

# Recent excavations on the site of a Tudor mansion at Copped Hall, Essex

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Since 2001, the buried remains of 'old' Copped Hall have been investigated by the West Essex Archaeological Group (WEAG). The Hall was a largely Tudor mansion which was demolished in the mid-18th century. It was acquired by Henry VIII from Waltham Abbey, and evidence has been uncovered of an intriguing sequence of building and rebuilding as ownership passed from the Crown on to a succession of wealthy and titled families. The excavations and associated research have involved both amateur and professional archaeologists, and have given many people their first taste of practical archaeology.

## Background

By the mid-16th century, the English Court had become increasingly centred on London. After the turmoil of the Wars of the Roses, the new Tudor state had brought political stability, and affluence for those individuals who rose to administer it.<sup>1</sup> It also prompted the development of a number of 'great houses', around a day's journey from London and the Court, a distance which now often coincides with the route of the M25 motorway (Fig. 1). North-east of London, a drive between Junctions 25 and 28 will take you close to the site of William Cecil's huge house at Theobalds, and Henry VIII's Elsyng Palace to the north of Enfield. Hill Hall, the home of Sir Thomas Smith, Elizabeth I's ambassador to France, is perched nonchalantly on high ground just east of the M11 junction. In between, 3 km west of Epping, there is a brief but intriguing glimpse of Copped Hall to the north. The mansion which can be seen today became largely derelict after a fire in 1917; it dates from around 1750, when it replaced one of these Tudor great houses which was located on a sheltered slope to the north-west.

Responding to the threat of development in the 1980s, the Corporation of the City of London

acquired parts of the surrounding parkland in 1992. The Copped Hall Trust, formed by local people anxious to save the site, purchased the mansion and gardens in 1995; both are now being restored with the aim of creating a community, educational and cultural facility. In 1984, the Archaeology Unit of Essex County Council recorded the only remnants of the old Hall then visible; a brick and stone pillar and short section of wall, and some ivy-covered cellar walls forming an embankment for a sunken rock garden. A number of small excavated trenches also located fragments of masonry.<sup>2</sup> As part of its work in the gardens, the Copped Hall Trust wanted to find out if more survived, and in 2001 asked WEAG to investigate further.

## Fieldwork and research

An initial geophysical survey was followed in 2002 and later years by excavation (Fig. 2). A scale plan of the ground floor of the old Hall, made in the 1740s (Fig. 3),<sup>3</sup> has enabled us to identify areas of the gardens accessible for excavation where buried remains might survive. What we have actually found (and, just as significantly, not

found) has provided clues to the development of the Hall over a period of at least 200 years, and to the reasons for its demise. The archaeology of the subsequent garden phases of the site is equally intriguing, and glimpses of its earlier history are also beginning to emerge. This is very much 'work in progress'.<sup>4</sup>

The site is located in a favourable position on a spur off the northern slopes of the Epping Forest Ridge. To the west is the Lea Valley, and to the north the ground drops down to Cobbin's Brook, a tributary of the Lea; the underlying geology is London Clay. The Iron Age hillforts of Ambresbury Banks and Loughton Camp are nearby, and Roman activity is well known in the area. Although we have yet to find any very early features, residual fragments of pottery from these periods have been recovered. We have also exposed part of a cut feature, much truncated by the construction of the Hall and not yet fully excavated, but containing a few pottery sherds possibly dating from the 6th to 9th centuries.

The name Copped Hall first appears in 1258.<sup>5</sup> Norah Carlin has researched and transcribed the medieval

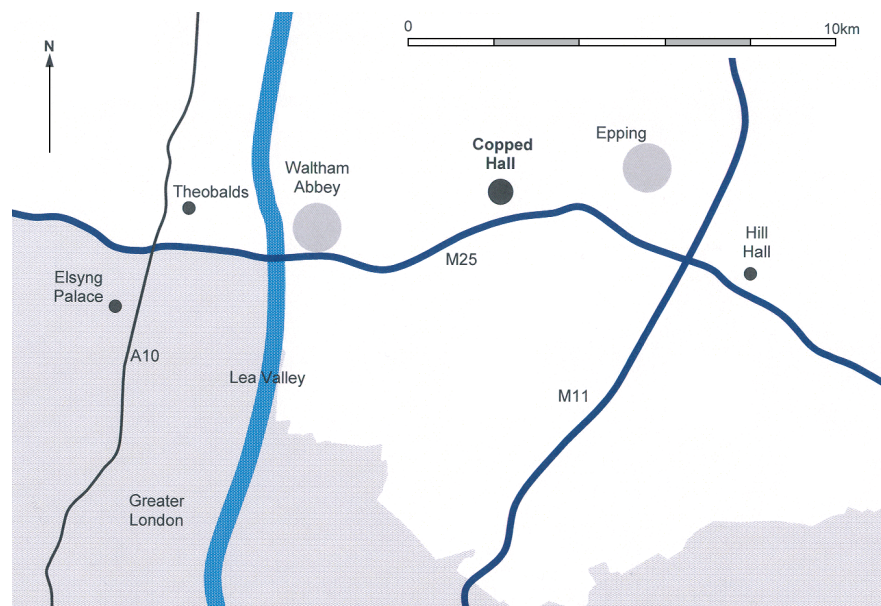


Fig. 1: site location plan, showing houses contemporary with old Copped Hall

## COPPED HALL

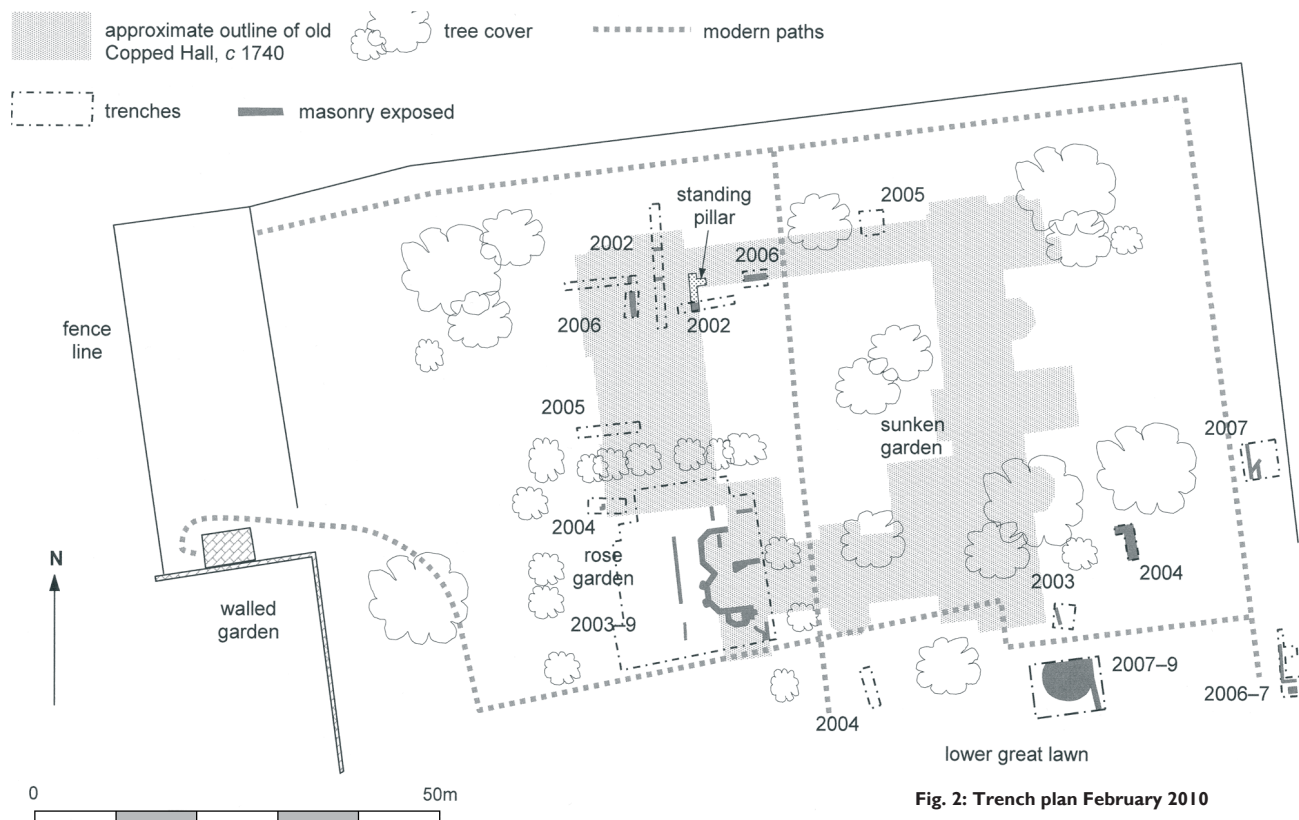


Fig. 2: Trench plan February 2010

documents recording its early history,<sup>6</sup> which indicate that the land on which it stood had been held by the FitzAucher family from at least the mid-12th century.<sup>7</sup> As yet, the archaeological evidence for occupation comprises residual pottery sherds from the 11th to 13th centuries; the exact location of the Hall is not known, although there is a strong possibility that it stood on the same site as the Tudor building. In 1350, the Shardelowe family conveyed Copped Hall to Waltham Abbey.<sup>8</sup> Little is known about it under the Abbey's ownership, although the park was greatly extended, and may have been used for hunting or other recreation.<sup>9</sup> Hunting was Henry VIII's passion, and in 1534, Abbot Fuller was persuaded to exchange the 'place or mansion house' of Copped Hall and the surrounding park for other property of Henry's, on the grounds that 'the King's highness hath a singular pleasure and affection to repair and resort' there 'for the great consolation and comfort of his most Royal person'.<sup>10</sup> Copped Hall remained in royal hands until 1564, when it was granted by Queen Elizabeth to one of her favourite courtiers, Thomas Heneage, and his wife Anne. At this time, the buildings included a hall, great chamber, kitchen and service rooms, a court with a double gate, and

a moat.<sup>11</sup> It is likely that Heneage carried out major rebuilding work before receiving Elizabeth as a guest, either in July 1568<sup>12</sup> or (perhaps more likely) in time for her second visit in 1578.<sup>13</sup>

A view of Copped Hall in its final form was included in M.J. Farmer's 1735 *History of Waltham Abbey* (Fig. 4).<sup>14</sup> This shows a house of three storeys: the south range with wings to east and west enclosed a courtyard, the north side comprising a single-storey loggia or covered colonnade. Stylistic clues from this drawing, and the 18th-century plan, have helped us to interpret the physical evidence and start to establish the building sequence. Our main area of work to date has been a large trench excavated over the western end of the south range (Fig. 5). Here, when the Hall was demolished, the lowest part of the cellar was left *in situ*, backfilled and covered with a layer of clay. As the excavation progresses we have been able to compare the surviving below-ground remains with the plan and drawing of what was above ground in the mid-18th century: walls found which are not shown on the plan represent previous phases of building. All the walls are brick-built, and range from 0.40 to 0.98 m wide. The bricks themselves can only be

generally dated to c 1450–1650, so we rely on relative dating, and details such as walls butting up against each other, the colours and fabrics of the bricks or mortar, and the regularity of coursing.

The earliest excavated part of the house seems to be the cellar beneath the late-medieval-style hall, with a newel (spiral) stair (G310) at its south-west corner (Fig. 6), and canted window bay (G52) at the west (high) end. The walls, which survive to a height of c 1.2 m, are of orange or orange-red bricks with dark yellow mortar, and traces of plaster can be seen on the inside face. The stair is not shown on the scale plan of the ground floor, but survives at cellar level to a height of five steps (1.2 m) above the floor. It might be assumed that it would originally have connected the cellar with the great hall above, probably continuing to the upper floors. Intriguingly, in 2009 we uncovered a wall footing running east–west under its base, so in 2010 will be trying to establish whether the stair was inserted in an earlier wall. As the rooms on the upper levels of such houses became more important, a fine staircase was needed to reach them,<sup>15</sup> and around the middle of the 16th century the newel stair was replaced – although it seems only at ground floor level and above –

by a larger square stair tower. The fragmentary remains of the wall of the square tower which have been found in the edge of the trench to the south, much higher than the newel stair, suggest that its construction involved simply butting a new wall (G134) up against a convenient old one (G10). The thickness of the south wall of the great hall at this point, shown on the scale plan as twice the width of the exposed cellar wall footing (G341), is further evidence for this.

Old Copped Hall should be considered against a background of a boom in domestic building during the 16th and early 17th centuries, when among the upper ranks of society architecture became a common subject for discussion, and was considered an important part of a gentleman's education.<sup>16</sup> Hill Hall, 6 km to the east, was also preceded by a medieval house, and was rebuilt twice by Sir Thomas Smith in the 20 years before his death in 1577. Smith was influenced by buildings he saw in France, and would have shared his ideas with his neighbour at Copped Hall.<sup>17</sup>

The results of this architectural enthusiasm were, however, in many cases quickly built on inadequate foundations. At Copped Hall, the present evidence suggests at least three main building phases, represented by i) the original hall block, ii) larger stairs and a small wing or wings built out to the north, which were cut through by

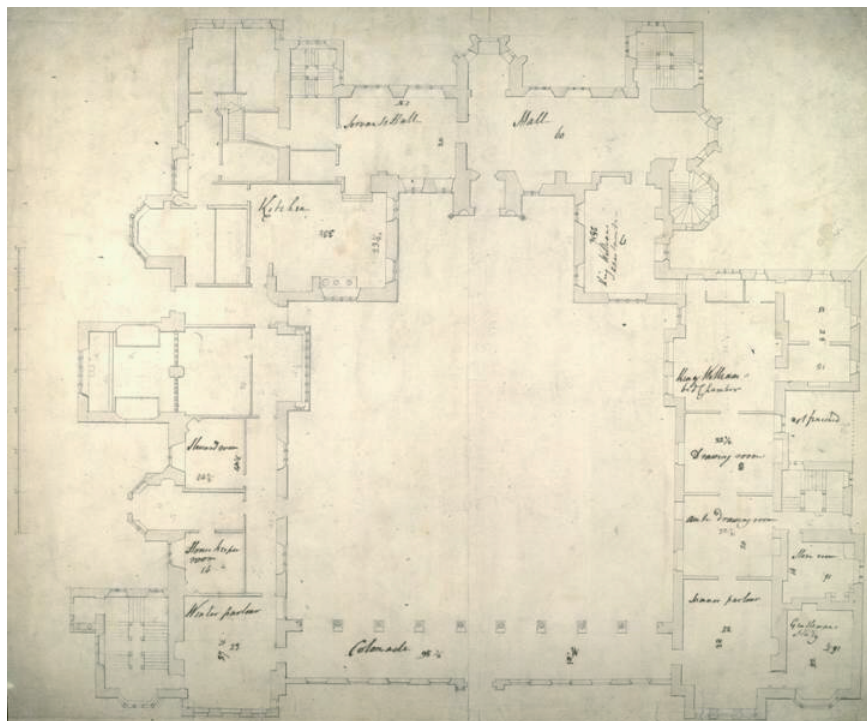


Fig. 3: plan of the ground floor of old Copped Hall, made in the 1740s

the construction of iii) the large east and west wings seen in the final form. This last phase probably included the bay shown on the 18th-century plan as a stair connecting the hall to the family apartments on the first floor of the west wing. Like the square tower it was, on the evidence of its excavated remains at cellar-level at least (G116), butted up against the wall of the hall, with no attempt to tie in the brickwork. The wall is fair-faced but the core is very roughly built, and seems to be the latest section

of masonry in this area;<sup>18</sup> it may be built on made ground rather than natural clay, resulting in movement and cracking of the fabric. Beneath the demolition backfill inside this bay the remains of a brick floor were found *in situ* (Fig. 7), overlying another wall, likely to be from phase ii. Paul Drury, who excavated at Hill Hall, has suggested that the large east and west ranges at Copped Hall may date from the 1570s; although fragments have been found in smaller trenches further north, they are so far missing from the archaeology of the main trench. They may have been more comprehensively robbed-out to the south, unlike the remains of intermediate phases and lesser modifications which we have also exposed, but which were already buried below ground at the time of demolition.

In 1742, the estate passed to John Conyers, who may at first have intended to refurbish the Hall; in addition to the scale plans he also commissioned two paintings of the Hall and surrounding park, and detailed drawings of the exterior elevations and a number of the internal features. One shows timber shoring supporting the north wall of the east wing, which confirms the structural problems. Conyers probably concluded that repairs would be too expensive, a

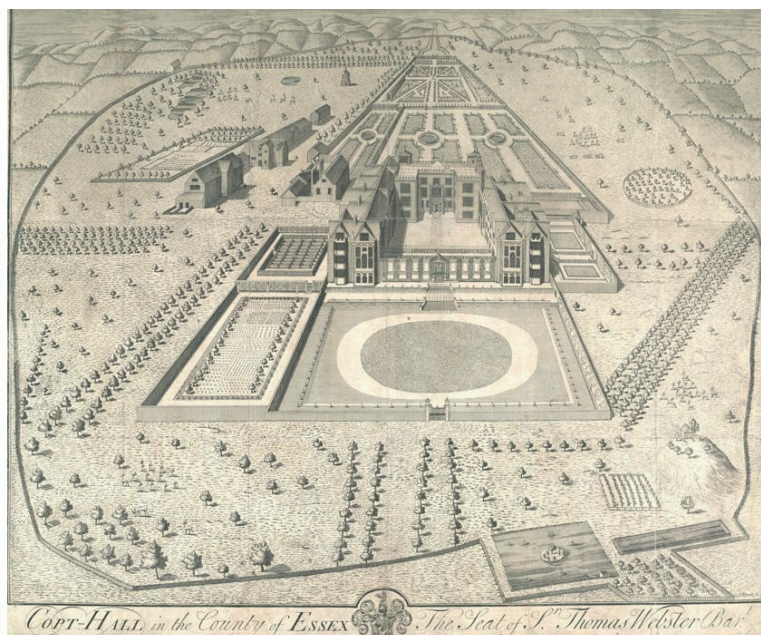


Fig. 4: view of Copped Hall in its final form from M.J. Farmer's *History of Waltham Abbey* (1735)

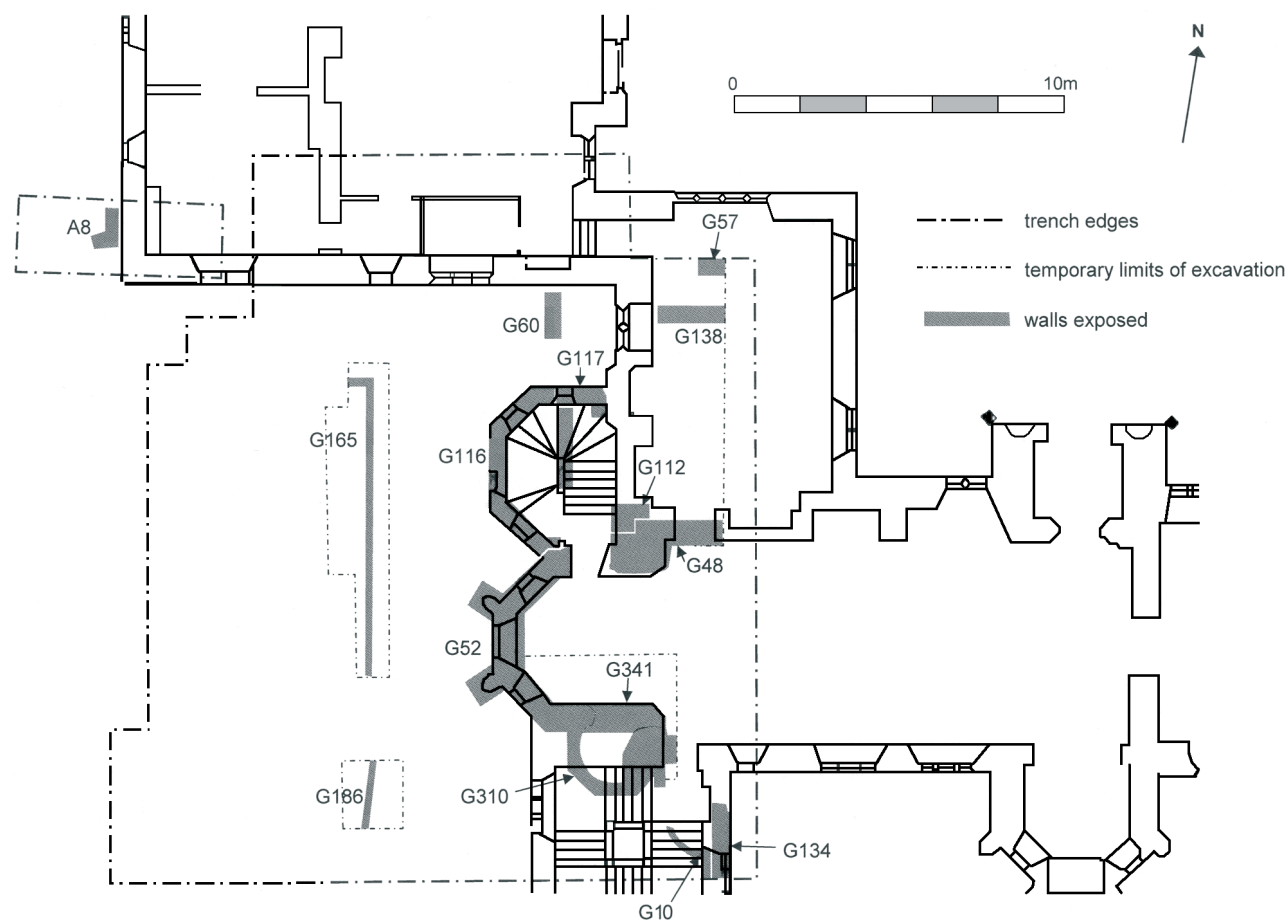


Fig. 5: masonry features in the Rose Garden trenches

decision possibly influenced by the opportunity to build a new more fashionable house. In August 1748, demolition began;<sup>19</sup> salvaged materials were used in the construction of its replacement.<sup>20</sup> The remains of the old Hall were backfilled and covered with clay, perhaps the spoil from the foundation trenches for the new house, and the site landscaped as part of the gardens.

The archaeology of the gardens is just as complex as that of the Hall. Two systems of ceramic land drains have been easy to identify; the labourers had to cut trenches through the buried walls as well as the clay in order to install them. Questions of how the gardens were redesigned after the Hall's demolition, and when the natural slope of the ground was terraced, have proved more difficult to answer. So far, no buried soils have been found which might give clues about the Tudor gardens. To the south-east of the building footprint, however, beneath what is known as the Lower Great Lawn, we have found a succession of pebble paths, landscaping layers, and garden walls. A ground-penetrating

radar survey of this area by the University of East London in 2007 revealed the presence of a large round feature (Fig. 8). Excavation uncovered a circular brick platform, c 7 m in diameter, very carefully set out, with substantial foundations. The surface as we see it now is probably much later (18th century?) than the foundations (16th century?). The 'foundations' may have originally been standing walls, buried when the gardens were landscaped. We don't know what the structure was; dovecote, banqueting house, cistern or icehouse have all been suggested, and it could have had a number of functions over time. It was overlain by garden paths and walls. It is planned that most of the masonry found in the site will be preserved *in situ*, one aim for 2010 is to complete the excavation of the round feature on the Lower Great Lawn so that its long-term conservation can be addressed. We hope to extend the trench to investigate the relationship of the structure with the south side of the old Hall, and possibly even the moat. Essex County Council previously recorded traces of a possible moat in two locations,<sup>21</sup> and in 2004, to

the west of the round feature, WEAG found a thin, dark, water-lain deposit. This contained pottery dated no later than c 1500, and investigations with an auger suggested that the layer extends at least 18m east from the 2004 trench, and is around 6 m wide.

We have recovered a wide range of pottery sherds, most of which are inevitably associated with the 18th and 19th century Hall and garden, but a growing number are contemporary with old Coppod Hall. Local wares dating from the mid-12th to 17th centuries are well-represented, including Hedingham Ware, the Mill Green industry based around Ingatstone in Essex, and the potteries at Harlow producing Metropolitan slipware (Fig. 9). Our 16th- and 17th-century pottery from further afield includes fragments from France and the Rhineland, high-status Italian marbled ware, and London tin-glazed ware with 'Persian blue' decoration, c 1680–1710. We have also found two fragments of nibbed roof tiles, of probable 13th-century date, and specially shaped bricks from an ornate chimney stack on the Tudor house.<sup>22</sup> Floor tiles include a two-colour inlaid



Fig. 6: the spiral staircase

tile very similar to one with a pierced octofoil, dotted guilloche pattern in the Museum of London collection, made in Penn in Buckinghamshire c. 1331–1390.<sup>23</sup> A number of late 16th- to mid-17th-century tin-glazed polychrome floor/wall tiles may be from the south London tin-glazed pottery industry located on the south bank of the Thames, either the Pickleherring (near Tooley Street) or Rotherhithe pothouse.<sup>24</sup> Our oldest coin find is a silver penny of Edward IV, struck between 1471 and 1483. A late 16th- to early 17th-century jeton (counter) from Nuremberg has also been recovered, from the backfill inside the great hall. Some of our finds give unexpected glimpses of the lives of past occupants of the site. They include a fragment of a 16th-century pipe-clay plaquette with the inscription in Latin '*ora pro nobis*', from the Ave Maria, or Hail Mary, the most well known Catholic prayer. It is tempting to associate this with Mary Tudor's occasional residence at the Hall in the 1550s. A small fragment of glass, dated from the late 15th to 17th centuries, came from a vessel known as a *matula*, often used for the inspection of urine as a guide to health and well-being. The bowl of a late 19th-century clay tobacco pipe decorated with a sphinx commemorated the 100th anniversary of the participation of the Enniskillen Regiment in the Egyptian campaign of 1798, and was perhaps once owned by one of Copped Hall's gardeners.

### Community participation

The Copped Hall Trust Archaeological Project (CHTAP) has evolved from the initial investigations in 2001 and 2002. WEAG had conducted a great deal of notable fieldwork since its formation in 1958, but in the 1990s, in common with many amateur groups, had few opportunities for excavation. 2003 saw what has become the regular Spring excavation week for WEAG members supplemented by a late-Summer training excavation. This was initiated by Dr Neil Faulkner of the Sedgeford Project in Norfolk, and organised by a local adult community college, but subsequently by WEAG itself. The

training excavation, which attracts students of all ages from London, south-west Essex and abroad, is led by professional archaeologists and experienced WEAG volunteers.

Over the last decade, as archaeology has become a mainstream feature on television, more and more people have been encouraged to join in. The prevalence of developer-funded excavation in the UK has often meant, however, that opportunities to do so are not easy to find. The rise of 'community archaeology' has been a response which aims to increase participation, and hopefully to build bridges between amateurs and professionals: the two groups are, for a variety of reasons, sometimes seen as mutually exclusive. Having experimented with the general format, it is evident, however, that balancing the needs of both 'community' and 'archaeology', particularly excavation, is not always straightforward. Many are keen to dig, but learning to complete context sheets, draw plans and take photographs takes time and effort. *Time Team's* enthusiasm for excavation has included little on-screen coverage of the essential detail of recording, straightforward (and, dare I say it, enjoyable) for those with plenty of experience, but often daunting for the novice or infrequent excavator. Although we are largely free of the time and budget pressures which affect commercial projects, time can still be an issue. Many of our key



Fig. 7: the brick floor, and underlying wall



Fig. 8: round feature beneath the Lower Great Lawn

personnel have other commitments and can only be present for two or three weeks over the year; our digging season is therefore limited, and finding time and resources for specialist reports and writing up the results is an additional challenge. So far, the results of the work up to the end of 2005 have been published in full, and subsequent seasons have been reported in summaries on our website and newsletters. WEAG members have also created an exhibition of finds and the story of the excavations which can be visited as part of organised tours of the standing mansion.

The training excavation, aimed at those with little or no field experience, has proved very popular, and the fees cover the costs of running the site. Some participants are studying archaeology at degree level, or planning to; others are local people with an interest in the subject who want

to have a go at digging. All are welcome. In addition to excavation, trainees are introduced to recording, finds processing and site survey, as well as the background to how archaeology is organised in the UK and how to get involved. While it is gratifying to see some return in subsequent years to build up their skills, the training dig model involves a high level of teaching and supervision, and so has drawbacks in actually progressing the excavation, particularly in parts of the site which demand detailed study. An attempt to remedy this has been a 'field school', for those who already know the basics, but even students who have taken part in other digs may still need close supervision. Because of the fragility of the exposed masonry in our site, it has to be insulated and covered during the winter. This means that *ad hoc* work throughout the year is impractical, and also that visits by groups with a specific

archaeological interest are largely limited to the weeks when we are working on site.

Our programme for 2010 will include the usual dig for WEAG members at the beginning of June, which will concentrate on the round feature. During the CBA *Festival of British Archaeology* in July, instead of a full training excavation, three 'taster' weekends will be held for beginners to try their hand. In August there will be two week-long Field Schools for those who already have some experience and want to develop their skills. For details see [www.weag.org.uk](http://www.weag.org.uk). Copped Hall and its grounds are strictly private, but regular tours, open days and other events are held: [www.coppedhalltrust.org.uk](http://www.coppedhalltrust.org.uk).

### Acknowledgements

WEAG and the CHTAP would like to gratefully acknowledge the help and support of everyone who has contributed to the archaeology at Copped Hall. Norah Carlin, Paul Drury, John Shepherd and Pat Ryan have given valuable advice in their respective areas of expertise. Particular thanks are due to the Copped Hall Trust and the Friends of the Copped Hall Trust, without whom this work would not have been possible.



Fig. 9: Metropolitan slipware cup c. 1630

1. M Howard *The Early Tudor Country House – Architecture and Politics 1490–1550* (1987) 35; M. Airs *The Buildings of Britain: Tudor and Jacobean, A Guide and Gazetteer* (1982) 14–16.

2. D. Andrews 'Old Copped Hall: The Site of the Tudor Mansion' *Essex Archaeol Hist* 17 (1986) 96–106.

3. Plans of the ground and first floors of Old Copped Hall survive, c.1740. Essex Record Office (ERO) ref. D/DW E26/1–2.

4. Detailed reports on the excavations up to the end of 2005 have been produced by the author in association with WEAG. These are available through the WEAG website ([www.weag.org.uk](http://www.weag.org.uk)), where a summary of more recent work can also be found.

5. Apportionment of Copped Hall lands to Sybil,

widow of Richard FitzAucher, May 1258. British Library Harleian MSS No 391, fo 70, in R. Ransford *The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1062–1230* (1989) 189–91.

6. [N Carlin]: Transcripts of documents relating to Copped Hall in The National Archives (TNA) and the British Library, 2006, ERO ref. T2380.

7. *Ibid.*, 2–17.

8. The Abbot of Waltham had for some time claimed overlordship of the estate, a claim supported by an Inquisition Post Mortem held after the death of Henry FitzAucher II in 1303 (*Calendar of Inquisition Post Mortem*, Vol. IV (1913) 112). Copped Hall seems to have been a typical medieval manor, recorded as having a 60-acre park and a total of 180 acres of other

land, valued overall at £6.2s. The house itself was worth 2s per annum, although it was not the largest of the FitzAuchers' houses in the area. Their manor house at High Laver was worth £2 p.a. and was their main residence (TNA ref. C133/110/9; Carlin 2006, 85–6). The Shardelowes conveyed Copped Hall to the Abbey, which thus obtained direct possession, in what was formally an exchange transaction, not a sale (though it also included a large sum of money); the transaction is discussed fully in Carlin (2006) 128–30.

9. A full account of extensions to the Copped Hall Park under the FitzAuchers and Waltham Abbey is included in Norah Carlin's volume of transcripts, ERO ref. T2380, pp.91–126.

10. Statute 26 Henry VIII c. 24.

# Letters to the Editor

## LATE SAXON KINGSTON

The choice of Kingston upon Thames as the coronation place of at least two (Athelstan, Ethelred II), possibly three (Eadred) or more<sup>1</sup> tenth-century kings is, as John Phillips suggests, surprising. There must be little doubt now that late Saxon Kingston comprised, as Hana Lewis proposes, of no more than a Royal Estate Centre, probably close by a Minster church, itself possibly with a subsidiary church or chapel alongside and to the south.<sup>2</sup>

There is quite simply no evidence for a Carolingian style complex of Royal and Episcopal palaces at Kingston<sup>3</sup> nor is there any evidence for a substantial Roman building complex which might have prompted Kingston's use as a coronation venue.<sup>4</sup> Kingston's choice as a coronation place is perhaps rooted in geography, and in the wider historical context of the two certain coronations.

The Royal estate centre at Kingston had been used as a Council meeting place from as early as 838 where magnates and Bishops from Wessex and its 'provinces' of Kent, Sussex and Surrey might be conveniently assembled.

## BURFORD WHARF

With reference to the article on Burford Wharf,<sup>1</sup> there is no need to assume that the 'chamber pot' (Fig. 7d) was re-used as a paint pot. Vessels of this type were still being sold in the 1960s by a shop in London Road, Southwark, called A. Leete, as colourman's pots (i.e. for painters), and there is an example of one of these purchased from Leete's in the Cuming Museum.<sup>2</sup> I understand that scene painters at Sadler's Wells were also using vessels of this type in the

On the death of his father, Edward the Elder (17 July 924), Athelstan was apparently elected King by the Mercians at Tamworth. However, he was not consecrated King of Wessex at Kingston until 4th September 925, thirteen months after his father's death.<sup>5</sup> Clearly there was a dispute over Athelstan's succession. A half brother Aelfweard (raised to kingship in his father's lifetime) perhaps ruled Wessex and its provinces for a few weeks in 924 before dying in uncertain circumstances in Oxford, and there may have been an attempt to raise another half brother, Edwin, to Wessex's throne in preference to Athelstan.<sup>6</sup> Clearly in the case of Athelstan, the key factor was to emerge triumphant from the power struggle to succeed to both kingdom's and be consecrated as king. In this context, the precise location of that consecration may perhaps have been relatively immaterial.

Ethelred II succeeded to the throne after the assassination of his half brother Edward (18 March 978/9) which followed a 'low intensity' Civil War between their partisans.<sup>7</sup> Again the

mid-20th century.

I have always thought that, where braided rivers like those of the lower Lea occur, only one of them was the actual channel of the river, and that the others were probably man-made as mill leats or for navigation or flood prevention. Since the Channelsea is called a river rather than a stream, and was wide enough for it to be encroached upon by wharfs, it would seem to be the best candidate for the original channel of the Lea; it will be

choice of Kingston as the place of his consecration may simply have been one of geographical convenience to assemble the Council, rather than because of any 'special' factor concerning the venue.

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1. For a discussion of this see: S. Butters *The Book of Kingston* (1995) 29–30; D. Hawkins 'Anglo Saxon Kingston: A Shifting Pattern of Settlement' *London Archaeol* 8, no 10 (1998) 271–278; T. Everson 'Anglo Saxon Kingston' *London Archaeol* 8, no. 11 (1998) 308; D. Hawkins 'More on Saxon Kingston' *London Archaeol* 8, no. 12 (1998) 335.

2. H. Lewis 'The Elusive Vill: In search of Kingston's late Saxon Manor, *London Archaeol* 12, no. 5 (2009) 119–126; *op cit* fn 1.B; D. Hawkins 'From Norman Estate Centre to Angevin Town', Kingston upon Thames, Urban Origins' *London Archaeol* 10, no 4 (2003) 95–101.

3. M. Wood *In Search of the Dark Ages* (1994 reprint) 127.

4. D. Hawkins 'A Product of its Environment: Revising Roman Kingston' *London Archaeol* 11, no. 8 (2007) 199–203.

5. F. Stenton *Anglo Saxon England*, 2nd edition 1971 (1975 reprint) 339.

6. *Op cit* fn 3, 125.

7. *Op cit* fn 5, 372–373.

interesting to see whether excavations recently undertaken for the Olympics site will throw any light on this.

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1. T. Carew 'Post-medieval wharfs on the Channelsea River: Burford Wharf Calico Printing Works, Stratford, E15' *London Archaeol* 12, no. 6 (2009) 163–169.

2. Registration number 1968/2.

(continued from p. 242)

11. J. Newman 'Cophthall, Essex' in H. Colvin and J. Harris (eds) *The Country Seat. Studies in the history of the British country house presented to Sir John Summerson* (1970) 18–19. A royal commission which visited Copped Hall in January 1563 reported that the lessee, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, had used forty loads of oak to improve the house and its furniture. Outside the house, he had constructed two separate "sinks" and a channel with three bridges in the park "to convey water over the moat out of the said manor house" TNA ref. DL44/82s; Carlin (2006) 213–8.

12. J. Nichols *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols (1823) Volume 1, 253.

13. Z. Dovey *An Elizabethan Progress; the Queen's Journey into East Anglia, 1578* (1996) 11.

14. M.J. Farmer *The history of the ancient Town and once famous Abbey of Waltham* (1735) ERO ref. D/DW E27/1.

15. Howard, *op. cit.* fn 1, 78.

16. Airs, *op. cit.* fn 1, 15.

17. Paul Drury, *pers. comm.* Paul Drury excavated at Hill Hall from 1982 to 1985. *Hill Hall: a singular house devised by a Tudor intellectual* by Paul Drury and Richard Simpson, was published by the Society of Antiquaries of London in June 2009.

18. Pat Ryan, *pers. comm.* Pat Ryan has made a special study of Essex bricks and brick buildings, and published *Brick in Essex, from the Roman Conquest to the Reformation*, in 1996.

19. An account book of a Mr Haward includes an

entry for 13th August 1748 'Paid George Ghorn for work at Copt Hall to this day'. The cost was £1 5s 8d, and in the margin is the note 'begun to take down' (ERO ref. D/DW/A3).

20. 'Proposal for New Copped Hall 1751' includes the entry 'The old bricks that are useful and which came from the old house and offices to be worked up amongst the new ones as far as they will go' (ERO ref. D/DW/E31/6).

22. Paul Drury, *pers. comm.*

21. Andrews *op. cit.* fn 2, 100; D. Andrews 'Epping, Copped Hall. Observations and discoveries 1996-97' *Essex Archaeol Hist* 29 (1998) 226–228.

23. Museum of London accession no. 15661.

24. Ian Betts, *pers. comm.*