

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FIELDWORK IN LONDON AND MIDDLESEX : SOME UNPUBLISHED DRAWINGS BY WILLIAM STUKELEY

BY F. CELORIA, PH.D., F.S.A., SCOT. AND B. W. SPENCER, B.A., F.S.A.

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

Stukeley lived in London from 1717 to 1726 and again from 1748 until his death in 1765.³ His reputation as the founder of British field archaeology rests largely on his work at Stonehenge and Avebury, but although his antiquarian interests and professional career often led him far from London, it is evident, especially from his unpublished work, that he spent much of his time not only mixing with the London intelligentsia but in solid field-work in and around the capital. He was often to be found exploring Middlesex on foot or on horseback, recording and re-examining earth-works like those on Hounslow Heath or Greenfield Common.⁴ A threat to a building like the Sanctuary, Westminster, soon brought him to the scene with sketchpad and note-book (1750–1),⁵ and he assiduously recorded chance-finds of archaeological material such as a Late Bronze Age hoard found at Kew in 1753, or objects from the Thames, ranging from a Cheshire cheese to a superb fourteenth century sword now in the London Museum, found in 1740 during the construction of Westminster Bridge.⁶

After about 1725 Stukeley's remarkable talents for field-work were gradually impaired as his scientific approach to the subject began to be replaced by fanciful and fantastic theorising. Particularly after about 1740 he can be shown to have let his imagination increasingly inform the things he recorded so plainly on paper. In this respect, however, he should not be judged solely by his published work;⁷ nor should the curious speculations of his later years be allowed to obscure the real value of his basic field-work. It is easy enough to recognise the importance of the work he did around London in the 1720's. But it is also worthwhile to dig out the facts that can generally be found to underlie even the more absurd theories of his later life, such as his 'discovery', c. 1749, of Caesar's camp north of the Brill⁸ and near St. Pancras church.

'Caesar's Camp', St. Pancras

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

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

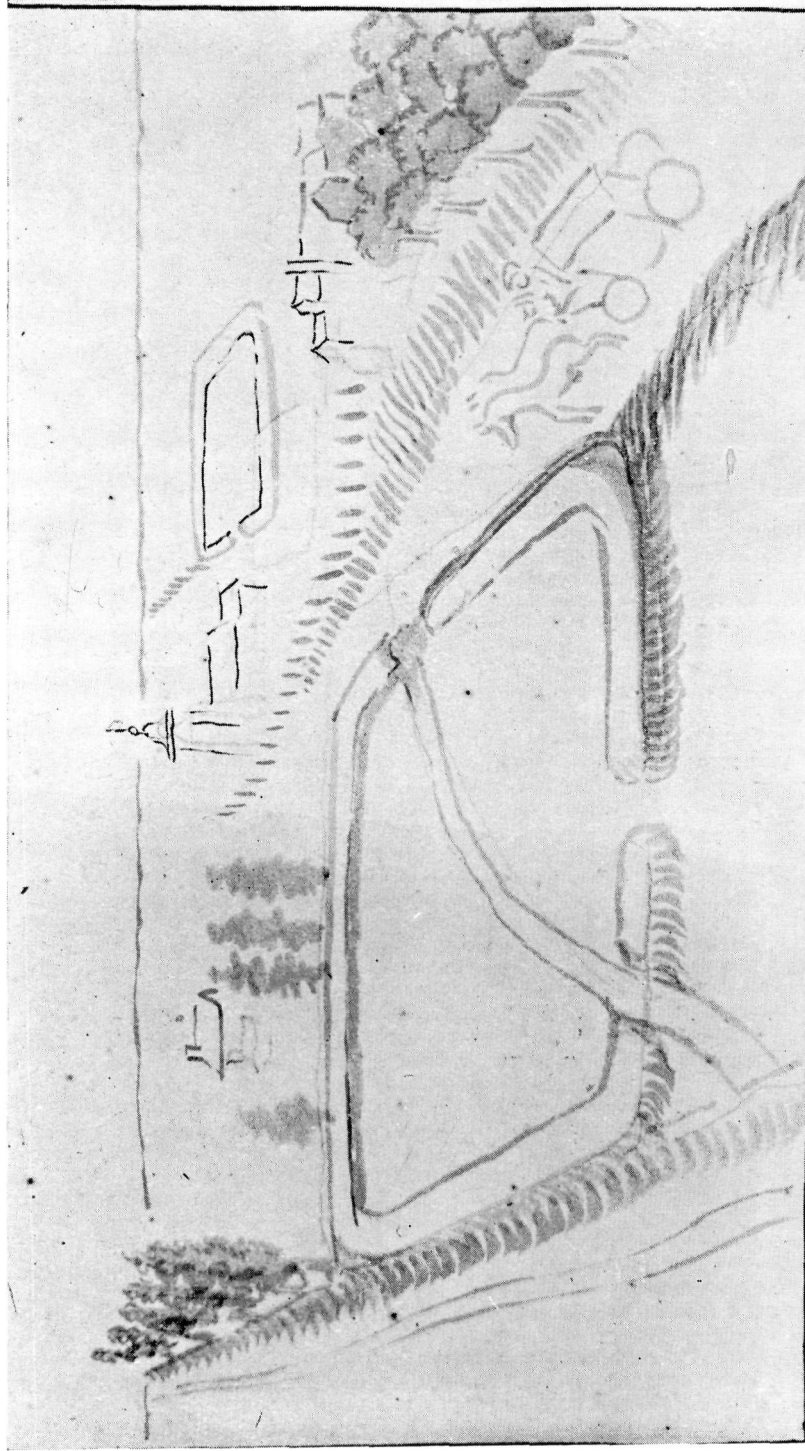
There does survive, however, a perspective sketch of the St. Pancras neighbourhood, which Stukeley possibly made shortly before his death in March 1765¹² (Pl. 1). Here the sub-divisions of the Roman camp are gone and he gives us a more objective, if feeble, adumbration of the features he actually saw, for his main object in this drawing seems to have been to record the effect of a contemporary change in local topography. A road, whose impending construction he had noted in October 1764,¹³ is probably the one shown to run diagonally across a rectangular earth-work enclosure lying south-west of St. Pancras church. This is the feature that had become 'Caesar's praetorium' in Stukeley's Roman camp. Scraps of evidence elsewhere tend to confirm that the earth-work itself was no construct of Stukeley's mind. Thus, notes made by a certain S.G. and published in a magazine in 1831 indicate that it was still visible in 1826, though the ditch had been filled up; but within a few months, as another correspondent noted later, half the enclosure had been destroyed by brickmakers, who reported 'that nothing was found, not even a tile or a brass coin.'¹⁴ Its east and west boundaries possibly coincided with those of the Great Slip Field shown on a map of about 1800¹⁵ and its position, in modern terms, centres about the point TQ 29800 83260, the site of a coal depot bounded by Pancras Road, Chenies Place and Purchase Street.

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

Jack Straw's Castle, Highbury

Forty years earlier, on 20th April 1724, Stukeley had sketched the plan of an earth-work known as Jack Straw's Castle at Highbury, Islington¹⁷ (Pl. 2, left). Characteristically, he added a note to the drawing in 1751, connecting the site with the fanciful theories about Druidism which he was then propagating. He shows a roughly rectangular enclosure encompassing at one end a smaller rectangular feature, and he notes the overall internal measurements of the site as 100 paces by 35. What he had, in fact, recorded was the site of a medieval moated manor-house, possibly the residence once belonging to the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and 'ruinated' by Jack Straw and his followers in 1381.¹⁸ Despite its schematic nature, Stukeley's drawing is to be welcomed as a record of the general topography and dimensions of a site that is otherwise poorly documented, for although Jack Straw's Castle is often referred to by name, less has hitherto been known about its layout than about the flowers that once bloomed there, such as (c. 1695) Wall-rue, Stinking Iris, Lesser Periwinkle

PLATE I

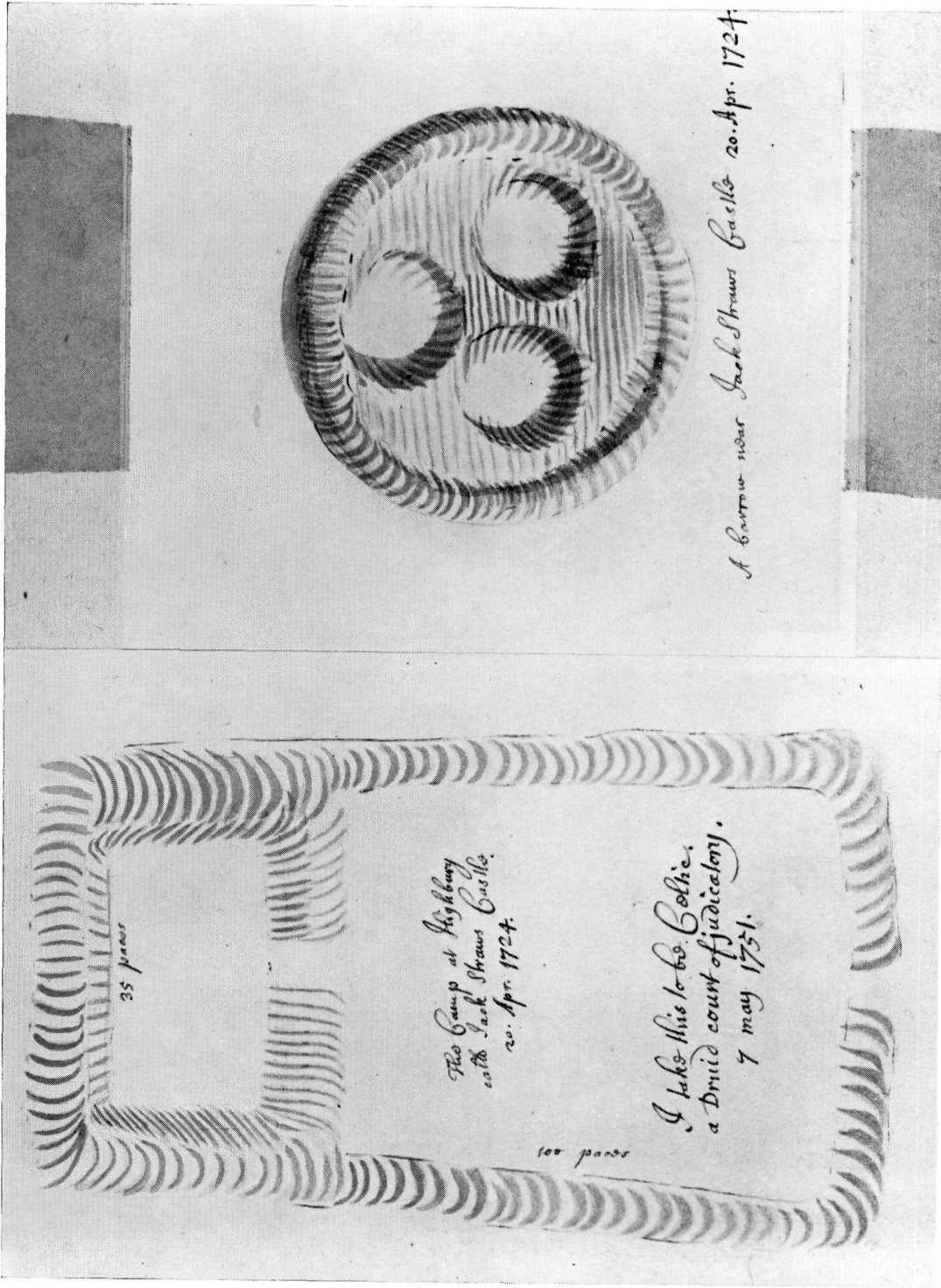


CAESARS Camp called the Brill, by Pancras.

Stukeley delin.

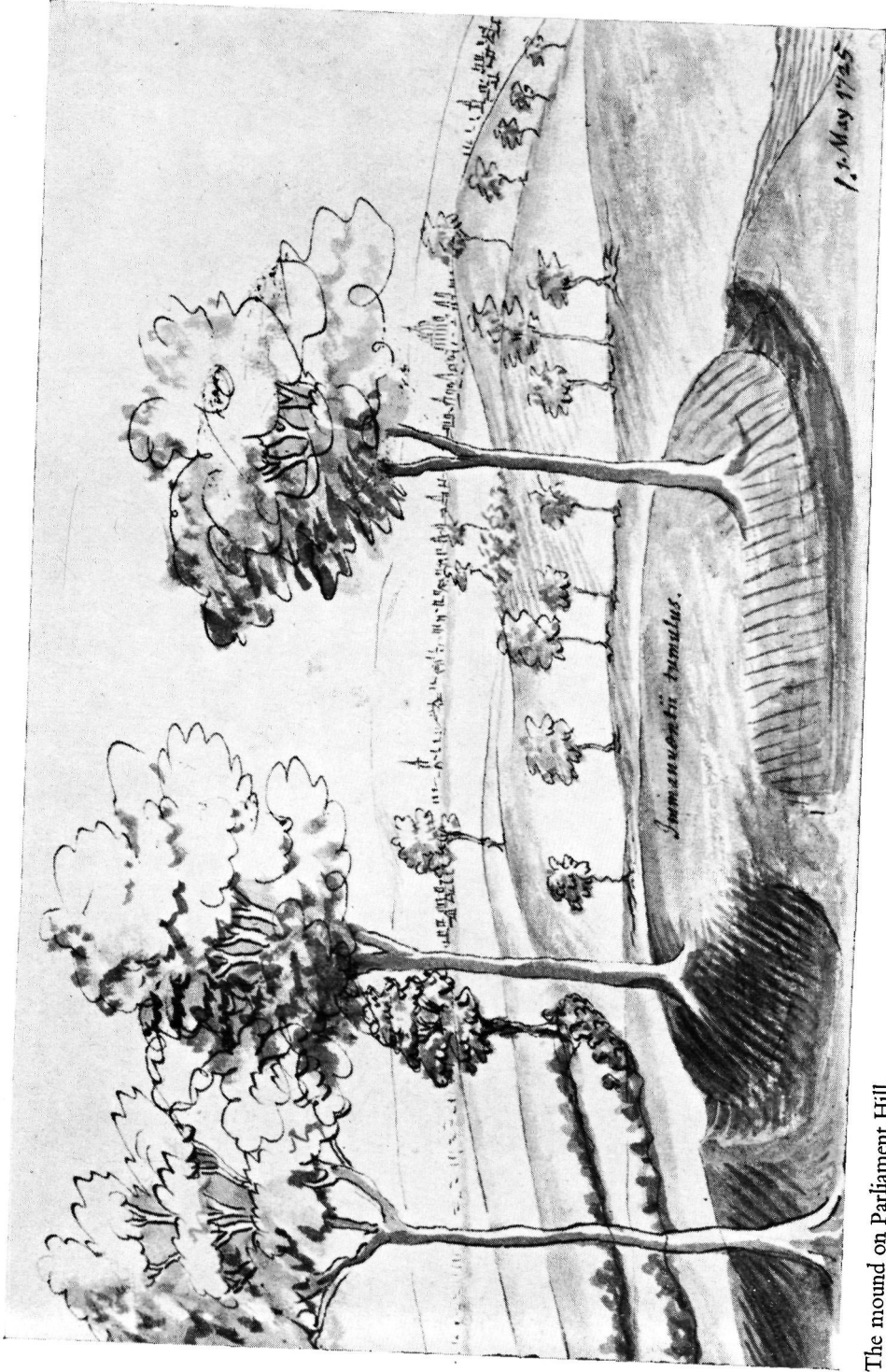
Earthworks at St. Pancras.

Drawings (? 1764-5) by William Stukeley



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

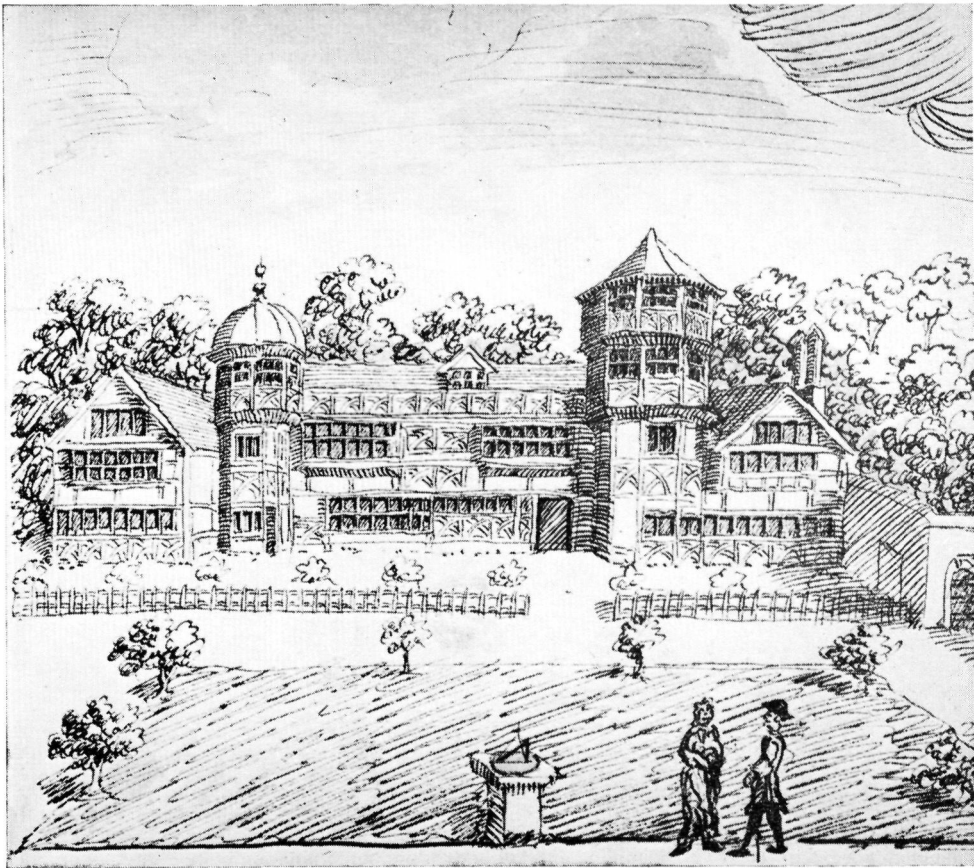
Drawings (1724) by William Stukeley



The mound on Parliament Hill.

Drawing (1725) by William Stukeley

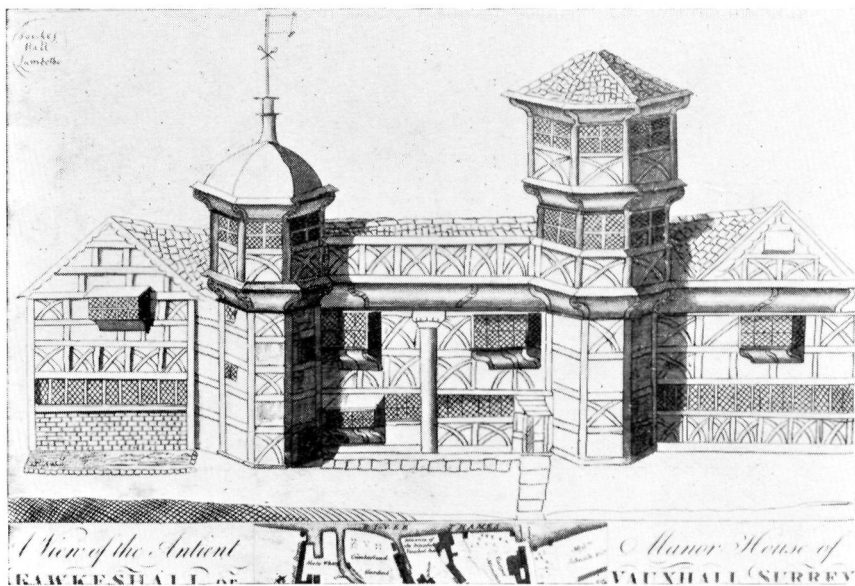
PLATE 4 (a)



House in Grove Street, Hackney.

Drawing (1725) by William Stukeley

PLATE 4 (b)



Copped Hall, Lambeth.

Engraving (1813) after an earlier drawing

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

The site centres on TQ 31825 85570, where Eton House, Leigh Road now stands, and should be distinguished from the site of another rectangular earthwork which Stukeley found and described in May 1749.²¹ This stood in the same parish just west of what is now Barnsbury Square, centring approximately on TQ 3103 8422, and had, according to Stukeley, an inner entrenchment similar to the one he had shown at Jack Straw's Castle. This site also may have been medieval; a pavement of apparently medieval decorated tiles was found there in 1825²². It was, however, appreciably smaller (about 130 ft. by 25 ft.) than the Highbury earth-work, though large enough to provide a suitable 'Sunday resort of Irishmen for the game of foot-ball' in the early nineteenth century.²³

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

Mound on Parliament Hill

In a drawing²⁵ dated 1st May 1725, Stukeley shows a round, ditched mound with a distant view of London in the background (Pl. 3). The mound is labelled *Immanentii tumulus*, and a separate caption, which Stukeley appears to have written in the 1740's, begins:

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

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

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

This newly-discovered drawing reminds us, in fact, that there is a *prima facie* case for considering the mound on Parliament Hill as the only surviving prehistoric round barrow in the Metropolitan area. Authorities on Bronze Age earth-works would probably accept that Stukeley's 'tumulus' at least looks like a round barrow.²⁶ Luckily Stukeley recorded the mound before certain additions had been made to it. These more recent alterations were first detected when Sir Charles Read excavated the site in 1894.²⁷ Read, however, was satisfied that beneath the later accretions there was an earlier core which resembled 'an ancient British burial mound of the early bronze period'. He correctly surmised that the ring ditch, whatever its purpose, was modern and was able to confirm the existence of an inner ditch

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

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

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

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

Stukeley had always looked with an eager eye for possible evidence of Caesar's activities in the vicinity of London. He believed, for instance, that Caesar's final defeat of the Britons under Cassivellaunus had taken place at 'Casvelhans military *oppidum* at Watford, and Rickmansworth: a gravelly island of high ground, *sylvis paludibusque munitum* . . .'³¹ Stukeley may have reached this conclusion on 9th November 1723, for on that day he notes: 'I walk'd alone to Watford etc. to find out Cassibelins Town, which I discover'd at Ricmansworth'.³² This kind of laconic remark may have resulted from Stukeley's tendency, both natural and praiseworthy as a field-archaeologist, to think in terms of maps and drawings rather than of the written description. Thus, on the following day he appears to have produced no fewer than three sketch-maps of the area between Watford, Harefield and Pinner—the region surrounding the alleged *oppidum*. The newly-discovered version of this map is reproduced here as Fig. 1.³³ Though all three maps are dated 10th November 1723 and refer to the same set of observations, they differ appreciably from one another in style, in their titles, in the spelling of place-names and in the braidings of the Colne, so that one, at least, may have been drawn on a later occasion. Nevertheless the three versions have enough in common to suggest

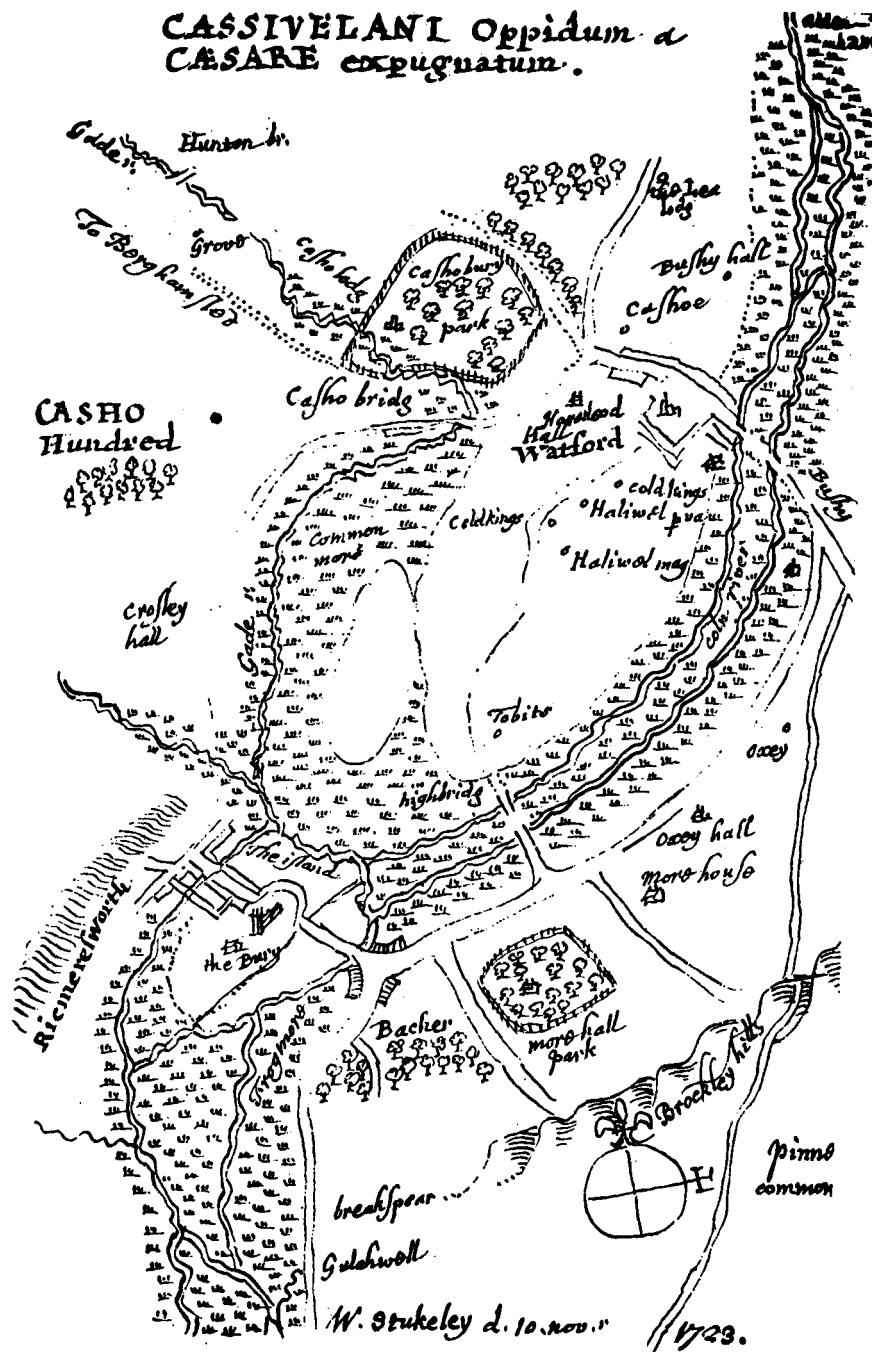


Fig. 1
The Rickmansworth Area. Sketch-map (1723) by William Stukeley. London Museum.

that Stukeley may have based their outlines on some published map of the neighbourhood. One other sketch-plan³⁴ dated 9th April 1726, on the other hand, showing the area surrounding the 'Berry' or Bury (the manor-house at Rickmansworth) and giving a scale in feet, is more obviously the result of first-hand observations.

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

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

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

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

Basing, which is presumably the Basing Hall shown, for example, in John Andrews's map³⁸ and located between Gospel Oak and Brackenbury Farm, both in the area of the present Borough of Hillingdon; *Cornix*, the Latin for 'crow', and apparently a fanciful form of Crows Nest Farm at the eastern boundary of the present Borough of Hillingdon (TQ 076 879);

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

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

House in Grove Street, Hackney

Stukeley possessed a well-informed interest in architecture. As early as 1706, when he was nineteen years old, he drew the 'cupolo' of St. Paul's Cathedral,⁴⁰ work on the building of which he had occasionally witnessed as a boy. In 1749 he put forward proposals for repairing the sunken arch of the new Westminster Bridge.⁴¹ He was, on the other hand, equally interested in recording the ancient make-up of the city wall.⁴² His protests about certain rebuilding schemes had a curiously modern sound⁴³ and he was also far ahead of his time in the interest he took in vernacular building. Thus on 16th May 1725 he drew a half-timbered house, 'Mr. Aynsworths dwelling, Grove Street Hackney' (Pl. 4 (a) and commented, at the foot of the drawing, 'This is a model of our antient way of building'.⁴⁴

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

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

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

In essence, the lay-out of the house, with its projecting wings, would appear to be of the late medieval type that persisted into the sixteenth century. Thus the doorway is placed asymmetrically on the right of the main front and may be presumed, therefore, to have led directly into a screens passage, with the single-storeyed hall on the left. The 'hall' itself has a continuous range of windows running its entire length, double-tiered at the dais end and looking on to the forecourt, lawn and road outside. The chambers above the hall are lit by twelve-light, projecting bay windows. The disposition of rooms in the wings is more difficult to suggest, but the twin-shafted chimney-stack on the south range⁴⁸ may indicate the presence of a kitchen overlooking the walled garden or yard outside.

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

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

Copped Hall was described in the mid-seventeenth century as 'a faire dwelling house, strongly built, three stories and an halfe highe, with a faire stayre case breakeing out from the said dwelling house', the cross-wings being 'twoe stories and an halfe highe.'⁵² It was perhaps at about this time that the front elevation of Copped Hall was drawn by an artist whose name is not recorded. The drawing, which was inscribed 'Fawkes Hall Lambethe', ultimately came to the notice of Robert Wilkinson, who published it as an engraving in 1813.⁵³ Although the artist was somewhat uncertain in his rendering of perspective, he was, like Stukeley, attentive to detail, and it was merely in matters of detail that the two houses differed from each other. Thus Copped Hall lacked windows in the garrets, had jettied first-floor windows in the wings and possessed two other distinctive features which were perhaps the result of repair-work—a stretch of exposed brick-work at the foot of the left-hand wing and a massive pillar apparently supporting the garret-floor in the middle range. In other

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

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

NOTES

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

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

Publication of this paper has been made possible by a grant from the Adorian Archaeological and Educational Fund, to whose Trustees Council take this opportunity of expressing its warm gratitude.