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London & Middlesex  
Archaeological Society*

*incorporating the  
Middlesex Local History Council*

*Volume 22 Part 1*

*1968*

*Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate, London E.C.2*

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## EDITORSHIP OF THE TRANSACTIONS

Mr. A. J. Percival, B.A. has relinquished his editorship of *Transactions* to Mr. Lawrence S. Snell, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S. after eight years as editor, during which time he has been responsible for the appearance of four Parts. During his editorship the Society's *Transactions* have been characterised by a high level of scholarship which has been maintained by Mr. Percival's unremitting attention to details and the maintenance of a happy relationship with the contributors. The Society is grateful to Mr. Percival for the important contribution he has made both to the *Transactions* and to the general conduct of its business during the time in which he has been editor, and on their behalf I should like to express gratitude for the very considerable amount of time which he has devoted to this work.

R. Michael Robbins,  
President.

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN THE CITY OF LONDON 1965-6

Contributed by the Guildhall Museum

## CITY OF LONDON

Sites excavated 1965-6.

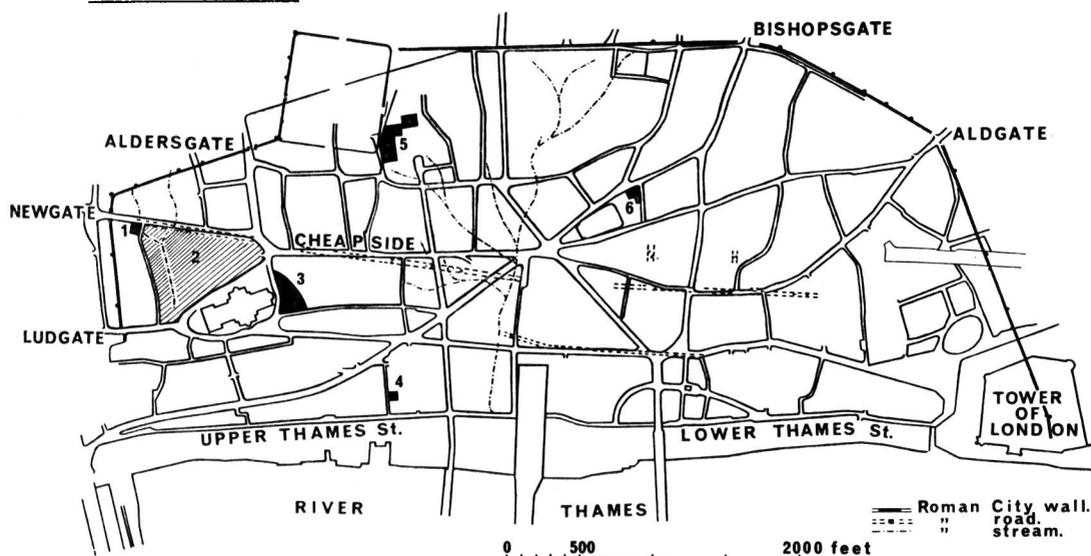


Fig. 1  
City of London. Sites excavated 1965-6.

## INTRODUCTION

This is an account of archaeological observations made on a number of building sites (fig. 1), and of the controlled excavation on the Guildhall Extension Site. The text has been compiled by Mr. Peter Marsden, who also directed the excavations, with the valued advice of Mr. Ralph Merrifield. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Irene Wade and Mr. Nicholas Farrant who acted as supervisors on the Guildhall site, and to the members of the former City of London Excavation Group who provided a keen force of volunteers.

Reference is made in this report to groups of excavated objects which have been recorded in the Museum Excavation Register (e.g. *E.R.* 1207). It is hoped that these groups will eventually be published, but they are now available for study on application to the Director, Guildhall Museum, 55, Basinghall Street, London, EC2.

## ROMAN

### Site 1. 6-9, Newgate Street (1965)

Piling operations in connection with the rebuilding of the site disclosed black silt along the eastern side of the site on the frontage of Warwick Lane, and the foreman reported that black

silt was also found in the south-west corner. The former deposit must have been part of the western arm of the stream discovered on the site of the Paternoster Development in 1961.

### Site 2. *Paternoster Development (1965)*

Thirty-nine borehole sections were kindly made available by the site contractor, and copies of these are now filed at the Museum. From these, and from other levels and observations taken during the general excavations, it is now possible to reconstruct the land contours on this site at the beginning of the Roman period. Each borehole gives the levels of the main strata at one point, and in order to determine the original land surface, it is necessary to ascertain the level of the natural sub-soil in a considerable number of places. As on all sites, borehole sections must be used for this purpose with caution, because in many cases the bore has been driven through the filling of an excavation, such as a rubbish pit, by human agency into the natural surface so that the top of the remaining sub-soil is below its original level. Many of the Paternoster site boreholes give misleading levels of this nature, since the ground has been much disturbed by pits dug for the disposal of refuse.

Except where the natural soil had been cut into by the stream<sup>1</sup> the sub-soil everywhere on the site was brick-earth. Its highest level lay in the north-west corner of the site between the two branches of the stream, at 43 to 44 ft. above O.D. The general level on the east side of the stream lay at between 40 and 42 ft. above O.D., and in that area the natural surface seemed to have been nearly horizontal.

Fifteen borehole sections were taken at the south-west corner of the site between the stream and Ave Maria Lane, and the highest recorded level of natural soil lay at 38.2 ft. above O.D., probably indicating that the land was slightly lower in this area (as is the modern street level). These borehole sections show some interesting geological disturbances deep in the London Clay.

One borehole was sunk through the alluvium filling of the stream valley, about half way between Ludgate Hill and Newgate Street. In this, the black silt was found to overlie the natural gravel of 24.1 ft. above O.D. We do not know whether this bore was sunk into the deepest part of the stream valley, so it is quite possible that the stream-bed was even deeper. As this level is about 16 ft. lower than the level of the surrounding natural brickearth, this stream valley must have been a considerable barrier to east-west communications. The excavations showed that the narrow stream valley in the northern half of the site had a deep V-shaped section, indicating a rapid flow of water. At the southern end of the site, however, it seemed to widen out considerably, and did not have such very steep sides.

### Site 3. *St. Paul's Choir School, New Change (1965)*

During the rebuilding of this site (fig. 2) in 1965 the natural brick-earth surface was exposed at 38 ft. 6 ins. above O.D.

The natural surface in the southern half of the site was overlaid by layers of hard gravel metalling which was evidently of Roman date. The purpose of this is very difficult to determine because the area was too wide to have been simply a road; and if it had been a courtyard it is strange that no sign was observed of any floors or foundations of a building. At the south end of the site, between the church of St. Augustine and New Change, and immediately north of Watling Street, the layers of gravel tended to thin out.

At one point, however, on the east side of the site, the higher Roman strata still survived, and at that point were a series of layers of cambered gravel metalling overlying the natural clay. There was an accumulation of 4 ft. of gravel metalling, and in the sections exposed it had all the appearances of a Roman road about 13ft. 6ins. wide. The section suggested that this was a Roman road aligned roughly east-west. Only further observations on adjoining sites will clarify its purpose and alignment.

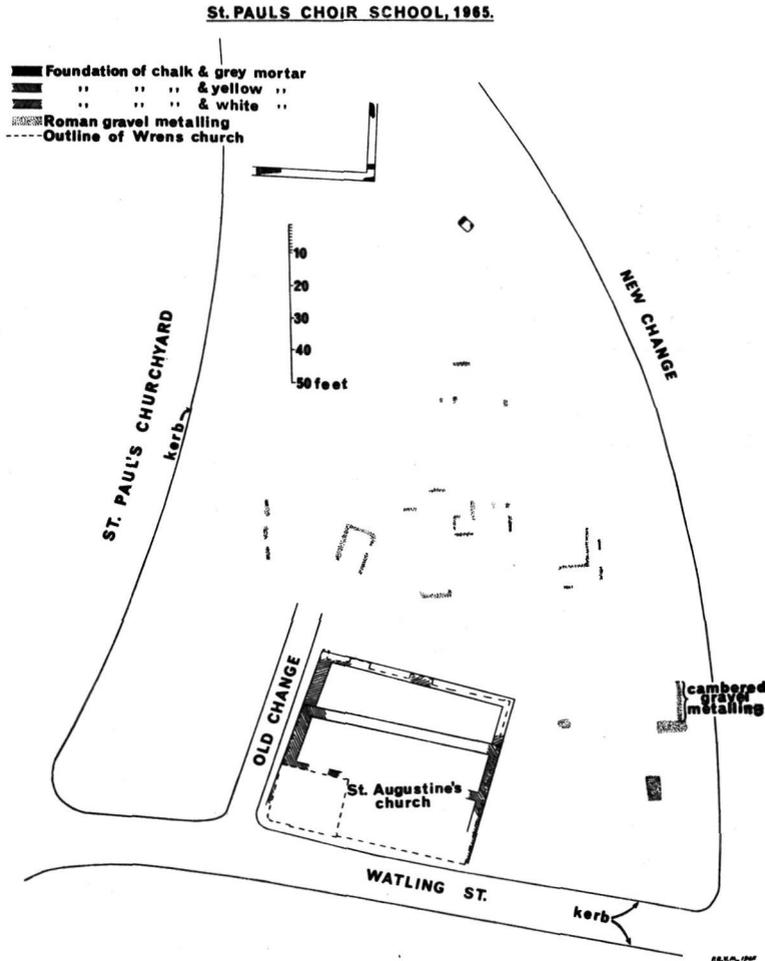


Fig. 2  
Roman and medieval features on the St. Paul's Choir School site.

No dateable material was discovered in any of the gravel layers on this site, but the fact that in the sections exposed the gravel immediately overlay the natural brick-earth, strongly indicates that it was laid down at an early date in the occupation of this area.

Site 4. *Hudson's Bay Company site, Little Trinity Lane (1965)*

A trench was archaeologically excavated on a small bombed site on the east side of Little Trinity Lane immediately north of Sugar Loaf Court. The trench was 5ft. wide, parallel to Little Trinity Lane, and was 10ft. east of the old frontage of that lane.

The purpose of the excavation was to determine whether or not the Huggin Hill Roman bath building extended as far east as this site.<sup>2</sup> Immediately beneath the modern cellar floor was found a thin spread of natural river gravel overlying the top of the London Clay. The Roman bath building had been cut into the hillside overlooking the river, and if it had extended as far east as the Little Trinity Lane site there probably should have been some sign of it. There was no sign of the building, however, and it may be concluded that it did not extend this far. This therefore limits the east-west length of the building to between 180 and 245 ft.

Site 5. *Guildhall Extension site (1965-6)*

The site comprised the cellars of several office buildings which had been demolished recently, and extended around the north and west sides of the Corporation of London offices and the Guildhall, between Basinghall Street and Aldermanbury. During the pause between demolition and rebuilding in 1965-6 the City of London Excavation Group carried out an extensive investigation of the area.

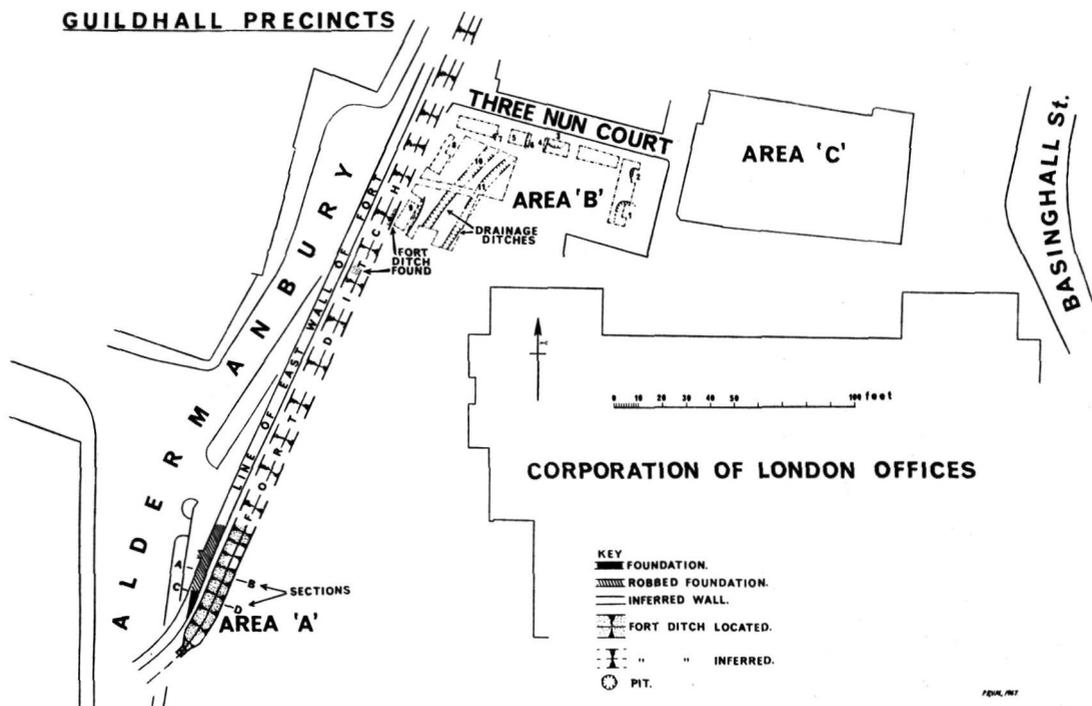


Fig. 3  
Roman features on Guildhall Extension site.

*The natural surface* (fig. 3). The natural brick-earth surface at the north end of area A lay at 37 ft. 9 ins. above O.D.; at the north-west corner of area B at 36 ft. 6 ins. above O.D.; and at the east end of area C. at 34 ft above O.D. The natural surface therefore dropped away to the north and east of area A. A small trench dug just west of the Guildhall itself showed that the natural surface (gravel at that point) lay above 40 ft. above O.D., and it is clear that the Guildhall was built on one of the highest pieces of land in the City.

*Gully in area A* (see fig. 4, phase I). The only early feature in area A was a narrow and irregular gully dug into the natural subsoil. It was about 1 ft. 9 ins. wide and 1 ft. 6 ins. to 2 ft. deep, and varied in width very considerably. The lips of the gully were quite sharp and it had evidently not remained exposed to the weather for long, as was confirmed by the lack of any silt deposit at its bottom. It was filled with clean gravelly brick-earth which appeared to have been dumped. The level from which the gully had been dug indicated that it was probably dug during the first or early second century, and it seems likely that it was filled in with the gravelly brick-earth when the fort was built during the Trajanic or Hadrianic periods.

*Gullies and pits in area B* (fig. 3). Two gullies (10 and 11) were found in area B, and pottery from the silt filling of both indicates that they were originally dug during the first century and continued in use until the fourth century (E.R. 1229, 1232). There was clear evidence that gully 11 had been re-cut and in its silt filling was found pottery of the third-fourth century (E.R. 1231).

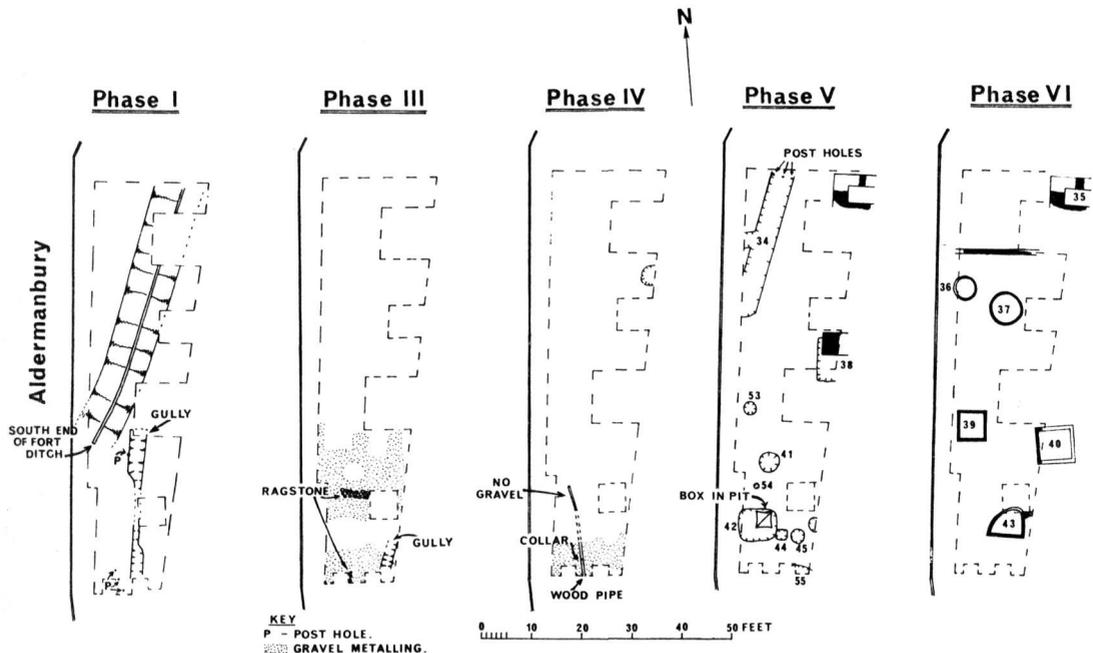


Fig. 4  
Guildhall Extension Site, area "A"

Nine pits were also found in area B, and five of these were dug in the same small area. The earliest contained material of the first half of the second century (pit 4 (E.R. 995) and pit 8 (E.R. 998)). It may be significant that these roughly coincide in date with the building of the Cripplegate Roman fort, which lay only about 20 ft. to the west.

Pit 3 (E.R. 994) contained pottery of the second half of the second century and Pit 2 (E.R. 993) pottery of the late second—early third century. The contents of the latter included two fused balls of blue frit for glass-making or enamelling, and sherds of hard pink ware with a black gloss, decorated *en barbotine* with animals, one of which was a bear. Other sherds of this or a similar pot were discovered in the filling of the medieval pits 13 (E.R. 1002) and 17 (E.R. 1006) on this site.

Pit 1 (E.R. 992) contained sherds of the first half of the third century, and pit 9 (E.R. 999) sherds of the late third—early fourth century with a coin of Claudius II struck after his death in 270 A.D. Pits 5 (E.R. 996), 6 (E.R. 997) and 7 were found together and all contained sherds of the fourth century.

*Gullies and pits in area C* (see fig. 6). In view of the depth of the modern cellar floor and foundations of Bassishaw House and the extensive burial pits associated with the medieval church, it is not surprising that very little Roman made ground had survived. At only two places (64, 69), were Roman deposits found immediately overlying the natural brick-earth, and pottery from both of these is dateable to the Flavian period (E.R. 1041, 1044). Two shallow gullies dug into the brick-earth were found at the east end of the site, and in one of

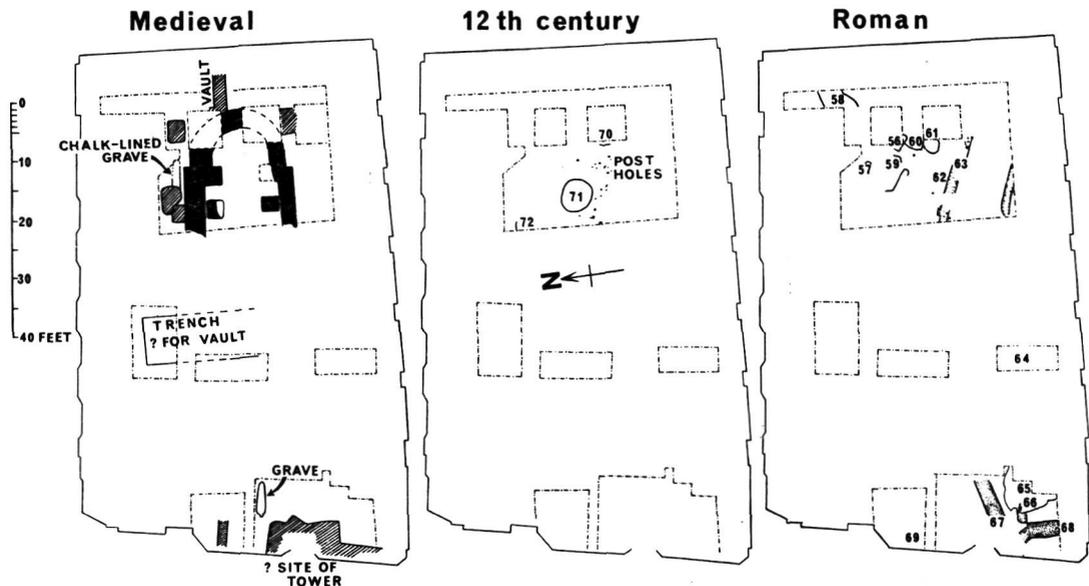


Fig. 6

St. Michael Bassishaw Site.

Foundations marked solid were of chalk and gravel. Foundations hatched were of stone and mortar.

these (63) were a few sherds of the period 70-90 A.D. (E.R. 1048). There was also a scatter of post holes which were filled with light grey clay, unlike the medieval post holes which were filled with black earth, and these are tentatively attributed to the Roman period. They occurred in two main clusters in the filling of the gully (63), suggesting that they may have been associated.

Apart from this the evidence of Roman occupation only survived in the form of rubbish pits, the earliest of which were dateable by their contents to the Flavian period. These were pits 60 (E.R. 1040), 61 (E.R. 1043), and 58 (E.R. 1049). There were also a series of pits dateable to the early second century, including 56 (E.R. 1046), 57 (E.R. 1053), 65 (E.R. 1054), and 62 (E.R. 1056). Pit 65 was specially interesting in that it contained a sherd of Samian ware (form 33) with the graffito CATTI. and a fragment of decorated 'Black' Samian ware stamped OF LIBERTI. It is significant that pits 60 and 65 and the deposit of Flavian debris (64) all contained lumps of slag and in one a crucible fragment. These suggest that metal working occurred nearby during the late first and early second centuries.

No pit groups were discovered which by their contents could be attributed with certainty to the latter half of the second and the third centuries.

Several gullies of the fourth century, however, were discovered at the west end of the site. These took the form of small U-shaped ditches. The bottom of gully 67 sloped down to the west, and in it were a quantity of pottery and a coin of Constantinopolis (A.D. 330-335). The gully also contained lumps of slag (E.R. 1037, 1038). Gully 66, which had been cut through the earlier pit 65, contained pottery of the fourth century and a coin of Gratian (A.D. 367-375) (E.R. 1045, 1054, 1057). Gully 68 sloped down to the north, and in it were found a considerable quantity of pottery and coins of Constantine II (A.D. 335-341) and of the house of Valentinian (A.D. 364-378) (E.R. 1052, 1055, 1058).

An undated find from the site worth mentioning was a fragment of a Roman brick stamped P.P.B. [R.LON]. This was discovered in pit 71, which has been dated to the twelfth century (E.R. 1061).

*The fort defences in area A* (fig. 3). Part of the eastern defences of the Cripplegate fort passed across the western edge of the site, and these consisted of the foundation of the fort wall, and just beyond it the V-shaped fort ditch.

The fort wall had mostly been robbed during the twelfth century, but the impressions of the robbed stones in the natural brick-earth were exposed, showing that the robber excavation was confined to the wall and did not extend into the natural clay on either side of the Roman foundation to facilitate the demolition of the wall. At the south end of the exposed length of robbed Roman wall a short length of the foundation survived *in situ*. It consisted of two layers of Kentish ragstone set in brick-earth. Some of these pieces of stone had yellow mortar adhering to them indicating that they had been re-used. Amongst the lumps of ragstone were a few fragments of brown coloured sandstone.

The foundation of the fort wall on this site was about 4 ft. 3 ins. wide and about 2 ft. 8 ins. deep. The medieval robbers' trench at one point branched off obliquely from the west side of the robbed fort wall. The bottom of this minor trench was level with the bottom of the fort wall, and it was evidently following the line of an internal Roman wall as the impressions of the robbed stones in the bottom of the trench indicated. The width of the robbed trench was 2 ft. 9 ins., and this was presumably the actual width of the foundation of the minor wall. The latter may have been part of a small internal turret, but the oblique angle of the minor wall to the main fort wall raises a difficulty.

At the bottom of the robbers' trench of the fort wall, at the north end of area A, was found a line of three post-holes each between 3 and 4 ins. square (fig. 4, phase V). The line of holes lay at right angles to the line of the fort wall, one in the centre line of the wall and one on either side. It seems unlikely that these posts were of medieval date because they were overlaid by the dumped fill of the robbers' trench, and did not project into the filling. It would appear that they must have been put in at the time of the construction of the fort wall, perhaps to assist in the setting-out of this part of the fort.

Beyond a narrow berm of about 2 ft. 6 ins. lay the fort ditch (fig. 5; plate 1). The section of the ditch clearly indicated that it had been re-dug. The original ditch was V-shaped in section with a narrow gully, square in section, at the bottom, and was about 9 ft. 6 ins. wide and about 5 ft. 6 ins. deep. There was clear evidence that the bottom of the ditch gradually sloped down towards the north, thereby indicating the direction of flow of any water which might collect at its bottom. At the south end of the excavation area the ditch came to a definite end (see fig. 4, phase I). It is no doubt significant that this occurred at the north end of the curving south-east corner of the fort. The filling of the ditch was mostly preserved at its bottom, and consisted of clean brick-earth (fig. 5, level A). A few bones, brick fragments and sherds of the late first or early second century were found in it (E.R. 1070). The clean brick-earth was quite unlike the silt deposits which occurred at a higher level, and had evidently been dumped.

A considerable length of the fort ditch was excavated, and the upper surface of level A was found to be extremely smooth and even sloping. This can only be explained by the hypothesis that the ditch had been re-cut. (See sections A-B and C-D).

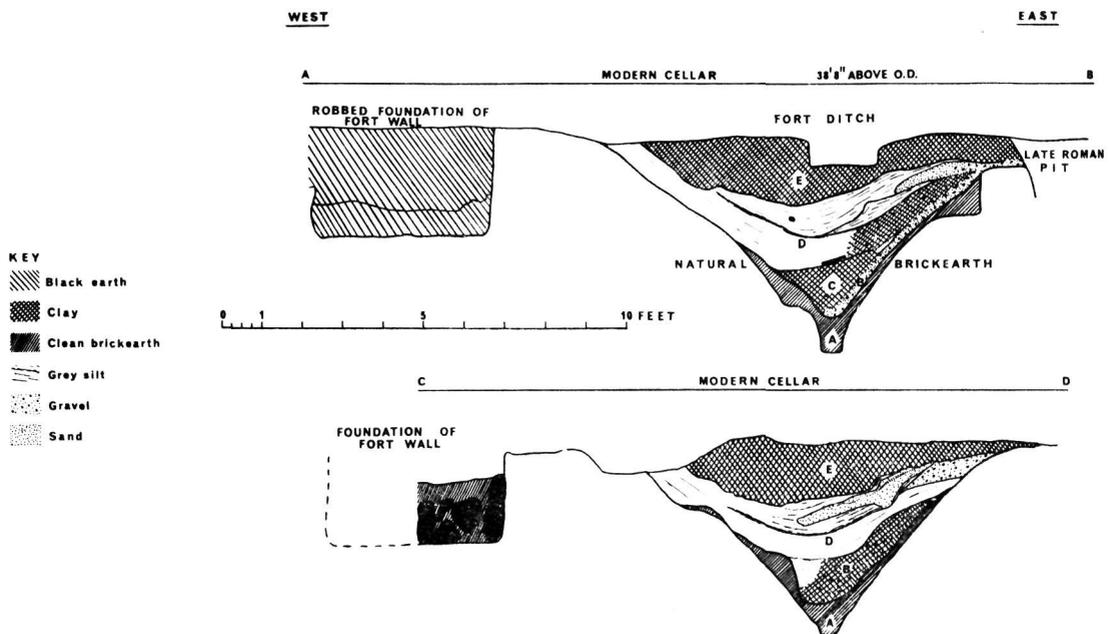


Fig. 5  
Sections across the fort ditch and robbed wall.



PLATE 1. Roman fort ditch and robbed wall (right); view looking south.

PLATE 2. Roman fort ditch; view looking south.

A—original form of ditch; B—re-cut form of ditch; C—gully form of south end of ditch on the site.





PLATE 3. Guildhall site; medieval pit 42, with the wooden 'box' completely excavated.

PLATE 4. Guildhall site; large chalk-lined medieval cess pit; looking south-east.  
A—stone-lined channel or drain; B—arched opening.

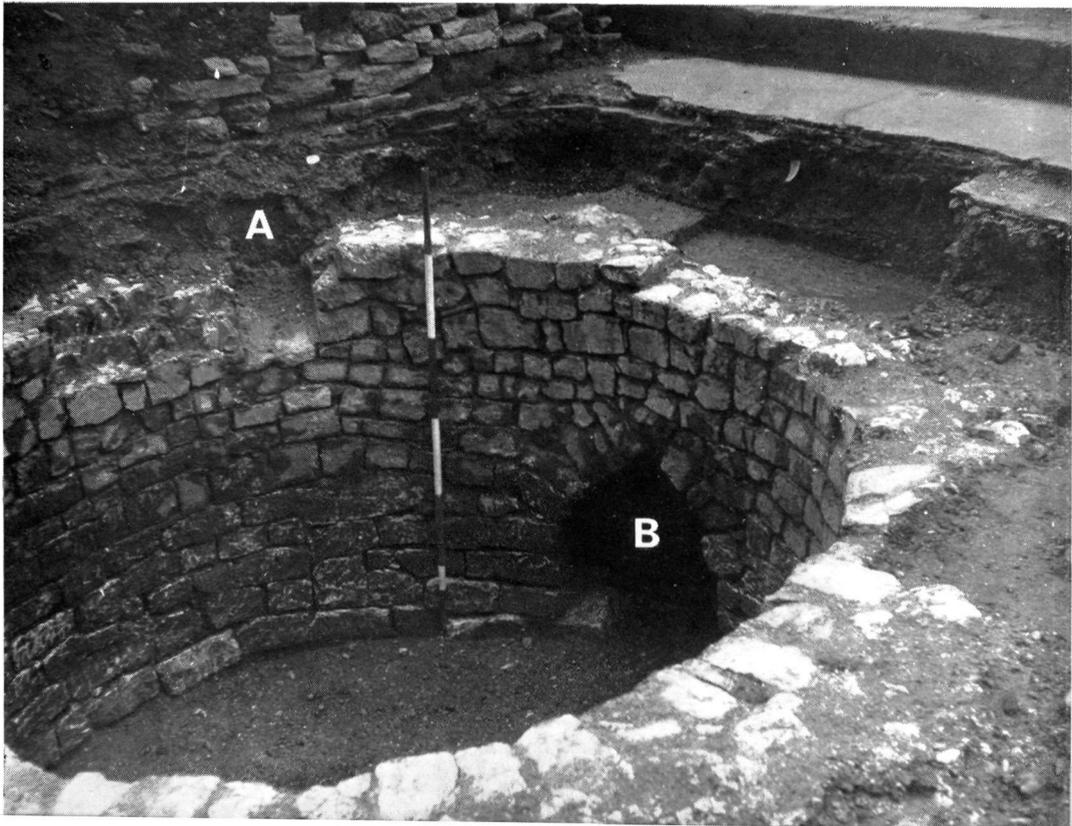




PLATE 5. St. Michael Bassishaw; foundations of the small twelfth century church; looking north.

PLATE 6. Foundations of chancel of the twelfth century church St. Michael Bassishaw. The pits and post-holes all pre-date the church; view looking north-west.



The form of the re-cut ditch (fig. 5) was V-shaped without the narrow gully at the bottom which was a feature of the original ditch. At the south end of the exposed length of fort ditch where the first ditch had terminated, the re-cut ditch continued only as a small U-shaped gully (fig. 3, plate 2) 2 ft. deep and 1 ft. 4 ins. wide, the bottom of which was about a foot higher in level than the bottom of the original ditch shown in section C-D. The bottom of the re-cut ditch also sloped down to the north, showing that there had been no change in the direction of flow. Set into the outside of the gully was a post hole about 3 ins. in diameter.

Filling the re-cut fort ditch were several layers of silt (fig. 5). The bottom layers B and C were the earliest deposits and tended to merge into one another. Level B was a gravel deposit which occurred along the east side of the ditch but not on the west side. Level C was a yellow silt deposit mostly at the bottom of the ditch and was probably natural brick-earth which had been eroded from the upper part of the east side of the ditch. Level B contained sherds of the period 120-130 A.D., and a coin of Hadrian minted in 118 A.D. (Roman Imperial Coinage, Hadrian 557) (E.R. 1071). Level C contained a few sherds dated to the same period as level B, and a brick fragment with the end of a stamp ]N. (E.R. 1072). This was probably the end of the official brick stamp P.P.BR.LON. which is sometimes found in London. Level D was a deposit of fine grey silt with occasional sand deposits, in which were found broken bones and tiles, as well as a good quantity of pottery dated to the Antonine period (c. A.D. 140-180) (E.R. 1073, 1074). The bottom of this deposit contained a scatter of large animal bones, and a large portion of a broken human skull. Three smashed cooking pots were also found, and these, when restored, were found to be almost complete. All of this material seems to have been deliberately thrown into the ditch at about the same time.

Level E was clearly not a silt deposit but a layer of brick-earth mixed with much rubbish, which seemed to have been dumped, presumably to fill the marshy hollow which was all that remained of the fort ditch by that time. This deposit contained a considerable quantity of pottery (E.R. 1075) dateable to the end of the second or beginning of the third century. Among the latest sherds were a few fragments of white rouletted Castor Ware, which are at present difficult to date precisely. There were however, none of the pottery types typical of the third or fourth centuries. The dumping represented by level E continued along the whole length of the fort ditch on the site, except at the extreme south end where the ditch had become a gully.

The lower filling of the latter was a grey gravel and silt deposit in which were found several large animal bones. This must be contemporary with levels B and C in the more northerly part of the fort ditch, because it was overlaid by the same deposit of fine grey silt (level D).

At the south-west corner of area B the outer lip of the fort ditch was exposed, thereby giving the alignment of the defences on the east side of the Cripplegate fort.

*Later Roman features in area A (fig. 4).* A certain amount of made ground beyond the fort ditch survived at the south end of area A. In the surface of the natural brick-earth, which was not level here were found a few small post-holes. There was no means of proving whether these were earlier or later than the digging of the fort ditch (fig. 4, phase I). Immediately east of the south-east corner of the fort was found a thick deposit of gravel metalling (fig 4, phase III) in which was a scatter of lumps of Kentish ragstone. In two places in the gravel were found dumps of ragstone probably deposited with the gravel to help make up the ground level. In one or two places the gravel layer resolved itself into two distinct layers, each with a surface, but because of the loose unrammed nature of much of the deposit this could not be proved over the whole area.

At the south end of area A the gravel was overlaid by a series of clay and earth deposits, most of which appeared to have been dumped. These deposits at the extreme south end of trench A were overlaid by another layer of hard gravel metalling (phase IV). Beneath this was a small gully filled with black earth in which were found two iron collars of a wooden water-pipe, inside one of which could be seen the impression of the wood. It seems likely, however, that the pipe had been laid after the upper gravel layer had been deposited, and that gravel had afterwards been re-laid above the pipe. This would explain a band of dirty gravel which overlay the line of the pipe.

Site 6. 1-4, Threadneedle St. (1965-6). (Fig. 7).

During builders' excavations, fragments of a Roman building were exposed at the south-east corner of the site. A portion of the foundation of a wall (a), 2 ft. thick and aligned

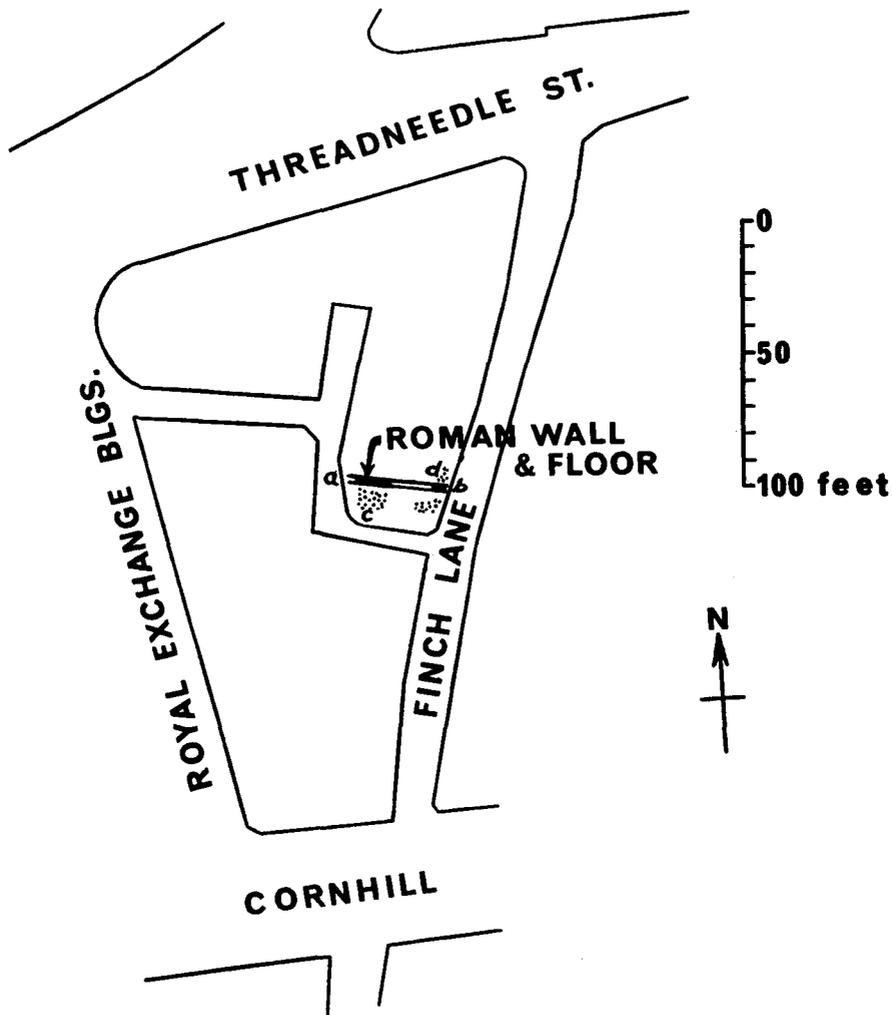


Fig. 7  
Roman building, 1-4 Threadneedle Street.

approximately east-west was constructed of flints and buff mortar, with three courses of tiles at the top. Between the middle and upper courses on the south side there was an off-set, overlying which was a floor (*c*) 4 ins. thick, of white mortar with small fragments of brick. This extended more than 8 ft. south of the wall, immediately overlying the natural brick-earth. Another fragment of Roman wall (*b*) was later exposed in a section further east. This was also aligned approximately east-west, and was presumably a continuation of the wall (*a*). In both cases the foundation trench had been dug to a depth of 2 ft. 8 ins. in the natural brick-earth. On the south side of wall (*b*) was a continuation of the floor (*c*), and on its north side was a hypocaust, the upper floor of which was on the same level. The lower floor was 2 ft. 7 ins. below the upper. Between the two floor levels the wall was 2 ft. 2 ins. thick, and was faced on its north side with horizontal bricks. Above the upper floor it was only 1 ft. 6 ins. thick, and there was a quarter-round moulding border at the edge of the floor. The wall was still standing to a height of 2 ft. above this.

The top of the natural brick-earth in the middle of the site was at a level of 38 ft. above O.D.

## MEDIEVAL

### Site 4. *St. Paul's Choir School, New Change (1965)*

At the north end of the site (fig. 2) the contractors trenches exposed several fragments of chalk and grey mortar foundations, presumably of medieval date. The floors and walls of this building had been destroyed when the pre-war buildings with deep cellars had been constructed. The medieval foundations composed an L-shaped structure, possibly two sides of a room; and an apparently isolated pier.

At the south end of the site was situated the church of St. Augustine, and the removal of burials in 1965 exposed some of the medieval structure of the church beneath Wren's foundations. This church is first mentioned in 1148, and in 1252-3 Alexander le Cordwaner made a grant of land on the north side for its enlargement. It was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, rebuilt by Wren in 1682-95, and finally destroyed by bombing during the Second World War.<sup>3</sup>

The removal of burials in 1965 exposed only the northern half of the structure of the medieval church, and at some future date it would be desirable that the remainder should be archaeologically excavated.

The church mentioned in 1148 seems to have occupied the southern two-thirds of the site of Wren's church, and to have been about 61 ft. long. During the exhumation of the burials there was clear evidence that the church had been enlarged on the north side, presumably about 1252-3. The northern part of the building was bounded by other foundations which butted against the earlier church foundations. The area over which the church was extended measured 16ft. wide and 59ft. long.

The foundations of the twelfth century church were built of chalk and yellow mortar, while those of the extension of 1252-3 were of chalk and white mortar.

Wren's foundations were unmistakable because they were built mostly of re-used stones set in hard grey mortar. A series of pier foundations in Wren's church evidently supported columns.

Site 6. *Guildhall Extension site (1965-6)*

The modern cellar floors were unfortunately too deep for any of the medieval made ground to have survived, but the foundations of several buildings, and the lower parts of a number of rubbish pits were found dug into the Roman levels. (fig. 8)

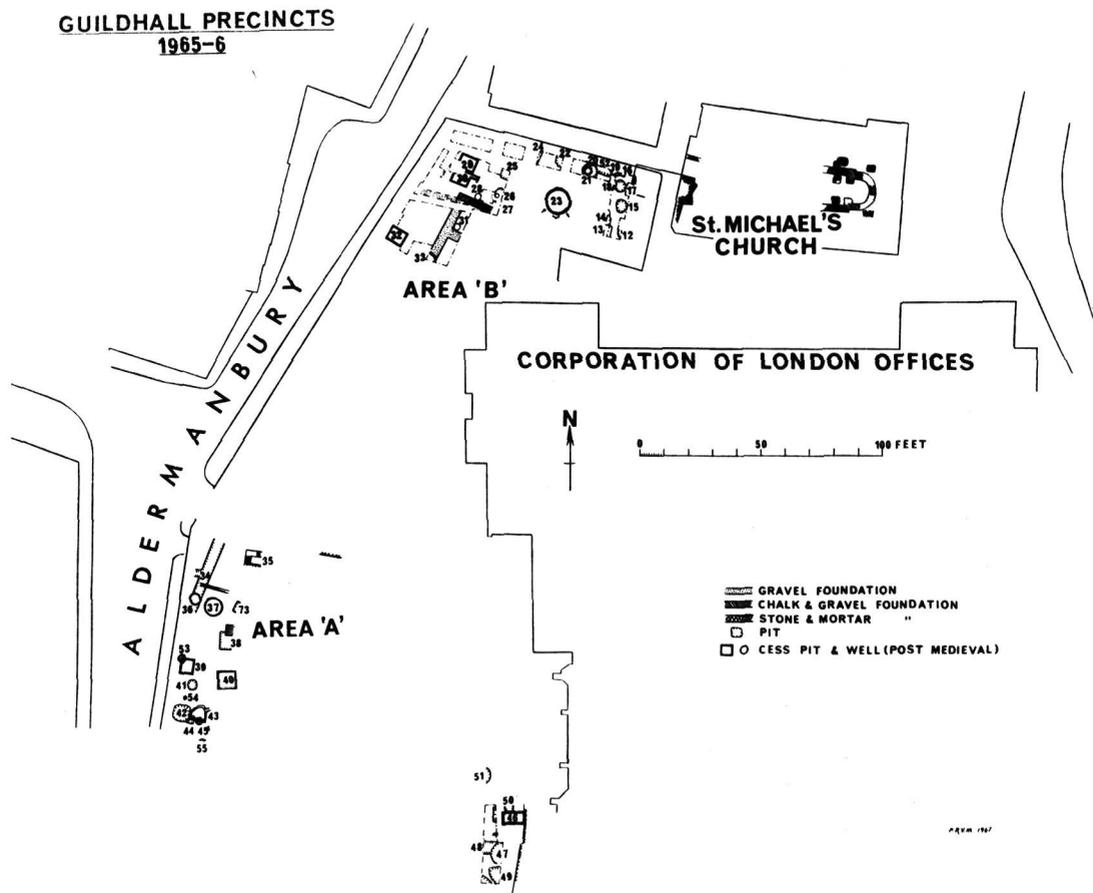


Fig. 8  
Post-Roman features on Guildhall Extension Site.

*Foundations and pits in area A.* One of the earliest medieval activities was the robbing of the fort wall (fig. 4, phase V). The robbers' trench (34) was dug down to the bottom of the Roman foundation, and it was filled with rubbish, which included many bones and sherds of pottery dateable to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (E.R. 1069). Three distinct deposits were observed filling the trench, and the finds from each have been kept separate. The tip lines showed that the main robbers' trench on the fort wall had been filled from south to north, and the minor one branching to the west from the fort wall trench had been filled from west to east.

- Pit 55, (E.R. 1086). Small group, dated twelfth century.
- Pit 53, (E.R. 1091). Small group, dated twelfth century.
- Pit 54, (E.R. 1092). Small pit, dated twelfth-thirteenth century.
- Pit 73, (E.R. 1088). Large square pit containing pottery of the thirteenth century.
- Pit 44, (E.R. 1093). Small circular medieval pit.
- Pit 45, (E.R. 1094). Deep circular pit, containing pottery of late twelfth or thirteenth century.
- Pit 41, (E.R. 1095). Circular rubbish pit, containing a few sherds dateable to the late thirteenth century. The excavation of this pit was abandoned when a depth of 9 ft. 6 ins. beneath the modern cellar floor was reached (*i.e.* at 30 ft. 2 ins. above O.D.).
- Pit 42, (E.R. 1076). This was a large pit dateable by the large number of sherds within it to the first half of the thirteenth century. Its filling was removed in three parts. The upper half of the pit filling which contained many fragments of glazed and unglazed pottery lying in dark grey earth (E.R. 1076a). The lower half of the pit which also contained many sherds (E.R. 1076b). Lying on the bottom of the pit at 8 ft. 9 ins. below the modern cellar floor was a square timber-lined structure or box (plate 3) which was full of hundreds of sherds of pottery (E.R. 1076c). Almost all were fragments of glazed jugs, and many of these have been joined to make complete vessels. In addition, two jugs were found in the box almost undamaged.

The jugs are all of a similar type, and their bases show no signs of wear. This suggests that they were perhaps part of a consignment of jugs sent for sale but that they had been broken in transit, and that the broken pieces were placed in a box, which measured 3 ft. x 3 ft. 5 ins. x 3 ft. 5 ins., and dumped into the pit. No trace of bottom boards of the box could be found, however. In this connection it is perhaps worth noting that two fragments of waster material were included amongst the debris. This would not explain, however, why the two complete jugs were also thrown away.

*Foundations and pits in area B.* The foundations of part of a medieval building, presumably a house, roughly aligned on Aldermanbury, were uncovered in the southern part of area B (fig. 8). These were mostly of compacted gravel lying in foundation trenches. One foundation, at the north end of the building, was constructed of alternate layers of chalk and gravel, and may have been later than the purely gravel foundations. Dating this building was impossible, in the absence of any pits or other deposits which could be stratigraphically related to the foundations.

North of the building was a large pit or well (plate 4), lined with chalk and ragstone (23 on fig. 8). There were two stone-lined channels sloping down into the structure, the positions of which are indicated by arrow-signs on the plan (fig. 8). Between them was an arched opening at the bottom of the pit lining, and its position is marked by a bracket. The arch appeared to lead nowhere, since immediately behind it was undisturbed brick-earth, and its purpose remains unknown. The direction of the channels showed that liquids flowed *into* the pit, and it seems most likely that it was a cess-pit.

At the bottom was a deposit of gravelly silt containing many decorated and undecorated floor tiles and pottery sherds, all evidently dumped, and these were dateable to the fifteenth century (E.R. 1220a). Above were fine silt deposits, several feet thick, containing considerable quantities of pottery and other objects dateable up to *c.* 1500 (E.R. 1220b). Above this the pit was filled with brick rubble, from the lower part of which was recovered pottery of the early seventeenth century.

A number of rubbish pits were found, and there was an interesting concentration of them at the east end of the area between the medieval house and St. Michael's church. It would appear that they were dug in a garden or yard which presumably belonged to the house. Some pits contained considerable quantities of durable rubbish, such as animal bones and broken pottery, while others contained very little and were probably cess-pits.

Pit 13 (E.R. 1000) was a timber-lined pit containing many decayed pieces of wood scattered in its earth filling, and sherds which have been dated to the late thirteenth century. Pit 13 had been cut into pit 14, which was left unexcavated. Pit 15 (E.R. 1001) contained pottery of the thirteenth century, with a few sherds of yellow-glazed Andenne Ware. Pits 17 (E.R. 1002), 18 (E.R. 1003), 16 (E.R. 1004), 20 (E.R. 1005), 52 (E.R. 1006) and 22 (E.R. 1009) also contained pottery of the thirteenth century.

The middle part of pit 24 was wood-lined and contained a few early medieval sherds and a decayed shoe sole (E.R. 1011). The lower part, which was not wood-lined, contained a few sherds of the thirteenth century (E.R. 1010). It is possible that pit 24 really consisted of two pits, one dug into the other. The upper part of its filling contained a considerable quantity of sherds of the late thirteenth century.

In the middle of the northern part of the site was a well, the bottom of which was lined with chalk blocks. The filling was mostly post-medieval, but one medieval sherd lay at its base. It seems to have been dug through the gravel filling of Pit 21, which contained three medieval sherds (E.R. 1007). It is therefore impossible to date the construction of the well, but the very slight evidence perhaps suggests a medieval rather than a post-medieval date for its original construction, although it seems to have been rebuilt.

All of these pits were situated in the eastern half of the area, beside the site of the church of St. Michael Bassishaw, first mentioned in the late twelfth century. At the north-east corner of the site was a foundation of chalk and brown mortar, probably of the medieval church itself.

#### *Area C. The church of St. Michael Bassishaw (fig. 6)*

The earliest mention of the church of St. Michael Bassishaw, which was situated on this site, is in 1196. The church was subsequently rebuilt during the fifteenth century, and destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. It was rebuilt by Wren in 1676-9, and it is recorded that the medieval church was longer than Wren's building. The church was finally demolished in 1897, when all the burials were removed.<sup>4</sup> An account of discoveries made at this time is

published in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* (New Series II, vol. 2, p. 149).

On its site was constructed Bassishaw House, an office building which was demolished in 1965 to make way for the Guildhall redevelopment. As a result of the Government ban on office development in the London area, there was time for the City of London Excavation Group to carry out an investigation of the site.

The excavation exposed the bottoms of a series of medieval foundations built in two different ways. The earlier group were built of layers of chalk and gravel and evidently formed part of the twelfth century church. The deep modern foundations and post-medieval burial pits had caused a very considerable part of the structure of the medieval church to be destroyed. The earliest foundations were uncovered at the east end of the site, and comprised an apsidal chancel 9 ft. 9 ins. wide, with the east end of the nave, which was 13 ft. 6 ins. wide (plate 5). Buttress-like foundations, presumably the base of the chancel arch, were found just in front of the chancel. These were bonded into the north and south sides of the church. Only slight traces of the one on the south side remained, but the shape of that on the north side was complete. To the west of the chancel arch were two pier foundations, also of layers of chalk and gravel, one on each side of the nave. These were not bonded into the side walls of the nave, and their exact purpose is uncertain. It is clear from the excavations that the twelfth century church was small, and probably did not have any side aisles. The trenches dug at the west end of the site showed no trace of the early church, indicating that it probably did not extend so far, and was therefore less than 63 ft. long.

In the nave and chancel area were discovered a series of post-holes filled with black earth, and these seem to have been part of a structure pre-dating the church. In one post-hole was discovered a small sherd of early medieval coarse pottery (E.R. 1062). Also earlier than the church was a large rubbish pit (71) which contained sherds of the twelfth century (E.R. 1061) (plate 6). Another earlier pit (16), which was only partly excavated, also contained some sherds of the twelfth century (E.R. 1066); and another pit (70) of similar date was found under the chancel (E.R. 1067). These pits are archaeologically important because they contain material which must have been deposited before 1196 A.D. when the church is known to have occupied the site. They are also important because they prove that the church was not built before the twelfth century. It may be noted here that among the unstratified finds from the site were several sherds of Pingsdorf ware.

The north wall of the twelfth century church had been partly built over earlier Roman and medieval rubbish pits, and the presence of two piers immediately adjacent to the north side of its north wall suggests that some subsidence had taken place as a result of this, and the church wall had to be strengthened with buttresses. The buttress foundations were built of chalk and yellow mortar, and one of them had cut through part of an earlier stone-lined grave.

Very few foundations were discovered of the fifteenth century rebuilding of the church. At the extreme south-west end of the Bassishaw House site was a massive foundation of ragstone and yellow cement, and its strength suggests that it was part of the foundation of a tower. This conclusion is supported by the account of discoveries made in 1897, where it is stated that Wren had built his tower, which lay at the west end of the site, on the site of the medieval tower. Evidence was found in 1965 to suggest that the later medieval church probably extended further west than Wren's church. In the cellar on the west side of Church Alley was found a small portion of a medieval foundation of chalk and yellow mortar.

This fragment is similar to some of the medieval church foundations, and is likely to be part of the church. As no other medieval foundations were discovered west of this point it probably indicates the western limit of the late medieval church, which was about 17 ft. west of Wren's church. No foundations of the latter were discovered, probably because Wren mostly built on top of the medieval foundations.

In the centre of the site was discovered a deep trench with vertical sides and right-angled corners. This was filled with earth and loose lumps of stone. Around its sides was a small ledge or offset in the brick-earth, and the regular character of the trench indicates that it contained a structure of some kind, but its position is related to nothing in the plan of Wren's church. In view of its great size it is most likely to have contained a deeply buried vault, the date of which was impossible to determine.

At the east end of the site were discovered two piers of chalk, ragstone and yellow mortar. These were situated on either side of the chancel of the twelfth century church, and it is possible that they supported pillars in the fifteenth century building. Immediately east of the twelfth century chancel was found the bottom of a vault lined with squared chalk blocks set in chalk rubble and yellow mortar.

## POST-MEDIEVAL

### Site 5. *Guildhall Extension site (1965-6)*

*Features in area A* (fig. 8). Several post-medieval features were discovered in area A, but only one of these was part of a building. It comprised the north wall of a cellar, and was preserved immediately beneath the modern cellar floor a few feet north of cess-pits 36 and 37. Only the lowest course of chalk blocks of the north wall survived. The faces of these blocks on the south side of the wall were smooth and vertical, and level with the bottom of the south side of the wall was a hard earth surface, evidently a sunken floor on which lay small fragments of chalk. The north side was rough and there was no comparable floor surface. The wall was constructed of mortar and chalk with occasional red brick fragments, which suggest that it was probably of post-medieval date.

Six post-medieval cess-pits were discovered. The most northerly of these (35) was surrounded by walls of ragstone and mortar which may have been of medieval date. If so then they had been discovered in the seventeenth century and used as a lining for a pit. The rubbish filling yielded fragments of pottery and clay pipes dateable to about the middle of the seventeenth century (E.R. 1078). The rest were all brick-lined. Cess-pit 36 was circular and its bottom was level with the bottom of the robbers' trench of the fort wall. Pottery sherds from its filling are dateable to the eighteenth century (E.R. 1097). Cess-pit 37 was a large circular pit, and pottery sherds and clay pipes from its filling date it to the early eighteenth century (E.R. 1084). Cess-pit 39 was square, and pottery and clay pipes from its filling indicate that it was in use up to the middle of the seventeenth century (E.R. 1096). Cess-pit 40 was probably square, but its filling was not excavated and the exact shape was not defined. Cess-pit 43 was D-shaped, and had a brick-lined channel sloping down to its east side. Pottery sherds and clay pipes from the sludge filling at its bottom and from the dumped rubble filling in the upper half of the pit were all of the nineteenth century (E.R. 1090).

Cess-pit 35 and 39 were probably contemporary, as were 36 and 37. The filling of cess-pit 43 may have resulted from the construction of the system of sewers beneath the streets of the

City about the middle of the nineteenth century, after which cess-pits were no longer required.

*Features in area B.* The earliest post-medieval feature exposed during the excavation was a brick-lined cess-pit (32) measuring 5ft. 2ins. by 5 ft. 11 ins., and originally more than 4 ft. 4 ins. deep. A very fine group of pottery and glass ware (E.R. 1016) was recovered from its filling and this can be dated to the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Of special interest from this group are two almost identical plates of Southwark delftware, with a blue decoration. These were made by the Dutch potter Christian Wilhelm who worked in Southwark from 1628 to about 1645. The most prominent decorative feature on these plates is a bird standing upon a rock.<sup>5</sup>

The well at the north end of the site (21) may originally have been built during the medieval period, but two kinds of brickwork above the original lining of chalk blocks showed that it had been reconstructed twice during the post-medieval period. It was 3 ft. in diameter, and its bottom lay 8 ft. 6 ins. below the modern cellar floor (i.e. at 28 ft. 11 ins. above O.D.). This level must have been below the water-table before it was artificially lowered by the construction of sewers in the area. Pottery and clay pipes from the filling of the well (E.R. 1014) have been dated to the period 1660-80, and represent the period at which the well passed out of use. It is of interest to note that this was the site of the house of Lord George Jeffreys (popularly known as 'Judge' Jeffreys).<sup>6</sup>

A small pit on the west side of the well (not shown on the plan) contained pottery of the mid-eighteenth century (E.R. 1015), and associated with this was part of a brick structure, possibly a floor, set in earth.

In the north-west corner of area B were found two adjacent brick-lined cess-pits (29, 30). Pit 29 contained pottery of the mid-seventeenth century in its lower fill (E.R. 1221b), and pottery dating to the mid-eighteenth century in its upper fill (E.R. 1221a). Cess-pit 30 contained pottery ranging in date from the early seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century (E.R. 1222). At the south end of the area was found the bottom of the roughly stone-lined cess-pit 33 containing a group of pottery of the mid-eighteenth century.

#### NOTES

- 1 See plan of site Lond. & Mdsx. Arch. Soc. T. Vol. 21, pt. 2, p. 137.
- 2 Lond. & Mdsx. Arch. Soc. T. Vol. 21, pt. 3, pp. 194-202.
- 3 H. A. Harben, *Dictionary of London*, 1918, pp. 36-7.
- 4 *Ibid.* p. 408.
- 5 See Hugh Tait: 'Southwark Delftware and the potter, Christian Wilhelm', *The Connoisseur*, August, 1960, pp. 36-42.
- 6 Lond. & Mdsx. Arch. Soc. T. New series, Vol. 6, 1927-31, pp. 177-198.

#### EDITOR'S NOTE

A generous contribution towards the cost of printing this paper has been made by the Corporation of the City of London, to whose members the Society takes this opportunity of making grateful acknowledgement.

# THE MIDDLESEX BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY ARTHUR H. HALL, F.S.A., F.L.A.

One of the first tasks of the Middlesex Local History Council (now incorporated with the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society) on its formation in 1951, was to arrange for the compilation of this Bibliography. An editorial board was set up consisting of public librarians within the area. Mr. J. E. Walker, Chief Librarian of the then Borough of Hendon was appointed General Editor. The first draft included entries up to June, 1956, and duplicated copies of this were made and sent to all the Borough and Urban District libraries in the then County of Middlesex. In addition copies went to the then Middlesex County Library, Middlesex Record Office, London County Council Members' Library, and Guildhall Library. A master copy recording locations was housed with the South-Eastern Regional Bureau at the National Central Library.

Additions were subsequently prepared up to January, 1960 and later it was decided to extend these additions to 31st March, 1965, the date on which Middlesex ceased to be a local government area under the London Government Act, 1963.

These additions have now been collected and formed into a supplementary volume, duplicated copies of which will be sent to all libraries holding the original volume. It was the intention of the Local History Committee of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society to print the Bibliography but for various reasons, mainly financial, this has not been possible.

The area covered by the Bibliography is that of the administrative county of Middlesex before it was abolished by the London Government Act, 1963. The material recorded is works on any subject relating to Middlesex as a whole, or any of its districts, whether those works are printed (including periodical articles) or in typescript or manuscript. The Bibliography does not include archives or pictorial records (if without text) and biographies are included only if the local references are of sufficient importance to warrant it. Other omissions are sermons, lectures and speeches delivered in the area but dealing with other than local subjects.

Maps of special subjects such as geology, railways, roads, and canals, and maps of districts are included but general maps of the County were excluded because at the time of the preparation of the Bibliography, it was understood that a catalogue of London and Greater London maps was being compiled by another body.

Local newspapers were omitted because of the lack of information about them, and the time required to obtain such information would have caused a delay in the issue of the Bibliography out of all proportion to the value of including them. It had been hoped that a separate list of these might have been compiled at a later date.

The Bibliography is not merely a list of the holdings in the local collections of the Middlesex public libraries, but includes works held by libraries outside the County. These include Guildhall Library, Greater London Council Members' Library, Greater London Council Record Office (Middlesex Records), Justices' Library at the Middlesex Guildhall, S.W.1. Society of Antiquaries Library, and the Bishopsgate Institute Library which also houses the

library of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. The Bibliography also includes rare Middlesex items in the British Museum Library, Bodleian Library, National Library of Wales, the Libraries of Cambridge University, Trinity College, Dublin, Natural History Museum at Kew Gardens, and the London public libraries.

The Bibliography is in two parts; the first part comprising works relating to the County as a whole and the second those relating to the Boroughs and Urban Districts within the County, which are arranged alphabetically. It should be noted that the Boroughs and Urban Districts are those existing before the creation of the London Boroughs by the London Government Act, 1963. A list of these boroughs and districts is appended.

The material in both the County section and the section covering the individual districts, is classified under a scheme the main headings of which are as follows:—

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| A. General bibliography           | G. Religion. Churches                   |
| B. Science                        | H. Biography                            |
| C. History and topography         | I. Architecture                         |
| D. Economic history               | J. General periodicals                  |
| E. Political and military history | K. Directories and almanacs             |
| F. Social history                 | L. Works of fiction, verse, drama, etc. |

The sub-division of these main classes varies slightly in each district according to the material dealt with, but the same general scheme has been used for all. A full schedule of the subjects covered by these sub-divisions is given at the beginning of each district in the main volume of the Bibliography. The entries under each sub-division are arranged chronologically according to the date of publication.

The following indexes are provided:—(1) an index of *names* of authors, editors, compilers, and of persons who are subjects of books or whose names appear in the title. (2) a subject index listing in alphabetical order all the subjects covered by the sub-divisions of the classification. (3) an index of localities (not being boroughs or urban districts) showing under which district each comes, e.g., Crouch End under Hornsey, Grange Park under Enfield.

The Local History Committee of the Society very much regrets that it has not been possible to print the Bibliography, but it is hoped that, even in its present form, it may be a useful bibliographical tool for librarians, students and others.

#### APPENDIX I

The former Boroughs and Urban Districts covered by the Bibliography.

|                        |                      |                           |
|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Acton                  | Feltham              | Hendon                    |
| Brentford and Chiswick | Friern Barnet        | Heston and Isleworth      |
| Ealing                 | Finchley             | Hornsey                   |
| Edmonton               | Harrow               | Potters Bar               |
| Enfield                | Hayes and Harlington | Ruislip-Northwood         |
| Southall               | Tottenham            | Willesden                 |
| Southgate              | Twickenham           | Wood Green                |
| Staines                | Uxbridge             | Yiewsley and West Drayton |
| Sunbury-on-Thames      | Wembley              |                           |

#### APPENDIX II

Libraries where copies of the Bibliography may be consulted.

London Borough Libraries:—

Barnet, Brent, Ealing, Enfield, Haringey, Harrow, Hillingdon, Hounslow, Richmond-on-Thames.

Hertfordshire County Library (Potters Bar branches).

Surrey County Library (Staines and Sunbury-on-Thames branches).

Greater London Council Members' Library.

Greater London Council Record Office (Middlesex Records), Dartmouth Street, S.W.1.

Guildhall Library.

Library of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society at the Bishopsgate Institute, E.C.2.

South Eastern Library Bureau, Store Street, W.C.1., which holds the master copy showing the location of items.

## NOTE ON NEWGATE PRISON

BY NELLIE J. M. KERLING, HIST.DOCT.(LEYDEN), PH.D.(LONDON), F.R.HIST.S.

In 1546 Henry VIII granted the Hospital of St. Bartholomew in West Smithfield to the City of London. Full details of this grant were given in the Letters Patent of 27 December of that year from which it appears that the Mayor and Commonalty as Governors of the Hospital had among others the duty to nominate an official called the Visitor of Newgate Prison. The first of these appointments is mentioned in 1553 when James Payne, clerk, was accepted to visit the prisoners in Newgate 'to fulfill the rome in exortacyons and holsome lessens of the scryptures to call them from desparatyce to the lyf everlastyng'.<sup>1</sup>

The connexion between St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Newgate Prison was not a new one. In a petition to the King probably dating from the 14th century, 'les chapeleyns le mestre et les freres del hospital de Seint Barthelmeu' asked to be exempt from the 10th and other subsidies because of their heavy expenses for the treatment of the sick poor who came to the Hospital to be healed or to die and for 'trouer touz les enfanntz que sont neez en la prisone de Neugate des femmes enditez et deteintes en la dite prisone . . .'.<sup>2</sup> Newgate Prison first erected in or shortly after 1188,<sup>3</sup> was used for the worst type of criminals from the City of London and the county of Middlesex. Conditions were extremely bad and primitive. Gaol fever was rampant and the sexes were hardly separated until the fifteenth century when a special building was erected for female prisoners. Lack of good drinking water caused typhoid and other diseases. In the fifteenth century both the Priory and the Hospital of St. Bartholomew offered their surplus water supply for the use of the prisoners. These Houses received this water supply from the Priory's manor at Canonbury<sup>4</sup> and when in the early fifteenth century this supply began to fail owing to a breaking down of the pipes, the Hospital decided in 1433 to carry out the necessary repairs. Once the water was flowing through freely again, it was possible to make arrangements for the benefit of the prisoners. To this effect an agreement was made between the Priory and Thomas Knolles, citizen and grocer of London in 1436<sup>5</sup> followed by a similar agreement between Thomas and the Master and Brethren of the Hospital in 1442.<sup>6</sup> Thomas made himself responsible for the upkeep of the leaden pipes which would bring water to Newgate Prison having constructed them at his own expense, promising that in times of drought the inhabitants of the Priory and the Hospital were to be served first. Though the support of the Hospital did not turn the Prison into a Paradise, the prisoners received some benefits. Better drinking water was supplied, the Hospital chaplains mentioned in the petition must have looked after the spiritual needs of the prisoners while the nursing Brethren took care of babies and young mothers.

In 1539 the Priory was dissolved and in 1544 its buildings were sold to Sir Richard Rich. Almost immediately trouble arose about the water supply to the Hospital which was withheld by the new owner of the former Priory. The Hospital was no longer in the hands of a Master and Brethren but the City authorities who were now in charge, had appointed a number of Governors mostly City merchants. Some of them visited Lord Rich in 1552 asking for 'the moyte of the water' with which his premises were supplied. Though they offered him a 'fyrkyn of sturgyon' their visit was unsuccessful.<sup>7</sup> Letters to support them had

to be written by the Lord Mayor and finally an agreement was arranged on 4 August 1561 between Lord Rich and the Mayor and Commonalty of the City as Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, regulating the water supply to the Hospital and to Lord Rich's property.<sup>8</sup> No mention was made of Newgate Prison.

The events caused by the Reformation endangered not only the supply of necessary drinking water in the Prison but they also deprived women and children of a care which they could ill afford to lose. Only the chaplains found a successor in the Visitor for Newgate but 'holsom lessens of the scryptures' however well intended were hardly a substitute for the total lack of physical comforts.

#### NOTES

- 1 Archives St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Journal of the Governors Ha 1/1 f. 76 recto.
- 2 Public Record Office. Ancient Petitions. S.C. 8 File 68 No. 3354.
- 3 The Great Roll of the Pipe 34 Henry II, 1187-1188 (London 1925) p. 18. See for further details on Newgate Prison: Reginald R. Sharpe, *Memorials of Newgate Gaol and the Sessions House, Old Bailey*. London 1907.
- 4 E. A. Webb. *The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield*. Vol. II (Oxford 1921), pp. 191 *et seq.*
- 5 *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 212.
- 6 Archives St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Deed No. 1497.
- 7 *Ibid.* Journal of the Governors Ha 1/1 f. 52 dorso.
- 8 *Ibid.* Repertory Book Hc.2/3 ff.96.97.

# EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FIELDWORK IN LONDON AND MIDDLESEX : SOME UNPUBLISHED DRAWINGS BY WILLIAM STUKELEY

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Five of the drawings discussed in this paper have only recently come to light. They were acquired by purchase from a dealer and are now in the London Museum. Possessing no great artistic merit, they are essentially the memoranda and field-notes of an amateur draughtsman, though a competent one. They were drawn by William Stukeley (1687–1765), the antiquary, between November 1723 and May 1725 and represent sites in London and Middlesex.<sup>1</sup> The subjects are otherwise unrelated and are uneven in importance. But, quite apart from their intrinsic interest, together they present a fair impression of the wide range of Stukeley's archaeological activities. One other little-known drawing of his, made forty years later, is also touched upon by way of contrast.<sup>2</sup>

Stukeley lived in London from 1717 to 1726 and again from 1748 until his death in 1765.<sup>3</sup> His reputation as the founder of British field archaeology rests largely on his work at Stonehenge and Avebury, but although his antiquarian interests and professional career often led him far from London, it is evident, especially from his unpublished work, that he spent much of his time not only mixing with the London intelligentsia but in solid field-work in and around the capital. He was often to be found exploring Middlesex on foot or on horseback, recording and re-examining earth-works like those on Hounslow Heath or Greenfield Common.<sup>4</sup> A threat to a building like the Sanctuary, Westminster, soon brought him to the scene with sketchpad and note-book (1750–1),<sup>5</sup> and he assiduously recorded chance-finds of archaeological material such as a Late Bronze Age hoard found at Kew in 1753, or objects from the Thames, ranging from a Cheshire cheese to a superb fourteenth century sword now in the London Museum, found in 1740 during the construction of Westminster Bridge.<sup>6</sup>

After about 1725 Stukeley's remarkable talents for field-work were gradually impaired as his scientific approach to the subject began to be replaced by fanciful and fantastic theorising. Particularly after about 1740 he can be shown to have let his imagination increasingly inform the things he recorded so plainly on paper. In this respect, however, he should not be judged solely by his published work;<sup>7</sup> nor should the curious speculations of his later years be allowed to obscure the real value of his basic field-work. It is easy enough to recognise the importance of the work he did around London in the 1720's. But it is also worthwhile to dig out the facts that can generally be found to underlie even the more absurd theories of his later life, such as his 'discovery', c. 1749, of Caesar's camp north of the Brill<sup>8</sup> and near St. Pancras church.

*'Caesar's Camp', St. Pancras*

This discovery became one of Stukeley's main preoccupations. More than once he lectured on it to the Society of Antiquaries. He regularly took visitors to the Brill, among them the Lord Chief Justice,<sup>9</sup> and he spent much time and ingenuity in inventing a seemingly erudite

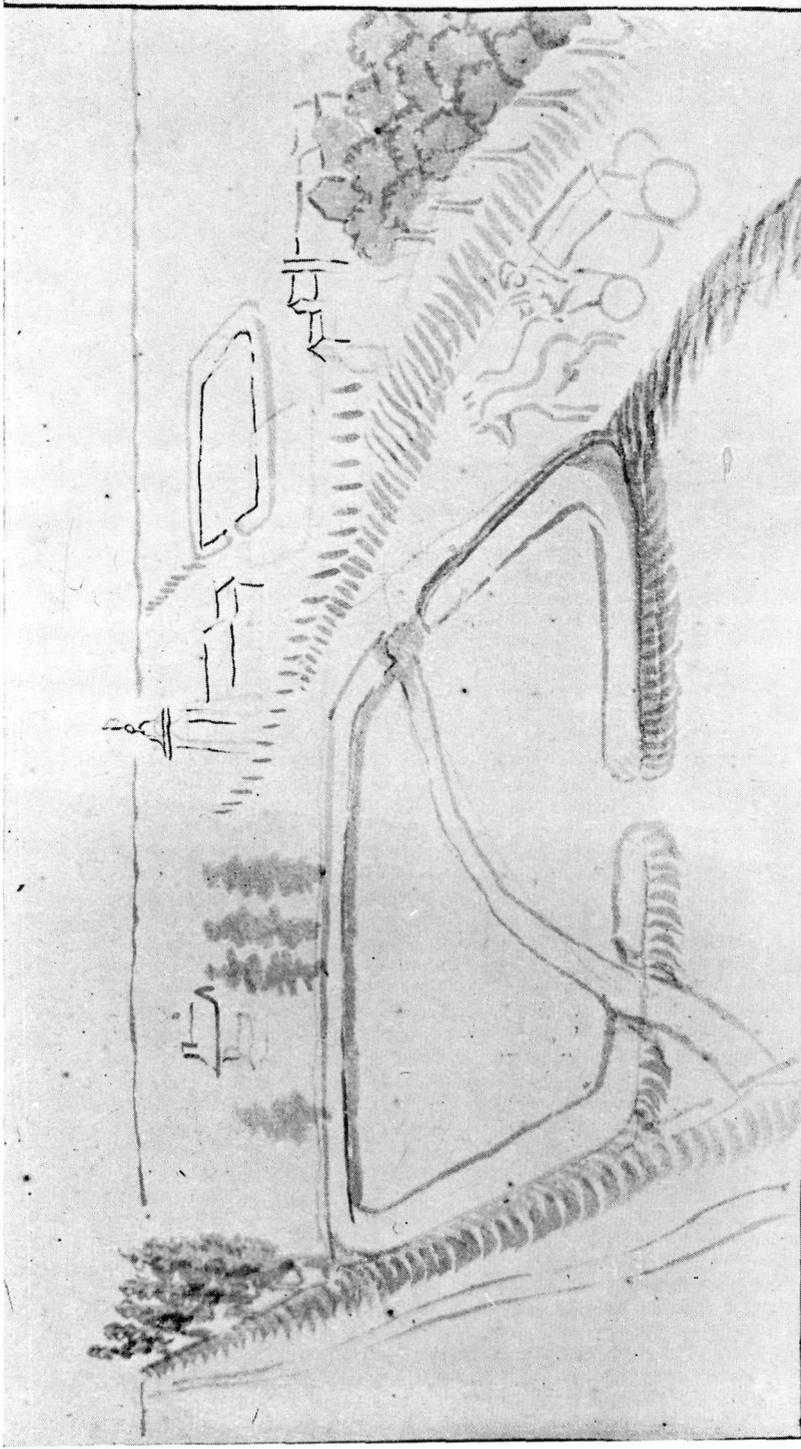
history of the site. His long explanation of the antiquities he claimed to have seen was published posthumously, together with his plan, dated 1758: in this he set out the features of a make-believe Roman *castra*, quartering Mark Anthony, for example, just south of Fig Lane and Cicero's brother, Quintus, south-east of St. Pancras church.<sup>10</sup> In the light of this plan, either in the engraved version or in MS. form,<sup>11</sup> little credence can be given to his interpretation of the terrain. It would, indeed, be tempting to throw out with all this bathwater the baby that Stukeley had submerged in it.

There does survive, however, a perspective sketch of the St. Pancras neighbourhood, which Stukeley possibly made shortly before his death in March 1765<sup>12</sup> (Pl. 1). Here the sub-divisions of the Roman camp are gone and he gives us a more objective, if feeble, adumbration of the features he actually saw, for his main object in this drawing seems to have been to record the effect of a contemporary change in local topography. A road, whose impending construction he had noted in October 1764,<sup>13</sup> is probably the one shown to run diagonally across a rectangular earth-work enclosure lying south-west of St. Pancras church. This is the feature that had become 'Caesar's praetorium' in Stukeley's Roman camp. Scraps of evidence elsewhere tend to confirm that the earth-work itself was no construct of Stukeley's mind. Thus, notes made by a certain S.G. and published in a magazine in 1831 indicate that it was still visible in 1826, though the ditch had been filled up; but within a few months, as another correspondent noted later, half the enclosure had been destroyed by brickmakers, who reported 'that nothing was found, not even a tile or a brass coin.'<sup>14</sup> Its east and west boundaries possibly coincided with those of the Great Slip Field shown on a map of about 1800<sup>15</sup> and its position, in modern terms, centres about the point TQ 29800 83260, the site of a coal depot bounded by Pancras Road, Chenies Place and Purchase Street.

Stukeley depicts another rectangular enclosure on the right of his sketch and east of the church, in a position corresponding to 'the praetorium of Prince Mandubrace' of his Roman camp. The existence of this earth-work is authenticated by the map of about 1800 just mentioned, where it appears as an incomplete, water-moated rectangle measuring about 100 ft. (E.-W.) by 165 ft. (N.-S.). The location of the site today is in St. Pancras Gardens, centring approximately on TQ 2982 8348. In short, Stukeley's true instinct as a field-worker led him, at the age of seventy-seven, to record the features of a threatened structure. We can at least be grateful to him for being the first to draw attention to the pair of earth-works at St. Pancras, whatever their real significance.<sup>16</sup>

### *Jack Straw's Castle, Highbury*

Forty years earlier, on 20th April 1724, Stukeley had sketched the plan of an earth-work known as Jack Straw's Castle at Highbury, Islington<sup>17</sup> (Pl. 2, left). Characteristically, he added a note to the drawing in 1751, connecting the site with the fanciful theories about Druidism which he was then propagating. He shows a roughly rectangular enclosure encompassing at one end a smaller rectangular feature, and he notes the overall internal measurements of the site as 100 paces by 35. What he had, in fact, recorded was the site of a medieval moated manor-house, possibly the residence once belonging to the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and 'ruinated' by Jack Straw and his followers in 1381.<sup>18</sup> Despite its schematic nature, Stukeley's drawing is to be welcomed as a record of the general topography and dimensions of a site that is otherwise poorly documented, for although Jack Straw's Castle is often referred to by name, less has hitherto been known about its layout than about the flowers that once bloomed there, such as (c. 1695) Wall-rue, Stinking Iris, Lesser Periwinkle

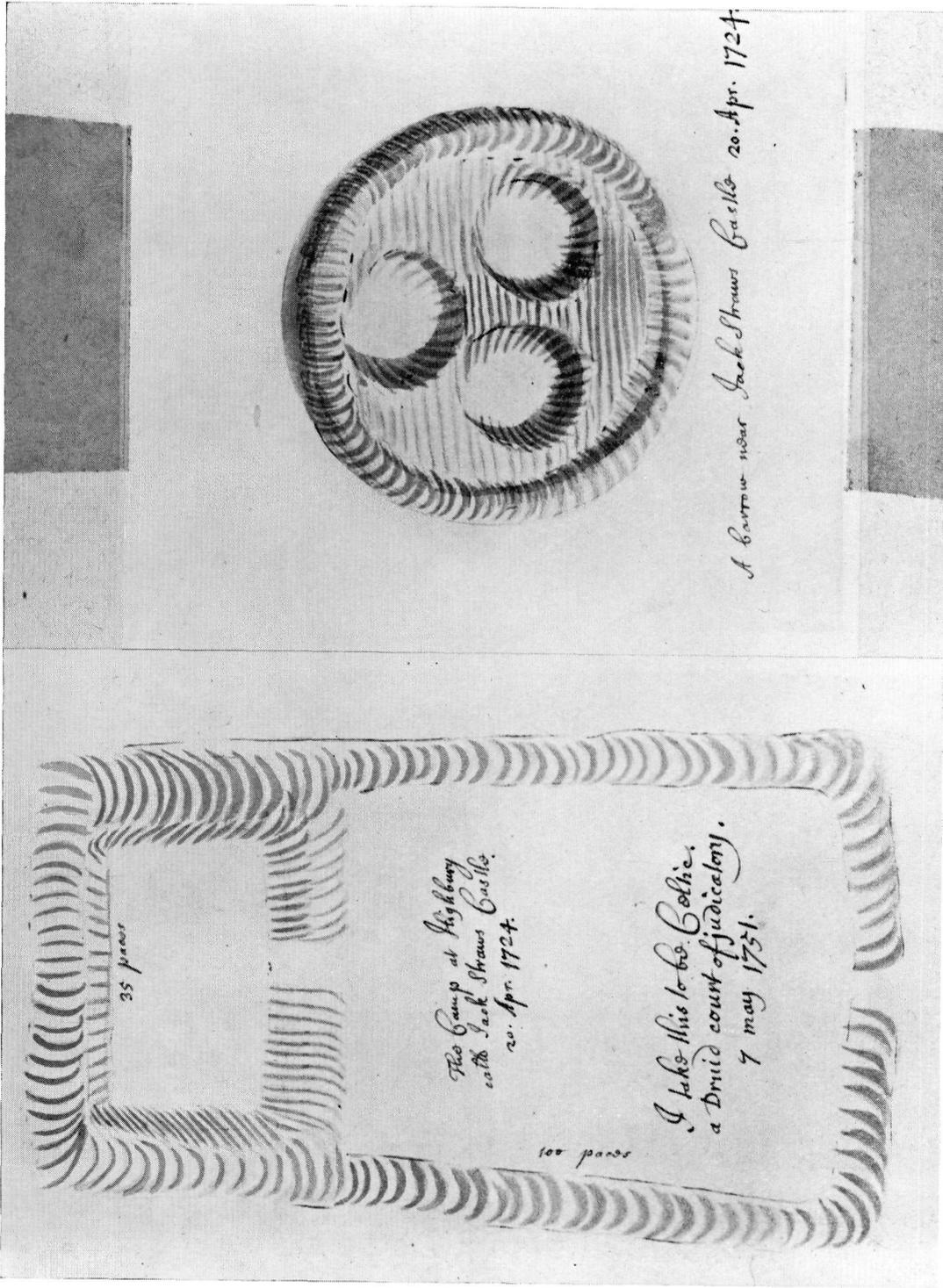


CAESARS Camp called the Brill, by Pancras.

*Stukeley delin.*

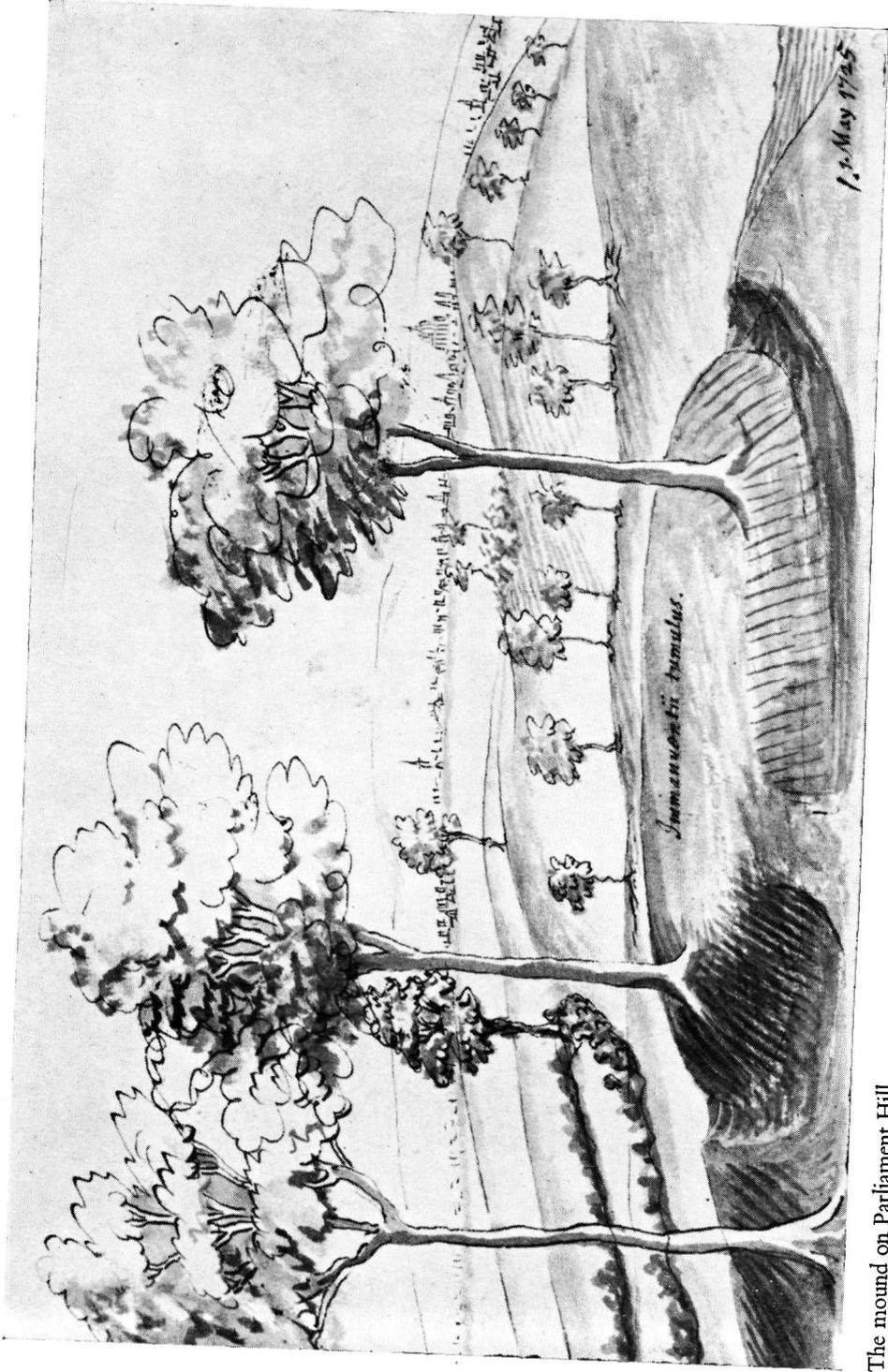
Earthworks at St. Pancras.

Drawings (? 1764-5) by William Stukeley



LEFT: Jack Straw's Castle, Highbury. RIGHT: Unidentified earthwork at Highbury.

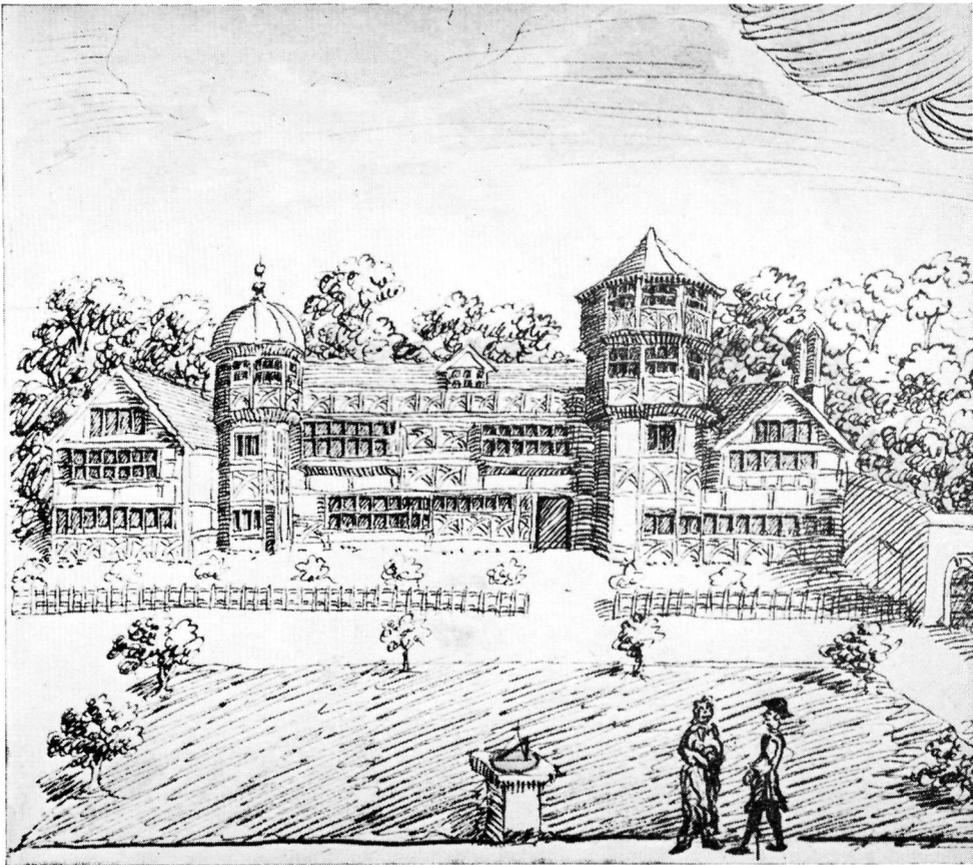
Drawings (1724) by William Stukeley



The mound on Parliament Hill.

Drawing (1725) by William Stukeley

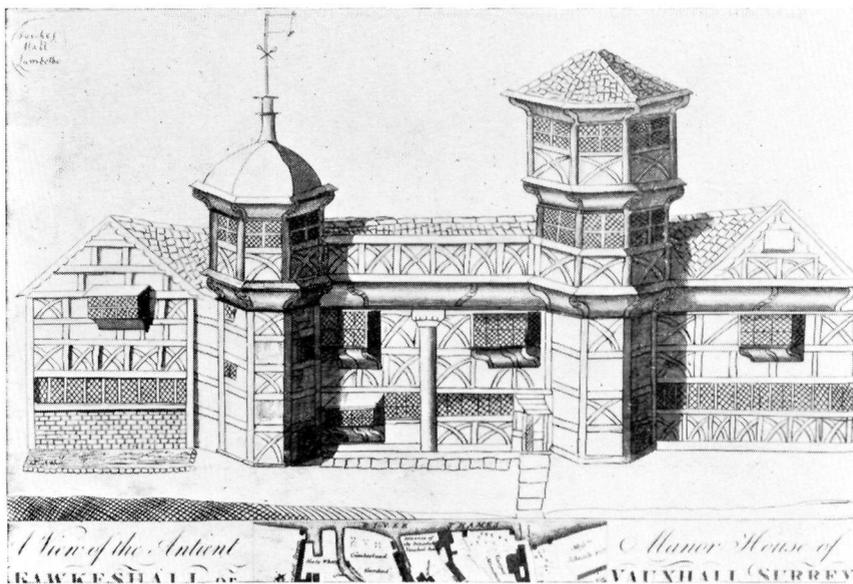
PLATE 4 (a)



House in Grove Street, Hackney.

*Drawing (1725) by William Stukeley*

PLATE 4 (b)



Copped Hall, Lambeth.

*Engraving (1813) after an earlier drawing*

and Townhall Clock.<sup>19</sup> In 1781 the site was destroyed by the building of Mr. Dawes's house (later known as Highbury House, demolished in 1938) and by 1791 the precise nature of Jack Straw's Castle was already an uncertain memory, though one person at least remembered it as 'a factitious mount surrounded by a deep trench'.<sup>20</sup>

The site centres on TQ 31825 85570, where Eton House, Leigh Road now stands, and should be distinguished from the site of another rectangular earthwork which Stukeley found and described in May 1749.<sup>21</sup> This stood in the same parish just west of what is now Barnsbury Square, centring approximately on TQ 3103 8422, and had, according to Stukeley, an inner entrenchment similar to the one he had shown at Jack Straw's Castle. This site also may have been medieval; a pavement of apparently medieval decorated tiles was found there in 1825<sup>22</sup>. It was, however, appreciably smaller (about 130 ft. by 25 ft.) than the Highbury earth-work, though large enough to provide a suitable 'Sunday resort of Irishmen for the game of foot-ball' in the early nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup>

On the same day, 20th April 1724, Stukeley also sketched a group of three mounds surrounded by a ditch, which he described as 'a barrow near Jack Straws Castle'.<sup>24</sup> (Pl. 2, right). No comment can be offered on the significance and precise whereabouts of this baffling structure. It can be noted merely as a piece of vanished topography before passing on to consider a more familiar mound that still survives.

#### *Mound on Parliament Hill*

In a drawing<sup>25</sup> dated 1st May 1725, Stukeley shows a round, ditched mound with a distant view of London in the background (Pl. 3). The mound is labelled *Immanentii tumulus*, and a separate caption, which Stukeley appears to have written in the 1740's, begins:

This is a *tumulus* on an eminence by Caenwood, which I drew out on Mayday 1725, whether we always went a simpling, in the years I lived in Town formerly. Dr. Wilmore now of Chelsea & Botanic professor in Apothecarys garden, commonly with me.

The mound is the almost circular, tree-covered one visible today on Parliament Hill, in the borough of Camden (TQ 27375 86510). It is about 110–120 ft. in diameter between the insides of the encircling ditch, and its top rises about 10 ft. above general ground level.

Stukeley's drawing is the earliest known record of the mound, which is otherwise poorly served by both maps and documents. Like the well-established trees depicted on it, the mound must have existed before 1700, though how long before has not been, and perhaps never will be, established with certainty, in spite of Stukeley's unequivocal label. Stukeley has at least made it reasonably sure that the mound is not merely a picturesque survival of the eighteenth century landscape movement or a pseudo-antiquity such as he himself, in later life, constructed in his garden at Kentish Town. Fortunately he drew the mound at the time when his observations in the field were accurate and shrewd, and it is unlikely that he would have completely misconstrued an earth-work whose origin had been recent.

This newly-discovered drawing reminds us, in fact, that there is a *prima facie* case for considering the mound on Parliament Hill as the only surviving prehistoric round barrow in the Metropolitan area. Authorities on Bronze Age earth-works would probably accept that Stukeley's 'tumulus' at least looks like a round barrow.<sup>26</sup> Luckily Stukeley recorded the mound before certain additions had been made to it. These more recent alterations were first detected when Sir Charles Read excavated the site in 1894.<sup>27</sup> Read, however, was satisfied that beneath the later accretions there was an earlier core which resembled 'an ancient British burial mound of the early bronze period'. He correctly surmised that the ring ditch, whatever its purpose, was modern and was able to confirm the existence of an inner ditch

corresponding to the one that we now see in Stukeley's drawing. Traces of the 'causeway' shown by Stukeley also still survive.

The trench which Read put through the mound was excessively wide (16 ft.) by modern standards and much minute evidence may have been lost. No bones were found, but near the centre was 'an irregular hole or pocket, the top of which was 6 feet 6 inches from the upper surface, and it extended downwards for about 18 inches. This was full of charcoal . . .' and rested on the original ground level. It is just possible that this pocket of charcoal at the base may represent a type of ritual that has since been inferred from well-attested Bronze Age barrows. It should also be borne in mind that there have been instances of barrows where complete excavation has apparently failed to produce any trace of a burial. Though the sum of evidence may suggest that the mound is prehistoric, a verdict of 'not proven' is still however the only tenable one.

Stukeley's own speculations about the significance of the site are characteristically self-assured. The mound, he fancifully suggests, is the tomb of Immanuentius, whose identity is perhaps less familiar to scholars today than it was to a man of Stukeley's time.<sup>28</sup> It may, therefore, be appropriate to consider the name briefly here. In texts of Caesar's *Gallic War* used in Stukeley's day Immanuentius is the name given to the father of Mandubracius, the leader of the Trinobantes, who, after having already met Caesar, then (Bk. 5, Chap. 20) approached him after he had crossed the Thames. The spelling of the name, however, has always been uncertain, since the manuscripts (mostly of the ninth to twelfth centuries) gave wildly varying readings, such as *inianuetitius*, *inianuuetitius*, *inianuuetutus*, *inlanovitus*, and *inianovitus*, incorporating any permutations of *n*, *m*, *l*, *u*, *v*, *i*, that palaeographers might devise. The result has been that the more recent editions of the *Gallic War* have omitted the name from the main text.<sup>29</sup> However, A. Klotz in the latest (1952) Teubner edition restores the name Inianuuetitius, with the comment 'ipsum nomen genuinum manifestum est. Nam quis nomen barbarum adderet . . .?'; and he reinforces his argument by listing contexts in Caesar's writings with similar wordings where the name of the chieftain's father is given. In short it seems reasonable to accept Stukeley's 'Immanuentius' and its variants as corrupt forms of a genuine Celtic name.<sup>30</sup>

#### *Sketch-map of N. W. Middlesex and S. W. Hertfordshire*

Stukeley had always looked with an eager eye for possible evidence of Caesar's activities in the vicinity of London. He believed, for instance, that Caesar's final defeat of the Britons under Cassivellaunus had taken place at 'Casvelhans military *oppidum* at Watford, and Rickmansworth: a gravelly island of high ground, *sylvis paludibusque munitum* . . .'<sup>31</sup> Stukeley may have reached this conclusion on 9th November 1723, for on that day he notes: 'I walk'd alone to Watford etc. to find out Cassibelins Town, which I discover'd at Ricmansworth'.<sup>32</sup> This kind of laconic remark may have resulted from Stukeley's tendency, both natural and praiseworthy as a field-archaeologist, to think in terms of maps and drawings rather than of the written description. Thus, on the following day he appears to have produced no fewer than three sketch-maps of the area between Watford, Harefield and Pinner—the region surrounding the alleged *oppidum*. The newly-discovered version of this map is reproduced here as Fig. 1.<sup>33</sup> Though all three maps are dated 10th November 1723 and refer to the same set of observations, they differ appreciably from one another in style, in their titles, in the spelling of place-names and in the braidings of the Colne, so that one, at least, may have been drawn on a later occasion. Nevertheless the three versions have enough in common to suggest



Fig. 1  
The Rickmansworth Area. Sketch-map (1723) by William Stukeley. London Museum.

that Stukeley may have based their outlines on some published map of the neighbourhood. One other sketch-plan<sup>34</sup> dated 9th April 1726, on the other hand, showing the area surrounding the 'Berry' or Bury (the manor-house at Rickmansworth) and giving a scale in feet, is more obviously the result of first-hand observations.

It is now believed that the *oppidum* taken by Caesar was probably Wheathampstead, east of St. Albans,<sup>35</sup> and further discussion of the topic would be out of place here. Attention may be drawn, however, to the unpublished or little-known Middlesex place-names in the three maps.<sup>36</sup> These are:—

*Gulchwell*, which can be roughly located from a map of 1777,<sup>37</sup> where Gulch Well is shown as a group of buildings on the east bank of the Colne, standing east of Maple Cross and west of Frogmore (TQ 043 928 approximately);

*Pinne Common* and *Pinner green*, which can be roughly located, though the full extent of the territory to which the names apply is not definable;

*Harefield street*, shown as north of 'Morehall' and Harefield;

*Basing*, which is presumably the Basing Hall shown, for example, in John Andrews's map<sup>38</sup> and located between Gospel Oak and Brackenbury Farm, both in the area of the present Borough of Hillingdon; *Cornix*, the Latin for 'crow', and apparently a fanciful form of Crows Nest Farm at the eastern boundary of the present Borough of Hillingdon (TQ 076 879);

*Ascot*, between Pinner and 'Ryship', is an older form of the modern Eastcote (centring on TQ 106 886);<sup>39</sup>

*Barrow point hill*, shown as north of Pinner, is the Barrowpoint Hill of to-day.

#### *House in Grove Street, Hackney*

Stukeley possessed a well-informed interest in architecture. As early as 1706, when he was nineteen years old, he drew the 'cupolo' of St. Paul's Cathedral,<sup>40</sup> work on the building of which he had occasionally witnessed as a boy. In 1749 he put forward proposals for repairing the sunken arch of the new Westminster Bridge.<sup>41</sup> He was, on the other hand, equally interested in recording the ancient make-up of the city wall.<sup>42</sup> His protests about certain rebuilding schemes had a curiously modern sound<sup>43</sup> and he was also far ahead of his time in the interest he took in vernacular building. Thus on 16th May 1725 he drew a half-timbered house, 'Mr. Aynsworths dwelling, Grove Street Hackney' (Pl. 4 (a) and commented, at the foot of the drawing, 'This is a model of our antient way of building'.<sup>44</sup>

'Mr. Aynsworth' was, in fact, Robert Ainsworth (1660–1743), the lexicographer, with whom Stukeley must have been well-acquainted by 1725. The previous year Ainsworth was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, of which Stukeley had been secretary since its foundation in 1718. Besides compiling his well-known Latin dictionary, Ainsworth wrote extensively on antiquarian subjects and on education, for he was by profession a schoolmaster. After coming to London from Lancashire in 1698 he had run a boarding school, though apparently never in one place for any great length of time.<sup>45</sup> When he moved from Bethnal Green to Hackney, he presumably set up his school in the Grove Street house,<sup>46</sup> which according to the rate books he occupied from 1723 to 1728.

Grove Street at this time was a country lane separated from Hackney Church Street, to the west, by several fields. Rocque's map of London and the surrounding countryside (1741–5) shows four or five houses grouped around the wider, southern end of Grove Street and another house that lies apart, about half-way down the lane on its eastern side. This house is also the only one with a plan that would conform to that of the house depicted by Stukeley. Stukeley himself, however, helps to orientate the house, for the arrangement of the sun-dial in the foreground indicates that the view is from the west and that the house accordingly lies on the east side of Grove Street.

The house has two main floors and a roof-garret, which is given added height in the middle range. The roofs of the wings appear to be carried on queen-post trusses. The studs of the timber-framing are relatively widely-spaced and where the spaces between them are not filled with windows and doors there are rectangular panels, many of them fitted with curved, crossed braces of unusual form.<sup>47</sup>

In essence, the lay-out of the house, with its projecting wings, would appear to be of the late medieval type that persisted into the sixteenth century. Thus the doorway is placed asymmetrically on the right of the main front and may be presumed, therefore, to have led directly into a screens passage, with the single-storeyed hall on the left. The 'hall' itself has a continuous range of windows running its entire length, double-tiered at the dais end and looking on to the forecourt, lawn and road outside. The chambers above the hall are lit by twelve-light, projecting bay windows. The disposition of rooms in the wings is more difficult to suggest, but the twin-shafted chimney-stack on the south range<sup>48</sup> may indicate the presence of a kitchen overlooking the walled garden or yard outside.

The polygonal stair-turrets fitted into the angles are undoubtedly the house's most striking feature. Their jettied upper floors are carried above the main building to form free-standing, many-windowed pavilions, evidently octangular in plan. That in the north-west angle appears to have a separate entrance and is topped by a domed roof. The other has a pointed roof, is both taller and larger in area and perhaps owes something of its outline to the massive octangular towers of Nonsuch Palace (begun in 1538). Picturesque turrets and towers of this sort, however, were a popular theme in mid-sixteenth century domestic architecture. They are, for example, reflected in the plan of Eastbury House, Barking, Essex (c. 1550-72)<sup>49</sup>, and, even nearer at hand, in two mid-eighteenth century views of Brooke House, Hackney, where polygonal turrets are shown in the angles of the forecourt.<sup>50</sup>

Stukeley has provided us with a useful record of a Tudor suburban mansion of medium size. By 1725, as he himself implies, the house in Grove Street had already become something of a quaint survival. Yet its size and exuberance were doubtless characteristic of many country residences that were built about the middle of the sixteenth century for the accommodation of well-to-do Londoners then moving from the congested city to the surrounding villages. Even the apparently singular treatment of the angle-turrets could be exactly matched elsewhere, for at least one other suburban house is known to have followed the same pattern. This was the house known originally as Copped Hall and after c. 1615—somewhat misleadingly—as Vauxhall (Pl. 4(b)). It stood near the Thames, a little to the north of Vauxhall Stairs, Lambeth.<sup>51</sup>

Copped Hall was described in the mid-seventeenth century as 'a faire dwelling house, strongly built, three stories and an halfe highe, with a faire stayre case breakeing out from the said dwelling house', the cross-wings being 'twoe stories and an halfe highe.'<sup>52</sup> It was perhaps at about this time that the front elevation of Copped Hall was drawn by an artist whose name is not recorded. The drawing, which was inscribed 'Fawkes Hall Lambethe', ultimately came to the notice of Robert Wilkinson, who published it as an engraving in 1813.<sup>53</sup> Although the artist was somewhat uncertain in his rendering of perspective, he was, like Stukeley, attentive to detail, and it was merely in matters of detail that the two houses differed from each other. Thus Copped Hall lacked windows in the garrets, had jettied first-floor windows in the wings and possessed two other distinctive features which were perhaps the result of repair-work—a stretch of exposed brick-work at the foot of the left-hand wing and a massive pillar apparently supporting the garret-floor in the middle range. In other

respects—size, pattern and method of construction—the two houses were virtually identical.

Stukeley's 'value to archaeology in his own day and now lies in his capacity to observe and record facts in the open air'.<sup>54</sup> It is hoped that the above drawings will have conveyed some impression of the pioneering quality of his work and shown how in the 1720's he set a fashion for serious archaeological study that was to lead in the long run to the foundation of bodies like the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society.

## NOTES

- 1 They are here reproduced (Pls. 2-4(a) and fig. 1) by courtesy of the Trustees. A sixth drawing in the London Museum's group (Stukeley's map of Newbury, Berks., with his notes on the 'Devils Den' between Marlborough and Devizes) has been transferred to the Newbury Museum.
- 2 Pl. 1, reproduced by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries, London.
- 3 First as a young doctor of medicine in Great Ormond Street and later as a clergyman at the rectory of St. George's, Queen's Square, Bloomsbury; from 1759 he also had a cottage in Kentish Town; see Stuart Piggott, *William Stukeley: an eighteenth century antiquary*, 1950.
- 4 The latter was afterwards obliterated by ploughing but has since been rediscovered by air-photography; *Antiquity*, VII (1933), 290.
- 5 Bodleian MS. Top. eccles. d.6, f. 4v; *Archaeologia*, I (1755), 43-48; Surtees Society, LXXX (1887), 11-13, 18.
- 6 *Ibid.* 210-211; 2, 11.
- 7 Some 55 original drawings of subjects in London and Middlesex are known and of these only 9 appear to have been engraved. To those listed in the valuable Appendix D of Piggott, *op. cit.* in n.3, should be added the drawings described and illustrated below, including the one belonging to the Society of Antiquaries.
- 8 The Brill was a place by a tributary of the Fleet. It gave its name to some houses and later to a public-house.
- 9 Surtees Soc., LXXX, 7, 8, 18, 19.
- 10 *Itinerarium Curiosum*, II, 1776, 1-16, pl. 61.
- 11 Bodleian MS. Gough Gen. Top. 24, f. 16 & f. 21.
- 12 Soc. Antiquaries, Roman Prints III, f. 76.
- 13 'Dingley is now preparing to disanul the road by Pancras brook, and make a new one, which will pass over Caesar's praetorium'; Surtees Soc. LXXX, 22.
- 14 William Hone, *The Every-Day Book and Table Book . . .*, II (1831), columns 1347-1350, 1565-1566.
- 15 John Thompson, *A Plan of the Parish of Saint Pancras . . .* This plan, on the scale of 3 chains to the inch, was authorised in the 1790's and published about 1800; there are several editions.
- 16 It has been conjectured that they were the remnants of entrenchments made at St. Pancras during the Civil War. But the shape and position of Stukeley's enclosures do not conform to those of the seventeenth century fortifications; cf. D. Lysons, *The Environs of London . . .*, 1795, III, 343-344; print (B II 12) in St. Pancras Reference Library; E. Walford, *Old and New London . . .*, 1873-1878, V, 330. These drawings of the Civil War fort are probably not contemporary. The rectangular earth-work was possibly medieval, as Lysons suspected.
- 17 London Museum no. 55.110/4; sepia wash with pen outline; 7.8 x 4.6 in.
- 18 John Nelson, *The History, Topography . . . of St. Mary Islington . . .*, 1811, 130-131; T. E. Tomlins, *Yseldon: A Perambulation of Islington*, 1858, 172-176.
- 19 *Asplenium ruta-muraria*, *Iris foetidissima*, *Vinca minor*, *Adoxa moschatellina*; the last two were growing 'on the Mote-side as you enter into Jack-Straw's Castle'. H. Trimcn & W. T. Dyer, *Flora of Middlesex*, 1869, 340, 274, 184, 136.
- 20 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1784, II, 804; 1791, I, 216, 401.
- 21 Surtees Soc. LXXX, 6-7; see also Hone, *op. cit.* in n.14, 1197-1202, and Tomlins, *op. cit.* in n. 18, 172-176. The position is marked on the 25 in. O.S. sheet.
- 22 Hone, *ibid.*, 1565-1566. Stukeley, however, noted that in 'Sept. 1760, some workmen dug up some urns with bones in them, I suppose 'em British'.
- 23 Hone, *ibid.*, 1198-1200.
- 24 London Museum no. 55.110/4 (verso); grey and sepia wash with pen outline; diameter 3.5 in. On the same sheet Stukeley added in 1728 a view of two 'tumuli' on Bennington Common, Lincs.
- 25 London Museum no. 55.110/2-3; grey and sepia wash with pen outline; 9.4 x 6.1 in.
- 26 The authors are grateful to Professor W. F. Grimes, Mr. Leslie Grinsell and Mr. Paul Ashbee for examining the drawing.
- 27 *Proceedings of the Soc. Antiquaries*, 1893-1895, XV, 240-245; see also C. E. Vulliamy, *The Archaeology of Middlesex and London*, 1930, 274-277; Charles H. Read, 'The Highgate Barrow: An Account of the Excavations'; and J. W. Hales 'The Highgate Barrow: A Theory for its Origin' in *Middlesex & Hertfordshire Notes and Queries*, X (1895), 4-6, 6-11.
- 28 It is of interest that W. Hales suggested, apparently without having seen Stukeley's drawing, that the mound was that of Immanuentius; *The Athenaeum*, 2925, Nov. 17, 1883, 634-635.
- 29 E.g. the Oxford Classical Text, the Budé edition, the important text of H. Meusel, and others. A. Holder's *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, 1898-1910, does not include any Celtic name or word resembling the variants given; Holder himself edited the *Gallie War* (1882) and had not recognised the name as Celtic, putting the rejected reading into the textual apparatus.
- 30 A Samian bowl of Drag. type 31, from Bainbridge, Yorks., has the graffito [ANONVITTO], which may, perhaps, prove to be the true form of the name: *Journ. Rom. Studies*, 51 (1961), 197. A first century A.D. coin of the Dobunni (from Dorset) is marked INAM: D. F. Allen in *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, 1960, 234.

- 31 *Itinerarium Curiosum* . . ., 1776, I, 2.
- 32 Surtees Society, LXXIII (1880), 71.
- 33 London Museum no. 55.110/4. The other two are in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, Roman Prints III, f. 74 & f. 73v.; f. 74 stops short at Brockley Hill in the south; f. 73v., which was perhaps drawn last, extends much further south into Middlesex, to include 'kenham' in the middle of its lower edge.
- 34 Soc. Antiquaries, *ibid.*, f. 72. This, and f. 74 & 73v., are reproduced, with comments on Stukeley's interpretation of place-names, in *The Rickmansworth Historian*, 5 (1953), 85-9.
- 35 R. E. M. & T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium: a Belgic and two Roman Cities*, 1936, I, 16-22, 149-150.
- 36 Most of them appear in the Soc. Antiquaries version, f. 73v.
- 37 John Andrews, *A New and Accurate Map of the Country Twenty-Five Miles round London*, 1777; (scale 1/73920)
- 38 *Ibid.*
- 39 Cf. *The Place-names of Middlesex*, 1942, 47.
- 40 Bodleian MS. Top. gen. d.14, f.1.
- 41 Bodleian MS. Top. gen. b.53, f. 90; British Museum, Crace Collection, Portfolio V, 93.
- 42 Stukeley's common-place book, ff. 89-91, in library of Wilts. Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc., Devizes.
- 43 Thus in 1748 he grumbles about the new Mansion House 'whereby the cits have deformed a beautiful area of the city', about the 'deplorable ruin in Change Alley' resulting from rebuilding, and about the removal, to the opposite side of the road, of London Stone, 'which Sir Christopher Wren had taken care to preserve by casing it'. Surtees Soc., LXXX, 4-5.
- 44 London Museum no. 55.110/1; pen-drawing with grey wash and yellow on plate of sun-dial; 5.7 x 6.5 in.
- 45 John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* . . ., V (1814), 248-254; *Reliquiae Hearnianae* . . ., ed. P. Bliss, 2nd edit., 1869, II, 153; III, 13, 15, 20, 151.
- 46 He may also have lived elsewhere in Hackney; cf. F.R.C.S. [Dr. Clarke], *Glimpses of Ancient Hackney & Stoke Newington*, 1893, 31, where he is said to have lived on the east side of St. Thomas's Square.
- 47 Single curved braces were evidently more common; cf. W. G. Davie & W. C. Green, *Old Cottages & Farm-Houses in Surrey*, 1908, pls. xxx, lxxviii, lxxiv; W. C. Davie & E. G. Dawber, *Old Cottages and Farmhouses in Kent & Sussex*, 1900, pls. 28, 30, 62.
- 48 There is a curious lack of chimneys. From this aspect, others may have been concealed by the towers, for it is unlikely that Stukeley carelessly omitted them.
- 49 Royal Comm. on Hist. Mon., *Essex*, II (1921), 9-10.
- 50 An engraved view after J. B. C. Chatelain, 1750, and an anonymous drawing, c. 1750-1758, in the London Museum; Survey of London, XXVIII (1960)—*Parish of Hackney (Part 1): Brooke House*, pls. 12 (a) & (b). Though there is a strong resemblance in the elevations, excavation showed that the disposition of the Brooke House turrets did not truly correspond with the location of the Grove Street examples; *ibid.*, fig. 10, pp. 29-31, 68.
- 51 *London County Council Survey of London*, XXIII (1951), 8, 148.
- 52 Thomas Allen, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth* . . . (1826), 368.
- 53 R. Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata* . . . (1819), no. 90. The authors are much indebted to Mr. A. J. Percival for drawing their attention to this engraving.
- 54 Piggott, *op. cit.* in n.3, 181.

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# SOME DISCOVERIES IN THE CITY OF LONDON 1954-9

BY PETER R. V. MARSDEN

## *Chase National Bank of New York, Plough Court, Lombard Street, 1955-6*

The cellars of the pre-war office building on this site lay at about 10 ft. 6 ins. below the level of Plough Court, and as a result most of the medieval and post medieval deposits had been destroyed. The natural sub-soil was brick-earth which lay at a depth of about 20 ft. 6 ins. below Plough Court (i.e. about 35 ft. above Ordnance Datum).

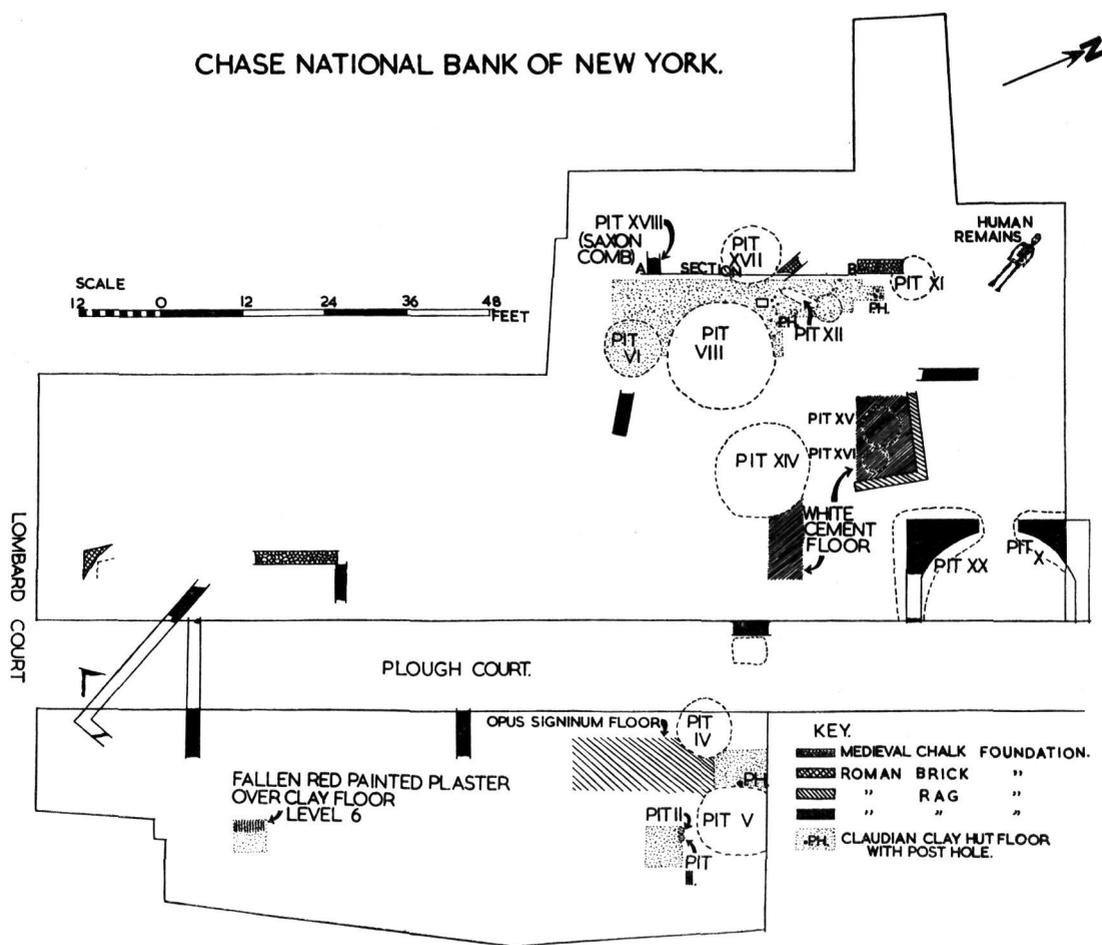


Fig. 1  
Chase National Bank of New York.

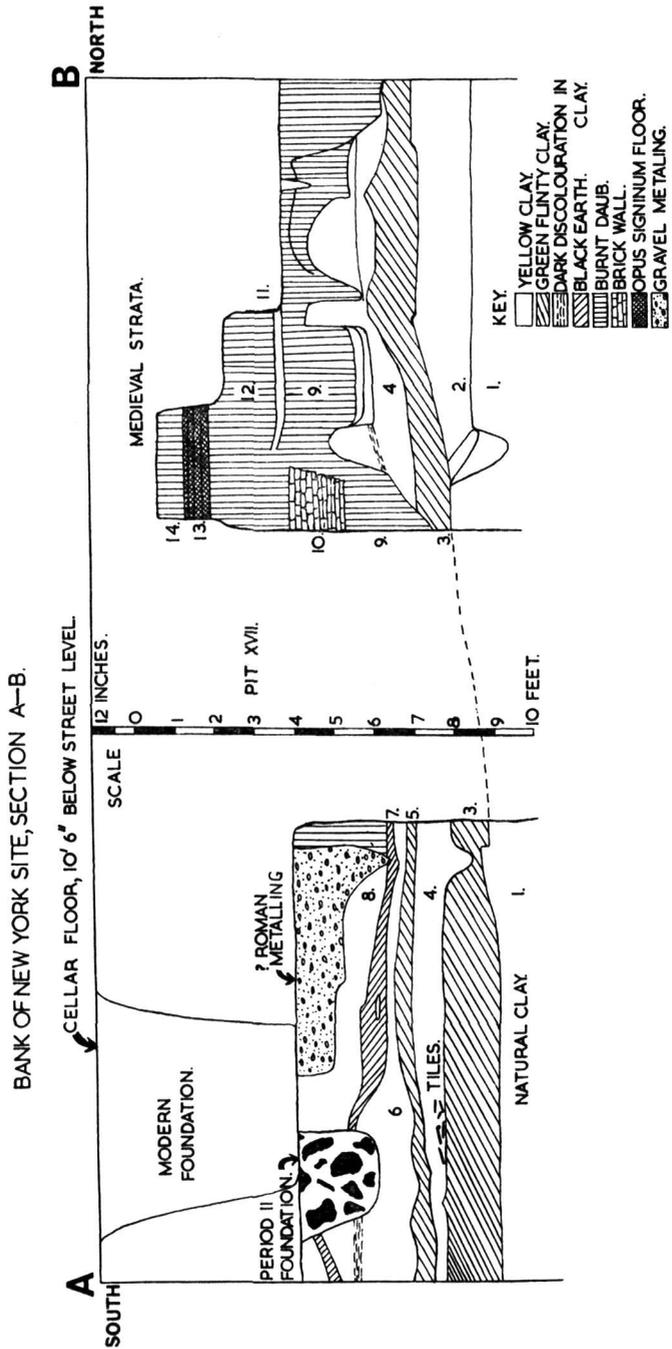


Fig 2  
Bank of New York Site, Section A-B.

## ROMAN

The earliest features seen on this site were numerous post-holes penetrating the natural brick-earth, and these clearly indicate the former presence of an early Roman timber structure (fig. 1). An area of the natural surface was carefully cleared and a number of post-holes were exposed. Unfortunately the area was not large enough for a recognisable post-hole pattern to be found. The natural surface in the archaeologically cleared area was found to be covered by a clean yellow clay deposit (fig. 2, section A-B, level 2). A few post-holes were covered by level 2, but most of them passed through this layer. The sealed post-holes indicated that the timber structure was probably constructed before level 2 was deposited. It would seem that level 2 was probably a clean clay floor laid down over the dirty weathered natural clay. Pottery sherds and a bronze coin of Claudius recovered from level 2 indicate that it was deposited about the mid first century A.D. Two fragments were of Belgic pottery with meaningless potters' stamps (fig. 3, nos. 8, 9).

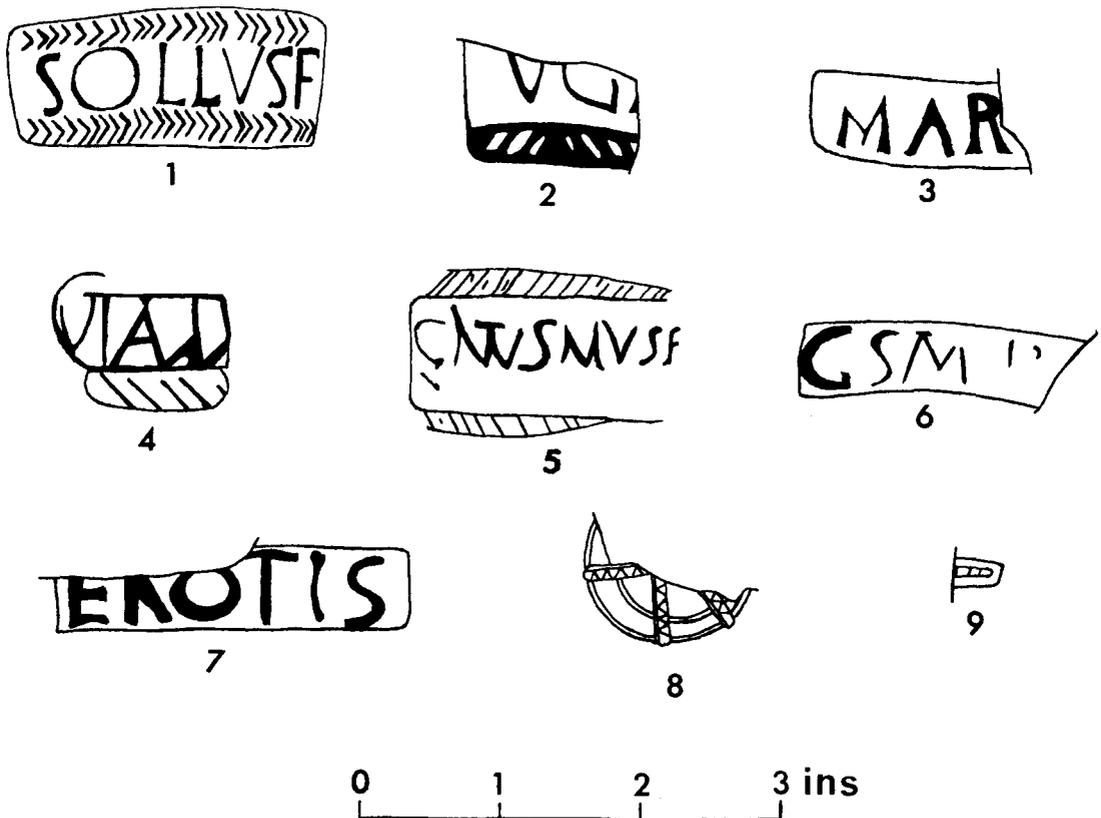


Fig. 3  
Potters' Stamps on coarse ware. See page 42.

Level 3, which overlay level 2, was a greenish flinty earth and was apparently a rubbish accumulation above the clay floor. In its upper part was found a considerable quantity of pottery of the Flavian period. Samian ware potters' stamps from this level include OF BAS (form 24/25), LOGIRNVS (form 18?), OF LVC (form 27), [O]F MODE (form 18?), ]F·MODE·F (form 27), OFPONTI (form 18). Pit VI was dug from level 3 and contained Samian ware stamps OFAQVITAN (form 18), and SILVANIOF (form 24/25).

Above level 3 were a succession of alternating clay and rubbish deposits. Level 7 contained a sherd of Samian ware of form 18 stamped PASSENI. It seems likely that these deposits may represent clay floors, and rubbish accumulations above the floors.

It is significant that no sign of the Boudiccan destruction of A.D. 60 was found on this site, especially as it was found on the adjoining site to the north in 1963 (30-32 Lombard Street). Perhaps the structure on the Bank of America site was demolished before A.D. 60.

Probably during the Flavian period an extensive Roman building with foundations of ragstone and mortar was erected on the site. Only the foundations survived, and their width was about 2 ft. These were exposed in various parts of the site, but not enough was found to recover the plan of the building which, in any case, extended beyond the limits of the site. A gap between two Roman foundations at the north end of the site may indicate the position of an entrance or doorway. The foundation trenches, pits X and XX, on either side of the gap presented a singular appearance for both were about 10 ft. deep, and the bottom 6-7 ft. of them was filled with a great quantity of rubbish. It is possible that the foundations had been dug into the fillings of the pits, but this would not explain the shape of the pits apparently resembling that of the Roman foundations. When the site of nos. 30-32 Lombard Street was rebuilt during 1963 no sign of this Roman building was found even though a careful watch was kept. It seems likely, therefore, that its north side coincided with the north boundary of the Bank of New York building. Fortunately a considerable quantity of Roman made ground on the Bank of New York site was not destroyed during the recent rebuilding, and it should be possible in the future to clarify much of the history of the site and recover part of the plans of the Roman buildings which were situated there.

The pottery recovered from pits X and XX is all dateable to the Flavian period. Samian Ware potters' stamps recovered from pit XX include AQV (form 24/25), OFAVITI (form 18), OF BAS (form 27?), CELAD·FE (form 29), LIBERTVS (form 27), LVPVS (form 18), MANOV (form 18), PASSENIVS (form 18), OFPONTEI (form 18), [T]ERTIO (form 24/25), IINIV (form 27). Stamps on coarse ware mortaria include SOLLVSF and MAR[ . . . (fig. 3, nos. 1, 3). Other objects recovered from this pit include an oyster shell filled with pale green paint, and a polished stone palette.

In the northern part of the site was found the corner of a room of a Roman building, the alignment of which was different from that of the building with the stone foundations. The walls bounding the north and east sides of the room were of ragstone and mortar and were

one foot wide. The floor of this room was of white mortar half an inch thick, and this had slightly subsided into the top of the underlying Roman first century rubbish pits XV and XVI. The depressions in the floor had been levelled with baked clay, and a few sherds of first century pottery were found lying on top of the floor. The alignment of the walls of this room indicates that it belonged to a Roman building different from that described in the previous two paragraphs. It is impossible to determine which was the earlier, however.

Scattered about the site were fragments of a distinctly different Roman building which was destroyed by fire during the early second century. Section A-B shows a mass of burnt daub (levels 9, 12, 14) in which lay a brick foundation (10), a stratum of clay (11), and a floor of *opus signinum* (13). The *opus signinum* floor overlaid a mass of burnt debris (12), and the floor itself was covered by a layer of burnt daub (14). Level 14 suggests that the building with the floor was destroyed by fire.

The brick foundation (10) stands in the middle of the burnt daub below the *opus signinum* floor and possibly belongs to an earlier Roman building. With it is the level of clay (11) which may be interpreted as a clay floor of this building. Between the clay layer and the *opus signinum* is a layer of burnt daub (12) indicating that this building had also been destroyed by fire. Burnt sherds and an almost complete cup of Samian Ware (form 42) which was stamped LATINVS were all found in level 12 and indicate that the fire had occurred during the early second century. A similar brick wall was found in the southern part of the site, and was surrounded by red burnt daub in which were found fragments of a large burnt reeded-rim bowl of the early second century. On the east side of Plough Court an extent of an *opus signinum* floor was discovered overlying a layer of burnt daub, and may have been part of the building a floor of which was found in section A-B, level 13. It is difficult to interpret these burnt layers, but the pottery evidence suggests that at least some of the destruction occurred during the Hadrianic fire of London.

#### POST ROMAN

A bone comb (pl. 1) probably of Saxon date, was found in pit XVIII, but very few other post-Roman objects were found. Several fragments of chalk foundations were discovered, and these presumably date from the Middle Ages. The workmen discovered a human skeleton in the north-west corner of the site, and it would seem that this was of post-Roman date because the black soil adhering to the bones was unlike any Roman soil seen on the site.

#### *Coutts Bank, no. 15, Lombard Street, 1958-9*

This site lies at the west corner of Lombard Street and Abchurch Lane. The modern cellar floors lay at about 12 ft. 6 ins. below the level of Lombard Street, and consequently only the deepest remains survived.

## ROMAN

It was not possible to determine whether early Roman timber structures, like those found at Plough Court, existed on this site, but a noticeable lack of pottery of the mid first century indicated that this was unlikely. It should also be noted that no sign of the Boudiccan fire of A.D. 60 was also found.

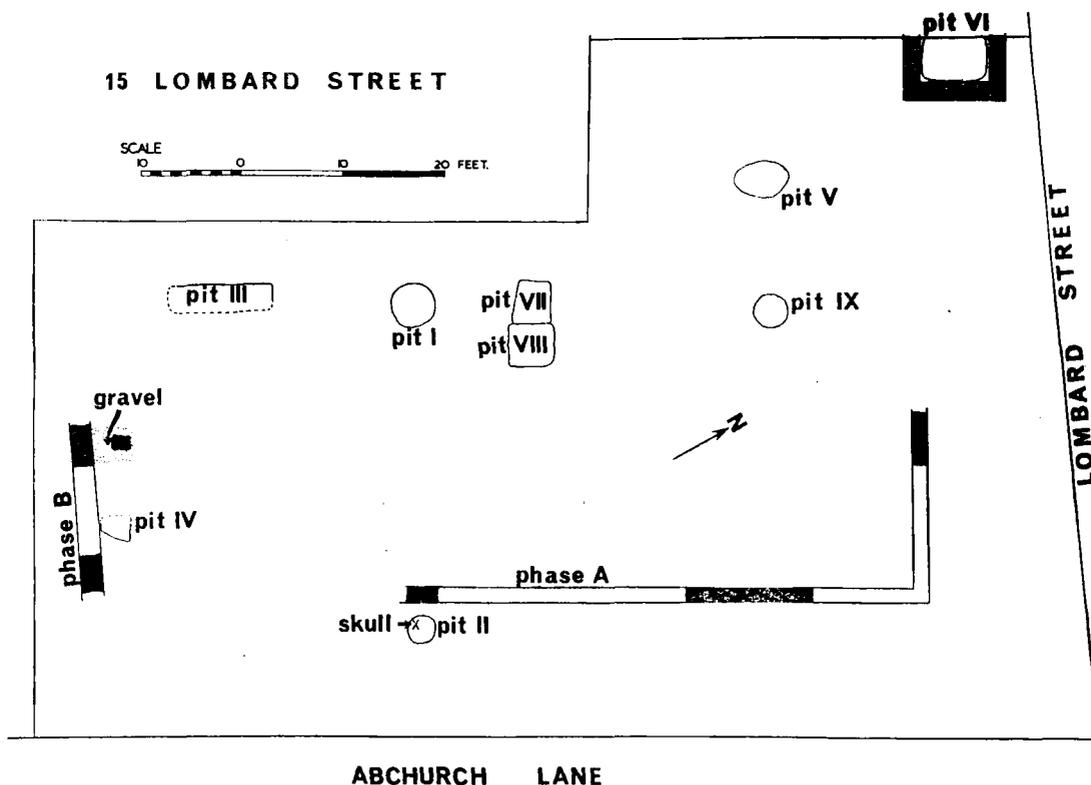


Fig. 4  
Coutts Bank, No. 15 Lombard Street, 1958-9.

The most definite Roman feature on the site was an L-shaped series of foundations of part of a building (fig. 4, phase A). They were constructed of ragstone, chalk, flint and yellow mortar. The use of chalk in Roman walls in London is unusual, but there can be no doubt as to the Roman date because part of the foundation was overlaid by a layer of burnt daub and Roman brick fragments. In this deposit were sherds dateable to the late first and early second century A.D. The building, or this part of it, was therefore demolished not later than the date of this layer. In view of the apparent lack of a rubble layer, and the presence of a burnt daub layer overlying the stone foundations, it is possible that the building had wattle and daub walls on stone foundations. In the north-west corner of the site was a small 'deep room' the walls

of which could not be dated, but as their construction was similar to the dated Roman foundations, it seems likely that the deep room was also Roman. The floor of the room appeared to be gravel at a depth of 20 ft. below street level, and 8–9 ft. below the land level of the late first and early second centuries.

In the area enclosed by the L-shaped foundation pits I and IX were found to contain sherds dateable to the late first century. The latter was lined with vertical strips of wood 1/5th in. thick, and it was probably barrel-lined. It was therefore possible that this pit was a well. Apart from the pottery pit IX also contained six balls of blue frit used in glass making and enamelling, as well as lumps of red ochre and light green paint. The layer of burnt daub which overlay the Roman foundation extended over and filled pit V. In the burnt daub pit filling were sherds of the late first and early second centuries, as well as many corroded iron nails and a piece of burnt sacking (pl. 2; see Appendix 1). The burnt daub layer which extended over most of the site everywhere contained corroded nails. Pit II only contained a considerable quantity of Roman building materials. On the east side of the L-shaped wall was found a stratum of greenish flinty earth containing several sherds of the late first century, and a human cranium. The skull was examined by Dr. K. P. Oakely of the Natural History Museum, who kindly reported that 'the state of fusion of the coronal suture shows that the individual was adult. The supra-orbital ridges of the frontal bone are sufficiently well developed to show that the individual was male. He was probably fairly long-headed'.

At the south end of the site was found a patch of gravel metalling, which lay on the line of the main Roman road which skirted the south side of the Roman forum.

#### POST ROMAN

A length of wall or foundation (fig. 4, phase B) was discovered at the south end of the site on the Roman road metalling, and therefore is probably of post Roman date. The wall or foundation was built of flint and ragstone, and was faced with pieces of knapped flint.

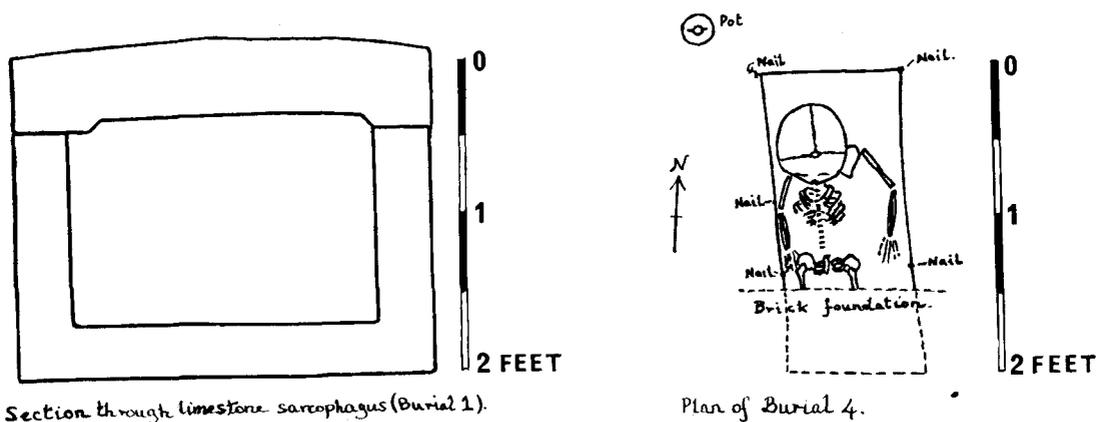
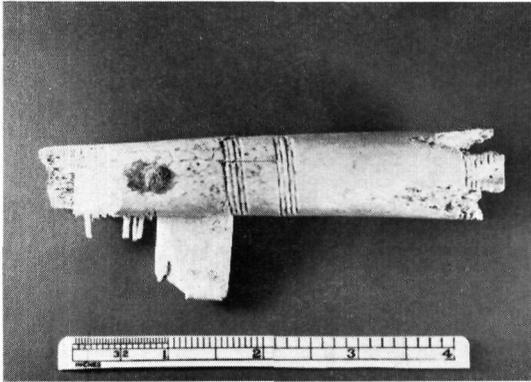


Fig. 5

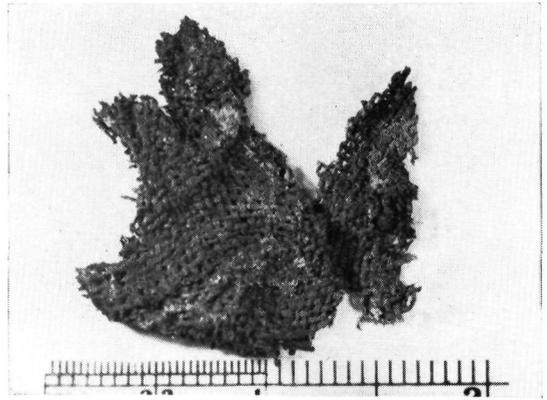
St. Clare House, Minorities, 1955. Roman Burials.

PLATE 1



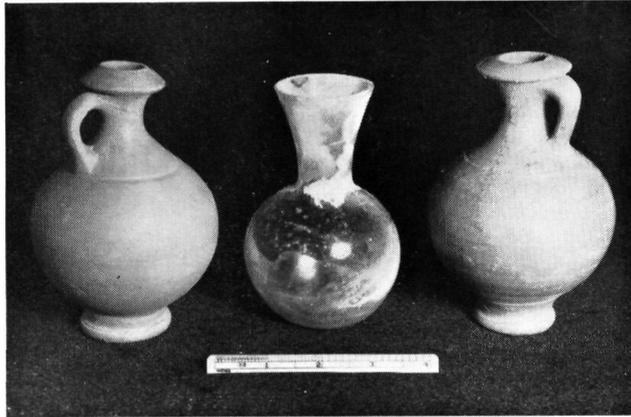
Bone comb, possibly Saxon. Plough Court Site.

PLATE 2



Piece of charred sacking, Roman. 15 Lombard Street. (Scale of inches).

PLATE 3



*Photograph: Guildhall Museum*

Grave goods from Roman burial 2. Minories site.

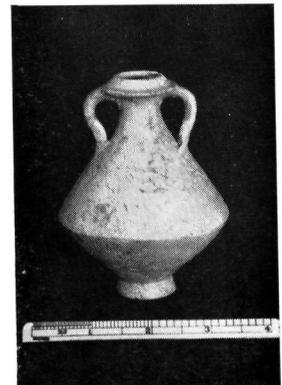
PLATE 4



*Photograph: Guildhall Museum*

Grave goods from Roman burial 3. Minories site.

PLATE 5



*Photograph: Guildhall Museum*  
Late Roman jug from child burial. Minories site.

*St. Clare House, Minories, 1955*

The St. Clare House site lay on the north side of Haydon Street and on the east side of the Minories. The site lay on part of a known Roman cemetery, and during its rebuilding in 1955 four Roman inhumation burials were discovered.

*Burial 1 (fig. 5)*

Part of an undecorated limestone sarcophagus was found by workmen, but unfortunately it had been discovered but not recorded during rebuilding before the war when its contents were removed and it was filled with concrete. It was aligned north-south and was 2 ft. 8 ins. wide and it was 2 ft. 1 in. high. The top of the lid was 15 ft. 6 ins. below the level of the Minories, and it lay 40 ft. north of Haydon Street, and 32 ft. east of the Minories. Because this must have been an inhumation burial it is reasonable to conclude that it belonged to the latter half of the Roman period.

*Burial 2 (pl. 3)*

This burial was discovered about 10 ft. east of the Minories and about 80 ft. north of Haydon Street, and it was probably an inhumation burial as was the late Roman custom. The grave furniture consisted of two single handled flagons of an orange-red ware with glossed surfaces, and a pale green glass vessel with three incised lines round the base of the neck.

*Burial 3 (pl. 4)*

This was also found by workmen, and its find spot on the site is not known. An inhumation burial was discovered and with it a dish of the fourth century with a coarse dark grey gritted ware.

*Burial 4 (fig. 5)*

This burial was excavated by the writer, and it lay 165 ft. north of Haydon Street, 17 ft. 9 ins. east of the Minories, and at a depth of 12 ft. 2 ins. from the Minories street level. It comprised the skeleton of a child lying in a rectangular wooden coffin constructed of 1/4 in. thick wooden boards. The wood had decayed to a dark brown in the surrounding dark grey earth, and the corroded iron nails were in position at each corner. No lid or base to the coffin was noticed though some nails were in such a position that they could only have fastened a lid. Unfortunately an eighteenth or nineteenth century brick foundation had been cut through the lower part of the body from the knees downwards. In burial the child's body had been laid on its back in the coffin with its arms on either side, and with the palms of the hands downwards. A deposit of lime had been placed around the body, and after a careful examination of the lime no sign of a shroud or any dress fillings could be detected. The child's head had sunk onto its chest, presumably after decay had set in. The coffin was aligned north-south, and the child's head lay at the north end. A few inches beyond the north-west corner of the

coffin lay a small double-handled carinated vase of buff ware with a pink slip. The vase had small chips broken out of its surface, and had evidently been used prior to burial (pl. 5).

*Bank of England, Cheapside, 1957*

In the north-eastern part of this site was discovered a Roman wall or foundation containing a re-used fragment of a limestone quern.

Also in the north-east part of the site 67ft. south of Cheapside and 42ft. west of Bread Street (measurements taken from old frontage lines) was found in the Roman levels at a depth of 16ft. an oval pocket 10ins. wide filled with hundreds of balls of blue frit. With the frit were one or two sherds of late first century pottery. The section across the deposit showed layers of burnt wood ash curving down to the pocket containing the frit. Part of this deposit was not dug away so that after the demolition of the new building further examination will be possible. The large number of frit balls suggests that this was the site of some industrial process connected with enamelling or glass making.

*Potters' stamps on Samian Ware from the City of London*

|             |              |                                      |
|-------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| IIN·IBINI·M | (form 18)    | Bucklersbury House, 1955             |
| IINIBINI·M  | (form 18)    | Guildhall administrative block, 1954 |
| AMBII[      | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| OFAQVITAN   | (form 18)    | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956  |
| OFAXO       | (form 27)    | Bucklersbury House, 1955             |
| BANNILVS    | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| BASSIO      | (form 27)    | 13-15 King Street, 1953              |
| OFBASI      | (form 24/25) | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956  |
| [B]ORILLIOF | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| BVALIALE    | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| BVRDO       | (?)          | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| BVRDONIOF   | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| CALA[       | (form 18)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| ]CALVI      | (form 27)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| CELAD·FE    | (form 29)    | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956  |
| CEL·SIOF    | (?)          | 13-15 King Street, 1956              |
| CINNAMVS    | (form 18)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| CINTVS      | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| COBNERTI·M  | (form 18/31) | St. Clare House, Minories, 1956      |
| [CO]CVRO·F  | (form 18)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| CRACISM[M]  | (form 18/31) | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959         |
| ]CRIIS      | (form 27)    | Bucklersbury House, 1955             |

|              |              |   |
|--------------|--------------|---|
| OFCRESI      | (form 27)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| [OF]CRESTIO  | (form 29)    | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956         |
| DIVICATVS    | (form 44)    | St. Clare House, Minorities, 1956           |
| [DI]VICATVS  | (form 31)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| DIVICATVS    | (?)          | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| DOCCALI      | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| DONNĀVCI     | (form 27)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| FATIM[       | (form 27)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| FVSCI        | (form 18/31) | 1 Noble Street, 1956                        |
| OFFGER       | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| IOENALIS·F   | (form 27)    | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956         |
| LATINVS      | (form 42)    | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956         |
| LENTISCUS    | (form 18)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| LIBERTVS     | (form 27)    | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956         |
| LOGIRNVS     | (form 18)    | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956         |
| LOLL·M       | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| LOLL·M       | (form 27)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| OFLVC        | (form 27)    | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956         |
| LVPVS        | (form 18)    | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956         |
| MACCIVS F    | (form 18)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| MARTIANI M   | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| OFMOD[       | (form 18)    | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956         |
| ]MODE        | (form 18)    | The Travolator, Queen Victoria Street, 1958 |
| ]MOM         | (form 27)    | Bucklersbury House, 1955                    |
| PASSENI      | (form 18)    | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956         |
| PATII[       | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| PATERCLINIOF | (form 18)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| OPATRICI     | (form 18)    | Bucklersbury House, 1955                    |
| PAVLIF       | (form 27)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| PONTI        | (form 18)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| OF PONTI     | (form 18)    | Bucklersbury House, 1955                    |
| PRM·M        | (form 27)    | 13-15 King Street, 1956                     |
| FPVDĒN       | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| REGINVS·F    | (form 18)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| ROPPVS FE    | (form 18)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |
| RVFI         | (form 18)    | Coutts Bank, Lombard Street, 1959           |
| OF SEVER     | (form 27)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959                |

|            |              |                                     |
|------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| SILVANI    | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959        |
| SILVA[     | (form 31)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959        |
| SILVANI·OF | (form 24/25) | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1956 |
| SOLIIMNI   | (form 27)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959        |
| [T]ER·T·IO | (form 24/25) | Bank of America, Plough Court, 1959 |
| TITVRO[    | (form 33)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959        |
| VIRTVI[    | (form 18)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959        |
| ]XEXIXIIXI | (form 18)    | Public Cleansing Depot, 1959        |

N.B. A dot below a letter indicates that it is retrograde, and a bridge over two or more letters indicates a ligature.

*Coarse Ware potters' stamps from Plough Court (fig. 3)*

MORTARIA

1. SOLLVS F. Stamped once. Buff ware. Pit XX, Flavian.
2. VG[. Grey ware (burnt). Unstratified.
3. MAR[. Stamp along rim. Buff ware. Pit XX, Flavian.
4. VIA I J [A] or [A]LLAIV retrograde. Stamp impressed twice. Buff ware with cream surface. Pit X, Flavian. (cf. *Lon. Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.* 1956, Brockley Hill. Fig. 3, M.10)
5. CNVSMVS F. Pale pink ware. Pit X, Flavian.

AMPHORAE

6. GSM[. On handle. Buff ware. Unstratified.
7. EROTIS. On peg. Pink ware with mica flecks and cream slip. Unstratified.

*Miscellaneous*

8.  $\overline{MM}$ [. Stamped three times. Soft grey Belgic ware platter with black surface. Level 2, Claudian. (cf. *Camulodunum Pl. XLVIII*, Nos 244 & 255).
9. III[. Hard grey Belgic ware. Level 2, Claudian. (cf. *Camulodunum Pl. XLVIII*, No. 252).

APPENDIX I

*Report on plain-weave cloth from Roman pit on site 15 Lombard Street.*

*by Mr. John Wild*

The find (plate 2) comprises a number of small fragments of cloth in an open plain-weave, now black in colour (charred). They amount to c. 14sq. cm. in all.

System (1) 10 threads per cm., fairly hard Z-spun.

System (2) 9—10 threads per cm., weaker Z-spun.

The yarns are of medium quality, but fairly irregularly spun. The cloth is unlikely to be a section of a garment, since the weave is too loose; perhaps sacking.

# THE IMPROVED INDUSTRIAL DWELLINGS COMPANY

BY JOHN NELSON TARN, B.ARCH., PH.D., A.R.I.B.A.

Quite close to Bethnal Green station, and clearly visible to any traveller by rail, is a large, rather forbidding housing estate consisting of a series of high, closely spaced terraces, running, like a series of canyons, into the distance. A plaque on a gable proclaims that these are the homes of a thousand working-class people, built by the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company. What was this company, and why was it necessary for it to build this huge estate? The answers to these questions are of interest because they take us away from the familiar paths of nineteenth century architectural history, into backwaters which are omitted from most books dealing with the period. But the history of the housing movement during the years 1840-90 provides many of the clues for the subsequent tremendous popular appeal of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement, with its cult of low-density development and its negation of the town as an urban entity.

The Improved Industrial Dwellings Company was founded in 1863, some twenty years after the first wave of concern for the condition of the poor. Before the middle of the century the social changes created by the industrial revolution had brought about a housing problem which did not exist, at least on such a large scale, when the working population was not so dependent upon the urban centres for its subsistence. The growth of the north country mill and factory communities is well known, but it was paralleled by the development of existing cities and particularly of London, already a vast organism by early nineteenth century standards, and one which developed special problems as the century advanced. Traditionally, housing had been built according to the law of supply and demand and during a century of slow growth the system worked quite well. The nature of eighteenth century industry also meant that the congregation of great numbers of working people in one place was rare, so the problem of the poor did not make itself so apparent when it was dissipated throughout the countryside.

During the industrial revolution large numbers of poor agricultural workers left the country and gravitated to the industrial centres, and as mechanisation increased, so did the working population of each town multiply. Most towns which enjoyed commercial prosperity during the last century therefore possess large areas of high-density working-class housing built around the factories and mills. But in London particularly, the areas of new housing were soon too far out to permit a man to walk each day to work; and furthermore, large numbers of working men were unable to afford the rent or the purchase price of a new house, however small. These people, the really poor, who formed a large part of the working population, inhabited the houses in more central parts of London which were once respectable but were now in decline, let off room by room; and they filled the courts and 'rookeries' which were built behind the streets on land which had once been garden. Overcrowding, then, had become a vicious problem long before the middle of the century when the following account<sup>1</sup> was written:

I squeezed my way, somewhat crab-fashion, into a paved court, certainly of greater width than the low archway by which I had effected an entrance, but so narrow that the broom sticks which projected

from almost every window, with articles of wearing apparel in various stages of dilapidation suspended upon them, peered most obtrusively into the opposite dwellings . . . There is no drainage whatever to many of these houses, the refuse and waste water is thrown from the windows on to the surface of the court, down which it flows, or remains, as the case may be . . .

Two privies, situated at the far end of this alley, which I found in a state of inconceivable filth, are all the accommodation provided for this large number of people; (200 people in 20, two-roomed, back-to-back houses).

The condition of the larger towns first began to attract serious public attention after the arrival of cholera in England during 1832, and subsequent outbreaks led to a series of enquiries which showed up the magnitude of the overcrowding problem and especially its effect upon health. First there was the Poor Law Board Report, prepared at the instigation of the government during the years 1839–42 and largely the work of Edwin Chadwick, the Secretary of the Board. It was followed in 1844 by a Royal Commission on the Health of Towns, which reported in 1844 and again in 1845, endorsing Chadwick's findings, and showing up still further the filth and squalor, the absence of adequate drainage and water supplies, the inadequacy of existing legislation, and the need for medical officers and inspectors. The outcome of this unprecedented sequence of reports was the first Public Health Act, passed in 1848, an epoch-making measure, although in many ways ineffectual and tentative in its provisions.

### *The Early Societies*

Meanwhile, there had been public action of a quite different kind, although inspired by this same astounding revelation of the deterioration in urban conditions. This was the establishment of the first 'model' housing agencies in London.<sup>2</sup> The earliest was the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, which was founded by the Rector of Spitalfields in 1841, and began building a block of tenements in Old St. Pancras Road during 1847. It went on to erect a model lodging-house and another block of dwellings in Spicer Street two years later. The second important body was the Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Labouring Classes which was a reconstituted version of the Labourers' Friend Society, largely reinvigorated by the efforts of Lord Ashley and Dr. Southwold Smith. Its intention was to explore the different ways of housing the poor, rather than to build large quantities of dwellings, and the profit which it could make was limited to a self-imposed maximum of 5 per cent. The Society's first venture was in Bagnigge Wells where in 1844–6 they constructed a street of flats, houses and a lodging-house designed by a London architect, Henry Roberts. This preceded the work of the Metropolitan Association, but it was a very tentative development which was much criticised on various grounds. The Society then proceeded to build and convert a number of lodging-houses before embarking on an important block of truly 'model' dwellings in Streatham Street, also designed by Roberts. These were completely self-contained flats, reached by a series of open galleries, and they established a standard of accommodation well in advance of anything available at the time. But the rents charged were high, attractive only to the artisan, and even then, the building did not show a sufficient profit to encourage commercial investment in similar ventures. The Society, and Roberts, its architect, were then linked with the construction of model cottages at the Great Exhibition of 1851. These were intended to be an ideal solution with special details to ensure good health amongst the occupants. They were also a prototype capable of expansion both linearly and vertically. The cottages attracted considerable attention, and they provided the inspiration for the first

buildings erected by the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company ten years later. Meanwhile they were the model for a number of less ambitious schemes elsewhere in the country.<sup>3</sup>

The model-dwellings movement was born in the first flush of evangelical zeal and it possessed all the earnestness and fervour which characterised the period. But there was a limit to what an exemplary society could achieve if it was not to enter the field of house-building on a more commercial basis. Similarly the Metropolitan Association, which at the outset had difficulty in raising capital, was dependent upon commercial success for further investment. Its dividend declined, until by the middle of the next decade investors were considering themselves lucky to receive a return of 2 per cent each year. Finally the Crimean War was to prohibit building of the kind carried on by these two organisations, since prices rose sharply; and although the Metropolitan Association struggled to raise more money, and succeeded in purchasing and converting some old property and even extending its Spicer Street estate, the last few years of the decade were characteristically despondent, and it seemed unlikely that there would be more model dwellings.

*The Peabody Donation Fund*

The gloom was dispersed soon after 1860 by two events. The first was the announcement by a wealthy American businessman and banker, George Peabody, who had settled in London, that he was setting up a Fund 'to ameliorate the condition . . . of the poor . . . of London',<sup>4</sup> The Trustees of the Fund decided to concentrate on the construction of housing and began what was to be a long series of developments with a block of tenements and shops in Commercial Road, which were opened early in 1864. Peabody's initial gift was £150,000 but he added to this and the total sum which he invested in the Fund amounted to £500,000. This, of course, was a philanthropic venture, and while the Fund provided a large quantity of housing it did not play a significant part in the expansion of model house-building as a commercial enterprise because, like S.I.C.L.C., the Trustees imposed a limit to the profit made out of their buildings, in this case just sufficient to make the Fund self-perpetuating.

The second event was a new attempt to show that working-class dwellings could be built on a commercially profitable basis, and this was an important and necessary step if the poor were to have any hope of better homes in the central areas of the metropolis. Out of this experiment grew the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company.

*Sydney Waterlow*

Sydney Waterlow, the inspiration behind the Company, was born in 1822, the son of a London stationer. His life story was typical of the many successful careers built in the Victorian era.<sup>5</sup> Together with his three brothers he was responsible for turning the small family business into the great printing house which still today bears their name. But in addition to this commercial success, Waterlow was interested in politics, particularly in the social problems of the city where he made his fortune. He was first elected a Common Councillor for the Broad Street Ward in 1857, and five years later he became Alderman for Langbourne. Knighted in 1867, when he became Sheriff, he was Lord Mayor in 1872, and two years later he entered Parliament, where he played a significant part in matters concerned with housing, a subject with which he was well acquainted, and by that time an acknowledged expert.

In the early days of his political career Waterlow became interested in housing, and against the background of despair and declining activity amongst the early societies, which has just

been described, he determined to show that building working men's homes need not be unprofitable for commercial companies. During 1863 he built, entirely at his own expense, a block of tenements in Mark Street, Finsbury, known as Langbourne Buildings. His intention was specifically to show that this kind of building could be erected at a cost which would allow rents compatible with the incomes of artisans, while still producing a profit of 5 per cent for the owner. Waterlow proceeded with the venture privately because he wanted to prove to his more sceptical friends that his scheme was possible, and that they might safely invest their money in the company which he hoped to float.

Langbourne Buildings were evolved, rather than designed, by Waterlow in conjunction with a builder, Matthew Allen. Together they decided to dispense with the services of an architect—in order to save money, they claimed—and the plans which they used were an adaptation of the model cottages designed by Henry Roberts for the Great Exhibition in 1851.<sup>5</sup> There was a central staircase with a small open balcony at each floor, facing the street, giving access to the tenements. Waterlow and Allen extended the design vertically, as Roberts had intended, to five stories altogether, and eventually they repeated the unit several times, making in effect a terrace. This much did they take over from the earlier model design, but the planning of the individual dwellings was modified and revised to suit their particular purpose, and on the whole the result was less satisfactory.<sup>6</sup> The scheme was criticised, when it was completed, by one architect who claimed it would be impossible to take a coffin down the staircase, which was steep, narrow and full of winders; and the *Builder* roundly condemned the internal planning, but noted with some pleasure the economy in construction, the use of concrete to form the floors and roof and for such details as door and window lintels, where stone would normally be employed.<sup>7</sup>

In reply to these criticisms Waterlow himself described<sup>8</sup> the intentions which prompted him to build:

All that I have endeavoured to show is that capital, expanded in the erection of light, cheerful, healthy habitations for the industrial classes in crowded cities, may be made to yield a fair interest on its investment, if care is taken to avoid extravagance in external architectural decoration or loss by large management expenses.

### *The Foundation of the Company*

The outcome of this successful experiment was a public meeting, held at the Mansion House in June 1863, to inaugurate an 'association', and to raise subscriptions.<sup>9</sup> The tangible results of Waterlow's achievement seem to have provided sufficient incentive for investment, since the following October the company was considering the erection of buildings for 100 families near King's Cross. This scheme was later known as Stanley Buildings, after Lord Stanley, the first chairman of the Company, but they were not, in fact, the first dwellings to be completed.

At the first Ordinary Meeting, held in March 1864, it was reported that several sites had been purchased. A number of small houses in Hamilton Row, Bagnigge Wells Road, had been bought; a site near the Tunnel Pier at Wapping had been acquired from the Bridewell Hospital; another in Redcross Street, Borough; and negotiations were still in progress for sites in Victoria Street, King's Cross and Shoreditch.<sup>10</sup> It was confidently proposed to build on all of these, which, for a company in the first year of its life, suggested considerable vigour and financial stability. Indeed, it was, in some ways, more ambitious than the Peabody



Tower Buildings, Wapping; part of the rear elevation.



Palmerston Buildings, City Garden Row; detail of balcony.

PLATE 2 (a)



Gladstone Buildings, Willow Street.

PLATE 2 (b)



Part of the Bethnal Green Estate.

Trustees at this time, and there was a marked contrast with the tentative approach of the Metropolitan Association some twenty years earlier.

The erection of buildings proceeded with similar speed: Cromwell Buildings, New Southwark Street were the first to be occupied, during 1864, providing accommodation for twenty-two families in one five-storey block which incorporated two shops (fig. 1). By the following spring a larger building consisting of three consecutive staircase 'units' had been finished in Wapping, and these were named Tower Buildings (pl. 1(a)). They housed sixty families, but unfortunately their popularity depended upon the fortunes of local trade and industry and there were frequent vacancies in lean times. Work was also proceeding on Cobden Buildings at the Hamilton Row site, where the terrace of small cottages was being replaced by eighteen flats and two shops.

Stanley Buildings, Pancras Road, were completed later in 1865, the first scheme to involve a series of independent blocks related to one another. This was the largest of the company's estates, housing one-hundred-and-four families, and there was great demand for the accommodation, since the Midland Railway Company were demolishing much property in the area. Palmerston Buildings were completed on a site nearby during the next year (fig. 2), and *The Times* paid considerable attention to the opening of this estate, describing in detail the buildings, with their two- and three-roomed tenements, each with a living-room containing a cupboard, a range with a boiler and oven, a scullery with a sink, water-cistern, small fireplace, washing-copper and dust-shoot, and off the scullery a W.C.<sup>11</sup> There was an interesting comparison here with the work of the Peabody Trust which throughout this period chose to build 'associated' tenements, that is a series of one-, two- or three-roomed flats sharing on each floor communal sculleries and lavatories. In this way there would be less risk of misuse of W.C's., as they would be in positions where they could be more readily supervised and controlled.

The reception which these early buildings received was well described, if a little picturesquely, in the *Daily Telegraph*,<sup>12</sup> which singled out the small scheme in Hamilton Row;

A really cheerful, pleasant-looking pile is that which now replaces the six dirty dwellings of Hamilton Row, Bagnigge Wells. The entrance, with its green gates and newly painted doorways, is not altogether unlike the front of a theatre or place of amusement. A winding staircase in the middle lands you, at every floor, on the corresponding balcony in front, so that in ascending to the flat roof of the building you make a series of public appearances. (pl. 1(b)) You have your exits and your entrances, each being on a different stage, till you come upon the last scene of all, which is that same flat roof, arranged to serve the inhabitants of the several floors as a drying ground for clothes. Some of the tenements have only two rooms, and others three, but attached to all of them are closets and wash-houses, making each abode a completely comfortable habitation. The windows open outwardly, like the old-fashioned English lattice, and like the casements of the houses throughout Continental Europe. Derangement and breakages of sash-lines are thus avoided. The ventilation is perfect everywhere, and the honest solidity of the structure is an advantage that the humble occupants can boast over those unfortunate members of the middle class whose houses are generally called 'villas', and whose landlords are mostly speculative builders understanding but two qualities of domestic architecture—the showy and the cheap.

Waterlow added three more staircase 'units' to Langbourne Buildings during these years, and the City authorities, doubtless inspired by the success of the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company, constructed a building for some 160 families, which was one of the early and rare examples of 'council' housing. The buildings, which were in Farringdon Road, were very similar to those of Waterlow's Company. They were completed in 1865.<sup>13</sup>

After Palmerston Buildings, the Company's next work was at Britannia Street, where

Derby Buildings were completed during 1867–8. Four of the staircases followed the standard arrangement of the earlier estates, but the remaining two were an experiment with minimum planning. For the first time the self-contained flat was abandoned in favour of a series of rooms sharing sculleries and lavatories. However, there were too many single-room flats, *which were disliked by the tenants, and after a few years, during which the flats were often empty, they were converted into self-contained dwellings in 1871; each pair of associated units being linked to form one self-contained flat.*

In common with all the societies, trusts and companies which had attempted to build working-class housing, the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company was criticised for its policy, and accused of providing homes only for the superior artisan, rather than the poorer working man whose need was greatest. At the half-yearly meeting held in February 1867 the Company first found it necessary to defend its policies: it was pointed out that the rents asked were cheerfully paid, and that there was always a great demand for rooms when there were vacancies.

All these model dwellings were for artisans. No company attempted to solve the problem of housing the poorer class of workman, because it was unprofitable to build for them, and they presented management problems that few except Miss Octavia Hill cared to face. At the Royal Commission on Housing in 1885, Waterlow spoke in retrospect of the Company's attitude:<sup>14</sup>

We must take the class as of various degrees; the upper, middle and lower of the labouring classes; it would not have been right to build down to the lowest class, because you must have built a class of tenement which I hope none of them would be satisfied with at the end of 50 years; we have rather tried to build for the best class, and by lifting them up to leave more room for the second and third who are below them.

Four years previously James Moore, the Secretary of the Company, had appeared before the Select Committee on the housing of the working classes, and in reply to the question 'But it appears from your list of occupations, that you do not deal with the very lowest class?' he replied:

We do not, for the reason that we are unable to solve that problem. The cost of providing the dwelling would be greater than these people would be able to pay us a return upon, that is to say the very poor; but then I have always felt that the accommodation of the very poor was a matter for the Peabody Trustees; that the fund was specially appropriated to the poor of London, and not to the artizan, and if the Peabody Trustees take in the artizan class at less than the market value of the tenement, I say that they are gradually pauperising the working classes of London.

The experimental blocks at Derby Buildings were not repeated; and the Company reverted to self-contained flats for artisans. Waterlow was still seeking ways of building more economically; and the joinery work in all probability for Derby Buildings, and certainly for the next building in Nelson Street, Greenwich (built in 1868 on the original Palmerston Buildings plan, which now became a standard pattern) was brought from Stockholm, where even allowing for the additional transport costs across the North Sea it cost 25 per cent less than in England.<sup>16</sup>

One further scheme completed this group of estates. This was Gladstone Buildings in Willow Street which was opened in 1869. A large and imposing terrace six storeys high, this was punctuated down its length by the familiar access balconies (pl. 2(a)).

In 1868 steps were taken to purchase a site in Bethnal Green and on it was built during the next two decades the Company's largest estate. Land was becoming both expensive and hard to find in suitable areas of London, and this site provided the scope and incentive for housing

development during a particularly difficult period after 1870. By virtue of the Labouring Classes Dwelling Houses Act of 1866 the Company was now able to borrow money from the government at very favourable rates of interest, and this, in addition, helped to create a hopeful outlook just before 1870. By 1874, it had borrowed a total of £84,000 and this sum made it less imperative for the directors to seek capital investment on the open market when the interest rates demanded were particularly high.<sup>17</sup> On the whole, however, the Company did not seem to have much difficulty in raising money through the normal channels of public investment when it required to do so.

*The Company and the Peabody Donation Fund*

Between 1864 and 1870 the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company had been remarkably active for a new body dependent largely upon public support. Eight separate sites had been purchased and buildings erected on them, and there were prospects of continued work in the next decade. Mention has already been made of the work done by the Peabody Donation Fund during roughly the same period, and a more detailed comparison of the attitudes shows the divergence of opinions between the two organisations. Both aimed at accommodating the same class of tenants, the artisan, although the Fund was able to charge rather lower rents because of its philanthropic policy, and both were consequently criticised for failing to solve the problem of housing the very poor, which neither set out to deal with. There was a certain similarity in building policy, although while Waterlow worked exclusively with his builder, Matthew Allen, the Trustees of the Fund employed an architect, Henry Darbishire, who nevertheless also used the services of only one builder, Cubitt. The Fund decided at the outset to build associated tenements, and then stuck to that policy, evolving a succession of standard plans which each served a group of estates. The Peabody estates were all large in scale by comparison with those of the Company, and between 1862, when the Fund was founded, and 1870, the Trustees completed six, as opposed to the Company's eight, although in each case the buildings were on a scale much grander than Waterlow was able to contemplate. It was possible for them to lay out their sites as complete detached estates, usually railed off from the outside world with a series of blocks surrounding a private square. By contrast, with the exception of Derby Buildings, all the early Company buildings were repetitive units strung out along the full length of the available site, which was usually just a thin strip of land fronting on to a street—and there was little spare land at the rear. The appearance of the Company's buildings was on the whole more attractive than those of the Fund, although the effect of tall blocks where once there had been mere cottages was inevitably overpowering, and usually the density was increased many times. The series of open balconies did much to relieve the 'barrack-like' appearance which so often resulted from model-dwelling construction, and while the overall effect was doubtless hybrid, and hardly comparable with the architectural achievements in other branches of building at that time, they were more humane than the massive Peabody Squares at Shadwell, Islington, Chelsea and Westminster.

The rear elevations of the Company's buildings were never very attractive, and here more than anywhere else was the absence of the services of an architect most noticeable (pl. 1(a)). Probably in the interests of good health Waterlow decided to detach the sculleries and lavatories from the main block in a series of projecting wings at the rear which gave to all the early estates a characteristic elevation which was at once irregular and ugly, besides cutting

off the light from rooms within the main block. The basic staircase unit with four flats on each floor originally necessitated three separate projections. The centre pair of tenements had 'semi-detached' sculleries, but the two outer ones each had a separate projection, an arrangement necessitated by the need to find a position for a window into the main block. Beyond the sculleries in the most exposed position was the W.C. One can understand the theoretical reasoning behind the arrangement, but the practical solution was ill-conceived (fig. 1).

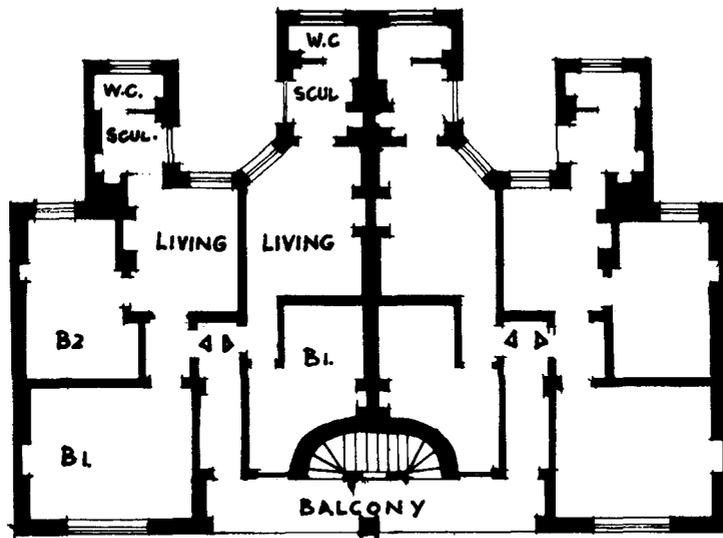


Fig. 1

Cromwell Buildings, Southwark.

The advantages of a completely self-contained flat with an assortment of badly-shaped rooms, often under-lit or looking out between cliffs of brickwork were not, therefore, so considerable by contrast with the simple rectangular rooms of the Peabody Buildings, their view unobstructed by off-shoots and their windows well placed to give maximum light.

The scullery arrangement in the Company's plans was rationalised at Palmerston Buildings, where the number of projecting wings was reduced to two for each staircase unit. Whilst this brought about certain economies of construction, it created new problems of lighting, and from the tenants' point of view it was doubtless less satisfactory, since it made certain of the rooms much darker than in the earlier plan (fig. 2).

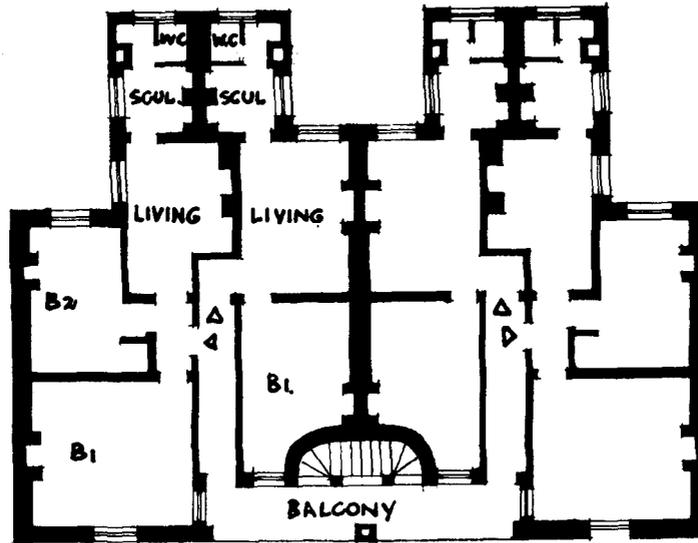


Fig. 2

A Standard Block at Palmerston Buildings.

### *The Company after 1870*

By the end of the sixties economic conditions were once more becoming unfavourable for the housing organisations and without the assistance of government loans, doubtless the collapse of private-enterprise tenement building would already have taken place. The estates at Wapping and Greenwich, two of the most outlying belonging to the Company, had both been adversely affected by trade recessions, one of the hazards of building in areas where land was relatively cheap; and in more central areas, where all the agencies preferred to build because they could always be sure of finding tenants, the value of land was being forced up by railway developments, street improvements and growing commercial investment. The housing agencies were now outpriced on the open market and two Acts of Parliament designed to secure new housing in the central areas, the Metropolitan Street Improvement Act of 1872 and the Artisans' Dwellings Act of 1875, both had the reverse effect.<sup>18</sup>

Waterlow's Company was fortunate in possessing the site in Bethnal Green, where building could be carried on when other sites were not available; also they were able to obtain land from the Marquis of Westminster at a reasonable price.

The Marquis sold two sites which were used early in the decade. The first was in Ebury Street, Pimlico, and contrary to its normal practice the Company put the scheme out to tender, much to the disgust of Matthew Allen who refused to submit a price. As a result the Company was obliged to pay more than Allen had charged them in the past for negotiated contracts.<sup>19</sup> The buildings consisted of two splayed blocks at the junction of Ebury Road and Pimlico Road, each five storeys high and planned on the same principles as all the buildings in the past. The only innovation was the introduction of a new kind of 'patent stone' for lintels, stairs and other details, which, it was claimed, would result in a saving of 20 per cent on the total cost. The estate, with a total accommodation for 120 families, included ten shops, and was completed in November 1870.<sup>20</sup>

The neighbourhood being rather superior to the districts in which the company's tenements had been previously erected, and the Marquis requiring the buildings to be made externally as attractive as possible, the directors had varied their general design of construction by the introduction of large shops with suitable accommodation for the shopkeepers on the ground floor, keeping all the upper stories for small tenements, and had arranged high gable roofs in the fronts next the main streets.

The *Builder* was very complimentary about the design, criticising only the lack of bedroom accommodation—rather more than half the tenements had only one bedroom—and it noted that the walls were plastered and papered, a comment made probably because the Peabody Trustees did not permit wallpaper.<sup>21</sup> Indeed the Company seemed to lay great stress upon these finishing touches, and Waterlow told the half-yearly meeting in August 1870 that the reason why their buildings were more popular than those of the Trustees was because:<sup>22</sup>

they were less institutional, that the rules were not so strict and binding, and that there was a feeling among the tenants repugnant to the idea that they were the recipients of charity.

There was no evidence that the Peabody buildings were unpopular, but certainly there was an element of charity in the Trustees' policy which rankled with the commercial companies.

The second plot bought from the Marquis was in Flask Lane, Ebury Square: it came into the Company's possession in two stages, the first in 1870 and the second two years later. The buildings which were constructed were totally different from anything which either preceded or followed them, but there was no apparent reason for this change, since we know that Allen was again the builder of the second stage and probably also of the first.<sup>23</sup> The plan consisted of two detached irregular 'U'-shaped blocks facing each other across a courtyard. But the most peculiar feature of the scheme was the choice of an access system consisting of continuous external balconies, approached by a single staircase in each of the buildings. The galleries were arranged on the courtyard side of the site, and because of this it was not possible to have the usual projecting sculleries and lavatories, so these were now planned within the main block. The rooms were better proportioned and despite the overhanging balconies enjoyed more natural light. There was nevertheless a clear resemblance in the planning to the earlier buildings.

The development of the Bethnal Green estate was also in progress, of course, at this time. The Company had taken possession of the 9-acre site on 25th March 1868 and the demolition of the typical East-End cottage property and its replacement with tall block dwellings began at once and continued until 1890. The whole site was used for housing, except for a half-acre plot which was sold in 1873 to the School Board, who opened a new school, greatly adding to the amenity of the area, during the next year. But the most important single event affecting the popularity of the estate was the new Bethnal Green station built at the same time. Before this the Company had experienced difficulty in letting tenements in some of the early blocks, and it had come to the conclusion that perhaps it had already overbuilt.<sup>24</sup> With the improved railway connection there were no such difficulties in the future and the demand for accommodation kept pace with the continuous building programme.

The first tenements were ready in 1869 and by the end of the following year there were homes for 72 families, mostly in two-roomed flats of an entirely new pattern. During the following two years a further 130 were built on the same plan. At this stage demand slackened and building slowed down: only 30 tenements were completed in 1873 and 60 the next year. These were built by direct labour, an arrangement which seems to have worked well, and to have greatly reduced the cost of building. By this time, however, the effect of the new station was being felt and the pace quickened; 150 tenements were started on the direct labour system.<sup>25</sup>

During 1875 work commenced on one of the largest single sections of the estate, Finnis Street, consisting of fifteen joined blocks on one side and on the other, next to the board school site, a further six, housing altogether 210 families. The blocks were all five storeys high, rising 53ft. on either side of a street only 45ft. wide. The second major addition, consisting of twelve blocks for 295 families, was started in 1878. However, it was not until August 1883 that the estate was nearing completion, and in this, the Company's largest single development, Waterlow noted that it took 'peculiar pleasure'.<sup>26</sup>

Bethnal Green was the first estate where the Company had the opportunity to plan the site as an integrated development. But while the Peabody Trustees would have used a perimeter technique with perhaps a few internal detached blocks, the Company retained its emphasis upon linear planning. Since the site was outside the central area and the reasons for high-density development therefore less cogent, it was disappointing to find the original street network retained, and quite narrow roads lined with towering cliffs of continuous building, very much as in the earliest estates where there was no alternative because the sites were so small. The only break was provided by the school and its playground; it was a relief that the Company agreed to sell even so small a portion of their land.

Development had commenced in Wilmot Street and Ainsley Street; and the first blocks were built on a new, less conventional plan, which made some attempt to minimise the overall height by either dropping the ground floor below the natural ground level or treating the top floor as an attic, with dormer windows set in the roof. Wilmot Street was completed in a rather heavier and less satisfactory style since the Company had reverted to straightforward five-storey blocks although the planning was again unusual and there were no front balconies. The big development which followed in Finnis Street (fig. 3) closely resembled in design a contemporary development elsewhere in London known as Compton Buildings, but one range possessed a novel elevational solution. Corfield Street, the most monotonous part of the estate, was identical in plan-form to the last group of estates, reverting to the deep rear projection while retaining the internal stair at right angles to the street (fig. 3). The effect everywhere was now of gross over-building and there was a marked tendency in these later

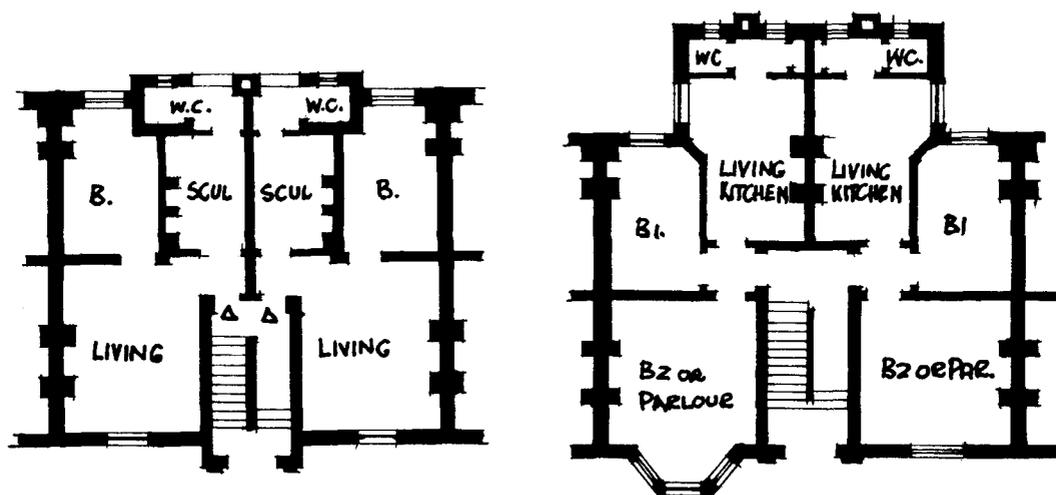


Fig. 3

Small Flats in Finnis Street (left) and Corfield Street, Bethnal Green Estate.

stages of the estate's development to increase the density, without paying much attention to the outward appearance of the blocks or the width of the streets. The detailing became coarse, and latterly the ubiquitous bay window was introduced, to add, perhaps, a little interest to the ponderous facades. Gone now was the quality given to the early blocks by the open staircases with their balconies and wrought-iron railings; but the dwellings were more compactly planned and there were more larger flats, although it was often necessary to approach one room through another in order to achieve this degree of compactness (plate 2(b)).

#### *The Later Estates*

Work at Bethnal Green kept the Company occupied over a very long period, but it did not represent the total building programme between 1870 and 1890. There was a burst of activity just after 1870 when fresh funds were raised to carry out developments in George Street, Grosvenor Square; Goswell Street, Clerkenwell, and in Crabtree Row. Buildings on all three sites were finished in 1872, and at Clarendon Buildings in George Street—which was a most unusual situation for this kind of housing development—there was a great demand for accommodation, and some 438 applications were received for the 38 flats which were available. The plans used at all these estates were based on the old Palmerston Buildings solution with minor variations to suit the particular exigencies of each site. Leopold Buildings, in Crabtree Row, had a greater proportion of large tenements, achieved by expanding the basic block, although the curved staircase and the front balcony were both retained, and so were the series of projections at the rear (fig. 4). It was a particularly grand development, consisting of one long terrace with blocks of differing heights. They were built of white

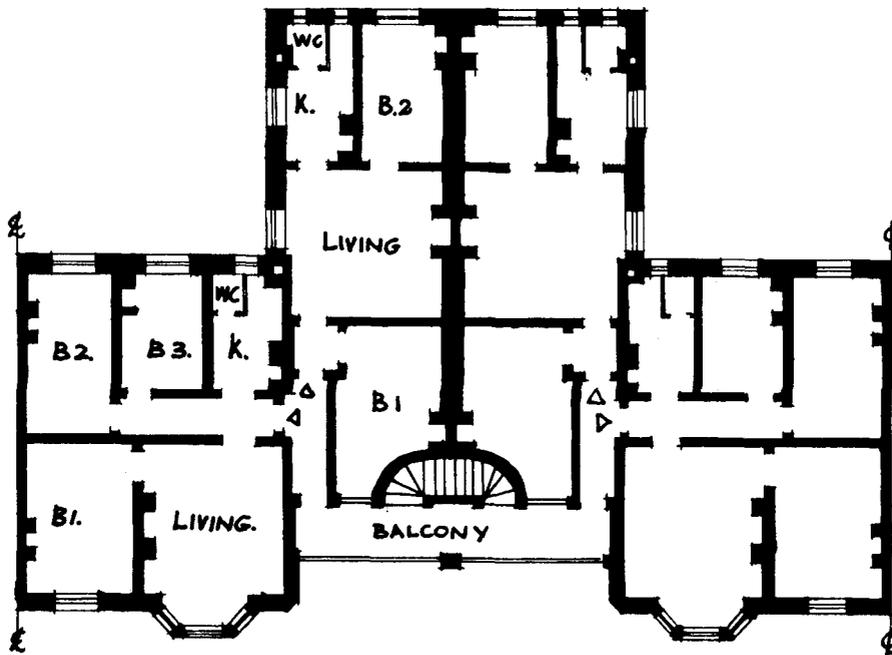


Fig. 4

Larger Flats at Leopold Buildings.

brick and artificial stone, but there was a new sumptuousness in the detailing, enhanced by the use of bay windows, first introduced at Clarendon Buildings and used again here.

More buildings followed on similar variants of the early plan. Morrison Buildings, Commercial Road were completed in 1874, and Lumley Buildings, Pimlico Road, the following year on a site obtained from the Marquis of Westminster. Two plots of land bought from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were developed. On the first in Coburg Row, Coburg Buildings were constructed; and Cambridge Buildings in Upper Garden Street, Vauxhall Bridge Road, on the second. The plan used for this last scheme abandoned the back projection and the curved stairs which were replaced by straight flights at right angles to the street. The same plan was used at Finnis Street, Bethnal Green. There was also a movement away from the larger flats of Leopold Buildings and a tendency to build more small flats with smaller rooms, although they were better proportioned and the windows more sensibly positioned than in the earlier plan.

It was evident, however, that the Company was dissatisfied with the plans then in use, perhaps because they were all adaptations of a solution evolved when the Company was first formed. Late in 1874 a large site was obtained from the Marquis of Northampton in Goswell Road, behind Compton Buildings, and it was decided to hold a competition for its development. Premiums of £250 and £150 were offered and there were detailed requirements for the site, many of which provide an interesting commentary on housing standards at that time. For example, each tenement had to be self-contained, with its own entrance from the 'external air', and access to the different floors must be by an outside staircase. There were not to be more than five floors, each with a maximum height of 8 ft. 6 ins., and access was to be provided to a flat roof. Tenements of sizes varying from three to five rooms were required, each with a separate lavatory, and shops were to be included on the Goswell Road frontage. The conditions ended by remarking:<sup>27</sup>

As a moderate return upon the cost of the building must be obtained, economy of construction, combined with strength and durability, will be one of the principal points to be considered in judging the merits of designs.

Charles Barry, Alfred Waterhouse and George Graham, editor of the *Builder*, were appointed to assist the directors in assessing the twenty designs which were submitted, and after the results of the competition had been announced just before Christmas 1874, the drawings were exhibited at the Mansion House. The first premium went to Henry Macauley of Kingston-on-Thames, and the second to Banister Fletcher of London, but neither design was considered suitable for the Company to build because, it was claimed, both would be too expensive. *The Times* devoted an editorial on Christmas Day to the subject; why, it asked, had premiums been awarded when no scheme had been judged suitable for building? Was this because the conditions were insufficiently precise, or alternatively had the assessors too readily condoned failure to comply with them? The editorial then discussed the general implications of the competition, and dwelt at length upon the importance of treating housing as a commercial enterprise if the magnitude of the problem was not to defeat its solution:<sup>28</sup>

We do ask that the money to be spent in providing improved dwelling-houses shall be laid out as remuneratively as possible, simply because we are convinced that we have in this the best security that it will be forthcoming in sufficient quantities.

Finally the editor tartly proclaimed the incompetence of the architectural profession:<sup>29</sup>

We could wish that the ingenious gentlemen who have lately sent in their designs for the erection of new houses on the Goswell-road estate had given us better reasons to believe that the profession of

which they are members was at all aware of the absolute vital importance of the condition which they have been so generously pardoned for disregarding.

The faults were not entirely those of the architects involved however, and one architect who was not involved in the competition wrote to *The Times* in defence of the profession, pointing out that the competition system had many evils which did not always encourage the best members of the profession to enter. Many architects, he claimed, including the assessors, were perfectly competent to carry out the instructions of the Company. The winning design was subsequently published in the *Builder* and this, too, had a competent plan.<sup>30</sup>

Waterlow himself wrote to *The Times* defending the Company's decision to award the premiums: £400 was a small sum, he thought, to have the assurance that the blocks which they themselves had previously designed were as economical as any submitted in the competition. In addition, they had learnt much from the various designs about internal detailed planning.<sup>31</sup> There, as far as the Company was concerned, the matter rested, but one further rather comic scene remained, for the authorship of the second premiated design was contested by a Mr. Butler. The case was not at all clear and Butler was eventually refused an order restraining Fletcher.

The buildings finally erected in Goswell Road were designed in the Company's own offices and were completed in 1877. They housed 285 families, and followed exactly the plan of the revised wing of Cambridge Buildings. All the tenements were self-contained, the majority with two bedrooms, but a few with only one. The triangular site lay behind the original Compton Buildings, and, just as at Bethnal Green, the Company resorted to the use of simple parallel rows of building, failing to take any advantage of the possibilities of the site.

There was evidence in these tight layouts of the economic pressures which were again developing between 1875 and 1880, as yet another crisis faced the housing movement. This had been brought about by the ever-increasing scarcity of land, and the failure of the government to take steps which would assist in its provision at the right price and in places where it was most needed. In 1875 the Company also found it necessary to raise additional capital, because the heavy building programme in which it had been engaged had exhausted its previous funds. Doubtless this also contributed to the desire that new ventures should make at least the same return on the money invested as those in the past, despite the increasingly difficult economic situation.

The next group of sites, therefore, were developed using a new plan which permitted an increased density by narrowing the frontage of each flat, increasing the overall depth of the block and resorting once again to the back off-shoot. The actual disposition of the blocks was also tighter than ever before, and their appearance very often grim and forbidding.

There were four more estates built during the decade, following the completion of Compton Buildings in 1877; three were situated in south-west London, in Artillery Row, Chelsea Bridge Road and Ebury Bridge Road; and the fourth to the north, in Highbury Station Road. Wellington Buildings, Artillery Row, built in 1879, is perhaps a good example of the effect of the increasing pressures upon the Company. The blocks were so closely spaced that it was necessary to use a white glazed brick for the lower floors in order to obtain even a reasonable degree of natural lighting.

During 1879 the Company advertised for a Surveyor, and out of the many applicants they appointed Henry Jarvis. His influence upon the later estates was marked, and there was considerable improvement in the layouts adopted as well as in the design of the individual buildings. Because of the difficulty in finding suitably priced land in central areas most of the

sites which the Company purchased on the open market were situated in outlying districts where the prices were more in keeping with the kind of development which was proposed; these included parts of Hackney, Deptford, Walworth and along the Old Kent Road. During 1880 and 1881 estates were built in all these places. The contrast in general appearance between, for example, Kingsley and Waleran Buildings erected in the Old Kent Road during 1881 and any of the previous group of estates was very marked, showing clearly the influence of a new man. The blocks were arranged around courts which provided open spaces away from the street; and in the following year, when Dover Buildings were completed in the same road, the Company adopted the Peabody Donation Fund's practice of arranging the entrances to all the buildings from the courtyard side, so that the estate was a private entity. The internal planning of the buildings was also considerably modified, and again shorn of the ubiquitous back projections, which also improved the external appearance of these estates (fig. 5).

Several sites were obtained in other ways which permitted development in more central areas to continue. A small plot was purchased under the terms of the 1872 Street Improvements Act, after years of delay, and on it, in 1882, Hamilton Buildings were constructed in Great Eastern Street. Three sites were obtained from the Metropolitan Board as a result of clearance schemes under the 1875 Artisans' Dwellings Act. On the first, in Islington, Torrens Buildings were built in 1884; Miles Buildings, Penfold Street were opened the following year, but delay in obtaining the Board's planning consent prevented the completion of Douglas Buildings, on the Mint Street clearance area now known as Marshalsea Road, until 1887.

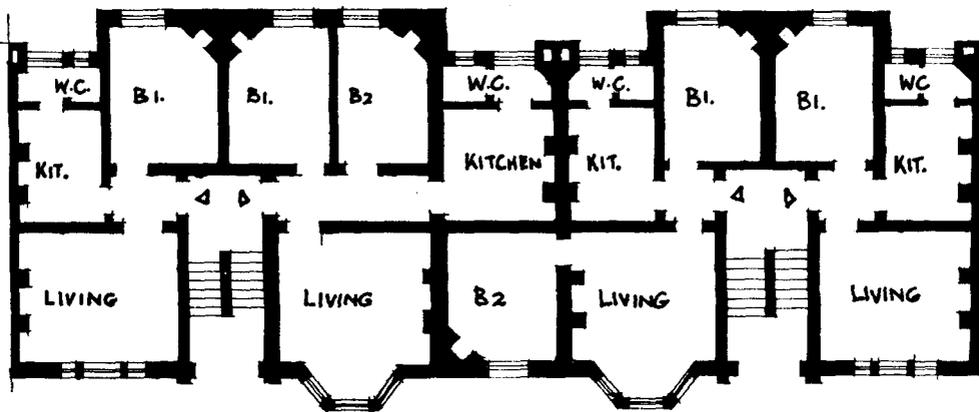


Fig. 5

Two Staircase Units at Dover Buildings.

The Company also obtained land on either side of the new Charing Cross Road from the Metropolitan Board of Works. This estate, known as Sandringham Buildings, was finished in 1884. The buildings actually form the street frontage on either side for part of its length, the ground floor providing valuable space for shops, with tenements above. The area behind both frontages was filled with tightly-packed blocks which again point to the difficulties inherent in tenement building even when the land was obtained on favourable terms.

The last major building programme was started once more through the generosity of the Duke of Westminster who had helped before with the provision of cheap land; this was the extension of the Grosvenor estate. The new buildings were more ambitious and ornate in their architectural quality, perhaps partly because they were in a conspicuous position in a prosperous part of London, but it seems evident that the original intention of the Company was no longer the motivating force it had been even a decade previously. Work continued for a while after 1890; the Grosvenor estate was not completed until 1892 and there were two more new estates as well as additional blocks at two others. But improved industrial dwellings were no longer either so easy to build and finance or so much a matter of popular public concern. It is true that there were new philanthropic ventures at this time, but small-scale investment in a company such as this was no longer common, and significantly the newly established London County Council was starting to build its first council estates. These were eventually to replace the work of the private company and trust as the main source of working-class housing in the next century.

So the work of Waterlow's company was nearly over; in 1892 it was noted in the annual report that the demand in south and east London was nearly satiated—indeed during previous years it again had been increasingly difficult to let the more outlying properties—while in central London, where the demand still existed, there was no available land. Finally, at the annual meeting in 1894 Waterlow told the assembled company that the work they had set out to achieve was accomplished; and while in retrospect we might think this a complacent attitude when so many of the poor still lived in squalor, it must be remembered that the original intention of Waterlow had been to prove that dwellings could be built cheaply. He had manifestly succeeded in this purpose and had founded a company which provided, for that time, a considerable quantity of property. A younger generation filled with the gentle socialism of Howard were eager to look for new solutions in a society which was moving very rapidly towards the twentieth century. The contribution of Waterlow and the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company was, in reality, part of a distant society, probably just a little out of step in the last decade of Victoria's reign. But one should not, for this reason, dismiss the social and humanitarian benefits which these rather clumsy and grim buildings conferred upon the artisans of a city where was epitomised the growth of communal responsibility during the second half of the nineteenth century.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author wishes to thank Greencoat Properties Limited for their help in the preparation of this paper and also for allowing him access to drawings and plans from which the drawings used in this paper have been prepared.

#### NOTES

- 1 T. Dunhill, 'Homes of the London Poor', *Labourers' Friend*, February 1848, p. 26. There are also accounts of the conditions under which the poor lived in many of the 'social' novels of the period by Dickens, Disraeli, Mrs. Gaskell and Kingsley.
- 2 For an outline account of the early model-dwellings movement see N. Pevsner, 'Model Houses for the Labouring Classes', *Architectural Review*, May 1943.
- 3 After the Great Exhibition they were taken down and re-erected in Kennington Park, where they may still be seen.
- 4 Letter of George Peabody, dated 12 March 1862, to the newly appointed Trustees of the Peabody Donation Fund.
- 5 The only biography of Waterlow was published some three years after his death: G. Smalley, *The Life of Sir Sydney H. Waterlow* (London) 1909.
- 6 See *Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes*, 1885, Vol. II, p. 427.
- 7 *Builder*, Vol. XXI (21 March 1863), p. 198.

- 8 *Times*, 14 April 1863.
- 9 *Builder*, Vol. XXI (6 June 1863), p. 415 and (13 June 1863), p. 429.
- 10 *Builder*, Vol. XXII (26 March 1864), p. 232.
- 11 *Times*, 23 July 1866.
- 12 Quoted by J. Hole, *The Dwellings of the Working Classes* (London), 1866, pp. 57–8.
- 13 See *Illustrated London News*, Vol. XLVIII (10 March 1866), p. 238.
- 14 *Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes*, 1885, Vol. II, p. 427.
- 15 *Select Committee on Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings*, 1881, p. 176.
- 16 *Times*, 7 August 1867.
- 17 *Times*, 31 July 1874. James Moore, the Company's Secretary, informed the Select Committee in 1881 that its total loans had risen to £271,000 (p. 172).
- 18 The evidence for this is best seen in the proceedings of the two parliamentary investigations into Housing, the Select Committee of 1881–2 and the Royal Commission of 1884–5.
- 19 *Builder*, Vol. XXVII (21 August 1863), p. 675.
- 20 *Times*, 11 August 1869.
- 21 *Builder*, Vol. XXVIII (3 December 1870), p. 963.
- 22 *Times*, 13 August 1870.
- 23 *Builder*, Vol. XXX (31 August 1872), p. 682.
- 24 *Times*, 12 February 1874.
- 25 *Ibid.*
- 26 *Times*, 15 August 1883.
- 27 *Times*, 1 June 1874.
- 28 *Times*, 25 December 1874.
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 *Builder*, Vol. XXXII (26 December 1874), p. 1074 and Vol. XXXIII (2 January 1875), p. 2.
- 31 *Times*, 28 December 1874.

## OBITUARIES

LT. COL. WILLIAM WATKINS DOVE, C.B.E., D.L., T.D., C.C., F.S.A.

Lt. Col. William Watkins Dove died 17th July, 1967, after a short illness. He was born 5th November, 1897 in Islington, and was educated at Merchant Taylors' School. In World War I he served with the Herts. Regt. T.A., and became a Lt. Col. in 1936.

His connection with the Society was a long one for he was a Life Member and joined in 1926, afterwards becoming a Vice-President. He was keenly interested in the Society, and gave a number of lectures, but the claims of other interests prevented him from doing as much as he would have liked.

It must above all be remembered that he was a great builder, and had been Governing Director of Dove Bros. Ltd. of Islington since 1932, a business founded in the reign of George III, and proud of their long tradition in the building of churches. In fact since World War II, the firm has been concerned with the restoration and rebuilding of many of the churches in the City of London damaged by air attack in that war. The task closest to his heart was the building of Guildford Cathedral. In this work he has taken keen personal interest, assuring that the craftsmanship was of the best. He took much interest in all societies and bodies concerned with the welfare and training of the workers in the building trade.

As if this were not enough for one man's efforts, he gave much of his time to the City's affairs, for he was a Past Master of the Carpenters', the Glass Sellers', and the Tylers' and Bricklayers' Companies, and was a Past President of the City Livery Club. On the Court of Common Council he represented Coleman Street Ward. Further, he was Deputy Governor of the Honourable the Irish Society.

He was a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, and also a Cross Bearer. Latterly he was a Sword Bearer to the Order on Ceremonial Occasions.

In spite of all these activities he was a man who impressed one with his sincerity, integrity and humility—a man who will be very much missed in the City he loved so well.

S.W.H.

DR. F. W. M. DRAPER

Dr. F. W. M. Draper, M.A., Ph.D., L.ès.L., F.S.A., Freeman of the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors', author of *Four Centuries of Merchant Taylors' School*, and sometime Hon. Editor of *Transactions*, died on 23rd October, 1968 in his 86th year. A full obituary will appear in the next issue.

L.S.S.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### CHURCH-ORIENTATION

FROM DR. H. R. AMBLER, O.B.E., F.R.I.C.

Sir,

I have recently been looking at the orientation of old churches in England on the 6-inch and 25-inch Ordnance maps. Figures to date (above 250) show that whatever the ideas behind mediaeval siting were, they were certainly *not* a general aim of pointing east, subject to deviations due to the lie of the land, old roads and imperfect execution. There is a positive distaste for due E. ( $+2^\circ$ ), strong preferences for  $20^\circ$  and  $10^\circ$  N. of E. and smaller ones for  $5^\circ$  N. and  $10^\circ$  S., and a remarkable avoidance of  $15^\circ$  S. There are also twice as many oriented N. of E. as S. of it. Preferences differ between regions; for instance, the City of London has a preference for  $10^\circ$  S., Oxford for  $10^\circ$  N. and the country round Oxford for  $20^\circ$  N., while Canterbury and Winchester and the country round them tend to moderate deviations S. of E. Modern churches, on a very inadequate survey of about 60, seem to show no specific distaste for due E., and little preference between deviations to N. and to S. I can see no obvious connections with the azimuths of rising of conspicuous stars or with sunrise on any especial days, and I wonder if anyone can suggest ideas to look for in further investigation.

H. R. Ambler,  
The Plain, Boars Hill, Oxford.

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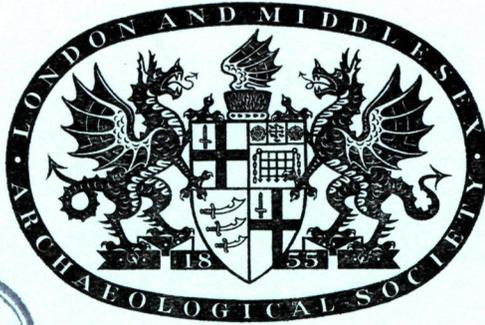
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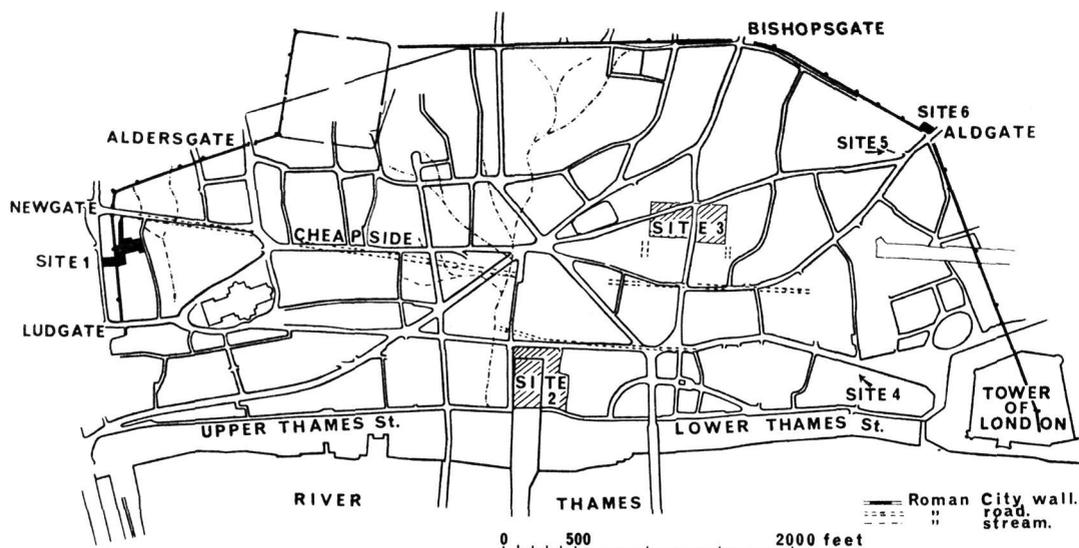


Fig. 1  
Sites excavated 1966-68.

## INTRODUCTION

This is an account of archaeological investigations made on several sites in the City of London between 1966 and 1968. The text has been compiled by Mr. Peter Marsden who also directed the excavations; and thanks are due to Mr. R. Merrifield for his valued advice in the preparation of these reports.

Special thanks are due to the City Engineer and his representative, Mr. E. Ferguson, who permitted the excavations on the Aldgate site prior to the widening of Aldgate High Street, and to the Improvements Committee of the Corporation of London who financed the work. Thanks are equally due to the Central Criminal Court Extension Committee of the Corporation of London who allowed us to excavate their important site in Warwick Square, and generously financed that work. Finally thanks are due to the volunteers who dug on both sites and without whom the investigations could not have been carried out.

Reference is made in this paper to groups of excavated objects which have been recorded in the Museum Excavation Register (e.g. E.R. 1276). With the exception of the Roman burial group from the Warwick Square site, which was kindly drawn by Miss Juliet Allan, none of the dating evidence has yet been drawn owing to the lack of time and staff. It is hoped that these groups will be published eventually, and meanwhile they are available for study on application to the Director, Guildhall Museum, Gillett House, 55 Basinghall Street, London, E.C.2.

## BRIEF SUMMARY

Site 1. *Warwick Square*

Controlled archaeological excavations in 1966 exposed two Roman burials and the corner of a Roman stone building. Three main phases of medieval houses were also found, the latest being a substantial part of the Warwick Inn, the town house of the Earls of Warwick during the 15th century.

Site 2. *Bush Lane area*

Through observations on building sites, coupled with a limited amount of controlled archaeological excavation, a major part of the layout of an extensive Roman palace has been found. It is evidently an official building, which may have been the residence of the Roman governor of Britain. It was built during the late 1st century and abandoned or demolished during the 4th century.

Site 3. *Roman basilica, and site of 3-6 Gracechurch Street*

The discovery of part of the south wall of the Roman basilica has made it possible to determine the exact alignment of that building in relation to modern streets and offices. Additional information on the south frontage of the basilica has been gathered, and also the position of the north-west corner of the large pre-forum building south of the basilica.

Site 4. *Byward Street (formerly Water Lane)*

The corner of a sunken room in a Roman building was revealed during the construction of a subway.

Site 5. *39-40 Mitre Street*

A bricked-up medieval arch, formerly in the medieval priory church of Holy Trinity Priory, was discovered during recent demolition work.

Site 6. *1-2 Aldgate High Street*

A succession of three or probably four city gates was found during a controlled archaeological excavation on this site. The earliest gate was Roman, and the latest was built in 1609. Beyond the gates lay a succession of three defensive ditches of Roman and medieval date.

Site 1. *Central Criminal Court Extension (1966)*

The site of the Central Criminal Court Extension is bounded by the north side of Warwick Square, and the west side of Warwick Lane. Special thanks are due to the Central Criminal Court Extension Committee for permitting and generously financing archaeological investigations on the site prior to redevelopment, and also to the City Architect, Mr. E. G. Chandler, F.R.I.B.A., M.T.P.I., and the site architect, Mr. F. Whitby, for their kind help at every stage in the investigations. Thanks are also due to the volunteers who took part in the investigation, especially those of the City of London Excavation Group (now the City of London Archaeological Society).

The results published here are of investigations mostly carried out during a period of six months in 1966 on the site of the medieval Warwick Inn. Other excavations were carried out across the ancient City defences, but the publication of those results has been deferred as the investigations will not be completed until 1969, at the earliest. The structures recorded here were surveyed from the south side of the Cutler's Hall.

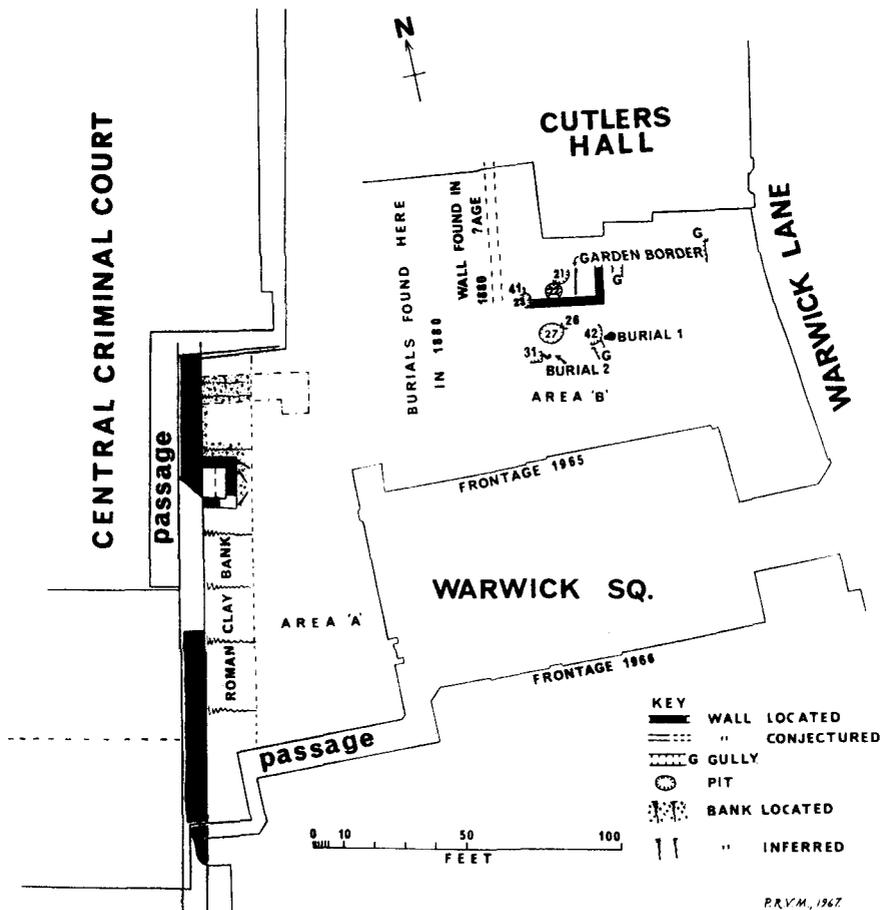


Fig. 2  
Roman features on the Central Criminal Court Site

## ROMAN

### PITS AND GULLIES. (Fig. 2)

The natural brickearth surface all over the site lay between 39 and 40 ft. above O.D., and above this was a deposit of light grey loam about 2 ft. thick. This contained flecks of wood ash with a scatter of pottery and other rubbish of the 1st and 2nd centuries (E.R. 1177). Dug into the natural brickearth were several small gullies, all of which were filled with grey loam. One of these, at the north-east corner of the site, contained sherds of the first half of the 2nd century. Presumably the purpose of the gullies was to drain the flat land surface.

A considerable expanse of the undisturbed surface of the natural brickearth was exposed, and it is worth recording that no evidence of ploughing could be detected, and wherever the surface of the brickearth was undisturbed no sign of any Roman timber structure was found. The brickearth surface was pock-marked by very many small root holes, however.

A few scattered Roman rubbish pits were found, one of which, 41 (E.R. 1207) contained pottery of the late 1st or early 2nd century. It is clear, however, that until the Flavian period no significant use was made of the site.

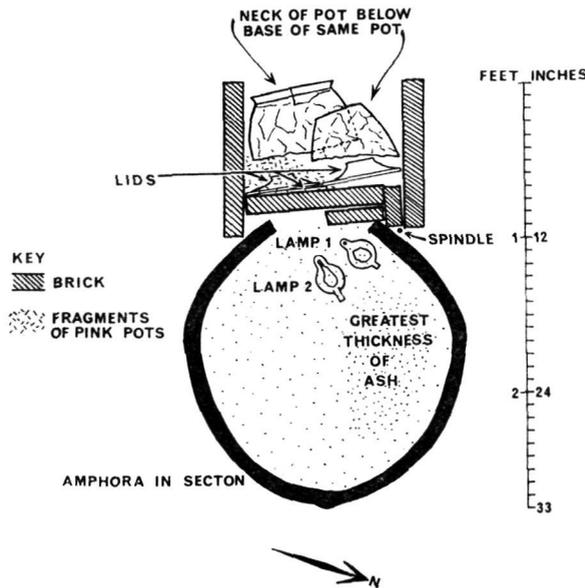


Fig. 3  
Burial I, Roman  
Cremation on Central  
Criminal Court Site

#### CEMETERY

The major Roman feature of the site was the small Flavian cemetery of cremation burials. Most of these were found during 1881, and are now preserved at the British Museum. At least eight cremations were found in 1881<sup>1</sup> and one more was found in 1966. Part of an inhumation burial was also found in 1966.

#### BURIAL I

The cremation (fig. 3) (E.R. 1163) was within a buff ware globular amphora (fig. 4, no. 1) which lay on its side at the bottom of a shallow pit, probably not more than 2 ft. deep, dug in the natural brickearth (Plate 1). The neck of the amphora had been broken off prior to burial. Mixed with the burnt human bones was a large quantity of wood ash, some iron nails, and a few small pottery sherds. Two much used and damaged clay lamps had been buried in the ash just inside the amphora (fig. 4, nos. 6, 7). The amphora entrance, which faced west, had been sealed by a brick lying on edge. Two other bricks had been placed on edge at right angles to the first brick, forming three sides of a box-like enclosure immediately in front of the amphora opening. Within this enclosure were the substantial portions of three deliberately smashed cooking pots of the late 1st century (fig. 4, nos. 5, 8, 9), and lying hard against the brick covering the amphora entrance were three complete pot lids (fig. 4, nos. 2, 3, 4). At the junction of two of the bricks a bone spindle-like object was vertically placed (fig. 4, no. 10).

#### OBJECTS FROM BURIAL I. (Fig. 4)

1. Buff coarse ware globular amphora. Neck and most of its two handles have been broken off and trimmed prior to burial. (Museum accession no. 24118).
2. Lid, of light orange sandy coarse ware. (Museum accession no. 24122). Complete.
3. Lid, of pale brown sandy coarse ware (Museum accession no. 24121). Complete.
4. Lid, of pale orange-brown sandy coarse ware (Museum accession no. 24123). Complete.
5. Jar, of pale orange sandy coarse ware, decorated with pairs of girth grooves at neck and bulge. Fragments comprising about a quarter of the pot were with the burial.

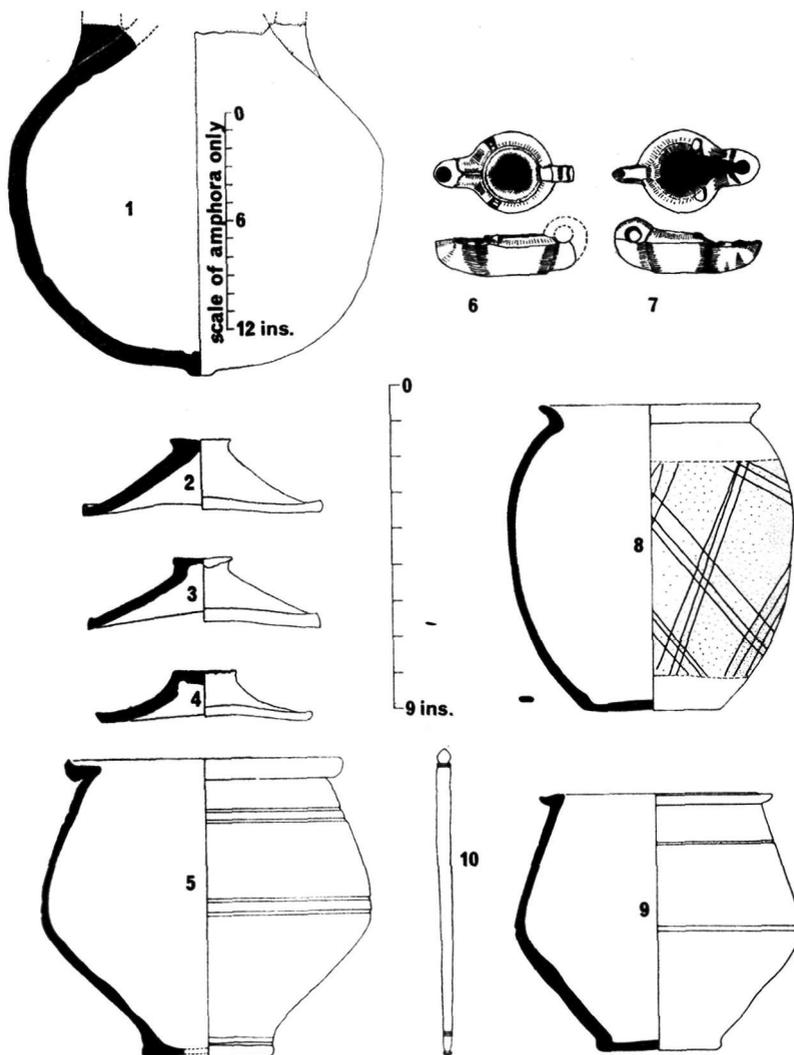


Fig. 4  
Objects from Burial I, Central Criminal Court Site

6. Lamp, type IIIA.<sup>2</sup> Buff-white coarse ware with a pale pink core and a brown slip. Two vestigial lugs. Handle broken, and nozzle burnt. (Museum accession no. 24128).
7. Lamp, type III. White ware with orange slip. Nozzle badly burnt. (Museum accession no. 24127).
8. Cooking pot. Grey sandy coarse ware with lattice design. Band of pinkish-white slip from the rim to shoulder. Found broken. (Museum accession no. 24119).
9. Jar, of pale orange sandy coarse ware decorated with single grooves at neck and bulge. Fragments comprising about three-quarters of the pot were with the burial. (Museum accession no. 24120).

10. Spindle of bone. Circular in section. Found complete. (Museum accession no. 24124).

REPORT ON CREMATION BURIAL (BURIAL 1) FROM WARWICK SQUARE

BY PROFESSOR R. WARWICK, J. OLDER, AND T.N.D. PEET OF GUY'S HOSPITAL

"The bones are human, and appear to come from two people. There are no obvious pathological changes, though the amount of identifiable bone is small. The bones are calcined, consistent with cremation.

Evidence rests on:

1. Four petrous temporal bones; two people.
2. Lower end of right humerus, with medial epicondyle fused with shaft: aged 20 at least.
3. Well-marked foveal pit in head of femur: adult.
4. Completely ossified and fused odontoid peg: "past middle life" (Frazer).
5. Maxilla.  
small  
median palatine suture wide.  
DCBA/ABCD sockets present.  
roots fully formed.  
no resorption.  
?  $\overline{E}$  unerupted  
?  $\overline{E}$  just erupted.  
no evidence of permanent dentition.
6. Left ramus mandible with intact coronoid and condylar process.  
Large retromolar fossa.  
?  $\overline{D}$  distal socket present.
7. Right condylar process.
8. Right junction of ramus and body.  
Large retromolar fossa  
?  $\overline{D}$  sockets.

SUMMARY

One adult aged 20 years at least.

One child aged 18 months to 2 years".

BURIAL 2.

The inhumation burial (E.R. 1199) had been almost completely destroyed by the digging of rubbish pits during the Middle Ages, and only the leg bones survived. There was no sign of a coffin of any kind, and the legs, bent at the knees, showed that the body was in a crouched position. The only indication of the date of the burial was that it antedated a 3rd century rubbish pit (31) which had been dug through it (E.R. 1168, 1172, 1190). Professor Warwick has examined the bones and reports that they belong to an adult.

ROMAN BUILDING

Two walls forming a corner were found in the north-west part of the excavated site. Their foundations were built of chalk and ragstone set in mortar, and these were overlaid by a tile bonding course. Medieval disturbances had destroyed all deposits contemporary with the walls. Fortunately, however, one of the walls had cut across an earlier pit (22) containing pottery of the late 2nd century (E.R. 1197), and another pit (23) containing pottery of the

4th century (E.R. 1187), had been cut through the wall and clearly post-dated its demolition. The evidence therefore suggests a third century date for the building. In 1881 a wall was found on the same alignment and a few yards west of the walls found in 1966, and it is likely that this too was Roman and was part of the same structure.

#### EVIDENCE OF GARDENING

Within the area enclosed by the two Roman walls described above was found a row of shallow angular cuts into the natural brickearth parallel with the east wall (Pl. 2). These were filled with, and overlaid by, light grey loamy soil containing pottery of the 1st and 2nd centuries (E.R. 1208). Experiment showed that similar cuts could be made with a spade, and it seems likely that the Roman holes were made when planting a row of shrubs or a hedge. There was unfortunately no satisfactory dating evidence for the holes within the Roman period.

It will be noticed in the photograph that the west sides of the holes were cut in a line, indicating that the gardener worked from this side; and it was noticed that the holes left by decayed plant roots were more numerous on the east side of the spade-holes, suggesting that there may have been a flower-bed to the east of the row of shrubs. It is significant that the row of spade holes is exactly parallel to one of the Roman walls on an alignment found nowhere else on the site. This suggests that the garden was contemporary with the walls which enclosed it. It is uncertain, however, whether these were merely garden walls, or formed part of a large house with a garden court.

#### MEDIEVAL

The extensive area excavated on this site exposed a complex of walls and foundations of several superimposed medieval houses (Fig. 5, Pl. 3). It proved difficult to establish the plan of each building and its place in the sequence. A careful comparison of their different methods of construction and their relationships eventually clarified the problem, but nevertheless one or two slight foundations were discovered which would not fit into the sequence. It now seems that these probably belonged to an earlier medieval phase. In addition to this a large number of rubbish pits were discovered concentrated in the western half of the site. Many of these were undoubtedly contemporary with the earlier phases of medieval building, but some cut by the medieval walls, must be earlier. At this point it should be stated that there was no sign of any medieval timber buildings.

#### MEDIEVAL HOUSE, PHASE 1 (see Fig. 6)

Only a few small portions remained of the medieval building of phase 1, the walls of which had been robbed when the house of phase 2 was built. The destruction was completed by the complex mass of rubbish pits. The foundations of phase 1 were built of alternate layers of chalk and gravel, and at one point a fragment of a wall of ragstone and brown mortar had survived. The building comprised several rooms, one of which was about 12 ft. wide and about 33 ft. long with an earth floor slightly below the contemporary land surface. At the north end of this room was a narrow chalk foundation, set in the natural brickearth, and it is possible that this was of even earlier date.

The walls of the building of phase 1 had been built across the earlier rubbish pits (pits 6, 7, 14, 15), of which pit 7 contained sherds of the 12th or 13th century (E.R. 1209), and pit 6

## CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT

### FEATURES IN AREA 'B'



Fig. 5 Roman and Medieval features

*P.R.V.M., 1967.*

a large quantity of sherds of the late 13th century (E.R. 1151). The building cannot therefore have been constructed before the late 13th century.

#### MEDIEVAL HOUSE, PHASE 2 (Fig. 6)

The house was completely rebuilt on the same site at the start of the second phase and it was presumably at this time that walls were robbed at the south end of the first building.

The house of the second phase comprised at least two rooms, one of which measured 15 ft. by 29 ft., with an entrance at its south end, and had an earth floor below the contemporary ground level. At the south-east corner the site of a hearth was probably indicated by a circular patch of scorched floor. The wall foundations of this building were constructed of alternate layers of chalk and gravel, and the walls above of ragstone and chalk in brown mortar. The inner faces of the large room with the sunken floor were rendered in white painted wall plaster.



The pits beneath the houses were: pits 14 and 15, not dated; pit 44, 13th century (E.R. 1184).

The pits west of the houses were: pit 17, not dated; pit 18, dated to the 12-13th century (E.R. 1154); pit 19, 13th century (E.R. 1214); pit 20, 13th century (E.R. 1178); pit 25, second half of the 13th century (E.R. 1171); pit 28, first half of the 13th century (E.R. 1169); pit 29, 14th century (E.R. 1167, 1174); pit 30, 12-13th century (E.R. 1182); pit 32, 13th century (E.R. 1179); pit 33, 13th century (E.R. 1180); pits 34 and 35, 12th century (E.R. 1218); pit 36, not dated; pit 37, 13th century (E.R. 1153, 1215); pits 38, 39 and 40, not dated.

### MEDIEVAL HOUSE, PHASE 3 (Fig. 6)

Phase 3 was represented by the foundations of ragstone, chalk and hard buff mortar, of a substantial later medieval house. Its west end was discovered in 1880, and this has been included on the plan of the remains found in 1966. The building appears to have contained a large hall (room I) about 20 ft. wide and 57 ft. long. At the west end of this was a small chamber (II), possibly a guardrobe; while to the south were several rooms (III, IV, and V) the shapes of which are not completely known.

Several small foundations (L, M, N, P) crossed the main hall, and as these were not bonded into the main foundations they were evidently of a later date, and may represent a different use of the main building.

The portions of this building recorded in 1880 do not exactly tie in with the remains found in 1966 (see fig. 5); and as there can be little doubt that this is due to faulty recording in 1880, the positions of these walls have been adjusted to accord with the recent discoveries (fig. 6).

The house of the third phase is so massive and extensive that it must have belonged to a rich man, and there is very little doubt of its identity. A great house, eventually known as Warwick Inn, stood on or very close to this site from the 14th century onwards, and gave its name to the present streets of Warwick Lane and Warwick Square.<sup>3</sup> It became the property of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the 'Kingmaker', about the middle of the 15th century, and eventually passed into the possession of Henry VII. Thereafter its importance as one of the great London houses declined and before 1539 it had been turned into a storehouse for the King's tents, and for the goods of the office of Revels. It is thought that the Inn was sold by 1559, and soon after was divided into tenements. These Tudor modifications might account for the small wall foundations which later divided up the great hall.

### Site 2. *Roman Palace in the Cannon Street—Bush Lane Region* (fig. 7)

#### DISCOVERY AND EXCAVATION TILL 1966

This region comprises the hillside overlooking the Thames just east of the Walbrook valley, nowadays bounded by Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, Dowgate Hill, and Upper Thames Street. Since the time of the Great Fire of London many fragments of Roman structures have been found in this area, and as early as the time of Wren 'a large building or hall' (possibly D) was discovered in Scots Yard, and at the time was supposed to be either part of the Roman governor's palace or the basilica. The Royal Commission Report on Roman London (1928),<sup>4</sup> summarised the discoveries and concluded that 'the evidence here, as in most cases, is very vague, but that there must have been an extensive building or series of buildings in this locality seems clear.'

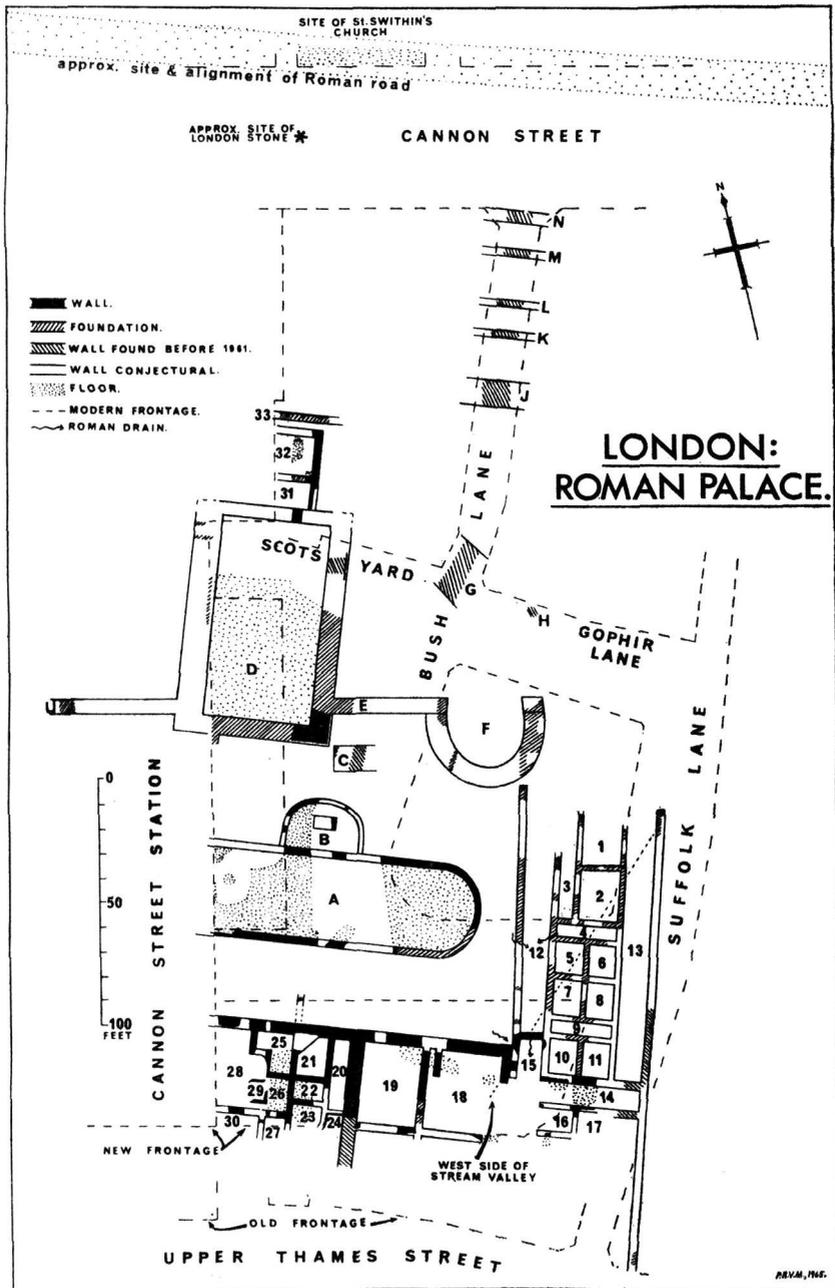


Fig. 7

Since 1961 Guildhall Museum has paid special attention to this region because the massive Roman walls, up to 12 ft. wide, suggested that a public building was situated here. In 1961 the site of Elizabeth House was redeveloped and the west ends of A and B, and the major part of the great hall D were recorded. In 1964-5 the sites of 156-162 Upper Thames Street were redeveloped, but just prior to that the former City of London Excavation Group (COLEG) was allowed to excavate on the site for about eight weeks and discovered the east wing of the Roman building. The south wing and the east end of A, and room F were mostly recorded during the subsequent builders' excavations. Finally in 1965-6 COLEG excavated the site of the bombed Dyers Arms public house and located the north wall of D, and two small rooms (31, 32).

Sufficient of the Roman building complex has been recorded to enable us to identify it as having been a great palatial residence, presumably of a very high ranking Roman official and his staff.

A full excavation report is in preparation and will be published by Guildhall Museum in due course. This preliminary report, published in advance of the full report, is a general account of the discoveries to date. The dating evidence, however, has not yet been fully studied, and the modern ground survey upon which the palace was plotted has not been checked in every detail. The plan may therefore require some minor revision.

#### HISTORY OF THE AREA BEFORE THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PALACE

During the period A.D. 60-80, work started in preparing the site for the construction of the palace. This involved the excavation and dumping of enormous quantities of clay and gravel. A deep stream valley which passed across part of the site had to be filled, and the hillside deeply terraced.

There was evidently a pause after the completion of this initial work, perhaps to allow the dumped deposits to settle properly, and for a short while a goldsmith apparently set up a workshop on one of the terraces (in the area of rooms 2, 4, 5 of the east wing of the later palace). Unfortunately the surface of this terrace had been destroyed during the construction of 19th century cellars, and no structure of the workshop was found. The evidence that there was a goldsmith working on the site was found in a rubbish pit dated to A.D. 80-90. It comprised fragments of several crucibles impregnated with gold, broken crucible lids, and baked clay luting which had sealed the lids to the crucibles. The view that there was a goldsmith's workshop in this area was strengthened by the discovery of a sprinkling of gold-dust in a nearby well, again with pottery of the same period.

#### THE DATE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PALACE

The palace appears to have been built during the Flavian period. The south wall of room D had been cut across an earlier rubbish pit containing Flavian pottery. Most of the south wing was destroyed by a dragline and in these conditions it proved extremely difficult to recover dating evidence, but a group of late 1st century sherds was found beneath the floor of room 25. The most satisfactory dating evidence, however, came from the east wing, the foundations of which had been cut through a number of rubbish pits of the period A.D. 60-90, and pottery of this period was found in the foundation trenches. According to Mr. B. Hartley some of

the Samian ware pre-dating the east wing is unlikely to have been made before A.D. 80. The ragstone foundation of what might have been a hypocaust flue in room 2 also contained Flavian sherds.

The noticeable lack of any post-Flavian pits or other deposits beneath the palace is a strong indication that it was built before the end of the Flavian period, and this is confirmed by pottery from deposits contemporary with the construction and early occupation of the palace. The evidence of the Samian ware antedating the east wing indicates that it was built after A.D. 80, so that a mid-Flavian date can be attributed to the building with some confidence.

#### THE LAYOUT OF THE PALACE

The palace was an impressive building occupying an area of more than 400 ft. by more than 240 ft. Its northern frontage lay beside the main east-west Roman road now beneath Cannon Street, and its southern limit lay beside the Thames, probably beneath Upper Thames Street.

Basically the known elements of the palace seem to have been three, perhaps four, wings ranged around a large ornamental courtyard or garden. The palace was situated on three, possibly four, terraces; the south wing (rooms 14-30) lay on the lowest at 10 ft. above O.D.; the east wing (rooms 1-13), state rooms (D and F), and the great courtyard or garden around A and B lay upon a higher terrace between 19 and 24 ft. above O.D.; rooms 31 and 32 lay at a slightly higher level; and north of them there may have been an even higher terrace.

The known parts of the palace fall into five distinct groups each with its own characteristic layout:

##### 1. ROOMS 20-30 OF THE SOUTH WING

These were a series of small rooms with buff mortar floors, and with a rendering of pink plaster on some of the wall faces. Room 24 had a floor of *opus signinum*. Room 28 was large and possibly contained an apsidal recess on its east side. The layout and construction of these rooms is somewhat suggestive of living quarters.

##### 2. ROOMS 14-19 OF THE SOUTH WING

These rooms generally had soft mortar floors overlying wet silt. Rooms 14, 16, and 18 apparently opened into room 15 through which flowed a small shallow unembanked drainage stream. The sources of this stream lay on the higher terrace where drains were found flowing into the middle of the corridor 12. There was presumably a drain flowing down the middle of this corridor under the floor, for at the north end of room 15, at the base of the retaining wall, there was an arched culvert. This stream must have discharged into the Thames. It is likely that it was covered with floor boards in room 15, but no sign of these was found. The walls of room 18 and 19 were not covered with plaster, and projecting south from the north (retaining) wall of 18 were two short walls the purpose of which is obscure. The walls of room 14 were covered with white painted plaster with a simple design of red lines. These rooms were probably damp and therefore unsuitable for living quarters. It is far more likely that they were used for some other purpose such as for storage or as workshops.

##### 3. ROOMS 1-13 OF THE EAST WING

Only the foundations of this wing survived. It comprised a central range of rooms (1-11) bounded on either side by long corridors (12, 13). At the surviving north end of the wing lay

the large rooms 1 and 2, and the long narrow chamber 3. Possible evidence was found to suggest that these rooms might have been heated. The surviving tops of the foundations lay at 19 ft. above O.D. (therefore the floors lay above this level), and their bases were at a depth of about 10 ft. above O.D. in the southern part of this wing. These very deep foundations suggest that an upper floor existed above rooms 4-11. Rooms 4 and 9 therefore probably contained staircases to the upper floor. The six small box-like cubicles (5-8, and 10, 11) are a very distinctive feature of this wing. They cannot be paralleled in private Roman houses, but are not unlike the suites of guest rooms which occur in the *mansio* at Silchester and in the east wing of the palace at Fishbourne. Their shape and arrangement, however, is perhaps rather more like that of the small rooms on the north side of the London basilica, which are thought to have been offices.

#### 4. THE COURTYARD OR GARDEN

The central courtyard or garden was about 110 ft. wide and probably more than 180 ft. long. Its surface had evidently been destroyed during the construction of recent basements and foundations. In the middle of the court was a great sunken pool (A) 33 ft. wide and more than 102 ft. long internally. The surrounding wall was 3 ft. thick and was faced on the inside with pink mortar. The buff mortar floor of the pool overlay a massive ragstone and flint foundation 6 ft. thick which conformed to the shape of the pool (Pl. 4). The floor of the pool lay at 16-17 ft. above O.D., and was more than 3 ft. lower than the surface of the courtyard. On its north side was a smaller pool (B) which had a mortar floor only a few inches thick, slightly above the level of the floor of the main pool. In the middle of pool B was a brick structure which was possibly the pedestal base of a fountain or statue.

Large ornamental pools like these are a feature of palatial Roman residences in the Mediterranean (e.g. Villa dei Papiri, near Ercolano).<sup>5</sup> Normally, however, the courts in which they lay were surrounded by a peristyle. There is no indication that one was present in the courtyard of the London palace, the north and south frontages of which were extremely irregular.

#### 5. THE STATE ROOMS C-J AND U

The great state rooms bounded the north side of the courtyard, and their characteristic features were their great size and massive walls and foundations. The distribution of the massive walls probably indicates the extent of these rooms.

Recognisable parts of two state rooms have been found. The largest known of these, D, was a great hall 42 ft. wide and about 82 ft. long, and this was probably a reception hall. It had a white mortar floor at 24 ft. above O.D. (probably roughly level with the surface of the court on its south side), and at its south-east corner the inner faces of the east and south walls were covered with white painted wall-plaster. This hall does not appear to have had an apsidal recess, and was therefore probably not an audience chamber. Indications of a projecting apse (F), however, were found to the east of room D. The north end of this seems to have been open, so that it evidently formed part of a large room. Unfortunately, only the foundations remained, and very little could be learnt about this room, which seemed to encroach curiously on to the line of the east wing.

#### 6. NORTH OF THE STATE ROOMS

A few scattered fragments of Roman walls have been recorded in the northern part of the palace, and their small size and nearness to one another suggests that here were rooms of more

normal size. Parts of two rooms (31, 32) have been recorded, and 32 might have contained a hypocaust.

#### LATER HISTORY OF THE PALACE

At a later date during the Roman period important modifications were made to parts of the palace. Rooms 20-30 were rebuilt, probably as a bath-suite; the east end of the great pool (A) was modified; and the areas of rooms D, E, 31, 32 at least were completely rebuilt with rooms on a different plan. Two heated rooms have been found overlying room D, one of which was probably a small octagonal chamber.

The destruction of the palace has been dated only in the east and south wings. The best evidence comes from compartment 14 where it was found that at the end of the 3rd century, when the building was in a dilapidated condition, squatters had taken up residence, and had burnt fires on a roughly constructed tile hearth, which they had built against the north wall. Eventually rooms 14 and 15 were filled by dumping great quantities of rubbish during the 4th century. A similar date is indicated by sherds recovered from a probable hypocaust flue in room 3 of the east wing. In the ash filling of a hypocaust of the bath suite in room 26 of the south wing a coin of A.D. 270 was found, and above it was debris of the destruction of the rooms. The evidence consistently indicates that the east and south wings were destroyed during the 4th century, but not by fire, since there was no burnt debris. No evidence was found to show how the rooms which replaced the state rooms were destroyed. The great pool A was obliterated by being filled with earth, containing pottery apparently not later than the late 1st century.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PALACE

The question which naturally arises is who built the palace and lived there. Clearly it must have been an extremely important Roman official and his staff, and the great state rooms indicate that formal receptions and meetings took place from time to time.

The small regular rooms of the east wing were presumably used by officials, either as offices or accommodation—or both. It is significant that it is this purely utilitarian part of the building that remains almost unchanged for more than two hundred years.

Several bricks bearing the official stamp P.P.BR have been found on the site, both when Cannon Street Station was built and again in the recent excavations. These only occur in London, and the abbreviation LON for *Londinii* is often included on the stamp. It is clear that they came from an official brickworks. A variant P.PR.BR is known, so that it is clear that the second and third abbreviations stand for PROVINCIAE BRITANNIAE, and that the brickworks was under the control of some branch of the provincial administration. It may be that the first P stands for the PROCURATOR, whose sphere extended beyond mere financial administration into the fields of industry and economic life. If so, it does not, of course, follow that the bricks were used only for departmental purposes; they have in fact been found on the sites of the military fort and of the purely civic basilica. They were evidently likely to be used for any public building, so that the attribution of the brickworks to the procurator certainly does not imply that he lived in the palace.

There is no doubt that the procurator *did* have a palace and headquarters in London from a date twenty years earlier than the building of the Cannon Street palace, but since this is the largest and most impressive residence yet discovered in London, the first claimant to it is a more exalted official—the legatus (military governor) himself, who must have had a palace in London from the time that it replaced Camulodunum as the capital. There is considerable evidence that this change of status took place in the latter part of the first century, perhaps soon after the revolt of A.D. 60–1.<sup>6</sup>

An interesting comparison with the London palace is the Roman governor's headquarters (Praetorium) discovered at Cologne. It had rooms of varying sizes, some with massive walls, and it was built on a hillside overlooking a river. At this point the comparison stops, for the arrangement of its rooms was unlike any in the London palace. The plan of the Cologne *praetorium* is far from complete, but it is interesting to note that it was rebuilt several times, the latest occurring during the 4th century.

### Site 3. Area of the Basilica and Forum, and site of 3–6 Gracechurch Street (1966)

During 1966, excavations for rebuilding nos. 3–6 Gracechurch Street exposed part of the southern sleeper wall of the nave of the Roman basilica (fig. 8, 'A'), and also provided important information concerning the southern frontage of the basilica. This information has considerably advanced our knowledge of the basilica layout, and the opportunity has been taken to define the plan of the whole building as far as it is known. In addition, further information has been gained about the Roman building which pre-dated the basilica and forum, and which was partly investigated on this site during 1964.

Several plans of the Roman basilica have been attempted, based on records of past discoveries which have been plotted on modern surveys. Unfortunately the latter have been

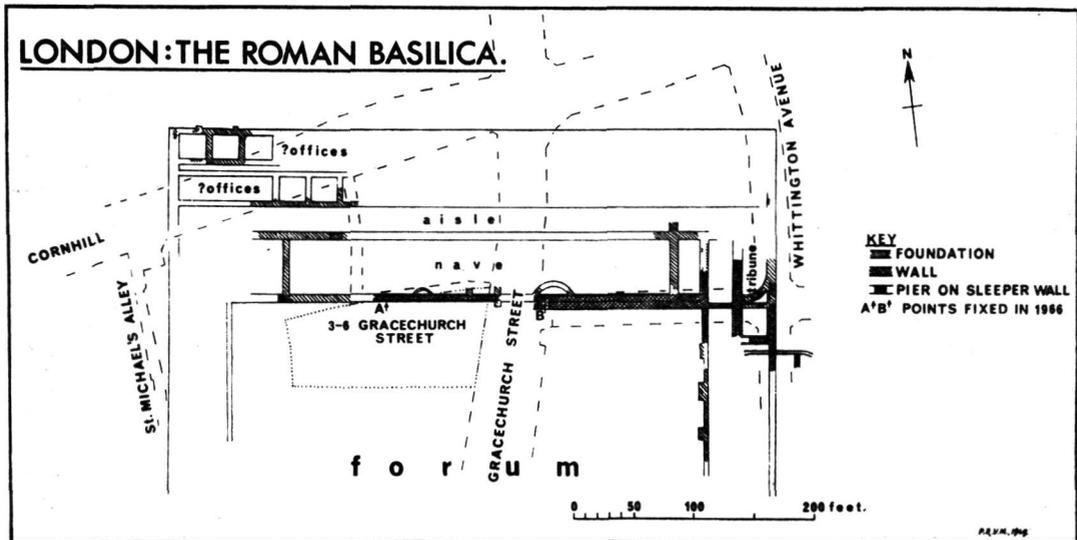


Fig. 8

found to be inaccurate, with the result that discoveries on the various sites have not linked up satisfactorily. Some of these problems have been discussed by Mr. R. Merrifield, who made a survey of the basilica and forum area in 1965.<sup>7</sup> It has since been found that an apparently accurate large scale post-war survey of the area is published by Messrs. Chas. Goad Ltd. (56 Crouch Hill, London, N.4), and this has been used as the basis of the new survey of the remains of the Roman basilica published here. On this only walls which are accurately recorded and are clearly part of the basilica have been plotted.

#### THE POSITION AND ALIGNMENT OF THE BASILICA

The south and east sides of the basilica were recorded by Henry Hodge in 1880-1, and their positions were related to buildings then existing, none of which now survive.<sup>8</sup> As a result it has proved impossible to plot the position of the Roman walls on a modern map with absolute accuracy. During 1966, however, this was rectified by taking careful measurements and fixing the exact position of the south sleeper wall at two widely separated points (A and B on the plan, fig. 8). Point A lay on the site of 3-6 Gracechurch Street, and careful measurements were taken while the south face of the Roman sleeper wall lay exposed for a short time. Point B was also carefully fixed at the same time by plotting the position of the south east corner of the Roman brick pier which is preserved beneath a shop at the corner of Leadenhall Market and Gracechurch Street. From these two points on the wall originally recorded by Hodge, it was possible to re-plot on the survey of the present buildings all the relevant Roman walls recorded by Hodge. Other portions of the basilica found after 1881 were plotted separately without reference to the walls recorded by Hodge. On one site only, the positions of the Roman walls have been adjusted to fit in with the plan of the rest of the basilica, because they were evidently inaccurately recorded. These were the south sleeper wall and a transverse foundation crossing the nave on the site of 50 Cornhill.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE LAYOUT OF THE BASILICA

The plan of the basilica is far from complete, but from the known parts it is clear that it contained some unusual features. For these reasons, therefore, only those walls of which substantial portions have been recorded, and which are reasonably certainly part of the basilica, and not of earlier buildings, have been included on the new plan.

Although the exact position of the west end of the basilica has not been determined, its position is roughly known, and it is clear that the basilica was about 500 feet long and 140 ft. wide. It comprised a nave 45 ft. wide with an apsidal *tribune* at the east end. The west end has not been excavated as it lies beneath the church of St. Michael in Cornhill. The nave was apparently bounded on either side by either a colonnade, or more probably by brick arcading, three piers of which have been found standing upon sleeper walls, and the south side seems to have opened directly on to the forum courtyard.

That the arcading opened on to the forum is now reasonably certain because the recent excavations at 3-6 Gracechurch Street have shown no sign of any outer wall enclosing an aisle to the south of the nave. The builders' excavations during 1966 were watched with the specific purpose of determining the nature of the south frontage of the basilica, and no walls which could possibly be attributed to this building were found south of the wall which carried piers on the sites of 50, Cornhill and 90, Gracechurch Street. On those sites it was

merely a sleeper wall, and it seems unlikely that its character was any different where it is known only from its massive foundations. What was previously thought to have been an outer wall on the south side of the basilica is now known to have been the wall of an earlier building demolished prior to the construction of the basilica and forum.<sup>10</sup>

A basilica frontage consisting of an open arcade or colonnade is most unusual in northern Europe, where there is normally an enclosed aisle on each side of the nave. The London basilica was not quite unique in this respect, however, for the much smaller basilica of Alesia in northern Gaul apparently had a similar frontage.<sup>11</sup>

The plan of the basilica north of the nave is uncertain. It seems reasonably clear, however, that there was a north aisle about 22 ft. wide. North of this, in the western part of the building, were two rows of square compartments, presumably administrative offices, separated by a corridor. The *curia* probably lay to the east of these.

#### THE FLOOR LEVEL OF THE BASILICA

The upper surface of the southern sleeper wall of the basilica had been destroyed during pre-war building at 3-6 Gracechurch Street. Its surviving top lay at 44 ft. 3 ins. above O.D., and there is evidence that the floor of the basilica lay level with or above the sleeper wall.<sup>12</sup>

#### THE FORUM

The layout of the Forum does not enter into this discussion except in so far as the lack of a south aisle in the basilica now affects the interpretation of the forum. It now appears that what was previously thought to have been the south-east corner of the basilica, as recorded by Henry Hodge, was in fact the north end of the east wing of the forum.

#### A BUILDING PRE-DATING THE BASILICA AND FORUM

During 1964 part of a Roman stone building was found on the site of nos. 3-6 Gracechurch Street (fig. 9), and it seemed that it had been demolished prior to the construction of the basilica and forum<sup>13</sup>. Positive evidence that this theory was correct was discovered during the 1966 excavations; the occupation debris and rubble from the demolition of the building lay below the level of the top of the south sleeper wall of the basilica, and therefore it must have been buried beneath the floors of the basilica and forum.

In addition no sign of any foundations or walls of the pre-basilica building lay to the west of wall 'b'<sup>14</sup> and it is to be inferred therefore that wall 'b' marked the west frontage of the early Roman building.

Immediately to the west of wall 'b' was found in 1964 a mortar 'floor' above which were deposits of hard gravel metalling, the latter suggesting that a street ran along the west side of the building. During the 1966 excavations it was not possible to confirm this theory positively, but additional information was gained about this pre-forum phase in the area at the west end of Corbet Court.

The surface of the natural brickearth was found to lie at 37 ft. and 39 ft. 3 ins. above O.D. near the west end of Corbet Court, and above it were horizontal deposits of Roman made ground. At one point marked \* on the site plan (fig. 9) the grey trampled natural brickearth surface lay at 36 ft. 11 ins. above O.D., and above it was a deposit of clean brickearth, evidently dumped. The top of the clean brickearth lay at 37 ft. 5 ins. above O.D., and above it were dark grey deposits of occupation debris 11 ins. thick. This was overlaid by a layer of rubbly mortar, possibly a floor surface, 4 ins. thick with its upper surface lying at 38 ft. 8 ins.

**ROMAN BUILDING**  
**IN GRACECHURCH STREET.**

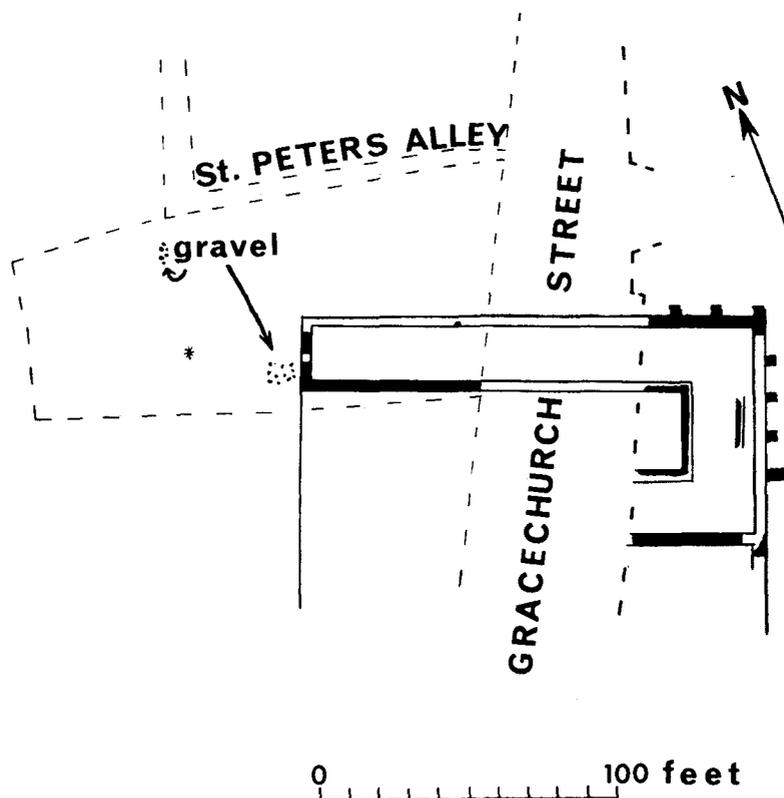


Fig. 9

above O.D. This was in turn overlaid by a deposit of dumped brickearth 1 ft. 2 ins. thick. A mortar floor 6 ins. thick sealed the yellow clay, and its surface lay at about 40 ft. 5 ins. above O.D. This latest floor seems to have extended over a considerable part of the site west of the pre-basilica building for fragments of flooring were exposed in many places at about that level. It is possible that it formed part of a courtyard or an open area.

In the northern part of the site close to St. Peter's Alley was exposed an area of gravel metalling. This overlay a thin layer of grey soil which covered the surface of the natural brickearth and the gravel was clearly one of the earliest features on the site. The north-south section in which the gravel was exposed was 6 ft. wide, and the gravel layers amounted to a thickness of 3 ft. Other sections exposed both to the north and south of this showed no trace of similar deposits of gravel metalling, and this suggests that the gravel was possibly an early Roman road aligned east-west, and perhaps skirting the north side of the pre-basilica building.

If the gravel had been part of a courtyard it would have extended over a wider area, and probably would not have amounted to such a great thickness.

Site 4. *Byward Street, formerly Water Lane (1968)*. (Fig. 10)

The corner of a room in a Roman building was cut through during the construction of a subway at the north end of the former Water Lane (now part of the new Byward Street). The walls were 1 ft. 9 ins. and 2 ft. wide and lay about 4 ft. below the top of the natural gravel. They were constructed of ragstone set in yellow mortar and there were two double courses of bonding tiles. It was impossible to determine the exact alignment of the Roman building, but it was approximately as shown on the accompanying plan. The Roman building was clearly on roughly the same alignment as the main east-west Roman street which underlies Cannon Street and Eastcheap, but which has not been located further east than Gracechurch Street. The position of the Roman walls was measured from the south-east corner of the existing building west of the subway.

On the west side of the new Byward Street two walls of chalk and ragstone, presumably medieval, were revealed in the core of modern walls, which had been built round them.

Site 5. *39-40 Mitre Street (1968)*

A well-preserved stone arch was discovered in the rear or south wall of this building during demolition work in 1967-8 (Fig. 11, Pl. 5). The arch is clearly part of the Holy Trinity Priory church, the remains of which mostly underlie Mitre Street. A careful examination of the south and east walls of the modern building showed traces of a medieval stone core behind the recent brick facing. The arch is partly obscured, but is 12 ft. 6 ins. high, and probably 12 ft. wide, with its base just above modern ground level. The surviving medieval wall is shown as two thick black lines on the accompanying plan (fig. 11). It seems to be part of the south wall of the chancel of the Priory church which is shown on the well-known plan of the Priory drawn by J. Symons in 1592. In the south wall Symons shows an opening leading into a small chamber, possibly a chapel, and it seems likely that the arch discovered in Mitre Street is that opening.

Site 6. *1-2 Aldgate (1967)*

The site lies at the east corner of Aldgate High Street and Dukes Place and was formerly occupied by a Post Office (see fig. 11). Now, however, it lies under the widened High Street, and the remains of the actual gateway are inaccessible. The archaeological investigation was carried out during the interval between demolition and road construction with permission from the City Engineer; and the Improvements Committee of the City Corporation generously financed the excavation.

## ROMAN

Although the foundations of four successive gates and three defensive ditches were found (fig. 12), it was impossible to relate them precisely to the city wall which underlies Dukes Place (fig. 11). The proximity of the wall, however, is indicated by the modern backfill of Roman masonry around the foundations of the basement alcoves under the pavement of Dukes Place (see Pl. 6), and it seems that the outer face of the Roman city wall was cut away when the alcoves were built.

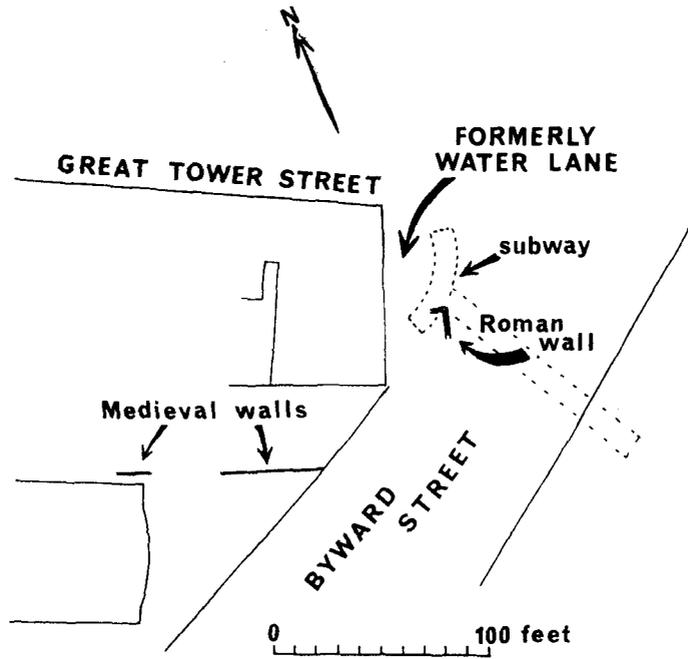


Fig. 10 Roman and Medieval Walls in Byward Street

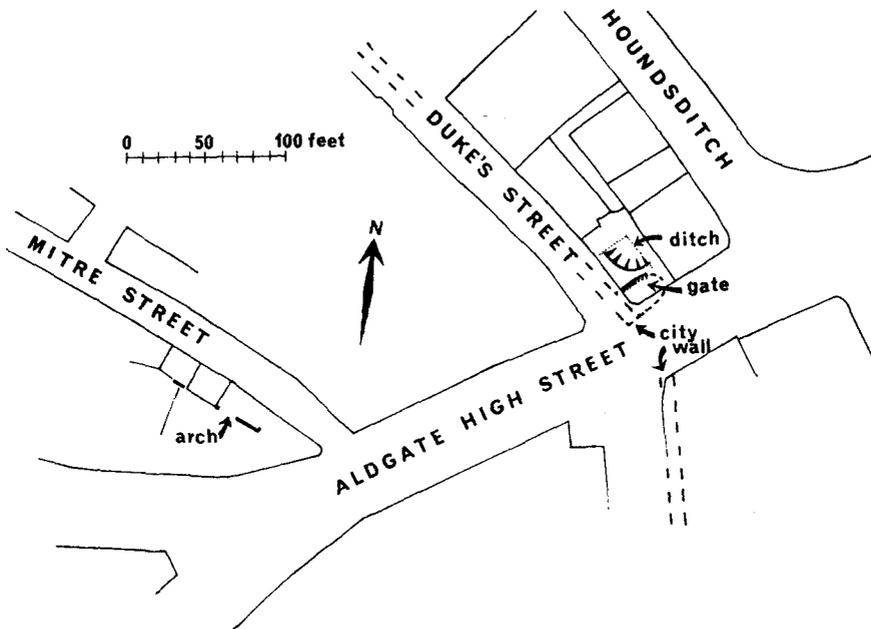


Fig. 11 Medieval Aldgate, and part of Holy Trinity Priory

The natural subsoil on the site was brickearth approximately at the same level as the modern basement floor. Three Roman rubbish pits were found in the berm between the Roman city wall and the Roman defensive ditch (fig. 13). Pit 1 contained pottery of the late 3rd century (E.R. 1268); pit 2 contained pottery mostly of the Flavian period but there were four sherds of the second half of the 2nd century (E.R. 1269); and pit 3 contained a few Roman sherds possibly of the first century (E.R. 1270).

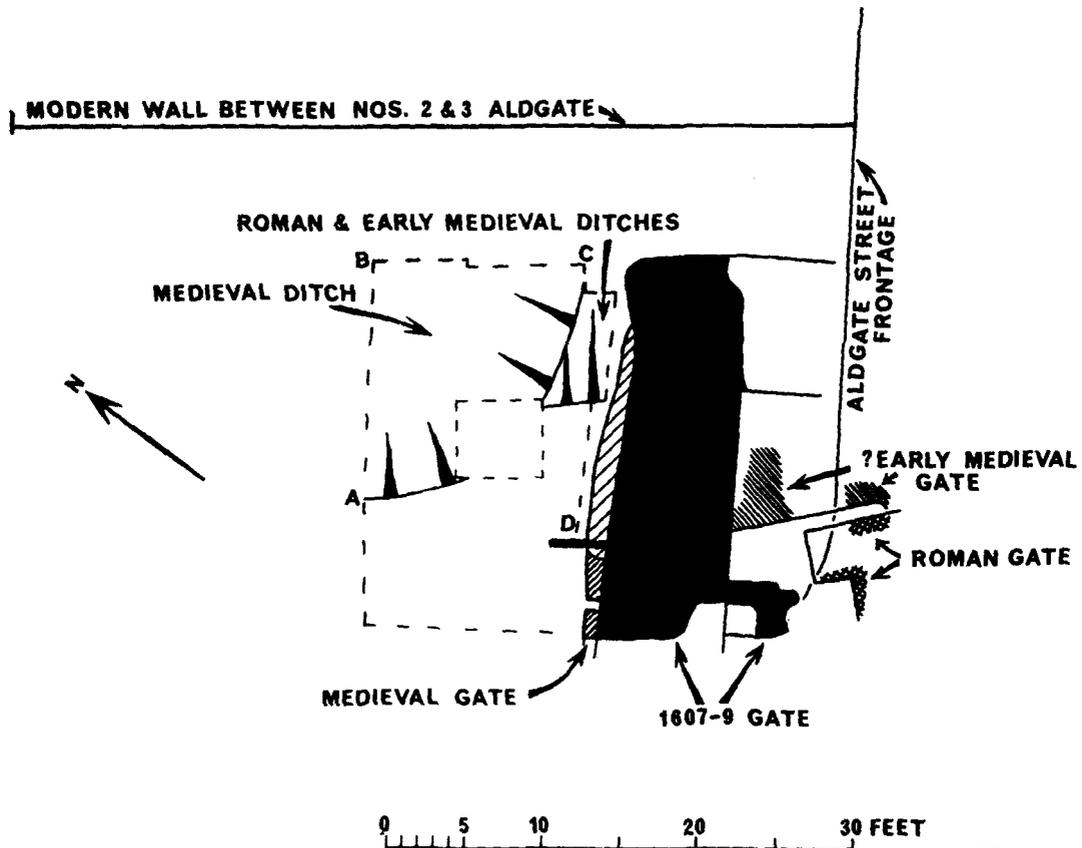


Fig. 12 Aldgate, succession of Gates and Defensive Ditches

#### GATE

The north-east corner of the north tower of the Roman Aldgate was found in alcoves beneath the pavement of Aldgate High Street. Only the foundation of flints, freshly quarried from chalk, set in puddled clay survived beneath the modern basement floor, and these had been badly disturbed by modern foundations. Enough remained, however, to show that there was originally an external buttress on the corner, and that the north tower projected about nine feet from the city wall.

#### DEFENSIVE DITCH

Almost the entire Roman defensive ditch had been destroyed by an early medieval ditch dug on its site, but the sloping west side of the Roman ditch was traced for a length of about 12 ft.

The berm between the city wall and the ditch was about 18 ft. wide, and the ditch itself was at least 7 ft. deep. A few Roman brick fragments were found in the surviving Roman ditch fill, and near the bottom there was a very small sherd of red colour-coated ware of the 4th century (E.R. 1274). As only an inch or two of the Roman ditch fill survived (level 1, section C-D, fig. 14) between the sides of the medieval and Roman ditches this sherd *could* have been trodden into the Roman ditch when the medieval ditch was dug. But if it was *in situ*, then it shows that the Roman ditch was open during the fourth century. The fact that the west side of the early medieval ditch almost exactly followed the side of the Roman ditch suggests that the latter was still visible in some form when the former was dug.

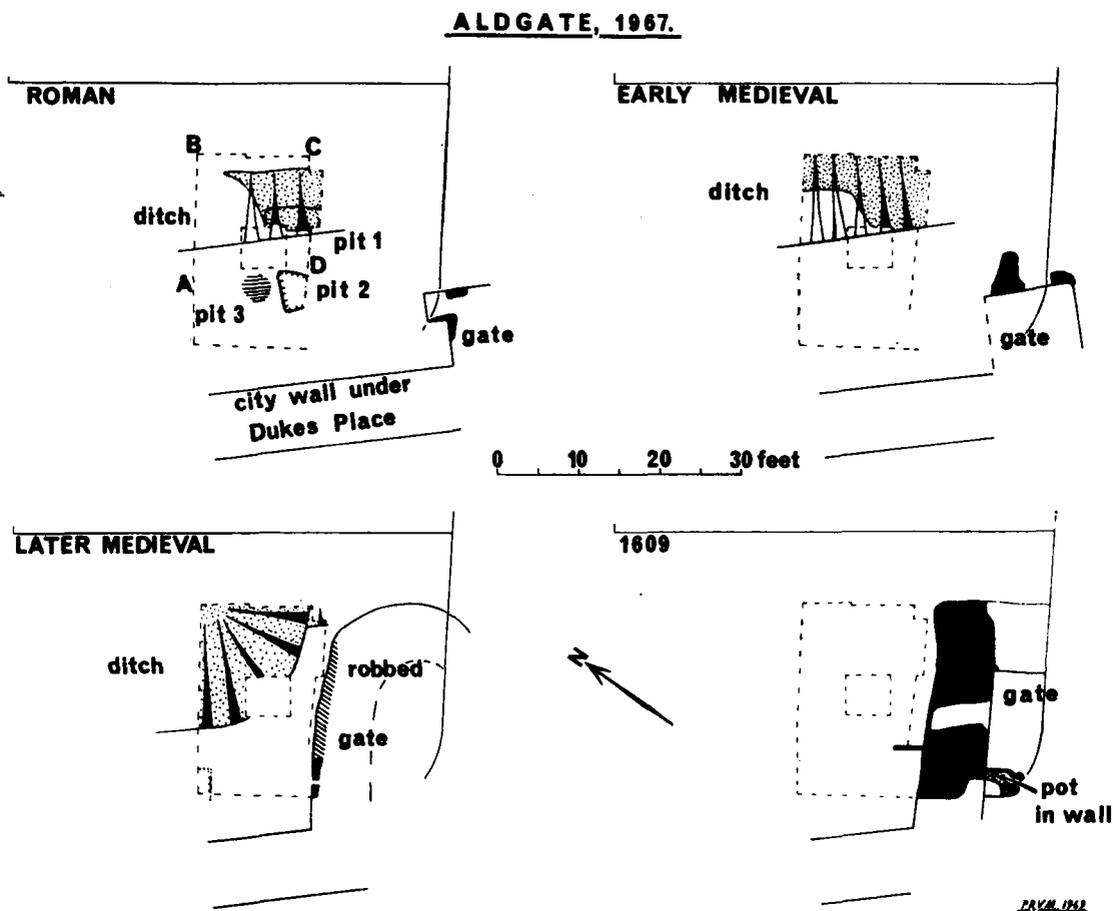


Fig. 13 Four main phases of Aldgate

### MEDIEVAL

#### THE EARLY MEDIEVAL DITCH

The inner even-sloping face of a deep medieval ditch almost exactly coincided with the comparable face of the Roman ditch (Pl. 7). Its bottom was not reached, but the beginning of the rounding-off towards the bottom was detected (fig. 14, section A-B, level 8).

The ditch was almost entirely filled with grey earth, but the bottom was extremely gravelly. Most of the finds in the lower half of the ditch (Fig. 14, section C-D, level 2) were Roman sherds, but there were a few fragments of gritted medieval pottery and pieces of medieval roof tiles (E.R. 1277). The whole of this fill has therefore been dated to the early 13th century. Pottery from the surviving upper part of the ditch (fig. 14, section C-D, level 3) has also been dated to the same period (E.R. 1276), and it is probably significant that no glazed medieval pottery, which became common during the second half of the 13th century, was found in this ditch.

It seems that this ditch was deliberately filled by dumping during the early 13th century, perhaps before the reconstruction of the gate in 1215.<sup>15</sup> The even-sloping side of the ditch and its rounded bottom suggests that it may have been V-shaped in section.

### ? AN EARLY MEDIEVAL ALDGATE

Traces of the foundation of a gate tower possibly contemporary with the early medieval ditch, were found under the foundations of the later gates. It is equally possible, however, that this foundation might have been an internal partition of the later medieval gate described below, and that the gate standing in the early 13th century was built upon the Roman foundations. It was clear, however, that the early 17th century gate had cut into the foundation described here proving that it was earlier than 1607 when the gate was built. It is equally clear that the early 13th century ditch had been filled-in before the later medieval gate was built across its site, and that the gate contemporary with the early medieval ditch must have been smaller than the later medieval gate. Unfortunately, the structural relationship between the later medieval gate and the possibly earlier foundation could not be established.

The remains of the possibly early medieval gate consisted of a foundation of ragstone and mortar, and what seems to have been an internal south-east corner was detected beneath the then pavement line of Aldgate High Street. It is possible that this was the gate referred to by Stow as having been new built in 1108-47.<sup>16</sup>

### THE LATER MEDIEVAL GATEWAY

Traces of a later medieval gate were also found on this site, comprising the mostly robbed foundation of the north side of a bastion-shaped north tower. This had been cut into by the 1607 gateway and consequently very little of its structure had survived. The gate clearly projected across the line of the early medieval ditch, and must therefore post-date the dumping which filled the latter in the early 13th century. This gate tower is shown on a detailed plan of 1592,<sup>17</sup> and it might be the gate described by Stow as having been new built in 1215.<sup>18</sup> The curving north edge of the gate tower was found, and it was confirmed on the site that it did not project eastward beyond the 17th century gate tower. It was presumably robbed about 1607 when the gate was rebuilt, since the north tower of the latest gate was found to contain pieces of shaped stones which had evidently been re-used.

### THE LATER MEDIEVAL DEFENSIVE DITCH

On this site a very large later medieval defensive ditch (Pl. 8) had cut away almost all trace of the earlier ditches, except in front of the gateway itself, where there was evidently a causeway of unexcavated land. The rounded south end of this great ditch occurred immediately north of the gateway, with its bottom not quite as deep as the early medieval ditch.

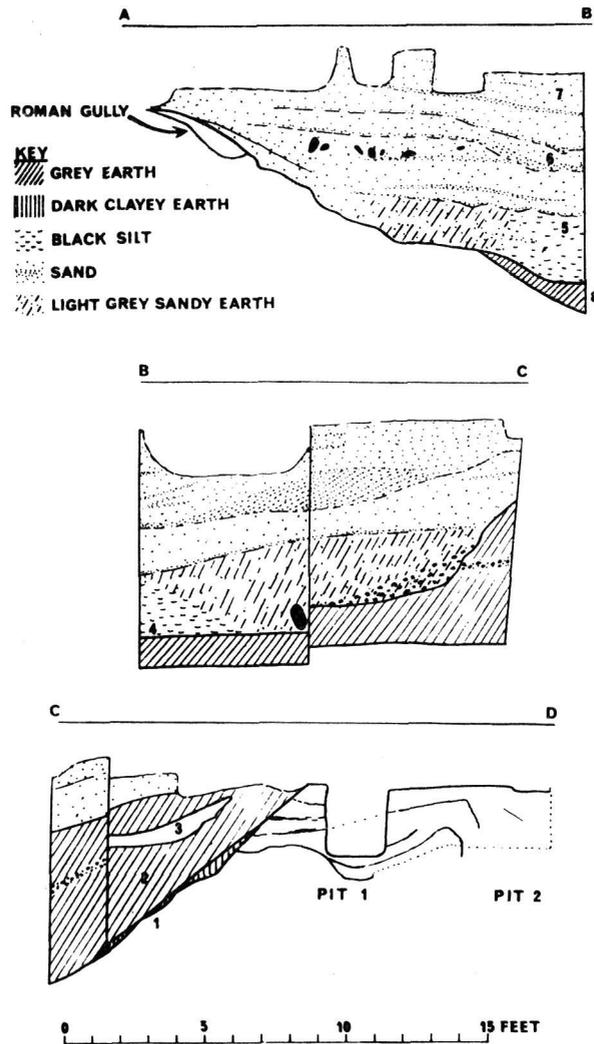


Fig. 14 Sections across Defensive Ditches at Aldgate

Sand deposits just south of the ditch and in the side of the ditch itself gave clear evidence of a northward flowing stream flowing into the ditch. They were a characteristic example of the geological feature of layered sand deposits called 'current bedding', which results from a flowing stream.

Around the west and south sides of the ditch the fill was predominantly sand, but in the corner of the excavation furthest from the sides the ditch fill was mostly fine black clayey silt. A small group of sherds from the pebbly black silt at the bottom of the ditch (fig. 14, section A-B, level 4) has been dated not earlier than the second half of the 13th century (E.R. 1278E). The upper part of the black silt (level 5), which contained the scattered skeletons of several dogs, also contained a sherd of the second half of the 13th century (E.R. 1278D). At a higher

level the black silt was overlaid by sand deposits (level 6) containing sherds of about the middle of the 14th century (E.R. 1278C, B). In the top of the surviving ditch filling (level 7) were sherds of the second half of the 14th century.

This ditch was presumably dug about the time the later medieval gate was built, as it seems to have avoided the north tower of the gateway. As has been suggested above the gate might have been built in A.D. 1215, and it is significant that there is documentary evidence for the City Ditch having been commenced about A.D. 1213.<sup>19</sup> The construction of both the gate and the ditch should therefore be contemporary.

According to documentary evidence the ditch survived till the end of the 16th century when it was filled-in and houses and gardens were built on its site.<sup>20</sup>

The discovery of an unusually large number of dog remains in this ditch gives some confirmation to Stow's suggestion that the ditch was called Houndesditch because it was used as a repository for "much filth (conueyed forth of the citie), especially dead dogges were there layd or cast".<sup>21</sup>

#### THE 1607 GATE

Aldgate was completely rebuilt in 1607-9 with two large towers and a single archway between them; and this was demolished in 1761.<sup>22</sup> The north side of the north tower was found during the excavation, and comprised a foundation of ragstone set in hard buff mortar, which included a scatter of shaped stones that had evidently been re-used from the earlier gate.

The interior of the gate tower was faced with carefully tooled squared stones, and was clearly part of a basement room. The floor inside was natural brickearth, which was overlaid by stone and mortar rubble, presumably derived from the demolition of the gate in 1761.

Also inside the tower, and butting up against its north wall, was a foundation of ragstone and mortar structurally, though not necessarily chronologically, later than the original construction. Set in the mortar of this was a 17th-18th century brown glazed pot (E.R. 1273), perhaps used as a foundation deposit. It had been badly damaged by a modern disturbance, but sufficient remained *in situ* to show that it had not been filled with rubble or concrete when the foundation was built. Presumably it originally had a lid, but no trace of this was found.

#### NOTES

- 1 A. Tylor, *Archaeologia*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 221. These cremations were also indicated on an unpublished plan by H. Hodge in Guildhall Library.
- 2 *London in Roman Times*, published by the London Museum, 1946, p. 67.
- 3 *London Topographical Record*, Vol. XII, (1920), pp. 52-5.
- 4 p. 110.
- 5 *Encyclopedia Classica*, Vol. XII, fig. 251.
- 6 R. Merrifield, *Roman London*, 1965, ch. 5.
- 7 *Ibid*, pp. 132-140.
- 8 *Roman London*, Royal Commission Report, 1928, Pl. 5.
- 9 *Ibid*, p. 115, fig. 35.
- 10 *Trans. L.M.A.S.*, Vol. 21, pt. 3 (1967), p. 209.
- 11 *Encyclopedia Classica*, Societa Editrice Internazionale, 1959, fig. 441.
- 12 Merrifield, *op. cit.* fig. 22.
- 13 *Trans. L.M.A.S.*, Vol. 21, pt. 3 (1967), p. 209.
- 14 *Ibid*, fig. 12.
- 15 H. A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (1918), p. 311.
- 16 *Ibid*, p. 9.
- 17 W. Bell, F. Cottrill, and C. Spon, *London Wall through eighteen centuries*, (1937), fig. 48.
- 18 Harben, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- 19 *Ibid*, p. 311.
- 20 *Ibid*, p. 311.
- 21 J. Stow, *A Survey of London*, C. L. Kingsford, ed. (1908), p. 128.
- 22 Harben, *op. cit.* p. 9.

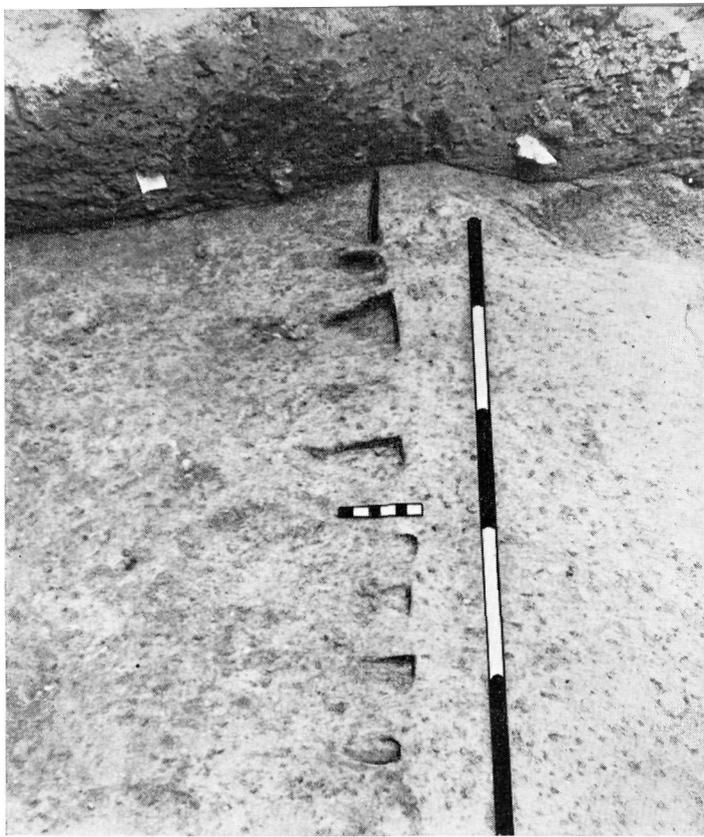


PLATE 2. Warwick Square: Roman spade cuts in the natural brickearth.

PLATE 1. Warwick Square: Cremation burial 1. Scale of inches.



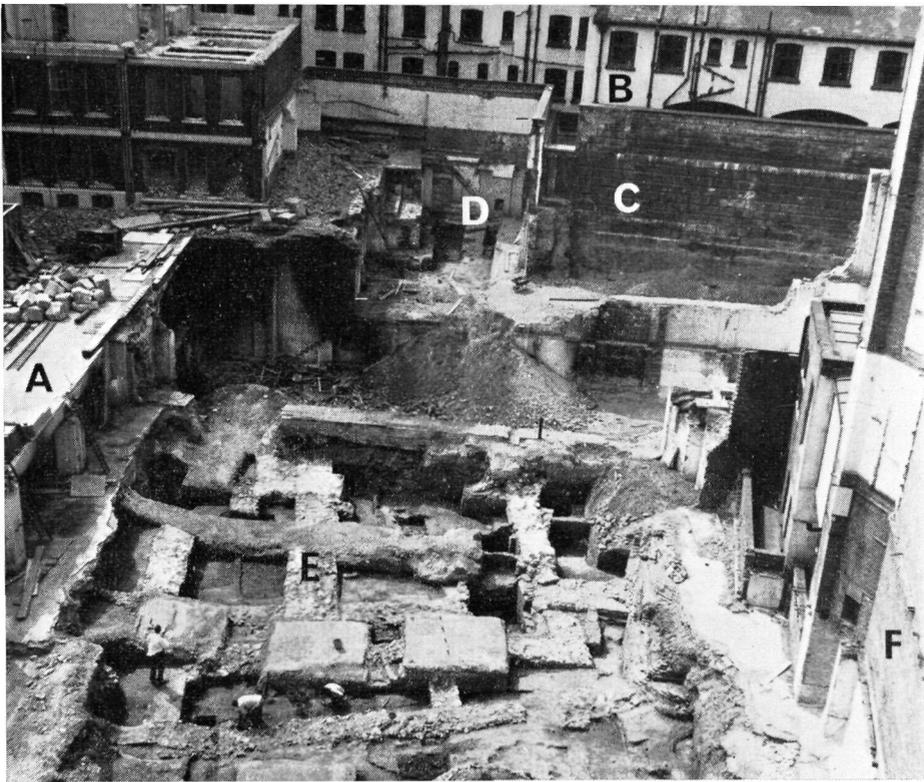


PLATE 3. Central Criminal Court Site, view to the west.  
 A. Warwick Square B. Central Criminal Court C. East wall of Newgate Prison  
 D. Roman city wall E. Foundations of medieval houses F. Cutlers Hall

PLATE 4. Bush Lane: north-south section across pool in Roman palace.

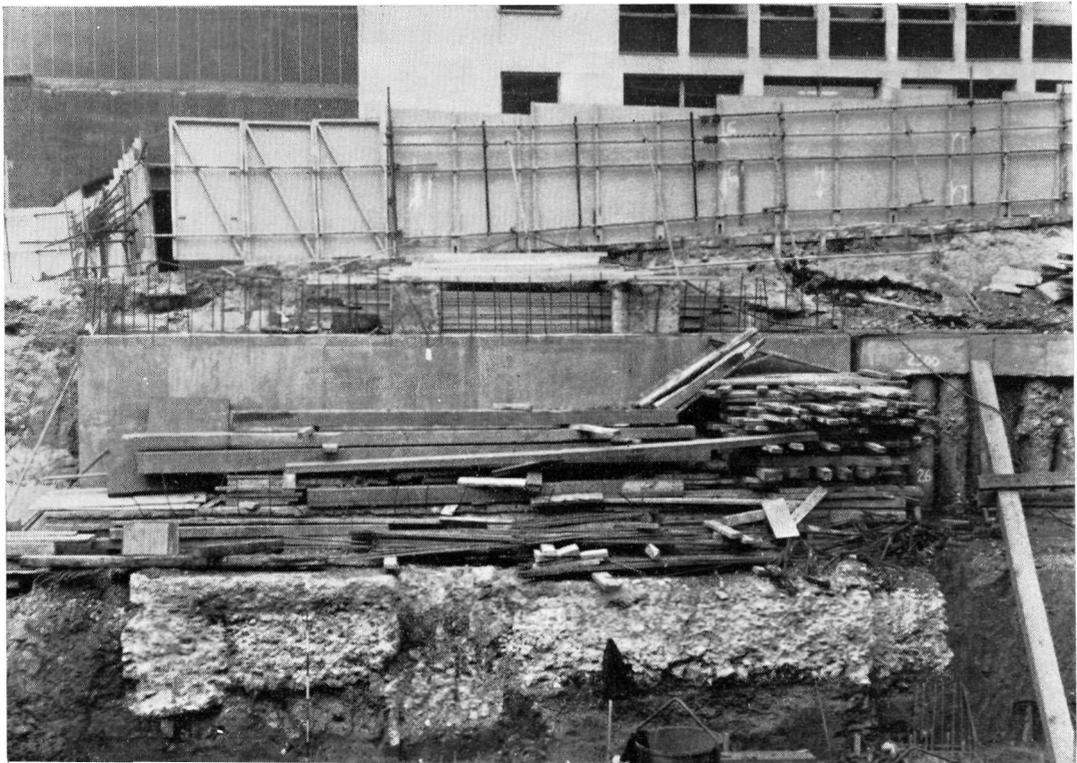
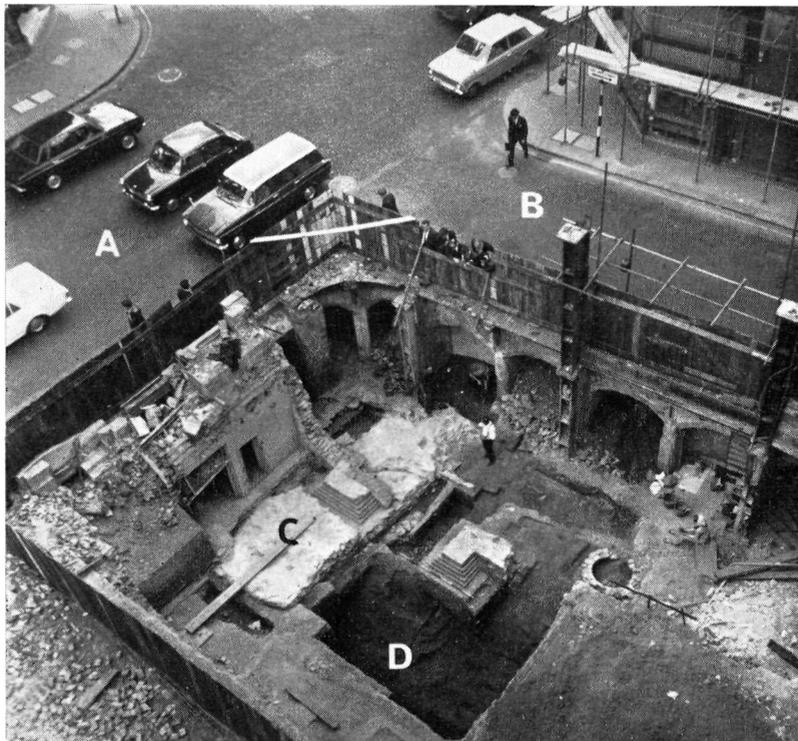




PLATE 5. Arch of Holy Trinity Priory Church, Aldgate.

PLATE 6. Site of Aldgate.

- A. Aldgate High Street
- B. Duke's Place
- C. 17th century gate tower
- D. Medieval city ditch



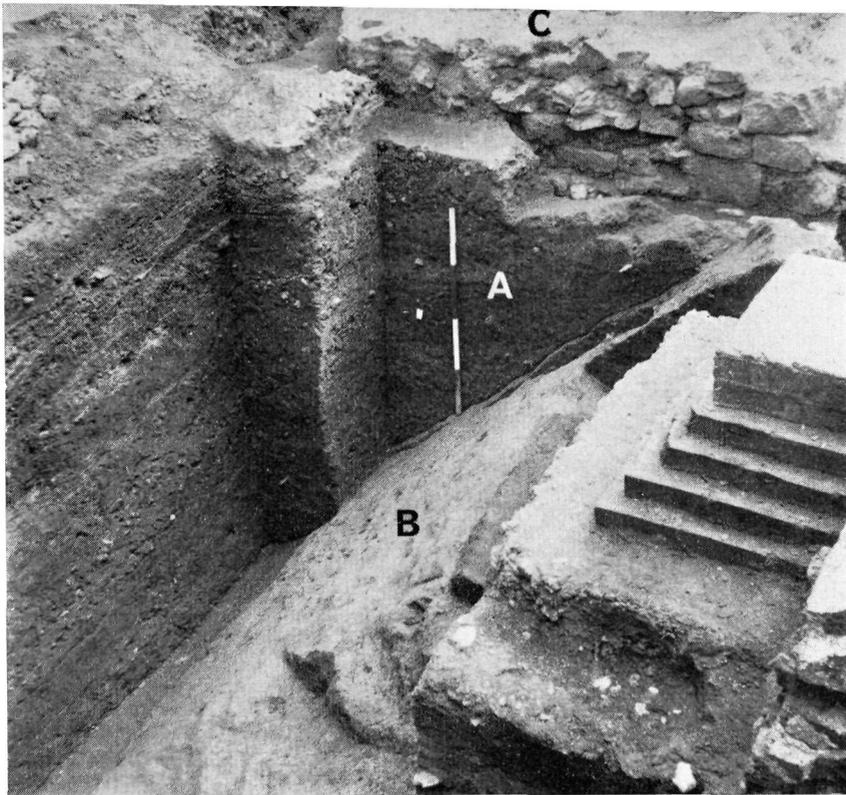
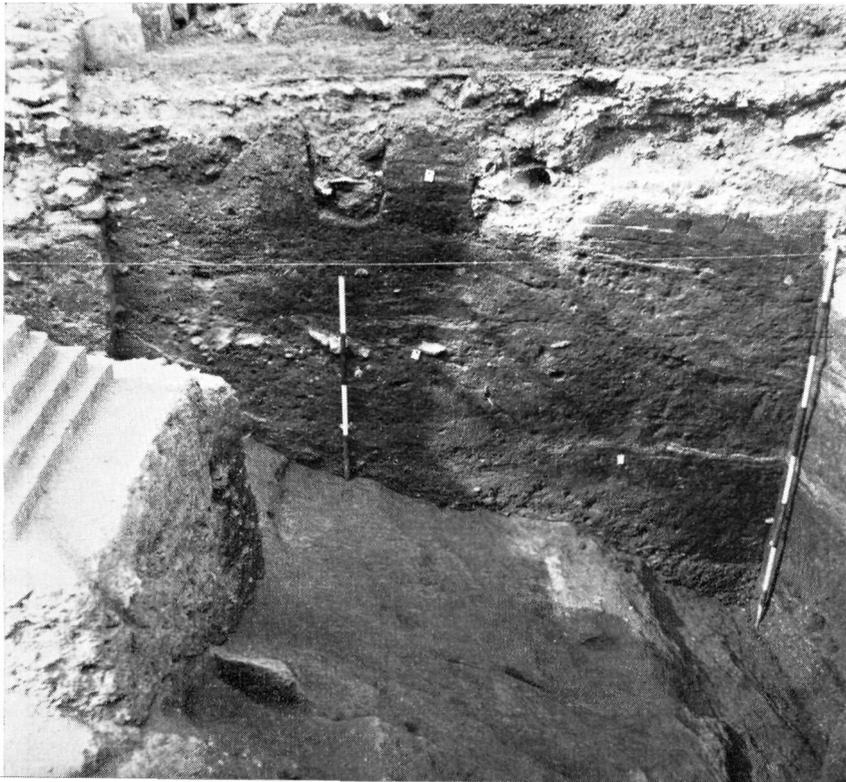


PLATE 7. Aldgate:  
A. Early medieval ditch B. Side of Roman ditch C. 17th century gate

PLATE 8. Aldgate: later medieval ditch, inner side, view looking north-west.



# A ROMAN SITE AT CLAPHAM

BY H. J. M. GREEN, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.

## THE EXCAVATIONS

In the summer of 1966 two boys, David Hudson and Derek Reeve, started excavations in the derelict garden of No. 31, Clapham Common South Side. Their attention had been drawn to the site by the discovery in the vicinity of an apparent Roman lamp, which was found in the garden of No. 33 in 1937 and was presented to the London Museum.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the lamp is a forgery, of a type recently recognised to have been made in the Naples area during the early part of this century.<sup>2</sup>

However, the boys were lucky, for in the course of their excavations (area A, fig. 3) they found a Roman ditch (ditch 2) and other features.

During the winter of 1966 further excavations were undertaken under my direction for the Clapham Antiquarian Society, since the owner intended to demolish the existing buildings (since carried out) and develop the site for a garage and car park. I am grateful to the owner of the site, Mr. K. Smith, for permission to excavate, to Mr. Nicholas Farrant for the loan of tools and to Mr. E. E. F. Smith, Secretary of the Clapham Antiquarian Society, for arranging for insurance and other matters. The Ministry of Public Building and Works kindly offered a grant for backfilling which fortunately did not have to be used. I am indebted to Mr. G. R. Adamson and Mr. G. R. Taylor who successively assisted me in running the excavations, and to members of the Wandsworth and Morley College archaeological classes who carried out the work together with members of various local societies. I am obliged to D. Hudson and D. Reeve who have kindly allowed me to include an account of their discoveries in this report.

An area 18 ft. x 17 ft. was opened up (area B) to the north of the earlier excavations and Roman levels were found at about 4 ft.-5 ft. The considerable depth of overburden and the lack of finds led to various labour difficulties, which together with several serious instances of hooliganism made it clear that any further excavations would have to be continued under rather different arrangements.

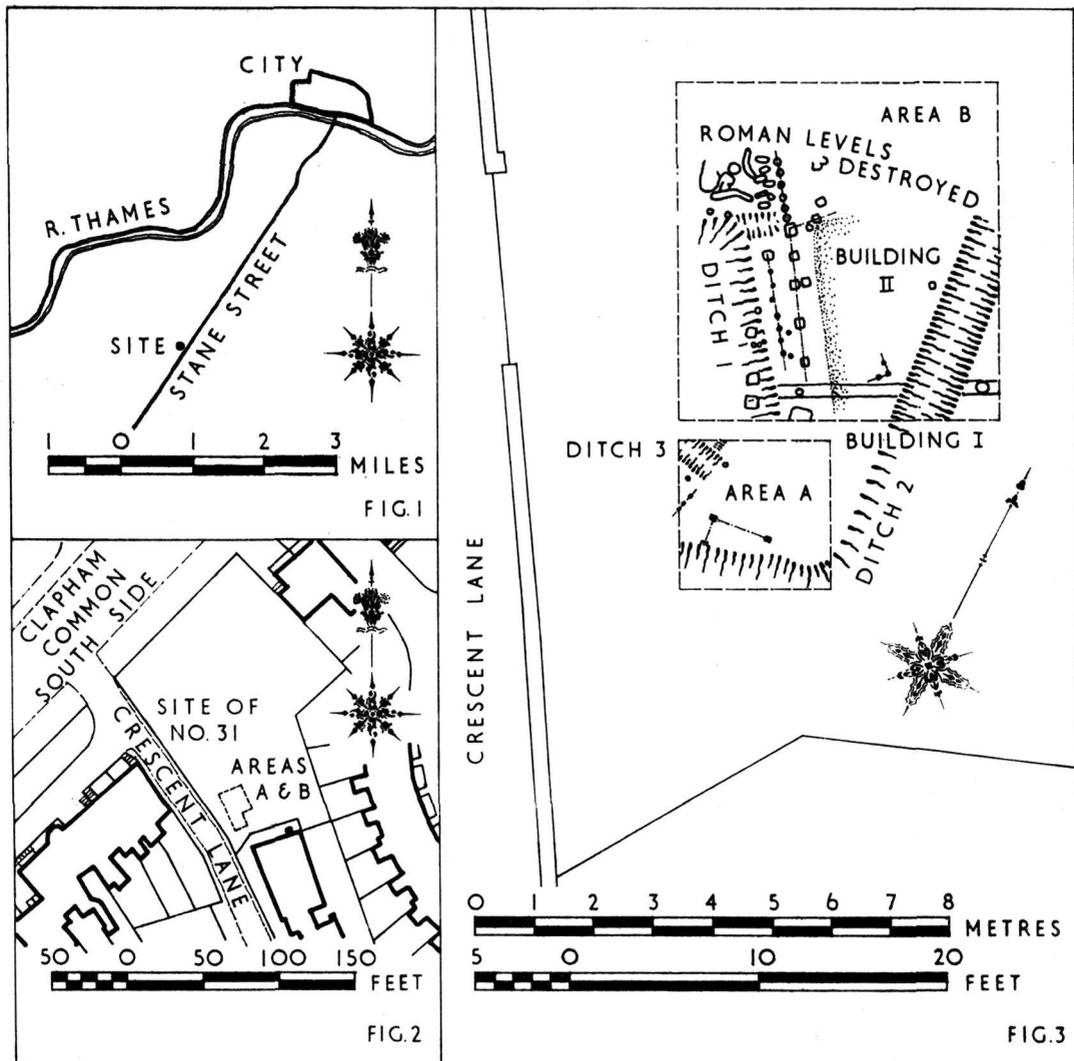
The finds from the site were donated by Mr. K. Smith to the two boys, D. Hudson and D. Reeve.

## THE SITE AND STRUCTURES

The site (map reference TQ. 29347510) lies about 4 miles from London Bridge and some 800 ft. north-west of the course of Stane Street as recently suggested by Mr. Donald Imber<sup>3</sup> (fig. 1). The garden of No. 31, Clapham Common South Side (fig. 2) is situated on London clay close to the edge of the terrace gravels comprising Clapham Common. Ground level is approximately 79 ft. above sea level (O.S. datum).

## ROMAN OCCUPATION

The Roman levels had been seriously disturbed during the early eighteenth century when the ground level appears to have been lowered and the site levelled. In the process the Roman and medieval levels had been completely removed at the north end of area B. Elsewhere only the bottom of post holes and ditches had survived. At least three phases of occupation could be recognised.



Figs. 1-3 Location Maps and Site Plan

*Phase I.* Building I was represented by an 8 in. wide foundation slot or trench running approximately east-west. The slot had a rectangular section with a yellow clay loam filling which contained a sherd of handmade pottery (Appendix I No. 7). A similar sherd was found in ditch 2 (Appendix I No. 8). Both suggest pre-Roman occupation in the vicinity. The 9 in. diameter post hole of one of the main uprights survived at the east end of the slot. The slot had been cut by ditches 1 and 2.

*Phase 2.* The north-west end of a second timber framed structure, building II, was found overlying building I. The west wall consisted of 6 in. square uprights at approximately 2 ft. centres, with a row of 2 in. diameter stakes at 9 in. centres driven in a foot in front of them. Internally there were traces of the beginning of an occupation floor about a foot behind the main posts, although unfortunately the floor did not survive elsewhere. The type of construction represented by these remains is probably that of clay lump walling about 2 ft. wide built up round the structural posts. The outside face of the walling appears to have been reinforced by wattling in a manner which has been noted elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> The return of the north wall was found at the north-west corner of the building, but nearly all its length had been removed by later disturbance. Immediately overlying the natural in the area of building II were fragments of burnt daub and roofing tiles (*tegulae* and *imbrices*).

Continuing the line of the west wall from the north-west corner of building II were the remains of a fence consisting of 4 in. diameter posts at 8 in. centres. A series of oblique post holes indicate that the fence was braced on the western side.

Ditch 1 also probably belongs to phase 2, since it runs parallel with the wall of building II and may have acted as a drainage ditch carrying off water from the eaves. The rounded bottom of the ditch ends close to the northern end of building II and probably ran through area A although it was not recognised at the time. The brown silty-clay-loam silting of the ditch was sterile, although in the very top of the secondary silting was found a fragment of Purbeck marble column (Appendix I No. 5).

*Phase 3.* A third group of structures which appear to be later than the two buildings of phases 1 and 2 are those associated with ditches 2 and 3. Ditch 2 appears to form the south-east corner of an enclosure. Only the silty-clay-loam primary silting survived in area B, and contained nothing. In area A, however, the darker silty-loam secondary silting was found, and contained the only substantial group of finds from the site.

The most striking find is the copper coin of Ptolemy III (Appendix I, No. 1). This curious survival dating from the third century B.C. was probably only of value as bullion by the Roman period. The pottery associated with the coin includes two Romanised Belgic forms (Appendix I, Nos. 3 and 4) which, as a class in south-east England, tend to survive into the later second century. The pie-dish form (Appendix I No. 2) which appears in the London region during the Hadrianic or early Antonine<sup>5</sup> period, suggests an Antonine date for the group as a whole which is supported by the fragment of Samian, form 37 (Appendix I No. 9). With the pottery were found several pieces of Roman building material. Apart from a *tegula*, there were mosaic tesserae (Appendix I No. 10) and a fragment of Purbeck marble wall lining (Appendix I No. 6).

Ditch 3 and associated structures represented by post holes may belong to this phase since they are roughly in alignment with ditch 2. They are certainly later than phase 2 whose ditch 1 they appear to overlie.

#### POST-ROMAN OCCUPATION

Following the levelling of the site during the early eighteenth century the area of the site appears to have been occupied by gardens. This stretch of Clapham Common South Side was already built up by 1745 as indicated on Rocque's map of Outer London. A fine dark brown loam deposit about 1 ft. 6 in. thick represents this phase of the site's life. It contained eighteenth century pottery including many fragments of porcelain.

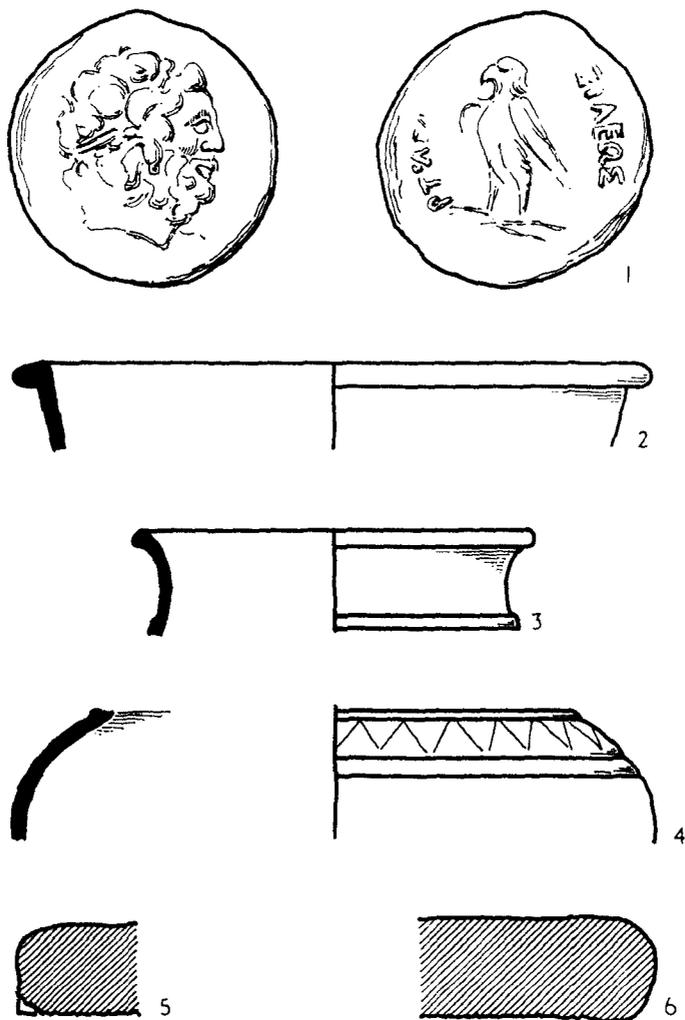


Fig. 4 Finds (I, 1/1 : 2-6,  $\frac{1}{2}$ )

In 1791-2 the former No. 31, Clapham Common South Side was built,<sup>6</sup> and its construction was no doubt responsible for the dumping of about 1 ft. 6 in. of building rubble and dirty gravel over the site. The gravel was probably derived from the basement excavation of No. 31. The final phase of the site's occupation was represented by a series of Victorian rubbish pits and drains cutting through the eighteenth century levels.

## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Apart from pottery suggesting pre-Roman settlement, three or more phases of Roman occupation have been identified, the earliest two of which are represented by timber buildings, and the last by field or yard boundary ditches. All three phases probably belong to the early Roman period as evidenced by Antonine rubbish in the ditch 2 of phase 3.

It is difficult to be certain of the precise nature of the Roman occupation in the small area excavated. The possibility that the timber buildings may be of military origin cannot be ruled out, and the marked cleanness of the associated ditch deposits indicates that the buildings may not have had a long life.

The contents of ditch 2, however, point probably to a different kind of settlement during the second century A.D. The mosaic tesserae and architectural fragment of Purbeck marble indicate the existence of a substantial masonry building in the locality. The wall veneer is particularly interesting since the nearest parallel to it are Purbeck marble linings for the cold bath of the *mansio* baths at Godmanchester.<sup>7</sup> Indeed such architectural features are most unusual on normal villa sites at this period,<sup>8</sup> and their occurrence here probably points to a government, or public establishment, rather than a private residence.

The possibility that the site formed part of a *mansio* during the second century is strengthened by its close relationship with Stane Street and the spacing of other possible *mansio* or *mutatio* sites along the road. Three such sites are known, Hardham, Alfoldean and Ewell, with a possible fourth site at Dorking<sup>9</sup> mid-way between Alfoldean and Ewell. The spacing of these stations from the southernmost at Hardham are 11, 10 and 10 miles respectively. The Clapham site, nearest of the series to London, is just over 9 miles from Ewell.

If a *mansio* does exist it seems likely that it will be found in the area between this site and the line of the Roman road some 800 ft. away to the south-east. The chance of excavation in this area is admittedly rather small, since it is heavily built over, but the gardens of some of the older properties still offer opportunities for exploration before they are in turn developed.

## APPENDIX I

## ROMAN FINDS (FIG. 4)

1. Copper coin of Ptolemy III (247-222 B.C.) in worn condition found in ditch 2, area A. Diameter 1.65 in. *Obv.* Head of Zeus Ammon right. *Rev.* ΠΤΟΛ[ΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙ] ΛΕΩΣ Eagle left on thunderbolt.<sup>10</sup>
2. Pie-dish. Two different vessels from ditch 2, area A. Grey fabric with burnished black surface.
3. Jar with cordon at base of neck, from ditch 2, area A. Grey fabric burnished externally.
4. Shoulder of similar vessel to No. 3, from ditch 2, area A. Grey fabric with cordons on shoulder with zone of burnished chevrons between.
5. Grey Purbeck marble torus moulding from a column, 1.15 in. thick with a polished nosing of approximately 14 in. in diameter. From top of ditch 1.
6. Grey Purbeck marble wall veneer with polished upper surface and bullnose moulding. 1.15 in. thick. From ditch 2, area A.

## NOT ILLUSTRATED

7. Sherd of coarse handmade brown fabric with white stone grit, 0.4 in. thick. From Foundation trench of building I.
8. Sherd of coarse handmade brown fabric, grass tempered with white stone grit, 0.2 in. thick. From ditch 2, area A.
9. Sherd of Samian form 37. Lezouz. Base of wall. Antonine. From ditch 2, area A.
10. Two tesserae, red brick and white chalk respectively,  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. square each. From ditch 2, area A.

## NOTES

- 1 Acc. No. 37.124.
- 2 *Ant.* XXXIII (1959), 218 footnote.
- 3 D. Imber 'Stane Street at Clapham' *The London Archaeologist* (Winter 1968), 12-15.
- 4 I. A. Richmond 'Roman Timber Building' *Studies in Building History*, 23.
- 5 M. R. Hull *Roman Colchester*, pottery form 303.
- 6 Occasional Sheet No. 226, *Clapham Antiquarian Society*.
- 7 H. J. M. Green 'An architectural survey of the Roman baths at Godmanchester' Part I, *A.N.L.* Vol. 6 No. 10 (1959), 225 f.
- 8 S. Frere *Britannia* (1967), 270.
- 9 S. E. Winbolt *Britain under the Romans* (Penguin 1945), 60.
- 10 B.M.C. *Greek Coins*. Egypt, type 108. I am indebted to the staff of the British Museum Department of Coins and Medals for help in identifying this coin.

# DID WREN DESIGN TERRACE HOUSE, BATTERSEA?

## THE STORY OF A NOTION

BY FRANK T. SMALLWOOD, M.A.

Since 1930 many writers have categorically assigned Terrace House (now called Old Battersea House) to Wren. No contemporary documentary evidence is known to exist, and the notion is so recent that it can scarcely be called a tradition. The present article traces the history of the notion, assembles the evidence that has been adduced in support, and presents the *opinions of responsible experts whose judgements are entitled to respect.*

Terrace House is generally presumed to have been built in 1699—the date engraved on the sun-dial on the south front, which appears to be an integral feature of the building. Though there is no documentary evidence in support of their statements, a number of writers since 1894 have claimed with varying degrees of confidence that the house was commissioned by Sir Walter St. John, the 3rd Baronet (1622–1708). Sir Walter was head of the Wiltshire branch of the St. John family and Lord of the Manor of Battersea. He resided in the Battersea Manor House, about a quarter of a mile down-stream from Terrace House, and established in the parish a school that still exists. He was the grandfather of Henry St. John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751).

It would not be surprising if topographical writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—particularly those who were dealing with a big subject such as London or Surrey—omitted to mention an individual house, even though it were pleasantly sited and attractively designed. But if such a building were known, or believed, to have been designed by Wren, such an omission would indeed be surprising. Yet eight classic surveys,<sup>1</sup> ranging in date from 1789 to 1911, do not mention the house.

Late in 1839 Dr. J. P. Kay obtained the use of the premises for the Training Institution for Schoolmasters that he and his colleague E. C. Tufnell conducted for the four years 1840–3. (At the end of 1843 the Institution was transferred to the National Society, and continued, under the name St. John's College, for some eighty years). Consequently at least twelve works<sup>2</sup> mention the Institution, but none of them names Wren.

More surprising still is the absence of any mention of Wren from publications relating particularly to the building. Seven examples are available.

(i) In 1810 the unexpired portion of a ninety-nine-year lease granted in 1774 came on to the market. The auctioneer, ably supported by his printer, waxed eloquent about this 'spacious and comfortable leasehold family mansion . . . most delightfully situate fronting the River Thames . . . ; containing numerous airy cheerful bedchambers & dressing rooms, drawing room, eating room . . . double coach house, stall stabling for seven horses . . .'<sup>3</sup> but with no mention of Wren. If there ever had been a Wren tradition it was dead by 1810.

(ii) Kay's Training College is the subject of three voluminous reports, totalling 223 pages—two by Kay and Tufnell (1841, 1843) and one by the Rev. John Allen, M.A., H.M.I. (1843). The only significant reference to the building<sup>4</sup> is of the briefest. Kay described it—rather inaccurately, for Terrace House was never a manor-house—as 'a spacious manor-house close to the Thames, surrounded by a garden of five acres.' There is no hint of Wren. (A news-

paper paragraph about the Normal School at Battersea, obviously written with inside knowledge, dated 24 June 1843, and preserved at the Minet Library, Lambeth, devotes some forty words to the premises but does not mention Wren).

(iii) By the end of the century St. John's College was in a strongly established position, with many generations of loyal Old Battersea men holding important appointments in education, the Church, and elsewhere. In 1894 some of them decided to form a Freemason's Lodge, with the name 'The Sir Walter St. John Lodge'. (Not that Sir Walter or any member of the St. John family had ever had anything to do with St. John's College. Its name was derived from St. John the Baptist, to whom its chapel was dedicated). In their letter of application to Freemasons' Hall explaining their choice of name they gave a very garbled account of Battersea local history, but did not mention Wren.

(iv) A few years later (1906) Thomas Adkins, a vice-president and former general secretary of the Battersea Club, wrote the history of the College with piety and enthusiasm. Numerous students from all generations and members of staff were consulted, and the building provided the theme for a lyrical passage: '... one of the finest existing specimens of the domestic architecture of the period. Many have been the fine ladies and courtly gentlemen, the statesmen, the poets, the scholars of a bygone age, who have wandered in this garden, entered this spacious hall, climbed that noble staircase or enjoyed the hospitality of these stately rooms' (p. 43). And so on and so forth—the perfect setting for the superlative phrase about the master-architect. But the mention of Wren is simply not there.

(v) In 1873 William Taylor had become Head Master of Sir Walter St. John's School nearby, and a few years later Master of Method in the College. (From its beginnings in 1840 the College had used Sir Walter's School as a practising school). In March 1903 Taylor contributed to *The Gazette* of his Old Boys' Association an article on the School and its history, in the course of which he mentioned 'the fine old house which forms the original part of the Training College', but he did not mention Wren.

(vi) Some twenty years later William Taylor's son, J. G. Taylor, published *Our Lady of Batersey*. He had come to Battersea in 1873 at the age of fifteen months, had attended Sir Walter's School, had been trained in St. John's College, and had succeeded his father in 1907 as Head Master of Sir Walter St. John's. Between them the Taylors—William and John George—had known the College intimately for half a century and had had ample opportunity to learn its traditions. *Our Lady of Batersey* refers to Terrace House in two places. On p. 283 it is 'the old mansion erected on the river-side by Sir Walter St. John in 1699' and on p. 86 it is 'the fine old riverside mansion of brick . . . formerly known as Terrace House'. (Taylor mentions the 'persistent tradition' that it was built by Sir Walter St. John, but that is another story). But there is no mention of Wren.

(vii) In 1925 the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments published its West London Report, describing the house simply as 'a good example of its period' (p. 7).

The next year—1926—saw the beginning of the ascription to Wren. On 13 April *The Times* published a letter from Mr. John Beresford about a plan of some property in St. James' Park surveyed by Sir Christopher Wren in 1677. (The plan was made in connection with an important marriage settlement, for which Sir Walter St. John, being appropriately related to each of the contracting parties, was named as the first of four trustees).<sup>5</sup> A quarter of a century earlier Wren's plan had been reproduced and discussed in the first annual report of the London Topographical Society, but its conceivable relevance to Terrace House had apparently not been noticed.

Three months after the appearance of Mr. Beresford's letter, Dr. Taylor issued Addenda to *Our Lady Batersey*, mentioned the letter, and added, 'It is an interesting speculation whether Wren designed Terrace House at Battersea'. The line of reasoning apparently was: (i) Wren had had this connection with Sir Walter in 1677; (ii) since 1894 people had been supposing, though without documentary evidence, that Sir Walter had had the house built; therefore (iii) Sir Walter might have commissioned Wren to design it in 1699. This, the first known association of Wren's name with Terrace House, is dated July 1926, and remained buried for two-and-a-half years in the Addenda to Taylor's work.

Late in 1928 the freeholders of the College property (the S.P.C.K.) announced that the whole estate was for sale, and public concern about the future of the Principal's house soon expressed itself. *The Times* published a paragraph and two letters (16, 18, 19 January, 1929) with no mention of Wren.

A week later Dr. Taylor contributed a two-column article to *The Battersea Borough News* (25 January 1929). He reviewed the grounds for supposing—in the admitted absence of contemporary documentary evidence—that Sir Walter St. John had commissioned the building; he recalled the fact that Wren had surveyed No. 10 Downing Street 'for Sir Walter' (present writer's italics); observed that the house 'may well have been designed by this great architect, and it has many features in common with his contemporary work at Chelsea Hospital'; and ended with the question, 'What do the architectural experts say to this suggestion?'

Early in 1930 the Battersea Borough Council resolved to buy the freehold, clear the whole site, and erect flats. The threat to Terrace House was critical. No serious attempt to secure the opinions of 'the architectural experts' on the ascription to Wren seems to have been made, but the Borough Council's decision to clear the site led to a public discussion in the course of which the growth of the notion can be most interestingly traced. A writer in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* declared his confidence that the purchasers would do their public duty by 'a very characteristic house in the grand manner of Wren'.<sup>6</sup> For *The Times* (25.4.1930) the house was 'in the Wren style'; for *The Daily Telegraph* (29.4.1930) it was 'said to be the work of Wren'. *The City Press* joined in (29.4.1930) with rather fuller detail and a very damaging admission; the house was 'reputed to be a Wren house, and certainly in the Wren style, although so far every attempt to connect it with the great architect has failed'. According to the Earl Spencer, Lord of the Manor of Battersea, in a letter to *Country Life* (12.7.1930) the house 'is attributed to Sir Christopher Wren'.

Meanwhile (May 1930) a public appeal had been prepared. In it the house was described as 'a typical and beautiful example of the buildings designed by Sir Christopher Wren, to whom it is attributed'. Ten gentlemen, including Percy Lovell, F.S.A., Secretary, London Society; G. K. Menzies, Secretary, Royal Society of Arts; Philip Norman, F.S.A., Chairman, London Survey Committee; and A. R. Powys, Secretary, Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings, associated themselves with the appeal, but their declaration did not commit them to the attribution to Wren. All they said was, 'The undersigned are in sympathy with the efforts which are being made to preserve this interesting building, and earnestly trust they will be successful'.

The London County Council, the Royal Society of Arts, the London Survey Committee, the R.I.B.A., the London Society, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, and other bodies were all active in the matter. Their expressions were equally forthright in urging the preservation of the house and equally non-committal on the attribution to Wren.

For instance, in a letter to the Town Clerk (22.5.1930) the First Commissioner of the then Office of Works urged, with the support of the Ancient Monuments Board of England, 'that every effort should be made to ensure the preservation of this house as a fine example of late 17th century work'. The ten-signatory memorial was presented to the Minister of Health by Col. Sir Kenyon Vaughan-Morgan, O.B.E., M.P. for East Fulham, with his cordial support on 24 June, 1930. (Sir Kenyon and his family had long had close connections with Battersea).

Several months later *The Manchester Guardian* joined in (2.10.1930) with the words 'this charming old house with its fine staircase and wood panelling—which many think was designed by Christopher Wren'. (The reader will note, however, that though the attributors are now 'many' they are still anonymous). In lighter vein a wit had added to the gaiety of nations—and the headaches of historians, for the source has so far eluded discovery—by the comment, 'We hear there is a Wren building in Battersea. We hope no one will disturb the dear little bird'.<sup>7</sup>

But when in November the decision of the Minister of Health to make an order for its preservation became known, the house 'was designed by Wren' (*The Times*, 11, 25, and 27 November) and 'is a Wren building' (*The Times* 23.12.1930). Dr. Taylor's interesting speculation' of July 1926 is by the end of 1930 a four-times-repeated categorical affirmative with the authority of *The Times*, but without the support of any named 'architectural experts'.

Late in November 1930 the Battersea Borough Council sent a deputation to the Minister of Health urging him to reverse his decision. The Minister refused. In December, when the future of Terrace House had thus been secured, the Rev. Dr. G. H. Dix, Principal of the College of S. Mark and S. John, Chelsea, and former Principal of St. John's College, Battersea, introduced Mr. and Mrs. C. G. Stirling to the Borough Council as possible occupiers of the house. An agreement—which is still (1964) in force—was reached by which, *inter alia*, they became tenants for life, and the house was officially re-named Old Battersea House.

Within the next year or so the history of the house was publicly discussed in three places—by Dr. J. G. Taylor in *The Sir Walter St. John's Magazine* for March 1931, by a correspondent in *The Times* (30.12.1931), and by Mrs. Stirling in *Country Life* (7.5.1932). All three writers mentioned in some detail the possibility that Wren was the architect. Their supporting evidence may be assembled and summarized as follows:

- (1) The elevation resembles that of Chelsea Hospital;
- (2) Internal details resemble Wren's work;
- (3) The staircase has been confidently compared with a staircase in the north range of Kensington Palace;
- (4) Sir Walter had employed Wren elsewhere on at least one occasion;
- (5) The sundial bears the same motto as appears on the sundial that Wren presented to All Souls College, Oxford.

The first three evidences would justify such a comment as that made by the Historical Monuments' Commission and quoted above—'a good example of its period'—but little more. Professor Geoffrey Webb pointed out<sup>8</sup> that Inigo Jones had initiated, in the middle of the seventeenth century, a movement to encourage brick building in London, and that Pratt and Wren himself (e.g. at Chelsea) worked in, and helped to establish, a fine tradition. The appropriate comment seems therefore to be that the architect of Terrace House—whoever he may have been—was working within that well-established tradition.

The fourth evidence has already been mentioned, but a few comments may here be added. According to the correspondent of *The Times* (30.12.1931), 'it is also said that Wren advised St. John in [sic] some buildings on his Wiltshire estates,' and according to Mrs. Stirling in *Country Life* (7.5.1932), 'It is likely that Sir Walter would employ one architect rather than two different men in the same year'. But the correspondent adduced no evidence of Wren's hearsay connection with St. John estates in Wiltshire, and no other known writer has even remotely hinted at such connection. Mrs. Stirling evidently confused 1677 and 1699.

Wren's plan of 10 April 1677 has recently been acquired by the British Museum (see note 5) and has been discussed by Mr. P. D. A. Harvey.<sup>9</sup> *Inter alia* Mr. Harvey says, 'It is not an architect's working plan; only the ground floor is shown, and although a scale is given there are no exact measurements on the plan itself . . . clearly the plan . . . was drawn to illustrate and accompany the original letters patent, which probably do not survive'. What Wren did in 1677 is therefore quite clear: he certified, signed, and dated

'A Mapp of the Grounds & Buildings thereon being part of St. James Parke granted by his Majty to Sr Walter St. John & others: . . .'

He signed it in his official capacity as Surveyor General of the Royal Works. The drawing was made in the course of his routine work as a royal official, as evidence of the identity of the property and its relation to adjoining properties. It is by no means certain that Wren and St. John ever met personally on this business. To describe Sir Walter as having 'employed,' or 'been advised by', Wren is therefore not in accordance with the evidence of the 'Mapp', for Wren was serving his royal master—not the Trustees.

It is true that 'Pereunt et imputantur' appears on both the sundial at All Souls, Oxford, and that at Battersea. The All Souls College accounts for 1658 include a payment of £54 for a sundial, and there is a very plausible surmise that Wren had designed it. Wren, who had been a Fellow and the Bursar of All Souls, was at the time more of a mathematician and a scientist than an architect, and the design contrived to show not only the hours, halves, and quarters, but even the minutes. The ingenuity of the device is the main ground of the surmise. But the device is not repeated at Battersea; the extreme plainness of the Battersea design contrasts most strongly with the ornate elaboration of the Oxford design; and the Battersea dial is dated 1699. With all deference, little significance can be attached to the recurrence of Martial's words after an interval of over forty years.

The correspondent of *The Times* (30.12.1931) concluded that 'if Old Battersea House cannot yet definitely be assigned to Wren, there is at least nothing improbable in the ascription'. Later references to the subject have, however, generally been as categorical as those of *The Times* in November 1930, though the Wren Society persevered with its monumental series of twenty volumes (1924-43) with no mention of Battersea or Sir Walter. E. V. Lucas, for instance, mentioned 'this beautiful English residence, built by Sir Christopher Wren in 1699' in a paragraph that contains three clear errors of fact (*The Sunday Times*, 21 May 1933); and Arthur Mee maintained the theme with his own variation of date in the statement, 'The house was built by Wren in 1700'.<sup>10</sup> And all the time Dr. Taylor's pertinent question of 1929—'What do the architectural experts say to this suggestion?'—has remained unanswered.

Four gentlemen have now expressed their unwillingness to accept the ascription to Wren on the basis of the existing evidence, and have consented to the publication of their names and opinions. Sir John Summerson, Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum, has pointed out that 'a house built in Wren's time very readily becomes "a Wren House" just as a house built

100 years later becomes "an Adam House", and a vague typological classification becomes an attribution in no time at all'. Professor Geoffrey Webb, formerly Secretary to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, entirely agreed when he wrote, 'I think you would be quite safe in saying that the evidence of Wren's connection is very slight, and that the attribution is an example of a tendency often found in architectural history to attribute any good quality work to the greatest contemporary name'. The comment of Dr. F. H. W. Sheppard, General Editor of the L.C.C. *Survey of London*, seized on the absence of documentary evidence and the recentness of the tradition—'Were I in your place I should be very sceptical indeed of any ascription of a building to Wren unless it was supported either by documentary evidence or by a very long tradition'. The judgement of Mr. John Harris, of the Drawings Collection, Royal Institute of British Architects, was very forthright. 'I think you can accept without doubt that Wren had absolutely nothing to do with Old Battersea House'.

In one respect the evidence of the late Walter H. Godfrey is most significant, for he had directed the restoration of Terrace House in 1931 for Mr. and Mrs. Stirling. Yet in his rewritten and enlarged *History of Architecture in and around London*, 1962, p. 176, he listed the buildings of Wren's period in two groups—buildings 'attributed to Wren' and 'other buildings'—and Old Battersea House is in his second group.

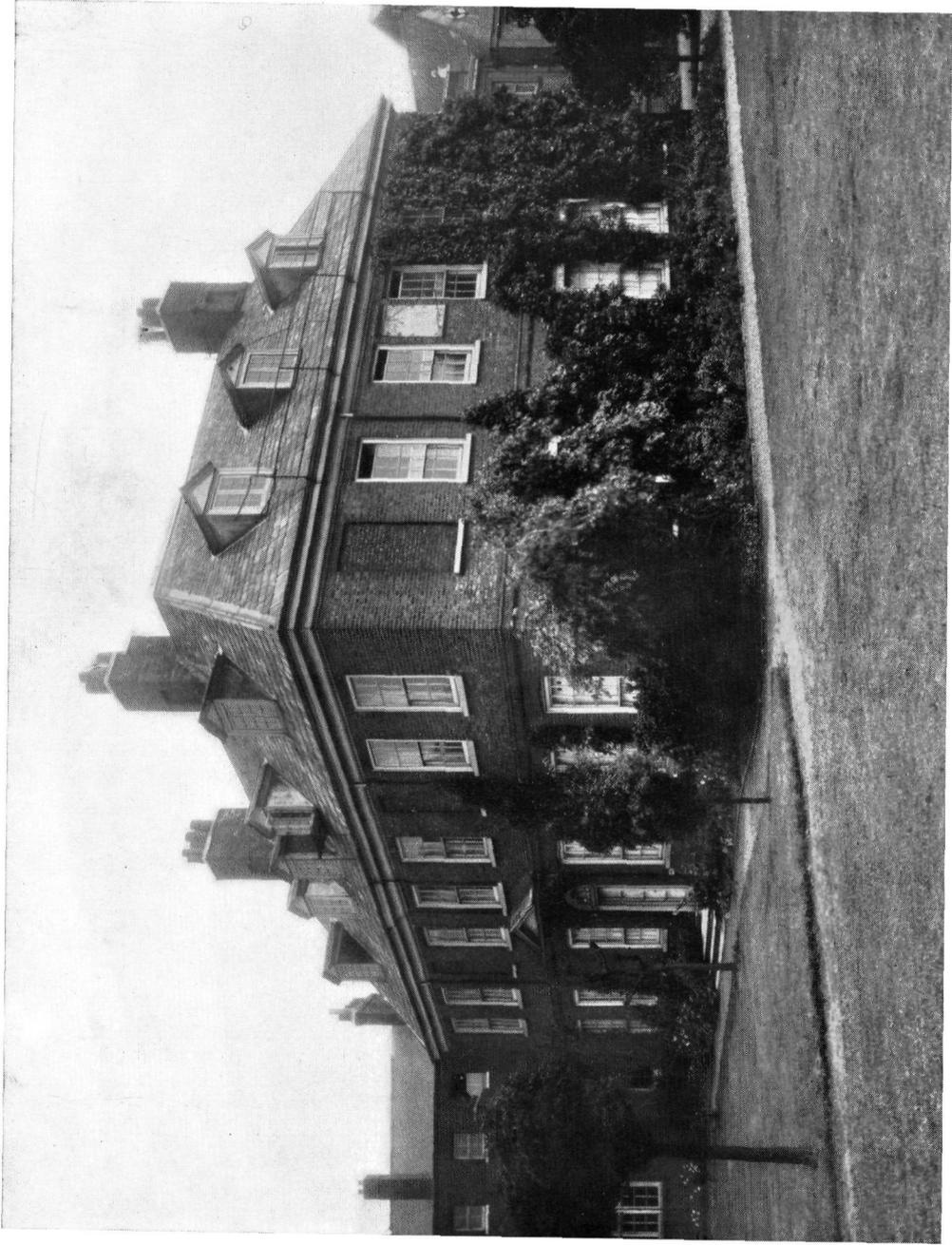
If on the evidence of the 1677 'Mapp', the coincidence of the sundial motto, and certain stylistic resemblances the reader still inclines to believe that Sir Walter St. John commissioned Wren to design the house for him, there remains the difficulty that there is no documentary evidence in support of the notion that Sir Walter had anything to do with the building of the house. But that is another story.<sup>11</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 Camden—*Britannia*, enlarged by Gough, 1789. Lysons—*Environs*, 1791, 1811. Hughson—*London* (Circuit of London), vol. V, 1808. Manning and Bray—*Surrey*, vol. III, 1814. Phillips—*Morning Walk from London to Kew*, 1817. (The descriptions of Battersea had appeared in *The Monthly Magazine* in August 1814). Lewis—*Topographical Dictionary*, 1831. Besant—*South London*, 1899. Godfrey—*History of Architecture in London*, 1911.
- 2 Brayley, Britton, and Brayley—*Surrey*, 1841–8, 1850. Walford—*Old and New London*, vol. VI, c. 1875. H. S. Simmonds—*All About Battersea*, 1879, 1882. *The Royal River*, pub. Cassell, 1885. H. B. Wheatley—*London Past and Present*, 1891. E. Hammond—*Bygone Battersea*, 1897. W. W. Hutchings—*London Town, Past and Present*, 1909. Walter Besant—*London South of the Thames*, 1912. *Victoria County History, Surrey*, vol. IV, 1912. Sherwood Ramsey—*Historic Battersea*, 1913. Ethel A. Woolmer—*The Story of Battersea as told to Children*, 1924. R. C. Hist. Mons.—*West London*, 1925. (The V.C.H. and Ramsey confuse Terrace House with the Battersea Manor House. Hammond alone associates Sir Walter St. John with Terrace House). The foregoing lists could easily be considerably extended.
- 3 House of Lords Record Office—Shaw-Lefevre MS., Sale particulars 1810. Quoted by permission of the Clerk of the Records.
- 4 *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education . . .*, London, Printed by William Clowes and Sons, 1844. First Report by Kay and Tufnell, January 1, 1841, p. 198.
- 5 B. M. Egerton MS. 3765.
- 6 Vol. LXXVIII, 4 April 1930, p. 559.
- 7 Mrs. Stirling (in *The Merry Wives of Battersea*, p. 218) ascribes this to *Punch*, but neither the Librarian of that journal nor the present writer has yet succeeded in locating the comment.
- 8 Geoffrey Webb, *Wren*, London, Duckworth, 1937, p. 94.
- 9 *The British Museum Quarterly*, vol. XXV, Number 3–4, pp. 66–69 and pl. XXVII.
- 10 *London, The King's England*, 1937, p. 785.
- 11 For a history of the house see Smallwood, F. T., *The Story of Terrace House, Battersea* in *The Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. LXIV, 1967, pp. 91–112.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to the gentlemen named in the text the writer acknowledges his special indebtedness to Mr. H. M. Colvin, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, for his help in estimating the true significance of Wren's plan; to Mr. C. M. W. S. Freeman, M.A., Town Clerk of Battersea, Mr. John W. Slark, A.L.A., the Reference Librarian, and Mr. Sidney Rutter, A.L.A., the Borough Archivist, and to the Editor of these *Transactions* for many most acceptable suggestions.



Terrace House, Battersea (now called Old Battersea House)



PLATE I. Roman kiln furnace showing central support A, and a flue B. Scale in feet.

# THE ROMAN POTTERY INDUSTRY OF LONDON

BY PETER MARSDEN

A group of four Roman pottery kilns was found in 1677 during the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral after the Great Fire of 1666 (fig. 1). Until recently these were the main evidence for there having been a pottery producing industry in Roman London. They were found 'in digging ye foundations of ye north east cross part of St. Paul's London' apparently at a depth of 26 ft., amongst gravel pits and loam pits. The kilns were grouped together around a single stokehole (fig. 2B), and are described in a contemporary account by John Conyers as 'made in the sandy loam, in the ground on the fashion of a cross formation and only that left standing (fig. 2A) was 5 foot from top to bottom and better, and as many feet in breadth, had no other matter for its form and building but the outward loam, naturally crusted hardish by the heat burning the loam red, like brick; the floor in the middle supported by, and cut out of, loam, and helped with old-fashioned Roman tyles' shards, but very few, and such as I have seen used for repositories for urns, in the fashion of and like ovens. The kiln was full of the coarser sort of pots, . . . so that few were saved whole, viz., lamps, bottles, urns and dishes'. Drawings of some of these survive and they seem to be of first or second century date.<sup>1</sup>

## NEWGATE AREA

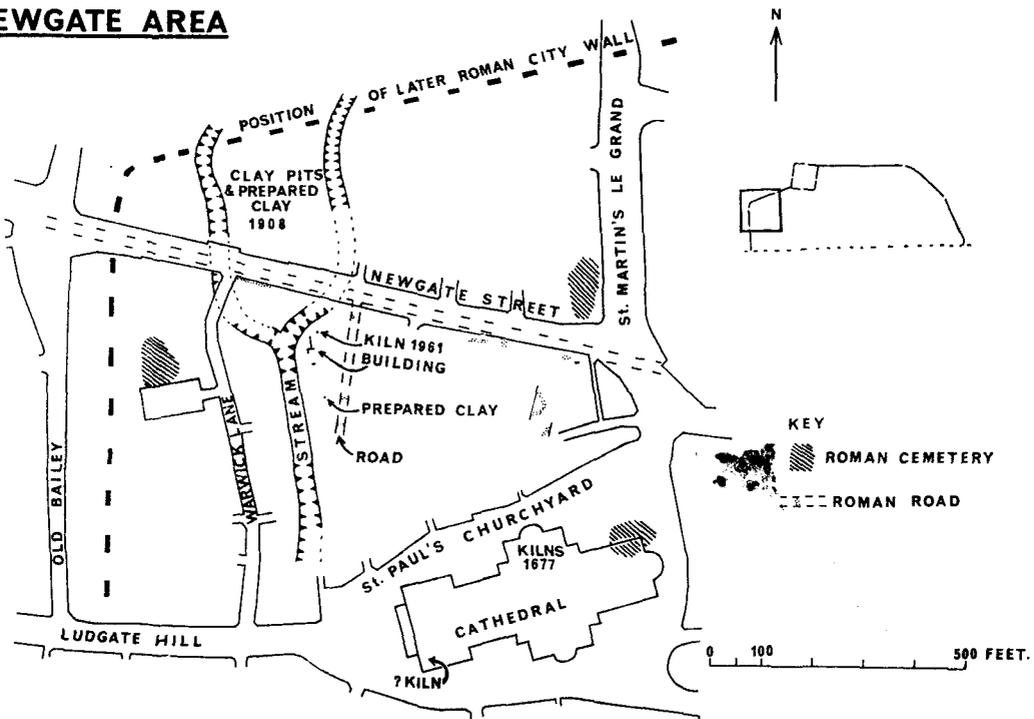


Fig. 1

Roman features in the Newgate area in the late 1st—early 2nd century A.D.

I am grateful to my colleague Mr. John Clark for pointing out that the John Conyers MS. states that the kilns were found in the north-east, and not the north-west part of the cathedral as has been supposed for more than a century in archaeological publications describing the St. Paul's finds. Conyers originally wrote that the kilns were found 'in digging ye foundations of ye north east part of St. Paul's, and later added the word 'cross' after the word 'east' to clarify the location of the kilns. The kilns were clearly found under the north transept of the existing cathedral, and this was sometimes significantly called a 'cross aisle' in other writings about the cathedral. Mr. R. Crayford of the Surveyor's Department at St. Paul's Cathedral helped to confirm the location of the kilns by discovering in the cathedral records that in 1677 the main excavation work for the whole building was being carried out on the north transept, and also that in that year no excavation had been started in the north-west corner of the cathedral, where the kilns are supposed to have been found.

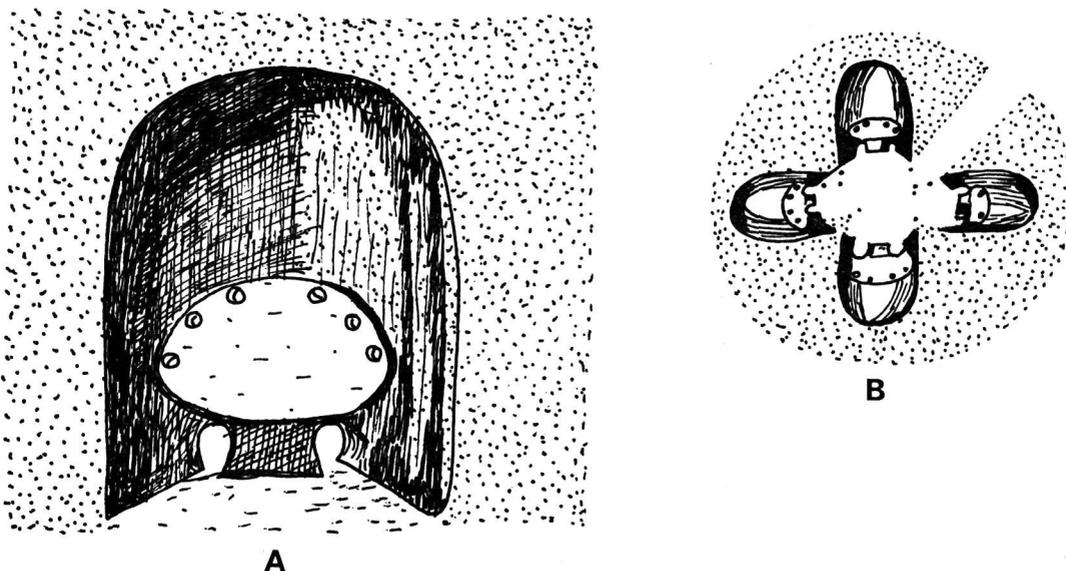


Fig. 2. Kilns found at St. Paul's Cathedral 1672. Sketched copy of original drawing

A further mention to the discovery of a Roman kiln during the construction of St. Paul's Cathedral is given by Strype in his edition of Stow's 'Survey' (book VI, p. 692). He states that 'on the south side of the said west end was found a potter's kiln, the shape of which was circular'.

The flat top of Ludgate Hill where these kilns occurred is capped by a thick deposit of natural brickearth, and flowing in a deep narrow valley southwards through this high ground was a stream which was evidently an important source of water for the Roman pottery industry (fig. 1). During the whole of the first century this area must have been outside the official western limit of the Roman city because parts of it were used as cemeteries. Concentrations of burials marking specific cemeteries have been found at the south end of St. Martin-le-Grand, at the north-east corner of St. Paul's Cathedral, and on the west side of Warwick Lane. In addition a scatter of isolated burials has been found throughout the entire area. Most of them were cremations of late 1st century date.<sup>2</sup>

During the first century several Roman roads were built across this area, the most important of which was the westward continuation of the main east-west street of the city and the start of the main road from Londinium to the south-western part of Britain. The gravel metalling of this lies mainly beneath Newgate Street, but its southern edge was located on the south side of Newgate Street in several places in 1961.<sup>3</sup>

In 1961 a huge site bounded by Newgate Street, Warwick Lane, St. Paul's Churchyard, and Panyer Alley was redeveloped as the Paternoster Development Scheme. A considerable length of the stream valley already mentioned was discovered, and on its east-side a previously unknown Roman road was found, aligned roughly north-east-south-west, and evidently linked to the main Roman road under Newgate Street. It was presumably a minor road as it was only about 12 ft. wide, but its considerable use is indicated by its having been re-metalled many times, resulting in a total surviving thickness of nearly 5 ft. Associated pottery dating evidence shows that it was in use during the late 1st century; that is, at a time when the cemeteries were in use and when this area was clearly outside the official western limit of the Roman city. Also significant is the fact that it seems not to have been built as part of a grid system of streets, for it did not lie at a right angle to the main road under Newgate Street. Instead its alignment seems to have been determined by the stream which lay a few yards to the west. In view of the evidence for a pottery industry closely associated with this stream, it appears that this Roman road was almost certainly a service road for the kilns and associated buildings which, as will be shown, were evidently scattered along the stream during the late first century.

Apart from the kilns recognised on the site of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1677, the evidence for a pottery producing industry in this area is extremely limited, since all the archaeological investigations were carried out during rebuilding operations. This was especially so in 1961 on the Paternoster Development site where several mechanical excavators were in operation loading their spoil into an ever present queue of lorries. Not only did the huge area being excavated limit the extent of the archaeological investigations, but also the speed at which clearance was carried out meant that such inconspicuous structures as kilns were not easily recognisable. Luck therefore played a considerable part in what could be examined, and the recorded features must be used as a rough guide to what probably existed in those areas which could not be investigated.

Between the two branches of the stream, on the General Post Office site north of Newgate Street, the rebuilding excavations of 1908-9 exposed uncertain evidence of the Roman pottery industry. Several Roman pits were found which were thought to have been dug for clay; and one pit had clearly been used as a potter's store for 'prepared clay'.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately the published report on these excavations does not include a description of the prepared clay. In places the surface of the natural brick-earth had been burnt red; and at one point a horizontal hole was seen in section filled with wood ash and was thought to have been a flue. The evidence is very inconclusive, but considered with the information recovered in 1961 on the Paternoster Development site on the south side of Newgate Street, it does become more significant than at first appears.

In 1961 on the Paternoster Development site a number of sections through the Roman strata did occasionally show significant thin layers of fine pure white clay. These were only noted in the vicinity of the north-south road and on the east side of the stream. The deposits were limited in extent and were not naturally formed. The writer, who has investigated many London sites, has never seen similar deposits elsewhere in London, and there seems

little doubt that they were of specially prepared potters' clay for the local kilns. Whenever seen the white clay deposits occurred well down in the Roman-made ground and were probably of first century date. One white clay deposit found 30 ft. west of the Roman road was firmly dated by associated pottery to the late 1st century A.D.<sup>5</sup> (fig. 1).

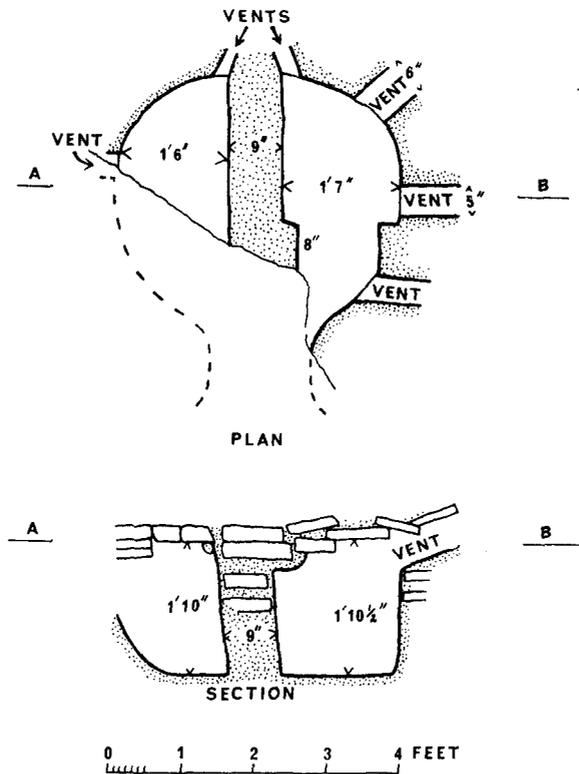


Fig. 3. Kiln found in 1961

Fortunately, however, one pottery kiln was found in 1961 which seems to confirm the suggestions described above. Only the furnace and the oven floor survived in the side of a deep excavation, but its characteristic form leaves no doubt about its identification. At the time it was discovered it was thought to be the stoke-hole for an undiscovered hypocaust in a nearby Roman stone building, but now that the excavation is completed there has been time to study the information and correct this wrong interpretation.<sup>6</sup>

The kiln (fig. 3, plate 1) furnace was nearly 4 ft. in diameter and 1 ft. 10 in. high. It had been dug into the natural brickearth, and had been lined inside by wet clay smeared on by hand for the finger smears could be clearly seen. The intense heat generated when the kiln was in use had burnt the clay and the natural brickearth hard and red. The overlying floor of the oven was obviously permanent as it was built of soft baked clay bricks, and this was supported on a central wall, 9 in. thick, of bricks set in burnt clay dividing this furnace in half.

The kiln was of the updraught type,<sup>7</sup> and the oven floor was pierced around the edges by a series of vents through which hot gasses passed from the furnace into the oven above where the pots were fired. No sign of any other vents in the oven floor was noted, indicating that this kiln probably did not conform to the normal form. The side vents must have given an unequal distribution of heat in the oven.

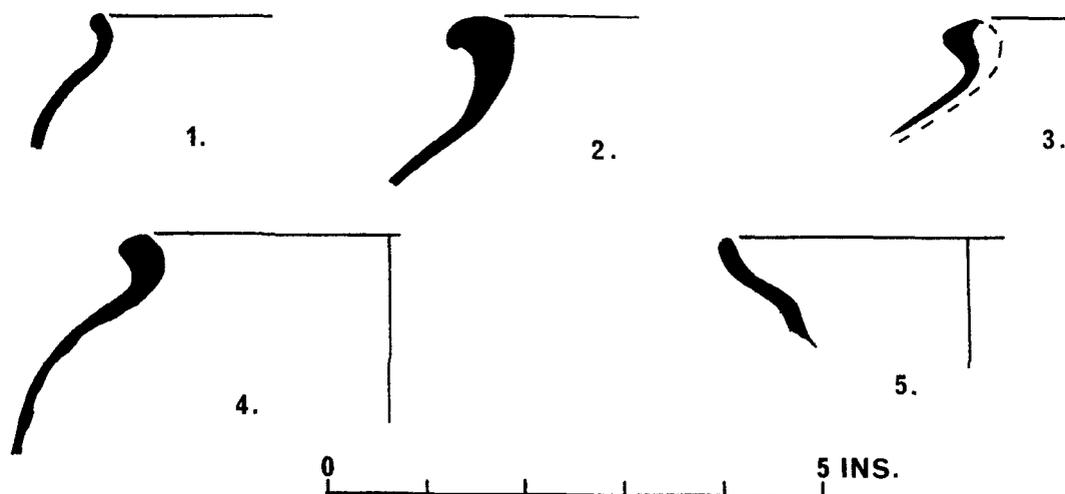


Fig. 4. Coarse Pottery found in the Kiln

Fig. 4. No. 1.

Rim of jar. Hard whitish-grey ware with a darker grey surface.

No. 2.

Rim of a large jar. Softish grey sandy ware.

No. 3.

Rim of jar. Soft grey slightly sandy ware.

No. 4.

Rim of jar. Hard pink-brown sandy ware with a brownish grey surface. This vessel appears to have been a potter's 'second', as a hole  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. diameter in the side of the pot had been plugged with white clay which has also been smeared over the sides of the pot around the hole. Adhering to the outer surface of the pot are portions of brown baked clay probably from the lining of the kiln.

No. 5.

Cupped neck of jug (?). Hard white ware with dark grey outer surface. Similar fabric to No. 1.

Unfortunately the stokehole and the oven had not survived modern disturbances, and no obvious wasters were found. When found the furnace was empty, except for a shallow layer of wood ash containing a quantity of unburnt animal bones, and a quantity of broken pottery dateable to the late first or early second century. The date of the kiln therefore agrees well with the other dating evidence for the Roman pottery industry in this area. There was no obvious clue to the kind of product made here, but the type of kiln was normally used elsewhere in Britain for firing pottery rather than tiles. Most of the sherds found in the furnace were of a similar sandy coarse ware fabric suggesting that they were broken examples of pots produced in this area.

## FINDS FROM THE KILN FURNACE (FIG. 4)

Fifty-nine pottery sherds were found inside the furnace together with a number of unburnt animal bones, one of which was the skull of a dog, and a few fragments of grey burnt clay probably from the roof of the oven. One fragment of the oven roof has the impressions of wattle or finger smears on one side, and the impressions of grass or straw on the other side.

The sherds represent at least ten pots, and they are mostly of a white or grey ware, usually with a sandy texture. Only one Samian ware sherd was found, and this is probably the rim of a Drag. form 38 or 45 of early 2nd century Lezoux fabric. This sherd was not burnt showing that it had arrived at its find spot after the kiln had been abandoned. Nearly all the grey coarse ware types are represented in the accompanying drawing (fig. 4), but there were also two sherds of pink ware.

## NOTES

- 1 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: 'Roman London' (1928), p. 140. Quotation from MS. of John Conyers (Brit. Mus. Sloane MS. 958, f. 105). A photograph of the MS. is published by P. Corder, in *Archaeological Journal* vol. 114 (1957), Pl. 2B; and in *Proc. Society of Antiquaries*, 1913-14, 2nd series, vol. 26, p. 225, fig. 4.
- 2 R.C.H.M., 'Roman London' (1928), p. 153-6 for details of Roman burials.
- 3 R. Merrifield, 'The Roman City of London' (1965), p. 192-3 for details of this Roman road.
- 4 *Archaeologia*, vol. 63, p. 282-6.
- 5 Guildhall Museum Excavation Register 709.
- 6 The kiln is incorrectly described as a stokehole on a site plan published in *J.R.S.*, vol. 53 (1963), fig. 21; *Trans. Lond. Middx. Arch. Soc.*, vol. 21, pt. 2 (1965), p. 137; and R. Merrifield, 'The Roman City of London' (1965), fig. 20.
- 7 P. Corder, 'The Structure of Romano-British pottery kilns', in *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 114 (1957), p. 10-27.



PLATE 1 a-d : London. Bronze mounting in form of male head.  
*Photos: Department of Illustration, University of Sydney.*

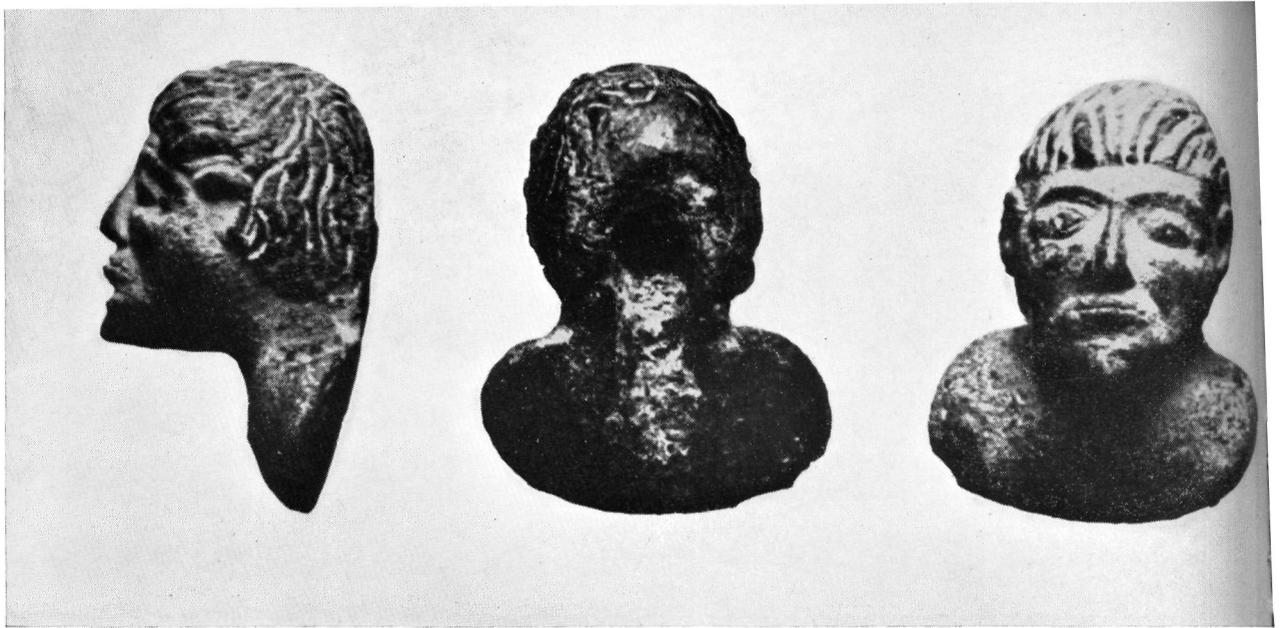
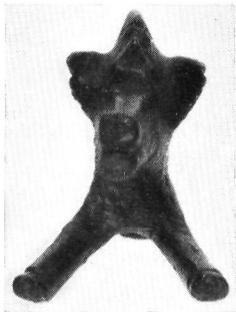


PLATE 2 Brough on Humber, East Yorkshire. Scale:  $\frac{2}{7}$  (after *Antiq.J.* XVIII).

PLATE 3 *a-c* : London. Bronze Boar's head attachment. *Photos: R. K. Harding, Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney.*  
*d-f* Eastcheap, London. Bronze boar's head attachment. *Photos: London Museum.*



## TWO NATIVE BRONZES OF THE ROMAN PERIOD FROM LONDON IN THE NICHOLSON MUSEUM, SYDNEY

BY J. V. S. MEGAW, M.A., F.S.A.

Amongst the varied collection of Old World antiquities donated in 1860 by Sir Charles Nicholson, Bt., to form the nucleus of the Museum of Antiquities of the University of Sydney—now generally known as the 'Nicholson'<sup>1</sup>—are two small bronzes (Pls. I and III, *a-c*). Although the earliest published catalogue of the Nicholson Museum is brief to the point of uselessness on these bronzes,<sup>2</sup> both objects appear to have been obtained in London with a miscellaneous lot of Roman and post-Roman date and are recorded as having been found in the City. Both bronzes seem best to be regarded as provincial or indeed Romano-British in manufacture and fairly close parallels can be cited from well-authenticated British locations.

The human head, which in its present state is some 25 mm. high, is a bronze casting; considerable wear has made it impossible to judge the degree of post-casting finishing although in view of the general crudity of the modelling this does not seem likely to have been great. The piece is clearly now incomplete, having apparently snapped off below the shoulders along the line of two fixing holes, one of which is visible in the rear view here published (Pl. I, *c*); just above the break, diagonal lines indicate some sort of a tunic. The little male bust—clearly not 'female' as stated by Reeve in his catalogue entry—calls to mind one of the bucket escutcheons from Brough on Humber (*Petuaria*) first published some thirty years ago (Pl. II).<sup>3</sup> The Brough head which, as Professor Toynbee has recently remarked, exhibits many of the traditional Celtic facial traits while being largely classical in its inspiration,<sup>4</sup> shares with the Nicholson head a straight fringed and carefully combed coiffure and a downward slant to the mouth—the hair particularly recalls Julio—Claudian work; notwithstanding, the Brough head, with its beard, heavy brow ridges and more definitely 'stranded' hair, also recalls the native coinage portraits of Cunobelin.<sup>5</sup> For the same stylization in a later context one may compare the stone head, now lost, from the Roman fort at Hulme, Manchester,<sup>6</sup> while other native but probably imported pieces which exhibit something of the same mixture of 'classicizing' of later Celtic art are two anthropoid sword hilts, one of Hawkes' Class F from a burial at North Grimston, Yorks, and one of the succeeding Class G ('about 100 B.C.' and after) from Ballyshannon Bay, Co. Donegal.<sup>7</sup> In contrast, the Nicholson piece has less of the characteristic lentoid eyes of Celtic iconography than the Brough head but the disproportionately large eyes and the emphasised lids can also be seen in a cruder and even more clearly native piece, the bronze bust of a Celtic goddess from Cirencester probably of at least third century date;<sup>8</sup> the Cirencester goddess also shares with the Nicholson bronze a broad nose. The only other bronzes from Britain even partially comparable are the two very similar figures of roped and seated captives—from their form presumably once more vessel attachments—found, respectively, at Brougham, Westmorland, and London. Although these are clearly the work of a craftsman inferior in skill to the maker of either the Nicholson or Brough heads, they continue the traditional representation of the clean-shaven Celt.<sup>9</sup> The slit mouth, button eyes, and conjoined nose and brow ridge of the Westmorland piece follows the style of the head on the foot of a fibula from the Late La Tène cemetery of Giubiasco, Ct. Ticino, where the head in fact is a Celticized provincial silen as seen on the imported provincial Roman jug from Stanfordsbury, Beds.<sup>10</sup>

Though a quick search for comparable material amongst the rich and diverse small bronzes found in Gallo-Roman contexts does not reveal anything immediately recalling the Nicholson head, it is of course easy to point to instances of a similar slight 'barbarizing' of well-established provincial Roman patterns.<sup>11</sup> In short, the Nicholson bronze, no less than its closest stylistic parallel, the Brough mount, even if not of proven provenance, is clearly in keeping with the mixed traditions which characterise so much of the art of the British Isles in the first centuries of the Roman occupation. Its putative use as a mounting—possibly for a bucket or vat—would continue a tradition first established in Britain by the strangely helmeted heads of the Aylesford bucket.<sup>12</sup>

The boar's head mount in the Nicholson Museum (Pl. III, *a-c*) once more is an object which, though it must be of comparatively late date, is wholly native in feeling. The head is again a casting and measures 35 mm. from the tip of the snout to the tail-like rear projection. There are signs of filing at several points, particularly in the area between the snout and the fore-legs. A most striking resemblance between this piece and a bronze of much the same size in the London Museum, recorded as having been found in the City in Eastcheap, will be clear from the illustrations (Pl. III, *d-f*).<sup>13</sup> The similarity extends even to a lateral and well-worn hold towards the end of the snout. A third boar mount consisting once more of only the frontal part of the animal was found in the Roman occupation levels of Aldborough (*Isurium Brigantum*).<sup>14</sup> The form of these bronzes is such as to suggest their attachment to the rim of a cup or other vessel, the hole being for a suspension ring. As Dr. Ross has noted, the boar is 'the cult animal *par excellence* of the Celts';<sup>15</sup> previously, the present writer, in publishing a first century A.D. bronze bowl with boar's head spout made in south-western Britain and exported to central Poland, has also illustrated the use of the boar as a kind of totemic feature amongst the continental and British Celts.<sup>16</sup>

Stylistically, the form of both the putative London boar mounts is that of the crouching figure from a Romano-British shrine at Findon<sup>17</sup> and the head from the Willingham Fen cult hoard;<sup>18</sup> closer still are the boar representations on the later British coinage of Tasciovanus, Cunobelin, and Epaticcus.<sup>19</sup> Further touches of native, Belgic stylization, particularly in the Eastcheap mount, can be seen when comparison is made with the smaller of the two free-standing boars from the (presumed) Belgic burial at Hounslow.<sup>20</sup> The fantastic elaboration of the dorsal crest on the Nicholson piece likewise calls to mind a free-standing figure, here one of the two bronze sheet boar figures from the Neuvy-en-Sullias sanctuary, another example of the combination of native and classicizing in late Celtic representational art<sup>21</sup>; all these parallels would suggest a date in the first two centuries A.D. for the London mounts.

#### NOTES

- 1 For a brief history of the original Nicholson collection and later additions see J. V. S. Megaw in *Teaching History* 15 (1965), 7-15.
- 2 Edward Reeve, *Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities of the Sydney University* (1870), no. 489—'Bronze Head of an Animal probably that of a boar'; no. 561—'small Bronze Head of a Female'.
- 3 Philip Corder and I. A. Richmond in *Antiq. J.* XVIII (1938), 69 and PL. XXIX=our Pl. II.
- 4 J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans* (1964), 120; see also Anne Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (1967), 94 and fig. 61.
- 5 Toynbee, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, k.
- 6 F. A. Bruton, *The Roman Fort at Manchester* (1909), 34 and Pl. 12; Ross, *op. cit.*, 86 and fig. 54.
- 7 C. F. C. Hawkes in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* XXI (1955), 211-5 and Pl. XXVII, 4-5.
- 8 Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 103-4 and Pl. XXVI.
- 9 Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 120 and PL. XXXII, c-d.

- 10 Giubiasco: W. Kramer in *Germania* 39 (1961), Taf. 42, 1 (= gr. 221); compare also the head at the base of the handle of the bronze flagon from gr. 32: P. Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art* (1944), no. 393(d). Stanfordbury: Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 42 and Pl. III, c: for the Late La Tene 'Kelheim' type see J. Werner in *Bayer. Vorg.* 20 (1954), 46-52.
- 11 Compare E. Esperandieu and H. Roland, 'Bronzes antiques de la Seine Maritime' = XIII *suppl. a Gallia* (1959), nos. 40, 44, and 98 and G. Faider-Feytmans, 'Recueil des Bronzes de Bavai' = VIII *suppl. a Gallia* (1957), nos. 49-50.
- 12 T. G. E. Powell, *Prehistoric Art* (1966), 225 and ill. 226; for dating of the grave see Anne Birchall in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* XXXI (1965), 243-9 and 302. Sir Cyril Fox, *Pattern and Purpose: Early Celtic Art in Britain* (1957), 68 dates the bucket itself to 'c. 50 B.C.'
- 13 Ross, *op. cit.*, 311 and Pl. 79b. The boar was purchased by the Museum as part of the F. G. Hilton Price Collection without further details as to provenance. Hilton Price, who died in 1909, was a well-known City banker, collector and amateur archaeologist. I am grateful to the London Museum and Miss J. K. Macdonald for supplying photographs and information on this piece.
- 14 H. Ecroyd Smith, *Reliquiae Isuriacae* (1852), Pl. 25, fig. 16.
- 15 Ross, *op. cit.*, 308.
- 16 Megaw in *Antiq. J.* XLII (1963), 27-37.
- 17 Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 126 and Pl. XXXII, b.
- 18 Ross, *op. cit.*, Pl. 80, a; see also F. M. Heichelheim in *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* XXXVII (1937), 52-67.
- 19 R. P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (2 ed., 1965), nos. 115, 164, 179, 183, 243, 289, and 299; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, i.
- 20 S. Piggott and G. E. Daniel, *A Picture Book of Ancient British Art* (1951), 24 and fig. 66-67.
- 21 A Varagnac, G. Fabre, and M. Mainjonet, *L'Art gaulois* (1956) 146 and Pls. 47-48 preceding.

# THE BRASSES OF MIDDLESEX

## PART XIII

BY H. K. CAMERON, PH.D., F.S.A.

### HARLINGTON

I. *John Monemouthe, rector, ob. 1419. Half effigy, mass vestments, relaid, mural, in chancel.*

The original stone (5 ft. x 2½ ft.) in which this brass was inlaid still lies on the nave floor and the clear indent shows the two plates, one with a half effigy and the other with the inscription, juxtaposed as in the illustration here given. The plates are now mounted in a new stone on the north wall of the chancel and a gap of some inches has been left between the two. They have been subject at some time in recent years to a liberal treatment of Brasso which has left the metal bright and worn.

The figure is of a typical early 15th century priest in mass vestments, with simple quatrefoil pattern on the amice, maniple, and the cuffs of the alb. The half effigy is 11 inches high.

The two line inscription in Latin in blackletter is on a rectangular plate measuring 2½ in. x 15¾ in. and reads:

Hic iacet Johes Monemouthe quondā Rector  
istius Eccleie (cuius aīe ppicietur deus) Amen.

The words in parenthesis have been erased with a chisel by protestants, no doubt at the accession of Elizabeth when similar erasures were made on the Lovell brass.<sup>1</sup>

II. *Gregory Lovell esq., lord of the manor & patron of the church, 1545, in armour, and wife Anne, daughter of David Bellyngham, esq., with 1 daughter (lost), inscription and 4 shields. Once on tomb chest, slab now mural in chancel.*

*All palimpsest: on reverse of effigies, portions of a lady, 15th century; on reverse of inscription, another inscription to George Barlee, 1513; various fragments on reverse of shields. 1 of the shields stolen in 1906.*

This brass was part of one of the most interesting monuments remaining in the county.

There is a coloured drawing in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries which shows the monument in its original state against the north wall of the chancel. A tomb chest projected from the wall into the church and upon it was the stone cover now upright against the S. wall. On this stone can be clearly seen the brass memorial, comprising 4 shields at the corners, the effigy of Gregory Lovell and his wife, with an inscription below and three small plates below that (two and a half being apparently missing at that time).

At the back, against the wall, was an arched canopy of good Tudor style, and the entablature above being decorated with quatrefoil and vine patterns. Under the arch and in the wall was a smaller arched recess, flanked on either side by a brass shield, and with another inscription on a rectangular brass plate beneath. This tomb was not only a memorial to Gregory Lovell and his family, but served as an Easter sepulchre. The number of such Easter sepulchres that survived Puritan iconoclasm is very few and this interesting example was itself altered and mutilated by Victorian restoration. In January 1857, a lecture on the Village of Harlington by H. O. Myers included the following description: 'On the North side of the Communion Table is an altar tomb in a very dilapidated condition. It is surmounted with a stone canopy under which is a recess in the wall . . . this aperture has been closed. On either side of this

recess are coats of arms'. The recess of the Easter Sepulchre had no doubt been closed much earlier. Its ceremonial use was abandoned not long after the erection of this fine tomb. At some time after 1857 the tomb chest of the Lovell monument was destroyed. The top slab, with the brasses therein, was placed upright in the South wall of the chancel and the canopy was put away where the organ now stands, and behind the high backs of wooden pews. Later it was again moved back to the North wall of the chancel, but at a lower level than when it was placed above the original tomb chest.<sup>2</sup>

The tomb slab, now mounted in the South wall, has upon it two shields at the upper corners and the effigies of Gregory Lovell and his wife. At the time of the move the stone was broken and this revealed that the inscription was palimpsest. This is now mounted in a brass frame on two hinges at the upper corners so that both sides may be seen. Beneath the inscription are indents for three small plates, of height 6 in., 8½ in. and 6½ in. respectively from the dexter side. The centre plate had upon it the figure of one daughter, the upper half alone remaining early in the 19th century, according to a rubbing from that time now in the Society of Antiquaries Collection. This also appears to be the condition shown in the coloured drawing referred to above. One could have surmised from the shape of the indents that the other two plates were also of children were it not stated in the inscription that they had only one daughter. Unfortunately neither the early drawing nor the rubbing throw any light on this as these two plates had already disappeared. The two shields at the lower corners of the stone are now missing.

The figure of Gregory Lovell is in plate armour with a skirt of mail. His head is uncovered and is resting on his helmet. The hands too are bare. Both sword and dagger are worn and the figure is standing upon a grass mound. The overall height is 18½ in.

His wife is in contemporary dress but the elaboration of pattern and decoration of the upper parts, including puffed shoulders and a French hood or Queen Mary bonnet, are remarkable. The upper part of the figure was illustrated by Haines and compared with similar engravings at Croydon; Albury; All Hallows, Barking; and St. Mary's Islington. This figure is ½ in. shorter than that of the husband.

The inscription is on a rectangular plate, 5½ in. x 24 in., and is in English in six lines of blackletter:

Here lyeth Gregory Lovell Esquier late lorde of this Colone of Harlyngtō  
and patron of this Church and Anne his wyffe Dowghter to Bawtyh Bel-  
lynghtō Esquier who betwene them had Issue one dowghter before the sayd  
Gregory decessyd y<sup>e</sup> which Gregory deptyd this worlde w<sup>t</sup>out heire of his body  
the xxii<sup>th</sup> day of October in the lvi yere of his Age and in the yere of our lorde  
God M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> xlv Amen

In the last line the clause containing prayers for the souls of the deceased has been erased, as on the other brass in this church.

As now arranged the upper dexter shield is the one which should be at the lower dexter corner (now empty). It bears the following arms: *Quarterly 1 & 4 argent a bugle horn sable stringed or, for Bellingham, 2 & 3 argent three bendlets gules on a canton of the second a lion passant of the first, for Burneshead, with a crescent in fess point for difference.*

The original shield to occupy this position, which no doubt bore Lovell quartering Cornwall, has been missing for many years, as shown by the rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries collection.

The upper sinister shield bears: *Quarterly 1 & 4 gules three bars nebuly or a canton ermine, for Lovell, 2 & 3 argent a lion rampant gules crowned or debruised by a bend sable charged with 6 bezants, for Cornwall (?) impaling Bellingham quartering Burneshead as above.*

The lower sinister shield was also Lovell quartering Cornwall. This was stolen from the church in 1906. One other shield, similar to that in the upper sinister position, bearing Lovell quartering Cornwall impaling Bellingham and Burneshead is now (since June, 1918) in its original position on the wall at the back of the tomb on the sinister side of the Easter sepulchre.

The other shield and the inscription from the back of the tomb are now lost. Even at the time the coloured drawing of this monument was made a portion of the inscription plate on the dexter side was missing, but a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries records what was left:

.. ye Soules of Gregory Lovell Esquier sutyne lord  
 .. of this Church and Anne his wyffe at whois  
 .. whych Gregory decessyd ye xxii day of Octobr  
 .. d MCCCCxlv and ye said Anne decessyd  
 .. or lorde God AM (whose Soules Ihu pardon)

This inscription was evidently prepared before the death of Anne, the date of which event was never filled in.

The now missing dexter shield was again Lovell quartering Cornwall.

When the stone with the principal brasses was moved in the nineteenth century it was broken and the inscription and one or more of the shields became detached. It was found that they were re-used metal with earlier engraving on the reverse side (called palimpsest by those interested in monumental brasses, although this word is more correctly applied to erasure and re-engraving or writing, as of manuscripts).

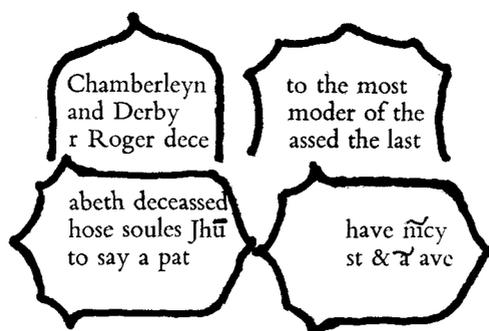
Mill Stephenson recorded the palimpsest nature of the inscription, although it had by then disappeared, at the beginning of this century.<sup>3</sup>

When the plates had become detached and were seen to be palimpsest they were hung upon rings to allow both sides to be seen, but in a few years the rings holding the inscription plate gave way and the plate was removed from the church and mislaid. It was found in 1905 and rehung, but again had to be properly repaired in 1909 by the late W. E. Gawthorp<sup>4</sup> who mounted it in a bronze frame with pivots, since when it has been secure and both sides can be seen. It was known at this time that the shields were palimpsest, but one having been stolen the others were riveted to the stone so that the reverse is no longer visible. A further note on this lost shield was contributed by Mill Stephenson to the Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society.<sup>5</sup>

The reverse of the inscription shows that this was made up from two pieces of metal. The smaller, about 3 inches wide, has upon it part of the figure of a civilian engraved early in the 16th century. The larger piece is an almost complete inscription, about 21 inches long to George Barlee:

Here lyeth George Barlee the sone of Willm Barlee of th . . . .  
 squyer whiche george whyle he lyved vowed hymself to . . . . .  
 seint Iohn Jerlm in England and he decessed the xiiii d . . . . .  
 the yere of our lord god M<sup>C</sup>X<sup>iii</sup> on whose soules Ihu . . . .

Rubbings by Mill Stephenson in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries show the engraving on the reverse of the four shields (including the one lost in 1906). Three of these are made up from a piece of inscription and part of a 16th century figure in female costume. The fourth shield has only inscription on the reverse. All four pieces are from the same original inscription which commemorates one Roger and Elizabeth his wife, the said Roger having been Chamberlain to Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and mother of Henry VII. The parts of this inscription which remain, by juxtaposition of the four shields, bear the following legible wording:



There is some lettering which is illegible in the missing line above, and there is an unfilled blank for the date of Elizabeth's death.

Rubbings of the reverses of all these brasses were made by Mill Stephenson in 1918 and are now with the Society of Antiquaries. It was at this time that the suspected palimpsest use of the main effigies was confirmed. He records this in the R.C.H.M. volume on Middlesex. The two main effigies were made from part of a larger 15th century female figure.

Illustrations of the brasses in this church, including the reverse of the inscription and shields of the Lovell brass, appear in the book 'Eight Hundred Years of Harlington Parish Church', by the late Rev. Herbert Wilson, Rector, the second edition of which appeared in 1926.

No other brasses of any antiquity nor indents of former brasses are to be seen, nor does Lysons record any. However, on a rubbing of the Monemouth brass in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries which was taken upwards of one hundred years ago is written in pencil the following:

'In the chancel when this church was repaired and altered, a few years ago, by the late Doctor Gabriel (Rector) there were a great many brasses and inscriptions taken away and others covered by Pews'.

Gabriel was Rector from 1789 until 1805.

One of the many branches of the Lovell family took early root in Middlesex, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, and continued there—in or about the same neighbourhood—for several centuries. They started from one Geoffrey Lovell, in the reign of Henry I, or from one Luvell of Bray, about the same period; they appear as hereditary Masters of the Royal Buckhounds from the time of Henry II to Edward III; some of them were grand Falconers to Royalties; one of them was *cocus reginae*, or Cook to Eleanor, Henry III's Queen. This 'Master Henry Lovell' as he was always termed, seems to have been an important personage, and received grants of various manors at Boveney, Dorney and Winkfield.

John Lovell of Dalley and Herdyngton was Sheriff of Middlesex in the time of Edward III. In 1357 his rents in Harlington were forfeited, as he was convicted of a felony, and delivered, as a convicted Clerk, to the Abbot of Westminster by the Justices of the King's Bench. His brothers Nicholas and William were also outlawed in the same year. In 1361 they were pardoned, at the request of the King of France, for good service rendered in France. There are records of Thomas Lovell of Dalley, 1380-1415; of John Lovell of Herdyngton and St. Clement Danes, 1450; of Thomas Lovell, Patron of the church at Harlington, his son being the Gregory Lovell commemorated in the brass. In looking through the list of Rectors it appears that no less than five Rectors of Harlington were appointed by Gregory within eight years.

In Merton church there is a beautiful tomb in memory of a Gregory Lovell, Cofferer to Queen Elizabeth, a contemporary (!) but no relation of the Harlington Gregory.

The manor of Herdyngton is described in the survey of Domesday, being then of annual value of 100s. It is probable, says Lysons, that this manor was at a very early period divided into two, which afterwards acquired the names of 'Hardington, otherwise Harlington, otherwise Lovells'; and 'Harlington cum Shepiston'. The first of these, to which the advowson of the church belonged, was in 1302 the property of William de Harpeden. Before the year 1474 this manor became vested in the Lovells, from whom it derived one of its names and continued in that family until 1558, thirteen years after the death of Gregory. One Thomas Lovell presented in 1476, George in 1510 and 1515, Gregory, as mentioned five times between 1525 and 1533, and Anne Lovell his widow in 1558. A year later a new rector was presented by William Roper who was then Lord of the Manor on the extinction of this branch of the Lovell family.

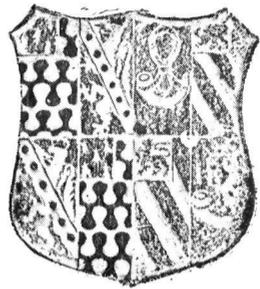
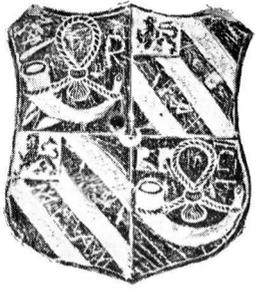
#### NOTES

- 1 *Previously illustrated* H. Wilson: Harlington Church, p. 32, R.C.H.M. (Middlesex), Pl. 8.
- 2 In its present form it is illustrated in R.C.H.M. (Middlesex), Pl. 141.
- 3 *Mon. Brass Soc. T. IV*, p. 196.
- 4 *ibid. VI*, p. 51.
- 5 *ibid. VI*, p. 77.

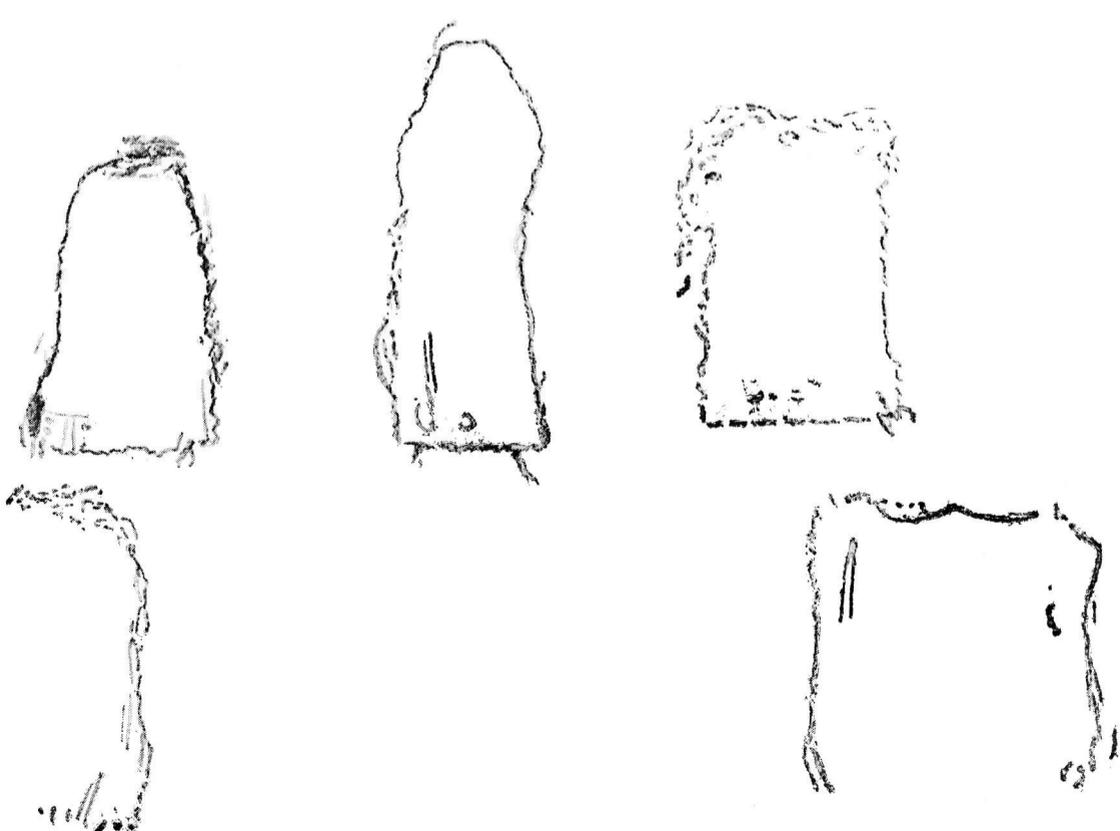


Hic iacet Johannes Monemouthe quondam Rector  
ecclesie Harlingtonensis Amen

HARLINGTON I  
John Monemouthe, Rector, 1419.



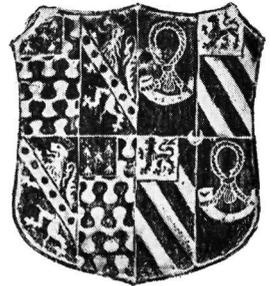
Byr wythe Gregory Lovell Elmyer late lord of this toun of Harlington  
 and patron of this Church and Anne his wyth daughter to Davyde Bel-  
 lyngham Elmyer who betwene them had issue one daughter before the sayd  
 Gregory decessid & whiche Gregory decessid this worlde wout heier of his bodi  
 the xxij day of October in the lxxij yere of his Age and in the yere of our loyde  
 God M CCC XLij



HARLINGTON II.  
 Gregory and Anne Lovell, 1545.

HARLINGTON II.

Shield remaining on wall at back of tomb.  
Lovell quartering Cornwall impaling  
Bellingham quartering Burneshead.



HARLINGTON II.

Reverse of inscription to Gregory Anne Lovell, being part of an inscription to George Barlee, 1513; and part of the figure of an early 16th Century Civilian.

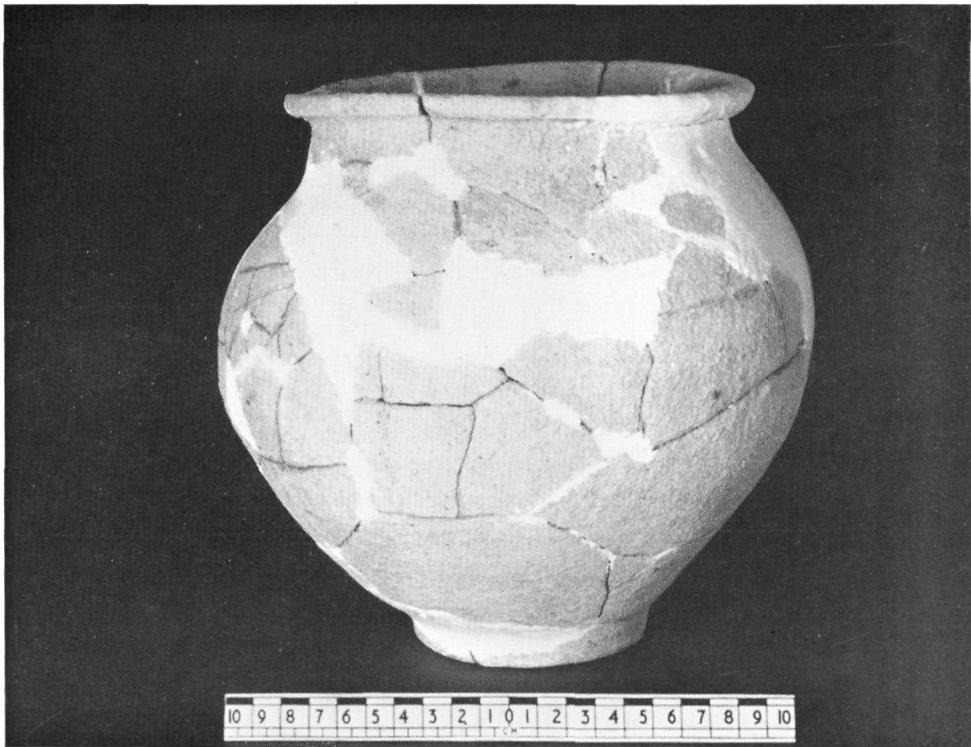


PLATE I. The Cinerary Urn.

# A HUMAN CREMATION BURIAL FROM HENDON

BY BRIAN ROBERTSON  
(Hendon & District Archaeological Society)

## SUMMARY

A human cremation burial of Roman date has been found in Hendon, London, N.W.4. The contents of the Urn have been examined and are considered to be those of a young person, possibly a child, although no accurate estimation of age or sex could be made from the surviving material.

## SITE

The Burial was found in the garden of No. 111 Sunny Gardens Road, Hendon, London, N.W.4. (TQ 22988998) by Sqd-Ldr. E. C. Rideal, O.B.E., in May 1966. The find was located 6 ft. 4 ins. from the west wall of the house and 3 ft. from the fence adjoining No. 113 Sunny Gardens Road. The surrounding area was clay with a noticeable quantity of carbon particles and a few pebbles and flints. The urn was less than 6 ins. below the surface at the site found but this was 3 ft. lower than the present level of the back garden as the house has been cut into a slope.

## THE CINERARY URN

The urn was found in a large number of fragments and appeared to have suffered considerably from soil compression. The fabric of the urn was a light sandy colour and in places the process of erosion was clearly visible. On reconstruction it was found that about one third of the rim was missing. Later examination of the cremation yielded a number of sherds of the urn mixed in with the cremated material. The urn was  $22\frac{1}{4}$  cms. across at its widest part although it must be noted that it is by no means symmetrical. The internal diameter at the neck is 14 cms., and the urn is  $21\frac{1}{2}$  cms. in height. The urn is considered to be dated to the end of the first century A.D., or to the beginning of the second. The general form can be paralleled with types from the Roman Kiln Site under excavation in Highgate Wood. (TQ 28258905). It has not, however, been possible to find any local parallels for the fabric.

## THE CREMATION

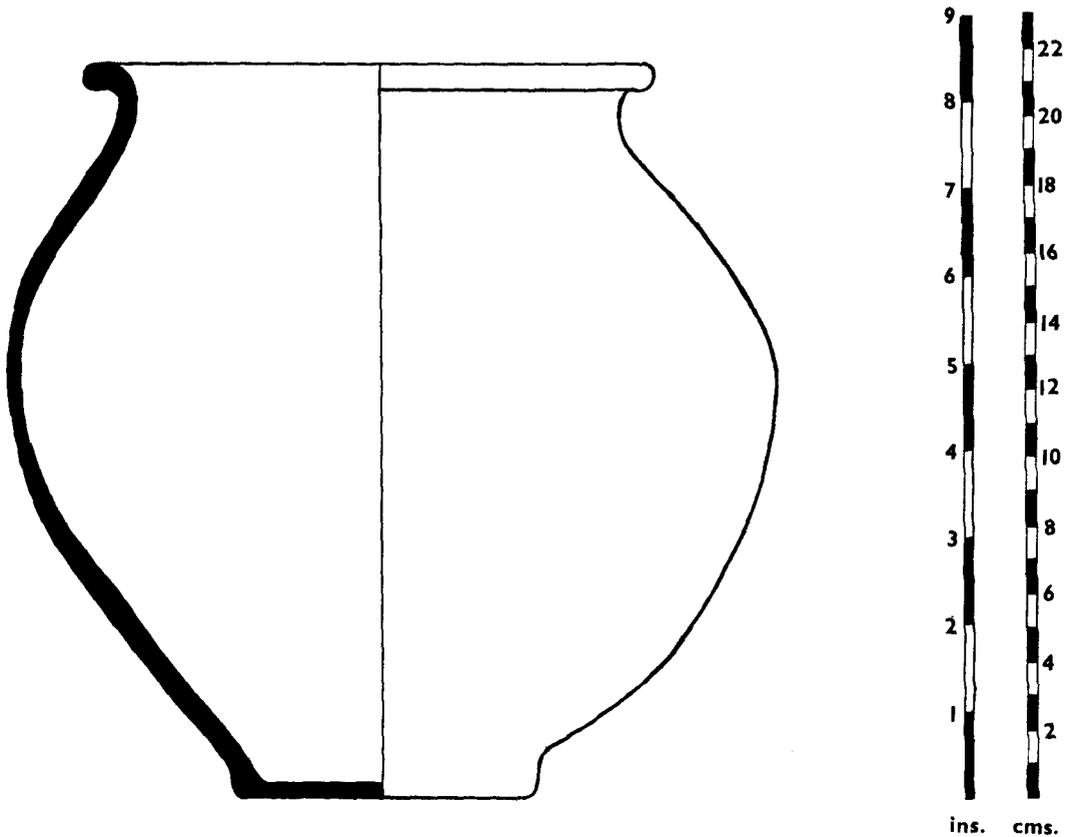
Raymond E. Chaplin (Passmore Edwards Museum, London, E.15) kindly provided the following observations:—

‘When received, a part of the contents had already been washed to separate some of the bones and soil. The washings, had, however, been kept and these and the remaining mass of clay, stone and bone were soaked in water and washed through a series of meshes (4, 10, 20 and 30 mesh). The bones and stone retained over the largest mesh were removed for gross examination under a binocular microscope (x 20) and samples from the other meshes under a monocular microscope (x 200). No botanical or zoological material was noted.

‘Of the non-osseous material recovered from above No. 4 mesh, pieces of shale, pebbles of flint and quartz, sherds of pottery from the urn, and pieces of slag or clinker were recognised. The same materials were found on the other meshes.

‘The bone recovered on the No. 4 mesh weighed 770 gms. This figure is slightly greater than the true weight of bone because of the presence of soil in some of the bones.

'The largest fragments were from limb bones and these were up to 6 cm. in length. Examination of the limb and skull fragments showed that not more than one individual need be involved. There is no evidence of the sex of the individual. Surprisingly, no fragments of teeth were recovered, no cranial sutures could be identified and only one fragment of long bone preserved part of the end and this appeared to show an unfused epiphysis. Because of this no reliable age estimate can be made. The probable unfused epiphysis taken with the slightness of the bone suggests a sub-adult individual and, therefore, any estimate of sex would be unreliable.'



ROMAN BURIAL URN from Sunny Gardens Road, Hendon.

#### OTHER FINDS FROM THE AREA

The human cremation burial reported here has been found in an area with few recorded Roman finds. It was located about three-quarters of a mile from a portion of a Roman Road established in Copthall Fields.<sup>1</sup> Slightly closer, half a mile south-west, fragments of Roman tessellated pavement and pottery were found in a pit in the grounds of Grove House, Hendon, in 1889.<sup>2</sup> The nearest recorded burial was found in 1774 in Well Walk, Hampstead.<sup>3</sup> This find had a number of urns with associated pottery and lamps.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to acknowledge the assistance received from the following:—  
Sqd-Ldr. E. C. Rideal, O.B.E., for permission to report his find. Miss Linda Babb for the reconstruction of the Urn. R. E. Chaplin, Esq., B.Sc., F.Z.S., of the Passmore Edwards Museum, London, E.15., for his examination of, and comments on the cremated remains. Dr. D. M. H. Cogman for making the photographic record of the find. The Librarian of the London Borough of Barnet and his staff. H. Sheldon, Esq., for his helpful advice and comments on the Burial Urn.

#### NOTES

- 1 Excavated at TQ 23229137 and at TQ 23259120 by Hendon and District Archaeological Society in August 1967. (Report forthcoming).
- 2 *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, 2nd Series, xiii (1889-91) 16.
- 3 *Gentleman's Magazine*. (1776) 169.

# A REMARKABLE ALIGNMENT OF LONDON CHURCHES

BY DR. H. R. AMBLER, O.B.E., F.R.I.C.

On a 1-inch Ordnance map of London, one can rule a straight line right through St. Clement's Danes, and the Temple Church, up the length of St. Paul's, through St. Helen's, Bishopsgate and St. Dunstan's, Stepney, and thence through the distant Norman church of St. Mary Magdalene, East Ham. With a 25-inch map, it can be seen that a line can be drawn through part of the fabric of each church, except the present St. Clement's (rebuilt 1682), where it runs roughly along the outside of the South wall. Details are shown in the table below. Columns 1 and 2 show the E. and N. coordinates of the centre of each church, taken from the 25-inch map. For a rectangular building, the centre is taken as the geometrical centre, for a cruciform one, the centre of the crossing, and for the Temple, the centre of the circular part. Col. 5 shows the distance of each such centre from a "best line", worked out arithmetically from the grid coordinates, thus avoiding any error due to distortion of maps. Col. 6 shows the orientation of the buildings (q.v.), corrected for the difference between Grid North and True North.

The line does not seem to run along any important Roman road, and anyhow, Roman roads were not usually so remarkably straight.<sup>1</sup> To calculate the exact odds against its having happened by chance and not by deliberate human contrivance, needs data which are not available, in particular, the ages of the sites, as accepted religious or civic sites, relative to those of other churches in the City. East of the City, the only old churches which come anywhere near the line (c. 2 km.) are West Ham and Stratford. On the least favourable assumptions, the odds are a thousand to one against.

|                | Grid coordinates of centres (km.) |        | N. coordinate of line at E. coordinate of church | Distance from line (Metres) | Orientation ( <sup>o</sup> N of true E) |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|--------|--|-----------------------------|---|
|                | E                                 | N      |  |                             |   |
| St. Clements   | 30.975                            | 81.043 | 81.033   | +10                         | +10                                     |
| Temple         | 31.207                            | 81.067 | 81.059   | +8                          | +8                                      |
| Old St. Paul's | 32.045                            | 81.146 | 81.152   | -6                          | +3                                      |
| St. Paul's     | 32.056                            | 81.143 | 81.155   | -12                         | +6                                      |
| St. Helen's    | 33.205                            | 81.285 | 81.284   | +1                          | +4                                      |
| Stepney        | 35.977                            | 81.590 | 81.601   | -11                         | +5                                      |
| East Ham       | 42.930                            | 82.377 | 82.379   | -2                          | +18                                     |

The ideas behind the alignment are wholly obscure. The azimuth of the line is 5° N. of E., corresponding to sunrises on 28 March and 15 September, or sunsets on 13 March and 1 October (present calendar) or to the rising or setting of a star of declination +3° and -3° respectively. The dates have no obvious significance and no conspicuous stars have these declinations.

All the six churches, or seven including Old St. Paul's are oriented N. of E., three quite close to the line. Whether this has anything to do with the alignment is dubious; a majority of old churches in England as a whole are oriented N. of E., although in the City of London, most are S. of E., probably following a Roman street pattern. The present St. Paul's is oriented nearer the line than the old cathedral was, and it is tempting to think that Wren knew of the line and oriented his new cathedral as closely as possible to it; he had to site it

anyhow, as he did, because there was no other possible position for such a wide building.<sup>2</sup> If the architects of the six mediaeval churches had been aware of and interested in the alignment, one would expect them to have oriented their buildings more precisely on it. That they did not, suggests that they did not appreciate it, and that they just built on or near foundations of some older structures, following their orientation only very roughly. The alignment is likely therefore to be pre-Christian if not pre-Roman.

The only other convincing church alignment which I have been able to find is in Surrey. The churches of Merrow, West Clandon, East Clandon, West Horsley, East Horsley and Effingham are dead in line on the 1-inch map, but on the larger scale the average deviation is seen to be 35 metres, as against 6 for the London line. This is not surprising, as it is over undulating and wooded country. The line is governed partially by the natural line of the North Downs, but seems indubitably to be of human design, the odds against its chance happening being about 500 to 1.

#### NOTES

- 1 There is, however, a road in East Ham called "Roman Road", a short reach of which points at the church, roughly at the angle of the alignment.
- 2 Jane Lang, *The Rebuilding of St. Paul's*.

# EDWIN CHADWICK AND THE FIRST LARGE-SCALE ORDNANCE SURVEY OF LONDON

BY IDA DARLINGTON, M.A., F.S.A., F.L.A.

Between 1800 and 1840 the population of London doubled. There was a boom in house building, but the supply could not keep pace with the demand and in working class areas more and more families crowded into the already overcrowded tenements. Neither in the older built-up areas, where sewage collected in cesspools under the houses, nor in the newer streets and squares of Belgravia and Marylebone, where it flowed sluggishly through house drains into the main sewers and so ultimately into the River Thames, were there any adequate arrangements for its disposal. During hot summers in the 1830's and 1840's cholera spread through the town, and the 'noxious effluvia', which were thought to be its source, became painfully obvious even in St. James's. Outside the City responsibility for the drainage of London was divided among seven Commissions which did what they could with inadequate powers and a total lack of co-ordination to cope with an impossible situation. In 1847 a Royal Sanitary Commission was appointed to enquire into the matter, and its report, prepared with exemplary expedition, urged the necessity of unified control and an entire replanning of the main drainage system. In advance of legislation some unity was achieved by the simple device of appointing the same 23 commissioners to sit for each of the seven commissions, and in December 1847 the first Metropolitan Commission of Sewers met.

Edwin Chadwick, although he already had his hands full in organising the newly-formed Board of Health, was the moving spirit both on the Royal Sanitary Commission and on the first Metropolitan Commission of Sewers. He was convinced that no satisfactory drainage plan could be produced unless there was an accurate survey of the metropolitan area showing levels, and with his usual thoroughness and persistence he set out convincing his fellow commissioners of the need for such a survey. 'We expect that the first work which a consolidated Commission must see the necessity of directing to be proceeded with would be the general survey by the officers of the Royal Engineers, under the direction of the Board of Ordnance', says the 1847 Report. It is the authentic voice of Chadwick.

At the first meeting of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers on 6th December 1847 Chadwick outlined his proposals in more detail and an order was issued that 'application be immediately made to Her Majesty's Board of Ordnance to direct a Survey on the larger scale of the Survey recently made of Liverpool, Manchester and other towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire', and that 'Sir Henry De La Beche and Mr. Chadwick be authorised to report respecting the insertion of such particulars in the Survey as may best adapt it for the requirements of the Public Service'. They, together with Richard Lambert Jones,<sup>1</sup> were deputed to invite the Commissioners for the City of London (who still maintained their independent existence outside the Metropolitan Commission) to join in the application.

Chadwick moved swiftly; he at once got in touch with Colonel Hall, the Superintendent of the Ordnance Survey. He had some difficulty in convincing him that what was immediately required was an accurate block plan showing streets and alleys, 'with a proper system of levels recorded in convenient situations by a sufficient number of bench marks',

not a minutely detailed plan showing every house, garden and post such as the Board had recently completed for Dublin; but by 10th January he was able to report that he had obtained an estimate of cost. This was £36,829 for a block plan of the metropolis and of the suburban districts within a radius of eight miles of St. Paul's on the scale of five feet to the mile. Of this sum £24,215 was for the survey and the remainder for engraving the plan on copper. At the same time Chadwick, in his other capacity as a member of the Royal Sanitary Commission had been making representations to the Government on the urgency of this work and had obtained assurances that the expense could be defrayed 'from the annual votes of Parliament, the execution of the Survey in other parts of the kingdom being in consequence spread over a longer period of time'.

At the meeting of the Sewer Commissioners on 27th January 1848, Chadwick was given authority to go ahead. Rooms and equipment in two of the offices of the Commission, at No. 1, Greek Street and in Great Alie Street, were set aside for the use of the draughtsmen to be employed on the Survey, while the two senior clerks who had their official residences in these two houses offered to give up some of their accommodation for the use of the officers carrying out the triangulation. By March the men of the Corps of Sappers and Miners were already attracting public notice by setting up their theodolites in the streets of Westminster. All seemed to be set fair, but Chadwick's authoritarian efficiency was apt to provoke opposition, and the case of the survey was no exception.

When the estimates came up for debate in the House of Commons Mr. James Wyld rose to enquire why the general taxpayer's money was to be spent on a survey which would be of benefit only to the metropolis, a survey, moreover, which was quite unnecessary in view of the many existing parish surveys which had already been made at the public expense. In private life the Honourable Member was a map publisher and map seller, so that his protest could not be considered entirely disinterested; nevertheless it had its effect and it soon became apparent that the government was likely to withdraw its support.

Chadwick refused to be intimidated, though dissident voices were also raised in the Commission. He called in a consulting engineer, Henry Austin, to answer the objectors. Austin submitted his report to the General Purposes Committee on 25th March. His general comment was shrewd. He thought the opposition to the survey either had 'its origins in motives unconnected with the public interests, or in total want of perception of the immense eventual economy' which would accrue from it. He stated that what was required was a complete triangulation of the area and the preparation of a connected skeleton outline of the streets and public ways, with notes on 'the relative levels of the whole surface'.

This work, the foundation of a correct Survey of the metropolis, does not now exist in any shape, nor can a trustworthy plan be possibly prepared until this preparatory labour has been executed under the surest guarantee of its perfect accuracy. It is true that many public and private surveys of parishes and properties do exist; some of them to a large scale and some no doubt accurate and trustworthy . . . [but] the attempt to connect these different surveys into a whole would be utterly futile . . . : they never could be fitted accurately together . . . From the time of Horwood to the present, there can be no doubt that more money has been wasted in repeated Surveys of large portions of the metropolis than would have produced a perfect detailed plan of the whole area . . . under general arrangements; Horwood's map, concocted some half century ago, probably in the same faulty manner to which it is now desired by some to resort, is known to be trigonometrically wrong, and has consequently never been trusted.

This was a hit at James Wyld, who had in hand a scheme for a new and revised edition of Horwood's map. Austin ended his report by urging that any delay in the execution of the

survey would be expensive not only in monetary terms but also in respect of the health and even the lives of the inhabitants of London. The Committee approved Austin's report and resolved to recommend to the Court of Commissioners that 'if Her Majesty's Government shall not sanction the continuance of the Survey of the metropolis out of its regular turn by the Ordnance out of the Consolidated Fund, the Ordnance [should be requested] to continue the triangulation, which they alone have the means of doing effectively, the Court undertaking the repayment of the expense of the same, if necessary'.

The opposition of the 'vested interests' was not, however, finally disposed of. In May 1848 the Commissioners received a letter from 'The Managing Committee of the Surveyors Association', saying that if a completely new survey of the metropolis had to be made there was no need to call in the military, since there were civilians trained and experienced as surveyors who were competent to carry out the task. The terms of the letter made it quite obvious that the 'Association' was an *ad hoc* body called into being for the specific purpose of getting a contract from the Commissioners; and when, after due consideration, their application was turned down on the grounds that they had not the experience or the authority of the Ordnance Corps to carry out the work, the 'Association' quickly dissolved.<sup>2</sup>

There was yet one further difficulty to be overcome before the execution of the Survey was secure. According to the terms of the Commissions under which the Commissioners were acting, the cost of any work could be charged only on the district benefiting from such work, and, on taking the advice of Counsel on the subject, the Commissioners were told that this regulation must be strictly applied to the costs of the survey. Fortunately the Board of Ordnance was willing to comply with this requirement, though it must have complicated the accounts considerably. In September 1848 an Act was passed which authorised the continuance of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers for two years and which contained a clause authorising the making of 'a Survey of the Area within the limits of their Commission, and of any adjoining Parts which the Commissioners may think necessary'.

The surveying staff of the Board of Ordnance, under the direction of Captain Yolland, had in the meantime been forging ahead on the practical work of the survey with the minimum of fuss. On 22nd April 1848 *The Illustrated London News* carried an article on the 'crow's nests' which were appearing on Westminster Abbey and other churches to serve as observation posts, and readers were exhorted to welcome the surveyors under their leader, Colour-Sergeant Smith, as 'harbingers of great and glorious changes, from which must spring much physical and moral improvement of the people'. Pictures of the 'crow's nest' on Westminster Abbey and of some of 'the people' closely watching a soldier cutting a bench mark in the paving of what looks like one of the alcoves of old Westminster Bridge accompanied the article. A further article in the issue of 24th June 1848 described and illustrated the observatory which had been erected over the cross of St. Paul's Cathedral and explained its use for taking bearings in connection with the triangulation of the metropolitan area which was the first stage of the survey. Both the triangulation and the levelling had to be related to the survey which had already been carried out in the north of England in preparation for the six-inch Ordnance Survey maps, and, considering all the difficulties (the relation of the levels to the datum line at Liverpool was in itself a technical feat of no mean order), it was carried out with astonishing speed. Two hundred and fifty men excluding the draughtsmen, were employed on it, and in March 1849, just a year after its commencement, Captain Yolland was able to report that the ground survey was completed and the levellings almost so. There was some discussion among the Commissioners as to how much

detail should be put on the finished maps and as to the advisability of having them engraved, but it was finally agreed that the original scheme of outline maps with the minimum of detail apart from the levels should be adhered to, and that it was desirable that the sheets should be engraved on copper, both as a means of saving the original drawings from wear and tear and so that copies could be supplied to other public bodies or private persons who might require them. The estimated cost of engraving, based on one sheet which had been prepared as an experiment, was stated by Captain Yolland to be:

|  | £  | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| The Copper Plate (weight 42½lbs. @ 1/7d. per lb.)  | 3  | 7  | 3½ |
| Tracing the sheet for transfer to the Copper Plate |    | 10 | 0  |
| Cost of Engraving: Outline                         | £1 | 1  | 6½ |
| Figures  |    | 5  | 9  |
| Letters  | £3 | 11 | 0  |
|  |    | 4  | 18 |
|  |    |    | 3½ |
|  |    |    |    |
|  | £8 | 15 | 7  |

By November 1849, 79 sheets had been engraved and a number more were in hand. In July 1850 Captain Yolland reported that the engraving of the whole survey was almost finished<sup>3</sup> and that the saving effected on the original estimate of £24,215 was sufficient to cover the cost of an extra one hundred copies, in addition to the ten copies already ordered, and of the preparation and engraving 'of an Index or General map on the scale of 12ins. to the mile in 44 sheets'. The index map was completed by March 1851. A year or so later another set on the scale of 6ins. to the mile was engraved.

While the majority of the Commissioners were persuaded that Chadwick was right in thinking that the preparation of the large-scale maps was of paramount importance, they were anxious to take some practical steps for the improvement of the sewers pending the complete replanning of the drainage system. Chadwick was ready with two suggestions: first, he wanted the flushing of the sewers, particularly in the Westminster area, to be continued and increased so as to remove the foul deposits which were the source of the 'effluvia'; second, he wanted the Commission's own officers to undertake a 'subterranean survey' so that they could plot the position of the existing sewers on the Ordnance maps when these were ready. Both these suggestions, which he promoted with his usual vigour and determination, were adopted. Unfortunately his first idea was a mistaken one and led to much trouble. Like most of his contemporaries Chadwick, though so go-ahead in some matters, had entirely failed to appreciate the significance of Dr. John Snow's discovery that cholera was waterborne, and he did not realise that his flushing operations were in fact making matters worse, since they increased the danger of polluting the water supplies and were turning the River Thames into an open sewer.

Chadwick's second proposal, however, was eminently practical. The Westminster Commission did possess plans showing the lines of the main sewers under its supervision, though in many cases the levels were not accurately shown and the force (or even in some cases the direction) of flow in the side branches were unknown. In the areas covered by most of the other Commissions no accurate plans existed even of the main sewers. The position was particularly bad south of the river, where the Surveyor reported in 1849 that when flooding or other damage occurred his men had to 'dig down and search' in the roads to find where the sewers ran. The Commissioners approved the idea of the 'subterranean survey'

and in June, after a conference with Colour-Sergeant Smith, it was agreed that he should be transferred to the Commission to take charge of the work, and that two levellers at £2. 2s. od. a week each, two labourers to take charge of the instruments at 3s. od. a day, and two marksmen, for making the bench marks and driving in the bolts at 3s. 6d. a day, should be specially engaged for the purpose, labourers already in the service of the Commission being employed 'for finding and opening the Sewers'. A few weeks later the staff was increased so that two more parties could be at work at the same time. Their job was by no means an enviable one. Many of the sewers contained deposits of foul matter several feet in thickness and some of the men narrowly escaped death by drowning or from explosions of sewer gas. In March 1849 Henry Austin, Consulting Engineer, and Joseph Smith, Assistant Surveyor to the Commission, made a general report on the 'rotten state' of the sewers in the City of Westminster:

In the more modern district of Belgrave and Eaton Squares, although the brick-work of the sewers is generally sound and good, they contain faulty places and abound with noxious matter, in many cases stopping up the house-drains and smelling horribly; that in the district of Grosvenor, Hanover and Berkeley Squares, considerable deposit is found in the sewers, emitting much effluvia; . . . that much of the work north of Oxford Street about Cavendish, Bryanstone, Manchester and Portman Squares, is in such a state of rottenness and decay, there is no security for its standing from day to day; that there is a large amount of the most loathsome deposit in these sewers, but the act of flushing might bring some of them down altogether; that even throughout the New Paddington district, the neighbourhood of Hyde Park Gardens and the costly squares and streets adjacent, the sewers abound with the foulest deposit, from which the most disgusting effluvia arise, and that amidst the whole of Westminster District of Sewers the only little spot which can be mentioned as being in at all a satisfactory state is the immediate neighbourhood of Seven Dials.

This somewhat surprising conclusion was probably due to the fact that few of the inhabitants about Seven Dials yet enjoyed the benefits of a water-closet, and so less house drainage was washed down to pollute the sewers than in the more fashionable quarters.

The 'subterranean survey' is much more fully documented than the ground survey, for the field note-books, letters, and copper plates of the latter were all lost when the library of the Ordnance Survey Office at Southampton was destroyed during the last war. The field note-books of the surveyors employed by the Commission on the 'subterranean survey' have however almost all survived. They are of considerable interest both for the light they throw on the way the practical problems of the survey were tackled and for the information they give on the state of the streets and sewers at the time. The results of the 'subterranean survey' were plotted on the engraved sheets of the large-scale map as they were received from the Board of Ordnance. Most of these sheets have also survived, and they show in detail the courses of the old sewers and the progress of alterations as they took place.

One other by-product of the 1849-51 survey must be mentioned. Members of the Commission were much concerned over the unsatisfactory state of house drainage in the west end of London, where flushing had not brought the satisfactory results which Chadwick had anticipated. In 1849 the Commission decided that, as the skeleton map gave insufficient detail and was of too small a scale for the insertion of house drainage, they would as an experiment get their own surveyors and draughtsmen to lay down certain parts of the survey of Westminster on the scale of 10 ft. to the mile and to fill in thereon the details of all houses and other buildings. Thirteen sheets were drawn in this way covering the riverside area upstream from the Houses of Parliament. Later fifteen sheets covering Holland House and grounds and the neighbouring streets in Kensington was also drawn. All the sheets are now

in the London County Record Office. They are meticulously drawn and coloured, and their high standard of draughtsmanship is probably due to the fact that they were drawn under the supervision of Joseph Smith, who had been trained under the Board of Ordnance and who signed each sheet. Except for one experimental sheet, these maps were never engraved and they have been hidden away unused among the working plans of the Commission for many years. They are of considerable intrinsic interest since they show accurately and in great detail two areas of London twenty years before the publication of the first detailed large-scale Ordnance map and at a period when they were in process of rapid development. The production of these sheets was also important in that it influenced the decision to produce surveys on the 10 ft. scale of other large towns.

The Metropolitan Commission of Sewers did not survive long enough, nor in fact had it sufficient powers, to carry out the replanning of the main drainage of which the Metropolitan area was so badly in need. In 1855 it was superseded by the Metropolitan Board of Works, which in ten years revolutionised sanitary conditions by building five main intersecting sewers from west to east to drain the whole of London and to discharge at the Northern and Southern Outfall works at points which were then well beyond the built-up area. This work, which has stood the test of time (for much of it is still in service after nearly a century), would not have been possible without the accurate maps and levelling which Chadwick had so strongly advocated or without the surveying and engineering staff who had been trained under the Commission. London owes much to Sir Joseph Bazalgette who planned and carried through the construction of the main drainage system, but its debt to Edwin Chadwick, whose foresight made his work possible, is equally great.<sup>4</sup>

#### NOTES

- 1 Sir Henry De La Beche was a member of the Commission from 1847 to 1857. He served on several of its committees and was chairman of the Ordnance Survey Committee when this was set up in 1849. Richard Lambert Jones was one of the members appointed to the Commission by the City of London.
- 2 The [Royal] Institution of Chartered Surveyors came into being in 1868.
- 3 There were 847 sheets in all.
- 4 Except where otherwise stated the information in this paper is derived from the records of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers in the London County Record Office.

## OBITUARIES

DR. F. W. M. DRAPER, M.A., PH.D., L.ÈS L., F.S.A.

On the 23rd October, 1968, at 26, The Avenue, Muswell Hill, N.10, Dr. Frederick Draper died in his 86th year. Tributes paid to him at the Memorial Service held in St. James's Church, Muswell Hill, on Saturday, 25th January, 1969, were "to a headmaster who won respect by his extremely fair sense of justice".

To one who brought to his work such a rare combination of gifts and experience, it is difficult to do justice in words.

He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, which always remained his first interest, and his history of that school written on its four-hundredth anniversary was the result of much painstaking research. Dr. Draper always regarded his admission to the Freedom of the Merchant Taylors' Company as some compensation for this work.

On leaving Merchant Taylors' School he went to Queen's College, Cambridge, and later to the Sorbonne, Paris.

Dr. Draper was appointed headmaster of Tollington Grammar School, Muswell Hill, in 1922, where he remained until 1944, and where "he gave leadership, not by driving, but by personal example".

The range of his interests was truly amazing; a student of European languages, a headmaster of distinction, a one-time Chairman of Group 10 of the Council for British Archaeology, the Hornsey Literary Society, the Hornsey Education Committee (and when he retired, the governing body of Tollington School)—and last, but by no means least, a consuming love of cricket.

As to our own Society, he joined as a member in 1946, was elected to Council in 1947, and was appointed Hon. Editor in 1948, and as such continued to 1960. He was elected a Vice-President in 1961. His editorship was first undertaken during the immediate post-war period, when the difficulties inherent in such a period "might well have discouraged anyone without the resilience, patience and tenacity that Dr. Draper possessed in high degree".

He was particularly interested in church bells and the history and archaeology of Hornsey and Muswell Hill, and these have found their way into the pages of *Transactions*.

There is little doubt that the high standard of scholarship on which Dr. Draper insisted throughout his distinguished editorship did much to enhance the series of *Transactions* which has now been running for well over a century.

S.W.H.

(The reader would do well to refer to the appreciation of Dr. Draper's work on his relinquishing the office of Editor by R.M.R., and appearing on p. 228. Vol. 20, pt. 4, 1961).

GEORGE EDWARD EADES, M.A.

At the age of 86, Mr. Eades died suddenly at his home in Eversley Road, Upper Norwood, on the 7th December, 1968.

Although he lived in this district for over 30 years, he was made a Freeman of the City of London about three years ago for his work in historical research and documentation.

His main interests were in the history of London, and the archaeology of London and the Home Counties, and in these subjects he was a well-known lecturer. He also wrote on these subjects—he wrote three books, and the most recent was "Historic London", which was published in 1966, largely under the auspices of the City of London Society.

A graduate of London University, Mr. Eades won several academic honours. He started as a teacher with the former London County Council. From 1919 until last year he lectured in adult education in the evenings, but retired from full-time teaching in 1948. He was, however, lecturing at Goldsmiths' College, London University, until last year.

Another of his keen interests was the City Literary Institute, of which he was one of the founders in 1919, and set up a record of 42 years as a part-time lecturer. For many years he was the president of the institute's historical society.

Of our own Society, he was an enthusiastic Life Member. He joined in 1948, and was a member of Council from 1954 to 1960. In his Will, Mr. Eades gave a legacy of £100 upon trust to invest and apply the income in provision of one lecture in each year on some aspect of the history of London.

Apart from his historical interests, he had the proud distinction of serving 58 years as a lay-preacher in the Diocese of Southwark; he was also a keen gardener, and a painter in water-colour.

He leaves a widow and two daughters by a former marriage.

S.W.H.

## RULES

1. TITLE. The title of the Society shall be the 'LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY'.
2. Objects. The objects of the Society shall be:
  - (a) To promote the study of the history and antiquities of the London Region with special reference to the Cities of London and Westminster and the ancient County of Middlesex;
  - (b) To publish the results of such studies in 'Transactions' or otherwise;
  - (c) To stimulate the study of archaeology and local history through lectures, visits, the maintenance of a library and other means, and to assist local societies formed for that purpose;
  - (d) To undertake and encourage research and excavations;
  - (e) To promote the preservation and recording of historic buildings, ancient monuments, documents and other remains.
3. MEMBERSHIP. (a) The Society shall consist of:
  - (i) *Annual Members*. Annual membership shall be open to individuals and institutions such as livery companies, universities, colleges, schools and public libraries.
  - (ii) *Life Members*. Life membership shall be open to individuals only.
  - (iii) *Honorary Members*. Persons who have rendered outstanding service to the Society or to the study of archaeology or history may be elected by the Council as Honorary Members.
  - (iv) *Student Members*. Student membership shall be open to persons under 25 years of age who are attending, prior to graduation, a school, college or university.
  - (v) Junior membership shall be open to persons under the age of 18.
  - (vi) *Affiliated Local Societies*. Affiliation shall be open to any society in and around London and Middlesex having among its principal objects the promotion of the study of local history and antiquities.
  - (vii) *The Schools Section*, formed to encourage an interest in Archaeology in schools in London, Middlesex and the Greater London fringe, is empowered to operate its own banking account and appoint its own Officers with the proviso that the Hon. Treasurer for the time being of the parent Society shall be its Treasurer. It will annually appoint two representatives to the Council.

(b) Every person or institution desirous of being admitted to membership shall complete the Society's application form which shall be forwarded to the Hon. Secretary, accompanied by the appropriate subscription or affiliation fee, for submission to the Council for election.
4. PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERSHIP. (a) *Annual Members* (including in the case of an institution two representatives of that institution), *Life Members*, *Student Members* and *Honorary Members* shall be entitled to admission to all meetings of the Society, to the use of the Library subject to such regulations as the Council may make, and to one copy of *Transactions*. A master or mistress of a school in membership may bring a reasonable number of pupils to any meeting provided that prior application is made and unless numbers are restricted. Each Annual, Life, Student or Honorary Member shall be entitled to one vote.

(b) *Junior Members* shall be entitled to all privileges of membership, except that they shall not be entitled to vote, nor shall they receive a copy of the *Transactions* unless purchased under Rule 14(d).

(c) *Affiliated Local Societies* shall be entitled to describe themselves as 'affiliated to the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society'; to receive one copy of the *Transactions* issued by the Society for the year for which the Affiliation Fee has been paid; to the use of the Library for reference purposes; to be represented by two of their members at any conference convened by the Society for local societies; and to receive all such support and assistance in the conduct of their affairs as the Society can give. Each affiliated local society shall be entitled to one vote.

(d) New applicants, pending election by Council, shall be entitled to all privileges of membership except that they shall not be entitled to vote nor to receive *Transactions*.
5. A member desiring to resign must give notice in writing to the Honorary Secretary, and pay all subscriptions that may be due.

6. It shall be lawful for the Society at a Special General Meeting, by a majority of two-thirds of those present and voting, to remove the name of any member from the list of members of the Society without assigning any reason therefor.

7. Persons ceasing to be members shall no longer have any share or interest in the property and funds of the Society.

8. **ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.** An Annual General Meeting shall be held in the month of January or February in every year, at such time and place as the Council shall appoint, to receive and consider the Report of the Council on the proceedings and financial position of the Society, to elect the Officers, Council and Auditors for the ensuing year, and for other business. Notice of the time and place of such meeting shall be sent to the members at least seven days previously.

9. **OFFICERS.** (a) The President shall be elected at an Annual General Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, to hold office for not more than three years. Upon retirement each President shall be styled a Past-President.

(b) Vice-Presidents and Trustees shall be nominated by the Council. An Honorary Treasurer, and Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Editor, an Honorary Librarian and an Honorary Director of Meetings, and any Assistant Officers that the Council may consider necessary, may be nominated by the Council, or by members of the Society, provided that in the latter case such nominations are in writing, signed by a proposer and a seconder, intimate that the nominee is willing, and are in the hands of the Honorary Secretary by 1st December. Elections shall take place at the Annual General Meeting but any vacancies that may occur during the year may be filled by the Council.

(c) The property of the Society shall be vested in Trustees, who shall deal with the same as the Council may direct.

(d) At the Annual General Meeting, two members shall be elected Honorary Auditors to audit the accounts of the Society and to report thereon to the next Annual General Meeting. Any vacancies that may occur during the year may be filled by the Council.

10. **COUNCIL.** (a) The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of not less than 12 nor more than 16 members to be elected at the Annual General Meeting of the Society together with the President, Past-Presidents and the officers appointed under Rule 9(b) as ex-officio members. Five, including three elected members, shall form a quorum. The Council shall, at its first meeting following the Annual General Meeting, elect from its own number a Chairman and Deputy Chairman.

(b) All the elected members of the Council shall retire at each Annual General Meeting, and the two senior elected members shall not be eligible for re-election for one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for re-election unless he has attended at least three of the meetings held by the Council during the previous twelve months. No new candidate shall be eligible for election unless two members of the Society shall, fourteen days previously to the Meeting, have given to the Honorary Secretary notice in writing of their intention to propose and second such person as a member of the Council. Any vacancies that may occur during the year may be filled by the Council. The Council shall have power to co-opt.

(c) At all meetings of the Council, the President of the Society, or in his absence the Chairman of the Council or Deputy Chairman, shall preside. In their absence the Senior Vice-President present shall take the chair. If none of these should be present, the chair shall be taken by such member of the Council as the meeting may elect.

(d) The Council shall meet at least six times a year for the transaction of business connected with the management of the Society, and shall have power to make its own rules of procedure.

11. (a) The Council shall be empowered to appoint Local Secretaries in such places and under such conditions as may appear desirable.

(b) The effects and property of the Society shall be under the control and management of the Council, which shall be at liberty to purchase books, or other articles, or to exchange or dispose of the same.

(c) The Council shall have the power to publish such books, papers and other documents as it may deem fit.

12. A report of the proceedings of the Society and a list of members shall be issued from time to time as the Council may direct.

13. MEETINGS. (a) General Meetings shall be held at times and places appointed by the Council for the reading of papers, for visiting places of archaeological and historical interest, and for other purposes relevant to the objects of the Society.

(b) The Council may at any time call a Special General Meeting, and shall be bound to do so on a written requisition from at least ten members specifying the business to be transacted. A notice stating the time and place of such meeting and specifying the business to be transacted shall be sent at least fourteen days previously to all members entitled to attend and vote, and no other subject shall be discussed or business transacted at that meeting.

(c) At all General Meetings of the Society, the President of the Society, or in his absence the senior Vice-President present or the Chairman of the Council or Deputy Chairman, shall preside. If none of these should be present, the chair shall be taken by such member of the Council as the meeting may elect. At all General Meetings of the Society ten members shall form a quorum.

(d) At every meeting of the Society, or of the Council, the resolutions of the majority of those present and voting shall be binding. In the case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second, or casting vote.

(e) No polemical or political discussion shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society, nor shall topics of a similar nature be admitted in the Society's publications.

14. SUBSCRIPTIONS. (a) Each Annual Member shall pay a subscription of two guineas to be due on 1st October in each year; except that a husband and wife may pay a joint subscription of three guineas, with entitlement to one copy of *Transactions* only.

(b) Each Life Member shall pay, in lieu of annual subscriptions, the sum of £40 if the member be not more than 35 years of age, or £35 if the member be more than 35 and not more than 55 years of age, or £30 if the member be over 55 years of age. These rates shall be reviewed every five years.

(c) Each Student Member shall pay an annual subscription of one guinea to be due on 1st October in each year.

(d) Each Junior Member shall pay an annual subscription of seven shillings and sixpence and shall be entitled to purchase the current *Transactions* at the special price of ten shillings.

(e) Each affiliated Local Society shall pay an annual affiliation fee of two guineas, to be due on 1st October each year.

(f) No member whose subscription or affiliation fee is in arrear shall be entitled to any privilege of membership; and when any such payment has been twelve months in arrear, the Council shall have the power to remove the name of such member from the list of members, whereupon membership shall cease.

(g) Any person or institution submitting an application form duly accompanied by the appropriate subscription between 1st July and 30th September shall be deemed to have paid the subscription for the following year.

15. ACCOUNTS. An account of receipts and expenditure for the year ending on 30th September preceding, together with a statement of the liabilities and assets of the Society, duly certified by the Honorary Auditors, shall be submitted to each Annual General Meeting. Copies of these accounts shall be provided at that meeting and shall be supplied to any member on request.

16. The whole of the composition of each Life Member shall be invested in any of the securities permitted by the Trustee Investment Act 1961, only the interest being available for current disbursements. No portion of the principal so invested shall be withdrawn except under authority of a resolution passed in accordance with Rule 13(d) at a General Meeting of the Society.

17. The Society may borrow or raise money for the purposes of the Society on such terms as may be thought fit, and may deposit security against such borrowing under authority of a resolution passed in accordance with Rule 13(d) at a General Meeting of the Society.

18. ALTERATION. No alteration shall be made in the Rules of the Society except at a Special General Meeting.

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*Volume 22 Part 3*

*1970*

*Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate, London E.C.2*

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*Hon. Editor:*

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## EDITOR'S NOTES

The Editorial Sub-Committee will be glad to consider papers submitted for publication in *Transactions*. Contributors are asked to note that:

- (i) Papers should be typed in double spacing, on one side of the paper. In general form, and in points of detail such as abbreviations, quotations, and references, papers should conform as far as possible to the usual style of *Transactions*.
- (ii) All papers, except the briefest, should begin with a summary of their aims, main points, and conclusions.
- (iii) Line drawings should be in Indian ink on good quality white board. Lines and lettering should be bold enough to admit of any necessary reduction. Where required a scale should be included.
- (iv) Photostat copies are seldom suitable for reproduction. When photographs are supplied, they should be of the highest possible quality, and have a glazed finish.
- (v) Full details of 'House Rules' are obtainable from the Editor on request.

The Editor takes this opportunity of thanking contributors for their support and co-operation, which are much valued.

# London & Middlesex Archaeological Society

114TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR ENDING  
30TH SEPTEMBER, 1969

There were sixteen meetings, including lectures on 18th October: *History of the University of London*, by Dr. F. Brook, B.Sc., Ph.D.; 16th November: *The Challenge of Local History*, by Lionel M. Munby (a joint meeting with the Historical Society of the City Literary Institute); 22nd November: *New Light on Roman London*, by Norman Cook, B.A., F.S.A.; 13th December: *Cave Art*, by Desmond Collins; 24th January 1969: *Annual General Meeting and Presidential Address, A Site in Westminster*; 21st February: *Roman Hemel Hempstead*, by David Neal; 21st March: *Eccles Roman Villa 1962-68*, by A. P. Detsicas, M.A., F.S.A.; 18th April: *Recent Archaeological Work on Post-Mediaeval Ceramics*, by J. Ashdown; 26th September: *The Lower Lea Valley Survey*, by Denis Smith, M.Sc., D.I.C., C. Eng., M.I. Mech. E.; and visits on 5th October: *West Drayton Local History Exhibition*; 7th December: *The House of St. Barnabas-in-Soho*; 22nd February 1969: *Charterhouse and the City Temple*; 8th March: *Pinner*; 19th April: *Recent Archaeological Sites in the City of London*; 3rd May: *Forest School, Snaresbrook*; 19th July: *Northampton* (all day visit).

The customary two Conferences were held and both were well attended. The Local History Conference was held on 23rd November, the principal speaker being P. D. Whitting, G.M., B.A., on *Local History in its London and National Setting*. The Archaeological Conference was held on 26th April, brief reports being given on excavations in the City of London, Lambeth, Brockley Hill and Northolt. The Stow Service was held at St. Andrew Undershaft on 2nd April and the address was given by Mrs. Cecil Woodham Smith, C.B.E. The Pepys Service was held at St. Olaves, Hart Street, on 29th May and the address was given by Sir Arthur Bryant, C.H.

Transactions Vol. XXII pt. I was issued as well as three numbers of the News Letter.

Membership at 1st October 1968 was 545 and at 30th September 1969 was 562 made up as follows: Life Members 49; Honorary Members 8; Student Members 33; Annual Members 472. There are 38 affiliated Societies. We record with deep regret the deaths of Dr. F. W. M. Draper, M.A., Ph.D., L-es-L, F.S.A., and G. E. Eades, M.A., L.C.P., F.S.A. (Scot.), M.R.S.T. Mr. D. R. Webb, B.A., A.L.A. was appointed Hon. Librarian.

On 18th April a Special General Meeting was held for the purpose of amending the rules of the Society. The text of the revised rules will be published in Transactions Vol. XXII part 2.

Under the Will of the late Mr. G. E. Eades the Society has received £100 to invest and apply the income to the provision of one lecture annually on some aspect of the history of London. It will be known as the George Eades Memorial Lecture.

Members will be aware that for many years the Society's library has been housed in the Reference Library of the Bishopsgate Institute. As a result of certain re-organisation in the library arrangements of the Institute, the Society was requested in December 1966 to move a considerable portion of its books into the basement storage it already occupied. This move left only a relatively small number of the books in the Reference Library. In February, 1969, the Governors of the Bishopsgate Foundation gave notice that they would require the library space we occupied so that the Society has been faced with the difficult task of finding fresh accommodation.

The Chairman of Council made strenuous endeavours to find such accommodation in other institutions but without success. Fortunately, however, the Corporation of London, to whom the basement accommodation, which had been occupied for so many years by us, had been leased, kindly agreed to allow us to remain there for the present, and possibly for some years. This means that the books at present remaining in the Reference Library of the Institute can be moved there, and when the additional shelving has been installed all the Society's books will be properly housed together. Whilst these arrangements are being made the Governors of the Institute have kindly allowed us to retain the library in its present position in their Reference Library.

## 114th Annual Report of Council

Although these changes will interfere with the former accessibility, arrangements are being made for the preparation and issue of a simple catalogue so that members can obtain books on application to the Hon. Librarian during normal library hours, or by post, in which case members would pay postage one way. As soon as these arrangements are complete members will be notified.

The accounts are presented in a revised form in accordance with the recommendations of the Policy Committee. It is hoped that members will find the information they need clearly presented in this new form, but fuller details of any item will continue to be available on application to the Hon. Treasurer. A substantial change has been made in the method of financing committee work, the Policy Committee having recommended that the committees should not hold funds independently beyond the end of year. In this, the first year in which the new arrangement has operated, the effect was to return to the General Fund the unspent portion of the grants made to committees in earlier years. All the committees had sufficient funds in hand at the commencement of the year to meet their expenditure without any additional grants.

The surplus of £297 for the year arose partly from the change described above, but further economies in administrative expenses also contributed to this result. It is the aim of Council to keep expenses at the lowest possible level and to use the available resources to provide a significant contribution to the study and protection of London's past as well as to ensure that members derive the fullest benefit from their subscriptions.

The Council wishes to record its sincere thanks to the Honorary Officers for their untiring efforts, without which the Society could not have carried on its work during a period of re-organisation and re-adjustment, in some aspects most successful, but also fraught with anxiety and difficulty.

By direction of the Council.

S. W. HOWARD, M.C., F.I.B.,  
Chairman of the Council.

E. E. F. SMITH,  
Honorary Secretary.

### EDITOR'S NOTE

The Annual Reports Nos. 109-113, covering the years 1964/68 inclusive, were published separately, and distributed at the respective Annual General Meetings, or subsequently in response to members' requests. A limited number of copies are available if required by members for binding with the parts of the volumes covering those years. Applications for them should be made to the Hon. Secretary.





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Corrected to 30th September, 1970

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# ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN THE CITY OF LONDON 1966-9

Contributed by the Guildhall Museum

## INTRODUCTION

This is an account of some archaeological investigations in the City of London between 1966-9. The text has been compiled by Mr. Peter Marsden who also directed the excavations.

The author is indebted to Mr. R. Merrifield for his valued advice in the preparation of these reports; and to the volunteers, mostly from the City of London Archaeological Society, whose labours were not in vain.

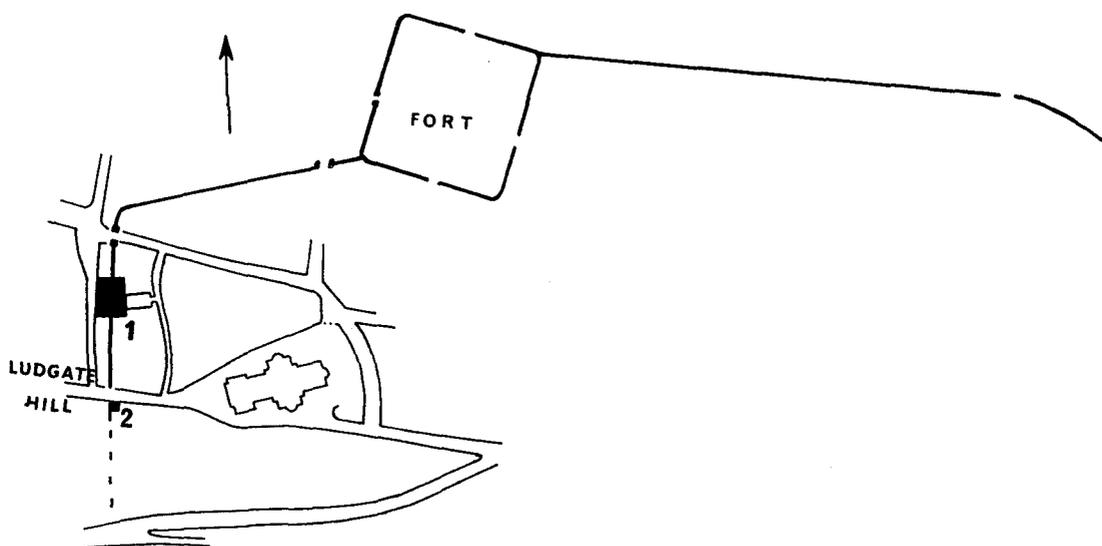


Fig. 1  
Sites excavated 1966-9.

Reference is made in this paper to groups of excavated objects which have been recorded in the Museum Excavation Register (e.g. E.R. 1237). These groups comprise the dating evidence for the archaeological features described in this report, but owing to a lack of time and staff none of them can be drawn at present. It is hoped that these groups will be published eventually, but meanwhile they are available for study on application to the Director, Guildhall Museum, Gillett House, 55 Basinghall Street, London, E.C.2.

### *Site 1. Central Criminal Court Extension (1966-9)*

The Roman and medieval features found inside the city defences on this site in Warwick Square, were reported in the last volume of the Transactions. As the rebuilding of the site in the area of the city defences was not completed the publication of the features on that part of

the site has been deferred until now (see fig. 2). Particular thanks are due to the architect of the new building, Mr. G. Whitby, and to the Central Criminal Court Extension Committee not only for permitting two detailed excavations in this part of the site, but also for preserving a short length of the bottom of the Roman city wall in the basement of the new building.

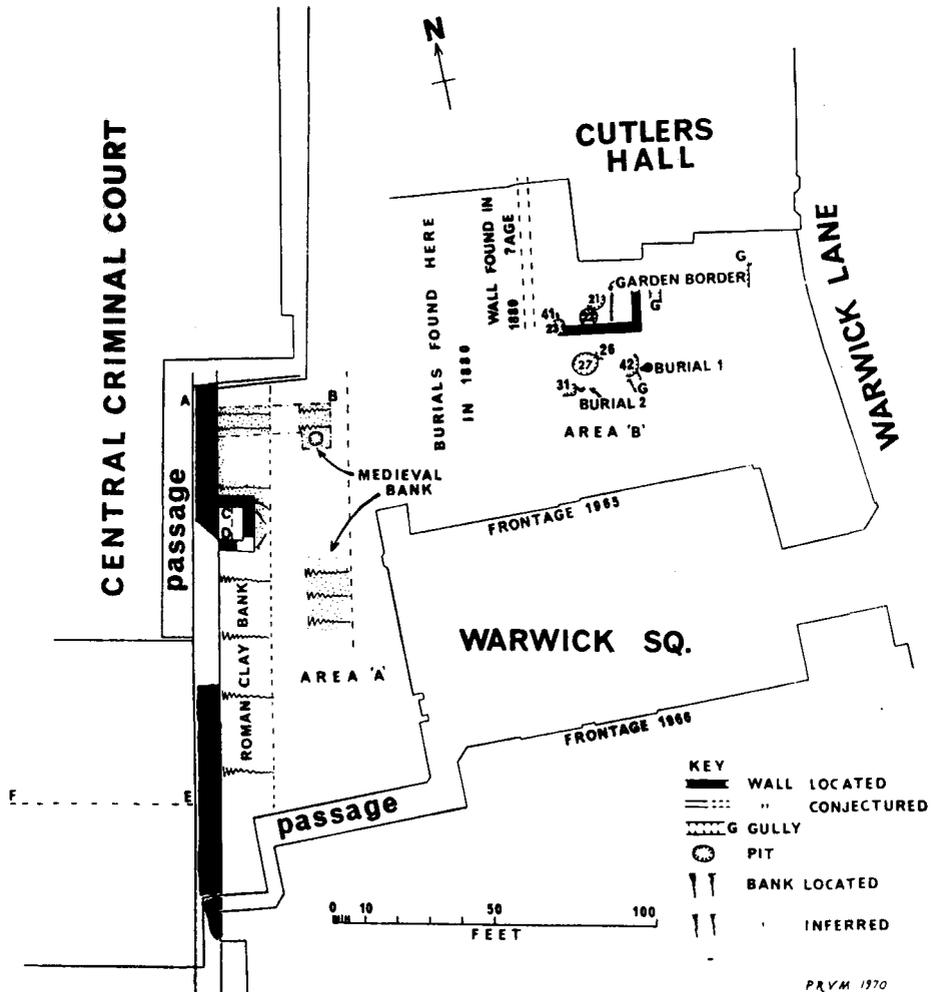


Fig. 2

Plan of Roman and Medieval City Defences on the Central Criminal Court Site.

## THE CITY DEFENCES

### ROMAN

The Roman city wall was probably about 8 ft. thick, but its outer face had been destroyed. The wall was built of ragstone and buff mortar, with courses of bonding tiles at intervals. A section was dug against its inner face and an almost complete sequence of Roman deposits was found (see fig. 3, plate A). Layer I was the loamy deposit pre-dating the wall as the wall foundation was cut into it. The deposit contained a considerable quantity of pottery ranging from the Flavian to the Antonine period (c. 170 A.D.), and a coin of Trajan.

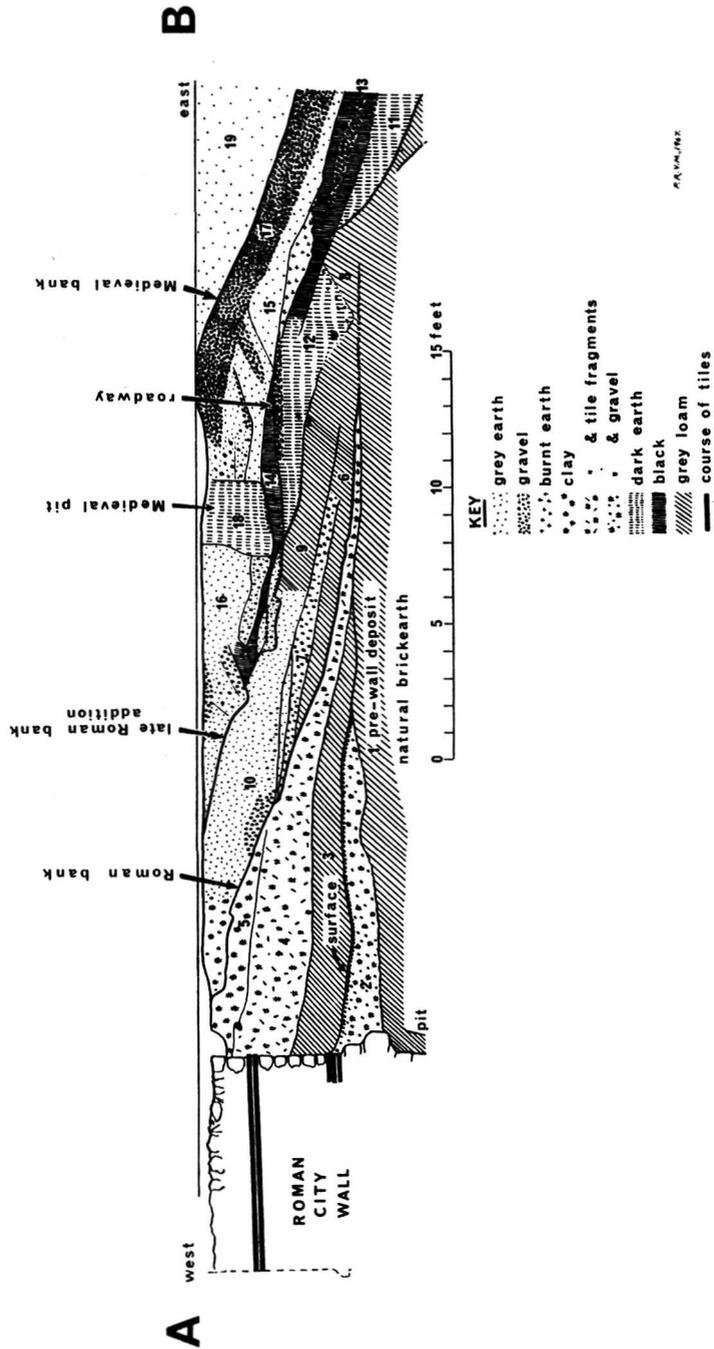


Fig. 3  
Section through Roman and medieval banks inside the City wall  
on the Central Criminal Court Site.

The first of the post-wall deposits was level 2, a clayey gravelly deposit overlying the foundation of the wall. The surface of this was hard and evidently formed at the time the wall was built, for it was covered by the internal bank of the wall.

The bank itself was about 5–6 ft. in height and 16 ft. wide, and comprised deposits 3, 4 and 5. Its surface was covered with a thin film of mortar dust which had presumably been weathered off the face of the wall above. The bank overlay the footings of the wall, and was evidently thrown up after the building of the lower part of the wall, but presumably almost immediately after, so that its date can for all practical purposes be taken as identical with that of the wall. Fortunately, the layers of which it was composed contained pottery which gives us a *terminus post quem* for their deposition. Level 3 was a grey loamy soil, evidently part of level 1 redumped, and it contained a considerable quantity of pottery, none later than the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D. (E.R. 1132). Deposits 4 and 5 were two major dumps of brickearth containing pottery of not later than the end of the 2nd century (E.R. 1193).

Overlying the tail of the bank were layers 6 and 7. The former was a greenish sandy soil with a small quantity of pottery of the early 2nd century (E.R. 1144); and the latter a gravelly earth containing a considerable quantity of Flavian pottery and a coin of Claudius (E.R. 1137). A few feet further east the bank tail was overlaid by a loamy soil (8) containing pottery of the early 3rd century. This deposit is especially important because unlike layers 6 and 7 it was not dumped, but was apparently gradually formed after the construction of the bank. It therefore suggests a date around A.D. 200 for the latter.

Layers 9 and 10 comprised an addition to the Roman bank at an unspecified date, and this might be associated with a pit or ditch, level 11, containing sherds of the 3rd century (E.R. 1143).

The later bank addition was possibly cut into by layer 12, a deposit of dark earth containing sherds of the 4th century (E.R. 1138). Overlying 12 was layer 13, a dark earth containing sherds of the first half of the 4th century (E.R. 1134, 1141). Above layer 12 was a small cambered roadway parallel with the wall, and built of ragstone chips. Possibly contemporary with this was a deposit of burnt earth, above level 13, which contained a single sherd of 3rd century pottery (E.R. 1145). It is likely, however, that the roadway is early medieval, since it lay in the open when the overlying deposit (layer 14) was formed, and this contained pottery of the 11–12th century.

A few yards south of this cutting was found an extremely well preserved turret on the inside of the city wall (plate B). The turret measured 8 ft. by 10 ft. internally, and its walls were 3 ft. 2 ins. thick. Its courses of tiles were exactly as in the city wall to which it was originally bonded, but on this site the wall was found to be leaning outwards slightly and had broken away from the turret (plate C).

The entrance to the turret was above the Roman land level behind the bank, and the sill of the entrance had been destroyed. A hollow in the tail of the bank behind the turret, however, suggested that the original position of the entrance lay about the middle of the east wall of the turret. In the bank behind the turret was found pottery of the late 2nd or early 3rd century and a coin of Domitian (E.R. 1237A, 1237B).

Pottery from and below the bank behind the Roman city wall points to its having been built about the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century, and this is consistent with the evidence from excavations on other sites along the city wall. These are on Tower Hill<sup>1</sup>, in Coopers Row<sup>2</sup> and in the Cripplegate area where a worn coin of A.D. 183–4 was found in a

deposit antedating the wall.<sup>3</sup> Other dating evidence which may be relevant to the building of the city wall is the quantity of pottery not later than the end of the second century contained in the material deliberately dumped in the east ditch of the Roman fort in the Guildhall area, presumably after its enclosure by the city wall.<sup>4</sup>

All of the evidence described above indicates a date *after which the wall was built*; and the significance of the turret on the Central Criminal Court site is that from it for the first time was recovered a sequence of datable deposits *post-dating* the wall, and together with the earlier deposits these strongly suggest that the wall was built before A.D. 225.

The sequence of deposits (section C-D, fig. 4) shows at the bottom a *grey loam* deposit which pre-dates the wall. This is the same layer as level 1 in fig. 3. The *grey loam* is covered by a *thin mortar spread* which was clearly deposited when the turret and city wall were built. In the section the north and south walls of the turret are shown, and also how the mortar of the wall underlay the dumped deposits above. The deposits must therefore have been dumped after the turret and the city wall were built. The lowest deposit was the *dirty gravel* which contained small pieces of mortar and many sherds dateable to the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century (E.R. 1244). This deposit had a hard surface and might have been dumped very soon after the construction of the turret to serve as a floor.

### SECTION ACROSS ROMAN TURRET

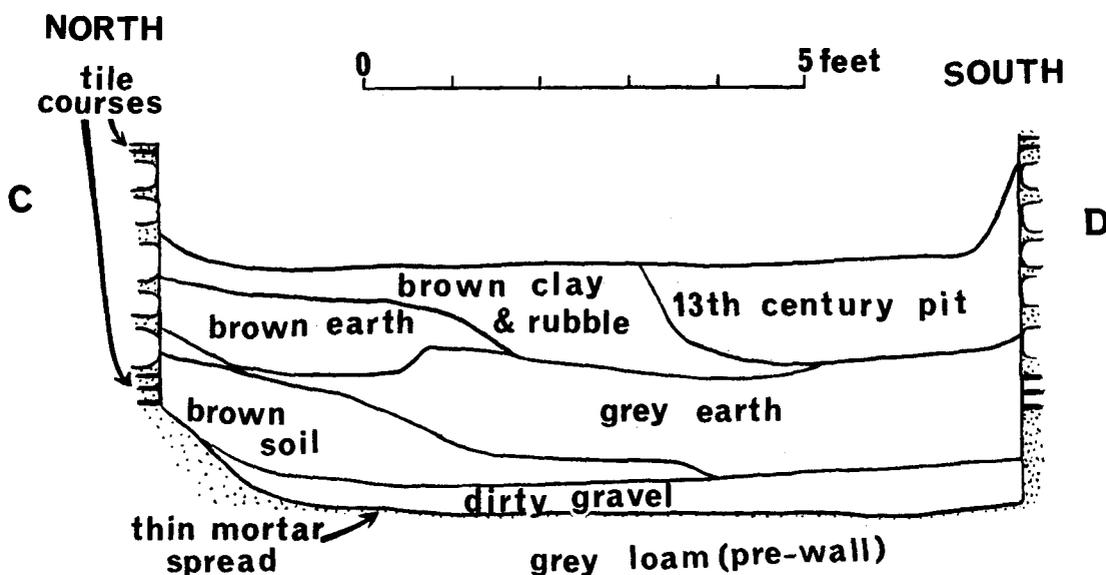


Fig. 4

Section through dumped deposits inside Roman turret on the Central Criminal Court Site.

The *brown soil* above, which was also a dumped deposit, contained a very large quantity of pottery dateable to the first quarter of the 3rd century (E.R. 1236, 1245). It also contained two coins of Antoninus Pius dated to 145-161 A.D., one of Commodus (A.D. 180-192),

and a denarius of Caracalla (*R.I.C.*, 311b) dated to A.D. 213–7. The earlier coins are well worn, but the denarius of Caracalla is in almost mint condition. There were also two forgers' double moulds made from three denarii which likewise showed practically no sign of wear. One mould had an obverse of Geta (A.D. 210–212) and the other an obverse of Severus (A.D. 201–210). Both had the same reverse of Caracalla (*R.I.C.*, 251) dated A.D. 215. It is quite clear from the lack of slag, crucibles and other items connected with metal working that the forging was carried out elsewhere, but it seems most unlikely that this layer was dumped very much later than A.D. 220.

Overlying this was a dump of *grey earth* containing a considerable quantity of pottery of the mid 3rd century and fragmentary skeletons of at least six dogs (E.R. 1247, 1235).

A layer of *brown earth* above this deposit on the north side of the turret also contained sherds of the mid 3rd century (E.R. 1248).

Above this was a deposit of *brown clay and rubble* from which a mortarium rim fragment of the mid 4th century was recovered (E.R. 1249).

Cutting into the *brown clay* was a 13th century rubbish pit (E.R. 1250, 1234).

It is clear from the slope of the dumped rubbish deposits that the dumping had mostly occurred at the north-west corner of the turret; and the lack of any hard surfaces, except on the *dirty gravel*, indicated that people did not walk upon the rubbish.

It must be assumed, therefore, that the lower part of the turret was occupied by a stairway, presumably of wood, leading from the doorway, the sill of which did not survive and must have been above the level of the layers of rubbish. Behind and below the stairway was evidently a space which remained open, and this was used from time to time for the dumping of refuse.

#### MEDIEVAL

The excavation against the inner face of the city wall exposed part of a great early medieval bank of earth and gravel which had been piled against the wall (fig. 3, layers 15, 16 and 17). The top of the hard gravel layer 17 is the surface of the bank.

Overlying the small roadway of ragstone chips was a deposit of black earth, layer 14, which contained many sherds of the 4th century. This had evidently been dumped during the early Middle Ages for on the road surface was a single rim sherd of a cooking-pot of the 11th or 12th century (E.R. 1139, 1192). Above layer 14 could be seen the tip-lines of the medieval bank. Layer 15 contained much 4th century pottery and one possible early medieval sherd (E.R. 1146).

Cutting into the medieval bank was a pit, layer 18, containing a few sherds, one of which was glazed. This seems to date from the 12th or 13th century, and clearly post-dates the bank. Another pit (not shown on the section) was found dug into the gravel layer 17 and this contained a large quantity of pottery of the first half of the 13th century (E.R. 1136). It would seem that the bank was built probably during the 12th or early 13th century.

A section was quickly dug across the defensive ditches outside the city wall by a mechanical excavator. This disclosed the presence of two ditches, both evidently of medieval date (see fig. 5). Deep disturbances beyond the wall had destroyed all trace of the Roman ditch, which anyway may have been destroyed by one of the medieval ditches.

The earlier medieval ditch had been almost entirely destroyed by the enormous later medieval ditch, and only its V-shaped bottom had survived. A medieval brown glazed tile

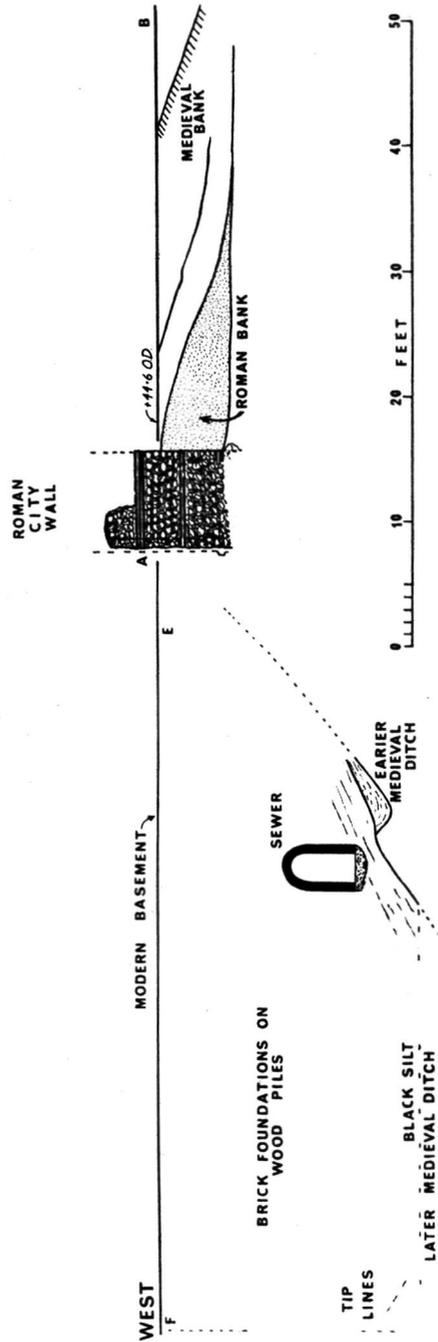


Fig. 5  
Section across Roman and Medieval City Defences  
on the Central Criminal Court Site.

fragment was found at the bottom of the ditch filling suggesting a date of not earlier than the 12th or 13th century for the ditch. The bottom of the earlier ditch lay 17 feet below the plinth level at the base of the Roman wall, and 21 feet beyond the probable position of the destroyed external face of the city wall.

The later medieval ditch was clearly very broad, its outer limit not having been found at 62 feet beyond the outer face of the city wall. Its bottom was not reached in the excavation which extended 20 feet below the level of the bottom of the Roman wall. The lower filling of the ditch comprised a stiff black silt and layers of peaty vegetable debris. A part of the sloping east side of the ditch close to the city wall was located indicating that the ditch started more or less from the city wall. Downward sloping tip lines, presumably following the outer slope of the ditch were located at 62 feet beyond the outer face of the city wall.

It is clear that this extremely large ditch was probably between 80 and 100 feet wide at this point, and that the street now called Old Bailey, which existed in the 13th century, presumably had its origin as a street or track following the outer edge of the great ditch. The streets now called Houndsditch, Minories and Fore Street were probably of similar origin.

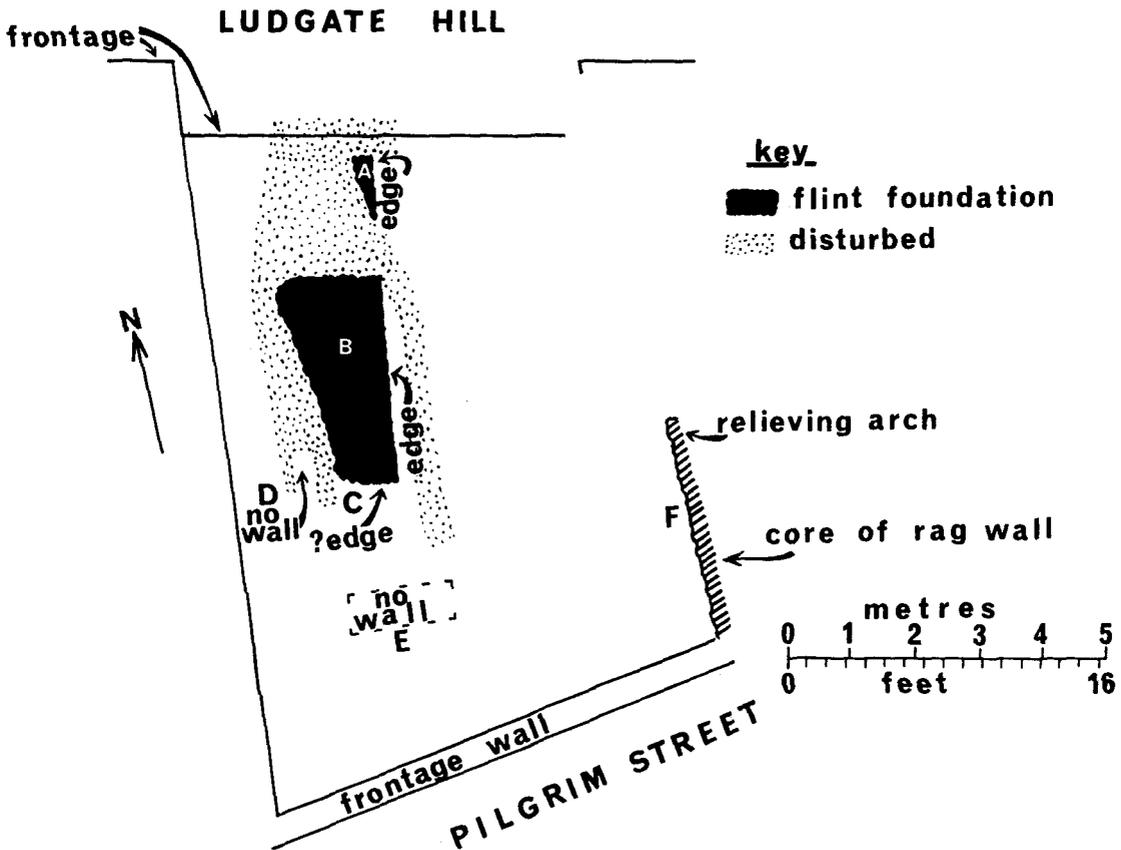


Fig. 6  
Roman and late walls at No. 37 Ludgate Hill.



PLATE A. Inner face of Roman city wall, showing the surface of an unexcavated section of the Roman clay bank. Note two square modern foundations. (Scale in feet).

PLATE B. Roman turret found on Central Criminal Court site. Roman city wall is on the right. (Feet Scale).





PLATE C. Junction of Roman city wall (*left*) and north wall of internal turret (*right*), showing the crack where the former has pulled away from the latter. (Scale in feet).

Unfortunately due to lack of time it was not possible to investigate this deep narrow section cut across the city ditches. However in the higher part of the section the black silt was overlaid by dumped rubble and rubbish upon which lay several brick walls. These walls tended to be built on wooden piles, and are clearly buildings constructed after the ditch was filled-in in the late 16th century.

Site 2. 37 Ludgate Hill 1969 (fig. 6)

During alterations to this building the owners, Haslemere Estates Ltd., kindly allowed the museum to excavate beneath in the basement during one weekend to try to locate Ludgate, which was thought to lie partly on this site.

#### ROMAN

The basement floor was found to overlie the natural brickearth at a depth of about three metres from pavement level. Cutting into the brickearth were several Roman pits and a foundation, which had all been badly disturbed by recent drains and foundations.

The Roman foundation (fig. 6 A, B) was built of flints, freshly mined from chalk, set in sticky puddled clay. Only two fragments of it had survived the extensive modern disturbances, and only the bottom of this foundation had survived.

This was either the foundation of the Roman city wall or part of the south tower of the Roman gate at Ludgate. A trench (E) was dug south of the Roman foundation to clarify this important point, and in it no sign of a continuation of the Roman foundation was found. It seems most likely, therefore, that the Roman foundation (A, B) was the east or rear wall of the south tower of the Roman gate. This view is strengthened by the possible discovery of the south-east corner of the tower, although the south edge (C) was not too straight. A little west of this corner (D), however, no trace of the south wall of the tower was found in a small undisturbed area, and this suggests the existence of an external buttress at the east end of the south wall of the tower. It must be remembered, however, that only the bottom of the Roman foundation had survived, and that these ends of the wall may be more apparent than real and could be due to variations in the depth of the Roman foundation trench. Nevertheless this does not apply to the eastern edge of the foundation which was positively located.

The construction of the foundation is exactly like that of the Roman city wall, indicating that a gate at Ludgate was a primary feature of the defences of Roman London.

#### POST ROMAN

Buried in the east wall of this modern building is part of a wall of ragstone set in yellow mortar (F). Only parts of this wall were seen, for it extended below the level of the modern basement floor, and was observed standing to a height of 4 metres above the ground floor—giving it a total surviving height of about 7 metres. Almost half way along the east wall of the modern building was seen, in the basement, the edge of a relieving arch.

There is little doubt that this is the rear or east wall of the south tower of the last gate built at Ludgate in 1586. The earliest known mention of a gate here dates to 1100-1135, but this gate was rebuilt in 1586 and demolished in 1760.<sup>5</sup>

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> London & Middlesex Historian, No. 3 (1966), p.8.
- <sup>2</sup> Trans. L.M.A.S., Vol. 21 pt. 2 (1965), p.135, fig.1.
- <sup>3</sup> R. Merrifield, *The Roman City of London*, 1965, p.52.
- <sup>4</sup> Trans. L.M.A.S., Vol. 22, pt. 1 (1968), p.9.
- <sup>5</sup> H. Harben, *A Dictionary of London*, 1918, p.372.

# AN INVESTIGATION OF ROMAN ROAD No. 167<sup>1</sup>

BY BRIAN ROBERTSON

(Hendon and District Archaeological Society)

## SUMMARY

Fieldwork has been carried out in an attempt to prove a suggested line of route No. 167<sup>2</sup>. Excavations have been carried out in three places and resistivity surveys in seven places along the route. No evidence of a Roman road was found in any of these places, but a road of probable fourteenth century date was found at one site excavated. In addition, excavations were carried out in four places and resistivity surveys in eleven areas not on the Viatores published line, to test alternative routes. A road of Roman date was found in two of the places excavated.

## INTRODUCTION

The Viatores in their book suggest a line for a Roman road from St. Albans via Shenley, Well End, Barnet Gate, Mill Hill, Hendon, Golders Green, Hampstead and so into London. They published excavated evidence for this road at Verulam Golf Course (Grid Ref.: TL 161055, O.S. 1 in. Map No. 160), and at Well End (TQ 205983), but they could only suggest a route from there southwards into London. The portion of the route under investigation was south of the last proven section (C.M.5) at Well End to Jack Straw's Castle (TQ 24628645) on Hampstead Heath (see fig. 1). No investigations were, however, carried out north of Barnet Gate. Various factors limited the investigation of the postulated route. Between Barnet Gate and Highwood Hill, the line runs on public footpaths and metalled roads, thus preventing sectioning. South of Highwood Hill the first open space available for investigation was the area to the north of the Lawrence Street Allotments, TQ 219932 (see Site A). At this point the road was thought to realign on to Mill Hill Ridgeway and then run down Milespit Hill. This would bring it into the next site available for investigation, where the line crosses the disused railway track from Mill Hill East to Edgware at TQ 232914. Investigations were carried out both in the south bank of the railway cutting, and in the adjoining Cophall Fields (see Site B). From here the Viatores proposed a route running across the Great North Way and then through a densely populated area of the London Borough of Barnet along the line of Brent Street to the Golders Green Road. This portion of the route from Site B did not lend itself to any form of investigation. At the junction of the Golders Green Road and the North Circular Road it was possible to cut a section on the proposed line (see Site C), in the garden of No. 1 Woodlands (TQ 241885). The proposed route then remains inaccessible until Golders Hill Park and West Heath, the latter being in the London Borough of Camden. Resistivity meter surveys have been carried out at a number of places on West Heath (see Site D), but no surveys have been made south of Jack Straw's Castle. In all, a distance of some seven miles is under consideration, from Barnet Gate to Jack Straw's Castle. Detailed reports of the investigated sites follow.



that concentrations of pebbles were not found elsewhere in the garden of No. 9, and also trenches on this line in the neighbouring building site showed orange-grey clay sections down to at least 10 ft.

The site chosen for excavation on the Viatores line was outside the present allotment area and had only been cultivated for a short period during the war.<sup>4</sup> Apart from this it has been grazing land as far as can be ascertained. It was planned to open a trench across the Viatores line and also to investigate further north-east, as there was a possibility that the road could have realigned earlier to gain the Ridgeway by one realignment only. A total of 88 ft. out of a section length of 160 ft. was opened, and the ground was found to be undisturbed. In all the areas opened, including the Viatores line, there were only a few inches of topsoil which gave way to undisturbed orange clay (see fig. 2). There was a marked absence of pebbles and the few that were present in places were certainly not indicative of any solid feature. The sections showed no sign of the road ever having been there or of having been subsequently removed.

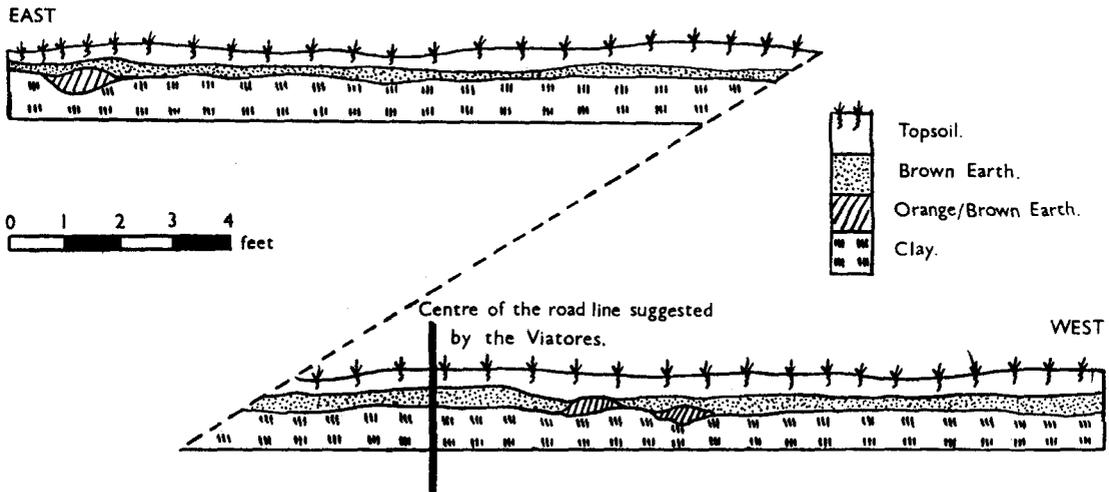


Fig. 2

Site A. South face of Trench 2 showing the section across the Viatores proposed line.

The total absence of the road led to some re-thinking about the route. It must also be noted that those holders of allotments who were questioned had not themselves, nor knew of anyone who had, an excess of pebbles in their cultivation areas. From looking at the cultivated areas, from extensive resistivity meter surveys both north and south of the allotments, and also from the excavations carried out to the north of the allotments, it can be stated that no Roman road crossed this open space. If, however, the very thin evidence at 9, Abbey View, is road-metalling, then the road may lie under the odd numbers of Lawrence Gardens N.W.7. Consultations with the owner of No. 1 Lawrence Gardens, however, cast doubts on this theory, as no pebble features were noted during the landscaping of the garden.

Other routes bypassing the allotments were considered and investigated with a Martin Clark Resistivity Meter.<sup>5</sup> Routes such as Barnet Gate to the Old Forge, Hendon Wood Lane

to the Old Forge, Barnet Gate to St. Vincents, were all investigated and no positive indications obtained. In all some six routes from Barnet Gate were investigated, and all proved to be negative (see fig. 3).

SITE B<sup>6</sup>

The suggested line for the road ran from Mill Hill Ridgeway down Milespit Hill, across the disused railway line between Mill Hill East and Edgware and then across Copthall Playing Fields to the Great North Way. A suitable site to cut a section on the Viatores line was the south bank of the disused railway cutting at TQ 232914.<sup>7</sup> It was also planned to trace the line across the adjacent Copthall Fields.<sup>8</sup> It was decided at the same time to test an alternative theory that the road ran somewhat to the east of the line suggested by the Viatores.

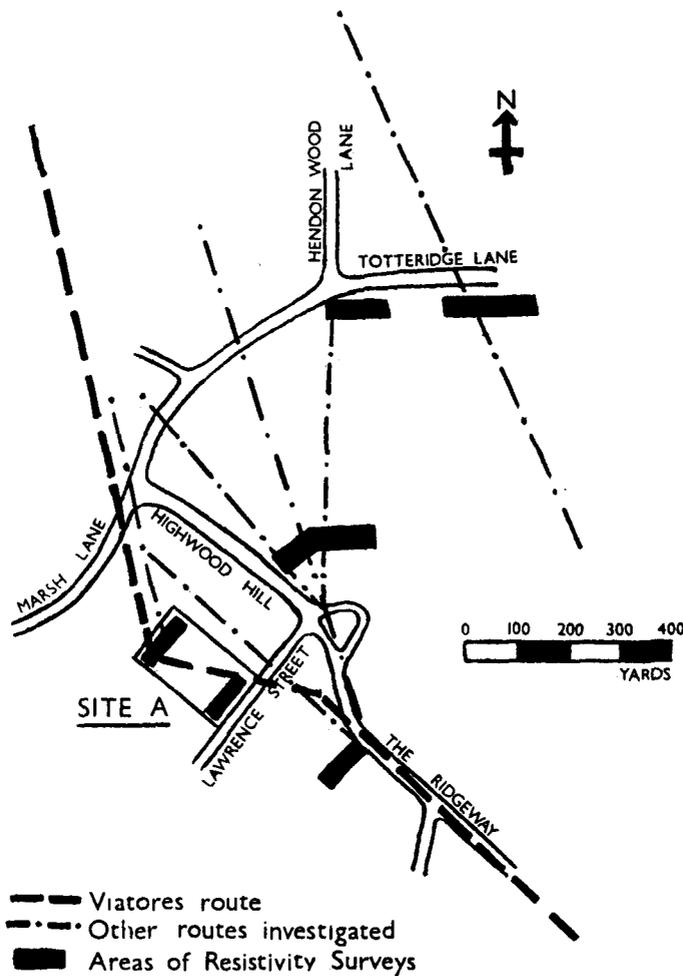


Fig. 3  
Possible routes investigated in the vicinity of Site A. Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Crown copyright reserved.

It would have crossed only a very small part of the Copthall Fields before crossing the neighbouring Hendon Golf Course in an alignment towards the junction of Ashley Lane and the Great North Way. Evidence in support of this line was given by Mr. Mason, an ex-Head Greenkeeper of Hendon Golf Course. He reported finding a well packed pebble spread at TQ 233911, the like of which did not occur elsewhere on the golf course.

Site B comprises both the railway cutting and the relevant portion of Copthall Fields (Areas 1 and 2) which were included in one grid based on the road bridge over the railway at TQ 232914. The base line of the grid was laid along the track bed from a point 14 ft. along a line joining the west face of the two supporting piers. This point was at a perpendicular distance of 11 ft. 1½ in. from the brickwork of the northern pier. The north-west corner of the grid was located 240 ft. from this point and a grid of 10 ft. squares was laid.

#### SITE B: THE RAILWAY CUTTING

A total of 48 ft. was opened out of a section of 70 ft. as high up the bank of the cutting as permissible. In all the grid squares opened, only half-grid squares were actually excavated due to the proximity of the fence and the public footpath. Square 5D overlay the postulated Viatores route, and when opened yielded a south section cut to 3 ft. depth, consisting of 4½ in. of clay overlying 4 in. of light stony topsoil which lay on a chocolate clay for the rest of the section. Thus in this square, there was no evidence of disturbance of any kind, except the occurrence of a clay surface layer resulting from some earlier earthworks in the cutting. Squares 7D and 8D yielded the foundations of a path (lying on the clay which was taken as natural for the site) with an associated post at the west of square 7D. This post was considered to be part of the stile over which one could cross the railway track when a right-of-way existed across the track, before the footpath was diverted eastwards up on to the bridge. Squares 9D and 10D yielded a considerable amount of pebbles and flints which could well have been disturbed road-metalling. The total thickness of the pebble and flint containing layers varied from 1 ft. 6 in. to 2 ft., and lay directly on the London clay. In square 9D, this supposedly natural clay contained a roughly circular patch of gravel of diameter varying between 2 ft. and 2 ft. 6 in. at a depth of 2 ft. 6 in. to 4 ft. 6 in. Although the pebble containing layers of 9D and 10D were stratified, they did not appear indicative of a road. There was, however, some tailing off of the pebble-containing layers in the south section of 11D, the bulk of which consisted of clay and dark soils, with a few stones. The layer of stony clay visible in the south section of 11D yielded four sherds of grey-coated, red fabric (11.D.A.1 and 11.D.A.8.). These pieces are considered to be of sixteenth century date. In square 9D a piece of sandstone was found (overall dimensions 1 ft. 1 in. x 7 in. x 6 in.). This had its long axis inclined at an angle of about 45° to the vertical. This was well packed into the pebble layers with no apparent hole dug for it, and it was completely covered by the pebbles. Similar lumps of sandstone, although much smaller, were found in other parts of the site in the road metalling where it had been established. These stones are not natural in the London clay, but could very well have come from the glacial boulder clay at Finchley, not very far away.

Other finds from the banks of the cutting were few, and consisted of several decayed wood samples, several fragments of assorted red fabric, unglazed, and red fabric brown-glazed pottery, and part of an upper jaw of a domestic animal. A topsoil find from the north bank of the cutting while probing, was a complete clay pipe bowl and two pieces of clay pipe stem.

A piece of combedware was picked up from the surface of square 12D. These finds have been retained but are not discussed or illustrated in this report.

The fact that clay constituted the top layer in all the sections of the cutting bank indicated that some disturbance had taken place. Disturbance of any sort was unexpected, as the Society had been told by the Clerk of Works of London Midland Region of British Rail, that the banks would not have been tampered with in any way. As the work progressed it was found that the north and south sections did not correlate. This was later proved to be due to the insertion of a large pipe thus giving gross disturbance to the northern halves of all the trenches.

The south sections of the six trenches cut into the bank, though undoubtedly disturbed themselves at some time, indicate two major points. Firstly there was no road on the line postulated by the Viatores. Secondly a large amount of pebbles and flints had been deposited in 9D and 10D only, which, if it was road-metalling, appeared to be on the alternative route across the golf course.

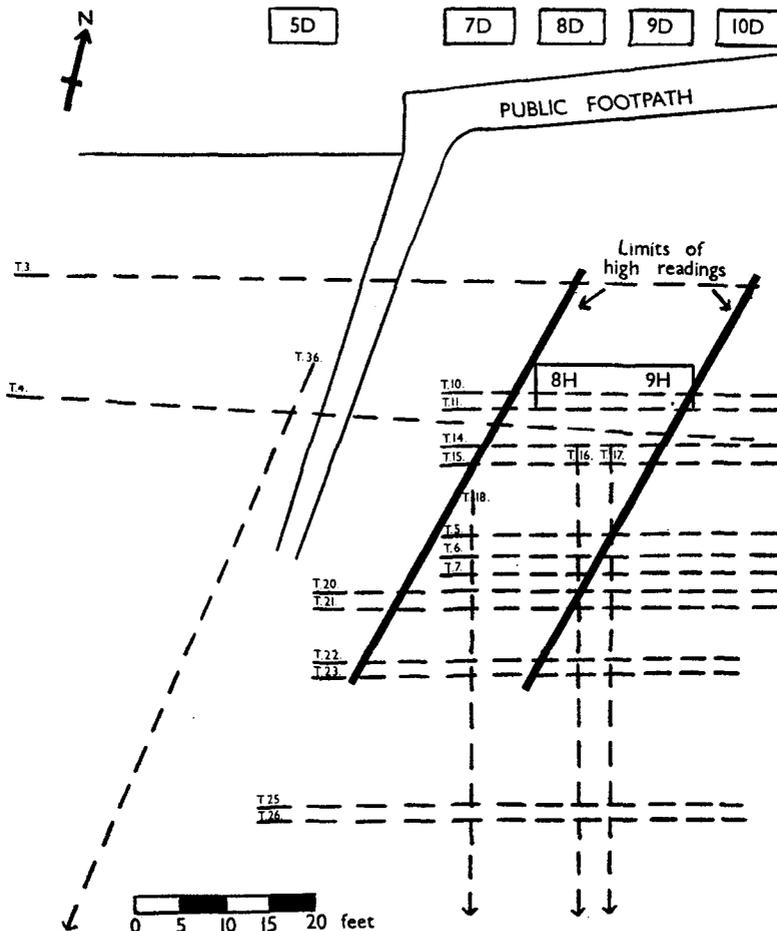


Fig. 4  
Resistivity Survey plan. Only those traverses referred to in the text have been included in the above plan.

SITE B: COPTHALL FIELDS, AREA I—RESISTIVITY SURVEY<sup>9</sup>

While work was in progress in the cutting, and the evidence was pointing more and more to a very disturbed set of resulting sections, an intensive resistivity survey was carried out in Cophall Fields. This was at first carried out in the northern portion of the fields adjacent to the railway cutting and on both the east and west side of the public footpath so that no matter what the outcome of the excavations in 5D to 11D all possible routes would be investigated. The instrument used in this survey was the same as that used on Site A. Trial traverses were carried out using 2, 3 and 4 ft. electrode separation on the Wenner system of surveying.<sup>10</sup> From the results of these, taken in conjunction with the possible road-metal depth in 9D and 10D it was decided to use 2 ft. electrode separation throughout the survey.

The first major traverse (No. 3 on fig. 4), was taken to cross both the possible routes and was started 50 ft. to the west of the public footpath. The resulting graph (fig. 5) showed average readings of between 10 and 20 ohms over the entire portion of the traverse to the west of the public footpath, i.e. over the Viatores route. The public footpath itself gave only slightly raised values as it consisted of only a thin layer of gravel and asphalt, which did not penetrate deep enough to affect the value of the specific resistance. After about 20 ft. to the east of the path the values began to rise steadily to a maximum of 140 ohms and then to drop to the previous average. This peak was spread over some 20 ft. This feature was aligned on the alternative route, across the golf course. A similar traverse, No. 4, was run some 10 ft. further south, and a very similar result obtained. In order to allow for easier recording of the survey, the traverses were, from this stage on, all based on the grid squares, which, at the time of traverses Nos. 3 and 4 had not been laid. An intensive survey of parallel traverses 2 ft. apart was carried out to the east of the footpath to investigate this feature further.

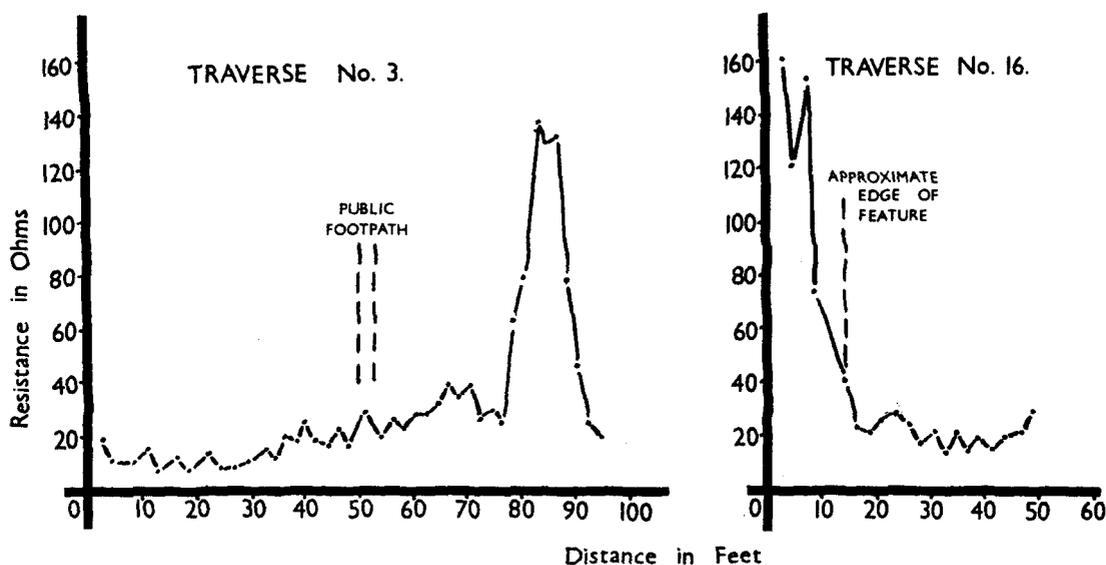


Fig. 5

Two examples of resistivity traverses using a 2ft. electrode separation, which showed the feature.

As they were carried out the traverses pieced together a very interesting result. The first signs that all was not simply on the golf course line came when traverses 5, 6 and 7 produced peaks substantially west of the golf course line, and running in a south-westerly direction. This line was substantiated by traverses 10, 11, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22 and 23 shown on fig 4. Thus a line of resistance peaks was apparent for some 60 ft. In order to try and check this line, which was running diagonally between the Viatores and the golf course line, traverses were run down the grid lines, i.e. in a south-south-easterly direction. Traverses 16, 17 and 18 were done on this idea, and the resistance values were found to drop on the line predicted by the other traverses, thus indicating the edge of the feature (fig. 5). None of the traverses taken showed obvious ditches, which it would be possible to detect using a resistivity meter. Thus, it became apparent that if this feature was a road it was running diagonally between the two possible routes under consideration at this stage. Further difficulties were encountered when traverses 25 and 26 failed to give any peaks whatsoever. Further traverses, north, south, east and west of these two failed to give any indication of any change of direction, or any reason why the feature should have been lost. Traverse No. 36 was taken some 310 ft. in length along the west side of the public footpath, over about half the length of the first field and failed to give any indication that the solid feature had crossed the footpath. More and more traverses were carried out in the first field and no further sign of the feature was picked up on any line.

On moving south into the second field no peaks were obtained on the Viatores line, or in a straight projection of the line indicated by the resistivity meter in the first field. On traversing to the east of the public footpath comparable peaks to those originally obtained were found on the golf course line, in a straight line from the previous evidence of Mr. Mason. Thus it appeared that if this feature was a road, it must realign somewhere in the first field. By projection of the resistivity peaks this realignment, if it existed, would be on the west side of the public footpath, but traverse No. 36 had ruled out any feature crossing the footpath.

#### SITE B: COPTHALL FIELDS, AREA I—EXCAVATIONS

As this somewhat complicated resistivity picture was building up, excavations were commenced over the area of maximum activity of traverses Nos. 10 and 11, where peaks of 206 and 152 ohms had been recorded. An 18 ft. by 5 ft. trench was cut in the northern halves of grid-squares 8H and 9H (see fig. 4). Within a day the light ploughed topsoil (last ploughed in 1964, according to local information), had given way to a large quantity of pebbles. At first these became visible at the centre of the trench, and on working to the east and the west edges of the trench a distinct cambered pebble layer, extending over the entire 18 ft. trench became apparent. In 1964, this field was ploughed to a depth of 9 in. and this might well account for the large number of pebbles in the topsoil and it was considered that if this was the road, the actual surface would have suffered considerably from ploughing over the years. This theory was later confirmed when the topsoil was removed over the south face of trenches 8H and 9H to expose the pebble layer. This was done by cutting back the south face for a foot over the entire length of the trench and carefully removing the topsoil down to firm pebbles. The result was equidistant heaps of pebbles considerably disturbed, the tops of which were in one or two cases a matter of a few inches below the present day ground level. When a similar procedure was carried out on the opposite side of the trench close to field boundary very little disturbance appeared to have been caused, and a reasonable area of road surface was

exposed. This surface had obviously lost metalling over the years, but it seemed to indicate that the road was metalled only with pebbles, so that its surface would have been kept solid by virtue of being used. There appeared to be little or no damage due to ploughing on this north side, thus indicating that the plough swung round in the space of the trench width.

At this stage the evidence of site and composition indicated that this feature could well be a Roman road but that as yet the full width had not been realised and excavations were continued westwards into 7H and eastwards into 10H. Excavations were also commenced in squares 7K and 8K, which were located over the last resistivity peaks at the south of the main site. It was hoped that some evidence as to why the resistivity meter should have ceased showing peaks might be found. At a later stage square 6J was opened when the locating of the west edge of the road was becoming both difficult and crucial.

The sections of the south faces of 7H, 8H, 9H, and 10H (fig. 6), showed that the road metalling consisted of varying sizes of pebbles. All that appeared to remain of the upper surface was a layer of hard packed pebbles occupying approximately the central portion of the camber. Below this spreading for some 20 ft. in the north section and 24 ft. in the south section was a layer of much pebble, but in this case there was a fair amount of light clay packing material. At the east end of the north section, this layer appeared to define an edge clearly, and this point was taken as a point on the east edge for plotting purposes. In the north section below the central portion of the pebbles in the light clay layer could be seen a layer of dark clay and pebbles. Spreading westwards from this was a layer of distinctly yellow clay with some pebbles but not in quite the quantity of the layers above.

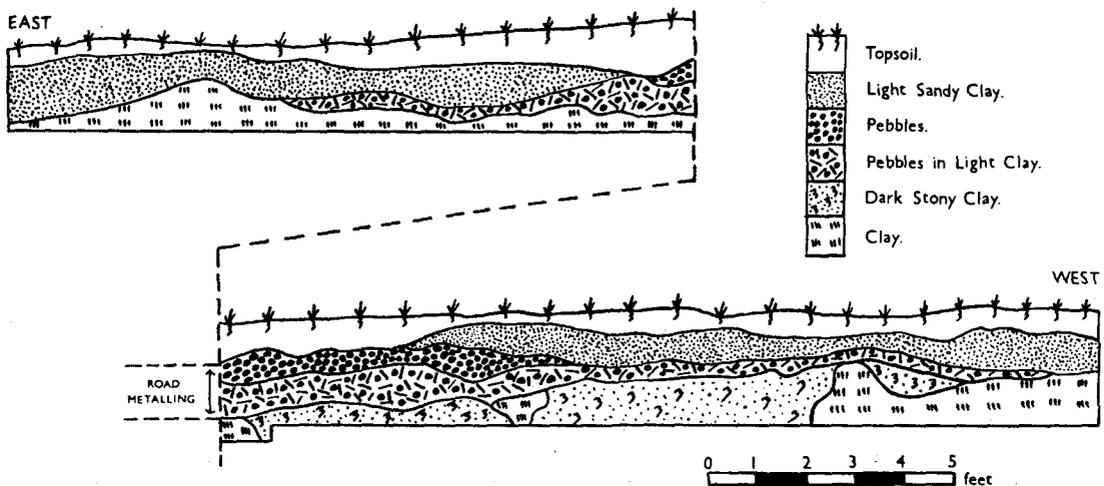


Fig. 6

Site B. South face of Trenches 7H, 8H, 9H and 10H showing the road structure.

It is thus very difficult to decide if these constitute part of the road material, for they show no sign of tailing off. It was noted that the south sections had no parallel to the yellow clay and pebble layer, but in the central portion of the section the layer of pebbles in light clay was thicker as if to compensate for the lack of the dark clay and pebbles of the north section. No ditches were apparent at either end of these sections.

The southern halves of squares 7K and 8K were opened to try and locate two further points on the east edge of the road (fig. 7), and this aim was achieved. A similar set of soil types were present in this trench as in squares 7H-10H. In the north face an east edge of the road was apparent 10 ft. 6 in. from the north-west corner of the trench. These points align well with the two points in square 10H (fig. 7). These sections showed a considerably more damaged road than in 7H-10H. In the south face a portion of the pebble layer had been removed between 3 and 4 ft. from the west end and in the north face a similar but deeper area appeared to have been lost but partially filled with pure clay. These features, which one can suggest were related to field drainage after the road had fallen into disuse and been lost, appear not to have been dug in recent years. This is inferred from the fact that both are well covered by the pottery-containing light sandy clay.

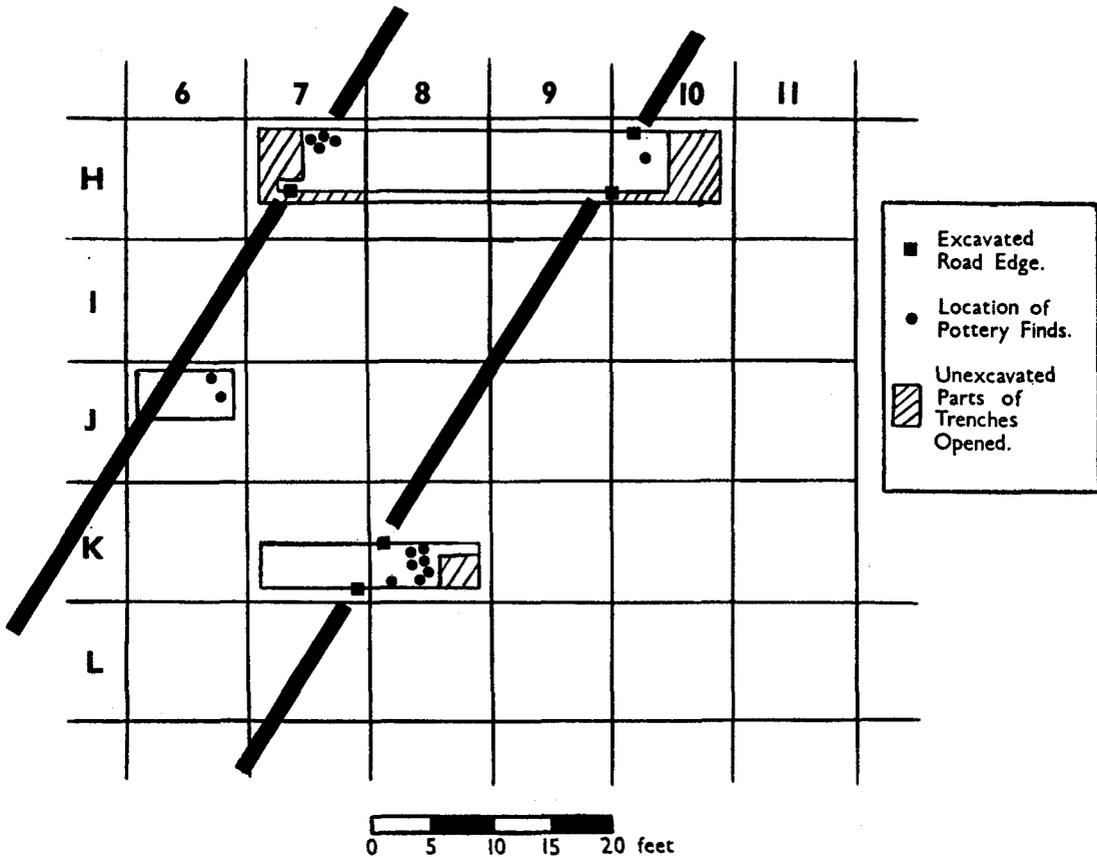


Fig. 7  
 Site B. A portion of the grid showing the location of the pottery finds.

The excavation of 7H, 8H, 9H, and 10H, yielded two points on the east edge of the road and very late in the excavations a point on the west edge in the south face of 7H. Square 6J was opened in an attempt to locate another point on the west side of the road. The northern

half of this trench was taken down some 2 ft. by which depth work was well into the London clay, with no evidence of the road metalling except for a few pebbles scattered in the topsoil and sandy soil below. The excavation of 6J leads to the conclusion that the road had suffered damage at some time, and considerable working of the soil had been carried out, which would account for the solid structure of the road being lost.

#### SITE B: COPTHALL FIELDS, FINDS FROM AREA I: INTRODUCTION

A variety of post-medieval topsoil finds was recovered from the site, all of which have been retained but will not be discussed in this report. The only post-medieval find of interest was a piece of decorated clay pipe stem. Each side of the portion of the stem found bears part of an inscription, which on one side reads: 'EXHIBITION OF INDUST' and on the other '19 PORTLAND ST. SOHO.'

Important Roman finds were made at each end of the long trench 7H-10H. From later evidence it can be concluded that the finds from squares 7H and 10H were either on the edge or outside the line of the road (fig. 7). The pottery from square 7H all came from a very small area, approximately 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 4 in. in the layer of light sandy clay. This was the pottery-bearing layer, already referred to, and it was a common layer all over the main site. Where it occurred in reasonable proximity to the road levels the pebble content increased, presumably the work of the plough. The small area in 7H yielded 78 assorted fragments of pottery. In the area were also noted soil discolourations and charred particles. The Roman finds from square 10H, at the east end of the long section, numbered only 5 pieces. Like those at the western end of the trench, these were in the light sandy clay layer. Square 8K yielded 35 pieces of Roman pottery, all from the layer of light sandy clay. This layer did contain a few pebbles, but, as elsewhere on the site the pebble content varied considerably depending on the proximity of the road metalling. Although no road structure was found in square 6J, the sandy soil present in the trench yielded some 6 pieces of Roman pottery. As these were similar to those from the rest of the site, they tend to indicate that the road had been in the vicinity.

#### ROMAN POTTERY

The following items of pottery were found at the edges of the road in the trenches indicated by the first number and letter of their identification number (fig. 7). The pieces are predominantly native British wares dated between the mid-first and the early second century A.D., some of which are pre-conquest in character. The writer is indebted to Mr. N. Cook, Mr. M. R. Hull and Mr. H. L. Sheldon for their kindness in examining the finds and for their invaluable comments.

- 6.J.A.1 (fig. 8 No. 3) 3 pieces of grey fine fabric pottery, 2 of which form part of a rim. This is considered to be late first century in date. This rim form is very close to the type A.5 rim group from the Highgate Wood kiln site at present under excavation.<sup>11</sup> The fabric is, however, sandier, but not all that dissimilar.
- 6.J.A.2 3 pieces of coarse black fabric pottery, probably pre-conquest in date.
- 7.H.A.1 (i) (fig. 8 No. 1) 3 pieces forming part of a rim. Grey fabric with a brown exterior. The form of this rim is similar to the type A.7 rim group from Highgate Wood. There are, however, no fabric similarities. This jar is considered to be Belgic and is dated to the end of the first century.

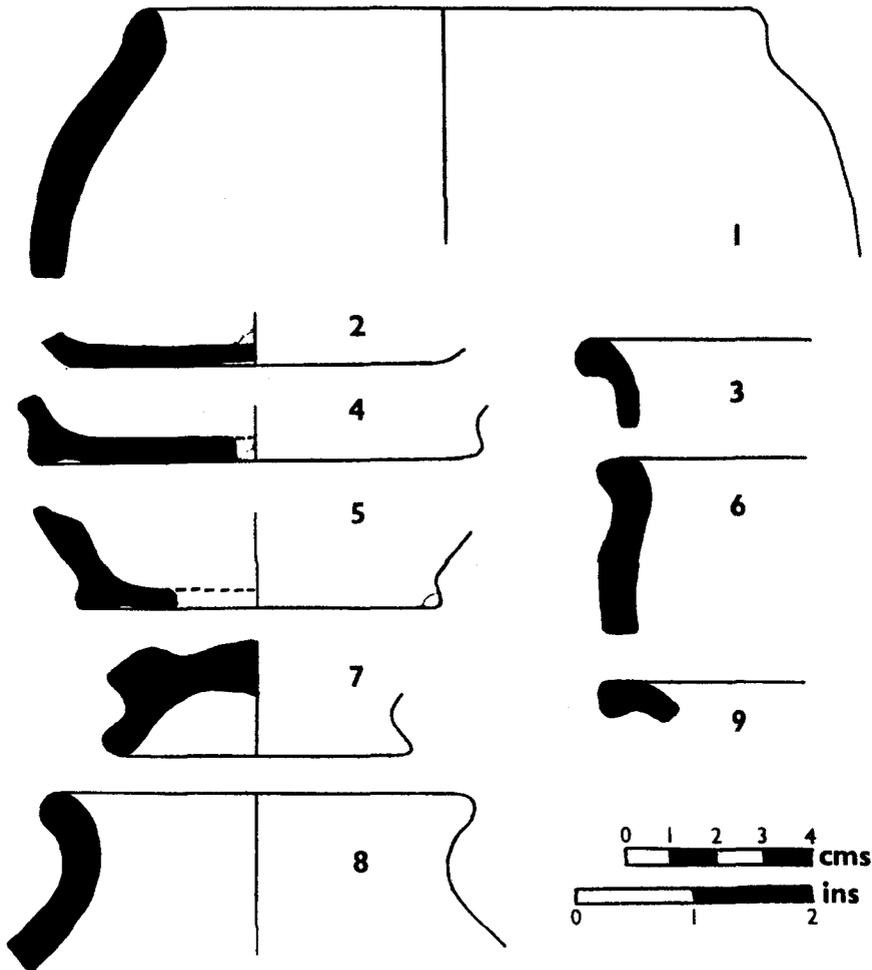


Fig. 8  
Site B. Roman pottery sections.

- 7.H.A.1 (ii) (fig. 8 No. 4) 8 pieces forming 3 parts of a base. The fabric is grey/buff and is of fine texture.
- 7.H.A.1 (iii) 10 pieces of thin coarse fabric pottery. These pieces were considered to be similar to the 'Legionary' wares made by the native potters. The pieces had, however, undergone a process of erosion, leaving a thin wall and the coarse appearance.
- 7.H.A.1 (iv) 37 pieces of assorted black, brown and grey fabric pottery. Fabrics vary from fine to coarse. Predominantly native wares of either pre-conquest or very soon after the conquest.
- 7.H.A.2 (fig. 8 No. 2). 6 pieces of grey fabric pottery, forming half of a 9.5 cm. diameter base of a dish or bowl. Possibly similar to the ware made at Ardleigh Essex, which dates to the Trajanic period (98-117A.D.).

- 7.H.A.4 14 pieces of assorted black and grey fabric wares. These are also very thin in nature.
- 7.H.A.5 (fig. 8 No. 6). A single piece of a wheel-made native rim. The fabric is light brown internally and black externally.
- 8.K.A.1 (fig. 8 No. 7). 4 pieces of a black and light brown fine fabric native ware of about the mid-first century date. The portion remaining has been considered to be either part of a pedestal base or part of a lid. The most favourable comparison is with a lid, Hawkes and Hull (1947) plate LXXXV, No. 2.<sup>12</sup> There is, however, also some compatibility in form with the pedestal base, plate LXXIV, No. 203c. Unfortunately there is not sufficient remaining to enable a categorical decision to be made.
- 8.K.A. 3 & 4 (fig. 8 No. 5). 3 pieces of a fine grey fabric base. The pieces are slate coloured externally and brown/grey coloured internally. Possibly late first century in date.
- 8.K.A.5 (fig. 8 No. 8). 2 pieces forming part of a black coarse fabric rim. Similar to Hawkes and Hull, (1947) fig. 56, No. 13.
- 8.K.A.6 25 pieces of assorted brown, black and grey fabric pottery. At least 6 types are represented among these pieces.
- 8.K.A.7 (fig. 8 No. 9). 1 piece of a grey fine fabric rim.
- 10.H.A.3 4 pieces of assorted pottery. 2 grey fabric, 1 brown and 1 black. All the fabrics are coarse in texture. The fragments are considered to be first or early second century.

#### SITE B: COPTHALL FIELDS, AREA 2

A further area (TQ 23259120) was investigated in the second field south from the railway cutting. This investigation was of necessity brief and aimed at just picking up evidence of road metalling to confirm the line of the road. As mentioned earlier, resistivity traverses at the north end of the second field on the east of the public footpath showed comparable peaks to those from the main area of site B. A Single 10 ft. grid square was located over the area of maximum resistivity activity of traverses 44 and 45. The west side of this square was on a line perpendicular to the grid base line in the railway cutting, originating from a point 20 ft. to the west of the north-west corner post of the main grid. The north-west corner of this single square was 610 ft. from the grid base line in the cutting.

On the opening of this square a very similar ploughed topsoil to that found in squares 8H and 9H was excavated. 3 to 4 in. of this topsoil gave way to a light sandy clay, again very similar to that found on the main site. The degree of sand in this layer gave it a fine nature and the clay particles were also mixed with a few pebbles. At between 7 and 9 in. deep across the whole width of the trench a packed pebble layer became apparent; in places this was 6 in. thick. Below this was a narrower layer of pebbles in a distinct orange clay, and below this was the pure orange clay considered to be the natural. This section, (fig. 9), compared well with the others from the main site, and appeared to constitute a section through the centre of a road consisting of two pebble layers. Time did not permit the complete excavation of this road section, but a narrow strip was excavated eastwards in an attempt to find the east edge.

WEST

EAST

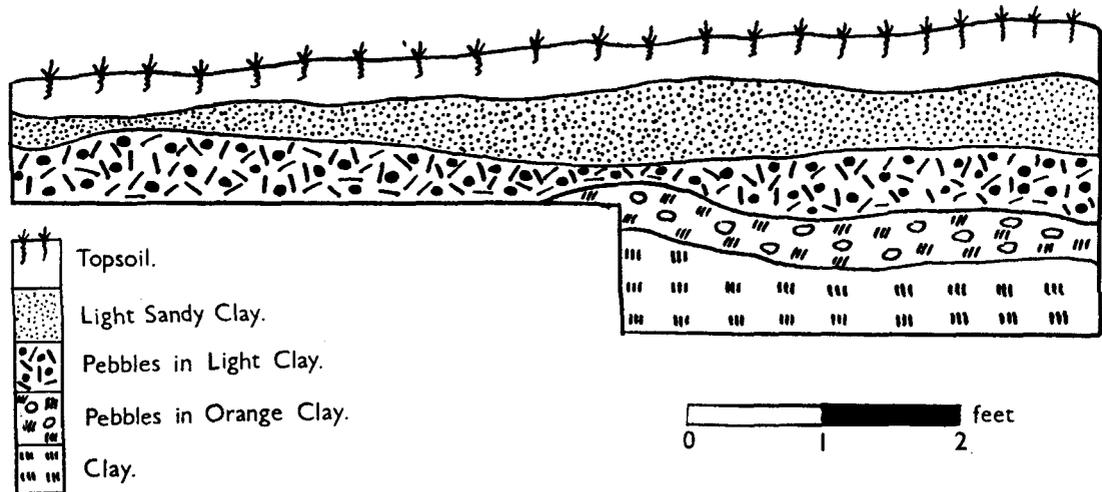


Fig. 9  
Site B. Area 2. The north face showing the road structure.

If one edge could be found in the time available, it would be possible to link this to the two tall trees which were considered to mark the east edge of the previous golf course evidence and so extrapolate back to the point of realignment in the first field. An east edge of the pebble layer was found 8 ft. 6 in. east of the east edge of the section shown in fig. 10. Thus it is possible to say that if the estimate of road width from the main site is reasonable, then the original section at this point was cut slightly west of centre. No finds of any description were made in Area 2.

The excavations in Cophthall Fields produced 5 points on the east edge of the road and one on the west. The east edge of the previous evidence on the golf course was indicated by two trees. Thus it is possible by joining up these points and assuming the perpendicular width of 21 ft. given by the one west edge point, to infer a line for the road across this northern portion of Cophthall Fields as shown in fig. 10.

The major pottery finds, all of which have been dated between 50 and 100 A.D., appear to imply similar dating for the road itself. The fact that the pottery containing layers appear from the sections to encroach over the camber, indicates that at a comparatively early date the road lost its importance and was reduced to a narrow track which eventually disappeared completely.

### SITE C

A section was cut through a bank at the west end of the garden of No. 1 Woodlands, Golders Green Road, London N.W.11 (TQ 24108850). This bank was on the road line as suggested by the Viatores. The site was observed by Mr. M. Hammerson, who obtained permission from the owner for an investigation to be carried out. There was, however, only one week-end (12th-13th October 1968), available between receiving permission and the sale of the house, to carry this out.

A single trench, 16 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. was cut across the feature. The size of the trench was dictated by the modern road to the south-west and by a modern garden path to the north-east. Both ends of the resulting section showed disturbance near to these limits. The southern face (section fig. 11), showed, at a depth of approximately 1 ft. 6 ins., a layer of pebble ranging from 3 in. to 6 in. in thickness. This feature appeared to be some form of road metalling, overlaid by light sandy clay and underlaid by a thicker yellow-brown clay. The latter layer was not completely excavated owing to the time factor. The pebble layer was clearly defined for some 12 ft. of the section before it ran into the disturbances at each end of the trench. At the north-east end of the trench a further small layer of pebbles was found at a depth of about 2 ft. Due, however, to the modern disturbance it was very difficult to establish whether or not it was continuous with the main pebble layer thus constituting part of the road metalling.

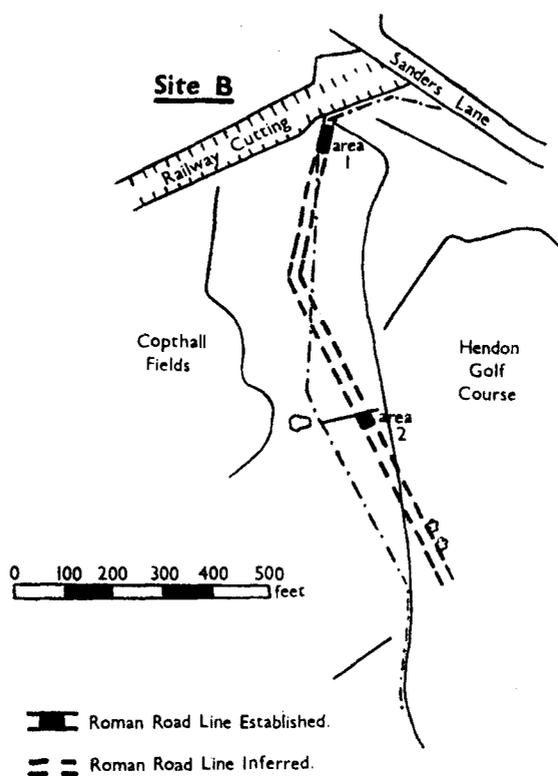


Fig. 10

Site B. Excavated evidence and the proposed line of the road. Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Crown copyright reserved.

The Medieval finds listed below, represent some 2 or 3 vessels which came from the light sandy clay layer overlying the pebble layer and in one case the sherd was within the pebbles. Two of the items listed (F.I.1 and 2), came from the disturbance at the north-east end of the trench. The writer is indebted to Mr. J. G. Hurst for his most helpful comments on this material.

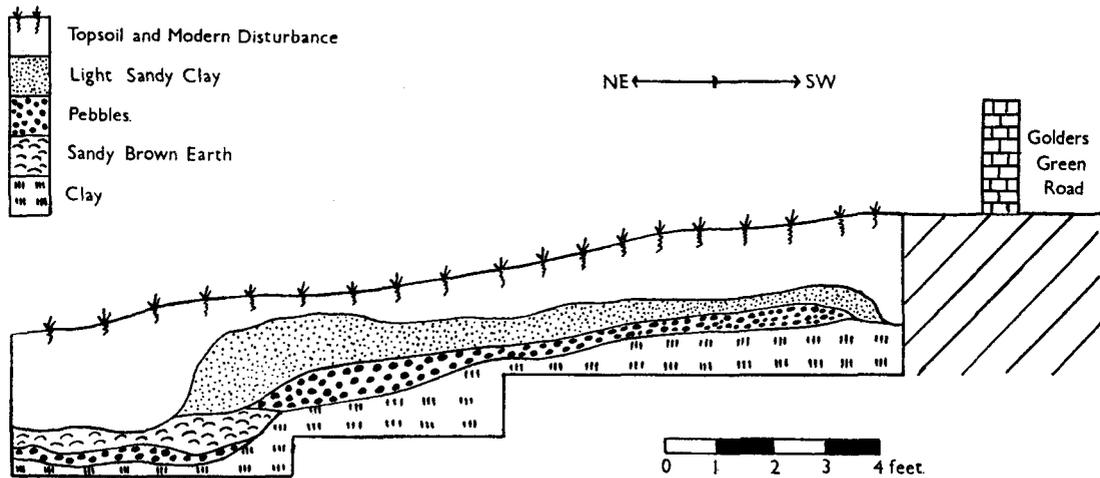


Fig. 11  
Site C. South section showing the road structure.

- L.II.1 Sherd of fine fourteenth century ware from a kiln in West Kent. It is of red fabric with a white slip, exterior decorated with vertical combing.
- L.II.2 Sherd of Surrey Ware of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century.
- L.II.3 Sherds of fine fourteenth century ware also from a kiln in West Kent. It consists of red fabric with a white slip and a mottled green glaze.
- L.II. 4, 5, & 6 Sherds of Surrey Ware of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century. (For L.II.4 see fig. 12 No. 3). L.II.6 has a patch of green glaze common to this ware.
- L.III.1 Part of a Surrey Ware flanged rim of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century (fig. 12 No. 1).
- F.I. 1 & 2 2 pieces, one of which is part of a rim, (fig. 12 No. 2) of a variety of thirteenth century Herts. Grey Ware.

This site appears to have a road structure which is not obviously Roman in shape or construction and from the pottery evidence a tentative fourteenth to early fifteenth century date can be assigned to it. The one section available does not give any indication of an earlier road on the site, but it must be noted that because of the modern road the section cut was only on one side of the bank. Therefore an earlier road, should one exist, may well be under the present Golders Green Road. It is hoped that this site will be investigated further in the future with a view to establishing a firm date for the road and perhaps picking up traces of any earlier feature.

SITE D

The Viatores suggest two possible alignments for the road from Brent Bridge to Whitestone Pond. The first would run along the line of part of the Golders Green Road to North End where it would realign almost due south to run to the Whitestone Pond and on through Hampstead. The alternative alignment suggested is more southerly and would run along the greater portion of the Golders Green Road and then cross a larger portion of Golders Hill-Park and West Heath to take it straight to the Whitestone Pond without a realignment.

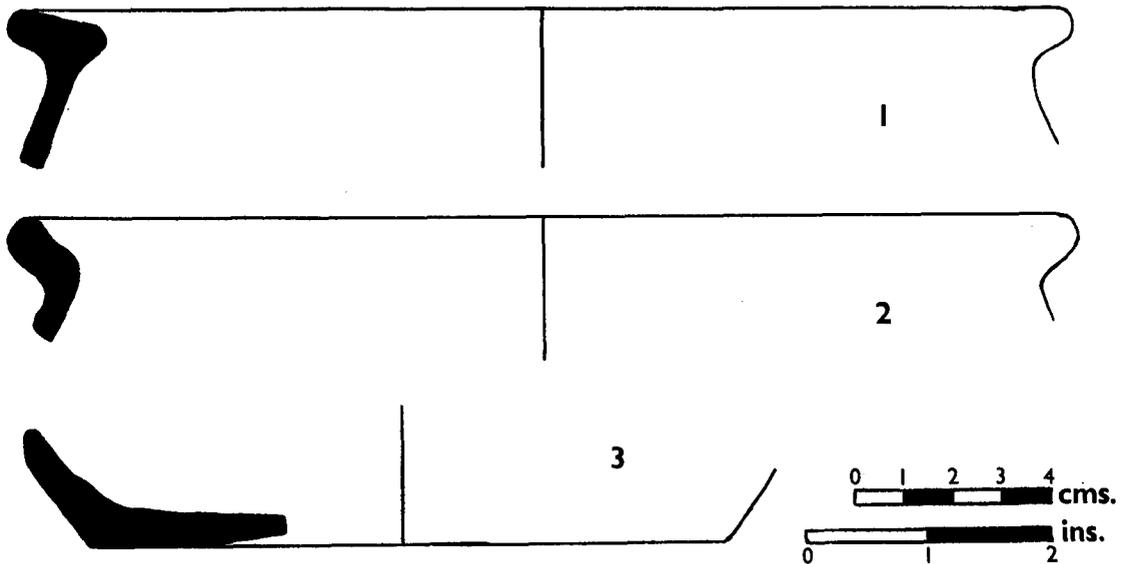


Fig. 12  
Site C. Medieval pottery sections.

These two possible routes were covered by 22 resistivity traverses in an initial investigation of the area in an effort to pick up some solid feature indicative of a road.<sup>13</sup> None of these traverses gave any indication of a feature of any kind being on either line. There were, however, peaks and high resistance values that have to be accounted for, and they indicate that more intensive research and surveying must be carried out before the complete absence of a road can be established. Research showed however, that there are beds of pebbles and gravel within the Bagshot sands.<sup>14</sup> This fact can be correlated to some of the high resistance readings. It must not be forgotten that extensive working of Hampstead Heath for the sands has been carried out over the years, thus much archaeological evidence may have been lost.

This investigation was only a preliminary survey and it did make clear that there is an extensive area in which the road could be, assuming it crosses this part of the Heath. Therefore much detailed research and surveying will be required if the road is to be found on Hampstead Heath. No useful discussion as regards this area can be carried out until more evidence is available.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION

The portion of road established at Site B could indicate occupation in the vicinity, and this road must come from somewhere and go to somewhere else. From the researches reported here, the line published by the Viatores for road No. 167, is undoubtedly unsatisfactory. Careful watching of road works and other excavations over recent years yielded no evidence of metalling or other disturbances along the line of the Ridgeway or Milespit Hill.<sup>15</sup> After taking into account the result of the routes investigated under Site A, one cannot say a road exists northwards from Site B, across Mill Hill and Totteridge, to the most southerly published excavated evidence for road 167 at Well End.<sup>16</sup> It is possible, therefore, that there are two different roads to be considered.

The Viatores claim road No. 167 to be a late one built after London had attained its importance.<sup>17</sup> This is based on the evidence of the sections cut at Verulam Golf Course, London Colney<sup>18</sup> and Well End, yet the evidence from Site B shows an early road which was well on the decline in usage and importance by the beginning of the second century. A further difference is the width. The Viatores sections appear to be fairly constant in having widths between 28 ft. and 30 ft., yet the Site B width is only 21 ft. Thus one must keep an open mind as to whether the road that leaves St. Albans as No. 167 did ever reach London. Perhaps one should be looking for the settlement it served somewhere in the vicinity of Well End or Arkley.

Whether or not the portion of road established in Copthall Fields is part of 167 from St. Albans, and present evidence seems to indicate that it is not, it must run somewhere in a southerly direction. The lack of positive signs of an early road at Site C cast further doubts on the Viatores line, although there may well be an early road somewhere in the vicinity. From Site B, the line established appears to ascend Holders Hill, but from here it is unlikely to go straight on, if the ground fell as steeply as it does today, to the present course of the Dollis. It could realign to the south-west to cross the Hendon Hill and then run down to join Watling Street in the West Hendon or Colindale areas. John Norden the sixteenth century cartographer, who himself lived in Hendon Place, the site of which is off the present Brent Street, believed a Roman road to pass through Hendon. He considered the road to cross Hampstead Heath, pass from Brent Bridge to the Burroughs, Hendon, and then on to join Watling Street in the Colindale area.<sup>19</sup> No effort has been made during the present researches to investigate any section of this line. Should, however, the route from Site B realign to the south-west it could well join a portion of the Norden line. Alternatively, the road could have realigned in some easterly direction from the top of Holders Hill.

It is all too easy just to draw lines on maps and dream up lines for Roman roads, but once having gained the top of Holders Hill the road could realign east-south-east to run towards the Roman pottery factory in Highgate Wood, centred on TQ 28298897.<sup>20</sup> At present no access roads have been established to or from this site, yet they must have existed. Although divorced from the area under investigation, the presence of this industrial site must not be forgotten as it is likely to have been established near an existing road. This factory site, which has yielded several kilns and large quantities of pottery, is considered on present evidence to have been in production between 60 and 120 A.D. It is important to remember that this compares well with the limits applied to the usage of the road found at Site B. There is, unfortunately, no evidence to suppose that the road at Site B does run to Highgate. As more work is carried out in Highgate Wood, it is to be hoped that exit roads will be found. Such discoveries would enable this industrial site to be fitted more accurately into the road network.

On the present evidence, the single section cut at Site C, does not seem to have Roman origins and appears to be the fourteenth century forerunner of the Golders Green Road. Documentary evidence reveals that Hendon in the fourteenth century was well established as a farming community with farms scattered over a wide area. The centre of this community appears to be around St. Mary's Church and successive Abbots of Westminster, who held the Manor, stayed in a Rectory built in Parson Street sometime between 1319 and 1326; this building later became the Manor House.

Lloyd, (1967)<sup>21</sup> published details of farm accounts of the Manor of Hendon for the years 1316-1416. The accounts for the years 1376-1416 were made by John atte Hegge who

farmed at Cowhouse in south Hendon. This appears from circumstantial evidence to be near the boundary with Hampstead.<sup>22</sup> It is therefore possible that as John atte Hegge managed the Manor for Westminster from the south Hendon area and as he is buried in St. Mary's Church, the road structure found at Site C could have been the route linking the northern and southern parts of the Hendon community. It is curious to note that despite good documentary evidence from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries very few actual finds of this period have come to light in the area. Therefore the precise locations of many buildings known to have existed have yet to be established.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank all those who assisted with the excavations and the fieldwork that provided the basis for this report. In particular, on behalf of the Hendon and District Archaeological Society I most gratefully acknowledge the special assistance received from the following:—

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#### NOTES

- 1 The Roman Road numbering system adopted in this report is that of I. D. Margary as used by the Viatores in *Roman Roads in the South East Midlands*, Gollancz, 1964.
- 2 Viatores, *Roman Roads in the South East Midlands*, Road No. 167 Verulamium to London, Pages 117-125.
- 3 Owned by the London Borough of Barnet Council who kindly permitted the investigations to be carried out.
- 4 Excavations carried out by Hendon and District Archaeological Society in July 1968.
- 5 Kindly loaned to Hendon and District Archaeological Society by Mr. M. Rivlin.
- 6 Investigations carried out by Hendon and District Archaeological Society during August 1967.
- 7 The railway cutting was the property of the London Midland Region of British Rail who kindly agreed to investigations being carried out.
- 8 Cophthall Fields are owned by the London Borough of Barnet who kindly permitted the resistivity survey and the subsequent excavations to take place.
- 9 For technical details of the principles and techniques of resistivity surveying reference should be made to:—
  - I *The Scientist and Archaeology* edited by E. Pyddoke, Phoenix, 1963.
  - II *Physics and Archaeology* M. J. Aitken, Interscience 1961.
- 10 The Wenner system, named after the inventor, uses a system of equal spacing between the electrodes. This is the most commonly used system archaeologically and in simple terms the reading obtained using this configuration is at a depth equal to the electrode separation.
- 11 A. E. Brown and H. L. Sheldon 'Post Excavation Work on the Pottery from Highgate.' *The London Archaeologist*, i, (1969) 60.
- 12 C. F. C. Hawkes and R. Hull 'Camulodunum' *Society of Antiquaries Research Report No. XIV*, Oxford 1947.
- 13 Preliminary investigation carried out by Hendon and District Archaeological Society, August 1968.
- 14 Composition of the Bagshot sands at Hampstead:
 

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| Quartz and Feldspar, with one or two percent of flint fragments and one percent of clay | 96%            |
| Grains attracted by a strong magnet   | 2 %            |
| Zircons in recognisable crystals  | approx. 0.5 %  |
| Grains more or less opaque  | approx. 0.25 % |
| Others  | approx. 1.25 % |

- 15 Observations of Mr. J. Warbis (personal communications).
- 16 Viatores (1964) *op. cit.* in note 2, 501.
- 17 Viatores (1964) *op. cit.* in note 2, 117.
- 18 Personal communication of unpublished evidence from Mr. C. Morris of the Viatores.
- 19 R. A. Smith, 'Roman Roads and the Distribution of Saxon Churches in London' *Archaeologia* lxxviii (1916-1917) 246. Evidence derived from Norden *Speculum Britanniae* (1723) 15.
- 20 A. E. Brown and H. L. Sheldon 'Early Roman Pottery Factory in North London,' *The London Archaeologist* i, (1969) 39.
- 21 E. Lloyd 'The Farm Accounts of the Manor of Hendon 1316-1416,' *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* xxi, (1967) 157.
- 22 E. Lloyd, (1967), *op. cit.* in note 21, 161.

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## A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HOSPITAL MATRON: MARGARET BLAGUE

(*Matron of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1643-1675*)

BY NELLIE J. M. KERLING, HIST. DOCT. (LEYDEN), PH.D. (LONDON), F.R.HIST.S.

For the young William Blague the year 1627 was a very important one for after having been apprenticed to John Davyes a freeman of the Company of Barber-Surgeons of the City of London, he was admitted to the Freedom of this Company on 20th December of that year<sup>1</sup> and shortly before this date on 14th October he had married Margaret Flint in the Church of St. Martin Ludgate.<sup>2</sup> William was not a native of London. His father William Blague the elder, gentleman, whose eldest son he was, lived in Sonning-on-Thames but two of his sons William and his younger brother Bennony came to London for their education.<sup>3</sup> The latter had found employment in 1623 as servant to the ageing Clerk of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Smithfield, Thomas Squire, whom he succeeded in August 1643 until his death in October of the same year.<sup>4</sup> Of William's bride Margaret Flint we know very little. She may have been a daughter of Thomas Flint, haberdasher, who lived in the parish of St. Martin Ludgate in the early part of the 17th century though her name does not occur among the baptisms in this church's registers. It is not known where the young William Blague and his wife lived during their married life and he may have practised outside the City. In due course four children were born, three sons John, Henry and William, and one daughter Margaret. On 6th December 1641, after having been married fourteen years, Barber-Surgeon William Blague wrote his last Will. In it he divided his personal estate into three equal parts: one part was for "my lovinge wife Margarett Blague", one part was for his four children while the third part was needed for his funeral expenses and any outstanding bills. What remained after his debts were paid was also for his wife "the better to educate and bring upp my children as is fitt in the feare of God and good nourture". His wife was made executrix "hopinge shée will have a speciall care to provide for my said children and for their education and for their porcions and mayntenance and all other things there unto incident as my trust in her is in this behalfe". The Will was proved exactly a week after he wrote it and Barber-Surgeon William Blague must therefore have died between 6th and 13th December 1641.<sup>5</sup>

No sums of money are mentioned but there may have been some capital as William's father had died in Sandford in the parish of Sonning-on-Thames in the Autumn of 1640, leaving him half of all his money and goods. It is, however, impossible to judge what the financial position was of the young widow but even if William had thought that she would be able to manage, times were changing rapidly. London was no longer very prosperous; Dutch competition in the Indies and Continental wars had interrupted trade, bringing unemployment in the Port of London and elsewhere. The King was facing trouble in Scotland and the Scots damaged the Newcastle coal mines and coal prices went up in London soon followed by the prices of other commodities. Large groups of poor unemployed people joined by young apprentices demonstrated in the London streets and must have made life difficult and perhaps at times even dangerous for women. It was not an easy period for a young widow with four small children. Apparently she was in need of more income because of the rising cost of living. As her brother-in-law Bennony was employed by St. Bartholomew's Hospital it was quite likely he who told her that the Matron Mary Lyatt had died. Mrs. Margaret Blague immediately applied for the post. No other candidates are mentioned

in the minutes of the Governors' meetings and on 2nd June 1643 she was appointed Matron of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.<sup>6</sup>

When she was appointed her "charge" or duties were read out to her: she had to receive the sick when they were admitted and to put them in "convenient places", she had to supervise 15 sisters and to ensure that in their spare time they did some work such as spinning or sowing "that maie avoyde ydlenes and be profitable to the poore of this house". As Matron she had also to supervise the hospital bed linen and blankets. A special warning was given by the Governors that "there shalbe noe tiplinge kepte in the Matron's cellar nor any more beare or ale to be layd there but what the Governors . . . conceive to be of very necessity for the use and occasions of the poore" which is a reflexion on the practices of the previous Matron rather than on Margaret Blague herself. In 1643 the Governors offered her an annual salary of £6 13s. 4d., a house and perquisites mainly of the cellar which amounted to £33 2s. 0d. In 1657 it was ordered that Matron should receive the annual sum of £40 besides her dwellinghouse which had an annual value of £4.<sup>7</sup> She earned the same as the Renter, half as much as the Cook who received £20 a year and more than the Clerk with £32 and the Steward with £34 who both also lived on the premises. With some income of her own Margaret was now apparently able to manage with four children.

In the meanwhile the situation in the country had become worse: Civil War developed between the King and Parliament. General Fairfax leading the Parliamentary troops defeated the King's army, the King was executed and Oliver Cromwell was made Protector of the Commonwealth. During the Civil War wounded soldiers were brought into the Hospital some of whom had been fighting on the side of Parliament. A Civil War is a tragic event, nearly everyone in the country taking sides, causing troubles and problems among the common people. In 1647 the first of Margaret Blague's many difficulties occurred. A sister in the ward where Fairfax's soldiers were nursed had shown quite openly that she was on the King's side. The soldiers, probably quite rightly, complained that she withheld their allowance from them—presumably food—and that she used abusive language wishing the head of General Fairfax "upon London bridge". Naturally they protested against this insulting language and the situation became so difficult that Mrs. Blague asked the Governors to step in. They called the parties to their meeting and suspended the sister until further order.<sup>8</sup> She was not dismissed, obviously because the Hospital staff and the Governors sided mostly with the Royalists. One can see this clearly in the Registers of the Church of St. Bartholomew the Less which is the Parish Church of the Hospital. Usually not more than 20 marriages a year were registered for this small parish but after about 1642 this number had been increasing steadily and in 1648 the Vicar William Hall entered 384 marriages in this Register. This was partly because during the hostilities a number of people fled from their country home to London and the population of the parish must have temporarily increased but when one looks at the names of the parties it appears that most of them came from other parishes and that some were no doubt Royalists as for instance Penelope Verney, daughter of Sir Edmund Verney, the King's Standard Bearer, who married John Denton of Fawler in Oxfordshire on 1st October 1646, and her sister Elizabeth who married Edward Peyto Esquire of Chesterton in Warwickshire on 27th January 1647–8. On 25th April 1648 Charles Villiers, Earl of Anglesey, married Mary Viscountess Grandison, mother of Barbara Villiers and on 10th September of that year John Scowen married Mary Scudamore another well-known name in Royal circles. The Vicar of St. Bartholomew the Less was apparently on the King's side and the Governors who must have known this, did not disturb him in his duties.

Apart from the incident with the sister in 1647, the Hospital authorities were not immediately affected by the Civil War and the change in Government. Whatever the Governors' feelings were when the King was brought to the scaffold, life in St. Bartholomew's continued undisturbed until October 1650 when at a meeting of the Governors on the 28th of that month the name of Colonel Pride suddenly appears among those who were present.<sup>9</sup> He had not been officially elected nor does he seem to have been invited. This ardent follower of Cromwell cannot have been very welcome in the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew. He was nevertheless asked to become a Governor in the usual way that is after the duties of this office were read out to him but, as the Clerk noted in the minutes of a meeting on 29th November 1650, he "had occasion to goe away before his charge was read unto him".<sup>10</sup> For more than a year the Hospital was left at peace while Colonel Pride joined Cromwell in his campaign against the Scots and Charles II which came to an end at the battle of Worcester on 3rd September 1651. Back in London he decided to fight against what he considered wrong elements among the Governors and the staff. On 28th February 1651-2 he came to a Governors' meeting and we read that "It was propounded by Colonel Pride . . . That there are several offences and losses in the poores Revenues by some Governois and Officers in managing of the affaires of this howse, In prosecution where of to have a right understanding of every particular allegacion" a committee was formed which included Colonel Pride himself. A few days later on 1st March the Colonel came again to a meeting but this time his accusations were more specific and personal for he "himselſe did read severall articles or complaints containing 2 sheetes of paper some particulars reflecting upon Mr. Treasurer and the rest against Humfrey Fox Steward and . . . George Lambert (porter)".<sup>11</sup> Later evidence shows that the accusations were connected with the buying and distribution of the patients' food. The Governors decided to pass them on to the persons concerned "that they might prepare their defence". On 5th March they met again to hear the answers of the accused and to discuss whether or not to call witnesses. After a long and, we may imagine, heated debate they did not come to a decision on this point but only instituted a Committee of six Governors of which Colonel Pride was again a member, to discuss the Hospital's organisation. The Clerk was ordered to copy out the rules of this institution and send them to the Colonel.<sup>12</sup> Not until 15th April were two witnesses called to give evidence against the Treasurer, the Steward and the Porter. The first one was Samuel Brodstrett, the Hospitaller, whose task it was to look after the spiritual needs of the patients and who had also to supervise the distribution of the food. He was a most unsatisfactory official who in October of the same year had to be reprimanded for neglect of duty. The second witness was the cook, Margaret Horne, who in the past had been suspected of dishonesty.<sup>13</sup> Again no decision was made but a new committee was appointed to discuss the complaints as well as the evidence of the two shaky witnesses. It met a number of times but was always adjourned and nothing more was heard about the misappropriation of the Hospital's money.

In July 1652 Colonel Pride "haberdasher" (*sic*) had his duties read out to him and his name was officially entered in the minute books as a Governor together with another supporter of Cromwell, Mr. John Ireton, brother of General Ireton, alderman and sheriff of London.<sup>14</sup> Yet Pride seems to have lost interest soon after this date for of the 55 meetings of the Governors held in the next 10 months he attended only 9 and after April 1653 he hardly ever came. The last time he is mentioned is on 14th November 1656 when his name was entered as Sir Thomas Pride, knight, being knighted by Cromwell in January of that year.<sup>15</sup> Alderman Ireton came only twice, on 13th July 1654 and on 27th March 1657. The Governors had

successfully frustrated any attempt of Cromwell's followers to influence the Hospital's affairs but it must have been difficult a time and a great relief when Colonel Pride died in October 1658. The only victim of this period was the Vicar of St. Bartholomew the Less, William Hall, who resigned on 25th September 1654 "of his own accord and free will" but one wonders how much pressure had been put on him.<sup>16</sup> After his resignation the number of marriages in this Church gradually came down to pre-Civil War figures. Two days after Parliament decided to call back Charles II, on 7th May 1660, the Governors ordered that "the sheild of the States Armes being the Redd Cross and Harpe bee taken downe in the Court Hall and the Kings Armes put in the Roome thereof and alsoe that the Kings Armes obscured in the two tables in the Compting House bee refreshed and made good at the charge of this house".<sup>17</sup> If only Colonel Pride and Alderman Ireton could have known that the King's arms were hidden in the table in the Counting House, the meeting place of the Governors, where they sat while accusing the Treasurer and the Steward.

The Committee which had to investigate Colonel Pride's accusations did no work at all but the Committee formed on 5th March 1651-2 to study the rules of the Hospital made a number of decisions some of which proved to be of historical importance. Some of these rules concerned the work and the position of the Matron and when studying the new instructions one can see exactly what must have been worrying Margaret Blague and what her ideas and wishes were. In the first place it was laid down that no one could be a sister unless she had previous experience as a nurse. Only if Matron approved of her work as a nurse could the Governors appoint her to a sister's place. This is the first time that the word "nurse" is used in the Hospital's records though assistants to the sisters had been known since 1646 obviously because more work had to be done when soldiers wounded in the Civil War were brought into the Hospital.<sup>18</sup> It shows that Mrs. Blague must have suffered from incompetent sisters. She very likely also persuaded the Governors to appoint sisters only when they were unmarried or widows without children for there had been difficulties with children who were brought to the wards to live with their mothers while they were on duty. The old rule that sisters had to obey Matron was again repeated and Margaret Blague made good use of it by complaining about undisciplined sisters some of whom were dismissed, as for instance Dorothy Ridley who listened at doors and windows of the room where the Governors met, repeated inaccurately what she heard, especially any discussions concerning sisters and "thereby causeth many differences in the howse".<sup>19</sup> Also Jane Toppin was dismissed because she sold "severall potts of Phisick to stranners"<sup>20</sup> and a few other sisters were reprimanded for drunkenness and for taking money from poor patients but it is interesting that within the next ten years comparatively few sisters misbehaved and after that complaints gradually faded out altogether. Margaret Blague seems not only to have managed to keep discipline but also to have chosen suitable new women, always unmarried ones or widows. One more duty was given to Matron by this Committee. As one can expect in a period when the Puritans were in power, Matron received strict orders to see that sisters and walking patients went to church "every Sabboth Day (to) attend the hearing of the Word of God", and to hear prayers on Thursdays and Saturdays in the morning and in the afternoon.<sup>21</sup>

It was also stressed that food should be bought by Governors, called Almoners, who were specially chosen for this task, attended by the Steward. As could be expected Colonel Pride was the first to be chosen together with the Governors Major Blackwell and Mr. Wilcox.<sup>22</sup> Some dishonesty in dealing with food must have been apparent and though the Governors did not accept the accusations against the Treasurer and the Steward, they obviously blamed

the cook for misappropriating the food of the patients which was given to her by the Steward. To avoid this in future the Committee made a rule to oversee the cook with the support of Matron and two of the Almoners to "take such vigillant care to have one of the poore women patients by turnes throughout the wardes weekly or daily as they thinke meete to oversee the cooke that shee doe not make any holes in the beife to lett the gravy and fatt boyle out, and alsoe to see the beife bee boiled in fower pound pieces and to skymm the pott before she putts in the oatmeale, with a flatt skymmer with holes and not with a ladle and not to omitt to putt in the oatemeale in due tyme and that afterwards when the fat arriseth the pott bee nott skymmed any more to take off the fat from the broath and that the patient shall continue in the kitchin untill the meate is drest and delivered out and if the cooke shalbee remiss or disobedient herein, wee shall adiudge her fitt to bee dismissed this howse".<sup>23</sup>

Another innovation was that patients could be dismissed if they were disorderly.<sup>24</sup> Though Cromwell's soldiers brought some trouble to the Hospital, this was nothing as compared with the problems caused by those who had taken part in the first Anglo-Dutch war (1652-1654). Many of these wounded men managed to get out of the building during the day time. They came back at night drunk, insulting and beating other patients in their ward. Sisters, not even Matron, could keep them in order and in the end the Governors discharged two of the most unruly ones<sup>25</sup>. This rather drastic measure seems to have improved the situation and though in the second and third Anglo-Dutch wars many wounded from the Navy came to the Hospital, no complaints have survived about undisciplined behaviour.

The orders composed by the Committee instituted on 5th March 1651/2 increased the responsibilities of the Matron and enhanced her position. They regulated the functions of sisters and nurses and they formed the basis for the conditions as we know them today. Margaret Blague became the first Matron who gave advice for appointments of sisters and nurses and at the same time she was made responsible for honesty in the kitchen and the just distribution of food while in the case of difficulties with unruly patients she knew she would get the support of the Governors.

A Civil War and three Naval wars seem a great number of troubles during the time of one Matron but Mrs. Blague's trials did not finish here. There were still the Plague of London in 1665 and the Great Fire of London in 1666. When the plague began to spread in the late summer of 1665, the two physicians Dr. Micklethwaite and Dr. Tearne went to the country. In September 1665 the two surgeons Henry Boone and Thomas Woodhall were called before the Governors who wanted to know whether they were prepared to remain in attendance of the sick in the Hospital or whether they would prefer to put another surgeon Mr. Gray in their place until the infectious disease had died down in the City. Mr. Woodhall never appeared personally but sent a Mr. Thomas Turpin to represent him who told the Governors that "the business was too hott for him". Mr. Boone came to the Hospital in person but "desired to bee excused to doe the service" and in the circumstances the Governors were forced to appoint Mr. Gray to the post of surgeon though "for the busieness only of the pestelence".<sup>26</sup> Of the regular administrative staff the Clerk, the Steward and the Renter stayed and on the medical side Matron, her 15 sisters with an unknown number of nurses assisted by the Apothecary Francis Bernard. It was an extremely anxious and busy time for all concerned, every one doing work that had to be done whether it was their official duty or not. Matron was constantly about to try to make her patients as comfortable as possible, preparing broth and warm drinks with her own hands "to the great perill of her life" as the Governors said. Though the Apothecary worked hard and helped as much as he could, the medical

supervision was totally inadequate with only one temporary surgeon and no physicians. The Great Fire of London did not reach the Hospital but it must have been a terrifying experience to see the fire creeping nearer to the building in which so many sick people were gathered.

The Governors showed themselves extremely grateful to those who had carried on during the Plague of 1665 and they rewarded the faithful officials with handsome sums of money.<sup>27</sup> Matron, however, did not want the money for herself for though she had been for many years a professional woman she remembered her duty towards her children. Two of her sons had died young and they were buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less: William on 17th February 1646-7 and John on 13th June 1653. Her son Henry was probably married by 1665 and he does not seem to have been connected with the Hospital. Her daughter Margaret had apparently married a Mr. Yeates for she had a son called Thomas Yeates but her husband must have died young. As a widow she married Edward Harding, citizen and merchant tailor of London and in due course she had two other children, Edward and William. It was for this young family that Matron Margaret Blague used the reward offered by the Governors after the Plague. When she was appointed she was given a house on the premises but in 1664 she took another house "near the South gate" which—as it appeared—she took for her new son-in-law Edward Harding. As the house was old, it was rebuilt in the same year with "a shopp and a kitchin backwards on the first story" and the house being "three storyes and a halfe high". The lease was granted to Edward Harding for 21 years for which he paid the Governors £200.<sup>28</sup> His mother-in-law secured this lease for him for 31 years without any extra payment on his part.

Margaret Blague was Matron from 2nd June 1643 to the day of her death on 12th February 1674/5, that is for nearly 32 years. She was buried on 16th February 1674/5 in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less. In her Will she divided £430 among her son Henry and his son and daughter, and the three children of her daughter Margaret. She left £20 to the poor of the Hospital to whom she had devoted the best part of her life and some money to the friends who had supported her in carrying out her often difficult duties: the Treasurer Richard Mills, the Steward and a few Governors. Nothing was left to her daughter though she was residuary legatee but then Margaret Blague had given her a great financial support in 1665.<sup>29</sup> No picture is known to exist of this remarkable Matron but while reading the records one gets the impression of a practical and intelligent woman. She had her sorrows and worries for she lost her husband when the children were still small and two of her sons died young. She was a brave woman who did not sit down and ask for charity and pity but worked hard to support her children. She made good use of her experience as a surgeon's wife which brought her knowledge of nursing and a feeling for discipline and the value of training. One can understand that she wanted sisters to have been nurses before being appointed to their responsible posts for in a sense she had been a nurse herself while her husband was alive. As a housewife and mother she knew no doubt how to cook and how to make sick people comfortable in a homely way. Being a brave woman she brought this into practice in the Hospital during the Great Plague. She was not an educated woman whatever her social background may have been for she could not write but signed her name clumsily, painfully drawing a capital M and a capital B linked together.<sup>30</sup> She was a devoted mother who always had the welfare of her children or grandchildren in mind and she was a warm friend. The Renter Peter Moulson who died in 1674 a year before Matron, mentions her in his Will as "my dear worthy loving friend Margaret Blague . . . to whom I acknowledge my Great bounden Thankfulnes for

her great paines and care about me in my severall great sicknesses".<sup>31</sup> If her husband Barber-Surgeon William Blague could have known the life his widow was going to lead, he could not have written better words in his Will about "my lovinge wife . . . hopinge shee will have a speciall care to provide for my said children . . . as my trust in her is in this behalfe."

- <sup>1</sup> City of London. Guildhall Library. *Admissions to the Freedom of the Company of Barber-Surgeons of London 1522-1664*. Ms. 5265/1 f. 74 recto.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*. *Boyd Marriage Index 1538-1837*.
- <sup>3</sup> Somerset House. Wills: Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Coventry 128.
- <sup>4</sup> Archives of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London. *Journal of the Governors*. Ha 1/4ff. 278 dorso, 280 recto, 280 dorso.
- <sup>5</sup> Somerset House. Wills: Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Evelyn 154.
- <sup>6</sup> Archives of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. London. *Journal of the Governors*. Ha 1/4 f.274 recto.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*. *Orderbook* Ha 4/1 f.21 recto.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*. *Journal of the Governors*. Ha 1/4 f.322 dorso.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*. *Journal of the Governors*. Ha 1/5. f.58 dorso.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*. f.59 recto.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*. ff.78 recto. 78 dorso.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*. ff.78 dorso, 79 recto.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*. ff.80 dorso, 81 recto.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*. f.85 dorso.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*. f.176 recto.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*. f.137 dorso.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*. f.260 dorso.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*. ff.77 dorso, 78 recto.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*. ff.153 dorso.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*. f.180 dorso.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*. f.87 recto.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*. f.81 dorso.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*. *Orderbook*. Ha 4/1 f.2 dorso.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*. f.28 dorso.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*. *Journal of the Governors*. Ha 1/5 f.129 recto. See also: G. Robinson, "Wounded sailors in London during the First Dutch War, 1652-1654" in *History Today*, January 1966.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*. *Journal of the Governors*. Ha 1/5 ff.375 recto, 375 dorso.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*. f.380 recto.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*. ff.338 dorso, 340 recto, 343 dorso, 344 recto, 357 dorso.
- <sup>29</sup> Somerset House: Wills Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1675 f.11.
- <sup>30</sup> Archives of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, *Salary Book* Hb 12/2 *passim*.
- <sup>31</sup> Somerset House. Wills: Prerogative Court of Canterbury; Bunce 74.

# DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE MEDIEVAL FABRIC OF S. MARY'S PARISH CHURCH, WILLESDEN

BY LAURENCE KEEN

The building history of many parish churches can be no more than an architectural survey from which a framework of dates is established. Very few churches are mentioned in documents which enable close dates to be given to the fabric or give the names of those responsible for a particular re-build or addition. There are, however, documents which refer directly to the fabric of the parish church at Willesden. As one of these has only recently come to the notice of the writer and the others have received little attention in print it seems useful to consider them briefly in these *Transactions*.

Land in Willesden was already held by S. Paul's, London, when Æthelstan renewed and restored the many privileges established by his predecessors;<sup>1</sup> ten pieces of land at Willesden and Neasden among them. There is, however, no evidence for a church at Willesden until 1181 when it is recorded that *ecclesia de Willesdona est in dominio canonicorum et reddit eis viij marc' per manum Germani clerici*.<sup>2</sup> Of this twelfth-century structure nothing survives, although there are tantalising references to the round arches of two Norman windows being discovered in 1872.<sup>3</sup> The font, now placed in the tower, may have belonged to this church. The north and south nave aisles were evidently added in the mid-thirteenth century; the south aisle arcade has survived with modifications and one pier of the north arcade was discovered during the rebuilding of 1872. It is most curious that in 1297, a few years after the building of these aisles, a visitation<sup>4</sup> should record that *campanarium melius cooperiendum . . . navis eiusdem (ecclesie) melius cooperienda . . . cancellum sufficienter coopertum*, 'the bell-tower could be better roofed . . . the nave could be better covered . . . the chancel is sufficiently well roofed'. This entry is even more surprising because the reference to the chancel being in a good state of repair is refuted by a document which suggests, on the contrary, that the chancel was very delapidated (Appendix I). The undated and unsigned document,<sup>5</sup> which on the basis of the hand is late fourteenth to very early fifteenth century in date,<sup>6</sup> is a complaint by the 'humble and devoted parishioners of Willesden' to the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's, London, about the condition of the chancel. The document states that it was pointed out in 'various visitations' carried out 'that the chancel of the church . . . stands in a ruinous state as regards the roofing of its walls and foundations' and urges the Dean and Chapter to fulfill their responsibility and make it sound again. The visitation of 1297 says quite clearly that the chancel is well roofed. It is extremely difficult to reconcile the two documents since it is unlikely that the chancel would have fallen into such total disrepair in such a short space of time. Perhaps Willesden was unlucky in having some freak weather in the fourteenth century, as seems to have been the case at Ashwell, Hertfordshire in 1361. Violent weather in that year, in which people were suffocated, trees torn up by the roots, houses, towers, monasteries and woods laid flat, is recorded in the *Eulogium Historiarum* and at Ashwell by a series of remarkable graffiti in the tower which may have had to be rebuilt because of it.<sup>7</sup>

It is impossible to know what action, if any, was taken on the parishioners' complaint. Whatever happened structural work was not undertaken to the chancel until late fifteenth-

early sixteenth century, perhaps by Thomas Poulet.<sup>8</sup> Before then, however, the church fabric is referred to in an Indulgence dated 1395 (Appendix II),<sup>9</sup> which may have resulted from the parishioners' petition. The Indulgence of forty days is given by Nicholas, bishop of Christopolis and suffragan bishop of Salisbury,<sup>10</sup> to all those who give, bequeath or provide for the upkeep or repair of the fabric of the church at Willesden, or who pray for the well-being of Ralph Roberdes<sup>11</sup> while he lives or for his soul and that of his deceased wife Johanna and for the souls of their children and all the faithful departed. The south-west tower, which is early fifteenth century in date<sup>12</sup> (the wooden door of the south porch is late fourteenth century), may have been built as a direct result of this Indulgence. The bell-tower referred to in 1297 may have been incorporated in the present structure which is only demonstrably fourteenth-century in the arches of the first stage and the bell openings of the third.

No major building operations seem to have taken place in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Indeed, the documents mentioned above suggest that it was extremely difficult to maintain the existing fabric in good order without contemplating new work. The building of the tower apart, it was not until the late fifteenth-early sixteenth century that any large scale work was undertaken. Then the chancel was renovated and the south chancel aisle built.<sup>13</sup> The fabric underwent no further alterations until the nineteenth century.

## NOTES

- 1 S. Paul's Library, 'W.D.4. Liber L, fol. 3t-4v (= 7r-8v) et seq. and W.D.1 Liber A, sive Pilosus, fol. 38b. The undated charter is printed in full in W. Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London, 1658), 184-85; J. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, V (London, 1847), 250-51; W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, II (London, 1887), 451-52. A marginal gloss on the Liber L copy gives the date 930 to which another hand has added *potius-989*. The witnesses include Æthelgar, archbishop of Canterbury, Oskitel, metropolitan of York, Alfstan, bishop of London, Æthulf, bishop of Hereford, Ælfer and Brithnoth, abbots Ælfric and Ælstan and many others. Their dates span a considerable period but Aethelgar, archbishop of Canterbury 988-990 appears to be the latest. It would seem, therefore, that 989 is in fact the correct date for this copy of the charter which Æthelstan apparently drew up before his death in 939.
- 2 S. Paul's Library, W.D.4. Liber L, fol. 82v (= 85v), printed in W. Hale (ed.), *The Domesday of St. Paul's of the Year M.CC. XXII* (London, 1858), Camden Series (Old Series 69), 152.
- 3 J. Thorne, *Handbook to the Environs of London* (London, 1876), 698.
- 4 S. Paul's Library, W.D.16. Liber I, fol. 56v (= 60v), printed in W. Sparrow Simpson (ed.), *Visitations of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral in 1297 and in 1458* (London, 1895), Camden Series (New Series 55), 59-61 and in O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland vom Jahre 901 bis Jahre 1307*, II (Munche 1956), 622-23.
- 5 S. Paul's Library, A Boxes 26-40, no. 1368.
- 6 I have referred to this document elsewhere (note 8) as being early fifteenth century in date, which was a date suggested by the Historic Manuscripts Commission's '14th to 15th century' (*Ninth Report*, Part I (Report and Appendix) (1883), 40). I am grateful to the Staff of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, for examining a photocopy of the document and for their dating which is used here.
- 7 Bruce Dickins, 'Historical Graffiti at Ashwell, Hertfordshire' in V. Pritchard, *English Medieval Graffiti* (Cambridge, 1967), 181-83.
- 8 Laurence Keen, 'Some new light on the history of S. Mary's Parish Church, Willesden' in *The London & Middlesex Historian*, 2 (1965), 11-12.
- 9 British Museum, Harleian MS, 1859, fol. 218v. This is a small folio volume of some two hundred leaves written in a fifteenth-century hand and described as a Register in brief of the laws of Richard III. The end leaves have sixteenth-century notes, the copy of the Indulgence among them. Elsewhere is the signature of Edmund Roberts and the date 1582.

- 10 The text of the Indulgence shows that the episcopal seat was vacant in February 1395. J. le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, III (Salisbury) (London, 1962), compiled by J. M. Horn, shows that this falls between the episcopacy of John de Waltham and that of Richard Medford (Mitford). Medford was translated from Chichester 25 October 1395 and Waltham is said to have been bishop until 17/18 September 1395. Nicholas is not recorded by Eubel (C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, I (1913)) in the list of bishops of the titular see of Christopolis, Greece, who were also suffragans of Phillipi. The (F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde (ed.)) *Handbook of British Chronology* (2nd. ed., London, 1961), 267 notes that Nicholas is recorded as bishop *in partibus* of Christopolis for 1384-1406, as suffragan of Bath, 1385-1403 and as suffragan of Salisbury 1395-1406.
- 11 The Roberts family was very important in the parochial history of Willesden from the thirteenth century until the eighteenth. F. A. Wood records (Willesden Public Library, Wood MS, Folio 5, 254) that Ralph Roberts was constable of the parish of Willesden in 1390. He was also one of the jury empanelled in 1379 to make inquisition of the land held by John Peeche (*I.P.M.* 3 Richard II, 54) and his name occurs many times in deeds relating to property at Neasden which fortunately survive in a late compilation of deeds, rentals, etc. bound up in British Museum, Stowe MS, 862, fol. 38 *et seq.*
- 12 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *Middlesex* (London, 1937), 133.
- 13 Keen, *op. cit.*, 11.

## APPENDIX I

## S. PAUL'S LIBRARY. A BOXES, 26-40 I, 368

*Reverendis et nobilibus dominis Decano et Capitulo ecclesie Sancti Pauli London' vestri humiles et devoti parochiani de Willesdon' conquerunt et significant quod cum in diversis | visitacionibus per vestrum commissarium generalem ibidem factis compertum fuit in eisdem et delatum qualiter cancellus ecclesie de Willesdon' predictae existit | ruinosus in coopertura murorum fundamentorum ipsius muris et fenestris tam debilibus propter eorum vetustatem existentibus et per nonnullos annos | nullatenus correctis in tantum quod idem cancellus in terram ruere incipit pro eo quod muri et fenestre totaliter frangunt et rumpunt ita quod de | levi unus puer lapides murorum et fenestrarum propter ipsorum debilitatem valeret enervare et infirmare et quod per fissuras murorum et fenestrarum fracturas | tam magnas largas et apertas latrones sunt ingressi et bona illius ecclesie preciosa nimis abstulerunt et eandem ecclesiam spoliarunt | et de ulteriori spoliacione de diebus in dies verisimiliter speratur quodque frequenter propter pluvias ventos validos et tempestates horribiles | per huius cissuras et fracturas intrantes missa ad summum altare ibidem nullatenus potest celebrari nec divinum officium excerceri | et quod deterius est bubones corvi et cornices ceterique aves tam de nocte quam de die intus volantes singula altaria et | alia loca ipsius ecclesie cum eorum plumis et stercorebus maculant et villia reddunt quod absurdum et dolendum est valde de hoc | audire vel videre in magnum preiudicium et dampnum dictorum parochianorum et illorum qui huius defectus emendare tenentur | scandalum et vituperium manifestum in occasione visitacionum huius nondum aliquid est correctum unde immense dominacioni | vestri prefati parochiani humilitis supplicant quatinus ob dei reverenciam et prout ex vestro interesse debito astricti estis dignomini ad tam | evidentier rei indigenciam manus apponere adiutrices et huius defectus emendari facere cum effectum ne dicti parochiani | vobis amplius materiam super hiis habeant conquerendi*

## TRANSLATION

To the reverend and noble lords, the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's London, your humble and devoted parishioners of Willesden complain and point out that in various visitations carried out there by your commissary general it was discovered and reported that the chancel of the church at Willesden aforesaid stands in a ruinous state as regards the roofing of its walls and foundations, since the walls and windows are in so weak a state through age and the fact that for some years they have undergone no repair whatsoever. In short the same chancel is beginning to fall to the ground in view of the fact that the walls and windows are entirely broken and burst open so that a single boy would be strong enough to weaken and render unsafe the stones of the walls and windows because of their weakness, and that through the gaps in the walls and the holes in the windows, which are so great, broad and gaping, thieves have entered and have stolen possessions of great value belonging to that church. They have ransacked the same church and there is from day to day a reasonable expectation of further spoliation and that frequently owing to rains and strong winds and appalling weather entering through its holes and breaches the Mass cannot in any way be celebrated in this place at the high altar nor the divine office be performed. What is worse, owls and crows and rooks and other birds, night and day alike, are fluttering about within, staining individual altars and other places of the church itself with their feathers and droppings and are ejecting their pellets; a thing which is unthinkable and most regrettable to be heard or seen in this connection to the great loss and injury of the aforesaid parishioners and those on whom the responsibility of making good its defects fall. A manifest scandle and reproach on the occasion of the visitations made to it as no repair has been carried out. Your aforesaid humble parishioners, therefore, do beg your infinite lordliness that, out of reverence to God and as you are bound by your duty to be concerned, you will deign to set a helping hand to a need so manifest and see that its defects are repaired with the result that the said parishioners may have no further ground for complaint against you on this account.

## APPENDIX II

BRITISH MUSEUM, HARL.MS.1859, FOL.218V

*Universis sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presentes littere pervenerint Nicholas | miseratione divina Christopolitanus Episcopus ac Sarum diocese sede episcopali ibidem | vacante suffraganeus sufficienter deputatus Salutem in domino sempiternam | obsequium pium et deo gratum tociens impendere opin(i)amur quociens allectivis | indulgentiarum muneribus mentes fidelium ad opera pietatis propencius excitamus | de dei igitur omnipotentis misericordia et beate marie matris domini(s) patrone | nostre necnon beatorum apostolorum petri et pauli omniumque civium supernorum meritis et | precibus confidentes omnibus Christianis vere penitentibus et contritis quorum diocesan | habeant nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint et acceptam qui ad | sustentacionem seu relevamen fabricae ecclesie beate marie de Willesdon' | London' diocese aliqua de bonis suis sibi a deo collatis donaverint legaverint | procuraverint seu quovismodo assignaverint subsidia caritatis vel qui pro | salubri statu Radulphi Roberdes de Willesdon' predict' dum vixit et | pro anima sua cum ex hac luce migraverit et presertim pro anima | nobilis mulieris Johanne quondam uxoris eiusdem Radulphi Roberdes | defuncte et pro animabus liberorum eorundem ac omnibus fidelium defunctorum orationem | dominicam cum salutacione evangelica dixerint mente pia quocienscumque | quandocumque aliquod premissorum devote fecerint de iniunctis sibi penitencis | quadraginta dies indulgentie misericorditer in domino concedimus per presentes in cuius rei testimonium presentes has sigilli episcopatus | nostri appensione fecimus comuniri dat' Sarum primo die mensis februarii | anno domini millesimo CCC nonagesimo quinto*

## TRANSLATION

To all the sons of our holy mother church to whom this letter shall have come, Nicholas by divine mercy bishop of Christopolis and duly appointed suffragan of Sarum, the episcopal see there being vacant, sends eternal greetings in the Lord. We do believe that it is our bounden duty, meet and pleasing to God to bestow indulgence as often as we rouse the minds of the faithful more readily to works of piety by the incentive of granting indulgences; in consequence of the mercy of Almighty God and of the Blessed Mary, mother of Our Lord and our patron and putting out trust in the merits and prayers of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul and of all the citizens above, to all Christians that be truly penitent and contrite, whose diocesan bishops are in possession of our indulgence and hold it as ratified and accepted, and who have donated, bequeathed or made available towards the upkeep or repair of the fabric of the church of Blessed Mary of Willesden in the Diocese of London some part of the wealth bestowed upon them by God or in some way have allocated charitable contributions or who for the well-being of Ralph Roberdes of Willesden aforesaid while he lives and for his soul after he departed this life and especially for the soul of the gentle lady Johanna deceased, formerly wife of the same Ralph Roberdes and for the souls of the children of the same and all the faithful departed, have piously recited Our Father and Hail Mary for each several occasion they have done anything of the aforesaid devoutly, we do grant in the Lord of our mercy forty days of indulgence by this letter, in testimony to which we have caused the present letter to be ratified by the application of the seal of our episcopate. Given at Sarum 1st. February in the year of Our Lord, 1395.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must thank Mr. A. R. B. Fuller of S. Paul's Cathedral Library who for many years has given me access to material in his care and facilities in which to study it and also for permission to publish various items here. To the staff of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, the Royal Historical Society and of the Palæography Room, University of London Library I am similarly indebted. I am also grateful to Mr. K. C. Waller who has helped with both translations.

# LOCAL METROPOLITAN AND NATIONAL HISTORY

BY PHILIP D. WHITTING, G.M., B.A.

(adapted from an address delivered to the London and Middlesex Local History Committee's Annual Conference held at Guildhall on 23rd November, 1968)

Local history can look very different in Northumberland from, shall we say, Birmingham; and in London there is the even more confusing problem of distinguishing the part played by the national capital, as well as that of the City and Metropolis, from the communities of men and women from which these powerful, grander and less human bodies emerged. But the problems are everywhere similar even if difficulties may be greater or less. Professor Finberg provided the clue in his first Inaugural Lecture at Leicester in 1952 when he broadly propounded the equation LOCAL HISTORY=the HISTORY OF A COMMUNITY. It was seminal thinking, clarifying in a flash where much floundering effort was seeking to disentangle itself towards a logical solution. Local historians owe an immense debt to Professor Finberg, who has given not only a new twist to local history but—and it is more important—a new confidence to those who work on it; his work is a milestone towards the respectability of an academic discipline which is now somewhat grudgingly being conceded.

It can be asked, especially by those who have not lived there, whether there can be true local history in London, where administrative necessities have dominated the local scene for over a century. Where are the basic communities to be found? The shot-gun marriages of boroughs for administrative convenience have recently highlighted the problem. Yet the uneasy collaboration of Brentford and Chiswick since 1932 comparable with that of Plymouth, Devonport and the urban district of East Stonehouse, or of Hammersmith and Fulham (and many another!) since 1965, surely shows that there are indeed deep-seated bonds and traditional loyalties that are still actively in being. These must be taken into account if a successful emergence is to be planned into the so very different quickly-shifting world of today. Surely it is the local historian who can help in achieving this by his understanding of the past without a slavish preservation of it. The schemes drawn up with the greatest computerised expertise seem to fail more frequently than ever to take into account the people most affected. 'What's for their good, not what pleaseth them,' as Cromwell would say. In the long run it is a dangerous doctrine, as post-war events bear out *ad nauseam*. Unfortunately the historian (unlike the economist) is little accustomed to working in the practical field of administration; yet he has many of the keys required, and especially so the local historian, if only there were more with an early training in the disciplines of the study. Fifty years ago it was commonplace for historians to deride the efforts of the local antiquarian or chronicler as achieving the kind of history that dealt in detail with Middle Puddleton in 1588 and forgot the Spanish Armada. Obviously the full implications of such a 'national' event should be and probably are well known to the local historian, but events are of quite different importance in local history and national history. The Great Plague of London was locally so devastating as to become a 'national' event in the textbooks: perhaps some of us need reminding that it was equally devastating in the little Derbyshire village of Eyam as it was in the parish of St. Mary le Strand. The war of 1914 brought to some the reminder that

in spite of all the international agreements, of 1893 and 1907 in particular, Russian villagers regarded France and Britain as enemies from stories handed down from their Napoleonic and Crimean War ancestors. Peasants served in the army and some took an elementary but real story of life back to their communities, where it remained. Local history is not national history: the bicycle and the tractor can become of local importance comparable to the greatest event in the national field in their effect upon individuals in communities. Equally the impact of national events can be slow and strange. In 1944 several allied servicemen reported villages in southern Italy that knew nothing of Mussolini; and as the columns of tanks and troops moved up Route 6 through Campania the peasants would often hardly glance up from their work. What lay behind this latter non-event? Was it the armies of Attila, Aetius, Belisarius, Roger II, Manfred, Gonsalvo di Cordoba, Marshal Murat and Garibaldi, to name but a few who took the same road? It was of such peasants as these in Burgundy that H. M. Tomlinson wrote in *Cote d'or*, 'How can they be omitted from history when history is nothing without them?' It is local history that begins at least to place *them* more rightfully, and of course history will look completely different from such an angle. The difference is not so difficult to appreciate now as there are plenty of examples of Communist histories from the angle of the toiling proletariat. We can deride these too easily. Distortions are always to be found, but it is the angle from which the view is taken that makes the essential difference in the story history tells. People have become so accustomed to thinking in terms of nations and to dating modern history from the Renaissance that it is hard to conceive things differently or even to realise that, say, the Renaissance had a background extending back to the eleventh century, and indeed in many respects to the ninth century: it did not spring fully-fledged like Athene from the head of Zeus. Immediately after the first World War Lord Robert Cecil in his effort to put the League of Nations on to a proper conceptual basis, as against a utilitarian lifeline, campaigned to show how recent was the bloodthirsty, hate-provoking nationalism of today. One recalls a 'Times' leader headed 'The Curse of Nationalism' quoting a speech of his. But if this is a valid and desirable angle on history it is not yet reflected in books for schools in the way that the Communists, for instance, have seen that Marxism is. Indeed, a casual observer might think that the United Nations has less solid backing in this country than its predecessor. Nationalism possessed the western European field and certainly in this country held onto its gains in education and thought. Even the reaction against the heartbreaking casualties of Verdun or the Somme did not oust it.

Take the example of the Elizabethan period, so full of ebulliance in all kinds of ways in this country. Not all the ways were as nationalistic as the sea-dogs and Shakespeare who play so large a part in the popular image of the times. More particularly one might point out that the Drakes and Hawkins and their imitators and epigoni had only the same gusto and bravery as the more lonely members of the Mission to England—the Gerards, Campions and their like: it was their motivation that differed, the one highly practical and national and the other longterm, ideal and oecumenical. There was one Edward Squire, a lesser light, who was in fact both one of Drake's crew and a missionary who suffered the half-hanging, disembowelling and butchery that some Elizabethans seem to have enjoyed watching. There remains some doubt over Squire's seriousness as a missionary, but of his courage in risking his life each way one may say there is none. Professor Finberg has been struck by a different aspect of the same facts: 'The nation,' he writes, 'is not the same thing as the village or the town writ large . . . In 1574 the grammar school of Leicester was remodelled by the locally

all-powerful Earl of Huntingdon in strict accordance with the most advanced principles of the Elizabethan religious settlement. At that very time . . . the grammar school of Burnley was sending forth one recruit after another to the seminaries in Flanders where the recusant clergy were trained for the English Catholic Mission . . . The local community has not always conformed promptly and gracefully to patterns of thought and conduct imposed upon it from above'. One thinks today of education committees all over the country becoming suddenly converted to the idea of comprehensive schools: it is perhaps more difficult to be free and independent today.

This artificial entity, the nation, is now deeply engrained and is likely to last long. It is difficult to get people to think *bigger* into internationalism or even supranationalism, but why not *smaller* in terms of the local community? This, of course, has its difficulties in the great conurbations where the community has often only vestigial remains, and is also occasionally swamped by such numbers of newcomers without even a common language that it can hardly survive at all. But local history has many forms and history might well begin to be taught in the widest possible way on local lines, thereby keeping closely in touch with what is going on around, and with what has been or is about to be built; for the questions 'why have this building at all?' and 'why precisely there?' can always be asked for a start, and the importance of history lies in the questions to which it gives rise. One of the impressive factors continually cropping up in any attempt to start local studies has been the horror generated by history lessons in the past. 'Oh, not history: I hated it at school!' These words can be heard over and over again. There must surely be something wrong with the material selected as well as with the way in which it is presented. The material as it appears to children is perhaps too far removed from reality to be meaningful. Local history seems to me to have many of the answers to the problem of teaching history for, above all, pupils can participate in the work, and teachers are bound to think more about its presentation as local history is NOT what they learnt at the university or training college. Over the years a great number of schoolmasters, however solitary they may have felt, have been experimenting with the teaching of local history *in spite of* the syllabus requirements of 'O' and 'A' level Certificates. Some of the best work was being done in Secondary Modern Schools while they still retained their original purpose and privilege of being untroubled by external examinations. This short-lived experiment was killed by a grand alliance of almost all the interested parties except some of those actually teaching and many of the pupils. The C.S.E. examination, however, gives possibilities for doing local history; but the organisation of comprehensive schools has yet to prove well adapted to the subject.

Before pursuing this matter further one must comment on the really momentous advances made in the extra-mural field by W.E.A. and university tutors. The Standing Conference for Local History has long made the point that every area in the country is covered by this network and, given a demand, *some* university will respond to its utmost, and indeed has the obligation to do so. It seems curious that Professor Hoskins in his inaugural lecture of 1966 was so disappointed at the lack of results in local history, especially from amateurs. An immense amount of work is going on both in extra-mural classes and in amateur societies, though both are still somewhat hampered by long-standing difficulties over publication. In fact the response to local history has been something justifying the adjective *phenomenal*. Professor Finberg has commented on one of these efforts, in which he has calculated that *five years'* work by a professional teacher has been done by an amateur group in *three*. The work, 'Discovering Sheldon' (near Birmingham), was done by one of Victor Skipp's

groups and he has set out his methods clearly in 'Local History—Objective and Pursuit,' which may be recommended as a reference book for those interested in any aspect of the subject.

Mr. Skipp also writes in this book of his work in schools. Such work is not easy as school time-tables are at present organised. Nor is the presentation of local history in the early stages easy either. But if you have ever met children taught in this way you may well have been surprised at their remarkable grasp, confidence and enthusiasm, the result of their being firmly grounded in experiences that they understand. They may not worship in the church or the chapels, but these are buildings that they take for granted, and their memorials and their very shapes can be made to live in a way in which it seems that Cromwell (was it Thomas or Oliver?) cannot. Boredom and a feeling of uselessness must set in when a history course speeds on regardless and often leaves literally not a wrack behind in memory. It is the limitations of local history that make it such a good educational subject: one can, and must, afford to take time and piece together detail. It must be a poor teacher who cannot make Oliver Cromwell come alive in a lesson, but it is the need to push on to the Restoration that is so damaging. Over the years pleas have been made for an education in national history in the merest outline, a framework without a picture if you like, but let it be backed by the greatest detail in local and area history, involving all the fascination of geology, natural history, archaeology, drawing, photography, observation, discussion and real co-operative work. This could be the basis of work up to 'O' level and would help to break down the rigidities of subject specialisation, which start long before the preparatory stage for university entrance. Some people may have been fortunate in learning in the early stages from a single teacher English, History, Geography, Divinity and Latin, or a similar range of subjects. Such a teacher saw his pupil enough to know something about him and to know what appeared to him difficult or easy, and what his reaction to difficulty was. Organisation is so different today and so specialised, but the virtues of the village school with its very limited staff are becoming clearer—its drawbacks seemed obvious enough. Especially can the teaching of local history be made a lever in the integration of school work; and parents can play a part, like everyone else, in asking that some attempt be made to base early teaching on the area itself and on the participation of pupils themselves. I believe that children would no longer 'hate history at school' but would become clearer over fact and theory, differences of opinion and logical argument, and more satisfied and stable perhaps in knowing about their environment. Local history *does*, however, make big demands upon the teacher, who must blaze the trail by original work before co-operative work can begin. An aura of unreality surrounds the textbook history for schools; and as schools and their curricula are very much in the melting pot at present, it is a good time to push the claims of local history as an important nucleus for environmental studies, not just in itself and for itself, but as an educational subject especially conducive to the participation of pupils, to discussion and argument, and to the development of logical thought and co-operation with other disciplines. All this depends, however, on something happening in the universities and training colleges as well. Local history has got to be accepted there as other than hairbrained antiquarianism: it must be seen as a logical discipline capable of bringing order into evidence of widely different kinds. Some training colleges will not look at local history at all but, as might be expected, the newer universities with freedom to create new syllabus requirements are doing their bit, and especially at Leicester the subject appears to be settling down with, at last, a professor of its own. Here in London efforts have been made without meeting with the response that could be wished. Of course, if a student has no background, however keen he is,

he sees danger in launching into a new subject at university level. Imagine undertaking a course in Byzantine history, knowing that you will have to begin by learning the Greek language: you would have to be very keen and would need very sympathetic teachers. Some students, however, have faced the challenge. Local history still needs much wider acceptance at national level and more knowledge on the part of the general public, so that schools and universities can work in harness towards higher standards. This is where the Standing Conference comes in. It is only just attaining its legal majority and I recall the discussions in the 'ad hoc' committee working out a constitution over what we should call ourselves: it *sounded* absurd to have *national* in the title, say 'The National Association of Societies of Local History,' but of course that is what we were. The pioneering work is far from over, especially at county committee level: it is in this Middlesex Local History Council and its counterparts that lies what should be the power-house of the local history movement. Middlesex has now the great advantage of an old Society and its *Transactions* as a means of disseminating the Local History Council's ideas. There is plenty of pioneering still to be done, especially in the field of education at all levels.

The Standing Conference has its own publication, *The Local Historian*, which it tries to make of maximum value to all those interested in the subject. It has won high praise but its success has not been such as to enable it to expand as it needs to. Suggestions about its content and distribution have always been welcome and even its name has recently been changed as a result: but it still needs more support and your constructive criticism.

Publication is a matter where once more national, intermediate and local interests (and resources) have to be taken into account. National publishers, dependent upon national sales, have been traditionally chary of undertaking local history publications in spite of some very successful essays in the field like J. C. Atkinson's *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish* (1891), J. D. Beresford's *History on the Ground* (1957) and Professor Hoskins' masterpiece, *The Making of the English Countryside* (1955). Now the outlook is brighter for Messrs. David and Charles from their headquarters in a redundant railway building at Newton Abbot have broadened their original field, through industrial archaeology into local history generally. Their list deserves careful watching. The book twice quoted above, *Local History—Objective and Pursuit* by Professor Finberg and V. H. Skipp, is from David and Charles' publishing house. Local history needs more publications; and fortunately at a professionally academic level grants both for work and for publication are becoming much more readily available through the British Academy and other bodies. Work, and very useful work too, at a local group level and perhaps narrowly local, is still far less easy to publish even when well worthy. That admirable endowment the Marc Fitch Fund has for the past dozen years been taking an interest in exactly this type of publication to the general benefit of everyone. There still remains much work deserving consideration and its publication is perfectly possible despite the expense (especially the rising cost of alternatives to printing). Such publication requires, of course, enthusiasm at source and the agreement and help of a county committee, such as this London and Middlesex Society one, to publicise the venture in areas likely to be interested, and perhaps to help with finance. A century and a half ago numerous local histories were being published on a subscription list basis and this is still a good way, together with interest-free loans raised locally so that immediate bills can be met. The backing of schools and adult education groups is important too. There must also be confidence in, and enthusiasm for, local work. Granted these, experience has shown that the sums required for publication can be raised and repaid within a few years if the planning is careful enough. By such publication

a third stage is added to amateur effort. First comes interest and enjoyment; next work to expand knowledge; and, finally, the greater discipline of putting results in writing. All participants cannot perhaps achieve this last and would not wish to, but what a pleasure it is to find people facing the difficulties of authorship for the first time, determined to pass on their own enthusiasm.

Whether or not the material produced is published there is now a crying need for an Institute, a central repository and clearing house for local history work. The obvious place for such an institution would appear to be Leicester but the position hardly matters if the place can be reached easily and if it has financial backing for personnel and buildings. It is in such an Institute that note could be taken of the humblest typescript and of its whereabouts even if it were not in fact placed in the central library. What is now being experienced is a glut of somewhat ephemerally produced work (even if the material deserves better) along with increasing numbers of books printed through the normal channels. *The Local Historian*, unable to find room for enough reviews, has for two years been wrestling with the problems involved in producing a Local History Bibliography for 1965-66, and when it is published people may well ask why it was decided to start with those years. The answer is simple: in 1966 the Standing Conference decided that it must do something about such a bibliography and the teething troubles have proved bigger than anticipated. A recognised central Institute could do this type of work much more easily. Local history depends so much on the work of amateurs that anything requiring long-term organisation and co-ordination becomes difficult for lack of a permanent staff. This is where the National Council of Social Service has helped so greatly in providing a central office for the Standing Conference and considerable help at county level. The recent publication by the Standing Conference of the *Glossary of Mediaeval Farming Terms* provides a good example of the needs and interacting forces. For many years such a book has been recognised as a major need for students of mediaeval manorial records. Canon Fisher has collected the farming terms for Essex over many years but had found difficulty over publication. The Standing Conference was able to bring together financial help from the Marc Fitch Fund, the Essex Record Office and Brentwood Historical Society, and to enlist the services of Dr. Powell to give the book as wide an application as possible. The Standing Conference then itself provided the services to publish the work through the normal channels of the National Council of Social Service. It can hardly be realised how much devoted and unpaid work has gone into this little book, which perhaps would not have been published at all without a permanent office staff to keep all the threads together over a long period. The end-product will, one hopes, be a very useful book though only an intermediate one, and help future scholars to produce something more finished and comprehensive. The obvious needs at the moment for local history, if it is to prosper and make good use of widespread and diversified enthusiasm, are continuity and finance. An Institute of Local History if it could be financed and sponsored by an academic institution would be an admirable solution. But these are not the days when state aid on this scale can be expected to be given easily, so there may yet be a need to persevere in the typically British 'ad hoc' compromises which lie behind the work of the Standing Conference for Local History. When the time for reorganisation does come, the work of the National Council for Social Service should be recognised, alongside that of the extra-mural departments of the universities, as of fundamental importance in nourishing the study of local history in the post-war period. There is no shadow of doubt now that local history is an established and growing study both for amateurs and professionals.

## A LONDON MYSTERY SOLVED

BY R. MERRIFIELD, B.A., F.S.A.

Generations of visitors to the beautiful 15th century eastern crypt of Guildhall have been puzzled by a huge granite column-base which lay, unlabelled, in the north-west corner of the crypt. It was clearly of Roman date, but there was apparently no record of its discovery or of its arrival at Guildhall. This great mass of stone is about 2 ft. 6 in. in height and nearly 6 ft. across at its base, and as it was merely an undecorated architectural feature, it seemed unlikely that anyone would have taken the trouble to move it far from the place where it was originally used. It was therefore commonly accepted as a genuine relic of Roman London.

Mr. Gordon Home, in his book on Roman London, published in 1926, suggested that it originally supported an interior column of the great basilica on Cornhill, and drew a reconstruction of the column, 3 ft. 9 in. in diameter and more than 40 ft. high.<sup>1</sup> Mr. W. C. Edwards, however, raised the question of the difficulty of getting the stone into the crypt, estimating (on the basis of the stone being quite solid) that it weighed more than five tons. He therefore suggested that the column-base might be occupying its original site and that the mediaeval crypt was built round it! He also mentioned a tradition that it was one of a series of twelve.<sup>2</sup>

The stone was originally thought to be granite from Shap in Westmoreland, but a detailed petrographical analysis by Dr. H. H. Thomas, Petrographer to the Geological Survey, in 1928, showed conclusively that it was identical in mineral constituents and microscopic structure with the red granite of Assouan, in Egypt, and had undoubtedly come from that source.<sup>3</sup> Egyptian granite was exported for use in Roman settlements in the Mediterranean, so there seemed no reason why it should not have reached Roman London. If anything, the discovery that the stone was of Egyptian origin seemed to strengthen the case for its arrival in London in Roman times, since it seemed incredible that anyone would have considered it worth the trouble and cost of transport except for actual use. It was therefore provisionally accepted as a remnant of Roman London in the scholarly survey made by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in 1928. The suggestion was made that it might even have been part of a memorial column, such as might possibly have supported the great bronze statue of Hadrian, the head of which was found in the Thames.<sup>4</sup>

A few years ago, however, Mr. Martin Henig, then a member of Guildhall Museum staff, found a significant reference in John Timbs's *Curiosities of London*, published in 1855. Describing Guildhall Crypt, the author said (p. 301), '... Opposite the north entrance is a large antique bowl of Egyptian red granite, which was presented to the Corporation by Major Cookson in 1802 as a memorial of the British achievements in Egypt.'

Further investigation brought to light a similar reference four years earlier in the *Illustrated London News*, and this gave the additional information that the bowl had been sent to England in the ship *Anacreon* from Alexandria, with a letter dated 1st September, 1802.<sup>5</sup>

Major George Cookson (later a General) commanded the Artillery in Egypt under Abercrombie, and was evidently a man who let no difficulties stand in his way. The technical problems of removing and shipping a great piece of stone to England may even have attracted him as a means of demonstrating his prowess and that of his men.

It seemed clear that the column base of Egyptian granite by the north entrance to the crypt, and the 'bowl' of the same material, said to have been in the same place in the mid-nineteenth century, must be one and the same object. But why should an obvious column-base have been described in two separate accounts as a 'bowl'? The only possible explanation seemed to be that it was hollow underneath, and if turned the other way up would appear to be a bowl. The great stone had never been moved in living memory, and could not of course be raised merely to satisfy antiquarian curiosity. I was sufficiently certain that this must be the explanation, however, to commit myself to it in print last year.<sup>6</sup> At that time it seemed unlikely that the question could be finally settled in the foreseeable future.

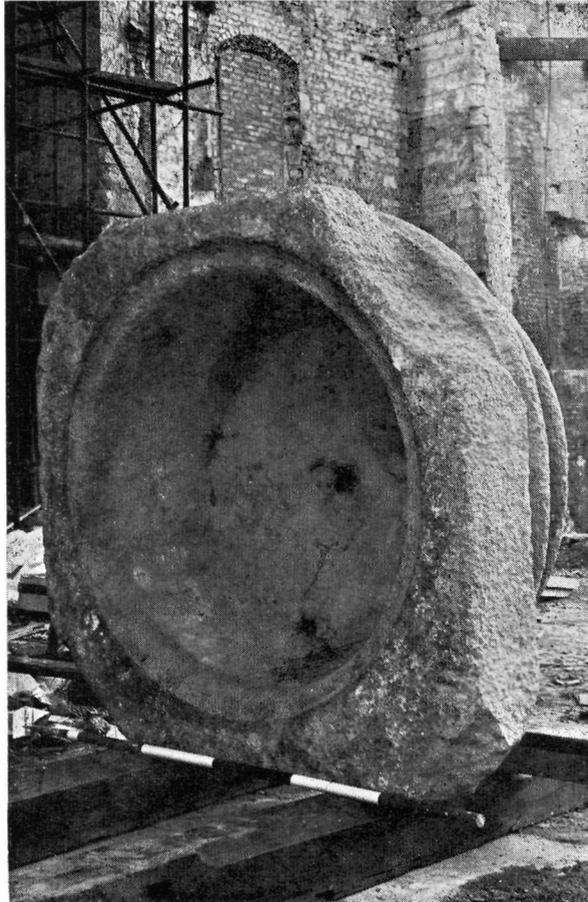
Within months, however, the decision had been taken by the Guildhall Reconstruction Committee to clear the whole of the crypt, and with considerable difficulty the great stone block was lifted and removed to the open area west of Guildhall—not without some anxious moments when it seemed that the floor of the crypt might not be able to bear the strain. It was with some trepidation, on more than one account, that I slipped my hand under the base as soon as it had been raised a few inches—and felt, to my relief, the under surface curving upwards, leaving a central void.

The suggestion that the base was hollow had met with some scepticism, as the only advantage of hollowing it seemed to be that it would make it lighter to transport and handle, while there would be the corresponding disadvantage of weakening it. When it was lifted on to its side, however, it was at once clear that Major Cookson had been quite right, and that it *was* a bowl. It had been made, and no doubt used, as a column-base, but had subsequently been converted into a bowl or basin—evidently after the building in which it stood had been destroyed.

Where in Egypt the bowl/base was found we do not know, but it seems on the whole most likely that it was in Alexandria. Dr. John Harris has suggested<sup>7</sup> that it might have been either the site of the great Serapeum, or more probably a site by the sea-shore where massive ruins have been found, and near the place where Cleopatra's Needle then lay. An unsuccessful attempt to remove the Needle was made by men of Abercrombie's force in 1801, and Cookson may well have been concerned with this. Dr. Harris informed me that a portion of a royal statue presented by Cookson is in the Bristol Museum, with its provenance variously stated as 'near Cairo' and 'at the base of the Needle'. It seems likely that the 'Needle' mentioned is Cleopatra's Needle, and that the former provenance is incorrect. If so, Cookson was hunting antiquities on his own account on the shores of Alexandria, and may well have found the column-base at this time.

It had evidently already been converted into a bowl, either in later Roman or post-Roman times, apparently for use as an ornamental basin, presumably containing water. There are the remains of an iron inset, probably a dowel, in the centre of the bowl on the underside of the column-base, and this does not penetrate to the surface of the base. It seems clear that a central ornamental feature was fixed in the bowl—probably a statue if the conversion took place in Roman times. It would have looked well, rising from the water and reflected in its surface. It seems unlikely that it was a fountain, as there was no provision for an entry pipe.

The major problem of the origin of the great column-base has therefore been solved, but a minor mystery remains. Timbs and the contributor to the *Illustrated London News* presumably obtained their information from a label or notice that was still in the crypt in the



Column-base after removal from Guildhall crypt, showing under-surface hollowed to form bowl, with remains of central iron dowel.

mid-19th century, and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy. The fact remains that it has so far proved impossible to confirm it from any official record in the Corporation archives. No Committee Report seems to mention the arrival of the great stone; there is no word of official thanks to Major Cookson; even the cost of getting it from the *Anacreon* into the crypt—and this must have been considerable—does not seem to appear in the financial records. Perhaps Cookson paid for the whole thing, and the Corporation may have been understandably embarrassed by an unwanted gift.

What is to happen to it now? It has never formed part of the collection of Guildhall Museum, and since its connection with the history of London is limited to its association with Guildhall, it would not be acceptable for exhibition in the future Museum of London, which is to incorporate the existing Guildhall and London Museums. Yet it is a noble piece of stone, and not only worthy of preservation as a genuine antiquity of Roman Egypt, but as a testimony to the extraordinary endeavour of 19th century Englishmen. It is also of great interest as an awful example of the sort of misconception that can arise, quite logically, from insufficient information and failure to take into account the strange vagaries of human behaviour. A point of particular interest in a City of so many traditions, well-based and otherwise, is that the column-base acquired the completely imaginary legend that it had originally belonged to a series of twelve. This cannot have originated with Cookson, who found the base after its conversion into a bowl.

Clearly the column-base must be preserved—but where? Its weight—less than the five tons originally estimated, but probably between three and four tons—demands a position on solid ground. Fortunately it will not deteriorate through exposure, so can be kept out-of-doors. It could be used as an ornamental bowl containing soil or water, if drilled for drainage—or, shown as a column base, as it lay in Guildhall crypt for 165 years, could be used as a pedestal, perhaps for a piece of modern sculpture, or even as a seat. It has been deposited temporarily by the City Architect near the bastions south of St. Giles' Cripplegate, and it is understood that it will probably be used in that area, no doubt with a suitable notice giving its extraordinary history.

#### NOTES

- 1 Gordon Home, *Roman London*, 1926, p. 201.
- 2 L.A.M.A.S. Trans., (N.S.) vol. 5, 1923-6, p. 337.
- 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 337-9.
- 4 R.C.H.M. Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, vol. III, *Roman London*, pp. 42-3.
- 5 *Illustrated London News*, 24th May, 1851, pp. 467-8.
- 6 R. Merrifield, *Roman London* (Cassell, 1969), pp. 108-9.
- 7 In a letter to the writer dated 30.1.66.

## OBITUARY

COMMANDER GEORGE BRIDGMORE BROWN, M.B.E., R.D., R.N.R.

The name of George Bridgmore Brown will long be associated with the history and records of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. His death, on 29th December 1969, at the age of 81, brought to a close a life-long service to the Society.

He joined the Society in 1912; in 1913 was appointed Joint Honorary Secretary, but World War I saw him absent on active service, and it was not until after the war that he could resume his duties. Upon the resignation of his co-Secretary in 1927 he undertook the office single-handed until April 1931. A special feature to which he gave his attention was the annual summer visit to some historic place outside the Society's normal territory. In 1937 he was again appointed Honorary Secretary but, once again, war intervened, and it was not until 1945 that he could take up the reins of office once more; finally relinquishing the position in 1948. In 1939 he had been appointed a Trustee and held this position until it was decided to pass the responsibility over to the Society's bankers in 1964. In 1947 he was elected a Vice-President and represented the Society on the Roman and Medieval London Excavation Council from its formation in the same year. He was Chairman of Council from 1952 until 1956; thus, was largely responsible for steering the Society through its centenary celebrations in 1955. An impressive record, and it is no wonder that he was presented with the Society's Silver Medal in 1939 as "a token of appreciation of his long service", which was to last for another 30 years, for he continued to attend Council meetings almost up to the time of his death.

Bridgmore Brown started at an early age in the Civil Service, but World War I saw him in the Royal Navy, where he served overseas and rose to the rank of Paymaster-Commander. After the war he was with the Home Office Prisons Department, and subsequently transferred to the Mines Department of the Board of Trade, where he became an authority on the provisions of the Coal Mines Act of 1911, and regulations thereunder. On nationalisation of the coal industry in 1947, he joined the National Coal Board's Production Department, which enabled him to specialise in a subject dear to his heart: safety in the mines. He retired in 1952 but continued for some years after in a consultative capacity, particularly in regard to the Mines and Quarries Act, 1954.

Bridgmore Brown's other interests included philately, in which he was an enthusiastic general collector and a specialist in Bermuda. He was active in a number of philatelic societies, national as well as local. He was President of the British Philatelic Association from 1963 to 1966, and rendered a great service in inaugurating the Association's Diploma of Merit, a qualification obtainable by examination by those engaged in the profession.

T.A.N.H.

### NEW BOOKS

CELIA TROTT: *The Story of Uxbridge Quakers from 1658*. Published by the Uxbridge Meeting, Religious Society of Friends, 1970. 7/6d. Postage 6d. 19pp. 4 plates. A well-produced, attractive history. Obtainable from 266 Cowley Road, Uxbridge.

LAWRENCE S. SNELL (ed.). *A History of the North London Branch of the Historical Association together with Essays in Honour of its Golden Jubilee*. Published by the North London Branch of the Historical Association, 1970. 8/- post free (members 6/-). 80pp. 3 plates.

This attractive volume contains a history of the North London Branch by E. S. Worrall, a delightful Cornish essay (The St. Stephens in Brannel Story) by Dr. A. L. Rowse, and an important new contribution to London history (Ralph Holland and the London Radicals, 1438-1444) by Dr. Caroline M. Barron.

Obtainable from the Hon. Secretary, 5 Eaton Park Road, London, N.13.

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