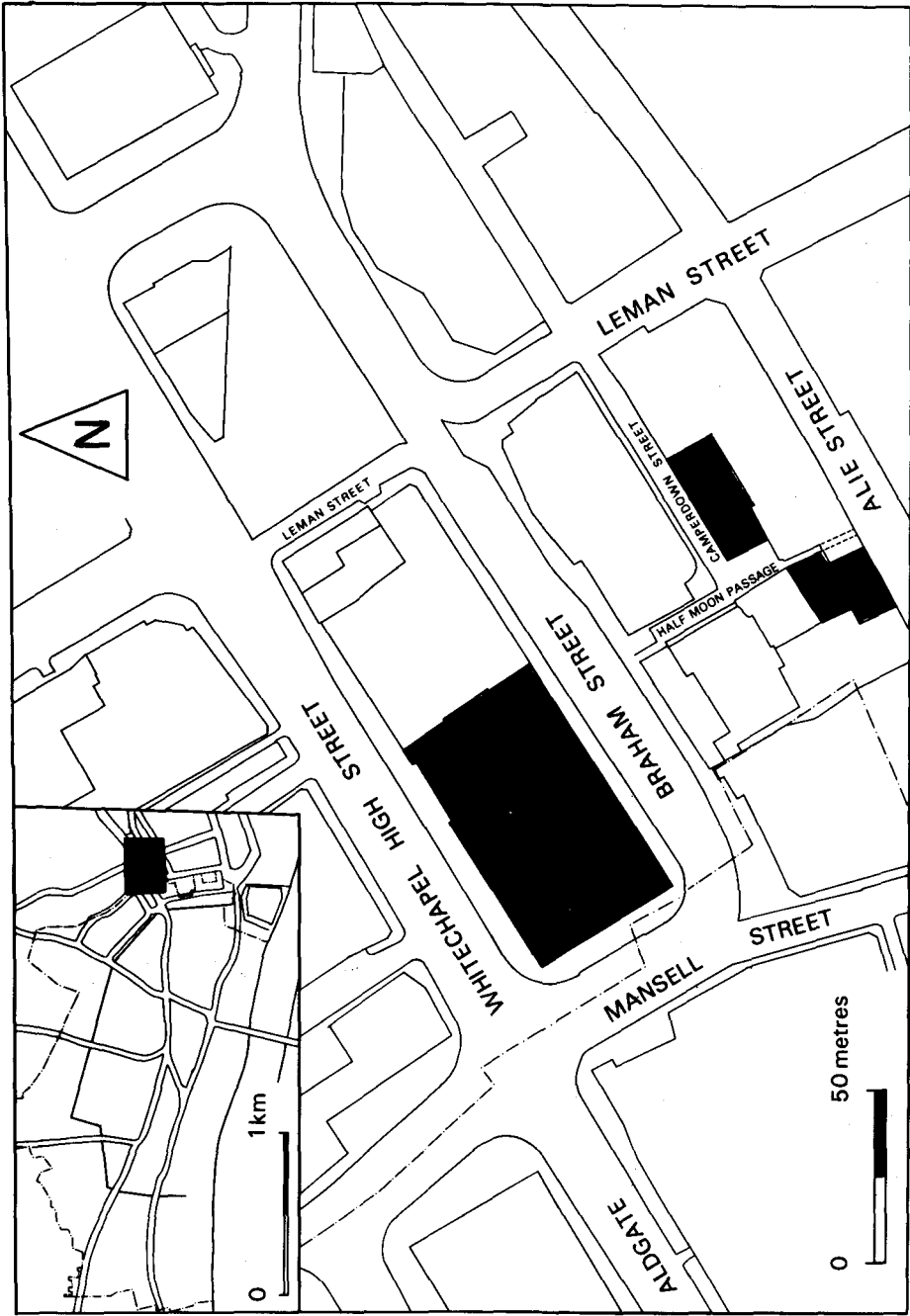


Fig. 1 Gardiners Corner: Site Location Plan.

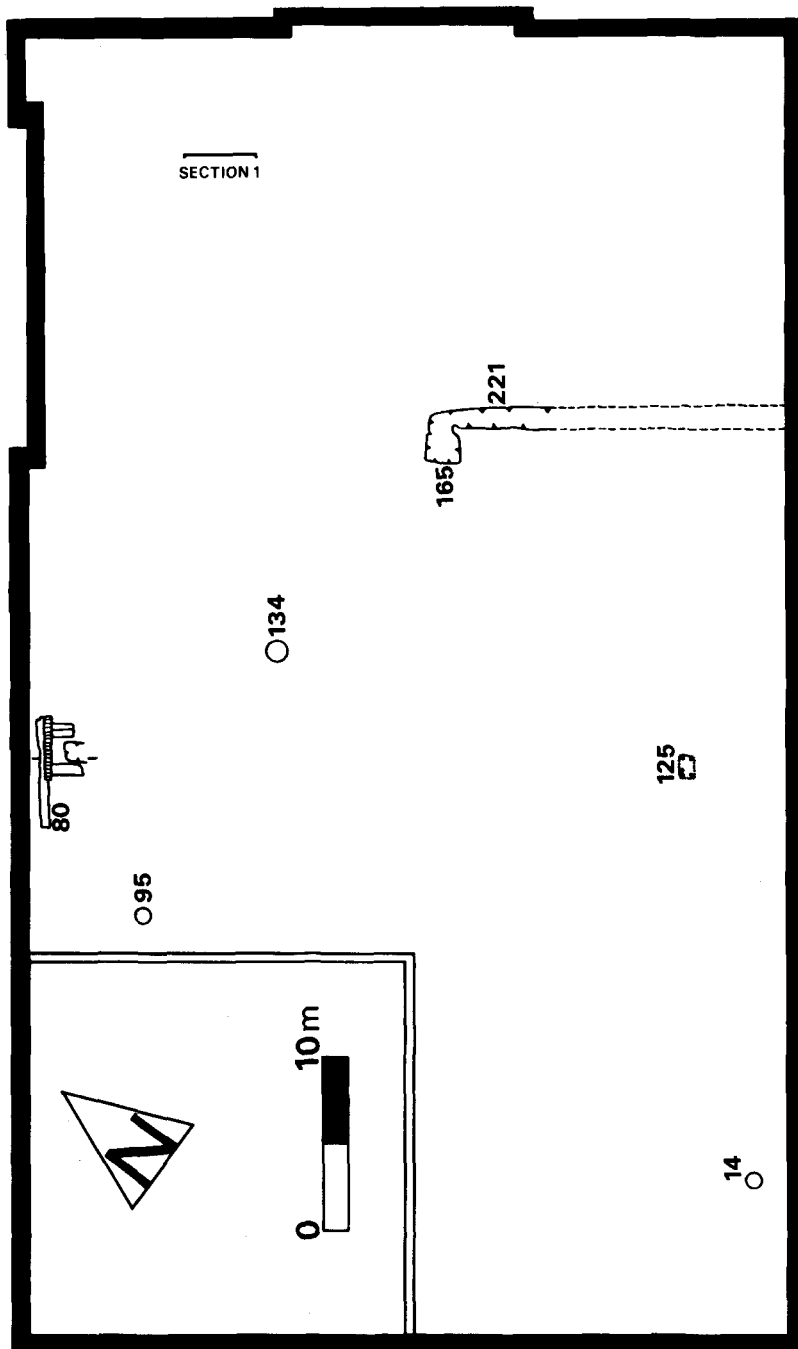


Fig. 2 Gardiner's Corner: Site Plan.

## PITS

A number of wood-lined features were found cutting through the gravel pit backfill. Machining removed their upper levels and it was not possible to establish from what heights they had been cut.

Three barrel-lined pits (Fig. 2) cut through the gravel pit fills to bottom on natural sand and gravel. One barrel, 134, diameter 0.75m, was bound with withies in bands of two or three and its staves were studded with iron nails. It was filled with grey clay, iron slag, leather scraps, and a large amount of animal bone including sheep and ox skulls, articulated pig vertebrae, primary and secondary butchery waste and non-food bone (see below p 40). This backfilling is dated to the late 14th to mid 15th centuries. The second barrel, 95, diameter *c.* 0.90m, was filled with very dark grey clay, containing leather shoe scraps, and iron slag and can be dated to the 15th century. The third barrel, 14, diameter 0.57m, was bound with willow or poplar withies down the entire side and was filled with light grey clay containing tile fragments, horn cores, oyster shell and iron slag probably dating from the mid seventeenth century.

A rectangular wattle-lined pit, 125, was cut through the gravel pit backfill to bottom on natural sand and gravel. It was constructed with five elm retaining posts, 0.13m in diameter, positioned within the feature at its corners, two in its north west corner. It measured externally 1.00m  $\times$  1.20m, and survived up to 0.50m in depth. The fill included dark grey clayey sand and silt, shell, bone, some building material fragments and traces of burnt material. It probably dated to the early 15th century. One pit, 165, (Fig. 4) measuring 0.80  $\times$  0.90m, was lined with oak planks, two of which survived in a reasonably well preserved condition. The planks had been held in place by stakes placed in the corners of, and along the sides of, the pit. The function of the pit was unclear and although it contained bone and leather there was no ceramic or other dating evidence. A ditch, 221, ran southwards from the east edge of the pit (165), it had steep sides and a flat bottom, measuring 1.00m broad and at least 0.50m deep. It was lined with dark red and black clay with numerous pebbles along its base. The ditch was filled with brown organic material, leather scraps, twigs, straw, animal waste, pot, tile and bone, only a small proportion of which appeared to be butchered. This included three partial piglet skeletons. The ditch backfill is dated to the first half of the 15th century.

The function of these lined pits is not clear. Those that were dug through the redeposited soils and bottomed on the natural sand and gravels probably functioned as soakaways, and were not

deep enough to be wells. They could have been used both as domestic cesspits and industrial effluent soakaways. The different waste materials backfilling these pits are evidence of the varied commercial and industrial usage of the site. The insect fauna from them reflect the nature of these fills with rubbish fauna being by far the commonest group, consisting of beetles which live in decaying matter of plant and animal origin. In addition pests associated with food stores and timber were present, as well as those from cultivated soils and reed litter—possibly from flooring or bedding material. Parallels for the wicker-lined pit were found at Billingsgate Buildings (Jones, 1980, 2–3) and by W. F. Grimes (Grimes, 1968, 146, 160–1, Plates 70, 71). Barrel lined pits of 14th century date have been recorded in Southwark (Ferretti & Graham, 1978, 72, 76) and Angel Court, Walbrook (Blurton, 1977, 18, 21).

A chalk wall, 80, 5.0m long, apparently lay on the alignment which delimited the extent of the gravel working and may have been the rear boundary of a medieval property which faced onto the south side of Whitechapel High Street. The wall (Fig. 5) was constructed of chalk blocks, roughly squared, and laid in regular courses. Its north face was removed by machining. A spread of mortar, 115, extended southwards from the base of the wall. This marked the construction floor for the wall which must postdate the gravel pits and thus date to the late 14th century or later.

A gravel pit, 99 (Fig. 5), was dug from the same depth as the construction level for the wall (80) and only 0.7m to the south of the wall. The pit was backfilled nearly to the ground level from which it had been cut (layers 94, 93). An accumulation of soil, 110, 142, against the wall (80) also spread over the gravel pit. Part of the south face of the wall was subsequently refaced with Reigate stone (105), and a thin layer of mortar stretching to the south of it showed the construction level for this.

Two north-south walls, 88 and 101, abutted the south side of the wall (80). The western wall (88) was constructed with brick, tile and chalk, and the eastern wall (101) was made of chalk which had been refaced in brick probably in the Victorian period. Although not firmly dated these walls do demonstrate the continuity of property boundaries in this early suburb.

Some 17th-century and later features, including horn-core lined pits were observed and notes on these are in the site archives, which are held at the Museum of London.

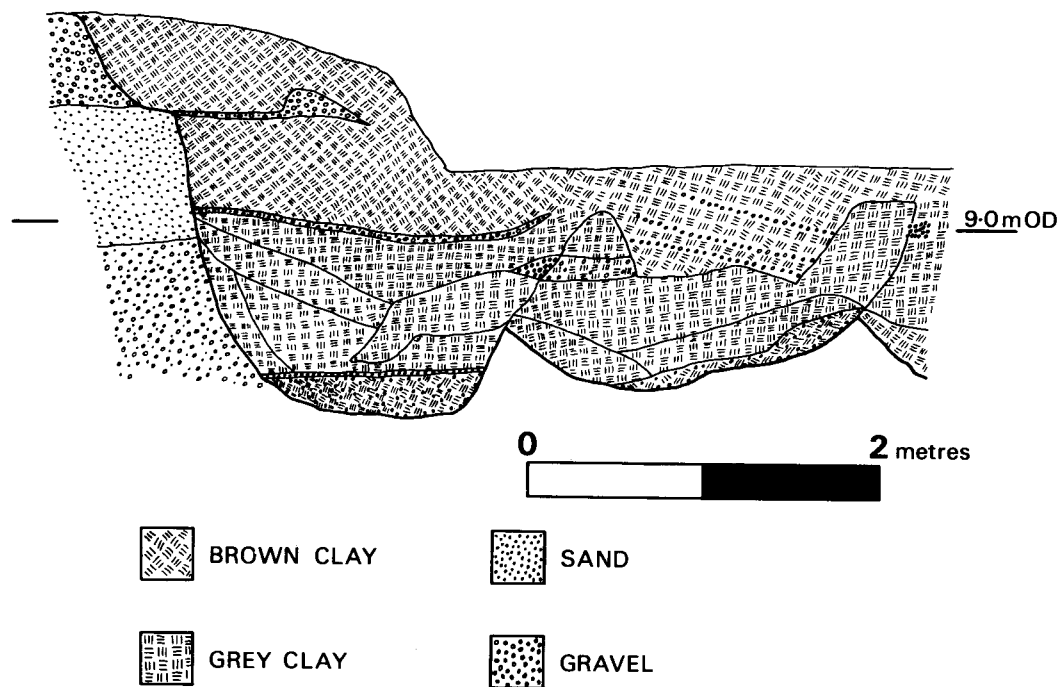


Fig. 3 Gardiner's Corner: Section 1, Backfilled Medieval Gravel Pits.

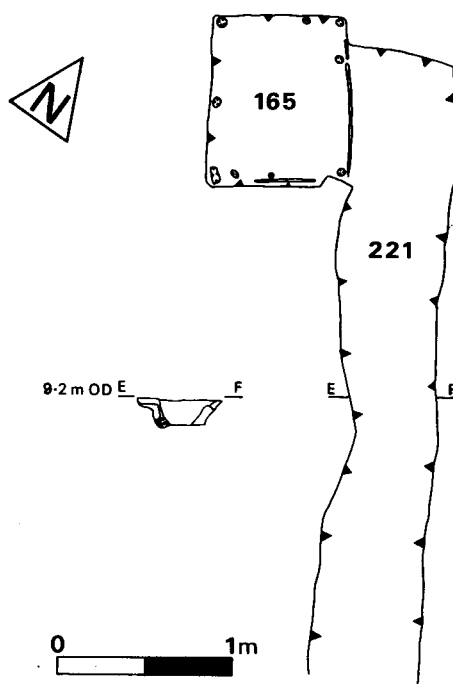


Fig. 4 Gardiner's Corner: Plan of Features 165 and 221, Section across 221.

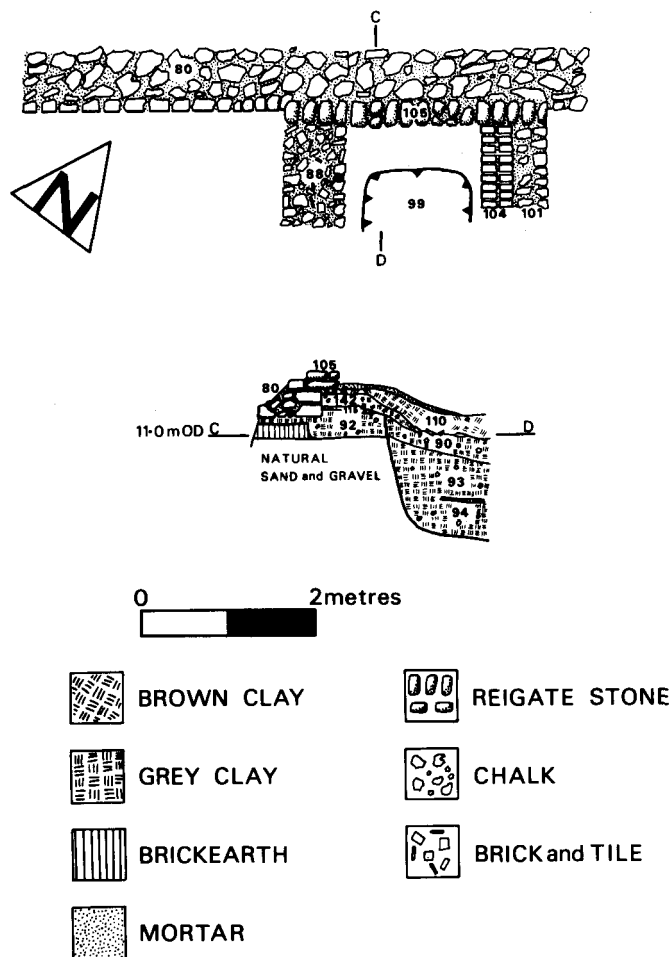


Fig. 5 Gardiners Corner: Plan and Section of Chalk Wall 80.

## ROMAN POTTERY

by Wendy McIsaac

Although no features of earlier date than the 13th century survived on the site, about 500 sherds of Roman pottery were found, mostly from the fills of medieval gravel pits. They do not seem to be distributed evenly among these pits, but are concentrated in a few of them (see Fig. 6): pits 49 (172 sherds, nearly 3kg), 59 (34 sherds, 1/2kg, against only 9 later sherds), 251 (82 sherds), 258 (41 sherds) and 262 (66 sherds). A summary of the most significant groups is given below: details can be found in the site archive.

Pit 49 *samian* (about 8% of the group by weight)  
 Drag. 38, CG, AD 150–180,  
 Drag. 18/31, CG,

Drag 37, CG, stamped ALBVCI (Albucius of Lezoux), AD 150–180 (illustrated, no. 2).

*flagons* (about 25% of the group by weight)

These are represented mainly by rims of ring-necked type. They are in a red fabric, some with grey core, and with a white, cream or orange slip. A close examination of the fabrics suggests that they come from a variety of sources. Most compare with Southwark types IB8 or 9 (Marsh and Tyers, 1978, 550).

*BB2* (about 35% of the group by weight)

Sherds from jars, bowls and dishes are present. In the last two categories most are similar to Southwark types IVH1 and IVJ2 (*ibid.*, 577).

The rest of the group comprises relatively small amounts of amphorae (12% by weight), Verulamium region wares (including mortaria), poppy beakers and lids, and one rim of Mayen ware.

Pit 59 *samian* (about 35% of the group by weight)

Drag. 31, CG, Antonine, probably post-AD 160,  
 Drag. 18/31 or 31, CG, stamped ICIO, probably Felicio (report awaited).

Again, *flagons* (5%), *BB2* jars and bowls (30%) and amphorae (20%) were the main coarse wares present.



Common Name	39	40	42	49	54	59	66	72	76	77	99	121	139	140	146	188	240	242	251	258	262	266	267	all gravel pits
LSS				2	1					1										2	2			8
EMW			1		1							1	2						5	3	4			15
EMSH																				13	4			17
SSW	3	4	1	15	1					1									1	28		1		55
SHER	2	11	9	113	4	2			6		3	4					1	8	37	71	1	6		278
LOND C	1								1										1	6				9
LOND	20	14	9	34	6	6		3	6	2	6	1	8	1	1	4		4	13	60	59	20	16	293
MG	6	4	2	22	1	1	1	3	2		23	28	3			2	2	4	34	19	6	2		170
KING	11	17	3	49				1	1	1	10	7	6		2	2		3	86	30	5	7		240
CBW								1			19								13					33
Other	1	3		3				1			2	3					1	1	4	13	11	9	5	47
unident.			2	6						1								1	1	3	7	2		26
all medieval	44	53	27	244	14	9	1	9	16	3	46	56	26	1	3	14	1	8	40	264	239	34	39	1191
Roman	5	6	9	172	6	34	12		8	5	1	2	5		3	1		82	41	66	1	6		465
all	49	59	36	416	20	43	13	9	24	8	47	58	31	1	6	15	1	8	122	305	305	35	45	1656

Note: the numbers of sherds listed as 'other' are as follows:

Feature 40: one sherd each of red-painted ware (?Beauvais), possible N. French polychrome ware, possible Cheam white ware.

Feature 49: one sherd each of developed Stamford ware, possible Low Countries grey ware, post-medieval red ware.

Feature 72: one sherd of early fine Surrey ware.

Feature 99: one sherd each of early fine Surrey ware and possible Scarborough ware.

Feature 139: one sherd of Mayen ware and two of Tudor green ware.

Feature 251: one sherd of Saxon chaff-tempered ware and three of possible Saintonge monochrome ware.

Feature 258: six sherds of Hertfordshire glazed ware, five of Cheam white ware and one each of early fine Surrey ware and Tudor green ware.

Feature 262: one sherd each of St. Neot's ware, Andenne ware and N. French monochrome ware, two sherds each of early fine Surrey ware and Cheam white ware, four of Tudor brown ware.

Feature 266: One sherd each of N. French monochrome ware and possible Scarborough ware.

Feature 267: as Feature 266 plus one sherd each of post-medieval fine red ware, tin-glazed ware and industrial white ware.

Fig. 6 Number of sherds from the gravel pits, by Common Name and feature number.

## Pit 251

Most of the Roman pottery from this pit derived from a single vessel: a narrow-necked jar (illustrated, no. 1). It has a grey fabric with narrow brown margins, and abundant inclusions of clear, translucent or pinkish quartz, mostly 0.2–0.4mm in size. The vessel is likely to have been made in the Essex area and to date from the late 2nd century or later, most likely the 3rd century. Fragments of cremated bone were recovered/observed from this pit and it is likely that the vessel is a cremation urn.

## COINS

by M. J. Hammerson

Possibly a badly formed cast copy, in which case could be c. AD 270–285. Rev probably MERCURIO CONS AVG, hippocamp, mint mark N in exegue (RIC242). From gravel pit 54.

Copy of Claudius II posthumous issue (c. AD 270). Produced AD 270–285. Rev eagle + CONSECRATIO. Good copy for such a small coin. From feature 122.

## OTHER SMALL FINDS

by Wendy McIsaac

Two bone pins, broken, with no decorative features (not illustrated). From gravel pit 49.

Bone pin, broken (not illustrated). From gravel pit 59.

Fragment of shale bracelet (not illustrated). From gravel pit 49.

## Discussion

The bulk of the Roman material from pit 49 was not scattered throughout the feature but was recovered as a group. The samian and coarsewares from pits 49 and 59 are of Antonine date except for a few small later sherds. The close agreement in date of the vessels, the generally good condition of the sherds and their recovery as distinct groups suggests they are from the fills of Roman features which have been redeposited with relatively little internal disturbance.

The two samian vessels from pit 59 are of types often found in graves of the Antonine period, although samian is generally uncommon in London graves (G. Marsh, *pers comm*). Samian of the forms found in pit 49 is less often found associated with burials, and decorated vessels are uncommon in graves. Two bone pins and part of a plain shale bracelet were found in pit 49, and a further bone pin in pit 59 (see below). The types of vessel found and the location of the site in relation to Londinium suggest that the finds from pits 49, 59 and 251 could have been derived from a Roman cemetery. If so, it was presumably destroyed by gravel-digging in the 13th century (see medieval pottery below).

## SAXON, MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY

by Clive Orton and Elizabeth Platts

## Method

The pottery was catalogued according to its

Common Name, as defined in the Museum of London (Orton, 1977; Tyers and Vince, 1983) and, wherever possible, its general form. Because of the nature of the site and the relatively small amount of pottery, the catalogue was not fully quantified. As far as possible, reference is made to standard fabric or form descriptions, and only vessels which are of special interest, or which form significant associated groups, are illustrated and/or described. Detailed descriptions are available in the site archive.

## Results

About 2100 sherds, ranging from 9th/11th to 19th century in date, were recorded from features. Because of extensive gravel digging, no feature that could be dated earlier than the late 13th century survived. Late Saxon and early medieval activity is therefore represented only by residual finds.

The amounts of pottery found, divided by Common Name and feature, are shown in Figs 6 and 7. These figures should not be used for (eg.) calculating percentages. Much of the pottery was found to be residual, and a smaller amount appeared to be intrusive, as could be expected from the circumstances of the excavation. Dating and phasing the features is therefore difficult, especially as the stratigraphic evidence is limited.

The following Common Names are represented frequently and are listed individually in the tables: other Common Names are listed as 'other' and identified in footnotes.

*Late Saxon shelly ware*: code LSS, date 9th–early 11th century (type examples in DUA pottery fabric type series). Both bowls and cooking pots are present.

*Early medieval ware*: coded here as EMW, includes early medieval sandy ware and early medieval sandy plus shell, date late 10th–early 12th century. First identified at Northolt by Hurst (1961, 259–61) but identified here in relation to type examples in the DUA pottery fabric type series. Forms present appear to be cooking pots.

*Early medieval shelly ware*: code EMSH, first recognised at New Fresh Wharf (type examples in DUA pottery fabric type series), date late 11th–early 12th century. Forms present appear to be cooking pots.

*Sandy-shelly ware*: code SSW, date late 12th–early 13th century (type examples in DUA pottery fabric type series). Forms present are cooking pots and bowls.

*South Hertfordshire grey ware*: code SHER, includes possible Limpsfield ware, date late 12th or 13th century (Hurst, 1961, 254–76; Sheppard, 1977). Forms present are mainly cooking pots, with possibly some unglazed jugs.

*London ware*: general code LOND, divided into (i) LOND C—'early' coarse fabric of late 12th century date (ii) LOND—the usual London fabric, date 13th or early 14th century (iii) LLON—the 'late' London fabric, date late 14th or 15th century. These fabrics have been extensively discussed by Pearce *et al* (1985). The forms present in LOND C and LOND are jugs of various shapes: because of the small size of the sherds it is not usually

all	code	ditch		pits		build-ups			barrel pits		wood		pits		build-ups			well		? box		cellar				
		22	125	128	22	25	268	269	271	272	14	95	97	134	162	165	4	156	18	133	270		148	150	257	230
18	SHER				1		4	1			10							1				1				
39	LOND	1	3	1	2		9	2		1		5	4		5	1		2		1	1	1				
55	LLO										52	2						1								
57	MG						1					4	46	1		1		2				1				
131	KING	12	8		5		5	11	9	1		1	6	55		2		11		2		3				
15	LMU							1																		
37	CHEA				3	1	4					11	1	9		1		5		1	1					
182	CBW	49	18	14			2		3		4	51	5	24				8		2	1	1				
7	TUDG				2	1					1					3										
73	DUTR	30										40			2											
56	TUDB						1				10	2	1	15	1		14	14	1	19	5				1	
97	PMFR																								2	
51	BORD											1					6	4		63	2		1		8	
15	TGW																		1	12	1					
11	FREC																3	2	2	6						
95	other	2	2				4		1	1	1	2	1			3	3	3	3	7		1	50	11		
11	unident.	1	1	1												1		4		3						
900	all medieval	95	40	18	12		26	15	13	1	18	118	67	183	1	8	27	28	63	4	133	7	7	10	53	11
28	Roman	3	1		1	1	2	1	1				1	7	3			3		2	1	1				
928	all	98	41	18	13	1	28	16	14	1	18	118	67	190	1	11	27	28	66	4	135	8	8	10	53	11

Note: numbers of sherds listed as 'other' are as follows:

Feature 221: two sherds of Siegburg stoneware.

Feature 125: one sherd each of Saintonge monochrome ware and Spanish tin-glazed ware.

Feature 268: one sherd of late Saxon shelly ware and three of shelly-sandy ware.

Feature 271: one sherd of Siegburg stoneware.

Feature 14: one sherd of tin-glazed ware with glaze missing.

Feature 95: one sherd of Siegburg stoneware.

Feature 97: one sherd each of Saintonge ware and Raeren stoneware.

Feature 134: one sherd of Siegburg stoneware.

Feature 4: two sherds of post-medieval red ware and one of Siegburg stoneware.

Feature 156: one sherd each of Guys ware, Monte Lupo tin-glazed ware and 18th century stoneware.

Feature 18: one sherd of possible Scarborough ware, Guys ware and Raeren stoneware.

Feature 133: one sherd of post-medieval red ware and two of Metropolitan slipware.

Feature 270: six sherds of Saintonge ware and one of Raeren stoneware.

Feature 257: one sherd of Metropolitan slipware.

Feature 230: thirty-two sherds of porcelain, twelve of industrial white ware, two of London stoneware, one each of Cistercian ware, Staffordshire slipware, 19th century earthenware and Mocha ware.

Feature 241: eleven sherds of industrial white ware.

Fig. 7 Numbers of sherds from other features, by Common Name and feature.

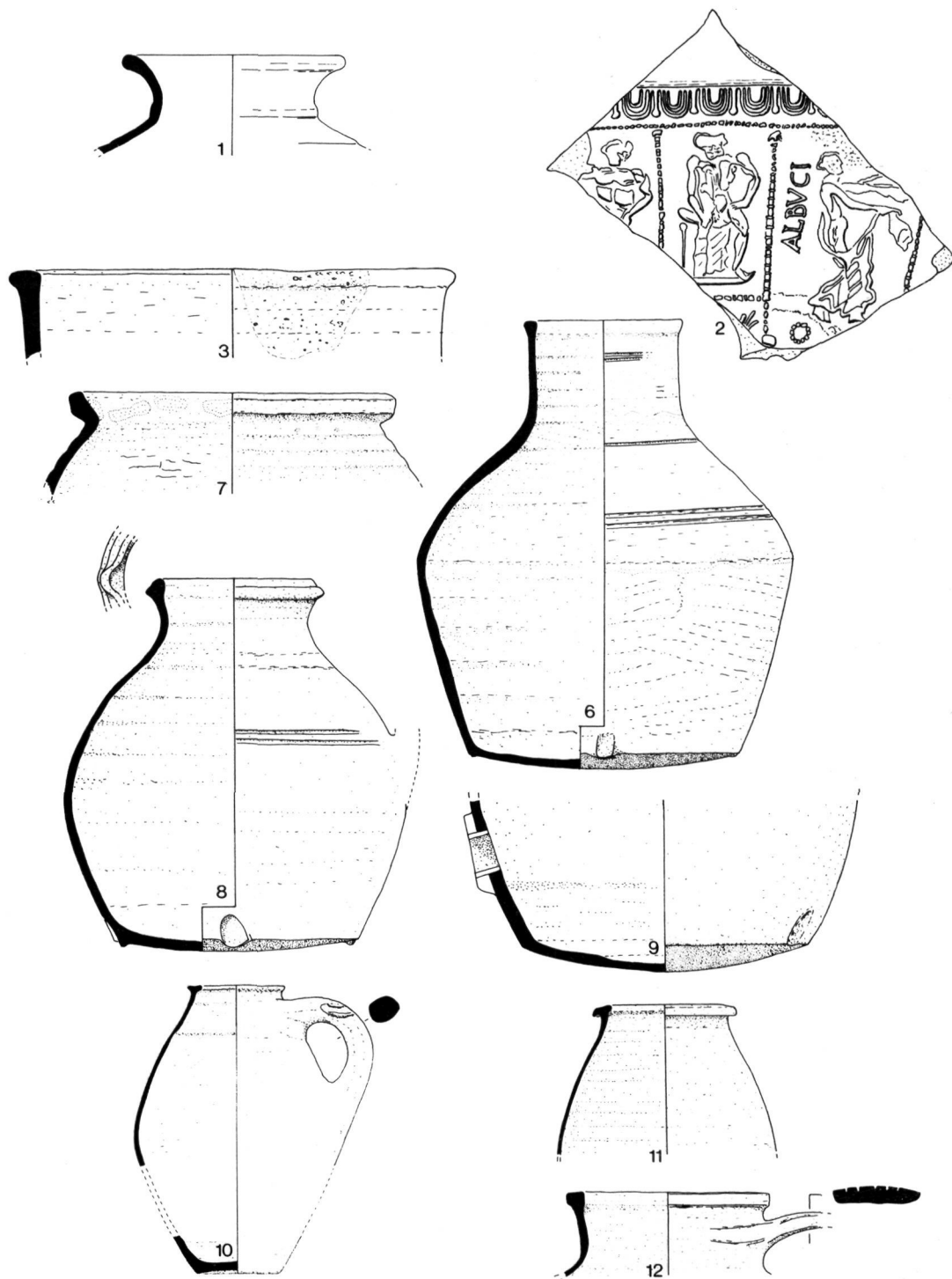


Fig. 8 Gardiners Corner: Pottery, No. 1, Roman cremation from Pit 251; No. 2, samian from Pit 49; No. 3, Saxon pot from Pit 258; Nos 6–12, medieval pottery, of which Nos. 8–12 from barrel lined pit 95. (1/4), except No. 2 (1/2).

possible to ascertain the exact vessel form. LLON is distinguished by a different range of forms—globular jugs, pitchers, cooking pots and dripping pans are recognised here.

*Mill Green ware*: code MG, date late 13th–mid 14th century (Pearce *et al.*, 1982). The most common form is the conical jug (*ibid.*, nos 1–6); also present are globular jugs (*ibid.*, nos 30–44) and a cooking pot (*ibid.*, nos 53–62).

*Kingston ware*: code KING, date mid 13th–end of 14th century (Hinton, 1980). One aspect of Surrey white ware, represented here by jugs (too fragmentary to ascertain exact form), large cooking pots with T-section or flanged rims (*ibid.*, nos 13–18) and possibly bowls.

*Hertfordshire glazed ware*: code LMU, late 14th century (Tyers and Vince, 1982; Jenner and Vince 1983). The only forms present here are large glazed jugs.

*Cheam white ware*: code CHEA, late 14th to mid or late 15th century (Orton, 1982a). Forms represented appear to be relatively small jugs, of both biconical and barrel shape (*ibid.*, nos 24–30 and 1–13).

*Farnborough Hill ware*: code CBW, mid 14th to mid or late 15th century (Holling, 1977, 61; see also Orton, 1982b, for a discussion of dating evidence).

*Tudor Green ware*: code TUDG, most common in the late 15th and 16th centuries, but probably starting in the late 14th century. For a type series see Brears (1971); for discussion see Holling (1977) and Moorhouse (1979). The pottery, which is very fragmentary, probably comes from small cups or mugs.

*Dutch red ware*: code DUTR, probably most common in the late 15th–early 16th century, but also imported throughout the 14th and 15th centuries (Verhaege, 1983). The forms present are mainly culinary vessels, either tripodal globular cooking pots or shallow dripping pans, with rare examples of decorated table ware.

*Tudor brown ware*: code TUDB. An umbrella term covering a wide range of fabrics produced from the late 15th to the early 17th century, and including Cheam red ware (Orton, 1982a) and Kingston red ware (Nelson, 1981). Forms present here are pitchers and cooking pots.

*Post-medieval fine red ware*: code PMFR. A finer red sandy ware which appears to replace Tudor brown ware in the early–mid 17th century, and is itself superceded by coarser red wares later in the century. The fabric is probably also that of Metropolitan slipware (see Vince, 1981 and Orton and Pearce, 1984). Forms present include cooking pots, cups and chamber pots.

*Border ware*: code BORD, date late 16th to early 18th century (Holling, 1971). Plates, cups, dishes, pipkin-type cooking pots and a money box are all represented.

*Tin-glazed ware*: code TGW. All sherds given this code are thought to be of local (ie London area) manufacture, and thus of late 16th (or more likely early 17th) century to mid 18th century date. For a discussion of production of Aldgate see Noel Hume (1977, 107–114), for documentary evidence see Edwards (1974).

*Frechen stoneware*: code FREC. Late 16th to 17th century (von Bock, 1976, 41–2). Represented here by sherds of 'bellarmine' bottles, some with applied medallions.

The following vessels are mentioned because of their intrinsic interest, either individually or as groups. Illustrated vessels appear in Figs 8–9.

3. Rim of bowl in Late Saxon shelly ware from gravel pit 258 (illustrated).

4. Base and body of conical jug in Mill Green ware. The underside of the base, but no other part of the vessel, has been burnt, suggesting that the burning occurred while the vessel was in use. Use for heating liquids seems the most likely explanation. Not illustrated. From gravel pit 99.

5. Base and body sherds of baluster jug in London ware. A white deposit on the inside of the vessel closely resembles 'kettle fur' of hard water areas. The lack of evidence of burning suggests that this deposit was produced by repeated evaporation, rather than by boiling, of liquids. Not illustrated. From gravel pit 266.

6. Profile of large 'standard' jug in Hertfordshire glazed ware. There are two points of interest: (i) the entire exterior below the girth appears to have been knife-trimmed and then smoothed. Knife-trimming near the base is known on Cheam red ware (Orton, 1982a, 77–8), but not to this extent. There is no evidence for knife-trimming on the interior, as is often found on Cheam red ware (*ibid.*), (ii) there is evidence of heavy wear on the interior of the rim, suggesting abrasion. The use of (eg) a spoon to stir the contents of the jug seems the most plausible explanation. From the barrel-lined pit 134 (illustrated).

7. Rim of cooking pot in late London ware. The shoulder is ribbed and there are traces of a handle. The form belongs to the Tudor brown tradition but the fabric is 'London', with thick grey core and distinct red margins. From build-up deposit 18 (illustrated).

Nos 8–12 form a coherent group from the barrel-lined pit 95, and can be dated to the 15th century, probably the middle of the century. This group is illustrated in Fig. 8.

8. Profile of globular jug in late London ware. This form, and especially the detail of the rim, are characteristic of Cheam red ware, but the fabric is definitely 'London'. The incised groove and a small bib of greenish glaze below the lip are not characteristic of Cheam.

9. Base of 'bung-hole' pitcher in late London ware. Again, the form is characteristic of Cheam red ware, although the lining of the bung-hole with a cylinder of clay was not noted in the Cheam pottery.

10. Rim, handle and base of barrel-shaped jug in Cheam white ware. Unusually, the lower end of the handle is attached by the 'skewer' method (Marshall, 1924, 88), which is standard on biconical jugs from Cheam but has not been observed on barrel shaped jugs.

11. Rim of barrel-shaped jug in Cheam white ware.

12. Rim and handle of pitcher in Farnborough Hill ware. Several base and body sherds, which may belong to this vessel, could not be reconstructed.

There are also sherds of other vessels in Cheam white ware and Farnborough Hill ware from this pit, and single sherds of Kingston ware and Siegburg stoneware. The group demonstrates the continuation of a London pottery industry at a time well after its medieval peak, producing forms which appear to be precursors of the Tudor brown ware innovations of the late 15th century.

13. Profile of a dish in Dutch red ware. The vessel has been slipped (*cf* Vince, 1983, 330), the pattern incised through the slip into the body of the vessel, and part of the slip has been carefully removed up to the incisions. The whole decoration has been covered with a clear glaze. The form and general decorative technique can be matched by Dutch examples (eg Renaud, 1959, Fig. 5), but the closest parallels are on Cheam red ware (Orton, 1982a, nos 121, 130) and Kingston red ware (Nelson, 1981, no. 17). From wood-lined pit 165 (illustrated).

Nos 14–19 form a coherent group from pit 156, of early 17th century date. All of these vessels are illustrated in Fig. 9.

14. Profile of cup with horizontal handle in post-medieval fine red ware, with greenish patches to the glaze. This general form is common in Border ware (Holling, 1971, types B2 and 3), but usually has a more angular profile.

15. Profile of deep handled bowl in post-medieval fine red ware, with clear glaze.

16. Profile of large plate in Border ware with speckled brown glaze.

17. Profile of small dish in Border ware with bright yellow glaze, and 'notched' decoration on rim.

18. Base and body of large jar ('albarelo') in London tin-glazed ware with early 17th century design (*cf* Jennings, 1981, no. 1481). The glaze has 'crawled' off the surface of the vessel in several places, so this is at least a 'second' and possibly a waster.

19. Body sherd of large bowl in Monte Lupo tin-glazed ware (Brown, 1979, 41–2 and no. 211). Both surfaces have an apparently floral decoration in vivid colours—brown, yellow, purple, blue and green.

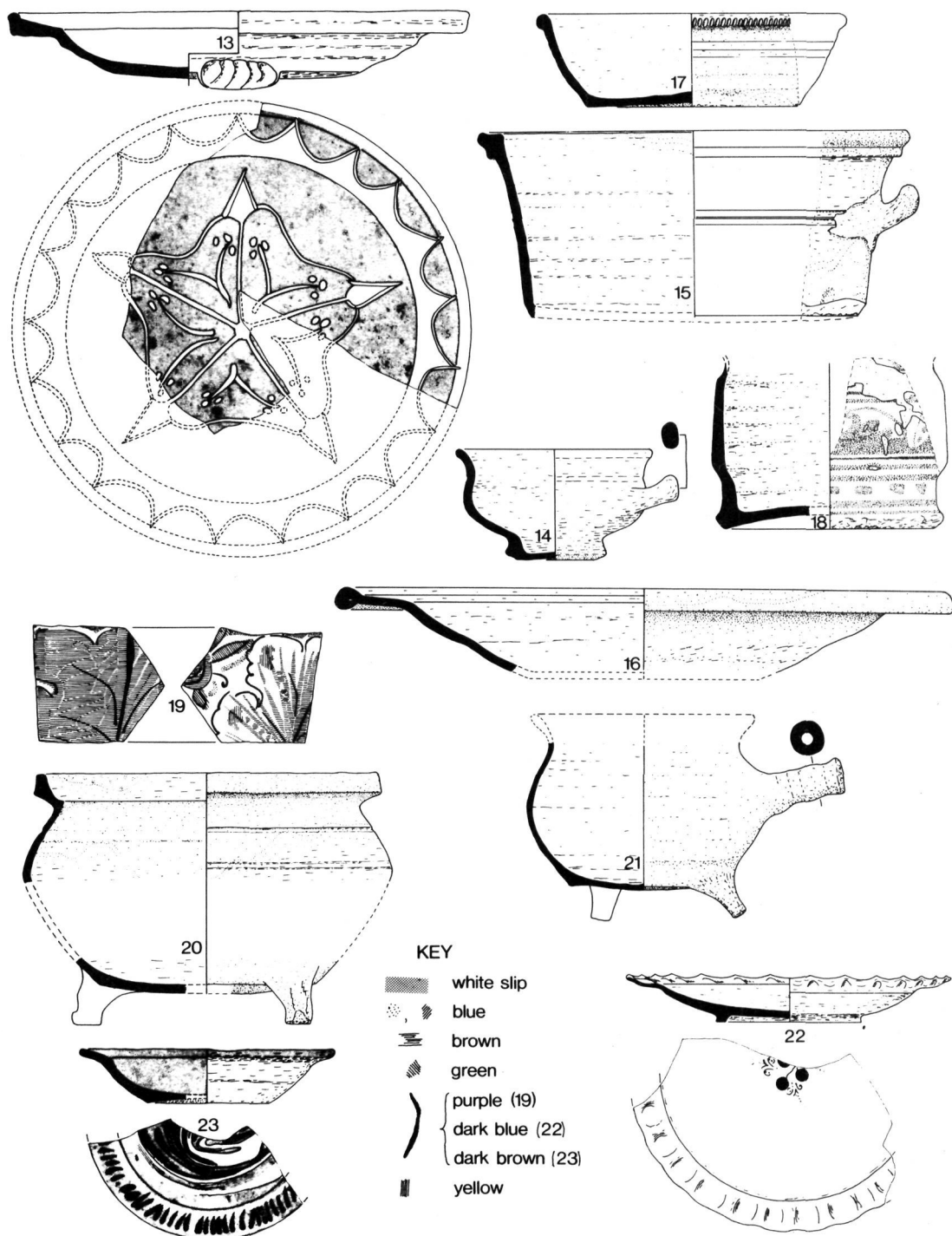


Fig. 9 Gardiners Corner: Pottery No. 13, from wood-lined pit 165; Nos 14–19 from Pit 156, Nos 20–22 from Feature 270 (1/4).

Also from this pit are several sherds of fine post-medieval red ware, and part of a Frechen stoneware bellarmine.

Nos 20–22 are a group from the build-up deposit 270 and are illustrated in Fig. 9.

20. Rim and part of body of cooking pot in a heavily burnt red fabric, possibly fine post-medieval red ware.

21. Base, body and handle of small pipkin in Border ware, Holling (1971) form Elb, with speckled green glaze.

22. Profile of tin-glazed ware plate with wavy rim and pressed-up bosses on the marly. The upper surface has a thick white tin glaze with small central decoration in dark blue, while the underside is mainly lead-glazed. Pressed-up bosses are known on early 17th century examples from Southwark (Noel Hume, 1977, 39), but the wavy rim is usually a much later feature (*cf* Orton and Pearce, 1984, 128–9), as is the restrained decoration.

Also from this group are sherds of probably two more very burnt vessels in red ware (again, probably fine post-medieval red ware) and a sherd of a money box in Border ware.

Nos 20 and 21 together suggest an early 17th century date, but the tin-glazed plate would be very unusual for this date.

23. Profile of small dish in North Italian marbled slipware (Jennings, 1981, 94–5). Unusual in including green in the decoration, and in having blue 'dashes' on the rim. Unstratified.

## BUILDING MATERIAL

by Clive Orton

About 20kg was recovered from the gravel pits and 21kg from later features. The bulk (83%) of that from the gravel pits consists of roof tile (mostly medieval but with some Roman, which was not weighed separately), with lesser proportions of daub (10%) and stone (5%). There is 1% or less each of brick, slate and mortar. The amounts in the pits correlate well with the amounts of pottery, the greatest quantities being in pits 49 (5.1kg), 251 (4.7kg), 262 (3.0kg) and 258 (1.8kg), suggesting a common origin.

The later features have proportionally less roof tile (60%, almost all medieval or later), but more brick (14%), stone (13%) and plaster/mortar (3%), as well as medieval floor tiles (10%). The latter includes a whole tile, *c.* 44" (108mm) square decorated with a rosette pattern, from the ditch 221. The main concentrations are in the barrel-lined pit 134 (4.6kg) and the ditch 221 (3.2kg).

Because of the nature of the deposits and the lack of structural associations, this material has not been studied further, but it has been catalogued and stored and may be examined on request.

## POST-MEDIEVAL GLASS

by Clive Orton

Two complete wine bottles (not illustrated) were recovered from the fill of the brick-lined well 148. They have capacities of about  $\frac{3}{4}$  and 2 pints, and their 'mallet' shape suggests an early 18th century date (see Morgan, 1976, 24–5).

## MEDIEVAL COIN

by Peter Stott

Cut farthing of Stephen, type II. Mint: London; moneyer: Adelard. 1141–53 AD. This moneyer has apparently not previously been recorded working on this type. From fill of gravel pit 262.

## MEDIEVAL LEATHER

by Natalie Tobert

Groups of leather artefacts were recovered from the wood-lined pit F165 and associated ditch F221, and from the barrel-lined pits F95 and F134. The finds consist mainly of shoes and pieces of waste leather, there are also several belts, one with an iron buckle still attached ((117), Fig. 12 no. 10), and one large fragment from an unidentifiable object. The largest group, found in the ditch, F221 is in reasonable condition, but that from the wood lined pit (F165) is in a very poor state. The assemblage all comes from contemporary levels on the site which have been dated by the pottery, to between the late fourteenth and the mid fifteenth centuries (see Fig. 10).

Feature		context	date
95	barrel lined pit	96	15th C
134	barrel lined pit	135, 157, 161	late 14th–mid 15th C
165	wood lined pit	229	mid 15th C
221	ditch	220, 222	early–mid 15th C

Fig. 10 Features containing the main groups of leather.

Of the shoe leather, only examples of the following have been accessioned: a) matching sole and upper, b) matching sole and repair, c) upper with evidence of fastening, and d) any other item with a feature of interest. The remaining leather, unmatched soles and uppers, offcuts and discards have been classified as bulk and have been described according to context number in the archive. All leather items have been freeze-dried and are now stored with the Department of Greater London Archaeology (North London) at 3–7, Ray Street, London EC1. Each of the accessioned items has been described here and a selection has been illustrated.

## CATALOGUE OF ACCESSIONED LEATHER

Feature 95, barrel lined pit, context 96.

(116) left ankle shoe:

upper and sole with matching tread repair

sole: one piece, 250mm long, oval toe, narrow waist, wide tread, slashed and laminated. Both sole and repair piece are

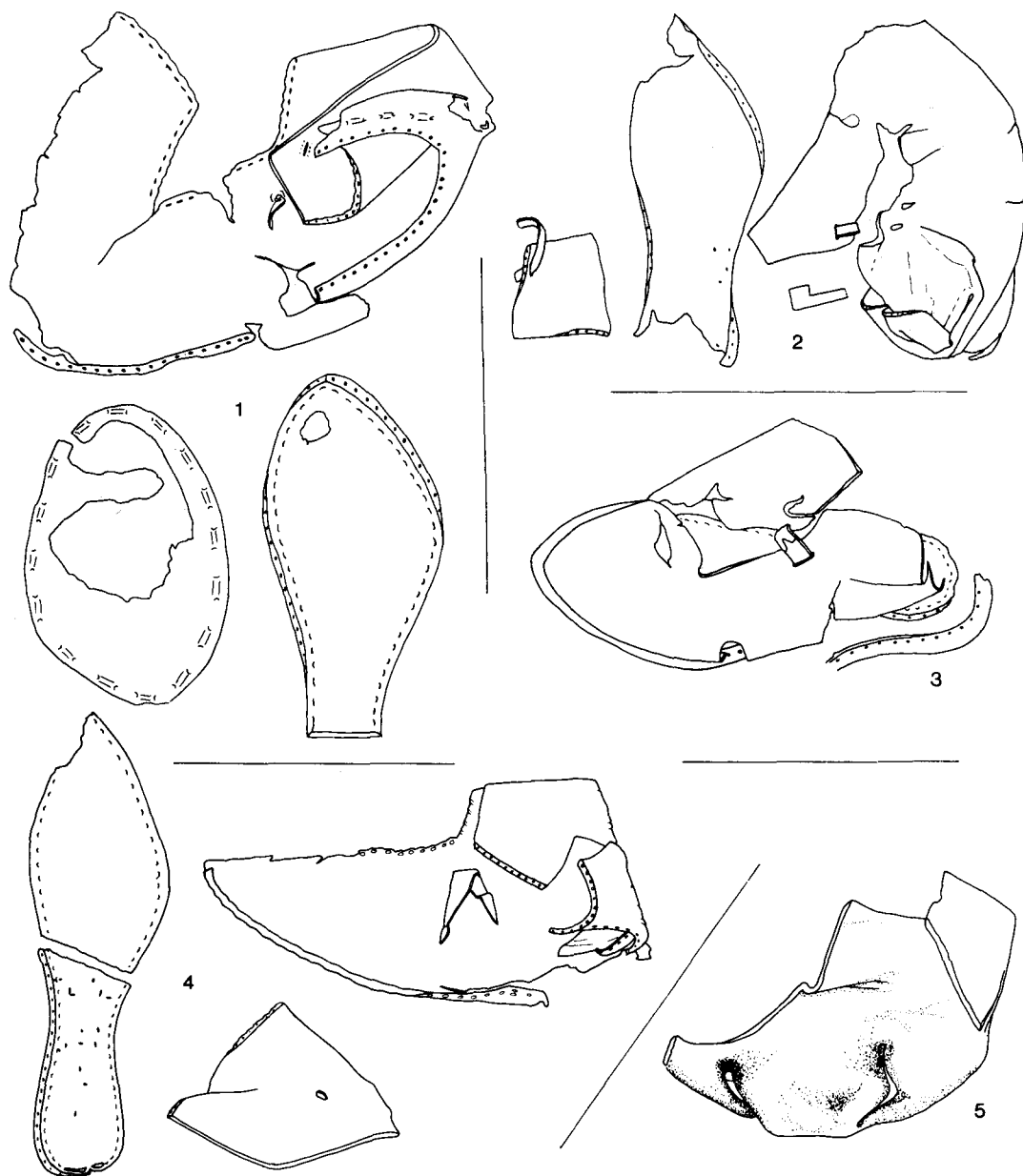


Fig. 11 Gardiners Corner: Medieval leather, Nos 1, 3, 4, ankle boots; No. 2, child's ankle boot; No. 5, discard (bull's nose), all from Feature 221.



completely worn through at ball of foot. Two lengths of welt present with repair stitching.

*upper*: side fragment with angle seam on inside quarter, fragile, possibly goatskin.

(111) *textile wool*

Fragment of cloth, possibly a shoe lining found with shoe (116) but not inside it. The cloth is woven from wool using 'S' spun yarn in one system and alternate 'S' and 'Z' spun yarn in the other (probably the welt). The weave is tabby, and the cloth has become heavily felted through wear. This fragment is possibly from an item of reused clothing. (Description F. Pritchard).

(115) *belt*:

240mm long, 20mm wide, no stitch marks or other distinctive features.

Feature 134, barrel lined pit, context 135.

(103) *strap*:

14mm wide, 60mm long, possibly from a shoe fastening.

(104) *adult shoe*:

one piece quarter with diagonal seams, two lace holes (6mm apart) on right side.

(105) *child's ankle shoe*: Fig. 12 No. 8

*upper* left foot, single piece construction, butt seam on inside, front laced with six holes present (5mm apart), slashed at instep with stitched edges, trapezoidal shaped stiffener in place.

(107) *adult shoe*:

*vamp*: from right foot, possibly a slip-on, seam stitching only occurs for a 20mm width along both lasting edges, could have been for a strap attachment. The leather rises to a point at the instep and is deeply slashed at the front.

(108) *Belt*:

24mm wide, 430mm long, no evidence of holes, cut narrow at one end where it was possibly re-used to make a strap.

(118) *adult shoe*: Fig. 12 No. 9

*upper*, pointed vamp, cut out at the throat with a small strap, 50mm long pierced by two lace holes at the end, vertical side seams.

Feature 134, barrel lined pit, context 157

(106) *Adult shoe*:

*sole*, left foot, pointed, worn at big toe and heel, rand.

*vamp*, quarters missing, very worn, cut at throat, with stitches at the side by the lasting edge indicating a possible strap fastening, perhaps goatskin.

Feature 134, barrel lined pit, context 161

(117) *belt with iron buckle*: Fig. 12 No. 10

Two fragments of badly deteriorated leather (lengths 160 and 140mm, 38mm wide) with a heavily encrusted iron buckle still attached. The buckle is joined to the belt by means of two iron studs (3mm diameter). The illustration is drawn from the X-ray plate (MOL Acc. No. X0708).

Feature 165, wood lined pit, context 229.

(124) *adult shoe*:

*sole*, double layered, from the left foot with a mildly pointed toe. No evidence of tunnel stitching on either example. Construction method uncertain, very poor condition.

Feature 221, ditch, context 222.

(109) *Adult sole and upper of right boot*: Fig. 11 No. 1

*sole*: part of a multipiece sole with the heel missing, worn through at the big toe, oval shaped, with tunnel stitching at the waist, and on the turn welt.

*repair*, a matching tread repair piece has been found, completely worn through at the toes and on the ball of the foot. The remains of stitching thread can be seen.

*upper*: one piece turnshoe construction with a diagonal seam on the inner side. A triangular heel stiffener is still in place, but the area above the heel is quite worn away. The instep is cut and has a sewn edge, and there is evidence for a top band, with the thread still visible. On the outside, two small cuts

(8mm) indicate the presence inside of a strip of tied leather thonging. This was presumably used to fasten the boot internally across the instep, although, near the top on the opposite side, there is a single slit (10mm) which has been stitched open. This was possibly intended to take a strap and was stitched to prevent any tearing from frequent use.

Feature 221, ditch, context 220.

(101) *child's ankle boot*: Fig. 11 No. 2

*sole*: right foot, slashed, pointed, and worn away at the toe and heel, tunnel stitch on the back, probably had a two piece repair.

*upper*: one piece construction, square insert on the inner side with a strap 45mm long, a triangular heel stiffener still in place. Cut at the instep with two slits (6mm) for straps on the outer side. Opposite, one strap (30mm) is still in position, and this has a square end piece to prevent it being pulled through the slit. Wear cracks have developed by the little toe.

(110) *adult ankle boot*: Fig. 11 No. 3

*sole*, repair and upper of left foot.

*sole*: still adhering at the toe to the tread repair piece, oval toe, rand present.

*upper*: possibly a one piece construction with an angled seam on the inside quarter, a top band. Cut at the instep and fastened with a strap (40mm long) that had a deliberate split (15mm) at the centre probably to take a buckle fastening. On the opposite side there is evidence (a double layer of leather) that a second strap was attached.

(112) *discard*: Fig. 11, no. 5

tanned bull's nose, with just the nostrils remaining, the leather from the rest of the head has been cut out probably to be used for vamps.

(119) *left shoe and repair, adult size*: Fig. 12 no. 7

*vamp*, oval toe, with continuous butt seam from inner to outer side lasting margin, a semi circular cut-out at the throat, with straps possibly for a strap and buckle fastening. The vamp has been worn through by the big toe.

(120) *adult ankle shoe, right foot*: Fig. 11 No. 4

*sole*: right foot, pointed toe, worn at the toe and the heel, with stitch marks indicating a repair to the heel.

*upper*: probably a one piece construction joined at the inside foot with an angled butt seam. The vamp is cut at the front with a sewn edge. On the interior is a strap threaded through parallel slits from the outside.

*The tongue* is a kite-shaped piece with seams on two sides, two 5mm slits and a single hole for thonging.

(121) *adult shoe, right foot*:

*vamp*, rand present, possibly a slip-on shoe, fragment of the vamp cut low, with evidence for a strap stitched on the inner side.

(122) *child's ankle boot*: Fig. 12 No. 6

*sole*: oval toe, no evidence of a rand used, right foot.

*upper*: one piece plus insert, joined on the inner side with an angle seam. Both the upper and the triangular heel stiffener have a circular hole cut out just below the ankle area at the heel, presumably for orthopaedic reasons. At the back of the heel, is a stitched slit (12mm), and also present are a pair of 14mm stitched slots, which were possibly for a strap or buckle fastening. The insert has a strap (40mm) with a pointed end and which was actually stitched onto the flesh layer of the leather to keep it in position. In places the thread is still *in situ* (possibly flax). The vamp itself is cut away to within 20mm of the tip of the toe and the entire inner side is missing. Stitches indicate the presence of a top band on the cut at the instep. The four pairs of fine slits on the outside edge of the shoe could have been for silk ribbon lacing (suggestion of F. Pritchard).

(123) *adult shoe*:

*sole*, pointed toe, left foot, worn at heel, rand, tread repair still attached with stitches going right through it.

(125) *adult ankle shoe*:

left and right sole, plus repair and quarters

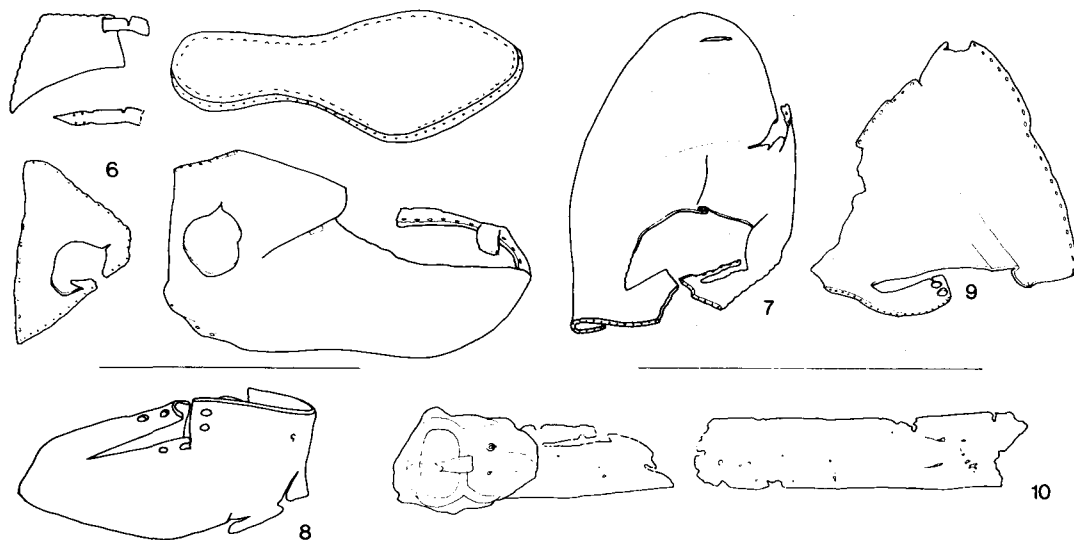


Fig. 12 Gardiners Corner: Medieval leather No. 6, child's ankle boot; No. 7, shoe, both from Feature 221. No. 8, child's ankle shoe; No. 9, shoe; No. 10, belt with iron buckle, all from Feature 134.

*sole*: oval toe, stitches still visible (flax?), worn at heel, left sole is also present and is worn at the ball of the foot, rand.

*repair*: tread only, but other stitch holes indicate the presence of a heel repair,

*upper*: quarters only, going up to a rounded point at the heel, stitches in situ (flax?), joined to vamp with vertical butt seams.

(102) ankle shoe:

*upper*, right foot, possibly part of a one piece upper but it is in very fragmentary condition, triangular insert on the inner side, and a triangular heel stiffener, front laced with three holes present.

## DISCUSSION

**Construction:** All the shoes are made out of what have been termed "one piece economy uppers" (Thomas, 1980:12). Nearly all are of turnshoe construction, and are side seamed with the triangular or square inserts used to make up the shape (eg Fig. 11 No. 2). Many have evidence of some kind of strap fastening. Only two examples are fastened by lacing (104), (105) while a third has a strap and lace (118). The style and method of construction used here seem to be usual for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and are similar to shoes published from Custom House (Jones, 1974: Fig. 27, 28), and Coventry (Thomas, 1980). An earlier, thirteenth century example of a one piece upper was excavated in Durham City (Thornton, 1979; Fig. 17).

In a number of cases the stitching thread has survived and it appears to be that of a bast fibre such as flax (F. Pritchard *pers. comm.*). In one example (Fig. 11 No. 3, (110)) the upper is still attached to the sole.

**Style:** The principal styles present in this assem-

blage (described in detail in Fig. 13) are the ankleshoe and ankleboot; both are typical of fifteenth century footware. The soles have a narrow waist with a pointed or oval toe, and the shoes seem to be of a practical or working nature; those soles which are pointed are only mildly so and would still be suitable for everyday use. According to Swann (1973), pointed and oval toed shoes were contemporary fashions in the 1430's and 40's, and in her opinion these differences in style "reflect the confusion in the political situation" (Swann, 73: 19). Under the reign of Edward IV in the 1460's, the pointed shoe became more common, and the popularity of the ankle shoe increased from the mid fifteenth century.

One child's ankle boot (122) is of especial interest; this has a one-piece upper, with a square insert on the inside, and is fastened with a strap across the instep. A roughly circular hole has been crudely cut through both the upper and the heel stiffener, at the outside of the shoe below the ankle. This deliberately cut hole is likely to be an orthopaedic feature, presumably intended to prevent the leather rubbing on and aggravating a sore or callous on the child's foot. Such cuts are not unusual (Swallow, 1973: 30), and in fact Thomas gives several examples on mediaeval shoes of this period from Coventry (Thomas, 1980, 51, 62, 77). This boot is also of interest because it is the only one in the assemblage that has any indication of having been threaded with decorative ribbon (see catalogue).

**Evidence of cobbling and manufacture:** There is much evidence for shoe repair (both tread and heel) and

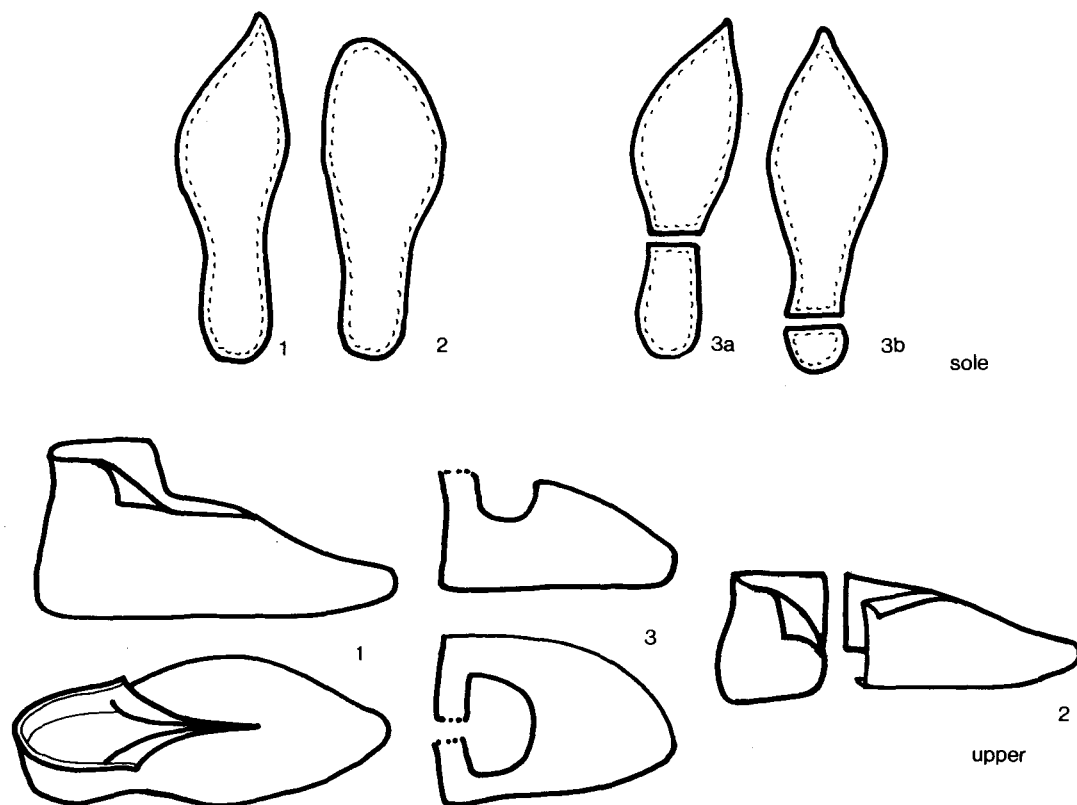


Fig. 13 Gardiners Corner: Medieval leather Principal type of shoe present in the assemblage.

#### *Sole*

1. Pointed, with a narrow waist.
2. Oval toe, with a narrow waist.
3. Multi-piece sole, (a) cut at waist (b) cut at mid-heel

#### *Upper*

1. Ankle boot. One-piece turnshoe construction, usually with square or triangular inserts on the inner side. There is a slashed opening at the instep, fastened by either lacing, buckle or button and strap.
2. Ankle shoe. Turnshoe construction, separate vamp slashed at the instep with attached one-piece quarters.
3. Shoe. Separate vamp and quarters, cut out at throat with a strap fastening (lace, button or buckle) across the instep.

on some shoes even the repair is worn through before the item was discarded. However, there is little indication for actual on-site manufacture, the exception being from context 135 of the barrel lined pit, where several fragments of upper show signs of being cut up. In context 96 there is an oval shaped piece of leather with no stitching on it, which may have been cut out from a sole for it has slash marks on it. One of the more unusual pieces of waste leather is a tanned bull's nose from context

220. A similar article is known from Leicester, where a tanned dog's nose was recovered from excavations at the Austin Friars (Allin, 1981: 167), and a third century example of a fragment of calf's head has been recovered from the excavation at New Fresh Wharf (Rhodes, forthcoming). In the Roman period however, an animal was skinned by cutting across the muzzle below the eyes so that the nostrils would not have been tanned.

## THE ANIMAL BONES

by Alison Locker

The excavation produced animal bones mainly from the context groups: medieval gravel pits (13th–14th century), a late 14th–mid 15th century barrel-lined pit (134), and a 16th century ditch and associated wood-lined pit (165, 221). All fused bones were measured using the method of Jones *et al.* 1976.

### The Gravel Pits

Thirty-six contexts from the gravel pit fills contained 480 animal bones (see Fig. 14). The following species were identified: ox (*Bos* sp.), sheep/goat (*Ovis* sp./*Capra* sp.), pig (*Sus* sp.), horse (*Equus* sp.), cat (*Felis* sp.), dog (*Canis* sp.), fallow deer (*Dama Dama*), swan (*Cygnus* sp.), goose (*Anser* sp.),

two contexts (135 and 136). Evidence for butchery included the removal of the horn cores and axial chopping through the parietals and frontals as primary butchery waste. However in 136 five complete sheep skulls were found, mature with no sign of butchery. Using the method of Hatting (1975), these skulls were sexed as one male, one ?male, two castrates and one female. These skulls are important evidence in the development of livestock and they will be discussed more fully (Armitage, forthcoming).

Ox skulls were butchered, as were upper limb bones of both ox and sheep. Most examples of both these species were mature. No cut marks were noted on the horse bones and red deer was represented only by an antler tine.

This feature contained a variety of debris—non-

OX	SHEEP	PIG	HORSE	F. DEER	CAT	DOG	BIRD	UNIDENT	SHELLFISH
129	88	17	4	1	8	6	7	123	75 oyster 17 cockle 3 mussel 2 whelk 6 fish

Total = 480 (ox = ox + ox sized, sheep = sheep/goat + sheep sized).

Fig. 14

domestic fowl (*Gallus* sp.), cod (*Gadus Morhua*), oyster (*Ostrea edulis*), cockle (*Cardium edule*), mussel (*Mytilus edulis*) and whelk (*Buccinum undatum*). A number of residual human bones, possibly of Roman origin, were found in four gravel pit fills.

Many of the ox, sheep and pig bones were butchered, and together with swan, goose and domestic fowl represent food refuse. Cod was often eaten dried and salted in the medieval period, also closeness to the port of London suggests that the examples represented here could have been eaten fresh.

Fallow deer is represented only by an antler tine which could have been cast, and so is not necessarily evidence of venison.

### The barrel-lined pit (134)

Bone was found in several contexts of this feature (see Fig. 15). The following were identified: ox (*Bos* sp.), sheep/goat (*Ovis* sp./*Capra* sp.), pig (*Sus* sp.), horse (*Equus* sp.), red deer (*Cervus Elephas*), dog (*Canis* sp.), rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*), domestic fowl (*Gallus* sp.), jackdaw, (*Corvus monedula*), oyster (*Ostrea edulis*), cockle (*Cardium edule*) and mussel (*Mytilus edulis*). Sheep skulls and mandibles, some of which were butchered, are frequent in the top

food waste from horse, dog, red deer and jackdaw, as well as primary butchery waste from skull fragments and lower limb extremities, and secondary butchery waste from chopped bone of ox, sheep and pig as joint remains.

The Ditch (221) and associated Wood-lined Pit (165)

Most of the bone came from the ditch (see Fig. 16). The following species were identified: ox (*Bos* sp.), sheep (*Ovis* sp.), pig (*Sus* sp.), horse (*Equus* sp.), cat (*Felis* sp.), domestic fowl (*Gallus* sp.), duck (*Anas* sp.), oyster (*Ostrea edulis*), cockle (*Cardium edule*), and mussel (*Mytilus edulis*). The number of pig bones is inflated by the presence of three partial skeletons, one of which was aged from the mandibles to newborn/two weeks (using the method of Getty, 1975) and another to approximately five months. Eight bones belonged to the former and twenty-three to the latter. The humerus, radius and ulna of a piglet were held in articulation by the preservation of keratinous material in highly organic waterlogged conditions. None of the immature pig bones showed any signs of butchery.

Many of the ox, sheep and pig bones were butchered, and together with swan, goose and domestic fowl represent food refuse. Cod was often eaten dried and salted in the medieval period, also

OX	SHEEP	PIG	RABBIT	HORSE	R. DEER	DOG	BIRD	UNIDENT	SHELLFISH
106	92	76	1	2	1	1	23	25	40 snail 11 mussel 22 mussel 2 cockle

Total = 402

Fig. 15

The bones of ox and sheep were mainly from mature animals and included skull and jaw fragments as well as butchered limb bones. Only one ox metatarsal was found; others may have been removed for bone working.

#### Conclusions

In general the bone from all three groups seems to be a mixture of domestic food refuse, including a large number of shellfish which were commonly eaten, bones from common food species but which show no butchery marks (eg the sheep skulls and the piglet skeletons) and industrial waste in the form of cattle horn cores (see Armitage, this report). In addition, the remains of horse, cat and dog have also been disposed of in this area.

A fuller report including the bones from each context and plates of the sheep skulls can be found at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory (report no. 4171) and at the Department of Greater London Archaeology (Inner/North London).

#### DISCUSSION OF ALL MEDIEVAL FINDS

Fig. 6 suggests that most of the gravel pits were backfilled between *c.* 1270 and 1350 AD, since all except the very small groups include some Mill Green ware, thought to start *c.* 1270 (Pearce *et al.*, 1982, 272), while only two groups contain

appreciable amounts of Farnborough Hill ware, thought to start *c.* 1350 (Orton, 1982b, 97). Odd sherds of Tudor brown ware and post-medieval wares are thought to be intrusive. Of the two later pits, 121 would appear to be of mid 14th century date, and 258 of late 14th century date on the evidence of Cheam white ware and Hertfordshire glazed ware, but most of the pottery is in the upper fill and the lower fill may be earlier (ie 13th century).

There is pottery evidence for activity on the site from the 9th/11th century to the mid 13th century, but in the absence of features one cannot say what activity this represents. The 12th century coin (p. 49) relates to this period rather than the gravel-digging.

The chalk wall, 80, appears to be of late 14th century or later date, since it is later than the gravel pit 121 (see above), but it is not sealed by any dateable deposits. The north-south walls 88 and 101, which are later than 80, are otherwise undateable.

The lined pits and the ditch 221 appear to date to the 15th century, although the picture is confused by apparently intrus-

OX	SHEEP	PIG	HORSE	CAT	BIRD	RABBIT	UNIDENT	SHELLFISH
83	40	44	2	15	10	1	3	25 oyster 3 cockle 13 mussel 1 frog 1 snail

Total = 241

Fig. 16

ive later pottery, and by the small size of some pottery groups. There is surprisingly little pottery of Tudor date (eg Raeren or Cologne stoneware), but a few features date to the early 17th century, eg 156 and 270. There are hints of the local pottery manufacturing industry in the latest groups.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the site owners, the Sedgwick Group, for allowing us to work alongside the contractors, Wimpey, who also did their best to fit us into the building programme. Much material assistance was made available by Mr R. O. Cooper of the Sedgwick Group.

For the specialist reports used here or held in archive we have to thank Dr Philip Armitage (horn cores), Portia Askew (seeds), Elisabeth Crowfoot (textiles), Maureen Girling (insects), Mike Ham-merson (Roman coins), Geoff Marsh (samian stamps), Jacqui Watson (wood identification) and Paul Wilthew (technological material). We should also like to thank Dr Paul Tyers for commenting on the Roman cremation urn. Natalie Tobert is grateful to Frances Pritchard for the examination of the fibre and textile, and Dr Philip Armitage for identification of the leather. Penny MacConnoran gave many helpful suggestions concerning the descriptions of the shoes, and also proof read the leather report. Alison Locker would like to thank Miss J. Henderson for X-raying the sheep skulls and Dr Philip Armitage for commenting on them.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALLIN (1981), C. E. Allin 'The Leather', in J. E. Mellor and T. Pearce, *The Austin Friars, Leicester*, CBA Research Report 35 (1981) 145-168.
- BLURTON (1977), T. R. Blurton 'Excavations at Angel Court, Walbrook, 1974' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 28 (1977) 14-100.
- BREARS (1971), P. C. D. Breares *English Country Pottery* (1971).
- BROWN (1979), C. G. Brown (ed) *Castle Street, the pottery, Plymouth Museum Archaeol. Ser 1* (1979).
- EDWARDS (1974), R. Edwards 'London Potters circa 1570-1710', *Journ Ceramic Hist* 6 (1974).
- FERRETTI & GRAHAM (1978), E. Ferretti & A. H. Graham '201-211 Borough High Street' *Southwark Excavations 1972-74 Vol. 1* London Middlesex Archaeol soc: Surrey Archaeol Soc Joint Publication 1 (1978) 53-176.
- GETTY (1975), R. Getty *The Anatomy of the Domestic Animals, Vols 1 and 11* (1975).
- GRIMES (1968), W. F. Grimes *Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (London 1968).
- HATTING (1975), T. Hatting 'The influence of castration on sheep horns' in A. T. Clason (ed) *Zoarchaeology* (1975) 345-6.
- HINTON (1980), M. Hinton 'Medieval Pottery from a kiln site at Kingston upon Thames' *London Archaeol.* 3, no. 14, (1980) 377-83.
- HOLLING (1971), F. W. Holling 'A preliminary note on the pottery industry of the Surrey-Hampshire borders', *Surrey Archaeol. Collect* 68 (1971) 57-88.
- HOLLING (1977), F. W. Holling 'Reflections on Tudor Green', *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 11 1977: 61-6.
- HURST (1961), J. G. Hurst 'The kitchen area of Northolt Manor, Middlesex', *Medieval Archaeol* 5 (1961) 211-99.
- JENNER and VINCE (1983), M. A. Jenner and A. G. Vince 'A dated type series of London Medieval pottery: Part 3. Late medieval Hertfordshire glazed ware', *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 34 (1983) 151-170.
- JENNINGS (1981), S. Jennings 'Eighteen centuries of pottery from Norwich', *East Anglian Archaeol* 13 (1981).
- JONES (1980), D. M. Jones 'The structural report', *Excavations at Billingsgate Buildings, Lower Thames Street, London, 1974* London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Paper No. 4 (1980) 2-22.
- JONES (1974), J. Jones 'Medieval Leather', in T. Tatton-Brown, 'Excavations at the Custom House Site, City of London, 1973' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 25 (1974) 154-167.
- JONES et al (1976), R. T. Jones, S. M. Wall, A. M. Locker, J. Coy and M. Maltby Ancient Monuments Laboratory, DoE, Computer Based Osteometry. Data Capture User Manual (1). *Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report No. 3342, 1st supplement to No. 2333*. (1976).
- MARSH and TYERS (1978), G. Marsh and P. A. Tyers 'The Roman pottery from Southwark', in J. L. Bird et al (eds) *Southwark Excavations 1972-74*. London Middlesex Archaeol Soc and Surrey Archaeol Soc Joint Pub no. 1, (1978) 533-82.
- MARSHALL (1924), C. J. Marshall 'A medieval pottery kiln discovered at Cheam', *Surrey Archaeol Collect* 35 (1924) 79-97.
- MOORHOUSE (1979), S. Moorhouse 'Tudor Green: some further thoughts', *Medieval Ceramics* 3 (1979) 53-61.
- MORGAN (1976), R. Morgan *Sealed Bottles* (1976).
- NELSON (1981), S. Nelson 'A group of pottery waster material from Kingston', *London Archaeol* 4, no. 4 (1981) 96-102.
- NOEL HUME (1977), I. Noel Hume, *Early English Delftware from London and Virginia*, Colonial Williamsburg Occasional Papers in Archaeology 2 (1977).
- ORTON (1977), C. R. Orton 'Studying the City's pottery' *London Archaeol* 3, no. 4 (1977) 100-4.
- ORTON (1982a), C. R. Orton 'The excavation of a late medieval/-transitional pottery kiln at Cheam, Surrey', *Surrey Archaeol Collect* 73 (1982) 49-92.
- ORTON (1982b), C. R. Orton 'Pottery evidence for the dating of the revetments' in G. Milne and C. Milne *Medieval waterfront development at Trig Lane, London*, London Middlesex Archaeol Soc Special Paper no. 5 (1982) 92-9.
- ORTON and PEARCE (forthcoming) C. R. Orton and J. E. Pearce 'Pottery' in A. Thompson, F. Grew and J. Schofield 'Excavations at Aldgate 1974' *Post-medieval Archaeol* 18 (1984) 34-68.
- PEARCE et al (1982), J. E. Pearce, A. G. Vince and R. White with C. M. Cunningham. 'A Dated Type Series of London Medieval Pottery: Part 1: Mill Green Ware' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 33 (1982) 266-298.
- PEARCE et al (1985), J. E. Pearce and A. G. Vince with K. H. Armitage, M. A. Jenner and R. Rattray *A dated type series of London medieval pottery: Part 2. London-type ware*, London Middlesex Archaeol Soc special paper No. 6 (1985 RCHM (1928)), Royal Commission for Historic Monuments, Roman London, 1928.
- RENAUD (1959), J. G. N. Renaud 'Laat-middeleeuws aardewerk met ornament in sgraffito', *Berichten Rijksdienst Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 9 (1959) 225-37.
- RHODES (forthcoming) M. Rhodes 'Roman Leather Artifacts from New Fresh Wharf' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc.* (forthcoming).
- SHEPPARD (1977), R. Sheppard 'A medieval pottery kiln at Pinner, Middlesex', *London Archaeol* 3, no. 2 (1977) 31-5.
- STALSCHMIDT (1884), J. C. L. Stahlschmidt *Surrey Bells and London Bell-Founders* (London 1884).
- SWALLOW (1973), A. W. Swallow 'Interpretation of wear marks seen in footwear' *Trans Museums Assistants Group* 12 (ed. P. S. Doughty) (London 1973) 28-32.
- SWANN (1973), A. W. Swann 'Shoe fashions to 1600' *Trans Museums Assistants Group* 12, (ed. P. S. Doughty), (London 1973) 14-25.
- THOMAS (1980), S. Thomas *Medieval Footwear from Coventry*, Coventry, (1980).
- THORNTON (1979), J. H. Thornton 'Leather artifacts and manufacture', in M. O. H. Carver, 'Three Saxo-Norman Tenements in Durham City', *Medieval Archaeol* 23, (1979): 26-36.
- THORNTON (1973), J. H. Thornton 'Excavated shoes to 1600', *Trans Museums Assistants Group* 12, (ed. P. S. Doughty), (1973) 2-13.
- TYERS and VINCE (1983), P. A. Tyers and A. G. Vince 'Computing the DUA pottery', *London Archaeol* 4, no. 11 (1983) 299-304.
- VERHAEGE (1983), F. Verhaege 'Medieval pottery production in coastal Flanders' in P. Davey and R. Hodges (eds) *Ceramics and Trade* (1983) 63-94.
- VINCE (1981), A. G. Vince 'Recent research on Post-medieval Pottery from the City of London', *London Archaeol* 4, no. 3 (1981) 74-80.
- VINCE (1983), A. G. Vince 'Medieval white-slipped jugs' *London Archaeol* 4, no. 12 (1983) 330-6.
- VON BOCK (1976), G. R. von Bock *Steinzeug Kataloge des Kunstgewerbe-museums Koln* (1976).

*The Society is grateful to the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission of England for a publication grant towards the cost of this article.*

# PROPERTY DESTRUCTION IN CIVIL-WAR LONDON

STEPHEN PORTER

At the outset of the Civil War the only English towns with defences which could resist an effective artillery train were the ports of Berwick, Hull and Portsmouth. Fifty or so others still retained their medieval fortifications, in varying stages of repair, but their tall and thin masonry walls could not withstand a bombardment by cannon and were easily breached. The Civil War led, therefore, to the adaptation and modification of existing town walls and the construction in many places of entirely new defences. The bastion trace had been developed in continental warfare during the sixteenth century and consisted of earthwork fortifications of some complexity, faced with stone or turf, with squat, thick walls, designed to offer the greatest possible resistance to an attacker's guns. Such works covered a greater area of land than did upright masonry walls and their construction necessitated the demolition of buildings at a number of towns. Moreover, it was a common practice to remove property from beyond the defences in order to provide the defenders with an uninterrupted field of fire and to deprive a besieging force of cover—which they could use to approach and perhaps undermine the defences—accommodation and materials. London was subjected to the processes which caused considerable damage in many other towns and cities, for it was a fortified place on the edge of the war zone and was threatened by a hostile army on one occasion.

London was not easy to fortify because of its size. The extensive suburbs, together with Southwark and Westminster, contained a greater population than did the intra-mural area and made it difficult to defend the line of the medieval city wall. It was inconceivable that the bulk of the extra-mural property could be removed in order to make the defences effective, for that would have created the enormous problem of accommodating the homeless. There was, moreover, the danger of alienating those who would be displaced. The city government had only come to power as a result of the elections to the Common Council in December 1641—which had displaced the pro-royalist regime at Guildhall—and may not have felt secure enough to take such a risk. Nevertheless, on 16 November 1642, a few days after the royalists had been repulsed at Turnham Green, Parliament thought it necessary to issue an order 'that all and every the Sheds, on the Outside of the Walls . . . be speedily pulled down and demolished'<sup>1</sup>. This implies that the medieval defences were being renovated. Perhaps it was thought that the city walls and the Tower could be held in the event of a successful royalist attack on the outer parts of the capital, which were then inadequately defended. Alternatively, it may be that the primary purpose was to make the city defensible if there was an insurrection in the suburbs. In the uncertain climate of the time there was, almost inevitably, a fear of 'tumults' and popular unrest<sup>2</sup>. The city was still the wealthiest part of the



metropolis and contained the homes of the majority of the urban elite. The suburbs, in contrast, housed the poorest sections of the community<sup>3</sup>. Perhaps the city wall was seen as a potential *cordon sanitaire*, providing some protection for the inner area. Whatever the purpose of the order, it seems that it was not fully observed, for three months later the corporation issued a similar directive and authorised a committee to supervise the demolition of the sheds and other structures on the outside of the wall<sup>4</sup>.

New fortifications enclosing almost the whole of the urban area were erected in a number of stages from the autumn of 1642 onwards, culminating in the extensive bastion trace, commonly called the 'lines of communication' which was constructed in the following spring. To minimise the risk of buildings being set alight by red-hot shot and explosive mortar grenades—the most potent siege weapons of the period—the lines were placed well out of range of the built-up area<sup>5</sup>. There was, therefore, no need to demolish buildings to clear a site for the works for most of their length. In the north and east, however, the defences cut through the suburbs at Bloomsbury, Shoreditch and Whitechapel and some property there was destroyed. Clear evidence of this comes from the petition of Miles Brand that before the Civil War he had taken a lease of a mill and some adjoining land at Whitechapel, where he had built several houses at his own expense. When the land was used for the building of a fort and other earthworks these houses 'were pulled downe'. He estimated his losses at more than £400 and so was outraged when his landlord subsequently sued him for the arrears of rent for the property during the years when the fort had stood upon it<sup>6</sup>. The fort referred to was the 'hornwork near the windmill in White-Chapple road' which Lithgow described as 'a nine-

angled fort, only pallasaded and single ditched'. It was a substantial earthwork construction and its remains were still visible at the end of the eighteenth century<sup>7</sup>. In Bloomsbury, too, the construction of a fort caused the demolition of a number of houses belonging to the Earl of Southampton. The loss was later valued at £1,600<sup>8</sup>. Similar destruction of property may have occurred in the Mile End Road where 'two pettie Forts or Redoubts . . . within an intrenched closure' were constructed<sup>9</sup>. A considerable part of the suburbs on the eastern side of the capital lay outside the defences and they would probably have been burnt or demolished if it had been besieged. The royalists, however, were never able to approach London after 1642 and no resistance was offered to the New Model Army when it marched in five years later. The capital escaped extensive destruction for defensive purposes, although the corporation had taken care to obtain the authority to remove hedges and trees and to demolish houses outside the fortifications if the need arose<sup>10</sup>.

The new defences obviously prevented the owners or tenants of the ground which they occupied from using it and this also applied to buildings which stood close to them. For example, a miller named Robert Key was the tenant of the Mount Mill at Islington which was enclosed by fortifications described as 'a battery and breastwork'. The windmill apparently remained intact, but Key was unable to use it or to hold the markets for meal there twice weekly as he had done before the works were built. Compensation of £200 was promised, but this had apparently not been paid by 1649 when he complained that his landlord was attempting to recover full arrears of rent<sup>11</sup>. Similarly, Miles Brand reported that his mill at Whitechapel had been 'made uselesse' because of the fort there<sup>12</sup>. The for-

tifications damaged more land than that which they actually covered, for turf was used for layering in their construction to give strength to the banks and for facing them to prevent erosion. A comparatively large amount was required and it was taken from a much greater area than that occupied by the works. The removal of turf ruined the ground as pasture for several years, until there was again a sufficient thickness of sward to allow it to be grazed. The Earl of Salisbury's pastures in Bermondsey, ruined by the erection of a fort and deliberate flooding, could not be leased out again until 1649<sup>13</sup>. The complaints of occupiers such as Elizabeth Wiseman, who held land at Shoreditch, and Thomas Prisell of St George's Fields in Southwark—who was deprived of the use of fifteen of his thirty acres there—were justified, for the loss of income from land affected in this way was likely to have been considerable<sup>14</sup>.

Fire was an ever-present danger in early-modern London. The widespread use of timber in buildings, inadequate flues and chimnies, the practice of trades with a high fire risk in unsuitable premises, the sheer congestion of properties in some districts and the stocks of hay, corn and fuel that were kept within the built-up area all contributed to the hazard. The corporation took steps to reduce the risks by issuing regulations, relating especially to building materials and the provision of fire-fighting equipment<sup>15</sup>. The disaster in 1666 showed how ineffective these had been. Arson was regarded as an additional risk during the Civil War. In the early months of the conflict there was a near hysterical fear of arson, for it was widely thought that royalist agents intended to set fire to the capital and seize control of it in the subsequent confusion. Even minor outbreaks, which were not uncommon, were regarded as having been started delib-

erately. A number of fires in April 1644—when the citizens' fears were running particularly high—were attributed to royalist sympathisers, for example<sup>16</sup>. It may have been such anxieties which prompted the Lord Mayor's 'Seasonable Advice for preventing the Mischief of Fire' dealing with potential hazards and also the dangers of deliberate firing 'by villainy or treason'<sup>17</sup>. Instructions for putting out the flames included recommendations for dealing with wild-fire. This was a highly inflammable mixture of sulphur, saltpetre, camphor and spirits, with resins added as thickeners, commonly used during the Civil War in fire-balls and grenades. It was not easily extinguished with water and the advice given was to use 'milk, urine, sand, earth, or dirt' to smother it<sup>18</sup>. Despite the additional hazards—real or imagined—the city did not experience a major conflagration during the war years. The fires which were recorded were comparatively minor ones, such as that which destroyed three houses in Aldermanbury in May 1643, one which caused damage valued at £2,880 in Christ Church parish in the following April and a more serious blaze which burnt down 'many houses' at Sabs Key, off Thames Street, in October 1646<sup>19</sup>. These were unexceptional fires for the period, however, and were far less destructive than those which caused extensive damage in Oxford—where almost 300 houses were burnt—Beam-inster and Wrexham during the Civil War<sup>20</sup>.

To a certain extent the parliamentary leaders were forced to erect the extensive defences around London by the success of their own propaganda. The public had been made familiar with the conduct of the Thirty Years War through the news-books and corantos of the 1620s and 1630s, which gave prominent coverage to such spectacular events as the sack and burning of Magdeburg by Imperialist

troops<sup>21</sup>. This event had made a profound impression upon the public consciousness of protestant Europe and, as it had occurred only nine years before the outbreak of the Civil War, was still a fairly fresh memory. It was not difficult for the parliamentary pamphleteers of the early 1640s to equate the royalist armies—under Prince Rupert and other senior officers who had served in Germany—with the plundering and burning soldiers familiar from the Thirty Years War and they warned that disasters such as that at Magdeburg could be repeated in England<sup>22</sup>. The construction of the lines of communication was necessary to reassure the volatile London populace that it was being safeguarded from an attack, particularly after the royalist successes in the first winter of the war. In the event, the royalists were unable to approach the capital after November 1642 and so the efficacy of its defences was not put to the test. Because the military threat failed to materialise and there was no major conflagration, little property in London was destroyed during the Civil War. Towns in East Anglia, such as Norwich, Ipswich and Cambridge, that were similarly fortified but not assaulted, also escaped largely unscathed; but York, Newcastle, Bristol and Exeter among the larger cities, and perhaps as many as 140

other towns in England and Wales did suffer considerable physical damage during the conflict<sup>23</sup>.

## NOTES

1. *Lords' Journals*, V, 1642-3, 447.
2. *Cal. State Papers, Venetian, 1642-1643*, 256-7. V. Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford, 1961), 37-40.
3. R. Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London 1580-1650* (Cambridge, 1981), 70-82, 168-71. E. Jones, 'London in the Early Seventeenth Century: An Ecological Approach', *The London Journal*, 6 (1980), 123-33.
4. Corporation of London Record Office, Common Council Journal, 40, 1640-49, f.52v.
5. *Mercurius Aulicus*, 26 March-2 April 1643, 162.
6. Public Record Office (P.R.O.), SP24/11, f.118; SP24/36 Brand v. Reynolds.
7. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 19 (1749), 251. *Somers Tracts*, IV (London, 1810), 539. D. Lysons, *The Environs of London*, III (London, 1795), 447, 474-5.
8. L. Stone, *Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1973), 235.
9. *Somers Tracts*, IV, 539.
10. N. G. Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London* (London, 1935), 276.
11. P.R.O., SP24/58 Key v. Redding. The mill is marked on a contemporary broadsheet: British Library, Thomason Tracts (T.T.), 669. f.8(22) *The Malignants trecherous Bloody Plot against the Parliament and City of Lo: ...* (1643) and on Faithorne and Newcourt's map of c. 1658.
12. P.R.O., SP24/36 Brand v. Reynolds.
13. Stone (1973), 150-1.
14. *Cal. Committee for the Advance of Money*, 207, 248, 282, 315, 366. P.R.O., SP24/70 Prissell v. Austin. Brett-James (1935), 283.
15. C. C. Knowles and P. H. Pitt, *The History of Building Regulations in London 1189-1972* (London, 1972), 13-24. *Analytical Index to ... the Remembrancia ... of the City of London. A.D. 1579-1664* (London, 1878), 142-3.
16. T.T., E42(8) *Mercurius Civicus*, 4-11 April 1644, 464, 466-7. *Cal. State Papers, Venetian, 1643-1647*, 92.
17. *The Harleian Miscellany*, VI (London, 1810), 399-401.
18. J. A. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge, 1960), 28-32. *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1591-1594*, 203, 421.
19. T. T., E104(25) *Mercurius Civicus*, 25 May-1 June 1643, 29; E358(22) *The Military Actions of Europe*, 20-27 October 1646, 3. *Lords' Journals*, VIII, 1645-6, 30.
20. S. Porter, 'The Oxford Fire of 1644', *Oxoniensia*, 49 (1984), 289-300. J. Hutchins, *The History of Dorset*, II (3rd ed., London, 1863), 119. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Seventh Report, House of Lords Manuscripts*, 19. *Commons' Journals*, V, 1646-8, 603.
21. F. Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Newsbooks 1620-1642* (London, 1952). M. J. D. Cockle, *A Bibliography of Military Books up to 1642* (London, 1957 ed.), 98.
22. I. Roy, 'England turned Germany? The Aftermath of the Civil War in its European Context', *Trans. Royal Historical Soc.*, 28 (1978), 127-8.
23. S. Porter, The destruction of urban property in the English Civil Wars, 1642-1651 (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1983), 227-41.

# JOHN CONYERS, LONDON'S FIRST ARCHAEOLOGIST

J. BURNBY

So far the history of the development of the study and practice of archaeology has not commanded much attention. Interest in the past was a feature of the Renaissance and it can certainly be seen to have existed in this country as early as 1533 with the inauguration of John Leland as the King's Antiquary. The topographers, Leland, William Camden and John Norden frequently mentioned ancient monuments, as did the antiquarian John Stow in his famous *Survey*. In Elizabeth's reign, in 1572, a Society of Antiquaries was formed under the leadership of Archbishop Matthew Parker, Stow, Camden and Sir Robert Cotton, but was short lived as James I suppressed it believing it to have political aims. The middle of the next century saw the first tentative establishment of the discipline of field archaeology, the credit usually being awarded to John Aubrey (1626–97). Gossip that he was, he could also be an objective observer and draughtsman. The idea of excavation as an all important aid to research into antiquities was however foreign to him. Digging into barrows and at Stonehenge certainly took place in his day, as it had for many centuries past, but it was no more than treasure-hunting. John Battley, archdeacon of Canterbury from 1687 to his death in 1708, employed men to dig for him but at least gave them some directions as to their behaviour. He told them not to clean rusty coins with sand, not to break urns or pots and if inscribed even if broken, should be kept. In more general terms he wrote, '... let him who is curious ... open barrows, let

him explore encampments, trenches ... let him examine the ancient public ways; let him without superstition or dread, open and ransack sepulchers ...' If antiquities were discovered then assistance was to be called in, and he noted with perspicacity that if any coins were found whether in a heap or enclosed in an urn, '... let him observe the latest, for they will nearly determine the time when they were buried'<sup>1</sup>.

Glyn Daniel has stated that the prerequisites for writing (and studying) pre-history are the 'collection, excavation, classification, description and analysis of the material remains of the human past'<sup>2</sup>. None of these early antiquaries measure up to these requirements, but one man, John Conyers, citizen and apothecary of London, has a better claim than most, if not, all of them.

The seventeenth century saw the arrival of what amounted almost to collector's mania and by the end of the century no man with any pretensions to erudition would be without his collection. The two John Tradescants, father and son, were the first men of ordinary background to build up a really impressive collection of curios. The elder Tradescant was widely travelled and assembled a remarkable amount of anthropological and biological material which after his death in 1638 was much enlarged by his son. Sir Hans Sloane busied himself in gathering together the famous natural history collections of James Pertiver, William Charleton and William Stonestreet, and many another, thus lay-

ing the foundation of the British Museum. John Conyers, though not a man of means, was not to be left far behind in the race, and what was more, did not just show his collection to a few chosen friends but invited the public to examine it.

The *Athenian Mercury* of 21 November 1691 wrote that Mr John Conyers, apothecary in Shoe Lane, had recently proposed to open his collection of rarities to the public, and on being asked whether it was worth visiting had this to say about it "... we may affirm that it may be in many ways useful to the Publick: For the worthy Collector and Keeper of it, hath both with great Industry and Charge, for above 30 years together, made it his Business, upon all occasions to procure such Subjects, either of Nature or Art, that had any thing of Rarity in them, not only in this and neighbouring Nations, but even in the World ...

"For Natural things he will find Exotick Beasts, Birds and Fishes, Insects, Shells and Sea Productions, Corals, Halcionia, Sea Shrubs etc. Exotik Vegetable Fruits etc. Minerals, Mettals, Stones, Gemms, Petrefactions etc. in greaty plenty. For Artificial things you will find Antiquities and valuable both Egyptian, Jewish, Grecian, Roman, British, Saxon, Danish etc, viz. their Deities or Idols, Incunulae, Amulets, Tallismans, ancient Vessels used in Sacrifices, Sepulchral Urns, Lachrymatories, Lamps, Gemms, Meddals, Coyns, Seals, Tesserae, Rings, Armour, Shields, Weapons:

"As also a large Account of New Magnetical Experiments, Philosophical Manuscripts, several Improvements of Heraldry in ancient Glass and otherwise; Ancient Manuscript Rolls, and Almanacks, with the Ancient Improvements of Arithmetick of figures ... Ancient books relating to

the Laws; Scotch, Irish and Welch Books of Antiquity Besides a Collection of Ancient Manuscripts in the Latin, Chinese, Saxon, Islandish, Muscovite, French and English languages, as also Bibles and Testaments. Not to mention his Outlandish Garments, weapons, his Pictures, Prints and a vast many other things ...

"The curiosity of Enquiriers shall be more fully Answered ... if they direct their Questions ... to Smiths Coffee-house in the Stocks Market."

What is of particular interest is the journalist's reference to the collection having been "new methodized" which suggests that Conyers had made more than one attempt at classification.

It was noted in the new 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia* that much of Conyer's fine collection had already passed into the hands of that avid collector and man of classical learning, Dr John Woodward. Included in the collection was an object which Joseph Levine has described as being, 'Somewhere in the British Museum, almost forgotten and just a trifle rusty ... a small round shield, unpretentious enough and understandably neglected, yet notorious in its time'.<sup>3</sup> Woodward was firmly of the belief, and many supported him, that he had in his possession a shield which dated back to Roman days and which depicted on it one of the most dramatic events of Roman history. During Woodward's lifetime and for long after, the affair of the shield evoked much learned controversy but its provenance was far from detailed. The owner wrote to Thomas Hearne in 1712 and said 'The Roman Shield was bought by Mr Conyers of a Smith in Rosemary Lane, who bought all the Waste-Things in the Tower at the New-Fitting up of the Armourey, at the latter end of the reign of K. Charles 2d. The Shield probably came thence ...'.<sup>47</sup>

That the shield had come from the Tower was probably correct, although it was not a belief shared by another antiquarian of the period, John Bagford (Appendix III). He too was a friend of Hearne's and had told him in 1709 'that formerly there was a shield Gallery at Whitehall, in which was a great Collection of Shields, and other military Instruments as there is now at the Tower', and thought it had been one of them<sup>5</sup>. Unlike Hearne or Henry Dodwell but like the possessor of another magnificent collection, John Kemp, he seems to have had some reservations as to the great antiquity of the Doctor's shield.

John Bagford had known Conyers well and in a letter to Hearne which was subsequently published in the latter's edition of John Leland's *Collectanea* (1715) told of Conyers remarkable discovery of elephant bones and tusks during the digging for gravel near Battlebridge, an area near the present day King's Cross. The Bagford papers today are to be found amongst the Harleian manuscripts of the British Museum, one of which (MS. Harl. 5953 ff. 112-3, Transcript, Appendix II) is headed *Mr Conyer's Observations*. It is almost entirely concerned with what he believed to be the discovery of a lost river but as part of his argument he writes, '... Then upon ye discovery of ye bones & Teeth that were found 11 Dec: 1673 in ye side of ye River over agt. Black Marys in great pits that were made for Gravel ... wch. have lain as long as Claudius Caesars time ... The beasts as I suppose having been there slain at Landing ... by one of ye Teeth was found a Britthish weapon made of flint dextrously shaped ... to be seen at my house in Shoe Lane'<sup>6</sup>. Bagford agreed with this remarkable hypothesis, and went on to relate that the flint weapon was now in Kemp's collection, and proceeded to make a drawing of it. This was reproduced by Hearne which

now enables us to recognise it as a late Acheulian hand-axe. As far as is known Conyers was the first person to recognise that these Palaeolithic tools were man-made and could be used as a weapon.

No more than his contemporaries did John Conyers think of excavating with the deliberate intention of furthering the study of prehistory but for him the rebuilding of the City after the Great Fire brought a very real recompense and one of which he took every advantage. The apothecary's shop was on the north side of Fleet Street and it was his habit to walk up Ludgate Hill in order to see how the reconstruction of St. Paul's was proceeding. In his memoranda book (Sloane MSS MS 959; Appendix I for transcript) he wrote on 20 August 1675 'That this month at severall dayes the labourers at the East End of St Pauls ... by the high way & Pauls Schoole & under part of the place where St Pauls Cross formerly stood ... were forced to Digg in som places neare 5 or 6 and twenty or 30 feet deep for sound ground' in order to make a trench for foundations<sup>7</sup>. He was a keen and accurate observer and noted that the ground had been raised at least twice to a total depth of fifteen or sixteen feet. This he attributed to two layers of corpses having been buried there in the days when the churchyard was used for its original purpose. He noticed also that at about twelve feet there was '... a layer of white matter which might bee Chalke & hewings of stone when the church was built by Wm the Conquerors favorite Lanfrank bishop of London.' A little below this white line were flint pavements which he believed to be the paved areas of the yards belonging to the houses which Lanfrank was said to have bought in order to enlarge his church.

Conyers then remarked that as the workmen went deeper, below the flint pavements, the earth changed from black

to a yellow sand in which was ‘... a foot of Redd earthen Pottsheads, the Pott as redd & firme as sealing wax & upon som of the Pott or Cupp bottoms inscriptions, som upon Cupps to drinke others upon dishes like sallet dishes but cuningly divided & wrought ... all which appears to bee of the old Roman use in Brittainia ...’ and then goes on to make a significant observation ‘for I have severall brassen Coines that was found with these, all of the Roman & non other ...’ Clearly he was well aware of the importance of associated finds in archaeology for dating purposes.

Others had something of the same idea, but not so firmly expressed. Strype in describing Wren’s activities wrote ‘... the North-side of this ground had been very anciently a great Burying-place ... for upon the digging of the Foundations ... he found under the Graves of the latter Ages—Saxon, British and Roman—. In the same row (with the British) and deeper were Roman Urns intermixed. This was 18 feet deep or more and belonged to the Colony when Roman and Britains lived and died together.<sup>8</sup>

Conyers however was to go further and make even more significant observations. Small shreds of green serpentine, marble, porphyry and other stones which he likened to the mosaic work of St Edward the Confessor’s monument at Westminster, were found at fifteen feet depth, and eight feet lower, Roman pottery. This inspired him to write that he was able to ‘... see Epochs or beginnings of things & in these various heighths of ground poynt & shew with my finger the Roman concernes lay deepest, then higher those of more recent or fresher concerne<sup>9</sup>. Thus did Conyers foreshadow the discovery of the value of stratigraphy in archaeological excavations.

Yet today, if Conyers has any claim to fame, it is for his report of the discovery

of Roman pottery kilns at the north-east corner of St Paul’s cathedral in 1677. He wrote that they had been found “... about 26 foot deep neare about the place where the market house stood in Olivers tyme” and then went on to describe them in detail. ‘Of these 4 severall [ie kilns] had ben made in the sandy Loame in the ground in the fashion of a Cross Foundacon & onely the west standing, this 5 foot from topp to bottom & better & as many feet in Bredth & had no other Matter for its form & building but the outward Loam as it naturally lay crusted hardish by the heat burneing the Loame Redd like brick the flooe in the middle supported by & cutt out of Loame & helped with old fashion’d Roman tyles shards but verry few & such as I have seen used for repositoryes for urns in the fashion of tile ovens & they plastered within with a Reddish mortar or Tarris but here was no mortar but onely the sandy Loame for cement.<sup>10</sup>’ Not content with the description he tried his hand at drawing a plan of the stokehole with the four kilns grouped round it, and of one of the kilns in ‘close-up’ (Pl. 1).

Conyers was not a great draftsman but his illustrations of the Roman earthenware then being discovered (Pl. 2) are recognisable types of the late 1st. and early 2nd. centuries AD. Each small drawing bears an added note such as ‘2 quart colinder whitish’, ‘¶iii [ie 3 ounces] urne cinamon collour’ ‘¶viii a censer or lamp whiteish earth’ or ‘2 ounces earthen Lamp gilded wth electrum’ As always he was impressed by the Roman workmanship and wrote at the bottom of the page, ‘all these a sort of earth allmost like crucibles except the black & will indure the fier instead of brass as at this day in use about Poland’. So making one immediately wonder just what Conyers knew about Poland, a country which must have felt to Londoners of the Stuart period

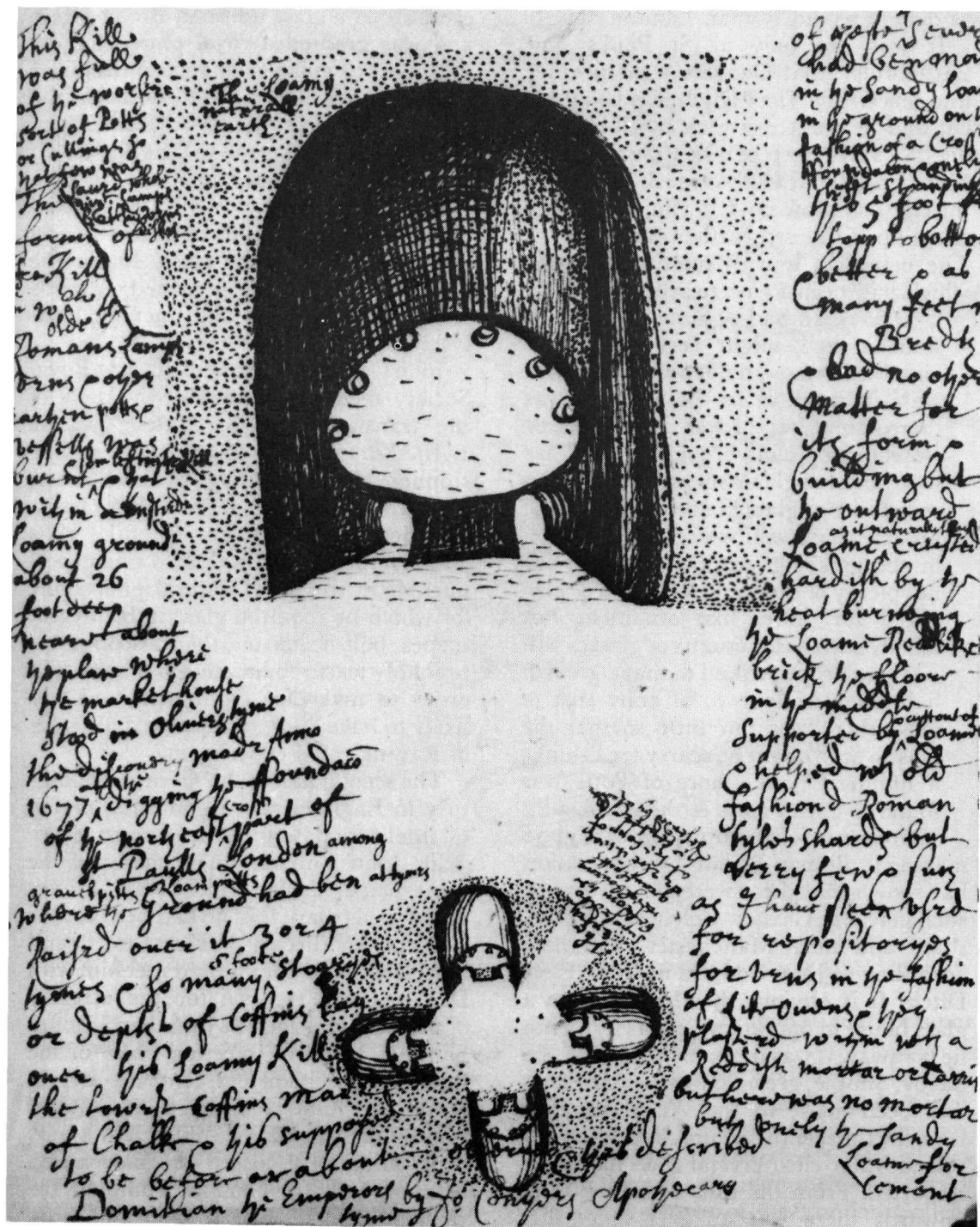


Plate I John Conyers; Drawings of Roman Kilns from Conyers' memoranda. Sloane MS. 958 f. 106v.  
(Reproduced with kind permission of the British Museum).



as distant as did Roman London.

It was not only at St Paul's and Battlebridge that Conyers went peering into holes. The Fleet Ditch was being re-cut and he went to watch the labourers dig '... verry deep between the fleet gate & the bridg[e] at Holbourne & there next the clay or yellow sand 15 foot d[ee]p' was taken up of this red earthen ware cupps'. The men told him of some small kilns which had been found nearby,

'... & these had a funnel to convey smoake wch might serve for glass fornese for though not anny potts with glass in it whole in the fornaces was there found yet broken Crucibells or Vesls for molteing of glasses togeather with boltered glasse such as is to be seen remaining at glass housen amongst the broken Glass wch was glasses spoyled in the makeing was there found, but not plenty & especially coulered & prepared for Jewel like ornament but mostly such as for cruetts or glasses with a lipp to dropp withall & that a grenish light blew collour & of anny sort of glass there was but little so that the glass worke might be scarsy for I thinke a hundred tymes more of Potts was found to one of glass & then broken'<sup>11</sup>.

There is no documentary proof of glass making in Roman Britain but excavation has shown that there were glass works in such places as Caistor, Colchester, Faversham and near Manchester, and now according to John Conyers near the Fleet Ditch. It is obvious that he had seen a glass house in operation, and as it did not lie far away, it was probably the one at the Savoy. Simple, green, blown-glass vessels had been made in the Weald since at least the thirteenth century, but the highly prized water-clear crystal glass had to be imported. From the time of Henry VIII onwards there was an ever increasing demand for this Venetian glass. In 1575 Giacomo Verzelini, a native of Venice,

established a glass house in Broad Street and was granted a royal patent for the sole right to make such glass in England for 21 years<sup>12</sup>. After the Restoration the demand for crystal glass became even greater and soon outran the supply, which led George Ravenscroft in 1673 to set up a glass house in the Savoy with the avowed intention of discovering an attractive and acceptable high grade glass. In this he was successful for he perfected methods of producing a heavy and tractable lead-glass with rich clear tones<sup>13</sup>.

John Conyers, a frequent guest at Royal Society meetings, undoubtedly knew of the translation of the Italian treatise *L'Arte Vetraria* made in 1662 by Dr Christopher Merrett, Fellow of the Society. This translation is thought to have had a considerable effect on English glass manufacture. Conyers was an avid experimenter in the 'new' natural philosophy for which he required glass in his hygrosopes, bolt-heads and thermoscopes. He probably learnt to handle glass himself in order to make his equipment and was likely to have been an interested observer of Ravenscroft's experiments.

The second half of the seventeenth century in England saw an amazing period of intellectual ferment in almost every field. John Conyers knew many of the great men of his day. Hooke several times noted in his diary that he had been to 'Mr Coniers, Apothecary, in Fleet Street', and on one occasion that he had met him with Dr Wood and Francis Aston, the secretary of the Royal Society, at Jonathan's Coffee House a favourite meeting place of the intelligentsia. Conyers lent his hygroscope to John Flamsteed the Royal Astronomer, so that he could make a copy of it, and he discussed the movements of another with Thomas Tompion the clockmaker who had a shop and work place at the corner of Water Street and Fleet Street. He also knew that other great

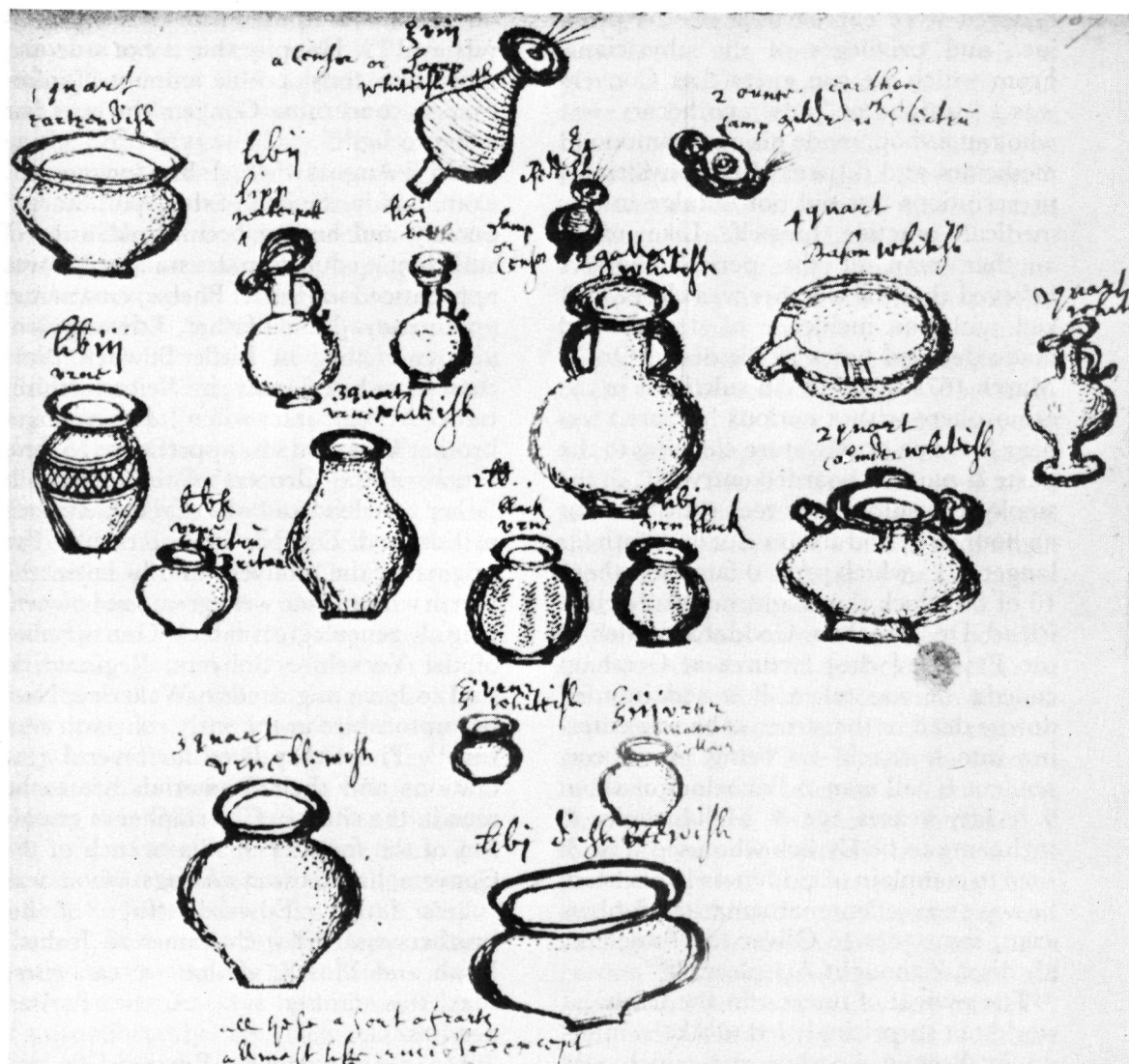


Plate 2 John Conyers; Drawings of Roman Pottery from Conyers' memoranda. Sloane MS. 958 f. 107v.  
(Reproduced with kind permission of the British Museum).

collector of antiquities, Elias Ashmole. Samian ware fascinated Conyers and he wrote, "Now of this Redd pott the bottom of [the] cupp Mr Ashmole keeps by him wch hath a inscription vizt: Saturnalia wch though [it] came to him for part of a urne I suppose saturnalia shews it to have rather contained wine in it; & another sort of his redd Pott hath frosted in the bottom little bitts of white hard sand or

stone that makes it rough so that it cannot be well cleaned . . .<sup>149</sup>".

For Dr Jonathan Goddard he had the greatest respect which is particularly interesting as it gives us a hint concerning Conyer's type of practice. Goddard was one of the most distinguished scientists of his age, a censor of the London College of Physicians, and a determined antagonist of those apothecaries who he

believed were encroaching on the province and privileges of the physicians. From which we can guess that Conyers was a 'straight' or 'pure' apothecary, one who ran a shop, made his own compound medicines and dispensed the physician's prescriptions but did not indulge in any medical practice himself. Like many another man of the period Conyers believed that the weather was closely linked with the incidence of disease and made detailed notes in his diary. On 24 March 1675 he noticed a sultriness in the atmosphere with a curious '... smoakyness & a due or moysture cleaving to the paste & painted boarded entyes . . .', the smoky and sulphurous reek continued for an hour or so and the unusual warmth for longer, '... which proved fatall for about 10 of the clock that night my verry good friend Dr Jonathan Goddard reader of the Physick [who] lectures at Gresham colledg, he was taken ill & sodainly fell downe dead in the street as he was entering into a coach, he being pretty corpulent & tall man, a Bachelour of about 5 & fifty yeares age & Mellancholly & inclineing to be Cynick who used now & then to complain of giddyness in his head; he was an excellent mathematicin & physician, somtymes to Oliver the Protector, his disease thought Apoplectick<sup>15</sup>'.

The revival of interest in the Classical world not surprisingly led to a keen interest in Roman London one which was studied almost entirely by means of literary sources. A piece of statuary or a fine inscription found accidentally in the earth would certainly arouse the scholars attention but the work of such men as Edward Stillingfleet or Henry Dodwell was confined to literary deductions. These classicists' lives are well known but those of the men, such as John Bagford and John Conyers, who did not stray from the archaeological evidence is meagre indeed. Joseph Levine has gone so far as to write,

"... now the apothecary is almost past retrieval<sup>16</sup>". Happily this is not true and recently a considerable amount of information concerning Conyers the man has come to light.

On 2 August 1649, John Conyers was examined in the hall of the Apothecaries' Society and having been found to be of sufficient educational standard, was apprenticed to Robert Phelps, citizen and apothecary. John's father, Edward Conyers, was then of Little Bowden, Northamptonshire, (now in Leicestershire) but eight years later when John's younger brother Emanuel was apprenticed to John Finch of the Grocers' Company, their father was dead and was said to have been of Edmund Thorpe, Leicestershire. The origins of the Conyers family lie in the North where some were great land owners (Fig. 1, genealogical table). One member of the Yorkshire Conyers, Reginald, is said to have migrated to Wakerley, Northamptonshire in the early sixteenth century<sup>17</sup>. There they lived for several generations and their memorials are to be seen in the church. Christopher, a grandson of the founder of this branch of the Conyers, had six sons amongst whom was John's father, Edward; three of his brothers sported such names as Joshua, Noah and Moses, so that we can guess that this family was of the Puritan persuasion.

It is not known what Edward Conyers' occupation was, but John relates in his memoranda that in 1632 his father married Jane Clarke in the little church of St Faith's which now lay under the ruins of St Paul's cathedral. The place of birth or baptism of their children has not been found though it is probable that the parents had soon left London for the Midlands, and stayed there for the remainder of their lives.

John gained his Freedom of the Society of Apothecaries on 25 February 1658. He

never rose to great eminence in his Company but nevertheless paid his £15 livery fine in December 1667, and six years later was one of those chosen to be a steward on the Lord Mayor's Day. He was one of the many apothecaries who stayed in the capital during the Great Plague of 1665. He published a booklet entitled *Direction for the prevention and cure of the plague, fitted for the poorer sort* in which was stated that two Cordial Sudorific Powders were obtainable from him at the Unicorn in Fleet Street. When the plague was slackening its grip, in February 1666, he married Mary Glisson the niece of one of the most eminent men in the history of English medicine. Francis Glisson, president of the College of Physicians, Regius Professor of Physick at Cambridge for forty years, was by this time nearly seventy and spent little if any time at the university. John Aikin tells us that he did not leave the capital in the plague time, and possibly the two men worked together. After the Great Fire they were near neighbours for Francis Glisson's will relates that Glisson owned five houses in the new streets between Shoe Lane and Fetter Lane besides his capital messuage where he lived, which lay to the west of them<sup>18</sup>. Both he and John Conyers were buried in the church of St Bride's.

Conyers must have had a magnificent if uncomfortably close view of the Great Fire of London. Looking up Ludgate Hill, he must have seen the spectacle of the destruction of old St Paul's, and if he had walked round the corner into Blackfriars he would have witnessed the loss of the ancient buildings of his own company. He must have suffered considerable damage for he figures in a manuscript which was produced in 1666 relating to the then inhabitants of the parish of St Bride's<sup>10</sup>. From this document it can be determined that his shop and house was on Fleet Street within seven houses of the entrance

into Peterborough Court. This was presumably at the sign of the Unicorn as given in the advertisement of 1665, but later on in the 1670s as he relates in his diary he was at the sign of the White Lyon but still on the north side of Fleet Street<sup>20</sup>. At some unknown time he moved round the corner into Shoe Lane.

Besides his brother Emanuel, a confectioner who lived in All Hallows Staining, John had another, even younger brother, Edward. Edward was made Free of the Leathersellers' Company by Richard Coole on 10 May 1667 and ten years later was a keeper of His Majesty's stores in the Tower<sup>21</sup>. It would seem to be extremely likely that it was from Edward that John obtained his iron shield of which Dr Woodward was later to be the happy and envied possessor.

Edward Conyers made money, possibly by methods which do not bear too close an inspection, and had the common English aspiration of becoming a landed country gentleman. In 1679 he bought the manors of Blaston and Bradley in Leicestershire, but any hopes he had of founding a dynasty were completely thwarted. He and his wife had but one surviving child, Sarah<sup>21</sup>. Nothing daunted a marriage was arranged between Sarah Conyers and a certain Baldwin Conyers who does not appear to have been in anyway related<sup>23</sup>. Tragically, Sarah died in April 1698 only 8½ months after marriage, to be followed by her mother a year later. Edward made a second marriage within 18 months. If it was with the idea of fathering another child, it was doomed to failure, as he was dead within six weeks, having outlived both his brothers.

The apothecary was buried on 8 April 1694 and of his large family of eight daughters and two sons only two girls survived childhood. The confectioner died in November 1690 leaving at least two living children, Martha and John.

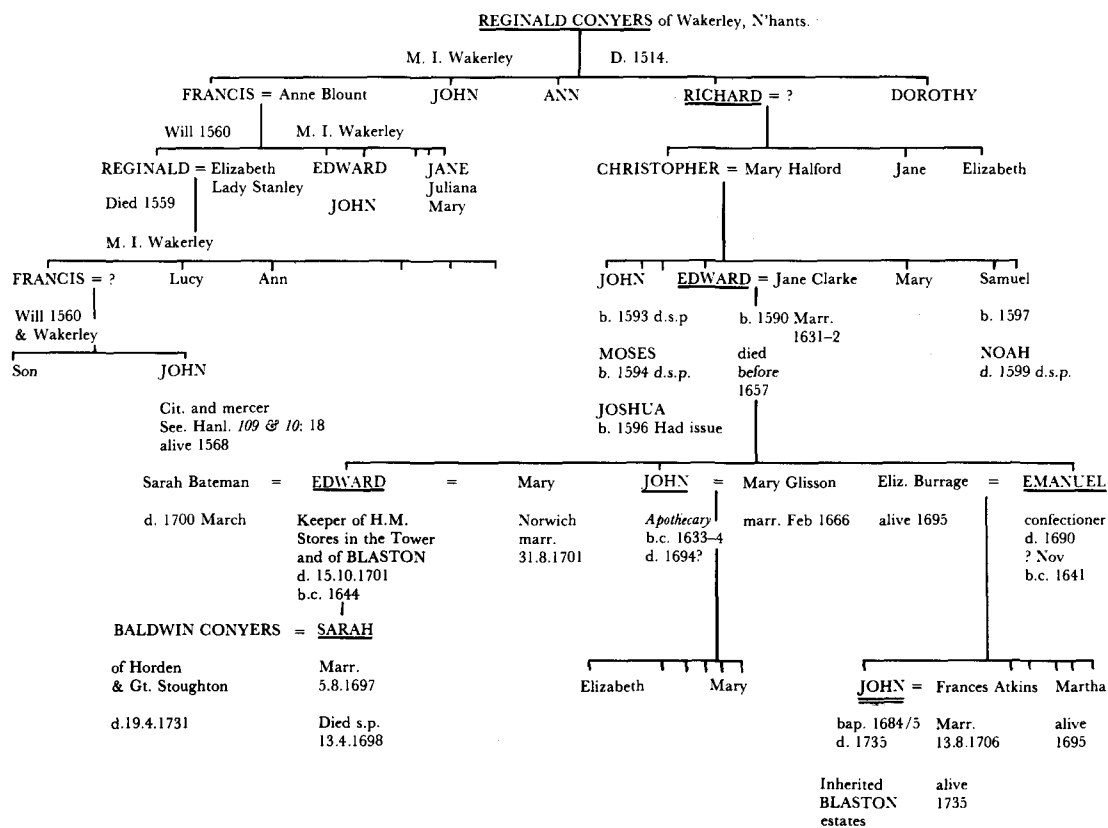


Fig. 1 John Conyers; Genealogical table of the Conyers family of Wakerley, Blaston and London.

Although none of the wills of the three brothers, John, Emanuel and Edward has been found, it seems highly likely that it was John, son of the confectioner, who inherited the not inconsiderable estate of the late storekeeper at the Tower<sup>24</sup>. John had been born early in 1685 and so inherited when he was a mere boy of 16; he married a Frances Atkins in 1706 but again only daughters survived his death in 1735 so that by a curious quirk of Edward's will the estates passed to a Conyers family of great wealth which was quite unrelated<sup>25</sup>.

In fact the inheritance of this country estate may well have proved something of an embarrassment to the apothecary. John

Conyers was a man of the budding scientific world with its stimulating gatherings and societies; it was not he, but Edward and Emanuel who went a-hunting of the hare in Epping Forest. It was more to his taste to propound the problem of tri-secting an angle and finding two mean proportionals (1680), or a method of demonstrating one of Euclid's propositions, which was only too quickly refuted (1684)<sup>26</sup>. It is doubtful if he would ever have willingly left the capital for the relative isolation of a small Leicestershire village. There, there was no Tompion to show his hygroscope, no Royal Society where he could happily join in the erudite conversation, no excavations to watch,

and above all how many would have made the difficult journey to view his collection of curiosities?

As an epitaph one can not do better than quote from Professor Atkinson, "... I believe that our concepts and techniques of today can be evaluated only if we know and understand the roots from which they have grown. In a very real sense, therefore, British archaeology owes its present high standards to the work of its pioneers, at least as far back as the seventeenth century..."<sup>27</sup>.

## NOTES

1. J. Batteley, *The Antiquities of Richborough and Reculver*, London, 1774, pp. 134–6 an abbreviated and translated version of his *Antiquitates Rutupinae*, 1711.
2. G. Daniels, *A Hundred and fifty years of Archaeology*, p. 16.
3. J. M. Levine, *Dr Woodward's Shield*, University of California Press, 1977, p. 1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 327, note 1; British Library, Add. MSS, MS 6127, f. 81. Thomas Smith reported that Woodward paid £7 or £8 for it, and that it was bought from Conyer's daughter.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
6. British Library, Harl. MSS, MS. 5953, ff. 112–3. This document is curious in as much that it is partly written in the first and the third persons, there are also some small gaps in it which leads one to guess that somebody has had difficulty with handwriting whilst making a copy of another document, and then made a few additions; many of the phrases used are characteristic of those used by Conyers and his handwriting is execrable! See Appendix II, Pt 3.
7. British Library, Sloane MSS, MS. 958, ff. 105r.
8. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments*, London, Vol. III, 'Roman London', 1928, p. 140, quoting Styrpe.
9. Sloane MSS., *op. cit.*, note 7, f. 109r.
10. *Ibid.*, f. 106v.
11. *Ibid.*, f. 106r.
12. Verzelini retired when he was 70 and before his patent had expired; he died in 1605, aged 84, and his tomb may be seen in the church at Downe.
13. Besides the Savoy glasshouse there were two other important factories, one at Southwark and another at Ratcliffe; by the end of the seventeenth century London had 11 lead glass factories.
14. Sl. MSS., *op. cit.*, note 7, f. 109v.
15. *Ibid.*, f. 118v.
16. J. M. Levine, *op. cit.*, note 3, p. 142.
17. J. Nichols, *The History and antiquities of the County of Leicester*, London, J. Nichols, 1798, vol. 2, p. 456. Claim is made that these Conyers were descended from the Conyers of Hornby Castle, but Nichols points out that there is some doubt.
18. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11 355 f. 116. Nov. 1677.
19. Guildhall Library, MS. 14819, f. 79r. 'Inhabitants in St Bride's 1666'.
20. Sl. MSS., *op. cit.*, note 7, f. 116v. "... it seems the south side of the house next Fleetstreet in my shopp that was then the warmer ..." 18 March 1674/5.
21. Records held by the Leathersellers' Company; Sl. MSS, *op. cit.*, note 7, f. 127v.
22. In 1667 Edward Conyers of the Tower of London, aged 30, married Sarah the daughter of Matthew Bateman of Whitechapel, a fellow citizen and leatherseller. See *Allegations for licences issued by vicars-general of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1660–79*, Harl. Record Soc., vol. 23, p. 135.
23. Baldwin's father, John Conyers of Gray's Inn, was the son of Christopher of Horden, Durham by his first wife Elizabeth Langhorne of Putney.
24. John Nichols has written in his *History of the County of Leicester* that it was John Conyers the apothecary who had inherited Edward Conyers' estate, and printed a completely erroneous pedigree in which the apothecary married again in 1706 and fathered more children—although well over 70; the same pedigree shows Emanuel the confectioner to have been born when his father was 92!
25. P.R.O., P.C.C. Prob. 11 718 f. 146. The will of Edward Conyers of Copt

Hall, Essex proved in 1742. The Walthamstow Conyers originated in Whitby and Scarborough, Yorkshire; a member of this family, Sir Gerard, was a governor of the Levant Company and a director of the Bank of England.

26. R. T. Gunter, *Early science in Oxford*, printed for the subscribers, vol. 7, pp. 403, 538; vol. 4, p. 85.

27. R. H. Cunnington, *From Antiquary to Archaeologist. A biography of William Cunnington*, Princes Risborough, Shire Publications, 1975, Introduction, p. xi.

## APPENDIX I TRANSCRIPT OF JOHN CONYERS' MEMORANDA (Sloane Mss. Ms. 959

f. 105r.

August 20. 1675 Memorandum.

That this month at severall dayes the labourers at the East End of St Pauls London can tell (?) one the north side of the church as the church is now altered by the care & direcons of the Learned Sr Christopher Wrenn etc this being the part of the church nearest to—by the high way & Pauls Schoole & under part of the place where St Pauls Cross Formerly stood & a new cutt for foundacon the church being made wider much then formerly widening (of) the widnes all towards the North or the booksellers as you go to & from Cheapside there they was forced to Digg in som[e] places neare 5 or 6 and twenty or 30 foot deep for sound ground & there making the foundacon.

Now all one that side vizt: ye north side of the east end of St Pauls it doth appeare that in the highest part of sound ground the ground hath been raised at the least 15 or 16 foote and now it appears also that by (two?)—a blot of ink) layers of corpses the one layer 6 or 7 foot deep and the other neare 10 or 12 foot deep the ground hath been there raised twice since they used to burye in that Churchyard & about 12 foot deep there was a layer of white matter w[h]ich might bee Chalke & hewings of stone when the church was built by Wm: the Conquerors favorite Lanfrank bishop of London. Now a little below this veine of white chalke (it lay all along paralel the east end of St pauls) there appeared here & there flint pavents (sic) w[h]ich was the pavements of yards for Lanfrank is said to purchase houses of Citizens then to add to the chir[ch]yard of St Pauls which church was then layed in a larger foundacon then then ever before. Now below the said flint pavements as the ground ceased to be black earth & came to be more of the yellow sand collour there was found a foot of Redd earthen Pottsheads the Potts as redd & firme as sealing wax & upon som[e] of the Pott or Cupp bottoms inscriptions som[e] upon Cupps to drinke others upon dishes like sallett dishes but cuningly devised & wrought the inscriptions on som[e] de

or cross by laying in the dark long now the Coyndes taken up by  
 turned in some place to Copper St Pauls in the new foundacon  
 or Copper gilded w<sup>th</sup> a sum of of the church how much grand pit  
 Calaminaris som of the new now Dugg of old by the Romans  
 antique or worn of some fresh as filled w<sup>th</sup> rubbish of course great  
 dithe clay ground preserved or sand Lathards som of the men com  
 moist ground wasted by som of the redd earth of the old  
 old fashioned path stone of the fashion marked various colour  
 taken up in places like as of old marked earth near 25 foot  
 crests where boats have been much deep the fount many cond  
 can be usefully land as you might see the high green rust colour  
 see by the veins of clay worn away quite eaten to rust green colour  
 of sand showing the down for the salt of the earth  
 the earth of the new dug ground being covered w<sup>th</sup> blue & white  
 for foundacon all the part seems of black earth may vary with  
 of sand raised by the tide & the occasion the rust & surge  
 the tide lay at the height of the long tract of time from lapped  
 the tide shows the water like a spongy hole like  
 underflowed the parts in the old wormholes inter mingled in  
 kind of brittany & Roman the the yellow fine ground brought  
 was taken up at Fleetbridge low with many rocks & stones  
 in the sand buried Sparrow will as now at the East end of the church  
 broad as your hand & broader old fashion near the school about 15 foot  
 the digging crushed w<sup>th</sup> a stone deep was found the rubble of the  
 the crushed stone in of pretty green serpentines hard stone  
 the Julian & far not so high of the porphyry or reddish white  
 imbossed as the stone but as if the like a paper of the colour  
 of King James the 1<sup>st</sup> the 1<sup>st</sup> & better the as was used in the mosaic  
 the later period of the work of St Edwards the Confessor  
 cross on one side & flowered the monument at West End in the wall  
 the other medallies of the 24 Latin his laying so low the Roman  
 letters & som of the crucifix the 6 or 8 or 10 foot deep  
 the maries on the cross that as time passed away so  
 one the ship counter w<sup>th</sup> the

Plate 3 John Conyers; Sample handwritten page from Conyers' memoranda. Sloane MS. 958 f. 105r.

(Reproduced with kind permission of the British Museum).



Primani: other de Parici: other Quintimani others Victor: other Janus & Recinox: all w[hi]ch appears to bee of the old Romans use in Brittainia.

f. 105v.

& their broken potts for I have severall brassen Coines that was found with these all of the Romans and non[e] other som[e] of w[hi]ch by long continuance are quite eaten through to peices amongst the rest one of a fine mettle finer then bellmettle & as hard w[hi]ch were eaten to peices in the middle onely som[e] of the letters left to shew of the Coynes affirms one Hadrian & one the reverse a large ship rowed amongst others of Constaine & Claudius & Romulus & Rhemis with the wolfe.

Now these pottsherds & som[e] glass & potts like broken urnes w[hi]ch were curiously layed one the outside w[i]th like Thorne pricks of rosetrees & in the manner of raised work this upon potts of Murry collour & here & there greyhounds & staggs & hares all in rais'd worke other of these were Cinamon Collour urne fashion & were as guilded w[i]th Gould but vaded Som[e] of strang[e] fashiond Juggs the sides bent in so as to be six square & these raisd upon them & curiously pinched as curious raisers of past[e] may imitate Som[e] like black earth for Pudding Panns one the outside indented and crossed quincunx fashion Now many of these potts of the finer sort are lite & thin & these workes raised or indented were instead of Collours yet I finde they had som[e] odd Colours—not blew—in those tymes & in a way of glazing different to what [is] now & here take notice that the Redd earth before mencond bore away the belle in these tymes because the names of their Judges & Comanders & Victors were therein placed.

Now som[e] of this redd earthen ware or mettle for it appears to be a sort not much inferior to China ware some of w[hi]ch I received of & see tooke upp of labourers in the new cutt of fleet ditch vizt that part verry deep between the fleet gate & the bridg[e] at Holbourne & there next the clay or yellow sand 15 foot d[ee]p (?) here & there was taken up of this red earthen ware Cupps etc w[i]th inscriptions or stamps vizt de primani or of the first Legion & others de parici or vessells for the Judges & it appears as if when the Thames spread all over there.

f. 106r.

The Labourers tould me of som[e] Remains of other such kind of small kills that was found up & downe nere the place of the other Pott kills & these had a funnel to convey smoke w[hi]ch might serve for glass fornases for though not anny potts w[i]th glass in it whole in the fornases was there found

yet broken crucibells or Vesls for Molteing of glasses together w[i]th boltered glasse such as is to be seen remaining at glass housen amongst the broken Glass, w[hi]ch was glasses spoyled in the making was there found, but not plenty & especially coulered & prepared for Jewel like ornament but mostly such as for cruetts or glasses w[i]th a lipp to dropp withall & that a grenish light blew collour & of anny sort of glass there was but little so that the glass worke might be scarsy for I thinke a hundred tymes more of Potts was found to one of glass & then broken.

Now besides Redd Pott such as have inscriptions on the bottom there was black potts w[i]th inscriptions & the part or earth white & the glasing black & both these might be made in that place as well as a Gilded sort of Earthen Ware w[hi]ch might possibly be of the Electrum of the Brittans as Cambden menciond.

Now this a brownish sort of inclineing to yellow & the gilding easily coming ofe Now whether this was a thin wash of gold Collour or folliated I know not yet I thinke foliated the other vesells of Potts & urnes of whitish yellow softe kind of earth & this mingld or compounded w[i]th oyster & Mussel shells or at least strewed at the bottom of the inside to hinder them from wearing as allso so (?) the bottom of som[e] Redd earth now other Potts of curious thinn sydes as thinn as of Glass w[i]th imbossed or outward Raised worke & these as of a silverd or bellmettle colloured glaseing the Imagry hounds hares staggs thornes trees & branching flourishing all Raised workes.

So then Lamps I have of gilded brittish worke & of Redd earth & of course whitish yellow & so urnes of Gilded of Redd & black & whitish yellow Collours & so bottles & potts with lipps for dropping at their sacrifices all of the same Collours.

f. 106v.

(This page consists of the drawing of a kiln (see separate sheet) which is profusely annotated.)

This kill was full of the worser sort of Potts or Cullings so that few was saved whole vizt. Lamps bottles urns of (sic) dishes

The form of a Kill in which the olde Romans Lamps urns & other earthen potts & vessells was burnt & som[e] left in the Kill & that with in a unstird Loamy ground about 26 foot deep neare about the place where the market house stood in Olivers tyme the discovery made Anno 1677 at the digging the foundacon of the north east cross part of St Pauls London among gravel pitts and Loam pitts where the Ground had be[e]n at tymes Raised over it 3 or 4 tymes & so many 8 foote stoaryes or depths of Coffins lay over this Loamy Kill the



lowest Coffins made of chalke & this supposed to be before or about Domitian the Emperors tyme.

of these severall had be[e]n made in the sandy Loame in the ground on the fashion of a Cross Foundacon & onely the west standing this 5 foot from topp to bottom & better & as many feet in Bredth & had no other Matter for its form & building but the outward Loam as it naturally lay crusted hardish by the heat burneing the Loame Redd like brick the floer in the middle supported by & cutt out of Loame & helped with old fashioned Roman tyles shards but verry few & such as I have seen used for repositoryes for urns in the fashion of tile ovens & they plasterd within with a Reddish mortar or Tarris but here was no mortar but onely the sandy Loame for cement.

(A note on the plan drawing)

The entry suposed to be from the neighbouring gravell pits or else it was at the topp of the center & so desended by a Ladder.

f. 107r.

(This page consists of drawings of the 'potts' he found—see separate sheet).

f. 108r.

these potts broken were throwne overboard or at least was the first rubbish brought & layed in layst (? layers) all for the bounding in the fleet river w[hi]ch then was without bounds by reason of the then unskillfulness of the old brittains.

Now in this fleet ditch or river of wells for so Stow tells us it was calld in the Conquerors tyme as the new foundacons of the wall for the river was dugg there verry low was found many old Roman Coines of Copper & brass & of all Sorts except gold & verry little Silver & Ring mony nay & of all sises (? sizes) som[e] as bigg as neare a 5 shillings peece som[e] as of  $\frac{1}{2}$  crowne & others as the new coind Copper halfe peny & farthing & som[e] as small as the farthing made in King Charles the first his reigne those with a yellow snipp in their sides & som as small as  $\frac{1}{2}$  those farthings & at Holbourn bridg[e] two of ye old Romans false gods vizt their Lares or penates of the biggnes of 1 quarter of pinte Pewter pott & about that height & these were of brass w[i]th long Laying cased here & there with petrifick matter these the one called Ceres & the other Bacchus

Now all these Coines laying moist were preserved bright the water washing off[f] the fretting Salt from tyme to tyme so that many of them was washed & wasted thinn & much out of shape etc & is to be noted that all pinnes of brass petrified w[i]th sand there about fleet bridg[e] these pinns were bright as at first though had layen there many yeares there was arrowheads cased over with a

blewish stony rust & scarce hurt w[i]th Laying many hundred yeares aliso brass or Copper seales som[e] as broad as a Crowne peice w[i]th a noose to hang to a purse this w[i]th a spread eagle upon it & a inscription in a ring round it vizt: Sigillum ingelram: de pruce (?) in Large Saxon letters & a Copper Cross with it or neare it both found & dugg much below the foundacon of an old chalke wall neare fleet bridg[e] in fleet street as it was part of the Olde ditch wall going up towards the fleet & one Shooe lane side another seale an ovall fashion Stamp or Scutcheon w[i]th an inscription viz Sigillum Rogeri de Remtum (?) in old Saxon letters or like lattin letters this found neare Holbourne bridg[e] many large brass Coines of note (?) Vespasian & one the Reverse Judea Capta & som[e] seemd to be Copper within & brass without

f. 108v.

or brass by laying in the earth long turned in som[e] places to Copper or Copper gilded w[i]th a fume of Calaminaris som[e] of these were more antique or worn & som[e] fresher as either clay ground preserved or sand moist ground wasted them & som[e] other old fashioned pottsherds & Tiles & these taken up in places like as of old creeks wher[e] boates here & there might conveniently lande as you might see by the veines of Clay worn away & veines of sand shelving up & down & there could I see in the new dugg ground for foundacon all the exact veines of sand raised by the tydes & the veines laying at a Just heighth w[i]th tydes w[hi]ch shews the waters over flowed these parts in the old tyme of brittans & Romans there was taken up at fleet bridg[e] low in the sand buried spurr rowells as broad as your hand & broader old fashioned Keys & daggers crusted w[i]th a blewish petrified rust & one Peeice of Coyne Julius Cesar not so high imbossed as other Coynes but as y<sup>t</sup> of King Jameses w[hi]ch Picis (?) I vallue other later peeices vizt: Copper Cross one one side & flower de luce the other & medalls of the 24 lattin letters & som[e] of the crucifix & Ave Maries one on side & Crosses one the other & Shipp counters w[i]th Saxon great letters

Now the Coynes taken upp by St Pauls in the new foundacon of the chirch there in gravel pits dugg of old tyme by the Romans & filled w[i]th rubbish of course gravel Pottsheards som[e] of the mencond redd earth & others of the other old fashioned marked various collourd & marked earth neare 25 foot deep) these Coynes many covered w[i]th a thick green rust & others quite eaten to rust green collour for the saltnes of this earth being covered w[i]th such a heighth of black earth may verry well occasion this rust & such a long tract of tyme since lapped & like a spongy holes like wormeholes

intermingld in the yellow firme ground w[hi]ch moysture rockes to & fro

Now at this east end of St pauls neare the schoole about 15 foot deep was found shreds of the pretty green serpentine hard stone or Egiptian marble & the porphery or Redd & whit[e] such like a Jasper & other Collored stones as was used in the mosaick worke of St Edwards the Confessours monument at Westminster w[hi]ch tells me this laying so low & the Roman Pott 6 or 8 or 10 foot deeper that as tyme passed awaye

f. 109r.

I might see the Epochs or beginings of things & in these various heighths of ground poynt & shew with my finger the Romans concernes lay deepest then higher those of more recent or fresher concerne Now it doth appear the Romans hadd excellent mechanickes vizt pottmakers & stamps of coyne yea & they had excellent workers in glass for amongst these Roman Potts was found glass beads as bigg as could be put on your little finger & these hollow within & of blew glass & wrought or enamelled w[i]th yellow glass & blew beads of a Collour of the Turkois stone divided were these beads into threads as bigg as Pack thread & amongst the rest great Pinns made of bone or Ivory the heads of many like the great brass pinn others vermiculated or skrew heads others like the popes tripple crowne & yet long before his mitter [mitre?] was publick of these a large sort fell to my share as many as a pint pott would hold so that those being most whole shews as if upon sacking the City or som[e] such lik[e] disaster these things happned to be there Spoyled & their vessells broken & so made a heap

There was also there found brass imbossments w[i]th glass sett in instead of better Jewells w[hi]ch I keep & glass dropps yt were loose & the bottom of an old fashiond crucible w[hi]ch had glass melted in it & there was also peeices of necks of glass cruets w[i]th out drawne to a point lipps to power [pour?] out by all these & som[e] Iron turnd to perfunctory rust these shewd antiquity & profoundly prove it

Now of this Redd pott the bottom of [the] cupp Mr Ashmole keeps by him w[hi]ch hath a inscription vizt: Saturnalia w[hi]ch though came to him for part of a urne I suppose saturnalia shews it to have rather contained wine in it; & another sort of his redd Pott hath frosted in the bottom little bitts of white hard sand or stone that makes it rough so that it cannot be well cleaned this I suppose was so orderd to preserve it intire to the service of their abominable godds else why roughin the bottom & som[e] of this redd earth one the outside wrought over in raised worke w[i]th a whitish glassy or

stony matter excellently wrought in flowers others of the Redd earth in shape herb bettony & som[e] mingle of Imagery of their god Jupiter & cornucopias & Snake

memorandu[m] [Squeezed in at the bottom of the page]

taken up a specul of mettle or mettle to shew the face of bed (sic, ? bell) mettle—ne (?)

f. 109v.

& amongst the heap or Mixture of Rubbish har--teshorn sawed into peeices old heifers hornes & abundance of boars Tushes & som[e] in their jawbones w[hi]ch shews they did often hunt the wildboare here in these tymes & upon manny potts parts of inscriptions as one/dio the rest broken w[hi]ch shews as if it were Claudio that vaine person who would be worshipd as a godd & last of all one som[e] the inscription of Januarius or Janus w[hi]ch was a man som[e] say noah or one the Romans worshipd but for other months as to August I found not Now I do suppose in those tymes this Redd earth was esteemd as now plate is w[i]th us for indeed its Excell[en]t ware still though so olde & well glazed & wrought into vessells of Extraordinary shapes som[e] w[i]th Lyons heads one their sides & for distinction from false Gods marked a knife through the head thus ↑ as I can shew & upon a womans head w[hi]ch else I should have taken for Venus or Diana som[e] of these [have] holes in their sides to hang them up & covers for others oddly made & great pott sheards & eares of Six gallon Potts & its observable that there is none or not anny of this Redd earthen ware to be hadd at o[th]er potters neither do they know it & indeed the other earthen ware is as strange upon the matter & I do suppose ther Redd to be brought from Rome for it is not Leghorne or that of Portugall it may be it might be made in England & the way of it now lost as that of Redd glass & ther then was an imitacon of this by a baser sort found here w[i]th that finer nay a nother colloured earth vizt grey covered or cased over w[i]th this Redd earth or something lik[e] it & as these heathens loved this Redd so doth the bloudy church of Roome keep to her Rubrick

Now these & many other things not mencond tyles of the brittons Roman tyles & bricks were & are Collected by & in the custody of John Conyers Citizen & Apothecary of London w[hi]ch God permitt & to him be glory in Secula Seculoru[m] f. 113v.

its verry Notable that Ivory worke & great Pinns made of Bone & bodkins of the same great numbers of each wch was of the Romans worke was found buried together wth store of Bores teeth & also oyster shells & other shells & Roman coines &

ornamentall beads of Green blew like enamel & the fibbulae they used to fasten their garm<sup>ts</sup> & earthen ware wth inscriptions & glass was found in gravel pitts 26, 27 & neere 30 foot deep oposite & neere S<sup>t</sup> pauls Schoole in London under the graves y<sup>t</sup> of Normans & Saxons & Danes & all the black earth consisting of 3 storyes of graves y<sup>t</sup> had been Raised in tract of tyme 15 foot deep at least & one above another there in the yellow ground so deep these Roman trinketts wth the bones of staggs deer oxen Cocks etc were found wth but little damag so that allmost 2000 yeares tyme they was not rotted to dirt, wch argues that the deeper the safer, the deeper the less liable to corrupt & Rott because there so low is little Rarification & Condensation & so an Argum<sup>t</sup> Rarific. (ation) & Condensation reaches not so lowe in the earth & is onely sup(er)ficall.

The Timber of piles of Oake & Deale last long in the earth beinge within the bowells thereof witness that at fleet old bridg(e) & other places under the Foundacon of the old wall of fleet ditch where deale piles were drawn out & was pretty sound yet black & those putt there in Edw: 3 tyme & those at old fleet bridg(e) as old as that & those was of Oke & was black & verry sound allso a Large oke frame of a water mill a little beyond the Fleet by the ditch side the large timber verry sound allso a large frameing of timber worke found then at holborn bridg(e) foot wch lay deep und<sup>er</sup> ground one (sic) that side as holborn cundit or Snowhill is upon & this wth great Piles for stares to go upp all this when about the yeares 1674 & 1675 when the ditch there was enlarged & dugg & new walled.

That within the gravelly earth of the ditch bottom there as above was found old daggers old larg(e) spurr rowells\* the old shafts of Arrows & darts old Keys & sisers knives all the Iron or steel not much eaten in but covered wth a blewish strong crust that preservd it und<sup>er</sup> ground & water And Allso Copper & brass Roman Coynes wch was as bright as if scowerd wth oyle but wasted wth that brightnesse it seemes the ditch water clensted them as well as the bright pinns there found, but Silver all black & the Glass above had a Fin(e) Pouder that Peeld ofe & was bright shining underneath this I meane the Roman glass

Conyers, in common with his contemporaries, had no knowledge of chemical composition or reactions; he explained almost all physical and chemical phenomena in terms of "rarification and condensation". He knew of Boyle's experiments and theories but was not convinced and spent much time "rebuking" them.

\* as large as the Pame of yr hand

## APPENDIX II

### MR CONYER'S OBSERVATIONS (MS. Harl. 5953, Part I pp. 112-3)

f. 2. The Heades of ye Tractes in this Booke Relating to London

Mr Coyners (sic) Obs. of Verulam and ye Elephant 465.

ff. 112-3.

"This land was not worth the naming with other Countries in Caesars time by reason of their ——— (blank space) and not to say Barbarousness of their names being Brittich yet their Names then are worth the Knowing significant to their Places if you consider them before the conquest the Laws of ye Nation were not Despiseable

The Quintessence of the Confessors Laws

To Consider the small Remains of Julius Caesar, To look for glorious buildings at Verulam or London within themselves they being often overtaken w<sup>th</sup> Famine w<sup>ch</sup> made them less desirous of much ornam<sup>ts</sup>. Their Weapons were not of Iron but Flint the Principal Trade they had was between Verulam and London.

So y<sup>t</sup> on Watling or Verulam rode possibly there was a Communication backwards and forwards w<sup>ch</sup> continued untill the Seas in Holland and the Fens and other Marshy places (Verulam) a Kingly Seat bringing great Tribute from the Trades upon its River, tho after it became a Denn of Theeves as Leland mentions, and that course of Water belonging to it might for that reason be turned off from it.

So y<sup>t</sup> Londons Communication by Water was taken off too y<sup>e</sup> River at Pancras dried away & no use for Battle bridge. Now consider that London was not London, a City thatcht since y<sup>e</sup> Conquest and the Cathedral of St Pauls before y<sup>t</sup> but a small thing.

Taking it for granted y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Island of Trinobantes on w<sup>ch</sup> London was placed, being incompassed from the beginning & in y<sup>e</sup> time of y<sup>e</sup> Britains with two great Rivers y<sup>e</sup> one in y<sup>e</sup> East going up from Lee mouth by Bow and Stratford and Ware from thence turning to Verulam, by y<sup>e</sup> Walls of w<sup>ch</sup> passing down by Circumference from thence to Finchley Common & so leaving Hampstead on y<sup>e</sup> right by a natural Course coming down by Pancras and so along leaving Pindar of Wakefield on y<sup>e</sup> right at last Disembognes into y<sup>e</sup> Thames going down by Black Marys hole where it appeareth to have reached formerly crosing the high way going to Grays Inn from y<sup>e</sup> Pindar of Wakefield y<sup>e</sup> breadth of w<sup>ch</sup> being near twenty Score of my Paces up & down Now it doth appear in those days there was such a River.

First if you consider the situation of y<sup>e</sup> favouring Hills naturally Placid, Then upon y<sup>e</sup> discovery of y<sup>e</sup> bones & Teeth that were found 11 Dec: 1673 in y<sup>e</sup> side of y<sup>e</sup> River over ag<sup>t</sup>. Black Marys in great pits y<sup>e</sup> were made for Gravel where in some places 9 foot deepe & others at 12 was found here & there sometimes one tooth sometimes another — (blank space) at 50 & sixty foot distance as y<sup>e</sup> power of y<sup>e</sup> stream carried them, w<sup>ch</sup> have lain as long as Claudius Caesars time

In the afores<sup>d</sup>. Spaces of ground was the breadth of the old Bourn or River. The Beasts as I suppose having been there slain at Landing and y<sup>e</sup> Body rotting in Time was by y<sup>e</sup> force of y<sup>e</sup> waves distributed asund<sup>er</sup> and then by degrees covered with Sand & Gravell such as y<sup>e</sup> Water brought down from Hampsted w<sup>th</sup> great Violence, for there, by one of y<sup>e</sup> Teeth was found a Brittish weapon made of flint dextrously shaped by their extraordinary (skill) to be seen at my house in Shoe Lane.

Now it might be said some Ship or Vessel come from Verulam might there be cast away; however it is plain Leland in his *Cygnocis* Cantio mentions a River by St Albans or Verulam, this River passing by y<sup>e</sup> Walls of Verulam, down as afores<sup>d</sup> to the Walls of London might occasion y<sup>e</sup> name Murus, signifying a Wall, tho since by the Conquerer called the River of Wells, perhaps by mistake.

Now having found out a famous tho forgotten old River, w<sup>ch</sup> from y<sup>e</sup> beginning was in use amongst the old Britains; yet upon ye alteration of y<sup>e</sup> Channel y<sup>e</sup> Seas abating or falling off from as well Holland & the fenns & other places by w<sup>ch</sup> means Ships could not arrive at Hartford or Verulam as formerly where it is said Kings oft had a great Tribute

The Saxons, Danes & Normans, considered w<sup>t</sup> additions they made to London

London no longer an Isle the Water having forsaken Verulam, no Castle (sic) could pass without Ferrying at Verulam. Now y<sup>e</sup> West gate of London was made Wider and a Bridge over Murus by y<sup>e</sup> fleet. Now St Dunstanns and the Temple buildings were erected

Luneden Diana hunting trade found

Pauls at London hill near Ware

1673 Decemb<sup>r</sup> 11 an Elephants Tooth and part of y<sup>e</sup> blades bone, w<sup>ch</sup> was dug out of y<sup>e</sup> Ground or Sand Pit 10 or 12 foot deep on y<sup>e</sup> left hand near the Pinder of Wakefield near y<sup>e</sup> River o<sup>er</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Ditch side Mr Lilly and three Labourers being present

1679 He took up another Tooth & bone of y<sup>e</sup> Elephant (as he supposes) slain in the Battle between y<sup>e</sup> Romans and y<sup>e</sup> Britains 10 or 12 foot deep near the drying house on y<sup>e</sup> other side of the River.

### APPENDIX III JOHN BAGFORD

Humfrey Wanley, great bibliographer and librarian to Robert Harley, described John Bagford as "a Person (tho' not Master of the learned Languages) very well skill'd in the different sorts of Ink, Illumination, Binding, Hands, Parchment, Papers, or almost any sort of Workmanship not to mention Books . . . relating to our English History<sup>1</sup>". His ambition was to write a history of printing for which he gathered together a great amount of material, but it was a project which never came to fruition.

From all accounts he was largely self-taught though the statement by Hearne and others that he was "bred a shoemaker" seems to be based on flimsy evidence. The Reverend John Calder relates the story that once whilst watching a friend stitching at a broken shoe, Bagford took it over remarking that he was more practised in the "gentle craft"<sup>2</sup>. This may well have been no reference to shoemaking but to stitching leather, a craft that any book-binder of that age would have known.

From an early age Bagford had been passionately interested in antiques and books, and as Calder has written, he "... bought and sold literary curiosities; he spent much of his life in this occupation and crossed the seas more than once with commissions. He was a book-broker rather than a book-seller." Calder went on to relate that it was said Bagford had been admitted to Charterhouse as a pensioner where he was buried as a result of the good offices of Bishop Moore who had given him many commissions, and that "He died at Islington, 15 May 1716 aged 65<sup>3</sup>." This gives a birth date of 1650 or 1651 and is completely at variance with what Calder had earlier written, "John Bagford was born in London, probably in 1675 . . . it appears he married or was a father pretty early in life as in the Collection is a power of attorney from John Bagford junior to John Bagford senior empowering him to claim and receive the wages of his son as a seaman, in case of his death, dated 1713 when the father was only 38. See Harl. MS 5995."

Calder had based Bagford's age on an entry in Bagford's writing on the fly leaf of one of his books, "John son of John and Elizabeth Bagford baptised 31 October 1675 in the parish of St Anne, Blackfriars". Obviously he must have believed this to be the bookseller's own birth and not his son's. The marriage of John Bagford has not as yet been found but there are other entries relating to his children in the parish of St Anne's; the burial of an unnamed infant on 12 June 1673, and of a still born child on

14 December 1674. These entries are then followed by the baptism on 31 October 1675 of John son of John and Elizabeth Bagford.

He died intestate, probably a poor man as he appears to have had no well developed sense of money frequently giving away his choicest antiques. Letters of administration were granted to his son John in December 1716, for the estate of John Bagford formerly of the parish of St Sepulchre's, London, widower<sup>4</sup>.

## JOHN KEMP

Of him there is almost as little known as about John Bagford, Levine writing that "of all the famous collectors [he] is the most obscure." Much of his collection came to him from Lord Carteret and encompassed the famous museum of the Frenchman Dr Jacob Spon<sup>5</sup>.

John Kemp of the parish of St Martin's in the Fields, gentleman, made his will on 21 June 1714. He bequeathed £100 in South Sea stock to his cousin Elizabeth Kemp daughter of his Uncle James, the same amount to his sister Hope Kemp, and double the amount to another sister Mary Kemp. The last two were also to receive each "1/8th part of the value arising from the sale of my collections of antiquities."<sup>6</sup> He then went on to say, "I direct that the Rt Hon Earle of Oxford and his son Lord Harley or one of them [are] to have the whole collection of antiquities with my books relating to such antiquities upon his or their paying to my executor £2,000 within three months of my decease but if they refuse then the collection is to be sold to the best purchaser within eighteen months."

He made a codicil on 26 March 1716 in which he reiterated the disposition of the antiquities and

books, but added that neither Oxford nor Harley were to have them "... until they have paid the full £2,000 within three months."<sup>7</sup> Possibly a wise proviso and perhaps one of the reasons for the auction being held after Kemp's death. The catalogue, *Monumenta Vetustatis Kempiana* (London, 1720) was drawn up by Robert Ainsworth, a schoolmaster in Hackney with a sound knowledge of Roman antiquities who was a contributor to the re-born Society of Antiquaries<sup>8</sup>. John Kemp was the son of John Kemp and Hope Gilbert who, though both of the parish of St Andrew's, Holborn, were married by licence at St Nicholas Cole Abbey on 28 August 1665<sup>9</sup>. By 1695 the widowed Hope Kemp was living with the daughter named after her in the parish of St Leonard, Foster Lane.

## NOTES

1. J. M. Levine, *Dr Woodward's shield*, University of California, 1977, p. 326, quoting Wanley to Dr John Covel, 30 Aug. 1701, B.L., MS. Add. 22911, ff. 1-2.
2. J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, London, 1812-15, vol. II, pp. 462-5.
3. Unfortunately the Charterhouse records for 1716, both admissions and burials, are missing. See *Hartl. Rec.*, vol. 18. However there is some confirmation to be found in Strype's expanded edition of Stow's *Survey* (1720), Appendix I, "For these last accounts I am beholden to my friend Mr Bagford, late deceased in the Charter House, having been a Brother there."
4. P.R.O., Prob. 6 92, ff. 244, 239.
5. Spon and an Englishman, George Wheler, botanist and correspondent of James Petiver and John Woodward, travelled together in the Middle East. Spon brought back manuscripts and inscriptions, and was the possessor of an ancient shield (or what was thought to be a shield) which had been found in the River Rhône.
6. The remaining 3/4 share passed to his brother William Kemp who was made executor. Hope was to have in addition the manor of Hockley which had been surrendered to John Kemp as "a mortgage or security to me for £53."
7. P.R.O., Prob. 11 559 f. 170. Proved September 1717.
8. Amongst those who were present at the Bear Tavern in the Strand for the resuscitation of the long-lapsed Society of Antiquaries were John Battley, Humfrey Wanley and John Bagford.
9. It is interesting to note that the rector of St Andrew's, Holborn in 1665 was Edward Stillingfleet, Dean of St Paul's and later Bishop of Worcester who wrote a book *The True Antiquity of London*.

# A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HOUNSLOW 'MORTUARY' SWORD IN GUNNERSBURY PARK MUSEUM

PHIL PHILO

Gunnersbury Park Museum is the local history museum for the London Boroughs of Ealing and Hounslow and in this capacity collects material representative of the many local trades, crafts and industries both past and present. One such industry was the manufacture of sword blades at the Hounslow sword mill during the 17th century. About one hundred examples of Hounslow blades are known to exist<sup>1</sup>. In 1970 the Museum was fortunate enough to be able to purchase an example of the work of this mill<sup>2</sup>.

The broad blade is straight, single-edged, 720mm long and about 29mm wide at the hilt. Its maximum thickness is about 5mm and the point has been cut back and resharpened for about 140mm of the back edge<sup>3</sup>. The front, or sharpened edge shows signs of wear with notching. The tang is 150mm long and is taken up inside the tang button and hammered over. This button has not been split and so it is likely that the blade is original to the hilt and not some later replacement. The ricasso, that part of the blade nearest the hilt which remains unsharpened, is 46mm long with a small fuller running along the front edge of the blade. The blade is double-fullered towards the back edge. The outer fuller starts at the hilt and finishes about 56mm from the sharpened back point. The longer inner fuller starts about 38–40mm from the hilt and seems to end about 14mm from the point. Both fullers on either side of the blade are marked faintly with a variant on the inscription of the Hounslow sword mill "HOVN ME FACIT" (Hounslow made me) (Fig. 1). This inscription has been convincingly argued to be the work of the same craftsman who made the blades of a backsword in the Museum of London, a sword in Williamsburg, USA, and another in private hands<sup>4</sup>.

The hilt of the Hounslow sword in Gunnersbury Park Museum is of typically so-called 'mortuary' type<sup>5</sup>. (Plate 1). It was probably not made at

Hounslow as the mill seems to have specialised in the finishing of blades. Hilt making could have been a subsidiary manufacture but it appears likely that this was done at another workshop specialising in hilts<sup>6</sup>. It consists of a large, slightly hollowed iron plate which is swept up in the front of the hilt to form into a knuckle-guard<sup>7</sup>. The rear of this plate narrows slightly and is finished off in a narrow turned-under roll. The plate is chiselled in relief with decorations similar to those on a number of mortuary swords in the Montagu family armoury, Boughton House, Northamptonshire<sup>8</sup>, and also in the collection of the York Castle Museum, Yorkshire<sup>9</sup>. The decorations consist of crudely executed designs of stylised patterns and foliage. It lacks mortuary masks and figures but has leaves either side of what seems to be a basket of fruit, probably strawberries (Pl. 2). This decoration is symmetrical either side of the thickness of the blade and a broad band of chevron decoration which runs from the base of the knuckle-guard to the back of the turned-under roll.

Either side of the knuckle-guard, on both the inside and outside of the hilt, are secondary knuckle-guards. Each secondary knuckle-guard terminates where it joins the plate with a pair of scrolls. These guards are decorated with a stylised leaf design where they are joined by two loop-guards. The secondary knuckle-guards join the main one through the two loop-guards.

Smaller back-guards are formed from a continuation of one of the scrolls at the base of the side knuckle-guard and connect with the back of the main plate near the turned-under roll. Each loop and back-guard is incised with three line incisions. The grip has been refurbished with its present binding of copper wire over a wooden handle. The upper and lower wire turk's-head ferrules are made of a more yellow copper or even brass wire and might be the originals.

The pommel is fig-shaped, 44mm high, approximately 37mm in diameter and is drilled to take the three split-headed rectangular screws which hold the knuckle-guards to the pommel. These screws

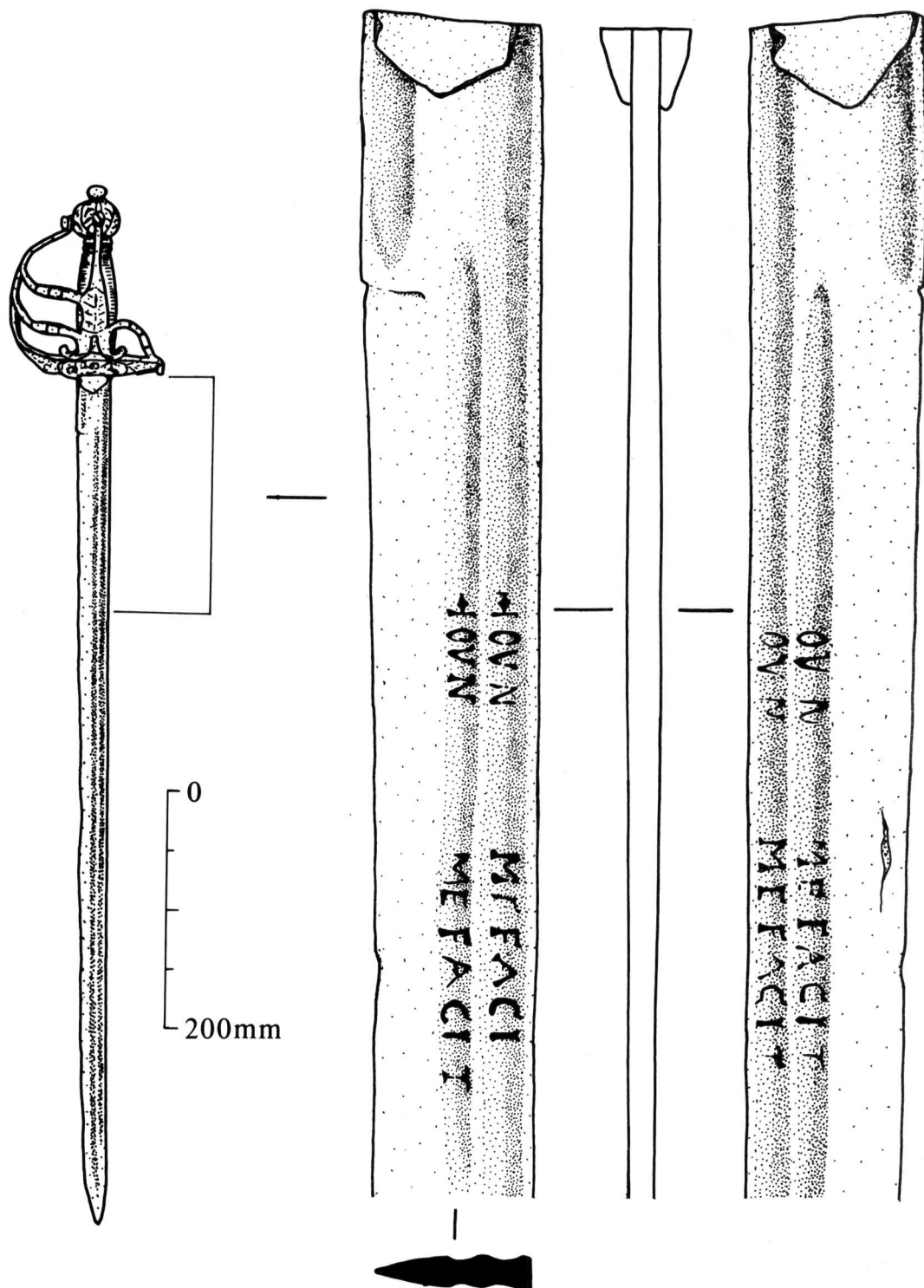


Fig. 1 Hounslow sword: the complete sword (I/5) and upper part of the blade showing the 'Hounslow' inscription.

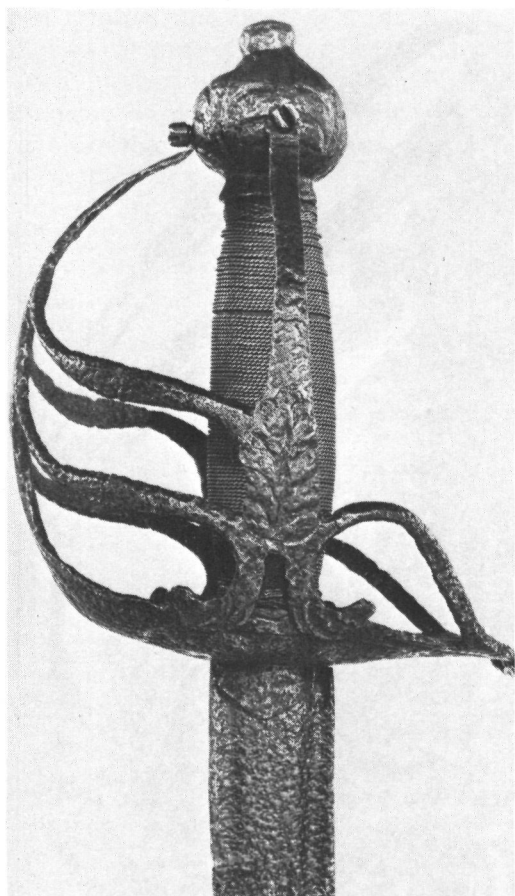


Plate 1 Hounslow sword: The hilt of the Hounslow 'mortuary' sword.

do not appear to be original<sup>10</sup>. The pommel is divided into four equal segments by incised lines running from the base of the tang-button to the top of the pommel neck. Each segment is decorated with a stylised leaf-shaped pattern crudely chiselled in relief.

The blade is secured in the hilt by two langets which emerge through the hilt and project about 15mm along the ricasso. The langets are formed from the quillon-block which has two stump quillons on the inside of the hilt. The hilt probably originally had a cloth or leather lining within the bars to further protect the hand from opponents' weapons and against the roughness of the inside of the guard<sup>11</sup>. The sword might also have had a leather scabbard with metal chape and belt-hook<sup>12</sup>.

The Hounslow sword mill was established about 1630<sup>13</sup> and is shown on a map of 1635<sup>14</sup> to have been situated astride the

Duke of Northumberland's river, one and a half miles west of Hounslow, just above its confluence with the River Crane. The mill appears to have been grinding and polishing blades for swords of various types until its closure during the English Civil War and the removal of its workers to Oxford<sup>15</sup>. It seems to have re-opened for a brief spell later in the 17th century but to have closed by about 1670<sup>16</sup>. Usually a blade can only be attributed to this mill if it bears one of the various 'Hounslow' marks<sup>17</sup>.

Many Hounslow blades are found mounted in 'mortuary' hilts, a name given by 19th-century collectors to a type of hilt which had developed by the mid-17th century<sup>18</sup>. The point of origin of this type of hilt is obscure but it is typically English and is one of the many variations on the experimental basket hilts of the late 16th and early 17th centuries<sup>19</sup>. The name 'mortuary' is a term usually applied to hilts of varying quality, from up-market examples chiselled with portrait busts popularly supposed to be of the ill-fated Charles I of England and his Queen, Henrietta Maria<sup>20</sup> to examples crudely decorated with masks amid foliage. The heads were once thought to commemorate the martyrdom of the King in 1649 but this belief has been shown to be improbable since this type of hilt is of earlier origin and was certainly carried by both Royalist and Roundhead alike<sup>21</sup>. However, many so-called 'mortuary' hilts are not decorated with the mortuary masks but are sometimes very simple with stylised foliage, scrolls, animal heads and geometric shapes decoration or else plain with incised lines<sup>22</sup>.

Military swords of similar type to this example are often found associated with the equipment of horse, or cavalry, troopers of the English Civil War period (1642–51)<sup>23</sup>. Hounslow blades were of serviceable quality and some appear to have



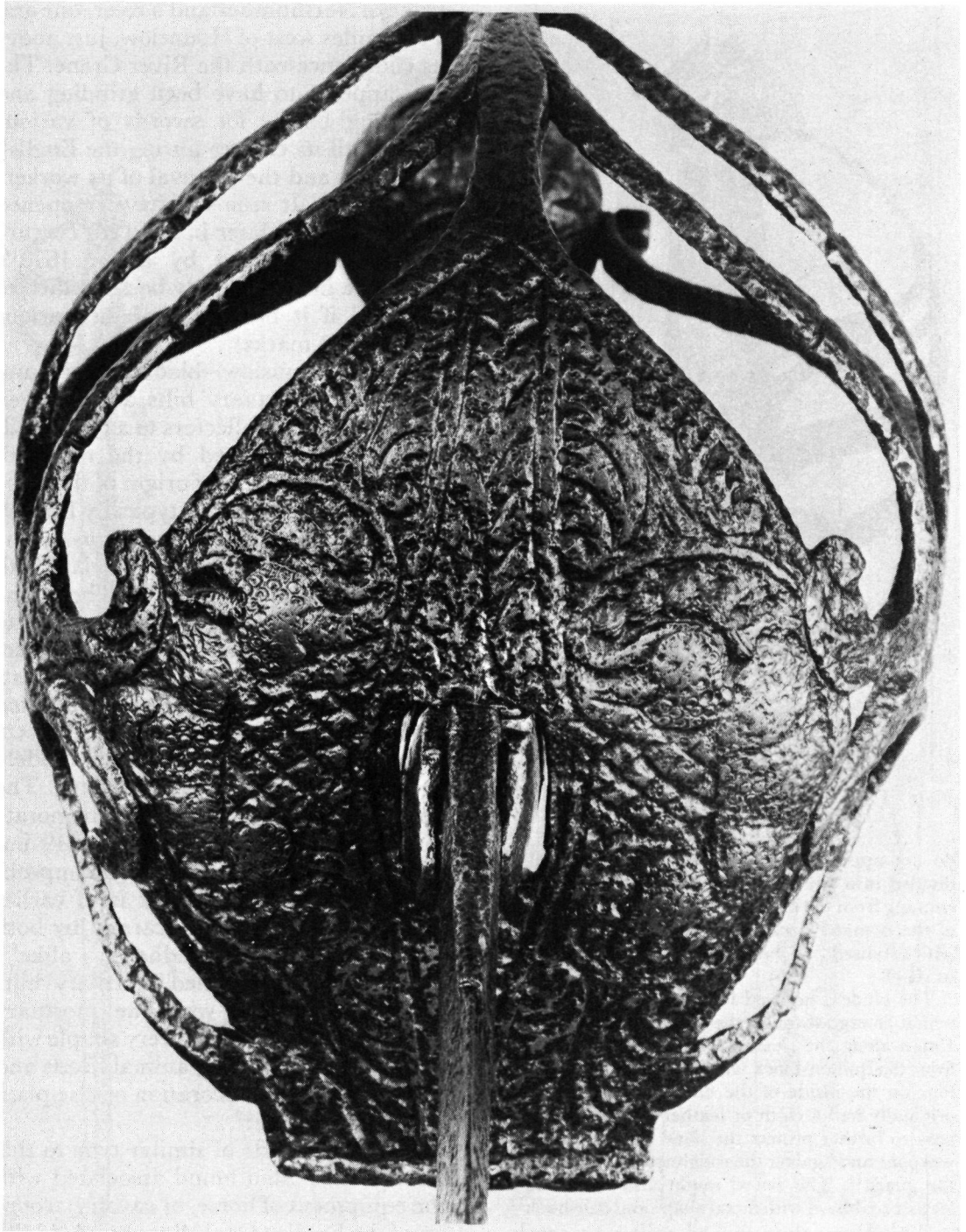


Plate 2 Hounslow sword: The hilt of the Hounslow 'mortuary' sword showing the decoration on the plate.

been rehilted and used at a much later date. At the time of writing Gunnersbury Park Museum has acquired six further Hounslow swords, one of which has a Victorian mameluke hilt, probably fitted for ceremonial purposes<sup>24</sup>.

## NOTES

1. There have been several discussions of the mill, notably C. Milward. 'English signed swords in the London Museums' *Apollo* 29 (1939) 125–9.
2. C. Milward 'Further notes on London & Hounslow Swordsmiths' *Apollo* 35 (1942) 93–6.
3. M. R. Holmes *Arms and Armour in Tudor and Stuart London* HMSO (1970) 33–7.
4. J. T. White 'The Hounslow Sword Blade Industry' *Hounslow Chronicle* (Autumn 1978). 'The Sword Blade Makers at Hounslow Sword Mill' Pt 1, *Hounslow Chronicle* (Autumn 1980). The Sword Blade Makers at Hounslow Sword Mill, Pt 2 *Hounslow Chronicle* (Spring 1983).  
My thanks to Mr J. Tofts White for making available to me his unpublished notes on Hounslow blades in public and private collections.
5. Purchased by Mr J. T. White, former reference librarian at Hounslow District Library, at the Arms Fair, Cumberland Hotel, London and sold to Gunnersbury Park Museum. This is illustrated and reported in the London Borough of Hounslow's Progress No. 26, February/March 1971. Accession No.: 70.35.
6. See White (1980) *op. cit.* in note 1 for a consideration of the general appearance of Hounslow blades including the example under discussion.
7. Museum of London No. 36.154/4, described in Holmes *op. cit.* in note 1, 35. Notes on the others kindly supplied by Mr J. T. White in the historical file for the sword, Gunnersbury Park Museum.
8. Mr A. North, Department of Metalwork, Victoria and Albert Museum, kindly pointed out an early reference to the term 'mortuary' as applied to broadswords of this period in E. Castle *Schools and Masters of Fence* (London 1885) caption to No. 3 Plate IV, which illustrates a broadsword from the Wareing Faulder Collection, 'Swords of this type are often called 'mortuary' as a number of them were made in memory of Charles I, and bear his likeness upon the hilt'.
9. See G. I. Mungeam. Some Notes on London-Made Sword Hilts of the Seventeenth Century *J. Arms and Armour Soc.* 6 No. 7 (Sept. 1969) 209–13, for a discussion of the manufacture of hilts for Hounslow swords.
10. The description of the hilt is based on that used by E. Oakeshott *European Weapons & Armour* (London 1980) 173–5.
11. My thanks to Mr A. V. B. Norman, Master of HM Armouries, the Tower of London, for making available his as yet unpublished catalogue of the Montagu family armoury, Boughton House, Northamptonshire and specific examples N 206 (258) and N 201 (144).
12. York Castle Nos: CA 719, CA 735, CA 745, CA 779, AA 1615. My thanks to Mr A. North, Department of Metalwork, Victoria and Albert Museum for bringing these swords to my attention and to Dr Newman, York Castle Museum, for further information about these swords.
13. From discussions with Mr A. North.
14. See Museum of London 36.154/2 for another Hounslow bladed sword with a red cloth lining, described and illustrated in Holmes *op. cit.* in note 1, 36, Plate 18D. Also W. B. Redfern 'On a Cromwellian Sword' *Connoisseur* 40 No. 238 99–100.
15. See Tower IX-1089, illustrated in A. R. Dufty *European Swords and Daggers in the Tower of London* HMSO (1974) Pl. 49c.
16. White (1980) *op. cit.* in note 1, 20.
17. Moses Glover's Map of the Hundred of Isleworth, 1635 in the Duke of Northumberland's Archive, Syon House, Isleworth, Middx.
18. White (1983) *op. cit.* in note 1, 12.
19. White (1980) *op. cit.* in note 1, 20.
20. Mr J. T. White has compiled an index of all known Hounslow swords and the marks on their blades.
21. See note 5 and Redfern *op. cit.* in note 11, 99–100.
22. Oakeshott *op. cit.* in note 7, 173–5 and A. G. Credland 'Some Swords of the English Civil War with notes on the origin of the basket-hilt' *J. Arms & Armour Soc.* 10 No. 6 (Dec. 1982) 196–205.
23. See Tower, Mann Collection and IX-1214, IX-1086, illustrated in Dufty *op. cit.* in note 12, Pls. 47 & 49.
24. Oakeshott *op. cit.* in note 7, 174.
25. See Tower IX-1245, illustrated in Dufty *op. cit.* in note 12, Pl. 48b.
26. Good collections of such equipment are preserved at Littlecote House, Wiltshire and the Tower Armouries.
27. Accession Nos: 84.9/1–6.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank all the people who helped in the preparation of this text, in particular those already mentioned in the notes and Bridget Clifford, Ann Balfour Paul, Jon Cotton, John Mills and the Audio-Visual Unit, London Borough of Hounslow, for producing the photographs.

# A MACE FOR MINCING LANE PRECINCT

ROSEMARY WEINSTEIN

A recent loan to the Museum of London is a staff of fruitwood, with late 17th century silver mount bearing the inscription:

'In memory of James Burkin Esq<sup>r</sup> Merch<sup>t</sup> in Mincing Lane buried in St Dunstons Church 10th Nov 1689. This staff securd by Mr Rich<sup>d</sup> Grew is by him recommended to posterity as A mace for Mincing lane Precinct at ye choosing Common Councill men and other officers being the same which Mr Burkin used to ride withall'<sup>1</sup>.

Maces, or wands of office, are recorded from at least the 13th century, but possession of maces by the wards is peculiar to the City of London. Some 17th century ward maces survive, but none hitherto described specifically as a precinct mace<sup>2</sup>.

The owner of the mace, James Burkin (1622–1677) was the son of James Burkin, a wealthy Colchester clothier. Of Protestant refugee descent from Brabant, the Burkins were one of the town's leading families and active members of the Dutch church<sup>3</sup>.

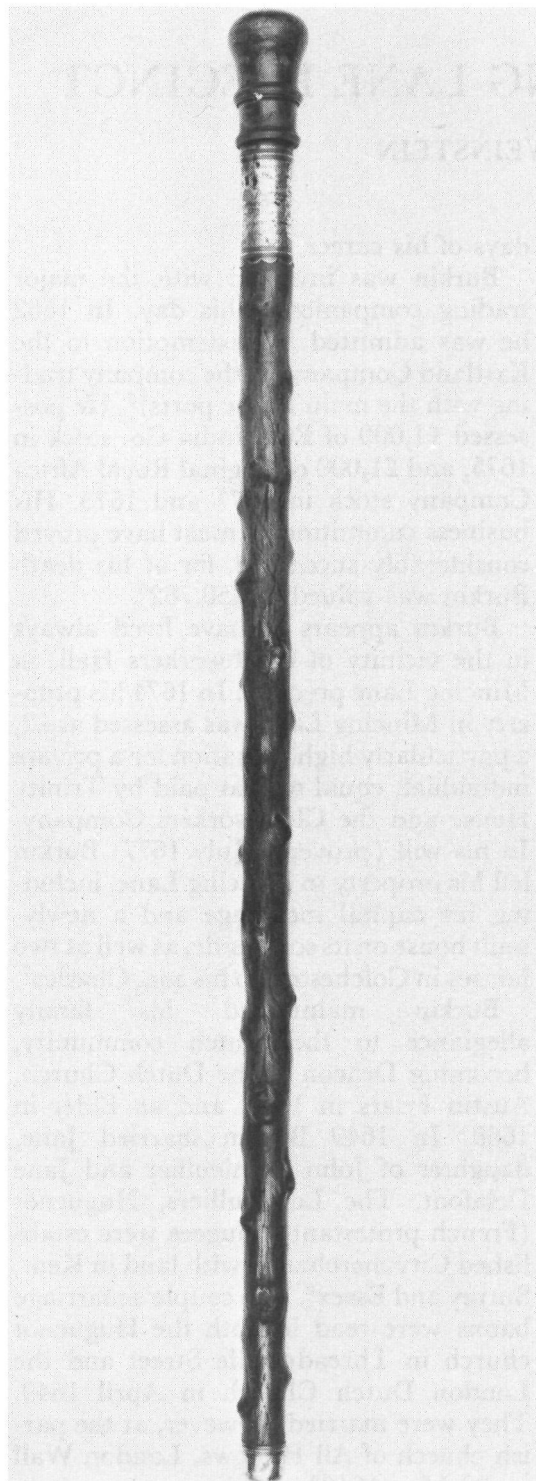
On 16th December 1639, at the age of 17 years, James junior was apprenticed to Edmond Snow, Clothworker of London for 7 years, becoming Free on 11th February 1650–51. The Clothworkers Company records indicate his ascent in their hierarchy, becoming second Senior Warden on 19th August 1668 and finally, Master on 20th August 1673 for the year 1673–74<sup>4</sup>. A considerable industry existed in the transport of bays and says (fine textured cloths) from Colchester to London. Perhaps Burkin was engaged in this aspect of the cloth trade in the early

days of his career.

Burkin was involved with the major trading companies of his day. In 1662 he was admitted by redemption to the Eastland Company (ie the company trading with the main Baltic ports)<sup>5</sup>. He possessed £1,000 of East India Co. stock in 1675, and £1,000 of original Royal Africa Company stock in 1671 and 1675. His business commitments must have proved considerably successful, for at his death Burkin was valued at £50,762<sup>6</sup>.

Burkin appears to have lived always in the vicinity of Clothworkers Hall, in Mincing Lane precinct. In 1674 his property in Mincing Lane was assessed at £2, a particularly high valuation for a private individual, equal to that paid by Trinity House and the Clothworkers Company. In his will (proved 5 July 1677) Burkin left his property in Mincing Lane, including his capital messuage and a newly-built house on its south side, as well as two houses in Colchester, to his son, Charles<sup>7</sup>.

Burkin maintained his family allegiance to the Dutch community, becoming Deacon of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars in 1655, and an Elder in 1668. In 1649 Burkin married Jane, daughter of John Lethieullier and Jane Delafont. The Lethieulliers, Huguenot (French protestant) refugees were established City merchants, with land in Kent, Surrey and Essex<sup>8</sup>. The couple's marriage banns were read in both the Huguenot church in Threadneedle Street and the London Dutch Church in April 1649. They were married, however, at the parish church of All Hallows, London Wall on 22 May 1649<sup>9</sup>.



Plates 1 & 2 Fruitwood staff with silver inscribed mount, dated 1689. Museum of London L258.

James and Jane had nine children, the eldest of whom was baptized in the Dutch church, the remainder in the parish church of St Dunstons in the East, within Mincing Lane precinct<sup>10</sup>. Through this Lethieullier marriage, Burkin was connected with City merchant Huguenot families of repute, such as the Houblons (Founder-directors of the Bank of England) and the Ducanes. The network of marriage alliances included Abraham Johnson, merchant, also from Colchester. In addition, Burkin's daughter Elizabeth married into the Mingay family<sup>11</sup>. In the parish baptismal registers, Burkin is described as 'captain', his rank in the Artillery Company, which he joined on 21st February 1642–3, serving as Captain of Horse. In his will Burkin left £50 to the Artillery Company, if and when they should build their planned Armoury (and on its subsequent completion to the first storey)<sup>12</sup>.

Burkin continued his City career in traditional fashion as Common Councillor and Alderman. Such duties were undertaken later in life, from 1674–7 as Common Councillor for Tower Ward, but only 4th–6th June 1672 as Alderman for Bread Street, Burkin fining £420 for discharge from office<sup>13</sup>. It was his three years in this public capacity that his friend Richard Grew particularly wished to commemorate with the bequest of Burkin's staff to Mincing Lane precinct.

Burkin died on 4th July 1677 and was buried as requested in the chancel of St Dunstan in the East, under the same memorial slab as his wife (d. 1675). His monument is described as being of white marble, a draped and curved tablet, flanked by small male figures of soldiers and surmounted by a cornice, a broken pediment, with swag, two small figures of Death and a woman embracing on pedestal above pediment, flanked by cherubs holding a swag; on the apron a

cartouche-of-arms and military trophies in base<sup>14</sup>. His arms are described as argent, a fess azure, a label of 5 points gules. Crest: a crab erect or<sup>15</sup>.

The parish burial register confirms this 1677 date of burial (at variance with that of 1689 inscribed on the mace)<sup>16</sup>. Burkin desired that members of the Clothworkers and Artillery Companies should attend in procession at his funeral, also children from Christ's Hospital.

Although apparently assimilated into the Anglican Church, in his will Burkin remembered the poor of the Dutch churches with £100 to the poor of Austin Friars, £100 to the poor of the Dutch church, Colchester, and £10 to the Dutch church poor in Yarmouth. Trade links were also remembered with bequests to one Hatton, his cloth-drawer, Thomas Coxe his clothworker, and Thomas Washington his packer (who also leased one of his houses in Mincing Lane). In addition he left £100 to the Clothworkers Company to be "lent out from tyme to tyme to five young men Free of the said Company . . . without interest", with repayment of the principal after three years<sup>17</sup>.

James Burkin lived through one of the most tumultuous periods of London's history: Civil War, Restoration, Plague and Fire. Despite these hazards he persued a vigorous career and raised a large family. Respected by his acquaintances, his friend Richard Grew has helped preserve his name for posterity.

## NOTES

1. L258; lent by the late D. Donald, Esq. Displayed at the Art Treasures Exhibition, 1928 (no. 593).
2. L. Jewitt and W. H. St John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Corporate Towns of England and Wales*. Vol. II (1895) 150.
3. The Burkins were one of the leading Colchester cloth families, natives of Brabant, who had remained active members of the Dutch church. James Burkin (senior) contributed £400 out of £6,000 levied on the Dutch community in Colchester by Fairfax in 1648, for the purpose of raising his siege on the City. This sum (£400) was the third largest assessed on an individual in the community. The Colchester bay and say trade never recovered from the devastation caused by the siege. (See W. J. C. Moens, *Registers of the Dutch Church Colchester*, Huguenot Society Quarto Series Vol. 12 (1905) XXXIII–XXXV; also *The Victoria County History of Essex*, Vol. 2 (1907) 396. Also *London Visitation Pedigrees*, 1664, Harleian Society, vol. 92 (1940).

4. Clothworkers Company Apprenticeship Records. I am indebted to David Wickham, Archivist to the Company for this information.
5. R. W. K. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade and the Common Weal* (1959). Appendix C4.
5. Will, proved 5 July 1677. PRO. PROB 11/354/70. CLRO Common Sergeant's Book IV, 131b.
7. CLRO Assessments 12th September 1674 (Ref. 46.18). Burkin is the only individual in the parish of St Dunstons in the East assessed at this amount, except for three men who also owned quays, cranes and warehouses. The south side of his capital messuage (bequeathed to his son Charles) was a newly-erected house on land owned in part by the freeholder Mr Richard Browne, and part by Dr Nicholas Barebones. To his son James he left the house on the north side of the capital messuage, in occupation of Thomas Washington (his Packer). Washington, his wife Sarah and son Zebechiah were still residents in the parish in 1695, D. V. Glass, *London Inhabitants within the Walls, 1695*, (London Record Society 1966). Some premises within the precinct, rebuilt after the Fire of 1666, were as yet unoccupied, with many merchants and traders refusing to return but preferring to live in the suburbs. This increased the individual financial assessments the citizens had to pay. (See also 'A Posting Book for Receipts of Money for staking out of Foundations in the Ruins of the City of London at 6/8d each'; in Mills and Oliver Survey (London Topographical Record 1967) 49).
8. Le Neve's *Pedigrees of the Knights* . . . Harleian Society, Vol. 8 (1873) 294.
9. a) 'Jacques Burkin, filz Jacques, natif de Colchester, et Jeanne le Thullier, natife de Londres. Avril 29. [1649]. Marie aux anglois'. *Registers of the French Church, Threadneedle St., London*, Huguenot Society Quarto Series, Vol. 13, 1899, also b) '29 Apl 1649. Jacobus Burken, bachelor of Colchester and Jeane Le Theileur, spinster of London'. *Register of the Dutch Church Colchester*, Huguenot Society Quarto Series, Vol. 12 (1905). c) Marriage 22 May 1649. *Registers of the Births, Marriages and Burials 1588-1675 All Hallows London Wall*, 1889.
10. *Registers of St Dunstons in the East, 1653-1691*, Harleian Society vols. 85 and 86 (1954-5).
11. J. R. Woodhead, *The Rulers of London 1660-1689* (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society), 1965, 41.
12. *Loc cit* in note 6; G. A. Raikes, *The History of the Honourable Artillery Company* (1878). Armoury House was completed in 1735.
13. A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, I, (1908), 77. A period of continuing friction between the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council, with the Common Sergeant, Judge Jeffreys being temporarily suspended from office. R. R. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, Vol. II (1894) 446-455. Richard Grew has not as yet been identified.
14. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), London, Vol. IV, *The City* (1929) 184.
15. LVP 1664 (op cit in note 3), but see also *Sewers Monumental Inscriptions*, Vol. 2 (00), 398, for a different description of the family arms.
16. Possibly confusion with the burial of another James Burkin on 10th November 1687; probably Burkin son (born 1651).
17. *Loc cit* in note 6.

*The Society is grateful to the Museum of London for a publication grant towards the cost of this article.*

# SURGEONS' HALL, OLD BAILEY, DESIGNED BY WILLIAM JONES

G. C. R. MORRIS

## INTRODUCTION

The Hall completed in 1752 for the Company of Surgeons and abandoned in 1796 in favour of a house in Lincoln's Inn Fields—a move that led to the dissolution of the Company and the foundation of the Royal College of Surgeons—is generally known only by its elegant west front (Plate 1), which was often illustrated (Adams, 1983, 37/70, 38/34, 48/42, 57/53, 61/63). The design of the building has long been attributed, in architectural history, to the elder George Dance (1695–1768), father of the principal architect of the College's first building in Lincoln's Inn Fields (Papworth, 1852–92, D, 6; Stroud,

1971, 42).

This paper presents further information on Surgeons' Hall, from its insurance particulars, two ground plans and a little-known map. It also shows that the 'Mr Jones' who was chosen as Surveyor to the Company in 1747 (Wall, 1937, 63) was indeed the architect of the Hall and identifies him as William Jones (d. 1757), Surveyor to the East India Company from 1752, who is best known for the Rotunda at Ranelagh (Colvin, 1978, 476). Dance's many designs for the site in Old Bailey were not formally commissioned and not used.

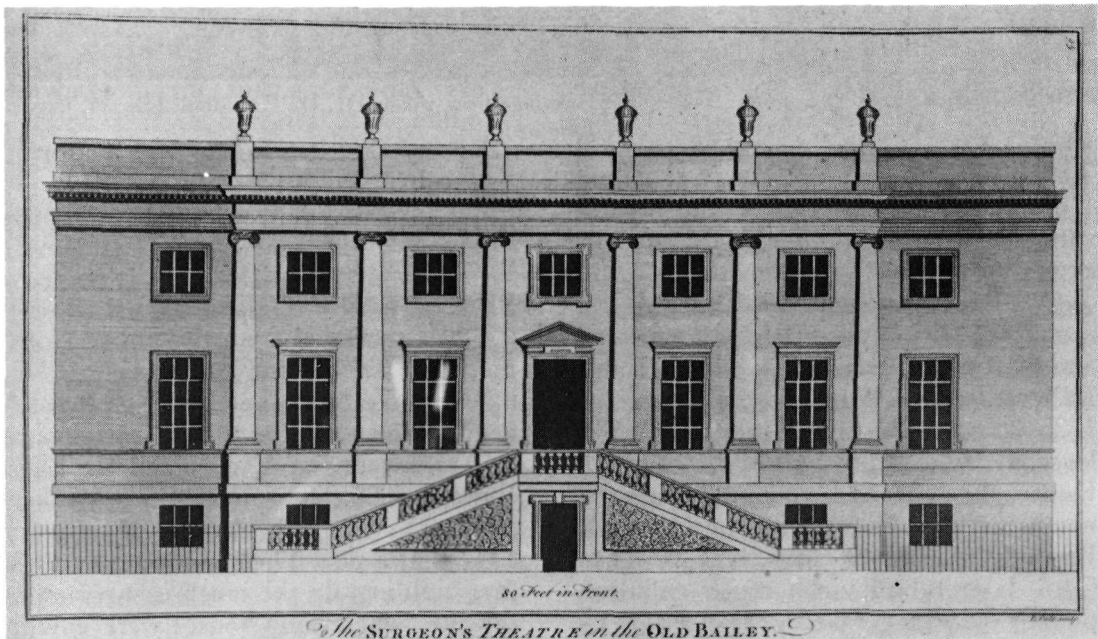


Plate 1 Benjamin Cole's engraving of the elevation (W front) of Surgeons' Hall, used in the 1754 edition of Stow's *Survey of London* and in Maitland's *History of London*, 1756.







Cheselden, the Master, produced a plan for the Theatre and associated buildings, which was tentatively approved. It was perhaps his own design, though with some professional help: payments amounting to £7.17s.6d. had been made for surveys, plans and drawings<sup>3</sup>. Further designs were commissioned (13 April) for sixty guineas from William Kent (1684–1748). They were admired, but rejected (26 June) because they would cost £10,000 to execute; work was to proceed on the Theatre and Clerk's house 'according to the present plan'.

#### **SURVEYOR APPOINTED**

With John Freke as Master, the Court of Assistants on 24 August 1747 chose 'Mr Jones' (who is never given a Christian name) as Surveyor. He was to light [fenestrate] the Theatre 'after his own manner and give orders for such proportions in all parts of that building and the Clerk's house as he shall approve of'; he was to have fifty guineas (half at once, half on completion) 'for his former and future care of this building by making drawings and measuring the same'. Three weeks later it was agreed that the building of the Theatre should proceed 'so far as the covering in'; nevertheless, a committee was to consider the plans of Kent, Cheselden and Jones. The committee's resolutions (two confirmed and one withdrawn) are not set out in the Minutes for 7 January 1748, when Jones presented a further plan; but by 3 March the windows for the Theatre were ready and were to be installed. On 5 May it was agreed that 'the Theatre be finished forthwith (agreeable to Mr Jones's plan) before any other part of the building be proceeded on'.

Cheselden may have been responsible for its octagonal ground-plan (Cope, 1959, 9), but clearly Jones had the final say in the design of the anatomical

theatre. Within the ensuing year he became the architect for the remaining, greater part of the Hall. He was surely the William Jones who had made his reputation as the architect of the Rotunda at Ranelagh, opened in 1742 (Plate 3). He does not appear in the records of the Surgeons' Company after his final payment for their building in Old Bailey (8 Nov. 1754). By then he was designing buildings in Leadenhall Street for the East India Company. Early in 1757 he submitted a drawing for the rebuilding of Newgate Gaol (Stroud, 1971, 55); he was dead by 23 November, when the East India Company had to elect a new Surveyor<sup>4</sup>.

#### **DANCE'S CLAIM**

There is no mention of Dance in the Minutes of the Company of Surgeons until 5 May 1748 (when the Theatre was to be 'finished forthwith'): he was then to be 'desired to deliver into the Company an account of the particulars upon which his demand is founded'. The Company would consider it and 'make reasonable satisfaction'. On 4 August his demand was referred to the Building Committee. Six months later, a payment of forty-five guineas was made to 'Mr Geo: Dance for drawings &c. by order of Master and Wardens'<sup>5</sup>.

Perhaps he had been approached unofficially early on, or even while rival plans were still being discussed in 1747; but it is clear that Dance was not formally commissioned for his extensive work. His drawings, preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum, show nearly a score of differing schemes, some using the whole and others only part of the site<sup>6</sup>. Many ignore the condition in the lease of a continuous front to the street; few place the Theatre at the south-east corner, where it was started early in 1747; and none makes it octagonal. One deliberately reproduces Inigo

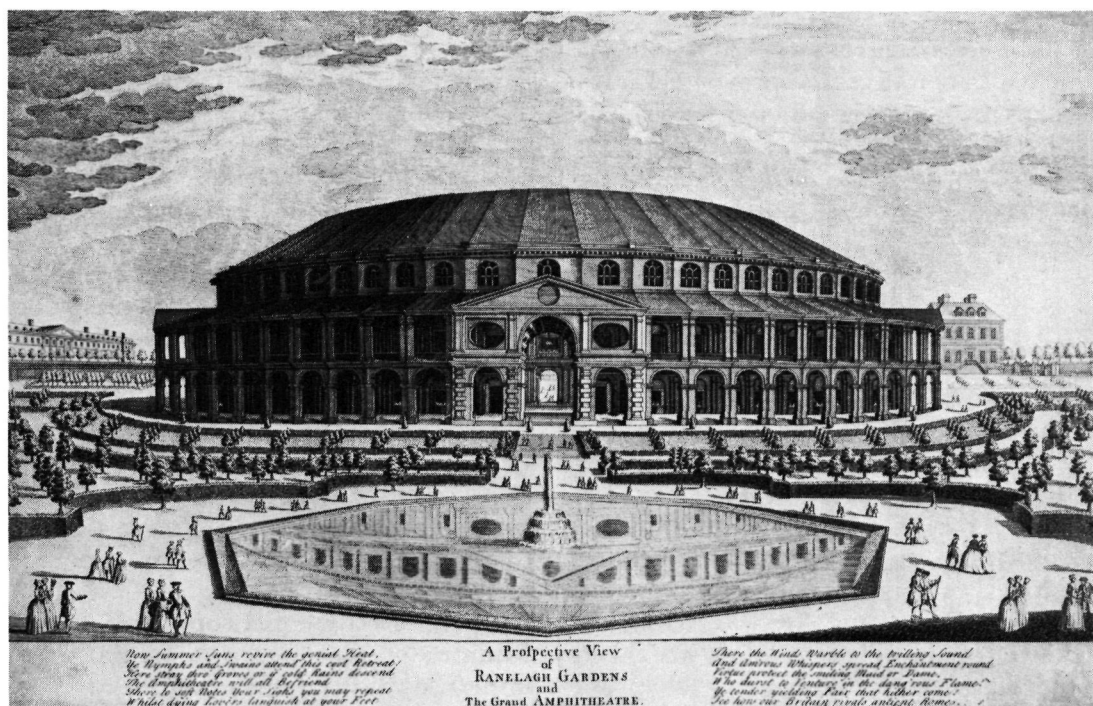


Plate 3 'A Prospective View of Ranelagh Gardens and the Grand Amphitheatre', 1743 (Chelsea Library).

Jones's Theatre, contrary to the first decision by the Company (Beck, 1970, Fig. 10). There is no drawing like the eventual structure.

### THE THEATRE COMPLETED

In May 1748, when scaffolding was to go up for plastering to finish the Theatre, James Steere, Surveyor to Guy's Hospital and to the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office, was asked to use it to remeasure the work of the bricklayers and carpenters. He was also to check the estimates of the plasterer, Mr Laban, and the carpenter, Mr Scott. The floor of the basement under the Theatre was to be paved (2 June). Laban was paid £60 in September for progress with the plastering; he did not receive his final payment until 24 August 1749, when Scott was paid too and Jones received his second twenty-five guineas.

However, it was not until 1 August

1751 that the Court of Assistants first met 'at the Theatre'. It had been insured for £1,425 with the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office in March as 'an octogon Theatre' with 'a stokoe [stucco] ornamented ceiling with fretwork niches on each cant ornamented with pediments, festoons and architraves over semicircular windows and a Corinthian block cornice all full enrich, a gallery with seat and balastrade all round and three rows of seats with wanscotting all round', measuring 36 by 36 ft<sup>7</sup>. An engraving shows how the niches were later occupied by skeletons (Plate 4). Adjoining the Theatre on its north side and insured for £575 at the same time was a brick building 'being the Beadle's apartments and Library over', 32 by 30 ft. This was the Clerk's house, which had only just been started in May 1749, when the Theatre was almost finished. Its construction was included in the main contract for the Hall at that time.

## THE HALL

Jones's plan for the main building was approved on 2 February 1749, when he was to make detailed drawings and estimate the cost. In April he was asked 'to prepare another elevation of the said building without the pilasters' and calculate the saving, which he thought would be £46. Tenders were invited in May, when James Scott (the carpenter for the Theatre) made the lower of only two offers: £3,555 with the pilasters or £3,500 without them. He was given the contract on 25 May 1749, when the Court heard

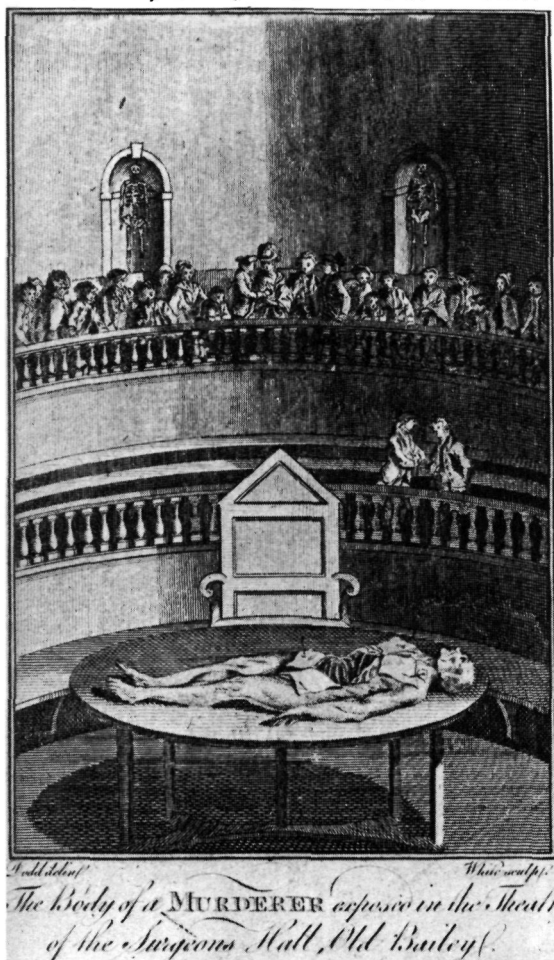


Plate 4 'The Body of a Murderer exposed in the Theatre of the Surgeons Hall, Old Bailey' (Guildhall Library, City of London).

that Jones was asking for 5% of the cost as his fee 'for his past trouble in drawing and designing plans &c. and his future care in surveying the building'. This was agreed on 19 July. Progress payments to Scott started in October and to Jones the following April.

By 15 March 1751, when the incomplete building was insured for £2,000, Scott had received £1,900. (His payments finally amounted to £4,068. The insured value was never increased.) The policy was on a brick building of three storeys, 50 by 80 ft, being 'their Hall, Clerk's office and committee rooms on the east side of great Old Bayley in the parishes of St Martin within Ludgate and St Sepulchres standing clear and known by the name of Surgeons Hall now unfinish'd<sup>8</sup>.

Payments to Scott and Jones continued regularly until 7 March 1752; a woman was paid £2.12s.6d. for cleaning out the Theatre in July, when the first body of an executed murderer was dissected there; the first engraving of the completed building was published in November<sup>9</sup>. Final payments to Scott's executors in April 1754 and to Jones in the following November closed the account for the buildings shown on Rocque's map of 1761 (Plate 5). The Hall is indeed drawn as 'standing clear' of the buildings on either side. A passage 5 ft wide on the south gave external access to the Theatre; another on the north, 6 ft wide, led to the Clerk's house and his garden (52 by 34 ft), behind premises occupied by a coachmaker, on the remainder of the ground leased by the Company. An aquatint of the Hall that has been used to illustrate Histories of the Company and the College gives a false (presumably retrospective) image, because it shows contiguous building on both sides (Wall, 1937, 34; Webb-Johnson, 1950, Fig. 1; Cope, 1959, Fig. 1).

The ground to the north of Surgeons'

Hall was soon involved in schemes for the rebuilding of Newgate Prison and the Sessions House, for which the younger George Dance was eventually responsible, having succeeded his father as Clerk of the City Works (Stroud, 1971, 97–101). The Company surrendered 62 ft of the frontage on Old Bailey in 1769 and its Clerk lost his garden<sup>10</sup>. The new Prison extended much further south than the old

one and the new Sessions House, completed in 1774, stood with its south wall 11 ft from the north side of Surgeons' Hall. Half of this wider passage-way still belonged to the surgeons.

#### GROUND PLAN

The two surviving plans of the basement of Surgeons' Hall were made after the erection of the new Sessions House.

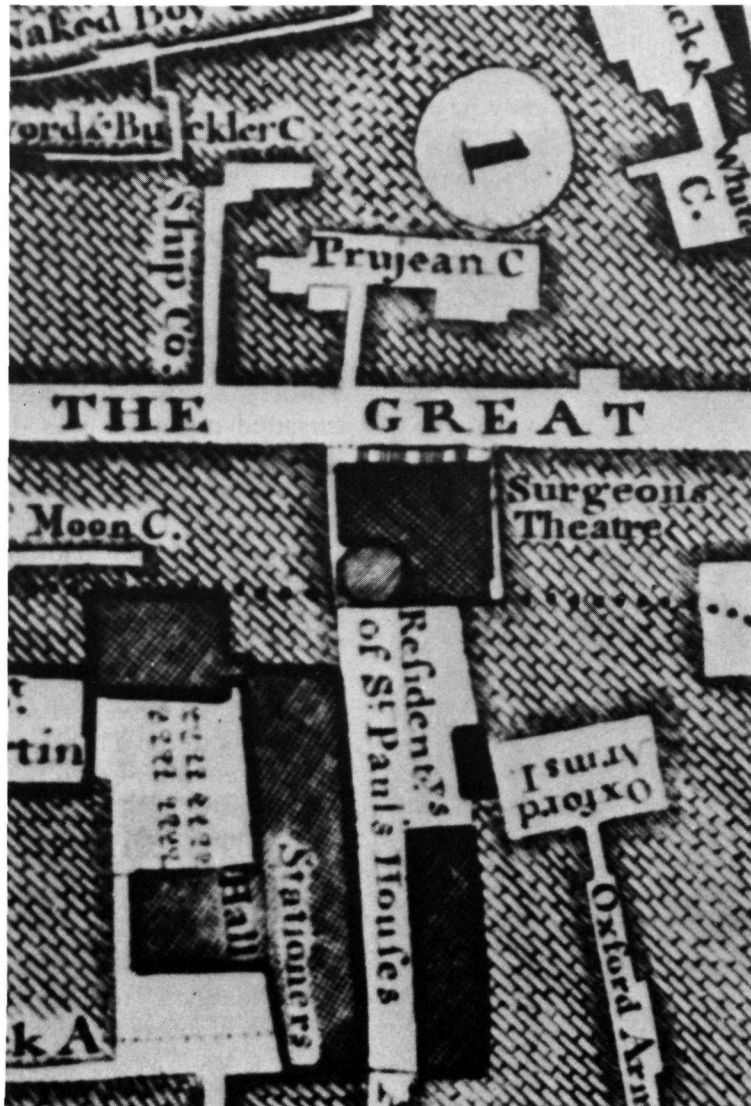


Plate 5 Detail from Rocque's map of 1761 (Plate 2), showing the octagonal Theatre on the SE corner of Surgeons' Hall.

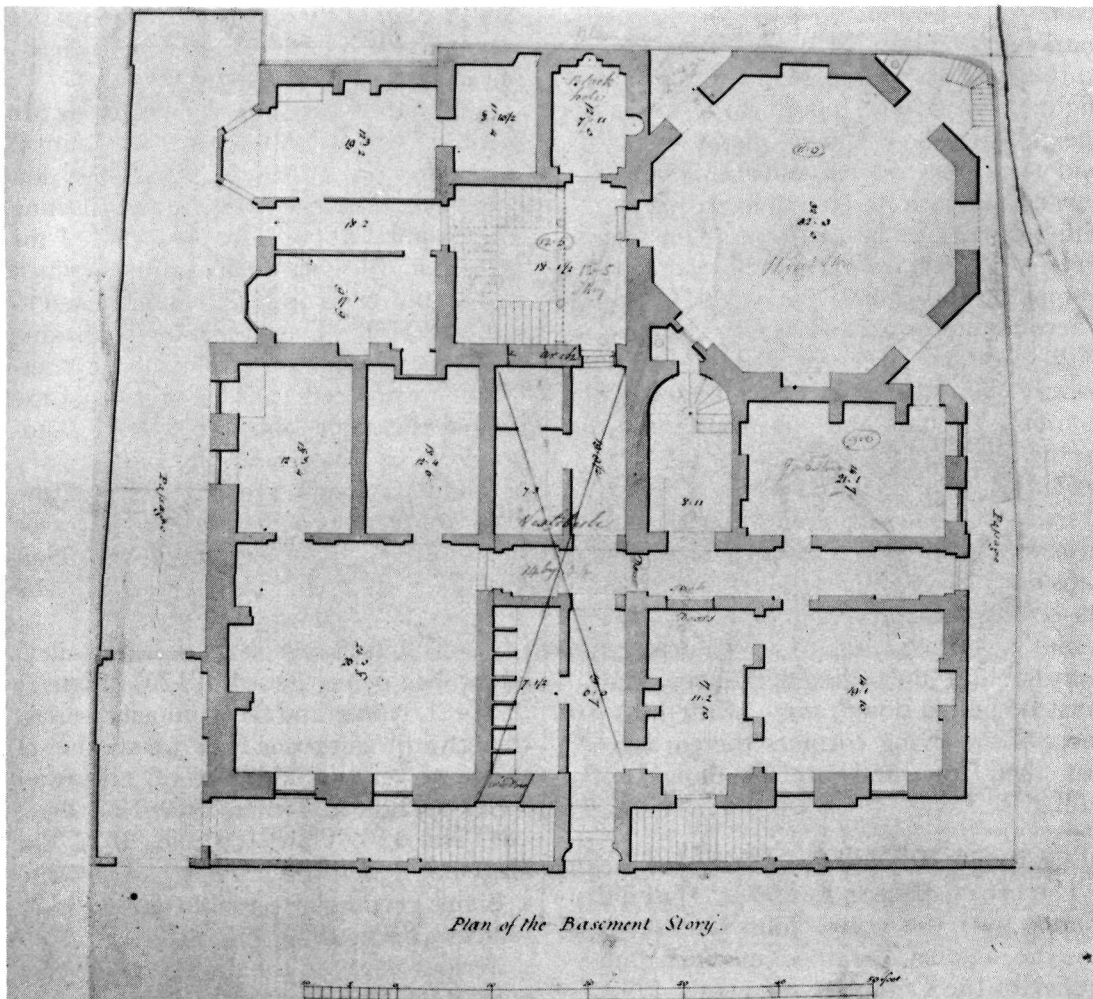


Plate 6 Surgeons' Hall about 1780. The octagonal area (top right) is under the Theatre in the SE corner (Corporation of London Records Office).

The one shown here (Plate 6) is anonymous<sup>11</sup>. It seems to date from before 1783, when the surgeons allowed the City to install iron gates in the wide passage-way and throw a roof over part of it (Wall, 1937, 67). The other, more detailed but unfortunately less suitable for reproduction, is signed 'J. Neill Decem<sup>r</sup> 1790'<sup>12</sup>. The description that follows is based on a combination of the two drawings, with names of the rooms as in Neill's Plan.

Reading clockwise from the octagonal basement (height 11 ft) under the Theatre

(to which external stairs gave access), the curved staircase and Clerk's kitchen (height 9 ft 6 ins) were separated by a passage from the parlour and its smaller ante-room, which lay behind the southern flight of steps up to the main entrance (see Plate 1). The central corridor, from a doorway at street level under the entrance steps, ran past a wine cellar and then two more cellars to reach the square 'great staircase' (with a 'black hole' beyond it); this was the route by which bodies could be conveyed to the basement under the



Theatre. (The pencilled diagonal cross, marked 'Vestibule 14 by 44', must refer to the floor above.) Behind the northern flight of entrance steps a large kitchen (height 10 ft 3 ins) gave onto a scullery and a coal-store. The rooms in the north-east corner with projecting bays, lying on either side of a separate entrance passage, were only 7 ft 9 ins high; the larger (with a small room behind it) is called 'Office'. These should be part of the Clerk's house, with 'Library over' in one insurance policy. The other policy located a Hall, committee rooms and the Clerk's office in the main block. Of these, the Hall probably occupied both storeys above the basement on one side of the long vestibule onto which the main entrance gave: perhaps on the north, over the large kitchen. Its ceiling needed repair in 1796, when James Peacock, the City Surveyor, reported that 'the ceiling of the great Hall must be pulled down, some of the heavy parts of the flying cornices therein have lost their key and are in danger of falling'<sup>13</sup>.

## DECLINE AND FALL

The use of space in Surgeons' Hall did change over the years. John Gunning's diatribe against the incompetence and futility of the Company on 1 July 1790, at the close of his year as Master, included famous remarks on the Hall.

'You have in it a Theatre for your lectures, a room for a Library, a committee room for your Court, a large room for the reception of your community, together with the necessary accommodations for your Clerk. But . . . your Library room without books is converted into an office for your Clerk and your committee room is become his eating parlor . . . the lower part of your house is by this means not inhabited.'

Gunning's suggestion that a Surveyor should be appointed probably led to

Neill's plan of the basement. The uses of rooms marked on it are new (or revived) ones as a result of his strictures.

A survey 'made some time since by Mr Neill' was reported to a special Court of Assistants on 19 May 1796: it said that extensive repairs were needed, costing more than £1,600. This was one of the reasons for the Court of Examiners (which had no power to do so) having decided to sell the Hall. The Court of Assistants (improperly constituted) named a committee to proceed. The remainder of the lease was assigned for £2,100 on 11 October 1796 to trustees for the Lieutenancy of London, which had decided that the Hall would make a good headquarters for the militia<sup>14</sup>. The 'late Surgeons' Hall and Theatre' would now be called 'The London Militia Head Quarters'.

It was 'Late Surgeons Hall, Old Bailey' on a token penny issued in 1797 (Plate 7) in the London and Westminster series, though still 'Surgeons Hall' on another of the same year in Skidmore's Clerkenwell series (Dalton & Hamer, 1910-18, i, Plate 104, No. 110; Plate 109, No. 163). On Horwood's map of 1799 it had become a blank rectangle, possibly for military secrecy (Beck, 1970, Fig. 9).

Serious decay in the timbers of the roof over its Great Hall was discovered in 1798<sup>15</sup>. The militia having been disembodied, this H.Q. was regarded in 1801 as 'a very heavy and unnecessary expence'<sup>16</sup>. It was sold back to the City for £2,475.16s.0d. in March 1803<sup>17</sup> and soon demolished: the site was clear by October<sup>18</sup>.

By that time the Royal College of Surgeons in London had succeeded to the Company's freehold house (No. 41) in Lincoln's Inn Fields, bought its neighbour (No. 42) and invited George Dance, James Lewis and Neill to prepare plans for the conversion of the two to house John Hunter's museum.



Plate 7 The two sides of a 1797 token penny (see text). The edge is inscribed I PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER ON DEMAND ONE PENNY X.

#### NOTES

1. Corporation of London Records Office (C.L.R.O.), Box 24, No. 8.
2. Company of Surgeons, Minutes of the Court of Assistants. References by date, using New Style years.
3. Company of Surgeons, Accounts, 10 July, 7 Aug. 1746, 6 Jan. 1747.
4. India Office Library & Records, Court Minutes, B74, 554.
5. Company of Surgeons, Accounts, 9 Feb. 1749.
6. Soane Museum, Dance, A.L. 5D, 36-75.
7. Guildhall Library, MS 8674/77, 155, Policy No. 72660.
8. *Ibid.*, Policy No. 72659.
9. *Gent. Mag.* 22 (1752) f.p. 493.
10. Endorsement, 15 March 1769, on counterpart of lease (Note 1).
11. C.L.R.O., Surveyors Justice Plans, No. 76.
12. *Idem*, No. 1308.
13. C.L.R.O., Lieutenantancy of London, Minutes 1784-97, 434.
14. *Ibid.*, 426.
15. *Idem*, Minutes 1797-1800, 296.
16. *Idem*, Minutes 1800-7, 93.
17. Surrender of lease (Note 1), 31 March 1803.
18. C.L.R.O., City Lands Committee Journal 95 (1803) 99, 159.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ADAMS (1983), B. Adams *London illustrated 1604-1851* (London 1983).  
 BECK (1970), R. T. Beck 'The Halls of the Barbers, Barber-Surgeons and Company of Surgeons of London' *Ann. R. Coll. Surg. Engl.* 47 (1970) 14-29.  
 COLVIN (1978), H. M. Colvin *A biographical dictionary of British architects 1600-1840* (London 1978).

COPE (1959), Z. Cope *The Royal College of Surgeons of England: a history* (London 1959).

DALTON & HAMER (1910-18), R. Dalton, S. H. Hamer *The provincial token-coinage of the 18th century* (Leamington 1910-18).

DOBSON & MILNES WALKER (1977), J. Dobson, R. Milnes Walker *Barbers and Barber-Surgeons of London* (Oxford 1977).

PAPWORTH (1852-92), W. A. Van S. Papworth *The dictionary of architecture* (London 1852-92).

STROUD (1971), D. Stroud *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825* (London 1971).

WALL (1937), C. Wall *The history of the Surgeons' Company 1745-1800* (London 1937).

WEBB-JOHNSON (1950), Lord Webb-Johnson 'The architectural history of the Royal College of Surgeons' *Ann. R. Coll. Surg. Engl.* 6 (1950) 343-57.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England for permission to use the MS records of the Company of Surgeons; to Mr J. R. Sewell for finding plans in the Corporation of London Records Office; and to Mr H. M. Colvin for advice and encouragement.

*The Society is grateful to the Royal College of Surgeons of England for a publication grant towards the cost of this report.*

# EXCAVATIONS AT BURLINGTON ROAD, FULHAM, LONDON SW6

PETER S. MILLS

## INTRODUCTION

During August 1978 a small excavation was carried out in Fulham (TQ 24437625) adjacent to Burlington Road, in order to assess the archaeological potential of the site prior to a residential redevelopment close to the documented centre of the mediaeval settlement (Feret, 1900, 68).

Following a machine cut trial trench which indicated that *c.* 1m of stratified deposits survived over the natural sand and gravel, an area 4m by 8m was examined on the eastern side of the site. Because of the expense of the excavation and the limited range of the data retrieved no further archaeological work was undertaken.

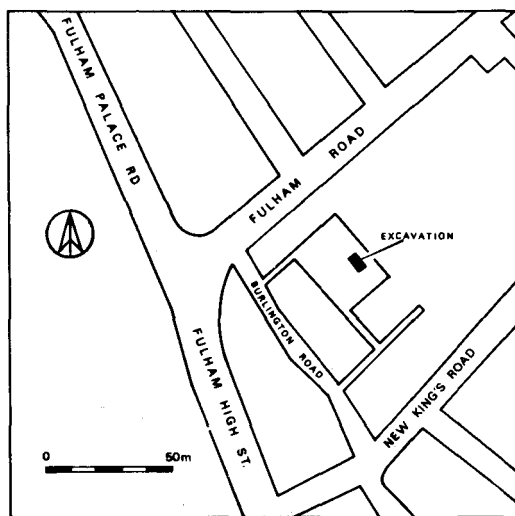


Fig. 1 Burlington Road: Site Location.

## THE EXCAVATION

### PHASE 1

A series of mid 18th cent. pits were found cut into the natural. Some, F42, F65, F109, appeared to have been quarry pits cut for gravel and sand extraction and filled by side slippage. A number of shallower pits were used for the disposal of household rubbish, F31, F36, F101, F103, F135, F107, F145, F50. A large shallow pit F15 occupied most of the northern half of the excavation. This might have been a quarry pit originally but became filled with domestic refuse. There were also two postholes F84 and F161.

### PHASE 2

Covering these pits and postholes was a gravelly loam, F20, probably representing a late 18th century period of agriculture/horticulture.

### PHASE 3

Three features, F34, F46, F48, all containing late 18th century pottery, subsequently cut the loam, F20. One feature, F46, a steeply sloping sided cut, might have been the terminal of a ditch running north-south, perhaps serving as a field boundary. Cutting this was a deep vertically sided subcircular pit F48, possibly a well or soakaway. The sand and gravel fill of this pit indicated that, if a well, it was abandoned uncompleted and filled by the collapsing subsoil. The remaining feature, F34, a steeply sloping sided posthole, lay on the east side of the excavation.

A small amount of kiln furniture found in these features probably came from the major stoneware pottery founded by John Dwight *c.* 1672 at the junction of Burlington Road and New King's Road.

### PHASE 4

The features of Phase 3 were in turn buried beneath a layer of gravelly loam, F19, which, to judge from maps of Fulham, was apparently used for market gardening until the mid 19th century.

## CONCLUSIONS

The area, extensively pitted during the 18th and 19th centuries, nonetheless





yielded a small mount of residual mediaeval pottery no doubt derived from nearby Fulham. The settlement of Fulham, located between the High Street and Burlington Rd, formerly called Back Lane or Sowgelders' Lane (Ferret 1900, 123), small throughout the mediaeval and post mediaeval periods, lay in the centre of an area used for market gardens supplying London (Ferret 1900, 24). Previous excavation by the Fulham and Hammersmith Historical Society in 1975 at nearby Landridge Road showed an area was similarly used for post mediaeval rubbish pits, having been ploughed during the late 13th century (Canvin 1975, 257). The land usage at Burlington Road during the mediaeval period is unknown: perhaps the lack of pottery indicates the land was pasture or meadow. However, the nearby evidence of ploughing in the 13th century may indicate general arable use in the area, the evidence for this having been later destroyed by the post mediaeval pits.

The Phase 1 pits found during the excavation were numerous, the date span limited, arguing a brief, intensive use in the 18th century. The pottery assemblage seemingly represents an adjacent property being cleared *c.* 1760, probably one of those shown on Rocque's map of 1746. Conjoining sherds from several pits, F15, F31, F36 and F65 indicate that these pits, at least, were open at about the same time.

The phases of loam (2 and 4) belong to the documented period of market gardening that dominated the landscape of post mediaeval Fulham. The three features of Phase 3 might be directly related to the period of agriculture, particularly the cut F46, if interpreted as a boundary ditch terminal.

The site should be seen as being in more or less continuous agricultural use during the post mediaeval period. At one

point was presumably convenient for rubbish disposal and limited sand and gravel quarrying.

## THE MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY

by LYN BLACKMORE

### INTRODUCTION

A total of 1048 sherds of medieval and post-medieval pottery was recovered, of which approximately one third (387 sherds) was derived from the large pit F15. In view of the small size and the homogeneous nature of the assemblage, which dates mainly to the 17th–18th centuries, the pottery is presented here in broad period and fabric groups only. Full details of the assemblage are available in the pottery archive, which is housed together with the finds and site records at The Department of Greater London Archaeology, Museum of London, London Wall, EC2.

#### 1. MEDIEVAL

Thirty-eight sherds of medieval pottery dating from *c.* 1150–1450, including two sherds of imported pottery, were recovered from nineteen features, mainly F15 (see Fig. 3). This is disappointing considering the proximity of the site to the documented medieval settlement of Fulham, although excavations in 1971 on the nearby site of the Fulham Pottery encountered a similar lack of pre-16th century material (Christophers and Haselgrove 1973, 115; Christophers *et al* 1977, 1). The group is dominated by Surrey white wares, both Kingston (Fig. 4 Nos 1–4; F31, F20, F15, F48 respectively) and coarse border ware (Fig. 4 No. 5, F19; No. 6, F20). One sherd may be of prehistoric or medieval date. Three flints, a battered hollow-edged scraper, part of a core and a flake were also found on the site (F50, F65, F105 respectively), so that a prehistoric date cannot be completely ruled out.

#### POST-MEDIEVAL

A total of 1010 sherds representing twenty fabric types was recovered (Fig. 3). The pottery from the Phase 1 pits and the Phase 2 loam forms a homogeneous group of mid-18th century wares which complements that from a late 18th century pit at 8–10 Crosswall in the City of London (Vince *et al* 1981). Most of the pottery is of a rather mundane nature, and none of the other finds categories (vessel glass, bronze, iron, clay-pipe) contained anything of particular note. The bias towards coarse wares, and the presence of sizeable vessel fragments suggests, as at Crosswall, the

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4
Flint-tempered			1	
South Herts.		1		
Sandy-gritty	1			
Gritty-shelly	1			
London	1			
Kingston	12	4	3	2
Coarse Border ware	6	2	1	1
Pseudo-Cistercian ware	2		2	
Coarse red ware Type A	82	4	21	12
Fine red ware Type B	64	11	8	15
Fine red ware Type C	21	7	5	4
Red Border ware	19	5	3	8
Fine Surrey white ware	48	7	3	8
Staffordshire				
coarse red ware	21	1		
slipware	10		2	2
Agate/marbled ware	9		1	
butterpot	2		5	
white salt-glazed ware	48	26	10	16
Metropolitan slipware	20			
English stoneware	57	24	14	17
English tin-glazed	115	33	34	21
English china	1	1		49
Saintonge	1			
Spanish amphora	1			
Martincamp stoneware	2		1	
Rhenish stoneware				
Langerwehe/Raeren		1	1	1
Cologne/Frechen	16	4	6	1
Westerwald	25	4	3	
Chinese porcelain	23	8	4	12
Total	608	143	128	169

Fig. 3 Burlington Road: The distribution of the medieval and post medieval pottery.

clearance of a nearby kitchen or scullery, possibly in one of the adjacent properties shown on Roque's map of c. 1746.

The red-wares comprise two roughly equal-sized groups of glazed and unglazed pottery, the latter mainly from flower-pot type vessels. Forms include some types present at Crosswall, but also a wider range of small bowls. The larger dishes/basins seen at Crosswall (Vince 1981, Fig. 2 Nos 4, 5), are however, apparently absent. Three fabric types,

both unglazed and glazed (mainly clear or orange-brown, some green) are present:

Type A; densely tempered with ill-sorted medium to coarse white quartzsand, sparse rose quartz, flint and grog (Fig. 5 No. 7, F15, F19, F48, F65; No. 9, F12, F15).

Type B; moderately tempered with ill-sorted fine white sand; slightly fused surfaces with a sandy feel (Fig. 9 No. 8, F36).

Type C; a very fine dull pinkish-red ware (Fig. 5 No. 10, F12, F15). This fabric group includes some more micaceous sherds, and a small number of sherds in a more orange ware with fine grog inclusions.

Other coarse wares include red Border Ware

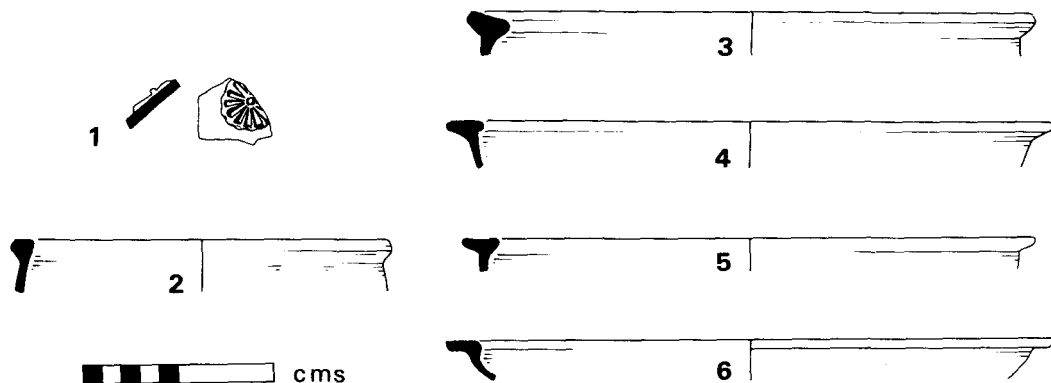


Fig. 4 Burlington Road: Pottery 1-6 (4).

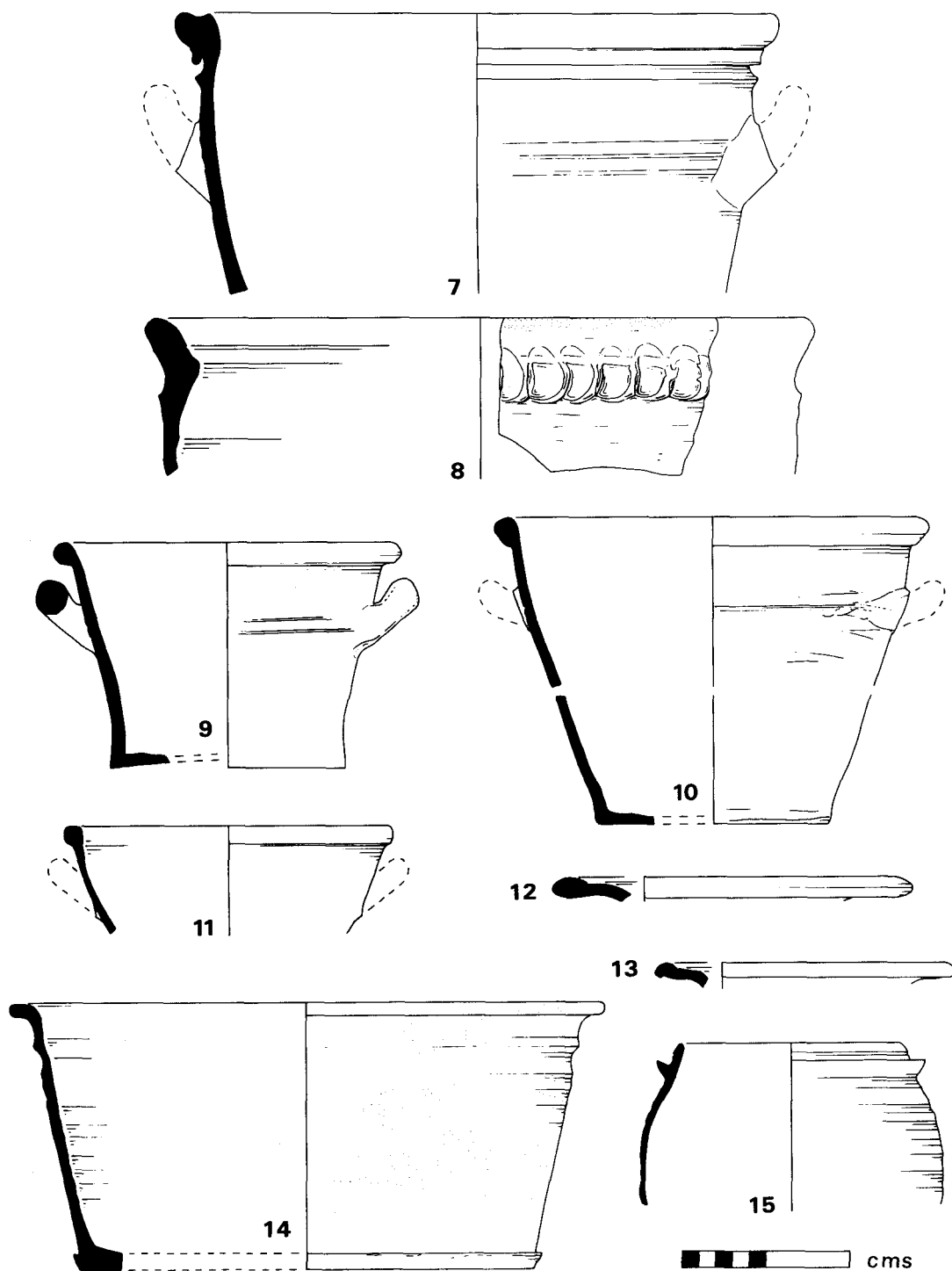


Fig. 5 Burlington Road: Pottery 7-15 (4).

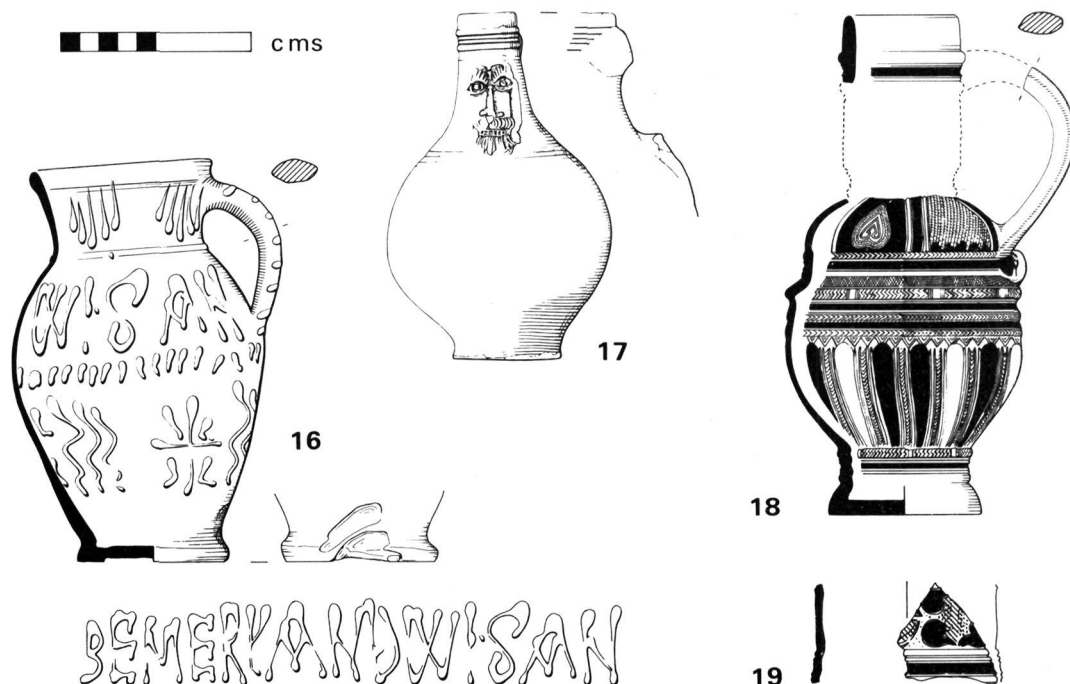


Fig. 6 Burlington Road: Pottery 16-19 (4).

bowls and dishes (Fig. 5 Nos 11-3, all F15), A Staffordshire marbled ware basin with a rich brown glaze over a thick cream slip (Fig. 5 No. 14, F15), and a fine border ware cooking pot with seated rim and internal olive glaze. The most notable finds are the three largely complete jugs (Nos 16-18), which are of 17th- rather than 18th-century date, and which may have been kept for display only. Slipware jugs such as No. 16 were common from the earlier 17th-later 18th centuries, the main local production centre being at Harlow in Essex (Newton *et al* 1959, 358-77; Cooper 1968, 22-30), where decorated jugs both with and without dates and inscriptions of varying degrees of piety were manufactured. An example dated 1645 may be seen in the Museum of London (Celoria 1966, Pl. 16; A14709). No. 16 (F31) has a good orange glaze and decoration of dots, stripes and continuous motto "be mery and wis an" in white slip around the girth of the pot. Although initially well made, two thumb prints below the handle indicate that jug was distorted in the attempt to remove it from the wheel. This fault has been accentuated by the thick accumulation of badly fired glass on the underside of the vessel. The Cologne/Frechen bellarmine bottle (Fig. 6 No. 17, F20) is complete but for the handle. The style of the mask and the small size of the vessel suggest a late 16th-17th century

date. The Westerwald jug (Fig. 6 No. 18, F31, F48, F65) is probably of mid-17th century date; the absence of the upper part of the handle suggests that the piece may have been mounted with a silver or pewter lid hinged at the handle.

Tin-glazed wares comprise fragments of ointment and drug jars ranging from 38mm to 900mm base diameter (Fig. 7 Nos 20-1, both F19), and sherds from a variety of table wares (Fig. 7 Nos 22-3, both F15). The drug jars are mainly plain white, but some decorated with blue or blue and yellow stripes (cf. Bloice 1971, Figs 55, 58; Vince *et al* 1981, Fig. 3 No. 12). The style of decoration on No. 23, with purple or blue backgrounds was adopted *c.* 1740 by the four main production centres of Lambeth, Bristol, Wincanton and Liverpool. The mottled effect of the background was achieved by placing paper shapes over the areas reserved for decoration and sprinkling cobalt or manganese over the remaining surface. Near parallels for No. 23 may be found in both Wincanton ware (Godden 1966, Pl. 269), and Lambeth ware (Garner 1948, 17, Pl. 60c). The reserved panels on Wincanton ware are less frequently outlined in blue, while the background of Lambeth ware is generally denser and darker than that of Bristol, Wincanton or Liverpool (Garner and Archer 1972, 66).

The small group of Chinese porcelain (*c.* 25

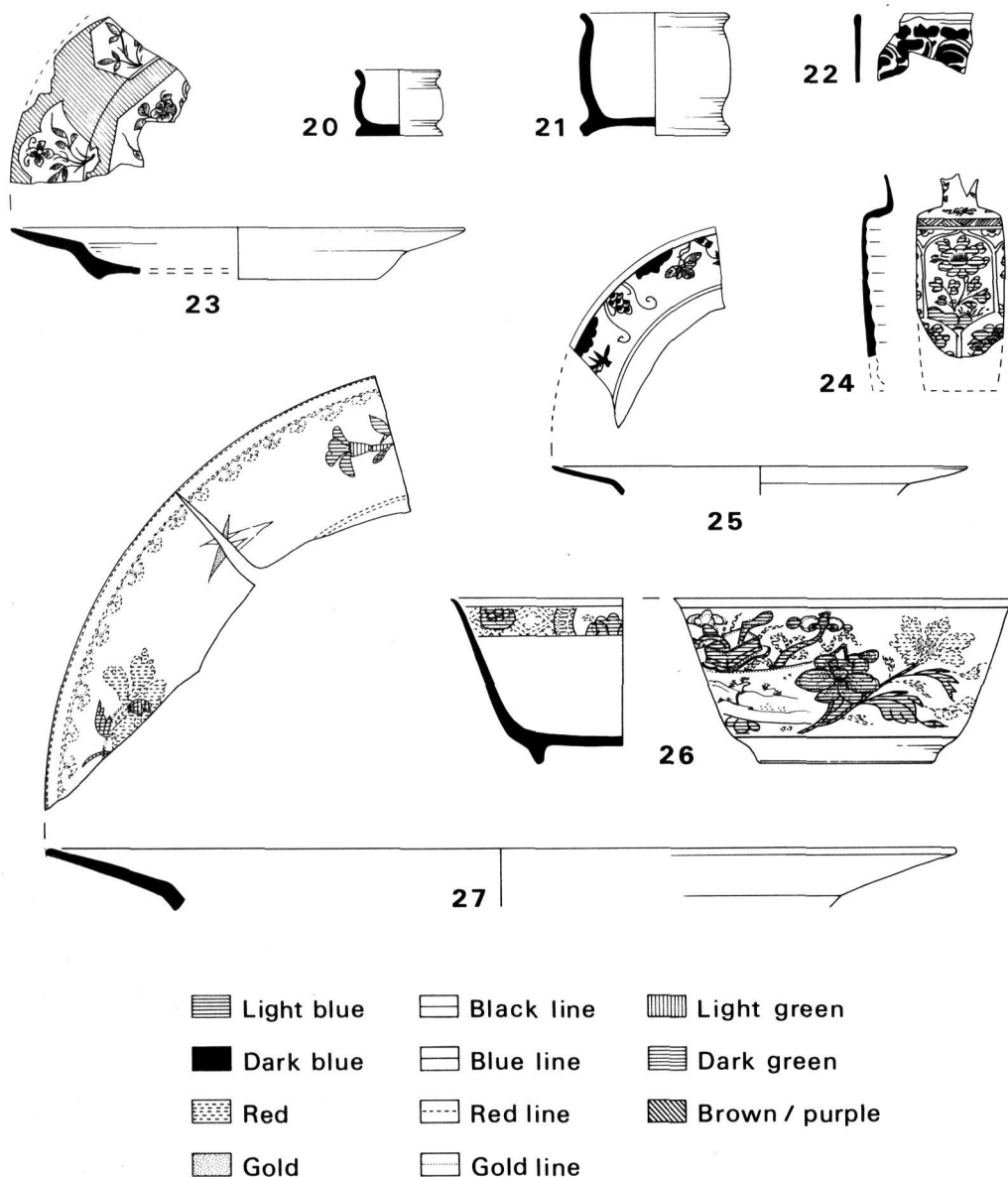


Fig. 7 Burlington Road: Pottery 20-27 (¼).

vessels) is typical of many post-medieval sites. It comprises one fragment Batavian or dead-leaf ware, sherds from six Chinese Imari cups, bowls and plates (Fig. 7 No. 26, F20), fragments of Famille Rose (Fig. 7 No. 27, F15; probably Kang-hsi, 1662-1722) as well as blue and white wares. The latter include a perfume bottle (Fig. 7 No. 24,

F15; No. 25, F15, F19). All appear to be of an earlier, purely Chinese type rather than the later mass export material where the designs are influenced by western tastes.

The Phase 1 and Phase 3 pits F15 and F48 and the Phase 4 loam F19 also produced nine fragments of stoneware kiln saggar. These presumably derive

from the kilns established c. 1672 by John Dwight, which were situated just to the south-west of the site, between Burlington Road and Fulham High Street and which have yielded fragments of similar kiln furniture (Christophers and Haselgrove 1971; 255–58; Christophers and Haselgrove 1973, 114–20, and Fig. 7 Nos 8–10; Christophers *et al* 1977, 9, Nos 1–3).

The three later pits contained much similar material as those in Phase 1, and are probably of late 18th century date. The phase 4 loam may be dated to the mid-19th century by the presence of transfer-decorated English china.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Unit would like to thank the Samuel Lewis Housing Trust for their cooperation and the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham for allowing access to the site, and the volunteers who carried out the work.

Thanks are also due to Clive Orton and Jacqui Pearce for their comments on the pottery and porcelain respectively.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BLOICE (1971), B. J. Bloice, 'Norfolk House, Lambeth: Excavations at a Delftware kiln site 1968' *Post-Medieval Archaeol.* 5 (1971) 99–159.  
 CANVIN (1975), G. Canvin, A Summary of the excavation in the 'Excavation Roundup', *London Archaeologist* 2, 10 (Spring 1975) 257.  
 CELORIA (1966), F. C. Celoria, 'Dated Post-medieval Pottery in the London Museum' HMSO 1966.  
 CHRISTOPHERS and HASELGROVE (1971), V. R. Christophers and D. C. Haselgrove, 'The Fulham Pottery' *London Archaeologist* Vol. 1, No. 11 (1971) 255–58.  
 CHRISTOPHERS and HASELGROVE (1973), V. R. Christophers and D. C. Haselgrove, 'The Fulham Pottery' *London Archaeologist* Vol. 2, No. 5 (1973) 114–20.  
 CHRISTOPHERS, HASELGROVE and PEARCEY (1977), V. R. Christophers, D. C. Haselgrove, O. H. J. Pearcey, 'The Fulham Pottery' *Fulham and Hammersmith Historical Society, Archaeological Section, Occ. Paper* No. 1 (1977).  
 COOPER (1968), R. G. Cooper, 'English Slipware Dishes' 1650–1850.  
 FERET (1900), C. J. Feret, 'Fulham Old and New', Vol. I (1900).  
 GARNER (1948), F. H. Garner, 'English Delftware'.  
 GARNER and ARCHER (1972), F. H. Garner and M. Archer, 'English Delftware'.  
 GODDEN (1966), G. A. Godden 'An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of British Pottery and Porcelain'.  
 NEWTON *et al* (1959), E. F. Newton, E. Bibbings, Canon J. L. Fisher, 'Seventeenth century pottery sites at Harlow, Essex' *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* 25 (1949–60) 358–77.  
 ROQUE (1746), J. Roque, *An Exact Survey of the City's of London and of Westminster, ye Borough of Southwark and Country near 10 miles round London* (1746).  
 VINCE *et al* (1981), A. G. Vince, G. Egan, K. W. Armitage, P. Armitage, A. Locker, J. E. Pearce, F. A. Pritchard, B. A. West, 'The Contents of a Late 18th-century Pit at Crosswall, City of London' *Trans London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 32 (1981) 159–81.

*The Society is grateful to the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England for a publication grant towards the cost of this report.*

# THE BRASSES OF MIDDLESEX

## PART 24

### NORTHOLT, NORWOOD, PINNER AND RUISLIP

H. K. CAMERON

#### NORTHOLT

I. Henry Rowdell Esq, 1452; on floor of south aisle.

This is a small but good example of a man in full plate armour, (Fig. 1) similar in style to a number of brasses in the county and elsewhere around London and called style 'B' in a general classification<sup>1</sup>. It is smaller than similar brasses described earlier in this series<sup>2</sup>, measuring just 15½ inches high. The head is encased in a helmet and the feet rest on a lion. The most interesting feature is a livery collar around the neck. It has no engraving on it, but is recessed suggesting it was once filled with colour. The outer guard of the sword has been broken off and is now missing.

Immediately below this figure is an inscription in two lines of blackletter on a rectangular plate 16 in wide and 2¼ in deep. It reads:

Hic iacet Henricus Rowdell Armig'. qui obiit x° die  
Aprilis A° Dni M° CCCC° lii° cui' aie ppiciet' de' amē

At six inches below this inscription is the indent for a lost shield. This has been missing for many years; there is no old rubbing in our principal collections which shows it. The arms were described by Lysons<sup>3</sup> as *three annulets on a chief*, but whether this was from his observation of the brass in the late 18th century is uncertain. The name does not appear in

Burke's General Armory, nor has a will been found.

I am grateful to Mr C. H. Keene, a long time resident of Northolt and a distinguished local historian, for the following information about Henry Rowdell.

According to W. H. L. Shadwell, steward and later lord of the manor from about 1880 to 1930, Rowdell by his will wished to be buried in St Stephen's Chapel at Northall, Northolt, Church. This chapel is the small area in the south east corner of the nave, the site of the brass. The area is still called St Stephen's Chapel.

The Northolt court rolls are extant only from 1463, so Rowdell is not recorded.

Shadwell states that in 1414 he held 'Cattons', later Catherines or Katherines Mead from John Stile who in that year assured to Henry Rowdell, 'a messuage & 16 acres of land in Northall'. This land is now part of Belvue Park lying south east of the church.

Henry Rundel, Roundell or Rowdell acquired copyhold land of the manor of Northall about the same time; 'a croft of land called 'Blakmers' containing 1 acre'. This land apparently lay between Iliots Green and Islips or Ryselipes Place, now part of Islip Manor Park. A road nearby is called Rowdell Road.



## II. John Gyfforde, in armour, and wife Susan, 1560; on the chancel floor.

This brass is set in a large stone, 66in by 32½in, in the centre of the chancel floor (Fig. 2). The figures of John Gyfforde and his wife are quite small, 15in and 14½in high and are spaced widely apart, some 14in separating them. They are facing towards one another with hands joined in prayer. He is in armour of the period and is bareheaded, with a beard. He stands on a grass mound. Susan is elegantly dressed in a long costume reaching to the feet, which are just showing; she too stands on a grass mound. An outer gown which is almost as long as the dress has puffed and slashed shoulders and a fur collar. It is held together in front by two tied bows, but opens lower down where further ties are loose. An ornament hangs in front from a very long cord so that it almost reaches the ground. She wears on her head the attractive Paris bonnet with coverings for the ears and a drape hanging behind.

Immediately below these figures is a rectangular plate 26½in wide and 6½in deep. On it is the following inscription in six lines of blackletter:



Fig. 1 Northolt: Henry Rowdell Esq., 1452.

Behold in grave where Susan lies, somtyme John Gyffordes wiffe,  
who thyrty yeares of age in childbed chaunged her liffe.  
The fourth of June, from christ one Thousand & fyve hudreth yeares,  
wyth odd thre score in trew accompte as playne appeares.  
To whom y<sup>e</sup> almighty lord, thre tymes thre sonnes by course haith lent  
and doughters thre but on the last her lyfe she Spent.

of whose soule God have mcy

Spaced 4½in below this inscription are two groups of children. A plate 5½in square on which are nine sons in ordinary civilian dress is underneath the father and under Susan is a plate 5½in by 4½in on which are three daughters. Four large shields of arms, 7in by 6in, were spaced at the four corners above and below the

figures. These have been missing for a long time. In the bottom dexter corner of the stone is an incised cross, indicating its former use as an alter slab.

John Gyfford and Susanna Wadeley, of the diocese of London, were married on 29 January, 1546/7<sup>4</sup>. Her brief life thereafter was the customary role of continuous

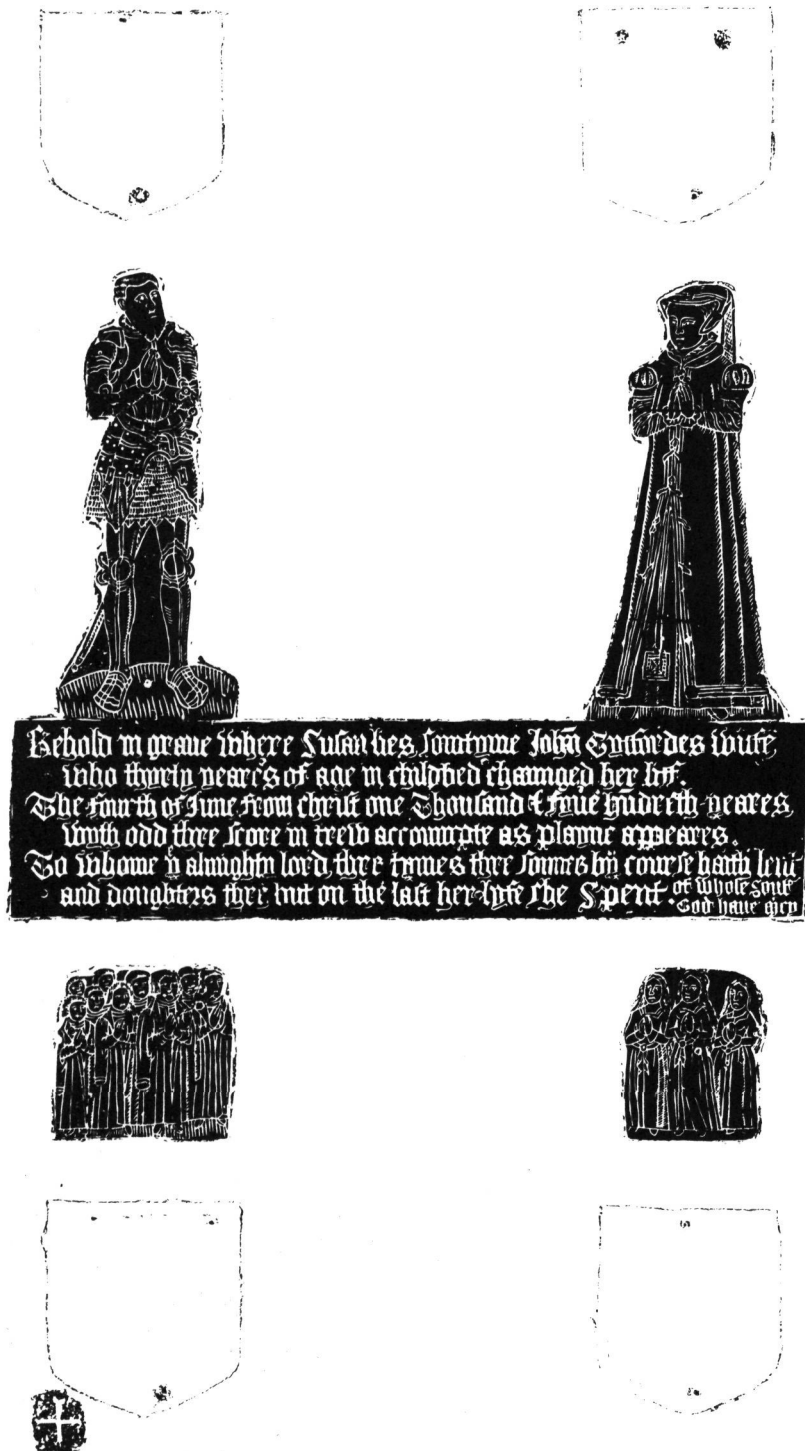


Fig. 2 Northolt: John and Susan Gyfforde, 1560.

child bearing until she succumbed on the arrival of the twelfth in thirteen years.

In 1565 John Gifford, described as of Northolt, acquired the estate in Northolt known as 'Ruislips'<sup>5</sup>, thus named after a Ruislip family who had owned land in Northolt as early as 1301. The estate comprised a house and orchard with twenty acres of pasture and sixty acres of common field arable. This estate remained with the Gifford family until 1629 when it was acquired by William Pennifather, lord of the manor of Northolt, from one William Gifford. Subsequently 'Ruislips' or 'Islips' was associated with the manor of Northolt. When Charles Hawtreys of Ruislip acquired the estate in 1690 the house was referred to as Islips or Gifford's Farm and seems to have served as a manor house to Northolt manor.

I again quote from Mr Keene.

It is known that the Gyffordes owned the manor of Hooton Pagnall in Yorks. In 1556 John Gyfforde Esq. of Northall acquired that manor from his father John. John Gyfforde of Northall had three sons who survived after his death in 1596. The other six had already died. John the eldest son inherited Hooton Pagnall manor from his father in 1596 when it was promptly forfeited to the Crown as he was an unrepentant recusant who owed £300 in fines for persistent recusancy over 15 years. He died in 1596, aged 47.

William the second son inherited the Northall estate, Giffords Farm or Islips; he married Audrey or Anndra Lyon daughter of Richard Lyon of West Twyford. She also was a recusant and in 1599 Anndra Gifforde wife of William Gifforde appeared at the Middlesex Sessions charged with forty several true bills for not going to church, chapel or usual place of common prayer. William was probably also a recusant, but kept a low profile; on the other hand he provided seats for occupants of Islips in Northolt

church which in a petition of 1632 the parishioners desired to have the use of.

John Gyfforde bought Ryslepes Place, so called in a Terrier of 1489, and described as a messuage, with two chambers and a hall, a barn, a stable and a wood shed, value XXs. There were 100 acres of arable land in the common fields and six closes of pasture containing 54 acres and 9 acres of wood. 30 acres in close called Fremantells had been sold to William Gerrard of Harrow. The descendants of the Ryslepe family had sold by 1563 to Alan Horde who let to John Gyfforde in that year and who bought the estate in 1565. John Gyfforde is recorded as of Northall in 1563 in the Cal. of Pat. Rolls when he was committed to the Fleet owing a debt of £40 in January of that year but by July he was released as he had, with two others, acquired over £2000 rents in various counties.

Gyfforde was often away from Northall or Northolt, between 1571 and 1595, for the court rolls record that he was regularly presented for non attendance as a freeholder and other offences during that time.

John Gyfforde remarried after 1560 but no details are known of his second wife, other than her name 'Anne'.

The will of John Gyfforde Esq late of Northall was made on 21st March 1596, He was 'to be buryed in the Chauncell of the Parishe Church of Northall aforeseide by my last weife Susan Gyfforde'.

He made bequests to his eldest son John, his second son William and his youngest son Henry; also to his second wife Anne, to his daughter Marye £600 and if she died unmarried she was to leave to her sister's daughter Anne Moigne £100. He left one Goulde ring to his daughter Avys Hide.

It appears that three sons and three daughters were still living in 1596.

The burial register only shows 1596 as



Fig. 3 Northolt: Reverse of the figures of John & Susan Gyfforde, c. 1480 and children.

the burial of 'Mr Gyfford'.

When examined by Mill Stephenson in 1902 the whole Gifford brass was loose in its slab<sup>6</sup>. With the exception of the inscription it was all found to be palimpsest: that is the metal had been taken from an earlier brass, cut up, turned over and reused. The figure of John Gyfforde was made from two pieces being part of an effigy in armour of date about 1480. On the larger piece are parts of the legs and feet which are resting on a hound. The smaller or upper portion shows some of the thighs of the earlier figure with the sword hung diagonally across the legs. The figure of Susan is made from three pieces, the top piece being from the same figure in armour showing part of the breastplate, the pommel of the sword and part of its belt. The other two pieces are of female dress, possibly contemporary with the armed figure. The sons of John Gyfforde are on two pieces of metal, crudely soldered together so that the detail of the blackletter inscription on the reverse is difficult to read. The two pieces must almost juxtapose, being the left side of the inscription. The right hand side of the inscription is missing. The following can be identified:

Orate p(ro) a(n)i(m)ab(u)s Will . . . Wilkyns (quo(n)d(a)m) . . . . .  
 eius qui quidem Will . . . . . s obijt xiiii die dec . . . . .  
 obiit xvii die Mai . . . . .(A)nno dni mill(es)i(m)o CCC . . . . .

J. Page-Phillips<sup>7</sup> has identified this William Wylkins as a citizen and brewer of London who willed<sup>8</sup> to be buried in the 'parish church of saint Martyn Orgar beside Candilwyke strete of London in the same place wher as the body of Alice late my wif now lieth buried.'

On the back of the daughters' plate is a group of kneeling sons, about eight in number, *c.* 1480, but much worn.

The reverse of the two Gyfforde figures is here illustrated (Fig. 3) by permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London from a rubbing in their collection made by R. H. Pearson when he repaired the brass in 1960. The brass has been illustrated in the Portfolio of the M.B.S., Vol. 2, Pl. 29 and the reverses by Page-Phillips<sup>9</sup>.

III. Isaiah Bures, vicar, 1610; mural, S. wall of chancel.

This monument was placed on the east wall of the church, but was moved to the east end of the south wall of the chancel about ten years ago. It is a composite memorial, with the brass set into a marble tablet. The brass figure of Isaiah Bures shows him in a long gown with arms projecting from false sleeves and wearing a ruff round his neck (Fig. 4). He is kneeling on a cushion with corner tassels, all on a tiled floor, the latter indicated by engraved lines in perspective. The plate is 14in high. The hands are joined in prayer and are held before his body which is half turned to his right, though with the head partly turned to face the observer. He wears moustache and beard in the

fashion of the time. Immediately above his head is a rectangular plate, 7½in high and 6in across, on which is a shield of arms surmounted by a helm and mantling and a crest of a dragon. The arms are those given by Burke: *ermine on a chief dancettée sable 2 lions rampant or.*

Below the figure is the inscription in eleven lines of Roman Capitals on a rectangular plate 8½in high and 20in wide.

SACRUM MEMORIAE ISIAE BURES MARITI SUI CHARISSIMI  
 QUI NON OBSCURIS ORTUS NATALIBUS BONIS LITERIS IN  
 ACADEMIA OXNIENSI ERUDITUS IBIQ IN COLLEGIO



Fig. 4 Northolt: Isaiah Bures, Vicar, 1610.

BALIDLENSI MAGISTER IN ARTIBUS RENUNTIATUS HUIUS  
 NUPER ECCLESIAE PASTOR VIGILANTISSIMUS CUI DUM  
 OMNI STUDIO & ZELO MILITARET IN TRIUMPHANTEM  
 IN CAELIS ECCLESIAM A CHRISTO EVOCARUS PLACIDE  
 PIEQ EMIGRAVIT & QUOD MORTALE FUT CERTUS RESUR =  
 GENDI HIC AD TEMPUS DEPOSUIT DIE 12 OCTOBRE  
 AETATIS SUAE 64 & SALUTIS HUMANA 1610  
 CATHARINA UXOR EIUS AMANTISSIMA DESIDERII MEMOR POSUIT

'Sacred to the memory of Isaiah Bures her most dear husband, who was not of obscure birth, was learned and well read in the University of Oxford and acquired there Master of Arts in Balliol College; more recently a most vigilant pastor of this church; from which, while he served with all diligence and zeal, being called by Christ he passed over quietly and piously to the triumphant church in heaven; and being certain of resurrection from here in due course he put off what was mortal on the 12 day of October at the age of 64 and in the year of human salvation 1610. Catherine his most loving wife placed this in memory of her grief.'

It is surprising and curious that there is no mention of Isaiah Bures either in Wood's *Fasti Oxoniensis* or in Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis*, yet the inscription says that he was an M.A. Unfortunately the earliest Admissions Register of Balliol College does not start until 1636 and no mention can be found of his name among the fragmentary information in the College archives between the years 1558 and 1570 when he is likely to have been in residence.

The church records show that he was vicar of Northolt from 1592 until his death in 1610.

In the will of 'Esaie Bewres Clerke and vicar of Northall' he left £300 to his son Richard Bewres and to his daughter Elisabeth his book called 'Beacon'. To his sister Newnham 'for a Ringe in remembrance fourtie shillings' and the same amount to his sister Dorothy Arundell.

After other small gifts he left his freehold land to his wife Catherine so long as she remained a widow; also the residue of all his goods and chattels. The witnesses who signed to testify this was his last will and testament were Peter Thornton, Catherine Bewres and Richard Bewres who made 'his marke'. (Was he illiterate?)

I am indebted to Mr C. H. Keene for allowing me the use of his notes on these families commemorated on brass in Northolt church. Mr Keene has been actively collecting local historical information for many years. His work is now deposited in the Ealing reference library for future availability.

#### NORWOOD

I. Matthew Hunsley, gent., 1618; mural, N. wall of chancel.

This figure is well drawn and a good example of the elegant dress of the period, worn by a man in the prime of his life (Fig. 5). The plate on which it is engraved is 17in high and the figure itself just under 16in. Matthew Hunsley is shown facing slightly to his left with hands before him joined in prayer. He is dressed in doublet and hose over which is worn a knee-length cloak with a wide collar turned back over the shoulders. He has a beard and his hair is parted in the middle, but with a forelock. The left leg is turned outwards and shows the shoe to be laced in front.

Below the figure is the inscription in 12 lines of Roman Capitals, on a plate 20 3/8in wide and 12in deep. It reads:

HERE LYETH MATTHEW HUNSLEY GENT LATE  
 OF THIS PARISH BEING ABSENT FROM YE<sup>E</sup>



HERE LYETH MATTHEW HUNSLEY GENT LATE  
OF THIS PARISH BEING ABSENT FROM Y  
BODY BUT PRESENT W<sup>TH</sup> THE LORD HIS DAYES  
WERE NOT LONG YET HIS LIFE WAS NOT SHORT  
FOR HE HAD WHAT HE SOUGHT GODLY FERE  
& TRVE FAYTH & NOW RESTS IN HOPE OF A IOY  
FVLL RESVRRECTION HAVING FINISHED HIS  
COVRSE IN MVCH PATIENCE & PEACE IN THE  
35 YERE OF HIS AGE ON THE 12 OF DECEMB  
AN DOM 1618 IN TESTIMONY WHERE OF  
ELIZABETH HIS DERE WIFE HATH SET HERE  
THIS SAD & DVABLE REMEMBRANCE

Fig. 5 Norwood: Matthew Hunsley, gent., 1618.



BODY BUT PRESENT W<sup>TH</sup> THE LORD HIS DAYES  
 WERE NOT LONG YET HIS LIFE WAS NOT SHORT  
 FOR HE HAD WHAT HE SOUGHT GODLY FERE  
 & TRUE FAYTH & NOW RESTS IN HOPE OF A JOY  
 FULL RESURRECTION HAVING FINISHED HIS  
 COURSE IN MUCH PATIENCE & PEACE IN THE  
 35 YERE OF HIS AGE ON THE 12 OF DECEMB  
 AN DOM 1618 IN TESTIMONY WHERE OF  
 ELIZABETH HIS DERE WIFE HATH SET HERE  
 THIS SAD & DURABLE REMEMBRANCE

At the time the rubbing was made for the accompanying illustration the inscription plate was completely loose and was placed in the vestry. This has now been replaced on the north wall of the chancel. The stone in which this brass was originally laid is on the chancel floor with well preserved indents to which both figure and inscription should be returned.

II. Francis Awsiter Esq., 1624; mural, S. wall of chancel.

The figure of Francis Awsiter is in typical civilian costume of this date (Fig. 6). It is a small effigy, 17in high, and a not very distinguished engraving. His long gown has openings for the arms almost at shoulder level, with false sleeves or hangings from the shoulders to knee level. His inner doublet, buttoned up to the neck, can just be seen on his chest. The figure is half turned to his right with the hands joined in prayer. He is well groomed, with a moustache and a pointed beard which projects beyond his ruff. Standing on a round flat stone the feet are in shoes one of which shows that they are tied across the tongue as is modern practice.

Immediately below the figure is a rectangular plate, 19in wide and 9½in deep, with an ornamental foliage border. Within this is the inscription in 7 lines of bold Roman capitals followed by 4 more lines in smaller lettering, as follows:

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF FRANCIS AWSITER  
 ESQUIER AGED 67 YEARES HEE HAD TO WIFE  
 FRANCES HORSEMAN THE DAUGHTER OF  
 LARANCE HORSEMAN ESQUIER BY WHOME

The Awsiter family first appear in the local reports when one Richard Awsiter is said to have built or rebuilt the manor house on Southall Green in 1587. There is some uncertainty on which was the manor house of Southall manor. A large house called Dorman's Well, in the possession of Robert Cheeseman in 1547, descended as the manor house of Southall and became the seat of Lord and Lady Dacre though, as a widow, she devised the house to Sir Edward Fenner. The house, according to the account in the V.C.H.<sup>10</sup>, probably formed the manor house and demesne of Southall manor and perhaps adopted the style of a manor after Southall manor house, built by Richard Awsiter, had become divorced from its manor. The manors of Southall and Norwood were acquired by Gregory Fiennes, Lord Dacre and his wife Anne in 1578. Dacre died in 1594 and his wife in the following year, when her executors sold 38 acres of land in Norwood to Francis Awsiter. In 1602 the same executors sold him the manor of Norwood and two months later he bought the manor of Southall from Dacre's heir and sister, Margaret Lady Dacre and her husband Sampson Leonard. These manors were held by the Awsiter family until 1754, when they were sold. According to the V.C.H., Francis died in 1627 and was succeeded by his son Richard, who could hardly have been the Richard who built



Fig. 6 Norwood: Francis Awsiter Esq., 1624.

HEE HAD YSSUE RICHARD ELIZABETH MARY  
 ANNE AND REBECCA HEE DECEASED THE 10<sup>TH</sup>  
 DAY OF MARCH 1624  
 HIS SOULE ASCENDED IS  
 HIS BODY HERE REMAYNES  
 THE CHURCH ENJOYES HIS COSTES  
 THE PARISHE HAD HIS PAYNES

the manor house on Southall Green. There is some confusion on this date of Francis' death. His extensive will<sup>11</sup> is dated 1625; yet the brass gives his death as 1624.

Francis Awsiter gave by will an annual rent charge of 30s. (deducting 8s. for a sermon and 2s. to the clerk) to be dis-

tributed among poor widows attending the church on Good Friday<sup>12</sup>.  
 letter. This plate has been broken at some time in the last hundred years and a piece at the right hand end is now missing. What remains is 4½in deep and 16in wide. An early rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London dated 30th June 1810 shows the inscription complete and 17½in wide; it reads:

Here under lyeth the bodye of Anne Bedingfeld (the)  
 Daughter of Eustace Bedingfeld gent who depected (her)  
 lyfe y<sup>e</sup> xxiii<sup>th</sup> of february 1580. & buried at the cha(r)dge  
 of Margery Draper widow late wyfe of John Dra(per)  
 Citizen and bere brewer of london her Graundmot(her)

tributed among poor widows attending the church on Good Friday<sup>12</sup>.

Frances Awsiter, the wife mentioned on the brass, made her will in 1628<sup>13</sup>. She is described as of Southall, but leaves her charity of 50s. to the chapel of Norwood 'belonging to the parish church of Hayes'. She also left 50s. to be distributed to the poor who usually resort to the chapel of Norwood. She left £5 to her grandchild, Francis Awsiter 'at his age of one and twentie yeares' if her executor and overseer 'find that my estate shall beare it.' Any residue of her estate goes to her *only* daughter, Rebecca whom she appoints her executrix. The other daughters mentioned on the brass must have died within the previous three or four years.

#### PINNER

I. Anne Bedingfield, a baby, 1580; now kept in the vestry.

This is the small figure of an infant still in chrysom, (Fig. 7) clad thus in the first month of its life before the mother was churched. It is but 9in high and is accompanied by a rectangular plate on which is a five line inscription in black-

One wonders at the circumstance that prompted a grandmother to place a brass to the memory of this one of her grandchildren; perhaps fondness for her daughter, also called Anne, or perhaps because of the impecunity of her son-in-law. Margery Draper, the widow of a London brewer, was evidently well placed to afford such a memorial, as can be seen from her will<sup>14</sup>. She left freehold lands, tenements and hereditaments in 'Wymley' (Wembley) in the parish of Harrow to her son John, so long as he 'does not make or suffer any alienation or discontinuance'. If he does she gives it to her sons Robert and Jasper. Her freehold property near Enfield she leaves to Robert, who also inherits the leasehold of a property known by the name of 'The Bell' in Newgate Marshes in London and a lease of a property in Chancery Lane. All her other goods and chattels, described in some detail, she leaves to her daughter, Anne Bedingfeld or her executors. Anne therefore did not die in childbirth, but survived the death of her infant by at least twenty years. Margery Draper also left considerable money to her chil-

dren: £300 to Robert, £100 to Henry, £280 to Jasper and £200 to her daughter Anne Bedingfeld. What is perhaps of some significance is that she released a debt of £400 to Anne, which her late husband Eustace Bedingfeld 'did owe me'. She also released

On the reverse of the chrysom child is part of the inscription from a 16th century Flemish brass, no doubt originally part of a brass in a church in the Low Countries (Fig. 8), pillaged in the Calvinist iconoclasms of 1566 and thereafter. Some of

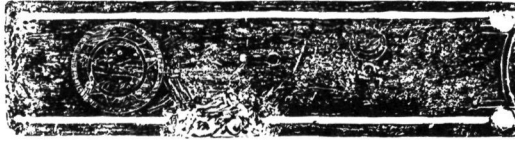


Fig. 8 Pinner: Reverse of Anne Bedingfeld.

a debt of £200 from her son John. She appointed her son Thomas Draper her full and sole executor. As he did not receive money or property it is likely he was the eldest son who presumably had inherited his father's business. His children, Thomas and Sara were left silver-gilt cups by their grandmother and rents were left for the benefit of the boy Thomas to be administered by his father. Margery Draper expressed the wish to be buried in the parish church of Islington, 'where I am a parishioner'. She left £20 to the poor of Islington, and £5 to any of the Company of Brewers of London who came to her burial.

The two plates comprising this memorial are palimpsest; they are engraved on metal that has been used before (Fig. 7).

these brasses found their way to London where the metal was reused by the local engravers. This piece shows the lines of the frame of a border inscription and, in large Roman capitals 'HIER . LIGHT', meaning 'Here lies', a common opening to such an inscription. On the reverse of the Bedingfeld inscription is a piece of scrap or waste, with two parallel lines in preparation for an inscription similar to the above, but then seemingly used by an apprentice for experimental doodling.

The obverse of this brass has been earlier illustrated in these Transactions (Vol. III, p. 178) and the reverses by Page-Phillips<sup>15</sup>.

II. Henry Edlyn, 1627; inscription only, now lost.

In the collections of the Society of Antiquaries of London is a dabbing or light rubbing of a brass plate on which is an inscription to Henry Edlyn. This early rubbing shows that the plate measured 20½in wide and 6½in deep and, in long hand, that it was taken on June 30, 1810 when the brass was on the floor at the entrance of the chancel at Pinner (Fig. 9). It was removed presumably during the restoration of the church in the middle of the nineteenth century when the Bedingfeld brass was also taken from the north aisle and the inscription broken and partly lost.

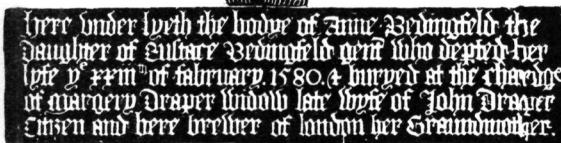


Fig. 7 Pinner: Anne Bedingfeld, 1580.

The inscription which is in six lines of Roman capitals reads:

HIC IACET HENRICUS EDLYN GENEROSUS FILIUS  
RICHARDI EDLYN SENIORIS QUI OBIIT VICESIMO  
SEXTO DIE OCTOBRIS ANNO DNI 1627

AUDRIA SMITH VIDVA SOROR & EXECUTRIX  
TESTAMENTI PREDICTI HENRICI EDLYN HOC  
MONUMENTUM IN AMORIS SUI TESTIMONIUM POSUIT

"Here lies Henry Edlyn, the noble son of Richard Edlyn senior who died the 26th day of October in the year of our Lord 1627. Audry Smith, widow, sister and executrix of the will of the aforesaid Henry Edlyn placed this monument in witness of her love."

Henry Edlyn did indeed make her his sole executrix. In his will<sup>16</sup>, made on 8th August, 1627, he describes himself as yeoman of Pinner. He left all his freehold lands in Pinner and Harrow 'to my loving sister Audry Smith, to her and her heirs for ever.' He left to his wife Ann Edlyn 'all bedding and household stuff which is in the chamber wherein she and I do usually lie.' Various gifts were made to his nephew Henry Edlyn.

The Edlins had lived in Pinner and Harrow Weald at least since about 1300. The fortunes of different members of the

family varied. Some had built up estates during the next two centuries. In 1522/3 they ranged from John, a labourer worth 20s. in wages, to a Richard the lessee of Woodhall manor, worth £20 in goods. At least six Edlins held land in 1553. The two main branches were the Edlins of Woodhall Manor, and later of Pinner Marsh, and those of Parkgate. Their principal home through the 16th century and possibly until 1623 was Woodhall Manor which was leased in 1553 and c. 1609–10 to those of the name of Richard Edlin. A close called Marl pits which was part of the manor of Pinner was sold in 1553 to John Edlin of the Weald, but by c. 1600 it was in the hands of Richard Edlin of the Marsh<sup>17</sup>. This may well have been the father of Henry, on whose brass he is referred to as Richard Edlyn senior.

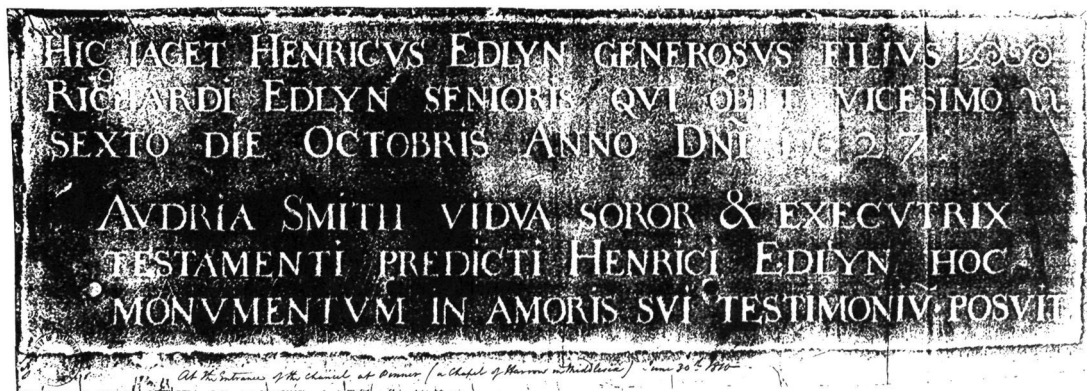


Fig. 9 Pinner: Henry Edlyn, 1627.

# RUISLIP

1. Roger de Southcot, a stone with marginal inscription in Lombardic letters, early 14th C; chancel floor.

Lying on the floor of the chancel within the sanctuary is a large trapezoidal stone, measuring 65½in in length and tapering from 33½in wide at the top end to about 23in at the lower end (the bottom sinister corner is missing) (Fig. 10). Around the margin is an incised Lombardic letter inscription, starting from a diamond shaped indent in the centre of the top edge and reading from the inside:

ROGE/R : DE : SVTHCOTE : IADIS : IVS / / .....IEVS:  
LY : FACE : VERRAY : M/ERCI

If these letters were originally of brass, no trace now remains.

The relationship of the manor or freehold estate of Southcote to the parishes of Harmondsworth and Ruislip is complex, according to the account given in the V.C.H.<sup>18</sup>. The family of Southcote held land in both parishes from at least the 13th C. The land they held originally can be identified as that attaching to their hereditary office of forester of Har-

mondsworth, mentioned in 1230. In 1248 Roger de Southcote and Avice his wife held three virgates in the capital manor of Ruislip. Their son, Roger, acquired land in Harmondsworth late in the 13th C. Whether it was he who was commemorated in Ruislip church is unclear. His own son was named Robert and Robert's widow, Elizabeth, was holding land described as her manor of Ruislip in 1338.

2. Civilian and wife, with inscription, c. 1500, all now lost; slab with indents on floor of north aisle.

The original stone for this memorial lies on the floor of the north aisle; it is 72in long and 35in wide. Indents are still clear for the figures of a man in civilian dress and a woman with kennel headdress (Fig. 11). The outline and the stance of the figures suggests a date of about 1500. They are standing and half facing to one another. The figures are about 25in high

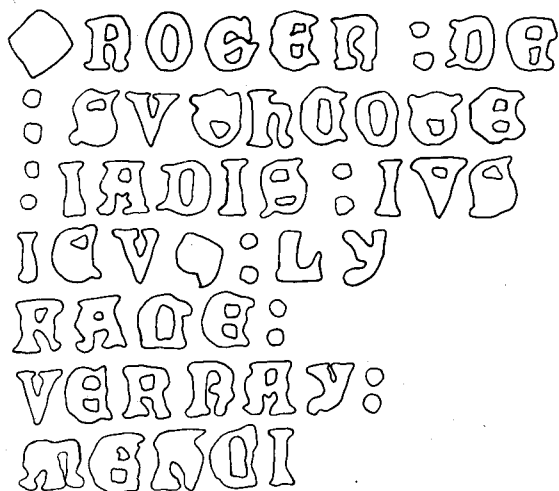


Fig. 10 Ruislip: Roger de Southcot, early 14th century: text of slab.

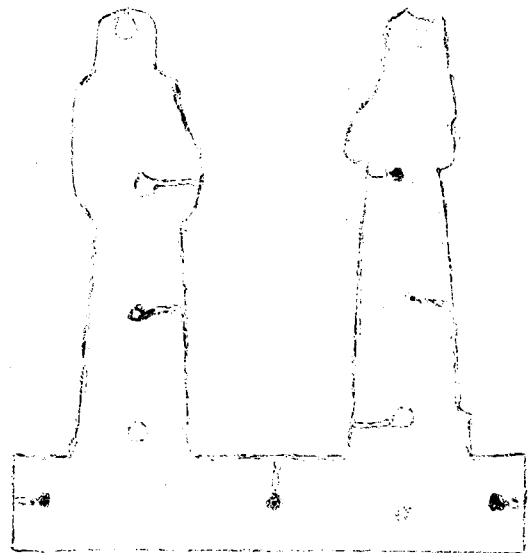


Fig. 11 Ruislip: Civilian & Wife, c. 1500.

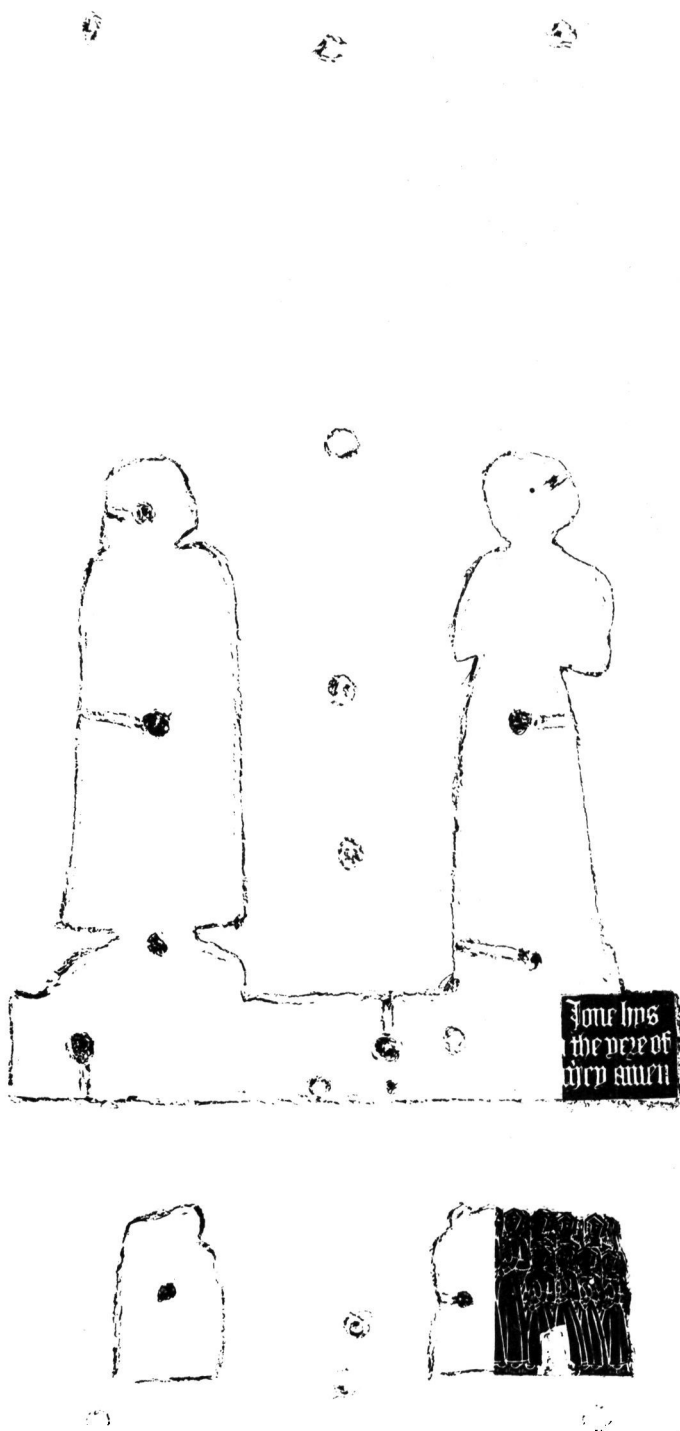


Fig. 12 Ruislip: Civilian & Wife, c. 1530.

and, immediately below, is a rectangular plate for the inscription, 28in wide and 5in deep.

3. (MS I)<sup>19</sup> A civilian and wife, with inscription, sons and daughters, *c.* 1530; all now lost except fragment of plate with daughters; on floor of south aisle.

On the floor of the south aisle lies a large stone, 73½in by 26½in, on which are the clear outlines of the figures of a civilian and lady of date about 1530 (Fig. 11). They are 18in high and are half turned towards one another. His gown is long and he stands on a mound. Her dress is of full length. Below them was an inscription plate 22½in wide and 3½in deep and below this were two plates for their children. Part of the plate with daughters has survived and has been set in plaster on the jamb of the east window of the south aisle. This shows eight girls in pedimental headdress, the back seven in two rows. The eldest two girls are missing. The missing sons, probably two in number unless in two rows, were under their father and the girls under the mother.

A fragment of the blackletter inscription had survived and this too was set in the plaster of the same window jamb. It mentioned the name 'Jane'. This fragment has disappeared since the last war, leaving an imprint of blackletter in the plaster, indicating that this piece was palimpsest.

On the illustration can be seen not only the dowel pins that held these brasses down, with the accompanying channels in the stone for running in the lead, but also a series of dowel marks, mostly in a long central line with a spread at top and bottom. This is evidence of earlier use of the stone which was reused to accommodate the brass of the 16th C. The nature of the earlier brass is a matter of speculation; it could have been a bracket

brass, with a religious subject at the top of a stem and an inscription below.

4. (MS II). Ralph Hawtrey, gent., 1574, aged 79, and wife, Winifred Wollastom or Wallison, 1573, aged 71, with 6 sons & 6 daughters, under an arch; inscription and shield lost; on chancel wall.

This brass lay originally on the floor of the south aisle, whence it was removed, and lost, in about 1806. The rectangular plate on which the figures are engraved was recovered from dealers, following a public auction, by Miss Eleanor Warrender of High Grove who returned it to the church in 1913. It was mounted on the south side of the chancel in a new marble slab which is now covered by a glass plate for its protection. Its recovery is recorded on a small brass inscription.

This rectangular plate is 20½in high and 17½in wide (Fig. 13). The figure of Ralph Hawtrey in civilian dress and of his wife are standing beneath a double arch canopy with a large soffit between their heads. They are turned slightly towards one another and hold their hands before them in prayer. He wears a long, collared gown with false sleeves decorated with spiral bands. His beard protrudes beyond a very small ruff. The lady's dress is long, with high puffed sleeves and with a belt around a slim waist. She too has a small ruff showing above the turned down collar of her dress. On her head is a Paris bonnet. Six sons are standing behind their father and six daughters behind their mother, wearing clothes similar to hers. Above the head of each main figure is a scroll giving their ages: 'Estate 79' and 'Estate 71'. The arches are decorated with four-petalled flowers and in the upper corners are simple trefoils. The whole work is rather crudely drawn.





Fig. 13 Ruislip: Ralph Hawtrey, gent., and Wife, 1574.

5. (MS III). John Hawtrey Esq., J.P., 1593, and wife Bregget, with inscription, four shields & an achievement; on floor of chancel.

This brass, some twenty years later than that to Ralph Hawtrey, is one of a group of excellently engraved memorials produced toward the end of the century (Fig. 14). This was the last great surge of artistic merit on monumental brasses. Thereafter they declined in quality (with one or two notable exceptions) and went out of fashion by the middle of the next century.

The brass lies in its original stone (and was refixed in 1985) on the north side of the sanctuary floor. The two main figures are skilfully executed, if with the excessive shading then used to imply a third dimension. They are shown half turned to one another, holding their hands before them in the attitude of prayer. John, whose figure is 27½in high, wears a long gown with false sleeves, also banded in decoration, like his father. The ruff is now much wider; the face well groomed with moustache and beard. The wife is in the typical dress of the period; a long gown with a broad collar turned down and with a sash holding it to her around the waist but allowing it to part in front below to reveal an embroidered petticoat or dress. She too wears a ruff around the neck and a Paris bonnet on her head.

Immediately below these figures is a rectangular plate 26½in wide and 5¾in deep on which is this four line inscription in blackletter:

Here under lyeth Buryed y<sup>e</sup> body of John Hawtrey  
Esquyre on of our Maiestyes Justyces of Peace w<sup>thin</sup>  
y<sup>e</sup> County of Medlecex & Bregget his wyfe he being  
of y<sup>e</sup> age of lxviii yeares Deceased y<sup>e</sup> xi<sup>th</sup> of May 1593

At the four corners of the stone are shields of arms that are worn and difficult to decipher because they are mostly of lead, representing *argent*. They bear the

following arms:—

Top sinister: *Argent on a bend cotised (sable) 4 lions passant guardant (of the first)*, for Hawtrey; (lower dexter): *Argent 3 wolves passant in pale (sable)*, for Lovett; upper dexter and lower sinister: Hawtrey impaling Lovett.

Above the heads of the two figures is a rectangular plate 11in by 9¾in on which is a shield of arms surmounted by helm and mantling and a crest of a lion passant guardant. The coat is of twelve and of much greater complication than the four corner shields. This splendid achievement was missing when Mill Stephenson was recording the brasses in 1926, but had been returned by 1937 when the Royal Commission made its report. The identification of these twelve coats and the presence of this achievement alongside the more simple coats of the corner shields will be discussed later.

In a MS pedigree on vellum quoted by Lipscomb 'The Family of Hawtrey written in Latin De alta ripa, and in some records called d'Autrey, was of noble extraction in Normandy before the Norman Conquest as it appeareth in ye History of Normandy, written by Orderius Vitalis, a Monk of Roane & it is to be noted that those of Lincolnshire written in their Latine deeds de Alta ripa tooke the name of Hawtrey and came into Buckinghamshire by reason of the Inheritance that came by the match with ye Daughter and heire of the auntient Family of Checkers whose seats they possessed.'

The pedigree of Chaker, Chequers, or

Alta Ripa taken from The Harleian MSS 1533-6, and 7 and other authorities appears also in Lipscomb<sup>20</sup>. This shows the sudden change of name from Alta

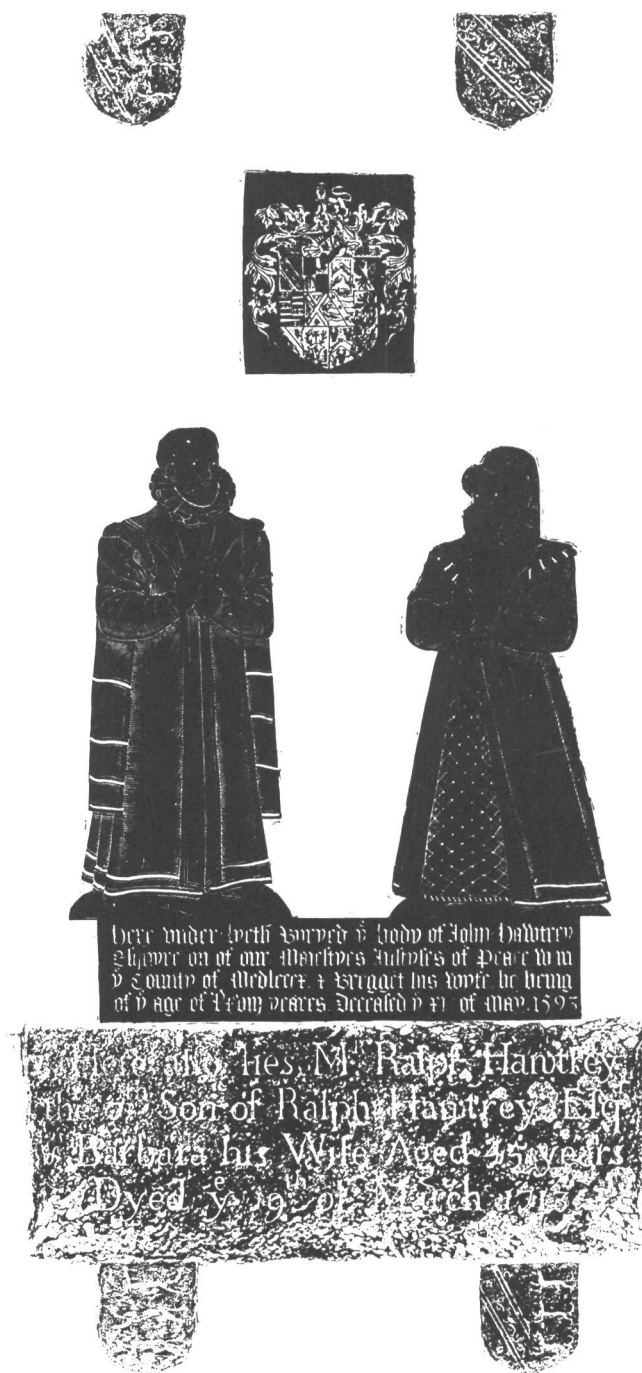


Fig. 14 Ruislip: John Hawtrey Esq., J.P., 1593, and Wife Bregget.

Ripa to Hawtrey, described as of Chekers. After several generations one Thomas Hawtrey married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Parnell of Oxfordshire and their son, Thomas, married Katharine, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Blakenhall of Wing in Buckinghamshire. This marriage brought great wealth into the Hawtrey family, including the estates of the families of Pype and Harcourt. The grandson of Thomas and Katharine, also Thomas Hawtrey of Checkers, married Sybell daughter and co-heir of Richard Hampden of Kimble, by whom he had seven sons and four daughters. Thomas and Sybell were buried at Ellesborough where they are commemorated by a brass<sup>21</sup>. A younger brother of this Thomas was Rauffe Hawtrey of Rislip in Middlesex who married Winifrid Walliston also of Ryslip. This is the first mention of Ruislip in this pedigree and they are represented on brass No. 4. Though six sons and six daughters are shown on the brass the pedigree mentions only two sons and four daughters. The eldest son is John, the subject of brass No. 5. He married Bridget Lovett, whose surname is not identified in the Lipscomb pedigree, but is shown on that in the Harleian Society Visitation of Middlesex<sup>22</sup>. This John and Bridget died without issue.

His younger brother Edward is described as of Hedsor in Buckinghamshire, and is thus shown also in a further pedigree in Lipscomb<sup>23</sup>. This is the pedigree of Hawtrey of Hedsor, Burnham, Eton, etc, from original documents in the possession of Henry Hawtrey Esq; Edward C. Hawtrey, D.D., Head Master of Eton School, parochial registers; and collated with ancient pedigrees of Hawtrey of Chequers etc. Edward Hawtrey of Hedsor married Elizabeth, daughter of Gabriel Dormer of Lee Grange, Co. Bucks. and it was through this couple that

the Ruislip succession continued. Their eldest son Ralph succeeded his uncle in their house at Ruislip and married Mary, daughter of Sir Edward Altham of Marks Hall, Co. Essex.

The sisters of John and Edward were Friswyde who married Robert Matts of Ruislip; Winifrid who married one Warde of Bedfont; Alice, married to one Shanke of Edlesborough; and Margaret, married to one Clement.

From the various inheritances shown in these pedigrees it is evident how the many coats in the achievement on the brass of John Hawtrey were derived, though it is not clear what claim he had to display them. Although he was the eldest son of Rauffe Hawtrey, Rauffe was only the fourth son of Thomas Hawtrey of Chequers and it was his eldest brother Thomas who was the heir to the Chequers estate. The achievement Fig. 15 might more properly have been attached to his brass at Ellesborough. It is possible with the help of these pedigrees to identify



Fig. 15. Ruislip: Heraldic Achievement from brass of John Hawtrey.

many of the coats on the achievement. They are: 1. (*Argent*) *4 lions passant guardant in bend (sable) crowned (or) cotised (of the second)*, for Hawtrey; 2. *quarterly (or) and (purpure)*, for Chequers; 3. (*gules*) *2 chevrons within a bordure engrailed argent*, for Parnell; 4. *Party per bend azure and or, an eagle displayed counterchanged*, for Blakenall; 5. *Quarterly, 1 and 4 (azure) a fess between 6 cross crosslets or* for Pye and 2 and 3 (*or*) *two bars gules*, for Harcourt; 6. (*argent*) *a saltire (gules) between 4 eagles displayed (azure)*, for Hampden; 7. *Barry wavy of 6, (argent) and (azure), on a bend (sable) 3 roundles (or)*, for Singleton; or Goldfrey 8. (*argent*) *3 cross crosslets fitchy (sable), on a chief (of the second) a demi-lion rampant (or)*, for Stokes; 9. (*argent*) *a bend between 6 billets (sable)*, for Luton or Bonvillers; 10. (*sable*) *a stag's head cabossed (argent) attired or, between the attires a cross patly fitchly (of the third)*, for Bulstrode; 11. (*azure*) *a chevron (argent) between 3 bucks' heads cabossed (or)*, for Hertshorne; 12. ? This coat is unclear. The crest to this achievement is that for the Hawtreys of Chequers and not Hedsor: *on a wreath (argent) and (azure) a lion passant guardant (sable)*.

That John Hawtrey had no children may be deduced from his will<sup>24</sup>. He asks that his body be buried in Christian burial and leaves 40s. to the poor 'of Rislipp, Ellethorne, Lungersall and Quainton in Bucks; and 20s. to the poor in Northall, Pinner, Ickenham and Hillingdon'. The following gifts are then made to his relations: £40 to Mary, the daughter of his deceased brother Edward, £15 to his sister Margaret, wife of the said Clement, besides £5 presently given to her husband. To her daughter Margaret Bennet, £40 and to her son Rauffe Bennet, £20. He leaves to the children of his deceased sister, Warde, £20 to her son John Warde, £20 to her son Richard Warde, £5 to her son Raffe Warde; and £20 to her daughter Brigit, the wife of Edward Rawson of Col-

brooke, mercer, and if he will pay to John Hawtrey's executors the sum of £10 and not demand of them his £20 then he shall have and enjoy to him and to his heires forever the house in Colbrooke where he is living. He does not mention his sister Frisewyde, but refers to his brother-in-law Robert Matte, leaving £10 to his son Rauffe Matte, £40 to another son Edmond Matte and £50 to yet another son William Matte. To Robert Matte's daughter Ursula Fermor he leaves £5 and to John Fermor of Lee, presumably Ursula's husband, but curiously here described as 'my son-in-law' the sum of £10. He also leaves £10 to another he calls his son-in-law, Edward Arderne of Edmonton.

To his wife Bridget he leaves £100 and his plate and chattels during her life and after her death to go to Raffe Hawtrey, son of his deceased brother Edward Hawtrey. One curious arrangement was that of a yearly rent of £10 to one John English, alias Smith, alias Hawtrey 'my supposed base sonne', to be paid quarterly after the decease of his wife. The executors to this will were his wife Bridget and his nephew, Raffe Hawtrey.

The two pedigrees of Hawtrey in Lipscomb are uninformed about the identity of John Hawtrey's wife Bridget. In one she is unnamed and he is dismissed as *sine prole*; in the other she is named as just Bridget. The Visitation of Middlesex shown in the Harleian Society volume identifies her name as a Lovett, and the arms on the brass confirm this. Elsewhere, however, in Lipscomb<sup>25</sup> she is to be found in the pedigree of Dormer of Lee Grange in Quainton. Here she is shown as married to Gabriel Dormer Esq of Shipton-Lee and is described as the daughters of Thomas Lovett of Astwell in the county of Northampton. It also tells that she married, secondly, John Hawtrey Esq. of Chequers. This pedigree indicates that Gabriel Dormer and Bridget his wife had

one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Edward Hawtrey of Chequers, John's younger brother. If this pedigree is correct then we have the curious circumstance that Bridget becomes sister-in-law to her own daughter and that her co-executor to her second husband's will, Raffe Hawtrey, is both her nephew and her grandson.

In her will<sup>26</sup>, made in January 1597, Bridget asks to be buried in Ruislip church by her last husband, John Hawtrey. She leaves money to the poor of Ruislip, Hillingdon and other local parishes and also at Quainton. She leaves to 'her daughter Arderne' the rents of Readnights house in Rislip during her life and the littel house in Rislip with such ground as Mr. Rauffe Hawtrey shall think good during her life.' She also leaves her £10 and 'whereas John Arderne my son-in-law hath had a little house and three shops(?) and should have paid her rent but hath not done so doth frelie forgive him all the arrears thereto which shall be behind at the time of my death'; and 'whereas her son Fleetwood Dormer gent. should have paid her £20 yearly she doth frelie forgive him all the arrears . . . except for £30 to be paid to her son Raffe Hawtrey towards the charges of her burial.' The terminology of personal relationships is evidently somewhat loose. Rauffe was her grandson, not her son and there is no evidence in the Dormer pedigree that she had a son called Fleetwood. The most likely attribution would be Sir Fleetwood Dormer of Shipton Lee

Elizabeth, after the death of her husband, Edward Hawtrey of Hedsor, had married again.

Among the more interesting of Bridget's personal bequests were twelve rings of silver bestowed upon such twelve of her friends for remembrance of her; and, to the late wife of John Newdigate late of Harefield one ring of gold being a hoop ring 'with this posie in it "Let likinge laste"'. She also left ten shillings to Mr Studley to preach a sermon at her burial.

It is clear then that it was Rauffe Hawtrey who succeeded his uncle as the senior member of the family to live at Ruislip. He became deputy-lieutenant of the county and a Justice of the Peace. His wife Mary was the daughter of Sir Edward Altham of Marks Hall in Essex and by her he had three sons and one daughter Mary who became the wife of Sir John Banks of Keswick, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and Attorney General to Charles I. Lady Banks became celebrated for her spirited defence of Corfe Castle against the Parliamentary forces. Rauffe and Mary Hawtrey are commemorated in Ruislip church by a fine alabaster and marble monument on the north wall of the chancel. The family remained prominent in Ruislip for many generations and there are no fewer than eighteen memorials in the church to those of the name of Hawtrey later in date than the two brasses here described. One such memorial is indeed inscribed on the stone of John Hawtrey's brass, between the inscription plate and the two lower shields. It reads:

Here also lies M<sup>r</sup> Ralph Hawtrey  
the 3rd Son of Ralph Hawtrey Esq.  
& Barbara his Wife Aged 45 years  
Dyed y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> of March 1713

and Lee Grange, then in his twenties, who was son to her half-brother, Peter Dormer. The identity of her daughter 'Arderne' is uncertain. It is possible that

Although the two Hawtrey brasses are the earliest memorials to members of the family at Ruislip and although the earlier of the two is the first of his name to appear

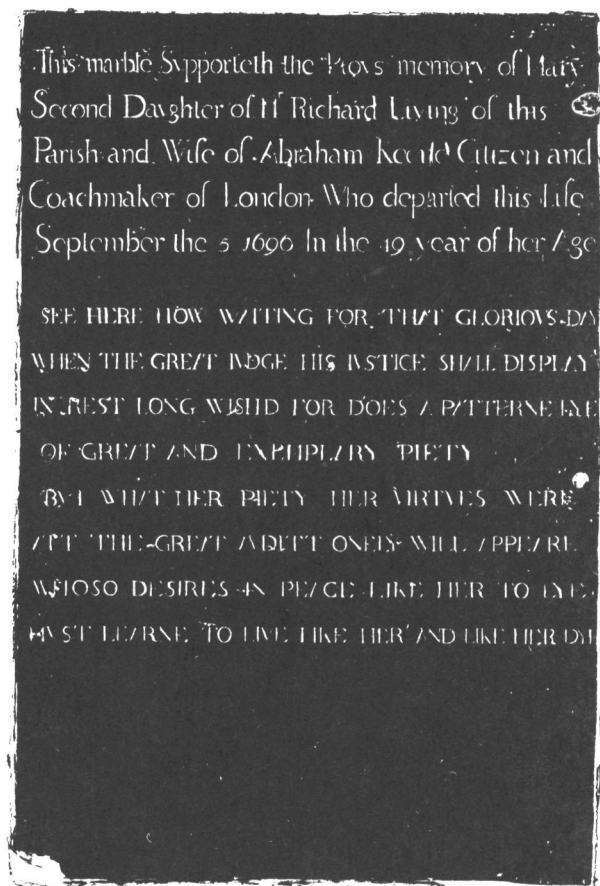


Fig. 16 Ruislip: Civilian, c. 1600, with four daughters.



Fig. 17 Ruislip: Mary Keene, 1696.



in the pedigree as of Ruislip there is evidence that others were here earlier. It was in 1532 that the Deans and Canons of Windsor farmed out the Rectory of Ruislip to Ralph Hawtreys, said to be of Eastcote, and the Hawtreys were for many generations lessees of the rectory. The ancient seat of the Hawtreys, so says Lysons<sup>27</sup> is situated at the hamlet of Ascot, or Eastcot. Ruislip manor was granted by King Henry VI in 1441 to his new foundation, the College of St Mary and St Nicholas, later Kings College, Cambridge. The lease thereof was in the hands of the Cecil family until 1669, when it was acquired by Ralph Hawtreys of Eastcote. The Hawtreys and their descendants, The Rogers' and Deanes, retained the farm until it was taken up by the College in the late 19th century.

There was one by the name of Hawtreys among the group of men and women from Ruislip who, in July 1563, 'assembled in warlike manner, and broke riotously into the close of William Says' carrying away four wainloads of wheat. This curious and turbulent episode has been mentioned earlier in an account of William Say and his brass in Ickenham church<sup>29</sup>.

6. (MSIV) Civilian, *c.* 1600, with 4 daughters; on floor of Nave

The remaining parts of a brass of *c.* 1600 have been reassembled in an unlikely grouping in a too economical act of conservation. (Fig. 16). Much of the length of the new stone is occupied, on one side, by the figure of a civilian, 36in high. He is facing slightly to his left with hands in the attitude of prayer. He wears a ruff and a long gown with false sleeves

which hang from shoulder height and are decorated with spiral banding. He has a moustache and long pointed beard, well shown by the considerable use of fine line shading. To the left of this figure is a rectangular plate with a much later inscription (see No. 7). Below this is a plate 11½in wide and 11in deep on which are engraved four female children. By date of costume these could be contemporary with the civilian. They are standing on a tessellated pavement whereas the civilian stands on a plain mound or paving. The girls are facing slightly to their right. This suggests that if these two plates belong to one brass there was originally a wife, beneath whom the daughters would have been placed, with possibly another plate with sons under their father. No inscription remains.

There are also two curious indents in the stone for missing brass. The small one between the man and the daughters may have carried a biblical quotation or a statement of age, originally above his head. The other indent is even more curious. It appears that subsequent to the brass being lost the stone has been further cut down reducing the size of the indent. Its shape suggests an inscription plate set up on end.

7. (MSV) Mary Keene, 1696; inscription; on same stone as 6

This inscription is on a rectangular plate 22½in high and 15in wide (Fig. 17). The inscription consists of five descriptive lines followed, in capitals, by a verse of eight lines. This does not completely fill the plate.

This marble Supporteth the Pious memory of Mary  
Second Daughter of M<sup>r</sup> Richard Living of this  
Parish and Wife of Abraham Keene Citizen and  
Coachmaker of London Who departed this life  
September the 5<sup>th</sup> 1696 In the 49<sup>th</sup> year of her Age



SEE HERE HOW WAITING FOR THAT GLORIOUS DAY  
 WHEN THE GREAT JUDGE HIS JUSTICE SHALL DISPLAY  
 IN REST LONG WISHD FOR DOES A PATTERN LYE  
 OF GREAT AND EXEMPLARY PIETY  
 BUT WHAT HER PIETY HER VIRTUES WERE  
 ATT THE GREAT AUDITT ONELY WILL APPEARE  
 WHOSO DESIRES IN PEACE LIKE HER TO LYE  
 MUST LEARNE TO LIVE LIKE HER AND LIKE HER DYE

Once again I must express my grateful thanks to Mr. D. A. Chivers for his excellent rubbings taken to illustrate this paper.

## NOTES

1. J. P. C. Kent, *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd Ser., 12 (1949) 79 & 95.
2. H. K. Cameron, *Trans. L.M.A.S.*, 25 (1974) 303.
3. D. Lysons, *Environs of London*, 3 (1795) 312.
4. Col. Chester's London Marriage Licenses, ed. by J. Foster, (1887), 554.
5. V.C.H., Middlesex, 4 (1971), 115.
6. M. Stephenson, *Trans.M.B.S.*, 4 (1902), 209.
7. J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (1980), 1, 57 (No. 194L).
8. P.C.C. 36 Milles.
9. J. Page-Phillips, *op. cit.* 2, 78.
10. V.C.H., Middlesex, 4 (1971), 44.
11. D. Lysons, *Environs of London*, 3 (1795), 327.
12. P.C.C. 32 Clarke.
13. P.C.C. 4 Barrington.
14. P.C.C. 1 Woodhall.
15. J. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (1980), 2, 116 (No. 271L).
16. P.C.C. 103 Skynner.
17. V.C.H., Middlesex, 4 (1971).
18. V.C.H., Middlesex, 4 (1971), 136.
19. The numbering to be found in the standard list of brasses in the British Isles, by Mill Stephenson, published in 1926.
20. G. Lipscomb, *The History & Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* (1847), Vol. 2, 191.
21. *op. cit.*, 192.
22. Visitation of Middlesex, *Harl. Soc.*, 65 (1914) 4.
23. G. Lipscomb, *op. cit.* Vol. 3, 1 212.
24. P.C.C. 48 Neville.
25. G. Lipscomb, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, 415.
26. P.C.C. 29 Lewyn.
27. D. Lysons, *Historical Account of those Parishes in the County of Middlesex not described in the Environs of London*, (1800) 214.
28. H. K. Cameron, *Trans.L.M.A.S.*, 30 (1979) 149.

# THE LETHIEULLIER TOMB AT CLAPHAM

SARAH MARKHAM

The vault containing the remains of eleven members and descendants of the Lethieullier family of Clapham lies in the north-east corner of St Paul's churchyard. The altar tomb which surmounted it has vanished, having been destroyed by vandals in 1963. Already it was in a poor state; the slab had been broken into four pieces and the iron railings had been removed during the second world war. Fortunately, in 1960, Mr E. E. F. Smith had carefully transcribed the names of the deceased and their inscriptions so that, apart from one unrecorded burial, there is no doubt as to who had been interred in the vault. These inscriptions are included in an appendix.

William Lethieullier, who commissioned the vault and tombstone in 1726 shortly before his own death, was a member of a rich merchant family which made its living by trading with Turkey. These merchants were descended from Huguenots who had come to England from Frankfurt (whither they had fled from France) in the 17th century. William was the sixth son of John Lethieullier of Lewisham and a younger brother of Sir John Lethieullier, Sheriff of London. He had married Mary Powell, a niece of Sir Peter Daniel of Clapham, and sometime after his death she and her husband had taken the lease of his 'Great House' which stood on the site of the present Grafton Square.

From the time it was completed until the middle of the 19th century, William's widow and his descendants discharged their duties faithfully in respect of this family tomb. They also preserved the cor-

respondence concerning it and the bills from the workmen who carried out its repairs. John Loveday of Caversham (1711-89) eventually became the surviving trustee, inheriting the earlier letters and accounts and succeeded in due course by his son and his grandson.

The first of these manuscripts is a receipt from the rector of the former church, Holy Trinity, Clapham—Dr Nicholas Brady. It was written a month before he died at Richmond where he also held the living. His son, Nicholas, rector of Tooting, was married to William Lethieullier's youngest daughter, Martha.

'Received of William Lethieullier Esq April the fourteenth 1726 fifteen Pounds fifteen Shillings as a full Consideration for Liberty to build a Vault for the use of himself and Family in the East End of my Church Yard of Clapham containing twelve feet four Inches from out to out one way, and eleven Feet four Inches from out to out another way, with some Space to be allowed for Steps leading into the said Vault—I say received by me N. Brady D.D. Rector of Clapham in Surry. £15.15.0'. (Fig. 1).

On 14 May 1726 another receipt was delivered to William from the churchwardens.

'We Thomas Cox and Samuel Stevens Churchwardens of the Parish of Clapham Doe Acknowledge to have Rec<sup>d</sup> this 14th day of May 1726 of William Lethieullier Esqr the sume of Thirty one pounds and ten

Received of William Lethieullier Esq  
 April the fourteenth 1726 fifteen  
 Pounds fifteen Shillings as a full Consi-  
 deration for Liberty to build a Vault  
 for the use of himself and Family in the  
 East End of my Church Yard of Clapham  
 containing twelve feet four Inches from  
 out to out one way, and eleven Feet four  
 Inches from out to out another way,  
 with some Space to be allowed for Steps  
 leading into the said Vault. I say  
 received by me

N. Brady D<sup>d</sup> Rector  
 of Clapham in Surrey.

£15:15:0

Fig. 1 Lethieullier tomb: Receipt from Nicholas Brady, Rector of Clapham.

shillings in full of the Consideration Money (Apointed and Agreed to be taken by the Parish at a Publick Vestrie holden the 11th day of April last) for a peice of Ground part of the Church Yard lyeing at the East end of the Church and Containing in Length twelve feet and four inches from out Side to out Side and Eleven feet and four inches wide from out Side to out Side with a Convenient Space for Stepps leading into the Vault or burying place to be there built for the use of the said William Lethieullier Esqr and his family. Wee say rec<sup>d</sup> for the use of the said Parish—£31.10.0.'

The rector's death on 20 May came at rather an awkward moment. The pre-

vious day a lawyer, Charles Woods, had written to the younger Nicholas Brady in some urgency.

'... Herewith you will receive the Citation as desired, which must be published and read in the Church on Sunday next and the Gent that reads it, must be desired to subscribe his Name at the bottom of the Certificate wrote on the back thereof, and you must not faile to send it me on Monday next in the Morning because I must return it on Monday in the afternoon at the Court, otherwise it will be of no force. As to the inserting the Curate or Lecturer instead of the Rector the Court would not come into it and as the Citation was decreed before the Death of the

Incumbent wee may tell him to appear, pray dont fail to return the Citation as above . . .

The letter was sent from Doctors Commons on 19 May 1726. On 9 June Charles Woods sent a receipt for eight guineas to William Lethieullier by the hands of Mr Brady. It was the charge for obtaining a faculty for erecting a vault or burial place.

William Lethieullier died on 17 September 1728 and his vault was ready for his reception. The bill for the monument above it, however, was not sent to his widow by Thomas Dunn until May in the following year (Fig. 2).

Mad<sup>m</sup> Lethieullier To Tho. Dunn Dr  
1729  
May 15th To An Alter Tomb Sett up in  
Clapom Church Yard with a Black  
Marble Ledger Workt with a Drip

Mould and Statuary Marble Pannels on each Side & Ends with a Coat of Arms Carved in a Large Sheild at one End Base Mold Plinth one	£	s	d
Astrogale Step of Portl <sup>d</sup> and a Purbeck Step at the Bottom	45	0	0
To Cutting 279 Letters on D <sup>o</sup> and Stopping y <sup>e</sup> same at 2p	2	6	6
To a Mason 2 Days & a Lab <sup>r</sup> 1 Day Cutting holes for Iron Work and Running them with Lead	0	8	2
To Cartidge of D <sup>o</sup> Tomb	1	4	0
	£48	18	8
abattment per agrement	1	18	8
	£47	0	0

Rec<sup>d</sup> of Mad<sup>m</sup> Lethieullier of Clap<sup>m</sup> Forty Seven  
pound in full of above bill and all Accts per me  
Tho: Dunn. £47.

To which Mary added her note—'I  
payed 47£'. On the following day she  
received the bill for the iron work  
from John Robins of London.



Plate I Lethieullier tomb: Old Clapham church; wash drawing of 1796 by W. F. Zincke.  
(London Borough of Lambeth)

Mad<sup>m</sup> Lethieullier

To Tho: Dunn D<sup>r</sup>

1729

May 15<sup>th</sup> To An Altar Tomb set up in Clapom  
Church Yard With a Black Marble Ledger  
Work with a Drip Mould and Patenary -  
Marble Cannells on each Side & Ends - 45. 0. 0  
with a Coat of Arms Carved in a Large  
Shield at one End Base Mold Plinth one  
Astrologal Step of Port & a Purbeck Step at  
the Bottom  
To cutting 279 Letters on D<sup>r</sup> at 3<sup>d</sup> <sup>and stopping up same</sup> 2. 6. 6  
~~To Putting Lead with Plaster~~ ~~2. 6. 6~~  
To a Mason 2 Days & a Lab<sup>r</sup>'s Day Cutting  
holes for Iron Work and Running them - 0. 8. 2  
with Lead  
To Cartage of D<sup>r</sup> Tomb 0. 4. 0

~~L 45. 18. 8~~

L 45. 18. 8

Attachment & agreement - 1. 18. 8

L 47. 0. 0

Recd of Mad<sup>m</sup> Lethieullier of Clapom  
Forty Seven pound in full of above bill  
Call Act true  
Tho: Dunn

Fig. 2 Lethieullier tomb: Bill from Thomas Dunn for the construction of the tomb.

1729 Madam Leitheullier To John Robins Dr	
May 16 To Iron worke for a toomb in the Church Yard of Clapham framed in a top & bottom railles and a gate and frontispiece to the Same w <sup>th</sup> 27 cwt. 2 qr. 10 lb att 4d per lb	£ s d 51.10.
To a lock and key to the Same	0.10. 6.
To 1 cwt.2 qr.14 lb of Lead to fastne the Same at 16s per hundred	1. 6. 0
To Carridge of the Same	0. 7. 0.
To 4 men 2 Dayes a fixing up the Same	1. 0. 0
	<u>£54.13. 6'</u>

On 9 June 1729 Mary was sent the receipt (Fig. 4) for 'fifty two pound in full of y<sup>e</sup> Bill & all Accounts per me John Robins' to which she added her note on the back 'I payed but 52£'. The number of letters cut, in Dunn's bill, roughly fitted the long inscription to William Lethieullier.

It was not long before the vault was opened again to receive the coffin of Edmund Tooke who had married William's eldest daughter, another Mary. He was Clerk to the Salters' Company and died on 7 November 1729.

The vault, altar-tomb and railings were complete and Mary Lethieullier made a careful reckoning of what they had cost. Her spelling was very much like that of her daughter, Sarah Loveday.

	£ s d
'Whot y <sup>e</sup> volt has cost 1728 early for bringing briks sand and horsage	2.19. 2.
briklayer maicking y <sup>e</sup> volte	15. 1. 6.
to y <sup>e</sup> parish for y <sup>e</sup> ground	31.10. 0.
to dockter brady for herbage	15.15. 0.
for the facultye	8. 8. 0.
funirall dues	1. 8. 0.
dun the Stonecutter	47. 0. 0.
tO robins y <sup>e</sup> Smyth	52. 0. 0.
to hill for briks to stand on	0. 7. 0.
a plank 3s:6d: Jones y <sup>e</sup> carpinter	2. 3. 6.
for painting ye iron work	1. 5. 0.
hils work under y <sup>e</sup> volt	9. 11. 3.
1729 on y <sup>e</sup> 8th of Novemb' y <sup>e</sup> vestery met and I payed 2 ginis more for ye ground	2. 2. 0.'

Mary's total reckoning came to £188.2.8. though it was really

£189.10.5. She added a note on the dimensions of the vault (already given) and concluded 'The vault was begun y<sup>e</sup> 27th of June munday 1726'.

The vault was not opened again until 1741 when Mary's own coffin was lowered into it. She had died on 9 October at the age of eighty-five. The care of this burial place passed on to her two elder daughters through a clause in her will.

'I do hereby order and direct that my executrixes and the survivor of them do take due care in keeping our family vault in Clapham Churchyard in good repair, as there shall be occasion, at the charge of my estate; and that they and the survivor of them do for that purpose retain and set apart fifty pounds out of my estate to go to the Executor or Administrator of such survivor for that purpose for ever.'

The elder executrix was Mary Tooke, widow of Edmund. She lived in Hackney and, until her death ten years later, she took the greater responsibility for the care of the vault, her sister Sarah being much further away at Caversham. After her death on 30 September 1751 her daughter, Mrs Anne Bootle, sent very careful accounts to Sarah which showed that the cost of repairs to the tomb, weeding, and painting the railings in 1749 had come to less than £6. There was an additional item of £5.9.0. recently paid to Windsor, the undertaker.

'This last was when the Vault was opened for Mama that my Grandfather and Grandmother's Coffins was new outward-cased and new planks laid. Anne Bootle.'

Sarah reinvested the money in new South Sea annuities which after brokerage resulted in a capital sum of

£47.17.8. The dividends were used for payment for repairs to the vault and tomb for the next hundred years.

The tomb was opened again in 1754 when Elizabeth, the only unmarried daughter of William and Mary Lethieullier, died on 16 October at the age of sixty-six. Her sister Anne, Lady Hopkins attended the funeral and evidently was not pleased with what she saw. She wrote to her sister, Sarah, on 19 December 1755 enclosing a receipt for £1.15.9.

'There were repairs about the Vault which wanted doing which I ordered to be done, which came to a Guinea, which I am to be paid out of the interest of the money which my mother left to repair it.'

To which John Loveday added a note—'This is a just demand and it must be paid'. Lady Hopkins, Widow of Sir Richard, was a rich woman, but affairs of this kind were very strictly managed. William Pinder had done the work by the order of Mr Brady,

Nov: 5. 1755		
Done at the Tomb Belonging to the Family of the Leitheuillers in Clapham Church Yard		
To Cutting 118 Letters in a Black Marble Ledger att 1d $\frac{1}{2}$ per Letter	£0.14.	9
To a Mason 6 Days, to Repairing and Cleaning the Tomb at 3s per Day	0.18.	0
and to finding Sundry Utensils for fitting in the Peices and Making it Compleat	0.	3. 0
This Guinea to be paid back to my Lady out of the Interest money.		
	£1.15.	9

It is noticeable that Pinder's charge for cutting letters was a good deal less than Dunn's in 1729.

Sarah Loveday died in 1761 and was buried at Caversham. Her son, John, now became the sole trustee under the terms of his grandmother's will. On 7 March 1760 he had

'put into Cousin Bromfield's hand

2 bills for the care and repairs of Clapham Vault, amounting to the sum of £2.6.3. which sum I also put into her hands and she will get me 2 receipts for the same. I also paid her 2d for the penny postage of 2 letters to be written on the occasion.'

The penny post operated in London at this time. Cousin Bromfield was Sarah, the younger daughter of Edmund and Mary Tooke and sister of Anne Bootle. It seems that she had taken on the responsibility of caring for the vault but later delegated this task to her husband, Philip. From 1765 until his death in 1767 the correspondence concerning it was entirely between him and John Loveday. Mr Bromfield took his duties very seriously.

'London 6 April 1765

... I did not intend troubling you till I could have sent you an Account of the Vault being finished but the Daughter of the late Clerk at Clapham brought me a Bill for the Cleaning and Weeding the Vault for four Years from 1760 to 1763 both Inclusive at five shillings a Year and the present Clerk has been with me for two Years upon the same Account. They were sent to me by Mr Brady who a little while ago was attending a funeral there (suppose it was his Mother's). I told them that I could say Nothing to it but would let you know of it and very likely should receive your Orders to pay them both and also whether you would have it Continued.'

The parish clerk was John Taylor. On 5 June John Loveday was sent his receipt for ten shillings for two years' cleaning and weeding. John added a note to say he had also sent twenty shillings for the preceding four years.

All would have gone smoothly had it not been for the apparent perfidy of the Revd Nicholas Brady whose wife, Martha, had died on the 23rd day of the previous February. It seems that no arrangement had been made for putting her remains into the vault and Philip wrote on 13 April in some alarm.

'... I but this Morning was informed that Mr Brady had your Vault at Clapham opened and has there deposited the Remains of his late Wife and as I find he expresses a very great Regard to her Memory thought it very likely he might order the Mason to engrave something concerning her upon the Tomb Stone which he could not possibly do without erasing some of your other Relations. I immediately wrote to the Mason that the Vault was the sole Property of you and from whom I received my orders to act, that unless he had any Directions from me he should only Copy the words from the old Tomb Stone and not add any other Name whatsoever as I being Entrusted by you in this Affair and also as it were upon the Spot thought it very proper to let you know of this and hope you will approve of my Conduct. . .'

John kept a copy of his own reply on 20 April.

'To be sure, nothing that has been inscribed upon the tombstone must be erased upon any consideration whatever. Though the *top covering* stone be filled with letters, I presume any future epitaphs of the family may be inscribed on the *sides* of the tomb; for we all know many similar instances. If that will not do, I am intirely with you (Sir) that nothing however must be altered that is already established;

so I thank you heartily for the trouble through your goodness devolved upon you in this affair.'

Philip wrote again on the same day, 20 April. To his horror the person whose epitaph was being interfered with was his own mother-in-law.

'... I wrote to you this Day sevenight to let you know Mr Brady had ordered your Vault to be opened and he had therein deposited the Remains of his late Wife and as I did suppose he would have some Inscription put on the Stone for her and I knew there was no room without either erasing some of the old Names of making some alterations on the Tomb, I wrote at the same time to the Stone Cutter not to do any thing further till I have heard from you since which he has been with me and says Mr Brady has given him Directions to take away the Stone at the head of the Vault which is carved and within the carved work is engraved the name and age &c of Mrs Tooke to be quite taken out and another large Plain Stone to be putt in the Room of it in order to have his Wife's Name &c added to it. The Stone at the foot has the same sort of carving as the above and incloses the family Arms. The Top Stone is quite Done but cannot be putt in till I have your Answer in Respect of the Above; as to what Alterations he may have ordered within the Vault I have not enquired, but I have often heard your Grandmother had always given a strict charge not to have one Coffin put upon another and Lady Hopkins said when her sister Betty was Buried there was but just Room for one more; therefore 'tis Natural to suppose that he either has or will Contrive to make room for himself to Lye with his Wife. I thought it very



May 18<sup>th</sup> 1765

Repairs done to the Vault of W. Lethieullier Esq.  
in Clapham Church Yard

By Benj. Pickersgill Mason at Vauxhall

A 24 New Black Marble; moulded Leidger, with the  
old Inscription recut on ditto, the Inscriptions on  
the side pannels reblack'd, The Arms Clean'd and  
Blazon'd; with a new piece of Statuary join'd to the  
broken parts of ditto, The Steps and Body of the Altar  
Toomb clean'd and Mended, the iron rails twice  
Painted, The whole Complete in a Workmanlike  
manner. Comes to - - - - - £20

Fig. 3. Lethieullier tomb: Bill from Benjamin Pickersgill for repairs to the monument.

proper you should know of this Affair  
and hope to have a Line from you.'  
To which John replied next day, 21  
April

'What I am for is that the inscription  
for my aunt Brady should be  
engraved on one of the long sides of  
the tomb; then the arms will stand,  
as they now do, at one end; and Aunt  
Tooke's epitaph at the other end.  
There are no rules of direction left  
with regard to the vault, but what  
occurs in the Will; but as my Grand-  
mother might express herself in con-  
versation against placing one coffin  
upon another, that may be carefully  
observed with regard to her own  
coffin. But surely it need not  
influence the placing of other coffins  
for a husband and wife; as it is highly  
probable that matter was all talk-  
over between my late deceased Aunt  
and her surviving husband.'

Philip wrote again on 18 May  
... 'Upon the Receipt of your last  
favour I sent for the Stone Cutter  
and told him you had no Objection  
to his complying with Mr Brady's  
Request if it could be done without  
leaving out any of the Old Names  
which he promised he could and has  
since done. He this Morning brought  
me your Bill the Amount whereof is  
Twenty Pounds exactly'...

The bill (Fig. 3) was from Benjamin  
Pickersgill, a mason at Vauxhall whose  
work had involved

'A 24 Ft New Black Marble; moulded  
Leidger; with the old Inscription recut  
on ditto, the Inscriptions on the side  
pannels reblack'd, The Arms Clean'd  
and Blazon'd; with a new piece of  
Statuary join'd to the broken parts  
of ditto, The steps and Body of the  
Altar Toomb clean'd and Mended, the  
iron rails twice Painted, The whole  
Complete in A Workmanlike manner.  
Comes to ———  
£20. —.—'

Besides this there was a bill for 6s.6d. from Thomas Polley for repairing the lock and providing two new keys and a staple. Philip Bromfield enclosed it on 7 August, having already thanked John for a covering draught on Messrs Hoare for £21.10.0. Pickersgill had said that if he had put down 'every article separate' it would have come to more, but would do so if it were thought needful. Bromfield also said that the late clerk's daughter had not called since he had had John's order to pay her. 'I gave the present one the Broken Stones it being usual'.

Philip Bromfield died in 1767. He was not buried in the vault, but Nicholas Brady achieved this distinction at the end of the same year. He died on 11 December having been Lecturer to the parish of Clapham for nearly forty years.

The problem of the care of the tomb was discussed with John Loveday in the spring of 1768 shortly after Anne Bootle was laid to rest in it. Her husband, Captain Robert Bootle, had died ten years earlier and was buried elsewhere. Their only daughter, Mary, was married to Richard Wilbraham of Rode Hall, Cheshire, but in order that she could inherit Lathom House in Lancashire they had changed their name to Wilbraham-Bootle. She wrote to John on 19 May with a useful suggestion.

'... to inform you what I have ordered in regard to the Vault at Clapham, which has been and still is open, where my Mother's remains were deposited last Saturday; on inspecting it, the Coffin of my Grandfather Tooke is fallen to Pieces; as he was not Buried in Lead it makes it Necessary to have it inclosed again, for which reason I have directed a strong Elm Case to be made with a new Leaden Plate with the Inscription to signify who it is; the Undertaker would have persuaded me to

have it inclosed in Lead as it would then have lasted as long as the Rest, but I would not venture to go to that Expence as it would come to £7 and the Elm Coffin will not be above fifty shillings; though upon Enquiry I find it had a new Case about twelve years ago; as you, Sir, are the only surviving Trustee that is concerned about the Vault you will pardon me reminding you that now Mr Bromfield is dead who used to Inspect into the Care taken about it, it may perhaps be necessary to Appoint some other in his room; and as I now bear some interest in it on my dear Mother's account am ready to accept of that Office if you have no one that you better approve to undertake it. But at the same time I desire to be understood, not as Officiously imposing myself upon you as I design my Offer as a Compliment to you, who I am certain would Chuse to have the intentions of the Original design kept up, and a family that have formerly made a figure in that Parish should not in so few Years sink into Oblivion whilst there are any of their descendants remaining to keep up their Memory.'

William Newton, the undertaker, had charged only £2.10.0. for a double elm coffin, smoothed and varnished, with gilt handles, screws and a plate of inscription; but he added 12s for the mens' labour in carrying it to Clapham and moving the coffins in the vault. Mary Bootle wrote again in June to say she had settled with him and had paid the parish clerk, John Taylor, the sum of 15s for three years weeding—up to midsummer. He had asked for an extra half-year's pay and as it was only a half-crown she had allowed it.

John Loveday did not accept her offer to be his official representative at that

1729 Madam Lethieullier  
 To John Robbins . . Dr.<sup>d</sup>

May 16 To Iron worke for a tomb in the Church to S<sup>d</sup>  
 Yards of Clapham framed in a top &  
 bottom rails and a gate and front piece } 51 " 10 " c  
 to the same w<sup>th</sup> 27 " 2 " 10 at 1/2 p<sup>er</sup> ft . . .  
 To a lock and key to the same . . . . . c " 10 " c  
 To 1 " 2 " 1/4 of Lead to fasten the same } 1 " 6 " c  
 at 16 p<sup>er</sup> hundred . . . . .  
 To Carriage of the same . . . . . c " 7 " c  
 To 4 men 2 Days at fixing up the same 1 " c " c  
 £ 54 " 13 " c

Received of Mad<sup>m</sup> Lethieullier the 9<sup>th</sup> June 1729  
 Fifty two pound in full of y<sup>e</sup> Bill & all Accounts  
 due  
 £ 52: — — — — — John Robbins

Fig. 4. Lethieullier tomb; Bill from John Robbins for work on the tomb.

time, partly because Mrs Bromfield was still able to attend to the matter. She was helped by his son, John, between the years 1772 and 1777 when he was resident in Doctors Commons. By the time Mrs Bromfield died in 1780 the younger John had married and settled at Williamsote in Oxfordshire. So when Mary Bootle tried again in 1780 her offer was accepted.

The tenth family coffin to be placed in the vault was that of William Brady, son of Nicholas and Martha, who died on 12 September, 1773, at the age of fifty. In 1774 the old church of Holy Trinity was closed and a faculty was granted on 14 February by the Commissary of Surrey for the erection of a new parish church on Clapham Common. It was not until 1814

that St Paul's was built on the former site. Meanwhile the parish clerk was in charge of the old churchyard.

After 1780 Mrs Bootle's letters were directed to Dr John Loveday at Williams-cote. He could not have had a better deputy. When she was not in the country she lived in Bloomsbury Square and was thus able to keep an eye on the state of the tomb, either through her own visits or those of her servants. In February, 1781, Edward Mitchell scraped, cleaned and painted the ironwork at a charge of 18s 9d; two years later William Hughes cleaned out and covered over the vault and supplied a number of oak planks for the sum of £2.5.2. Otherwise the clerk continued to keep the place tidy for 5s per annum. Dr Loveday seems to have questioned the date of payment of this small sum in 1784 and Mrs Bootle explained that she usually paid it at Lady Day as she was out of town at Midsummer; but from that time the clerk was paid in the proper month. On 28 February, 1789, she wrote 'Our Steward last Week surveyed the Mansion of our departed Ancestors; all was neat, clean and in good repair'.

However in 1792 there were some structural problems as she disclosed in a letter of 16 March.

'... the clerk of Clapham called here this Morning to inform me that the Wood Work of the Vault is intirely rotten and has given way so that our respected Ancestors are now exposed to the curiosity of the passengers who may be disposed to gratify it by free entrance, the Vault being near the foot path; the Man has for the present laid some boards loosely for immediate protection, but a repair is necessary to be done immediately; as my trusty Steward is dead, who I used to employ on such occasions, I have no body I can send to examine it and

therefore must trust to the honesty and Judgement of the Clerk and Carpenter who live att Clapham; but I would not take upon me to give any orders till I had acquainted you as perhaps you may have somebody you would wish to employ on the occasion; and from the Man's account I should suppose it might be a considerable Sum that would put it in order again. I promised him I would write to him when I received your directions and the sooner they are sent the better. . .'

Quick action was taken and she wrote again on 26 March

'... The Business is all set right about the Clapham Vault and I here send the bills and all particulars inclosed; it is now bricked up instead of being done with Wood, which is much more durable and it will last many years; should it be required to be opened it could not before without the assistance of a bricklayer and carpenter both; now it may be done by the bricklayer only. I sent my Servant to see its situation previous to its being done and he was clearly of opinion that it had better be bricked. The bill is £2.10s and Mr Taylor, the Clerk, had added coach hire and intimated a hint for something for his trouble; I gave him half a crown for the latter with which he seemed quite satisfied; this with the 5s due Midsummer next makes 12s 2d and altogether £3.2.2. As I look upon you to be a responsible Man in the Mercantile World stile, I beg you will give yourself no trouble about the payment till opportunity offers as your credit is very good. I rather suppose this Trust will give you no further trouble for some Years as it seems done substantially new; and while I live I will readily be your

agent, feeling myself interested in its protection, my amiable and beloved Mother being one of the venerable remains, with a dear boy of my own I have deposited. In future most probably some of your descendants may by either profession or Connection settle in London, as I hope the aversion to the dear smokey Metropolis will not continue to descend from Generation to Generation and then the Trust can easily be executed; the accumulated interest of fifty pounds bequeathed, as there has for many Years been no deduction but 5s per Annum, will supply a fund for occasionally an extraordinary repair. . .'

John Taylor's bill included 'time and trouble'. John Loat's was for 'turning a Arch over Vault. . . Brickwork & Center &c'.

This is the only record of a child having been buried in the vault. Mrs Bootle had, altogether, fourteen children of whom eight survived. As she said later that he had been buried in 1776 he must have been the heir, born in 1769, who was the twelfth child. Two more sons, who lived, were born in 1771 and 1773 respectively.

The clerk did not appear to collect his pay in the springs of 1801 or 1802 and the money remained 'wrapped up' for him. Mrs Bootle wrote from Lathom House on 17 July, 1802.

. . . 'I sent to enquire after the old Clerk at Clapham in the month of April and heard that he was bed-ridden and had been some months, so consequently not able to discharge the trust of attending to the state of the Vault. I have not given him his fee these two Years, nor do I think that he deserves it; and as in all probability there must be a new Clerk chosen in his place it is my intention when I go to Town again

to go to Clapham and settle with the new Clerk about it; my Messenger brought me word that excepting weeds being grown up about the Monument all seemed tight and in good repair . . .'

She wrote again on 2 May 1803, having visited the tomb herself.

. . . 'Having an acquaintance at Clapham which on Saturday last I went to see, I was induced to go myself and look at the Monument of my Ancestors, which I found in a very decaying State; the locks and rails eaten up with rust and some of the Stones in the Pavement that surrounds disjointed; the ill-health of the late Clerk, I suppose, occasioned this neglect as it certainly has had little or no attention paid to it; having heard that there is a small sum appropriated to the keeping the Monument in repair I settled that the rust should be scraped off and the whole new painted and the Stones put close and mortared between; as to the lock as it has now no occasion to be opened I ordered an Iron band to be put on which can be taken off as occasion requires and be less expence than a lock and not liable to be out of order . . .'

She concluded by asking that her own remains might be deposited there, were she to die in London, 'near my Dear Mother's Coffin and a sweet boy I have buried there in the Year 1776'. If she were to die in Lancashire she would lie 'in the Burial place of the Wilbrahams and where my Husband lyes . . . I have a great dislike to the trouble and expence of long journeys for the dead'. In the event she was buried near her husband at Astbury close to Rode Hall in the year 1813.

Richard Wilbraham-Bootle had died in 1796 and his widow had taken a house on her son's estate at Lathom. Distance and

increasing years made the management of the vault more difficult for her, though she usually returned to a house in Bedford Square in the winter months. However a friend had come to the rescue, a resident of Clapham called William Prescott. She wrote on 30 May 1803 to say she had discovered that he had paid the clerk, without her knowledge, for the last three years. In September the bills for new improvements were made out and delivered to Colonel W. Prescott. They comprised 2s 6d to Benjamin Cooper for ironwork, 6s 6d to Henry Pratt for pointing the tomb and underpinning the curb and 10s 6d to J. Comley for painting the railing.

Mrs Bootle was more explicit about Colonel Prescott when she sent these bills to Dr Loveday on 13 April, 1804.

‘... I have at last got from my friend the account of expences attending the Vault at Clapham. The cheques are not ruinous, nor will the Vault &c require any thing more (accidents excepted) for many Years; the sum set is £1.4.6 ... My friend, Coll. Prescot is a very respectable Character and has very civilly undertaken to be himself the Surveyor and thereby you are lighten from the heretofore Annual expence of 5s. which was formerly paid to the Clerk for Overlooking the Spot. The old Clerk is dead and his successor literally fulfils his agreement by *Overlooking* the Monument, by which means some of the brickwork got loose and it was going fast to decay. Mr Prescot will now look and not overlook it occasionally himself; when I can depend upon him that every thing will be kept right ... I forgot to mention that Mr Prescot has lived many years at Clapham and is a loyal active Officer amongst the Volunteers there, which entitles him to

the Appellation of Coll ...’

Her last letter on 27 April 1804 emphasized once more her disapproval of the clerks.

‘... No difficulties can arise ... as I have signified to Mr Comley he has nothing more to do with it, Coll Prescott having kindly taken upon himself to look after the Vault occasionally without any gratuity, which is what has not been done for some Years back through the infirmity of the old Clerk and the carelessness of the Son ...’

Very little is known about the last nine years of Mary Wilbraham-Bootle’s life. Dr John Loveday died in 1809. From then until 1835 an account was kept of the annual interest received, but there is no further mention of the tomb among the Loveday family papers until 1845 when his son, John, was living at Williamscothe. James Comley, the sexton at Clapham, sent a bill on 22 November of that year for the sum of £2.10.0. It was for cleaning the tomb and painting its railing. It was still called the tomb of the late William Lethieullier Esqr. By now the amount of the investment was £46.19.0. which provided an annual income of £1.8.2.

In 1854 the Clapham churchyard was closed for burial, but at what stage the Loveday family ceased to take responsibility for the state of the Lethieullier vault and tombstone is not known. The provisions of Mary Lethieullier’s will had been carried out for at least four generations and her descendants had given the tomb a history of its own by carefully preserving the letters and bills which were connected with it, commemorating not only the family but also the many craftsmen who had contributed to its upkeep.

#### NOTE

The MSS referred to are preserved in the collection of Loveday Family Papers. Extracts from the Bromfield-Loveday correspondence have been published in Sarah Markham *John Loveday of Caversham Salisbury* (1984). The houses in which William Lethieullier and Colonel William Prescott lived are mentioned in E. E. F. Smith *Clapham*, London (1976).

## APPENDIX

## THE INSCRIPTIONS

## TOP SLAB

Here Lies Intomb'd / Elizabeth 4th Daughter of / William & Mary Lethieullier / who Departed this life / the 16<sup>th</sup> of October 1754 in / the 66<sup>th</sup> year of her Age. / Also Anne Bootle Widow of / Robert Bootle Esq<sup>r</sup> and / Daughter of Edmund & Mary Tooke / Departed this life May the 6th 1768 / Aged 62 Years / Also the Remains of the Reverend / Nicholas Brady L.L.B. / near 40 Years Lecturer of this Parish / Rector and Patron of Tooting in Surry / and Son of the late Reverend / Nicholas Brady, D.D. Rector of this Parish / and Minister of Richmond in this County. / Ob<sup>d</sup> the 11<sup>th</sup> of December 1768 Aet 76. / Here lieth intomb'd William Brady / Son of the above Nicholas and / Martha Brady who departed this / Life The 12<sup>th</sup> of September 1773 Age 50 /

## SOUTH SIDE

Under this Tomb lies interred the Body of / William Lethieullier Esqr / late of this Parish who Married Mary, / daughter of Henry Powell, of ye said Parish / Gent. by whom he had eleven Children, Seven / of which Survived him Viz. /

Mary, John, Sarah, Anne, Elizabeth / Martha and William. / He departed this Life the 17<sup>th</sup> of September / 1728 in the 81<sup>st</sup> [?] Year of his Age. /

## NORTH SIDE

Here also Lyeth Intomb'd the Body of Mary, / Relict of the aforesaid William Lethieullier Esqr / who Departed this Life the 9<sup>th</sup> of October 1741 / Aged 85 Years / Likewise the Body of Mr Edmund Tooke / who Married Mary Daughter of the above / mentioned William and Mary Lethieullier / He Departed this Life the 7th of Novemb<sup>r</sup> 1729 / Aged 73 Years.

## EAST SIDE

Here lieth the Body of / Mrs Mary Tooke, Relict of / Mr Edm<sup>d</sup> Tooke, Merchant, / who Departed this Life / Sep<sup>r</sup> the 30<sup>th</sup> 1751 / age 75 Years. / Here lie interred the Remains of Mrs Martha Brady / Wife of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Nicholas Brady, / youngest daughter of William Lethueller [sic] and Mary his Wife / who departed this life 23 of Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1765 / in the 74<sup>th</sup> year of her Age. /

## WEST SIDE

Shield of arms. *A chevron gules between three parrots heads coupéd proper beaked gules—impaling—3 Tudor roses.*

# CONTENTS

Officers .....	iv
128th Annual Report and Accounts, 1982–3 .....	vi
Dendrochronology and Roman London. <i>J. Hillam, R. Morgan and I. Tyers</i> .....	1
Roman Wells in London: Further Notes. <i>Tony Wilmott</i> .....	5
A Cache of Roman Intaglios from Eastcheap. <i>Martin Henig</i> .....	11
Two Inscribed Finger Rings from the City. <i>Martin Henig</i> .....	17
Roman Bone Hinges from the City. <i>C. E. E. Jones</i> .....	19
A Roman Military Object from London. <i>Graham Webster</i> .....	23
Excavations at Roman Road, Old Ford. <i>Peter S. Mills</i> .....	25
Sitewatching at Gardiner's Corner. <i>Robert Whytehead</i> .....	37
Property Destruction in Civil War London. <i>Stephen Porter</i> .....	59
John Conyers: London's First Archaeologist. <i>J. Burnby</i> .....	63
A 'Mortuary' Sword from Hounslow. <i>P. Philo</i> .....	81
A Mace for Mincing Lane Precinct. <i>Rosemary Weinstein</i> .....	87
Surgeon's Hall, Old Bailey. Designed by William Jones. <i>G. C. R. Morris</i> .....	91
Excavations at Burlington Road. <i>Peter S. Mills</i> .....	101
The Brasses of Middlesex. Part 24: Northolt, Norwood, Pinner and Ruislip. <i>H. K. Cameron</i> .....	109
The Lethieullier Tomb at Clapham. <i>Sarah Markham</i> .....	175