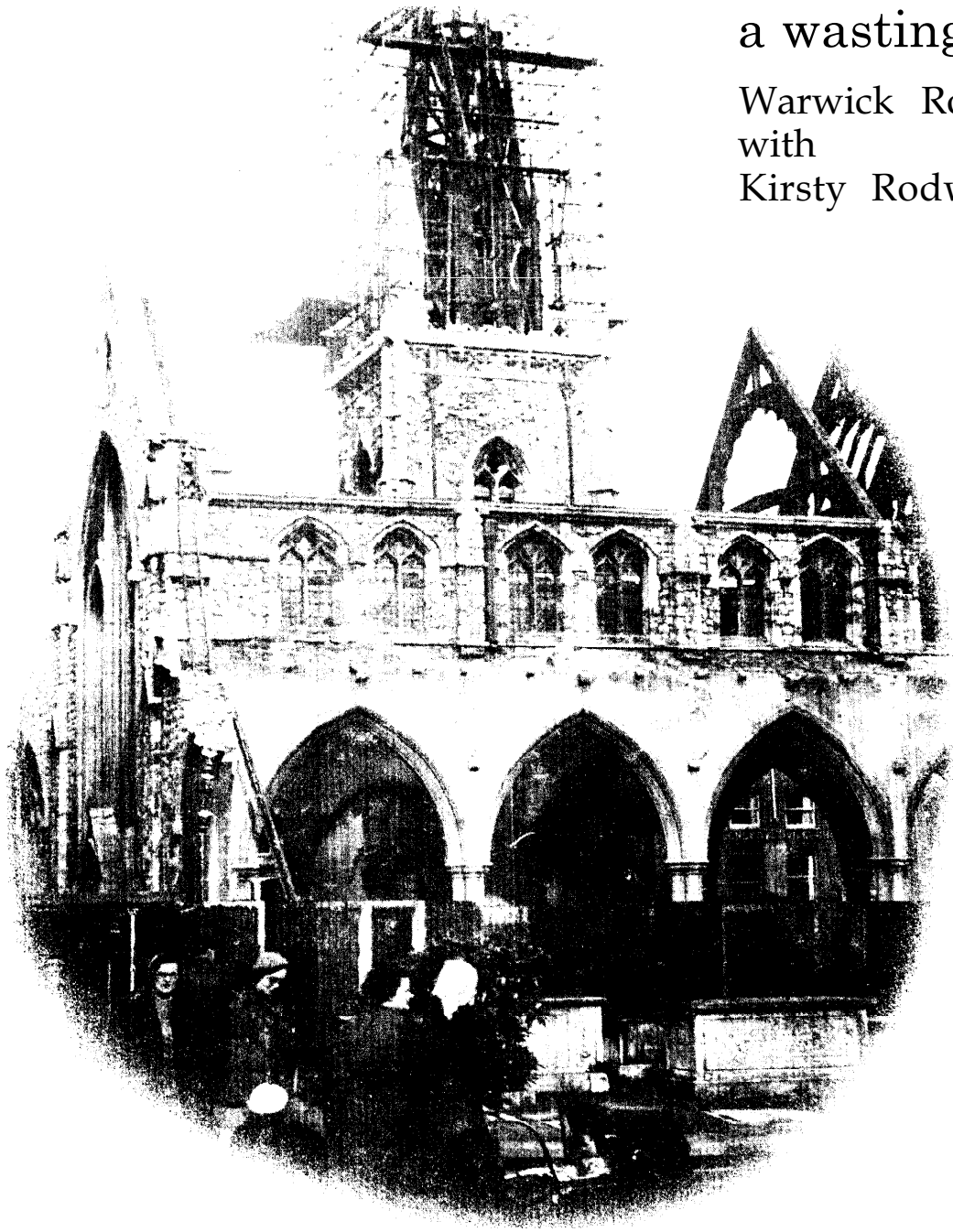
RESEARCH REPORT

No 19

HISTORIC CHURCHES
a wasting asset

Warwick Rodwell
with
Kirsty Rodwell



1977

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Research Report No 19

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Contents

Introduction

The undertaking of a survey such as this is no easy task. First, no comparable study has ever been produced and there is thus no 'model' to emulate or to provide general guide-lines. Secondly, the subject of church archaeology is very wide ranging, both chronologically and physically, and it involves many specialist disciplines. When there is so much to take into consideration it is virtually impossible to give equal weight to every aspect, or indeed to ensure that nothing of significance is omitted altogether. Thus, excavating for the foundations of an Anglo-Saxon church is very different from, but no more or less important than, the industrial archaeology of boilers, bell machinery or tower clocks.

It is often said that our churches are better looked after than ever before, and as far as the structural soundness and general appearance of churches is concerned this is undoubtedly true. But there are other important aspects of the business of caring for churches to consider, and the theme of this report is the destruction of primary historical evidence, whether it is inside the church or outside it, above ground or below. This destruction is a matter of grave concern, not just to archaeologists, but to ecclesiologists, architectural historians, genealogists, demographers and ecologists.

The first stage in the enquiry is to pin-point the areas where historic evidence is being lost; the second is to ascertain how and why destruction takes place; and the third is to suggest ways and means whereby the loss could either be averted, or else a proper record made when destruction is inevitable.

First, one must recognize that it is impossible to save everything and that each age destroys some of its legacy from the past. This is the price of progress. The questions which we must ask are these: how much are we losing today? And can we afford to lose that much?

A survey which discusses the loss of historic evidence inevitably raises the problem of how to present the findings without causing offence. Presentation has thus posed a dilemma since nobody welcomes complaints on his own doorstep. A vast catalogue of the destruction of historic evidence sustained by each parish would have been unreadable, the contents offensive and the whole exercise negative. On the other hand, it would have been possible to give tables of statistics of the various losses and threats without citing a single named example. With no supporting evidence their credibility would undoubtedly have been denounced by those anxious to insist that everything is in order in their parish. A third course seemed more appropriate: to take a midway line by discussing the problems in general, with constant support from actual examples.

I have made every effort to ensure that examples are presented impersonally, and I wish to make it clear that the description of a problem or an historic loss in a particular church is in no way intended as a criticism of any individual incumbent, committee, architect, builder or firm. In nine cases out of ten, none of these parties will even be aware that any damage has been done, or if they are conscious of historic losses they probably regard them as unfortunate and genuinely unavoidable. Indeed, it frequently happens that when an archaeologist or an historian points to a particular loss of evidence, the reaction is one of surprise, regret and a willingness to avoid the same problem arising again. In general, it may be said that incumbents and Parochial Church Councils (PCCs) are consciously interested in historic churches and wish to do all they can to care for them, within the limits of financial and practical possibility. Likewise, the majority of church architects and reputable builders do the best they can, given the constraints within which they often have to work. Regrettably, there are exceptions; from time to time Canon Law is flouted, unsound advice obtained, unsuitable architects, builders or firms employed and as a result historic evidence is unnecessarily destroyed. Occasionally, it is difficult to view a particular action as anything other than cold-blooded vandalism. One or two instances have been included in the text, without further comment, merely to illustrate that some remarkable acts of destruction do take place.

The emphasis of this report is, however, constructive and I have taken pains to show ways in which the destruction of historic evidence may be minimized, and where losses are unavoidable, how prior recording could take place. At present neither the Church nor the State makes provision for recording the bulk of the historic evidence which is destroyed year by year.

Acknowledgements

The Survey was sponsored by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments of the Department of the Environment and executed under the auspices of the Churches Committee of the Council for British Archaeology. The local administration of the Survey was undertaken by the Essex Archaeological Society. The writer is grateful to the staff, officers and members of those organizations for assistance and advice throughout the project; likewise acknowledgement is due to the staff of the Essex County Council Planning Department, to the Chelmsford Diocesan Board of Finance and the Chelmsford Diocesan Advisory Committee.

In addition to the invaluable assistance given by the above bodies, many people have given their time to discuss particular problems with me, or to answer my numerous questions. It is impossible to acknowledge everybody by name, but particular mention must be made of the Venerable P S G Bridges, Chairman of the Diocesan Advisory Committee and Archdeacon of Southend-on-Sea; the Venerable C D Bond, Archdeacon of Colchester; Mr H Lovell, Secretary to the Diocesan Board of Finance; Mr R K Morris, Secretary of the CBA Churches Committee; Mr P A T Burman, Deputy Secretary of the Council for Places of Worship; Mr J D Hedges and Miss C Couchman of Essex County Council. Mr Morris also read the text and assisted with its editing.

In compiling Section 5 I was grateful for assistance from Messrs D T-D Clarke and G M R Davies; Professor G R Martin kindly read the first draft of that section and offered valuable suggestions which have been incorporated.

Section 6 describes results which could never have been achieved without the whole-hearted co-operation of Rivenhall Parochial Church Council and the Rector, the Reverend D Nash. The co-operation of the church's architects, Messrs Laurence King and Partners, is also acknowledged with gratitude.

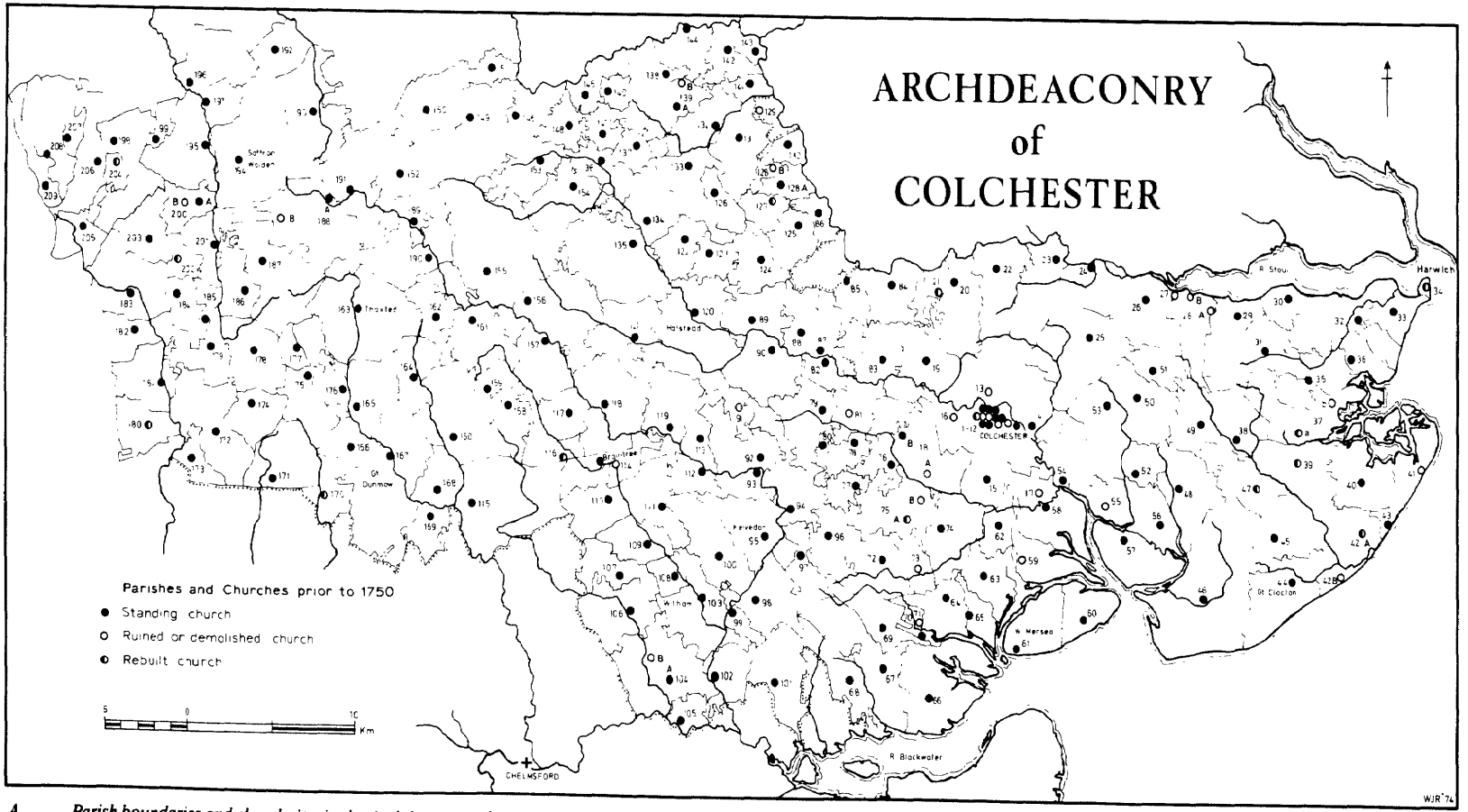
Similarly, Section 7 owes much to Hadstock Parochial Church Council and the Rector, the Reverend M L Yorke; the church's architect, Mr H C Bellchamber, is also to be warmly thanked for his co-operation.

The Asheldham Case Study (Section 8) was only possible through the good offices of the Diocesan Youth Chaplain, the Reverend P C Elvy; and for permission to discuss Latchingdon I am grateful to Mr J C H Dunlop and his architect, Mr P J Lorimer.

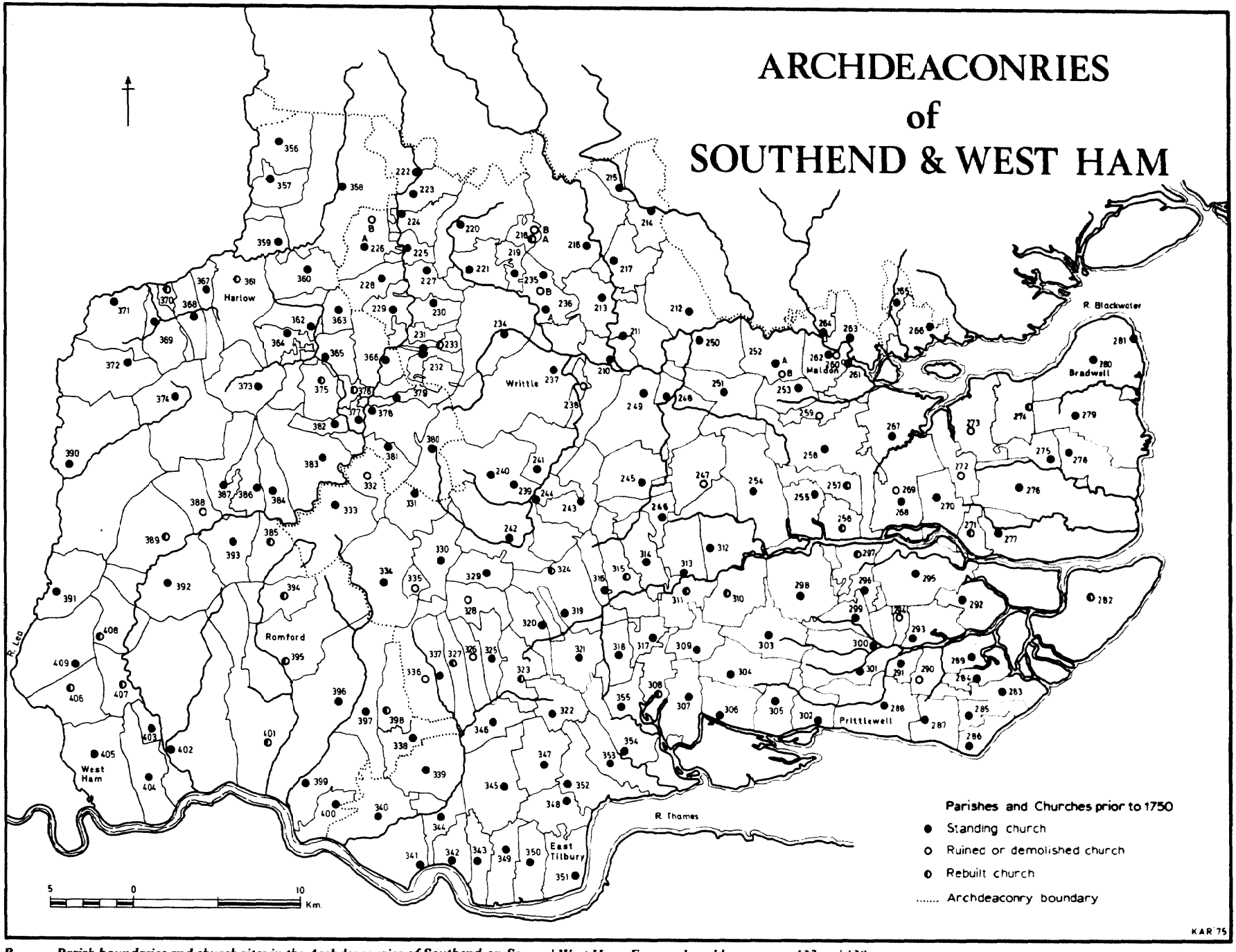
Finally, for assistance with the project in various ways, I am grateful to many friends and colleagues, in particular: Dr and Mrs D J E L Carrick, Mr P J Drury, Mr D J Fowler, Mr and Mrs D R Stewart and Dr H M Taylor. Of all the debts, none can exceed that to my wife, who has been closely associated with the Survey at every stage. She assisted with virtually all the individual church surveys, had a hand in many of the illustrations and scrutinized the earlier drafts of the text.

W J RODWELL

Oxford
September 1975



A *Parish boundaries and church sites in the Archdeaconry of Colchester. For numbered key, see p. 125ff*



B ***Parish boundaries and church sites in the Archdeaconries of Southend-on-Sea and West Ham. For numbered key, see pp. 127 and 128.***

Section 1 Explanation of the Survey

'It is a matter for rejoicing that the first half of the 20th century witnessed a remarkable revival of interest in the ancient churches of England. so much so that they are now universally regarded as among the richest treasures of our national heritage and a genuine interest in the circumstances which attended their construction will naturally increase their meaning and significance for our modern age. "

William J Fancett
Saffron Walden, I969

Background to the Survey

1.1 Britain is endowed with a very large number of ancient Anglican cathedrals, parish churches and chapels, as well as the ruins of former monastic houses. This number is equalled or exceeded by a wide range of less ancient non-conformist churches, chapels and meeting houses. The standing buildings are both physical reminders of the achievement of the Christian Church and treasures of our cultural heritage.

1.2 This great historic legacy is in danger of destruction. Our ecclesiastical heritage is finite: it cannot grow or replenish itself, but it can dwindle: it is essentially a wasting asset. The rate at which the wasting takes place is controllable; we may accelerate it or retard it, but we cannot reverse the process. It has taken countless generations of devoted labour to accumulate the assets which we hold at present, and since the process of acquisition is much slower than that of disposal, the latter must be monitored. We are at present preparing ourselves for a new era of disposal at a far greater rate than has been seen hitherto. The many ways in which ecclesiastical assets are being destroyed or dispersed include: the sale of buildings and their conversion or demolition; the sale of church possessions (including plate); the loss of possessions through theft, vandalism and sheer neglect; the mutilation of churches and graveyards through ill-conceived or ill-advised desires to modernize or 'improve' them; the replacement or modification of historic buildings and objects; and the necessities of maintenance and repair. These processes are all to be found over most parts of Britain and some are the cause of much concern and debate at a national level; this applies particularly to redundancy and the sale of church treasures. Losses incurred through the other destructive processes are less well known and are thus given less publicity.

1.3 In the C19, antiquaries and ecclesiologists often spoke and wrote with vehemence on the depredations which were being suffered by churches in their own age (see, for example, Anon. 1889). However, in the last half-century there has been a lull in this active concern (Rodwell, 1975a) and a false sense of security has arisen whereby we have come to believe that the kind of destruction brought about by wholesale restoration and church rebuilding does not, and cannot, happen today. This is far from the truth. Unless urgent measures are taken to arrest the current spate of destructive agencies which are at work on churches, graveyards, monuments, furnishings and fittings, successive generations will view ours as the most destructive in British ecclesiastical history (or at best, only rivalled by the Dissolution and Reformation).

1.4 A number of statutory bodies and committees is concerned with the task of caring for churches and their possessions. These include the Diocesan Advisory Committees, the Council for Places of Worship (formerly the Council for the Care of Churches) and the Advisory Board for Redundant Churches. Their collective expertise is great and their work is of inestimable value, but the first two mentioned do not possess mandatory powers and the scope of their duties does not cover all aspects of historic churches. In particular, no body has responsibility for the academic study of churches or for the production and maintenance of records relating to their historic architecture, art history or demography. It might be thought that there is no necessity to 'organize' the study of churches or the making of records relating to their history, since the primary material exists in a form which is easily accessible to any interested historian. But the problem exists in the very fact that we take so much for granted: churches are 'there', so are their fittings, furnishings and monuments. Yet this supposes a static situation, which is far from being the case when one takes stock of what was 'there' a few years ago, or even a few days ago, but is no longer. Put simply, changes which take place in churches and graveyards, however necessary or desirable they may be, cause the gradual erosion of the basic historic evidence, and nobody is currently charged with the task of adequately recording that evidence before it is lost for all time.

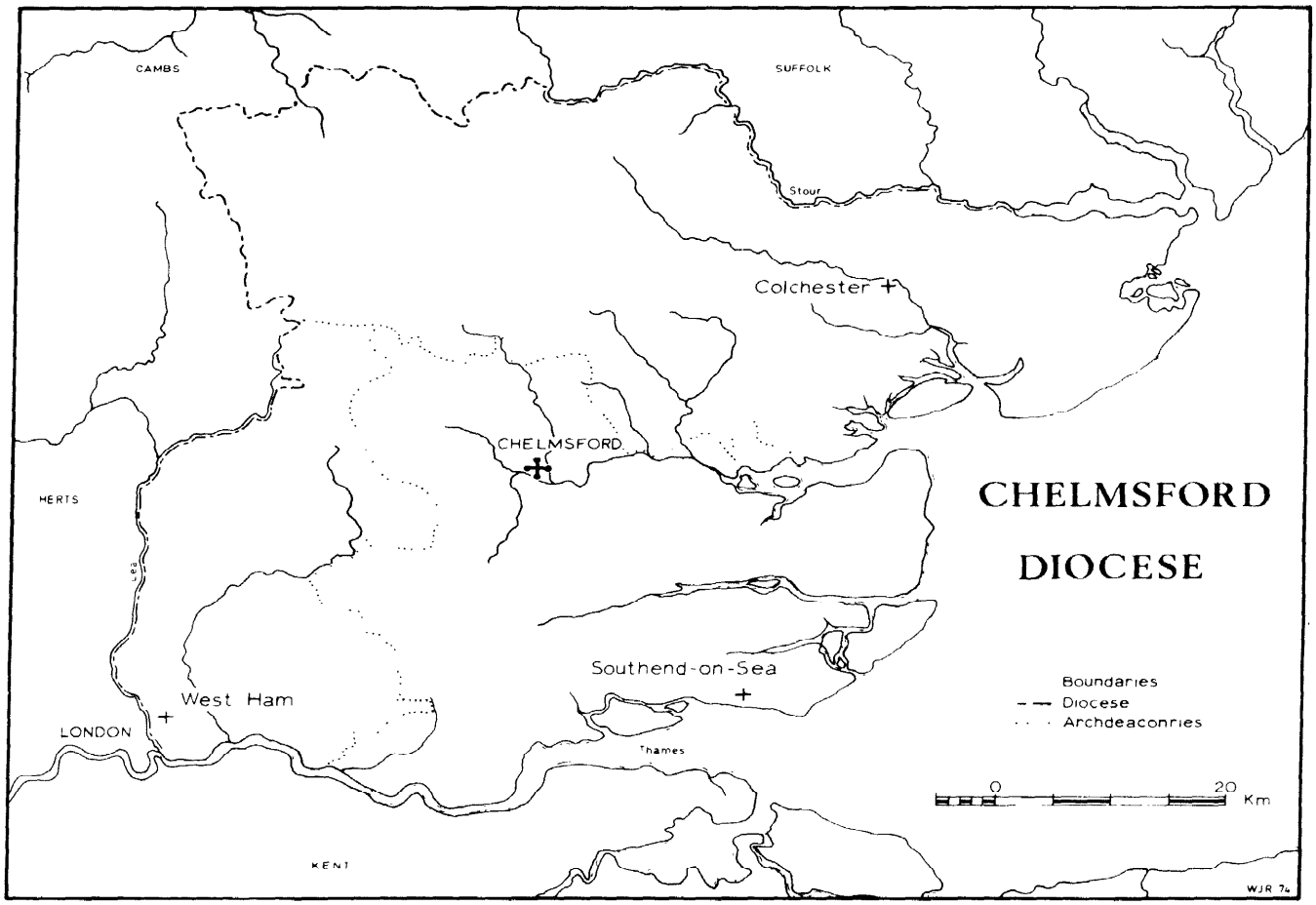
1.5 Over the last few years there has been a growing awareness of this unhappy situation, which has led to an examination of the problem by the Council for British Archaeology, working in close liaison with the Council for places of Worship (Jesson, 1973). One result of this co-operation has been that many Diocesan Advisory Committees now have professional archaeologists amongst their membership (Morris, 1975).

1.6 As part of a fact-finding exercise, the CBA Churches Committee, in collaboration with the Department of the Environment (Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments), is initiating a series of regional surveys into the problems and potentials of church archaeology. This report is the outcome of the first of those surveys: it is concerned solely with the Diocese of Chelmsford and concentrates particularly on the Archdeaconry of Colchester (Fig. 1).

Definition and scope of church archaeology

1.7 'Church archaeology' is a term which may be unfamiliar to many historians, architects and ecclesiastics. Archaeology is not, as is often believed, concerned solely with the search for structures and objects concealed below ground; excavation is but one of the many techniques which may be employed by the archaeologist.

1.8 Thus church archaeology is the study of the whole historic fabric and environment of ecclesiastical buildings. There are many component parts to this study, which often involve close collaboration between archaeologists and



1 The Diocese of Chelmsford, showing the boundaries of the Archdeaconries of Colchester, Southend-on-sea and West Ham

specialists in particular fields of research. So it must be stressed here that the use of the term 'archaeological investigation' in this study should not be regarded as synonymous with 'excavation'; an investigation into the archaeology of a church could be entirely confined to above-ground work.

1.9 Church archaeology has several roles to fulfil in the study of the past, of which the following may be considered as its principal contributions:

a. It is the means by which the physical structure of a church and its environs may be systematically studied in relation to existing documentary or epigraphic evidence. Archaeology can illuminate the darker patches of history.

b. It is the means by which information can be extracted from a church and its environs, when there is no relevant documentary evidence to provide a lead. Essentially, this is the writing of history for periods, places, structures and people, where none previously existed in written form. Churches and graveyards and all their accoutrements constitute primary historical evidence which the archaeologist is trained to study, decipher and transcribe. Just as the documentary historian may compile the history of a parish by searching for relevant material in many different sources, so the archaeologist may compile the physical history of a church and graveyard by seeking his evidence in diverse places.

1.10 Archaeology, like history in general, begins with the earliest activities of man and ends with his most recent. Many churches contain an element of industrial archaeology.

1.11 Archaeology has limits, which are determined by the extent to which the primary evidence has survived and is available for study. The archaeologist's work may be compared with that of the documentary historian; the latter, if presented with a complete parish register, may make a thorough transcript and derive a great deal of information from the study of its contents; but if the register has half its pages missing or spoilt by dampness, the volume of information which can be recovered is accordingly reduced; and if a register has been lost or destroyed, the information it contained is irretrievable. Likewise, the history of a church, as revealed through archaeology, can only be as comprehensive as is the surviving evidence. It is, therefore, a matter of great concern to all those who care about our ecclesiastical heritage, or the origins, development and achievements of the Church in Britain, to see the primary material being damaged and destroyed at an ever increasing rate, *without any adequate record* being made. It is like watching pages being torn out of an unread parish register and fed into a fire, one by one.

Summary of findings and recommendations

1.12 Although our ecclesiastical heritage has been extensively studied from the architectural and art-historical aspects, there are many other equally important facets which are in urgent need of attention, if the history of the Christian Church and Mission in Britain is ever to be understood. Much of the primary historical evidence, which ranges in date from the activities of the earliest Christian missionaries to works of recent times, is not to be found in a few 'great' churches, but in ordinary urban and rural parish churches and graveyards. The evidence is not always readily apparent, although in some instances it can be detected by the trained observer. More often it is hidden from view, behind plaster, buried in walls, below floors, or under graveyards. This 'invisible' evidence is particularly vulnerable and may easily be destroyed, simply because its presence is unknown and its significance is unappreciated.

1.13 The survey attempts to show that the destruction of evidence is sometimes unnecessary and avoidable; on the other hand, many threats cannot reasonably be averted. The destruction toll in the Chelmsford Diocese alone is truly vast, in consequence of which two courses of action are strongly urged:

i. That the unnecessary waste of historic ecclesiastical assets be drastically reduced through a programme of education directed at all those persons and bodies concerned with the care and maintenance of churches and their possessions. Concurrently, a more thorough application of existing legislation is essential.

ii. That adequate provision be made for the recording of historic evidence which is likely to be damaged or destroyed by unavoidable processes. In the long term, there is a need for this provision to be organised on a national scale under a Churches Commission, supported by appropriate legislation. In the short term, a policy which is viable within the present economic climate could be implemented and this, it is recommended, should be a tripartite plan, involving the appointment of a Diocesan Furnishings Officer, the appointment of a Diocesan Archaeologist and the regular provision of funds, from the Government's budget for rescue archaeology, for the investigation, recording and publication of all aspects of the archaeology of churches and graveyards.

Section 2 Content of the Survey

"There is no intention of enlarging on the numerous topics of interest that here present themselves, and still less of embarking on the perilous sea of conjecture surrounding the small solid spots of knowledge which in many of these topics are all that we possess."

'The Village Church: Its Foundation'
G Baldwin Brown, 1903

The Diocesan background

2.1 The Diocese of Chelmsford is roughly comparable in area to the ancient county of Essex, before the designation of Greater London (Fig. 1). The Diocese also contains the three parishes of Great and Little Chishill and Heydon, which were transferred from Essex to Cambridgeshire in 1895. Brundon and part of Bures St Mary were formerly in Essex but are now in Suffolk, and both were transferred to the Diocese of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich in 1914.

2.2 The Diocese of Chelmsford is a modern creation: originally, Essex lay within the vast Diocese of London, but in 1846 it was removed and added to the Diocese of Rochester. In 1877 the Diocese of St Albans was created and Essex was transferred thereto. The final change came in 1914; Chelmsford was constituted as a separate Diocese and the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Chelmsford, was raised to the status of cathedral. There are now three archdeaconries, divided into twenty-nine rural deaneries, and containing a total of 515 parishes (reduced from 546 since 1972). The archdeaconries are based on Colchester, Southend-on-Sea and West Ham, the latter two being created from the former Archdeaconry of Essex. The present number of parishes is neither stable nor has any historic significance; while many are of medieval origin, not a few are 'district' parishes of C19 or C20 creation. There are also those modern parishes which are formed out of two or more separate ancient parochial units. Neither the grouping nor subdivision of parishes are wholly recent phenomena: both processes occurred from time to time throughout antiquity.

Scope and limitations

2.3 This survey is concerned not with the history of parochial organization *per se,* but with its material manifestations in the form of parish churches and graveyards. When the survey was being devised in 1973-74, it was apparent that only a portion of the diocese could be tackled in depth, and the Archdeaconry of Colchester was chosen for detailed examination. Many factors influenced the choice: Colchester is the largest of the archdeaconries, with 202 modern parishes; it contains a wide range of church and parish types (from large buildings to small, and from crowded town parishes to depopulated rural villages); there is good geographical variety, from the coastal marshes, through the central Essex clayland, to the chalk uplands of the Cambridgeshire border; and finally there are several churches and groups of churches which can be used as 'case studies'. It was also decided to confine the detailed survey to ancient parish churches and their sites, since it is probably amongst these that the greatest archaeological problem currently exists. The majority of major parochial changes have taken place since 1750, which has been taken as a convenient 'upper limit' for the purposes of the survey. Thus, all churches and sites of former churches which existed by 1750 and which are, or were, of parochial status are examined here. Several important ancient chapelries which were raised to parochial status in the C19 are also included. The total calculated on this criterion is 424 for the diocese as a whole, and 220 for the Archdeaconry of Colchester. Map A shows the sites of all the ancient parish churches and their parochial boundaries, prior to modern amalgamations and reorganization. Separate symbols have been employed to distinguish between those churches which are essentially medieval structures, those which are ruined or have been demolished, and those which have been entirely or very largely rebuilt since 1750. Churches and parishes founded *de novo* after 1750 are not shown. Parishes have been consecutively numbered. In instances where two ancient parishes are now inseparable (eg Great and Little Wenden) a single number is employed but the churches are differentiated by the addition of upper-case letters (thus: 200A and 200B). Similar notation is used where the site of the church has shifted within the parish (e.g. Mistley, 28A and 28B). Map B shows the sites of ancient churches and their parishes in the Archdeaconries of Southend-on-Sea and West Ham; the numbering continues from the Colchester map. For ease of reference in the text, the site number is given, in parenthesis, after the name of each church mentioned; when the number is given with no prefix, the church will be found in the Archdeaconry of Colchester, otherwise the prefixes AD.SS and AD.WH signify the respective archdeaconries.

2.4 The study of the archaeology (above and below ground) of 220 churches and church sites is no small task and it cannot be claimed that the results of this survey constitute an exhaustive account, but it is hoped that little of real significance has been omitted. It is important to remember that we are only examining here a portion of the total picture of the ecclesiastical archaeology of the Colchester Archdeaconry and apart from omitting churches founded on *new* sites after 1750 the survey does not include: non-conformist churches, chapels and meeting-houses; ancient chapels which never achieved parochial status; monastic complexes; medieval hospitals; chantries and other foundations. All of these have their own histories and archaeological problems. The destruction of ancient chapels, for example, represents a tremendous loss to history: only a mere handful of these buildings survives and the original number is unknown, but was certainly in excess of 150,

Methods of approach

2.5 The collection of information for this survey posed many problems, since it is not possible to turn to one or two sources and extract all that is required. Each church and its

problems must be considered and evaluated individually; but basically the following questions were asked:

i. What is known of the archaeology of the church, graveyard and surroundings?

ii. What is known of the early documentary history of the church and its foundation?

iii To what extent was the church restored or rebuilt in the C19; and what now remains of the architecture and archaeology of earlier structures?

iv. How much damage has been done to the architecture, archaeology, furnishings and fittings of the church in this century, and in particular in recent years?

v. What are the threats to the building, graveyard, etc., in the near future (both known and potential threats)?

vi. What *could* be done to avert these destructive threats, and what *should* be done to record information and salvage objects or materials which would otherwise be lost for all time?

In very few cases is there a readily available answer to any one of these questions and it is normally necessary to assemble a mass of diverse information, to weigh the balance of the facts, and then to extract a summary answer.

2.6 The recording of the basic information could, it seemed, be standardized, and a survey form was accordingly devised (Figs. 2 and 3). Some sections could be completed before visiting a church, but a great deal could only be noted from personal observation, with the form acting as a check-list which ensured that no major point was overlooked. At times, one felt that the space allotted for each point was inadequate, but this constraint acted as a useful (and deliberate) curb on the ever-present temptation to write a short essay on every detail. No church in the Diocese has been studied to exhaustion and most deserve further discussion, the need for which became increasingly obvious as the survey proceeded. Basic architectural descriptions of Essex churches may be obtained from the four volumes produced by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (RCHM) (1916-23). However, these volumes, valuable as they are, have limitations and are in urgent need of revision.

2.7 Information has been gleaned from many sources, and personal observation has played a great part both in filling the gaps and in helping to assess the historical and archaeological implications of information gained from other sources. Some of the principal sources of information are:

General	*Chelmsford Diocesan Year Book.*
Historical	Local and county histories (see Bibliography); church guides.
Architectural	RCHM; various architectural histories; old photographs; and engravings; personal observation.
Archaeological	Published sources such as the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society (TEAS), the Essex Review* and the *Essex Naturalist;* the writer's own card index of archaeological sites and finds in Essex; the Archaeology Section of the Essex County Council's Planning Department.
Structural condition and threats	Quinquennial surveys produced under the *Inspection of Churches Measure 1955;* applications under the Faculty procedure; applications for planning permission; personal observation, and communicated information.

2.8 From the outset it was our intention to make the survey constructive and not simply a catalogue of historical, archaeological and architectural losses and future threats. Each church is therefore dealt with as an historic entity and as an integral part of the parish and community.

2.9 The presentation adopted is as follows: general problems affecting the uses of church buildings and the losses incurred through redundancy, conversion, and demolition are outlined in Section 3; a series of Case Studies has been chosen for detailed examination, to illustrate the archaeological problems and potential of a selection of churches (Sections 5 to 8); the archaeological and architectural losses and potential threats are discussed in general terms in Section 9, using examples drawn from all over the diocese; and this is followed by suggestions for tackling the problems in a positive way, in Section 10. Finally, an annotated Gazetteer of all the pre-1750 churches and church sites in the Colchester Archdeaconry is appended as Section 11.

2.10 Every attempt has been made to ensure that all the major problems involved in church archaeology have been covered without prejudice to period or to personal interests. There has long been, for example, a widespread apathy towards Victorian churches, restorations, monuments and fittings; fortunately the tide is now turning and the old attitude of outright condemnation of everything Victorian is disappearing. Due note of Victorian work and monuments has been taken where they occur in the survey area. On the whole, portable church furniture, soft furnishings and stained glass have not been included in the discussions, unless they constitute an integral part of an historic planned interior and are thus inseparable from the more solid fabric of the church. Registers, documents and church plate are not discussed in the survey. The ecological and amenity value of churchyards has become a subject of interest to planners in recent years and is hence not overlooked here; disturbance of the ecological habitat of a graveyard is often accompanied by archaeological damage too. Finally, the industrial archaeology of churches is a much neglected subject and, although it does not feature prominently in this survey, its importance is noted.

The grading of churches

2.11 Unlike domestic buildings, churches of all denominations are not subject to listed building control so long as they remain in ecclesiastical use. Churches in use, however, can be and often are listed. Church of England churches listed whilst in use are graded A, B or C to indicate their relative architectural or historic importance. Under the Ancient Monuments Acts of 1913 (etc) church buildings in current use for worship cannot be scheduled and thus have no statutory archaeological protection.

2.12 Basically, this means that there is no 'official' method of assessing or stating, in simple form, the relative *archaeological* importance of a church and its graveyard. The national grading of buildings takes no account of archaeology and is, in any case, broad in its categorization (most churches are listed "B"; grade 'C' is scarcely used). The assessment of a church's architectural merit must be based upon regional and local considerations: the humbler example may be of greater importance to architectural history than the splendid. Size, grandeur and tourist value have nothing to do with archaeological merit; nor do archaeological and architectural importance go hand in hand.

ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY CHURCHES SURVEY

CHELMSFORD DIOCESE (ARCHDEACONRY OF COLCHESTER)

1. DEDICATION PARISH
CAT. No. N.G.R. Est. Population
VICAR/RECTOR
DATE VISITED REPORT BY
LOCATION:– in town/in village/edge of village/isolated with hall/isolated

2. REFERENCES
RCHM Published plan: adequate/sketch/none

Guidebook:

3. ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION
Principal materials and apparent dating:
Nave:

Chancel:

Tower/spire:

North Aisle:

South Aisle:

Porches:
Chapels:
Other:

4. STRUCTURAL CONDITION – External
Ground level & drainage:

Walls & parapets:

Tower:

Windows & doorways:

Roofs:

5. STRUCTURAL CONDITION - Internal
Dampness in walls/floors - not serious/serious/very serious
Floors:

Walls:

Roofs:

Furnishings:

Wall paintings: Floor tiles:

2 Recording form used for the churches' survey (front side)

Heating system:

6. CHURCHYARD & ENVIRONS
Size: Condition:
Exceptional monuments:
Apparent extent of burial:

Present burial: regular/occasional/never.
Earthworks – within:
– enclosing:
– adjacent:

7. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD
Reused materials:

Finds from churchyard:

Finds within o.5 km. :

8. RECENT DISTURBANCES
To structure:

To floors:

To graveyard:

9. POSSIBLE THREATS
To structure:

To floors:

To graveyard:

To adjacent, possibly related, sites:

Proposed extensions:

Possible redundancy:

10. ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT

3 *Recording form used for the churches' survey (rear side)*

It is often the case that the most architecturally magnificent churches have the least to offer to the archaeologist.

2.13 In an attempt to quantify the architectural and archaeological significance of the ancient churches in the Archdeaconry of Colchester, the following grading has been devised. The number of subdivisions has been kept as small as possible for convenience of use, but at the same time every effort has been made to ensure that too great a range has not been included in any one grading. Individual gradings appear in the Gazetteer, Section 11.

Architectural grading

A Great importance for architecture of one period; must be retained.

AA Great importance for architecture of several periods; must be retained.

B Moderate importance for architecture of one period; should be retained.

BB Moderate importance for architecture of several periods; should be retained.

C Little architectural importance; retain if possible.

D Little architectural importance, retention value may be doubtful.

Note: 'one period' refers to an historical epoch, not to a single structural 'build'.

Archaeological grading

This applies to graveyards as well as to churches.

I Major archaeological importance or potential; full investigation essential in the event of a threat.

II Good archaeological potential; worthy of investigation in the event of a threat.

III Archaeological potential low or unknown.

The archaeological grading may be supplemented by noting the extent of disturbance to the site in the last 150 years. Extensive damage may make an archaeological investigation more difficult or less worthwhile. The 'disturbance factor' is recorded thus:

a. Largely intact, as far as can be judged.
b. Moderately disturbed.
c. Extensively disturbed.

Hence, in practical terms, the grading of a church may be given as follows:
Example: Bradwell-on-Sea, St. Peter: AIc
(great architectural importance for one period, and of major archaeological significance, but extensively disturbed.)

2.14 Grading of churches is a difficult matter. No two persons would be likely to categorize 220 buildings and sites in exactly the same way. In the nature of the case, a great deal is hidden from view and cannot be taken into account and the importance of a particular building or site may have to be assessed on the basis of a reasoned guess. Nor can the subjective element of personal interests and dislikes be totally eliminated in any scheme, but every attempt has been made here to avoid bias.

2.15 In assessing the architectural grading it has not been assumed that all medieval churches are important, simply on account of their age, although Anglo-Saxon architecture tends to rank high on the list because of its relative scarcity. In some instances an undistinguished medieval church may be highly assessed on account of the interest of its Victorian furnishings or restoration. Assessment is naturally on the basis of visible architectural features, and the discovery of hidden details, wall paintings, etc, could demand the upgrading of a church.

2.16 The archaeological assessment is altogether more difficult to achieve with reliability for the obvious reason that it involves hidden factors. In some instances the archaeological importance of an area is known (although not explored), while in others it can be inferred with reasonable certainty. Sites in these categories can thus be noted in a positive fashion. This does not, of course, imply that all other sites are of little or no archaeological importance—instead, it usually implies that their potential is completely unknown and that no reasoned guess can be made. Sometimes the fabric of a church is archaeologically important (usually where there is a stratified multi-period construction), but not necessarily of great architectural significance. There may thus be instances where a case could be argued for the retention of a threatened church on account of the importance of its above-ground archaeology, rather than its architectural merit.

2.17 Many recent reports on redundancy implications, such as that for Suffolk churches (Fitch, 1971), have entirely ignored archaeological considerations in discussing the merits of threatened churches. The architecture of a church, upon which most emphasis is usually placed, is but one facet of the *whole archaeology* of the building and its site.

Section 3 The Present State of Churches in the Diocese

"The churches and chapels in every parish shall be decently kept and from time to time, as occasion may require, shall be well and sufficiently repaired and all things therein shall be maintained in such an orderly and decent fashion as best becomes the House of God."

Canon Law. F.13.1

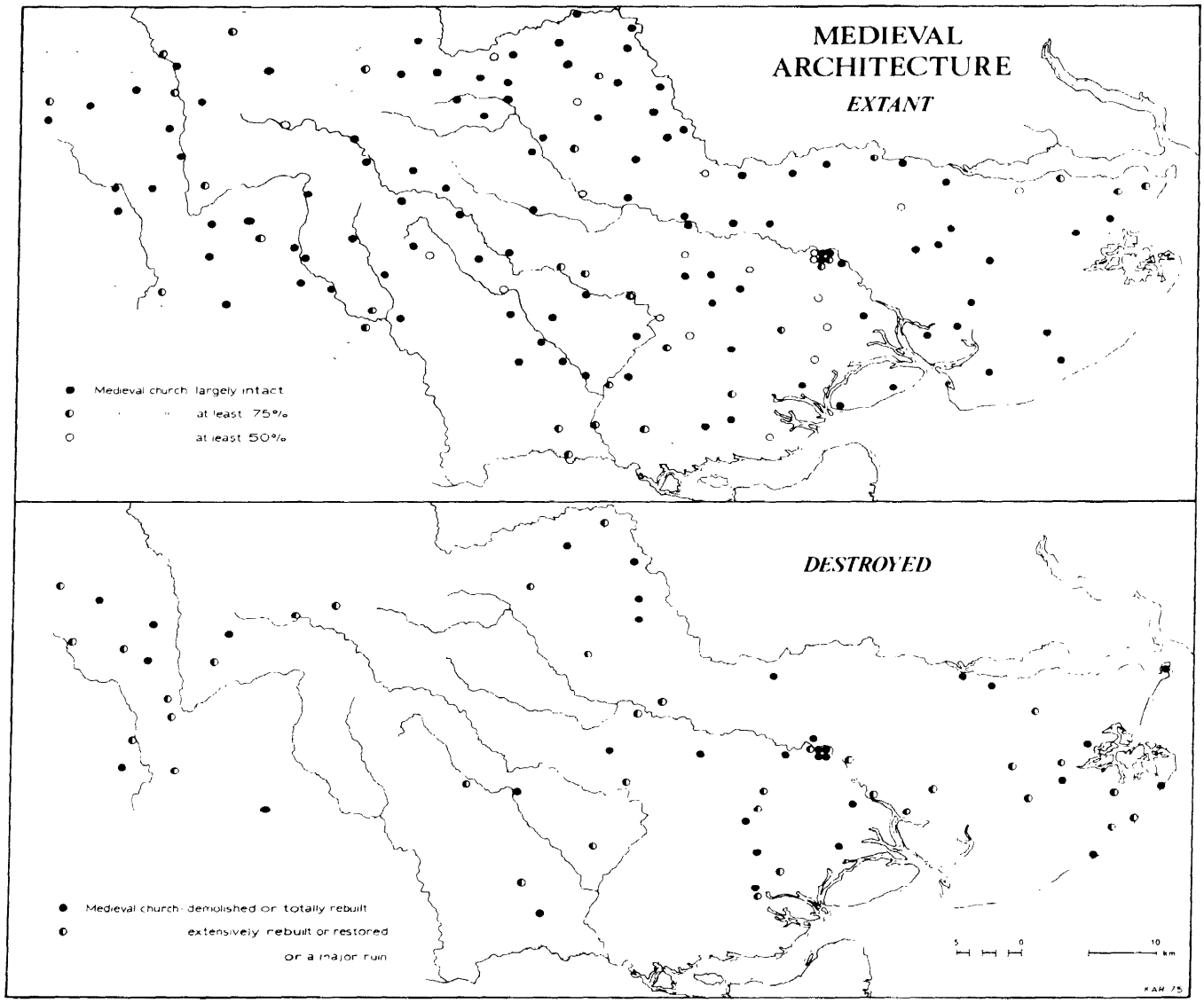
Living churches, built before 1750

3.1 It is popular belief that the Essex countryside is richly endowed with ancient parish churches and that by-and-large these are 'safe' from the pressures of modern development and are likely to remain with us indefinitely. This simplistic view seems to be supported by the basic statistics: there are (1975) 515 parishes containing about 560-70 church buildings and during the first three-quarters of this century there have been only eight demolitions (3.16). Figures like these are meaningless, however, from the historic point of view, and we must examine the total carefully and discover exactly how many ancient churches actually survive and then consider their future prospects. First, the figure can be reduced to 415, the number of parishes which existed prior to 1750. Secondly, a deduction of 39 must be made to allow for those buildings which have fallen into disuse and have either been demolished or are now just ruins (major ruins are not deducted): this leaves 376. Thirdly, a further deduction of about 36 is necessary to account for those churches which have been rebuilt since 1750 and where nothing of significance of the earlier structure survives: this reduces the number to 340, giving a considerable discrepancy between the total of churches in the diocese and the number which actually contain ancient fabric. Furthermore, the figure of 340 is still misleading if one is thinking in terms of medieval churches which survive in a relatively complete state. Several scores of churches were so thoroughly 'restored' or altered in the C19 that very little earlier fabric remains above ground level. It is impossible to arrive at a firm figure, since it depends upon the degree of restoration which is admitted before regarding a church as effectively rebuilt. However, a rough estimate of 200 may be not far wrong for the number of churches which can be regarded as surviving substantially intact, in their medieval form. In other words, well under half, and possibly only a third, of the churches in the Diocese have any real claim as being medieval structures. This does not, of course, mean that the remaining half or two-thirds of the churches are not of architectural or archaeological importance. This is far from the case, but it does mean that the surviving historic evidence for our ancient churches is only a fraction of that which is popularly assumed to exist. It also means that at least half our churches have little or no archaeological potential above ground and little or no medieval architecture of significance. For an architectural 'survival' map of the Colchester Archdeaconry, see Fig. 4

3.2 The majority of pre-1750 churches reached their maximum size and final form in the Cl5, or in some cases in the early C16. Therefore very little major work was undertaken until the mid or late C19, when restoration was the order of the day. There cannot be a church in the Diocese which was not the scene of major work sometime during the course of Victoria's reign. In general, this great programme of 'restoration' has been condemned, both by contemporary antiquaries and by ecclesiastical and architectural historians of our own era. Recently, there has been a modest reaction against this wholesale condemnation, on the grounds that major restorations were a necessity after the long period of structural neglect which most churches had suffered. This is partly true. Restoration was necessary, but certainly not in the savage fashion in which it was so commonly undertaken: monuments, furnishings, architectural features of great interest, and even whole churches were destroyed by whim rather than necessity (for a general discussion, see Rodwell, 1975a). The result, in the Chelmsford Diocese, at least, is that a considerable number of churches are now of no particular merit either as medieval or as Victorian structures. There are some interesting exceptions, where the medieval and Victorian work has been successfully blended, such as Little Braxted (99), where the C19 interior is of no less importance than the C11 exterior of the church. Radwinter (191) is an extreme case where the C19 interior is of greater merit than the surviving medieval parts of the church.

3.3 The present state of repair of the living churches is as varied as are their historic merits; some are in immaculate condition and some are pleasantly shabby, while others are in a sorry state and need major restoration. Churches in the last group tend to be those which are on the brink of redundancy. In the wealthier parishes maintenance and repair have been a more or less continuous process over the last century or so, and it has been a process which has brought about the slow but continual erosion of the historic fabric. When a major work has become necessary, such as reflooring or ground drainage, this has been done on a grand scale, often at the cost of the below-ground archaeology. The poorer parishes, on the other hand, tend to do much less by way of regular maintenance and major repair work, with the result that their churches are essentially in the condition in which the Victorian restorers left them. In many cases a century of exposure to the elements and inadequate maintenance has brought these churches to the point of major restoration once again. Some have been restored within the last decade, others are about to undergo restoration. and an even greater number are in the need of, but do not have the financial support for, major works.

3.4 It is commonly believed that the days of heavy-handed restoration are over and that we are not committing the kinds of atrocity for which the C19 restorers are so often criticized. This is not entirely the case, for while modern restorations tend to be visually acceptable to most interested persons, they are nevertheless frequently inaccurate in detail and sometimes clumsily executed; furthermore, they are highly destructive of archaeological evidence, especially that which is below ground. After two major restorations, little archaeology can be expected to survive. For this reason archaeological investigation in advance of modern restoration is essential if the last opportunity to study the unwritten history of the churches concerned is not to be missed. That opportunity has already passed by in a number



4 Comparative maps of the Colchester Archdeaconry, showing: a. parishes where a substantial part of the medieval church survives intact; b. parishes where little or nothing of the medieval church fabric survives

of cases (see Section 9). There are, however, opportunities occurring almost daily for archaeological investigation, both above and below ground, during the processes of repair and restoration to ancient churches. These opportunities are at present not being seized. In the very few instances where archaeological investigation has taken place in conjunction with restoration programmes results (Sections 6 and 7) have demonstrated just how great is the store of untapped knowledge in ancient churches, and to what extent this would have been destroyed had restoration not been preceded by archaeological investigation.

Living churches, rebuilt after 1750

3.5 So far we have only considered those churches which include upstanding medieval masonry in their fabric. We must now turn to those which have been rebuilt from ground level since 1750. These churches form a neglected group from the historical and archaeological point of view, and tend to be confused with those buildings which were erected on fresh sites, which do not concern us here. In general, churches of the C18 and C19 are fairly straightforward in their structural histories. Most are of a single build, and in many cases the original design drawings still survive. Although these churches are historic buildings which can be of great architectural interest, they are not usually susceptible to archaeological investigation. Should these buildings be threatened with alteration or destruction they need to be recorded in the normal way, with detailed drawings (if these do not already exist) and photographs, but they will not require an archaeological investigation into the fabric.

3.6 However, when a post-1750 church is known to have been built upon the site of a predecessor, the archaeological dimension is still present below ground. Any restoration

work on churches of this kind, involving the disturbance of the ground under the church or graveyard, is likely to destroy hidden historical evidence which can only be rescued by archaeological excavation. Where the medieval church does not survive, it is only by discovering and excavating the foundations, floors and associated deposits that any record of its structural form and dating can be obtained. Sometimes the 'new' church was built directly upon the foundations of the old one; sometimes these were grubbed out and fresh foundations laid; or, if the old building was a small one, its remains may lie entirely within the foundation circuit of its successor,

3.7 The degree to which a church has been rebuilt is not always easy to determine without an archaeological investigation into the fabric, since so many churches were refaced, without actually being reconstructed *de novo.* Rivenhall (Section 6) reminds us that statements, either old or new, that a particular church was 'rebuilt' must be treated with caution unless there is unequivocal evidence to support them. Ecclesiastical historians, such as Worley (1915), often state that a church was 'rebuilt', when they really mean 'heavily restored'. There is an important difference, since in the case of the former no ancient fabric will survive above ground, while in the latter it will, although it may be totally encased and hidden. Many churches had their external walls entirely refaced (while some were only rendered) in the C19, and it is often impossible to ascertain by surface inspection alone the extent to which the medieval fabric survives. Internal wall surfaces, however, were not usually refaced, but simply replastered. If the plaster is removed and the fabric of the wall exposed to view it is then possible to assess with accuracy the extent to which the ancient structure survives. Until this has been done a church cannot be condemned as 'rebuilt'.

3.8 With these provisos in mind, the following list has been constructed to give some indication of the number of churches in the diocese which have been wholly or very largely rebuilt. Most of these can, with some confidence, be regarded as complete rebuilds, unless otherwise stated. 'Rebuilt' churches are separately indicated on Maps A and B.

Rebuilt churches in the Archdeaconry of Colchester

6	Colchester, St Mary the Virgin	1872 except tower
11	Colchester, St Mary Magdalene*	1853
16	Lexden*	1821
21	Little Horkesley	1957 after war damage
34	Harwich	1821
37A	Beaumont-cum-Moze	1854 except chancel
39	Thorpe le Soken	1876
42A	Great Holland	1866 except tower
47	Weeley	1881 except tower
59	Langenhoe	1886 subsequently demolished
75A	Great Birch	1849
91	Markshall	1875
116	Rayne	1840 except tower
127	Twinstead	1860
170	Little Canfield	1856 ? entirely rebuilt
180	Farnham	1859
198	Elmdon	1852 & 1879 except tower
202	Wicken Bonhunt	1858
204	Wenden Lofts	1854-6

Total 19

*rebuilt just to the south of the old church, but within the original churchyard.

Rebuilt churches in the Archdeaconry of Southend-on-Sea

218A	Pleshey	1868 except tower
233	Shellow Bowells	1754
238	Widford	1862
256	North Fambridge	early Cl8
257	Cold Norton	1855
271	Creek sea	1878
274	St Lawrence	1878
282	Foulness	1850
297	South Fambridge	1846
308	Pitsea	1871 except tower
310	Rawreth	1883 except tower
311	Wickford	1876
315	Ramsden Bellhouse	1881 except tower
323	Dunton	1873
324	Billericay (then a chapel)	C18-19 except tower
327	Childerditch	1869

Total 16

Rebuilt churches in the Archdeaconry of West Ham

361	Harlow	1878-80 largely rebuilt
370	Little Parndon	1868
375	Bobbingworth	C19 ? entirely rebuilt
376	Shelley	1888
385	Stapleford Abbots	1862 except north chapel
390	Loughton	1877
394	Havering-atte-Bower	1877
395	Romford (then a chapel)	1850
398	Cranham	1874
401	Dagenham	1800
406	Leyton	1821 except tower
407	Wanstead	1790
408	Woodford	1817

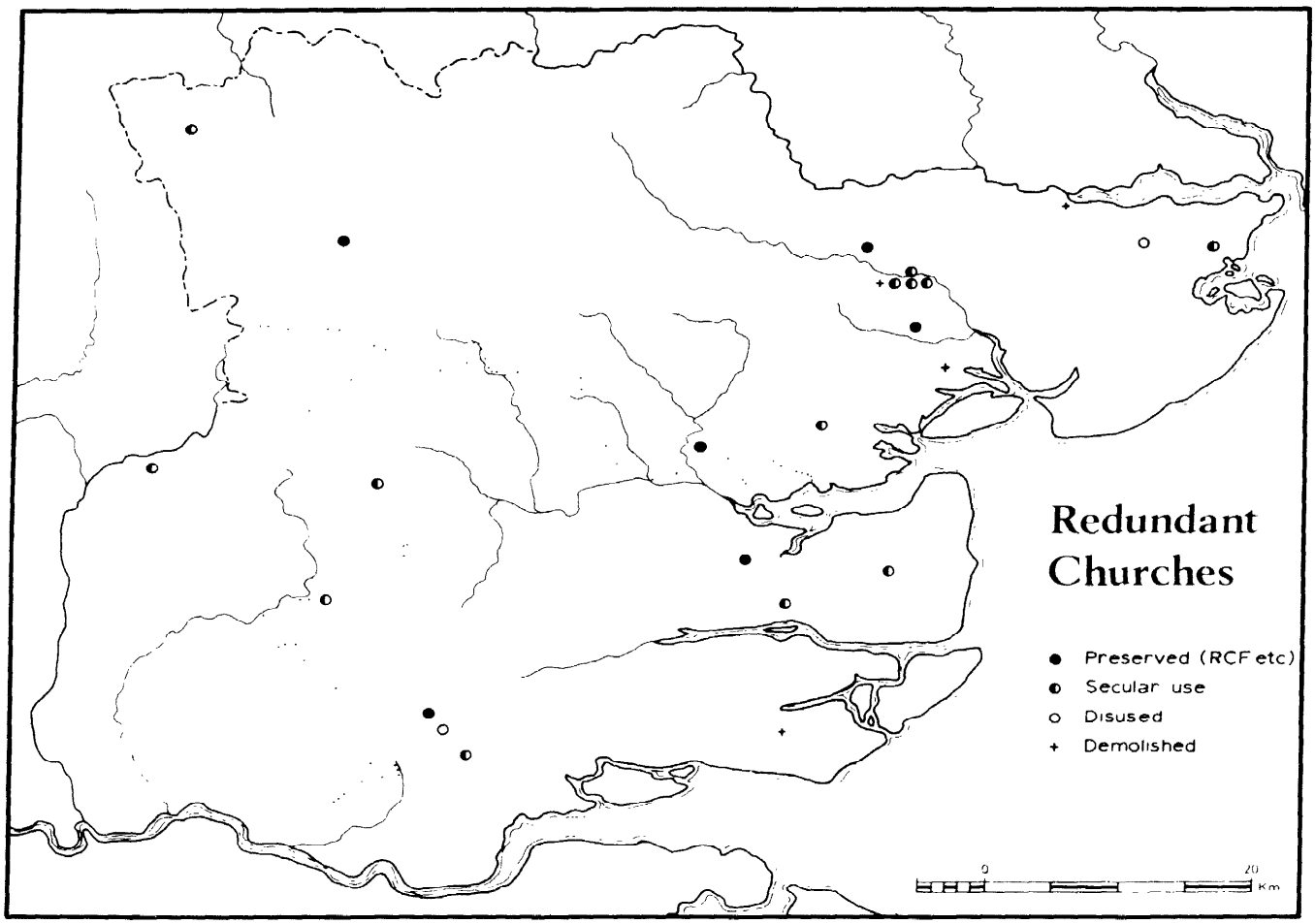
Total 13

The total for the diocese is 48, of which at least twelve contain some ancient fabric, usually the tower. From the dates given above it will be seen that rebuilding was very rare in the Cl8 and in the first two decades of the C19, but grew rapidly in the middle years of the latter century, reaching a peak in the 1870s. It was over by 1888. The following table illustrates this graphically.

1800-10	+
1811-20	+
1821-30	+ + +
1831-40	+
1841-50	+ + + +
1851-60	+ + + + + + + + +
1861-70	+ + + + + +
1871-80	+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
1881-90	+ + + + +
1891-1900	

Churches made redundant since 1952

3.9 The subject of church redundancy is controversial, and it is not proposed to discuss it in detail here. In this section we will briefly examine the present situation in the Chelmsford Diocese, largely from the point of view of the uses to which redundant churches have been put; the archaeological implications of redundancy conversions will be examined in



5 Map showing churches which have become redundant or disused in the Chelmsford Diocese, since 1952. Earlier losses are not included

three specific cases in Section 8, and the archaeological problems discussed in general terms in Section 9.

3.10 Church redundancy is nothing new. The first recorded redundancy in Essex was Thunderley (188B), in 1425. since when there has been a slow trickle of losses, at the rate of no more than two or three per century, usually brought about by the shifting of population centres in rural areas. In the Chelmsford Diocese a turning point came in 1952 when the pastoral reorganization of Colchester took place, resulting in the closure of five of the Borough's ancient parish churches (see Section 5.8). One was demolished and the other four have been converted to secular use. Several other churches in the Diocese became redundant in the 1950s and 1960s and were converted to another use (as at Tolleshunt Knights: 69), allowed to fall into gentle decay (as at Mundon: AD.SS, 267). or demolished (as at Shopland: AD.SS, 290).

3.11 In 1968 a standard procedure' for the disposal of redundant churches was formulated and incorporated in the *Pastoral Measure 1968.* In some dioceses a large number of churches have been declared redundant, but in Essex only two or three per year are passing through the procedure at present. This is not confirmed to ancient buildings and sites, and the wholly Victorian town church of All Saints, Witham, is one of the casualties. Furthermore, it must be remembered that only Anglican churches are subject to the *Pastoral Measure 1968,* and that the conversion and demolition of buildings belonging to other denominations may be proceeding at a faster rate.

3.12 The redundancy situation, as it now exists and within the terms of the present brief, can be seen from the map in Fig. 5. For a detailed discussion of these buildings the reader should consult *Redundant Churches in Essex* (Essex County Council, 1976), which sets out in clear detail the whole problem of redundancy and its archaeological and planning implications. For the purpose of this study, a list of the redundant churches in the Diocese and their present state will suffice.

Redundant churches in the Archdeaconry of Colchester

2 Colchester, St Martin. Currently used as a store, future uncertain (5.17).
3 Colchester, All Saints. Preserved intact; now a natural history museum (5.26).
4 Colchester, St Nicholas. Demolished 1955; site redeveloped (5.30).
5 Colchester, Holy Trinity. Preserved intact; now a museum of rural life (5.38).

10 Colchester, St Giles. Formerly used as a store; now a Masonic Hall; currently being subjected to drastic alterations which are highly destructive of the archaeology of the building and graveyard (5.66).
15 Berechurch. Probably to be vested in the Redundant Churches Fund for permanent preservation.
19 West Bergholt. Probably to be vested in the Redundant Churches Fund for permanent preservation.
27 Manningtree. Demolished; for redevelopment.
31 Wix. Likely to be declared redundant; demolition or conversion could well follow.
36 Little Oakley. Sold with planning permission to convert into a dwelling (8.34).
59 Langenhoe. Demolished; site vacant.
69 Tolleshunt Knights. Sold to the Orthodox Monastery of St John the Baptist; certain alterations have been undertaken, destroying architectural features in the chancel.
102 Wickham Bishops, St Peter. Disused since *c.* 1850; now vested in the Friends of the Friendless Churches; restoration in progress.
177 Chickney. Vested in the Redundant Churches Fund for permanent preservation; restoration work undertaken.
204 Wenden Lofts. Sold into private ownership.

Redundant churches in the Archdeaconry of Southend-on-Sea

233 Shellow Bowells. Sold with planning permission for conversion into a house and studio.
267 Mundon. Vested in the Friends of the Friendless Churches; restoration in progress.
268 Latchingdon. Sold with planning permission to convert into a dwelling (8.12). Considerable alterations proposed.
275 Asheldham. Being converted into a Church Youth Centre, which preserves the building intact (8.3).
290 Shopland. Demolished; vacant site.
322 Langdon Hills. Sold with planning permission for conversion into a dwelling.
323 Dunton. Disused; likely to be declared redundant; demolition could well follow.
325 East Horndon. Vested in the Redundant Churches Fund and All Saints Society, for permanent preservation; restoration undertaken.
332 Kelvedon Hatch. Sold into private ownership; application for listed building consent to demolish; permission refused.
346 Bulphan. Likely to be declared redundant; undoubtedly to be recommended for permanent preservation.

Redundant church in the Archdeaconry of West Ham

368 Netteswell. Sold to Harlow District Council; to be converted to an Urban Study Centre.

3.13 The total of redundant churches in the Diocese is thus 23, plus a further three which are effectively redundant, the fates of which have yet to be decided. As a percentage of the total number of ancient churches (and church sites) this figure is not large (about 6.5%). On the other hand, it must be remembered that a number of other churches are on the brink of redundancy and by the time this report appears further cases will undoubtedly have occurred. Finally, there is the unknown factor of future redundancy, which is a matter of major concern. There are many rural parishes, particularly in northern Essex, where the congregations are minute and incapable of supporting the ever-increasing financial burden of church maintenance and repair. This problem will be discussed in detail in a subsequent section (9.97).

Ruined and demolished churches

3.14 All dioceses contain a number of churches which have fallen into disuse, for various reasons and at various times. Unlike East Anglia (in Norwich Diocese alone there are 240), Essex does not contain many impressive ruins of formerly important medieval churches. The abandonment of many churches in East Anglia was brought about by the large-scale depopulation of some rural districts in late medieval and post-medieval times. No comparable situation existed in Essex where by comparison the number of churches which have gone out of use is minimal. Yet when the Chelmsford Diocese is examined as a whole, the total of ruined and demolished churches which can be traced is not as small as might at first appear. Figure 6 maps the distribution of such churches and sites. They are divided into three groups:

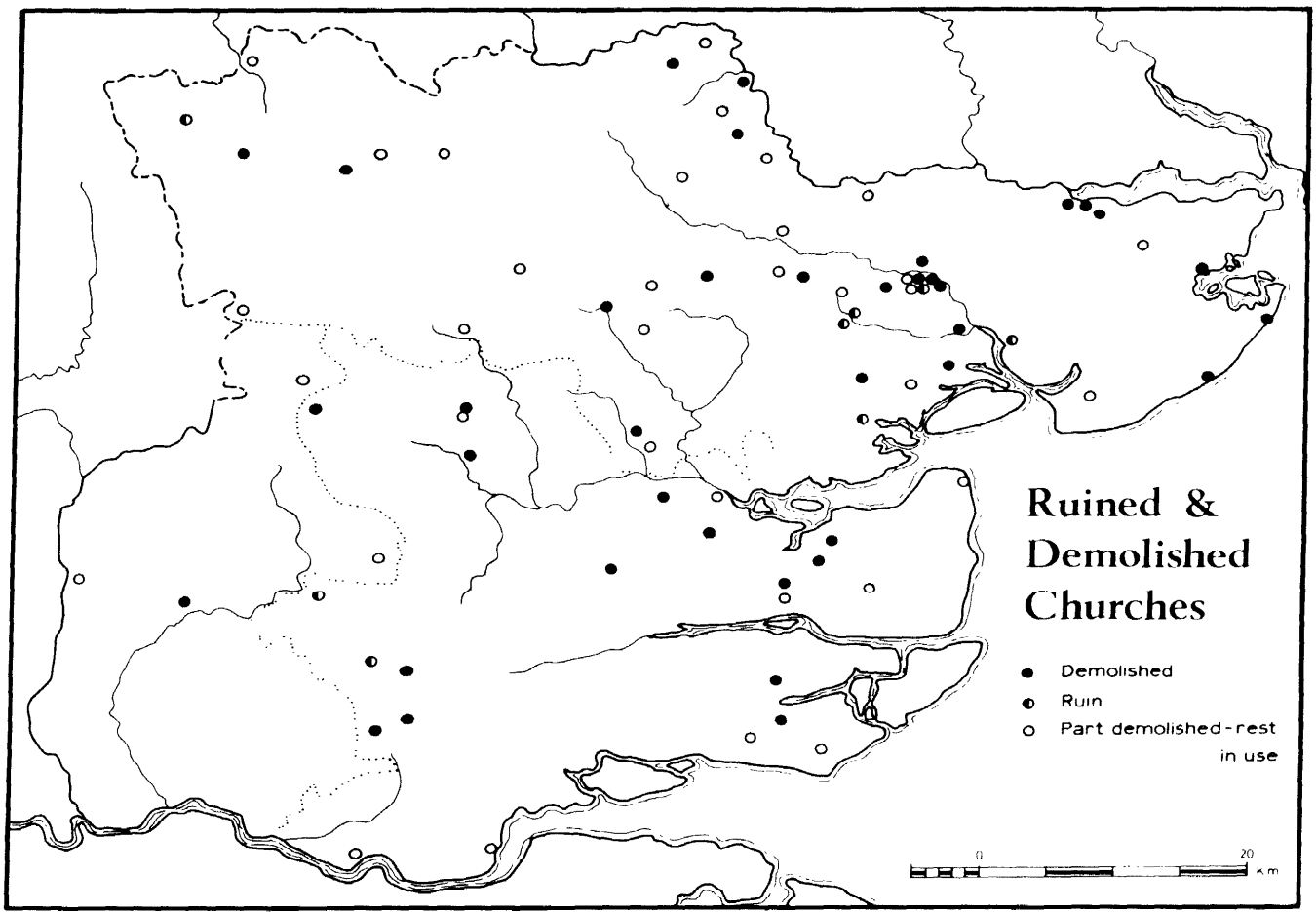
i Churches which have been demolished to ground level and where no more than a few pieces of stray masonry, some tombstones or earthworks survive to mark the site. In many cases, even these indications are lacking. Instances where demolition was followed by the rebuilding of a church on the same spot are not included here (for these, see *Rebuilt Churches,* 3.5-3.8).
ii Ruined churches, where upstanding masonry is clearly visible.
iii Churches where a portion of the ancient structure has been demolished but not completely built over. Only basic structural reductions have been noted here: the loss of minor features, such as buttresses, or even a porch, have not been included. This section can only be as complete as is our knowledge of past demolitions; and in any event it is probably not as exhaustive as it could be for the Archdeaconries of Southend-on-Sea and West Ham. (See *Churches of Reduced Size,* 3.23).

3.15 Church sites of the first category are often deserted, but in a few instances a new building was erected elsewhere within the original churchyard. Ruins, the second category, are usually deserted but in several instances the graveyard remains in use. Churches of the third group are mostly still in use for worship, but one or two now have a secular function. There is, of course, a considerable difference between churches of groups i and ii, and those of group iii; although technically speaking many ruined churches are still subject to faculty jurisdiction! It seems, however, that these may be scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Acts since they are no longer in use for worship. There are a few exceptions and, unless otherwise stated, the church site is still ecclesiastical property. This list is concerned only with churches and sites in the first two groups.

Ruined and demolished churches in the Archdeaconry of Colchester

(for references see Gazetteer)

4 St Nicholas, Colchester.
Sold and demolished 1955. The site is now largely covered by shops (4.6; 5.30).
7 St Runwald, Colchester.
Demolished 1878. The site is now under the High



6 Map showing the distribution of ruined and demolished churches in the Chelmsford Diocese, where rebuilding has not taken place directly on the same site

Street, but the detached graveyard in St Runwald's Street still exists (5.49).

9 St Botolph's Priory Church, Colchester.
The conventual buildings of the priory were demolished at the Dissolution, leaving only the parochial nave of the church, which has been in ruins since 1648.
The site is scheduled and is in the Guardianship of the Department of the Environment (5.60).

11 St Mary Magdalene, Colchester.
Demolished *c.* 1853, when the present church was built. The old church, which was part of the Norman hospital, lies under the northern end of the graveyard (5.72).

13 St Michael, Mile End, Colchester.
Demolished *c.* 1854, when a new building was erected in the northern part of the parish. The new rectory and its garden occupy the site of the church and graveyard.

16 St Leonard, Lexden.
Demolished in 1821 and a new building erected immediately to the south (i.e. in the same graveyard). Nothing is visible of the medieval church.

17 St Lawrence, East Donyland.
Demolished in 1837 and a new building erected in the northern part of the parish (Rowhedge). The old graveyard is still intact and contains many monuments; a public cemetery has been created by the Local Authority in the field adjoining. The site has been recommended for scheduling.

18A All Saints, Stanway.
The church has long been deserted and stands as a conspicuous ruin in the grounds of Stanway Zoo. Its ownership has not been established by the writer. The ruin, which is in urgent need of conservation, has been recommended for scheduling.

27 St Michael, Manningtree.
The church of 1616, formerly a chapel-of-ease to Mistley, was declared unsafe in 1966 and was later demolished. The site has been sold for commercial development.

28A St Mary, Mistley Heath.
Ruined since 1735, the church was replaced by a new building in the northern part of the parish (see 28B). The south porch remained as a private chapel, while the rest of the church was demolished. The porch, too, has been demolished in recent years, and in 1958 the site was transferred to private ownership; it is now rough grazing land, strewn with rubble; fragments of walls show in places. Scheduling has been recommended. This church has suffered from several depredations and its future safety needs to be assured (4.6).

28B St Mary, Mistley Thorn ('Mistley Towers').
Built in 1735 to replace the old church at Mistley Heath; partly demolished in 1871, after being replaced by yet another church in the village. The twin towers are now in the Guardianship of the Department of the Environment.

37B St Mary, Moze.
The church, which became redundant in 1678 when the parish was united with Beumont, was subsequently demolished. Nothing remains above ground and the site forms part of the hall-farm complex. A monument was erected in 1959 to mark the spot. Scheduling has been recommended for the site of the church and the deserted medieval village.

41 All Saints, Walton-on-the-Naze.
The old church stood on the cliff edge and was engulfed by the sea in 1798.

42B Little Holland Church (dedication unknown).
Demolished *c.* 1660 and the parish united with Great Holland. Nothing remains above ground; the site has recently been 'excavated' but not reinstated; it is in private ownership and has been recommended for scheduling under the Ancient Monuments Acts (4.6 iii).

55 St Peter, Alresford.
Gutted by fire in 1971 and abandoned as a ruin. The graveyard remains in use and a new church is being built in the present village. The ruin is very important but is not legally redundant.

59 St Andrew, Langenhoe.
The rebuilt church of 1884 fell into disuse and was demolished in the early 1960s. The site is now rough-mown grass, with some surviving tombstones; it should be scheduled.

71 St Mary, Virley.
The church has long been abandoned and the parish is united with Salcott. A modest, overgrown ruin survives which, together with the adjacent rectory, is to be sold. The ruin has been recommended for scheduling.
Demolished in 1915 and replaced by a new building in the present village. A copse has spring up on the site and only a few scattered tombstones survive. The site has been recommended for scheduling.

7 5 B St Mary, Little Birch
The church is an important, imposing and heavily overgrown ruin. It has been in this state since the C17 and the parish was united with Great Birch in 1810, when the old church passed into private ownership by Act of Parliament. Conservation of this ruin is an urgent priority; it should also be given the protection of the Ancient Monuments Acts. Scheduling has been recommended. The medieval piscina and a window moulding have recently been stolen.

81 St Margaret and St Catherine, Aldam.
Demolished c. 1855, when a new building was erected in the present village. There is nothing standing above ground and the site is now rough pasture. Philip Morant, the C18 historian, is buried here but his tomb is lost in the undergrowth. The site has been recommended for scheduling.

91 St Margaret, Markshall.
Demolished in 1932, the foundations of the C19 building, which succeeded an earlier structure, can still be seen. There are also gravestones in situ, but the site is thoroughtly overgrown and is rapidly becoming a wood. The parish is united with Coggeshall and the site of the church and adjacent hall need sheduling for protection.

104B Hatfield Peverel Church (dedication unknown).
The original parish church lay at a site known as 'Church Hills'. It appears to have been abandoned at or before the Dissolution, when the nave of the priory church survived for parochial use. The site is now under plough-land.

114B Braintree (dedication unknown).
The original parish church (at Chapel Hill) was demolished in the Middle Ages and its exact site is unknown. The area has been built upon.

128B Little Henny Church (dedication unknown).
The parish was long ago combined with Great Henny and the unwanted church had been demolished by the mid C17. Its foundations were exposed by excavation in 1929 and they now form part of a landscaped garden. The site is in private ownership (4.6).

129 Brundon Church (dedication unknown).
The church had long been disused and was demolished in the C18. The parish is united with Ballingdon, which was formerly a chaperly of All Saints, Sudbury. Brundon passed into the Diocese of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich in 1914. The site of the church is in private ownership and nothing now remains above ground.

139B St Ethelbert, Belchamp St Ethelbert.
The church has long since been demolished and the parish combined with Belchamp Otten. The site of the church is in private ownership and now under plough-land.

188B Thunderley Church (dedication unknown).
This became redundant in 1425, when theparish was combined with Wimbish. The church was probably demolished at that time; its site is in private ownership and under plough-land.

200B Little Wenden Church (dedication unknown).
The church was ruined by 1662, when the parish was combined with Great Wenden, to form Wendens Ambo. The site of Little Wenden church is recorded by the Ordnance Survey as lying under plough-land, adjacent to the rectory. It is, however, probably in the rectory garden.

204 St Dunstan, Wenden Lofts.
Partially demolished in 1958. The remains have subsequently been declared 'redundant' under the Pastoral Measure and have been conveyed to private ownership. The church was a Cl9 rebuild.

Ruined and demolished churches in the Archdeaconry of Southend-on-Sea

218B St Mary, Pleshey TL 6635 1457
The original parish church, long since demolished, lay within the town enclosure: it was replaced by Holy Trinity church which forms part of the medieval college complex, just outside the town. The site of St Mary's is now a paddock which preserves the outline of the churchyard; its orientation is interesting and must certainly predate part of the present street layout (particularly Back Lane).

226B Morrell-Roding Church (dedication unknown)
TL 5650 1531
According to Morant (1768), the church was a timber-framed building, then used as a pigeon house, now demolished, which stood close to Cammass Hall (apparently inside the moat, according to the Ordnance Survey). Morrell was formerly a separate parish from White Roding, with which it is now combined, and of which it has long been but a hamlet.

236B Chignall St Mary *c.* TL 6655 1070
The church of St Mary had been demolished by the C18; the parish was united with Chignall St James and Chignall Smealy in 1888, to form simply Chignall. The site of St Mary's church was formerly laid out as a garden called 'St Mary's Croft', but a house has been built within the area of the churchyard in recent years. The exact position of the church is uncertain.

247 All Saints, East Hanningfield. TQ 7665 9990
Gutted by fire in 1883 and replaced by a new structure in the present village. The ruin was heavily overgrown when the *RCHM* visited. It has subsequently been demolished, but the overgrown churchyard remains. The site has been recommended for scheduling.

252B St Nicholas. Woodham Walter. *c.* TL 813 065
The present church of St Michael was built in 1562-4, to replace an earlier structure which was in a depopulated part of the parish. St Nicholas' lay just to the north of the hall (now also a deserted site), behind 'Wilderness Cottage'.

259 St Nicholas, Hazeleigh. TL 8359 0382
The old building became redundant in 1893, when an iron church was built in a more convenient place in the parish. Both churches have been demolished and the parish united with Woodham Mortimer. The old church, which stood beside the Hall, was demolished in 1922, but some gravestones still remain. The site should be scheduled.

260 St Peter, Maldon. TL 8508 0706
Demolished *c.* 1665, except for the tower which still remains and is scheduled. The Plume Library was built on the site of the nave and chancel.

269 St Peter, Snoreham. TQ 8850 9967
Demolished long ago and the parish combined with Latchingdon. The church site is now part of the hall-farm complex.

272 St Barnabas, Mayland. TL 9242 0052
In 1866 a new church was built *c.* 100 m to the south of the old one, which was then demolished. The site is now rough grass attached to a cottage garden; there is a small group of re-erected tombstones marking the position of the church. The site should be considered for scheduling.

273 St Lawrence, Steeple. TL 9292 0285
A new church was built in 1882 in the present village, and the old church was then demolished. The site of the church is now in a copse and is densely over-grown.

290 St Mary Magdalene, Shopland. TQ 8989 8833
The church was slightly damaged during the Second World War, but was not repaired and was demolished in 1957. The graveyard remains intact but is becoming heavily overgrown. The parish has been combined with Sutton. The site of Shopland church should be scheduled.

294 St Mary, Little Stambridge. TQ 8874 9195
The parish was combined with Great Stambridge in 1880 and the church demolished. The site is now heavily overgrown, with a few tombstones still visible. It should be scheduled.

326 St Nicholas, West Horndon. TQ 624 897
The parish was combined with Ingrave in 1735 and the church demolished. The church and graveyard are no longer defined on the ground and are under plough-land. The site of the church and the adjacent hall has been recommended for scheduling.

328 St Nicholas, Ingrave. TQ 6232 9299
When Ingrave was combined with West Horndon in 1735 a new church was built to serve the two parishes, on the edge of Thorndon Park. The old church was demolished and its site lies in the hall-farm complex. It is currently threatened with the building of a barn and has been recommended for scheduling. Trial excavations have shown that the proposed building will not injure the site significantly (4.6).

335 Chapel of St Thomas of Canterbury, Brentwood. TQ 5950 9375
This was not strictly parochial, but a chapel-of-ease to South Weald church. The chapel was replaced by a parish church erected elsewhere in the town in 1838; the old building then became a school. It was partly demolished early in this century and the site laid out as a garden. The ruins are scheduled.

336 St Peter, Great Warley. TQ 5965 8844
This church, which was replaced by a new structure in the northern part of the parish in 1904, was demolished early in this century. For some years the tower remained standing, but this too has now gone.

332 St Nicholas, Kelvedon Hatch. TL 5590 00O2
The church has been semi-ruinous since 1895, when a new building was erected in the present village. The old church was transferred in 1972 to private owner-ship, for preservation. An application was made in 1975 for listed building consent to demolish; this was refused. Some of the internal monuments have been removed to Passmore Edwards Museum (3.12).

Ruined and demolished churches in the Archdeaconry of West Ham

388 St Mary, Theydon Bois. TQ 4631 9795
A new church was built in a more convenient situation in 1844 and the old one demolished.

Discussion

3.16 The preceding list shows that the total of ruined and demolished churches in the Diocese is at least 47. The real number is probably a little higher since it is likely that a few small and relatively unimportant parishes disappeared at too early a date for their existence, or at least that of their churches, to appear in surviving records. Instances where the site of the church has shifted within the bounds of a single parish are well known and documented for the Cl7 to C20; while earlier moves must occasionally have taken place, we rarely have knowledge of these (e.g. Braintree and Little Maplestead). Of the known examples the C17 provides one example; the Cl8 two; the C19 twelve; and the C20 three. To these may be added the two Cl9 examples where the church site has shifted within the churchyard. There have been seven demolitions without replacement during the course of this century, while there was only one in the C19, but to these figures must be added a further 19 instances where churches were abandoned during the C19, without replace-ment, or where they had been abandoned or demolished at some anterior date. So whereas the actual loss rate of church buildings *per se* has been small hitherto, the loss of historic structures is a different matter and the number is consider-ably higher. This problem has been discussed in 3.7.

3.17 It should be remembered that these calculations take no account of the loss of chapels-of-ease and private chapels, of which there were once many. R C Fowler was able to list documentary evidence for at least 150 (Fowler, 1923), but this may only be a fraction of the total number which have existed at various times. Notable examples, such as St Helen's Chapel, Colchester, St Helen's Chapel, Bonhunt, and the Harlowbury Chapel are amongst the very few which survive.

The ruins of the medieval chapel known as Bedeman's Berg (originally a hermitage), in Writtle parish (AD.SS), were demolished in recent years. The study of chapels, both in the Diocese and nationally, has been neglected.

3.18 Although this report is not specifically concerned with medieval hospitals and monastic foundations, there are several instances where parochial worship took place within the bounds of such institutions, at least in the later Middle Ages. The question may therefore be asked: in how many instances was there an earlier parish church on the site of a monastic foundation, or elsewhere? Hatfield Broad Oak is a case in point (AD. WH, 358): nothing is known of the church recorded here in 1066 and part of the priory church now serves the parish. At Little Maplestead (123) it has been suggested that the church served by the priest mentioned in 1086 lay well away from the present parish church (a foundation of the Knights Templars). At Hatfield Peverel (104) it is known that the parish church, which was abandoned before the Dissolution, lay at a considerable distance from the priory (the nave of which is now parochial and indeed was before the suppression of the House).

3.19 But returning now to the 47 examples of ruined and demolished churches which have been noted with certainty, we must conclude by examining their state of preservation, archaeological significance and future safety. In aggregate, they represent 10.5% of the historic churches and church sites in the Diocese of Chelmsford. Their condition varies from that of important ruins to levelled and partially destroyed sites. Of the former there is only a handful, with St Mary, Little Birch, and All Saints, Stanway, heading the list. Both these structures are in a state of virtual collapse and are In urgent need of major repairs; preservation by State or local authority guardianship is to be most strongly recommended. A major archaeological investigation would be essential in advance of the structural consolidation of these churches. The third ruin of importance is Alresford, which at present is in good condition, but steps need to be taken to ensure its regular maintenance.

3.20 The transfer of three ruins to private ownership in recent years is also a matter of concern, since one was summarily levelled and listed building consent sought for the demolition of another. It is to be hoped that the Church Commissioners will consider carefully, in future, the long-term implications of allowing ruins to pass into private ownership. They would be better vested in the local authority, or in the Department of the Environment.

3.21 The majority of the 'lost' churches in the Chelmsford Diocese are now represented by at most a few tombstones, and their sites are thus vulnerable to damage and destruct ion. Several church sites have been obliterated by building development, others have been ploughed out. Those sites which now lie beneath copses will also be suffering damage, since tree-roots disrupt archaeological stratigraphy; and it is only the churches under grass or light vegetation which can be considered archaeologically 'safe' at present. All church sites (including the graveyards) need protection by scheduling or listing and steps should be taken to ensure that at least some of the better preserved examples are maintained in good order (i.e. free from trees and plough damage) for the benefit of future archaeological research.

3.22 One of the problems encountered in seeking out the sites and remains of deserted churches concerns legal ownership. In a number of instances the local farmer or the person in whose garden the site lies believes that he is the owner, whereas I have been unable to establish that a transfer of ownership has in fact taken place. It would seem probable that a certain amount of Church property has been inadvertently appropriated. The Church Commissioners should be invited to undertake a national investigation into the present state, use and ownership of all 'lost' churches. The compilation of a central register is to be urged.

Churches of reduced size

3.23 The foregoing paragraphs have been concerned solely with those churches which have been abandoned for worship, but it should not be forgotten that many other churches which remain in use have suffered partial demolitions and now occupy a smaller ground area than was formerly the case. These are the churches of group iii in Section 3.14 (Fig. 6). Examples known to the writer may be listed as follows:

Archdeaconry of Colchester

	Parish	*Portion removed*
3	Colchester, All Saints	? apse
10	Colchester, St Giles	west tower
18B	Little Stanway	west tower
21	Little Horkesley	? priory buildings (doubtful)
31	Wix	abbey church all around and conventual buildings to south
46	St Osyth	part of north transept
63	Peldon	part of chancel
79	Great Tey	western part of nave
87	Wakes Colne	? apse
104A	Hat field Peverel	chancel, tower, transepts and conventual buildings to south
111	Cressing	west tower
123	Little Maplestead	? hospital buildings
125	AIphamstone	west tower
131	Bulmer	vestry or priest's house
142	Foxearth	south aisle
159	Little Saling	part of chancel
168	Little Dunmow	most of priory church and conventual buildings
173	Birchanger	west tower
188A	Wimbish	west tower
189	Great Sampford	? north transept
196	Great Chesterford	western part of nave and tower

Archdeaconry of Southend-on-Sea

	Parish	*Portion removed*
218.A	Pleshey	parts of earlier cruciform church
269	Latchingdon	chancel and possibly other structures
276	Southminster	south transept and possibly aisles
281	Bradwell-juxta-Mare, St Peter	chancel, *porticus* and porch
285	North Shoebury	south aisle
288	Prittlewell	north *porticus*
341	West Thurrock	round nave
351	East Tilbury	south aisle

Archdeaconry of West Ham

	Parish	*Portion removed*
358	Hatfield Broad Oak	parts of monastic church
380	Blackmore	priory buildings
390	Waltham Holy Cross	chancel and abbey buildings

3.24 The 32 examples listed here are a minimum number; the actual total cannot be established without archaeological excavation around every church, which is hardly feasible. In some of the instances quoted casual inspection of the church would not necessarily provide any indication that the building had been reduced in size and it is only from documentary evidence or excavation that the former existence of more extensive structures can be demonstrated. In a few instances, such as Hatfield Peverel or Wix, it is obvious that the surviving building is but a fragment of a once larger church, but at the same time the true nature and extent of the full structure remains unknown, since no foundations or other remains are to be seen above ground. Thus, in each of the examples quoted it is known that beneath the churchyard are the remains of lost appendages, larger churches or monastic complexes, but in no case has the buried evidence been fully investigated and recorded, and in only three or four instances is anything known at all. Thus any disturbance of the ground in these churchyards is likely to destroy unrecorded structural remains. In not a few instances there have been massive disturbances around these churches (in one or two cases, quite recently) without any proper archaeological recording being undertaken.

Section 4 The History of Church Archaeology in the Chelmsford Diocese

"The best that can be done is to explore the material thoroughly and then to publish promptly the fullest possible written record, illustrated by photographs and accurate line-drawings . . . it is appropriate to stress the importance of prompt and complete publication of results, and to emphasize that while it is true for any type of investigation it is doubly so for archeological excavations which by their nature destroy much of the evidence they find."

H M Taylor
Theology. January, 1974

4.1 Church archaeology, both as an organized branch of rescue archaeology and as a topic of academic research, is a relatively recent development in ecclesiological studies. The foundations of this practical form of investigation are, however, firmly rooted in the C19, when the antiquaries of the day pioneered the study of ecclesiastical architecture and art history. To those men we owe a great debt and their contributions must not be under-estimated, but it is nevertheless true that, with some notable exceptions (Taylor, 1976), their concern was essentially with the historical development of distinctive forms of architecture and decorative detail, and that very little was done by way of careful structural analysis of the kind outlined by Dr H M Taylor (1972).

4.2 Until now the examination and recording of archaeological discoveries made below ground in and around churches has always been sporadic and has depended upon the presence of a local antiquary or archaeologist. Organized excavations in churches and churchyards were very rare in the Cl9 and, since archaeology at that time had not achieved the status of a scientific discipline, tended to be ruthless and unstratigraphical. It was usually only the *plan* of lost walls and foundations which was considered as the object of the exercise. This initial approach was destructive and has not yet been fully abandoned (Rodwell 1975a).

4.3 Archaeological exploration in the Cl9 in the Chelmsford Diocese (although not then constituted as such) was effectively non-existent and the sole example which merits attention is the excavation of Bradwell Roman fort and Saxon church in 1864 (Chancellor, 1877)[Fig.7]. By modern archaeological standards, it was a disaster: the interior of the Roman fort was thoroughly trenched in the search for buildings. During this process many Anglo-Saxon burials were encountered, especially around the east end of the C7 ruined church of St Peter-ad-Murum. Some of these burials were pagan in character and furnished with 'grave goods' of the middle Saxon period, while others were 'unaccompanied' and thus more conventionally Christian. Excavation also revealed the foundations of the demolished west porch, apsidal chancel and *porticus.* The findings of this exploration were not recorded in detail and an archaeo-ecclesiastical site of the first order of importance has thus been extensively damaged (for a good general account of the church see Carter, 1966). The whole site is now scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Acts.

4.4 From the mid Cl9 to the early years of C20, the leading ecclesiastical architect and archaeologist in Essex was Frederic Chancellor (1825 1918). Not only was he responsible for the restoration of a great many churches in the Chelmsford Diocese, but he also made extensive notes on architectural and archaeological discoveries wherever he went. To a large extent his interests were perpetuated by his son, Wykeham Chancellor (1865-1945). Between them, the Chancellors contributed a vast number of notes on churches to the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,* over the greater part of a century, and the drawings and notes which were amassed during the course of their work for the Chancellor architectural practice are now preserved in the Essex Record Office (Dixon-Box, 1973). The contribution of these two men to church architecture and archaeology greatly exceeds that of all their local contemporaries. Unfortunately, very few of their records or notes contain information on archaeological discoveries made below ground, although both father and son had a hand in archaeological excavations on Roman sites in Chelmsford. Frederic Chancellor is perhaps best known for the colossal volume, *The Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex,* which he published in 1890.

4.5 It is impossible to list and discuss here all those persons who have contributed to church archaeology over the past century, but one other name should perhaps be mentioned: that of the Reverend G Montague Benton (1881-1959) who regularly contributed notes to the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,* on recent discoveries in churches.

Church excavations

4.6 Although many observations have been made over the course of more than half a century, the actual number of organized archaeological investigations has been very small indeed. Furthermore, most of these have been confined solely to excavation, on a minute scale, and are either inadequately published or not published at all. In order that these may be viewed in proper perspective, they have been divided into groups according to the era of their undertaking (see Fig. 8).

Excavations prior to 1940

St Peter-ad-Murum, Bradwell-juxta-Mare (AD.SS, 281)

Excavation in 1864 by W O Parker, the land owner. No detailed records; finds in Colchester Museum. See 4.3 above; Chancellor, 1877; and Fig.7.

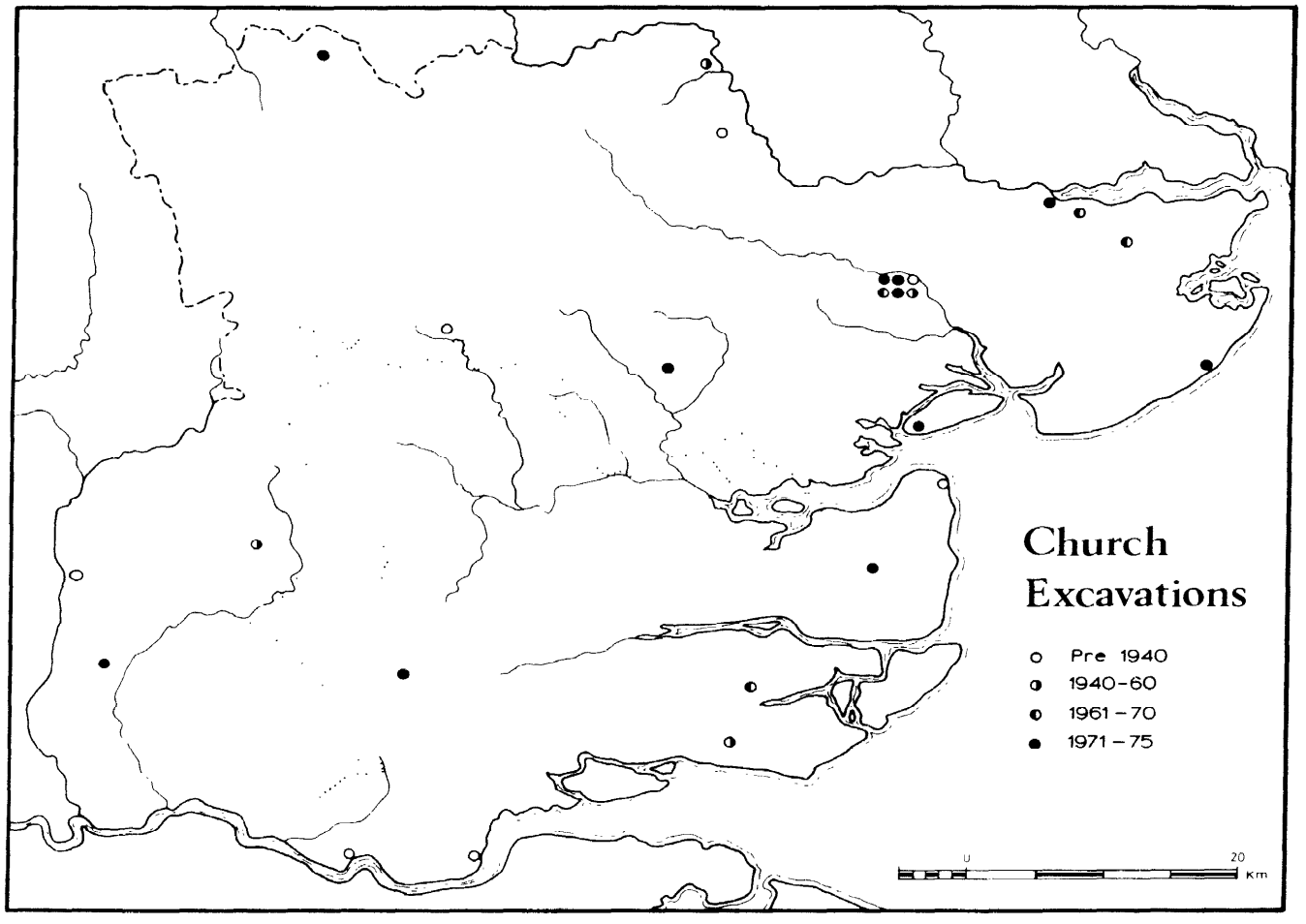
St Katherine, East Tilbury (AD.SS, 351)

Excavation in 1890 by the Rev H J E Barter, then rector, uncovered foundations of the south aisle and south-west tower. No plan exists and no report was published, although one was promised. *TEAS* (ns) **4** (1893), 138-40.

St Clement, West Thurrock (AD.SS, 341)

Excavation in 1912 by A W Clapham, for the Morant Club. Trenching around the base of the present tower showed that it overlay the foundations of a Norman circular nave. Excavation inside the tower revealed a massive stone base, interpreted as the foundation for a font; some digging was also undertaken inside the present nave, where the

7 *St Peter's church, Bradwell-on-Sea, showing the trenches excavated in 1864*



8 Map of church excavations in the Chemlsford Diocese, differentiated according to the era of their undertaking

foundations of an earlier building were discovered, believed to be the chancel of the 'round' church. However, the two elements were not of the same construction and were probably not contemporary. A fairly full description and a good coloured plan (at 1: 125) were published (Clapham, 1915a).

St Mary, Little Dunmow (168)

Excavation in 1914 by A W Clapham, for the Morant Club. The present parish church is only the Lady Chapel of the former Augustinian priory church, the remainder of the complex having been demolished. The excavation was aimed at revealing the plan of the Augustinian house. The published report (Clapham, 1915b) is concerned solely with the structural remains and archaeological stratigraphy is not discussed. The paper is accompanied by an excellent coloured plan at *c.* 1:280. There is also a coloured plate of the best of the decorated medieval floor tiles which were recovered, as well as drawings of two medieval stone coffin lids.

Little Henny Church (1283)

Excavation in 1929 by F H Fairweather. Four irregular trenches were dug at the east end of this demolished church (see 3.15) and then the remainder of the building was cleared. The church was found to be a single-celled structure which had been shortened at some stage. Stratification within the walls was noted, but there is no discussion on the ground stratigraphy, although floor levels. etc. were present. A detailed plan was published (at 1:150) and there is a report on the medieval pottery found (Fairweather, 1931).

The 'Bailey Chapel', Colchester Castle (3a)

Discovered during excavations in 1932 by M R Hull, for Colchester Museum. A single-celled church of two constructional phases was found and cleared. There were several associated graves. Publication is forthcoming (Hull, 1976), but cannot be as detailed as would be required for a modern excavation. The church has featured incidentally in several publications: e.g. Fairweather, 1933, 30; Hull, 1958, 160-3; Clarke, 1966. See also Case Study 1 (5.86).

Waltham Abbey (Holy Cross) Church (AD.WH, 390)

Excavation in 1938 by J Charlton. Excavations of uncertain extent took place on the site of the demolished east end of the Norman church (of which the nave survives in parochial use) and on the site of the later C12 abbey church. Only a brief, unillustrated note has been published (Charlton, 1939), which mentions further intended excavation. A small-scale outline plan of the churches appeared in *VCH Essex* v (1966), 171-5. Subsequent excavations on the monastic complex, by P J Huggins, have been fully and promptly published in *TEAS.*

Excavations 1940-1960

Barley Church (141)

Excavation in 1947 by the Rev A C Henning *et al.* This took place in the chancel and was not a scientifically conducted exploration; the only account is to be found in Tabori and Underwood (1973), 138-41. The work was undertaken in the general spirit of the frantic diggings of the 1940s and 50s in connection with the haunted rectory and its tunnels.

St Mary, Prittlewell (AD.SS, 288)

Excavation in 1952 and 1954 by O H Cockrill, the architect engaged in the restoration of the church. The excavation took the form of two trenches in the chancel and revealed a clear and well preserved series of ancient floor levels. No proper excavation report has been published, but an account of the discoveries and several photographs were included in Canon Cowing's book on the church (Cowing, 1958, especially pp 14-17 and plates VIII-XIV). The importance of these findings has not been matched by the quality of their publication; it seems there was a stratigraphic connection between the floors and the Anglo-Saxon north wall of the chancel.

St Nicholas, Colchester (4)

Excavation in 1956 by M R Hull, for Colchester Museum. Limited excavations undertaken after the demolition of this church were concerned essentially with the elucidation of Roman structures; it was found that a Roman building had been adapted for use as the first church on this site. The excavation report (Hull. 1960) contains but little information on the church itself; this is partly due to the unfortunate circumstances which attended the excavation. The site was one of great archaeological importance, but has now been destroyed; see also Case Study 1 (5.30).

St Andrew, Greensted-juxta-Ongar (AD.WH, 382)

Excavation in 1960 by H Christie, A R Dufty, B Hope-Taylor and O Olsen. Excavation in the chancel of the Anglo-Saxon wooden church showed that there had been two periods of construction in timber. No report on this excavation, in one of our most outstanding Anglo-Saxon churches, has been published and the only account known to the writer is the brief mention in Taylor (1965, 263). Widely differing dates have been suggested for the construction of this church: the sources of information are uncertain, but some at least are alleged to be based upon the scientific examination of the timbers. For example: Hewett (1974, 6) gives a date of 845, although he too is uncertain of the evidence upon which it is based.

Excavations 1961-1970

St Mary, Mistley (31A)

Excavation by the Rev A J Morley and J S Appleby, in 1961, for the Essex Archaeological Society. The plan of the church was recovered and shown to be more complex than the RCHM appreciated. There are some glazed tiles in Colchester Museum, but the writer cannot trace any records or publication relating to this investigation.

St Mary, Wix (31)

Excavation by B P Blake in 1961, for Colchester and Essex Museum. Small trenches dug to the east of the church revealed part of the demolished monastic church. The investigation was on a very limited scale and was connected with the bulldozing of the site. Report in *TEAS* (ser. 3) 1 (1962). 105-10.

St Mary, Little Stambridge (AD.SS, 294)

Excavation in the mid 1960s by K Crowe, then a pupil at Southend High School. The writer has been unable to ascertain the extent of this excavation, or whether any records were kept. No publication has appeared.

Building in Denmark Street, Colchester (6A)

Excavation by Miss B R K Dunnett in 1965, following partial excavation in 1935 by M R Hull, for Colchester Excavation Committee. A long, narrow, apsidal building, probably of Roman date, has been partially explored on two occasions. There can be little doubt that it is a religious structure and possibly a church, but for further discussion see Case Study 1 (5.91). A final excavation report has been published, which in many respects is inadequate (Dunnett , 1971, 78-82).

Excavations 1971-1975

St Mary, Woodford (AD.WH, 408)

Excavation by F R Clark in 1971, for West Essex Archaeological Group. The church was gutted by fire in 1969 and small-scale excavations were undertaken in five places inside the church, in advance of restoration. Only a very brief account has yet been published (Litten, 1971).

St Mary and All Saints, Rivenhall (100)

Excavation and structural investigation 1971-73 by W J and K A Rodwell, for the Essex Archaeological Society and the Department of the Environment. Rescue excavations were undertaken around the church and in the north-east corner of the graveyard, (for further details see Case Study 2. Section 6). There have been several minor publications of this work (Rodwell, 1972, 1973a-b) and a long interim report was published after the 1972 season (Rodwell, 1973d). Full publication in monograph form is in preparation.

St Peter and St Paul, West Mersea (61)

Excavation in 1971 by H M Carter and A D Mansfield for Colchester Archaeological Group, A single trench was dug in the southern part of the churchyard, before building work commenced. No report has been published and A D Mansfield told the writer that nothing had been found, except a few pieces of Roman tile. The writer observed that the trench had been dug through nearly 2 m of accumulated deposits containing several burials.

Little Holland Church (42B)

Excavation in 1960 by K Walker and again in 1972-3 by M Terry. On the first occasion it seems that only a few small holes were dug, for which see *Essex Archaeol. and Hist* 5 (1973). 234-5. On the second occasion irregular holes were dug all over the church and have still not been backfilled. The site is overgrown and devastated. Enquiries by the Department of the Environment failed to establish that any adequate records were made during this 'excavation', or that publication is likely.

Church in St John's Abbey grounds, Colchester (10A)

Excavation in 1972 by P J Crummy for Colchester Excavation Committee. Part of an unknown church, probably of Anglo-Saxon date, was discovered during rescue excavations; it is a composite structure which lies in a Roman cemetery and possibly incorporates part of a Roman building. Full publication will follow in due course, but a brief note and a good plan have already been published (Crummy, 1974, 29). See also Case Study 1 (5.88).

Holy Trinity, Colchester (5)

Excavation in 1973 by G M R Davies for Colchester Museum. A trench was dug in the nave, prior to the conversion of this

church into a museum. Nothing has yet been published, but Mr Davies has very kindly discussed his findings with the present writer. See also Case Study 1(5.38).

St Giles, Colchester (10)

Excavation in 1975 by P J Crummy, for Colchester Archaeological Unit. Excavation in the interior of this church, which is undergoing radical alteration, is in progress at the time of writing. See also Case Study 1 (5.66).

St Michael, Manningtree (27)

Excavation in 1974 by W J Rodwell, for Essex county Council. A trial excavation undertaken on the site of the demolished post-medieval church was intended to ascertain whether the earlier chapel had also existed here. The investigation was largely negative and it seems that the chapel lay elsewhere. A note will be published in *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.*

St Botolph, Hadstock (192)

Excavation in 1974 by W J Rodwell. for the Essex Archaeological Society and Department of the Environment. The interior of the nave, crossing and transepts was fully excavated prior to the laying of a new floor. Structural recording was also undertaken on the upstanding building: this work will continue for several years to come. Short accounts of the investigation have already appeared (Rodwell, 1974a, b) and a longer interim report is forthcoming (Rodwell, 1976b). Final publication is envisaged in monograph form. See also Case Study 3, Section 7.

St Nicholas , Ingrave (AD.SS, 328)

Excavation in 1975 by Miss C Couchman, for Essex County Council. Atrial excavation was undertaken in advance of the partial disturbance of the site (3.15) by the construction of a barn. The church was found to have an apsidal chancel. It seems that the site of the church itself is unaffected by the proposed works, but the southern side of the graveyard will be scarped.

St Lawrence, Asheldham (AD.SS, 275)

Excavation in 1975 by W J and K A Rodwell. Parts of the nave, west tower and chancel were excavated internally, in connection with the re-flooring of this redundant church. Plaster stripping around the bases of the walls permitted a partial study of the upstanding fabric and a consideration of its relationship to the foundations. A Norman axial-towered church was found beneath the present C13-14 structure. The report will probably be published in *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* See also Case Study 4 (8.3).

4.7 Nominally, there have thus been 26 church excavations in the Chelmsford Diocese since 1864. Leaving aside Bradwell-on-Sea and East Tilbury, the remainder of the excavations have been conducted within this century and one might therefore expect reasonable standards both in investigation and publication The first three, West Thurrock (1912), Little Dunmow (1914) and Little Henny (1929), although inadequate by modern standards, were good for their period. The same applies to the 'Castle Bailey Chapel' and the forthcoming publication, although overdue, will be welcome. The tragedy of St Nicholas, Colchester, is lamented elsewhere (5.30). The fact that Prittlewell was not excavated and published more fully, by an archaeologist, has brought about a loss of information there. The excavations at Waltham Abbey Church, Mistley, Little Stambridge, Borley, West Mersea and Little Holland are presumably to be regarded as written off, rather than to be written up. The non-publication of Greensted, after fifteen years, is inexcusable, although it is understood that there is still an intention to publish. There are thus seven excavations for the period 1971-75, for which full reports are required (discounting Ingrave and Manningtree) and which ought to be in print by the end of this decade, at the latest.

4.8 Thus the position regarding excavation and structural recording in the diocese has been unsatisfactory in the past, and great losses have been incurred. Arrangements for the archaeological investigation of churches have been either haphazard or non-existent; not only have there been many instances where excavation should have taken place in advance of a threat (see Section 9), but also several cases where excavation has been on an inadequate scale or undertaken by persons who were unqualified, or both. It is now of no value to apportion blame, but it is important to set the example and pace for archaeo-ecclesiastical investigations from now on. It will be seen from the above list that the number and scale of the archaeological investigations undertaken in the diocese in the first half of the present decade greatly exceeds all those of the previous half century or more. Fresh ground has been broken by the excavation of Hadstock in 1974, in that this was the first occasion, in Britain, where a parish church was temporarily closed for worship in order to facilitate full internal excavation in advance of restoration (although this is normal practice in several Continental countries: see Rahtz, 1973, 29). There is, however, no room for complacency and much more remains to be done in the future; large-scale, professionally directed investigations, both above and below ground, must be undertaken in conjunction with restoration programmes if the earlier chapters of Church history in the Diocese are ever to be illumined. These projects must, of course, be followed by full publication to the highest standards, and in this connection it is vital that the excavators who have reports currently in hand should set, maintain and continue to improve those standards: the example has been shown at Deerhurst, Glos. (Butler, Rahtz and Taylor, 1975).

4.9 It should not, of course, be forgotten that the inadequacy of church investigation and publication hitherto is a national problem and there is no reason to believe that the situation is worse in the Chelmsford Diocese than it is in any other area (for further discussion see Rodwell, 1975a).

4. 10 Although an attempt has been made to list all the excavations undertaken in the Diocese, it is possible that other small-scale unpublished investigations have taken place and have escaped attention here. In addition to the organized excavations which have been listed above, there have been a number of occasions when archaeologists have been invited to make detailed records of discoveries made by contractors during their disturbances of the fabric or of the ground in and around ancient churches. This process of observation has continued intermittently over a long period of time, but the necessity of making and publishing proper detailed records of what has been exposed has seldom been appreciated in the past. In 1974 Miss C Couchman (for Essex County Council) was able to observe contractors' trenches inside the chancel of Writtle church (AD.SS, 237) and to make measured drawings of the features exposed therein (publication forthcoming): an example of the kind of approach which is to be recommended.

Section 5 Case Study l—Churches in an Historic Town

"Thepilgrim to Colchester will nor depart without a visit to the old churches, but he will be probably disappointed from the idea he has formed of the parochial temples of a town of this importance and antiquity. The foundations and parts of most of them are ancient; but they have been sorely battered by time and war. and the patches of modern repairs give them an incongruous appearance."

Coller, 1861, 629.

The ancient churches of Colchester

5.1 Within the Diocese of Chelmsford there is but one major medieval town-Colchester-which, apart from Maldon with its three parishes, is the only place to be endowed with a complex of parochial churches. It therefore presents a different archaeological situation from that which obtains elsewhere in the Diocese, although architecturally there is little to distinguish the individual churches from their neighbours in town and country.

5.2 The ancient churches of Colchester form a useful group to study for many reasons: first, they are a conveniently small group (there are eight intra-mural parish churches and a further four in close proximity to the town walls; as against say 59 in the city of Norwich); secondly, all but two of the churches are still standing, and the sites of both of these are known; thirdly, there is a major redundancy problem; and fourthly, the architectural and archaeological complexities of Colchester's churches are very great, although no more so than other multi-period churches in towns which have nearly 2,000 years of urban history. In all such towns the site of any church is virtually certain to have an archaeological interest, the beginnings of which probably ante-date the arrival of Christianity in the town and thus the advent of church-building.

5.3 Before considering the individual problems of the churches in Colchester it may be as well to put the subject of churches in towns into perspective, since there are many questions which ought to be asked relating to aspects of church studies which have not yet been raised in British archaeology as a whole, let alone in the specific instance of Colchester. What sort of site within, or without, a town was given over to church building? Is there ever religious continuity from pagan to Christian? Do several churches emerge simultaneously in a town, or is there a long developmental sequence? Do the churches antedate the parochial system, and if so, what kind of community did they serve? When did Christianity first make its 'public' appearance in towns of Roman origin? (In most cases this must have been within the later Roman period itself, but we know next to nothing about the relationship between pagan and Christian religious structures, sites and graveyards in either the Roman or Anglo-Saxon periods.) To what extent is there a continuity of use, or a deliberate medieval re-use of religious buildings of the Roman and Saxon periods? (cf. Augustine's refurbishing of a Romano-British church outside the walls of Canterbury). Potentially, the answers to all these questions, and many more, are to be found in and under the churches of our historic towns.

5.4 To date, there has been very little study devoted to urban parish churches and such as there has been has tended to be restricted in approach and very limited in extent (with obvious exceptions such as St Pancras and St Mary, Tanner Street, in Winchester). It is the writer's contention that an interdisciplinary approach is essential if significant advances are to be achieved; whilst we are obviously interested in each church, its documented history, its architectural evolution and its archaeological stratigraphy, these must all be seen in relation to one another and in a wider perspective. The actual siting of a church relative to pre-existing streets and structures, local topography and the earlier religious foci of the area are all factors capable of being ascertained in fairly exact terms. Furthermore, the precise alignment of a church and the siting of its principal entrance(s) are likely to be sensitive indicators of its relationship to those surroundings, certainly more so than in the less compact conditions of rural settlement. The intra-mural portions of urban parishes are generally quite small in terms of acreage, which makes it easier to assess the physical relationship between church and parish, as well as the propinquity between the parishes themselves. Parochial limits, as with any other complex of archaeological boundaries, may be stratified horizontally, from which much can be deduced regarding changes in the areas, sub-division, and the creation of new parishes. Obviously, if documentary evidence is available as well it may accord greater precision to the exercise, or simply confirm a deduction made purely on morphological grounds.

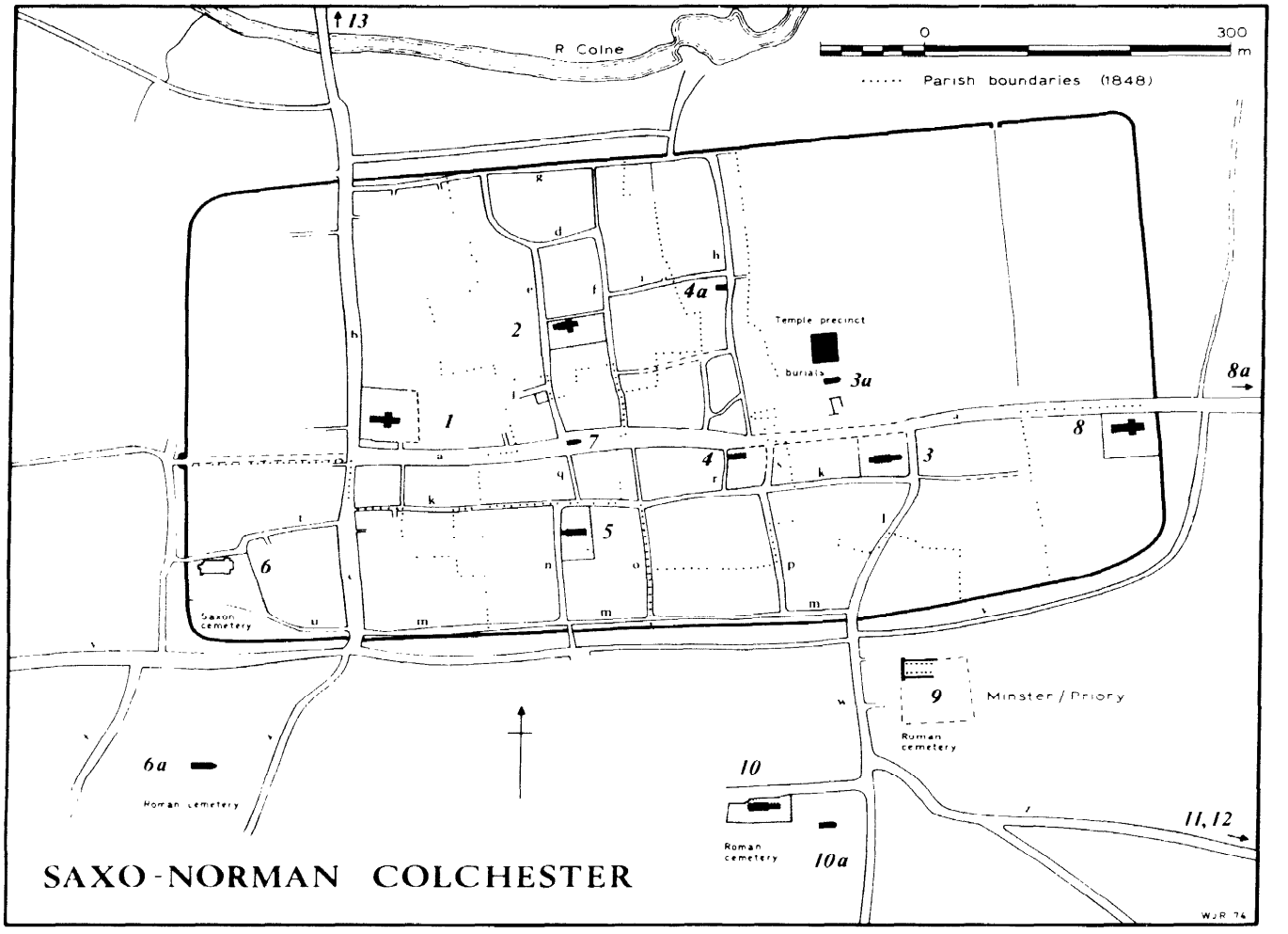
5.5 In assessing the problems and potentialities of church archaeology in Colchester I have tried to remain aware of the fact that we are not simply dealing with a dozen piles of bricks and mortar, which stand upon plots of land but instead I have viewed them as inter-related components in which the vicissitudes in the pre-medieval establishment of Christianity must be reflected, just as its consolidation over the last nine hundred years is witnessed through a series of distinctive architectural styles.

5.6 In a report of this nature it would be inappropriate to proffer too many contentious hypotheses without presenting the detailed arguments behind their construction, but at the same time it would be exceptionally short-sighted if the report concentrated solely on recovery and preservation of physical evidence, without attempting to relate this to current scholarship.

5.7 In considering the problems of church archaeology in Colchester, it is apparent that the study cannot be restricted to the twelve known parishes and their buildings. Other structures, not known to be parochial, may sometimes be Seen in a new light and must also be considered before embarking upon a more general discussion of the archaeological and historical considerations which emerge.

Parochial churches

5.8 Until 1873 the Roman and medieval walls of Colchester enclosed a rectangular area of c. 45 ha (108 acres), within which lay eight parishes:
1. St Peter; 2. St Martin; 3. All Saints; 4. St Nicholas; 5. Holy Trinity; 6. St Mary the Virgin; 7. St Runwald; 8. St James.
They all possessed lands outside the walls. There were also four suburban parishes which lay to the south and east of the town: 9. St Botolph; 10. St Giles; 11. St Mary Magdalene; 12. St Leonard in the Hythe. They are considered below, together with the truly urban parishes. Of the extra-mural parishes St Botolph's was of primary importance and was the only one to possess land inside the town walls. Beyond these suburban parishes, yet within the Hundred and Borough Liberties of Colchester, lay four more: 13. St Michael, Mile End (Myland); 14. St Andrew, Greensted; 15. St Michael, Berechurch (alias West Donyland); 16. St Leonard, Lexden.



KEY:

1. *St Peter's Church*
2. *St Martin's Church*
3. *All Saint's Church*

3a. Castle Bailey Chapel

4. *St Nicholas's Church*

4a St Helen's Chapel

5. *Holy Trinity Church*
6. *St Mary the Virgin's (St Mary at the Walls)*

6a. Roman building in Denmark Street (possibly church)

7. *St Runwald's Church*
8. *St James's Church*

8a. St Anne's Chapel

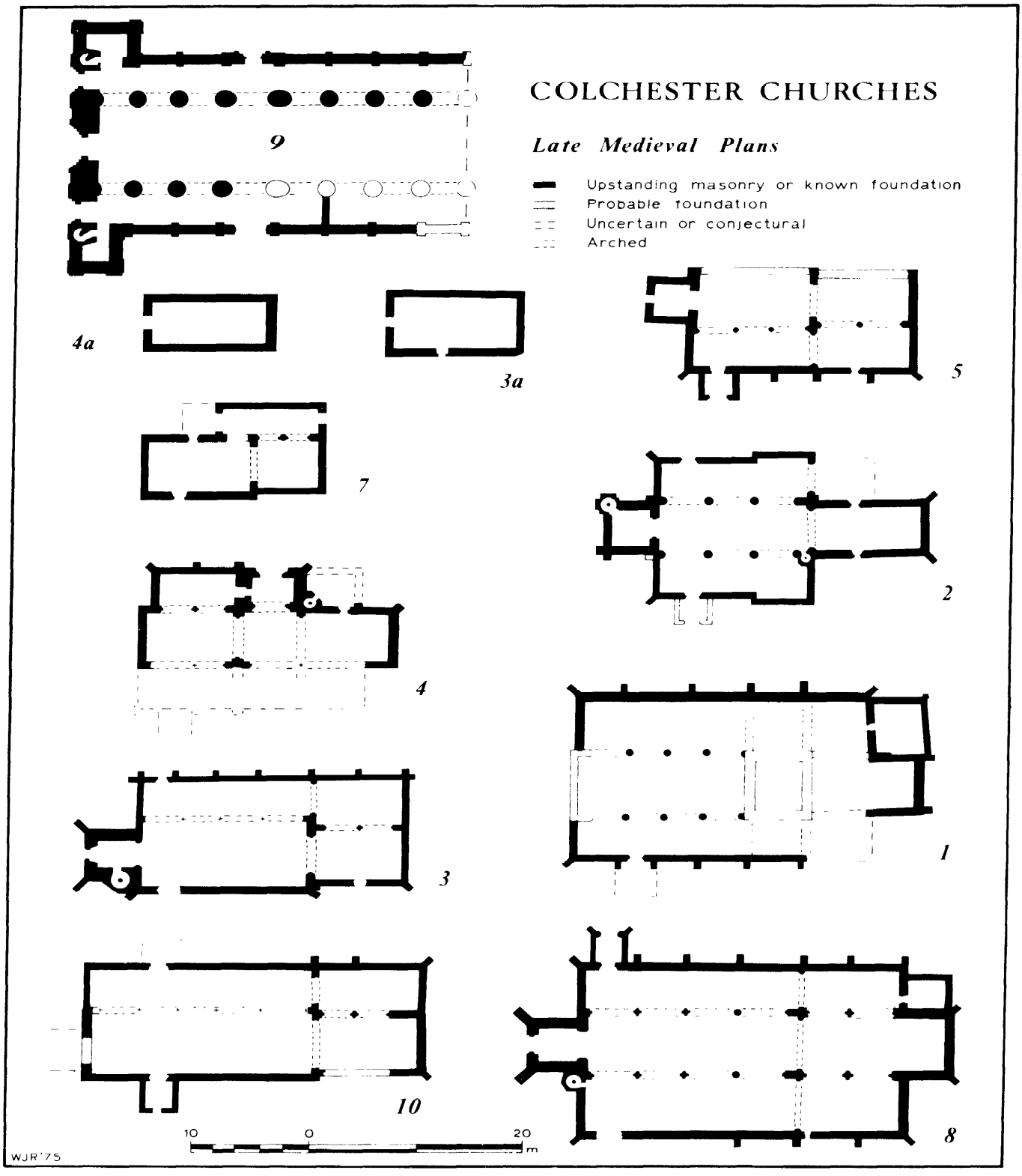
9. *St Botolph's Priory*
10. *St Giles's Church*

10a. Church in St John's Abbey grounds

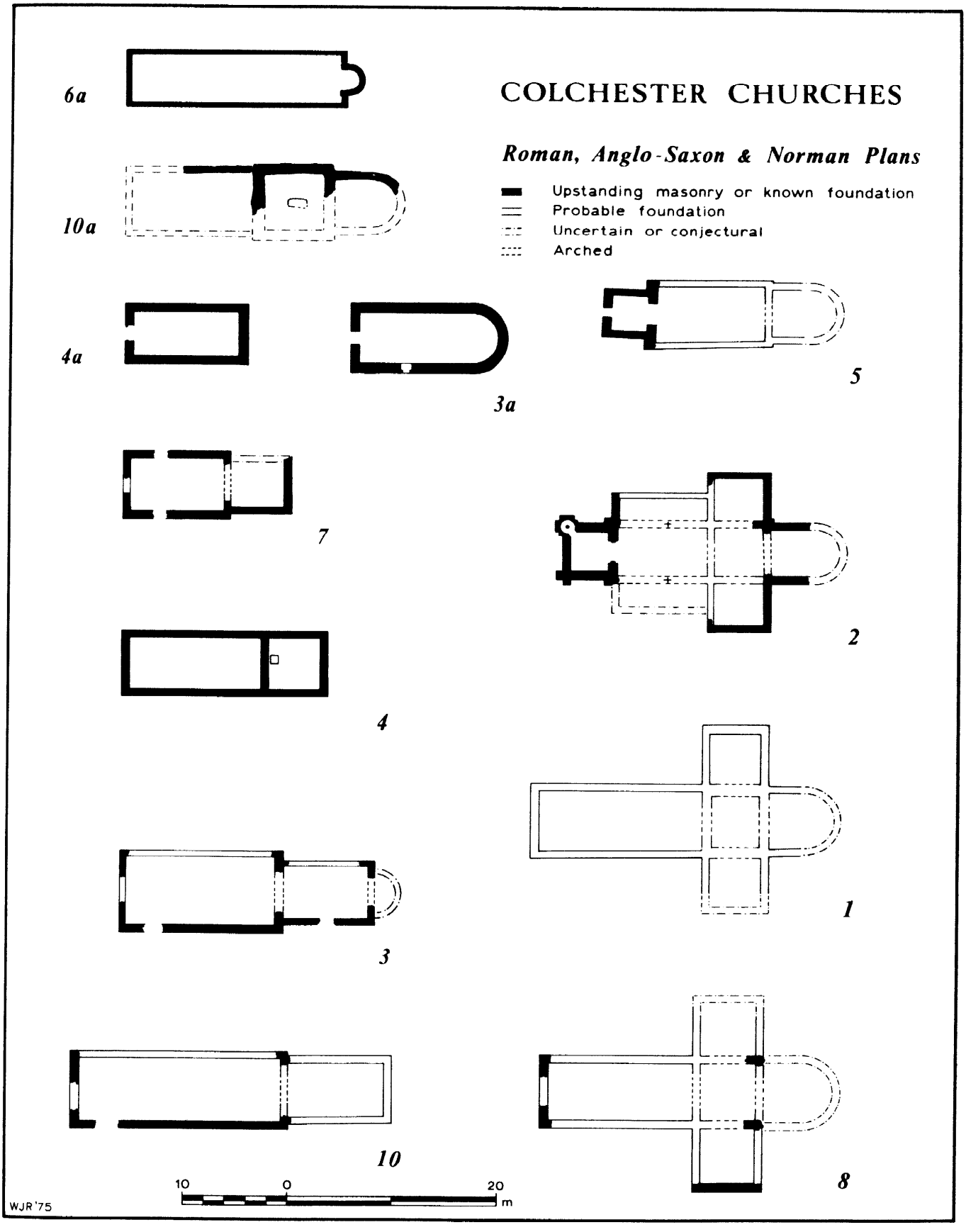
11. *St Mary Magdalene's Church (and hospital)*
12. *St Leonard's Church (St Leonard at the Hythe)*
13. *St Michael's Church, Mile End*

a. High Street
b. North Hill (Street)
c. Head Street
d. Stockwell Street
e. West Stockwell Street
f. East Stockwell Street
g. Northgate Street
h. Maidenburgh Street
i. St Helen's Lane
j. St Runwald's Street
k. Culver Street
l. Queen Street
m. Sir Isaac's Walk - Eld Lane - Short Wyre Street
n. Trinity Street
o. Lion Walk
p. Long Wyre Street
q. Pelham's Street
r. St Nicholas's Passage
s. St. Nicholas's Street
t. Church Street North
u. Church Street South
v. Crouch Street - St John's Street - Vineyard Street - Priory Street
w. St Botolph's Street
x. Maldon Road
y. Butt Road
z. Magdalen Street

9 *Provisional outline map of Saxo-Norman Colchester, showing the positions and alignments of ancient churches, chapels, etc. The town wall is indicated in black outline and ancient graveyards are stippled (when of known extent). The foundation platform of the principal Roman temple is shown as it was prior to erection of the castle around it; and the High Street has been restored to its pre-castle alignment*



10 *Comparative plans of Colchester churches as they existed in the late medieval period (although incorporating much earlier masonry). Where the exact form of a doorway, etc., is unknown the ends of the abutting walls are shown ragged.*
For numbered key, see caption to Fig.9



11 *The earliest phase plans of Colchester churches which can be reconstructed from the surviving evidence. Most of these plans cannot be dated with certainty, but they are all Norman or earlier. They are shown in the same juxtapositions as the late medievai plans on Fig. 10 (excepting 6a and 10a, which replace 9). For numbered key, see caption to Fig. 9*

These four parishes (discussed in the Gazetteer, Section 11), are essentially of rural character. Their origins and relationships to the Borough are mysteries. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that Berechurch was part of a single estate with East Donyland (17) as late as 975, although we have no knowledge that East Donyland ever lay within the Borough Liberties. Early boundary changes are to be suspected on topographical evidence. There have also been several major changes in the parochial organization over the past century, which may be summarized as follows: first, St Runwald's church became redundant in 1873, when the parish was united with All Saints; and secondly there was a great reorganization of the Colchester parishes in 1952, when St Botolph, Holy Trinity and St Giles were united and the two latter churches became redundant. At this time St James, All Saints (with St Runwald) and St Nicholas were united and the two latter churches also became redundant (St Runwald having been demolished long since). St Martin's, too, was declared redundant. Thus out of the twelve churches under consideration, only six now survive in ecclesiastical use, but to this number may be added several churches built *de novo* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to serve the new Districts.

5.9 Churches numbered 1 to 10 are shown on an outline map of Saxo-Norman Colchester (Fig. 9). Their ground plans (with the exception of no. 6) are shown at a constant scale on Figs. 10 and 11. On Fig. 10 each plan is shown at its greatest extent in the late Middle Ages, while on Fig. 11 an attempt has been made to outline the earliest form of each church, as far as this is discernible from the evidence of the surviving fabric, In all cases this plan is Norman or earlier, but it must not be taken as an indication of the form or date of the *first* church on any particular site, which usually remains unknown or uncertain. For the sake of general consistency, the bibliography, grading, etc.. of Colchester's churches will be found in the Gazetteer.

1 St Peter's Church, North Hill

5.10 The *church* occupies a commanding and important position in the angle between North Hill and High Street. This is both the crown of the hill upon which Colchester lies and is the point of intersection of the principal north-south and east-west streets of the Roman *colonia.* It was also the principal street junction in the medieval period and the parish of St Peter's was the most prosperous in Colchester at the time of Domesday *(VCH,* i, 1903, and *TEAS* (ns) **15** (1921), 94-5). St Peter's II the only Colchester church mentioned in the Domesday Survey, although several others clearly existed at the time. The reference serves to show that the church was well established and richly endowed by 1086; it is thus to be regarded as an Anglo-Saxon foundation of some importance. In the mid eighteenth century the church ranked as the most important in the town (Mot-ant, 1748).

5.11 The present church, which in plan is similar to, but fractionally smaller than St James's (no. 8), displays no hint of an Anglo-Saxon origin, but is the remnant of a fairly large Cl5 aisled building (Fig. 10.1) which was extensively reconstructed in the C18 and restored in the C19, with the re-use on each occasion of much flint and stone rubble and many Roman bricks. The medieval church had a central tower and transepts which were declared 'dangerous' and removed in 1758. The RCHM plan, which is hopelessly inadequate, indicates the foundations of the tower without stating the source of its information. At ground level the tower was roughly square in plan, but was crowned by a tall octagonal lantern and spire which are mentioned by Morant and illustrated on the minute south elevation shown on his map. They are also known from contemporary engravings. At this time there was also a south porch. While the lantern was probably of Cl6 or Cl7 date, the base of the tower was certainly much earlier. The extent of the damage of the 1692 earthquake is not recorded, but was probably the underlying cause of the tower's instability and hence its demolition. The vicar of the period noted in the register '. . . the Masons that were then a plaistering the Steple of St Peter's in this Town, and upon the uppermost Scaffold, [reported] that the Steple parted so wide in the midst, that they could have put their hand into the crack or cleft, and immediately shut up close again, without any damage to the workmen (who expected all would have fallen down) or to the Steple itself'. A new brick tower was erected at the west end in 1758 and the removal of the old central tower and transept walls gave the church a spacious interior.

5.12 St Peter's is not architecturally outstanding; perhaps its most significant feature is the early Cl6 brick-built and vaulted charnel-house beneath the north-east vestry. The Georgian work is also of some interest on account of its relative scarcity in Essex churches, but was largely ruined by the Victorians who attempted to create a medieval atmosphere.

Fittings. The south door with its very fine ornamental ironwork is of the C13 and is by far the earliest surviving feature of the church; the ironwork is believed to have been made by Thomas de Leighton. The C17 pulpit is also noteworthy.

Monuments. Inside the church is the finest collection Of C16 and C17 monuments and floor-slabs in Colchester.

The graveyard is of average size for a town church, but has been encroached upon from the east by Cl9 building. Here formerly lay the vicarage and its garden, a narrow plot which extended along the entire east side of the graveyard. The Corn Exchange later occupied this site. It is probable that the south side of St Peter's graveyard originally abutted the High Street (here formerly called Corn Hill) and that the thin line of frontage buildings (Red Row) which now separates the two represents a medieval encroachment. An ecclesiastical speculative development here seems certain, the like of which is known elsewhere. The churchyard is no longer used for burial and is in good order and is well supplied with trees and vegetation, In part, it is densely crowded with Cl9 tombs, many of which undoubtedly surmount brick-built vaults of great depth. Some clearance has taken place and a number of headstones are ranged along the south wall of the church. Ground level is generally high in relation to the church, especially on the south side.

Archaeological assessment

5.13 St Peter's is a church of the first order of archaeological importance, although only for what is below ground. The site would undoubtedly have been occupied by a Roman structure of-some consequence and it would come as no surprise to learn that a temple or other public building of the *colonia* had stood here. Furthermore, beneath this must be one of the central structures of the mid Cl legionary fortress which preceded the *colonia,* quite possibly the headquarter\ building itself (for plans see *Britannia* 5 (1974), 440-1). However all that is known of Roman structures on the site is what we find noted in William Wire's Diary for 1842 (in Colchester Museum). Wire observed walls running into the churchyard from under the pavement of North Hill; and a Roman wall and concrete floor were reported in digging a grave. A black-and-white chequered mosaic pavement, probably in the form of a simple square or rectangular panel, was found on the site of the rectory garden, immediately north-east of the present chancel (Hull, 1958, 66, 150). These remains, which lie at *c.* 2 m below the present surface, give no clue as to the nature of the Roman building(s) here.

5.14 Only excavation can provide information on the Anglo-Saxon church or churches and check the layout and extent of the earlier medieval building. The latter, it seems, was a substantial cruciform church, perhaps of Norman date

(Fig. 11. 1). It is doubtful whether any part of this now remains standing above ground, but if internal plaster-stripping should take place it would be possible to check whether the north or south walls of the transepts survive, embedded in the later work. It is not known whether the early medieval church was aisled: again, plaster-stripping of the west walls of the C15 aisles could reveal evidence for predecessors of narrower width. The foundations of the central tower complex probably survive in good condition beneath the nave floor. Undoubtedly graves and brick vaults would hamper excavation in the interior, but nevertheless this is a church which would lend itself well to a large-scale internal investigation. The present floors, which date from the 1895-6 restoration, are in good order, although two limited areas at the west end of the nave have been recently concreted, following the removal of pews.

5.15 Excavation in the churchyard would be extremely difficult and only worthwhile on a very large scale, except perhaps immediately adjacent to the walls of the church. If the ground level has to be lowered, an opportunity would arise to study the bottom courses of the walls and their foundations, where modern refacing has not taken place. Parts of the building need repointing and the windows of the couth aisle have recently been replaced. The south doorway, now unprotected by a porch, is weathering badly and will soon need repair—the mouldings should be recorded immediately.

5.16 In the base of the tower hangs a large-scale plan and section drawings of the church; they are colour-differentiated according to period and are a superb work of draughtsmanship. They were produced by Mr Peter Watkinson in May 1941; the Essex Record Office ought to have copies. I know of nothing comparable in the Colchester Archdeaconry.

Grading: BBIc.

2 St Martin's Church, West Stockwell Street

5.17 The *church* occupies the northern end of an oblong block of land, lying between East and West Stockwell Streets, not far from the centre of the walled town. The plot on which the church lies, and upon which it is accurately aligned, can be seen as an integral part of the post-Roman planned street system, which may be of C10 date (see 5.102); however, St Martin's is not on or near one of the major axes of the town. The church, as it exists today, is an agglomeration of several architectural periods: basically, the nave, chancel and aisles exhibit features of the Cl4 and C15, while the west tower is Norman (Fig. 10.2). The ground-plan is of average size for a Colchester church: it never achieved an imposing late medieval form like St Peter's or St James's. However, it is this very lack of expansion which has enabled many tell-tale details of its earlier history to survive. It is an instructive exercise on the drawing board to remove the later accretions, in the reverse order to that of their construction, and to examine the building as it progressed towards its final late-medieval form. Eventually, one returns to an aisled cruciform building, to which the west tower was added in the C12 (Fig. 11.2). The RCHM assumed, but without positive evidence, that the oldest surviving work was early Norman. It could just as well be Anglo-Saxon, especially when one considers the stumpy proportions of the nave (in its present form, it appears to have been extended to the east by the incorporation of the crossing). The transepts probably embody much earlier masonry than is allowed in the RCHM, and are, in any case, not necessarily of one build with the aisles, as suggested. It may reasonably be supposed that the present chancel is a partial rebuild and extension of a former stilted apse, the evidence for which may be detected in the slight curve in the plan of the south wall. The earliest plan of St Martin's is reminiscent of the second and third phases of Hadstock (Fig. 22), although Hadstock is on a larger scale.

5.18 Architecturally, the church is not of outstanding significance as a whole, but certain features are of great value, particularly the tower. A rare Norman survivor, it is unfortunate that the upper stage was ruined, apparently before the Siege of 1648. The chancel, which has an elaborate Cl4 roof, is divided internally by an unusual timber 'arch' (Buckler, 1856, 123; Hewett, 1974, 125). St Martin's became redundant in the 1952 reorganization (see 5.8). Unlike other parishes, this one was dissolved and not combined with one of its neighbours. Since 1958 the church has been used as a theatre store, and the interior has been wrecked by the daubing of green paint over the medieval features.

5.19 The heyday of St Martin's parish and church was probably drawing to a close in the early Middle Ages. From its dedication, situation, orientation and plan, there can be little doubt that it was an Anglo-Saxon foundation, and quite possibly a substantial one. But by the Cl7 the parish had declined to such an extent that the damaged tower was never repaired, and Morant (1748) records that the income 'doth not afford a tolerable maintenance; there is at present no Divine Service performed in the Church, neither hath any Clergyman of late been instituted thereto; but it hath been held in Sequestration for several years past, by the Vicar of St Peter's, and the Inhabitants resort to that Church for Divine Service. There never was any Parsonage House or Glebe belonging to the Rector, except an Acre in King's Meadow, which is, and hath long been with-held from him'.

5.20 The decay, which was well advanced by 1636, was partially halted by the heavy restorations of 1883 and 1891, but they were never completed and the church is once again (or still) in a sorry state. Indeed, its condition may be described as deplorable, and is an evident disgrace to the town.

Fittings: The RCHM records an interesting collection of fittings, the present whereabouts of which I do not know. The C13 coffin lid with foliated cross was apparently found in the chancel in the early Cl9 (Buckler, 1856, 121) and the rare medieval altar slab was discovered in 1894 and set up as a *mensa (TEAS* (ns) **23** (1945), 378). It is now at St James's church (5.57).

The graveyard is maintained by the Local Authority in an extreme state of tidiness and does not contain any particularly noteworthy memorials, apart from the large sarcophagus monument of 1816. The churchyard is unfortunately the haunt of vagrants, who tend to shelter in the porch and at whose hands the unusual Cl7 balusters there are being destroyed. The ruined tower is heavily overgrown with ivy and, damaging as it may be, it is now a constituent part of the ecology and artistry of Colchester: 'Masses of ivy are allowed to grow over the building, which precludes minute examination of its construction by the antiquary, but produces a highly picturesque study for the artist' (Buckler, 1856, 121). There have been Cl9 encroachments on the eastern side of the churchyard.

Archaeological assessment

5.21 For some years now, rainwater has been pouring into the Norman walls and foundations. The west end of the church is in urgent need of restoration, but not of the wholesale refacing and de-characterization which the rest of the exterior suffered in the C19. Before anything is done to the walls at the west end, a complete fabric record of that area must be made, together with an analysis of the structure and study of

the mortars. Second to the tower of Holy Trinity, St Martin's is probably the most important piece of parish-church architecture in Colchester: it deserves very careful treatment.

5.22 Unfortunately, the uppermost archaeological layers against the south side of the building were destroyed by construction of an open drain in the C19. The digging of this revealed a foundation offset, capped by two courses of Roman brick, a feature which in this district is often characteristic of Anglo-Saxon building construction. This has, however, been extensively tampered with during past restorations. The proper study of the exposed foundations is essential to an understanding of the church. There is extensive use of Roman brick in the building.

5.23 Knowledge of the archeology of the area around St Martin's is both sparse and tantalizing. The western end of the church, as it now exists, seems to encroach upon one of the less-important north-south roads of the Roman *colonia.* It is, however, perfectly possible that the earliest church on the site (if it lay under the present nave or chancel) pre-dated the post-Roman replanning of the street grid and originally had its west end directly abutting the street (but see 5.17).

5.24 Grave digging in the C19 did not result in the recording of structural remains, but pottery of the Roman period was recovered, and it is of the greatest interest to observe that no less than four *complete* vessels (Hull, 1958, 104-5) have been noted: one was of Romano-Saxon type (Myres, 1956, 23). It is also reported that Anglo-Saxon burials have been found in the churchyard, but details are lacking. There is every possibility that the complete Roman pots were accessory vessels to inhumation burials. As burials were not permitted, under Roman law, within the walls of towns, it is most unlikely that inhumations would have been placed inside Colchester until the C5, at the earliest. By this time the tradition of associating burials and Christian churches was growing and hence the most likely reason for introducing burial into a town would be to inter the dead close to existing intra-mural churches (Biddle, 1976). On present evidence it is impossible to press this suggestion any further with regard to St Martin's. but it is certainly a point of importance.

5.25 The potential archaeological importance of this church cannot be over-emphasized. both in respect of its above and below-ground evidence. Above ground, there is every likelihood that the walls, although much refaced externally and plastered internally, contain a stratified sequence of fabrics extending back at least to the late Anglo-Saxon period, and possibly much further. Excavation both of the interior and of the whole graveyard are of the first importance, should any threat of disturbance arise. Small-scale excavation needs to be avoided at all costs and minor disturbances which might fragment the archaeology of the church, either above or below ground, should be resisted.
Grading: Alb .

3 All Saints' Church, High Street

5.26 *The church* lies on the south side of High Street, at its junction with Queen Street, and is not far from the centre of the town. The parish is very extensive and includes the whole of the area occupied by the castle and the Greyfriars, although the castle itself was extra-parochial. The church is a fairly simple structure, of which the nave and chancel are the oldest parts (Fig. 10.3) with proportions more characteristic of Norman rather than an earlier date, but there may be complications (see below). The south wall of the nave was refaced in 1855, prior to which it contained herringbone work in Roman bricks. No early medieval detail now survives, although the doorway in the centre of the south wall of the chancel may have been Norman (it was blocked by a buttress in 1800). The east wall of the chancel is of particular interest, since it exhibits clear evidence for a disruption in the Roman brick courses, which can probably be explained as the scars left by the removal of an apsidal sanctuary (Fig. 11.3). We may recognize here therefore a three-cell Norman church, closely similar to East Ham (AD. WH, 404) or Wimbotsham, Norfolk. The latter has a nave of exactly the same size as All Saints (Fairweather, 1933, 31.42). The chancel of All Saints, however, is rather more elongated than is normal for churches of the three-cell plan, which prompts the thought that the nave *could* be an addition to an earlier two-cell apsidal church. The RCHM plan is undifferentiated and inadequate (1:576), but seems to indicate that the walls of the church are of varying thickness, and shows a curious buttress in the southern 'step' between the present nave and chancel, (the latter might only represent part of a former rood staircase). The west tower, probably an addition of the C14, is a fine structure faced with knapped flints; the only other addition to the Norman building is a Cl5 north aisle, also a good example of its type.

5.27 The church became redundant in 1952, was subsequently acquired by Colchester Borough Council, and now houses the Natural History Museum. This 'conversion' has enabled the building to remain essentially undisturbed, although internally most of the windows and monuments are unavoidably obscured by show-cases. Heavily restored in 1855-59, the building is in good order and well maintained. apart from the aisle roof which has leaked for a protracted period, damaging wall plaster and a monument.

The graveyard is small, well kept, and contains a number of unexceptional monumems. The ground level around the church has been lowered at some time. There was formerly a Rectory adjoining the churchyard to the west, but its site is now lost below the Post Office; and the graveyard has been encroached upon, particularly by the widening of High Street.

Archaeological assessment

5.28 All Saints' lies in the Roman forum-basilica complex, probably over its eastern range. It would be surprising if the foundations, at least, did not make use of the underlying Roman walls, as with St Nicholas's (5.30). As hinted above, it is possible that the nave, which looks Norman, is an addition to an earlier structure. Certainly the disposition of the church in relation to adjacent topographical features leaves little room for doubt that it was in existence before the High Street was given its southward deflection by the building of the castle bailey earthworks in the later C11.

5.29 There are no current threats to the archaeology of All Saints', but should the opportunity arise, the detailed examination of the fabric of the walls would be the first priority, in order to ascertain whether the church is of several builds. Excavation would be very difficult, since the site must be extensively disturbed by semi-recent burials but, if undertaken on a suitable scale, it would undoubtedly elucidate the relationship between the Roman and later structures and recover the plan of the lost sanctuary. It would be of the greatest value to discover to what use this part of the forum-basilica was put in the Anglo-Saxon period and at what stage the church of All Saints emerged on the site, either as a completely new structure or, as seems inherently more likely, as a 'conversion' of part of the Roman building.

Grading: BBIc.

4 St Nicholas's Church, High Street

5.30 *The church* stood on the south side of High Street, a little to the west of All Saints', and virtually in the centre of the town. The church and graveyard occupied an island bordered on the east by Long Wire Street, on the south by Culver Street and on the west by St Nicholas's Passage. In 1952 St Nicholas's church became redundant, was sold by auction and demolished in 1955. The site is now occupied by the Co-operative Society's departmental store.

5.31 The loss of St Nicholas's is an object lesson in several different senses; principally, it teaches us the penalty of ignoring that which is commonplace, 'modern' or lacking in superficial interest. Although it is scarcely two decades since the church was removed from Colchester's townscape, and whilst many remember it well, it is nevertheless staggering to discover just how little we really know about the church and its site. As far as can be ascertained, nothing approaching an adequate record was made of the church and its fittings before or during demolition. The fullest, although not entirely accurate, record, is in the RCHM, where the description is accompanied by a plan at 1:576.

5.32 St Nicholas's in its final form was the result of a massive programme of rebuilding and extension undertaken by Sir George Gilbert Scott in 1875-6, at a cost of £15,000. It was a large and not altogether displeasing building in the Victorian Gothic style, and the tower, which stood against the north wall of the nave, was a notable landmark which formed the centre-piece of the High Street and carried a spire (nearly 45 m high) that dominated the skyline. But it was still 'only Victorian', for which the penalty was, and often still is, condemnation and demolition. The loss was not only that of Scott's church, but also of the medieval building which was encapsulated in its north aisle. Details of the earlier structure, both in its pre-restoration form and in what survived after the 1875-6 rebuild, are woefully sparse. The RCHM recorded the church as being of the C14 and comprising a nave, chancel, crossing, transepts, aisles and north vestry. Certainly the south aisle and transept and the vestry disappeared in or by 1875. Morant's map shows a south porch and he mentions a north tower, apparently built over, or in place of the north transept (Fig. 10.4). The RCHM mistook the description for a crossing-tower, on account of Morant's report that, 'About fifty years ago [actually 1700], the Tower being grown ruinous, a workman from London was employed to repair it. Accordingly he began; but one day, as he was gone to dinner, the Tower fell upon the Body of the Church, and the Chancel, and beat the roof of both in . . . A new Belfry, built of timber and boards painted, was erected in 1729'. This was apparently constructed on the stump of the former north tower. The chancel, crossing and south transept were not repaired and are seen in their ruined condition in photographs of *c.* 1870. At this time the graveyard was extensively overgrown and the parish had evidently been in decline for a century or more. Indeed, Morant records that the parish dwindled in size between 1610 and 1748, due to inroads made by its neighbours. Earlier still, in 1514, there had been a proposal to unite St Nicholas's with St Mary 's, an odd union since the two parishes are not contiguous.

5.33 Since we do not know how much of the C14 church survived until 1955, we cannot begin to assess the survival of earlier remains. Controlled demolition would have been required for this. A Cl2 pillar-piscina is the earliest surviving detail. From the evidence of topographical layout it is clear that St Nicholas's, like All Saints', must pre-date the construction of the castle and the associated deflection of High Street. Excavation carried out after the demolition of St Nicholas's showed that the nave and chancel of the medieval church had Roman walls for their foundations (for observations on this see: Hull, 1960, 301f; Crummy, 1974, 27; Rodwell, 1975a, 36-7). The question which cannot now be answered is, how much Roman walling was upstanding and incorporated into the medieval church? Certainly, there is no real doubt that the first church on the site comprised a nave and chancel only, adapted from a standing Roman building, presumably sometime in the Anglo-Saxon period. The Roman structure was not a church, but was part of a major public building whose use has yet to be determined.

5.34 For church archaeology, the destruction of St Nicholas's was the greatest disaster seen in the Chelmsford Diocese since the last war, Not only has the church and its fascinating structural history been lost, but the below-ground archaeology has been annihilated too (save a small area which may still survive under the pavement of High Street). The site should have been fully investigated in the style of other contemporary church excavations, such as St Bride's, Fleet Street, London (Grimes, 1968, 182-97).

5.35 However, the need did not go unrecognized and the attempt was made; M R Hull recovered such information as the hopeless circumstances would permit. His own words summarize the disaster: '. . . the mechanical excavator which was used [by the contractors] to pull out the earth, together with foundations, tombs and coffins, just as they came, made a complete upheaval in which it was almost impossible to recognise even what one knew to be there, let alone discover something new'. Figure 11.4 shows the plan of the earliest church, as accurately as can be attained from the imperfect evidence. One interesting and curious feature which is worthy of mention is the 1.15 m square tank or pit which lay just inside the chancel, a little to the north of the east-west axis of the church. The tank had been timber-lined and its depth below floor-level must have been at least 2.5 m. It was filled in the late Saxon period, and while it could be construed as a pre-church domestic feature, there is no particular reason to believe that it was such.

5.36 *The graveyard* was originally fairly extensive but has now been largely destroyed; a small part. containing some re-erected tombstones, survives to the south of the new building. It constitutes a drab little garden, without interest or attractiveness, hardly worth the effort involved in retaining it. There was a rectory adjacent to the churchyard on the west.

Archaeological assessment

5.37 St Nicholas's was a church of fundamental importance as a townscape feature, as an historic building and as an archaeological site. All is now lost and we are merely left with a glimpse of its fascinating, but largely unrecorded history. Had it survived, it would have deserved high gradings, AIc or BIc.

5 Holy Trinity Church, Trinity Street

5.38 This *church* is often considered as architecturally the most important in Colchester on account of the fact that it is the only one to display *obvious* Anglo-Saxon work, namely the western tower. Holy Trinity has tended to over-shadow previous discussions of the early Church in Colchester. The survival of its early work may, like St Martin's, be due to its topographical position well back from the High Street frontage. Holy Trinity occupies a corner plot not far from the centre of the southern side of the walled town, in the south-east angle between Culver Street and Trinity Street. The church is also known to overlie a minor street junction on the Roman grid.

The church must have effectively blocked the street junction, from which it may be presumed that the area was not being used by through traffic at the time of construction. Since the general orientation of the Roman and post-Roman planned street grids in this part of the town is the same, it is difficult to argue which came first—the church or the post-Roman street grid.

5.39 In its present form the church comprises a nave, chancel, south aisle and south chapel, all of C14 and C15 date, plus, of course, the earlier west tower (Fig. 10.5). The north aisle and chapel were added in 1886. The RCHM provides a period-differentiated plan (1:300), which shows the west wall of the nave as the oldest part of the fabric. It is possible that the *plan* of the nave and the western half of the chancel should be associated with this early wall (but see 5:44); C14 and C19 arcades have removed virtually all the upstanding masonry of those parts. Thus originally the church was quite a modest structure and presumably terminated in a square-ended or stilted-apsidal chancel (as conjectured on Fig. 11.5). The date of this building is unknown, save that it was certainly Anglo-Saxon. To the western end of the nave was subsequently added the late Anglo-Saxon tower. This is a fine monument, of national architectural importance. It is well known and has been adequately described (see Taylor, 1965, 162-4); extensive use was made of Roman bricks and tiles in place of stone dressings.

5.40 The C19 restoration was drastic and left little of the ancient fabric intact except, mercifully, the tower. This is in need of cleaning and also requires a little repair work, but only under the most careful archaeological supervision. The architectural importance of Holy Trinity did not prevent its closure in 1952, when the parochial reorganization took place, and for many years argument raged over its ultimate fate. Few were inclined to sweep it away entirely, but others pressed for the demolition of the body of the church, leaving the tower standing in awkward and useless isolation. Ultimately, common-sense prevailed and it was sold to the Borough Council, to be fitted out, in 1974, as a museum of rural crafts. However, twenty years of indecision and lack of responsible maintenance or protection gave vandals the opportunity to well-nigh wreck the building. At great, and strictly unnecessary cost, the church has now been put into good order and appears well suited to its new role.

5.41 The conversion has been a most successful one and has done but little damage to the structure; no subdivision of the internal space has been necessary. It is a pity that a deliberate attempt was not made to display the west wall of the nave and the tower arch to better advantage, since these are the oldest features of the church (the wall is partly stripped of plaster and looks rather awkward). Most of the architectural detail of the interior is, however, clearly visible. The decorative scheme is both striking and attractive, and whilst one often deplores the overpainting of ancient stonework, it is as well to remember that it was often thus covered in medieval buildings. Holy Trinity represents a valuable experiment in an attempt to recreate the interior decor of a medieval church. It is perhaps regrettable that such an unauthentic colour as olive-green was chosen to cover most of the dressed stonework. Indeed, was it necessary to paint *all* the dressed stone? The south doorway looks particularly odd and dampness will soon disfigure the paint on the window mouldings. But most successful of all is the re-colouring of the carved stone label-stops on the arcades. Normally this is an exercise which is not undertaken in churches, and to many critics the result may look garish, but it is certainly instructive to see these figures re-dressed in their original colours (a fact not appreciated by some clergy who have recently voiced objections). A useful by-product of the re-colouring has been the re-identification of some of the animals depicted on the label-stops: what the RCHM described as 'dogs holding rabbits' are in fact cats and mice!

5.42 Minor complaints aside, Holy Trinity may be described as a splendid addition to the already impressive series of museums in Colchester.

The graveyard has been partly cleared and is maintained in an excessively tidy condition, as a public garden. There was no adjacent rectory, but a house in Trinity Street, opposite the church, formerly served as such.

Archaeological assessment

5.43 The archaeological importance of Holy Trinity church is somewhat different in emphasis from that of the other churches so far examined. Here, we are not seeking to discover the structural relationships between Roman and Saxon buildings, but need to find-out when and how the church came to be built over the Roman street junction. This is one of the rare instances where a Roman street is stratigraphically sealed by the erection of an Anglo-Saxon building. We have the chance to discover here the condition of the late Roman and early post-Roman streets. Hopefully, domestic rubbish might be found on the site to give a *terminus post quem* for the erection of the nave and chancel. Stratification and finds may be able to indicate the time-gap between the building of the first part of the church and the addition of the tower (which architecturally is placed around AD 1000).

5.44 The above-ground archaeological potential is largely confined to the tower and west wall of the nave, where detailed study should be undertaken before any further restoration works are allowed to proceed. The-opportunity to study the fabric of other parts of the church (internally) was missed when the building was being re-furbished for its present use. However, although much was obscured there was probably no serious destruction of information. The floor of the church (which includes a fair number of tomb-slabs) was left largely intact. although some areas of concrete were laid. Prior to this, a single trench was excavated in the nave floor near to the south-east corner. The excavator, Mr G M R Davies, kindly informed the writer that he located the former east wall of the Saxon church, a little west of the present line. The building was not constructed directly upon the Roman road, which was found to be overlaid by a thick layer of black earth containing sub-Roman and Anglo-Saxon pottery. Nothing was found to preclude a middle Saxon date for the first church, although positive dating could not be established.

Grading: AIb.

6 St Mary the Virgin's Church, Church Street North (St Mary-at-the-Wall)

5.45 The *church* occupies an anomalous and somewhat inaccessible position in the south-west corner of the walled town, immediately adjacent to 'St Mary's postern'; this is now known not to be a gate at all, but is the site of a Roman drain which passed through the wall. Very little is known of the medieval church of St Mary, and nothing of the Anglo-Saxon building which may have preceded it (see below). The earliest part of the present building is the stump of the early C16 west tower; the uppermost stage, along with the rest of the church, was destroyed in the Siege of 1648. Morant, who was for a time rector of this parish, described the incident in detail. The church lay in ruins until 1713-14, when it was rebuilt in brick on a more humble scale than was proposed at the outset: 'It is a plain neat Church, but not so substantial as ancienter Edifices of that kind'. Morant also records many interesting details of

material costs and of the furnishings, and records that 'the Churchyard was levelled, in the year 1714, and handsome gravel Walks made all round the Church, planted on each side with Lime trees, are very shady and pleasant in summer; And they being the best Walks about the whole Town, are much resorted to by people of the best fashion'. In 1729 the upper stage of the damaged tower was rebuilt in brick.

5.46 However, the church proved to be inadequate for the aspirations of the Victorian congregation and was demolished in 1872, leaving only the tower standing. The Georgian church was replaced by the present red brick structure, designed by Sir Arthur Blomfield. It is a very solid and rather cumbersome building, but is in good order and houses several important monuments.

The graveyard is historically more important than the church itself. It is the largest in area in Colchester and is a rare example of an early Cl8 planned layout (5.45) and Morant's description of its pre-eminence, 200 years ago, is equally valid today. It is well kept, pleasantly foliated, and contains a tine collection of C18 and C19 monuments of various kinds. There can be no doubt that it is one of the most important graveyards in the Diocese. It must be maintained in its present condition and protected from any threat of depredation which might arise under the euphemism of 'churchyard tidying'. Some monuments are in need of repair and should not be allowed to deteriorate further. A small part of the churchyard has been invaded by modern cremations.

Archaeological assessment

5.47 There are no current threats to the archaeology of the church or graveyard, but should any disturbance of the floors or ground take place, excavation would be necessary. We need to recover the exact plan of the Cl8 church (which is known only from photographs, etc.) and elucidate the size, layout and date of its predecessor (of which the surviving tower stood at the north-west corner). Somewhere an Anglo-Saxon structure should await discovery: perhaps it lies under the present church, or equally it may be a little to the south (nearer the centre of the churchyard). Its presence is implied by the discovery, in 1962, of inhumation burials of an interesting type, just south of the present churchyard (but still inside the town wall). The burials were excavated by B P Blake but have not been published. Their special interest lies in the fact that rough lumps of stone and tile were used to line the graves, and in particular were placed around the skulls, This technique is indicative of a pre-Conquest date, and may well go back to the middle Saxon period (not to be confused with medieval 'lined' graves). Similar graves, probably of that era, have been found at Rivenhall (see 6.16) and at St Bride's, Fleet Street, London (Grimes, 1968, 184). while those at St Mary's were thought, at the time of excavation, to be of the C9. but on what evidence it is not clear. It seems quite likely that St Mary's churchyard once extended as far as the south wall of the town and has been encroached upon in medieval times, concurrently the site of the church itself may have shifted northwards.

5.48 The medieval church was apparently built on the site of a substantial Roman town house and, in the C18, fragments of its mosaic pavements were encountered in grave digging in various parts of the churchyard (Morant, 1748, iii, 21; see also Hull, 1958, 207-8).

Grading: CIb/c.

7 St Runwald's Church, High Street

5.49 *The church* formerly occupied an island in the middle of the High Street, opposite the end of West Stockwell Street; it had an interesting and chequered history which was terminated by demolition in 1878. The building is known from old photographs, etc., and from Buckler's description (which included a useful plan at a scale of 1:144). The form of the original church can be ascertained with some certainty: it comprised a rectangular nave, with opposing doorways (and possibly a west door as well), and a square chancel. The proportions of the building, the thickness of its walls (described as 'nearly three feet') and the dedication, would all accord well with a foundation of the later Anglo-Saxon period (Fig. 11.7).

5.50 Historically, there were probably three Runwalds, of which the one in question here is generally thought to be the obscure child saint who lived in the C8. It is unlikely that a church occupying a prominent position in a major town would receive such a dedication after the Norman conquest. In the late medieval period the church was extended by the addition of a north chancel-aisle and vestry (Fig. 10.7), and a range of shops became attached to its east end. Known as 'Middle Row', these shops probably represented permanent replacements of market stalls; they were demolished a few years before the church.

5.51 In the late C17 the church was stated to be in need of repair, and in 1760 it was restored 'having lain useless for 100 years'. In 1844 a union with St Nicholas's parish was proposed, but not effected until 1873; five years later St Runwald's was demolished, giving back to the High Street a breadth which it had not enjoyed for many centuries. Even in Morant's time it was said that 'the Church stands inconveniently, and much in the way'.

5.52 Photographs show the building as thoroughly Georgianized, and Buckler complains that 'the construction of the walls, at the reparation, was effectively obscured by plaster and paint'. They were, however, of coursed flint rubble, where not rebuilt in Cl8 brick. Possibly the loss of the building did not deprive us of a notable piece of architecture, either Anglo-Saxon or Georgian, but on the other hand we do not know what archaeological secrets it held. Materials from the demolition of St Runwald's were dispersed to several locations: the Cl5 north arcade was re-erected at St Albright's, Stanway (18B).

The graveyard was at some distance from the church. It still exists, on the corner of St Runwald's Street and West Stockwell Street. It is very small, overgrown and has no distinguishing features. It is, however, a most unusual and historic element of the townscape which needs to be put in order before it disappears, unnoticed, in yet another comprehensive redevelopment scheme. This detached graveyard is unique in the Diocese, but instances are known elsewhere (for example Bristol). It should be listed or scheduled. Prior to 1544, St Runwald's had a rectory on North Street (Hill).

Archaeological assessment

5.53 It has often been assumed that St Runwald's must be one of the earliest churches in the town, largely on account of its dedication, but this view is contradicted by the topographical evidence. Indeed, it was probably one of the last to be founded, although still within the Saxon period. It has recently been assumed that because the church is on the High Street frontage it must therefore be early (Crummy, 1974, 33). It is, however, more likely to be an intrusion on an existing market place and, as Professor Martin has observed (1959, 30), it was in the hands of a family of country gentry, which suggests the possibility that it was founded for a group of 'manorial' burgesses. St Runwald's parish has clearly been cut out from several adjacent parishes of earlier origin (5.102 and Fig. 13) and the church probably only acquired burial rights

some time after its foundation. The fact that the graveyard is so far from the church suggests that the area around St Runwald's was thoroughly built up at the time, so that a more conveniently situated plot could not be found. The distantly removed rectory is another indication of the late, piecemeal development of the parish.

5.54 Archaeologically, the site of St Runwald's has been virtually forgotten but it is still there, under the road, and in all probability its foundations survive in part. Excavations in the High Street in connection with public services are not uncommon and the opportunity should be (or have been) taken to search for and record the foundations of the church and to elucidate their relationship to the underlying features and deposits (which might include Roman buildings, the main street, or the Anglo-Saxon market place). Clearly, the main question to be asked of St Runwald's is, at what date did it encroach upon the market place? The creation of the latter must have involved the removal (or cutting back) of buildings from the northern frontage of the Roman main street. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that this action was associated with the re-planning of the intra-mural street grid.

Grading: Had the church survived, CIIa might have been appropriate.

8 St James's (the Great) Church, High Street

5.55 *The church* is the largest and without doubt the most architecturally impressive in Colchester: Morant described it as 'large, regular and tolerably handsome'. It is situated just inside the east gate of the town, on the south side of the main east-west thoroughfare. Its position is commanding, since the ground falls away rapidly, particularly to the east of the church. The present building is essentially of the perpendicular period (Fig. 10.8), but only reached its final form through a series of constructional phases, which can be followed in the fabric. The church is light and spacious internally and moderately ornamented; the long nave and chancel are almost fully aisled. The building, which is generally in good condition, has been described in some detail by the RCHM, but the lack of a period-differentiated plan is a serious omission. St James's is a most interesting and complex structure which still awaits careful architectural study. This is now a somewhat difficult task on account of the substantial restoration of 1870-l) which was occasioned by the closing of' the church in 1869, when it was said to be in a dangerous condition.

5.56 Traces of the early medieval form of St James's can be detected by, for example, the remains of the Roman brick quoins of the once aisleless nave. As at St Peter's church (5.14), St James's can be reduced to an early medieval transeptal building by stratigraphical dissection. Indeed, it is remarkable how alike they are in proportions and dimensions. Could the same architect have been responsible for both? (see Fig. 11.8 and compare with 11. 1; but note the east end of St James's is conjectural).

5.57 Tradition says that a shrine of wattle and daub stood here for the use of travellers arriving at the east gate of the town. Certainly the large transeptal building encapsulated in the present church cannot be regarded as that shrine; St James's must have been rebuilt by the C12 at the latest.

Fittings: The most important are the two late brasses and the altar slab with consecration crosses, from St Martin's church.

The graveyard is fairly small, in relation to the size of the church; it is quite pleasant and well kept. There are several C18 tombstones of interest and a certain amount of clearance and re-siting of headstones has taken place in the past. It is to be hoped that there will be no further disturbances, although unsightly cremations are beginning to invade an area near the tower. The rectory is not adjacent to the church, but lies on East Hill, outside the town wall (cf. St Runwald's).

Archaeological assessment

5.58 Virtually nothing is known of the archaeology of this corner of the town, either of the Roman or later periods, but in all probability St James's overlies Roman buildings. There has been a considerable build-up of deposits; the graveyard is several metres higher than the ground level immediately to the east, outside the town wall. Any opportunity to investigate the early history of this church and its predecessors and to examine their relationship to underlying Roman features should be seized. Unfortunately, one or two potential opportunities have been missed in the last two decades. Disturbances in the graveyard have been occasioned by building works on the south side of the church and not only have they perhaps destroyed archaeological evidence, but they have completely wrecked the southern aspect of St James's. Extending southwards from the aisle is a long, low building reminiscent of a post-war 'prefab', but covered with pebbledash. It was built in 1954, being described as 'temporary'. But this is only part of the eyesore, for in the south-west angle between the tower and the nave is a cluster of fairly recent, ugly little sheds which house heating apparatus. It is surprising that planning permission could ever have been granted for such a tragic disfigurement of Colchester's finest church.

5.59 A useful account of the church, published by M M Martin in 1954, records other archaeological losses, such as 'in 1951 the chancel was cleared of Victorian choir stalls and as far as possible the medieval levels were restored'. This disturbance to the chancel floor should have been accompanied by a proper archaeological investigation. In 1843 Wm Wire recorded that a sedilia was discovered 'and some fragments of wall painting in the distemper. Nothing satisfactory could be made out as they scaled off with the white-wash'. St James's also possesses an early record of churchyard depredation, since in 1834 the parish clerk was discovered to have taken up grave-stones and applied them to his own use elsewhere.

Grading: AIb.

9 St Botolph's Priory Church, Priory Street

5.60 We must now turn to the extra-mural churchcs. The first to consider is St Botolph's which is the only extra-mural parish to possess intra-mural land, the historical significance of which should not be overlooked (the piece in question is clearly cut out of the parishes of All Saints and St Nicholas—5.102).

The *church* lies just outside the south-east gate of the Roman and medieval town. It has little documented history, but what is known suggests that it was an important institution in the Saxo-Norman period. Before the foundation of the Priory of St Julian and St Botolph (probably with St Denis as well), sometime between 1093 and 1100, there existed a church here dedicated to St Botolph, a C7 East Anglian abbot, It was served by a small company of priests. The clergy did not belong to any monastic order and thus almost certainly served a minster church and exactly where this stood remains unknown, but there is no reason to believe that it does not lie under the later priory complex.

5.61 The foundation of the priory itself was a landmark in the history of English monasticism, since it was the first house of Augustinian Canons in Britain, and was granted authority

over all other houses of that order which were founded in this country. The adoption of the Augustinian rule did not entirely eliminate St Botolph's from secular life and part of the priory church retained parochial status.

5.62 At the Dissolution (1536) the priory was suppressed and its conventual buildings thoroughly demolished. Presumably the nave (or greater part thereof) of the priory church remained in parochial use, since it was the only portion of the building which was not razed. However, Cromwell's troops took over where Henry VIII's commissioners desisted, and the church was battered to ruins in the Siege of 1648. Morant informs us that, 'till our unhappy civil wars, the Church was look'd upon as the Chief in the Town; where the Corporation resorted in their Formalities on Sundays and other public Occasions . . .' Certainly, when one compares the parochial nave and aisles of St Botolph's with the late medieval churches in Colchester (Fig. 10), its pre-eminence is not hard to appreciate. In the early Middle Ages the contrasting size of St Botolph's and the other churches must have been even more striking.

5.63 Eventually the present church of St Botolph was built in 1836-8 to replace the ruined structure. The new building is of yellow brick, in the Norman style, and probably overlies the south cloister-range. The Norman ruins, now in the Guardianship of the Department of the Environment, are impressive: the west front with its complex doorway of five moulded orders and its double tier of intersecting blind arcading above is particularly noteworthy. Pevsner (1954, 122) described the church as 'the most important and impressive ecclesiastical monument of Colchester'.

The graveyard continued in use well into the C19, with the start of large-scale burial in the nave itself in the C18. Ground level rose by about a metre and when the site was taken into Guardianship in 1912 the ruins were cleared and the ground lowered. Such was the unfortunate treatment (from the archaeological point of view) of many great monastic houses in the earlier part of this century. Various finds were made, including glazed medieval floor tiles, and undoubtedly there was a certain amount of archaeological destruction of which there is no record. The graveyard has been generally 'tidied', but not totally cleared; it is now a public garden.

Archaeological assessment

5.64 St Botolph's was almost certainly a minster foundation of the Anglo-Saxon period and as such is of great importance. Historically, the priory too was of some significance. A great deal could be learned about both by controlled archaeological excavation and while the Guardianship area is fortunately safe from destructive threats, the majority of the site is not thus protected and could be threatened at any time by redevelopment. The transepts, crossing and the whole of the east end of the great church are entirely unknown and lie under private property. The cloister and its ranges await elucidation, and should any disturbances to the ground in or around the Cl9 church be contemplated they should be preceded by adequate archaeological excavation.

5.65 There is, of course, no information regarding the foundation date of the first church on the site, which could be as early as the C7. The situation is very appropriate for the dedication, since churches of St Botolph often lie at town gates on account of the Saint's connection with travellers (cf. London). Moreover, details relating to the topography and archaeology of the site add further interest. The church lies in an extensive Roman cemetery, and the possibility that it was built on the site of a Roman cemetery-church is real. Evidence is urgently needed here. Roman burials have been found around St Botolph's on all sides and a tessellated floor just to the north (i.e. between the priory and the town wall) is perhaps more likely to be associated with a cemetery building than with a private house (Hull, 1958, pl. XLIV). There are also tantalizingly inadequate records of Anglo-Saxon burials being found around St Botolph's (Meaney, 1964, 86).

Grading: The priory church, AIc; the Victorian church, BIb.

10 St Giles's Church, St John's Green

5.66 *The church* lies on the northern boundary of St John's Abbey precinct, just to the south of the walled town and a little to the west of St Botolph's. It is generally believed that St Giles's was a Norman foundation, possibly for the servants and tenants of the abbey. Certainly, it appears to be closely associated with St John's and stood within the abbey precinct (Cater, 1919). A Cl2 foundation date for the present church of St Giles would not be inappropriate for the proportions of the structure, which initially comprised a long narrow nave and a rectangular chancel (if the eastern part of the chancel, which contains a C13 window, is to be regarded as original, and not a rebuild of a shorter or apsidal east end). Possibly there was an original west tower, the remains of the opening to which are clearly visible in the west wall of the nave. Roman brick was used extensively in the Norman structure. A north aisle and chapel were added, probably in the C14 (Fig. 10.10), since when the church has been in decline: in 1748 Morant recorded that 'only the Chancel, and a very small part of the Church, are now used for Divine Service, the rest lying in ruins'. By this time the medieval tower had disappeared and had been succeeded by a slighter timber structure, which still exists. Worley stated that the church 'was almost entirely rebuilt in 1907', but this is certainly an exaggeration. It had previously had a major restoration in 1819.

5.67 St Giles's became redundant under the 1952 parochial reorganization, and after a period of use as a store, it became a Masonic Hall. The building is in a sad state of repair: the windows are boarded over; much of the fabric is in need of repointing, and some dressed stonework requires replacement; the weather boarding of the tower has recently been repaired, but still looks decrepit. Architecturally the church is a mixture of many styles and periods (the earliest being a Norman window in the nave), but none is individually outstanding. Perhaps the most important features are the C14 north door of two leaves and the early C16 brick porch on the south side, which is also in a sorry state (5.68).

Monument. In the church is the vault, with inscribed cover slab, containing the bodies of the Royalist captains, Lucas and Lyle, renowned, and shot for, their distinguished role in the defence of Colchester in 1648.

The graveyard has been totally cleared, without recording, and in 1973-4 it was subjected to a drastic bulldozing operation. The whole area to the south of the church was lowered by 1-2 m, which must have destroyed a substantial slice of its archaeology. The bulldozing of a ramp and the construction of an access road at the east end of the chancel will have obliterated all stratigraphy there. The RCHM records that 'the churchyard has incorporated in the north and east walls many worked stones from the abbey, including several portions of an interesting wall-arcade of the C12'. The east wall was demolished *c.* 1972.

Archaeological assessment

5.68 Second to St Nicholas's, St Giles's has suffered the most thorough archaeological destruction amongst Colchester's churches. The bulldozing of the graveyard exposed a long stretch of the Norman nave foundations. These, as with much

of the rest of the ancient fabric, need immediate recording before any repair work takes place. An unexpected discovery was that of the Norman south doorway, not on the site of the present doorway and porch, but close to the western end of the nave (Fig. Il. 10). The door-jambs are of Roman brick.

5.69 The most serious effect of lowering the churchyard has, however, been that the structural stability of the early C16 porch has been endangered. This fine little brick porch has been perched on an island of unstable soil for over a year, with its foundations exposed and unsupported. This action was *followed* by an application for listed building consent to demolish the porch and replace it with an extension to the church. This application was refused. The porch could easily be used as a link structure between the old and new buildings, a role which would save it from destruction and put it to practical use. Concurrently, the interior of the church is being remodelled, which involves the digging out of the floor. The Colchester Archaeological Unit has excavated inside the church in connection with this threat.

5.70 Clearly, a great deal has been lost at St Giles's and much remains to be done both by way of architectural study and excavation of the surviving deposits inside the church and in the graveyard to the south. St Giles's has a particular historical value, in that it fairly certainly post-dates the foundation of St John's Abbey in 1096. At the same time, it is unlikely to be later than the mid C12. It is, therefore, one of the few early medieval parish churches in the area to which a foundation date-bracket may be assigned. The full plan of the original church would be a valuable acquisition, since there is uncertainty about the termination of both its east and west ends.

5.71 If we are to seek a reason for the siting of St Giles's it may be appropriate to consider it as the successor to the Anglo-Saxon church which is known to have existed on or near this spot, prior to the foundation of the abbey, The existence of this church, which was served by a priest called Siric, is recorded in a manuscript (now in the British Museum) which discusses the foundation of the abbey. It is a difficult document to understand or reconcile with the more accurate cartulary of St John's, but it nevertheless provides us with a most precise topographical description of the site upon which the abbey was to be built. '. . . Siricus the priest had his dwelling and a church, built of wooden boards, dedicated to St John the Evangelist.' The account makes it plain that the church was on the north-facing slope of the slight hill upon which the abbey was built (i.e. it must have been in the general vicinity of St Giles's). The description suggests that the construction of the church may have been in the Greensted style, with vertical abutting boards or split logs, set either in a wall trench or till-beam. This type of construction is now being recognized archaeologically in church excavations (Rodwell, 1973d, 220-2). The possibility that Siric's church may lie under St Giles's should not be overlooked (for an alternative, but less likely identification, see below, 5.89). The site of St Giles's has an earlier archaeological importance, too, since it is known to lie in or immediately adjacent to a major Roman cemetery, and bulldozing revealed a scatter of domestic debris from the late C1 onwards.

Grading: CIc.

11 St Mary Magdalene's Church, Magdalen street

5.72 *The church* is situated on the north side of the street, on what was formerly Magdalen Green, nearly 1 km east-south-east of St Botolph's gate. The present structure was built in 1853, to replace a medieval church which lay a short distance to the north. Morant described it as a 'very small building' while Grose (1849) published an engraving of the church and Hadfield illustrates the south doorway. Nothing is visible of this structure today, and its site probably lies under the northernmost end of the present graveyard. The church was the sole surviving part of St Mary's leper hospital, founded by Eudo *dapifer* in the late C11. The hospital was dissolved in 1547 and refounded in 1610 (the almshouses in Brook Street representing the latter foundation).

5.73 The C19 church is a drab building with little historic interest; it is faced with knapped flints on a brick and rubble core (probably containing much medieval stonework from the hospital). The facing flints are falling away at the east end and the soft limestone dressings around the windows and doorways are badly decayed. The cost of maintaining this building will be great.

The graveyard is a fairly large, walled area, now disused, with few monuments: presumably clearance has taken place in the past. The monuments include a few heavily weathered C18 headstones and some C19 tombs, only one of which is of real interest: a box-tomb with iron railings.

Archaeological assessment

5.74 Both the church and graveyard lack character and interest and in view of the poor condition of the former it should come as no surprise if, in a few years time, redevelopment of this down-town area is proposed. Should any part of Eudo's hospital site become threatened, full excavation should take place. We are, at present, ignorant of all the material aspects of this foundation. It would be valuable to establish the building techniques employed by the dapifer in the late C11.

Grading: DIa.

12 St Leonard's Church, The Hythe

5.75 As its local name (St Leonard's at the Hythe) implies, the church lies on the river Colne, about 2 km east-south-east of St Botolph's gate.

The church is a large and complex structure, with a fully aisled nave and chancel and a west tower. Most of the surviving work is of the Cl4 and C15. The RCHM published an undifferentiated plan at 1:576. but the church deserves bettcr. The ground plan of the building is interesting for the marked misalignment of the chancel to the nave which is presumably a relic of an earlier plan. Pevsner described the church as 'impressive, but much restored' (this was undertaken in 1898). St Leonard's was one of the first churches to suffer damage in the Siege and it was also shaken by the 1884 earthquake. The history of its restoration has been chequered: for example, the repair of the tower was described by Manning (1884, 353) thus: 'The upper storey of the tower is a monument of a *crime* (his italics). The tower had fallen in, when the churchwardens of about 60 years ago undertook to restore it. They erected the present hideous superstructure of red brick, and finding that the cost exceeded the funds in hand by £70, they sold one of the finest bells to supply the deficiency'. The church is at present in a reasonable state of repair, but some stonework is in need of attention.

The graveyard is of moderate sire, disused, and is kept mown. It has few C19 monuments and partial clearance has taken place, with the headstones placed along the boundary. Examination of the churchyard is difficult since all points of access have been barricaded and the church is kept locked. Burial has probably been intensive and Manning (1884, 353) recorded that 'the proportions of the tower are sadly marred

by the fact of the soil of the churchyard having been raised to the height of the old west door by the burials of successive generations'. The ground level is still high, but in places it was drastically cut down in the C19.

Archaeological assessment

5.76 This church has potential for internal excavation, and should the opportunity arise it must not be missed. An item which awaits discovery is the old font, which Manning described as 'a very shabby structure' (meaning very old?); it was buried in the north chapel 'to avoid desecration'. It would be valuable to obtain dating evidence for the foundation of St Leonard's, since this may well have a bearing on the creation of the Hythe as Colchester's port. It is referred to as the 'New Hythe' in 1311 and it has been generally supposed that the area in question, including St Leonard's, developed as a suburb in the C12, the previous harbour being at Old Heath (Hythe), a little way down-river.

5.77 This is an instance where the historical development of the church is likely to be closely linked with the economic development of the port. It is not known whether the Roman harbour lay here, or at Old Heath; if the former, then there could well be Roman structures under or around St Leonard's. The archaeology of the whole area is at present a blank.

Grading: BBIb

Non-parochial churches

5.78 Although this survey does not discuss chapels and monastic foundations which never achieved parochial status, an exception has been made in the case of Colchester. By briefly mentioning the non-parochial structures it is possible to present a total picture of the ecclesiastical archaeology of an important Roman, Anglo-Saxon and medieval town. Parish churches did not exist in isolation and they should not be viewed archaeologically as though they did. Any sound academic assessment of the history of the Christian Church in Colchester must take all the contributory factors into account.

Monastic houses

5.79 These have already been touched upon, where their role included a parochial commitment. The houses may be listed as follows:

St Botolph's Priory

This has been discussed above (5.60-65). Nothing is known of the structure apart from the parochial nave.

St John's Abbey

The late medieval gatehouse survives and the line of the precinct wall is known; see also St Giles's Church, 5.66-71. Nothing is known of the monastic church or of the conventual buildings, which are of particular archaeological importance on account of the fact that two sets of these buildings await discovery. The earlier buildings lay to the north of the monastic church but, owing to the noisy distraction of Colchester's southern suburb, the conventual buildings were transferred to the south side. In 1133 it is recorded that 'This monastery and nearly the whole of Colchester were burnt, and all the workshops, which were originally on the north side, under the town wall, were removed to the south side of the church': *TEAS(ns)* **16** (1923), 124.

St Mary Magdalene's Hospital

This has been discussed above (5.72-74); nothing is known of its buildings.

House of the Crouched Friars

This C13 foundation lay somewhere off Crouch Street, just to the south-west of the walled town. Nothing is known of its buildings.

House of the Grey Friars

Another C13 friary was founded inside the town, between the castle and the east wall. Our total evidence for their house is limited to a short length of drain.

5.80 Thus our knowledge of the structural history, layout and architecture of the monastic houses of Colchester is negligible, and it is one of the most urgent tasks of archaeology to rectify this situation, as and when the sites of these foundations become subject to redevelopment schemes.

Other churches and chapels

5.81 Largely through the medium of archaeology, we are better informed about these structures than about monastic houses, and the relevance of chapels to the study of the origins and development of the early Church in Colchester is perhaps greater than it might at first seem. The buildings in question are numbered according to the parishes in which they lie and are distinguished from the parochial churches by the addition of lower-case suffix letters. The actual number of chapels remains unknown, since some are probably unrecorded. In addition to those discussed below, the following are recorded, but nothing is known of their structures or even of their locations: a chapel of St Andrew existed by 1188; in 1363 there was a chapel of St Mary-on-the-Green, near St John's Abbey; in the early Cl3 a chapel of St Thomas in 'the suburb' of Colchester is mentioned and in 1376 the chantry of St Thomas the Martyr upon St John's Green is recorded (Fowler, 1923, 109).

8a St Anne's Chapel, Harwich Road

5.82 This lay alongside the main road leading out of the town in a north-easterly direction, about 1 km from the east gate. The chapel, which was in the parish of St James, was certainly in existence by 1388, but its origin is unknown. St Anne's Holy Well lay adjacent. In Morant's time the chapel was used as a barn, but was subsequently demolished. Nothing is known of its archaeology and the site has been built upon.

4a St Helen's Chapel, Maidenburgh Street

5.83 This is a building of the first importance. It now consists of a single-celled structure attached to the end of a row of houses in Maidenburgh Street, at its junction with St Helen's Lane. According to the Colchester Chronicle Eudo *dapifer* restored St Helen's in 1076, at the same time as he was building the Castle. The fact that Eudo restored the chapel presumably indicates that it had fallen into a state of disrepair; there is no evidence to suggest that he built it *ab initio* or that he changed its site. The Chronicle is quite specific:

> *Anno domini Mlxxvi Eudo Dapifer castrum Colocestrie construxit in ffundo palacii Coelis quondam regis et capellam Sancti Helene quam ut dicitur ipsa construxit renovavit et Sancto Iohanni contradidit.*

5.84 The present building (Fig. 10.4a), which lies in St Nicholas's parish, shows no architectural features earlier than the C13, apart from the lower courses of the north wall. Here, the first metre or so is certainly of Roman construction; above this the wall has been extensively refaced in the C19 and thus the date of its core is uncertain. The chapel has had a chequered history since Eudo's restoration: it must have been

restored again in the C13, when the present windows were inserted; it fell into disuse early in the C14; it then became a chantry, which was suppressed in due course; subsequently it became a Quaker Meeting House; then a furniture store; and now it is a store for archaeological finds in the care of Colchester Museum. The chapel is well looked after and is in good order, apart from the semi-ruinous west porch. The restoration of 1883-6 by William Butterfield was undertaken with his customary thoroughness. The interior walls are all covered with Cl9 plaster and there is a ceiling of similar date which hides the roof timbers; the wood-block floor is modern.

The graveyard does not belong to the chapel as such, but to the period when it was in use as a Quaker Meeting House. The graveyard is fairly small, lies to the west of the chapel, and has been thoroughly 'tidied'. A certain amount of levelling has taken place (probably in the C19) and the ground has been lowered on the north side of the chapel, thus exposing the Roman work.

Archaeological assessment

5.85 Fortunately there are no current or foreseeable threats to the archaeology of St Helen's, but there remains a number of crucial questions, which research excavation may eventually answer. There is a very strong tradition of the personal association between the empress Helena and Colchester and it is by no means unlikely that the original St Helen's chapel was a Roman foundation, but this is virtually incapable of proof. Is the present building essentially a Roman structure? Or is it an Anglo-Saxon adaptation of the ruins of a Roman public building? It has been suggested, with good reason, that the north wall of the chapel is part of the Roman theatre (Hull, 1977). Certainly there is a massive Roman building underlying Maidenburgh Street and St Helen's, but the date of its demolition is unknown. Plaster stripping and a detailed study of the wall fabrics could also tell us much about the above-ground archaeology of St Helen's. From a purely academic point of view, the study of this building is long overdue, and its importance to the early medieval history of Colchester has been rightly emphasized (Crummy, 1974, 27).

Grading: AIa.

3a 'Castle Bailey' Chapel

5.86 Excavations in 1932-3 immediately south of the castle revealed the foundations of a hitherto unknown church or chapel. There are at least two periods of construction: the first is said to be a single-celled apsidal structure (of exactly the same size as Little Braxted church; 99); the second was a partial rebuilding, together with a squaring of the east end. It appears to be more complicated than this. Two doorways are known: one in the west end, which is possibly the original, and one in the south wall, perhaps an insertion of a later period (Figs. 10.3a and 11.3a). The first-period structure is probably pre-Norman and its siting is curious. It lies askew to the castle and, at its nearest point, it is less than 2 m from a corner tower. The chapel must have been both an inconvenience and a defensive hazard, so close to the main entrance to the castle. Yet there is no doubt that both castle and chapel existed side by side; and when a new fore-building was erected over the castle entrance, probably in the C13, its plan had to be adapted to accommodate the chapel (for a detailed plan and brief discussion, see Clarke, 1966, 22; a fuller report is awaited with interest: Hull, 1976). Perhaps the most plausible explanation for the chapel's siting is that it was on a site of great religious significance; it has been suggested that this might be the original church of St Helena. It may be no coincidence that the 'bailey chapel' was built in a prominent place in the precinct of the great Roman temple (now under the Norman castle), which might have been converted into an important Christian church by the end of the Roman period, as was common practice in other parts of the Empire. It is interesting to observe that the 'bailey chapel' and the undated range of masonry buildings to the south of it are aligned not on the Roman structures or on the Norman keep, but on the post-Roman planned street grid, the nearest element of which is Maidenburgh Street (see Fig. 9).

The graveyard of the 'bailey chapel' is of unknown extent, but there certainly was one, since skeletons have been found scattered over a fairly wide area to the south of the castle. In the chapel itself, burials were found in the four corners of the building, but not in the centre or in the apse. Another group of skeletons was found at the entrance to the keep, being overlaid by the fore-building. Do these burials pre-date the erection of the castle? Finally, a single burial was found in 1964 in an unpublished excavation just to the south-west of the keep. It was dug into the foundations of the demolished temple precinct wall, but was in turn partly cut away by the castle ditch; in several places human bones derived from disturbed burials have been found in the Norman castle bank.

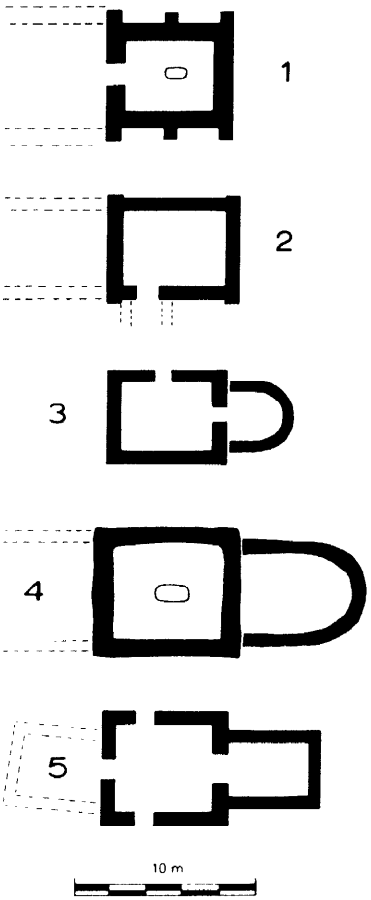
Archaeological assessment

5.87 The discovery of the 'bailey chapel' is clearly a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the churches of Colchester, but little else can be said until the final excavation report is published.

10a Church in St John's Abbey grounds

5.88 Excavation in 1972 in the monastic cemetery of St John's Abbey, a little to the south-east of St Giles's church, revealed part of another unknown church or chapel. It was situated in a late Roman cemetery and overlay some of the graves, but in turn the church had been demolished by the early medieval period, when the area became part of the new monastic cemetery. The church therefore belongs to the Anglo-Saxon era. The discovery is so recent that only plans and a brief note have yet been published (Crummy, 1974, 29; *Med. Archaeol.* **17** (1973), 139) and we must await the final report for discussion of the many important questions which this raises. However, some preliminary discussion may not be out of place here. The church is stated to be of two periods (see Fig. 11.10a): the first comprised a square nave with a stilted apsidal chancel, the full width of which, although not uncovered in the excavation, can be reconstructed geometrically; in the second period the church was converted to a three-cell structure by the addition of a new nave to the west (its length is unknown and on Fig. 11.10a it is shown reconstructed with proportions of 2:1—it is unlikely to have been much shorter).

5.89 It has been suggested that this was Siric's church but, although a very tempting and attractive identification, it seems highly improbable on architectural grounds. Siric's church was built of wooden boards (see 5:71), whereas the newly discovered structure has masonry foundations, and not of a type which would be likely to carry a timber superstructure: in particular, the broad foundations of the square nave are indicative of a substantial masonry building. (They are wider than those of a Holy Trinity tower and enclose a larger square; they could have supported a structure at least as tall as Holy Trinity). The foundations of the apsidal chancel are, however, narrower, which might indicate that they are not contemporary, or that the chancel was a less substantial construction. Should the former explanation prove correct, we are left with an isolated foundation for a square tower-like building, and the fact that a large Roman grave lies exactly in the centre (Crummy, 1974. 29; grave 15: shown here on Fig. 11.10a) invites the question: is this structure a re-used Roman marytyrium or mausoleum? If the square nave and chancel are unambiguously of one build, *ab initio,* then it would seem most



1. Stone-by-Faversham, Kent.
2. St Martin's, Canterbury
3. St Mary's in Tanner Street, Winchester
4. Colchester, church 10a
5. Barton-on-Humber, Lincs.

12 Comparative plans of reused Roman and Saxon structures in Anglo-Saxon churches.

likely that the church comprised a tower-nave and a single-storey chancel. Churches of this type are unknown in the area and the nearest parallel is perhaps Barton-on-Humber, S. Humberside (Fig. 12.5; Taylor, 1965, 52-7), although there the tower-nave is of slighter construction than Colchester 10a (Fig. 12.4). With the possible re-use of a Roman structure in mind, we may recall the church at Stone-by-Faversham, Kent, where a square building—a martyrium or mausoleum—was incorporated in an Anglo-Saxon church (Fig. 12.1; Fletcher and Meates, 1969). Note the comparable pit (? grave) in the centre of the building. Another parallel exists in St Martin's, Canterbury, where a structure similar to that at Stone-by-Faversham was incorporated in the church in a like fashion (Fig. 12.2; Taylor, 1965, 575; Jenkins, 1965). Finally, we may mention St Mary in Tanner Street, Winchester, where the church was created by adding a stilted apsidal chancel to a pre-existing middle Saxon secular building (Fig. 12.3; Biddle, 1973, 243).

Archaeological assessment

5.90 This church is the most important addition to our knowledge of ecclesiastical archaeology in Colchester since the discovery of the 'castle bailey chapel'. It is to be hoped that the unexcavated portions of this structure will become available for examination before too long.

6a Apsidal building in Denmark Street

5.91 The building was found by excavation in 1935 and partially explored then and again in 1965 (Hull, 1958, 245; Dunnett, 1971,78-82). It lies some 200 m south-west of the south gate of the walled town (Fig. 9), close to known Roman cemeteries. The building comprises a long, narrow 'nave', with an apsidal recess at the east end (Fig. 11.6a). There is no evidence to show that it ever served as a Christian church, but its plan, orientation and siting are compatible with such an interpretation. It is highly probable that the building was a religious structure and it is included here on the grounds that it is a *potential* Roman church. The problems inherent in trying to tie down a religious building to one particular sect in the Roman period, on the basis of ground plan alone, are well known and the pitfalls are great (cf. Toynbee, 1953, 7). While the Denmark Street building could be a church, it could just as easily be a synagogue. To date, no Roman synagogues have been recognized in Britain, but they are well known elsewhere in the Empire, and it is instructive to compare the Denmark Street building with the plan of the period 3 synagogue at Sardis. Although the latter is larger, they both have a nave length-width ratio of 4:1 and a very small unstilted apse at one end (Gutmann, 1973).

5.92 Although the Denmark Street building was badly disturbed and no floor levels survived, it is possible that full excavation might reveal dating evidence for its construction, as well as related internal features or sub-divisions. Although *probably* late Roman, no dating evidence for the structure itself has been published, nor have any detailed plans, sections, or elevations of the masonry. Furthermore, it seems likely that the apse and 'nave' are not of one build. There are still many questions to be asked of the Denmark Street building; it deserves full excavation and detailed publication.

Conclusions

Condition, use, and prospects

5.93 The account of the twelve parish churches and sundry other buildings in Colchester, although somewhat lengthy, has been kept to the minimum consonant with the declared intention of outlining the present state of each church and its archaeological problems and potential. The range of academic and practical problems which has emerged in the foregoing account is likely to be representative of those obtaining in any major historic town which possesses, or once possessed, a group of parish churches. Naturally, the extent of the problem will vary according to the number of parishes in a town. Thus, Colchester's problem is roughly equal to Wallingford's (11 parish churches), but only one-fifth of the magnitude of Norwich's (59 churches), or just over one-tenth of London's *(c.* 115 churches).

5.94 The present physical state of Colchester's ancient churches and chapels may be summarized as follows:

	Total	Intra-mural only	Site numbers
Used for worship	5	3	1,6,8,11,12
Redundant—other uses	5	4	2, 3, 4a, 5, 10
Demolished since C17	4	2	4, 7, 9, 8a
*Gone before C17	2	1	3a, 10a
Totals	16	10	

*6a, the Roman building of doubtful use, is not included.

5.95 This situation has obtained since the parochial reorganization in 1952 and, hopefully, the pastoral situation is now stable for many years to come. Of the five churches in use, the two St Mary's have little or no archaeological interest above ground, while the remaining three are in a reasonably sound state of repair and should not be subject to major threats in the foreseeable future. The graveyards of all five are largely intact and every effort should be made to preserve them as they are. Certainly, any proposal to reduce the vegetation, introduce any more flower-beds (or other characteristics of public parks), or to displace monuments should be countered. The assets of St Mary the Virgin's churchyard are the most precious, followed by those of St James's and St Peter's. The graveyard of St James's is the only one to have suffered archaeological damage in recent years, by the erection of various buildings which have also marred the appearance of the church. Of further concern, however, is the resumption of use of St Mary's and St James's graveyards for cremation burials.

5.96 Of the redundant-church graveyards, All Saints' is the most significant and is an important feature of the townscape; its preservation, together with the graveyards of Holy Trinity and St Martin's, seems assured. St Runwald's graveyard needs taking in hand quickly, before it suffers the obliteration of St Nicholas's and St Giles's. The redevelopment potential of the area in which St Mary Magdalene's lies has already been noted, and although the site is of great archaeological importance, it would be difficult to argue a case for the preservation of the graveyard, or indeed the church, if the issue arose.

5.97 The safety of the surviving redundant churches, as structures, is not in doubt. Those which house parts of the museum service—Holy Trinity, All Saints' and St Helen's—have not only been preserved without drastic alteration, but are also fulfilling useful public functions. It is to be hoped that St Martin's may also be put to similar use in due course. This important building would make an excellent ecclesiastical museum. This leaves St Giles's which is suffering a brutal conversion involving extensive archaeological destruction (5.69).

5.98 Although this concludes the round-up of existing churches, those which no longer stand above-ground should not be forgotten: St Nicholas's is a relatively recent loss, being a tragedy both architecturally and archaeologically, while the earlier losses of St Runwald's, St Anne's, St Botolph's, etc, are still sites of the utmost archaeological significance.

Architecture

5.99 The churches of Colchester are of architectural interest, both individually and as a group, principally for the range and complexity of their structural histories. It is remarkable that none ever aspired to the architectural grandeur of the Perpendicular period, which may be seen in the East Anglian towns, such as Sudbury or even in northern Essex at Dedham (24). St James's is the best we have. The Siege (1648) had a devastating effect on Colchester's churches and was responsible for the destruction of much fine medieval architecture. Coller's description of 1861 is apposite (p.24), while Morant's is more forthright (1748, ii, 1). 'The Churches are mostly built with old Roman Bricks, and the rubbish of other ancienter Edifices; and are in general but mean, except St Mary's newly rebuilt, and St James's, which is spacious, and regular and handsome on the inside . . . The Steeple of All Saints' Church is very neatly built with flints. That of St Mary's might have been made much better and handsomer than it is . . . but the Work falling into clumsy hands, it was made both heavy and as ugly as possible'.

Archaeology

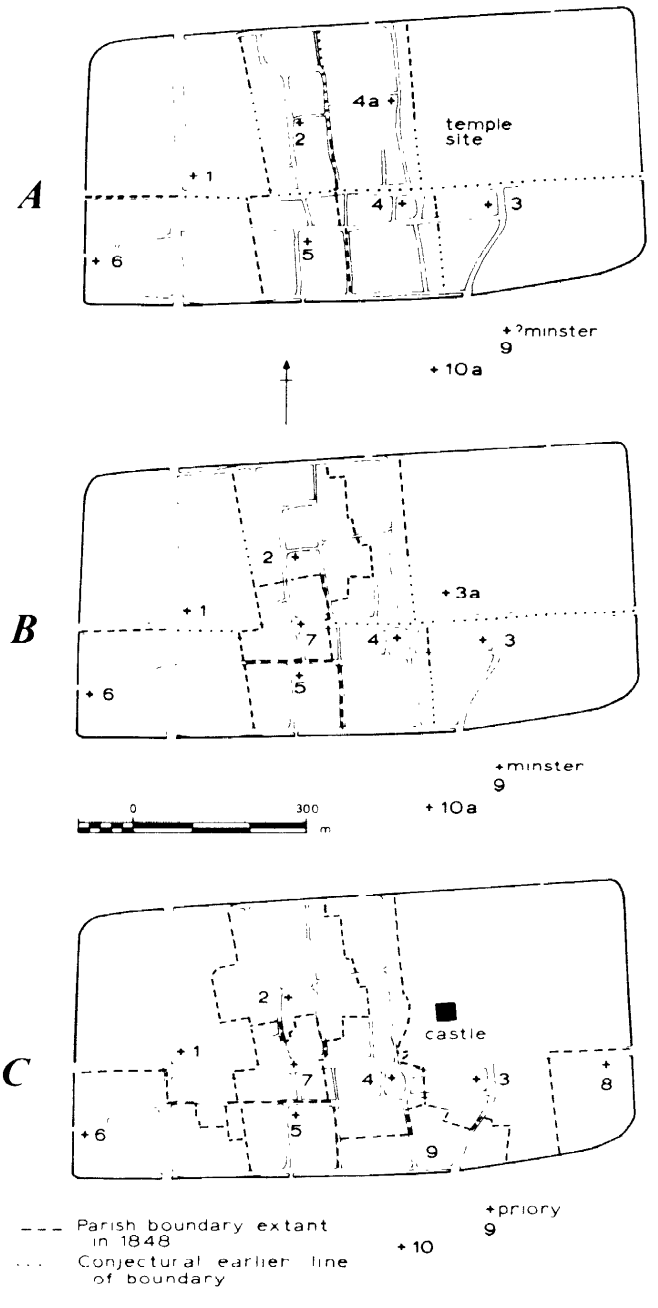
5.100 Much remains to be done. There are uncertainties attending the origins, history and physical evolution of every church and chapel in the town; most of the outstanding questions can only be answered by archaeology. No opportunity should be missed to undertake archaeological and architectural investigations during the course of future repairs, restorations and conversions. Every scrap of information which can be recovered is needed in order that we may begin the massive task of piecing together the wider picture, the history of the Church in Colchester.

5.101 Each church is, or was once, the focus of its parish (often in more than just the spiritual sense) and each parish is a vital and irreplaceable piece in the whole urban jig-saw. The need for multilateral church studies is omnipresent, and London's massive problem has recently been stressed, with the conclusion: 'While the early history and structural development of an individual church may have a value all of its own, the archaeology of the church in its parish, as an element in the urban scene, and of the churches of the city as a whole, as elements in the growth of the entire community, have a contribution to make to the history and archaeology of London that is of very great potential interest' (Biddle and Hudson, 1973, 24).

5.102 So far the parishes themselves have not featured in our deliberations. The parochial layout is clearly related to the post-Roman re-planning of the intra-mural street grid. It has been suggested that this layout (Fig. 9) was undertaken as a systematic piece of town planning by Edward the Elder in the early C10 (Biddle and Hill, 1971). An alternative and less plausible view suggests that the system grew slowly and mainly at a later period (Crummy, 1974, 33). However, the siting and orientation of the churches and their graveyards in relation to the parish boundaries, streets and other topographical features strongly suggests that the whole system had been laid out, and was even being modified, by the time the castle was added to the townscape in the later C11. St Runwald's appears to be an intrusive church in the market area for which a parish was carved out of the adjacent parishes of Holy Trinity and St Martin's. St Helen's, too, is of particular interest, since it gives the impression of having once been a separate parish which was split longitudinally and divided between St Martin's and St Nicholas's.

5.103 By working backwards through the topographical development of Colchester it is possible to make some tentative suggestions regarding the existence of a more 'orderly' parochial system in the Anglo-Saxon period. One might even hazard a guess that the origins of the parochial layout in Colchester could be related to a series of Anglo-Saxon intra-mural estates, each with its own church (cf. Fig. 13A), as has been argued in the case of Winchester (Biddle, 1973, 242-7).

5.104 Finally it is appropriate to remind ourselves of the position which the *Colonia Camulodunensium* may have held in relation to the Church in late Roman Britain, since it is generally accepted that the Council of Arles (AD 314) was attended by the Bishops of London, York and Colchester (Toynbee, 1953,4). Where, then is Colchester's episcopal church? This question could be relevant to the study of later church archaeology in Colchester, since there is every possibility that the Roman church would have been re-used for its primary purpose in the early Christian Saxon period. Unless it was the converted temple (now under the castle), it may



13 Suggested outline development of the parochial system in Colchester: A. Middle to the late Anglo-Saxon; B. Saxo-Norman; C. Norman and later

'On the east side of the city [Canterbury] stood an old church, built in honour of St Martin during the Roman occupation of Britain… here they first assembled [Augustine et al.] to sing the psalms, to pray, to say Mass, to preach, and to baptize, until the king's own conversion to the Faith enabled them to preach openly, and to build and *restore churches everywhere.* '(AD 597, Bede, *Historia Eccelesiastica,* 1.26).

well be encapsulated in, or buried beneath, one of the surviving parish churches. While it is unlikely that there was continuity of the Church, as an institution, from Roman to Saxon Britain, it must be acknowledged that some church buildings did not lose their identity or their sancity, and were recommissioned for use by Augustine and his followers:

Section 6 Case Study 2—A Rural Parish Church

". . . for however unpretending a structure may be, some features of architectural, antiquarian or ecclesiological interest are certain to be found in it, or some historical interest is attached to it."

Essex Archaeological Society, Council Report, 1891.

St Mary and All Saints' Church, Rivenhall (100)

6.1 Rivenhall is a little-known village, lying ten miles south-west of Colchester and just north of the main Roman road (now A12) to London. In area, the parish is large, but it supported only a modest population until C20 developments brought an influx of new inhabitants. The population is now about 5,500. Prior to the beginning of this century the parish consisted of four elements:

i The church and hall lying in fairly close proximity (200 m apart), with only one or two cottages nearby.

ii A hamlet, known as Rivenhall End, which developed around a cross-roads (on the A12) at the southern end of the parish.

iii Rivenhall Place, a substantial Cl6 and Cl8 mansion at the northern end of the parish.

iv A scatter of isolated farms.

6.2 The settlement pattern is typical of scores of Essex villages. The earliest mention of Rivenhall is in the Domesday Survey (1086) and the first reference to the church (indirectly) occurs in a mention of 'Robertus, parson of Rivenhall' (1185). The church is unexceptional, and has attracted little attention from antiquaries. The summary description by the RCHM (1922) illustrates the point:

The church '. . . stands about 1 mile north-west of the village [i.e. Rivenhall End]. The walls are probably of flint rubble but are thickly covered with plaster; the roofs are covered with slates. The church was almost entirely rebuilt in 1838-9, but the walls of the chancel, nave and west tower may be partly old; the south porch is modern. Condition: good, much restored or rebuilt.' In addition, there is a detailed description of the building and its fittings, but no plan is provided. Pevsner, in his description of the building (1954), begins with a firm date, as he usually does for a new or totally rebuilt church. '1838-9. Brick, with the use of original walls. Narrow, tall west tower with polygonal buttresses and battlements. The nave has the same feature at the angles. Interesected window tracery, as was popular in the early C19. Plain white interior with coved ceiling with narrow transverse ribs.'

6.3 These, and other similar descriptions, hardly invite the historian or archaeologist to dwell upon the structure or speculate on its antiquity. Furthermore, a brass plaque in the chancel records that Lord Western restored the church in 1838-9 from a former 'rude and unseemly structure'. There cannot be many 'ancient' churches for which a less promising case for archaeological investigation could be made out. Nobody, faced with the need to construct a detailed argument outlining the case for spending a portion of the limited funds available for rescue or research archaeology on an investigation at Rivenhall, could have pleaded this as a worthwhile cause. That archaeological investigations did take place there on a reasonably adequate scale in 1971-73, was due to a series of chance happenings unconnected with church archaeology.

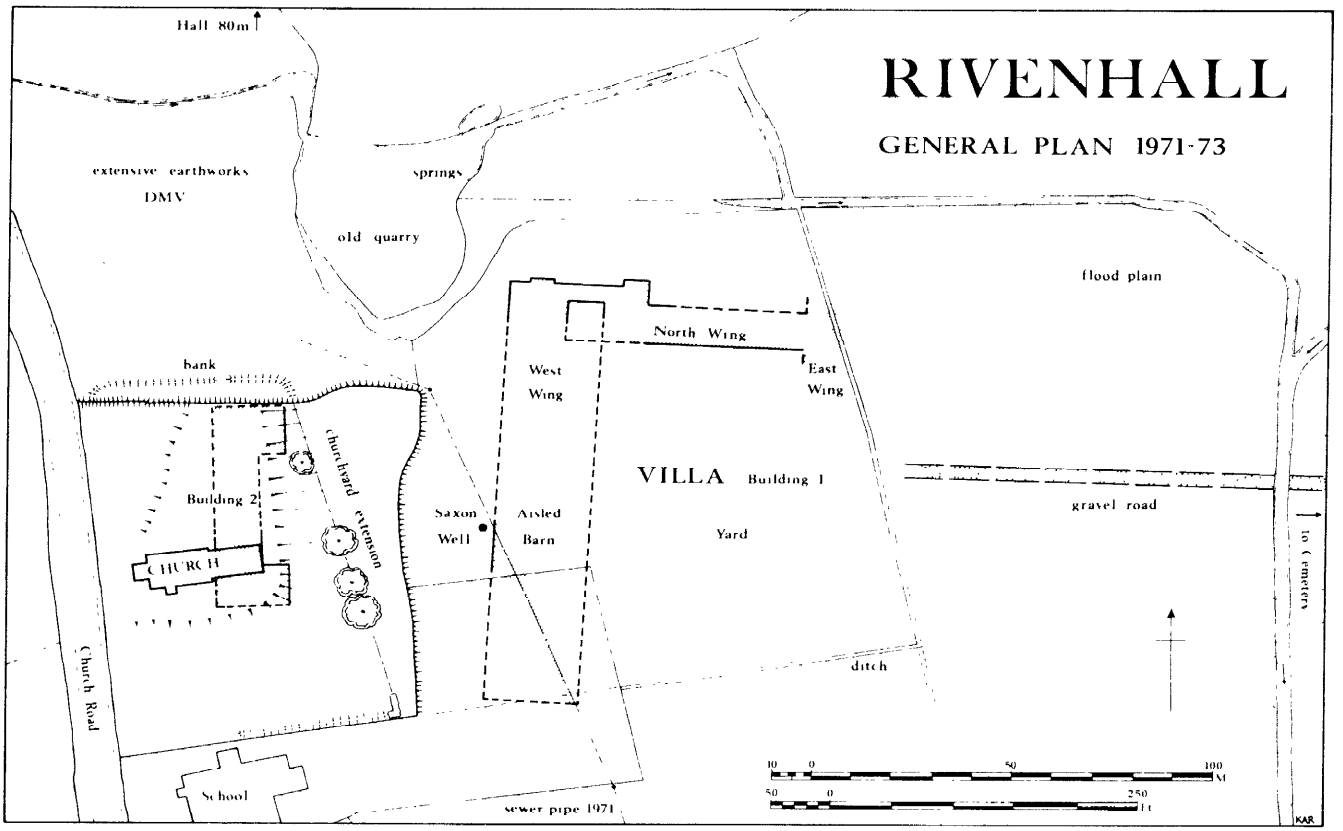
6.4 The academic results of the investigations have been published in both popular and technical-interim form elsewhere (Rodwell, 1972, 1973a-d). For our present purposes, it is necessary to consider the background to the investigations and the sheer bulk of incidental information which came to light as the result of a three-year archaeological presence in the life of Rivenhall parish. It is simplest to relate the events as they happened.

6.5 Work began at Rivenhall in April 1971, when Mrs Kirsty Rodwell undertook a short salvage excavation in a field to the east of the churchyard, for the Department of the Environment. The brief was to rescue part of a Roman villa which lay in the path of a pipeline (Fig. 14). In cutting through rough pasture between the church and the hall, the pipeline revealed the site of an unknown deserted medieval village.

6.6 During the course of the rescue excavation it happened that three burials took place ir. the churchyard, the graves being dug as part of a north-south row, a little to the north-east of the chancel. Since there were vague reports that Roman walls and tessellated floors had been found by grave-diggers in the Cl9 and early in this century, the opportunity was taken to watch the excavations. The graves were dug through a slight escarpment and only penetrated the natural clay subsoil at a depth of 1.75 m below present ground level. In section, the graves revealed several ill-defined strata of soil and rubble; and from the upcast spoil came fragments of Roman tile, plaster, *tesserae* and a few sherds of Roman and medieval pottery. Earlier graves were apparent too. The findings were unspectacular and we might well have left the churchyard with a handful of useless oddments and a shrug of the shoulders. However, the real significance of the exercise was the observation that, over an unknown period of time, the level of part of the graveyard had risen nearly 2 m. As with any soil build-up, this represented a series of archaeological deposits.

6.7 A careful examination of the churchyard revealed that it comprised three superimposed, but evidently separate earthworks (Fig. 14): first, there is a roughly triangular platform occupying the northern part of the graveyard, upon which the church was built. Secondly, there is an embankment, with an entrance gap, running parallel to the northern boundary of the churchyard but just outside it; the ends of the bank seem to turn into the churchyard. A line of trees and a slight fall in ground level suggested the eastern side of a former enclosure. Thirdly, there is the present churchyard boundary, which stands as a lynchet some 0.5 m to 1.0 m above the surrounding field surfaces. In plan this boundary has a curious excrescence at the north-east corner; modern graves were rapidly advancing in its direction.

6.8 The volume of spoil removed each time a grave is excavated is about two cubic metres, and at Rivenhall anything up to 90% of this might comprise archaeological deposits. Modern graves in close-set rows leave less ground intact than they disturb; hence grave-digging on any archaeological site is a highly destructive process. It therefore seemed worthwhile to attempt a rescue excavation. Through the kindness of the



14 Plan of the environs of Rivenhall church, showing the principal archaeological features, graveyard earthworks etc. The known parts of Roman buildings 1 and 2 are stippled

Rector, interment was temporarily halted in the northern part of the churchyard. until excavation could be arranged. New graves were inserted in spaces in the southern part of the churchyard, where there appeared to be no archaeological stratigraphy intact, although Neolithic flints and Iron Age pottery were turning up.

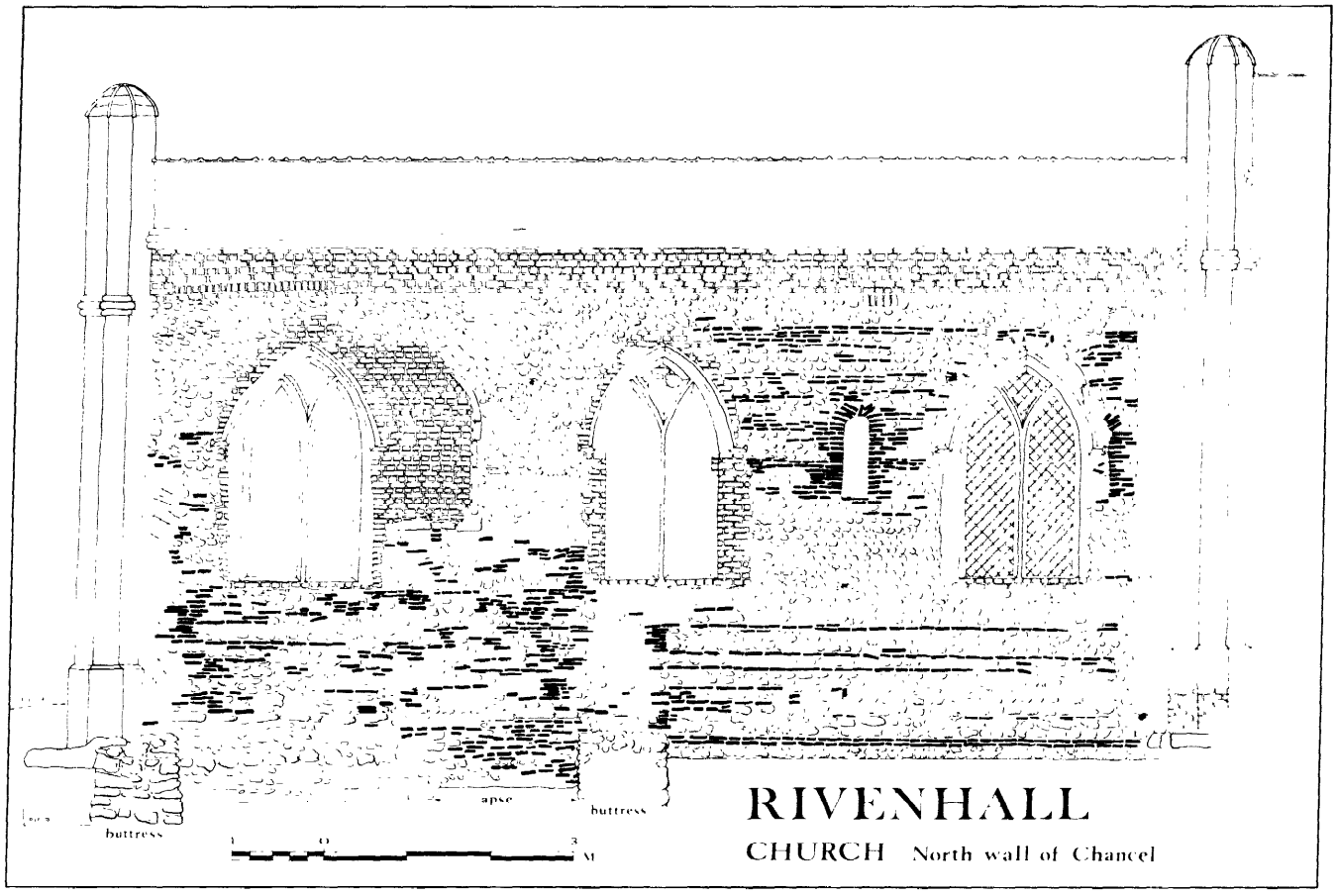
6.9 At the same time, the incumbent informed us of proposals to undertake modest restoration works on the church and to build a vestry-hall on the northern side of the nave. Superficially, it might not have been thought that the impending restoration work need cause any great concern to the archaeologist, but when looked at in detail the extent of the possible destruction of historical information became apparent. The problem can be divided into three sections:

i Rising dampness was obtrusive throughout the church and the 'standard' cure of an external ground-drain all round the building was proposed. This would take the form of a deep, concrete-lined gutter around the bases of the walls, for which a continuous trench up to 0.75 m wide and 1 m deep might be excavated. This, it was said, could be expedited with the aid of a mechanical excavator. There would be problems where tombs lay close to the church: these, including a fine brick-built table tomb which surmounted a great vault, would have to be 'moved'. Archaeologically, the operation meant that anything lying within a metre of the ground surface or the church walls was likely to be removed entirely. Additionally, drains would have to be dug across the churchyard, to carry away the surface water collected in the concrete gutter.

ii Repairs to the fabric would involve the removal and replacement of decayed cement rendering, particularly on the exterior of the chancel. Some internal repairs to the damp-stained plaster would also be necessary. Clearly, there would be opportunities to study and record whatever ancient fabric or finds might be revealed when the cement blanket was removed. The nave and tower had been completely re-rendered in the 1950s, but no record could be found of the nature or state of the walls, as then revealed.

iii The construction of the northern vestry would involve the digging of foundation trenches, and drainage trenches for surface-water and sewerage disposal, as well as the opening of a blocked doorway in the nave for access from the church. In theory, disturbances to the churchyard would not be substantial, or involve digging to a depth of more than 1.0 m.

6.10 Experience had already shown that the observation of grave-digging provided little or no useful information, beyond showing the depth of archaeological stratigraphy in the churchyard, and hence the observation of contractors'



15 The north wall of the chancel of Rivenhall church, drawn after the stripping of cement rendering in 1972. For interpretation see Fig. 16. (Drawn by Daryl Fowler and Mary Haynes)

trenches would, in all probability, be similarly unproductive. A modest excavation was therefore undertaken against the south wall of the chancel. The results of the exercise were surprising and amply justified the effort. At depths of less than 0.2 m below the turf the foundations of three medieval buttresses were encountered: nothing of their superstructure survived above ground level and their presence was unsuspected. Around and below these, graves and other archeological features abounded, and at a depth of 0.75 m the robbed foundations of Roman walls were revealed. Furthermore, it was clear that the chancel itself was built upon foundations of two periods (medieval or earlier).

6.11 The discoveries added a new dimension to the history of Rivenhall church, a fact which was readily appreciated by many members of the Parochial Church Council, and it was accordingly possible to arrange for a more extensive investigation around the whole of the east, north and west sides of the church. This was undertaken in 1972, with co-operation between all the interested parties. The results may be summarized as follows:

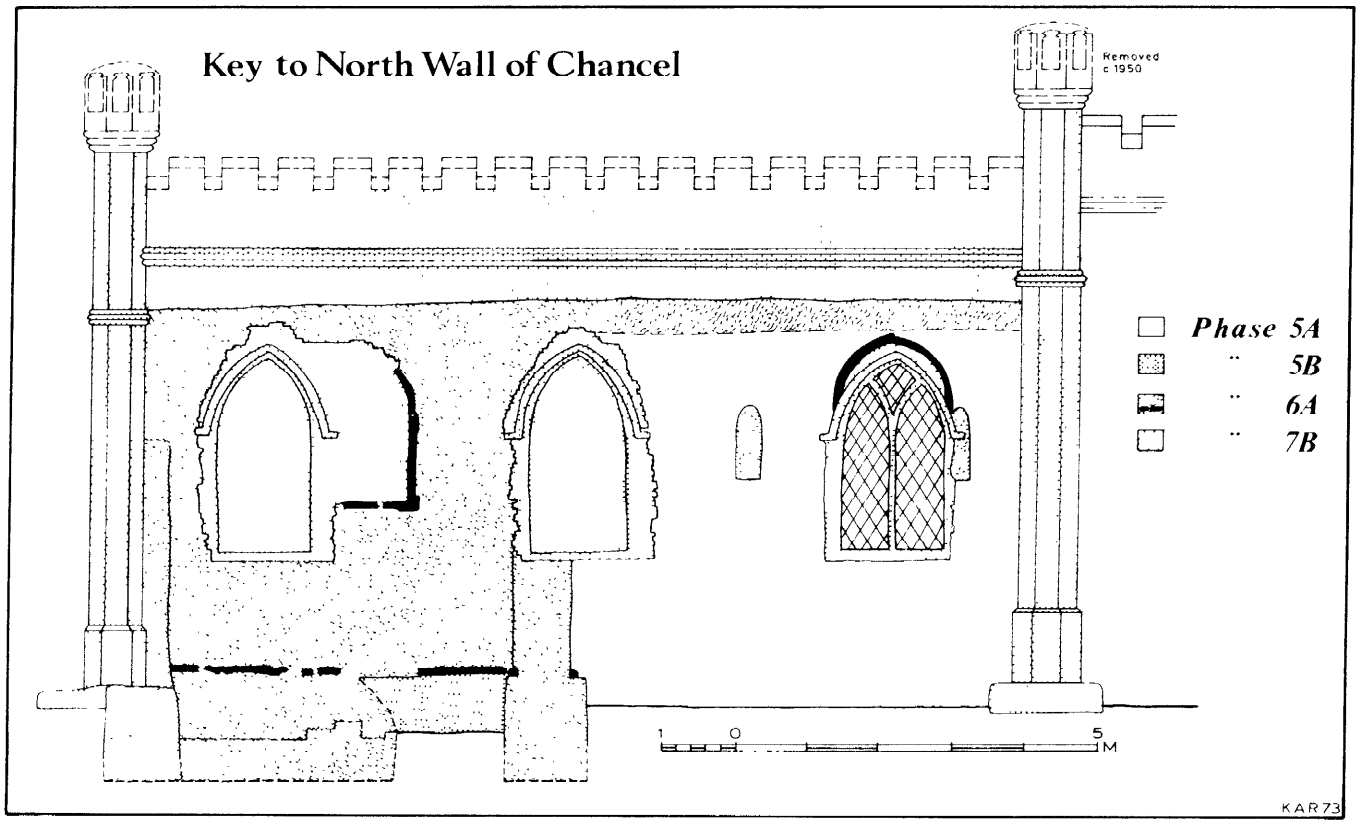
i A long history of human activity—both secular and religious—on the site of Rivenhall church was established; this ran through the later prehistoric, Roman, pagan Saxon, Christian Saxon, medieval and early modern periods.

ii Archaeological deposits were shown to cover the entire excavated area, extending to various depths between 0.5 m and 2.0 m. In places, structural remains and significant stratigraphy occurred within 0.2 m of the ground surface, but elsewhere up to 1.0 m of thoroughly mixed 'grave earth' overlay deposits of interest.

iii It is clear that only a minute amount of useful information could have been recovered without excavation, even if a trained archaeologist had been present throughout the contractor's works. He could have recorded the masonry walls of the medieval period and some of the less complex graves, but he could never have detected, for example, the slight and heavily cut-about remains of the Anglo-Saxon timber church, or the similarly incomplete remnants of the medieval timber bell-cage.

iv Had the ground-works listed above (6.9 i) been undertaken without prior excavation the loss of primary information would have been substantial. The employment of a mechanical excavator would have destroyed the medieval buttress foundations, but quite what would have happened when it struck the massive flint and concrete foundations of the unknown medieval tower is a matter for conjecture.

v In the event, a ground-level gutter was not constructed, since the excessive build-up of earth was removed archaeologically after which it was possible to landscape



16 The north wall of the chancel of Rivenhall church: interpretation of the detailed drawing. Fig. 15. (For the dating of the building phases, see caption to Fig. 18)

the churchyard to its correct level in relation to internal floors.

6.12 In addition to excavation, the upstanding structure was examined. Rendering on the north wall of the chancel was badly decayed and it was decided to strip and replace this first. By agreement, the wall was stripped by selected members of the archaeological team. The exposed face, unencumbered by rendering and modern pointing, was a most instructive sight: the 'rebuild' of 1838-9 was shown to have concerned only the parapets, buttresses and windows. The walls themselves were of several builds and periods, ranging from late Anglo-Saxon to late medieval. One complete but blocked Anglo-Saxon window was revealed, together with part of another and traces of two Cl4 windows. In short, there was as much archaeological stratification in the north wall of the chancel as there was in the ground immediately below it. Recording was undertaken by the normal process of erecting a string-grid on a 0.5 m module and measuring and drawing the wall stone by stone (Figs. 15 and 16). In order that the elevation could be seen, studied and drawn adequately it was necessary to rake-out the mortar joints between the stones and bricks. Such was the interest of this wall and its historic features that the PCC decided not to re-render, but to point the masonry and leave it exposed. Under the direction of the church's architect this has been skilfully done, so that every historic detail is discernible. It was also decided to re-open and glaze the Anglo-Saxon window. This seemingly simple process was soon discovered to have considerable archaeological implications. These are worth detailing, since they warn just how much historical information can be recovered (or lost) during such a minor operation.

6.13 First, a substantial wall-mounted monument had to be dismantled and removed to a new location, since it lay partly over the blocking of the Anglo-Saxon window. The monument had been erected in 1701 and as its removal proceeded it became evident that it sealed a patch of wall-plaster *c.* 1.0 m square which appeared to be slightly different in texture from the Cl9 plaster covering the rest of the interior. Hence it seemed that the discovered patch could antedate 1701. As the plaster was lime-washed and apparently of no interest, the workmen began to strip it. Since the external excavation was in progress at the time, the writer glanced at the builders' activities and noticed a slight reddening in the fractured edge of the plaster, which looked suspiciously like paint. The workmen thought it was brick-dust. A few moments of careful limewash-flaking with a scalpel confirmed the presence of a wall painting. It was saved, has been cleaned professionally, removed from the wall and re-mounted. The painting, of which there can be no more surviving in the church, depicts a continuous scroll-frieze (probably of the C15), with an inscription above.

6.14 The removal of the monument was not without further interest, since the holes in which its mounting-cramps were set had been packed with broken fragments of medieval glazed floor-tiles. They would have been lost but for a close scrutiny

17 Plan of Rivenhalf church, showing an historical analysis of the surviving structure, based on the archaeological investigation of the fabric in 1973

of the rubble-pile discarded by the workmen. When the interest of these pieces was communicated to the men, they immediately volunteered to bring along some 'better' examples which they had found in Felsted church!

6.15 When the time came to unblock the Anglo-Saxon window the operation was undertaken archaeologically. This resulted in the recovery of a number of masons' offcuts of the C14, providing evidence for the blocking date of the early windows. Once emptied, it was possible to examine the original plastering in the window splay and to demonstrate that it had never been decoratively painted, and that the opening had been glazed. Thus the value of the historical information recovered was quite unrelated to the magnitude of the modest building operation involved.

6.16 Finally, in 1973, archaeological attention returned to the original problem of grave-digging at Rivenhall and an area-excavation was undertaken in the excrescence already mentioned at the north-east corner of the churchyard. It produced no fewer surprises than the earlier investigations around the church itself. It was found that a medieval building-probably the rectory-had occupied a plot immediately outside the churchyard. Following the demolition of the building, probably in the early C17, the plot was incorporated in the churchyard. The secular history of this piece of ground was, however, preceded by an even earlier burial ground which had passed out of use, probably by the late Saxon period, and had been severed from the (then) churchyard by a ditch. There may yet be an earlier (middle Saxon) church awaiting discovery with which these graves may have been associated. The burials of Christian Saxons in this corner had been preceded by pagan Saxon domestic occupation.

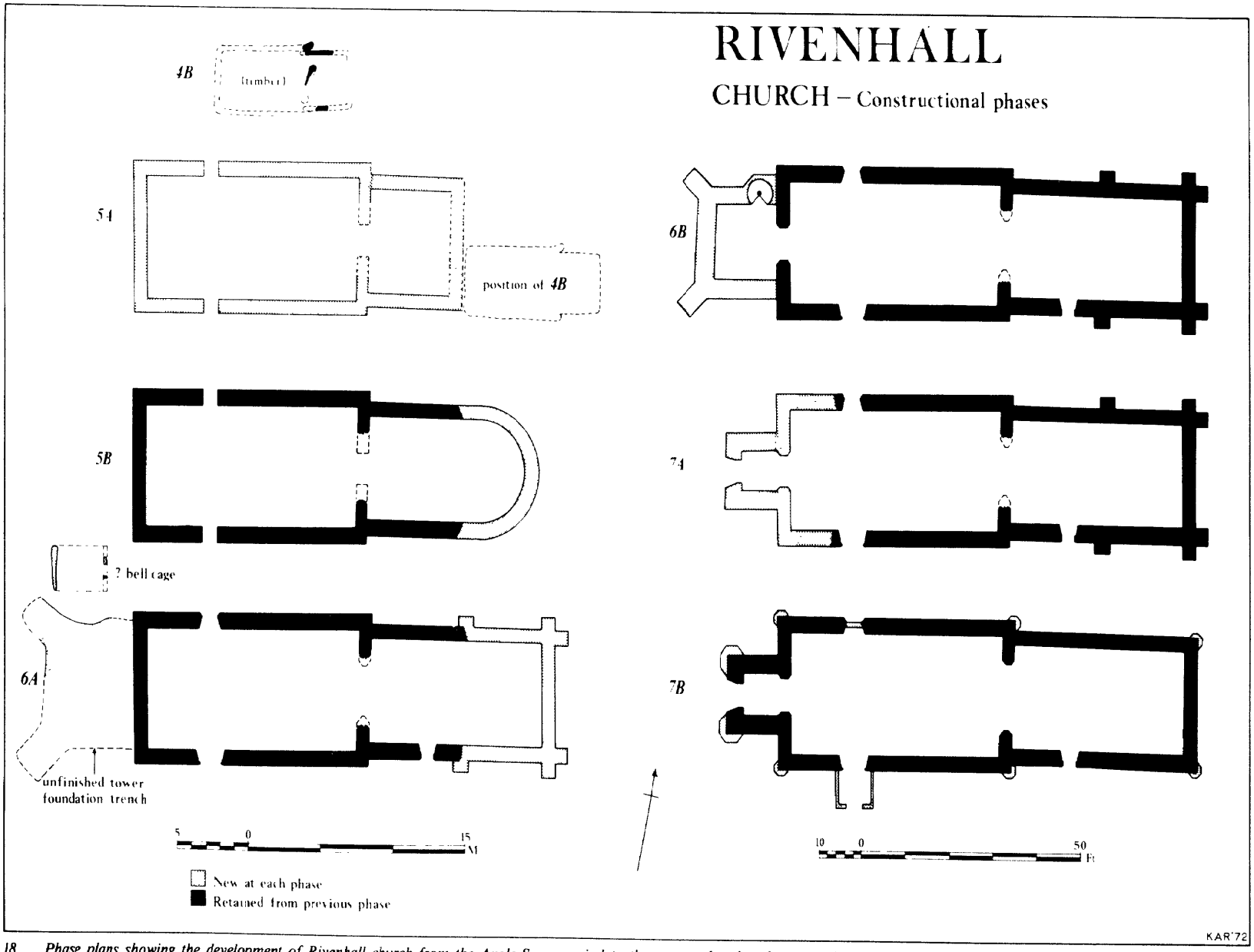
6.17 Once the excavation had been undertaken and the complexities of the site understood, it was easy to appreciate why nothing of real significance could be observed when graves were dug close by in 1971.

Conclusions

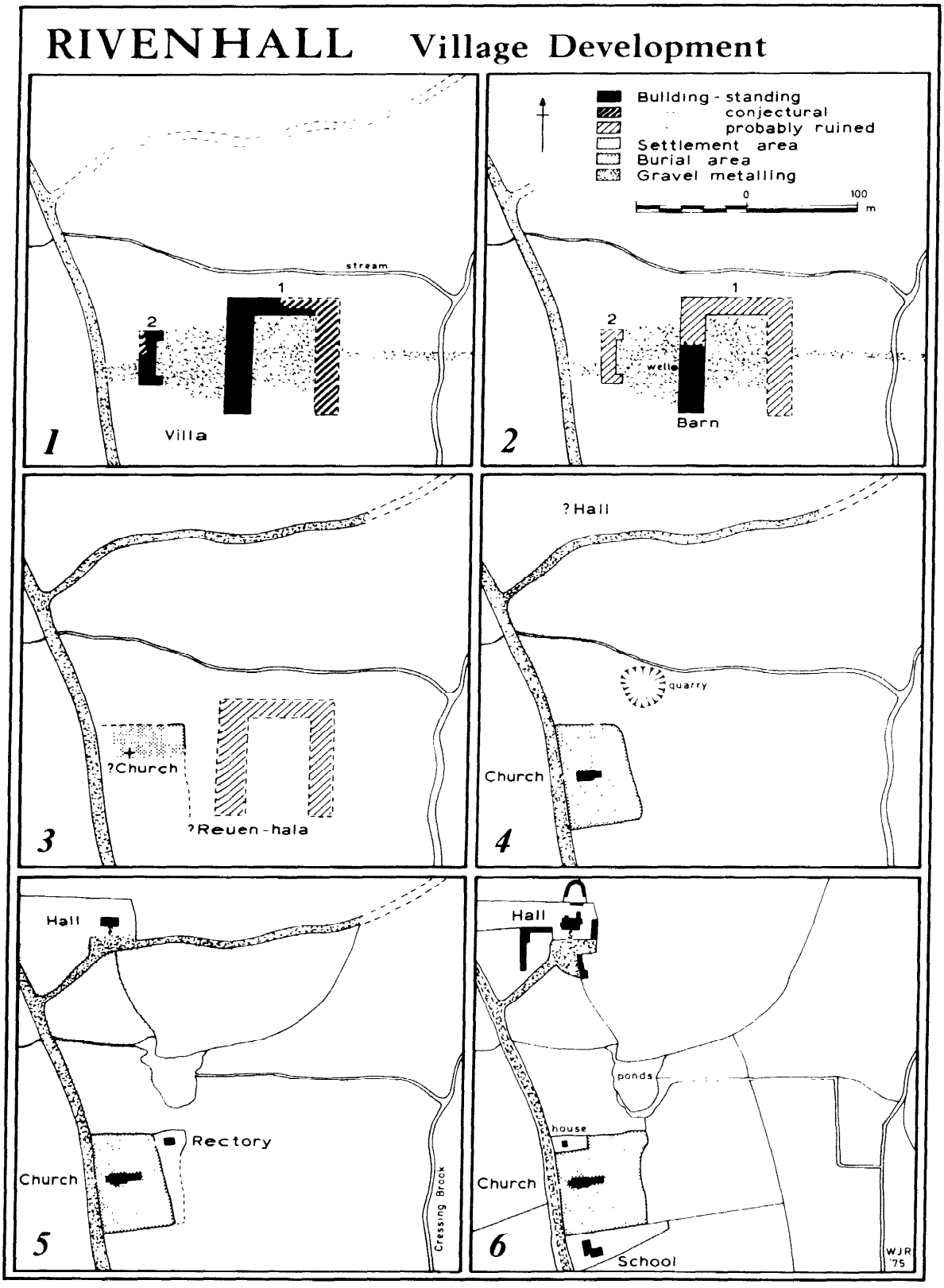
6.18 The first point to stress is that there is nothing special or unique about Rivenhall: it is one of many ancient churches which happens to lie on or close to a Roman site and for which there is little early documentary evidence and little of architectural distinction. The church has also been subjected to considerable alterations, the last and most drastic of the 'restorations' being that effected during the Victorian era. A glance at the Gazetteer (Section 11) shows that there are many other churches in the Archdeaconry of Colchester, as indeed there are in England as a whole, with similar pedigrees.

6.19 Secondly, it is worth mentioning that the actual amount of archaeological and historical work which has been undertaken at Rivenhall is not great in comparison with what could potentially be done. Whilst it is probably true to say that the structural development of the present church is now reasonably well understood (Figs. 17 and 18), there are nevertheless many details which could be refined by further structural investigation, plaster stripping and excavation, both inside and outside the building. Apart from the examination of one Anglo-Saxon window nothing has been done internally.

6.20 We now know that the church does not exist in isolation, but is part of an archaeological complex with a continuous history stretching back at least three or four thousand years. The only other survivor of that complex is the late



18 *Phase plans showing the development of Rivenhall church from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present day, based upon archaeological excavation outside the building and architectural investigation of the fabric, 1972-73.*
Phase 4B: Saxon; 5A: late Saxon (C10 or C11); 5B: Norman (C11 or C12); 6A: Early C14; 6B: Late C15; 7A: Georgian (c. 1717); 7B: Victorian (1839 and 1878)



19 Outline plans indicating the development stages of the nucleus of Rivenhall village: 1. Roman. 2. Pagan Saxon. 3. Early Christian Saxon. 4. Later Christian Saxon. 5. Medieval 6. Victorian

medieval Hall. The church cannot be divorced from its historic environs, any more than it can be separated from its own graveyard. On the evidence available from the recent investigations it should be possible to begin to reconstruct a coherent account of the prehistoric, Roman, Saxon and medieval agricultural communities which occupied those few hectares of land beside the Cressing Brook, and whose religious and funerary activities have centred on the plot of land which we now call Rivenhall Churchyard for at least a thousand years, and perhaps as long again (Fig. 19). Although recent excavations yielded no evidence for burials of the Roman period, it is known that Romano-British urns have been found by grave diggers in the past; and although it is clear that a large Roman domestic building underlies part of the churchyard, it is incompletely explored, and the possibility that there had been a shrine, or even a house-church within its walls cannot be overlooked.

6.21 We may conclude with an account of two details which are pertinent to the archaeology of Rivenhall church and which were recovered during the course of the 1972-3 investigations, but at some considerable distance from the churchyard itself. Not unnaturally, the archaeological work attracted a certain amount of publicity and many visitors, some of whom contributed valuable and unrecorded information. For example, a gentleman from Saffron Walden produced photographic slides taken in the 1950s when the whole of the south side of the church had been stripped of rendering. His record shows various blocked Anglo-Saxon and medieval windows which help to increase our knowledge of the church. On another occasion the writer visited a private house, some 3 km from the church. The house had been the successor to the rectory found during excavation in the churchyard (and was itself succeeded by the present rectory). Scrutiny of its rockeries revealed that they were composed of medieval moulded masonry derived from Rivenhall church: window tracery removed in 1838-9; buttress- and battlement-copings from the tower which collapsed *c.* 1714; and an Anglo-Saxon chancel-arch capital were all there, awaiting recording. The local sparrows bathed in a C14 font.

Grading: before investigation, CIIb
after investigation, BIb.

Section 7 Case Study 3—An Anglo-Saxon Minster

"Since I have been upon the Episcopal Bench I have known no Instance of a Chancel being entirely taken away, nor have even heard of any, and I own it strikes my Mind as an Evident Impropriety."

From the Bishop of London to the Rector,
August 1791.

St Botolph's Church, Hadstock (192)

7.1 Hadstock is a fairly remote village on the Cambridgeshire-Essex border, some 16 km south-east of Cambridge. In size, the parish is a little below average for the area and has a population of only 250. Apart from the addition of a small housing estate, the settlement pattern has changed little over the last few centuries. The parish consists of three elements:

i The church and hall lying in close proximity (100 m apart) on the edge of the small nucleated village, which has a road junction and green at its centre (Fig. 20).

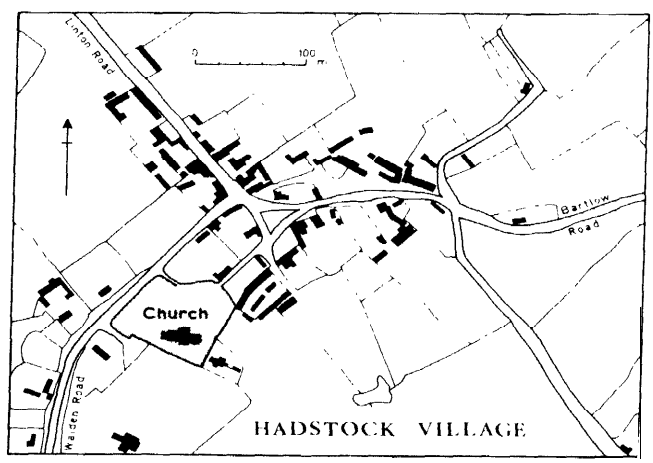
ii Three farms lying at or very close to the extremities of the village, but not significantly detached from the nucleus.

iii Two detached farms, which lie in remoter parts of the parish. The settlement pattern at Hadstock is thus the complete antithesis of that in the previous Case Study. Exactly the same may be said of the church itself, since Hadstock possesses a fine Anglo-Saxon structure which has often featured in academic and popular works on the ecclesiastical history and architecture of the period. The building has been described by the RCHM (1916) and illustrated with a plan at 1:300; subsequently it has been discussed by several architectural historians, most notably Taylor (1965, 272-5; with plan at 1:250) who also examined the difficult historical references which might be connected with Hadstock.

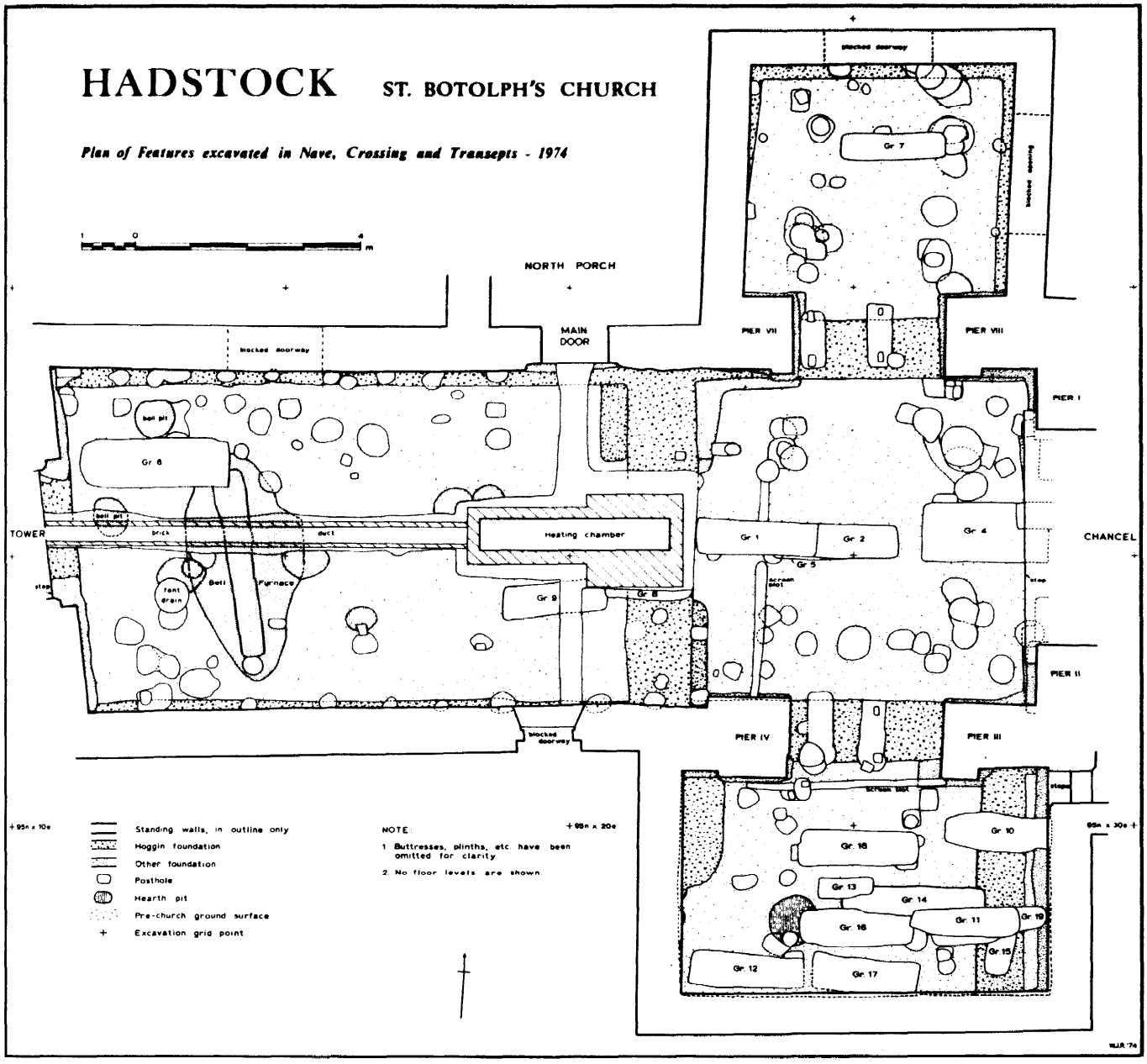
7.2 There is no need to recite detailed descriptions here; suffice it to say that the church is a substantial cruciform building, with indications of a late Anglo-Saxon date (double-splayed windows and 'honeysuckle' ornamented mouldings). Of the original work, the north *porticus,* nave and crossing survive (the two latter parts being conjoined by the ancient removal of the dividing wall). The south transept (replacing a *porticus),* west tower and chancel were built in the later Middle Ages, but the chancel was again rebuilt in 1884. Hadstock is the type of church which one might say, without hesitation, would be worthy of archaeological investigation should the opportunity arise. Several questions spring to mind: what was the form of the original chancel; was the southern *porticus* an exact twin of the northern; can the presumed nave/crossing sub-division be substantiated by finding the foundations of the demolished wall; did the crossing carry a central tower? Archaeology could be expected to answer these questions, which are relatively straight-forward and basically entail an organized search for suspected evidence. With extraordinarily good fortune, archaeology might yield stratified coins or other datable artifacts which could narrow down the necessarily imprecise architectural dating of the church. Excavation might also yield evidence for pre-church activity on the site, about which nothing was known. It would, however, seem most unlikely that archaeology could yield any tangible evidence to confirm, or deny, the possible association of Hadstock with Botolph's East Anglian monastery, or with Canute's minster church 'of stone and lime'. On purely historical grounds cases have been argued for both of these association, but absolute confirmation would only be forthcoming in the event of unambiguous literary or epigraphic evidence being brought to light. Such a discovery is extremely unlikely.

7.3 Thus the questions which might be framed around Hadstock can be divided into three categories: (a) those which archaeology should be able to answer; (b) those which it might be able to answer; and (c) those for which no answer could be expected. A superficial examination of the church and of the various published accounts did not suggest that there was much above-ground archaeology to be investigated, since the external wall faces are only partly obscured by rendering and the structural sequence did not seem to be in doubt.

7.4 This, then, was the state of our knowledge in 1973, when it was learned that the old wood-block floor and its mortar bedding in the nave and transepts would be removed and whatever lay below would be dug out to a depth of at least 0.3 m, ready to receive hardcore, concrete, a damp-proof membrane and the new floor surface. At the invitation of the Parochial Church Council, a trial excavation was undertaken in the north transept, in order to ascertain what archaeological deposits were present and to what extent they would be affected by the proposed works. It was found that some 0.5 m of chalk and earth floors survived and that these would be very largely destroyed. Total excavation of the affected areas seemed not only desirable, but essential, if any of the questions posed above were to be answered. Archaeologists and architectural historians were hopeful of resolving questions in the first two categories, while local historians showed more anxiety about the third. Their main hope was that excavation would demonstrate that Hadstock was Canute's minster of 1016-20; the establishment of a connection with Botolph's C7 monastery seemed unlikely. Accordingly, the excavation of the whole



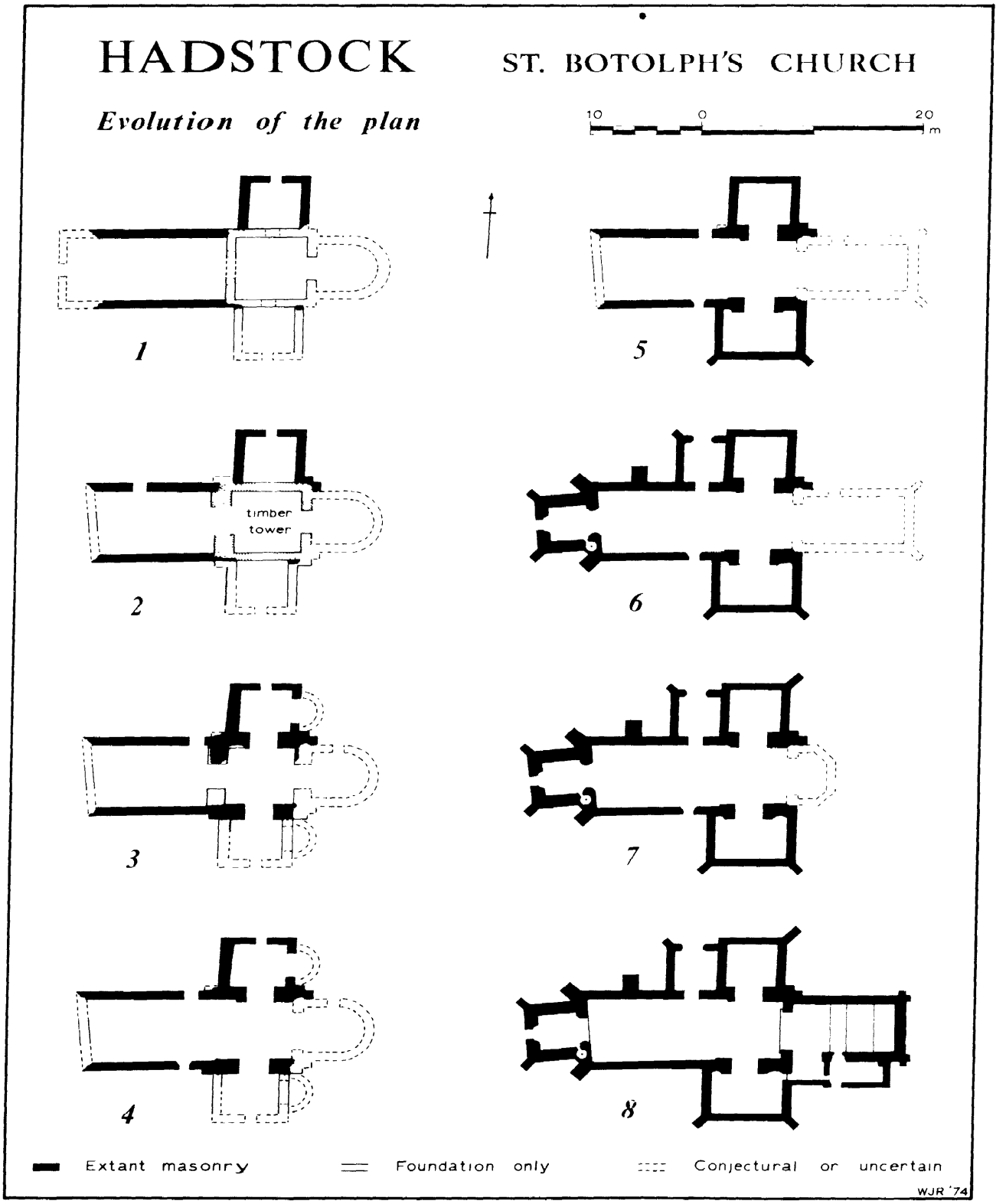
2 0 Plan of the nucleated village at Hadstock, with the churchyard shown stippled



21 Plan showing the archaeological features discovered by excavation inside Hadstock church, 1974

of the nave, crossing and transepts took place in 1974 (Fig. 21). A brief account has already been published (Rodwell (1974a-b): for a technical-interim report see Rodwell (1976b). For present purposes it is the object lesson, as with Rivenhall, in academic revelation which concerns us here. The special problems attending the archaeological investigation of a church which is normally in use for services have been discussed elsewhere (Rodwell, 1976a).

7.5 Once again, the fact that *anything* was done archaeologically, in advance of the intended building works, was purely a matter of chance, largely brought about through the good offices of Dr H M Taylor, and made possible as a result of the interest and enthusiasm shown by the Rector, Churchwardens and members of Hadstock PCC, who generously re-arranged both the restoration programme and the church services to accommodate a full and proper archaeological investigation. Unlike Rivenhall, archaeological concern about Hadstock did not become prominent until restoration had already begun and thus several losses were incurred. First, the churchyard was partly cleared so that gang-mowers could be employed to cut the grass regularly. Preparation for this activity involved the removal (without recording) of some of the older tombstones (Cl8 and C19); some are now leaning against the church walls, while others have been broken and laid as a path. Upstanding grave mounds were levelled and a large hollow close to



22 Phase plans showing the development of Hadstock church from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present day, based upon archaeological excavation inside the building architectural investigation of the fabric, 1974.
Phase 1: Middle Saxon (possibly C7); 2. Later Saxon; 3. Late Saxon (C11); 4. Later C13, 5. Late C14; 6. Late C15; 7. late C18 (c. 1790); 8. Victorian (c. 1884)

St Botolph's Holy Well (in the north-west corner of the churchyard) was filled with earth. Parts of the attractive flint and brick churchyard wall have collapsed and will not be rebuilt. The graveyard is still used regularly for burial, although it is now regarded as nearly full and an extension is planned in the rectory glebe, immediately to the south.

7.6 The church has suffered acutely from rising dampness, which has caused the decay of the floors and wall plaster. To combat the problem a continuous drainage trench was dug around the building, excepting the north transept and the C19 chancel. The construction has, of course, destroyed all archaeological deposits adjacent to the walls of the church. As often happens, this measure was not an unqualified success since, during internal excavation, it was revealed that ground water was passing laterally through the church walls in spite of the drain; an external vertical damp barrier has now been fitted.

7.7 The west tower was formerly in a serious state of disrepair and major work had to be undertaken in order to render it safe. Unfortunately, it involved the complete replacement of the newel stair: this was unavoidable, but it would have been valuable to have maintained an archaeological watching brief on this work, since the tower is known to contain many pieces of re-used stone, including some moulded fragments of Anglo-Saxon date. A cursory examination of the exterior of the church revealed that it too contained re-used materials, especially in the south transept, and that these included fragments with 'honeysuckle' decoration. Since the lower parts of the walls had been externally refaced in the Cl9 it was considered important to examine carefully the undisturbed inner faces, together with the foundations, in the course of the 1974 excavation.

7.8 The lower portions of the decayed wall plaster had to be cut back: this task was undertaken archaeologically, before excavation began inside the church. Joints between individual stones were also raked out to clear them of intrusive Cl9 plaster, so that details of the masonry construction and the original mortars could be examined around the whole of the church. It was only possible to strip plaster to a height of 0.5 m on the north side of the building, and to 1.25 m on the south side, but this was sufficient to permit study of the foundations and the lower parts of the walls as one unit.

7.9 The results were far reaching in their implications, not only for Hadstock but for church investigations in general, since what was reasonably assumed from the visible evidence to be a fairly straight-forward late Anglo-Saxon church, with medieval modifications, turned out to be a far more complex structure with an earlier origin that could have been seriously postulated on previous evidence (Fig. 22). These points are perhaps best illustrated by a brief discussion of the detailed sequences which were revealed by archaeological investigation both above and below ground:

i Externally, the nave walls *appear* to be homogeneous, but internally there is evidence for several builds, as well as for the insertion of new doorways and the blocking of an old one. Burning of the masonry suggests that the building was gutted by fire at some early period. Furthermore, it seems possible that the upper parts of the walls, which contain the double-splayed windows, replace a former timber superstructure.

ii The 'honeysuckle' ornamented north doorway has never been doubted as an original feature of the church, but it is now known to be an insertion where there was formerly no doorway. Moreover, it is re-used and was brought from some other part of the church and re-erected stone by stone, but mistakes were made and some of the blocks of masonry are not in their correct juxtaposition, while others may not belong to this doorway at all,

iii Our question regarding the former presence of a central crossing tower was too simple. The central part of the church can now be seen to have had a long history; initially there was no tower, but only a central space or choir; this was modified and a timber tower-frame erected on mortar cills; this in turn was replaced by a massive stone tower, embodying the C11 'honeysuckle' ornament; in the C13 the entire structure collapsed and a small bell turret supported on posts was erected in its place. The C11 monumental stonework as now seen is all a medieval rebuild, apparently using fragments from the four original crossing archways to construct the two hybrid archways which lead into the north and south transepts.

iv The skewed west end, which has often engendered comment, is neither an original feature of the church, nor, it seems, due to incompetent laying out. It is possibly a deliberate feature associated with a shortening of the church in the later Saxon period.

7.10 It is obvious from these brief notes that the structural history of Hadstock church is far more complicated than could ever be appreciated from the superficial study, however careful and detailed, of the visible fabric. Two principal points are worth stressing:

a. Rubble walls must never be dated by visible architectural features, especially those constructed of dressed stone, unless the two elements can be *shown* to be contemporary. In other words, it must be demonstrated that the mortar used to bind the rubble wall is one and the same as that which unites it with the datable features. This cannot always be demonstrated from the exterior alone, since there is a danger that the facing stones may have been reset and will thus mask mortar joints in the core of the wall; the interior is usually a safer guide.

b. Discussions relating to the typology and development of church planning can only be valid if it has been demonstrated that the churches used in the construction of academic hypotheses are valid as single-period structural entities. Thus it is essential to ascertain that the various elements in a given plan are of contemporary layout, and that no portion has been added or removed, and that the architectural features which are used to 'date' the plan are primary (see a. above). It was recently claimed (Radford, 1973, 134) that Hadstock fitted into a proposed typology of late Anglo-Saxon minster plans, but as we have seen, the *plan* of the church has little connection with the late Saxon building: it was determined at some earlier stage and remained, with slight modification, the basis of the outline thereafter.

7.11 As expected, the excavations did not reveal evidence which admits a positive identification of Hadstock with either Botolph's monastery or Canute's minster, but it was nevertheless demonstrated that there is no archaeological objection to either connection. In particular, various pieces of circumstantial evidence which were recovered during the investigation make the identification of Hadstock with a middle Saxon monastic church very plausible (see Rodwell, 1976b).

7.12 One of the more striking features relating to the topography of Hadstock is the fact that the church occupies a north-facing slope, with the village lying in the valley; there is no sign of village development to the south of the church. Furthermore, the church itself lies very close to the southern boundary of the graveyard (in fact it sits somewhat awkwardly in the south-east corner). The situation invites the speculation

that if there ever was a monastic complex at Hadstock, it lay to the south of the church, while the village developed to the north. As already mentioned, a churchyard extension is proposed to the south of the present graveyard, in the rectory glebe (Fig. 20). It therefore seemed essential to undertake a trial excavation, to ascertain whether the area contained important archaeological remains which had a bearing on the history of the church and village. The area was investigated after the completion of archaeological work inside the church. However, by this time the picture had changed considerably, since it was established that the planning of the Anglo-Saxon church, at all three stages, showed a total emphasis on access from the north and, furthermore, until the early C13 there was no door in the south side of the nave, which in itself is a somewhat remarkable discovery. Thus it came as no surprise to find that evidence for secular or monastic buildings, or graves, in the rectory glebe was lacking. If there were an Anglo-Saxon monastic complex at Hadstock, which is by no means unlikely, then it would have occupied the central plateau of the graveyard, to the north of the church. The location of St Botolph's Holy Well would then become significant.

7.13 As with Rivenhall, the importance of topographical studies and the consideration of churchyard earthworks and related features can be seen as fundamental to the elucidation of the secular and religious history of the community at Hadstock. At the same time, the dangers of interpretation without adequate archaeological investigation need no further emphasis.

7.14 Once again, an archaeological interest and presence in the village brought about the reporting of new sites and finds in the area and enabled various details relating to the structural history of the church over the last century or so to be recorded, when they were otherwise in danger of passing from memory. The investigation also had repercussions on the restoration programme. Many historic features of the fabric which have been revealed will now be preserved. Through the enlightened co-operation of the PCC, restoration and archaeological investigation will proceed hand in hand over the next few years, when undoubtedly further discoveries will be made, more questions answered and more problems raised.

Grading: AIb .

Section 8 Case Study 4—Church Conversions

"When God gets notice to quit".
Observer Colour Supplement
Title of article, 7 January 1973.

8.1 When an Anglican church is no longer required for worship it may be declared redundant under the provisions of the *Pastoral Measure 1968*. The building then acquires a legal status, whereby one of three things must happen to it. First, it may be preserved intact by the Redundant Churches Fund, a trust, the Department of the Environment, or a local authority. Secondly, it may, with the approval of the Church Commissioners, be converted to another use, or sold to another denomination. Thirdly, it may be demolished. If neither of the first two conditions is fulfilled within a specified period of time, then the church *must* be demolished; there are no halfway measures. Thus, if a church is not chosen for preservation—during the first quinquennium only *c.* 16% were—it is vital to find a new use for the building if it is to be saved from destruction. This important message is clearly spelled out in the Essex County Council's publication, *Redundant Churches in Essex* (1976).

8.2 Whatever course of action is adopted for a particular church, the archaeologist should be involved at every stage, since it will be very rare for there to be no archaeological implications. In this section we are concerned only with the events arising from the conversion of a redundant church to a new use. In the Chelmsford Diocese, several ancient churches have been sold and converted in recent years with the consequent loss of unrecorded history. Redundancy is likely to increase as more and more parishes find that they are unable to meet the costs of maintaining their buildings (9.98). Three examples have been chosen for this Case Study; each involves the conversion of a medieval church and each scheme has received the approval of the Church Commissioners and of the local planning authority. At the time of writing, work on the first is in hand, while the others will follow shortly.

St Lawrence's Church, Asheldham (AD.SS 275)

Description and condition

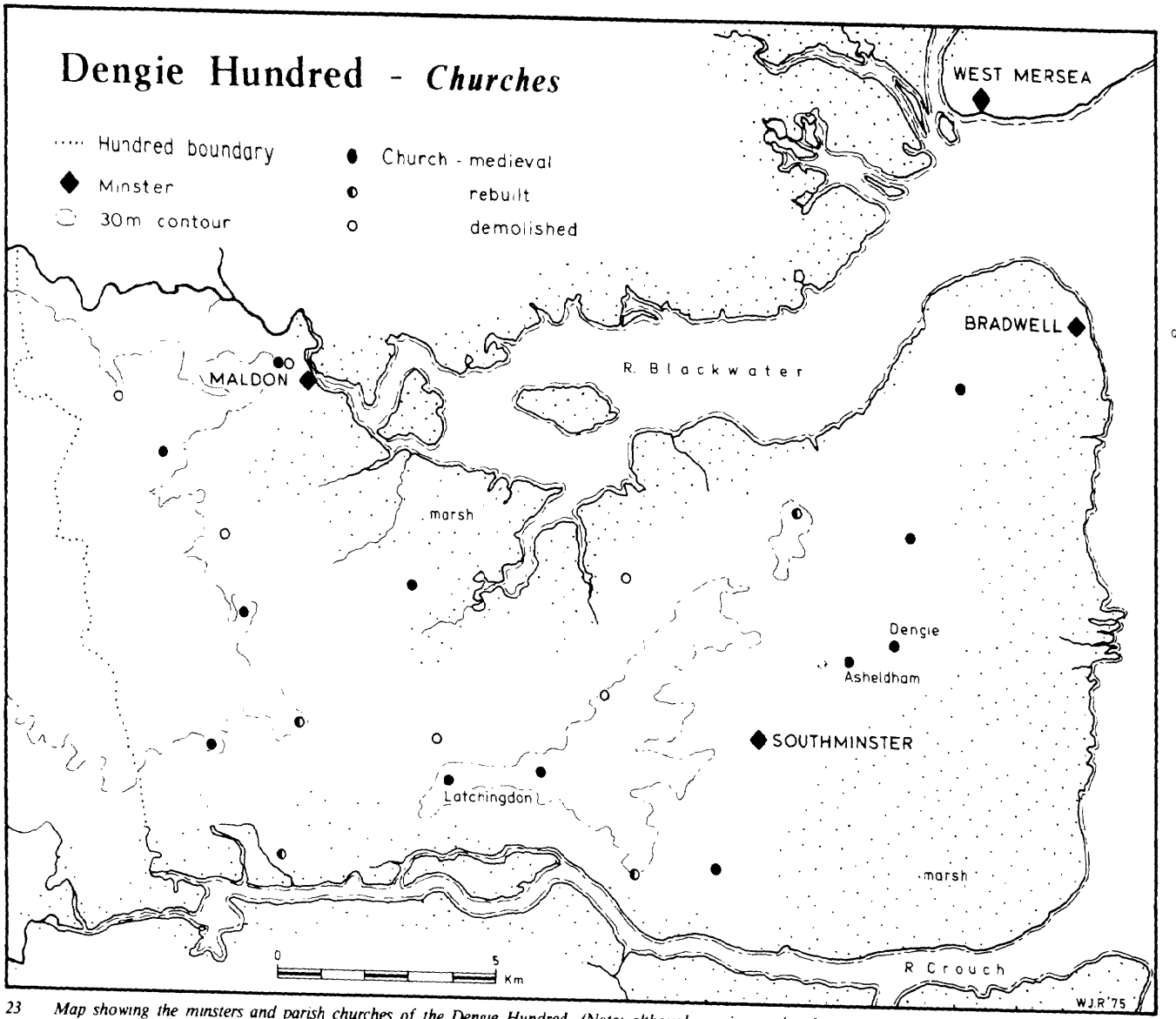
8.3 The church is situated in the middle of the Dengie Hundred and peninsula, in eastern Essex (Map B). As a village. Asheldham scarcely exists and the church and hall stand close together in virtual isolation. St Lawrence's is a fairly small, pleasant country church, comprising a chancel, nave and west tower, all apparently of the earlier C14; only the south porch and the rebuilt east wall of the chancel are of the C19. Due to the relative poverty of the area, previous restorations have not been excessive and the church retains many interesting medieval details, including the remains of the rood stair, a sedilia, two piscinae and a wall-stoup. The building has been disused for about eight years; boarding-up was inadequate, with the result that two C19 stained glass windows have been smashed by vandals and the bell stolen. The thieves weakened the floor of the ringing chamber by sawing through several joists, then cut the bell free, allowing it to crash through the timber floor and into the basement of the tower. Although long disused, the church was left substantially furnished: pews, chairs, pulpit, lectern, font, organ, hymn books, all still there. The furniture is all heavy, of late C19 workmanship, and of little merit, with the exception of the Jacobean altar-table (rebuilt), and the Georgian royal arms painted on canvas. Both have suffered tragically from years of neglect in a very damp building. There were also formerly two large, framed texts in the church; each was painted on canvas and headed by an elaborately illuminated panel in late C18 style. At some time in the past these were removed and stored in a corrugated iron shed behind the church. This shed has long since collapsed and the remnants of the painted texts lie amongst the debris. The texts and Royal Arms must have been a splendid trio in their original positions (probably as a group on the west wall of the nave, with the arms above the doorway). All that can be said now is that Asheldham has witnessed the unnecessary destruction of three Georgian oil paintings. The chancel and nave have ceilings, above which are apparently seven-cant roofs of the C14.

8.4 The graveyard has been used for burial until very recently; some graves are tended regularly, but much of the churchyard is pleasantly overgrown with grass. There are some good C18 tombstones on the south side of the church, adjacent to the pathway.

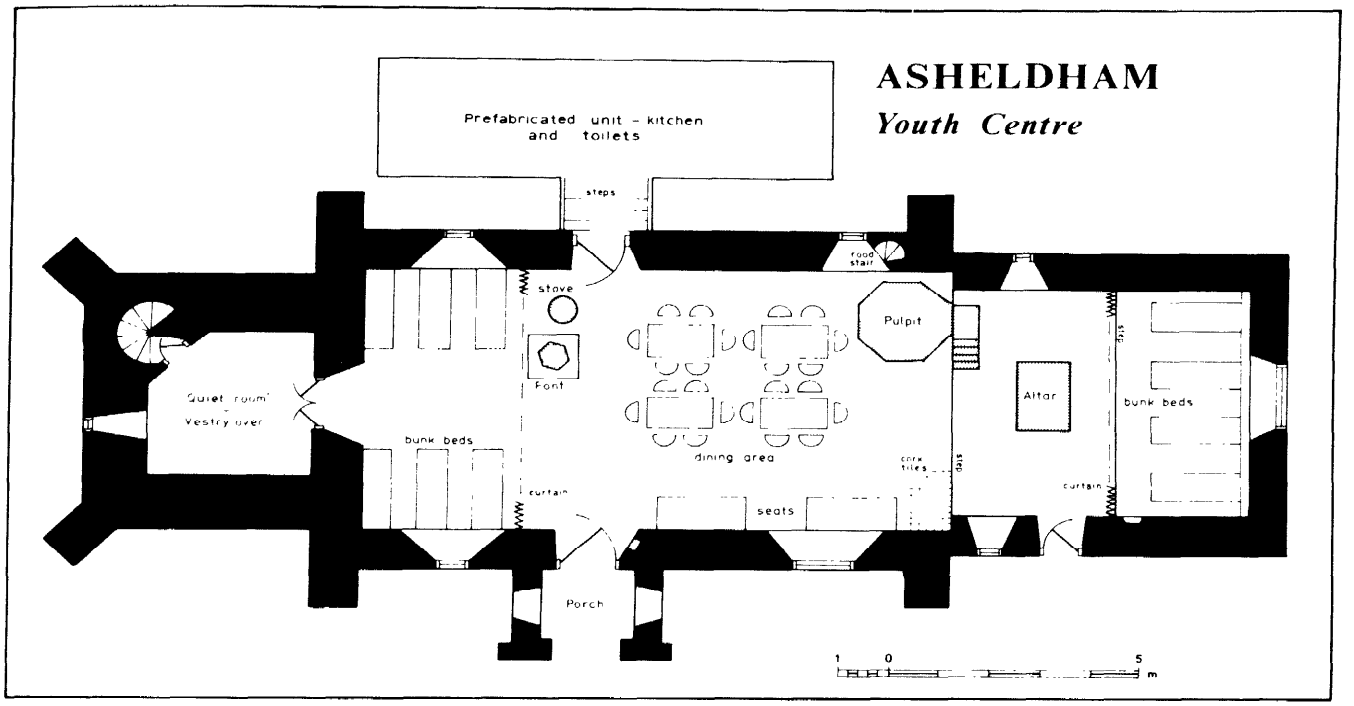
Archaeological potential

8.5 In terms of published or recorded information, nothing is known of the archaeology of Asheldham church: a typical situation. This, however, means nothing and cannot be taken as evidence that the church is not of archaeological importance; instead, an assessment must be made of its potential, both from a superficial examination of the building and from a general consideration of the situation of the church in its environment. Taking the latter first, the object of immediate attention is the earthwork known as Asheldham Camp, which lies 0.5 km west of the church. This enclosure exhibits three phases of fortification, the first of which is Iron Age and last is probably Danish; it seems to have been the centre of ancient settlement in the locality, and indeed the remnants of the medieval Asheldham village may lie around the camp. Why, then, are the church and hall set apart, and not inside the camp (cf. Danbury; AD. SS, 251)? Is St Lawrence's the first, or only church at Asheldham? Examination of the fabric yields no clue that the church is other than a structure of the C14; indeed, it is one of the minority groups of churches in the Diocese for which such an apparently simple history obtains. On the other hand, we know that Asheldham had a church before the C14: but where? The local topography is of no assistance, since archaeologists are now inclining towards the belief that many of the features of the Dengie landscape owe their origin to the Roman period. Asheldham church appears to be built on, or immediately adjacent to, a local Roman road which ran (and still runs) eastward from the camp; the slight deflection which the present road makes around the south side of the churchyard is a subtle but useful piece of evidence.

8.6 Next, we might ask, when did Asheldham first receive its church? What is its relationship to its very close neighbour, Dengie? These questions are of wide interest and concern



23 *Map showing the minsters and parish churches of the Dengie Hundred. (Note: although a minster church at Maldon is not historically attested, there can be little doubt that one did exist; St Mary's is perhaps the most likely candidate)*



24 Outline plan of Asheldham showing the proposed conversion to a Church Youth Centre (subject to some minor amendments)

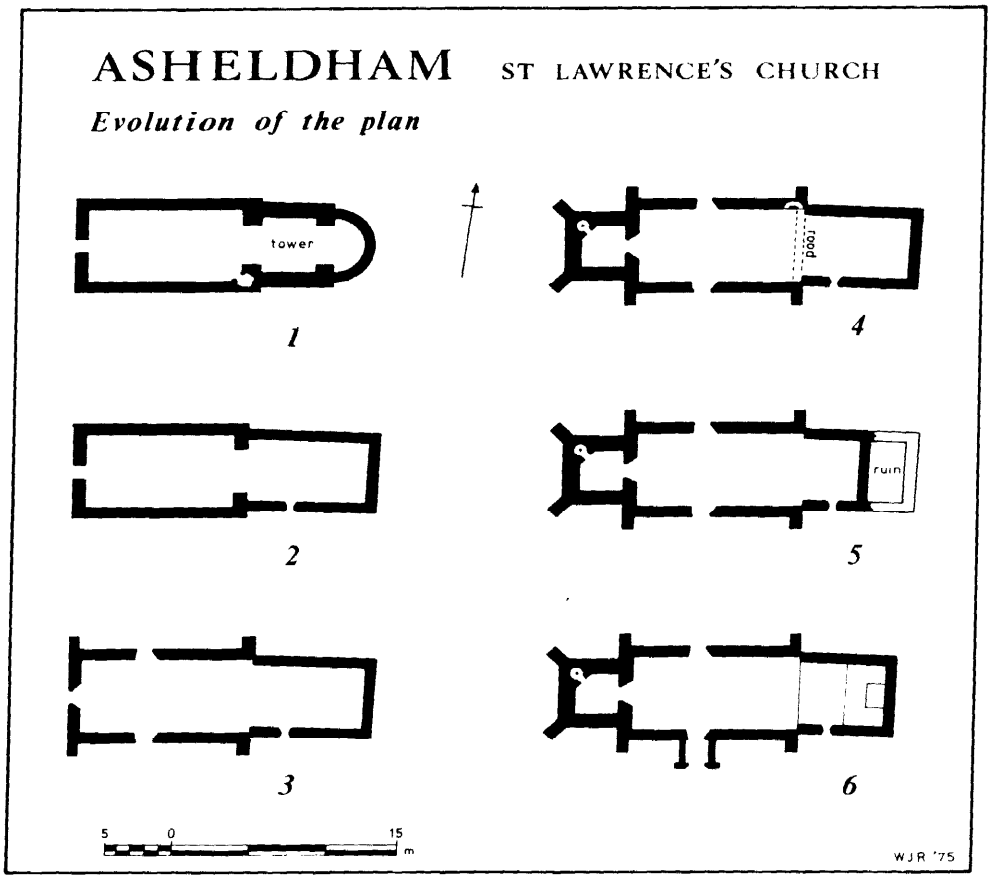
more than the history of the village, since they bear on the evolution of the Church as a rural institution in eastern Essex. The Dengie peninsula is surrounded on three sides by water and is thus a compact geographical unit; we also happen to know that it contains two minster churches of the Christian Saxon period: the church founded by St Cedd in 654, at Bradwell-juxta-Mare (St Peter-ad-Murum; AD.SS, 281), and the church at Southminster which was certainly in existence by the C10. Presumably Southminster is a later foundation than Bradwell and was named thus to distinguish it from the latter (which was, in effect, the *North Minster).* Asheldham is one of the several satellite churches lying between the minsters, and is the nearest to Southminster: if it, and one or two of its neighbours, can be dated archaeologically, then we may be moving towards a positive identification of the time when the minster system gave way to the parochial system in that area (Fig. 23). At the moment, we are wholly ignorant of this changeover, not just in the Dengie Hundred, but also in many other parts of the country. In summary, then, archaeological investigations at Asheldham church might potentially tell us either that St Lawrence's was a new foundation in the C14, or that it was a rebuild on the site of an earlier church. Whichever the case, the results and ramifications would be of more than passing interest.

The conversion of the church and its archaeological implications

8.7 This introduction has been offered to illustrate the kinds of question which arise in the minds of archaeologists when it becomes known that a church is due to undergo substantial alteration. The proposed conversion at Asheldham is not severe: the building has been acquired by the Diocesan Youth Service and will become a Church Youth Centre. The scheme is shown in outline in Fig. 24. The only major structural work is re-flooring. This involves the removal of existing floors and their replacement with a concrete bedding, damp-proof membrane and surface screed. A test inspection of the floors in the nave showed that large areas had been dug out to a depth of some 0.3 m in the C19 and that archaeological deposits would, at best, be restricted. Clearly, whatever survived the reflooring of the last century would almost certainty be removed by the proposed conversion.

8.8 No damage is envisaged to the upstanding fabric of the church, the internal plastering of which appears to be entirely Victorian. Disturbances in the graveyard will also be minimal, since the prefabricated kitchen unit will rest upon concrete slabs laid on the ground surface. The principal disturbance will be service trenches. From an archaeological point of view the main problem at Asheldham concerns the sub-floor levels, and the problems which will arise when churches of no particular distinction and with no *known* early history become threatened.

8.9 Work on the conversion began in 1975 and the writer was invited, at short notice, to undertake an excavation in advance of reflooring. An application for funds from the national budget for rescue archaeology was unsuccessful and a privately sponsored investigation was mounted. Excavation took place below the floors of the nave, chancel and tower and decayed wall plaster was removed to a height of *c.* 1.0 m around most of the interior. It was established that the upstanding structure is of C13 and C14 date and of three major builds, presumably reflecting a progressive reconstruction of the church over the course of about a century. The chancel had had a more complicated history, with its easterly wall occupying three successive positions, while a former chancel arch had been removed and replaced by a rood loft and screen (the latter was possibly a masonry structure).



25 Phase plans showing the development of Asheldham church, based upon an archaeological investigation inside the building in 1975. Phase 1. norman, C11 or early C12. 2. Mid C13. 3. and early C14. 4. Mid or later C14. 5. Undated. 6. Victorian (from c. 1867)

8.10 Discoveries included a blocked medieval tomb-recess, a small area of painted wall-plaster, re-used and re-dressed stone mouldings, and the first medieval glazed floor tiles from the Dengie peninsula. None of these items could be regarded as outstanding and merely illustrate the kind of discoveries to be expected in any ancient church. Of greater interest, however, was the discovery of the church which preceded the present structure. Nowhere did this survive to a height of more than two masonry courses, nor was it a simple one- or two-celled church; instead, it comprised a nave, an axial tower with the chancel below, and an apsidal sanctuary. The architectural development of the church is shown on Fig. 25, providing yet another instance where the upstanding fabric yielded no clue whatever to the early structural development of the building.

8.11 The extent to which archaeological stratigraphy survived beneath the tiled aisles, and even in the bases of the deeply disturbed areas below the pews, occasioned some surprise. In the chancel, stratigraphy was virtually untouched by the Victorian restoration and part of the apse survived in good condition. It was immediately apparent that the archaeology of the chancel would be extensively damaged by the proposed reflooring and that hasty or partial excavation would be unsatisfactory. Negotiations were therefore undertaken for the new floor level to be raised throughout the chancel, thus sealing and preserving the archaeology intact.

St Michael's Church, Latchingdon (AD.SS, 268)

Description and condition

8.12 The church lies in the southern part of the Dengie Hundred, towards the south-western corner. It occupies one of the most commanding positions in the area, being at the end of a spur and situated at about 5 m AOD (Fig. 23). The church stands in isolation, with no village or hall nearby; this is an unusual situation for Essex and one which invites the suggestion that a medieval desertion of the hilltop has taken place. As a church, Latchingdon is one of the most pathetic sights in the Diocese; possibly no other building which still retains some medieval fabric is architecturally so unexceptional. The church is single-celled, with no division between nave and chancel; the south wall is medieval and displays C15 features; there are also clear signs of a blocked feature (? a Norman window) to the west of the south porch. Most of the north wall is of brick and is dated 1618, but there is some earlier masonry at the western end. The east wall of the church is wholly of C19 brick and the west wall looks superficially similar but certainly contains some medieval fabric. There are the remains of a timber bell-turret at the west end of the nave, replacing a former tower. It is known that there was once a chancel at the east end, but all trace of this has disappeared. The south porch, which is a

solid, but unpretentious stone structure, is the best feature of the building; it displays late medieval details and has a wall-stoup inside.

8.13 The structural condition of the church is very poor: the walls are all badly cracked and heavily buttressed. The building is empty and has been disused for many years. All furnishings and fittings have been removed, except three floor slabs. One of these, an indent for a brass, has recently been prised out of the floor and smashed. The C19 flooring bricks are steadily being stolen. Although the church has been largely boarded up, it is not secured against entry.

8.14 The graveyard is pleasantly foliated, but is gradually growing out of hand. There is a good selection of C19 monuments, but none of exceptional interest. To the west of the old graveyard is a recent extension which is still used for burial.

Archaeological potential

8.15 As with Asheldham, nothing is known of the archaeology of the area around the church, but the site is so impressive, with superb views both over the Crouch and the Blackwater valleys, that it cannot fail to have commanded the attentions of early man. It is useless to speculate on what might be there: we need archaeological evidence. The same points apply to Latchingdon, regarding its part in the ecclesiastical evolution of the Dengie Hundred, as were made in connection with Asheldham (8.5-8.6). Latchingdon is very close to Snoreham (AD.SS, 269), just as Asheldham is to Dengie, and in both instances it is possible that a single land unit was divided into two parishes in the early medieval period. Latchingdon and Snoreham have subsequently been recombined and the church of the latter demolished. Although sheer speculation, it is perhaps worth mentioning that, should there have been another minster in the Dengie peninsula (and we have no general idea of the density of such buildings), then Latchingdon is the likely site.

8.16 Although St Michael's church is excessively dilapidated and lacking in architectural interest, it is nevertheless a prime site for archaeological investigation. The visible remains give no indication of the former size and importance of the church, nor any clue as to its foundation date. At the east end there is a chancel to be found. The fabric of the south wall and the foundations in general must be medieval, or earlier. Furthermore, it is unusual to find a medieval stone-built porch on a small country church in this area, but there are also indications that the porch is itself a rebuild of something earlier, which is partially in bond with the south wall. Clearly, the stripping of wall-plaster and rendering, coupled with excavation both inside and outside the building, is essential in order to understand the fabric.

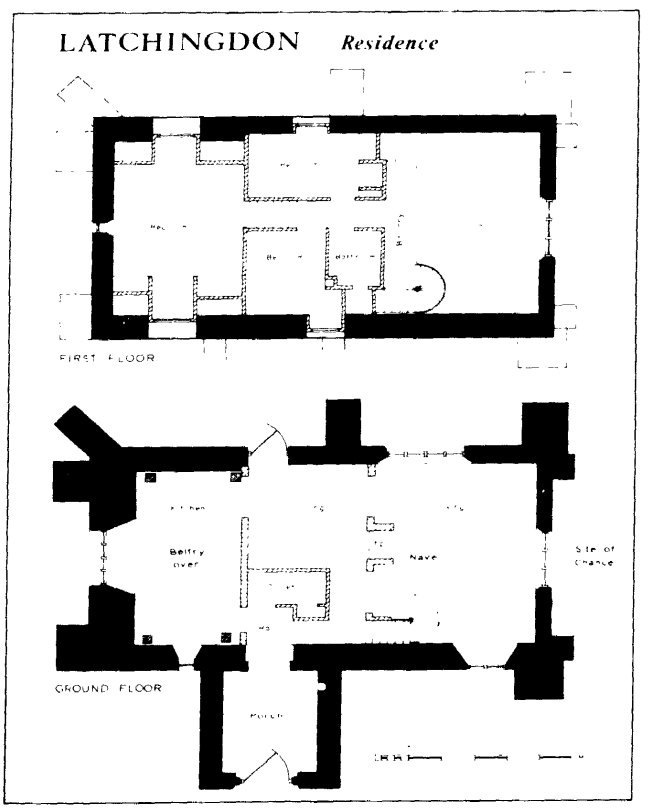
8.17 Internally, the floor of the church appears to be virtually undisturbed by major intrusions. Externally, the ground level is high in relation to the walls, and a simple trench was dug against the south wall long ago. However, the site is relatively undisturbed and has very great potential for archaeological investigation. The opportunity now presented (see below, 8.22) must not be missed.

The conversion of the church and its archaeological implications

8.18 At the time of writing, the church is about to be sold for conversion into a private residence, following the Church Commissioners' dismissal of local objections. Given the size, condition and location of the church, it is not surprising that no local or community use could be found for it; proposals to maintain it as a disused church (by a local society created for the purpose) were not accepted by the Church Commissioners. The only alternatives were demolition or conversion to a residence and it is perhaps worth noting that it would have been very difficult to argue a reasoned case for the retention of the building, had demolition become a serious threat. Planning permission has been granted for conversion (Fig. 26).

8.19 The conversion involves no extensions or major structural alterations to the building; externally, its appearance will remain as now, except for the insertion of dormer windows in the roof.

8.20 The area of land conveyed with the church is small and comprises a strip between 1 and 3 metres wide, around the building, together with rights of access and spaces for the siting of a garage and septic tank. The garage and a ramp will be built in the extreme south-east corner of the original graveyard and the septic tank will be constructed against the northern boundary. Both these works will involve a certain amount of disturbance to ancient boundaries, unmarked graves and such other archaeological features as may exist. Likewise, the trench for the pipe from the church to the septic tank and the trenches for electricity and water supplies (from Lower Burnham Road, across the southern part of the graveyard, to the south porch) will



26 Simplified plans illustrating the proposed conversion of Latchingdon church to a domestic residence. The existing church walls are shown in solid black (on the first floor plan they are shown at eaves level). Based on plans by P J Lorimer, by permission of J Dunlop

involve further disturbances. These works should be observed by an archaeologist and, preferably, the sites designated for the garage and septic tank should be fully excavated in advance of construction. Between them, these features might provide a sufficient sample of the site to indicate whether there was pre-church occupation on this hilltop.

8.21 Internally, the church will be divided both horizontally and vertically, but this will not involve the bisection of any existing windows. A split-level floor will be inserted across the western part of the church, while the east end (which latterly served as a chancel), where there are three tall windows, will not be divided horizontally, but will remain open from the ground floor to the roof. This will be the main living area, the loftiness of which will provide the setting for a spiral staircase and balcony. The horizontal division of the church is tripartite with the insertion of a pair of north-south cross-walls (and further minor sub-divisions in the central section). The foundation trenches will disturb archaeological evidence. Excavations of unknown extent will take place both inside and outside the north wall for the purposes of underpinning. Underpinning may also be necessary elsewhere. It is often against walls that ancient floor levels survive best and there is an obvious danger that information will be lost here, since any surviving floors will be severed from their associated foundation stages. New floors in the church will be laid above the existing floor, and there will thus be no digging-out of the overall interior. Early levels will thus be sealed rather than destroyed, in some parts of the church. There are, however, further internal disturbances to be expected, such as the drains from the kitchen sink, bath and toilet, as well as the trenches for the incoming water and electricity mains. Presumably the latter services will pass through the porch and involve the disturbance of its floor. Finally, there will be repairs to the fabric of the church and some patching of the wall-plaster. Where the plaster has been affected by dampness it is likely that substantial areas of walling may have to be stripped. Although none is known, the possible discovery of wall-paintings cannot be overlooked, and the opportunity to study the exposed fabric could be taken.

8.22 The proposed conversion scheme for St Michael's church is, in the writer's opinion, good, since every effort has been made to utilize the interior of the building without major alterations or extensions to the structure. No historic feature of significance is to be sacrificed. It would be difficult to devise a scheme which did less damage to the architecture and archaeology of the church, yet various unavoidable disturbances will take place, mainly in the floor. Some works are of known extent, while others are unpredictable. For example, the possibility that a series of test-pits may be dug, both inside and outside the building, for the purposes of examining the foundations, should not be overlooked. At present, the surface-water drains discharge in an uncertain fashion, with the result that these may well be dug out and relaid, or altered. External ground level is high, which must contribute to the dampness in the walls and it may be necessary for the ground to be lowered, or a shingle-filled drain constructed around the walls. In aggregate, there are thus many ways in which the archaeology of the church may be destroyed and unless these are both anticipated and acted upon prior to the commencement of building works, we will never know what has been lost; the potential or real historic significance of Latchingdon church will remain as uncertain as it is now.

8.23 There are basically three ways in which the archaeology of the church's interior could be tackled. First, the contractors' works could be observed. Secondly, trenches could be excavated archaeologically, for the contractors. Thirdly, the interior of the church could be partially or wholly excavated in advance. The first solution is unlikely to yield worthwhile results: more information would be missed than gained. The second possibility is excellent in theory, but virtually unworkable in practice; the builders will not want holes dug all over the church at one time, since these would hamper work. The third option is likely to be the only one which is both practical and worthwhile. Yet while total internal excavation is the academic ideal, it might be contested on two grounds: first, that the removal of pit- and grave-fillings would weaken the ground under a tender building. This is understandable and excavation in depth would either have to be carefully limited, or else adequate reinstatement arranged which would be costly. The second objection might be on the grounds that total excavation of the interior is not necessitated by the conversion. However, experience has amply demonstrated that the excavation of parts of a small but complex site such as a church can raise as many problems as it solves. The archaeological record obtained would be imperfect and almost certainly incapable of academic interpretation. Nor can one dismiss the problem by confidently assuming that the areas not excavated or destroyed would be 'safe' for future generations of archaeologists and that their investigations would be able to complement and clarify our partial record. The net result is that the archaeology of the church can, and will never be properly understood, even though a considerable amount of time, money and effort may have been expended on it.

8.24 In conclusion, it may be asserted that the only worthwhile course of action in cases such as Latchingdon is to strip the interior of the building and to excavate the accumulated deposits, down to the original ground level. It is only by area-excavation that the thin and very fragmentary floors, make-up layers, mortar spreads, that will be encountered in an average church can be studied meaningfully. Having done this, the outlines of graves, postholes, pits and other deeper features will be apparent and their relationships (if surviving) to the overall levels will be established. The essential archaeological framework will thus be elucidated, and a general plan of internal features produced, possibly with very little excavation and certainly without deep disturbance. The second stage in an investigation of this nature would be to excavate fully those deep features which lie in the path of proposed foundations, etc. If, during the course of the contractor's work, further threats materialize in areas which have not been excavated in-depth, the archaeologist will already have information in hand on the likely nature of the features to be disturbed. The observation of a contractor's trenches under these circumstances would be worthwhile.

8.25 This method of archaeological investigation would Seem to be the most appropriate for situations of the Latchingdon type where the uppermost levels are likely to be disturbed, but where excavation in-depth is not warranted. This would have been the ideal treatment for Asheldham church, where a complete plan of the internal features could have been obtained at very little cost. Obviously, this method of investigation is not suitable where a great depth of floor and make-up levels exists and through which the proposed disturbances would not penetrate. Such a situation would, however, appear to be relatively uncommon in rural parish churches, since Victorian reflooring generally involved the destruction of all but a few centimetres of the deposits which had accumulated. These fragmentary remains are, by virtue of their position, usually the earliest floor levels and are thus of critical importance to the archaeologist. From them, information relating to the construction and early history of the church can be gained, but only if investigated in an adequate fashion.

8.26 Funds from the national rescue archaeology budget for the investigation of Latchingdon were eventually made available in 1975, but unfortunately excavation in the manner which has been recommended here is not likely to be possible. The Church Commissioners have made their consent for archaeological work conditional upon the proviso that investigation would be strictly confined to those portions of the building and site which will be destroyed by the contractor.

St Mary's Church, Little Oakley (36)

Description and condition

8.27 Little Oakley lies in the north-east corner of the Diocese, near Harwich; the church and hall are fairly close together and stand alone in a rather bleak and isolated spot. The church itself is of no little interest: it comprises a nave, chancel and incomplete west tower; there is also a south porch which the RCHM took to be C19, but it is certainly earlier, although restored. A single window in the nave betrays its Norman date, but all other features of the building may be attributed to the C14 and C15. Some of the detailing is very fine and of particular note are the west tower doorway (late C15) and the buttress-porch (mid C14) over the priests' door in the chancel. The church is unusually elaborate for a remote country parish. C19 restoration was not drastic and its most obtrusive element is to be seen in the rebuild of the upper part of the tower; the stair turret has modern concrete steps. The exterior walls are covered with cement rendering which is in a poor state; the elaborate flint flush-work on the tower has not been maintained and is in need of renovation. Much of the dressed stonework on the exterior of the church is original, considering which it is in reasonable condition. External ground level is high and the building is suffering from rising dampness.

8.28 The interior is well lit and carefully proportioned. The C14 seven-cant roofs, particularly that of the nave, are very fine. The church has not been used for several years and little attempt has been made to secure it against intrusion. The last quinquennial survey (1969) mentions four bells, two of which were unhung; there are now none, since they have been stolen. The church has been cleared of all furnishings, except the font and stone reredos. Both are Victorian works of conspicuous indelicacy. In the nave floor are 58 reset medieval line-impressed tiles; in the chancel floor there are several slabs, including two indents which are now very worn; and the sanctuary is paved with C19 glazed tiles depicting medieval patterns. These are good examples of their type, but are now all loose on their bedding.

8.29 The churchyard contains interesting trees and shrubs but is becoming overgrown; occasional burial continued up to 1973. There are no monuments of particular interest.

Archaeological potential

8.30 Several archaeological sites are known in the vicinity, including a Roman villa, with associated pagan Saxon occupation. Recent drainage works in the field immediately south of the church have yielded finds of Roman pottery. There is, thus, every probability of the church (and perhaps the hall) being built directly on a Roman site; clearly the relationship between the church and the earlier remains is of interest. Some Roman tile fragments are visible in the church but the walls are almost entirely obscured by rendering. C19 grave-digging in the churchyard brought to light 'many patterned tiles', which are presumably those now reset in the nave floor. The tiles constitute one of the larger collections from an Essex church *(TEAS* (ns) **4** (1893), 146).

8.31 In addition to the likely value of archaeological excavation in and around the church, much work could obviously be done in studying and recording its fabric. The core of the church is certainly Norman, or earlier, but the structural evolution can only be elucidated by a proper archaeological study. For this, the removal of internal plaster and external cement rendering would be necessary. Neither covering is in a good state of repair. Had St Mary's remained in use as a church, it is likely that it would have been subjected to an earth-moving or trench digging operation around the walls, since the 1969 quinquennial survey recommended the lowering of the external ground level by 12-18 in.

The conversion of the church and its archaeological implications

8.32 First it must be said that it is difficult to see why Little Oakley church was not recommended for permanent preservation. Architecturally, it is a fine example of its type and it contains several well preserved features which cannot be regarded as common-place in the Colchester Archdeaconry. It is, for example, a more distinguished building than West Bergholt church (3.12), which is to be preserved by the Redundant Churches Fund.

8.33 There are many similarities between the proposed conversion for Little Oakley and that for Latchingdon and hence only a brief discussion is necessary. The nave will be divided into three parts by the construction of two cross-walls, the foundations for which will require the excavation of trenches through the floor to a depth of 1 m. Archaeologically, this offers the opportunity to cut two sections through the nave. Otherwise the church floors will not be disturbed and raised timber floors will be inserted in both the nave and chancel. These floors will be supported on timber framing, at a height of just over 1 m above the existing levels. The sub-floor voids will be used for storage, housing the central heating plant, etc. There will be steps down to the door-cill at the entrance.

8.34 The chancel will not be divided horizontally and the raised floor will reduce the great height; the main living area will thus be a large room, open to the roof, with full-height medieval windows on three sides. A floor will be inserted into the nave, above the existing windows and dormer windows will be added to the roof. Some medieval timbers will be damaged in this process. In general, however, the fabric of the church will remain intact and undisturbed and the external appearance will be virtually unaltered. The below-ground archaeology will suffer but minimal damage inside the church, although externally the provision of services will involve some disturbance of the graveyard.

8.35 Repairs to the fabric of the church will involve the removal and replacement of some, if not all the external rendering and the internal wall-plaster. Some of the plaster could be medieval; hence there is a real danger that ancient wall paintings may be discovered and destroyed (as well as the plaster itself). At the same time, opportunities will be presented to study the fabric of the walls. Such opportunities should not be missed and the wall-surfaces should be photographed and adequately drawn before any replastering or pointing takes place. Little Oakley is one of the relatively small number of churches in the Diocese which did not have its exterior refaced in the C19. It should be possible to elucidate the full structural history of the above-ground fabric during the conversion process.

8.36 It is by no means unlikely that external ground level will be lowered and drains dug for the collection and disposal

of rainwater, thus presenting another opportunity for archaeological investigation.

8.37 On the whole, the conversion scheme proposed for Little Oakley is a good one and will do no more damage to the archaeology and architecture of the church than is necessary to effect a conversion to domestic use. Nevertheless, the opportunities presented for archaeological investigation and recording are significant and must not be overlooked.

Section 9 Threats to Church Archaeology in the Diocese

"Practically, it is impossible to ascertain what particular monuments are specially exposed to danger from malicious injury, neglect, or misdirected zeal for 'Church restoration'. A church which seems, today, liable to no molestation, may, tomorrow, at the suggestion of an ambitious architect, an ignorant committee, or a speculator in glazed tiles, be turned inside out."

Parliamentary Report 1872.

9.1. We have seen in the foregoing sections that churches are subject to innumerable destructive agencies and any thoughts that a church, whatever its period, location or pastoral situation, is totally 'safe' should by now have been dispelled. From the cases which have so far been examined it is clear that redundancy is not necessarily the greatest problem to be faced. These churches, it must be stressed, are simply a convenient sample, and were not chosen because they were the worst or most spectacular examples. In this section an attempt will be made to categorize the principal threats to the history, archaeology and architecture of churches, and to illustrate these with examples drawn from various parts of the Diocese.

9.2 It is perhaps as well to begin by defining the word 'threat'. In architecture, history and archaeology the word is used in an impersonal sense and simply means that destructive agencies are at work. Thus, the stonework of a building may be threatened by atmospheric erosion; timberwork may be threatened by insect or fungal infestation; the ecology of a churchyard may be threatened by grass-cutting; and the architecture and archaeology of a church may be threatened by restoration or by demolition. The variety of threats is innumerable: many simply cannot be averted, while others pass by unheeded. The first problem in church archaeology is to discover what the threats are, how they arise, how they are normally dealt with, and what can be done either to reduce the loss of historic evidence, or to record it for posterity. We will begin by looking at the church building itself, then turn to its graveyard, and then to the fixtures and fittings; finally the special problem of redundancy and its aftermath will be considered.

The archaeology of the building

9.3 For convenience, this will be divided into four sections, although it should be remembered that factors which affect one part of the structure may very well originate elsewhere; the problem is multilateral.

External threats—above ground

9.4 The natural elements, which in Britain are not kindly disposed towards ancient buildings, are responsible for a constant stream of restoration works; some may be major undertakings, but the majority are minor and fall under the heading of 'dilapidation repairs'. While the repainting of gutters is of no interest to the ecclesiastical archaeologist, the repair of rendering and the replacement of stone mouldings certainly is, since it is in works of this nature that visible historic evidence may be carelessly destroyed, or new evidence discovered and obliterated without recognition, let alone recording.

Repairs to stonework and brickwork

9.5 In the Chelmsford Diocese most of the ancient churches are built of rubble and have stone dressings; some of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman examples employ Roman brick in place of dressed stone (Fig. 30). Buildings of the Tudor period are often largely or wholly of brick, while the use of earlier (medieval) brick is very rare. Repairs to brickwork tend to be relatively straightforward and, provided that the correct colour, texture, size, bonding and pointing are employed, the archaeologist need not be unduly troubled. There should, however, be provision for the making of an adequate photographic record, especially if large areas of brickwork are to be replaced. Repairs to historically important features, such as early windows and doorways built of Roman brick, should be recorded in careful detail, since the very way in which the bricks are laid may be a crucial piece of dating evidence. There are, for example, several distinct ways of turning an arch in Roman bricks, but to the layman they may all look alike.

9.6 The replacement of decayed stone dressings, however, presents a much greater problem. The present situation, whereby an architect instructs a contractor to replace certain stones or even a whole feature (e.g. a window), 'to match existing', is far from satisfactory. First, a full record of the feature *in situ* should be made, involving photography, measured elevation and plan drawings, a full-scale drawings of the mouldings. As the individual blocks are removed, they should be examined for tooling and masons' marks, the type of stone noted, and a sample saved for reference. The age of the feature, or its component parts needs to be noted, e.g. 'early C14 window, all original' or 'C19 replacement of C15 mullion, with moulding not accurately copied'. The study of the mortar which bonds the stone dressings to the core of the wall is of the utmost importance, since this is often the only means of ascertaining whether a feature is really contemporary with the adjacent wall fabric. The recording of such information, although very seldom undertaken, is fundamental to the understanding of the growth of an historic church. Furthermore, it often happens that remnants of an earlier feature come to light, only to be lost again, when a window or doorway is being dismantled.

9.7 The process of stone replacement, it has already been indicated, is not satisfactory; in general, present day architects (unlike their C19 predecessors) have no training in medieval ecclesiastical architecture. Those few who are competent in that field are generally self-taught and are, in any case, not normally the men who are producing the drawings from which the stone-mason has to work. It is not good enough for a trainee or a contractor's foreman to produce the final drawings, especially if the feature to be replaced is badly decayed and details of the mouldings have to be reconstructed. Drawings and templates should be made, or checked by, a person who is competent in the field of medieval ecclesiastical architecture, or an experienced stone-mason accustomed to working on churches. When the cut stone arrives on site it should be checked to ensure that mouldings are correct. This is the only way to set a better standard of architectural

replacement than at present obtains. The writer recently saw a drawing which had been produced for a stone-mason to make a replacement three-light perpendicular window. The contractor's foreman spent a day producing the drawing, yet it was evident at a glance that the proportions of the tracery were incorrect. When the new window is made its principal mullions will be about 30 cm too short.

9.8 The problem is most acute in cases of badly damaged or partially destroyed features. Carved label-stops are a common instance. These often depicted human or animal heads, armorial bearings, etc., but are now decayed almost beyond recognition. These features should be properly photographed and recorded before removal; they should always be retained and not destroyed as is normal; their replacement should always be under the direction of a suitably qualified person, if anything approaching authenticity is to be achieved. As regards the restoration of damaged architectural features, a single example from the diocese will serve to show the need for competent archaeological supervision. The chancel of the old church at Wickham Bishops (102) was restored in 1974; it is a late Saxon structure which had a priest's doorway with a semi-circular head turned in Roman bricks. Internally this can still be seen but externally, where restoration was required, there is now just a cast concrete lintel.

Repairs to wall facings

9.9 One of the great passions of the Victorian restorer was to make everything neat and uniform in appearance. This frequently took the form of replacing church windows to a common pattern and at the same time erasing irregularities in the wall facings. In the great wave of C19 restorations many churches which were externally plastered were stripped and the rubble-work was pointed. Where such an operation was beyond the financial means of the parish, the walls were recovered by rendering, usually grey cement, but sometimes a rock-hard concrete was used. In instances where the rubble-work was pointed it was also frequently reset or refaced, either in whole or in part, resulting in the destruction of the character of much ancient masonry. While to the layman this would be just rubble walling, the archaeologist and the architectural historian can tell a great deal from the coursing of the masonry, the angles at which stones and tiles have been set, the subtle use of different types of colours of stone for decorative banding, and slight irregularities and disruptions in the character of the masonry which might indicate former doorways and windows. Thus the trained eye looking at the west wall of Sutton church (AD.SS, 291) will quickly see that there was once a west doorway and above that a round-headed Norman window; or at Stanway St Albright (18B), the eye will see the scars of a former west tower or porch and the doorway which led into it; while at Colchester, All Saints (3), the slight traces which suggest a former opening into an eastern sanctuary have been noted (5.26). In these and other examples the historic details can only be observed because the wall-facing is relatively intact. Where this is not the case the church is inevitably less well understood; thus, if Butterfield had not refaced the north wall of St Helen's Chapel, Colchester (4a), we would be able to see to what height the Roman work extended (5.84). Many churches in the Diocese have suffered a total de-characterization of their walls and consequent destruction of their historic details by refacing: for example the round church at Little Maplestead (123), which is one of the most regrettable instances; Stisted (119); Black Notley (110); and Great and Little Yeldham (136, 137).

9.10 It is, therefore, of great importance to ensure that whenever a wall face has to be repointed or reset the most careful study and recording is made beforehand and that when the work is undertaken the constructional and historical features of the wall are discussed with the architect and the builder, so that the character of the facing is retained (or restored, if it has been partially destroyed). 'Before and after' photographs of walls which have been refaced are desirable: for example, when the plaster was stripped from the west wall of the south aisle of Holy Trinity church, Colchester (5), two C15 niches were discovered, containing the remains of statues *(TEAS* (ns) **19** (1930), 324-6); not a trace of these remains now. A recent example of blanket-refacing is Wickham Bishops (102); here, the chancel should have been thoroughly studied before its walls were refaced, since any ancient features which might once have existed have now been eradicated. At least the opportunity should have been taken to look for the remains of the late Saxon windows. Whilst the work was well done, it was nevertheless, archaeologically, a drastic treatment for the building. Perhaps it is not too late to spare the nave.

9.11 Where a church still has its walls rendered, it is usual for the character of the medieval masonry to be well preserved underneath. When the rendering decays and has to be replaced, as is the case about every 50 years, a magnificent opportunity is presented to study the fabric. This opportunity is usually missed, as was the case at Rivenhall in the 1950s, when the tower and nave were re-rendered (6.9). When, however, the rendering had to be removed from the north wall of the chancel in 1972 the amount of information bearing on the history of Rivenhall church which was recovered was beyond all expectation (6.12). Other churches with similar potential are recorded in the Gazetteer. A proper study of the fabric of a wall is impossible without a close examination of the various mortars used in its construction; these are usually obscured by the remains of rendering or by post-medieval pointing. It is thus essential that the mortar joints are raked out before study; raking out is, in any case, a prerequisite of repointing.

9.12 It is often difficult to decide whether or not to re-render the exterior of a church, and the problem should be the subject of archaeological consultation. Prior to extensive stripping in the Victorian period it is probably true to say that the majority of rubble-built churches were externally plastered, but it is a fallacy to suppose that this is representative of their *original* condition. Indeed, an archaeologist can often tell, with a fair degree of certainty, how and when rendering came to be introduced to a particular church, if it was not an original feature; there are various tell-tale signs which can be observed, both in the nature of the wall fabric and in the edge-detailing of stone dressings. As a very rough generalization it may be said that churches in Essex were not rendered externally in the later Saxon and sometimes in the Norman period. Instead, the walls were decorated with bands of selected coloured stones or Roman brick courses. Some good examples of the former may be seen at Hadstock (192), Marks Tey (78), Great Bentley (48) and Inworth (97), while remnants of the latter abound in many places. It is less easy to be certain about the intended visibility of Roman brick, since some of the greater Norman buildings, such as St Botolph's Priory, Colchester (9), were almost certainly rendered *ab initio.* From the C13 onwards (and possibly earlier) there was a growing tendency towards rendered rubble-work, the rendering being flush with, but not overlapping, the stone dressings. This tradition continued until the early C16, when brickwork became common. In some instances rendering was certainly intended as a conscious imitation of dressed stonework, while in others the brickwork was meant to be seen and was decorated with diapering: e.g. Feering Porch (94). Alongside the rendered-rubble tradition there was also a less common trend in the C14 and C15 to

achieve ornamental facings from a variety of materials. Lawford (26) is a particularly fine example, where flint, brick and puddingstone are used in a most striking and successful combination. Knapped flint was also popular in the C15 and early C16. There was a general tendency for the larger and more expensive late medieval churches to be given decorative facings, while modest structures were rendered. There are some curiosities, such as Dedham's nave and chancel, which were probably designed to be rendered, while the tower was faced with knapped flint. Undoubtedly the rendering is the cause of the church's drab and dirty appearance, particularly on the north side; its removal would give the building a more 'historic' appearance, but would almost certainly be historically incorrect.

9.13 The rendering controversy becomes potentially acute in a building like Rivenhall: the Anglo-Saxon church was probably not rendered, but when it was enlarged and 'modernized' in the C14, provision was made for a complete envelope of rendering. The 'restoration' of 1837-9 certainly envisaged the retention of the rendering, if only to hide some of the extremely slipshod workmanship of that date. Now, total removal of the rendering would destroy the unusual, although rather inelegant, early Victorian character of the church, but at the same time it would reveal the hidden Anglo-Saxon and medieval work. In the event, it has been decided to strip and restore the early character of the chancel, but leave the rest in its later form. This course of action can be justified on the grounds that the C19 features of the chancel were wrecked by the amazing action of a builder who, in *c.* 1950, removed the corner turrets and battlements after announcing that they were too heavy for the walls and were causing them to sink!

New buildings and extensions

9.14 In the latter part of the Cl9 congregations were expanding and many medieval churches were found to be too small. In some cases this resulted in drastic rebuilding, as for example, at Ardleigh (25); but more commonly an extension was added in the form of one or two side aisles. There are many examples in the Diocese: e.g. Broomfield (AD.SS, 213); Holy Trinity, Colchester (5); Alresford (55) and Little Braxted (99). Extensions of this nature are almost unknown today and Thundersley (AD.SS, 304) may be cited as the only recent example (1966). Other alterations and additions, which are less destructive of the ancient fabric of the church, are however, relatively frequent. These extensions are usually for vestries or small halls: e.g. Marks Tey (78), 1968; West Mersea (61), 1971; St James's, Colchester (8), 1954; Rivenhall (100), 1974. At worst, additions may involve the creation of a doorway where none existed before, but usually a disused or blocked doorway is pressed into service. This may well have archaeological repercussions (as did the opening of a blocked medieval doorway at Rivenhall) and needs careful watching, if the loss of historic details is to be avoided.

9.15 Any new building will require foundations and will have to be keyed into the fabric of the church; the latter operation normally involves chiselling holes into the medieval fabric, and should be monitored, not only for unexpected discoveries, but also to examine the composition of the wall-core, at intervals from the foundations upwards.

9.16 The actual design and appearance of a new building is not a matter which falls within the province of the archaeologist, although he might be able to comment helpfully on the particular significance of any architectural features which the new work might destroy or obscure, or which might be reset in another position.

Drastic rebuilding

9.17 Drastic rebuilding was commonplace in the C19 (3.5) and was sometimes precipitated by a natural disaster, such as the Colchester earthquake of 1884. Damaged structures were often levelled and rebuilt without any detailed records being made. Happily, rebuilding is now very rare, but it does still happen, and without archaeological recording. Great Coggeshall church (92) was badly damaged during the last war, but its rebuilding was not attended by archaeological investigation. The same applies to Little Horkesley (21), which was bombed; the church was rebuilt in 1957, when a valuable opportunity was missed to turn a disaster into an academic contribution. Heydon (207) is a similar example. Fire is sometimes the cause of a major rebuilding, as at Woodford (AD.WH, 408), where the church was consumed in 1969; this is a Georgian building with little scope for above-ground archaeology (but for excavations see 4.6). Had the church at Alresford (55) been rebuilt after the fire of 1971, a major archaeological investigation into the structure should first have been organized.

General disfigurement of churches

9.18 The archaeologist is not only concerned with the study of historic remains, but must be equally mindful of the associated activities of conservation and preservation. It is always better to preserve an historic feature than to destroy it, however adequate a record is made. The maintenance of good physical order and acceptable appearance are aspects of preservation and to a very large extent they fall within the concern of the Diocesan Advisory Committee. With major external alterations the county or district planning office is also involved. In the past, many eyesores have been permitted, such as the extension to St James's, Colchester (8), 1954, or the obtrusive vestry at Tollesbury (66), 1955. Hopefully, they can now be regarded as errors of the past. The vestry at Rivenhall (100), for example, is an attractive building, which is neither a feeble copy of Gothic architecture, nor a stark modern obtrusion.

9.19 A very great problem exists with housing church heating plant. in the C19 most heating chambers were underground and out of sight (but see 9.32) but now financial considerations are causing these structures to be built above ground. Furthermore, oil storage tanks are a new problem with which our predecessors did not have to contend.

9.20 Among the other disfiguring agencies may be mentioned lightning conductors which, although necessary, do not *have* to mar the principal face of a tower, and obtrusive gutters and downpipes. No worse example can be quoted than Wormingford (84).

9.21 Finally, one must mention the subject of pointing; at a distance this is not generally visible, but at close range it can be either unobtrusive (as it should be) or extremely jarring. The Victorians had an unfortunate habit of employing a very hard, black, mortar mix which they applied liberally. Normally it was allowed to stand proud of the rubble-work and was finished with a sharp weathering-edge. This is almost indestructible, it never weathers and imparts a rigid, crazy-paving appearance to a wall face. This type of pointing is now difficult to remove and often results in physical damage to stone-work and especially to Roman brick dressings. Equally ugly and damaging is modern cement pointing. A good architect will specify a soft mortar mix, mellow in colour and gritty in texture, but when a jobbing builder or a church member decides to 'have a go', he leaves the unmistakable trademark of cement, an unsightly mess and a damaged medieval building. Unfortunately, work of this sort is to be seen on churches like Cressing (111) and Little Braxted (99).

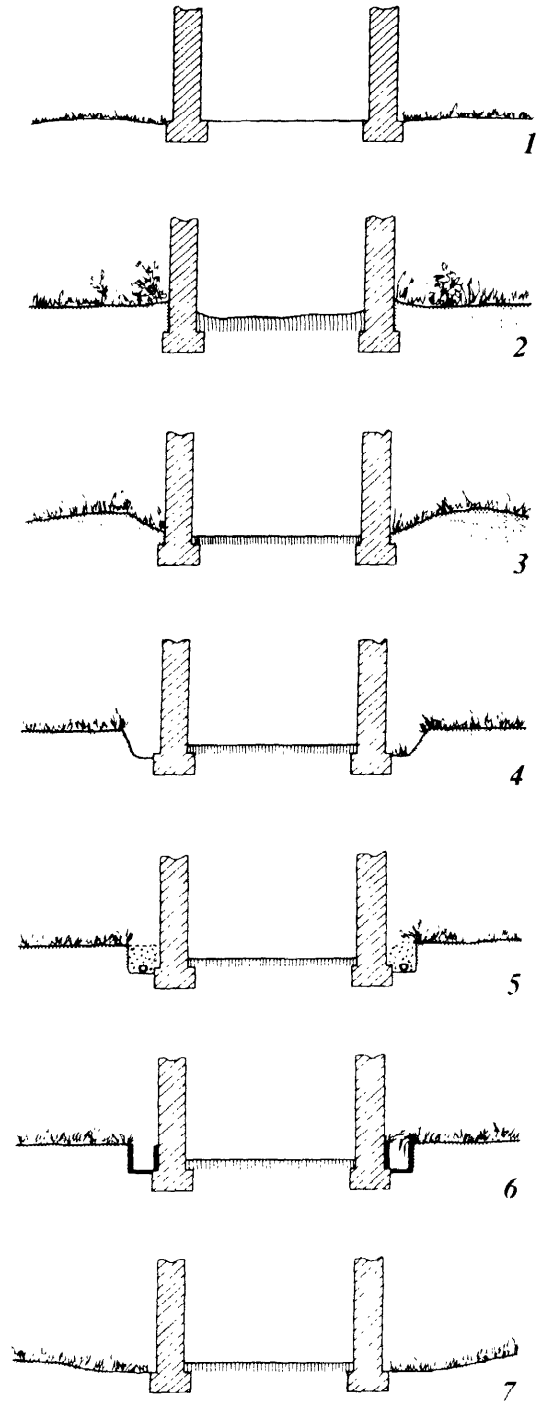
External threats-below ground

Drainage works

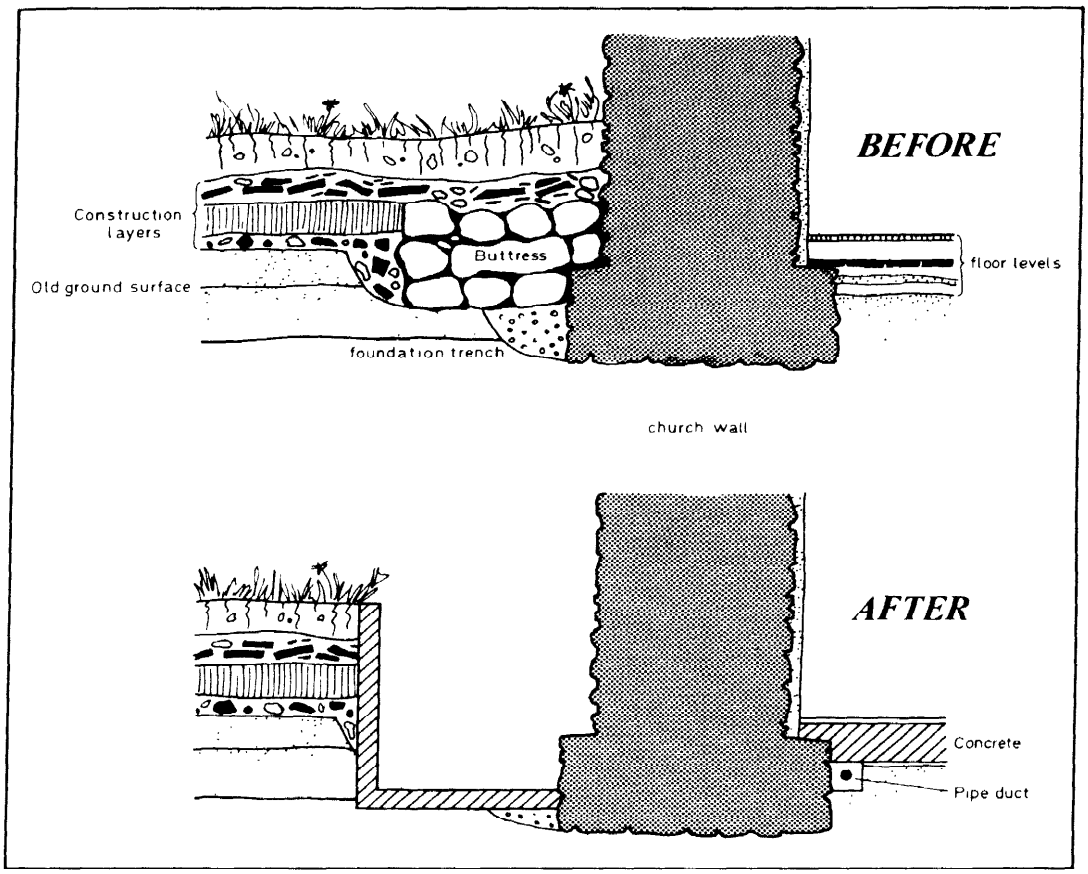
9.22 The principal disturbance to the below-ground archaeology of churches is caused by the excavation of drainage trenches of various kinds. This is one of the greatest problems in the whole subject of church archaeology. In any ancient churchyard the ground level will have risen steadily over the centuries, due to a variety of cumulative processes. Where burial has been the most intense, the ground level will have risen to its greatest extent, and this is often around the church walls, although it is not uncommon for the whole graveyard to stand between 0.5 and 1.0 m above the surrounding levels (Fig. 27.2). The build-up often results in external ground level being higher than church floor level. This means that ground water can drain into the walls and floors of the building; by capillarity the water is carried up the walls, usually to a height of 1, or perhaps even 2 metres. This condition is known as 'rising dampness', which manifests itself in damp-stained walls, peeling paint, crumbling plaster and the visible growth of mould. Where the internal walls are covered by a low, panelled dado, the dampness may not show itself until it rises above the dado, or rots the panelling so that it falls away from the wall. Apart from the decorative problems, rising dampness brings about the decay of floors of all types; it causes wet-rot in the bottoms of pews and their ends which abut outside walls (cf. the tragic damage to the C16 pews at Hadstock), and it can destroy ancient wall paintings with great rapidity. Indeed, rising dampness must have been the principal factor in the destruction of murals over the last few centuries. It is therefore more than just a nuisance, it is also highly destructive and hence it is not surprising to find that architects go to great lengths to try and control it. In an old stone building with no damp-proof course it is impossible to eradicate rising dampness, but it can be contained within acceptable limits.

9.23 The Victorian restorers made a token effort at controlling the dampness problem, but to a large extent defeated their own ends by lowering floor levels internally (9.54). Their 'remedy' took one of two forms: either the ground around the walls was cut down (Fig. 27.3), or a drainage channel was excavated around the building. Evidence of the first method is common, while at Great Yeldham (136) and Halstead (120) enormous trenches were dug around the churches. The construction of deep drainage channels, usually brick-lined and rendered, was less common until the earlier part of this century. One of the first recorded drainage channels must be that at Layer Breton (73), which was constructed in 1837, and lined with zinc troughing. Over the last few decades the practice of constructing drainage channels has become very common and some architects regard them as a normal part of any restoration programme. Furthermore, concern over the steady loss of, and damage to, wallpaintings since their discovery a hundred or so years ago has led the Council for Places of Worship to issue recommendations regarding the provision of drainage channels. A diagram illustrating how these should be constructed was published in *Maintenance and Repair of Stone Buildings* (1970) *and How to look after your Church* (1970).

9.24 Drainage channels, however, have far-reaching implications for the archaeology of a church. The mass of soil which has built up around the exterior of a church is not merely a useless accumulation, it is an historical document which, when opened up and read by the archaeologist, can yield a great deal of information relating to the structural evolution and dating of the building. Below the turf may exist a series of stratified archaeological layers and features associated with the foundations of the church and with the lower courses of its walls. The digging of a drainage channel against the face of a



27 Diagrams illustrating the accumulation of archaeological deposits in and around churches and how they are affected by the digging of drains and the lowering of ground levels. For explanation, see text, pages 66-9



28 *Diagrams to illustrate in detail the archaeological effects of constructing an open drain around the base of a church wall, and relaying an internal floor*

wall will remove these deposits. Furthermore, if there are any buried foundations of buttresses, chapels, aisles, towers, porches or *porticus,* these will be dug away wherever they cross the path of the trench, and their structural relationship to the main walls of the church destroyed (Fig. 28). Worse still, drainage channels usually run around most, or all of the exterior of a church, so that the archaeological destruction adjacent to the foundations is not partial, but total (Rodwell, 1975a, 38). The Council for Places of Worship has recognized the danger of advocating drainage channels around ancient churches and has produced a supplementary publication on this subject, *Churches and Archaeology: digging operations in and around churches* (1974). We have already seen how extensive the archaeological destruction would have been at Rivenhall, had the proposed drainage operation taken place without prior excavation (6.11).

9.25 The situation will, of course, vary from church to church and from drain to drain: if the archaeological deposits are fairly shallow and the drain is relatively deep, then massive destruction will result; but if the deposits are deep and the drain does not penetrate far, then only partial destruction may occur. Prediction is impossible and full archaeological excavation is the only solution. The drainage channels themselves vary in depth according to the fall of the land and the build-up of the ground: they rarely involve disturbances of less than 0.4 m, while they frequently reach depths of 0.75 m or more. The width of the trench is usually *c.* 0.5 m. Drainage channels take three forms of construction. The first and simplest is an excavated trench against the face of the wall (Fig. 27.4). In the second type a land drain is laid in the bottom of the trench which is then backfilled to ground level with hardcore or shingle (Fig. 27.5: the type originally recommended by the CPW). In the third type, the drainage channel is lined with concrete and is left open (Fig 27.6).

9.26 The damage done is not only to the archaeological stratigraphy: the removal of accumulated deposits exposes the lower courses of walls and their footings, where they are normally to be found in the condition in which the builders left them: i.e. they have not been affected by C19 or modern restoration, or pointing. Almost invariably it is of great value to observe and study these exposed remains, since evidence of the original wall facing, foundation offsets, plinths and breaks in building construction are all revealed. If the third type of drainage channel is being constructed—and it is by far the most common-then this foundation evidence is submerged for all time in a block of concrete. At Cressing (111), Brightlingsea (57) and Layer de la Haye (74), to name but three examples, structural details of which no sign was previously visible above ground were revealed by the trenching. Although each observation constitutes a useful contribution to our understanding of the particular church, it must not be forgotten that it is only obtained at the expense of the archaeological stratigraphy; in each case this was destroyed without adequate record and entirely without excavation.

9.27 Drainage channels of all three types are to be found in the Diocese:

First type (Fig. 27.4):

Layer de la Hay (74). An open trench was dug around the north side of the Saxo-Norman nave and chancel in 1970, following a recommendation in the 1969 quinquennial survey; much building debris was turned up, together with pottery and domestic rubbish. The ground is unstable and the trench is gradually backfilling; an attempt to arrest the erosion has been made be revetting the sloping side of the trench with fragments of C18 and C19 tombstones. The whole feature now presents a generally derelict aspect and in a few years will become as choked and useless as the remains of the old channel around Faulkbourne church (108) now are. Great Sampford (189) is another recent comparable instance.

Second type (Fig. 27.5):

Layer Marne (72). There is a very narrow, shingle-filled trench here, of recent construction. We have no knowledge of what was lost archaeologically when this drain was constructed, and since nothing is known of the Norman church which preceded the present Tudor structure, a valuable opportunity for the recovery of information was possibly missed.

Bradwell-juxta-Coggesshal (112). A similar drain was constructed here in 1972. Observation of the open trench and spoil heaps did not suggest that much was lost archaeologically (but this may be misleading, since the remains of a timber building, for example, would never have been discernible under such conditions); it basically confirmed that the Norman church is of a single build. The trench is now so overgrown that is is partially invisible.

Brightlingse (57). A massive trench was dug around the south and east sides of this church in 1974 for the construction of a rubble-filled channel. The archaeological deposits were deeply stratified and, in the lower levels, included the robber-trenches of a Roman building (probably a villa). Archaeological finds were common in the upcast. Brightlingsea must be regarded as a tragic loss, since it was clearly 'another Rivernhall' The writer is, however, greatly indebted to the architect in charge of the work, for bringing the drain to his attention and for delaying the completion of the trench until a site visit had been arranged. The history of Brightlingsea church would have been very much the richer for a properly planned archaeological investigation, and the PCC could have been saved the cost of drainage works.

Third type (Fig. 27.6)

Witham (103). An open, brick-lined trench exists around much of this church and was described in a recent quinquennial survey thus: 'There is an excellent open drain at the foot of the walls'. When the writer visited on a fine day in 1974 the channel was full to the brim with trapped water and had the appearance of a moat, rather than a drain. Archaeologically we do not know what was disturbed when the trench was dug, but the site and church is potentially of the utmost importance for the study of the later Anglo-Saxon period, in Essex.

Kelvedon (95). A large, efficient, but ugly, concrete-lined trench was constructed around this church a few years ago. Again, the site and church are known to be archaeologically important (Rodwell, 1975c), and the destruction of unrecorded evidence must have taken place.

Cressing (111). In 1973 the architect had a test-pit dug against the north wall of the chancel, for the purpose of examining the foundations and the drainage problem. The trench provided a useful glimpse of below-ground structural detailing of the wall, which was recorded by the writer, who also observed that the present rectangular chancel showed evidence for the incorporation of the stump of a Norman (or earlier) apse. Discussions with the architect and the incumbent resulted in the agreement of a drainage scheme which would not involve total trenching around the walls of the church. Subsequently, and unknown to the writer, the most unfortunate concrete-lined channel in the Archdeaconry was constructed around the church. Evidence for the early history of Cressing church was destroyed. Several masonry builds and the foundations of the lost apse were revealed briefly on the south side of the chancel and were recorded, as far as was possible in the circumstances, by Mr John Hope (Hope, 1974). Nevertheless, it is evident that much was lost, particularly at the west end. Here, in 1973, the writer observed signs that a west tower had been demolished at an unknown date. The junction between the tower and the nave, at foundation level, was crucial to the understanding of the structural relationship between the two elements. That junction was destroyed without record by the drainage channel.

9.28 In summary, we may conclude that drainage channels are detrimental to the archaeology of churches; they are widespread and increasing, both in numbers and in scale. For the purposes of this survey all drainage works in the Archdeaconry of Colchester have been superficially examined and their condition noted. In no more than a handful of instances can existing drainage channels be classed as effective, while dozens may be observed in a choked and derelict condition. In many quinquennial surveys, architects justifiably complain of the state of drainage works. Shingle-filled channels, of the second type listed above, are the least prone to choking but are of course the most difficult to clean out when trouble occurs. Observation, both by architects and archaeologists, shows that it is very rare for a parish to undertake any form of regular maintenance on its drainage works, with the result that choking and water-logging eventually lead to a crisis. On the whole, drainage channels cannot be regarded as successful. What, then, is the solution? The answer is to stop taking short-cuts and creating eyesores and to deal with the problem in an efficient and permanent manner, by restoring the ancient ground level around the church, not just against the walls, but outwards for a distance of several metres. This may cost more, and may involve the lowering of tombstones which stand proud; but it will prevent excess ground-water from building up around the church walls at a high level; it will obviate the need for drainage eyesores; and, an important point which is often overlooked, it will restore the church's historic proportions. Many churches in the Diocese have grossly distorted proportions on account of false ground levels, e.g. the southern aspect of West Bergholt (19), or the northern side of Abberton (62). The ground around Quendon church (185) has been lowered, although not archaeologically.

9.29 The archaeological implications of such an action are, however, great; and full provision would need to be made for excavation where necessary. Although the restoration of medieval ground levels involves the removal of more archaeological deposits than the digging of a drainage channel, it nevertheless provides the opportunity for an investigation on a worthwhile scale, which in turn will yield that much more information about the history of the church and its site. It has already been stressed (Rivenhall: 6.10) that the observation of holes dug by contractors would not have yielded more than a minute percentage of the information which was recovered by proper archaeological excavation on a suitable scale. It is perhaps not generally appreciated just how extensive and complicated churchyard stratigraphy can be, and it is seldom possible to understand or interpret this adequately if the area under investigation is too small.

9.30 Fortunately, bulk earth-moving by machinery is not common around churches and any proposals to undertake it

need to be countered, not only because of the archaeological destruction, but also on account of the unnecessary clearing away of tombstones which such an operation would almost always entail. That churches are not entirely free from such a threat is clear from recommendations which occasionally appear in quinquennial surveys; at Little Chesterford (197), for example, decayed timber floors gave rise to an alarming statement: 'Since damp in the walls is the obvious cause it would be helpful if the level of the ground in the churchyard could be lowered; this should not be too difficult with the aid of a bulldozer. The provision of drainage channels would also be advisable'. Since the churchyard at Little Chesterford has been completely cleared of tombstones, it is evident that the unwritten history of this interesting little church is seriously threatened with annihilation.

Foundation works

9.31 Many churches, particularly on clay, suffer from structural cracks which are often caused by shifting foundations. From time to time the architect in charge requires the opening of test pits against the foundations of a church, for the purposes of inspection. These holes ought to be dug by archaeologists and the opportunity taken to study and record the nature of the exposed foundations, as well as the stratigraphy which has to be destroyed. (cf. Cressing; 9.27). Depending upon what is found in the inspection it may transpire that underpinning of the church's foundations is required. While it is perfectly understandable that the architect would not wish the digging out for this operation to be undertaken by archaeologists, there is nevertheless no reason why the work should not be kept under archaeological observation and structural, if not stratigraphical, evidence recorded, as well as ensuring the recovery in context of any finds which are unearthed. Lost opportunities for the recording of information under such circumstances include Tollesbury (66); here, some twenty years ago, work on the chancel foundations is said to have revealed a wall of Roman bricks. It would have been valuable to know whether this was part of a Roman villa underlying the church, or whether it was part of the Anglo-Saxon building which must have preceded the present chancel.

Underground heating chambers

9.32 In the C19 it was common practice to excavate a deep hole and construct a boiler-house beside or actually underneath one of the main walls of a church. The chamber was approached by steps or a ladder, from outside, while the heating apparatus itself was often under the floor of the church. Obviously, archaeological deposits both outside and inside the church were destroyed. Many of these heating chambers are now disused and are being filled with rubble. This is to be lamented, partly because they are themselves monuments of industrial archaeology, and partly because they could still be used to house heating plant, instead of allowing it to clutter the interior of the church or cause the erection of unsightly sheds. In general, heating apparatus ought to be concealed from view, without doing structural damage to the church: this effectively means that it should go underground, and inevitably there will be a certain amount of archaeological destruction in the process. The loss would be acceptable if the area to be dug out was excavated to the level of undisturbed subsoil by archaeologists, with the contractors carrying on therefrom.

Internal threats—above floor level

9.33 Church interiors are constantly being subjected to repair, 'improvement' and redecoration. This is natural and in most cases is necessary. What is perhaps not widely appreciated is the fact that every time the fabric or decoration of the building is disturbed it is possible that some unknown historic detail will be discovered and either damaged, destroyed or covered up again without being recognized or recorded. It is clear from general observation that a great quantity of information is being lost, for a variety of reasons. It cannot be stressed too often that the material history of each church is finite, and with every scrap which is destroyed our knowledge is diminished. It is well known that both the rate of discovery and rate of loss was very high in the C19, and while we often pride ourselves on the care which we lavish on our churches and are quick to condemn those Victorians who tore down Saxon arches, broke up old floor memorials and burnt box pews, we still seem to be oblivious to similar destruction of the historic fabric of our churches which continues today. The destruction may not be so obvious but it still goes on and is often as unnecessary today as it was in the C19.

Repairs to plaster on walls

9.34 It is generally held that the rubble walls of ancient churches were plastered on their internal faces, *ab initio* This may be correct, but positive evidence, especially prior to the Norman period, is largely lacking. Certainly from Norman times onwards limewash ed plaster was the normal finish and frequently, if not invariably, this was decorated with polychrome painting (cf. the CPW's leaflet, *Wall-paintings; Questions and Answers)* Sometimes this painting took purely geometrical forms and was not confined solely to the areas of plaster, but ran on to the dressed stonework of archways, etc; alternatively, biblical scenes may have been represented. Many murals ranging in date from the C12 to the C15 survived in good condition until the C16, when Reformers demanded their obliteration. For the first time, churches acquired bare white walls which were possibly only punctuated by the occasional text in black lettering. Many of the Victorian restoration schemes involved the stripping and replastering of church walls, which naturally led to the discovery of many long-forgotten mural paintings. Throughout the country hundreds of paintings were uncovered, either wholly or partially, and treated with a variety of waxes and varnishes in an attempt to preserve the freshness of their colouring. Sometimes enthusiasm overtook discretion and murals were virtually repainted; Copford (76) is one of the best known examples.

9.35 After a century or more of exposure most ancient wall-paintings are again in need of attention: many are dirty, some have faded badly and others have suffered from dampness or from the 'preservatives' with which they were coated in the C19. (For a good introduction to wall-paintings and their problems see the CPW's booklet *The Conservation of English Wall-Paintings* 1959). By no means all the wall-paintings which were discovered in the C19 were left exposed; many were certainly hacked off the walls and destroyed without record. By chance, we happen to have a record of one of the interesting paintings which was destroyed at Felsted (115), but of many others we know nothing; the fate of those in St James's church, Colchester, has already been mentioned (5.59). Fortunately, the vogue for stripping and pointing internal walls never gained momentum in Essex, as it did in some other parts of Britain. Pebmarsh (124) is the only church in the Colchester Archdeaconry to have suffered such a fate (although parts of St Osyth and Copford churches were stripped).

9.36 By no means all medieval wall-paintings were discovered in the C19. Many have been revealed during this century and there is still a slow trickle of fresh examples coming to light. Belchamp Walter (132) is perhaps the best instance locally, where extensive C14 murals were professionally uncovered and treated in 1963-4. Unfortunately, the reverse process has been at work, too, and in 1968 some of the less well preserved paintings in Fingringhoe church (58) were

re-covered with limewash. Elsewhere in the Diocese murals are deteriorating badly and are in urgent need of professional attention: e.g. Inworth (97), upon the state of which Mr Clive Rouse reported in 1970. Perhaps the subject of greatest concern to the ecclesiastical archaeologist is that of the unknown wall-paintings which are being destroyed or irreparably damaged by modern repairs to plasterwork. Such evidence as the writer has accumulated suggests that there is cause for great alarm, since fresh murals are still being discovered and destroyed, not only accidentally but also in circumstances where it is difficult to see the destruction as anything other than wanton.

9.37 Medieval paintings and post-medieval wall-texts are liable to be discovered at any time and in any church where pre-C19 walls still stand, however thoroughly the church has been, or is believed to have been, restored in modern times. It is not just in churches like Fairstead (107), Copford (76), Belchamp Walter (132) and Fingringhoe (58), where paintings are already well known, that new discoveries may be made. They may also turn up in the most unlikely of places, such as Rivenhall (6.13), where the narrow margin by which the painting was saved from destruction should be noted. Another church which is believed to have been totally replastered in recent times is Hadstock (192), but it cannot be taken for granted that no ancient plaster survives anywhere in the building. If it does, then it will almost certainly be found to have been painted, since the archaeological investigation in the church in 1974 (7.8-9) showed that there are traces of polychrome geometric patterns surviving on some of the stone dressings, although deeply hidden below plaster and paint. As at Rivenhall, it was only through archaeological investigation that the presence of paint could have been detected.

9.38 Whenever repairs to old plasterwork are undertaken —and they are very common—there is the likelihood that wall-paintings are being damaged, and for this reason there is an urgent need to arrest the practice of patching or stripping old plaster in churches, until the affected areas have been given the 'all clear' by an archaeologist or, preferably, a wall-paintings expert. Nor can this be done simply at a glance: a number of trial areas need to be examined properly by flaking or scraping away the accumulated layers of limewash and plaster until it is certain that no colouring exists. Were this normal practice, there can be no doubt that many paintings would have been saved from destruction. Two recent examples will serve to illustrate the point; in both cases the destruction was unnecessary and inexcusable in view of the fact that the presence of paintings was known or suspected. At Brightlingsea (57) fragments of painting are exposed in various parts of the church; there is nothing spectacular, but the potential for major discoveries is real. In 1974 the writer and the architect supervising the restoration works happened to be in the south aisle, which was about to be redecorated and where plaster repairs were in hand. It was observed that patches of colouring were appearing under the flaking limewash; the age and nature of the painting was unknown, but it seemed to extend over much of the south wall. Arrangements were proposed for a wall-paintings specialist to visit and advise, but within a few days it was reported that the parishioners had taken matters into their own hands and had attacked the wall with electric sanding machines. The second example also occurred in 1974, when the writer chanced to visit Great Wakering church (AD.SS, 283) on Christmas Eve, and discovered that the nave had been totally stripped of wall-plaster, save over the chancel arch. Various constructional details of interest were exposed and these ought to have been recorded. More striking, however, was a fine wall-painting in the splay of one of the nave windows; this was evidently a new discovery. But what about the rest of the nave? Part of a text has been left on the north wall, but the remainder of the plaster, most of which was certainly of C14 date, has gone. It was a well-known fact that traces of medieval paintings and later texts were discernible in various parts of the nave. The writer saw them himself a few years ago and they were evidently visible when the RCHM visited: 'In nave — on N and S walls, remains of black-letter inscriptions in rectangular frames, C17; on chancel arch, remains of red and black colour.' Nobody would deny that the nave walls at Great Wakering were drab and dirty and in need of restoration, but this in itself is no excuse for the destruction of medieval wall-plaster and whatever paintings were on it. Enquiry revealed that the parishioners were stripping the walls themselves and that a local builder would replaster; further enquiry showed that no Faculty or Archdeacon's Certificate had been sought and that the church's architect had not been called in. Nor, it seems, were any steps taken to have the walls tested for paintings before work began (although this was the obvious course of action, since they were *known* to be there); furthermore, once the painting in the window splay had been discovered, work went on and still no paintings expert was called in.

9.39 We shall never know what was destroyed at Great Wakering. Although it is 'said' that no other paintings were found, we know they were there, but have no clue as to their nature or extent, apart from black lettering on the south wall. Presumably the discovery of the mural in the window splay was due to the lucky chance that the overlying layers of paint or plaster happened to peel away at the crucial surface. This does not often happen, since paintings may be firmly sandwiched and no untrained person wielding a hammer and bolster could possibly be expected to detect their presence. We may recall that even the workmen at Rivenhall, with their many years of experience in church repair, failed to detect the tell-tale hairline of paint which appeared in the fractured edge of the plaster (6.13).

9.40 There are, of course, further implications in the Great Wakering saga, in that Canon Law was flouted. The day is long overdue when a PCC which acts irresponsibly is called to account for itself at a consistory court. Ironically, some window panes were broken a few years ago by stone-throwing vandals at Great Wakering; naturally, this act was publicized and condemned; but which is the more precious and which is easier to replace: modern glass or medieval paintings?

9.41 There is, in general, too little concern today for the qualities of ancient plaster in churches and it is a matter for regret that much is being stripped and replaced with a smoother and starker material. This unwelcome trend started in the C19, when some highly unsuitable mixes were applied. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find raw cement in churches and it was a fallacy that a waterproof concrete rendering, used internally, would prevent dampness from spoiling the decoration. An extreme example is to be seen in the south transept of Hadstock church, where a monolithic slab of raw grey concrete faces the walls to a height of more than 2 metres (1884). It has resulted in the forcing of wall moisture through the more porous plaster above this covering. The removal of hard renderings is extremely difficult and may easily cause the whole facing of a rubble wall to be pulled away from the core. Whenever internal walls are stripped the opportunity should be taken to study and record fully the fabric and construction. The historical evolution of a church building is often revealed with exceptional clarity on the inner faces of its walls, whereas the outer surfaces may have been masked or confused by repairs and refacings of the past.

Repairs to internal stonework

9.42 Much of what was said above under (9.5) is equally applicable to internal stonework. Particular points

which are worthy of attention include the examination of rear-arches and arcades for masons' marks, graffiti and paint, all of which need careful recording if they have to be disturbed. Medieval internal stonework was often decorated with paint and traces of this frequently remain, either in the crevices, or beneath later accretions of limewash; it is thus possible to recover the original pigments, although modern re-colouring of ancient stonework is not normally undertaken. Prior to the Reformation churches must have been very colourful buildings, if not at times positively garish, and it is instructive to recreate this atmosphere, as at Holy Trinity, Colchester (5.41). Although it may not be considered appropriate to re-colour English churches, it is nevertheless unfortunate that many have been starkly de-characterized internally by the liberal and indiscriminate application of limewash to every surface and moulding. Unfortunately, this practice is approved in the CPW's booklet, *Redecorating Your Church* (1971). It is unnecessary to cover dressed stonework with limewash. It is far better left in its natural state, so that the texture, colouring and tooling of the stone may be appreciated. Stonework around windows is almost invariably damp and its decoration is soon spoiled. Furthermore, the constant application of limewash (or worse still, paint) causes the mouldings and decorative details of dressed stonework to become clogged, with a consequent loss of definition and character. At Hadstock, trial cleaning of the Anglo-Saxon stone dressings which line the transept arches has revealed many interesting details relating to their construction, and medieval geometric painting has been exposed. Furthermore, once the C19 and later accretions were removed it became clear that there were various blocked holes in the stones: these have now been cleared and revealed as the sockets which once contained the principal rails of a series of medieval timber screens which formerly enclosed the crossing on all sides. These details increase our knowledge of the early liturgical layout of the church; it has also been shown that the rood screen and loft were shifted westwards at some stage, probably at a period when the chancel was in a state of ruin.

9.43 In the C16-17 it was not uncommon for historically important features in medieval churches to be deliberately concealed in the walls; once discovered, their study and restoration is essentially an archaeological task, which should be undertaken in close co-operation with the church architect. The most common discoveries are piscinæ sediliæ stoups, etc; these have often been dismantled or defaced before being concealed, and their uncovering and restoration is not always a matter for the contractor's 'best' man. Sometimes more exotic discoveries are made, such as the collection of medieval sculptures at Fingringhoe church (58) in 1968. Many fragmentary mouldings, sculptures, tiles, etc, are being lost during restoration work, simply because there is no trained eye on the look out for such things (cf. the Rivenhall and Felsted floor tiles, 6.14).

Roof work

9.44 Essex is very rich in fine medieval timber roofs, not so much in the elaborate C15 'hammerbeam' types (for which see East Anglia), but more in the earlier scissor-braced, waggon and crown post types. Many of these were designed as visible structures, but were hidden by plaster ceilings in the C18 and C19. Gradually, as restoration proceeds, more and more of these splendid structures are being laid open to view again. Medieval timberwork escaped the detailed studies which were lavished on stone mouldings in the last century and indeed it is only since the Second World War that its study has been placed on a sound footing. There is still a long way to go, and much of what has been achieved has been due to Mr Cecil Hewett. His many articles and useful handbook on the ecclesiastical timber architecture of Essex are of great value, regardless of the fact that not all specialists in the subject agree on details (Hewett, 1974).

9.45 The study of church roofs is as important to the ecclesiastical archaeologist as is the study of foundations; it is impossible to understand the whole archaeology of a building without an appreciation of both these elements, as well as all that goes between. Therefore, whenever alterations have to be undertaken to a roof, or fresh areas of timbering are exposed, the recording of the structure, details of mouldings, traces of colouring, etc, should be undertaken. Hadstock demonstrates the importance of roof studies: until a few years ago the nature of the roof structure was unknown, on account of the ceiling of 1816 which had been slung from the tie-beams. When a hatchway was made, a roof of curious construction was discovered (Hewett, 1974, 14, 138; fig. 2): it is unparalleled in Britain and may well include some Anglo-Saxon timbers. Examination of this roof prior to the 1974 archaeological investigation (Section 7) showed several anomalies in the construction at the eastern end of the nave; these were without satisfactory explanation. When, however, excavation took place in the floor below, the settings for timber posts were revealed which bore an intelligible relationship to the roof timbering. One of the points which emerged was that there had been a timber bell-cote erected over the crossing after the fall of the central tower (7.9). Taken individually, neither the roof anomalies nor the post settings in the ground would have been understandable, but viewed together they became meaningful.

9.46 On the whole, intrusive ceilings such as that at Hadstock mar the internal proportions of a church which was designed to rise to an apex. Ceilings also provide ideal conditions for death watch beetle and other infestations. However, the removal of intrusive ceilings is not always desirable or straightforward, especially if the ceiling is as fine as that at Liston church (143); this is magnificently decorated and is dated 1701. It is the only ceiling of any architectural importance in the survey area, but it is in an appalling state of disrepair: careful restoration and colouring would be well worthwhile and would give Liston an asset which most other churches in the Diocese can never possess.

9.47 It is unfortunate that many roofs were stripped of their decorative bosses and the carved ends of hammerbeams were sawn off at the Reformation. Where these features have survived or have been replaced in recent times they provide subjects for careful repainting and regilding; Fingringhoe is one of the few examples in the Diocese where this task has been tackled.

Provision of services

9.48 The provision of domestic services in an ancient building always poses problems. Cables, pipes, radiators, electric light fittings, etc, are seldom handsome. There have been three phases in the development of internal services: first, the Victorians took pains to conceal them from view; hence heating pipes tended to go into under-floor ducts and stove-flues were set into the cores of walls. Archaeologically, of course, these acts of concealment did a tremendous amount of damage. Secondly, in the last half-century there has been a swing towards economy which has resulted in forests of pendant lights; conduits snaking their way over delicate medieval mouldings: and monstrous heating units which sprout asbestos or rusty iron flue-pipes. Examples of all these are very common in the Diocese. Thirdly, we are moving into a new era, at least in the field of lighting, and some good, unobtrusive schemes have been installed. White Notley (109) is worthy of mention in this connection, as a recent and highly successful scheme;

unfortunately the same cannot be said for its heating plant, which dominates the interior of the church.

9.49 The installation of services is of concern to the archaeologist, since disturbances to the ancient fabric of a church can be considerable . In particular, the chiselling of channels in plaster can easily destroy long strips of hidden wall-painting; moreover, the cutting away of dressed stonework is usually unnecessary and should be resisted. Some contractors are conscientious but others will follow the line of least resistance and pay no regard to the damage they do in fixing their installations. The archaeologist should be involved in those stages of the work which affect the fabric of the church. On the whole, it must be judged better to conceal wiring and piping, but it does mean that the archaeological implications need careful watching, with suitable provision being made for the recording of any discoveries.

Internal threats—below floor level

Floors

9.50 Archaeologically, the floor of a church and whatever lies below it is of the first order of importance in understanding not only the physical development of the building, but also its liturgical layout. Floors are probably the most sensitive indicators in the archaeological study of churches. Nowadays we think of a church floor as a series of tiled aisles, between which are set banks of pews on raised wooden platforms; the chancel and sanctuary are elevated by a series of steps. This ubiquitous layout is largely a legacy of C19 liturgy. Prior to the great spate of floor renewals many churches contained areas of stone paving in which were set numerous memorial slabs. The majority of churches undoubtedly had tile-paved floors, at least in the sanctuary, in the medieval and post-medieval periods. Not a single medieval tile pavement survives intact in Essex, although such floors are to be found in adjacent counties. In many cases these decorated pavements must have become worn out by the C19, and some had undoubtedly been replaced by Georgian floors, but it is hard to believe that none could have been preserved. Patterned medieval floor-tiles do in fact survive in some 25 churches in the county, but in most cases they are limited to a handful of specimens and all are reset in C19 contexts. The variety of patterns and origins of these tiles show that Essex once possessed a rich series of pavements, but some of the poorer churches must always have retained their earth floors.

9.51 However, the great Victorian 'clearout' was to come and no medieval church in Essex was allowed to keep its existing floors, whatever they were. 'Restoration has wrought dreadful havoc' wrote one historian (Anon. 1889), who went on to say that at South Weald (AD.SS, 334), 'under the late vicar the workmen were allowed to take up the [ten] brasses, upon which they used to cook bacon for their dinners . . . but what respect have modern church restorers for history . . . wrench out their brasses, mend the roads with their slabs . . . and all this mischief in order that a brand-new pavement, at so-much per square yard, shall make all neat and correct'. It is possible that somewhere in the Diocese parts of immediately pre-C19 floors may survive beneath later, raised-floor chancels, or under the boarding upon which pews are set. Discoveries of this nature would be of the greatest value, if their significance were recognized before modern threats caused their destruction. Some interesting finds have emerged from church floors, including an indent and brass at Shopland (AD.SS, 290), which was thought to have been lost. A similar discovery was made when the bombed remains of Little Horkesley church (21) were cleared, preparatory to rebuilding.

9.52 Disturbances both inside and outside churches are liable to turn up discarded flooring materials, particularly medieval tiles. Many of these tiles were simply thrown into the churchyard, where they may now be recovered in grave digging (e.g. Little Oakley; 8.31), or during excavations (e.g. Rivenhall). Some tiles were obviously put to a practical use, as at Little Chesterford (197), where they abound in the walls of the C19 vestry. The collection and study of these tiles is important if we are ever to understand their styles and distributions; indeed, to this end a national census of decorated medieval floor tiles is in progress . Essex has just been completed by Mr P J Drury, whose corpus will be published shortly. At present we know of some 500 different die patterns from the county, although many of the finds are from monastic houses.

9.53 Prior to the introduction of tiles, and in places where these could not be afforded, church floors were simply spreads of earth, clay, mortar, chalk, etc., possibly covered by a scattering of rushes or straw . From time to time these humble, but adequate floors were renewed by laying down a fresh covering over what was already there. These stratified floor levels, the 'finds' they may contain, and their relationships to wall foundations, graves and other features constitute some of the most important primary evidence for the ecclesiastical archaeologist. It has already been noted that in the north transept at Hadstock some twenty layers of flooring material were discovered (7.4). To the archaeologist these layers can be read like the pages of a book: each layer represents a chapter in the life history of the church and its congregation.

9.54 Whenever the floor of an ancient church is to be disturbed, for any reason, there is a danger that some or all of the evidence which is sealed below the surface will be destroyed. The relaying of church floors is the greatest threat of all. Prior to the C19 the laying of a new floor probably did not involve the disturbance of the old one; thus when the Victorian restorers came to put in the most solid floors that churches have ever known, they usually dug out some or all of the accumulated layers, to reconstitute the medieval level (Fig. 27. 2, 3), or to provide ventilated air spaces beneath the timber floors. In the chancel levels were usually raised, rather than lowered. It is sadly clear that most churches in the Diocese have had at least part of their internal archaeology destroyed and thus whatever remains is all the more precious. After a century of service the weaker Victorian floors are showing signs of decay; often this has been hastened by rising dampness, which has caused tiled floors to become stained and loose on their bedding, and timber floors to rot and subside. Great Wigborough (64) provides one of the more dramatic examples of erupting floors, and for timber-decay Hadstock was a splendid instance.

9.55 Whilst in many cases floors are simply being patched, it is clear that this can only be a short-term measure and that total replacement of the flooring is the real solution. Patching can do nothing to alleviate rising dampness, but a damp-proof membrane laid under the whole area of a new floor makes a great difference. There is a slow, but growing recognition of the need to replace damp and decayed Victorian flooring with new materials. The archaeological implications are great, since whatever survived the first reflooring is unlikely to survive the second and if the opportunity is not then taken to organize a full excavation, we must accept that what is potentially the most important and revealing chapter in a church's unrecorded history will be eradicated. The laying of a new floor, together with its various bedding materials and damp-proof membrane, involves the removal of some 30 to 50 cm of sub-floor deposits, the full archaeological implications of which have been demonstrated at Hadstock (7.4). With these in mind we may look at other reflooring schemes and wonder just how much was lost. Amongst these historical disasters we may list Southminster (AD.SS, 276), Gestingthorpe (133), Dedham (24) and Belchamp Otten (139A). In each instance archaeological excavation could and should have taken place

in conjunction with the new works; there were several specific and important questions to be asked of each of these churches, to which answers may now be unobtainable. Perhaps Southminster was the most lamentable of all, since we know nothing whatever of the Anglo-Saxon minster church which stood there.

9.56 Modern liturgical practice is tending towards the introduction of nave altars and the general re-arrangement of the sanctuary. In particular, the multiplicity of steps introduced by the Victorians is proving inconvenient, with the result that 're-ordering' is gaining popularity. As a concept, re-ordering is nothing new. Should this process gain momentum, we will be faced with the widespread destruction of the Victorian chancel layout, which is now as much a part of the history of the Anglican church as is the medieval bell-tower. It is the lowering of raised floor levels which must concern the archaeologist. In many cases re-ordering is only possible after reflooring has taken place. The removal of the rubble used to build up the levels in the C19 is as much an archaeological task as is the excavation of the earlier deposits, since the Victorians were in the habit of burying all manner of unwanted articles in floor rubble. The recovery of moulded stonework, sculpture fragments, tiles, indents and tombstones is likely to be a frequent occurrence, and if the archaeologist does not actually remove the rubble himself he should scrutinize every fragment. The kind of all-important rubbish which found its way on to a garden rockery at Rivenhall (6.21) is equally likely to occur under chancel steps.

9.57 A major opportunity for archaeological investigation in conjunction with a re-ordering scheme has recently been lost at Ashingdon (AD.SS 296). This church, it is often claimed, is the minster dedicated by Canute in 1020 for the souls of those slain in the battle of *Assandun.* Certainly there is no sign of a Saxon minster in Ashingdon church today; if there was one here it can only be found by a meticulous archaeological investigation. Although it is unlikely to have been a foundation of Canute's, this does not excuse the lost opportunity.

9.58 One of the potential historic losses incurred through re-ordering is the disappearance of the C19 chancel layout. With it could disappear the familiar chancel furnishings, and in particular the contemporary floor tiles. Many of these are positively vulgar and garish; other chancel pavements are extremely fine in design, intricate in detail and in an excellent state of preservation. If they have to be removed, good examples of sanctuary paving should be lifted carefully and either reused elsewhere, or samples saved for an eventual display of C19 floor-tile designs, in an ecclesiastical museum: it may easily happen that by the C21 our knowledge of C19 floor designs (to take just one aspect of the liturgical layout) will be as scanty as our present-day knowledge of C18 and earlier floors, while medieval layouts have been lost entirely. C17 and C18 layouts are now very scarce, although many of the richer churches, at least, must have possessed them until a century or so ago. Messing (96) is an exceptionally fine C17 survivor. Undoubtedly, a church like St Peter's, Colchester (1) formerly had a very rich and splendid C18 layout.

Heating apparatus

9.59 In the C19 several different types of installation were available. All, save the 'Tortoise' stove, involved underground works on a massive scale. Many churches display-the tell-tale cast-iron floor gratings, which may not appear to cover a significant area but always belie the extent of the disturbances below ground. When one dismantles and removes these heating systems their true nature becomes apparent. Thus at Hadstock the cast-iron gratings covered a mere 2 m^2 but the underground works extended over an area of 14 m^2 (roughly 20% of the archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon nave had been destroyed by heating works alone).

9.60 While we may lament the archaeological disturbances which Victorian heating works have caused and the difficulties of excavation which arise therefrom, it should not be forgotten that there is another side to the coin, in that these installations are now part of the physical history of a church and should be fully recorded before being destroyed. Indeed, it is alarming to see the rate at which fittings are disappearing: while the majority of floor gratings were mass-produced and still survive in vast numbers, the same cannot be said of the boilers and furnace structures themselves. In the Chelmsford Diocese, at least, by far the majority have been scrapped; many were splendid monuments of industrial archaeology and a selection of regional types should have been retained. It is now virtually too late in Essex, but there is an urgent need for an industrial archaeologist to seek out whatever still survives and secure some examples for preservation in an ecclesiastical museum. This applies as much to above-ground stoves as it does to those which are rotting away in underground chambers. In the former category one of the first examples to salvage is the superb 'Tortoise' stove at Belchamp Walter (132): this is still in use, is well preserved and proudly displays its motto, *Slow but Sure Combustion.* Unfortunately, there is a proposal to discard this, one of the very few survivors in the Colchester Archdeaconry.

9.61 Modern heating installations seldom involve extensive underground works and while this reduces the threats to the below-floor archaeology of a church, it nevertheless frequently augments the array of eyesores. Any disturbance of the floors for the insertion of pipework, etc., should be closely watched by the archaeologist, as should the destruction of C19 ducts since they can be quite revealing in the materials which they yield. The heating chamber at Hadstock had to be demolished; this was undertaken archaeologically, not for the benefit of the Victorian soot, or indeed the bricks, but for the odd few lumps of stone which were incorporated in the structure and its stone-paved floor. Nothing of interest was visible before demolition began, but there was the possibility that the exercise might yield some useful information, and it did. Incorporated in the Victorian structure were fragments of the tomb slab of a C18 incumbent (who seems to have suffered a *damnatio memoriae),* several pieces of medieval moulded stone, whose function and place of origin in the church has yet to be worked out, most significant of all, two of the Anglo-Saxon voussoirs from the crossing arches. Hitherto, none was known to survive, since two of the arches have long been demolished and the remaining pair were rebuilt in the C13.

Foundation works

9.62 Remarks concerning the excavation of inspection pits and the underpinning of foundations, from the exterior, are equally applicable to the interior of the church (9.31). In particular, it happens from time to time that an arcade pier bursts, sinks or tilts, with the result that the architect specifies the digging out and consolidation of the ground under or around it. This is certainly a matter of interest for the archaeologist, since it is often around piers that fragments of early floor levels survive, and the piers themselves are frequently sited on existing foundations. A recent and instructive example was Writtle church (AD.SS, 237), where, with the co-operation of the architect and builder, Miss C Couchman was able to record the exposed stratigraphy and recover some interesting finds.

Vaults and graves

9.63 It is not unnatural that the floor of a church should be peppered with vaults and graves. In wealthy town parishes the church, and in particular the chancel, is likely to have had its archaeological deposits largely destroyed by the construction of massive brick vaults in the C18 and C19. In a country parish there may only be one or two such vaults in the church, depending on the affluence and family size of the local squire. The clergy, too, often had their own vaults. Pre-C18 vaults and crypts do, of course, exist but they are relatively uncommon. C18 and C19 vaults are of limited value to the present-day archaeologist and tend to hamper his work a great deal; but they are not wholly devoid of interest and should not be overlooked. In particular, the study of coffin fittings is sadly neglected. Many coffin plates are themselves monuments to the art of the engraver and deserve fuller study; see, for example, the coffin plate which now hangs on the wall in Great Coggeshall church (92).

9.64 Medieval graves are as much a part of the archaeological stratigraphy inside a church, as are the floor levels through which they were cut. Many early graves were very shallow, particularly those which contained stone coffins with decorated lids. In some cases these lids must originally have been visible at floor level but, unfortunately, the reflooring activities of the C19 led to the disturbance of many medieval stone coffins. Usually the lid only was saved and either thrown out into the churchyard (e.g. Langham: 23), or else it was set into a new floor (e.g. Rivenhall, where there are two lids in the chancel). Proper archaeological recording of the coffins and the palaeopathological study of the skeletal remains was not usually undertaken, with the net result that we have gained many fine sculptured and engraved coffin lids, but have lost much other related information. One of the very few recent opportunities for such a study arose at Belchamp Otten (139A) in 1965, when reflooring of the church resulted in the discovery of one of the most magnificent C12 Barnack stone coffin lids in the county. The writer cannot ascertain that any proper archaeological study was undertaken (and certainly not published); the lid was merely retrieved and cemented into the chancel floor.

9.65 Although inhumation no longer takes place inside churches, it is of some concern to the archaeologist that cremated remains are occasionally buried in the floor of an ancient church. Although a minor disturbance, they still constitute another threat to the internal archaeology of the building. A faculty is required for internal cremations, so that there is time to make arrangements for an archaeologist to excavate the hole, if need be.

Graveyards and monuments

9.66 Graveyards, just as much as churches themselves, are the victims of change. Their archaeology is seriously threatened with the result that there is a need to organize the recording of evidence which is being destroyed and at the same time to try to reduce the current rate of loss. First, it must be made clear that there is more to the archaeology of a churchyard than the preservation or recording of the more important tombstones. These are, of course, a vital and well known aspect of churchyard studies, but there is a lot more besides, which is less widely appreciated.

9.67 First, the archaeologist is interested in the origin and layout of the graveyard, as well as its relationship to the church and to the village or town. There are many fundamental questions to be asked and which can only be answered by the archaeologist: which came first, the church or the graveyard? Why is the church where it is? Why is the graveyard the shape it is? Was there a previous church, or a free-standing cross elsewhere in the graveyard? Was the church and/or graveyard founded on virgin land, or was the site the scene of previous religious or domestic activity ? These are not merely academic questions, and much information bearing on them is likely to be lying in the graveyards of parish churches. Thus, excavation can usually tell whether burial began before the foundations of the existing church were laid, provided that the relevant stratigraphy has not been destroyed by the construction of a drainage channel around the church (9.22-25). Excavation can say whether there was previous Anglo-Saxon, Roman or prehistoric activity on the site of the churchyard, although deciding whether that activity was of a religious or domestic nature may not be easy. One of the most intriguing relationships is that between a church and an underlying Roman building (5.33, 104; Fig. 11.4; Fig. 30); this field of study is almost unexplored, but is of the greatest potential interest. The extent to which prehistoric sites, although obviously pagan in their association, retained their sanctity into the Christian Saxon period is also a subject on which evidence is needed. Certain churchyards have yielded prehistoric burials (e.g. Alphamstone, 125) and there is every probability that the sanctity of upstanding barrows was respected, if only out of sheer superstition. There is, for example, a large mound still surviving, although badly damaged, in the centre of the graveyard at Wickham St Paul (126); it is not of recent creation and it is quite possibly a barrow; its presence may well be the reason why the church is so near the northern edge of the graveyard.

9.68 Other kinds of earthworks in churchyards also need to be fully recorded while they survive. It has already been shown that three distinct sets of earthworks lay unnoticed in Rivenhall churchyard (6.7; Fig. 19) and there must be many others elsewhere. C19 antiquaries frequently reported that churches stood in 'camps'. and while sometimes this may have been wishful thinking or simply a misunderstanding of the elevated churchyard ground surface (9.22), on other occasions the observation was probably valid, although interpretation and dating is another matter. A church of particular fascination in this respect is Abberton (62), which appears to overlie the southern end of a massive linear earthwork, known as the Abberton dyke. The siting can hardly be accidental and the sharp drop around the southern and western sides of the churchyard is certainly of interest; archaeological evidence is badly needed to put Abberton church into context with its associated earthworks.

9.69 These few examples have been cited to illustrate the range of archaeological evidence, both in the form of buried structures and surviving earthworks, which await recognition and recording. The threats to the evidence are of two kinds: burial and churchyard levelling. Burial is of course a proper and natural process in a churchyard, but it cannot qualify for exemption as an archaeological threat, nor does it present an insurmountable problem. Once again, the need is basically one of adequate recording of whatever historic evidence is to be destroyed by modern grave digging. The problem was raised under the discussion of Rivenhall (6.8), and it was pointed out that modern graves are deeper, more numerous, closer set and generally far more destructive than most of their predecessors. First, they cut through, and wholly destroy, all previous interments on the spot; and since the grave-digger does not record the burials which he removes, we have no way of knowing their date. While in many instances the displaced burials will be medieval, others will be Anglo-Saxon, or even Roman (the presence of known Roman cemeteries under medieval churchyards may be no coincidence; e.g. Great Maplestead: 122). There are many interesting details to be recovered from the study of medieval and earlier burials, but the suggestion that archaeological exhumation should take place would be greeted with howls of protest in most villages.

Surely, scientific excavation would be better than continuing to permit grave-diggers to cut through ancient burials in summary fashion.

9.70 Quite apart from concern over the destruction of early burials, grave digging removes all other archaeological deposits which happen to get in the way, such as earthworks and buried buildings (cf. the Roman villa and medieval rectory which were found by excavations in advance of grave digging at Rivenhall; 6.16). At West Mersea (61) there are many vague records of grave diggers cutting through Roman mosaic floors, most recently in 1946. Mersea is a site of fundamental importance for the study of the relationship between a major Roman building and a substantial Anglo-Saxon minster. In detail, very little is known about the former, and absolutely nothing about the latter, yet they both lie under, and may even be partly incorporated in, West Mersea church. At Ashingdon (AD.SS, 296), a problematical church which has already been mentioned (9.57), there are vague records of walls being found in grave digging, and of two alleged suits of chain mail, as well as Roman tiles, neolithic flint implements and a silver penny of Canute. How valuable it would have been to have had some properly recorded and published archaeological evidence on the association of these finds. At Peldon (63) a small hoard of medieval silver coins was found in grave digging a few years ago, but without a recorded archaeological context they tell us nothing.

9.71 There is little doubt that grave diggers are constantly meeting with archaeological features and finds (other than burials) in the course of their work, and that much is lost through ignorance. The writer was talking to a retired grave digger, a few years ago, who said that he had dug graves in more than 100 churchyards in a period of 22½ years, but was extremely disappointed that he had 'never found a thing'. When questioned further, it transpired that he had dug in several of the most archaeologically lucrative churchyards in north-east Essex (including Rivenhall). To him, 'finds' were essentially coins, jewellery, whole pots and the like. On another occasion the writer engaged in conversation with two men digging a grave, after picking up a neolithic flint arrowhead from their spoil heap. They had seen the object, not appreciated its significance and thrown it down; Roman pottery fragments and tiles were likewise thought to be of no interest. On another occasion the same two men were observed to be turning up early Iron Age pottery; it was very friable and broke easily, but it could not be overlooked. When the significance of their find was pointed out, they confessed that they thought the pottery was 'just burnt earth'. Upon completion of the grave, an Iron Age pit containing further sherds was clearly visible in section; it was duly recorded and excavated before the funeral cortège arrived.

9.72 Expanding village populations are causing many ancient churchyards to be enlarged; until the latter part of the last century they had remained more or less static for centuries and had become fossilized into the landscape. The creation of extensions involves the destruction of ancient boundaries: hedgerows, which are ecologically significant, are removed; and banks and ditches, which are archaeological features, are levelled. Burial then moves outside the bounds of the original churchyard which, in some cases, may be regarded as an end to the archaeological threats posed by grave-digging. However, this is not always the case and it may be that burial simply moves into an adjacent archaeological site, where prior excavation should take place. Danbury (AD.SS, 251) is a case in point; here the church and its graveyard lie entirely within the earthworks of an ill-known defended enclosure, generally believed to be an Iron Age hillfort. For many years Iron Age, Roman and medieval pottery has been turning up in grave digging; clearly, a great deal has been lost archaeologically. Now, burial is moving into fresh areas, well away from the church and outside the bounds of the medieval graveyard, but still within the circuit of the ancient earthwork. A large area of previously undisturbed land has been archaeologically wrecked over the last few years; if this continued, without prior excavation, in a matter of a decade or two all chances of ever understanding the earlier stages in the historic evolution of Danbury village would have been obliterated. Fortunately, the threat has been appreciated in time and is now under active scrutiny, and in 1974 the Essex County Council undertook an archaeological excavation on ground which is soon due to disappear under a sea of monuments.

9.73 It has been indicated above that an old churchyard, once freed from the threat of modern burial, is archaeologically safe. This is only half true, since new processes of destruction all too frequently take over; these concern the 'visible' archaeology of the graveyard, namely its monuments; '. . . the itch to clean it up, to expunge wild flowers and long grass, to flatten mounds and remove gravestones . . .' (Whistler, 1975). The tradition of erecting grave monuments is very ancient and in its earliest form is to be seen in the tumuli which are common in some parts of the country (although very few survive in Essex). Monuments of stone and timber have been common since the Roman period, with differing historical and regional emphases. In the Chelmsford Diocese we have a vast number of stone monuments of the C19, a lesser number of the C18, and very few of C16 and C17 date. There are a few C19 and early C20 monuments of cast iron, while those of timber are almost entirely lacking. This is not because they never existed, but because the weather and the depredations of man have virtually eradicated them. There was a distinctive form of C19 wooden grave-marker which comprised a plank set longitudinally over the grave and supported by a post at either end ('headboard'). The plank was edge-mounted and one or both of its faces bore a painted inscription. In regions where stone was expensive and difficult to obtain this form of grave marker was popular, as C19 engravings show, and a thin scatter of them survives in some counties (e.g. Surrey), but there is now only a handful of survivors in the Archdeaconry) of Colchester. It is a staggering reflection that we have virtually destroyed an entire class of monument through neglect and graveyard clearance.

9.74 This course of wilful destruction (known euphemistically as 'churchyard tidying') upon which many PCCs are intent is of the greatest concern to the archaeologist, genealogist, demographer and ecologist. Once a portion of a graveyard is disused it will naturally become overgrown and derelict if efforts are not made to look after it. This is commonly allowed to happen, with the result that tombs become damaged by the unwanted growth of trees and bushes. Then somebody complains that the churchyard is a disgrace and the note is sounded for devastation. This is a national problem which was aptly summarized by Hugh Brogan *(CPW Newsletter,* No. 19, 1973): 'The churchyards of England are under threat. Not that they are less loved than they ever were. On the contrary, the visitor will usually find a church cherished as much outside as in. Nevertheless, a process of insidious erosion is at work, for which more than the weather is to blame. Like so many other church problems, the difficulty is at bottom that of striking a proper balance between the just claims of the present and those of tradition. The lawnmower is the symbol . . . if the machine's operation is impeded by awkwardly-placed, crumbling and defaced tombstones. . . thought will be given to removing them. Yet the upshot may well be a churchyard whose only merit is the clear run it gives to its mowing-machine.' His conclusion, although not related directly to archaeological interests, is apposite and worth quoting: 'A good sweep of turf, a few surviving headstones propped against the wall, is of little interest or

beauty. It cannot inspire those thoughts and emotions, religious or aesthetic, which find their exquisite expression in Gray's poem. To reduce a churchyard to such a condition is to endure a spiritual defeat.'

9.75 It would take too long to catalogue all the churchyards in the Diocese which have been reduced to this state, but those in the study area which have suffered are noted in the Gazetteer. Churchyard clearance is a slow, but steadily ongoing process; some clearances took place many years ago, while others are currently in hand. Most insidious of all are those illegal operations, where a few more stones are removed each year. The visual effects of churchyard clearance differ greatly: Witham (103) looks forlorn; Little Chesterford (197) looks devastated; while at Belchamp St Paul (138) and Great Bentley (48) the cult of the lawnmower is evident. In the case of the former, some tombstones have been aligned on the boundary wall, leaving an expanse of grass in front of the church. The latter is one of the most severe cases of what King called 'sepulchral devastation' (King. 1893, 161) which is to be seen anywhere in the Diocese. Great Bentley already has a 42 acre village green—the largest in the county—yet the churchyard has been turned into another. The park image is complete, with notices inviting the visitor to 'KEEP OFF THE GRASS'. From the south, the church looks ludicrous, with its superlative Norman doorway opening directly on to bowling-green turf. Tombstones have not even been propped against boundary walls: they are stacked in heaps in the hedgerow, presumably awaiting disposal. One has only to stand where once there was a churchyard gate, with a copy of the RCHM photograph of Great Bentley in hand, to appreciate how thoroughly the historic graveyard, its monuments and ecological habitat have been obliterated. Can they really be judged as a suitable exchange for a lawnmower?

> 'I hate to see in old churchyards
> Tombstones stacked round like playing cards
> Along a wall which then encloses
> A trim new lawn and standard roses.'
>
> (Sir John Betjeman)

Fortunately, some remarkably fine graveyards have been retained intact and are well looked after: Wethersfield (156) and Fingringhoe (58) are exemplars in this field; of the latter Pevsner (1954, 166) wrote: 'Visually quite exceptionally successful, owing to position . . . and also to upkeep. The merit is that of not having done too much. A slight impression of neglect can be an asset.' It is a matter for great regret that many PCCs are trying to turn their churchyards into public parks: trees, hedges, boundary walls, gates and tombstones are all being swept away in favour of lawns and rose beds, and sometimes car parks; one almost looks for the swings and roundabouts. If this is to be the new churchyard image, then there is massive work ahead for the ecologist and the archaeologist, if natural habitats and whole classes of monuments are not to be obliterated without record. It is rapidly becoming appreciated that churchyards are some of the most precious ecological habitats which survive, since agricultural spraying and the fumes of the motor car are bringing about the destruction of roadside and hedgerow floral and faunal assemblages.

9.76 Attention may now be turned to the problem of archaeological recording. Ideally, all graveyards should be recorded, regardless of clearance threats, since natural decay of the older monuments is no less of a threat than the sledge hammer. The recording of a graveyard is no quick or easy task, for the details of which see Jeremy Jones's booklet, *How to record a graveyard* (1976). The first requisite is an accurate plan (a sketch plan is useless and a waste of time), showing the position and orientation of every monument. Graves, like churches, are seldom aligned true east-west, and the variations within one churchyard are as significant and as worthy of record as are the 'period' and family groupings. Trees, too, should be plotted on the plan. Secondly, there is the recording of the monuments themselves: a straight transcript of the text is of minimal value on its own, as often is a single photograph. The component parts of the monument, the geology of its stone, the style of its lettering, the state of its weathering, the details and art history of its decorative embellishment, the surface tooling, the stone-mason's mark, and even the lichens which cover it, are all part of the record. Thus, photographs, measured drawings and rubbings, together with a full written description and transcript of the text(s), constitute an adequate record.

9.77 Apart from the archaeological recording of graveyards, there is an urgent need to press for conservation. While important monuments inside churches are usually restored when the need arises, the dilapidation of graveyard memorials is taking place on a colossal scale, with hardly any effort being directed towards repair and restoration. In cases where headstones are simply leaning out of vertical, they could be secured at little or no cost. One of the few instances where an effort has been made in this direction is Kelvedon (95): not only have the headstones been restored to the vertical, but their bases have also been set in concrete. This is not obtrusive (although some purists might object) and it saves the stones from a battering by the lawnmower. Many fine headstones could be saved from destruction by collapse if this example were followed. A little trouble could, for example, save the fine headstone of 1690 in Wivenhoe churchyard (54); it leans at an angle of about 60°, is weathering badly and beginning to flake with the frost. In a few years it will be no more. This headstone, together with a superb table tomb of 1790 and an unusual circular tomb, also of the C18, constitute the only features of real interest in yet another devastated churchyard.

9.78 Brick-built table tombs, complex box tombs and other composite monuments present the greatest conservation problem of all. Many are falling to pieces, only to be left in an overgrown heap (e.g. Rayne, 116). or to be cleared away bit by bit. Many tombs could, and indeed should be restored, but this need not be expensive. Monuments need to be professionally dismantled and rebuilt, replacing the rusty iron cramps which have caused so much damage with new non-corroding materials. As Brogan said, '. . . it should be borne in mind that a churchyard is a precious piece of our religious and national heritage: a heritage which we can only realize through love.' Many of the C18 headstones and box tombs are superb works of art, and are worthy of careful protection on that count alone. In some churchyards, where whole groups of C18 tombstones survive in their original positions, we have more than just a collection of works of art, we have a complete gallery, the unity of which is as important as the individual works. Perhaps the finest of these groups, certainly in the Colchester Archdeaconry, is that on the north side of the church at Great Chesterford (196). May these monuments, at least, never be relegated to paving-stones, or wall-props, or aligned in regimented rows. Certainly, the first need in graveyard archaeology is the encouragement of a sympathetic and informed interest in the features, both historical and ecological; hopefully, this will reduce the amount of needless destruction. In an excellent booklet, *Essex Landscape—Historic Features* (1974), the County Council's Planning Department has outlined the significance of graveyards in the landscape and indicated how they should, and should not, be treated (for instance, most of the grass should only be cut twice a year). At the same time, there is a need to fight 'official' schemes which unwittingly aid the destruction of historic churchyards. One of these was the Department of the Environment's "Operation Eyesore" which, in 1972-73, made State funds available for 'tidying' graveyards. Competitions for the best kept village

constitute another threat to churchyards, as evidenced in the case of Moreton (AD.WH, 365) where, 'St Mary's churchyard, which lost the village points last year, was tidied up by volunteers and greatly added to the neat appearance of the village' *(Essex Countryside,* xviii, 1970, 67). Moreton won the trophy for the 'best kept small village in Essex' and the photograph which was proudly published demonstrated the artificial tidyness of the scene, as well as showing uprooted headstones leaning against the chancel. Whilst competitions of this general nature are certainly stimulants to civic and village pride, their rules must be re-worded to stop the despoliation of historic monuments: a parish which has steam-rollered its churchyard should *lose* points.

9.79 Finally, under the heading of graveyards, a passing mention must be made of the threats caused by extensions to churches and the digging of trenches for the provision of public services. By and large, these problems affect the below-ground archaeology and have been discussed already (9.70). but if tombstones have to be moved, they should be resited and not destroyed. with their original and new locations being carefully recorded.

Fixtures and fittings

9.80 Under this heading we may include both the fixed, but not totally irremovable items, such as doors, pews, fonts, monuments, bells, etc., and also the more easily portable articles such as chests, lecterns, candelabra, churchwardens' staves, helms and so on. The latter group, which also includes church plate, we do not propose to discuss here, since these objects are, on the whole, the subject of highly specialized studies and are outside the scope of this survey. However, they are by no means irrelevant to archaeo-ecclesiastical studies in general. The archaeologist may, for example, be excavating a burial and suddenly be confronted with the need to lift, conserve, study and publish a chalice and paten which have lain in the ground for several centuries. Stained glass, too, frequently turns up on church excavations. Hence the archaeologist must always be in touch with those who specialise in such individual fields.

9.81 Although Canon E. 15 states that 'In the churchwardens is vested the property in the plate, ornaments and other movable goods of the church, and they shall keep an inventory thereof which they shall revise from time to time as the occasion may require', such lists can be very variable in their completeness and accuracy of description. There is no central diocesan list of property and of most-articles in churches there is nothing approaching an adequate record, unless an object or class of objects happens to have been the subject of a particular study (e.g. *The Church Plate of Essex, and The Church Chests of Essex).* Many historically significant items which lie amongst the dust in towers, vestries and sextons' sheds, and which are regarded merely as lumber, remain unlisted and unrecorded (e.g. old oil lamps, collecting boxes, biers, lumps of carved stone, medieval tiles, and other objects found in restoration or dug up in the churchyard). Although we may not hold such items in high esteem, they are nevertheless worthy of better treatment than is often the case. One is reminded of the indignation with which Coller (1861, 559) recorded the sad state of neglect of the Little Horkesley (21) effigies: 'these highly interesting relics, upon which the antiquary could gaze for hours with delight, removed from their original situation and barbarously thrust into an obscure corner of the church, covered with dust and rubbish'. A century ago they were held in low esteem but now they are regarded as the most outstanding group of medieval timber funerary monuments in the Diocese. They are still with us, in spite of the fact that enemy action during the last war blew them apart and virtually reduced them to a pile of firewood. Sadly, the 'enemy action' which destroyed the Messing (96) effigy was of a far more common and deadly kind: it was ignorance. Again, Coller described it succinctly (1861, 551): 'In the north wall formerly lay the wooden figure of a knight . . .but a devout antiquary who a few years ago made a pilgrimage to the spot, for the purpose of taking a drawing of the relic, found that a former barbarian vicar had handed it over to the church clerk as a piece of useless lumber, and the venerable old warrior had done duty as a Christmas log.' Many of us would doubtless say with emphatic reassurance that this sort of vandalism could not happen today. It does. Take, for example, the case of the Hadstock font cover: it was a good carved-oak structure of the early C18, yet it was burnt one Sunday by a former incumbent, not so many years ago, when he was short of firewood for the stove. Officially, it seems never to have been missed. How many other church treasures have gone, or will go this way?

9.82 The items which are termed fixtures here generally form a more integral part of the historic fabric of the church structure. In many cases they belong to the original design, or to one of the major rebuildings of the church and every effort needs to be made by the archaeologist to retain these features in their correct places, and when that proves impossible their recording is the first priority. There are too many classes of fittings and too many threats to permit a full treatment of the subject here, but a representative selection will be chosen. Our first concern must be for the internal fixtures of church towers, which are suffering wholesale destruction. Since the interiors of towers are not normally accessible to the general public, or indeed the average church member, very little trouble is taken to maintain them in reasonable order; their state is the cause of constant complaint in quinquennial surveys. This general lack of regard extends to almost all aspects of tower interiors and fittings. First, the clock: this is a valuable machine, as well as an industrial-archaeology monument. It is seriously threatened by two factors: ignorance and high-pressure salesmanship. The problem has been set out neatly by Mr T R Robinson *(CPW Newsletter,* No. 20, 1974): '. . . incumbents and PCCs are sometimes subjected to high pressure publicity suggesting that their clocks need to be modernized . . . when repairs become necessary, some makers condemn many of the clocks they are asked to repair, and suggest that a new mechanism, usually of the synchronous type, is better than any attempt to repair the existing clock.' By 'better' they mean 'more profitable' to themselves. Both a faculty and independent expert advice are *always required* before an old clock is removed. While we could devote much space to the topic of ecclesiastical horology, it is but one of the problems under consideration and a few examples must suffice to illustrate the situation. First, for a C19 movement which is well looked after and has been expertly fitted with an automatic winding mechanism, one can point to no better example than Earls Colne (90). Secondly, there are those clocks which have ceased to work (e.g. Ridgewell, 148) and whose future must be a matter for concern. Thirdly, there are those for which salvation is too late: the clock at Braintree (114) has been ejected from its place in the tower; in several instances an old movement has been sacrificed for a synchronous mechanism; and at Little Bard field (162) it was stated in a quinquennial survey that '. . . the remains of the clock face should be removed and the wall repaired'.

9.83 The pressure to assign old, but good clocks to the scrap-heap and to fit new, and often inferior ones, is exactly mirrored in the situation obtaining to bell-frames. Medieval timber bell-frames were constructed as integral parts of their towers and every effort should be made to retain them as such. Understandably, a parish faced with cracked bells may wish to have them recast, but it does not follow that they must

be rehung. Some firms who undertake bell work automatically specify rehanging in steel frames, and constantly succeed in persuading unsuspecting PCCs to spend far more money than is necessary and to sanction the needless destruction of fine medieval bell-frames. In 1872 we were warned of the 'speculator in glazed tiles' (p. 63) and in 1972 Mr Robinson warned PCCs of the speculator in synchronous clock mechanisms (9.82); but what about the speculator in steel bell-frames? There are cases, of course, where the bell-frame has been declared 'unsafe' by an architect, so that the bells can only be chimed and not pealed; thus, at Layer de la Haye (74) the five bells were inspected in 1904 and reported to be not in ringing order, since when they have only been chimed. Even a condition such as this does not automatically mean that the wooden bell-frame must be consigned to the bonfire: unsound timbers can be cut out and replaced (just as one would in a medieval roof), or the whole frame can be given support from below by the insertion of rolled steel joists (as was done at Rivenhall many years ago). The kind of tragedy which needs to be avoided at all costs is epitomized in Hadstock. The bells were cracked and had to be recast and rehung a few years ago; the medieval frame, which was an integral part of the C15 tower, was removed and replaced by steel girders. No attempt has been made to fix them to the medieval walls with any sense of aesthetic appreciation; large holes had to be cut into the walls for the insertion of the steel joists and the scars have been highlighted by filling them with grey engineering bricks and raw cement. This is by no means the only fine medieval bell-chamber which has been wrecked and the particular irony of the Hadstock case is that portions of the C15 bell-frame, some headstocks and curved braces are now in private hands. They have been inspected by the writer and found to be in excellent condition and are virtually untouched by any form of decay. 'Vandalism is not diluted by being out of sight' (Insall, 1972, 87).

9.84 Threats to other fixtures are less common and sometimes take forms which are difficult to comprehend, such as the removal of a medieval door from the archway for which it was built, and rehanging elsewhere, or the removal of a screen: at Wormingford (84) a few years ago, the chancel screen was removed and dismembered. It was a C19 reconstruction of a C15 screen: a fragment of the latter now hangs on the nave wall, by the door. External fixtures are fewer, but are occasionally threatened; here, one may mention the interesting post-medieval timber bell-cages at Wix (31) and Wrabness (30), which are the only two survivors in the Diocese. Both are in a state of extreme dilapidation and their repair is a matter of great urgency, if they are to be saved. The cage at Wix, until very recently, contained a damaged medieval bell; it is remarkable that the bell was not stolen, since so many have been lost in recent years. Wix church is now virtually disused and its future looks bleak, while its bell-cage has been described on several recent occasions, in ignorance, as 'an old shed'. It could easily be saved by being dismantled and removed to a new location. The Wrabness bell-cage should be repaired *in situ.* In all probability, bell-cages were once more numerous but have been demolished as and when permanent provision has been made for the housing of a church's bells. Thus, the foundations of an unsuspected bell-cage were discovered during excavations at Rivenhall. The cage was probably only in use in the C14-15, a period when the church had no tower.

9.85 Discarded fixtures and fittings provide another subject of concern for the archaeologist. In the C19 many fonts, for example, were replaced and there is usually no record of what happened to the old ones; St Leonard's, Colchester (12), is an exception, since we know that the font was buried inside the church. Rivenhall's font has only recently been rediscovered (6.21). while in other instances the font, or fragments of it, are to be found lying in a porch or in the churchyard. The same applies to medieval coffins and coffin-lids. The RCHM noted the whereabouts of many of these monumental fragments, but by no means all can be found today, and many which are still extant are much the worse for the ravages of the elements or of vandals. There are numerous instances of unnecessary neglect and damage: at Dunton (AD.SS, 323) a medieval stone coffin and its decorated lid have been broken up by vandals; a neglected pile of coffin fragments, etc, lies in the churchyard at Wix (31); at Langham (23) two good medieval coffin lids lie in the churchyard, in the final stages of disintegration; and at Great Coggeshall (92) the bowl of a small medieval font or pillar-piscina has been put into the churchyard as a container for growing bulbs: it is in good condition now, but will rapidly deteriorate.

Redundancy, conversion, and demolition

9.86 The problems of church redundancies have been raised in two previous sections: in 3.9-3.13 churches which are legally redundant and those which are effectively redundant were listed, together with brief comments on their present state. The aggregate number of churches under both these headings is 26, or 6.5% of the total number of ancient parish churches (or sites) in the Diocese. The fates of these churches, where decided, have been varied: they have ranged from total demolition and obliteration of the site, through conversion, to intact preservation. The second section under which redundancy has been mentioned is in Case Study 4 (Section 8). where a brief introduction is given to the three options provided for under the *Pastoral Measure 1968,* as a prelude to the discussion of three conversion schemes.

9.87 Prior to 1969, when the Measure took effect, there was no regular procedure for the disposal of a church which fell into disuse, and in general the policy adopted was that of inaction: this led to churches like Mundon (AD.SS, 267) and Wickham Bishops (102) being allowed to fall into appalling and unnecessary states of disrepair. Both have now been rescued from total ruin and are being restored, although it appears that Wickham Bishops was only saved in the nick of time, since an article on the church in 1969 stated that the rector 'hopes to get permission this year to pull the church down' *Essex Countryside,* 17 (1969), 30-1). The passing of the Pastoral Measure 1968 saved the church by taking it out of the hands of those who were anxious to demolish it, as Mr Ivor Bulmer-Thomas pointed out *(ibid,* 52). At Shopland (AD.SS, 290), years of inaction, following war damage, eventually led to the demolition of the church in 1957. Manningtree (27) and Langenhoe (59) went the same way, and the effect of years of indecision and lack of action on Colchester's redundant churches has already been deplored (5.40).

9.88 Most of the outstanding 'problem' churches are now being dealt with, but the *Pastoral Measure 1968* cannot do anything to secure the future of ruins or deserted sites, although amendment to aid the former has been proposed *(Fifth Annual Report* of the Redundant Churches Advisory Board (1973), 19-20). One of the aims of the *Pastoral Measure 1968* is to prevent the chaos of the past from continuing, since much has been lost architecturally and archaeologically. At this point we must turn to look at the archaeological implications of future redundancy schemes, since it is those which must be of real concern, with every attempt being made to reduce the current level of unrecorded destruction. We simply do not know how much has been lost in recent demolitions and conversions, but in all instances a

full and proper record is lacking. The same applies to conversions which are now in hand, and will apply to those to be undertaken in the near future.

9.89 The archaeological problem begins the moment the last service has been held in a church, In spite of the fact that the Advisory Board for Redundant Churches (in its *Annual Reports)* and other bodies continually emphasize the need to securely board-up a church as soon as it is closed, this is not being done. Initially, it is the parish's responsibility; this is then transferred to the Diocesan Board of Finance, during the redundancy 'waiting period'. Much of the vandalism which occurred at Mundon, Latchingdon, East Horndon, and other churches, could have been avoided if the respective PCCs had not shirked their responsibilities. Asheldham was inadequately boarded, with the result that there was a gaping chancel window for many months. The theft of church bells, plaques and other fittings of great historic but modest cash value has been regular and at local level seems to be accepted as more or less 'unavoidable'.

9.90 When a church is about to be closed, the main task should be the compilation of a full and detailed record of the building, together with all its furnishings and fittings as they were when last used. This would involve planning the positions of all the furnishings and taking photographs, both general and detailed. Secondly, a full inventory, adequately illustrated with photographs (at least), should be made of the entire contents of the church, including both portable and fixed items. All the portable and dismantleable items (such as organs) should then be labelled and removed to a diocesan store, pending decisions regarding their future disposal. Every church is a precious historical entity and when it is about to be broken up and its contents dispersed, only the fullest record can suffice. This record must not be merely a list of the principal contents, made by a person who is unqualified to undertake such a task. The inventory must be historically and technically correct and include every chair, altar frontal, lamp bracket and all the so-called 'rubbish' in the tower, vestry and churchyard shed.

9.91 In theory, the provision for the making of this record, and hence presumably its funding, by the Diocesan Board of Finance, already exists and its need has been emphasized by the Church Commissioners, who state:

i. 'That the Diocesan responsibility should be shouldered with the greatest care and attention.'
ii. 'That a Furnishings Officer be now appointed, if no such appointment has been made.'

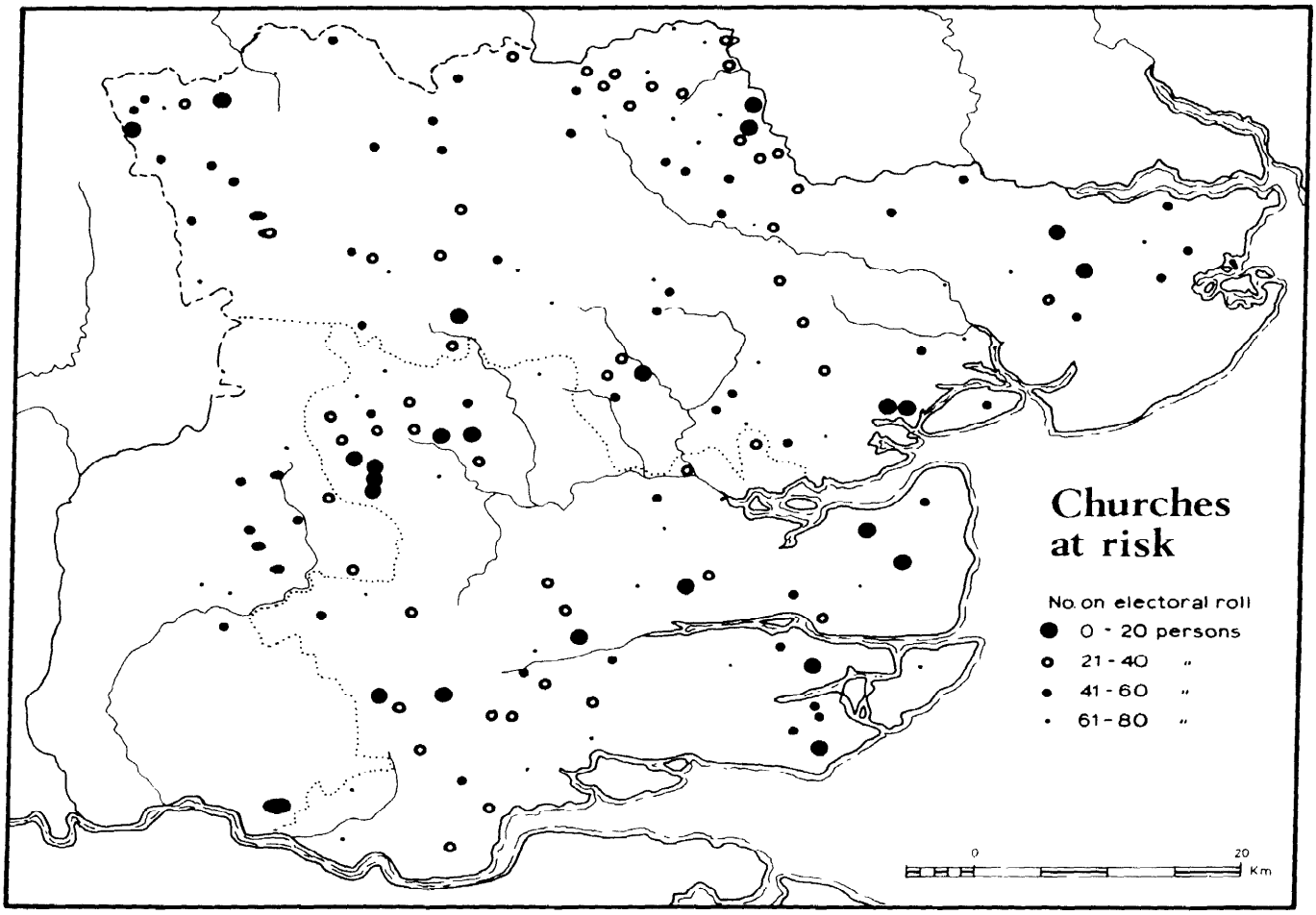
To the best of the writer's knowledge, very few dioceses have accepted this responsibility, or appointed a suitably qualified person. Meanwhile, it is evident that church furnishings and fittings are passing into private hands, being moved to other churches without proper record, or being left to the mercies of vandals and the passage of time (cf. Asheldham, 8.3). Once a church has been properly cleared of its portable contents, it may be desirable to remove to a diocesan store or museum features such as the font, monumental tombs or indents. The removal of these is an operation which will involve a building contractor, but at the same time, it should be under direct archaeological supervision, so that records of hidden detail, new discoveries, etc. may be made in the usual way.

9.92 The amount of archaeological investigation which a redundant church merits will naturally depend upon the proposed new use and the nature and extent of the historic fabric. It is most unlikely that no archaeological destruction will take place when an ancient church (or a later one on an early site) is converted to a new use, or even when one is held for preservation. First, preservation may be discussed since it usually involves the least damage. The fact that a building is to be vested in the Redundant Churches Fund or the Friends of the Friendless Churches does not mean that the archaeologist can dismiss it as being 'safe'. This is far from the case, since the process of 'putting it in order' may be archaeologically very damaging. Here, all the threats pertaining to the normal processes of church restoration (9.3-13; 9.22-62) must be kept in mind. The lost opportunities at Wickham Bishops have already been outlined; at Chickney (177) reflooring and the digging of a drainage channel without archaeological record are particularly to be lamented, while the repairs to East Horndon church (325) certainly involved archaeological destruction when underpinning of the foundations took place. It appears that early wall foundations were discovered and other 'archaeological finds' were made. This is certainly a case where excavation should have taken place, since it was predictable that the foundations of the pre-Tudor church would be encountered.

9.93 Secondly, we may turn to the problems of converting a church to a new religious or secular use; here, the archaeological need will depend upon the amount of disturbance liable to take place to the fabric and floors of the church and to the graveyard. If a large amount of work is necessary for the conversion, as at Latchingdon, then a massive programme of archaeological investigation is called for, both above and below ground, inside and outside the building (8.19-8.22).

9.94 Thirdly, demolition. If the church to be demolished is of the C19 and if the original design drawings still survive, then the only recording of the fabric which may be necessary might be photography. The staff of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments has so far been able to cope with the photographic recording of churches which are to be demolished. The study, recording and salvaging of monuments is another matter and may involve a great deal of work. If, however, the proposed demolition involves a building which is wholly or partly of great antiquity, detailed plans and records of the structure are unlikely to exist and will have to be made; a photographic record on its own is utterly inadequate. If the church is, say, a Tudor or Georgian brick building which is essentially one structural unit, then a drawn and photographic record may suffice, but as soon as the problem is extended to a composite structure of several periods or several fabric types, however heavily restored it may be, nothing short of a properly conducted archaeological investigation will be adequate. The practical details of such an investigation need not be repeated here but surely it is abundantly evident from examples like Rivenhall and Hadstock that there is only one way to understand properly the historical evolution of a church, and that is to examine and record it stone by stone. If the church is to be demolished then the exercise becomes all the more vital: we know nothing in detail about the historic evolution of St Nicholas's, Colchester, Shopland church and Langenhoe church. Parts of the first were possibly Roman, of the second Norman, if not Saxon, and of the third we are ignorant, While Langenhoe is supposed to have been rebuilt in 1886. as a result of the damage caused by the 1884 earthquake, it is clear from contemporary photographs that the church was not 'destroyed' by the earthquake, as is often stated: the principal damage was to the roof. One wonders, therefore, whether Langenhoe was largely encased, like Rivenhall, rather than rebuilt. We shall never know.

9.95 It is therefore recommended that the demolition of any church which is known to, or might possibly contain, ancient fabric should be undertaken under archaeological control. The act of demolition is final and every precaution



29 Map to illustrate the parishes with low numbers on the church electoral roll, as a general indicator of those areas where future redundancies are likely to be concentrated

should be taken to ensure that no opportunity for recording and salvaging worthwhile remains is missed. This can be enforced by the imposition of conditions, when an application for demolition is received by a county or district planning department. Once demolished, the site of a church is purely archaeological in the 'below ground' sense, and no longer has any significant 'above ground' or architectural dimension. If the site of an ancient church is to be built upon, disturbed or destroyed, then total excavation is almost invariably the course of action to be recommended.

Churches at risk

9.96 If the archaeological problem is to be seen in perspective it is essential at least to attempt a forecast of the future needs. This is difficult. First, from the point of view of ongoing restoration and repair works, building extensions, grave digging, churchyard levelling, and the like, every ancient church and graveyard is at risk to some degree. It is not easy to predict particular crises, since these come and go in a most irregular fashion. Some arise almost literally over-night and demand immediate archaeological work; others arise at fairly short notice, when it may only be known a matter of weeks beforehand that a particular operation is going to take place and that it constitutes an archaeological threat. Some threats can be predicted years in advance, from the information contained in quinquennial surveys, or from personal inspection of a church. Even then, there is no telling as to what will happen, and when, since items of repair work which an architect specifies as 'urgent' or 'to be undertaken within 12 months' are all too frequently still not done five years later. Some indications of threats which are looming have been given in the Gazetteer, but they can only be a very small proportion of the actual threats. There is, too, always the unknown element in the magnitude and unforeseen implications of a particular job. Who, for example, would have guessed that the fire in the roof of the chancel at Writtle (4.10) would have led to the digging of holes in the floors below? It would be difficult to think up a more obscure or more thoroughly disguised archaeological threat. The fact that archaeologists have not yet become fully aware of the tremendous number and diversity of the threats to historic churches, sites and graveyards merely makes the problem more unmanageable.

9.97 While rising costs, inflation, and dwindling congregations make for greater uncertainty over future expenditure on restorations and extensions, they may to some extent be regarded as pointers towards redundancy. Various estimates, based on long and short-term periods, have been published, and there are too many uncertainties to allow even a reasoned guess at the likely number of redundancies which will occur in the Chelmsford Diocese over, say, the next ten years. Certainly, at any moment there is a handful of churches falling into disuse and for which declarations of redundancy must be expected. Hence, perhaps the best solution for the present purpose is to examine the facts surrounding historic churches in the Diocese. The obvious line of enquiry to pursue is that of the size of the congregation: if a church does not have a congregation it is, *ipso facto,* redundant. Population figures for a parish are no reliable guide to the viability of the church there. The two factors—congregation and population—will be loosely linked, but there are difficulties with regard to diffuse parishes or isolated churches. The church electoral roll is clearly most telling, although that is not of course the maximum number of persons who may attend and support the church. In the concordance table, at the end of Section 11, three figures have been given for each parish: the estimated population; the number of persons on the electoral roll in 1971-72; and the equivalent number in 1974-75. These figures speak for themselves.

9.98 One clear fact emerges: the numbers on the electoral rolls are falling steadily. We will take the figures for the Colchester Archdeaconry and look at these more closely. Out of 177 cases where comparative electoral roll numbers are available, in 25 instances there has been no significant fluctuation over the past three years (within the tolerance of ± 5%). In a further 47 cases there has been a rise of more than 5% in the numbers on the roll; in very few instances is this rise large and is normally well under 25%. In the remaining 105 cases, however, there has been a reduction of more than 5% in the numbers on the roll. Furthermore, the magnitude of the reduction is significant: in general it is in the order of 25% to 50%. There has been no depopulation to account for this fall, whereas expansion and population increases are certainly the major cause of the augmented figures. The general reduction in the roll numbers seems to have been no more or less felt in the towns than it has in the country: thus Chelmsford Cathedral has fallen from 871 to 419; St Peter's, Colchester, from 421 to 234; St James's, Colchester, from 340 to 193; Great Oakley from 120 to 47; Great Henny from 49 to 4; and Middleton from 39 to 4.

9.99 It is the churches at the lower end of the scale which really concern us; from the pastoral point of view many are superfluous and are certainly uneconomic to maintain, from all points of view. While group ministries and united benefices will obviously effect economies in certain directions, they will do nothing to aid the physical upkeep of the buildings. In theory, there is nothing to prevent a small congregation from maintaining a church in good condition: Little Wigborough (65) and Willingale Doe (AD.SS, 231) are obvious examples. This is preferable while there is sufficient interest in the parish and while the church is structurally sound, but as soon as either of these prerequisites fails, the future of the building becomes much less certain. With costs rising at the present rate, it is an inescapable fact that a church which has a congregation of a score or two, in a parish with a population of a few hundreds, the raising of thousands of pounds for the repair and upkeep of the building will either be difficult or impossible. There will always be a few exceptions where the church is of great historic merit, such as Greensted-juxta-Ongar or Hadstock, and which will attract sufficient funds for their maintenance. But others, which are ill-known and in a poor state of repair, such as Great Wigborough (64), can only get worse.

9.100 There is thus a large group of churches (all rural in the Chelmsford Diocese) potentially 'at risk'. These churches have been plotted on Fig. 29, differentiated according to the numbers on the electoral rolls. Essentially, the map pinpoints the areas where there is a low church-going population and where the number of churches may be regarded as superfluous to pastoral needs. Altogether 173 churches have been plotted having less than 80 persons on their electoral rolls. There can be little doubt that future redundancies will be drawn from these, but not necessarily from those with the lowest numbers: one church with over 70 on the roll is being considered for redundancy. Certainly those churches with small congregations must be regarded as potentially less safe, especially if they are in need of substantial repairs. The breakdown of the 'churches at risk' map is as follows:

No. on church electoral roll	Archdeaconry Col.	WH	SS	Total
0 - 20	10	1	14	25
21- 40	26	2	21	49
41- 60	35	7	13	55
61- 80	25	3	16	44
Total	96	13	64	173

9.101 The map shows a general scatter of 'churches at risk' over the whole of rural Essex, but with very few in the Archdeaconry of West Ham on account of the generally high population on the London fringe. The three conurbations of Southend, Chelmsford and Colchester also lack churches 'at risk' but the same is not true of Basildon. Its mass-produced housing contains some 50,000 souls, but the ancient church of Basildon, Holy Cross (AD.SS, 318), has only 42 on the church electoral roll; it is even united with another ancient parish, Laindon (AD.SS, 321). There are also two modern churches in the conurbation, with 57 and 244 on their respective rolls. The two greatest concentrations of churches 'at risk' are in the sparsely populated areas of central northern Essex and the Roding valley. In both these districts the parishes themselves are small in area, giving a relatively high density of churches.

9.102 It is virtually impossible to offer suggestions regarding likely redundancies in the near future, since no official disclosures are made until a particular redundancy has been agreed. This secrecy follows the 'leaking' of a report which was produced several years ago and which proposed the closure of more than a hundred churches in the Diocese; parochial feelings ran high, with panic, objections and abuse in all quarters. Most parishes will fight to maintain the *status quo* for as long as possible. if pastoral reorganization does not bring about the declaration of further redundancies, then general dilapidation will. Here it is possible to offer some predictions which, regardless of the ultimate fate of the church, point towards definite archaeological problems. Three examples from the Colchester Archdeaconry may be considered. The first is on the coast, at Great and Little Wigborough (64 and 65), where the joint population is given as 187, with 36 persons on the church electoral roll. In 1974 the joint benefice was united with Peldon. There are three medieval churches to maintain: Great Wigborough is rapidly falling into ruin and needs many thousands of pounds spent on the fabric; Little Wigborough is a tiny building which is kept in immaculate condition. Clearly it is difficult to see any hope for the future of Great Wigborough church; if it were to be put into good order (which would involve total reflooring) there would be a massive archaeological problem. If declared redundant, it is unlikely that this building would be selected for preservation

although it could be converted to a dwelling, If this, or demolition took place there would still be extensive archaeological destruction.

9.103 The second example is Alphamstone (125) in central northern Essex; in 1974 the benefice was united with Pebmarsh and Lamarsh. The total population is given as 413. Pebmarsh (124) is the largest of the parishes, with 45 on the electoral roll and a substantial medieval church which is in good order. Lamarsh (86) has 23 on the electoral roll; the church is interesting and has a round tower, but is in need of attention. In particular, the external rendering is in a poor state and will soon have to be stripped. Finally, there is Alphamstone itself, which has a very interesting church, certainly Norman, if not Anglo-Saxon. There are 28 on the electoral roll. it is tragic to see a church of such historic merit falling into a state of decay; the whole building is badly cracked and the chancel arch is alarming to behold; collapse may not be out of the question. Certainly a very large sum of money is required to put Alphamstone church in good order. Once again, whatever happens, there is a major archaeological problem to be reckoned with. In this instance, the whole building and its site are known to be of exceptional archaeological importance. The church is not really suitable for conversion to a dwelling and permanent preservation should be sought. It would seem highly unlikely that a popularion of some 400 can continue to support three medieval churches.

9.104 The third example is from the same general area as the last, and concerns Liston church (143) which is part of the united benefice of Pentlow, Foxearth, Liston and Borley, for which the total population is given as 579. Foxearth (142) is the principal church, with 73 on the electoral roll (increased from 64 in three years). Architecturally, Foxearth church is of little importance, but it is fairly sound and its C19 decoration is exceptionally fine. Pentlow (144) has 63 on the electoral roll (increased from 50); the building is an important Anglo-Saxon and Norman structure. Borley (141) and Liston have 62 on the joint electoral roll (a reduction from 77); the church at Borley is an Anglo-Saxon building, although not generally recognized as such. It is in fairly good order, but the two exceptionally fine monuments of the Waldegrave family are in a shocking state and urgently need attention. Finally, there is Liston, a Norman church with many features of interest, including the magnificent moulded ceiling of 1701. A good deal of work is needed here for which a substantial sum of money would be required. It is evident that the combined parishes cannot continue to maintain four historic churches. Surely Liston will be the first to fall by the wayside.

9.105 The three examples given illustrate well the range of situations, leaving little room for doubt that many of the churches ‘at risk’ are not vital to present pastoral needs, and unless church membership increases swiftly or inflation drops to well below its present rate, it is inescapable that at least half the churches ‘at risk’ will fall into disrepair in the course of the next decade, whether or not they are declared legally redundant. If this unhappy state of affairs becomes a reality—and there is no indication to the contrary—the archaeological and preservational problems will be vast.

Section 10 Summary and Recommendations

"...if in the earlier days of Church restoration the county had been more frequently visited by Archaeologists, and a better knowledge of the value of such remains diffused, no one would have dared to commit such acts of modern vandalism as those referred to, and others that have come under frequent observation."

Essex Archaeological Society,
Council Report, 1891.

Care and conservation: the prevention of damage to churches and graveyards

10.1 In the foregoing sections we have seen many varied threats to our ecclesiastical heritage; the damage and destruction incurred *in toto* is alarming, and anyone who is interested in this heritage—whether from an archaeological, historical, ecclesiological, architectural, genealogical, ecological or landscape-evolution point of view—cannot do other than express deep concern over what is being lost now and over what will certainly be lost in the future. Having said this, is must be acknowledged that we cannot preserve everything as it now stands: there has always been destruction and there always will be: this is the price of progress. Changes take place no less often in the Church than in many other aspects of life; if they did not we would have none of the splendid Victorian interiors, or the late medieval towers which dominate the skyline in so many parts of the country: all our churches would be fossilized Saxon or Norman structures. The problem to be faced is that of the speed, extent and thoroughness of the destructive processes which are at work today: they are of a totally different order of magnitude from those known in the past, with the possible exception of the period of the Dissolution and the Reformation. Churches and all their associated features have constituted a steadily growing asset over the last thousand years or more. The growth of that asset has been seriously arrested twice: first, in the depredations of the C16-17, and secondly, in the 'restorations' of the mid and late C19. The third major arrest in the growth of our ecclesiastical assets is only just taking effect and the cause of destruction is not comparable with either of the two previous instances: it is the symptom of spiritual and economic decline, and of ignorance. It is far from the terms of reference of this report to discuss spiritual and economic decline, but destruction through ignorance is a different matter and one which could be brought under control relatively quickly. It essentially calls for a programme of action to arouse an awareness in all those persons, committees and institutions which have any part in the care and maintenance of historic churches, their fittings, graveyards and memorials.

10.2 There are three questions to be asked in the resolution of this problem: first, how much destruction is taking place, through what agencies and why? The bulk of this report hitherto has been concerned with the collection of relevant information and its assimilation into a series of categories (especially in Section 9). The second question is this: how much of the destruction which has already been committed or which is impending is necessary, and how much could have been avoided in the past or could still be averted in the future? Again, every effort has been made to point out where destruction seemed non-essential, or where its magnitude could have been lessened. The third question must be split into two parts: first, what, if anything, could be done about the 'necessary' destruction? Obviously, it cannot be averted and it would be self-defeating for any cause to try to stop all destruction. What can be done, though, is to ensure that destruction is preceded by adequate recording —a fact which has been stressed in the foregoing sections. Finally, there is the remaining part of the third question: what can be done to prevent unnecessary destruction? Here, the root cause is ignorance, and this must be tackled by careful education.

10.3 The problems may thus be reduced to two basic deficiencies: education and recording. Since prevention is better than cure, it may not be inappropriate to begin with the former and set the scene by quoting Henry Laver's observations on Copford (76): 'The font was taken in hand during one of the restorations, and no doubt with the best of intentions, but a more dreadful exhibition of ignorance it would be hard to find' (Laver, 1911). It has already been pointed out that most of the damage done to the historic fabric and fittings of a church is unintentional and is a result of over-enthusiasm, incorrect or inadequate advice, a lack of action or decision at a moment when it is needed, or the engagement of unsuitable architects or contractors. Usually the parish has acted in good faith and has been anxious to do the best it can, although there are exceptions and the most difficult amongst these is the case where a parish decides to 'go it alone' and do something which may be unlawful. Such action, which again is usually well intentioned, results from the desire to save architects' fees, cut corners, avoid 'red tape', etc. It may also result from a forceful incumbent or PCC member insisting that *he* knows what is best, when in fact the opposite is the case. All of these causes have led to historic disasters many times over in the Chelmsford Diocese alone. While it is relatively easy to convince an incumbent or a PCC of the historic interest and value of a particular detail in a church building, or a fitting or monument, by careful and reasoned explanation, there is at present no machinery for the undertaking of such a task on a permanent and regular basis. The number of instances where proper archaeological advice on historic matters is sought and obtained is minimal compared to the occasions where it is actually needed. On matters of below-ground archaeology it is virtually unknown for a parish or an architect to seek advice on the implications of proposed works which will disturb the soil around or the floors inside a church. The problem here is that the majority of persons concerned with the care of a church do not realise that there is a finite amount of historic evidence contained in and under every ancient building and that this is as precious as the parish registers and all other documents. On numerous occasions I have been told by an historically-minded incumbent, or church member, of the research that has been undertaken into the history of

the parish and how it has been impossible to go back beyond a certain date, or that there is no available information about a church which was known to pre-exist the present one; rarely is it appreciated that the church itself encapsulates or covers the very 'documents' which may answer the questions. When one ventures to suggest that archaeology is the means by which information may be extracted, most people's minds immediately descend below ground level where, by popular misconception, it is generally believed that the archaeologist always works. Many are the times when one's suggestion is answered by such a sentence as, "Oh, we kept an eye on the builders when they dug up the nave floor, but they did not find anything." Here, the basic misconception is that if nothing solid and tangible was found, then there *was* nothing. It has already been demonstrated that this is false (6.10): 'absence of evidence is no evidence of absence'.

10.4 It has been stressed that nobody is to be specifically blamed for the lack of awareness of the intricacies and possibilities of church archaeology; and thus in accordance with the declared intention that this report should be wholly constructive, it is necessary to detail some of the means by which a greater general awareness could be achieved, with a view to securing a reduction in the volume of destruction. The following suggestions are grouped under headings according to the spheres of influence where they most need to be considered. It should be emphasized that these suggestions could be implemented without radical changes to existing systems.

The incumbent and the Parochial Church Council

10.5 It is of foremost importance that the guardians of every ancient church and churchyard should appreciate the responsibility which they hold for their share in the ecclesiastical heritage, and they should want to feel that *they* should be doing the best possible for their church. Guide-lines on a number of issues, including archaeology, have been published in a series of inexpensive leaflets and booklets by the Council for Places of Worship (see Bibliography); the CPW publications generally give sound advice and every effort should be made both to extend their range and to increase the circulation. Every parish should possess at least one complete set. There are, of course, several other sources from which relevant publications have emerged in recent years, such as the Essex County Council: *Essex Landscape: Historic Features* (1974) and *Redundant Churches in Essex* (1976). The Council for British Archaeology has published *The Archaeology of Churches* (Jesson, 1973), *The Archaeological Study of Churches* (Addyman and Morris, 1976) and *How to Record a Graveyard* (Jones, 1976). What is now urgently needed is a simple, inexpensive booklet which is written not for the academic or enthusiast, but for those persons who are the guardians of churches and graveyards. It should explain carefully the historic interest of ecclesiastical monuments, the ways in which they may be damaged, and the *positive* approach to their maintenance and preservation; thus many of the threats listed in Section 9 would need to be mentioned, together with suggestions as to how they could be averted. The need for such a booklet is at a local level: it could either be produced nationally by the CBA and CPW, with arrangements for its distribution in each diocese, or it could be published, under general guide-lines, by each Diocesan Board of Finance. The latter would allow a local emphasis to be introduced into every booklet.

10.6 At the same time there is an obvious paucity of evening classes, day schools, etc., on the subject of church archaeology (although not of history and architecture); regional day schools could be organized on the subject and include lectures on the care of churches and graveyards. Meetings of this nature could be organized by the University Extra-Mural Departments, the Workers Educational Association, or such bodies as the Friends of Essex Churches. There would also be much to recommend the organization of a series of local half-day schools, based on each deanery in turn and specifically designed for the incumbents and PCCs of that deanery. These would be the meetings at which to distribute publications, when they would get to the quarters where they are most needed.

10.7 While on the subject of publication it is appropriate to mention church guides: potentially these are a valuable method of disseminating information and generating local interest. The European Architectural Heritage Year competition for church guides, organized jointly by the Standing Conference for Local History and the CPW, will hopefully stimulate a new interest in this direction. It is staggering to count the number of fine churches which have no guide leaflet of any sort. There are very few churches which are so devoid of all historic interest that the production of a guide would be impossible. In the Archdeaconry of Colchester a mere 8% of the churches studied in this report sell an illustrated guide book; a further 20% sell a simple leaflet or an unillustrated guide; and finally 6% have an information board in the church which the visitor can read but (should) not take away. The quality of the available guides is very varied: hardly any include plans of the church (the first essential); some are directly extracted from the RCHM; while others contain little more than a list of incumbents and a few random jottings. On the whole, architectural descriptions and semi-archaeological introductions are inaccurate. There is an urgent need to create a new standard in church guides.

The church architect

10.8 Under the *Inspection of Churches Measure 1955,* every church has to be examined and reported upon by a qualified architect at least once every five years. He produces what is known as the Quinquennial Survey. Each diocesan authority is empowered to draw up a list of 'approved architects', from which the PCC may make its choice. In some dioceses this is a long list, in others it is very short; in a few there is no choice and a specific architect is employed to survey a particular group of churches. It is a matter for regret that an architect's basic training no longer includes a good grounding in ecclesiastical architecture, since this deficiency is the cause of some of the errors which are made. While in theory an architect should be able to handle any situation it would be an arrogant claim for any one man to make. An architect whose principal work is in the field of 'bus-stations or house-extensions is not the man to handle a medieval rubble-built church. Exactly the same applies to archaeologists: he who specializes in Bronze Age burial mounds is not the person to conduct a church investigation. This must be emphasized because it is frequently not appreciated by people outside these professions that it is important to employ the *right person* for the task in hand, whether architect or archaeologist.

10.9 Naturally, the architect specifies the treatment which he considers best for the church and he may be unaware of its implications for archaeology. There is a great variety of approach, as anyone who has read a selection of quinquennial surveys or job specifications will find: some architects take the attitude of careful repair and the conservation of as much of the historic fabric as possible, but others prefer to tear out anything which shows signs of decay and replace with new

materials. The latter approach is to be deplored; certainly it may be quicker and easier to take this line, but it is not necessarily cheaper for the parish. The main objection, however, is the unnecessary destruction of the historic fabric: perfection and neatness of appearance are a C19 trait which is unfortunately still with us. A window which looks 'medieval' to the layman and an immaculately pointed flint-rubble wall which is said to look 'attractive' cannot be applauded as justifiable works of restoration if they are merely shams.

10.10 One might, therefore, urge diocesan authorities to take great care in the construction of the 'approved' list and to organize occasional meetings to bring together all the architects who are engaged in one diocese so that general problems may be discussed with the DAC (this is already done in some dioceses); archaeology and historic fabric conservation should feature in the programme. Meetings already held in several parts of the country, together with individual contacts, have demonstrated the generally sympathetic attitude of church architects towards the archaeological problems of the buildings with which they are dealing. Much more must be done to foster this relationship and build upon the existing goodwill.

10.11 In several dioceses an archaeological clause is to be inserted in all quinquennial surveys as a constant reminder to the parishes and inspecting architects that there is an archaeological consideration to most aspects of repair work; a similar arrangement could be brought into being in the Chelmsford Diocese. A further step which has been proposed is that the Diocesan Archaeological Consultant should be asked to write a brief, but useful comment on the archaeological implications of the work recommended in each survey; this comment would be bound into all copies of the survey, so that when work was put in hand those responsible would know immediately whether archaeological advice should be sought.

10.12 Finally, it would be helpful if the CPW and the CBA were to produce a booklet specifically for circulation in the architectural profession, explaining how archaeology is affected by the work which is carried out on churches. A lead in this direction has already been made by the CPW's leaflet, *Churches and Archaeology* (1974).

The Archdeacons, Diocesan Advisory Committee, and Diocesan Chancellor

10.13 A considerable amount of damage and destruction could be avoided if these three parties took swift action whenever threats came to their attention. Canon Law provides for this, but it is rarely enforced. An archdeacon should inspect a church and all its possessions at the time of his visitation and should report anything which he finds not to be in order to the Chancellor. Furthermore, an archdeacon may, and sometimes does, order unlawful or unsatisfactory work to cease, until he has obtained a report or the matter has been investigated. All too often the damage has been done by the time it is detected.

10.14 Diocesan Advisory Committees could refuse to recommend that the Chancellor issues a faculty where the proposed work is both unnecessary and is detrimental to the archaeology. The clearance of churchyards, the levelling of grave-mounds, the removal or re-siting of tombstones, the disposal of historic items, etc., should all be refused as a matter of principle, unless there are very special circumstances attending a particular case. Lawnmower worship is not a special case, and spot-checks should be made by the archdeacons and members of the DAC to ensure that unlawful works do not proceed. Positive encouragement and advice should be given to PCCs to care for their churches and churchyards and when a faculty application is turned down it should be backed up by a useful suggestion as to how the particular problem may be overcome. Some DACs apparently do not give advice to parishes, even when asked; happily that situation does not obtain in the Chelmsford Diocese.

10.15 Clearly, these suggestions will only be viable if the DAC is given full support by the Chancellor. The implementation of Canon Law is in the Chancellor's hands and it is a matter of the utmost gravity that the enforcement of Canon Law is virtually unknown. How often is a disobedient or vandalistic parish called to account for itself at a Consistory Court? This laxity is widely deplored by those who have a real concern for the protection of our ecclesiastical heritage. The writer was recently discussing the problem with an incumbent and DAC member from another diocese and when the matter of Canon Law was brought up, he replied, "but surely you know that Canon Law is more honoured in the breach than in the observance?"

The Diocesan Pastoral Committee and Diocesan Board of Finance

10.16 Church redundancy is initially the concern of the Pastoral Committee and later of the Redundant Churches Uses Committee and the Diocesan Board of Finance. Prior to the passing of the *Pastoral Measure* 1968 churches like Mundon, Holy Trinity, Colchester, and Wickham Bishops could be allowed to fall into an appalling and unnecessary state of dilapidation, which in turn caused substantial archaeological destruction. The situation has only improved to a limited extent, as is evident from the complaints voiced annually by the Advisory Board for Redundant Churches and the Redundant Churches Fund. The security of a redundant church is the responsibility of the DBF during the statutory 'waiting period', but prior to that it still tends to be the parish's responsibility. Redundant churches in the Chelmsford Diocese have not been boarded up properly and in some instances the doors have not even been secured. In some cases this situation has been allowed to continue unchecked for many years; even when a church has been boarded up it needs regular inspection to ensure that it has not been broken into.

10.17 The need to appoint a suitably qualified Furnishings Officer has already been stressed (9.91) and the provision for the cataloguing and storage of *all* furnishings and fittings (including bells) needs no further emphasis.

The District and County Planning Authorities

10.18 Little can be done to protect the archaeology of churches in use, since the majority of dilapidation repairs do not require planning permission. However, all extensions, boiler-houses and major external alterations have to be approved by the planning authority, and it is within their power to refuse an application which involves the external architectural disfigurement of an historic church. Furthermore, conditions of consent can be imposed, whereby an archaeological excavation must be undertaken in advance of, or a watching brief maintained in connection with, any proposed disturbance of the ground. We are extremely fortunate in having one of Britain's most historically

conscious planning departments in Essex; archaeological conditions are now a normal part of planning procedure.

10.19 Conversions of redundant churches also require planning permission and once again the archaeological conditions apply. Once a church has passed out of ecclesiastical control it is subject to normal planning procedure and thus closer conditions can be imposed on all disturbances to the historic fabric. An excellent policy document has been produced by Essex County Council: *Redundant Churches in Essex* (1976).

The Department of the Environment

10.20 Once a church becomes redundant, it loses its 'ecclesiastical exemption', listing under the Town and Country Planning Acts becomes effective, and it can be 'scheduled' under the Ancient Monuments Acts. These Acts are intended to give statutory protection against all forms of structural and archaeological interference, alteration and demolition. Redundant churches are not usually scheduled unless there is a special need for this additional form of protection.

10.21 The sites of ruined and demolished churches can generally be scheduled and it is strongly recommended that they should all be given statutory protection, not only against demolition and redevelopment, but also against unwarranted and incompetent archaeological interference. Within the Chelmsford Diocese losses have been incurred by all three agencies in recent years. Many of the sites have now been recommended for scheduling and are in the process of being protected. In Essex, the sites of all known demolished churches have been recorded by the County Planning Department and thus any planning application to redevelop these sites could be refused on archaeological grounds, or conditions of consent imposed. It has, however, taken a considerable amount of research to rediscover the sites of the more obscure churches, and some may still have eluded detection. In many counties such a list can never have been produced and thus the sites are both unknown to the local planning department and unscheduled. There is, too, an urgent need for the scheduling of the demolished remains of monastic houses. There are instances where the monastic church, or a part thereof, survived the Dissolution and became parochial. Although the church now in use cannot be scheduled, the ruinous or buried remains of the monastic house can be so protected; churchyard extensions and modern building works have damaged several of these sites (e.g. Hatfield Peverel, 104) in recent years.

10.22 Two, or possibly three of the ruined churches in the Diocese are of sufficient architectural importance to merit permanent preservation; this could be ensured, as well as the provision for the urgent repairs, if the churches were taken into the Guardianship of the Department of the Environment, or the local authority. In two cases the ruins are liable to collapse within a few years if they fail to receive consolidation.

The archaeological problem: organization and execution

10.23 The preceding paragraphs have been concerned solely with the prevention of unnecessary damage, and there is no doubt that a significant percentage of the total destruction and damage could be averted through these existing channels. It is therefore strongly recommended that the present laxities be eradicated and the positive opportunities for archaeo-ecclesiastical preservation be seized.

10.24 We must now turn attention to the archaeological destruction which cannot reasonably be avoided. We have seen in earlier sections that it is colossal in volume and very varied in nature. There is no proper provision for coping with these losses at present, in any diocese, but there are various channels through which improvements may be effected. In the long term a national provision is needed and the writer is in no doubt that the only proper and adequate solution is for the Government to create a Churches Commission which would be charged with looking after the archaeology and architecture of these highly specialized and extremely important buildings. The present *ad hoc* arrangements are inadequate and primitive when compared to provisions made for the care and study of historic churches in those European countries where the ecclesiastical legacy is treated with the respect it deserves (Addyman and Morris, 1976, 14-17).

10.25 Having stated the ideal—which is not unattainable—we may now consider what can be done to effect some immediate improvements on a local scale. First, one must accept, however reluctantly, that some major losses are inevitable and that it will be impossible to study or record everything which is likely to be damaged or destroyed. Throughout the entire discussion of threats to church archaeology (Section 9), great emphasis has been placed upon the salvaging and recording of information. This is the next best to preservation: although the primary evidence may have to be destroyed or damaged, there will at least be a record in the form of a written report, measured drawings, photographs and perhaps museum specimens. This record is the basic evidence upon which future historians will have to rely: it is as precious for the information it conveys as are parish registers and other documents. The opportunity to record evidence in advance of a threat exists once, and once only, and it is therefore imperative not only that the opportunity be seized at the moment when it arises, but also that all recording is done to the highest possible standard by a competent person or team. Bad records can be more dangerous than none at all, and the effort expended is in any case wasted.

10.26 There already is a network of Diocesan Archaeological Consultants, many of whom are members of their respective DACs. The consultants are, or should all be, knowledgeable in the field of ecclesiastical archaeology, but, for the most part, they can do no more than give advice and call attention to some of the more major archaeological problems which arise. They are not gentlemen of leisure who are able to give their services on a full-time or even regular part-time basis. But the nature of the crisis calls for the employment of at least one full-time archaeologist, as well as the Furnishings Officer. Indeed, in the Chelmsford Diocese there is ample work for a small full-time team and there is no reason to believe that threats to church archaeology are substantially less in any other diocese.

10.27 In the present economic climate it would be unrealistic to suggest the creation of diocesan archaeological teams, each comprising a number of specialists in different fields, albeit that they are urgently required. Instead, it would seem reasonable to propose the creation of one permanent post, in addition to that of Furnishings Officer. Each diocese should, in any case, be appointing the latter, if it has not already done so. There is here a ready-made opportunity to appoint a suitable person to advise on the whole range of furnishings and fittings within the diocese; the Officer should not simply be concerned with the contents of redundant churches, although this seems to have been the original concept. There can be no doubt that there would be much less damage and needless destruction if a specialist

in furnishings and fittings were to be on hand for consultation, advice and inspection throughout the diocese.

10.28 Secondly, there is the need for the Diocesan Archaeologist, whose concern would be the historic fabric of churches (above and below ground) and the archaeology of graveyards. His principal duties would probably be:

i. To encourage incumbents and PCCs to take an active and constructive interest in the histories of their churches, with a view to securing a reduction in the amount of damage and destruction which is currently incurred through a lack of archaeological appreciation and advice. The encouragement of local historical research and the publication of church guides would be important.

ii. To comment upon the archaeological implications of all quinquennial surveys and all redundancy schemes put forward by the Diocesan Pastoral Committee.

iii. To maintain liaison with architects and PCCs in conjunction with all works which affect the historic fabric of churches and the features of churchyards.

iv. To undertake, or organize the undertaking of architectural, archaeological and graveyard recordings in cases where unavoidable threats arise.

v. To undertake, or organize the undertaking of major programmes of archaeological investigation (including excavation) when major threats, such as renewing floors or ground lowering, are envisaged.

vi. To publish the results of all investigations and to ensure that records and portable finds are lodged in a suitable repository (see also 10.40).

10.29 Both the Furnishings Officer and the Diocesan Archaeologist should be centrally based (preferably in the Diocesan Office) and should work in close liaison with the various diocesan committees, the inspecting architects, builders and contractors, the county and district planning departments, the county record office and the county museums. The two posts could perhaps be created as permanent officers of the Diocesan Advisory Committee. The DAC would probably be the committee which required their services the most.

10.30 Both officers could do a great deal to encourage local persons and societies in church studies, particularly in historical research and in the recording of graveyards. In places, there are of course individuals and small groups who are doing excellent work on these aspects: they need encouragement, assistance and leadership. Major archaeological investigations, both above and below ground (10.28), are a very different matter: they are highly specialized and can be dangerous. The most skilled professional direction and execution is needed, with the whole operation under the general supervision of the church's architect. Church excavations should never be undertaken on a part-time basis by unskilled or untrained enthusiasts, and very few architects would even contemplate such an arrangement. This kind of unfortunate amateur dabbling has, in the past, not only resulted in loss of archaeological information where it was unnecessary, but has also sometimes given rise to the unfortunate impression that archaeologists 'get in the way', cause delays and added expense. All three accusations can be supported by past examples of inept behaviour, but in general if an investigation is properly planned and professionally executed in consultation with all the parties concerned there is no reason why undue inconvenience should be caused. A professional Code of Practice is currently being drawn up for collaboration between archaeologists and church architects.

10.31 The organization and execution of a major archaeological investigation on a church is a delicate and complex matter; there are many factors to be taken into consideration and there may be certain difficulties to be surmounted. However, none is impossible to overcome, given a certain amount of goodwill, as has been demonstrated in the Chelmsford Diocese at Rivenhall and Hadstock. The problem and procedures of organization have been fully discussed elsewhere (Rodwell, 1976a).

10.32 Mention has already been made of the need for an ecclesiastical museum in the Chelmsford Diocese (5.97). There is ample material available to stock at least one museum, and possibly two. It might, for example, be appropriate to use a redundant town church which has good security for the display of church treasures, while at the same time another building in a different part of the Diocese could be used to house and display furnishings, sculpture and monumental remains. St Martin's, Colchester, is an obvious candidate for one of these museums. The creation of a museum is not a task to enter upon lightly and its direction under a professional curator is absolutely essential. It would be unrealistic to propose that the diocesan authorities should create a professional museum department and the most reasonable solution would be to negotiate an arrangement with the principal museum in the Diocese, for the setting up and continued direction of a Diocesan Ecclesiastical Museum (or museums). For excellent ecclesiastical museums see, for example, Norwich or Bristol.

Organization of appointments

10.33 If we assume that the appointment of a Furnishings Officer and Diocesan Archaeologist is not unreasonable as a basic minimum, we must next consider the organization involved. First, it is clear that church archaeology will have to be organized on a diocesan basis, rather than being tied to counties or districts, since ecclesiastical and secular boundaries frequently do not coincide. It has already been observed that the two officers need to serve, or in some other way be formally tied to the diocesan committees, particularly the Advisory, Pastoral and Redundant Churches Uses Committees. Many of the threats to church archaeology do not become public knowledge until it is too late to act, while others never really become public knowledge in a wide sense (although they may be known to the diocesan committees and may be 'public' within the parishes concerned).

10.34 Although a Furnishings Officer is an 'approved' diocesan appointment, which is urged by the Church Commissioners, the creation of the post of Diocesan Archaeologist has yet to receive a precedent. It is appropriate that the appointment should be diocesan, since it is the Church which is sanctioning the destruction of parts of our ecclesiastical heritage, for which it has a moral, if not a legal responsibility. This does not mean that the Diocesan Board of Finance should necessarily have to bear the whole cost of the appointment. Indeed, there are numerous precedents for sharing the cost of maintaining permanent archaeological posts in spheres other than church archaeology. Contributions on a regular basis are made both from national and local government funds towards the creation and maintenance of either individual posts or whole archaeological teams in most English counties. It is therefore urged most strongly that the diocesan authorities enter into negotiations with the relevant departments in both local and national government, with a view to the provision of a permanent post of Diocesan Archaeologist. The two officers would need to be complementary and work together to provide a full coverage for the whole range of duties,

threats and problems which arise in connection with the safeguarding of the entire historic fabric of churches, their furnishings, fittings, graveyards, monuments and ecology. The level of these appointments would be a matter for discussion, but nothing lower than the equivalent of local authority scale SO2 would be satisfactory.

Archaeological and historical records and finds

10.35 Essex is fortunate in possessing one of the finest Record Offices in England and it has attracted to its custody the greater part of the existing parochial and diocesan records. It has also been extremely fortunate in obtaining the Chancellor Collection of architectural drawings (Dixon-Box, 1973). There is, however, much more—especially semi-recent material—the historic value of which is seldom appreciated by those who are the present custodians. Indeed, the fallacy is widespread that deeds, drawings, specifications and other documents of the later C19 and C20 are of no value because they are 'too recent'. It is often staggering to discover just how little is known about the processes of alteration which took place in the last century: some churches are well documented by such means as faculty papers, drawings by the Chancellors showing the building 'before and after', published engravings and photographs. It is usually the exterior which has benefited most from recording, and knowledge of earlier interiors is often totally lacking. On the other hand, for some churches it is impossible to trace any form of pictorial record of its pre-restoration appearance, even if the changes took place less than a century ago.

10.36 Thus it is incumbent upon the present generation to salvage such records as exist and which are not already in the County Record Office, and at the same time to maintain a continuous record of current and future changes. A certain number of architectural drawings and specifications are, of course, preserved with the faculty records, and the quinquennial surveys, which have been produced as a requirement of the *Inspection of Churches Measure 1955,* will be no less valuable to the archaeologist of the C21 than the Chancellor drawings are to us today. Unfortunately, quinquennial surveys do not contain illustrations and vary greatly in the quantity and quality of their content. At best, a survey may comprise a typescript or duplicated booklet of ten to twenty pages, giving a description of the condition of every part of the building and its furnishings, followed by a clear account of the works which need to be done, in order of priority. At worst, a survey may comprise one or two sheets of typescript (not infrequently carbon copies of which are barely legible), containing the briefest of descriptions and recommendations.

10.37 Canon Law requires each parish to keep a log book for the recording of all works undertaken:

Canon F 13.4 "In the case of every parochial church and chapel, a record of all alterations, additions, removals or repairs so executed shall be kept in a book to be provided for the purpose and the record shall indicate where specifications and plans may be inspected if not deposited with the book."

The time is long overdue when a diocesan inspection was organized to investigate the thoroughness with which log books have been kept—indeed to find out in which parishes they have ever been started. A standard log book is available for this purpose.

10.38 Records of all types are of fundamental importance to historians and archaeologists and there should be a central repository where copies of the entries in parish log books are kept (presumably with the diocesan records at the County Record Office). Likewise, when the Furnishings Officer or Diocesan Archaeologist compiles an inventory of a church's possessions, or a report of any kind, a copy of this should be centrally deposited, as a matter of regular practice. Copies of all associated drawings and photographs, and notes on the disposal of any goods (whether to other churches or museums, or by public sale, or by approved destruction) constitute a vital part of that record.

10.39 Records made during archaeological investigations are of a somewhat different nature: they may be divided into two classes. First, there are those notes, drawings and photographs which are concerned purely with architectural or art-historical recording. Whether or not these are published in due course, the originals should be deposited with the diocesan records in the County Record Office. The precedent has been set with the Chancellor Collection and it would be imprudent to start another collection elsewhere. Secondly, there are archaeological records which basically derive from excavation and these include, in addition to the written, drawn and photographic evidence, the various 'finds' which are unearthed and the samples which are retained for reference. These can be very bulky and should be deposited at the principal museum in the diocese. Obviously, this should be the same museum as that which exercises curatorial supervision over the Diocesan Ecclesiastical Museum. Such objects as are displayable, which are derived from archaeological investigations, could be put on view in the ecclesiastical museum.

10.40 In the past a great many archaeological discoveries have been made during routine works on churches and during the excavations listed in Section 4, and it is a matter of great regret that these items have generally been dispersed, with the result that many are now lost. It should be our immediate concern to ensure that this unnecessary waste of historic information does not continue. The range of finds is great and includes many medieval coffins and lids, fragments of moulded stone and sculpture, mortars, medieval floor tiles, window glass and pottery, while during repairs at Springfield (AD.SS, 211) in 1867 a C14 antiphoner 'fell from the roof' *(TEAS* (ns). **23,** 309). At the time of discovery many finds were hailed as being of great interest and were cemented into a floor, given a place of honour on a window-sill, or seized by the incumbent and taken to the parsonage. After the initial flurry of interest most of these objects have lost their attraction for the parish and many items which are known to have existed have been lost, broken, discarded or stolen. Those which survive may lie rotting in the churchyard; may still be on a window sill and likely to be lost at any time; may have been cemented into a floor and are being kicked and gradually worn away (this is the particular fate of medieval coffin lids); or they may be lying forgotten in a shed. Living churches are not museums and rarely make suitable places for the display of museum objects. Furthermore, these objects are dwindling and decaying before our eyes and are in urgent need of being rescued. What happened to the Roman pot or the medieval stained glass roundel (the fifth one) which were once at Rivenhall rectory? Where have the medieval tiles gone from Gestingthorpe church? Who has a precise record of where all the archaeological finds in Feering church came from, when and under what circumstances they were found (they include finds from Earls Colne and Westminster)? All these items, and many more from every corner of the diocese, need cataloguing, recording and protection, The task is enormous, but it needs to be undertaken before the stocks of these archaeological finds are further depleted and the details of their provenances and circumstances of discovery fade entirely from memory. This task would need to be arranged between the Diocesan Archaeologist, the Furnishings Officer and the Curator of the Diocesan Ecclesiastical Museum.

Academic problems and priorities

10.41 Having examined in detail the wide range of problems and needs in church archaeology and having

outlined some basic organizational logistics, it is perhaps fitting that we should conclude with a very brief consideration of the academic aspects of future archaeological investigations in and around churches. Every piece of historical information, however it is recovered and recorded (provided that it is accurate and reliable) has an academic value. This is not always immediately apparent; indeed, it frequently transpires that the observation of a trivial detail which seemed unimportant or unintelligible at the time, may, at some later date, take on a new meaning in the light of fresh discoveries or research. Since, in reality, the ideal of total recording is unattainable (except perhaps in a few selected instances), an order of academic priorities needs to be established. This is a hazardous task because, at best, it can only be based upon a careful assessment of current knowledge, and in many aspects that knowledge is so inadequate that the general picture is distorted from the outset. However, within these limitations and within the limitations of the resources available, an attempt may be made to list those churches and groups of churches where archaeological investigation is likely to be of the greatest academic worth. Individual examples are discussed in the Gazetteer and in the Case Studies, so that it will be most appropriate here to list the groups into which the potential candidates fall.

10.42 Within the context of the archaeology of threatened churches and church sites the following recommendations are made as being of the first order of importance:

i. Wherever possible, take steps to avoid unnecessary archaeological destruction.

ii. Fully investigate and record any church which is a complex, multi-period structure, and where the fabric, the floors or the ground around the building are threatened with substantial disturbance.

iii. Investigate and record the threatened archaeology of any ancient church (or site thereof) which is situated in an historic town.

iv. Investigate and record any threatened church for which a foundation date in the Anglo-Saxon or early medieval period is known from documentary sources.

In the second order of importance the following might be listed:

v. lnvestigate any ancient or rebuilt church where there is a threat of extensive reflooring.

vi. Investigate externally any church which is known to have contracted in ground plan, and where there is a threat of drainage works, etc.

vii. Excavate any threatened graveyard where there are surviving earthworks, known buried structures, or where stray finds of significance have been made.

Finally, one must reluctantly relegate to a third order of importance those numerous churches for which the archaeological potential remains unknown.

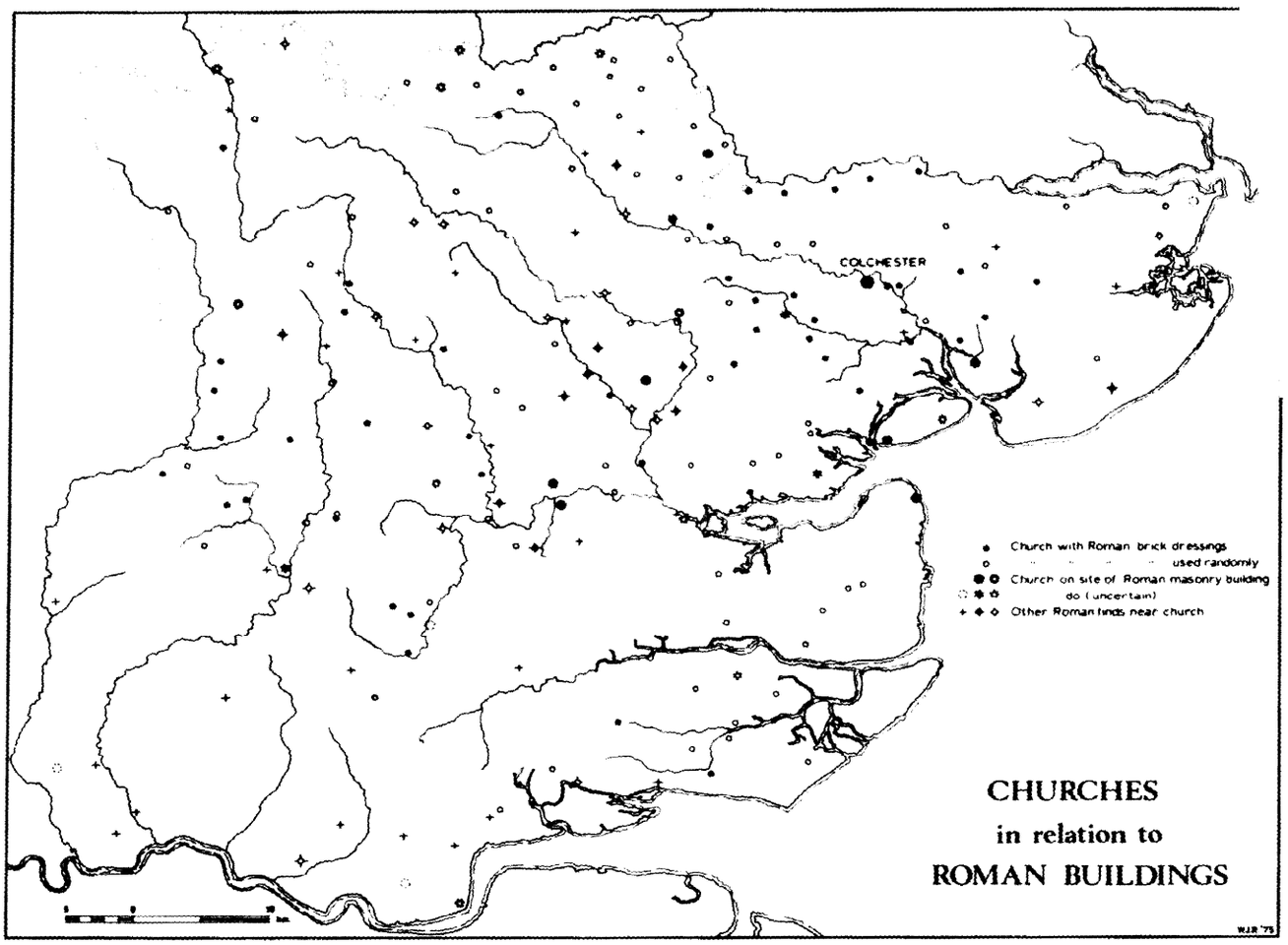
10.43 If threatened churches in the first two groups were examined and recorded on an adequate scale it would mean that several major archaeological investigations would need to be undertaken each year in the Chelmsford Diocese alone. This, of course, takes no account of the numerous smaller investigations and recording tasks which, it is proposed, should be the routine responsibility of a Diocesan Archaeologist (10.27).

10.44 It is clear that, in general, the funding of major archaeological investigations, of the type undertaken at Hadstock and Rivenhall, cannot be derived wholly, or even largely, from diocesan or local sources and that major contributions need to be provided from local government funds and from the national budget for rescue archaeology. As a very rough guide, it may be noted that a major archaeological investigation on an 'average' parish church, occupying between one and two months of continuous work by a specialized team, will cost (1975) between £1,000 and £5,000, according to the size of the building and the magnitude of the operation. This takes no account of the subsequent work which is needed to study and assess the results and prepare them for publication; these processes may jointly cost as much again as the investigation itself.

10.45 There is an obvious need for the apportioning of a part of the national funds for rescue archaeology to church investigations. In the past, very little of the available budget has been directed towards church archaeology and even then the funds have almost invariably been used for excavation and not for the equally essential and fundamentally inseparable investigation of the upstanding fabric. It is unfortunate and particularly detrimental to church archaeology that within the Department of the Environment the study of historic buildings and the investigation of archaeological sites is segregated.

10.46 Given that the available funds for investigation either above or below ground are never likely to be sufficient to meet the need, the processes of selection are inevitable. Here, there is a very real danger that those churches which are well known for one reason or another as important historic buildings or sites are likely to receive archaeological attention, while the vast majority of churches which are ill-known will simply be ignored. For this reason care was taken (10.42) not to emphasize that age or size should be taken as criteria in judging the importance of a particular church. Naturally, there are fewer surviving examples of middle Saxon churches than there are of late Saxon ones, and fewer late Saxon structures than Norman, and so on. Indeed, it is really only of the late medieval period (C14 and C15) that anything approaching a representative selection of the ecclesiastical architecture of the day survives. Thus, Fairweather (1933) was only able to list some 75 parish churches of the aisleless apsidal type (mainly Norman) in Britain, whereas the original number cannot even be guessed, but might possibly have been accountable in thousands, rather than in hundreds. (One may start by adding Hadstock, Rivenhall, Cressing, Colchester (10A), Ingrave and Asheldham, which may undoubtedly be augmented by dozens more in the Chelmsford Diocese alone).

10.47 The number of churches which have survived in an unaltered state from the Saxon or Norman periods is very small indeed and must not be regarded as representative, since the Church, both as an institution and as a building, was continuously evolving. Although these single-period structures are of great value to the architectural historian, they are of more limited value to the archaeologist. To him, the multi-phase structures are likely to be more productive, since one of the greatest academic problems in church archaeology is the resolution of chronologies: in the Norman period and thereafter it is often possible to assign a fairly close date bracket (to a quarter of a century, or less) to distinctive architectural mouldings and sculptures. If these datable features can be shown archaeologically to be contemporary with the fabric of the building, then a date for the structure may reasonably be inferred (contemporaneity must always be *shown* and must never be assumed, as is often the case; see 7.9). Little chronological certainty attends the Anglo-Saxon period and dating is still a matter of wide disagreement. Unfortunately, church excavations very rarely yield stratified artifacts which can be employed as dating evidence for the structure, and therefore the archaeological investigation of a single-period church may provide no more clue as to its precise

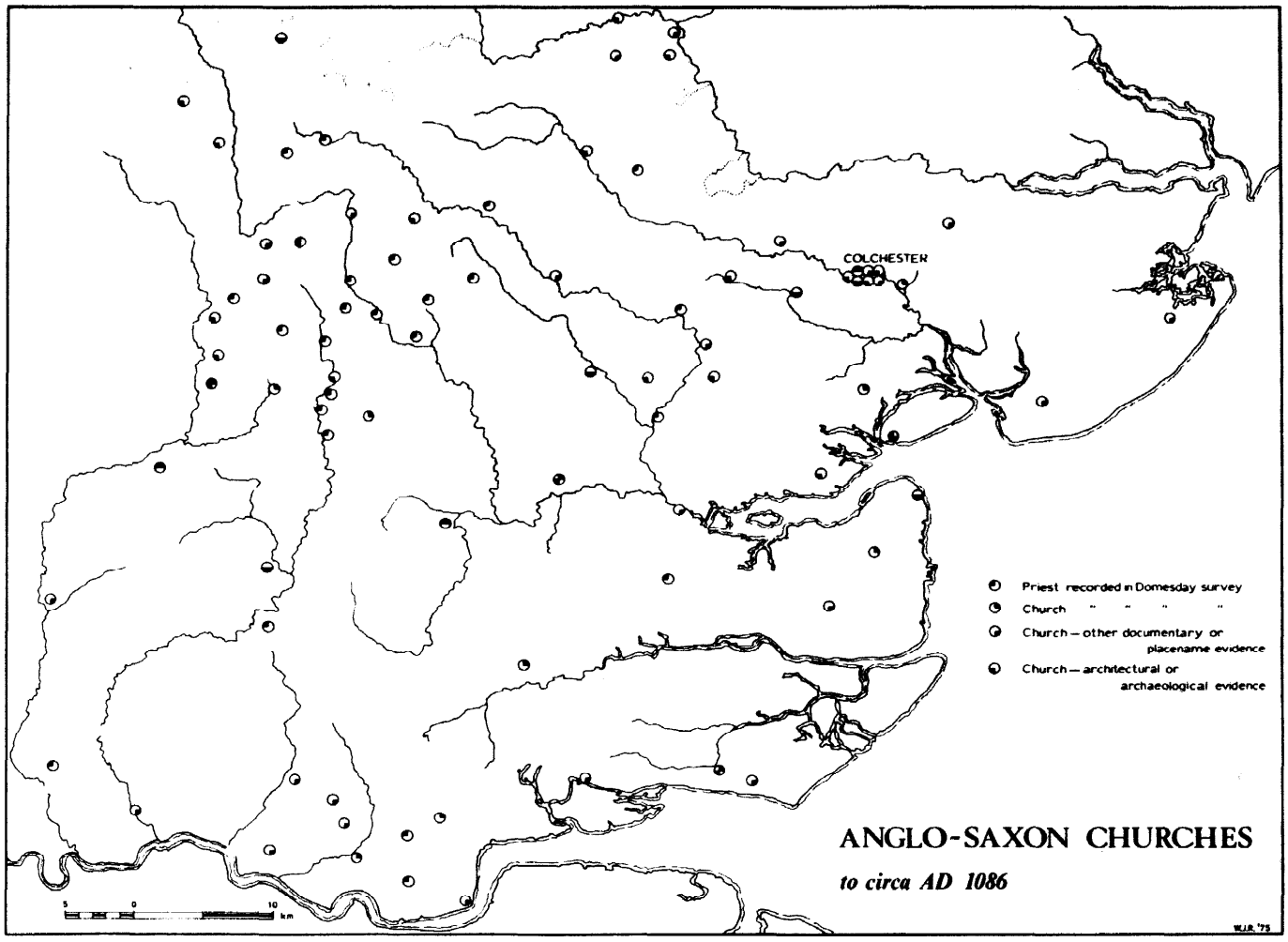


30 Map to illustrate the coincidence of churches with major Roman sites and the occurrence of Roman bricks in Anglo-Saxon and medieval churches

date than may be gathered from a study of whatever architectural features it possesses. The investigation may, of course, provide valuable information on constructional techniques, liturgical layout, etc., but without dating evidence their value is still limited. There is one very important exception in that if documentary evidence for the foundation of a single-period church is available, and *if* there is good reason to believe that the standing fabric may be equated with the written evidence, then it becomes possible to assign a firm date to the architectural form, plan, constructional details, liturgical layout and any other features recovered by archaeological investigation.

10.48 The investigation of multi-period churches provides the opportunity to examine various types of construction, plan forms, layout, etc., in a stratigraphical relationship to one another and a *relative* chronology can at once be established, The determination of an *absolute* chronology is the next stage and this will be greatly aided if one or more of the church's architectural phases can be dated on art-historical, archaeological or documentary evidence.

10.49 Eventually, the acquisition of information will permit the construction of working hypotheses regarding the various characteristics which may be attributed to individual centuries, or even decades, within any one geographical or historical region. While there arc undoubtedly broad general trends in the development of church building, it is the regional characteristics determined by the local geology, the availability of materials, and the quirks of individual building contractors and masons, which need the most careful study in order to advance knowledge beyond the state in which it has now been stagnant for many years. Amongst the details which are in need of study may be listed: the various types of foundation construction employed; the exact dimensions of churches and the ratios and angles between their component parts; wall thicknesses, methods of construction and facing, and the mortars used; the proportions, spacing and constructional details of simple windows, doorways, quoins, etc. (i.e. those which are not embellished with 'datable' ornamentation); the orientation of churches and graves and the ways in which they are influenced by, or disregard, underlying structures of earlier date and adjacent landscape features. Only the most elementary generalizations have yet been attempted on some of these aspects, while others are effectively unstudied at any level: foundations are perhaps the most sorely neglected, largely because of the lack of archaeological excavation which is needed to explore them. Church planning was certainly more sophisticated than it was haphazard and the study of component parts, dimensions and ratios of building plans would appear to hold great promise. This cannot, however, be realized until a greater number of cohesive and datable plans has been obtained by archaeological investigation. It



31 Map showing the incidence of churches known to exist prior to c. 1086, based on documentary, archaeological and architectural evidence

is fatal to take the present plan of a church and offer that as evidence for the proportions or dimensions used by church builders of any particular date, unless the foundation plan (as opposed to that of the superstructure) can be shown to be cohesive. Thus, taking a very simple example such as Asheldham (Fig. 29, one cannot say that the present plan of the building dated from the C14, or indeed to any historical period at all, even though the nave exhibits a near-perfect 2:1 ratio. The plan form is more an accident than a deliberate implementation. The outline of the Norman church (Fig. 25.1) is the only phase in the development which can be regarded as a consciously laid-out plan, and the sole element of this to survive in the present structure is the width of the nave.

10.50 Turning now to the institutional aspects of the Church in the Chelmsford Diocese, we find there are many basic questions which may be asked, but not answered, at least until the relevant churches have received archaeological investigations. In some instances the very opportunity which was needed to search for crucial answers has been available in recent years, but has slipped by unseized; numerous examples have been mentioned elsewhere. As ever, it is the earliest history of the church which is the least well illuminated and to which considerable effort needs to be directed. The problem has been aired with regard to Colchester (5.1 - 5.5 and 5.104) and much of what was said there is applicable to rural parochial churches. One of the features of particular interest in Essex is the widespread occurrence of Roman brick and tile in Anglo-Saxon and early medieval churches, where it is used for dressings (in later medieval churches it only occurs as random rubble). While it is obvious that Roman masonry structures were robbed of their materials, it would be an over-simplification of the problem to assume that the connection ended there: the number of churches built directly upon, or adjacent to Roman villas or other settlement sites is large (Fig. 30). More significant, perhaps, are cases where the orientation of the church is affected by Roman buildings or features of the landscape. In how many instances, one wonders, did memory of a Roman house-church linger on into the Christian Saxon period? Or how often was a ruinous Roman building adapted, perhaps only temporarily, for use as the first Anglo-Saxon church? Answers to such questions can only be sought by archaeological investigation, on an appropriate scale, on those sites where church and villa lie in close proximity. One factor, which may be of paramount importance, is the demonstrable absence of any major pagan Saxon incursion into Essex in the C5 or C6. Only two settlements can be regarded as substantial: Great Chesterford and Mucking, and both are on the fringes of the county; otherwise, pagan Saxon incursions are only evidenced by a modest series of small, coastal and semi-coastal settlements. There is no reason to suppose that 'sub-Roman' life did not continue over the majority of the county.

10.51 When Cedd began in earnest the conversion of Essex, in 654, he founded religious communities at Bradwell-

juxta-Mare, Tilbury and 'other places'. Presumably they represent the birth of an ever-spreading network of minster churches, the remains of all of which, apart from Bradwell, have yet to be found. The site of Cedd's foundation at Tilbury is disputed, but perhaps the most likely spot is under St Catherine's, East Tilbury (AD.SS, 351). A convincing case may be argued for Prittlewell (AD.SS, 288) as one of the 'other' churches and it would come as no surprise to discover that St Mary's, Maldon (AD.SS, 261) was another. Of other known minsters in the Diocese, we can only point with certainty to Southminster (AD.SS, 276), Upminster (AD.WH, 397), West Mersea (61), St Osyth (46) and Hadstock (192). Archaeologically, nothing is known of the pre-Norman structures, except in the case of Hadstock. There can be no real doubt that minsters await discovery under a number of unassuming medieval churches in the Diocese. While we may speculate upon the likely locations of several minsters, it will only be by widespread archaeological investigation that the present state of near-total ignorance will be superseded by knowledge.

10.52 The state of the Church during the period of the Danish invasions (C9-10) is entirely unknown in the Chelmsford Diocese, and once again archaeological investigation is the only means by which light can be shed on the problem. Here, one cannot 'plan' an investigation to recover information on this difficult period, but merely await accidental discoveries which have a bearing on it. Thus, it is possible, but unproven, that the dilapidation which Hadstock seems to have suffered at some stage between its initial erection and the rebuilding of the C11 was due to damage or neglect during the 'Danish period'.

10.53 The problem of the gradual changeover from the minster system (where one substantial church served a wide area) to the more tightly packed parochial system has already been mentioned in connection with the Dengie peninsula (8.5, 8.15 and Fig. 23). This problem will only be resolved by the archaeological study of many parish churches, particularly those which appear as 'satellites' to known or suspected minsters (cf. Asheldham) and whose date of foundation can be assessed in general terms after investigation. Many of these churches lie adjacent to the Hall and their origin as manorial foundations is usually assumed. The need to investigate, on a large scale, a series of typical church-hall complexes is long overdue. Although less common, there are several other aspects to the problem: first, there are those churches which stand in splendid isolation: are they remnants of minsters, or has a former hail or village disappeared? Likewise, the question may be applied to those instances where the church and hall are separated, but not necessarily remote from one another. Has one of the buildings shifted from its original site, or were they always separate?

10.54 The number of churches for which a foundation date is known, or can be deduced with a reasonable degree of probability is very small, certainly less than ten examples in the whole Diocese. It is an even rarer occurrence for the surviving fabric to be readily equatable with a foundation date (on this subject see Taylor 1972). White Notley (109) is possibly a case in point. An historical question of fundamental importance must be asked: is the pattern of settlements and churches in Essex a legacy from Anglo-Saxon society, or is it substantially a Norman development? Here, our ability to 'date' churches is of crucial importance. The RCHM assigns a great many churches to the C12, and a few to the later C11, on the basis of semi-circular headed doorways and windows, and dressings of Roman brick. But these features cannot be dated *per se;* indeed they may range between the mid C7 and late C12. The number of churches which have gained general acceptance as partially or wholly of Anglo-Saxon date is very small in comparison with the total of church buildings: in Essex this number is only 19 (Taylor 1965). Recent discoveries and reconsiderations could add at least another half-dozen certain examples, but the total is still minute. It has been emphasized several times in this report that many of the so-called C12 features could be of earlier date and that the fabric of a church must not be 'dated' by the readily identifiable architectural features. In many instances the writer has observed that Norman and later features seem to be intrusive into earlier wails. Thus, the total number of *potential* Anglo-Saxon churches is great and it would not be difficult to suggest at least a hundred examples. Reasonable proof is lacking, but might be forthcoming through the medium of archaeological investigation.

10.55 Another line of enquiry is to discover how many Anglo-Saxon churches can be attested on historical, rather than archaeological or architectural grounds. Here, the Domesday survey is an asset: for Essex it lists only fifteen churches, perhaps a disappointing total. However, there are also references to 29 priests (plus a further seven in Colchester). It is not unreasonable to assume that a Domesday manor with a priest must have possessed a church, and since there are only three instances where a priest and a church occur together, it leaves some 40 places with an ecclesiastical presence (excluding Colchester). This is still only a modest number, especially when compared with the Domesday entries for the adjacent counties of Kent and Suffolk. In the latter, for example, 345 churches are attested by 1086, through Domesday alone, excluding those in the Boroughs. Does this mean, therefore, that Essex was relatively poorly endowed with churches in the C11? To answer this question we must briefly consider several strands of evidence in order to build up the fullest possible list of Domesday-period churches in the county. When the evidence from wills, charters, the Domesday survey, architecture and archaeology is combined a much fuller picture is obtained (Fig. 31). The total number of churches which can be shown to have existed by *c.* 1086 is at least 86 (and we have probably failed to track down *all* the divers documentary references of relevance in this context). This number is not in doubt, and to it one might add numerous potential Anglo-Saxon churches, on the evidence discussed above (however, none has been included for present purposes); the total might then be in the order of 150. Although this is a great improvement on the number with which we started, it is still low when compared to that for adjacent counties. It is self-evident that there is no meaningful correlation between the churches and priests mentioned in Domesday and Anglo-Saxon churches attested by other sources, which confirms the generally accepted belief that the Domesday surveyors were not interested in ecclesiastical property as such. They were largely interested in recording property which rendered taxes to the king. The Survey can never be used as a source of negative evidence. The fact that some counties show a high ecclesiastical 'return', while others show a very low one, is a totally different problem and is related to taxation and ownership rather than church archaeology.

10.56 An approximation to the true picture of church distribution in Essex in the mid C11 may be forthcoming from the Dunmow area where, by pure chance, we happen to have a large number of early references to churches. Here, in a contiguous block of 24 parishes, churches of the Domesday period can be attested in 21 instances. For the remaining three examples in that land-block there is simply no evidence (Barnston, Broxted and Tilty). In other words, we may tentatively conclude that the pattern of churches in Essex is probably a legacy from the Anglo-Saxon period, rather than any later era, if the

evidence from the Dunmow area reflects the situation as a whole.

10.57 Finally, it must not be forgotten that a church does not exist without its parish and that the history of the parochial territory and its boundaries is as much a part of church archaeology as is the central building itself. The study of parishes, as features of the landscape, is virtually unknown, yet it is a subject which holds great promise. The techniques of landscape analysis can be brought to bear on the parochial problem with some remarkable results, at least in the Chelmsford Diocese. In certain areas it is possible to trace with some certainty the origin and development of a particular group of parishes. In effect, the parishes, largely through the evidence of their boundaries, may be seen as a series of stratified features, for which a relative chronology may be proposed. if this were to be supplemented by a series of chronologies (relative or preferably absolute) for the church buildings in the area, we would then be in a much stronger position to offer a reasoned account of the history of the Church as an institution, in a particular area. This must surely be the ultimate aim.

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"Enough has been said above to indicate the potential of every threatened church, and the massive amount of evidence which is threatened with extinction. Only a small fraction of it is ever likely to be recovered: there are neither adequate funds available for this purpose, nor trained archaeologists or other specialists, even if there were unlimited money. Only an injection of millions of pounds coupled with training of workers on an unprecedented scale could possibly cope with the threat to the archaeological evidence from churches and their graveyards."

'The Crisis in Church Archaeology'
P A Rahtz, 1973.

Section 11 Gazetteer

11.1 The section summarizes the information gathered from the detailed survey of the 220 parish churches and church sites in the Archdeaconry of Colchester. Notes on several of the more important chapels and their sites have also been included under Colchester. Space does not permit a detailed discussion of every church, nor a full description, but it is however hoped that few salient points of archaeological concern have escaped mention. Many churches contain features of historic interest upon which detailed discussion is long overdue, and the majority have received only the barest architectural description and have not benefited from a meticulous scrutiny or from a scholarly assessment in the light of current knowledge. Generally the fullest and most accurate account of a church will be found in the relevant volume by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Essex* (vols. i-iv, 1916-23), although this is often inadequate, outdated and in need of revision.

11.2 The gazetteer is arranged alphabetically according to parish, with the details presented in the following order (a concordance table, arranged in order of site numbers, will be found at the end of this section (p. 125).

a. PARISH; church dedication; church number (in parenthesis) as shown on MAP A; national grid reference (Ordnance Survey); a note on the siting of the church in relation to the ancient settlement pattern of the area (as far as this is known).
b. RCHM reference and notice of any other major publication (including a note on published church plans).
c. Brief description and discussion of the condition of the church, graveyard and general environs, together with a note of any exceptional monuments. Assessment of the archaeological needs and potential.
d. Architectural and archaeological grading (for details of which see 2.13), followed by the Listed Building grade (in parenthesis).

ABBERTON, St Andrew. (62)
TL 9974 1938 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 1 (sketch plan 1:576)
C14 nave; C19 chancel, but with old foundations visible; C16 brick tower (topless). Restored 1884; generally well kept. Ground level very high on N; serious dampness in panelling and floor bricks loose. Major works to floor and walls will soon be inevitable; ground lowering needed. Site of moderate archaeological importance, not so much for the present structure but for the location—at the southern end of the Abberton Dyke, still a major earthwork; the dyke either terminates or changes direction under the churchyard. No opportunity should be lost to investigate this site.
Grading: CIa (not listed)

ALDHAM, St Margaret and St Catherine (81)
TL 9067 2539 Isolated with a farm which is not the Hall.
RCHM iii, 1 (No plan)
Demolished and rebuilt using old materials (including C13 and C14 features) on a new site, in the village, in 1855. The old site is a good candidate for preservation; not threatened at present. Basically nothing is known.
Grading: IIIa (not listed or scheduled)

ALPHAMSTONE, dedication unknown (125)
TL 8788 3545 Isolated at junction of several ancient routes; good position overlooking the Stour.
RCHM iii, 3 (sketch plan 1:576)
Saxon or Norman nave with Roman brick quoins; C14 chancel and S aisle; former west tower demolished. Walls all rendered inside and outside—very poor condition; chancel arch badly cracked and in danger of collapse; moderately damp, particularly in S aisle; C19 open drain on N side of nave and chancel. Churchyard stands as a platform above surrounding fields; has yielded Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery and a Roman villa; many sarsen stones have been gathered to the area and are distributed in and about the churchyard; one large sarsen projects from under the SW corner of the nave. The nave walls are 0.88 m thick and fairly certainly pre-Conquest; a prime site for an isolated minster. No archaeological investigation or recording has taken place and major opportunities must soon arise. As an archaeological complex, Alphamstone church and graveyard must rank amongst the most important in Essex, with a potential at least as great as Rivenhall.
Grading: BIb (listed B)

ALRESFORD, St Peter (55)
TM 0647 2066 Completely isolated.
RCHM iii, 5 (sketch plan 1:576) *Essex Countryside,* **17** (1968), 35
Usually stated to have been built *c* 1320, but much of the fabric is certainly earlier; nave has Roman brick quoins and walls 0.84 m thick; late Saxon or Saxo-Norman. Gutted by fire, 1971; to be left as a ruin. A valuable object lesson in the number of details which can be hidden by a thorough C19 restoration—remains of several blocked and fragmentary windows and doorways can be seen since the plaster fell away; worthy of a thorough structural investigation before deterioration takes place or well-meaning conservation causes damage; the walls have been crudely capped with cement. The ruin now comprises nave, chancel and C19 S aisle (arcade demolished after fire). Laver reported that the church stood in a 'camp', S ditch of which was filled for churchyard extcnsion: *VCH* iii (1963), 38.
Grading: BIa (listed B)

ARDLEIGH: St Mary the Virgin (25)
TM 0539 2955 In village, at crossroads.
RCHM iii, 6 (sketch plan 1:576)
C14 nave, largely rebuilt; fine C15 tower and S porch; chancel and aisles rebuilt 1885, a typically thorough job by Wm Butterfield. C19 paintings in chancel are the most important aspect of the interior; externally, the tower and porch are of high merit, illustrating the late medieval art of using stone, brick and flint in attractive combination. Archaeological potential unknown; few Roman bricks in tower; the whole area abounds with prehistoric and Roman sites. Principal potential would be internal excavation to elucidate the structural sequence; no current threats. It would be interesting to discover the foundation period of the church, since the parish has the appearance of being cut out from Colchester Borough Liberty, Dedham and Lawford at a very early date. The church existed by *c* 1087 (Hart, 1957b, 12).
Grading: AIIb (listed B)

ARKESDEN, St Mary the Virgin (alternatively St Margaret) (203)
TL, 4824 3459 In village, at road junction.
RCHM i, 1 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave, chancel and aisles probably all C13: major restoration 1855, when E end was reconstructed and ruined; medieval tower replaced by a new one at the same time; foundations of a former circular tower were reported (cf Birchanger). C19 total refacing of walls and replacement of stone dressings; the church is now of no real merit; better is the C19 stained glass and the fine monuments of 1592 and 1692. The earlier is a canopied tomb which has recently been inexpertly recoloured, to its visual ruin. Archaeological potential is unknown and cannot bc guessed; C19 drainage operations have caused moderate disturbance; internal excavation is the only viable possibility; no current threat, apart from recommended ground lowering on E side of porch. There are some very fine and important C18 tombstones in the graveyard, which must be cared for in *situ;* also a vast puddingstone, and a sarsen just outside the boundary; another sarsen protrudes from under the SW corner of the chancel.
Grading: CIIIc (listed B)

ASHDON, All Saints (193)
TL 5810 4150 Isolated with hall; the village is a separate nucleus.
RCHM i, 5 (sketch plan 1:576) *TEAS* (ns) **4** (1893), 5-10.
Nave, chancel, tower, aisles and two chapels built at various times during C14 and C15. A good late medieval interior,

but the interior is masked by rendering and pebble-dash (which has especially ruined the once decoratively-banded tower). The bases of the chancel arch responds and the arcade piers are elevated on curious square plinths 0.8 m high; much effort has been expended on their attempted explanation, without conclusion. It seems that they are either the utilized remnants of earlier walls or were added to support the pier bases when the nave floor was lowered (but *was* it lowered—when and why?) Historically and archaeologically, Ashdon is of the utmost importance and deserves the fullest attention. It has been argued convincingly that Ashdon is the site of the battle of *Assandun,* 1016 (Hart, 1968). but attempts to wring Cnut's minster out of the present structure have failed. However, a large number of north-south orientated graves, 'rude weapons' and pottery were found in the field E of the church, *c* 1830; the remains of a smaller church were found inside the present structure during restoration in 1886. The graves are undated but are possibly of the Anglo-Saxon period; the smaller church is undated too and there is no reason to propose it was a minster. Nor is it necessarily the immediate predecessor of the C14 edifice, both on account of the unexplained pier bases and various irregularities in the standing walls which include, for example, some evidence for the heightening of the nave. The present church may, possibly, be an adaptation of a Saxon or Norman building, which in turn was the successor to the 'smaller' church. A grant of 1096 mentions a church at Ashdon (Hart, 1957b, 16). but without details. Part of a Norman font was incorporated in a doorstep and there are reused dressed stones in the aisles. Areas of the church are affected by excessive dampness and the ground level is high on the S side. Any opportunity to undertake archaeological investigations internally must not be missed, both below the floors (note wood blocks are beginning to loosen) and on the fabric, should any plaster repairs be undertaken (note the plaster is mainly ancient and traces of wall-paintings are known). There is an important collection of C18 headstones in the graveyard
Grading: BIa (listed B)

ASHEN. dedication unknown (since 1853, St Augustine) (145)
TL 7473 4232 In village.
RCHM i, 9 (sketch plan 1:576)
C13 nave; tower *c* 1400; chancel 1857, when a former chancel and apse were demolished as 'ruinous'; nave lengthened eastwards at the same time. Presumably the apse belonged to the Saxon or Norman church mentioned in a grant of *c* 1090 (Hart, 1957b, 14). The windows undoubtedly belie the true age of the nave fabric; S wall externally refaced; N wall rendered—poor condition. The only visible features of significance are the curiously braced roof and the remarkable C13 peg-jointed S door (Hewett, 1974, fig. 73). A fine wall monument of 1610 is in a poor state. Ground level is high and the church damp at the W end. Opportunities should arise for fabric study and the recovery of the lost E end, by excavation, would be valuable since, if it belongs to the first church on the site, it can be confidently dated to *ante* 1090.
Grading: CIIb (listed B)

BARDFIELD, GREAT. St Mary the Virgin (161)
TL 6782 3036 With hall, just away from village.
RCHM i, 105 (sketch plan 1:576)
Virtually all of the late C14; stone chancel screen and matching aisle arcades lend the interior an air of refined architectural unity, scarcely matched elsewhere in Essex. Pevsner is wrong in dating the tower similarly; it is the survivor of an earlier building and is late C12 or early C13; it contains a few fragments of Roman tile. There is a chevron-ornamented block from a Norman arch reused in the S aisle. External ground level is rather high and there is a brick gutter all round; dampness is causing some internal damage. The churchyard is heavily buried in. A medieval stone coffin with decorated lid lies discarded and broken, amongst rubbish, to N of nave; a second lid rests on a window sill and has been limewashed. These items, presumably found during a restoration, need taking into the care of a museum. An earlier church, at least of Norman date, awaits elucidation; no current threats. Roman pottery and a Greek bronze coin found just NW of church; two large sarsens project from under the NE and SE corners of the chancel and are possibly indicative of a date anterior to the C14 for the laying of the foundations.
Grading: AIIb (listed A)

BARDFIELD, LITTLE, St Katharine (162)
TL 6556 3073 Isolated with hall; the two stand very close. together, on the same east-west axis.
RCHM i, 170 (differential plan 1:300). Taylor, 1965, 37 (plan *c* 1: 165)
A very remarkable building and one of the few outstanding pieces of Anglo-Saxon architecture in Essex: carefully described by Taylor. Saxon nave and west tower; C19 chancel and a vast organ chamber which has ruined the aesthetic proportions of the church. The Saxon work is totally formed in flint (plus one or two scraps of Roman brick), including all quoins, plinths and string courses; an important demonstration of the Anglo-Saxons' ability to build entirely without the use of stone or brick dressings. There are many problems which need tackling archaeologically: is the trapezoidal-plan tower of one build with the nave? (Note the thin W wall of the nave and its marked skew, whereas the E end appears to be regular—cf a similar arrangement at Hadstock). The tower, which is pointed with C19 black cement, was stated in the 1971 quinquennial survey to be in need of 'major restoration'—this is an important task and needs to be accompanied by careful archaeological examination. The medieval battlements have been removed, to the enhancement of the Saxon work, and would be better not replaced. There is a good C18 clock (not working) in the tower and it is alarming to read in the survey, 'the remains of the clock face should be removed and the wall repaired'. Such wanton destruction must be checked. Ground level on the S side is high and the interior is seriously damp; where wall-plaster is peeling traces of painting are appearing; these need investigation. Drainage works are necessary but should only be permitted after archaeological excavation—indeed this is a good example where archaeology alone could cure the dampness problem. The timber floor on the S side of the nave is rotting and sinking, and its repair will soon present an important opportunity for internal work here. Nothing is known of the Saxon chancel, but it is likely that the C19 structure rests on its foundations; external investigation would probably settle the point. The Victorian chancel interior fittings are very fine and the organ by Renatus Harris is the most important in the Diocese. E of the chancel is a row of excellent C18 tombstones. There are finds of Roman pottery from in and around the churchyard. The Little Bardfield Hall-Church complex must be regarded as potentially one of the most important architectural and archaeological units in the Diocese.
Grading: AIa (listed A)

BARNSTON, dedication unknown (169)
TL 6525 1961 Isolated with hall.
RCHM ii, 11 (sketch plan 1:576)
A rather unattractive building set in a very open graveyard. C12 nave; C13 chancel; timber bell-turret 'converted from medieval to something hardly recognisable' (Hewett, 1974, 117). It is impossible to assess the building, since it is covered with cement (opportunity recently lost when this was replaced) and most of the dressed stonework was renewed in C19. The heavily restored remains of the Norman S doorway are curious: the outer order of the arch appears to have been dressed back, to remove an ornamental moulding, possibly a chevron. The capital are noteworthy. Repairs undertaken 1967-71 included the digging of a shingle-filled drain around the walls. Clearly several opportunities to elucidate this difficult structure have been lost. The early C19 Livermore monuments are the principal feature of the churchyard: burial continues near church. Iron Age pottery found nearby.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

BEAUMONT (-cum-MOZE), St Leonard (37A)
TM 1801 2464 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 7 (no plan)
Chancel, possibly Norman, but now showing only late medieval features: nave and N aisle rebuilt 1854. The chancel is covered by pebble-dash and is heavily restored; E wall rebuilt 1950; chancel arch is cracked. C19 floors are sinking and will require relaying in a few years, providing an opportunity for internal excavation—the only form of worthwhile investigation here. Note: Roman coin found

just S of church; prehistoric and Roman pottery found close to hall.
Grading: DIIIb (not listed)

BELCHAMP OTTEN, St Ethelbert and All Saints (? not original) (139A)
TL 8033 4175 In loosely defined village.
RCHM i, 14 (sketch plan 1:576)
C12 nave; C13 chancel; W bell-turret raised on well carved C17 posts. Norman S doorway is very elaborate and needs careful restoration; it has been taken apart at some time and reconstructed wrongly. The church is important as a simple rural building which largely escaped C19 restoration; it retains box pews and the exceptional 'squire's pew'. The rendering now falling off the N wall of the chancel covers the only area of rubble-work not refaced—study needed. Ground level is high and has fortunately escaped major disturbance by drains; undamaged original wall faces probably survive for study, just above the foundations. Restoration in 1965 was generally good, but the digging out and relaying of all the floors was an archaeological tragedy; a major opportunity to examine the whole interior, which had probably suffered little or no C19 disturbance, was lost. Worse still, a stone coffin, covered by the best-preserved ornamental lid in the Archdeaconry, was discovered in the nave. It was at a depth of 10 inches, which means that not only was the contemporary Norman floor level intact, but also probably several later floors above. To have recovered this coffin in its stratigraphic relationship to the building would have been a valuable archaeological achievement, since all other medieval coffin lids which survive in the county were summarily extracted in the C19. Most are now heavily abraded or broken, but the Belchamp lid is pristine Barnack, with superb tooling marks. Not only has much archaeological data been lost, including the coffin and skeleton, but the lid itself cannot be properly studied since it has suffered the usual fate of being concreted into the chancel floor, where in a century's time it will be as scuffed and damaged as are now the lids which the Victorians similarly embedded. This lid and its coffin should be a prime exhibit in an ecclesiastical museum.
Grading: BIIIc (would previously have been BIIa) (listed B)

BELCHAMP ST ETHELBERT, St Ethelbert (139B)
TL 8052 4326 Totally isolated.
Long since demolished, nothing known of the structure; now in Belchamp Otten parish. Site under plough; Mrs E E Sellers has collected Roman bricks and a quern fragment from field scatter. Possibly the site of a lost settlement; presumably heavily disturbed.
Grading: IIIc

BELCHAMP ST PAUL'S, St Andrew (138)
TL 7984 4345 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 16 (sketch plan 1:576; E end inaccurately shown)
Nave, chancel, W tower, N aisle, N transept and S porch all of C15; a large building with many good architectural features, spoilt by limewash over all dressings, including the arcade. Major internal cleaning and redecoration needed, including removal of eyesores. Nothing is known of the church's predecessor, except a Norman chevron voussoir and other reused stones in the tower, and a few Roman bricks. A masonry wall under W hedge of churchyard *may* be Roman. There is good potential for archaeological investigation both inside and out, above and below ground. No obvious disturbances; ground level concrete gutter around walls, but these are still seriously damp. The graveyard has been devastated and is now a characterless expanse of grass.
Grading: BIIa (listed B)

BELCHAMP WALTER, St Mary the Virgin (132)
TL 8274 4068 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 19 (sketch plan 1:576)
C14 large nave; C13 small chancel; C15 W tower; C19 rebuild of E end of nave, shifting chancel arch a little to E. Nothing known of earlier church, except the fine Norman font. A highly ornate C14 arch in the N wall of the nave once gave access into a chantry chapel—now gone but could be found by excavation. The wall plaster in the nave is all ancient and is decorated with extensive C14 paintings, uncovered in recent years. Externally, the walls are much refaced, or rendered (rendering falling off tower). There appear to have been major disturbances around the walls, in connection with drain laying: probably much archaeological damage done; the church is still damp inside and a chemical damp-course has been recommended. Dampness has caused many floor tiles to become detached from their bedding—relaying must come in due course and will present an opportunity for investigation. Likewise structural work may become necessary as a result of wall cracks (all tell-tales broken). Archaeological potential is uncertain: small quantity of Roman brick in walls (including flue tiles); also some possible medieval bricks. There are sarsens by the roadside opposite the church and a remarkable collection of reused medieval stonework in the walls and gate pillars of the hall and a house N of the church. These items might repay detailed investigation. A pleasant graveyard containing some good C18 tombstones—it would have been even better had it not been 'tidied' and the 1964 faculty for moving headstones not granted. The S door is an important piece of C14 carpentry and the industrial archaeology of the church is noteworthy: there is an early C18 striking tower clock; the 'Tortoise' stove (threatened) is one of the two or three good survivors in the Archdeaconry and should be protected; there is a peal of eight bells in their original frame declare 'unsafe' in 1923; this must be protected from the depredations of speculating bell-founders.
Grading: AIIb (listed B)

BENTLEY, GREAT, St Mary the Virgin (48)
TM 1090 2164 Just off the 42 acre green around which the village is built.
RCHM iii, 107 (differential plan 1:300)
Fine, large two-celled Norman church, with C14 chancel extension and W tower. Herringbone work coursed in ironstone is especially noteworthy, although incompetent pointing has ruined parts of it, Ground cut down and landscaped against N wall, presumably resulting in some archaeological damage. More problematical is the interior, which has been totally refloored in concrete slabs and wooden blocks, but it would appear that no damp-proof membrane was inserted, with serious results. If the floors were not dug out, but simply relaid. then little archaeological damage was probably committed. There is a C13 coffin lid set in the nave floor and a series of rare C16 inlaid tiles which are disintegrating rapidly. N and S doorways are both fine Norman works and the S door itself is of similar date; clearly this was once the principal entrance (a porch is known to have been removed), although it makes no sense in the present topographical arrangement. This *appears* to be a one-build Norman church and it would be valuable to check archaeologically that the doorways are contemporary with the fabric, and to check the form of the original E end; otherwise, archaeological potential is unknown. It has already been noted that the recent wholesale clearance of what was once an interesting graveyard constitutes one of the most graphic acts of churchyard vandalism in the Diocese (9.75).
Grading: AIIb (listed A)

BENTLEY, LITTLE, St Mary the Virgin (49)
TM 1226 2495 Isolated, some distance from hall.
RCHM iii, 160 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave and chancel with Roman brick quoins are at least of Norman date, but are good candidates for Saxon work; various later medieval alterations and additions, including N aisle, NE chapel and W tower. Wall scars show there was once a N porch (or site of priest's house). The church has great charm and character and the tower is a good example of ornamental flint- and brickwork; the nave has a fine hammerbeam roof. Ground level externally is high; ancient drainage works are now ineffective; internal walls very damp behind panelling and the brick floors all need rebedding; the chapel floor is particularly bad. Some timber flooring has been replaced in recent years and concrete plinths have been cast under the arcade piers. RCHM refers to ancient painting in N aisle; this is no longer visible; interior has been redecorated but work is needed on the floors. Externally much has to be done, especially with regard to drainage. Clumsy cement pointing in the S wall needs removing. The church is potentially a very interesting structure of early, but unknown date, with forthcoming opportunities for major investigations.
Grading: AAIb (listed B)

BERDEN, St Nicholas (182)
TL 4678 2962 Close to hall on edge of village.
RCHM i, 21 (plan 1:300)
Small, unaisled transeptal church of great archaeological, but only modest architectural interest. RCHM ascribes the nave to C12, but it could easily be several centuries earlier; it has been shortened at the W end by the building of a tower which is alleged to be of C15 date, but is unbuttressed, slightly trapezoidal in plan and could possibly be a much-altered Norman structure. The so-called 'long and short work' at the NW and SW comers of the nave is wrongly described and is probably of later medieval date. The transepts are problematical and although ascribed to separate C13 dates, are possibly rebuilds of earlier structures. The chancel is difficult to understand: it has been lengthened east wards (1868) and contains some delicate C13 work, heavily restored, and possibly reset. Berden holds great promise as an Anglo-Saxon church (note nave walls only 0.76 m thick) and is just possibly a major building of minster proportions; its problems can only be elucidated by large-scale archaeological investigation. It is to be lamented that there is a brick-lined open drain all round; recent external pointing has used too much cement; all stone dressings inside are limewashed. A C19 underfloor heating system has partially disturbed the interior. Original coloured plan for 1868 restoration hangs in the church (published descriptions do not entirely agree). Two medieval coffin lids found; a few fragments of glazed floor tiles built into S transept walls.
Grading: BBIc (listed B)

BERECHURCH (or West Donyland), St Michael (15)
TL 9928 2189 Isolated, near hall; now outskirts of Colchester and within the Borough Liberties.
RCHM iii, 46 (sketch plan 1:576). Morant ii (1748), 29.
Nave, chancel and W tower of brick, *c.* 1500; N chapel slightly later. Heavy restoration of 1872 involving much rebuilding. Tower is quite good but needs repair, while the interior of the Audley chapel is superb, although gently deteriorating; Hewett described the hammerbeam roof as 'sumptuous'. Whole church is very damp; all drains choked and useless; deep open drain on N side of nave. Much work is needed to put this building in order: declared redundant 1974; to be vested in the Redundant Churches Fund. Were it not for the interest of the chapel, Berechurch would have been best sold for conversion to a residence. most of the building is without merit. Berechurch was a manor in C11, but only a chapel-of-ease to Holy Trinity, Colchester, until it became a separate parish in 1536; thus it remains within the Borough Liberty. It seems a likely candidate for having originally been a private chapel founded for Berechurch Hall. if the interior of the church has to be refloored it would be worth an advance excavation to find, and hopefully to date, the original chapel.
Grading: BIIIb (listed B)

BERGHOLT, WEST, St Mary (19)
TL 9530 2808 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 227 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave, chancel and S aisle exhibit C14 work, but the fabric of the first two elements is probably older; W bell-turret of uncertain date. There is nothing of interest here apart from, perhaps, the timber W gallery, C18. Archaeologically, however, the church may be of value, but the walls are covered by a hotch-potch of rendering and all dressed stonework is limewashed, (note Roman brick used in walls and buttresses). The RCHM description of 1922 is still apt: 'Condition—poor, very damp'. Ground level is very high and there are tombs close to the S wall; the floor bricks are loose and need relaying. The church has recently been declared redundant and will be taken over by the Redundant Churches Fund—this is difficult to understand since there are worthier causes for permanent preservation and, although conversion to a dwelling would not be easy, it is by no means impossible. Whatever transpired, a vast amount of work is necessary to put the church in order and a major archaeological investigation should be mounted since there is an obvious opportunity here to undertake a total internal excavation, accompanied at least by limited plaster stripping and structural study. At the same time the stripping of external rendering and excavation around the walls could take place. Thus, although nothing is known of the history or archaeological potential of Bergholt, it must provide an opportunity, under rescue conditions, for near-total investigation, and such an opportunity should certainly be seized; there is unlikely to be much C19 disturbance, since the main restoration was in the C18, and apparently not drastic. The graveyard is important for its table-tombs, C18 headstones and the earthwork which forms its N boundary; all these must be preserved intact.
Grading: CIIIa (listed B)

BIRCH, GREAT, St Peter (and St Paul) (75A)
TL 9435 1990 In village. Not in RCHM. Useful guidebook by T B Millatt, *The Churches of Birch and Layer Breton* (1963). *TEAS* (ns) **20** (1931), 291-5.
A large, solid Victorian church erected on the site of the medieval one, which was demolished in 1849. It comprised a nave, chancel, bell-turret and S porch; said to be Norman, and a sketch of 1849 shows round-headed and C14 windows. The site is of interest for its prominent position, but grave-digging of C19-20 must have destroyed much of the archaeology of the churchyard. The foundations of the C19 church are likely to be massive and have probably destroyed most of the medieval church. Internal excavation is the only hope, although not a great one, for the recovery of information. Birch is a monument to senseless Victorian ecclesiastical vandalism; the replacement church is of little merit in its own class.
Grading: DIIIc (unlisted)

BIRCH, LITTLE, St Mary the Virgin (75B)
TL 9501 2078 Isolated with hall (the latter demolished, late 1950s).
RCHM iii, 8 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave, Saxon or Norman; C14 chancel; W tower, C14 lower stages with C16 third stage and stair turret. Now a roofless ruin, heavily overgrown and deteriorating rapidly. Has suffered several periods of ruin and repair since the early C17; made redundant by act of Parliament in 1816 and transferred to private ownership; the parish was combined with Great Birch. The nave is particularly important and matches very closely in its planning the Saxon church of Hardham, Sussex; the same architect may have been at work on both. The nave quoins at Birch are of Roman brick and there are unexplained pilaster buttresses at the NE and SE corners. Could they be associated with the support of an original central tower, which was removed when the present chancel was constructed? A major structural study is needed of the above ground remains, in conjunction with a carefully supervised programme of consolidation. C14 piscina and C15 quatrefoil light to the rood stair have been ripped out and stolen recently. Action is needed immediately—there are but three church ruins of any consequence in the Diocese, and this is the most important; public guardianship would not be inappropriate.
Grading: BIa (listed grade II)

BIRCHANGER, St Mary the Virgin (173)
TL 5073 2278 On edge of loosely ordered village.
RCHM i, 26 (sketch plan 1:576). Taylor, 1965, 70. *TEAS* (ns) 9 (1906), 417-9. An unlovely building with a lugubrious interior, all caused by clumsy C19 restoration. Saxon or Saxo-Norman nave with two very fine doorways; C13 chancel largely intact but restored; N aisle of 1898. A Saxon double-splayed window was destroyed when the aisle was built and a round tower (presumably at the W end) is said to have been demolished in the C18. Pevsner is wrong in asserting that the W doorway is reset and removed from the N side; whether either doorway is original to the fabric of the walls is another matter, which needs archaeological investigation. The walls are of various thicknesses and there is an arched recess in the S wall at the E end of the nave; there was once one in the N wall, too. They are difficult features to explain, except as openings to *porticus* or transepts. An acoustic jar, presumably now lost, was found in the wall over the S doorway. In all, Birchanger is a building full of potential interest, especially for the investigation of a closely tied series of Saxon, Norman and early English features; this must have been a most attractive church before Blomfield set about it. The S doorway had been buried beneath C19 accretions and was only rediscovered *c* 1930; it is now largely obscured by a shed, an oil tank and a pile of rubbish. Ground level around the church is high and unfortunately there is an open drainage trench with a brick gutter in the base; the external walls suffered C19 blanket refacing. In spite of all the damage and destruction, this church is still worthy of

investigation, both above and below ground, should the opportunity arise. Innumerable questions remain to be answered.
Grading: AIc (listed B)

BIRDBROOK, St Augustine (146)
TL 7067 4113 With hall, on edge of village.
RCHM i, 27 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Large, two-celled Norman church, made even larger in C13 by extending the chancel eastwards and the nave westwoods. Of the origional fabric only part of the N wall of the nave and chancel remains visible, displaying herringbone work in Roman brick (recently repointed, very clumsily), there is much Roman brick reset elsewhere in the church; undoubtedly it was also employed in the quoins. The S side is now characterless due to blanket refacing in C19. Ground level is high and a concrete-lined trench has been constructed. Internally, the floors have been renewed, with imitation stone tiles, in recent years, undoubtedly involving the total, or near-total destruction of the below-ground archaeology. A major legacy enabled the pressure of restoration, begun in the C19 to continue steadily to the present day, with the result that the unwritten history of this interesting church has now been largely obliterated for all time. Nor has the churchyard survived—it has been thoroughly devastated and an incongruous rockery has been constructed out of gravestones; these include some particularly fine C19 examples, now disintegrating through frost action. Historically and archaeologically a write-off, although architecturally valuable for some good early C13 work.
Grading: BBIIIc (listed B)

BOCKING, St Mary the Virgin (118)
TL 7570 2569 Centre of village, with hall, at road junction.
RCHM i, 30 (sketch plan 1:576)
A large, aisled church, with chancel chapels and W tower; impressive externally. The C13 S door is important, as are the C15 roofs; C19 stained glass is good; otherwise a mediocre late medieval church with no great archaeological potential, except internally, below the floors; for here, somewhere, there must be at least one earlier church, the importance of which lies in the fact that 997 is probably the date of the initial construction. There are no obvious threats to the existing floors, but should the opportunity arise, the chance of discovering a dated C10 church should not be missed. It is unlikely that any part of it survives in the present structure, which has, in any case, suffered a C19 blanket refacing. Internally, there must be many disturbances due to vaults and the C19 heating system, which would demand a large-scale excavation to obtain worthwhile results. The churchyard has been blighted with almost total clearance; amongst the headstones now around the boundary are some good C18 examples; and there is an elegant iron-railed tomb of similar date on the S side of the chancel; this is a valuable piece of wrought iron and needs urgent repair. The brick and stone boundary wall around part of the churchyard is an interesting construction, with several builds of C17 and C18 date; it needs both statutory listing and immediate repair. Little is known of the archaeology of the area around Bocking church, apart from the discovery of a Roman coin and a perforated Bronze Age axehead on adjacent sites.
Grading: BBIc (listed B)

BORLEY, dedication unknown (141)
TL 8475 4307 Isolated with Borley Place (hall and village elsewhere, separately).
RCHM i, 41 (sketch plan 1:576)
Late C15 chancel and W tower; the nave is problematical in that its S wall is exceptionally thick and at the SW corner is one of the rare examples of long-and-short quoining in Essex. The significance of this seems to have been generally overlooked, yet it is very fine. Furthermore, two blocked windows can be detected through the plaster, also in the S wall. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Borley is at least partly an Anglo-Saxon building, albeit undatable. The walls are all cement rendered, unfortunately, but a foundation offset can be detected on the N side of the nave. A few fragments of Roman brick can be seen. The two magnificent Waldegrave monuments (1598, 1599) are in a sorry state and need expert attention. Although Borley is outwardly a rather dull little medieval church, it obviously hides a great deal and would well repay study, above and below ground; the settlement morphology of the village is evocative of interest. There has been an unrecorded excavation in the chancel (4.6 ii). Although hardly archaeological, the topiary should be mentioned since it is unique in the archdeaconry.
Grading: CIb (listed B)

BOXTED, St Peter (22)
TL 9984 3323 In village, removed from hall.
RCHM iii. 9 (sketch plan 1:576)
A most interesting and well-kept church, set in a pleasant graveyard. The building comprises an aisled nave, chancel and W tower. The lower part of the tower is Norman and has windows formed-in Roman brick: it may be an addition to an earlier nave, which is undated, except that it is no later than C12; the walls, however, are scarcely over 2 ft (0.60 m) thick. They contain the remains of round-headed windows, cut away when crude pointed arcades were pierced through in the C13 or C14. and the aisles built. The chancel arch is C12, but the chancel itself is a late medieval rebuild. The nave arcades are exceptionallv interesting for their crudeness, being cut straight through the walls without the formation of imposts or the use of stone dressings. The wall-plaster is largely ancient and there is every possibility that paintings may be found. External ground level is very high and a deep trench has been dun along the north side; the walls are much refaced and were heavily pointed in the C19. The floors in the chancel and E end of the nave were repaved in 1935; the brick-paved aisles need relaying, when a valuable opportunity for archaeological investigation will arise. Lamentably, the base of the tower has recently been concreted and the opportunity to demonstrate its relationship to the nave lost. Boxted should rank high on the archaeological priority list, if and when opportunities to investigate arise; we cannot afford to lose any more information here (note C19 underfloor heating ducts).
Grading: AAIb (listed B)

BRADFIELD, St Lawrence (29)
TM 1442 3078 In village, at road junction (well removed from hall)
RCHM iii, 11 (sketch plan 1:576). T D S Bayley, *Bradfield Church, Essex* (1962).
A heavily mutilated building of uncertain age; nave and chancel show C13 features; the tower may be of similar date, but much repaired; it is remarkably out of angle with the nave and the walls are unusually thin. A foundation, possibly parallel to the tower, was reported under the chancel floor, just E of the arch. The church was much altered in 1840 by the addition of transepts, Vestry and organ chamber; internally the walls are cement-rendered, with all stone dressings obscured by plaster or limewash; the exterior is a thorough mess of quasi-rendering. Assessment is impossible, but clearly there are early remains to be found, perhaps in the fabric as well as below the floors. Ground level is high all round; there is chronic dampness in the walls and timber Floors are beginning to give way; wall panelling is rotting and there is severe effloresecence in the plaster. Clearly a major opportunity for archaeological investigation must soon arise. Nothing is known of the local archaeology.
Grading: CIIb (listed B)

BRADWELL-juxta-COGGESHALL, Holy Trinity (112)
TL 8180 2214 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 12 (sketch plan 1:576)
Single-celled Norman building, the fabric of which survives in a remarkably complete state, although several C14 and C15 windows have been added. The church is of the utmost importance since it is the only substantial example of Norman brick-building in England. When the RCHM visited, the church was fully rendered, but upon the removal of cement, all quoins and dressings to windows and doorways were found to be of Norman brick, of the type produced at the nearby Coggeshall Abbey. Although blocked, the original window positions can be seen at the E end and the whole architectural arrangement of this one-period church reconstructed (apart from the W windows). Full study and publication are needed, which will involve some revision of

Gardner's pioneer work (Gardner, 1955). The church is damp and in a sad state; a shingle-filled drain was constructed around the walls in 1972; the upcast material was never carried away and undergrowth is again becoming established against the walls. Much careful pointing and stone repair are needed, with full archaeological recording first, since the traces of decorative banding in the walls may easily be disturbed by restoration; indeed the replacement of the W window some years ago has marred that elevation through careless workmanship. There have also been recent bodged attempts at repointing, and stone mouldings on the S side have been clumsily replaced; the repair of the priest's door is incompetent and unsightly. This very important building, which is effectively redundant, needs taking in hand. The church also contains notable monuments and fittings, but is rarely used and is permanently locked. The main archaeological potential is above ground, although excavation of the interior would be worthwhile to search for such details as altar, screen and font positions, which would, if found, complement the C12 shell with its contemporary liturgical layout. There is a good collection of C14 floor tiles which need protection against wear.
Grading: AIb (listed A)

BRAINTREE, St Michael (114A)
TL 7559 2292 In the town.
RCHM ii, 27 (sketch plan 1:576) *TEAS* (ns) **4** (1893), 254-77.
Large, fully aisled church mainly of C15 and C16, drastically restored 1864-6 and now of little interest, apart from the C13 tower (partly restored) and the timber roofs. The local authority has assumed control of the churchyard and the 1971 quinquennial survey reports a consequent loss of character. It is in fact probably the worst disaster area in the Archdeaconry—devastation has been total. The ground around the building is high and has been cut down on the north, where the sunken paths are revetted with tombstones (much broken and decayed). Other headstones have been moved to the boundaries. In all, a text-book example of what not to do. Archaeologically, the church and site are of some lnterest. Braintree was a C12 'New town', but there is no reason to believe that previous settlement did not exist—indeed it was hitherto known as Great Rayne; perhaps the site of the church marks the nucleus of an earlier settlement. The whole is, in any case, planted on, or emergent from, the Roman minor town (the church contains Roman brick and Roman pottery has been found in the graveyard). It is by no means improbable that the church grew up on the site of one of the Roman cemeteries. No opportunity should be missed to investigate here. See below for the 'original' Braintree church.
Grading: CIc (listed B)

BRAINTREE, dedication unknown (114B)
c TL, 767 227 ? in early settlement
Morant, ii (1768), 400. *TEAS* (ns), **4** (1893), 270-71.
The original settlement of Braintree (Great Rayne) lay to the SE of the Roman and C12 town and its parish church was at Chapel Hill. For convenience, this church was replaced by St Michael's (114A) in the new town, but this was not necessarily a straightforward transfer. The situation at Chapel Hill is confusing: there was the original parish church, a medieval chantry chapel and an episcopal palace, the exact sites of all of which are unclear, although part of the chapel (converted to cottages) still survived in the C19. The Bishop of London had an estate here at least from 995. Clearly, an interesting archaeological complex which needs Investigation, as and when opportunities arise in development. The area is known to have yielded Iron Age and Roman remains, as well as Saxon and medieval pottery.

BRAXTED. GREAT, All Saints (98)
TL 8509 1543 isolated (some distance from hall)
RCHM iii, 109 (differentiated plan 1:3OO). Taylor 1965, 715.
Essentially a two-celled Saxon or Norman church, apparently once apsed; chancel extended and squared off in C13; W tower built about the same time. Much Roman brick used for dressings, and in herringbone work (finds of Roman pottery just to the S); some Coggeshall Abbey bricks also incorporated in fabric, Apart from a few later medieval windows, this must have been effectively untouched until the C19 restoration and extension. Ground level is high; there is a brick gutter and plinth around the bases of the walls. A prime site for archaeological study; plaster clearly hides blocked windows (including circular ones) and extensive mortar sampling is needed to check the building sequence. Fortunately no current threats.
Grading: BBIIa (listed B)

BRAXTED, LITTLE, St Nicholas (99)
TL 8355 1471 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 162 (differentiated plan 1:300). Buckler 1856, 173.
Saxo-Norman or Norman single-celled apsidal building; later medieval features inserted; unfortunately extended with N aisle in 1884. Ground level is high; old brick drain, overgrown with weeds; the building is very damp. This is serious on account of the current rapid deterioration of the C19 wall paintings; they are superb and rank, with those at Foxearth, as the most important post-Reformation paintings in the Archdeaconry. Action, which will have archaeological repercussions, is vitally urgent. External walls need some repair, accompanied by close scrutiny and excavation if the occasion arises, since Buckler's plan suggests that the nave and apse are not of one build, and thus the church may not be quite what it appears—i.e. the nave may be older. There are a few fragments of Roman brick in the wails and several phases of amateur bodging of the pointing, using neat-cement. The graveyard is bleak and characterless. There are Roman finds from immediately N of the hall and a number of iron objects, possibly weapons from Saxon graves, have recently been reported. Like Little Maplestead, this is a close-knit hall-church complex of great potential interest. There was a priest here in 1086, but not apparently in 1066.
Grading: AAIIa (listed B)

BRIGHTLINGSEA, All Saints (57)
TM 0770 1874 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 14 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A large and very complex aisled church of many phases, with chancel chapels and massive W tower; externally most impressive. The earliest datable work is C13, but a curious low arch, formed of Roman bricks, in the S wall may be older; a writ of 1096 confirms the existence of a church then (Hart, 1957b, 16). A major Roman building lies immediately under the chancel. Ground level is very high and a rubble-filled drainage channel was constructed in 1974, involving archaeological destruction. The loss of the wall paintings has already been mentioned (9.38). The architectural evolution of this church is far from understood but it is clearly complex, both above and below ground, and is of the first order of archaeological importance—a great deal of unrecorded history has been lost, and more will probably follow (e.g. a boiler house and toilet are to be built).
Grading: AAIb (not listed)

BROMLEY, GREAT, St George (50)
TM 0835 2630 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 111 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Nave, chancel, tower and aisles of C14 and C15; a fine building with a superlative double-hammerbeam roof. The chancel contains Roman brick and may be the sole surviving part of an earlier medieval church; it is rendered, is in a poor state and will soon need stripping—a useful opportunity to study the fabric. Ground level is high, causing serious dampness in the N aisle and tower. Repairs to the floors are inevitable and will provide an opportunity for investigation The chancel has been refloored in this century. The medieval bell frame was apparently destroyed in 1930, when steel was introduced. There has been a recent partial clearance of the graveyard. Various items of medieval stonework have been dug up, including a C14 piscina.
Grading: AAIIIa (listed A)

BROMLEY, LITTLE, St Mary the Virgin (51)
TM 0919 2780 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 163 (sketch plan 1:576)
Norman nave; C14 chancel; C15 and C16 W tower.
Most of the exterior is rendered and the building is generally

in poor condition. Ground level outside is high; there is a brick gutter on the surface; the interior is very damp and total reflooring is required. A thorough restoration would involve much archaeological damage. but at the same time provide an opportunity for an organized investigation to recover the history of this little building. A C15 silver brooch and line-impressed floor tiles of C14 date have been found in the churchyard and a Roman gold coin at the hall adjacent; otherwise nothing is known of the archaeology. Burial continues occasionally; there is local talk of redundancy. Clearly the small congregation cannot put this church into good order; it is not of high architectural merit (although there is scope for improvement) and it would convert to a dwelling without difficulty.
Grading: CIIIa (listed B)

BROXTED, St Mary the Virgin (175)
TL 5785 2737 Virtually isolated, away from hall.
RCHM i, 42 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave, undated but probably early; chancel C13; N aisle C15. A curious and rather plain building which once undoubtedly had Roman brick dressings. but their materials are now dispersed in the fabric of the restored Early English chancel; if original, this chancel would be noteworthy; the C19 stained glass, some of the worst ever produced, further detracts from the appearance. The post-war rebuilding of the porch is unfortunate and unauthentic. Ground level is high externally, has been scarped away and a brick-lined drain constructed some years ago. The treatment is effective and not unsightly, but of course the archaeology has gone. The graveyard must have been attractive and full of interest before partial clearance; a good deal remains towards the E, but it is a pity so much had to be sacrificed for the lawnmower. Archaeological potential unknown.
Grading: CIIIc (listed B)

BRUNDON, Suffolk, dedication unknown (129)
c TL 8540 4165 Isolated well away from hall.
Morant 1768, ii, 317.
Long since demolished; nothing known. Transferred to the Diocese of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich, 1914. The site is impressive, on a spur; good potential for early settlement; now agricultural land.

BULMER, St Andrew (131)
TL 8436 4011 Isolated, just apart from village.
RCHM i, 45 (sketch plan 1:576)
Sited on an eminence. Nave. chancel and N aisle essentially C14 in detail, but certainly adapted from earlier structures including, possibly, a central tower. On the N side of the chancel are the remains of a demolished vestry or priest's house (apparently two-storied). W tower is C15. The whole plan is mis-shapen and certainly reflects a structure with a complex history; the exterior was severely restored in the C19 and a major archaeological investigation would be required to elucidate what could be an interesting architectural sequence. The ground falls away naturally to the N and has been scarped to the S, in the C19. There are traces of western buttresses at the end of the nave, not noted by the RCHM. Archaeological potential essentially unknown, but a guess would put it as high. There is a superb collection of C18 and early C19 tombs E of the church; they must be taken care of.
Grading: BIIIb (listed B)

BUMPSTEAD, HELION, St Andrew (150)
TL 6514 4165 In village.
RCHM i, 155 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave of early but uncertain date; chancel C13; S aisle C14; there was also a tower of this period, replaced 1812. The later tower, which is of red brick and a rare example of its period, is noteworthy and needs repair. Much of the S aisle was also rebuilt in 1812; a N aisle was probably intended, but was never begun, save the clerestory. The church has evidently suffered several periods of neglect, from the last of which it is still recovering. Much work has been done over the last two decades, with the consequent loss of a good deal of historic evidence. Ground level is high and there is an open trench along the N side, now partly concreted; damp proofing has recently been attempted, but the interior is still in a chronic state (the worst dampness noted in the Archdeaconry). The recent repointing of the N wall is a tragic smothering which has obscured herringbone work. Some areas of flooring were relaid *c* 1960, the rest needs doing and will obviously bring about major archaeological destruction of the internal levels. Internal wall-plaster is in a very poor state but it needs searching for paintings before replacement; stone dressings are all smothered with limewash and need cleaning. The church is of no mean interest and possibly holds great archaeological promise; skilful restoration could make it very attractive. Although the churchyard lacks notable monuments, it constitutes one of the finest ecological habitats in the county—may the cursed lawnmower never overtake it. The archaeology of the area is unknown; there are a few fragments of Roman brick in the church.
Grading: BBIIb (listed B)

BUMPSTEAD, STEEPLE, St Mary the Virgin (149)
TL 6791 4106 In village.
RCHM i, 288 (sketch plan 1:576)
A large, aisled church with a W tower which is partly Norman (usually ascribed to C11); the stumpy square chancel is also probably of the same date and it is remarkable that it escaped extension. It is reasonable to assume that the nave, too, is C11, in which case we have here a large church for the period, and one which must have been important. The C14 aisles have removed its sides, so that archaeology is required to show whether it ever had transepts or narrow, early aisles. There are many fragments of stone mouldings reused in the fabric of the S porch; these include Norman rolls. The churchyard stands well above its surroundings and ground level is high around the building; fortunately there are no open drains, but the ground was scarped a little in the C19. Internal dampness is not great, except in the S aisle, where the floor has collapsed. Clearly a valuable opportunity for investigation will arise here. Architecturally and archaeologically, this is an important building which merits an investigation into its history; there are many questions to ask and points to be checked (e.g. was there ever an eastern apse—there are slight suggestions of a blocked opening in the chancel wall). There is a report of a possible Roman villa under an adjacent garden; and on the inner face of the chancel door is an unusual bronze boss which once held a closing ring; its origin has been variously attributed to a C8 object of Irish origin and a C15 censer top. The churchyard has been partly tidied, but not wrecked; it contains a noteworthy series of C18 and early C19 gravestones; inside the church is a superlative monument of 1717.
Grading: AAIIa (listed B)

BURES, MOUNT, St John (85)
TL 9045 3247 With hall, inside castle bailey.
RCHM iii, 184
A tripartite Norman church; nave, axial tower and chancel; Roman brick used for the dressings. The middle of the building was knocked out in 1875, when a new tower and transepts were erected. Possibly the chancel is not original, but a medieval rebuild, since its proportions are not in keeping with the rest of the church; the exterior was so drastically refaced in the C19 that close examination is impossible. Ground level is high against the walls and there is a concrete-lined open drain all round; this is choked in part and is evidently ineffective since the church is still damp. The chancel is in a particularly sorry state and its floor needs relaying; the lower parts of the walls will have to be stripped and replastered, but an investigation of the plaster is needed because wall paintings are known (although now covered with limewash). The church is interesting and is part of an archaeological complex of some importance; any disturbances should be preceded by full investigation; although the church is conventionally described as Norman, there is no reason why it should not pre-date the castle (the church is alleged to have been built in 1059). This is perhaps the principal point to be settled. The churchyard has been cleared and has lost all interest.
Grading: BIb (listed B)

CANFIELD, LITTLE, All Saints (previously St Mary the Virgin) (170)
TL 5868 2096 Isolated, well away from hall.
RCHM iii, 153 (sketch plan 1:576)
Norman nave; C14 chancel; N tower 1856. Essentially an architectural monstrosity owing no allegiance to any period or style, due to the rebuild initiated by a C19 rector, who dabbled as an amateur architect. That there was once a good Norman church here is indicated by the S doorway, but even this is of no value now due to its ungainly restoration -it seems to be a hybrid of two Norman doorways and much C19 work. The fabric of the church is badly decayed; restoration would be more costly than worthwhile; it is one of the few churches in the Diocese which is architecturally expendable. There are some good fittings and several fine C18 tombstones; the churchyard is an excellent ecological habitat although it lacks other interest. Archaeologically, the site is significant; there are Roman finds from in and around the churchyard, which is still used for occasional burials. Domesday Book records a priest here in 1066.
Grading: DIIa (listed B)

CHAPPEL, dedication unknown (St Barnabas since 1868) (82)
TL 8941 2836 In village.
RCHM iii, 19 (sketch plan 1:576)
Single-celled church, said to have been erected in 1352; certainly no features are demonstrably earlier, but the puddingstone quoins are remarkable if of that date. Originally a chapel-of-ease to Great Tey and dedicated as such in 1352; made an independent parish in 1533. Graveyard totally destroyed, with headstones being used for paths and boundaries. Archaeologically not very promising.
Grading: CIIIa (listed B)

CHESTERFORD, GREAT, All Saints (196)
TL 5058 4277 In village.
RCHM i, 113 (sketch plan 1:576) *Great Chesterford; some light on the history of a village,* M Deacon *et al* (c 1974).
This was a great church, with a long, fully aisled nave, crossing, transepts and W tower; the detailing is all C13 and had it survived intact it would have been a first-rate Early English building. However, it has been much altered in C14 and C15, the tower demolished and the nave shortened by two bays. A new tower was built in the late medieval period; it fell in the C18, was rebuilt in 1790 and altered in 1842. The whole church suffered a drastic C19 restoration, which involved the blanket refacing of some walls and the rendering of others (rendering now falling off and in need of stripping; trial areas have been removed for inspection). The church is (or was) damp and an electrical damp course has recently been inserted; there are some serious cracks in the walls which will probably necessitate major structural work; the bells are never rung and there is local talk of selling them. In all, the church is in a very drab and run-down state and its structural history reflects the general decline of the village over the last 500 years. In the Middle Ages Chesterford was a prosperous market town— indeed it must have been one of the most prosperous in Essex to have afforded such a massive church at a relatively early date. The tide has turned again and the village is one of the more affluent in the Archdeaconry and is expanding steadily; yet it has done very little for its church, which needs a massive restoration, accompanied by the fullest possible archaeological investigation. *Great Chesterford is a village of the highest order of archaeological importance* —from the point of view of church archaeology it is perhaps second only to Colchester and any opportunity which is lost must be regarded as a major disaster, not only for the history of the village, but also potentially for our knowledge of the introduction of the Anglo-Saxon church into Pagan England. Chesterford is one of the few sites in the South-East where continuity of occupation on a significant scale can be reasonably assumed from the Iron Age onwards. One could discuss at length the archaeological evidence for the changing morphology of the settlement and the relationships between the various historical elements: the walled Roman town; its cemeteries; the Anglo-Saxon settlement and cemeteries; the church and the medieval village. But this is not the place to embark on another case study. *A priori,* one might expect a great Anglo-Saxon church-a minster-at Chesterford, but the evidence to test this suspicion can only be found through archaeology. There is certainly more than a suspicion that the C13 church is an adaptation of something earlier and various pieces of masonry found in the village indicate that a substantial Romanesque building awaits elucidation. The graveyard, too, is of no less importance: it contains several C17 headstones and large groups of C18 monuments, both to the N and S of the church. They are valuable both individually, as monuments, and collectively, as C18 microcosms within the churchyard. They are plausibly the most noteworthy collection in the Diocese.
Grading: CIa (listed B)

CHESTERFORD, LITTLE, St Mary the Virgin (197)
TL 5151 4170 In village, with hall.
RCHM i, 173 (sketch plan 1:576)
Single-celled now, but formerly divided; earliest detail C13; walls rendered and in a poor state. Ground level is high against the walls, although it was partly lowered in C19; current threat to bulldoze it further and to construct drainage channels. Dampness is serious and the floors inside have collapsed. A major archaeological investigation is needed if the threats are to be met; nothing is known of the immediate archaeology; there are a few fragments of Roman brick in the walls and the C19 vestry contains many medieval glazed floor tiles in its fabric. The graveyard has been devastated with almost unique thoroughness: the headstones, including some good C18 examples, have been placed around the boundaries (9.75).
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

CHICKNEY, St Mary the Virgin (177)
TL 5744 2805 Isolated with hall; remotely accessible.
RCHM i, 62 (differentiated plan 1:300). Taylor 1965, 156 (no plan)
An exceptionally well preserved Saxon church, comprising an irregularly planned nave and square chancel; C13 extension to E and C14 W tower. The original quoins are wholly of flint and two double-splayed windows survive (one with built-in wooden frame). The exterior is uniformly quasi-rendered; there is a brick gutter around the nave and chancel and a shingle-filled drain has recently been constructed at the W end. Chickney became redundant recently and has been transferred to the Redundant Churches Fund. The restoration, just completed, is visually good, but archaeologically much damage has been done. Most serious of all, is the apparent extensive relaying of internal floors. We do not know what has been lost but the outward signs are those of an historic tragedy. The churchyard is singularly uninteresting. Domesday Book mentions a priest here in 1086.
Grading: AIIc (listed A)

CHISHILL, GREAT, Cambridgeshire, St Swithin (208)
TL 4220 3887 In village, at crossroads (but away from hall)
No RCHM
Nave, aisles and chancel mainly C15, but with some C14 features, including the S arcade. W tower rebuilt 1895, in keeping. Quite a large and impressive church, situated on a notable eminence. The chancel arch is curious and suggestive of a C14 head put on to a Norman or earlier straight-through arch. The exterior of the church has been marred by recent large-scale cement bodging over decayed stone mouldings; the graveyard has been tidied excessively and is park-like. External ground level is high and there is a concrete lined gutter around the walls; internally the N aisle floor has collapsed and needs total replacement. Archaeological potential unknown, but an earlier church than the late medieval one remains to be elucidated. Wall paintings are known and care needs to be taken over plaster repairs.
Grading BBIIIb (listed B)

CHISHILL, LITTLE, St Nicholas (209)
TL 4185 3723 Isolated with hall.
No RCHM
An attractive little church, with all roofs tiled, including the pyramidal tower roof. Nave, chancel and tower are

probably all Norman, although subsequently disguised; the remains of a nook-shafted N window in the chancel indicates that the Norman church was not a mean one. There are various reused stone mouldings in a buttress plinth on the S side of the chancel. Internal string courses which end uneasily suggest rebuilding of the nave, with more work contemplated but not executed; the chancel was extended in the late C15. The church was obviously cleared out some years ago and refloored without a damp-proof membrane; everything is damp and the pine floor-blocks and chairs are seething with live woodworm. Another reflooring must soon come and the opportunity to study this interesting little building should be grasped. Externally the walls are partly cement rendered, in a poor state and need stripping. There is a most remarkable feature on the *exterior* of the chancel, in the form of a ground-level tomb-recess; in it stands a medieval coffin with decorated lid. It is unfortunately being weathered and hidden by vegetation. The graveyard has been severely tidied. Archaeologically, nothing is known, except that recent graves close to the nave have yielded sherds of medieval pottery.
Grading: BBIIb (listed B)

CHRISHALL, Holy Trinity (206)
TL 4514 3862 Isolated from village.
RCHM i, 64 (sketch plan 1:576)
A large, aisled Perpendicular church in good order and in a striking position, but with no apparent *raison d'être.* There is a concrete-lined gutter around the walls and a moderate dampness problem inside; of greatest concern is the fine tomb recess, with effigy. The recess is both damp and daubed with limewash; it needs urgent attention. Should any work be done to combat the rising dampness the opportunity should be taken to investigate the history of this church and discover from what it grew. The RCHM suggested that the chancel was a C15 rebuild *around* an earlier structure; this would have been roughly square and can hardly be any later than C11 (cf Steeple Bumpstead). Nothing is known of the archaeology of this site-at a guess, great potential. There is an outstanding brass in the church, a good medieval ladder to the tower and the disused "Romesse" stove is an industrial monument worth caring for.
Grading: BIIa (listed B)

CLACTON, GREAT, St John the Baptist (44)
TM 1770 1653 Centre of village, at road junction.
RCHM iii, 113 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Massive buttressed Norman nave, similar to Copford; C14 chancel; C15 W tower. Brutally restored 1865. It seems that Clacton, like Copford, was intended to be fully vaulted in stone. It is difficult to envisage why either of these villages should have been endowed with such massive, uncommon and expensive churches; both make great use of Roman brick for the dressings. Clacton is less complete, in that the chancel has been rebuilt; however, it seems to show two periods of Norman work, as well as the later, and there is a strong indication from the N and S walls that the chancel terminated in an apse, the tip of which would have been beyond the present E end. Thus presumably the church's plan was closely similar to Copford. External ground level is high at the E end, where there is a concrete-lined drain; to the W and N the ground has been lowered over a wide area and a hard-standing created. The archaeology is certainly disturbed, but any opportunity for investigation should be seized. Much needs to be done above ground to elucidate the architecture of the church (at present it is difficult to tell what is at least partly original and what is wholly of C19 origin). Below ground, the principal questions concern the form of the E end. Archaeologically little is known of the area; a Roman coin was found to the N of the church and a C7 glass palm cup is unlocated; somewhere nearby must be the building which provided the Roman tiles for the church.
Grading: BIc (listed B)

CLACTON, LITTLE, St James (45)
TM 1660 1883 Centre of village, at crossroads.
RCHM iii, 164 (sketch plan 1:576)
Norman, with various alterations; two-celled but with the chancel arch removed. Difficult to study on account of the totally rendered exterior, except the E wall which has been stripped and nicely pointed in recent years. Some Roman brick and reused fragments of window tracery appear here. The graveyard is in pleasant order; the church would look much better and could be understood if it were stripped of rendering; the timber porch, attributed to 1381, is good but needs careful restoration. There is an ugly red-tiled ground level gutter around the church walls. Archaeologically nothing known.
Grading: CIIIa (listed B)

CLAVERING, St Mary and St Clement (the latter an addition) (183)
TL 4708 3180 In village (also name of hundred, adjacent to castle.
RCHM i, 67 (sketch plan 1:576)
Alphabetically, the first of the four great 'wool' churches of NW Essex—massive, impressive and Perpendicular throughout; contemporary roofs, superb timber screen and medieval glass give an exceptional completeness (for Essex). There are some fine wall and floor monuments internally, and a fair number of C18 gravestones in the churchyard; particularly important are the several C19 timber 'Headboard' markers. These are almost unique survivors in the Diocese and great care needs to be taken to arrest the decay. Sadly, the S side of the graveyard has been reduced to a sweep of grass, but to the E and N it survives in excellent condition: it is to be strongly urged that no further devastation be allowed in this very valuable churchyard. Archaeologically, little is likely to be done; ground level is high to the S of the church, where there is a concrete-lined drain (choked with weeds). A curious lump of masonry projects from under the W end of the S aisle—it may be an earlier wall, rather than just a foundation offset. Should any internal disturbance of the floors take place the opportunity should be taken to search for the previous church.
Grading: AIIb (listed A)

COGGESHALL, GREAT, St Peter-ad-Vincula (92)
TL 8535 2302 On northern edge of town.
RCHM iii, 115 (differentiated plan 1:300) *TEAS* (ns) **21** (1933), 136; **25** (1958), 244.
A large and once important church, all C15; nave and chancel both fully aisled; W tower. An unusual underground sacristy was found during underpinning in 1932. In 1940 a bomb landed beside the tower and penetrated diagonally below it to a depth of more than 8 m. In detonating it wrecked the tower and brought down much of the nave. Rebuilding began in 1953, when clearly a major opportunity for archaeological investigation was lost. It was not simply a case of putting back what had fallen down: badly cracked walls were demolished without record; new foundations were constructed and new floors laid throughout. Architecturally the result is magnificent, but the archaeological evidence must have been virtually annihilated (cf Little Horkesley). It seems that various finds were made: e.g. there is a very fine coffin plate of 1638 mounted on a wall; and a pillar-piscina has been ejected into the churchyard for use as a flower-pot. Pillar piscinae are rare and this survivor should be removed to an ecclesiastical museum, where it could be cared for. The restored church is that of the 'wool' town-nothing is known of its predecessor, or how it relates to the nearby Roman building. The whole area is a significant archaeological complex, although much cut about, and any future opportunity to recover its early history should be seized. A priest is recorded in the Domesday survey. The graveyard is pleasant and contains a good series of C19 box tombs, which are very much the worse for neglect. They need urgent restoration; and the headstone of 1672 which is lying loose in the churchyard needs to be taken inside for protection.
Grading: BIIc (listed A)

COGGESHALL, LITTLE, St Nicholas (93)
TL 8538 2228 Isolated, with abbey.
RCHM iii, 165 (plan 1:480), Gardner, 1955.
The parish church of Little Coggeshall and the *Capella extra portas* of the Cistercian abbey. A single-celled building of the early C13 which uses a great variety of moulded bricks, of local manufacture, in its dressings. This is undoubtedly the finest piece of Early English brickwork in England and ranks with Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall church for importance. Much of the 'chapel' survives in its original form, even though it suffered neglect and use as a barn; it has been fairly well restored and is a showpiece rather than a useful building. Fuller study is needed. No great archaeological potential below ground is suspected. A medieval tile pavement was found *in situ* and destroyed during restoration. The only other intact medieval pavement in Essex was at Pleshey castle chapel, also found and destroyed in recent years.
Grading: AIIIa (listed grade I)

COLCHESTER, St Peter (1)
TL 9943 2523 In town.
RCHM iii, 41 (sketch plan 1:576). Morant (1748) ii, 6-9. *TEAS* (ns) **15** (1921), 94-5.
Detailed plan and section drawings of the church displayed in tower base (P Watkinson, 1941, unpublished). Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.10-16.
Grading: BBIc (listed B)

COLCHESTER, St Martin (2)
TL 9960 2533 In town. Redundant, now a store.
RCHM iii, 37 (differentiated plan 1:300). Morant (1748) ii, 10-11. Buckler (1856), 121-30 (plan which does not agree in certain details with *RCHM). TEAS* (ns) **23** (1945), 377. G. Rickward, *Historical Sketch of the Parish of St Martin, Colchester* (1891). Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.17-25
Grading: AIb (listed II)

COLCHESTER, All Saints (3)
TL 9992 2519 In town. Redundant, now a museum.
RCHM iii, 32 (sketch plan 1:576). Morant (1748) ii, 14. *TEAS* (ns) **12** (1913), 323-36. Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.26-29.
Grading: BBIb/c (listed II)

COLCHESTER, 'Castle Bailey Chapel' (3a)
TL 9987 2528 In castle bailey. Demolished in the late Middle Ages.
Not in RCHM. Hull, 1958, fig. 82. Clarke, 1966 (with plan)
Discovered by excavation in 1932-3. Full report forthcoming, Hull, 1976.
The castle lies in All Saints' parish. The foundations of the chapel have been consolidated and are visible to the public. Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.86-87.
Grading: not appropriate.

COLCHESTER. St Nicholas (4)
TL 9978 2519 In town. Demolished 1955.
RCHM iii. 39 (plan 1:576). Morant (1748). ii. 13. Hull, 1960, 301-28. Worley 1915, 133-4.
Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.30-37.
Had the church survived, a grading of AIc or BIc would have been applicable. The high architectural grading would have been entirely on account of the townscape value of the Victorian building.

COLCHESTER, St Helen's Chapel (4a)
TL 9974 2538 In town. Redundant, now a museum store.
RCHM iii, 50 (no plan). Morant (1748) ii, 45. J H Round, *St Helen's Chapel, Colchester* (1887). Crummy, 1974, 27.
The chapel lies in St Nicholas's parish. Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.83-85.
Grading: AIa (listed II)

COLCHESTER, Holy Trinity (5)
TL 9961 2510 In town. Redundant, now a museum.
RCHM iii, 33 (differentiated plan 1:300). Morant (1748) ii, 11. *JBAA* **2** (1847), 336-7; **3** (1848), 19-22. Taylor, 1965, 162-4. *TEAS* (ns) **19** (1930), 324-6.
Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.38-44.
Grading: AIb (listed I)

COLCHESTER, St Mary the Virgin (6)
TL 9925 2506 In town.
RCHM iii, 39 (no plan). Morant (1748) ii, 3. *TEAS* (ns) **23** (1945), 311-20.
Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.45-48.
Grading: CIb/c (listed B)

COLCHESTER, Building in Denmark Street (6a)
TL 9926 2485 Outskirts of town. Demolished in or by the Middle Ages.
Not in RCHM. Hull, 1958, 245. Dunnett, 1971, 78-82 (including plan at just over 1:400).
A building believed to be of Roman date, and which could possibly have been a church, was found by excavation in 1935 and 1965. Discussed in Case Study 1, 5.91-92.
There is nothing visible on the ground.
Grading: not appropriate.

COLCHESTER, St Runwald (7)
TL 9963 2521 In town. Demolished 1878.
Not in RCHM. Buckler (1856), 217-23 (with plan). Worley, 1915, 134. Morant (1748), ii, 9. J S Appleby and P A Watkinson. *The Parish Church of St Runwald,* (1942).
Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.49-54.
Had the church survived, a grading of CIIa might have been appropriate.

COLCHESTER, St James (8)
TM 0016 2523 In town.
RCHM iii, 35 (sketch plan 1:576). Morant (1748) ii, 15.
Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.55-59.
Grading: AIb (listed B)

COLCHESTER, St Anne's Chapel (8a)
TM 0115 2542 Outskirts of town. Demolished within the recent past.
Not in RCHM. Morant (1748) ii, 44.
Virtually nothing is known of this building, which lay in St James's parish. There is nothing visible on the ground and the site has been built over.
Discussed in Case Study 1, 5.82.
Grading: not appropriate.

COLCHESTER, St Botolph's Priory Church (9)
TL 9995 2495 Just outside town. Ruined since 1648; replaced in 1836-8 by a new church a little to the south.
RCHM iii, 48 (differentiated plan 1:300). Morant (1748) ii, 16; iii, 38. C Peers, *St Botolph's Priory* (HMSO, 1964).
Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.60-65.
Grading: the ruined church, AIc (listed I)
the 1838 church, Bib.

COLCHESTER, St Giles (10)
TL 9980 2480 Edge of town. Redundant, now used as a Masonic Hall.
RCHM iii, 42 (sketch plan 1:576). Morant (1748) ii, 18. Cater, 1919.
G. Rickword, *Historical Notes on the Church and Parish of St Giles* (*c* 1930).
Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.66-71.
Grading: CIc (listed II)

COLCHESTER, Church in the grounds of St John's Abbey (10a)
TL 9987 2478 Outside town. Demolished in the Middle Ages.
Not in RCHM. Discovered by excavation in 1972; brief note and plan in Crummy, 1974, 29. Approximately half of the church has been destroyed, while the remainder awaits examination. There is nothing visible on the ground.
Discussion in Case Study 1, 5.88-90.
Grading: not appropriate.

COLCHESTER, St Mary Magdalene (11)
TM 0059 2480 Outside town.
Not in RCHM. Morant (1748) ii, 21. Grose, 1819. Hadfield (nd), pl. xxvii.
The church of 1853 is close to the site of the medieval church and hospital, of which nothing survives. Discussion in Case Study 1, 5.72-74.
Grading: DIa (not listed)

COLCHESTER, St Leonard at the Hythe (12)
TM 0126 2471 In suburb.
RCHM iii, 44. Morant (1748) ii, 23. Manning, 1884 (sketch plan 1:576)
Description and discussion in Case Study 1, 5.75-77.
Grading: BBIb (listed B)

COLNE, EARLS, St Andrew (90)
TL 8606 2882 In village, at road junction.
RCHM iii, 87 (sketch plan 1:576)
Fairly substantial aisled church, with some C14 work; impressive C15 W tower; otherwise largely rebuilt in C19. The walls and ceiling of the chancel were elaborately painted in late Victorian style, but in the 1920s; unfortunately the walls have recently been replastered, but the ceiling remains-it should be preserved (note, paint is flaking in places). Some of the floors are fairly recent in origin and opportunities have clearly been lost to find the earlier church (certainly existing by *c* 1100); there is some Roman brick in the tower, but archaeologically the site is unknown. There are fragments of a C14 gable cross lying on the ground where they have fallen. The tower clock is a magnificent piece of machinery and well looked after-an example for other parishes to follow.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

COLNE ENGAINE, St Andrew (89)
TL 8501 3037 End of village, at road junction.
RCHM iii, 74 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave probably Norman, using Roman brick for dressings; chancel has C13 and C14 features; W tower C14 and C16. The exterior is of some interest as there is obvious stratigraphy in the walls; the interior is a dull C19 restoration, most striking for the violent colour combinations of the chancel floor tiles. The fabric would respond to investigation and so may the site in general; it probably has a Roman ancestry, as evidenced by a nearby burial. The churchyard contains a single timber 'headboard' marker, now in poor condition; and several C17 headstones which have long been laid flat. They are flaking badly and provide a classic instance of the defacement which results from this deplorable practice.
Grading: CIIa (listed B)

COLNE, WAKES, All Saints (87)
TL 8897 2861 In village, a little removed from hall.
RCHM iii, 225 (sketch plan 1:576)
A very interesting little church: the nave is Norman; there is an eastern (axial) tower, also Norman but not, apparently, of one build with the nave; the chancel is probably a C14 rebuild, with a C19 E wall (the chancel must have been shortened then, and the eye of faith may detect the outline of an apse in the ground). There seem to be two main alternative explanations for the present plan: either the nave is Saxon or Saxo-Norman, to which was added an axial tower, chancel and sanctuary in the Norman period; alternatively, we have a small Saxon or Saxo-Norman church with a tower-nave, chancel and sanctuary, to which was added a new westerly nave in the Norman period. Ultimately, a four-celled Norman structure seems to have resulted. No opportunity for investigation above or below ground should be missed, although both are needed to gain a full understanding of this notable structure. External ground level is a little high and there is a modern open drain along the N wall of the nave and an old brick gutter (choked) along the N wall of the chancel. The amount of vegetation around the chancel suggests that clearance may be required in the foreseeable future and that drainage works might follow. There is some Roman brick in the fabric and wall paintings are known internally. The churchyard, which is pleasantly foliated, has been subjected to a modest amount of 'tidying'. There is a good medieval coffin lid in the church, but otherwise nothing is known archaeologically.
Grading: BIa (listed B)

COLNE, WHITE, dedication unknown (now St Andrew) (88)
TL 8797 2995 Isolated.
RCHM iii, 232 (sketch plan 1:576)
Apparently a simple two-celled Norman building, with Roman brick quoins; chancel rebuilt C14; tower added in C14, but largely or totally rebuilt in C19. The church, which was said to be in a poor state, was drastically restored in 1869-72. To the ecclesiastical archaeologist White Colne is an object lesson and a grim reminder that no restored feature may ever be accepted as a representation of what was there before, unless there is unequivocal proof from an independent source. A comparison of the pre- and post-restoration illustrations *(TEAS* (ns) **24** (1951), 128) shows that no single feature of the exterior was allowed to retain its medieval form; indeed one would never guess that the illustrations were both of the same building. The churchyard is bleak and bare, but there are various fragments of dressed stone lying in the flower beds; one item resembles a C13 cross-shaft. Where is the medieval font mentioned by the RCHM? Nor are the wall paintings mentioned visible. The archaeological potential of the church and site is unassessable, but there is no reason to suspect it as great.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

COPFORD, St Michael and All Angels (76)
TL 9349 2268 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 76 (differentiated plan, 1:300). Laver, 1911.
Famous early C12 church of three cells; nave, chancel and apsidal sanctuary; the whole was originally vaulted and the apse still is. Similar to Great Clacton, except better preserved and still very fine, in spite of major restorations in 1872 and 1880. The Norman wall paintings are well known and are the finest murals in the Diocese. The C19 restorations have been much criticized, and certainly the addition of a vestry caused unwelcome damage to the chancel, but the large-scale reconstruction of damaged murals has given the visitor a good idea of what the interior decoration of a Norman church really looked like. Essentially they are archaeological reconstructions, and their educational value is great. There are a number of architectural problems relating to Copford; the Norman work is of more than one period, which includes the addition of a S transept and, in the C13, a S aisle. The arcade contains a rare, but not notable, example of C13 brickwork, intended to be plastered but now stripped. The 'Dane's skin' from the N door has recently been re-examined and confirmed as human. Inside the church there are deep underfloor heating ducts and externally the ground level was lowered drastically in the C19. While archaeologically there are various questions to be asked, both above and below ground, the evidence must now be largely inaccessible or destroyed. No current threats. The great quantity of Roman bricks in the fabric probably came from a villa which is known a little to the north. There are also Roman finds from the churchyard and foundations of unknown date have been reported in the ground of the hall adjacent.
Grading: AIIc (listed A)

CRESSING. All Saints (111)
TL 7943 2043 Isolated, but possibly formerly on edge of village.
RCHM iii, 78 (sketch plan 1:576). Hope, 1974.
Originally a chapelry of Witham, which became independent in the C12. A simple two-celled church, with the chancel arch removed. The scene of recent disastrous drainage works (9.26) which have destroyed the external archaeology of the building. The church seems to have started as a single-celled apsidal Norman building, with Roman brick quoins; probably in the C13 the chancel was built; in the C15 it was partly reconstructed (using some long medieval bricks) and a W tower was probably built; the latter has long since disappeared, and possibly had but a short life since the present timber bell-turret is of the C16. Outwardly this is an unpromising church and not one which would be assigned a high archaeological potential on casual inspection. The evidence for a former Norman building could only be gleaned from the chevron-ornamented voussoir built into the N wall of the nave. Closer inspection hinted at the apse and the lost tower; the former was then revealed in the drainage works. Mr J Hope showed that the church lies on a Roman site. Dampness has caused the internal floors to rot and sink, with the obvious need for replacement in the years to come: the opportunity then presented for investigation should not be missed.
Grading: CIIc (listed B)

DEBDEN, St Mary and All Saints (187)
TL 5510 3323 Isolated on edge of park.
RCHM i, 76 (sketch plan 1:576)
Visually a curious building, but architecturally important. Very long nave with early C13 arcades; S aisle rebuilt C14; N aisle rebuilt C15. The chancel and an octagonal E chapel, all of brick, area noteworthy addition of 1793. Presumably they replace an earlier chancel and a central tower which is said to have fallen in 1698. There is now a monumental W end and bell-turret, probably all of *c* 1793; while the thickness of the W wail of the nave suggests the loss of a tower. The floor of the S porch is paved with stone quarries, which are probably derived from chequerwork on a tower. Ground level on the N is high and has been cut down. There are many problems requiring solutions through archaeology, if the opportunity arises; clearly the C13 church was a great one, about which we know nothing, apart from two rows of restored columns. The churchyard was of character and interest, some of which it still retains, in spite of extensive clearance: rose beds have invaded and many tombstones have been relegated to the boundary wall a particularly sad case of unnecessary devastation.
Grading: BBIIb (listed B)

DEDHAM, St Mary the Virgin (24)
TM 0571 3314 in small town.
RCHM iii, 80 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A much celebrated church and by far the biggest and most magnificent in E Essex. All late Perpendicular, built in the first two decades of the C16, comprising a long, aisled nave, a long chancel and a colossal W tower. There are some reset features from an earlier church, of which nothing is otherwise known. The whole interior has been refloored within recent years and a major opportunity to elucidate the ancestry of Dedham was lost; in all probability very little now survives, so that the loss must be regarded as near-total and irrevocable. The churchyard has been subjected to intense burial; unfortunately it has been 'tidied' to a park-like degree and has lost much character, although some good monuments survive and need careful maintenance (e.g. a box tomb surmounted by an urn, 1800).
Grading: AIIIc (listed A)

DONYLAND, EAST, St Lawrence (17)
TM 0243 2120 Isolated, a little distance from hall.
RCHM iii, 90 (no plan)
The old church, which was a simple two-celled structure, with a W bell turret, was demolished in 1837 and a new building constructed in a more convenient position in the village (now known as Rowhedge) Nothing of the old church survives, save two floor slabs which appear to be *in situ* but are much overgrown (one is an indent for a brass, the other a C17 engraved slab). The outline of the church cannot be discerned accurately and its site is partly covered by monuments of *c* 1840-1930, which must have caused considerable disturbance to the archaeology of the building. There are two fine C18 headstones and several other moderately good monuments; the yew trees and vegetation are valuable and the whole entity needs to be looked after; it has escaped 'tidying'. Archaeologically nothing is known, save some Roman finds close by; it would be valuable to discover when a church was first built here, since the parish is interesting: the manor appears in Domesday and the church was in the hands of St John's Abbey until the Dissolution; but morphologically the parish must be a cut-out from the Colchester Borough Liberty; its separation may well be pre-Conquest, but there is no information on this point.
Grading: IIc (not listed)

DOVERCOURT, All Saints (33)
TM 23813111 In loosely defined village (now town).
RCHM iii, 86 (sketch plan 1:576)
Originally the mother church for Harwich. Norman nave: C14 chancel; Cl 5 tower; all a hideous sight, being covered with pebble-dash and stark modern roof tiles. The interior, beautifully kept, is a fine example of lugubrious Victorian taste, for which it is valuable as a rare survivor. Little ancient fabric or detail can be seen, but there are two Norman windows in the nave; the N example was unblocked in 1967 and is reasonably restored; the S window was opened in 1957 and thoroughly wrecked in the process—Laver's words are appropriate: 'a more dreadful exhibition of ignorance it would be hard to find'. The church is problematical in several ways: the nave walls must have been lowered (see the rood loft opening), and it may have been shortened at the W end where the tower makes a curious junction—possibly we have here merely the remnants of a major Norman church. There is further archaeological potential on account of the probable Roman villa reported immediately E of the churchyard. Ground level is very high around the building, and there is a shallow (blocked) drainage gully; internally the floors and walls (behind the panelling) must be very damp. Internal investigation is obviously desirable if threats arise. There can be little archaeology in the churchyard on account of the intensity of modern and C19 burials. Any opportunity to investigate the external wall faces or foundations should be seized.
Grading: BBIb (listed B)

DUNMOW, GREAT, St Mary the Virgin (167)
TL 6295 2297 Edge of village known as Churchend; but it is also the church of Dunmow town which is quite a separate place, a mile distance.
RCHM i, 117 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A large and important building, essentially of C14 and C15, with many notable features, including some good Decorated work in the chancel. Aisled nave; chancel with chapel, W tower; two-storied S porch. Much of the original stone dressings survive and recent repairs have been careful; unfortunately the chancel is covered with pebble-dash. Ground level is a little high and there is a brick gutter around most of the building. There are no obvious threats, but a large scale investigation would be needed really to understand the fabric of this complex structure and to elucidate its predecessor(s), of which nothing is known. The church lies on a Roman site, which is also separate from the minor Roman town under medieval and modern Dunmow. The whole arrangement is exceedingly curious and worthy of investigation. Domesday Book records a priest here in 1066. The graveyard contains, to the N and S of the church, two very fine groups of C18 and early C19 tombs, which need careful maintenance. Partial clearance has taken place on the S side, but an old extension to the N of the church retains character and ecological value.
Grading: AAIb (listed A)

DUNMOW, LITTLE, St Mary the Virgin (168)
TL 6560 2122 Edge of village.
RCHM i, 175 (differentiated plan 1:300). Clapham, 1915b.
This is only the lady chapel of the Augustinian priory church, founded 1104. The present church is a long, single-celled building; the N wall is the Norman S arcade of the original chancel; the S and E walls of the church are highly ornate work of the mid C14. It is outstanding and ranks amongst the best in the Diocese. The church lies incongruously in a modern close, flanked by council houses of the 1950s; these cover the unexcavated cloisters and conventual buildings—a noteworthy planning disaster. Modem graves are working their way across the E end of the priory church and are turning up pottery, tiles and rubble foundations. This is a major archaeological catastrophe and excavation in advance of grave digging needs to be undertaken immediately. There has been no modern excavation at Little Dunmow—very little is known about the priory church and nothing about the conventual buildings. Further areas of rough ground, outside the graveyard, are ripe for development (and include the W end of the priory church). This major monastic complex must not be further depredated without full archaeological investigation. Domesday Book records a priest here in 1066. Ground level around the existing church is high and an open drain has been constructed at the SE corner. Internally the bases of the walls are damp and the timber flooring is badly decayed. Work will clearly be needed in the future. It is gratifying to see that a disused 'Tortoise' stove has been preserved: it is a good example.
Grading: AIb (listed A)

EASTHORPE, St Mary (77)
TL 9124 2150 With hall, in village.
RCHM iii, 91 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Formerly a simple Norman nave and apsidal chancel; C13 extension to chancel; Roman brick used for dressings. The church has been substantially restored in C19, but is still an important building, especially for the Early English E end. External walls much refaced, containing many pieces of dressed stone, including mouldings and part of a newel (where from?). Internally, there seem to be two periods of Norman work and the whole building is not as simple as it seems at first sight, There are no current threats; the floors have been relaid in this century. The graveyard is flat, open and lacks interest.
Grading: AAIIb (listed B)

EASTON, GREAT, St John or St Giles (now both) (165)
TL 6076 2546 Centre of village.
RCHM i, 125 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Norman nave, apparently with a former axial tower, now entirely removed save a thickening on the N and S walls at the E end of the nave; C13 chancel. Roman brick used for the Norman dressings; fragment of Rhenish lava quern in W wall; a C18 marble mortar lies in churchyard outside porch. External ground level is very high, particularly against the blocked N doorway; the cause of internal dampness which is showing through recent redecoration. Unusual Georgian woodwork, simple but pleasant; the S door goes well in the Norman arch. Good C19 altar and reredos. No current threats, but should any arise, investigation is an important prerequisite for the understanding of the Norman building, which is of somewhat uncommon plan (cf Asheldham; 8.10). Domesday Book records a priest herein 1066. The graveyard is a compromise: partially cleared and stones reset in rows—a pity, since there is a good collection of undecorated C18 and C19 monuments.
Grading: BBIIa (listed B)

EASTON, LITTLE, unknown dedication (166)
TL 6047 2349 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 180 (differentiated plan 1:300)
An interesting little church, containing many important features, monuments and fittings. The nave is believed to be Norman, as proclaimed by the two surviving windows; but these are set immediately above a distinct horizontal offset, in both the N and S walls (cf Elsenham); also traces of herringbone work above the offset; there can be no real doubt that the walls are of two periods and the lower may well be Saxon; unfortunately much C19 refacing has taken place. Domesday Book records a priest here in 1066. External ground level is very high, especially against the blocked S doorway; the floors have been partly relaid within recent years, when an important opportunist y to investigate was lost. The Maynard chapel is superb, but cluttered, and the canopied Bourchier monument of *c.* 1400 is the finest of its class in the Archdeaconry: the brass retains part of its original red and green enameling. There are fragments of notable wall paintings and the Royal Arms of 1660 is painted directly on to the plaster-in a poor state and requires urgent attention. In the graveyard there is one C19 'headboard' marker, otherwise little of interest.
Grading: AAIIb (listed B)

ELMDON, St Nicholas (198)
TL 4620 3967 In village, at road junction.
RCHM i, 80 (no plan)
Large and well-kept, but of no interest as a building; W tower is C15 but drastically restored in C19; the rest is of 1852 and 1879 and is feeble Victorian Gothic. There maybe some old walling incorporated (e. g. the lower part of the vestry) but nothing is certain. There could be a good deal surviving below ground, *if* the medieval foundations were not dug out and replaced; there are C19 underfloor heating ducts. External ground level was high but was lowered at the restoration. A few picturesque tombs in a large graveyard.
Grading: DIIIc (listed B!)

ELMSTEAD, St Anne and St Lawrence (uncertain which was original) (53)
TM 0650 2600 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 94 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A very interesting church which has suffered badly in the name of restoration, by no means all of which is attributable to the C19. The plan is unusual: nave (out of square); long chancel, with a distinct northward bend in both the N and S walls; stump of S tower over the main entrance; S chapel abutting the nave. Most of the visible work is C14. The heavy coat of rendering seems to post-date the RCHM; nothing can now be seen of the fabric which, apparently, was coursed. The earliest visible feature is the N doorway—Norman, with stone jambs and arch of Roman brick. The door itself was discovered here (plastered over) some years ago; it too is Norman and is of great interest for its unusual construction (Hewett, 1974, 100). Parts of a skin covering (cf Hadstock, Copford and Castle Hedingham) survived, but were lost before examination was arranged. External ground level is high and there is an open drain on the S; shallow concrete gutters around the rest of the building. The churchyard, probably once very attractive, has been cleared and grassed. Little is known of the archaeology of the area, save that a Roman gold coin was found near the church; the building itself is clearly of great potential and much earlier than it appears (note the N wall of the nave is only 0.76 m thick—could well be Saxon). An important church to investigate should an opportunity arise.
Grading: AIb (listed A)

ELSENHAM, St Mary the Virgin (174)
TL 5423 2591 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 82 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Essentially a complete little Norman church, two-celled with square chancel; the highly decorated S doorway is one of the best in Essex, although an insensitively constructed electric meter box almost overlaps the outer order. A highly ornate Norman coffin lid has been used on the rear of the tympanum in a most extraordinary way; and the rear arch is lined with thin red bricks which are usually referred to as Roman (there are others in the quoins too). They are almost certainly not Roman, but medieval. If original to the Norman doorway they would be very early and difficult to explain (cf Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall) but there is more than a suspicion that the rear arch is a C13 construction. A further problem occurs in the chancel, where there is a horizontal offset in the walls, at the sill level of the Norman windows (cf Little Easton); once again, two periods seem to be demanded. Although not mentioned in Domesday, there was a priest here at the time. Clearly there is much to be done on the archaeology of the fabric at Elsenham —no current threats. The site in general appears to be little disturbed and excavation would be a useful complement to structural investigation. The illustration on the guide leaflet gives some idea of the character possessed by the churchyard before it was devastated; if it were a public park its condition would be a credit to its keeper. One fine C18 headstone remains, but is leaning; it is an outstanding specimen of the monumental mason's art.
Grading: AIIa (listed B)

FAIRSTEAD, St mary the Virgin and St Peter (107)
TL 7678 1668 Isolated with hall.
RCHM ii, 66 (sketch plan 1:576)
A most interesting little church, generally assumed to be Norman, but equally possibly late Saxon. Original nave and very short chancel, with Roman brick dressings throughout; as the RCHM points out, the chancel is so short that it almost certainly terminated in an apsidal sanctuary; this was replaced in the C13 by an extension of the usual type. The W tower is a fine C13 structure, with all dressings of medieval brick; it is odd, however, that the tower arch is semi-circular, like the chancel arch, and not pointed to match the lancets in the tower itself; does this arch belong to an earlier tower? An important series of wail paintings adds further interest to Fairstead. Certainly there is great archaeological potential here, both above and below ground. The site appears to be relatively undisturbed, apart from a narrow shingle-filled drain around the walls of the church; there are Roman finds from an adjacent garden and the potential for a villa hereabouts is high. Unfortunately the graveyard was cleared long ago, which has left it looking very bare; headstones arranged around the boundary.
Grading: AAIa (listed B)

FARNHAM, St Mary the Virgin (180)
TL 4813 2478 Completely isolated on edge of park.
RCHM i, 84 (no plan)
Totally rebuilt 1859; a simple Victorian Gothic church in good external order, but wholly nondescript; the large graveyard is likewise. There is a trail of flint rubble around the bases of the walls, which might be the upcast from drainage operations—have the medieval foundations been dug out? Archaeologically nothing is known, but this may be a good example of deception, for Morant (1768) describes the old church as 'built cathedralwise, in the form of a cross, and leaded. In the tower are five bells.' Clearly this was a substantial cruciform structure which, in ground plan, may have exceeded the limits of the present church; though a C19 engraving shows a simple building. Clearly there is a problem to be resolved.
Grading: DIIb (not listed)

FAULKBOURNE, St German (108)
TL 8002 1657 Isolated with hall.
RCHM ii, 67 (sketch plan 1:576)
Two-celled Norman church with chancel extended a little to E in C13; the C12 S doorway is unusual in that it has angle shafts surmounted by capitals and with further capitals in the basal positions—possibly an original arrangement, although surely not an original intention. There is some Roman brick in the fabric and herringbone work in the N wall of the chancel. External ground level is high and the archaeology has been damaged (long ago) by the construction of a deep open drain, now heartily choked with vegetation. A limited investigation would be worthwhile if a threat arose; the original form of the E end is the principal outstanding question. A well foliated churchyard, with an exceptionally good box tomb of 1796, which needs to be looked after. There is an important military coffin lid of *c* 1240.
Grading: BIIIb (listed B)

FEERING, All Saints (94)
TL 8721 2040 In village.
RCHM iii, 96 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Norman or earlier but the existing fabric is mainly of C14-16 date and comprises a nave, chancel, N aisle, W tower and an elaborate brick S porch. External ground level was very high but has been landscaped, reducing it by *c* 1.0 m on the N side; drains have also been dug. Hence the external ground-archaeology must be regarded as badly disturbed. Internally, part of the floor of the N aisle has been dug out and concreted in recent years, when another opportunity for investigation was lost. The church is of no little interest and any opportunity for internal investigation, either below ground or in the fabric of the chancel, should not be missed. A writ of William I (1066) mentions the church 'in which the examination of the ordeal takes place' (Hart, 1957b, 6). As Hart points out, this piece of information is of great interest and it may well indicate that Feering was the otherwise unknown meeting place of a hundred court. There are a number of archaeological finds in the church, including C14 decorated floor tiles lying loose in the vestry, a medieval mortar, fragments of masonry and two alabaster figures from Colne priory. This collection needs proper study and publication. The churchyard, although still well foliated, has been partially cleared and now has an air of artificial tidiness. It is noted with concern that three well preserved early headstones (dated 1695, 1704 and 1708) have been laid flat, with the inevitable result that surface flaking is now taking place. These need lifting and removing to a place of safety forthwith, if they are to survive for another generation.
Grading: AIc (listed A)

FELSTEAD, Holy Cross (115)
TL 6764 2039 In small town.
RCHM ii, 73 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A major Norman church, almost wholly disguised by alterations of C14-16 date: now comprising an aisled nave, chancel, south chapel and Norman W tower. The latter is of three stages and is particularity noteworthy. External ground level has been reduced on the N side and drains laid below a shingle path; internally, some areas of flooring are in a poor state and need replacement (the pews have all been expunged). There were once fine wall paintings, which were either destroyed or covered in the C19, to which date much of the plaster must belong, including the ghastly curvilinear crenelations around the arcades. In 1973 workmen in the church discovered medieval glazed tiles. It is clear that Felstead is an archaeologically sensitive church, both above and below ground: a good deal has already been lost and it is to be strongly urged that further destruction is not permitted without adequate investigation. The monument to Lord Rich and his son is an outstanding piece of work and is in good condition. The churchyard has been opened up and is rather bleak.
Grading: BBIIb (listed A)

FINCHINGFIELD, St John the Baptist (155)
Tl 6863 3279 On edge of large village.
RCHM i, 87 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A large Norman church in one of the largest parishes in Essex. The C12 W tower, with several unusual architectural features, is the principal survivor of the early building; in the C13 the chancel and S arcade were rebuilt, and in the C14 the N arcade, aisles and chapels were reconstructed, or added. Altogether an impressive church on a commanding site. It would not be surprising to discover here a pre-Norman church, perhaps a minster. It is somewhat curious that there is hardly a fragment of Roman brick to be seen in the fabric, when there are three villas known close by. The ground around the church is high, especially on the N and a brick and concrete open-drain has been formed along most of the walls. The only area where the upper levels have not been destroyed is around the tower (where there is part of a rough stone plinth showing which may or may not be a foundation offset). It is important that any future disturbance in the vicinity of the tower should be preceded by excavation. There are no apparent internal threats, but again, should these arise, investigation is of paramount importance, if the history of what is undoubtedly an important parish and church is ever to be recovered. The churchyard contains some good C18 and C19 monuments.
Grading: AAIb (listed A)

FINGRINGHOE, St Andrew (probably originally St Ouen) (58)
TM 0295 2040 With hall, at road junction, virtually isolated.
RCHM iii, 100 (differentiated plan 1:300). *TEAS* (ns) **19** (1930), 203-4, *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* (ser. 3) **2** (1937), 155-91.
Nave Norman or earlier; chancel, tower and S aisle C14; a fairly complex church with many features of interest, mainly well displayed. The tower is a good example of decorative banded-work and the S porch exhibits some fine chequerwork; the latter is in need of careful restoration and it is interesting to note the old repairs to the parapet, where medieval glazed floor tiles were employed to fill gaps in the chequerwork. The church has been well studied and is a model of what could have been done in so many other parishes during the last half-century or so. All credit is due to the Rev G M Benton, who devoted many years to the restoration, study and publication of this church. He, in the late 1920s, was studying the rubble walls, looking for changes of build, differences of mortar, etc. He supervised the very careful pointing of the rubblework after the cement rendering was removed; he also had two trenches excavated in order to study the foundations. The work Benton did falls far short of modern standards, but it was admirable for its day and was probably the only detailed investigation of a church's fabric undertaken in the Archdeaconry in the first half of this century. Since Benton's incumbency the church has been by no means as fortunate in the care taken over its archaeology and in the last few years, in particular, a great deal has probably been destroyed. The worst disaster is the relaying of the floors in 1968, when a full investigation should have been undertaken. Furthermore, the external archaeological deposits have been cut away by a very deep, concrete-lined open drain which runs around the S and E sides. Parts of the fine series of medieval wall paintings, discovered and cleaned over the course of many years, have been covered again with limewash. Modern graves are biting into whatever archaeological deposits may exist

immediately N of the nave. Restoration has, moreover, brought further important items to light, including several pieces of medieval statuary, yet another reminder of the importance of an archaeological presence at all stages of restoration work on a church such as this, so that new discoveries may be fully recorded, *in situ,* and explored under careful control. The graveyard is one of the more notable features of Fingringhoe, not just for its reasonably good series of C18 and C19 monuments, but also for its condition: as Pevsner said 'the merit is that of not having done too much' (although the grass is now cut too often for the good of the ecological habitat).
Grading: BBIIc (listed B)

FORDHAM, All Saints (83)
TL 9274 2808 In village, with hall.
RCHM iii, 102 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave, chancel, aisles and W tower all built in C14. The W wall of the nave is the only apparent survivor from an earlier building and it is interesting to note that the western engaged piers of the arcades rest on plinths, as though they ante-date an internal lowering of the ground (cf the situation at Ashdon). The W arch of the S arcade is badly cracked and two voussoirs are slipping at a dangerous rate. Clearly major work is required here and an opportunity for recording could be taken, The lower parts of the walls are suffering from dampness, although the external ground level is not unduly high, Drainage works may be required in due course. That there is an earlier church to find is not in doubt, since it is mentioned in a charter of *c* 1087 (Hart, 1957b, 12). There is some Roman brick in the church, but nothing is known archaeologically of the area. The graveyard has been 'tidied'.
Grading: CIIIa (listed B)

FOXEARTH, St Peter and St Paul (142)
TL 8357 4477 In village, not far from hall.
RCHM i, 96 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave, chancel, N aisle and N chapel of C14 and C15 date, all much restored in C19, when the walls were totally refaced in flint. In Morant's day there was also a S aisle, now gone. The W tower, which replaces a medieval one, was built in 1862; it is a little 'heavy' and its architecture is akin to that of a municipal water tower. As a medieval building, Foxearth is of no interest, apart from the roofs, of which Hewett makes much acclaim (1974, 131). The real importance of the church is in its furnishings and total decoration of 1885. This is quite staggering and matched nowhere else in the Archdeaconry (Little Braxted is good, but on a smaller scale). The pulpit, lectern, screen, reredos and organ are all of a style; the walls are fully painted and so are the medieval roofs; even the interior of the tower is lined with paintings and wall mosaics. The whole blends superbly with the medieval fabric; even the window glass of *c* 1860 is good. However, dampness is attacking the paintings in the window splays, to which attention is urgently needed. There has been some 'tidying' of the churchyard and removal of gravestones. Any archaeological investigation at Foxearth would probably have to be confined to below-ground on account of the paintings and the over-restored (virtually rebuilt) fabric; there are no current threats, but should any arise investigation is to be recommended since the full form of the late medieval church is uncertain and details of its predecessor are wholly unknown. Indeed, with the dedication to Peter and Paul there must be at least a possibility that Foxearth once possessed a substantial Anglo-Saxon church. This must be sought.
Grading: AIIa (listed B)

FRATING, unknown dedication (52)
TM 0820 2235 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 104 (sketch plan 1:576)
Norman nave; C14 chancel, N chapel and W tower. A severe C19 restoration left little of the early work intact, but there is a trace of herringbone work in the nave; the SW quoin and a single Norman window are dressed in Roman brick. The C14 timber S porch is the most notable feature. Ground level has been cut down against the N side and is still high on the S; the interior is very damp and patching of the decayed floors has taken place; further work may be needed. The Norman church could be elucidated with but a small amount of archaeological exploration. The date of the foundation is unknown, but in 1125 Frating was a chapel-of-ease to Great Bentley; it became parochial in 1237. The churchyard is small and in fair condition. The tower is breaking up and there is a threat of redundancy.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)
Postscript: tower demolished 1976: it was alleged to be unsafe. A draft redundancy scheme had just been proposed.

FRINTON, St Mary (43)
Tm 2372 1949 Isolated with hall (now in town)
RCHM iii, 105 (sketch plan 1:576)
Until recently, this was in the Archdeaconry of Essex, not Colchester—a curious anomaly. Effectively a showpiece, being one of the smallest churches in England; since 1929 services have been held elsewhere. Part of the nave is C14; S porch *c* 1600; the rest is unknown, since the nave was extended W in 1894 and the chancel was added in 1879 to replace one which blew down in a storm in 1703. The C19 restoration was so thorough that hardly any ancient fabric or detail survives; external ground level is high and there is a concrete apron around the church; the small graveyard has been used extensively for burial. No current threats, but excavation should be undertaken if the need arises, to clarify the plan and dating of the structure. The first recorded rector is in 1199.
Grading: CIIIb (not listed)

GESTINGTHORPE, St Mary the Virgin (133)
TL 8121 3855 In village.
RCHM i, 98 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave, chancel and S aisle probably C14; W tower C16, of red brick and very fine. Heavily restored in C19; external ground level is high and must be causing dampness behind panelling. Superlative double hammerbeam roof, dated 1489. The exterior is mainly cement-rendered; looks drab, but is in reasonable order; part recently re-rendered and not well done; there are a few scraps of Roman brick visible. The stone dressings are generally in poor condition and are repaired with cement. A major opportunity was lost when the chancel floor was relaid—what has happened to the medieval floor tiles and fragments of five coffins which the RCHM recorded here? The churchyard stands high above the surrounding ground; there is a good group of monuments at the E end. There are several sarsens nearby in the village and a Roman amphora was found in the grounds of the hall opposite. Archaeologically, little can be assessed, but the potential is good.
Grading: AIIb (listed A)

GOSFIELD, St Katharine (121)
TL 7779 2940 Edge of park, away from village and (existing) hall.
RCHM i, 102 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave, chancel, W tower and N chapel wholly of C15 and C16; a remarkable room was added to the N side in the early C18, being both a chapel and the squire's 'pew'—quite magnificent and unparalleled; sadly it is now used as a vestry. Recent repointings and repairs to the stone dressings (using cement) are worthy of mention as some of the better work of this kind in the Diocese. Internally, the timber floors are collapsing and major repairs will be needed, providing an opportunity to discover the form of the earlier medieval church. There are reused dressed stones in the S wall of the nave and mouldings in a buttress; Roman finds are known from the vicinity. The graveyard has been partly cleared, is now bleak and short of foliage.
Grading: BBIIIa (listed B)

GREENSTEAD, St Andrew (14)
TM 0192 2497 Formerly at end of loosely defined village, just beyond Colchester's eastern suburb (but within the Borough Liberties); now swamped in the conurbation.
RCHM iii, 46 (sketch plan 1:576)
Single-celled nave and chancel covered with pebble-dash; RCHM suggests C12 on the basis of NW quoin of Roman brick; the round-headed N doorway is of uncertain age. The minute W tower is of the C16. The whole church suffered drastic restoration in the

late C18, which has effectively masked all ancient features apart from the quoin; the whole S wall was destroyed in the C19 when an aisle was added. Ground level is high on the N, where there is a brick drain, now choked; it is a matter of concern that earth has recently been dug away from the NW corner. There is no reason why the surviving remains should not be part of the Saxon church mentioned in Domesday; but there is a need to investigate in conjunction with restoration threats. The graveyard lacks monuments of distinction, but is a model in churchyard management-may it never be spoilt in the name of 'tidiness'. Archaeologically unassessable.
Grading: CIIIb (listed C)

HADSTOCK, St Botolph (192)
TL 5587 4474 On edge of village.
RCHM i, 143 (differentiated plan 1:300). Taylor, 1965, 272(plan 1:250). Rodwell, 1974a; 1974b; 1976b.
An important Anglo-Saxon minster church. Discussed as Case Study 3, (section 7).
Grading: AIb (listed A)

HALSTEAD, St Andrew (120)
TL 8152 3068 In town, at major road junction.
RCHM i, 149 (sketch plan 1:576)
'The mother church of Halstead is a large and noble edifice, with the stamp of venerable antiquity upon it; but for years it lay in a state of wretched dilapidation, with its roof shored up by wooden beams and its altar almost open to the winds- the result of a lingering war between church-rates and the voluntary principle' (Coller, 1861, 436). It clearly started small, with a short nave of unknown date; a chancel of equal length was added in C14; at the same time nave aisles were added and were carried W to the end of a tower; the latter fell in the C19 and a new one was built in 1850, beyond the former W end, thus lengthening the nave internally. Restoration was so thorough that very little ancient fabric is visible. Ground level was exceptionally high around the E end; a vast V-shaped trench has been dug, lined with engineering bricks in the bottom and tombstones on the side. It is a spectacle to be noted, the excavated trench being some 1.3 m deep and 3 m to 5 m in width; the probable archaeological disaster needs no emphasis. The Bourchier monuments in the S aisle are good, and in the churchyard (which has been 'tidied', but not excessively so) are a large number of Cl8 and early Cl9 gravestones. Burial has been intense but is now discontinued. There is probably a substantial Roman settlement close to Halstead; the position of the church is commanding and suggestive of an early settlement nucleus. It should, therefore, have a high archaeological potential (mainly below ground, but the chancel might be older than it appears), although disturbances are certainly great.
Grading: CIIc (not listed)

HARWICH, St Nicholas (34)
TM 2613 3263 In town.
RCHM iii, 135 (no plan)
A large town church, entirely rebuilt in 1821, in white brick with stone dressings. Externally very stark, with a more interesting interior; a notable industrial monument for its early use of cast iron window frames, columns, etc. The previous church was, apparently, of the C15, replacing yet an earlier structure. Harwich was founded as a chapelry to Dovercourt in 1177; it became an independent parish in 1558; the only original feature is a good late Cl2 font. The graveyard has been annihilated, to the visual dereliction of the area. In all, there can be very little archaeological potential, or at least survival.
Grading: BIIc (listed B)

HATFIELD PEVEREL, St Andrew (104A)
TL 7971 1099 Isolated.
RCHM ii, 122 (differentiated plan 1:300)
The present church basically comprises the Norman nave of the Benedictine priory church; the N aisle is C15 and S aisle C19. The remainder of the monastic church and the conventual buildings have long since been demolished and their plan is unknown. A new vicarage was built in 1974 and probably lies on the principal monastic cemetery, immediately E of the lost chancel; no archaeological investigation was undertaken, and the area of the chancel, crossing, S transept, etc. was substantially churned by contractors-a major and unnecessary loss to a monument about which nothing is known archaeologically. Any future works in or near the church need careful archaeological appraisal. Present burial, in the large graveyard to the N, is well away from the church, but not necessarily clear of the monastic outbuildings.
Grading: BIa (listed B)

HATFIELD PEVEREL, dedication unknown (104B)
TL 782 121 Isolated, not far from Hatfield Bury.
Not in RCHM. Morant, 1768, ii, 134.
Site of the original parish church, prior to the Dissolution (when the nave of the priory church was retained for the parish, although it had been in parochial use for some time previously). Nothing is known of the original church, except that fragments of medieval masonry were found in 1952. The site is called Church Field or Church Hills. Agriculture has probably caused extensive damage to the archaeological deposits.
Grading: IIIc.

HEDINGHAM, CASTLE, St Nicholas (134)
TL 7848 3558 In centre of small town.
RCHM i, 47 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A complete, large late Norman church of distinction; not all of one period, as is demonstrated in the chancel. Below this was found in the C19 the apse of yet another phase, a smaller chancel. The W end has suffered most from later work, being wholly rebuilt and shortened by one bay at least; the tower is dated 1616 although it may be earlier. The tower arch has reset Norman responds, implying the presence of a former C12 tower. The chancel arch is transitional, now pointed, but probably a former semi-circle reset. The clean, crisp stone dressings in this church are a model to emulate and provide a powerful visual argument against the all-too-common slapdash use of limewash. Archaeologically, there are many problems to be solved, both above and below ground and although there are no current threats, the potential of this church needs to be kept in mind for the future. There are reused materials in the fabric, including a lump of Roman *opus signinum* and a Norman chevron-ornamented voussoir. There are Roman finds from nearby. The most important local find to date, however, is the stone cross-shaft, now erected in the churchyard. This came to light in 1921 and a further portion was found in 1974. The shaft is profusely decorated and of late Saxon or early Norman date. It has not been studied or published, which is particularly unfortunate in view of the rarity of stone crosses in SE England. The only other Saxon cross fragments in Essex are from Barking. Hedingham churchyard has been 'tidied' but contains some good C18 head-and footstones.
Grading: AIa (listed A)

HEDINGHAM, SIBLE, St Peter (135)
TL 7757 3436 At road junction at N end of village.
RCHM i, 266 (sketch plan 1:576)
A large church on an eminence; C14 aisled nave and chancel; W tower mostly rebuilt C16; not a first-rank building. Morant implies that the foundations of a smaller and earlier church have been exposed at some time; a chance to investigate was lost when parts of the aisles were refloored. The finest feature is the W end of the S aisle roof. No current threats. There are some good C18 monuments in the churchyard which need protection against the encroachment of 'tidiness', which is already well established.
Grading: BIIa (listed B)

HEMPSTEAD, St Andrew (152)
TL 6350 3800 At road junction in loosely defined village.
RCHM i, 157 (sketch plan 1:576)
C14 nave; C15 chancel; N and S aisles rebuilt 1888; C17 N chapel; Cl5 W tower, which collapsed in 1882-rebuilding begun 1933, completed 1961 and now very ugly. The church is damp, especially in the aisles, where repairs will soon be needed. Archaeologically nothing is known and an earlier church awaits elucidation; to this probably belonged a large dressed-stone block, apparently the base of a door jamb of

Cl2 or Cl3 date. The Harvey chapel and vault below are most noteworthy and the lead coffins with modelled faces are remarkable; they need study. The graveyard is a scene of wretched devastation-the oldest part has been flattened, save the occasional box tomb; there are some good C18 headstones leaning against the N wall of the church. This must have been a churchyard of value, both monumentally and ecologically, but all is now mown and even the forbidden plastic flowers are to be seen on a grave.
Grading: BIIIb (listed B)

HENHAM, St Mary the Virgin (178)
TL 5445 2859 In village, near hall.
RCHM i, 162 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A complex structure; early C13 chancel, nave and S transept; S aisle added in early C14; N aisle and W tower later C14. Undoubtedly this all evolved from a yet earlier structure of which nothing is known, except, perhaps, the ground plan of the nave; Henham church is mentioned in a will of 1044-45, proving its Saxon ancestry. The interior of the tower has been stripped of plaster, revealing reused ashlar, and there is a Norman diaper-ornamented stone in the S porch, and another in the S aisle. Parts of the flooring have been relaid in recent years and opportunities to resolve some of the problems of this interesting church were doubtless lost; the exterior of the chancel and N aisle are both in a poor state of repair and will soon require work. The graveyard is well foliated, but very tidy and partial clearance must have taken place; there are one or two good Cl8 headstones; one on the N side of the chancel is superb.
Grading: BBIa (listed B)

HENNY, GREAT, St Mary (128A)
TL 8676 3779 Isolated.
RCHM iii, 123 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave and chancel (with arch removed) are of the C14; W tower Norman in its lower stages. Roman brick is used randomly and there are several distinct periods of rubble work in the chancel. External ground level is high, causing serious dampness in parts of the nave and chancel; any disturbances should be investigated archaeologically, since the recovery of the complete Norman plan should not be difficult. Internal reflooring took place in 1935. The churchyard has been 'tidied'.
Grading: BIIIa (listed B)

HENNY, LITTLE, dedication unknown (128B)
TL 8610 3850 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 168 (no plan). Fair-weather, 1931.
A simple rectangular building, Norman with alterations. Long since demolished; foundations excavated and walls rebuilt up to a height of *c.* 0.75 m and now part of a landscaped garden. Excavation was inadequate and many questions remain; the extent of the graveyard is unknown and there are no surviving monuments. No threats. Occasional services still held.
Grading: IIIc (not listed)

HEYDON, Cambridgeshire, Holy Trinity (207)
TL 4325 3997 In village, at road junction.
No RCHM.
A church of little interest, with an unfortunate history. Nave and S aisle C15; chancel 1866; W tower and most of N aisle 1952-56, following demolition by a German bomb in 1940. Thus very little is ancient and the recent work is far from sympathetic, as well as being thoroughly damp and soon in need of replastering. A new floor was laid in the nave, and there are heating ducts below—clearly a major opportunity for archaeological investigation was missed. The gargoyles are the most significant feature of the building.
Grading: CIIIc

HOLLAND, GREAT, All Saints (42A)
TL 2194 1936 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 124 (no plan)
Good early Cl6 brick W tower, known to replace another; nave, chancel and aisle totally rebuilt by Blomfield, 1866-thoroughly dull and uninspired. Some 'tidying' of the churchyard. The tower, too, has suffered: new bells and steel frame in 1930; unsightly cement rendered plinth 1.0 m high around base. Archaeological potential unassessable.
Grading: CIIIb (not listed)

HOLLAND, LITTLE, dedication unknown (42B)
TM 2090 1667 Isolated with hall (now on edge of estate).
RCHM iii, 169 (no plan). *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* (ser. 3), **5** (1973), 234.
Demolished *c.* 1660. Trial excavations in 1960 revealed a simple rectangular building roughly 65 by 22 feet, suggested to be Norman, with later diagonal buttresses at the corners. The site has subsequently been dug over unsystematically in the name of 'excavation', and not backfilled. The discovery of skeletons some distance E of the church shows that it once possessed a substantial graveyard. The whole area is now so disturbed that it may be regarded as archaeologically destroyed.
Grading: IIIc (not listed)

HORKESLEY, GREAT, All Saints (20)
TL 9714 3237 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 125 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Norman nave with Roman brick quoins; Cl4 chancel and chapel; Cl5 N aisle; W tower may be as early as C13. External ground level was high, but has been lowered and a broad V-shaped brick gully constructed (long ago). Archaeological potential unknown, apart from the obvious need to define the E end of the Norman church.
Grading: BBIIIb (listed B)

HORKESLEY, LITTLE, St Peter and St Paul (21)
TL 9606 3194 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 169 (differentiated plan 1:300). *TEAS* (ns) **23** (1942). 115-24.
Like Great Coggeshall and Heydon, this church was bombed in 1940, when it suffered near total destruction. The ruins were subsequently levelled and the church rebuilt in 1957, apparently on the old foundations. The medieval church comprised a Norman nave; C14 W tower; C15 S aisle; C16 chancel. The dedication may be indicative of an early foundation, possibly pre-Conquest; that the church was well established by the early Cl2 seems certain, since it was given to the Cluniac priory, of which it then formed part. Nothing is known of the priory but in all probability its cloisters lay to the N of the church although whether the two were physically connected remains uncertain. Little Horkesley is famous for its medieval wooden effigies, which have survived in a remarkably good state of preservation, despite being bombed. Clearly a major opportunity was lost in the 1950s for a full archaeological investigation of the site and much information must have been destroyed in the rebuilding which could otherwise have been recorded. The graveyard has been 'tidied' excessively.
Grading: IIc (the ruins were listed as Grade III, in the 1950s)

INWORTH, All Saints (97)
TL 8794 1784 In village, away from hall.
RCHM iii, 138 (differentiated plan 1:300). Taylor, 1965, 333 (plan 1:160).
Two-celled Saxon church built of coursed puddingstone, without tile or dressed-stone quoins. Two double-splayed windows, also without dressings, survive. The chancel was lengthened in C14 and the W tower fell in C17; it was replaced by the present structure in C19. There is an open drain all round the building. The structural history of the church is relatively straightforward; but the possibility that the nave has been shortened needs to be checked, should the opportunity arise; it is interesting to note that there could never have been a N doorway in the nave. There are wall-paintings around the chancel arch, which are in need of attention. There are a few fragments of Roman brick in the fabric (what was used to turn the chancel arch, now plastered?); the church is alleged to be on the site of a villa, but this is doubtful. Grave-digging continues and yields medieval pottery; there are alleged to be fragments of medieval masonry in and around the old rectory.
Grading: AIIIa (listed B)

KELVEDON, St Mary the Virgin (95)
TL 8563 1857 With hall, on edge of village.
RCHGM iii, 140 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Nave is Norman, or earlier, and had quoins of Roman brick; C13 N and S aisles; C14 chancel and W tower; C16 chapel and vestry. An interesting church with many details of different periods; its true structural history could only be established by investigation, both above and below ground; opportunities for this were lost when major restoration was undertaken in the 1960s. Unfortunately, this included the construction of a substantial concrete lined drain around the base of the walls. This will have effectively destroyed the external archaeology of the church, which is to be greatly regretted. The siting of the church is of particular interest with regard to the evolution of the village, from the Roman period onwards (Rodwell, 1975b). No current threats; but any opportunity to investigate in the future should not be overlooked. Tidying of the graveyard has been careful and thoughtful; the better headstones have been given support below ground by setting their bases in concrete.
Grading: BBIb (listed B)

KIRBY-LE-SOKEN, St Michael (40)
TM 2196 2204 Between hall and village; close to both.
RCHM iii, 146 (sketch plan 1:576)
C14 chancel and N aisle; C15 W tower; nave, S aisle and chapel completely rebuilt 1833; restored 1870-73. Essentially a Victorian Gothic building now; the interior is pleasant, but not noteworthy; the W tower is massive, but not distinguished. The churchyard has been partly 'tidied' and gravestones moved. Archaeological potential is unknown and there are no major threats at present. The Scandinavian-derived name, meaning 'Church Village' is of great interest since it obviously implies a church here by, or during the Danish period. Archaeological investigation is worthwhile for this reason alone, should the opportunity arise.
Grading: CIb (not listed)

LAMARSH, Holy Innocents (86)
TL 8898 3606 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 147 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave probably Norman; W round tower, C12; chancel C14, with E wall rebuilt on different line in C19. This is an interesting little church and the peeling rendering obviously conceals several building phases, as indicated by various bulges and ledges in the walls. The ground around the building has been lowered slightly and a gravel path laid; a masonry foundation has been revealed on the N side, at the junction of the nave and chancel-it may be the base of a rood stair projection. When the decayed rendering is removed there will be a valuable opportunity to study the fabric; the relationship between the nave and the round tower is a critical one to establish (note: there are traces of a blocked circular window high up in the W wall of the nave). The churchyard is pleasantly foliated, but not endowed with exceptional monuments.
Grading: BIIb (listed B)

LANGENHOE, St Andrew (59)
TM 0138 1745 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 148 (no plan)
The old church (basically late medieval in appearance) was damaged by the 1884 earthquake; contemporary photographs show that the roof fell in, but the walls remained standing. It was, however, demolished (or so it is believed) and rebuilt on the same site and using some of the old dressings. This church in turn was demolished *c.* 1960 without much ado. The site is now rough-mown grass with a few surviving tombstones. No threats. Archaeologically nothing is known and no recording was undertaken at the demolition.
Grading: IIIa (not listed)

LANGHAM, St Mary (23)
TM 0344 3370 Isolated in a wood, apart from Church Farm; hall not far away.
RCHM iii, 148 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Nave and chancel partly Norman, with Roman brick dressings; W tower C13; much rebuilding in C14, when S aisle was added and chancel extended. Cl9 refacing has largely obscured the fabric. Archaeological potential uncertain but, should threats arise, investigation would be worthwhile since there are clearly several juxta-posed periods of work. Two medieval coffin lids, once fine, lie in the churchyard in the last stages of disintegration. The graveyard itself is good.
Grading: BBIIIa (listed B)

LANGLEY, St John the Evangelist (205)
TL 4426 3525 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 165 (sketch plan 1:576)
Norman nave; C14 W tower, partly rebuilt 1885; C16 red brick chancel, quite pleasant. 1885 left its mark everywhere, but nowhere more violently than in the brown pebbles which were used to reface the nave walls; hardly anything of antiquity remains visible. The nave roof is an interesting curiosity, much restored. Generally good order; there is a brick gutter around the base of the walls. The churchyard has been thoroughly cleared and is now a dull expanse of close-mown grass, or as a recent quinquennial survey remarked: 'The churchyard, recently levelled, is very well kept and a credit to the parish'. Archaeological potential unknown, but probably not great. Langley was a chapelry of Clavering until 1875.
Grading: CIIIa (listed B)

LAWFORD, St Mary (26)
TM 0890 3158 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 151 (differentiated plan 1:300)
C14 nave, chancel and W tower, but of various builds. Nave and N aisle of 1823 are cement rendered and very drab compared to the rich ornamental facings of brick, flint and stone elsewhere. The chancel interior is possibly the finest Decorated work in the Archdeaconry (although its E end was altered a good deal in C19). There are no threats at present and archaeological potential is difficult to assess; certainly the interior is greatly disturbed by vaults and heating ducts; but there is an earlier building to find. Churchyard partly 'tidied'.
Grading: AIIIc (listed A)

LAYER BRETON, dedication unknown (73)
TL 9495 1718 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 154 (no plan)
The medieval church was demolished in 1915; it was a simple building comprising nave, chancel and bell-turret and was extended in 1834. In 1837 a trench was dug around the building and zinc troughing inserted to overcome dampness (an interesting early example); further restoration 1844; damaged by the earthquake of 1884; shored up but never repaired. A new church was erected on Layer Breton Heath in 1922. The old site is now totally overgrown and is covered by a copse; apart from a few tombstones on the roadside and the occasional fragment of medieval masonry lying loose, there is nothing to be seen. The archaeology of the site must be suffering greatly from tree-roots. Assessment impossible.
Grading: IIIc.

LAYER DE LA HAYE, dedication unknown (St John the Baptist, since 1962) (74)
TL 9649 1913 Isolated.
RCHM iii, 154 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave and chancel Norman or earlier, with Roman brick quoins; a single original window survives in the chancel, discovered during the removal of rendering (since the RCHM visited). W tower C14; S aisle C19. A great drainage trench has been dug along the N side of the church, cutting through obvious archaeological stratigraphy. The trench has been left open, with the result that its sides are rapidly crumbling and it is slowly backfilling; broken Cl8 tombstones have been used as revetting. In all, a disturbing sight to the archaeologist. The churchyard has been substantially 'tidied'. The timber N porch is good.
Grading: BIIb (listed B)

LAYER MARNEY, St Mary the Virgin (72)
TL 9282 1740 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 155 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave, chancel, W tower, N aisle and chapel, all brick and of the early years of C16; a very complete, important and closely dated example of brickwork, associated with Layer Marney Towers adjacent. The church replaced a Norman building of which nothing is known, except the occasional fragment of dressed stone which has turned up. An opportunity to examine the foundations was lost when a shingle-filled drainage trench was dug around the walls a few years ago. It is very narrow and neat and it is uncertain how much archaeological damage was done. Dampness has affected internal plaster, which has been cut away from the N wall, revealing a Tudor fireplace. An important wall painting is known in the nave and there may well be others elsewhere in the church. There are two major monuments of the Marney family, dating from 1360 and 1523; one was repaired and under-pinned by Chancellor in 1911. The floors were disturbed in 1974, when central heating was installed in the church. There is obvious archaeological potential-at least the Norman church awaits discovery. The graveyard has been 'tidied' but is pleasantly foliated.
Grading: AIIb (listed A)

LEXDEN, St Leonard (16)
TL 9713 2509 In village, at crossroads (now a Colchester suburb and within the Borough Liberties).
RCHM iii, 47 (no plan)
Built 1820-21, nave and W tower, cement rendered; chancel built 1894, brick with stone dressings. Not a building of great architectural merit; it replaced a medieval church, which stood immediately to the north, in the same graveyard. Morant says it comprised a nave, chancel and a north 'aisle or chapel' which was set at right-angles to the main axis-presumably he means a transept. A watercolour confirms this. The site of the old church is now a jungle of Cl9 tombs which undoubtedly have vaults below. Archaeologically there can be little left to find. The graveyard is generally intact but lacks monuments of note; there is, however, an important standing wall monument of 1771 in the nave.
Grading: CIIIc (listed C)

LINDSELL, dedication unknown (now St Mary the Virgin) (164)
TL 6439 2710 Isolated with hall (a close-knit complex)
RCHM i, 166 (sketch plan 1:576)
A very odd church but full of interest; the proportions of the nave and chancel are all wrong-either both have been shortened or widened. The C12 chancel arch is the oldest feature; the chancel contains C13 features, reset or restored; the nave and S aisle exhibit C14 details. The unusual SW tower is of the late C16. There have been several restorations, the last of which was completed in 1971 and the church is now in good order. Work in the chancel in 1927 revealed the opening to a former anchorite cell, in the N wall of the chancel. External ground level is a little high and is causing a minor dampness problem in the chancel. Unfortunately the ground has been lowered around the SW corner of the church and a large slab of raw concrete laid. The graveyard is one of the best in the Diocese; it is well foliated, largely intact and has some fine C18 and C19 monuments in good condition. It must be preserved as it now is. A splendid object which may originally have been a sanctuary knocker from the church is in the British Museum; it is a C12 bronze head in knocker form. The Domesday survey mentions a priest here at Lindsell.
Grading: BBIIa (listed B)

LISTON, dedication unknown (143)
TL 8528 4479 Isolated, at road junction, a little way from hall.
RCHM i, 169 (sketch plan 1:576)
Norman nave; chancel possibly C13 (the arch has been removed); W tower a very fine example of Cl6 brickwork. The tower is in need of repair and the walls of the nave retain the remnants of cement rendering. External ground level is a little high and internal dampness is acute in the tower floor; areas of timber flooring have rotted and are collapsing. The internal decoration is in a poor state and the splendid moulded ceiling in the nave (dated 1701) is in most urgent need of attention. The internal wall plaster is ancient and should be preserved; it could well bear paintings. The decoration of the E wall of the chancel is an interesting piece of Cl9 work-the painting, reredos, screen and floor are all in harmony; it is unfortunate that the side walls are just bare plaster (were they once painted?). The 'Tortoise' stove is still in use. The church is full of interest and there are obvious major opportunities looming for its archaeological investigation, although it would appear that funds for restoration are in short supply. A charter of William I demonstrates that the church was in existence by *c.* 1087. (Hart, 1957b, 12).
Grading: BBIIb (listed B)

LITTLEBURY, Holy Trinity (195)
TL 5170 3950 Edge of village.
RCHM i, 191 (sketch plan 1:576)
A very complicated building of great architectural and archaeological interest. The nave is no later than Norman, but its great height, wall thicknesses, etc. could be indicative of a substantial Saxon church. There has been so much alteration that it is impossible to be certain. The building was transeptal prior to the C13 and had good late Norman N and S doorways in the nave; these were resited when aisles were added in C13 (and the transepts thrown in). The W tower is a problem: it is not at right-angles to the nave axis, and it is partly overlapped by both the N and S aisles. The RCHM maintains the tower to be wholly of the C14-if it is, it must be a rebuild of an earlier structure. The chancel was entirely rebuilt in 1875, but an old photograph and a water-colour of 1869 (both valuable primary records, hanging in the tower, and now virtually destroyed by dampness) show the earlier chancel and what appears to be a N chapel with windows of Romanesque style. A major archaeological investigation is required to understand this church; it was certainly a building of no mean significance in the Cl2 and C13. No major threats, but there is serious dampness in the aisles, where all the floor tiles need relaying. The graveyard is rough grass, very pleasant and ecologically valuable; it is also graced with some fine Cl7 and Cl8 headstones. There are Roman finds from around the church, which may well be on or adjacent to a substantial Roman site; a villa is to be expected here.
Grading: BBIa (listed B)

MANNINGTREE, St Michael (27)
TM 1076 3185 In small town.
RCHM iii, 176 (sketch plan 1:576)
A brick church built *de novo* in c. 1616, replacing a former chapel-of-ease to Mistley. The chapel was apparently on a different site. The church originally comprised a nave and N and S aisles. In the Cl9 the S aisle was rebuilt and a chancel added. The whole building was demolished a few years ago and the site sold for redevelopment. Trial trenching showed little of archaeological interest had survived terracing and other disturbances. The graveyard, too, had been destroyed. The church formed an integral part of the street frontage and its loss is a grievous one.
Grading: IIIc (listed B)

MANUDEN, St Mary the Virgin (181)
TL 4909 2665 Centre of village.
RCHM i, 195 (sketch plan 1:576)
A transeptal church of good size, but effectively undated; the few ancient details in the nave and N transept are not earlier than *c.* 1400, but probably do not date the fabric. There appears to be a straight joint between the N transept and nave, as well as the scar of a former wall (or buttress) which ran parallel to, and just N of, the N wall of the chancel. The chancel, S aisle and W tower are wholly of 1864. The one feature of merit in the church is the early C15 chancel screen, which Pevsner rightly describes as 'sumptuous'. Clearly, there is room for a great deal of archaeological investigation here; no major threats at present; but a recent quinquennial survey recommended the investigation of the ground at the E end of the church, where settlement is taking place-a lost opportunity to discover whether any ancient foundations

survived here. The churchyard has been substantially cleared and grassed.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

MAPLESTEAD, GREAT, St Giles (122)
TL 8082 3456 Virtually isolated, on a hill spur, between forked roads.
RCHMi, 129 (differentiated plan 1:300)
An important example of a four-celled Norman church, complete with surviving apse. Originally the church comprised a large W tower, nave, chancel and sanctuary, but most of the middle portions have been rebuilt or altered by the addition of aisles and transepts, added to the S in the C14 and to the N in the C19. External ground level was cut down *c.* 1.5 m on the N, when the aisle was built. The church is generally in good order and there are no current threats, but should any arise archaeological investigation both above and below ground is to be strongly urged, since the structural history may well be even more complicated than at present appears—for example, are all the Norman elements of one build, and why is the tower so much out of alignment? The possibility that the tower is of late Saxon date should not be discounted (cf Tollesbury); and the very long narrow plan of the church might be more apparent than real, if earlier aisles or transepts await recognition. There are Roman burials from under the N aisle and the adjoining vicarage; and the sanctuary arch is turned in Roman brick. The graveyard is a worthy monument and contains earthworks which are possibly man-made; there are also some good C18 headstones and a table tomb of 1690. The early C17 monuments in the S transept are noteworthy too. In all, Great Maplestead church and graveyard must be held as being of high historic, archaeological and ecological value.
Grading: AAIa (listed B)

MAPLESTEAD, LITTLE, St John the Baptist (123)
II 8223 3398 Isolated, near hall.
RCHMi, 184 (differentiated plan 1:300) W Wallen, *History and Antiquities of the Round Church at Little Maplestead* (1836).
A building which arouses much interest on account of its circular nave; it is one of the four 'round' churches which survive, in use, in England. The remains of several others are known, including one in Essex, at West Thurrock (4.6i). Some of these 'round' churches were built by the Military Order of Knights of the Temple, others were parochial copies, West Thurrock belongs to the latter class, while Little Maplestead was a foundation of the Knights Hospitallers of *c.* 1185. The hospital buildings are believed to have lain under the Hall, just to the N of the church. There has been a good deal of controversy over the subject of the first church: there was presumably one in the late Saxon period, since a priest is mentioned in Domesday (1086). It has been suggested that the (original parish church lay about one mile to the SE. There is no documentary evidence hearing on the matter and since the site of another church has not been established archaeologically, it has not been included in this survey. It is however, a matter which needs checking. The present church is probably on the site of the original Hospitallers' church, but whether the upstanding fabric is of the late C12 is problematical. It is generally claimed that the present building is of *c.* 1335, a date long after circular naves and apsidal chancels had gone out of fashion. It is highly unlikely that the walls were built, or even rebuilt. to that plan in the C14 and it is more logical to assume that the existing church was merely re-fenestrated and the internal arcade added at that date. The only trace of the Norman structure was the small round-headed window set high in the apse and shown in one of Wallen's engravings and on his longitudinal section of the church. As it now stands, the church is unfortunately largely a Victorian sham, since it suffered one of' the most brutal 'restorations' perpetrated in the Diocese. The RCHM refers to the church as ruinous, but this can hardly have been the case, as contemporary engravings bear witness—it was clearly a case of restoration for its own sake, and nothing was left alone. Indeed, it is now far from clear as to how much pre-dates 1851-57; in Coller (1861, 438) we read, 'A recent writer implies, that as the fine relic was levelled to its foundations in 1857, and re-erected in precisely its ancient form, it was, after all, an imitation and a counterfeit, and the pilgrim could only look upon it as a clever model of the venerable edifice which he had travelled far to see. This was not exactly the case. It was a most faithful and thoroughly conservative restoration, the committee being most anxious to introduce nothing new; but notwithstanding this care, we feel, as we gaze upon the sacred little edifice, that it has lost some of its interest. '—a careful and non-committal statement. The walls were totally refaced externally, if not rebuilt; the foundations were under-pinned; every window was replaced; the interesting timber entrance-building was demolished; new floors were laid; and the church was re-roofed. Internally, everything is now smothered in limewash. In all, a tragedy, for which the description 'clever model' is the most restrained, The font, C11, is the most interesting feature. Archaeologically, the church and site must still be regarded as important, until proven otherwite, since a major internal investigation both above and below ground could probably resolve the basic history. No current threats. The graveyard has suffered partial clearance and 'tidying'.
Grading: CIc (listed A)

MARKSHALL, St Margaret (91)
TL 8409 3525 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 177 (no plan)
The medieval church comprised a nave. chancel and bell-turret; it was almost entirely rebuilt as a hexagonal brick structure in 1875. The church was demolished in 1932 and the hall adjacent in 1951. A few tombstones from *c.* 1811 remain in the totally overgrown churchyard. The foundations of the C19 church remain visible. The site should be protected in its present condition and not allowed to 'disappear' under forestry works, which now dominate the area. Archaeological potential unknown.
Grading: IIIb (not listed)

MERSEA, EAST, St Edmund the Martyr (60)
TM 0509 1417 isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 93 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave and chancel may be partly Norman, although the details are of later date and are in keeping with the C15 N aisle, chapel and W tower, There was flint flushwork on the tower and nave parapet but this has mainly disappeared: the walls are quasi-rendered and little of the historic fabric can be seen. Dampness is a problem, since external ground level is very high all round. There is a shingle-filled trench of recent date along the S side of the nave and along the aisle; an old brick-lined open drain on the S side of the chancel; and a deep cement-lined gutter elsewhere. Internally the church is still damp, parts of the flooring are decayed and the chancel arch is seriously cracked; some of the external stone dressings are in a poor state. Much of the churchyard is now devoted to shrubs and flowers. Archaeologically, the church has some potential, although this cannot be clearly defined. The first mention of an incumbent is in the C12, but the dedication could be associated with a pre-Conquest foundation. It has also been claimed that the church and hall lie inside an earthwork. for which the identification of a Danish camp has been proposed (the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle makes it clear that there was a fortified Danish base on Mersea; no better site has been suggested). Finally, there arc reports of a Roman villa under or near East Mersea church (there are Roman bricks in the fabric and fragments of others have turned up in grave-digging). Nothing is conclusive—the evidence needs to be sought when any further disturbances take place in or around the church. Burial continues in the churchyard,
Grading: CIIb (listed B)

MERSEA, WEST, St Peter and St Paul (61)
TM 0091 1250 In village, with hall.
RCHM iii, 230 (sketch plan 1:576). 'Taylor, 1965, 418.
Nave and chancel mainly of C14, with dividing wall removed; S aisle of similar date with later alterations; W tower Saxo-Norman. Apart from the tower, the church itself is of little interest architecturally, but it may conceal a great deal of archaeological information. The foundations of the nave are probably at least as old as the tower and it is interesting to note that a change of direction in the wall of the S aisle (not

distinguished on the RCHM plan) is in sympathy with the misalignment of the tower to the general axis of the building. It is just possible that the E end of the aisle incorporates a S transept, or more particularly a *porticus* (since it overlaps the chancel substantially). That there was an Anglo-Saxon minster, dedicated to St Peter, at West Mersea is not in doubt; it is mentioned in an important series of later C10 wills. In 1970 a fragment of stone decorated with Saxon interlaced ornament was noticed in the medieval fabric of the S aisle; the piece has been taken inside the church *(Bull. Colchester Archaeol. Group,* **14** (1971), 37). In 1046 a Benedictine priory was founded at West Mersea, as a daughter cell of the abbey of St Ouen at Rouen. There is thus a valuable body of evidence for religious buildings at Mersea, to which further interest is added by the fact that the whole area covered by the church and priory (immediately W of the church) is underlain by one of the most substantial Roman villa complexes in Essex. There are mosaic pavements below most of the churchyard and under the chancel floor. There is no need to elaborate upon the archaeological significance of the area-it is one of the most crucial in the Diocese and any opportunity, however small, to investigate any part of the archaeology of the church, above or below ground, should not be missed. A substantial opportunity presented itself in 1972 when a vestry was built on to the S side of the aisle and the ground around was lowered. A proposal to undertake an archaeological investigation on this occasion was countered, not by the church authorities, but by external interference. That archaeological destruction took place is inevitable, but the magnitude and nature of the loss remain unknown. The graveyard has been generally 'tidied', but is still well foliated.
Grading: AIb (not listed)

MESSING, All Saints (96)
TL 8967 1893 In village, at road junction.
RCHM iii, 180 (sketch plan 1:576)
An interesting, but ill-understood church; the dating of its parts is difficult: the nave and chancel are of the C13, or earlier, but the full length of neither is known with certainty. The RCHM insists that the nave was lengthened by two bays, but this is doubtful-certainly it was rebuilt *c.* 1830-40. At the same time the present W tower was erected, replacing an earlier one; transepts were also added: that on the N was destroyed in the 1884 earthquake and not rebuilt. The quoining on the S wall of the nave suggests that the present S transept was preceded by an earlier structure. Morant normally mentions transepts, but he makes no reference to any at Messing, and if such existed they must have disappeared by the C18. The fabric of the chancel is not the same as that of the nave, since the former contains a quantity of Roman brick, set in herringbone fashion. There are also traces of a former brick-arched window, which must be Norman or earlier. Also in the S wall of the chancel are a blocked C13 window and a blocked Tudor doorway. Clearly the stratigraphy of the chancel walls is of interest and it should be studied and recorded before the much-needed repair work is undertaken. In general, the church is in good condition and the C17 black-and-white marble pavement in the chancel is quite exceptional. The graveyard is one of great character and contains a good series of C19 monuments (some of which need urgent repair); of particular note is the series of C19 Gothic headstones E of the chancel. The churchyard is better than usual and it is essential that it be protected from depredation. Nor should any opportunity be missed to study and elucidate the history of the church itself. Its antiquity and interest may, as yet, be less than fully appreciated.
Grading: BIa (listed B)

MIDDLETON, dedication unknown (now All Saints) (130)
TL 8710 3968 With hall on edge of village.
RCHM iii. 182 (sketch plan 1:576)
A two-celled church of high architectural merit; the nave and chancel were built in the C12, but the latter was extended in the C13. The elaborate C12 S doorway and chancel arch, and the Cl3 triple-light windows are especially fine. The building merits detailed study and publication. Ground level is high around the walls and dampness has caused some of the timber flooring to begin to give way. Unfortunately, the external walls are all rendered and many of the internal dressings are limewashed.
Grading: AAIIa (listed B)

MILE END, St Michael (13)
TL 9928 2675 Within the Colchester Borough Liberties.
RCHM iii, 47 (no plan)
Small parish N of Colchester, now a suburb. The church was a simple two-celled building with a bell-turret. It was detnolished *c.* 1854 when a new church was erected in a more populous place. The site of the old church and graveyard are now under the rectory garden and are probably heavily disturbed. Traces of the building were visible when the RCHM visited. Archaeologically unassessable.
Grading: IIIc.

MISTLEY, St Mary (28A)
TM 1287 3101 Edge of loosely defined village on Mistley Heath.
RCHM iii, 184 (sketch plan 1:576; not complete or accurate).
The original church of Mistley, which became redundant in 1735 when it was replaced (see below). Apparently it comprised a nave, chancel, S aisle and W tower, all of which have long since been demolished. The stone-built C15 S porch survived as a private chapel and was demolished in recent years. In 1961 the graveyard and ruins were cleared of a tangle of undergrowth and some good C18-C19 monuments exposed, as well as substantial sections of rubble walling.
Excavations which took place then are unpublished and enquiry failed to elicit any information. Everything has now been bulldozed and rough grass covers most of the site; part of the church's outline is still visible and the occasional fragment of broken tombstone can be seen. The porch was a moderately good example of flint-inlay work of *c.* 1500. Clearly proper archaeological investigation, recording and publication should have accompanied the destruction of the church and graveyard, although it is difficult to appreciate why the latter course of action was taken.
Grading: IIIc (this was listed grade II)

MISTLEY, St Mary (28B)
TM 1165 3195 Virtually isolated, on edge of park, at Mistley Thorn.
Not in RCHM
Brick, built in 1735 to replace the old church at Mistley Heath. It was enlarged by Robert Adam in 1776, who was responsible for the notable twin towers. A report on the church in 1866 asserted that it was beyond repair; a third church was built (elsewhere) and the second accordingly demolished. The towers were saved and are now regarded as important monuments of the period. No archaeological potential. There are many tombs on the site, but none of real importance.
Grading: AIIIc (listed grade I)

MOZE, St Mary (37B)
TM 1995 2590 isolated with hall (now in Beaumont-cum-Moze parish)
RCHM iii, 8 (no plan)
Moze was united with Beaumont by Act of Parliament in 1678 and the church of the former was demolished, the materials being used to repair Beaumont church. Nothing survives above ground to indicate the form of Moze church; a memorial stone was erected in 1959 to mark the site. Archaeological potential unknown.
Grading: IIIa.

NEWPORT, St Mary the Virgin (201)
TL 5208 3410 In small town.
RCHM i, 198 (differentiated plan 1:300)
The second of the four great 'wool' churches of NW Essex-the interior is less impressive than the exterior, which is dominated by the W tower of 1858 with its unusual embattled polygonal pinnacles. The chancel and transepts testify to a former major C13 cruciform church; the nave, aisles and S porch are additions or rebuilds of the C14. External ground level is a little high and a brick-lined drain has been constructed around the N side, exposing a foundation offset.

Internally, parts of the flooring have been relaid with modern paving slabs. The character of the architecture is lost under total limewashing; the C13 altar chest is the outstanding feature of the interior. Archaeologically, nothing is known and opportunities have certainly been lost for the potential discovery of the pre-C13 church. The graveyard is in good order.
Grading: BBIIIb (listed B)

NOTLEY, BLACK, St Peter and St Paul (110)
TL 7614 2071 Isolated with hall.
RCHM ii, 18 (sketch plan 1:576)
A small Norman church, now single-celled due to a rebuilding of the chancel and the removal of the arch. The C12 features in the nave are all heavily restored. The timber framing of the C14 W spire is of the first rank and is the only notable feature of the church. External ground level is high and there is a brick-lined drain all round; it is deepest on the N, where dampness is still a problem. Potential is difficult to assess; the church lies amongst a complex of earthworks and there are general indications that a major Roman villa should lie hereabouts (some Roman brick in fabric, but not significant on its own). The graveyard is rather open and bleak and lacks good monuments.
Grading: BIIa (listed B)

NOTLEY, WHITE, dedication unknown (now St Etheldreda) (109)
TL 7857 1825 On edge of village, with hall.
RCHM ii, 252 (differentiated plan 1:300). Taylor, 1965, 475.
A very important church for several reasons. The chancel is the earliest surviving part and the arch, which is built of Roman brick, is arguably pre-conquest. In the S wall of the chancel are traces of a blocked arch, also of Roman brick. In the N wall too there was formerly an arch, in the blocking of which was set a round-headed window of Norman or earlier date. The window itself, which is reset in the vestry of 1885, is cut from a single block of stone-a decorated pre-Conquest coffin lid. The archaeology of the chancel has great potential and there is a possibility that side-chapels or *porticus* once existed. A further point of interest is the fact that there is no offset between nave and chancel and the N and S walls appear to run on, although in the nave and chancel they are now replaced by C13 arcades. The N and S aisles are of similar date. Although an exact equation is unprovable, there is every possibility that the remnants of the early building date from the turn of C11 and may be associated with a will of 998. The wording of the will is precise and seems to indicate a foundation *de novo;* it also implies a minister or monastery, rather than simply a parish church. In the event of any disturbances to the floors, fabric or ground around the church, archaeological investigation is of the utmost importance, since this is one of the very few Saxon churches in England with which a firm date can be associated (Taylor, 1972, 271). Unfortunately, a certain amount of damage has already been done, in the form of an old concrete-lined open drain which exists around the S side of the chancel; the interior still suffers from dampness. The plaster, which is falling from the walls in the chancel, is of importance in its own right for the graffiti it bears. Careful recording is needed immediately. There are wall paintings over the chancel arch, but these too are in poor condition. Finally, there is a proposal to remove some pews and to concrete small areas of flooring in the nave. Architecturally, the aisles are of some interest (rendering is fallen from the N side and needs stripping; the fabric requires study, before repair, in case earlier work is present); and Hewett (1974, 176) makes much of the roof carpentry. There is a Roman villa adjacent to the church.
Grading: AAIb (listed B)

OAKLEY, GREAT, All Saints (35)
TM 1879 2731 Isolated.
RCHM iii, 128 (sketch plan 1:576)
Avery long church; Norman nave; C14 chancel; W tower of *c.* 1766, being a rebuild of an earlier tower. There has been much refacing of the walls and a Norman chevron-ornamented voussoir appears in the N wall of the chancel. Dampness was a major problem until recently, when a shingle-filled drain was constructed around the walls. Internal investigation of the fabric could be undertaken to advantage, should the opportunity arise. The graveyard has been 'tidied' and some monuments removed.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

OAKLEY, LITTLE, St Mary (36)
TM 2121 2846 Isolated, near hall.
RCHM iii, 172 (sketch plan 1:576)
Redundant, to be converted to a residence. Discussed in Case Study 4 (iii).
Grading: BIIa (listed B)

OVINGTON, St Mary the Virgin (140)
TL 7632 4254 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 205 (sketch plan 1:576)
Single-celled building, which must have been Norman once, as witnessed by various C12 mouldings reused in the fabric; visible work is mainly C14. Considerable repairs have been undertaken, including the striping of external rendering; some of the pointing is very recent and it would have been useful to have studied the fabric before this took place. Internal offsets at the bases of the walls at the end W end of the nave may be indicative of a tower which preceded the present timber bell-turret. There was a curious C19 habit here, and at Tilbury-juxta-Clare, of making decorative features out of fragments of medieval dressings and tombs. The base of the font at Ovington is thus made; there are other examples outside. The churchyard is rough-mown and quite pleasant; there are some good iron-railed tombs which need to be kept in repair.
Grading: CIIIa (listed B)

PANFIELD, St Mary (Morant asserts St Christopher) (117)
TL 7385 2534 Edge of village, away from hall.
RCHM i, 206 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave and chancel appear to be wholly C15, but there must be an earlier church to elucidate; nothing of particular interest save the C18 furnishings; and the timbering of the nave roof and S porch; the C19 tiling in the chancel is exceptionally gruesome. External ground level was high, but has been cut away and a concrete-lined drain formed in fairly recent years. Panfield priory (a daughter cell of Caen), of which nothing is known archaeologically, lay just to the N of the church; it is doubtful whether there was any physical connection between the two. A pleasantly unmutilated churchyard. Archaeological potential unknown.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

PATTISWICK, St Mary the virgin (formerly Magdalene) (113)
TL 8168 2404 Isolated, near hall.
RCHM iii, 186 (sketch plan 1:576)
C13 nave; C14 chancel, both heavily restored, 1881-2. Most of the exterior is cement rendered and little of interest can be seen. Dampness was a major problem and a concrete-lined gutter has been constructed all round the church in recent years. Internally the floor tiles have become loose on their bedding and an area of concrete has been laid adjacent to the N doorway. The wall plaster is old, in poor condition and needs checking for paintings. No great archaeological promise, although some information on the date of the foundation would be of value since Pattiswick was originally a chapel-of-ease to Feering; it was granted burial rights in 1313. An interesting problem arises in that Pattiswick and Feering are well separated, with Coggeshall falling between, and this is perhaps another indicator of the former importance of Feering-Coggeshall and Markshall may well be early cut-out parishes from it. Good churchyard with several fine C18 tombstones which have been protected from weathering by bushes-another reason for maintaining a moderate amount of vegetation in graveyards.
Grading: CIIa (listed B)

PEBMARSH, St John the Baptist (124)
TL 8538 3348 In loosely defined village.
RCHM iii, 188 (sketch plan 1:576). T D S Bayley, *Pebmarsh Church Essex* (1946).
C14 unbuttressed W tower which adjoined an earlier and

lower nave than the present one; this, together with the aisles and chancel, is of the later C14. The chancel was shortened in C16 and the fine brick S porch built. The nave and aisles were stripped of wall plaster in the C19 and left bare; an unusual treatment for a church in Essex. It looks bleak. External ground level was high, but has been lowered at some time. The graveyard is overgrown against the S and E walls. There are a few fragments of Roman brick in the fabric and Roman-period finds have been made nearby, but the archaeological potential is basically unknown. The former roof weathering line on the E wall of the tower indicates that the pre-C14 nave was a tall narrow structure and the proportions would indicate that either it was likely to have been a Saxon structure, or that there had been previous aisles and a clearstorey. Investigation is needed to resolve the point; no current threats. The graveyard is good, and the Fitzralph brass is a celebrated monument, c. 1323.
Grading: BIIa (listed B)

PELDON, St Mary the Virgin (63)
TL 9894 1678 In village, near hall.
RCHM iii, 190 (sketch plan 1:576)
The nave shows no features earlier than C14; W tower built *c.* 1400; chancel rebuilt 1859 on old foundations but was rebuilt again in 1953, being shortened to about one-third of its former length. There is Roman brick in the fabric and several fragments of Norman stone mouldings can be seen in situations of re-use. The walls are partly rendered and partly pointed-both finishes need repair; external ground level is high and there is much rubbish around the walls, causing internal dampness; the site must be well drained or the building would be a good deal damper. There is a threat to install land drains and to re-order the sanctuary. Internal dressings are all limewashed; there is a fine hammerbeam roof. The churchyard is good and has avoided depredation. Unfortunately, burial continues near the church and a number of fairly recent graves may have encroached upon the site of the earlier chancel, which is archaeologically of interest, since it is virtually certain to project beyond the present structure. The church is recorded at the time of Domesday. There is thus a reasonable archaeological potential at Peldon, since the Saxon and Norman churches require elucidation. A bed of gravel known to run through the churchyard may be a Roman road; a hoard of 14 medieval silver coins was found in grave-digging a few years ago.
Grading: BIa (listed B)

PENTLOW, St George (144)
TL 8128 4616 With hall, in village.
RCHM i, 208 (differentiated plan 1:300). Taylor, 1965, 489 (plan 1:200)
Saxon or Saxo-Norman nave and stilted apsidal chancel, although the apse may be an addition to a square chancel. The original W doorway is simple, but in front of this was added a C12 moulding; both were later covered in part by the addition of a Norman round tower (not C14, as often stated-this is the date of the upper parts). Thus Pentlow is of importance for structural stratification of early date. Unfortunately the external ground level has been lowered and a concrete apron constructed; this has partly smothered the significant foundation offset on the S side of the chancel. The original quoins are flint, which is a reasonably good indicator of a pre-Conquest date. The early C17 vaulted chapel is very fine, but is in need of restoration. The churchyard is open and not exceptional; there are some good C18 monuments on the S side. No opportunity should be missed for investigation inside the church; no current threats.
Grading: AIa (listed A)

QUENDON, dedication unknown (185)
TL 5156 3066 In village.
RCHM i, 211 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave, aisles and chancel C13; the S aisle disappeared and the arcade was blocked until the restoration of 1861 when rebuilding took place. The whole church suffered brutal Cl9 restoration and is now of little architectural interest. The RCHM shows the W wall of the nave as thicker than the rest, which may indicate that it is either a survival from an earlier structure, or that it once formed part of a tower, now lost. In recent years, the churchyard has suffered the most tragic and thorough act of emparkment to be seen anywhere in the Archdeaconry. Short-mown grass everywhere, low walls, rockery plants, roses, etc. Only headstones have been retained and these stand in military ranks (they include several good C18 examples). The whole has an artificial air, to say nothing of the destruction of the historic and ecological evidence. The external ground level around the church walls was high, but this has been cut down for a width of about 2 m around the church-a thorough cure for dampness in the building, but an equally effective destroyer of all archaeological evidence-excavation should have preceded this action. There has probably also been internal archaeological destruction during the relaying of the floors. In all, Quendon provides a good example of how mis-directed zeal for restoration and 'tidying' over the course of little more than a century has achieved a near-total destruction of the church's archaeological, architectural, historical and ecological heritage-although immaculate, it is but an historical sham.
Grading: DIIIc (listed B)

RADWINTER, St Mary the Virgin (191)
TL 6064 3727 In village at cross-roads.
RCHM i, 213 (sketch plan 1:576)
A large church, comprising an aisled nave, chancel and W tower; a few details from the late C13 onwards survive, but the whole church was virtually rebuilt in 1869 (the tower is 1887). The heavily restored two-storied timber S porch is noteworthy, being unique in Essex. Apart from timberwork, the church is of no architectural merit but the C19 decoration and fittings are of the utmost importance. This is one of the richest and most complete Victorian church interiors in the Diocese; it is almost overwhelmed with imagery and ornament and it is vital that every existing detail should be kept intact. The churchyard is a model of sensible management and contains a good general collection of C18 and C19 gravestones. Archaeologically, there cannot be much potential, since C19 disturbances must have been great. The church is probably on, or adjacent to a Roman site.
Grading: AIIIc (listed B)

RAMSEY, St Michael (32)
TM 2180 3048 In loosely defined village.
RCHM iii, 191 (sketch plan 1:576)
Long Norman nave; C13-14 chancel; C15 W tower, much rebuilt. The nave and chancel are externally rendered and limewashed, a most unusual sight today, but probably one which obtained throughout much of the medieval period. Oddly the interior has been left as the raw rendering of 1913. External ground level is rather high and there is a shallow cement-lined gully around the walls. Archaeological potential unknown; no current threats. Architecturally there are many details of interest, especially the Cl6 domestic-style windows. The churchyard is undistinguished, apart from an iron-railed monument of 1852.
Grading: BBIIIa (listed B)

RAYNE (PARVA), All Saints (116)
TL 7330 2291 With hall, on edge of village.
RCHM i, 218 (no plan)
Sometimes known as Little Rayne, in contradistinction to Great Rayne, which had the C12 'new' town of Braintree planted upon it. The church is an uninteresting rebuild of 1840, with the exception of the red brick W tower of *c.* 1500. This is a fine specimen of its type, designed with a clock setting in the W face; a spur hand is visible and if the original mechanism remains in the tower it is a horological survival of great importance. Rayne was however of much interest: a print of 1818 shows a simple nave and chancel with a S porch; oddly, the entrance was near the east end of the nave. A water-colour of the interior shows detailing suggestive of a Saxo-Norman date. The church was apparently included in a moated complex.

The churchyard is, in parts, a little too neglected, with brambles causing considerable damage to the monuments; there are some good box tombs, but in poor condition. Repair of the monuments, without any clearance, is an urgent need. Archaeological potential uncertain, but probably high.
Grading: AIIb (listed B)

RICKLING, All Saints (184)
TL 4985 3150 In loosely defined village (almost isolated).
RCHMi, 221 (sketch plan 1:576)
A short-naved church (cf Lindsell) of uncertain date and with a marked misalignment of the nave and chancel. The earliest detail in the nave is C13; the chancel, S aisle and W tower are all C14. The tower has recently been well restored. External ground level is high and there is a shallow concrete-lined gutter all round the church. The gutter is defective and an open trench has been dug alongside it on the N side—now much overgrown and in a state of collapse. Internally dampness is very serious, as shown by the decaying floors. It is clear that much work is needed, both inside and out, to put the building in order and that the archaeological destruction which has begun will continue. The church contains a particularly noteworthy C15 pulpit; there is also an elaborate C19 reredos. The churchyard has been partially tidied and is now open to the road; it lacks merit. The church is of interesting proportions and is obviously of several periods: the RCHM suggested that the nave might be pre-Conquest; archaeological investigation in conjunction with the above threats is needed to clarify this.
Grading: BIIb (listed B)

RIDGEWELL, St Lawrence (148)
TL 7399 4089 Edge of village.
RCHMi, 225 (differentiated plan 1:300)
An intriguing church with a complicated history which is far from understood. The RCHM suggests the nave is C14, with the chancel, N aisle, W tower and chancel chapel built or rebuilt in C15. The N aisle has a curiously splayed E end, and there is a section of blocked C13 arcading, presumed not to be *in situ,* in the N wall of the vestry (adjoining the chancel chapel). The church, which is fairly large and has a tall imposing tower, is in a very poor state of repair, as recent quinquennial surveys emphasize. External ground level is high and there is a concrete-lined channel and gutter; the church is still damp inside. The walls are rendered internally and partly externally—much of this covering is in a poor state. The roofs have leaked substantially, damaging the very fine medieval timbering. Many of the stone mouldings are badly decayed and in need of repair. Finally, the bell-frame is reported to be unsafe and the tower clock is not working. Virtually every archaeological problem which could arise in a church is present at Ridgewell. There is an urgent need to put archaeological investigation into step with restoration; although it is not possible to pronounce on the archeological importance of this church, it is a large and complex building, to which there must have been a predecessor. Ridgewell was fortunate in that it escaped severe restoration in C19. The opportunities now presented should be taken up. There are many interesting fittings in the church and the graveyard is largely unspoiled, although some of the monuments need freeing of excess vegetation which is causing damage.
Grading: BBIIa (listed B)

RIVENHALL, St Mary and All Saints (100)
TL 8279 1779 Isolated, near hall.
RCHM iii, 193 (no plan). Rodwell, 1972; 1973a; 1973b; 1973c; 1973d.
See Case Study 2 (Section 6).
Grading: Before investigation CIIb (listed C)
After investigation Bib.

ST OSYTH, St Peter and St Paul (46)
TM 1226 1556 Edge of village.
RCHM iii, 196 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A large, transeptal church, with aisles and W tower; much of the E end is of C13 and the tower is C14; the nave and aisles are C16 and mainly of brick, This is the only good Tudor brick interior in the Archdeaconry. In addition, there are many architectural problems and numerous phases of activity can be detected (more than shown in RCHM). Details indicate that the plan is based on a large aisled Norman building which in turn may be derived from something earlier. There is no reason to doubt this as the site of 'St Peter's minster', mentioned in a document of c. 1050 or earlier, and which was the burial place of St Osyth herself (although whether she lived in the C7 or C9 is uncertain) (Hart, 1957b, 31). Clearly there is a major Anglo-Saxon building to find here and no opportunity to investigate the fabric or the below-ground archaeology of the present church should be overlooked. Part of the N transept is believed to lie in the graveyard, beyond the present N aisle, while the line of the W wall of the same transept is probably reflected by the distinct ridge across the floor inside. Ground level is high on the N and has been reduced and a shallow concrete gutter formed all round. The church has been refloored in this century. There is little of interest in the graveyard, which has been 'tidied' to some extent. Finds of the Roman period, including masonry buildings, have been noted nearby.
Grading: AAIb (listed A)

SALCOTT, St Mary (70)
TL 9519 1357 Edge of village.
RCHM ii, 206 (sketch plan 1:576)
Damaged by the earthquake of 1884 and extensively rebuilt in 1893, the chancel having long been 'absent'. The nave retains some C14 features and the W tower is partly C15, but both are largely rebuilt. Although the church is in good repair, it is of no real merit. A few years ago excavations were made around the walls and underpinning was provided; the ground has been lowered at the W end and a shallow gully formed. Archaeological potential unknown, although oyster shells, tile fragments and flints are turning up in graves on the N side. There is evidence to suggest that Salcott was a town in the Middle Ages.
Grading: DIIIb (listed B)

SALING, GREAT, St James (158)
TL 7001 2580 With hall, in village.
RCHMi, 132 (sketch plan 1:576)
A church of little interest; the nave too much restored to be datable; chancel largely or wholly rebuilt 1857-64; W tower C14. External ground level is high all round and there is serious dampness in the nave; the timber floor of the tower is rotten and collapsing; much of the wall-plaster is in poor condition. The graveyard has been tidied and is of no interest. The only noteworthy feature is the fact that the tower is off-centre to the W end of the nave, which might suggest that the latter has been widened. Visible archaeological potential is low, but there could be much which is hidden. Domesday Book records a priest here in 1066.
Grading: CIIIa.

SALING, LITTLE (or BARDFIELD SALING), St Peter and St Paul (159)
TL 6861 2650 Virtually isolated, with (?) hall.
RCHMi, 11 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A very interesting church which is difficult to understand. The nave is generally dated on documentary evidence to the early C14 *(ante c.* 1349), with the chancel added a little later, being dedicated in 1380. The S aisle and W round tower are generally assumed to be contemporary with the nave. Little Saling is usually cited as being the latest example of a round tower. The tower is rendered and in a poor state; when stripped, it is essential to undertake an examination to ascertain whether the C14 features are original to the fabric, or

inserted, or indeed whether there has been a partial rebuild. It is difficult to accept the date proposed for this tower and other features; the problem is made greater by the fact that the chancel is said to have been apsidal, later squared off; it is inconceivable that the apse was built in the C14, especially since the remainder of the church (ie nave and aisle) contains much good decorative detail of the period. The chancel was damaged by a bomb in World War II and was rebuilt to the plan of the C18 east end, which was much shorter than it had originally been. There are thus opportunities to excavate the original E end. Considering the tower, the narrowness of the chancel arch, the alleged apse and the dedication, it would come as no surprise to discover a Norman church here, much rebuilt in the C14. Whatever the case, it is important to establish archaeologically the true structural history. At the time of writing, the S aisle floor has rotted and collapsed and is being replaced, providing an obvious opportunity for investigation, which has in fact been missed. It seems that prior to its consecration in 1380 there was no church at Bard field Saling, nor any graveyard (in use), since this was dedicated the year following. At this time the church was a chapel-of-ease to Great Bardfield; it became an independent parish in the latter part of C16. There was a priest's house in the churchyard, which awaits discovery. Although the documentary evidence favours a new chapel founded in the C14, it is by no means impossible that an old, ruined site was recommissioned and that the recorded dedications were in fact re-dedications. On the other hand, it is curious that the second of the dedications was by the Bishop of Piss, by invitation of the Bishop of London—could the round tower be in some way connected with this visit? The interior of the church is a pleasant and unpretentious C19 arrangement, which ought to be retained intact. There are Roman finds from immediately E of the churchyard; in the W wall of the S aisle are fragments of reused medieval mouldings. The graveyard is of little interest.
Grading: BBIa (listed B)

SAMPFORD, GREAT, St Michael (189)
TL 6424 3535 In village (once a small town).
RCHMi, 133 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A large church with a much distorted plan. The S chapel is C13 and almost certainly was a transept of a large cruciform church, the W end of which is perpetuated by the present tower and the W walls of the present aisles. The nave aisles, chancel and tower are all of C14 date; the interior of the chancel is superlative. There is a good tomb recess in the S chapel, which is now regrettably used as a vestry. The interior of the church requires redecoration, which would provide an opportunity to clean the accumulation of limewash from the stone dressings and to study the fabric more closely. The N and S walls of the aisles are damp and ground level was high externally. Unfortunately a great open trench has recently been dug around the N side of the tower and along the N aisle (following a recommendation in a quinquennial survey). The trench, which is archaeologically disastrous, is unlined and has a shingle bed. The exposed wall foundations will rapidly crumble, as will the sides of the trench; the latter being cut through archaeological deposits (yielding part of a medieval glazed floor tile and other debris). The graveyard is very open and contains nothing of interest. The church itself is mentioned in a grant of 1095 (Hart, 1957b, 16), and is certainly of great archaeological potential; no future opportunity should be missed to elucidate its history. Presumably there is a N transept awaiting discovery under the churchyard.
Grading: AIb (listed B)

SAMPFORD, LITTLE, St Mary the Virgin (190)
TL 6531 3365 Virtually isolated.
RCHMi, 186 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A large, ill-proportioned church with a long nave, N aisle, chancel and W tower, essentially of C14 and C15 date, with the possibility of some earlier work in the nave. The C14 slender arcade is unusual and interesting. Considerable work is needed on the church. External ground level is high and the building is very damp, particularity on the S side: a recent quinquennial survey recommends extensive work to the floors and walls. There is an open drain at the NW corner of the building, but not elsewhere. On the S side of the nave, at its junction with the chancel, is an unexplained scar which may indicate a lost portion of the church extending into the graveyard to the S. There are many pieces of dressed stone and mouldings reused in the S wall of the nave. The archaeological potential of the area is unknown, but opportunities to investigate are now arising. The graveyard generally lacks interest, although it contains some good C18 headstones.
Grading: BIIIa (listed B)

SHALFORD, St Andrew (formerly St Leonard; some uncertainty) (157)
TL 7240 2924 On edge of village, with hall.
RCHM i, 260 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Aisled nave, chancel and W tower all of C14, at least visibly. The tower, however, has clasping buttresses and thin walls and is possibly Norman in fabric. External ground level is high and dampness is serious; there is an old brick-lined trench around the S aisle; elsewhere a shallow gutter. Apart from the tomb recesses, the building is of only moderate interest, but it clearly covers or encapsulates an earlier structure; right-angles are markedly absent throughout. The graveyard has been 'tidied' and lacks interest.
Grading: BIIb (listed B)

STAMBOURNE, St Peter (153)
TL 7210 3884 With hall, in loosely defined village.
RCHMi, 271 (differentiated plan 1:300)
C14 nave; C16 N aisle, chancel and chapel, all dominated by a massive W tower, usually assigned to C11. It has dressings of Roman brick and the fabric contains large blocks of dressed stone which must be reused—but from what? In style the tower belongs with Tollesbury and West Mersea, and spans the full width of the nave. Whether it is pre- or post-Conquest is a pertinent question. The exterior of much of the church is cement rendered and in a poor state; its repair may provide an opportunity to search for the rest of the C11 church. Archaeological potential is unknown but could be high, especially if this massive tower belonged to a church more substantial than the present one. The graveyard has been cleared and many tombstones removed and stacked—its character and interest have been largely destroyed.
Grading: AIIa (listed A)

STANSTED MOUNTFITCHET, St Mary the Virgin (172)
TL 5210 2415 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 275 (sketch plan 1:576)
A large Norman church, of which almost nothing survives *in situ,* except the chancel arch; the C12 N and S doorways are massive and very ornate, but both are reset. The chancel retains some details of C13, but also contains interesting work and monuments of several periods (the C19 glass in the E window is noteworthy, too). The W tower is a rare example of its period, being built in 1692. The nave and N aisle were largely or wholly rebuilt in 1888, when they were said to be ruinous. The C19 pulpit is a splendid piece of ostentation which deserves note. During the restoration a Roman building was found under the church; it was probably a villa. Clearly, Stansted is a site with a long and important history (there was a priest here in 1066) and any opportunity to investigate archaeologically should not be missed. The graveyard is rough-mown and very pleasant; it contains some good C18 tombstones; inside, the Middleton monument of 1631 is a work of the first order of importance. There have been some recent burials immediately E of the church.
Grading: BBIb (listed B)

STANWAY, GREAT, All Saints (18A)
TL 9531 2210 Isolated with hall.
RCHMiii, 208 (differentiated plan 1:300). Buckler, 1856, 235.
Ruined and now in a very poor state; forms part of Colchester Zoo. The ruin comprises a C14 nave and W tower, the stone-vaulting in which is notable for Essex. The church fell into ruin but was restored for a short period in C17; it formerly had a N aisle and chancel, of unknown plan. Morant mentions two aisles, but he is almost certainly mistaken. There was a church at Great Stanway prior to the C14 and it is probable

that the fabric embodies earlier work; there are Roman bricks in the structure and a villa is said to have been found close by. Apart from Little Birch, it is the only major ruin in the Diocese and is in urgent need of conservation. Careful archaeological investigation should be undertaken first, in order to record the fabric in its unrestored state. Every effort should be made to look after All Saints'; public guardianship might, for example, be considered.
Grading: BIIa (listed grade II)

STANWAY, LITTLE, St Albright (= St Ethelbert) (18B)
TL 9403 2431 Edge of village, at road junction.
RCHM iii, 207 (sketch plan 1:576). Buckler, 1856, 242.
Now the parish church of Stanway, after a long period of virtual neglect and service as a chapel-of-ease to All Saints. Prior to this it was apparently an independent parish, known as Little Stanway *(ante* 1366). The church now comprises a nave of Saxon or Saxo-Norman date; a chancel was built in 1826 (when there was apparently no previous chancel), and rebuilt in 1880. A S aisle and chapel were also added in 1880. The arcade between the chancel and the chapel is late C15 and was brought from St Runwald's church, Colchester, at the time of its demolition. Little of the original building survives, and that is substantially restored, as photographs taken in the 1870s show. It is uncertain whether there ever was a separate chancel at the E end, or whether the building was always single-celled (ie as it was prior to 1826). Inspection of the W wall shows clearly that a W tower or porch has been removed, which was entered through a tall, narrow archway from the nave. The building contains much Roman brick in its dressings; the rubble walling is coursed in stone and brick. External ground level is a little high but fortunately no major drainage works have been undertaken. There are no current threats, but it is of great importance that should any arise they be preceded by adequate archaeological investigation. The churchyard is of no merit, but there are two fine medieval carved heads (corbels?) lying outside the porch, where they are weathering. They would be better taken into the care of an ecclesiastical museum, since they are eminently worthy of preservation. In their present position these objects are vulnerable to theft.
Grading: BIb (listed B)

STEBBING, St Mary the Virgin (160)
TI. 6640 2400 In village.
RCHM i. 280 (differentiated plan 1:300). Buckler, 1856, 224.
A large aisled nave, with chancel and W tower, all of the C14, but not of one build. The interior is one of the best and the tri-partite stone chancel screen is an outstanding survival. Externally, the church has a run-down appearance and is largely covered by crumbling rendering; this is being removed and the masonry pointed; the replacement of dressings with imitation stone is to be regretted in a building as fine and as important as this. External ground level is high on the S and there is an open drain *c.* 1 m deep, now largely choked with vegetation. Internally the floors are in a poor state and will need to be relaid. Much of the beauty of the stonework is masked by limewash; there are the fragmentary remains of wall paintings and care needs to be taken to search for more before any major internal redecoration takes place.
The tower (which contains a spur clock) is badly cracked and in need of repair and many of the mouldings on the chancel are in a very poor state. This is a case where the most thorough checking of old and new stone mouldings should be undertaken. An unusual item in the church is an inscribed wooden coffin lid, dated 1683. The graveyard is not noteworthy. Archaeological assessment is impossible; there must be an earlier church awaiting elucidation, but of this nothing is known; a fragment of column shaft reused in the S aisle is probably Norman. Domesday Book records a priest here in 1066.
Grading: AIIIb (listed A)

STISTED, All Saints (119)
TL 7987 2459 In village, with hall.
RCHM iii, 210 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A complicated church, comprising an aisled nave and chancel, initially of Norman date, much rebuilt in C13 and with the aisles again rebuilt in the C14. The structural evolution of the church, especially the arcades, is far from understood in detail. The chancel, although much restored, is Early English and the five-light E window is notable. On the S side, in the angle between chancel and S aisle, stands a tower built in 1884. This replaced an earlier tower in the same place; but there is a suspicion that a W tower may also once have existed. Morant refers to the discovery of foundations 'near the chancel, which is perhaps a sign that it was formerly larger than it is now'. Some of the curiosities of this building would not be inconsistent with its being a Norman (or earlier) cruciform church, having a tower built over, or in place of a S transept. Major archaeological investigations are needed before the church's structural history can be appreciated. Unfortunately it was so drastically restored in the C19 that superficial examination is useless. There are Roman burials from the grounds of the hall adjacent. The graveyard has suffered partial clearance, a 'tidying' operation which has left it lacking in interest or character.
Grading: BBIa (listed B)

STRETHALL, St Mary the Virgin (199)
TL 4855 3982 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 295 (differentiated plan 1:300). Taylor, 1965, 596.
Saxon nave; C15 chancel; and W tower of uncertain date. The chancel arch is an outstanding example of Saxon work, untouched by later restorers; Taylor makes much of this, and the fact that it has been smothered in limewash in recent years is to be greatly deplored; it should be cleaned down at the earliest opportunity. Blocked windows high in the W end of the nave suggest that an upper chamber once existed there; the windows are now covered by the tower which, although assigned to a C15 date by the RCHM, is quite feasibly much earlier. Indeed, it is positively uncharacteristic of the C15. The NW and SW quoins of the nave are perhaps the most notable examples of Saxon long-and-short work in the Diocese; the walls display some herringbone coursing, The recent construction of a shingle-filled drain around the nave (as recommended in the 1970 quinquennial survey) is a tragedy, since it must have destroyed any archaeological stratigraphy abutting the walls. The tower is in a state of collapse; the upper stage was bursting many years ago and was retained by steel bands; the W wall is now bursting at ground floor level and the NW quoin is falling away. It is evident that virtual rebuilding is unavoidable as the alternative to total collapse. The opportunity should not be lost to study and record the fabric in careful detail. The churchyard lacks interest and has been excessively 'tidied'.
Grading: AIIb

STURMER, St Mary the Virgin (151)
TL 6902 4390 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 297 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Undated Saxon nave, to which was added a small but elaborate Norman chancel, and a new S doorway was inserted at the same time. The W tower was added in the C14. The Norman work includes spirally fluted columns at the NE and SE quoins of the chancel; the E windows were replaced in the early C13. External ground level was high and was cut down in the C19, and a gutter formed; opportunities to investigate below the floors were lost some years ago when these were renewed but there is still a certain amount of dampness. In general, an interesting little building for several periods of work, and one which did not suffer too badly at the hands of restorers. Future work requires careful archaeological supervision. The graveyard is good and sensibly kept; the broad path of red asphalt is an unfortunate eyesore. There is a good double-hammerbeam roof. It is noted with concern that the remains of two C18 or early C19 painted texts (on boards) are now used to cover the rain-butt. It is too late to save them.
Grading: BBIIa (listed A)

TAKELEY, St Mary (or Holy Trinity; original dedication uncertain) (171)
TL 5552 2167 Completely isolated.
RCHM i, 299 (sketch plan 1:576)
Norman nave; C13 chancel and S transept; C14 S aisle; C15 tower. There was a substantial restoration in 1874 and

further work has been in progress over the last decade. Parts of the exterior are rendered, some of which has been replaced, that on the S aisle being most inexpertly applied. External ground level is high and there is a deep drainage channel along the N side; the brick gutter which runs all round the church is old, breaking up and choked. Major opportunities have been lost for the internal investigation of the church in recent years, when large areas of flooring were replaced and internal replastering undertaken. Archaeological destruction can hardly have been avoided; it is now virtually too late to pursue the history of this building to advantage; the interior could be made attractive. The graveyard is generally intact and contains one of the largest collections of C18 to C20 tombstones to be seen in a country parish—none is outstanding. Recent burials just S of the church have turned up Roman brick fragments; similar brick and pieces of Rhenish lava quern occur in the fabric of the church. A rich Roman burial is known from nearby. The apparent isolation of this church is a feature of great interest; it would come of no surprise to discover that it lay on the site of a villa. A priest is recorded in 1086, but not in 1066.
Grading: BIIb (listed B)

TENDRING, St Edmund the Martyr (38)
TM 1432 2416 In village.
RCHM iii, 212 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave shows no features earlier than C14; chancel is C13, partly rebuilt; S aisle and W tower added 1876. The drastic restoration of this church has left very little of the ancient fabric intact, and that is covered externally by rendering. The C14 carved timber door-cases are the only noteworthy feature; they are a remarkable rarity, not seen elsewhere in the Archdeaconry, although evidence for the former existence of one may have been found in the excavations at Hadstock (N transept). Archaeological potential unknown, but note Tendring is the hundred name.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

TERLING, All Saints (106)
TL 7730 1480 In village, at road junction.
RCHM ii, 227 (sketch plan 1:576)
C13 nave and chancel and once a W tower; C15 aisles of which the northern was wholly rebuilt and the southern much renewed in C19; the W tower of 1732 is the only notable feature of the church, apart from the C15 timber S porch. There are external corner-buttresses between nave and chancel which, if ancient, might be indicative of a former central tower. The chancel exterior is covered with pebble-dash and there is a deep grass-lined drainage trench around the E end. The graveyard is excessively tidy. Archaeological potential unknown; an important Roman site, probably a villa, is suspected in the immediate vicinity, but detailed evidence is lacking.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

TEY, GREAT, St Barnabas (79)
TL 8920 2578 In village, at road junction.
RCHM iii, 129 (differentiated plan 1:300) Taylor, 1965, 609 (plan of tower).
A fragment of a large and important church of Saxon and Norman date survives in the form of a central tower. The lower three stages are accepted as pre-Conquest by Taylor, who considers the tower to have been axial originally. To the W was a large aisled nave in the Norman period; this was demolished in 1829. The existing chancel is C14 and the transepts which open off the tower are C15. The problem of earlier transepts, or *porticus,* is a difficult one; if they existed they must have been entered through smaller, lower arches than those in the E and W sides of the central tower; this is by no means improbable, but all trace of these arches would have been removed by the C15 openings to the transepts. These arches themselves are oddly proportioned and have no bases to the responds. The pre-Conquest E and W openings survive intact, but the 'stripwork' on the eastern arch, illustrated by Taylor, is dubiously older than the C19. The portion to the N of the arch is now missing and that to the S appears to be made of plastered timber. In support of the suggestion that lateral chambers existed prior to the erection of the C15 transepts, it may be noted that the latter are both irregular in plan and exhibit tiled offsets at ground level. These offsets appear to pre-date the transept buttresses. Clearly, major archaeological investigations are needed at Great Tey to seek answers to the innumerable questions which surround both the Saxon and medieval phases of what was once a great and impressive structure. The motive for its erection puzzled Pevsner, who comments upon the apparent anomaly. The tower is in need of repointing, but the entire fabric should be drawn to scale first. Dampness is a problem in the N transept and ground level externally has been lowered a little at some time. A concrete apron has recently been laid around the S side. The graveyard has suffered extensive clearance and is now open and devoid of vegetation.
Grading: AIb (listed A)

TEY, LITTLE, St James the Less (80)
TL 8915 2375 Isolated.
RCHM iii, 173 (differentiated plan 1:300)
Single-celled Norman church with apsidal E end—a small and very complete example. Although the dressings of the windows and doorways are of limestone, the quoins are of undressed puddingstone; this is unusual in a Norman building and is more to be expected in pre-Conquest work; it is therefore of some importance to check whether the one 'datable' feature, namely the S doorway, is primary or inserted. The church is in generally good condition and the churchyard has been 'tidied' a little. Archaeological potential uncertain.
Grading: AIIa (listed B)

TEY, MARKS, St Andrew (78)
TL 9113 2388 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 179 (sketch plan 1:576)
Norman nave with Roman brick dressings; C14 chancel; W tower originally C14, but rebuilt; the upper stage is finished entirely in timber and as such is an uncommon sight: the timber S porch is notable. The 'Norman' nave is essentially undatable and could easily be pre-Conquest (note the walls are 0.82 m thick). The N wall of the nave is decoratively banded with puddingstone and rubble and was evidently meant to be visible. External ground level is high, causing dampness in the lower parts of the walls; there is a brick-lined drain all round the church, but this is only moderately effective. A church hall was built on to the N side of the nave in 1968, when an opportunity for archaeological investigation was missed. It is possible that the church lies on a Roman site; but essentially its potential is unknown. The graveyard is fairly good; there is a table tomb of 1700.
Grading: BBIIIb (listed B)

THAXTED, St John the Baptist, St Mary and St Lawrence (163)
TL 6101 3101 In town.
RCHM i, 302 (differentiated plan 1:300)
The third and perhaps the finest of the great 'wool' churches of NW Essex; a splendid and justly famous building, with a spire 181 feet high. It is essentially of C15 and C16 date and comprises an aisled nave, crossing, transepts, chancel, flanking chapels, and W tower. There are innumerable fine details and fittings. The interior is well-proportioned and spacious, but cluttered and in need of decoration; the opportunity should be taken to clean down all the dressed stonework, which would then look superb. The wall-plaster all appears to be ancient and could bear paintings-it needs cleaning with care. The floors are covered with stone and tile pavers and only the chancel retains an old and characterful floor-any proposal to renew this should be countered-it is of great value for the relief it provides. It is noted with concern (for the lost archaeological deposits) that a new heating system was installed a few years ago, *under* the N aisle. The churchyard is one of the most exceptional to be found in a town: although flower-beds and short mown grass have taken control around the church, the remainder of the substantial graveyard is a model to emulate—it is well foliated, 'untidied' and the grass is permitted to grow. This ought to have considerable ecological value in a town. The archaeological potential of Thaxted must lie entirely below

ground, since it is unlikely that study of the upstanding building will add greatly to our knowledge of the history of the Church there. There must be previous buildings and indeed Thaxted provides one of the earliest references to an individual church in the Diocese, in a deed of gift of 981 (Hart, 1957a, 18), The evidence for this church, or whatever survives of it, is likely to be beneath the present church's floors. Any disturbance is therefore potentially of major archaeological significance, No further threats are known at present.
Grading: AIc (listed A)

THORPE-LE-SOKEN, St Michael (or St Mary the Virgin)
TM 1791 2229 In village.
RCHM iii, 213 (no plan)
Rebuilt 1876, Victorian Gothic, with stark red sandstone dressings, a technique not otherwise seen in the Archdeaconry. C16 red brick tower is the only ancient part to survive. Of an earlier church nothing is known, save a Norman font base. The churchyard is tidy and contains a few C18 tombstones. Archaeological potential unknown; excavation inside would provide the best hope for locating the medieval building; no current threats.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

THORRINGTON, St Mary Magdalene (56)
TM 0988 1961 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 214 (sketch plan 1:576)
C14 nave, chancel and N aisle; late C15 tower of distinction (in the style of Brightlingsea); the C14 S porch with façade of contemporary brick is interesting, otherwise the church is largely a severe C19 restoration. The churchyard is maintained in a state of extreme tidiness. An ornate foliate capital, of Classical inspiration, lies by the porch—presumably derived from a C18 tomb. Archaeological potential unknown.
Grading: CIIIa (listed B)

THUNDERLEY, dedication unknown (188B)
TL 5606 3583 Isolated, near hall.
Not in RCHM
The church became redundant when the parish was united with Wimbish in 1425; the demolition of Thunderley church presumably followed soon after; it had long been gone by Morant's time. The site is now arable, with a rubble scatter, and it is unlikely that much of the church itself survives below ground. Archaeological potential probably low, apart from the information provided by the study of the burials, for which a *terminus ante quem* of *c.* 1425 is a reasonable assumption. Domesday Book records a priest here in 1066.
Grading: IIIc

TILBURY-JUXTA-CLARE, dedication unknown (now St Margaret) (147)
TL 7595 4028 Completely isolated.
RCHM i, 319 (sketch plan 1:576)
C15 nave and chancel. all recently re-rendered in cement; C16 brick W tower. Dampness in the walls is serious and the C16 panelling in the tower is rotting. Here also hangs an exceptionally fine Royal Arms of 1764, but in an advanced state of decay. It could perhaps be saved by immediate treatment. There is an important collection of old timberwork in (he church, but live woodworm are making great inroads. The C15 and C16 wallpaintings in the nave, which the RCHM described as 'noteworthy' are in urgent need of conservation; the C19 paintings around the chancel arch are also of interest: further examples in the chancel have been covered by limewash. There are various fragments of medieval and later masonry built into the walls, as decoration (cf Ovington) and a very fine medieval corbel lies in the churchyard, amongst other masonry remnants. A (?) late medieval alabaster figure lies loose on the floor of the tower. The graveyard has been 'tidied', but still contains some reasonably good C18 and early C19 headstones. Archaeological potential unknown, apart from the obvious fact that there are earlier medieval remains to be found in or under the existing structure.
Grading: CIIIa (listed B)

TILTY, St Mary (176)
TL 5999 2650 Isolated.
RCHM i, 320 (differentiated plan 1:300)
The present parish church was originally the *capella extra portas* of the adjacent Cistercian abbey (cf Little Coggleshall). The original chapel was a single-celled building of the early C13; to this was added a tall and broad chancel in the C14. Visually, the proportions of the church are very ungainly. The architectural detail, however. is mainly original and is of great interest; the C13 nave is an uncommon survival, while the Decorated work in the chancel is certainly amongst the best in the Archdeaconry. The C18 cupola is also interesting. 'There are many fragments of medieval moulded masonry reused from the abbey: the font for example, is built up from a collection of interesting pieces. There is a Roman pottery cup from the abbey site, but otherwise the archaeological potential of the area is unknown. Much of the nave floor has been renewed in recent years, presumably with the attendant destruction of archaeological evidence; medieval floor tile fragments found on the site of the abbey in 1941 are incorporated. No further threats noted.
Grading: AAIIb (listed A)

TOLLESBURY, St Mary (or St Margaret; uncertain) (66)
TL 9563 1037 In village.
RCHM iii, 216 (differentiated plan 1:300) Taylor, 1965, 622 (no plan)
Late Saxon or Saxo-Norman nave and W tower; chancel rebuilt 1872. Like Stambourne, the N and S walls of the nave and tower are continuous, but are not necessarily contemporary. Restorations in C19 and C20 have done much damage, particularly to the architecture of the church, with the result that the interior and exterior are both visual catastrophes; the vestry of 1955 is particularly unfortunate. The Victorian black cement pointing in the Roman brick arches needs to be removed. The door-frame in the original S doorway has been set into a concrete casement, cast *in situ,* ruining the tympanum. An obtrusive concrete gutter has been constructed around the walls, just above ground level. Work on the chancel foundations, some 20 years ago, involved the digging of a trench, or trenches, six feet deep; a wall was encountered, believed to be Roman. It is likely that the church lies on the site of a villa. The graveyard is tidy and lacks monuments of interest. Tollesbury is certainly a building and site with great archaeological potential and no opportunity to investigate should be lost. Properly restored, the church could be attractive.
Grading: BIa (listed B)

TOLLESHUNT D'ARCY, St Nicholas (67)
TL 9282 1169 Edge of village.
RCHM iii, 219 (sketch plan 1:576)
Short nave, chancel and W tower of C14 and C15; N chapel C16. A very solid-looking late medieval church in a good state of repair; the chancel is unfortunately rendered and has the appearance of being older than the nave; there is a suggestion of a former plinth of Roman brick around the chancel, but on account of recent repainting nothing can be seen clearly. External ground level is high and a brick-lined drain constructed around the whole building must have destroyed external archaeological deposits. Opportunities to study this church have been lost in recent years: no current threats. The graveyard has been 'tidied' but still retains some old monuments.
Grading: BIIIb (listed B)

TOLLESHUNT KNIGHTS, All Saints (69)
TL 9269 1387 Isolated.
RCHM iii, 222 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave and chancel of uncertain date; the RCHM suggested they were Norman in fabric, but the detailing is all late medieval. The C19 N vestry has been demolished and a puddingstone quoin revealed at the NE corner of the nave. The building has been redundant for many years and has been conveyed to the Greek Orthodox Church, the liturgical practice of which has resulted in all the medieval windows of the chancel being removed or blocked. The chancel walls are badly cracked, the exterior of the whole church is rendered; and is mainly in a poor state. Much of the dressed stonework

is decayed and the nave walls are bulging. The church and graveyard are both in a run-down condition and are the victims of vandalism. There are some interesting, but badly damaged, C19 tombs. A portion of an unrecorded font column of hexagonal section lies to the E of the church. The interior of the building cannot be inspected. Mosaic floors are recorded near Barn Hall, which lies to the NE of the church, and it seems likely that a Roman villa awaits discovery in the area. It may be guessed that the church is both architecturally and archaeologically more interesting than its superficial appearance would suggest. There have obviously been historic losses here in recent years and future restoration work should be carefully watched.
Grading: CIIa (not listed)

TOLLESHUNT MAJOR, St Nicholas (68)
TL 9087 1112 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 222 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave and chancel undivided and of uncertain date, but probably earlier than the C14 to C16 features now visible. C16 W tower of red brick, the appearance of which has been ruined by the removal of the merlons; recent repointing has been poorly executed, using an unsuitable grey-coloured cement. The church is generally in fair condition and although external ground level is a little high, dampness does not appear to be a significant problem. There are some fragmentary wall paintings in poor condition. The graveyard is unexceptional. Archaeological assessment is impossible.
Grading: CIIIa (listed B)

TOPPESFIELD, St Margaret (154)
TL 7396 3744 In village.
RCHM i, 322 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave of uncertain date; chancel and S aisle C14; very fine and important W tower of 1699. The C15 timber N porch is noteworthy but is in a very poor state, as is the cement rendering which covers the walls of the church; there are some major cracks in the chancel. In all, the church has a run-down appearance and is in need of major restoration. External ground level is high on the N, while on the S there is a concrete-lined open drain. The graveyard is generally good and contains a group of C18 and early C19 tombstones on the S side; some 'tidying' has taken place, without much damage being done. The archaeological potential of Toppesfield is unknown; there is a defaced military coffin slab of the mid Cl3 in the church.
Grading: BIIIb (listed B)

TOTHAM, GREAT, St Peter (101)
TL 8619 1101 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 132 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave and chancel of uncertain date, but the earliest detail is C14; rebuilt bell-turret and N aisle 1878, with reset Norman window in W gable. External ground level is high on the S and there is a choked gutter on the N side; internal dampness affects the S side of the nave. Heavily restored and superficially of little interest, the potential of the church is impossible to assess. There has been dense burial in the graveyard; interment continues to the W of the church.
Grading: CIIIa (not listed)

TWINSTEAD, St John the Evangelist (127) (previous to 1860, St John the Baptist)
TL 8612 3669 In village.
RCHM iii, 224 (no plan)
Nave, chancel and bell-turret, all rebuilt 1860 in garish Butterfield style. The church and graveyard lack interest although the building is in reasonably good condition, apart from dampness on the N side and some structural cracks. One of the few noteworthy details is the surviving C19 lych-gate, complete with painted inscription. The gateway is in poor condition but is a unique example in the Archdeaconry and its careful restoration is urged. The construction of the lych-gate is in the same rustic spirit as that of the now rare 'headboard' grave markers. Archaeological potential unknown; there is a large sarsen just outside the SE corner of the graveyard.
Grading: DIIIa (not listed)

UGLEY, St Peter (179)
TL 5198 2874 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 326 (sketch plan 1:576)
Mostly a rebuild of 1865-66 and of no interest; the W part of the nave is medieval, but of uncertain date; early C16 W tower, now in a poor state and in need of much repair. The N wall of the nave has recently been repointed and well done. There is a deep concrete-lined drain around the E end. Little or no archaeological potential above ground. The graveyard has suffered some clearance, with stones being placed around the boundary; there are two good sets of C19 iron tomb-railings, needing repair.
Grading: DIIIb (listed B)

ULTING, All Saints (105)
TL 8013 0877 Isolated beside river.
RCHM ii, 236 (sketch plan 1:576)
A small single-celled church apparently all of C13 with little alteration until it was restored in 1873. Generally in good condition: interesting but not exceptional in any way. The graveyard is largely overgrown. Archaeological potential unassessable.
Grading: CIIIa (listed B)

VIRLEY, St Mary the Virgin (71)
TL 9495 1375 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 225 (sketch plan 1:576)
An overgrown ruin, comprising chancel and eastern part of nave, both possibly of C13 date. There is a suspicion that the fabric is older in part, but dating is difficult. The building has deteriorated seriously since the RCHM visited and should be cleared and recorded before furthcr collapses occur. As a ruin, it is not a noteworthy monument. The graveyard is overgrown, with only one tomb visible. The parish has long been united with Salcott.
Grading: DIIa (listed grade II)

WALDEN, SAFFRON, St Mary (194)
TL 5371 3860 In town.
RCHM i, 228 (differentiated plan 1:300)
The fourth of the great 'wool' churches of NW Essex; a splendid building with an impressive exterior and profusely decorated interior. Long aisled nave, chancel with side chapels and W tower, mainly of C15 date, but with a little earlier and later work. Remnants of a C13 transeptal church can be detected in the fabric; this also contains many fragments of reused stonework, including portions of column shaft in the N wall of the chancel. Part of a carved stone cross, probably of late Norman date, is built into the E wall of the S porch. Fragments of medieval coffin lids lie in the graveyard nearby. The church was much restored in C19 and major repairs are currently in progress; all this work has been to a high standard. The ground around the building is much disturbed by drains and the graveyard must contain a vast number of burials. It has, however, been largely cleared and is now without interest; some headstones, including fine examples of late C17 and C18 date, have been erected along the S boundary. Archaeological investigation of the graveyard would not be worthwhile, except on a large scale and the same applies to much of the interior of the church, which is heavily disturbed by vaults and heating ducts. Parts of the upstanding fabric would repay attention. The church is certainly of great interest, since it forms an integral part of the medieval planned town, the whole orientation of which is some 30° off a true E—W alignment. It would be of value to know whether there was an earlier church here (ie pre-C13) and if so, whether it followed a more conventional alignment. Clearly, it is fundamental to discover whether the church was aligned on the town, or *vice versa.* Although there is no record of the existence of a Saxon church in Walden, the presence of such a building cannot be doubted. The late Saxon settlement appears to have lain in the SW corner of the town, where a pre-conquest cemetery was excavated in the C19; the burials ranged from late Roman to late Saxon in date: *TEAS* (ns) **2** (1884), 284-7, 311-34. There are no current threats to the archaeology of the church, except perhaps in connection with the cure of serious dampness in the S wall. No opportunity to investigate and record should be missed.
Grading: AIc (listed A)

WALTON-LE-SOKEN (Walton-on-the-Naze), All Saints (41)
TM 254 217 Edge of village.
Not in RCHM. Worley, 1915, 189.
The Present church, built in 1804 and rebuilt in 1873, replaces an earlier structure which was 'finally swallowed up by the waves in 1798'. Nothing survives.

WEELEY, St Andrew (47)
TM 1541 2152 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 227 (no plan)
Rebuilt 1881, except C16 brick W tower which has been the subject of poor restoration and is now utterly spoiled. The graveyard is of no interest. There is a C12 column shaft and capital which must be derived from an earlier church, of which nothing is known. A church at Weeley is mentioned in a writ of 1096 (Hart, 1957b, 16). Archaeological investigation is to be recommended, should an opportunity arise.
Grading: DIIb (listed B)

WENDENS AMBO (formerly GREAT WENDEN), St Mary the Virgin (200A)
TL 5129 3639 Edge of village, with hall.
RCHM i, 329 (sketch plan 1:576). Taylor, 1965, 643 (no plan)
A church of exceptional interest. Short nave, probably Saxon; C13 chancel and S aisle; Saxon or Saxo-Norman W tower; C14 N aisle, rebuilt 1898. The tower is very fine and is usually described as Saxo-Norman; it is, however, more complicated and shows several periods of construction, the earliest of which uses Roman brick in quantity. The head of the W doorway is almost certainly of later date than the jambs and the windows also show at least two phases of work. The wood-block flooring in the tower is breaking up and the interesting timber staircase (unique in the Archdeaconry) is now labelled 'unsafe'. Careful restoration is essential. External ground level is a little high and a recent quinquennial survey recommends that it should be lowered all round. No opportunity should be lost to investigate the archaeology of this church, either above or below ground. The graveyard is unexceptional. Pagan Saxon burials have been found nearby.
Grading: AIa (listed B)

WENDEN, LITTLE, dedication unknown (200B)
TL 5085 3645 In loosely defined village.
RCHM i, 331 (no plan)
The church has long since been demolished and the parish combined with Great Wcnden. The actual site of Little Wenden church is not certain, but it probably lay in the Vicarage garden, where skeletons and fragments of masonry have been found.
Grading: IIIb

WENDEN LOFTS, St Dunstan (204)
TL 4640 3873 lsolated with hall.
RCHM i, 328 (no plan)
Rebuilt in 1845-46, when a Norman doorway was retained and reset. The church was partly demolished in 1958, the ruins were recently declared redundant and transferred to private ownership, under the Pastoral Measure. Archaeological potential unknown.
Grading: IIIb (not listed)

WETHERSFIELD, St Mary Magdalene (156)
TL 7122 3125 In village.
RCHM i, 332 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A complex church of great interest. The nave is possibly Saxon in origin (see NW corner) and to this was added a W tower, put at late C12 by the RCHM, although it may be of more than one period of construction. Like Tollesbury, it is the full width of the nave. The aisles and chancel are of C14 and C15; the chancel is markedly out of alignment with the nave. External ground level was lowered in C19 and there is a shallow gully around the church. The building is generally in good condition, but the S porch needs major renovation. The Victorian black cement pointing on the tower is particularly unfortunate. The interior of the S aisle has recently been replastered. There are no current threats, but any opportunity to investigate either the structure or the below-ground archaeology should be seized, since there is obviously much of interest, although at present it is ill understood. A priest is recorded here in 1066. There is some Roman brick in the fabric and Roman finds from the general vicinity. The graveyard is a model of sensible management; it also contains some good early C18 headstones.
Grading: AAIb (listed A)

WICKEN BONHUNT, St Margaret (202)
TL 4989 3334 In village.
RCHM i, 341 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave rebuilt 1858; C13 chancel, with step down from nave; the building lacks interest and the graveyard has been partially cleared, although not totally ruined. A recent quinquennial survey recommends the lowering of external ground level and the digging of drains; the recent removal of all gutters is presumably preparatory to drainage works. Archaeological potential unknown; but note there is a Norman font in the church. There are two good wall monuments in the chancel: one of 1697 is smothered by whitewash and needs cleaning.
Grading: DIIIa (listed B)

WICKHAM BISHOPS, St Peter (102)
TL 8248 1119 Isolated.
RCHM ii, 258 (sketch plan 1:576)
A Saxon or Saxo-Norman church of considerable interest, comprising a nave and square chancel; the windows and doorways are all of later medieval date, but indications of earlier features can be seen. The building became disused when a new church was erected in the present village in 1850. The old church gradually fell into ruin and has now been taken over by the Friends of the Friendless Churches, following an unsuccessful bid by the incumbent to have it demolished. Restoration has begun, but from an archaeological point of view this can only be deplored, since it is masking and destroying the more important historic features of the church. There are still major opportunities for investigation, but these too will probably soon be lost. The timber spire has been taken down. Action is needed to safeguard the remaining archaeology of this noteworthy church.
Grading: AIIb (listed grade II)

WICKHAM ST PAUL, All Saints (126)
TL 8272 3713 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 343 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave and chancel now undivided; the fabric may be older than the C14 details which are visible; C16 W tower. External walls are all cement rendered and in poor state; the rendering is bulging and has recently been patched. Ground level is high and the bases of the walls are very damp. The building is of no particular interest, apart from the tower. There is a large, low mound in the centre of the graveyard, which might possibly be a barrow (note: the church is displaced towards the N side of the graveyard). The NE and SE corners of the churchyard are marked by sarsens and there are other similar stones near the hall. Finds of the Roman period have been made nearby. The site could have great archaeological potential, but definite evidence is lacking.
Grading: CIIa

WIDDINGTON, St Mary the Virgin (186)
TL 5398 3179 In village.
RCHM i, 345 (sketch plan 1:576)
The chancel and possibly the nave are Norman, although much altered in C15. The W tower fell in 1771 and was rebuilt in 1873. The church suffered a thorough restoration in C19 and now shows little detail of earlier date; the walls have been refaced. The window glass of 1874 in the S side of the nave is one of the better features of the building. External ground level is high and the church is (or was) very damp inside; however, a drainage channel of engineering bricks has recently been constructed; although probably efficient, it is an unlovely sight and has destroyed the external archaeology of the church. Areas of internal wall plaster have been renewed in consequence of the dampness. Nothing is known of the archaeology of the area and opportunities have been lost in recent years. The graveyard is unexceptional, and burial continues near the church.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

WIGBOROUGH, GREAT, St Stephen (64)
TL 9680 1562 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 133 (sketch plan 1:576)
Extensively rebuilt 1885, following earthquake damage of the previous year. Nave C14; chancel C14, rebuilt; W tower C15, rebuilt. The walls are badly cracked and generally in poor condition; the W window is nearing a state of collapse. External ground level is high, the drains are all blocked and the building is very damp. A recent quinquennial survey recommends work to counteract the dampness, but does not specify details. The floors are cracked and tilting; total reflooring is needed. Although it has a pleasant C19 interior, the church is not exceptional and vast expenditure would be required to put it into good order; it is an obvious potential case for redundancy. Whether restored, demolished or converted to a dwelling, extensive destruction of the church's archaeology cannot be avoided; its potential is unknown. There is a C12 decorated stone reused in the S doorway. The graveyard is overgrown and of no interest.
Grading: DIIIa (listed B)

WIGBOROUGH, LITTLE, St Nicholas (65)
TL 9810 1452 Isolated with hall.
RCHM iii, 175 (sketch plan 1:576)
C15 nave and chancel undivided; C15 W tower with upper part rebuilt 1888. The main walls were also heightened at the same time. Apart from several cracks, the church is now in very good order and is well cared for; it was formerly in a neglected state and in danger of being closed. The graveyard has been thoroughly 'tidied' and lacks interest. Archaeological potential unknown; substantial disturbance probably took place when the chancel was underpinned in 1903.
Grading: CIIIb (was listed grade II)

WIMBISH, All Saints (188A)
TL 5903 3690 Isolated with hall.
RCHM i, 349 (sketch plan 1:576)
Norman nave; C13 N aisle; chancel 1868. There was a former W tower which was destroyed by lightning in 1740; its successor was demolished in 1883 and not replaced. The detailing of the nave is very curious and has so far defied explanation: the Norman S doorway has been rebuilt from impost level in C13. In the S wall of the nave is a Norman window, accompanied by a short run of blind arcading, apparently once very elaborate Norman work, but also remodelled in C13. Total refacing of the walls in C19 has destroyed much evidence which must formerly have been visible. Dampness has been troublesome and the walls have recently been replastered; areas of flooring have been relaid using cork tiles, and there is a threat to relay the chancel floor, inserting a damp-proof membrane. Wimbish is a church of no little interest and further opportunities for its investigation, prior to the destruction of evidence, should not be lost. The C14 timber screens are important. The graveyard has been completely cleared and grassed on the S side; some headstones have been laid flat, in the form of a cross—the whole is a picture of devastation. Fortunately, the N side of the graveyard has not been totally ruined. Domesday Book records a priest here in 1066.
Grading: BIIb (listed B)

WITHAM, St Nicholas (103)
TL 8173 1537 In town.
RCHM ii, 263 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A large, but not impressive church; C14 nave, aisles, chancel and W tower; chancel chapels added later. The misalignment of the nave and chancel is remarkably pronounced. The only early feature of the church is a Norman doorway reset in the S aisle; Roman and medieval brick was used in the fabric. There is an open drain around the walls. The graveyard is rather bleak, having been cleared and many of the tombstones placed around the boundary. In 1974 a faculty was obtained to discard the old bell-frame and to replace it with steel. Archaeologically, the church and site may have great potential and no future opportunity to investigate should be missed. It is of interest to note that the church lies just outside Chipping Hill Camp (Witham Bury), initially an Iron Age fortification which was probably refurbished as a *burh* by Edward the Elder in 913. It is highly improbable that the *burh* would have been without a church and since there is no such building (known) inside the fortification it is reasonable to postulate that St Nicholas's already existed and served both the old community and the new foundation. Archaeological evidence is needed to clarify the situation, but in any event, it is likely that the church is a pre-Conquest foundation.
Grading: BIb (listed B)

WIVENHOE, St Mary (54)
TM 0422 2230 In small town.
RCHM iii, 232 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave and parts of N and S aisles C14; W tower *c.* 1500; the chancel, chapels and remainder of the aisles were all rebuilt in 1859 and 1884. The result is dull and uninteresting. The graveyard is a scene of sepulchral devastation; it has largely been cleared, with the headstones leaned carelessly against the boundary walls. There is an interesting headstone of 1690 which is beginning to disintegrate and needs attention: also a superb table tomb of 1770 and an unusual C18 circular tomb; these are amongst the few surviving monuments *in situ.* The archaeological potential of Wivenhoe is unknown, but could be high.
Grading: DIIIb (not listed)

WIX, St Mary (but in C18, St Michael) (31)
TM 1635 2905 Isolated.
RCHM iii, 234 (sketch plan 1:576)
Nave, chancel and polygonal sanctuary mainly of C18 construction, but not distinguished. The N wall, however, embodies a C13 blocked arcade of the N aisle of the former nunnery church which was dissolved in 1525. No other part of the nunnery survives above ground: the remainder of the church must largely lie beneath the present churchyard, and the claustral buildings in the field of earthworks to the S. The whole complex is relatively free from modern buildings and disturbances (except some C19 vaults just N of the present church) and steps should be taken to ensure its permanent preservation. Unfortunately the field to the E of the church was bulldozed in 1961, to remove earthworks, and then deep-ploughed. These operations revealed the E end of a church and B P Blake undertook salvage operations: *TEAS* (ser. 3). **1** (1962). 105-10, 263-64. Apart from the wall fragments recorded by Blake, nothing is known of the nunnery buildings or of the previous parish church which was given to the nunnery at its foundation. A fine decorated coffin lid of C12, revealed by ploughing, is now in Colchester Museum; one stone coffin and fragments of another, which used to be in the church, have been deposited in a heap in the churchyard and arc decaying. The present church of Wix, which was built *c.* 1740, is in reasonably good condition but is not a building of merit. External ground level is very high on the N side, where there is a deep brick-lined drain, now utterly choked. To the N of the church is a timber bell-cage which, until recently, contained a single bell of C15 date. The cage is one of only two in the Diocese and must be cared for, regardless of the fact that it is post-medieval. The graveyard is kept very tidy and contains an average selection of C19 box-tombs and headstones.
Grading: DIb (listed B)

WORMINGFORD, St Andrew (84)
TL 9329 3222 In village.
RCHM iii, 235 (sketch plan 1:576)
Norman nave and W tower; C14 chancel and N aisle; restored 1870, the whole interior being thoroughly Victorianized. The nave roof is a most elaborate construction with traceried panels; it dates from 1870 but is said to be an exact copy of the previous roof. Until a few years ago there was a timber chancel screen, a C19 restoration of a C15 screen; this has been demolished and a fragment hung on the wall of the nave. In 1970 the interior of the tower was paved with C18 headstones and the exterior of the church has recently been disfigured by the erection of white plastic gutters and downpipes. Architecturally, the church is of considerable interest and archaeologically it may hold great potential, despite the depredations it has suffered both in this century and the last. The fabric contains Roman brick in quantity. The graveyard is maintained in a state of severe 'tidiness'. Any future disturbances to the fabric or to the

site should receive archaeological consideration.
Grading: BBIIb (listed B)

WRABNESS, All Saints (30)
TM 1743 3189 In village, with hall.
RCHMiii, 237 (sketch plan 1:576)
Norman nave, much restored and extended to W; C14 chancel, also restored and partly rebuilt in 1697; excluding the Norman N doorway, there is nothing of merit in the fabric, but the C15 hammerbeam roof is noteworthy; it has recently been restored. Externally the ancient walls are cement rendered and ground level is high; a new shingle-filled drainage trench has been dug along the S side; internal dampness was serious, but may have been alleviated now. The graveyard has been partially cleared and to the S of the church stands a timber bell-cage, much in need of repair. Archaeological potential unknown and not very promising.
Grading: CIIIb (listed B)

YELDHAM, GREAT, St Andrew (136)
TL 7578 3867 Edge of village, with hall.
RCHMi, 138 (differentiated plan 1:300)
A most complex and remarkable church, which is conspicuously lacking in right-angled corners. Nave, chancel and N aisle essentially C14, with a slightly later S tower begun but not completed (now forms the S porch); C15 W tower and S chapel, There are many details of interest, including the medieval painted panels in the chancel screen; the interior is, however, disappointing, partly on account of the excessive use of limewash over most of the stone dressings. Dampness is serious in the chancel and N aisle and external ground level is high, especially on the N side; a very deep drainage trench has been dug at the NE corner. Archaeological potential externally is perhaps not great, but should the opportunity arise there is scope for a great deal of work internally, both above and below ground. The graveyard has been 'tidied' on the S side and is overgrown on the N and W. The relationship between the church and the main road immediately to the E is curious.
Grading: BBIIb (listed B)

YELDHAM, LITTLE, St John the Baptist (137)
TL 7790 3956 In village at road junction.
RCHMi, 189 (sketch plan 1:576)
A dull little building, thoroughly wrecked by C19 restoration. The nave may be as early as Norman but dating is uncertain; the chancel is ostensibly C15 and markedly out of alignment. Viewed from the interior there is a suspicion that the misalignment could be caused by reusing the foundations (on the S side) of a former stilted apse; only excavation can settle the matter. There is an undistinguished timber belfry at the W end of the nave; the W wall itself is a C19 rebuild. One of the more noteworthy details in the church is the Victorian heating system, with its cast iron floor-gratings dated 1851. The graveyard is of no interest, but medieval pottery and tile has been ploughed up in the field immediately to the S. little Yeldham could be of greater archaeological than architectural interest. External ground level is high and the church is suffering from dampness.
Grading: DIIa (listed B)

Concordance table of church and parish numbering

11.3 The table serves as a key to Maps A and B. It also provides comparative figures for parish populations and the numbers of persons on church electoral rolls. Three figures are given:

The estimated population of the parish, given in the *Chelmsford Diocesan Year Book, 1974-75,* part i. It should be noted that this figure is either taken from the 1971 census or is an estimate made by the incumbent, the accuracy of which may be questionable. In some instances there is no figure for individual parishes, only for a group. These are omitted from the table.

b. The number of persons on the church electoral roll, given in the *Chelmsford Diocesan Year Book, 1971-72,* part i.

c. The same, but for *1974-75.*

A number followed by an asterisk indicates that the figure is for a parish where two or more churches have to be maintained by one PCC.

Parishes in the Archdeaconry of Colchester; Total 217
(Map A)

Parish	Est. Pop. 1974-75	Electoral Roll 1971-72	Electoral Roll 1974-75
1. Colchester, St Peter	1,200	421	234
2. Colchester, St Martin *(redundant)*	—	—	—
3. Colchester, All Saints *(redundant)*	—	—	—
4. Colchester, St Nicholas *(demolished)*	—	—	—
5. Colchester, Holy Trinity *(redundant)*	—	—	—
6. Colchester, St Mary the Virgin*	800	537	326
7. Colchester, St Runwald *{demolished)*	—	—	—
8. Colchester, St James	5,000	340	193
9. Colchester, St Botolph	8,500	186	160
10. Colchester, St Giles *{redundant)*	—	—	—
11. Colchester, St Mary Magdalene	2,500	198	118
12. Colchester, St Leonard	2,500	121	64
13. Mile End (Myland) *(demolished)*	—	—	—
14. Greenstead	16,000	181	141
15. Berechurch* *(redundant)*	7,000	98	
16. Lexden	7,500	*396*	373
17. East Donyland *(demolished,)*	—	—	—
18A. Stanway, All Saints *(ruin)*	—	—	
18B. Stanway, St Albright	4,784	144	113
19. West Bergholt* *(redundant)*	—	—	—
20. Great Horkesley	1,175	195	58
21. Little Horkesley	264	134	179
22. Boxted	1,200	150	204
23. Langham	930	114	51
24. Dedham	1,641	354	304
25. Ardleigh	1,925	241	220
26. Lawford	3,026	278	289
27. Manningtree *(demolished)*	—	—	—
28A Mistley Heath *{demolished)*	—	—	—
28B. Mistley Towers *(ruin)*	—	—	—
29. Brad field	880	66	117
30. Wrabness	319	52	55
31. Wix	587	61	72
32. Ramsey	2,051	216	103
33. Dovercourt*	11,500	446	292
34. Harwich	3,250	231	166
35. Great Oakley	842	120	47
36. Little Oakley *(redundant)*	*950*	43	—
37A. Beaumont-cum-Moze (Beaumont)	317	56	53
37B. Moze *(demolished)*	—	—	—
38. Tendring	709	106	120
39. Thorpe-le-Soken	1,597	265	143
40. Kirby-le-Soken	3,500	304	195
41. Walton-le-Soken *(engulfed by sea)*	—	—	—
42A. Great Holland	675	145	127
42B. Little Holland *(demolished)*	—	—	—
43. Frinton*	3,000	344	251
44. Great Clacton	28,000	697	609
45. Little Clacton	2,140	153	103
46. St Osyth	5,000	196	188

Parish	Est Pop. 1974-75	Electoral Roll 1971-72	Electoral Roll 1974-75
47. Weeley	1,363	185	114
48. Great Bentley	2,371	82	59
49. Little Bentley		40	19
50. Great Bromley	1,157	216	92
51. Little Bromley		21	18
52. Frating	—	34	29
53. Elmstead	3,000	84	65
54. Wivenhoe	5,316	250	183
55. Alresford *(ruin)*	—	—	—
56. Thornngton		80	90
57. Brightlingsea*	7,000	322	205
58. Fingringhoe	642	66	74
59. Langenhoe *(demolished)*	—	—	—
60. East Mersea	4,500	49	45
61. West Mersea		245	207
62. Abberton	545	88	46
63. Peldon	430	117	91
64. Great Wigborough)*	187	62	36
64. Little Wigborough)			
66. Tollesbury	—	218	136
67. Tolleshunt D'Arcy	1,457	108	66
68. Tolleshunt Major		60	55
69. Tolleshunt Knights *(redundant)*	—	—	—
70. Salcott	—	—	82
71. Virley *(ruin)*	—	—	—
72. Layer Marney	198	50	31
73. Layer Breton *(demolished)*	—	—	—
74. Layer-de-la-Haye	970	129	96
75A. Great Birch*	929	160	150
75B. Little Birch (ruin)	—	—	—
76. Copford	1,095	80	124
77. Easthorpe		35	32
78. Marks Tey	1 ,407	144	154
79. Great Tey	682	91	80
80. Little Tey		73	39
81. Aldham *(demolished)*	—	—	—
82. Chappel	—	65	72
83. Fordham*	2,151	207	98
84. Wormingford	344	102	128
85. Mount Bures	200	49	39
86. Lamarsh	—	44	23
87. Wakes Colne	—	72	37
88. White Colne	277	45	61
89. Colne Engaine	888	85	58
90. Earls Colne	2,389	158	124
91. Markshall *(demolished)*	—	—	—
92. Great Coggeshall	4,500	220	176
93. Little Coggeshall *(effectively disused)*		—	—
94. Feering	1,569	300	237
95. Kelvedon	2,436	345	282
96. Messing	350	60	84
97. Inworth		33	63
98. Great Braxted	449	50	52
99. Little Braxted		66	56
100. Rivenhall*	5,500	136	111
101. Great Totham	3,015	121	65
102. Wickham Bishops *{redundant)*	—	—	—
103. Witham	14,000	250	214
104A. Hatfield Peverel Priory Church*		230	
104B Hatfield Peverel *(demolished)*	3,573		534
105. Ulting		28	
106. Terling	1,047	84	57
107. Fairstead		21	30
108. Faulkbourne	671	10	13
109. White Notley		46	30
110. Black Notley	1,881	122	98
111. Cressing	1,607	88	103
112. Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall	—	31	28
113. Pattiswick	—	35	32
114A. Braintree	14,000	364	404
114B. Braintree (old church— *demolished*	—	—	—
115. Felstead	3,017	157	236
116. Rayne (Parva)	1,126	98	68
117. Pan field	738	60	83
118. Bocking*	7,000	183	122
119. Stisted			
120. Halstead	3,500	294	208
121. Gosfield	1,442	216	218
122. Great Maplestead	542	53	52
123. Little Maplestead		30	51
124. Pebmarsh	413	65	45
125. Alphamstone	—	53	28
126. Wickham St, Paul	250	96	77
127. Twinstead	124	33	27
128A. Great Henny	—	49	4
128B. Little Henny *(demolished)*	—	—	—
129. Brundon *(demolished)*	—	—	—
130. Middleton	—	39	4
131. Bulmer	—	67	73
132. Belchamp Walter		43	35
133. Gestingthorpe	323	71	67
134. Castle Hedingham	1,200	152	187
135. Sible Hedingham	3,326	254	181
136. Great Yeldham	1,600	128	60
137. Little Yeldham	264	29	31
138. Belchamp St. Paul	324	128	79
139A. Belchamp Otten	—	22	38
139B. Belchamp St. Ethelbert *(demolished)*	—	—	—
140. Ovington	—	12	26
141. Borley (with Liston)*		77	62
142. Foxearth	579	64	73
143. Liston (with Borley)		—	—
144. Pentlow		50	63
145. Ashen	—	36	24
146. Birdbrook	—	53	82
147. Tilbury-juxta-Clare	—	25	36
148. Ridgewell	—	51	44
149. Steeple Bumpstead	1,118	120	150
150. Helions Bumpstead		70	45
151. Sturmer	—	42	23
152, Hempstead	—	48	48
153. Stambourne	322	75	83
154. Toppesfield	499	78	50
155. Finchingfield	1,608	182	122
156. Wethersfield	1,103	148	125
157. Shalford	665	89	130
158. Great Saling	468	70	64
159. Little Saling (Bardfield Saling)		28	42
160. Stebbing	—	98	89
161. Great Bardfield	944	181	117
162. Little Bardfield	223	40	29
163. Thaxted	2,105	194	125
164. Lindsell	—	28	26
165. Great Easton	750	48	74
166. Little Easton	337	110	186
167. Great Dunmow	4,529	277	361
168. Little Dunmow	353	—	2
169. Barnston	454	—	32
170. Little Can field	2,575	105	55
171. Takeley		87	85
172. Stansted Mountfitchet*	4,665	395	236
173. Birchanger	1,154	100	79
174. Elsenham	1,217	104	128
175. Broxted	520	91	44
176. Tilty	105	32	27
177. Chickney *(redundant)*	—	—	—
178. Henham	1,081	104	112
179. Ugley	359	52	37
180. Farnham	343	120	67

Parish	Est.Pop. 1974-75	Electoral Roll 1971-72	Electoral Roll 1974-75
181. Manuden	512	110	113
182. Berden	289	64	52
183. Clavering	—	161	119
184. Rickling	640	61	108
185. Quendon		57	58
186. Widdington	402	80	79
187. Debden	1,178	179	144
188A. Wimbish	796	45	50
188B. Thunderley *(demolished)*	—	—	—
189. Great Sampford		46	40
190. Little Sampford	230	70	102
191. Radwinter	450	102	104
192. Hadstock	254	84	41
193. Ashdon	810	138	85
194. Saffron Walden*	10,030	600	482
195. Littlebury	589	114	118
196. Great Chesterford	1,075	182	237
197. Little Chesterford		40	69
198. Elmdon	518	93	39
199. Strethall	20	11	9
200A. Wendens Ambo (Great Wenden)	319	92	87
200B. Little Wenden *(demolished)*	—	—	—
201. Newport	1,263	104	131
202. Wicken Bonhunt	421	56	43
203. Arkesden		48	49
204. Wenden Lofts *(redundant,)*	—	—	—
205. Langley	—	47	
206. Chrishall	438	102	64
207. Heydon		38	49
208. Great Chishill	300	56	49
209. Little Chishill	—	21	8

Parishes in the Archdeaconry of Southend-on-Sea; Total 146
(Map B)

210. Chelmsford Cathedral	3,500	871	419
211. Springfield	10,000	303	312
212. Boreham	2,945	115	68
213. Broomfield	3,844	204	132
214. Great Leighs	619	84	120
215. Little Leighs	171		71
216. Great Waltham	2,104	217	133
217. Little Waltham	1,353	153	94
218A. Pleshey	320	79	51
218B. Pleshey *(demolished)*			
219, Mashbury (with the Chignals)*	89	41	52
220. High Easter	—	112	33
221. Good Easter		70	34
222. Great Canfield	392		119
223. High Roding	374	33	70
224. Aythorpe Roding	229	32	64
225. Leaden Roding	389	38	
226A. White Roding	360	42	31
226B. Morrell Roding *(demolished)*	—	—	—
227. Margaret Roding	—		32
228. Abbess Roding		45	31
229. Beauchamp Roding		18	16
230. Berners Roding)			
231. Willingale Doe)*	500	28	36
232. Willingale Spain)			
233. Shellow Bowells *(redundant)*	—	—	—
234. Roxwell	1,235	212	71
235. Chignall) Smealy) (with			
236A .Chignall)(Mashbury)* St. James)	350	41	52
236B. Chignall St. Mary *(demolished)*	—	—	—
237. Writtle	5,749	328	223
238. Widford*	8,000	236	167
239. Ingatestone (with Buttsbury)*	4,253	211	242
240. Fryerning	570	116	179
241. Margaretting	949	84	87
242. Mountnessing	1,358	88	34
243, Stock	1,900	174	136
244. Buttsbury (with Ingatestone)*	4,253	211	242
245. West Hanningfield	3,328	70	36
246. South Hanningfield		20	29
247. East Hanningfield *(demolished)*	—	—	—
Sandon	1,296	140	182
249. Great Baddow	18,755	734	618
250. Little Baddow	1,433	95	230
251. Danbury	5,307	299	311
252A. Woodham Walter	587	53	54
252B. Woodham Walter (old church, *demolished)*	—	—	—
253. Woodham Mortimer	567	76	62
254. Woodham Ferrers	2,194	152	70
255. Stow Maries	—	27	20
256. North Fambridge*	—	66	115
257. Cold Norton	—	60	39
258. Purleigh	1,173	50	117
259. Hazeleigh *(demolished)*	—	—	—
260. Maldon, St Peter *(demolished)*	—	—	—
261. Maldon, St Mary	3,500	115	65
262. Maldon, All Saints	6,500	433	604
263. Heybridge	3,500	153	193
Langford		32	28
265. Little Totham	941	32	35
266. Goldhanger		84	92
267. Mundon *(redundant)*	—	—	—
268. Latchingdon *(redundant)*	—	—	—
269. Snoreham *(demolished)*	—	—	—
270. Althorne	739	60	49
271. Creeksea		51	38
272. Mayland *(demolished)*	—	—	—
273. Steeple *(demolished)*	—	—	—
274. St. Lawrence	282	34	19
275, Asheldham *(redundant)*	—	—	—
276. Southminster	3,241	75	73
277. Burnham-on-Crouch	5,000	251	139
278. Dengie	281	30	16
279. Tillingham	864	121	86
280. Bradwell-juxta-Mare, St Thomas	582	69	49
281. Bradwell-juxta-Mare, St Peter ad Murum (pilgrim church)	—	—	—
282. Foulness	269	25	76
283. Great Wakering	4,311	112	154
284. Little Wakering	—	56	57
285. North Shoebury	992	17	13
286. South Shoebury*	10,000	189	163
287. Southchurch	11,000	445	464
288. Prittlewell	12,000	692	410
289. Barling Magna (Note: there is no Barling Parva)	—	41	44
290. Shopland *(demolished)*	—	—	—
291. Sutton	1,200	39	51
292. Paglesham		36	15
293. Great Stambridge	585	175	135
294. Little Stambridge *(demolished)*	—	—	—
295. Canewdon	—	100	57
296. Ashingdon	2,676	167	69
297. South Fambridge		21	—
298. Hockley*	14,377	137	111
299. Hawkwell	9,188	195	213

Parish	Est.Pop. 1974-75	Electoral Roll 1971-72	Electoral Roll 1974-75
300. Rochford	7,509	292	166
301. Eastwood	5,000	145	128
302. Leigh-on-Sea*	11,000	—	317
303. Rayleigh*	29,000	534	373
304. Thundersley*	15,000	469	400
305. Hadleigh	9,000	292	220
306. South Benfleet	12,000	303	144
307. Bowers Gifford	700	68	68
308. Pitsea	8,000	166	114
309. North Benfleet	1,500	42	38
310. Rawreth	—	27	52
311. Wickford*	23,000	254	187
312. Rettendon	—	107	87
313. Runwell	4,727	18	18
314. Downham	2,500	108	89
315. Ramsden Bellhouse	2,200	89	63
316. Ramsden Crays		30	54
317. Nevendon	250	50	36
318. Basildon*	—	—	42
319. Great Burstead*	10,000	214	211
320. Little Burstead	343	60	109
321. Laindon*	—	—	—
322. Langdon Hills *(redundant)*	—	—	—
323. Dunton *(disused)*	—	20	17
324. Billericay*	22,000	522	343
325. East Horndon *(redundant)*	—	—	—
326. West Horndon *(demolished,)*	—	—	—
327. Childerditch	200	25	35
328. Ingrave *(demolished)*			
329. Hutton	17,000	265	378
330. Shenfield	7,000	1,195	621
331. Doddinghurst	3,701	109	74
332. Kelvedon Hatch *(redundant)*	—	—	—
333. Navestock	400	43	46
334. South Weald	3,600	472	424
335. Brentwood, St Thomas à Becket Chapel *(ruin)*	—	—	—
336. Great Warley *(demolished)*	—	—	—
337. Little Warley	200	20	20
338. North Ockendon (AD. WH,*not* AD.SS)	260	114	113
339. South Ockendon	8,250	122	75
340. Aveley	12,000	157	114
341. West Thurrock	4,500	75	68
342. Grays Thurrock	14,000	253	128
343. Little Thurrock	2,550	118	93
344. Stifford	9,000	160	89
345. Orsett	2,500	125	125
346. Bulphan	2,500	30	31
347. Horndon-on-the-Hill	2,200	54	53
348. Mucking (now with Stanford-le-Hope)*	—	39	172
349. Chadwell St Mary	14,000	127	138
350. West Tilbury	2,500	42	38
351. East Tilbury	5,000	193	80
352. Stanford-le-Hope (now with Mucking)*	18,500	235	172
353. Corringham	18,000	314	225
354. Fobbing	1,500	51	73
355. Vange	18,000	97	94

Parishes in the Archdeaconry of West Ham; Total 54
(Map B)

356. Great Hallingbury	944	139	98
357. Little Hallingbury	1,500	172	82
358. Hatfield Broad Oak	637	185	106
359. Sheering	1,969	120	102
360. Matching	793	74	74
361. Harlow*	24,000	315	262

Parish	Est.Pop. 1974-75	Electoral Roll 1971-72	Electoral Roll 1974-75
362. High Laver (with Magdalen Laver)*	765	56	65
363. Little Laver	—	29	32
364. Magdalen Laver (with High Laver)*	—	56	65
365. Moreton	—	118	88
Fyfield	750	126	38
367: Latton	—	813§	185
368. Netteswell *(redundant)*	—	—	—
369. Great Parndon	25,000	132	189
370. Little Parndon*	—	242	232
371. Roydon	2,619	258	85
372. Nazeing	4,251	175	192
373. North Weald	5,021	191	54
374. Epping (Upland)	763	180	176
375. Bobbingworth	353	103	110
376. Shelley	1,950	39	54
377. Chipping Ongar	1,660	—	154
378. High Ongar *	2,100	224	173
379. Norton Mandeville			
380. Blackmore	3,268	102	109
381. Stondon Massey	643	33	26
382. Greensted	250	30	59
383. Stanford Rivers	812	37	56
384. Stapleford Tawney	130	23	75
385. Stapleford Abbots	—	108	52
386. Theydon Mount	140	42	68
387. Theydon Garnon	1,300	512	190
388. Theydon Bois *(demolished)*	—	—	—
389. Loughton*	24,000	—	372
390. Waltham Holy Cross (Abbey)	15,000	733	377
391. Chingford*	20,000	769	636
392. Chigwell	12,000	418	329
393. Lambourne	—	222	178
394. Havering-atte-Bower	800	166	114
395. Romford*	10,100	663	295
396. Hornchurch	25,000	806	855
397. Upminster	14,321	770	410
398. Cranham	6,000	204	128
Rainham	25,000	389	368
400. Bennington	360	28	15
401. Dagenham	21,000	171	140
402. Barking	27,000	437	391
Little Ilford	15,735	—	—
404. East Ham*	27,066	262	163
West Ham	14,329	127	108
406. Leyton *	11,000	259	199
407. Wanstead	15,000	776	380
408. Woodford	12,500	240	380
409. Walthamstow	17,000	330	188

Note: North Ockendon, 338, is also in this archdeaconry.

§Surely an error for 183

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