

ROMAN ROADS IN BRITAIN, THEIR INVESTIGATION AND LITERATURE

By IVAN D. MARGARY

Owing to the breakdown of Roman rule in Britain the fine road system of the Romans fell into neglect to a much greater extent than it did abroad, where the roads remain largely in use, as *routes nationales* etc., to this day, and this gives us over here a much greater opportunity to study their remains unaltered by later use.

Roman roads were consciously planned as a network of direct routes from centre to centre, like our railways, and the surveying for their construction was clearly the work of most highly-skilled engineers with a consummate grasp of the factors involved in choosing the best route. When one considers that they had no compass or maps and must usually have been working in wild and forested country only just subdued by the troops, one can but admire their efficiency. Their roads are, in fact, the earliest man-made objects of which we still make use, and this together with the provoking manner in which their remains seem to appear and disappear on our maps are probably the reasons why they still arouse much interest.

The alignments were sighted from high ground, and the roads usually laid out straight because that is easiest; in practice, however, obstacles were frequently avoided by short deviations, or by zig-zags on steep hills, and in hilly country the roads followed the lines of valleys or ridges but even then they were laid out in a series of short straights and not on true curves. High ground was preferred for tactical reasons.

The roads were made up with local material and great attention was paid to adequate drainage. Often an embankment, the *agger*, was formed by soil taken from a large scoop-ditch alongside and the metalled surface laid on this, generally with a foundation layer of coarser stones; sometimes the road was laid almost flat on the natural ground surface after removal of the top-soil, but in any case the metalled roadway was usually cambered, sometimes rather steeply. The width was generally from 15 to 24 feet and on larger roads up to 30 feet; the metalling was from 6 to 12 inches thick at the road centre thinning out to the sides, though thicknesses of several feet are sometimes found, due in part to reconstructions. Sometimes small ditches were used to define the road-zone; these are usually spaced at two standard distances apart, 62 or 84 feet, and are quite different from the big scoop-ditches.

Disuse in the Saxon period was quite haphazard; collapsed bridges and culverts, washouts in storms, and fallen trees were no doubt the chief causes, together with accumulations of leaves, branches and overgrowth. Sections vanished completely and became buried under a foot or more of top-soil, thus preserving the road for our examination. The situation of the roads on high ground often kept them at a distance from the Saxon villages situated near springs below the hill, and so led to their disuse. The Saxon farmer found the

embankment of the road useful as a property boundary, hence often those parish boundaries that follow Roman roads. His local track wandered on and off the half-blocked derelict road, so that traces of it may appear now within the bends or as a foundation for some of the village houses. Enclosed strips of the formerly wide road-zone may also be found as narrow plots beside the present road. Where the road remained in use but without any upkeep, a deeply-worn hollow way will often have been formed by the wear and tear of horse traffic.

Tracing the Road

In examining a suspected Roman route it is advisable first to do some indoor preparation. From the local archaeological literature, county histories and other likely books, useful scraps of earlier information such as sites, finds, burials, or traces of actual road surface disclosed in trench-digging may be obtained. Place-names may help, especially those containing the elements Street, Stret-, Streat-, Strat-, Stan-, Stane, or names like Green Street, Old Street, High Street (in open country), Stone Street, Ridgeway, Causeway, Devil's Causeway. Old documents, estate maps, and the Tithe Maps of about 1840 with their Apportionment Lists, may help with field names. There may also be local traditions though these must be treated with caution, and it is well to bear in mind that very often 'the old Roman road' means no more locally than 'ancient lane'. The Ordnance Survey 1 inch map should be examined for likely traces of a road alignment, and it is useful to compare it with those older maps of the 18th century which are on similar scales and show the roads as they were before the turnpike alterations in the coaching period. Care is needed in making the comparison because at first glance the maps appear to be almost identical and it needs a close inspection to notice the small but significant changes in the road pattern. But so soon as it is decided to submit a route to full examination a set of 6 inch maps (or now perhaps the 2½ inch map which is a useful recent alternative) should be obtained, for it will show much more detail of hedges and so on. If air photographs are available they should be examined for likely traces. These are of two kinds: *crop marks*, due to soil variations affecting the growth of the crop, usually showing as light marks over buried metalling or walls, due to parching, or dark over buried ditches due to lush growth in the deeper soil; and *shadows* thrown by the embankment or by ditches when the sun is low. They may also show marks due to the levelling of old hedgerows and the consequent soil disturbance under the crops.

When aid from these sources has been sought and found promising, the field-work proper can usefully begin. It resolves itself into three stages: (a) the general reconnaissance; (b) detailed examination of the whole route; (c) excavation of sections at a few selected points. The signs to be looked for are mainly of two kinds, topographical (due to the straight alignment which makes an artificial feature in the landscape and may still show up in places) and constructional (due to the embankment or its ditches, and to traces of the metalling or the larger foundation stones scattered in the fields by the ploughing,

or outcropping in ditches). Some of these traces may still be surprisingly plain, even quite extensive, and yet be unknown hitherto if no one has ever looked for a Roman road there, others again so faint (as a gradual swelling across a field) as to be visible only in a favourable light or state of the crops. Some parts may be completely buried just under the tilth, and thus be discoverable only by probing along an alignment established by other indications further along.

Clear traces of such roads must not be expected to appear continuously, and the type of relics will change from field to field with many complete gaps where nothing is left. It is the cumulative evidence of such traces along a definite *alignment* that is the important feature. Every part of the route needs to be examined because unforeseen obstacles may lurk in inconspicuous overgrown valleys or gulleys not readily seen from the neighbouring fields, and interesting terraceways to negotiate them may still remain there.

During this work suitable points will have been noted for the excavation of complete sections. It adds greatly to the value of the evidence if even two or three sections can be fully recorded to prove the physical existence of a metalled road and the nature of its make-up. Both a photographic and measured record should be made, first on the excavated and carefully cleaned surface and again when it has been cut through and the layers of make-up exposed to view.

Recording the Road

After the field-work is completed it is most important that as full an account as possible should be published without delay in the *Proceedings* of the County or Local Society most concerned. This should be illustrated by a general map showing the whole route and by a set of strip-maps on the 6 inch or 2½ inch scale. Undue reduction of these should be avoided, if possible, by arrangement with the editor *before* they are prepared, so that the added lettering is of the right size. The exact course of the road and all details of evidence for it are then entered on the map, *after* the strips have been planned, cut up and properly mounted on card.

In the written description it is important that a clearly-worded and accurately detailed account should be given so that later workers can readily identify the places mentioned. The use of transient objects such as haystacks and chicken-houses in the account should therefore be avoided. The vague style adopted by the antiquaries of the past has deprived us of much information which they saw but did not express accurately enough to be identifiable now, and we can at least avoid this.

It is desirable to give a general introduction dealing with any earlier references to the road, traditional or documentary, and then to go on to the detailed survey of the field evidence along the route. This should be given as fully as possible.

Section diagrams must be included and should be, if possible, on a uniform scale, for which 1 inch to 3 feet is convenient, accompanied by a written account of all relevant details of construction, materials, and finds which may be datable and thus help to date the construction or repair of the road.

THE LITERATURE

We have been considering the ideal method of presentation, but when we turn to the literature available on our Roman roads, we shall soon realize how very chancy and haphazard is its distribution over the country, and also the very varied character and worth of that which is available, depending, as it must, upon the individual archaeologists interested in this somewhat specialized study.

Besides the national societies, a very large number of county and other local societies have been publishing their *Proceedings* over the past century and more, creating valuable series of volumes in which the information on roads lies securely embedded. For the specialist searcher this is all too apt to seem like a trackless jungle, even with the help of General Indexes which in themselves vary greatly in value. Not all that appears in them under 'Roman Roads', 'Roads, Roman', 'Watling Street', 'Ermine Street', and so on, will be found to be helpful — far from it.

As an instructive example let us examine our own *Archaeological Journal*. In the General Indexes so far issued, covering vols. 1-50, there will be found 75 references to Roman roads, including those mentioned by name. Of these no less than 57 are almost useless when looked up, 14 are of some value, and only 4 prove to be really important (all parts, actually, of one and the same paper!). This is by no means an exceptional instance but is what one has to learn to work with. It arises from the practice of indexers noting the occurrence of the words 'Roman road', 'Watling Street', etc., wherever they appear in the text regardless of whether it is a cogent reference or not, and very trying it can be to the specialist reader.

The important paper just mentioned was by the Rev. J. Maughan upon the Maiden Way, from Kirkby Thore in Westmorland to Bewcastle and beyond, and appeared in vol. 11 (1854), the first very detailed account of a Roman road to appear in our *Journal*. Roads were also included in a survey of the Tees-Swale district by one H. MacLauchlan in vol. 6 (1849) — the author soon afterwards of the magnificent surveys of the northern roads and Hadrian's Wall for the Duke of Northumberland, for which this paper may well have served as his introduction.

In vol. 14 a paper by E. Guest deals with the legal background of the 'Four Roman Ways' (Watling, Fosse, Hikenilde and Ermine), a topic of much interest in those days.

W. F. Watkin, the author of excellent books on Roman Cheshire and Lancashire noted below, provided a series of papers on Roman Herefordshire (vol. 34), Bedfordshire (39), Nottinghamshire (43), all very useful on roads. A similar paper by G. E. Fox on Roman Suffolk (57) contains little on roads, which the author appeared to shirk. In vol. 61, however, our Past-President, Prof. Boyd Dawkins, gave a valuable survey of pre-Roman and Roman roads in N.E. Yorkshire.

In vol. 72 (1915) A. H. Allcroft had a very useful paper on the lesser Roman roads of the South Downs, especially valuable for its information on the character of the finely graded Roman engineered terraceways so often to

be found in such localities. With vol. 74 we come to the first of a long series of papers by G. B. Grundy on Saxon Charters and Ancient Roads (mostly trackways and not Roman but including some such) which continued right down to vol. 98 (1941). In vol. 91 there was a valuable survey by C. W. Phillips of Roman Lincolnshire, prepared because the material already published there was then so extremely sparse.

Apart from these papers by Grundy and Phillips, nothing dealing with roads has appeared in our Journal in recent years, except my own paper in vol. 109 on the North Downs Trackway and Pilgrims' Way (a trackway, not a Roman road, although maybe used by them), for since about 1915 the Journal has tended to be much more architectural in content. Perhaps therefore it is fitting that the Institute should now spare some attention to the subject of Roman roads to correct the balance.

When we survey the literature in general two very early county histories first deserve special mention: that of Dr. R. Plot, *The Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677), and of the Rev. J. Morton, *The Natural History of Northamptonshire* (1712), both of which include surveys of the Roman roads with some grasp of observational detail not commonly met with until much later.

As to individual papers, we start most appropriately with vol. 1 of the *Archaeologia* of the Society of Antiquaries in 1735.¹ In this volume there appeared a group of short papers, items XIII to XVII; of these XIII, by Smart Lethieullier, on 'Icening Street' and other roads, read 10 November, 1735, is the earliest, and it is followed by xv, by C. Frederick, on the course of Ermine Street between Caister and Burghley Park, Stamford, read 11 March, 1735/6. Items XVI (1760) and XVII (1761) refer to roads in Lancashire; XVII by the Rev. Mr. Watson, Minister of Ripponden, discusses the possible sites for COCCIIUM and the roads north from Manchester, and in XVI Thos. Percival of Royton attempts a survey of the roads between Manchester and Lancaster. This author had also published a paper on the roads near Castle Shaw fort, on the Pennines near Delph, Oldham, in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* (1753), a fact which might considerably astonish that august but highly physical Society nowadays!

Item xiv gives a letter from R. Willis of Andover, read 18 December, 1760, on the course of 'Ikenild Street', which he traces from Winchester to Marlborough, not from Newbury as Stukeley does, perhaps the first disagreement upon the course of a Roman road ever to be published in print. This item from Willis was followed in vol. 8 (1787) by items ix, x and xi, read in 1785-86 but posthumously, in which he gives a survey of the roads out of Winchester and develops his theory that 'Ikenild Street' started at Southampton and took its name from the river 'Ichin' there. Another early paper in *Archaeologia* appears in vol. 3 (1775), where the Rev. Mr. Watson deals with the Derbyshire fort known as MELANDRA and the adjacent moorland Roman road called by the curious name of Doctor's Gate.

¹ First published 1770; the references here are to the 2nd edition of 1779.

Another early paper, or pamphlet of 12 quarto pages, was by Samuel Pegge, on *The Roman Roads Ikenild Street and Bathway, discovered and investigated through the Country of the Coritani* (1769), which is very discursive about the Roman stations or forts in Derbyshire but gives good detail on the courses of the roads.

It is perhaps well to make clear that the archaic style and the standard of knowledge of these early writers greatly reduces their practical value to us now save as interesting curiosities, though they do sometimes record local details, clear enough then but long since obliterated, the mention of which is of considerable importance. Thus they are likely to be of most value to established local workers rather than to the general reader or commencing student who might well spend much profitless time in examining them.

From about 1762, and onwards for many years, *The Gentleman's Magazine* contains a number of useful references to Roman roads, usually in the form of notes of discoveries when portions were exposed.

About this time there appeared quite a group of important early books. The best-known is W. Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1776), giving an account of observations made during his journeys about Britain. He frequently refers to the major Roman roads, albeit rather vaguely. Several county or regional histories also appeared, including Hutchins' *Dorset* (1774), Watson's *Halifax* (1775) and Hasted's *Kent* (1778), all containing useful details on roads. In 1817 *Magna Britannia*, by the Rev. Daniel Lysons and Samuel Lysons, gave descriptions of the ancient sites in Britain county by county, and included sections detailing the Roman roads in each from the observations of William Bennet, Bishop of Cloyne, made during a series of tours but without giving many particulars. In 1821 a notable advance was registered by Sir Richard Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire: Roman Æra*, not only in the sumptuous standard of production but in the meticulously careful presentation of field details, including of course the Roman roads. Baines' *History of the County Palatine of Lancashire* (1836) was another useful addition.

In vol. 19 of *Archaeologia* (1821) a fully illustrated paper by P. T. Taylor records the earlier substructures (thought perhaps to be Roman) of Teign Bridge, near Newton Abbot, Devon, on the Roman road south-west from Exeter, but after this it is indeed remarkable how little can be found in this publication concerning Roman roads. In vol. 68, R. A. Smith gave a long paper on 'Roman roads and the distribution of Saxon Churches in London', and that is all until in vol. 93 (1949) a long paper by I. A. Richmond and O. G. S. Crawford unravels the place-name lists of the British section of the Ravenna Cosmography and relates them with great skill to the branch Roman roads here. From 1921 however, the *Antiquaries' Journal*, or secondary publication of the Society of Antiquaries, has often included information upon the roads.

In the North at this early period the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne were issuing their *Archaeologia Æliana* in a format exactly similar to that of *Archaeologia*. In vol. 2 of Series 1 two valuable papers on roads were included, the first by J. Smart in 1826 upon the remote road from High Rochester to Bridge of Aln at Trewhitt House, and the other by the Rev. J.

Hodgson in 1832 on the Wrekendike, a branch leading from Dere Street to South Shields, both giving excellent observational details.

After 1840 detailed work begins to get more common. In 1841 the Rev. R. Hussey issued his excellent little book on *The Roman Road from Alchester to Dorchester* which was outstandingly in advance of its time. In 1848 and 1851 J. Just published a survey of Roman Lancashire in vols. 1 and 3 of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society's *Proceedings*. The papers by the Rev. J. Maughan on the Maiden Way in vol. 11 of the *Archaeological Journal*, and by H. MacLauchlan in vol. 6 giving a survey of the Tees-Swale area, with special reference to the course of Dere Street, have already been mentioned.

Now come MacLauchlan's beautifully produced folio volumes of maps, accompanied by separate octavo volumes of meticulously detailed descriptive memoirs, covering the courses of *The Northern Watling Street* (now known to us as Dere Street) (1852), *The Roman Wall and its roads* (1858), and *The Eastern Branch of Watling Street* (the Devil's Causeway) (1864). These were done at the commission of the Duke of Northumberland, and it is perhaps reasonable to think that the Duke was so impressed by MacLauchlan's paper on the Tees-Swale area in vol. 6 of our *Journal* that it led directly to the commission, a valuable outcome if this was so.

Other early contributions of real value were by W. Bainbridge on the Maiden Way in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 1, vol. 4 (1855), and by P. J. Martin on the Stane Street Causeway in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 11 (1859), the first of many papers on the roads in the South-east and excellent in its presentation.

From about 1845 the formation of the County Societies becomes more common, and thus the publication of papers on roads tends to occur in their *Proceedings* rather than in those of the National Societies from this time onward. Possibly this change had some effect upon the balance of local work for there is a curiously noticeable absence of road papers in the 1860's.

Soon after this another important group of county histories and surveys appeared. Warne's *Ancient Dorset* (1872) and Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* (1882) are both helpful on roads, but, above all, the two surveys by W. F. Watkins, *Roman Lancashire* (1883) and *Roman Cheshire* (1886) are most detailed and valuable. It will be recalled that he also published surveys of several other counties in our *Journal* about this time. Another little book, locally important, by H. Colley March on *The Roman Road over Blackstone Edge* (1886) gives an excellent and well-illustrated account of this exceptional stone-paved road high up on the Pennines.

From 1874 valuable papers on roads become much more numerous; of these the most notable are J. P. Harrison's account¹ of the Rowhook-Farley Heath road, C. C. Babington's survey² of Cambridgeshire roads, T. Wilson³ on the road over Whinfell, J. McMurtrie⁴ on the Fosse Way at Radstock,

¹ *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, VI (1874), 1 (good detail).

² *Camb. Ant. Soc.*, octavo pub., XX (1883), 14.

³ *Cumb. & West. A.A.S. Trans.*, VII (1884), 90 (good detail).

⁴ *Somerset A.S. Procs.*, L (1884), pt. 2, 108 (good detail).

W. T. Watkin's survey¹ of Derbyshire roads, G. Payne's paper² on roads in Kent and the Rev. E. M. Cole's survey³ of the East Riding of Yorkshire.

The new century opened quietly as regards the roads and only a few papers call for mention here before the end of World War I; these papers in order of appearance are J. N. Dickons' description⁴ of the Blackstone Edge – Ilkley – Hampsthwaite road, Col. G. C. Bellairs' survey⁵ of Leicestershire roads, J. G. Wood's paper⁶ on the Edgeware Road, J. McMurtrie⁷ on the Road on the Mendips, F. G. Walker's survey⁸ of Cambridgeshire roads with road map of Roman Britain, W. Smithard⁹ on Doctor's Gate and Bathamgate, Derbyshire, J. P. Williams-Freeman's¹⁰ Roads in South Hampshire, U. A. Smith's¹¹ survey of Hertfordshire roads and G. B. Grundy's series¹² on Saxon Charters and Ancient Roads.

Some important books, however, appeared at this time. Of these an outstanding achievement was marked by the appearance in 1903 of the first edition of Thos. Codrington's *Roman Roads in Britain*. This was the first time that a detailed survey of *all* the Roman roads in Britain had been attempted, and it was a truly mighty task in the then state of knowledge, most successfully performed. Revised editions appeared in 1905 and 1918 which included some more recent work reported to the author by correspondents, but the survey remained substantially that of 1903 and it was the growing need of something more recent that impelled me with great temerity to undertake a similar task during the 1950's.

Complementary to 'Codrington' was *Our Roman Highways* by U. A. Forbes and A. C. Burmester (1904) which dealt primarily with the traffic, travellers, vehicles, road construction and maintenance, and said little about the routes. Also in 1904 appeared *The Old Road*, Hilaire Belloc's well-known account of the Pilgrims' Way (viewed primarily from the pilgrim angle), which is really a prehistoric trackway although probably in use during Roman times. A comparable book on *The Icknield Way* by E. Thomas (1913) dealt with a route of similar character. In that year too appeared Belloc's *The Stane Street*, a most readable account of this road from Chichester to London and much in advance of other descriptions in its detail. However, Belloc was somewhat careless in matters of orientation and alignment, and eventually (1922) his book was the subject of a detailed criticism by W. A. Grant, an Ordnance Survey officer, in *The Topography of Stane Street*, and the two books should be studied together.

¹ *Derbys. A. & N.H. Soc. Journ.*, VIII (1886), 206.

² *Arch. Cant.*, XXIII (1898), 1 (good detail).

³ *E. Riding Ant. Soc. Trans.*, VII (1899), 37.

⁴ *Bradford Antiquary*, III (1900), 329 (good detail).

⁵ *J.B.A.A.*, n.s. VII (1901), 273.

⁶ *Home Counties Mag.*, IV (1902), 238, 259 (good detail of older surface).

⁷ *Bristol & Glouc. A.S. Trans.*, XXIX (1906), 303 (good detail and sections).

⁸ *Cambridge Ant. Soc. Proc.*, XIV (1910), 141.

⁹ *Derbys. A. & N.H. Soc. Journ.*, XXXIII (1911), 95.

¹⁰ *Hants. F.C. Proc.*, VII (1914), 34 (good detail).

¹¹ *E. Herts. A.S. Trans.*, V (1915), 117.

¹² *Arch. J.*, LXXIV (1917), 79, and later.

About this time the long series of volumes of the *Victoria County Histories* was becoming well established and usually included a section on the Roman roads. These naturally vary considerably in value, depending on the compiler concerned and the material available, but are generally well worth consulting as a guide.

After 1921, the advent of air photography and the largely increased interest in field studies led to an enormous output of papers on Roman roads, encouraged very greatly by O. G. S. Crawford's work, both by his exposition of air photography in *Antiquity* and elsewhere, and by the Ordnance Survey's excellent *Map of Roman Britain*. This map was in origin almost his unaided work, as regards compilation, for as the Survey's first Archaeology Officer he worked almost single-handed where they now have a considerable Branch. The map was a very remarkable advance upon anything then available, and it has since appeared in two revised and much improved editions, the last in 1956.

It is possible to mention here only the more outstanding and generally useful papers issued since 1920, but many others provide valuable detail in their own districts and the references to all are given in my books noted in a later section. The principal articles include two by P. Ross¹ on roads from Ribchester, Miller Christie's² survey of Essex roads, including some minor routes not certainly Roman, F. Villy's survey³ of West Yorkshire roads, St. Clair Baddeley's paper⁴ on minor roads near Cirencester, my own papers on Wealden roads in Sussex,⁵ Surrey,⁶ and Kent,⁷ A. Raistrick's⁸ survey of West Yorkshire, C. W. Phillips'⁹ survey of Lincolnshire, R. P. Wright¹⁰ on roads in County Durham, T. Hay's paper¹¹ on High Street, Westmorland, R. R. Clarke's¹² Survey of Pedders Way and Pye Road, my own paper¹³ on roads with small side-ditches and J. F. Hall's description¹⁴ of the Colchester road which includes important constructional detail. The more notable post-war papers include one by Professor I. A. Richmond¹⁵ on the road near Raeburnfoot, Dumfriesshire in which he makes very important constructional observations, and a second¹⁶ by the same author on Signal Stations on the Stainmore-Penrith road, also papers by R. L. Bellhouse¹⁷ on roads in Cumberland, C. A. Ralegh Radford¹⁸

¹ *Bradford Antiquary*: VI (1921), 33, 243, 267; VII (1933), 1 (exceptionally good detail).

² *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*: n.s., XV (1921), 198; n.s., XVII (1926), 83.

³ *Bradford Antiquary*: VI (1921), 1, 117; VIII (1940), 17, 203 ff. (good observation).

⁴ *Bristol & Glouc. A.S. Trans.*, LII (1925), 151.

⁵ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, LXXIII (1932), 33 ff., and later.

⁶ *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, XLV (1937), 116 ff., and later.

⁷ *Arch. Cant.*, LIX (1946), 29 ff., and later.

⁸ *Yorks. Arch. J.*, XXXI (1932), 214.

⁹ *Arch. J.*, XCI (1934), 110.

¹⁰ *Arch. Aeliana.*, 4 ser., XIII (1936), 199 ff., and later (exceptionally good detail and sections).

¹¹ *Cumb. & West. A.A.S. Trans.*, n.s., XXXVIII (1938), 42 (good observation).

¹² *Norfolk Arch.*, XXVI (1938), 120 ff.

¹³ *Ant. J.*: XIX (1939), 53; XXIII (1943), 157.

¹⁴ *J.B.A.A.*, n.s., VII (1942), 53.

¹⁵ *Proc. S.A. Scot.*, LXXX (1948), 103.

¹⁶ I. A. Richmond, in *Aspects of Archaeology* (ed. by W. F. Grimes) (1951), 293.

¹⁷ *Cumb. & West. A.A.S. Trans.*, n.s., LII (1952), 41 ff., and later (good detail).

¹⁸ *Dumfr. & Gall. N.H. & A.S. Trans.* (n.s. III), XXXI (1954), 30.

on the Crawford–Castle Dykes road, Miss D. Greene¹ on roads near Rotherham, and D. P. Dymond² on the evidence for bridges in Roman Britain.

It will be noticed that as yet there have been no references to work in Wales. It is indeed remarkable how little help the road worker can get from Welsh sources, entirely different from the normal experience in England, especially when it is considered how many first-class forts and other sites are known there and have been the subject of careful excavation reports. It does seem possible that an instinctive desire to ignore the work of the Roman conqueror in Wales may have had something to do with this. A series of pamphlets entitled *The Roman Roads of Wales* was indeed published by S. O'Dwyer in 1934–37, dealing with them county by county, but the surveys include such a wealth of old trackways as to obscure the Roman element and render them of little use for our purpose.

A number of useful books appeared at this time, some indicating a considerable advance in knowledge. A. H. Allcroft's *Downland Pathways* (1924) introduced us to the minor Roman roads and terraceways of the South Downs. Miss J. Mothersole's *Agricola's Road into Scotland* (1927) gave a detailed account of the main route, Dere Street. Sir George Macdonald's *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (1934) included details of the associated roads, as did also the *Handbook to the Roman Wall* for Hadrian's Wall and its roads, in its numerous editions from 1863 up to the recent (1947) Tenth Edition, largely rewritten by I. A. Richmond (an indispensable guide for the Wall visitor).

In 1936 S. E. Winbolt's *With a Spade on Stane Street* gave a more detailed factual account of a road than had yet appeared in book form, apart from original papers. (Unfortunately its stock was soon to be lost in the 'blitz' and so it is comparatively rare.) In the same year G. M. Hughes' *Roman Roads in South East Britain* was published posthumously by his daughter after being left in manuscript for 45 years, and it says much for it that after this lapse of time the bulk of it was still of value, although the advance of our knowledge in the Weald necessitated some revision in that area which I was most kindly allowed to incorporate. Two other books to be mentioned are A. W. Trotter's *The Dean Road* (1936), a route of somewhat specialized character in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire, and Morris Marples' *Sarn Helen* (1939) dealing with the main north–south route through Wales.

Lastly, I must specially mention a little book of no outstanding importance in itself but in its own sphere the vehicle of far-reaching consequences — James Dunning's *The Roman Road to Portslade* (1925). This book collected all the available evidence for the existence of what we now call the London–Brighton Roman road, then very imperfectly known, which passes quite close to my home. It came into my hands quite by chance and was directly responsible for setting me on the course that has led to all my work on roads. Thus it may be considered as the direct ancestor of my regional *Roman Ways in the Weald* (1948) and later of *Roman Roads in Britain* (1955, 7), designed to take the place of the invaluable 'Codrington', by then over 50 years old.

¹ *Hunter A.S. Trans.*, VII (1957), pt. 2, 78 ff. (good detail and sections).

² *Arch. J.*, CXVIII (1961), 136.

In recent years the value of regional surveys of Roman roads has been realized and several have already appeared. Among them, beside survey papers in *Proceedings*, may be mentioned: Miss M. Kitson-Clark, *Roman Malton and District Report No. 5, East Yorkshire* (1935); Cambrian Society's Centenary Volume (1946); O. G. S. Crawford, *Topography of Scotland North of the Antonine Wall* (1949); S. N. Miller (Ed.), *The Roman Occupation of S.W. Scotland* (1952); Woolhope Field Club, *Herefordshire Centenary Survey* (1954).

To these there may soon be added a survey of the roads in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, prepared by a group of workers, the *Viatores*, and now in typescript awaiting publication. We may also soon hope to see another completed work, of more general importance, the *Bibliography of Roman Britain*, by W. Bonser, which will devote certain sections to the roads.

I have endeavoured in this paper to trace the development of the study and recording of Roman roads in this country. It is certain that more still await discovery, mainly of the minor class which are of necessity more difficult to trace and to prove as Roman when found because their alignments are usually short and thus less striking. May the good work continue.