

JOHN CONYERS, LONDON'S FIRST ARCHAEOLOGIST

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So far the history of the development of the study and practice of archaeology has not commanded much attention. Interest in the past was a feature of the Renaissance and it can certainly be seen to have existed in this country as early as 1533 with the inauguration of John Leland as the King's Antiquary. The topographers, Leland, William Camden and John Norden frequently mentioned ancient monuments, as did the antiquarian John Stow in his famous *Survey*. In Elizabeth's reign, in 1572, a Society of Antiquaries was formed under the leadership of Archbishop Matthew Parker, Stow, Camden and Sir Robert Cotton, but was short lived as James I suppressed it believing it to have political aims. The middle of the next century saw the first tentative establishment of the discipline of field archaeology, the credit usually being awarded to John Aubrey (1626–97). Gossip that he was, he could also be an objective observer and draughtsman. The idea of excavation as an all important aid to research into antiquities was however foreign to him. Digging into barrows and at Stonehenge certainly took place in his day, as it had for many centuries past, but it was no more than treasure-hunting. John Battley, archdeacon of Canterbury from 1687 to his death in 1708, employed men to dig for him but at least gave them some directions as to their behaviour. He told them not to clean rusty coins with sand, not to break urns or pots and if inscribed even if broken, should be kept. In more general terms he wrote, '... let him who is curious ... open barrows, let

him explore encampments, trenches ... let him examine the ancient public ways; let him without superstition or dread, open and ransack sepulchers ...' If antiquities were discovered then assistance was to be called in, and he noted with perspicacity that if any coins were found whether in a heap or enclosed in an urn, '... let him observe the latest, for they will nearly determine the time when they were buried'¹.

Glyn Daniel has stated that the prerequisites for writing (and studying) pre-history are the 'collection, excavation, classification, description and analysis of the material remains of the human past'². None of these early antiquaries measure up to these requirements, but one man, John Conyers, citizen and apothecary of London, has a better claim than most, if not, all of them.

The seventeenth century saw the arrival of what amounted almost to collector's mania and by the end of the century no man with any pretensions to erudition would be without his collection. The two John Tradescants, father and son, were the first men of ordinary background to build up a really impressive collection of curios. The elder Tradescant was widely travelled and assembled a remarkable amount of anthropological and biological material which after his death in 1638 was much enlarged by his son. Sir Hans Sloane busied himself in gathering together the famous natural history collections of James Pertiver, William Charleton and William Stonestreet, and many another, thus lay-

ing the foundation of the British Museum. John Conyers, though not a man of means, was not to be left far behind in the race, and what was more, did not just show his collection to a few chosen friends but invited the public to examine it.

The *Athenian Mercury* of 21 November 1691 wrote that Mr John Conyers, apothecary in Shoe Lane, had recently proposed to open his collection of rarities to the public, and on being asked whether it was worth visiting had this to say about it "... we may affirm that it may be in many ways useful to the Publick: For the worthy Collector and Keeper of it, hath both with great Industry and Charge, for above 30 years together, made it his Business, upon all occasions to procure such Subjects, either of Nature or Art, that had any thing of Rarity in them, not only in this and neighbouring Nations, but even in the World . . .

"For Natural things he will find Exotick Beasts, Birds and Fishes, Insects, Shells and Sea Productions, Corals, Halcionia, Sea Shrubs etc. Exotik Vegetable Fruits etc. Minerals, Mettals, Stones, Gemms, Petrefactions etc. in greaty plenty. For Artificial things you will find Antiquities and valuable both Egyptian, Jewish, Grecian, Roman, British, Saxon, Danish etc, viz. their Deities or Idols, Icunculae, Amulets, Tallismans, ancient Vessels used in Sacrifices, Sepulchral Urns, Lachrymatories, Lamps, Gemms, Meddals, Coyns, Seals, Tesseræ, Rings, Armour, Shields, Weapons:

"As also a large Account of New Magnetical Experiments, Philosophical Manuscripts, several Improvements of Heraldry in ancient Glass and otherwise; Ancient Manuscript Rolls, and Almanacks, with the Ancient Improvements of Arithmetick of figures . . . Ancient books relating to

the Laws; Scotch, Irish and Welch Books of Antiquity Besides a Collection of Ancient Manuscripts in the Latin, Chinese, Saxon, Islandish, Muscovite, French and English languages, as also Bibles and Testaments. Not to mention his Outlandish Garments, weapons, his Pictures, Prints and a vast many other things . . .

"The curiosity of Enquiriers shall be more fully Answered . . . if they direct their Questions . . . to Smiths Coffee-house in the Stocks Market."

What is of particular interest is the journalist's reference to the collection having been "new methodized" which suggests that Conyers had made more than one attempt at classification.

It was noted in the new 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia* that much of Conyer's fine collection had already passed into the hands of that avid collector and man of classical learning, Dr John Woodward. Included in the collection was an object which Joseph Levine has described as being, 'Somewhere in the British Museum, almost forgotten and just a trifle rusty . . . a small round shield, unpretentious enough and understandably neglected, yet notorious in its time³. Woodward was firmly of the belief, and many supported him, that he had in his possession a shield which dated back to Roman days and which depicted on it one of the most dramatic events of Roman history. During Woodward's lifetime and for long after, the affair of the shield evoked much learned controversy but its provenance was far from detailed. The owner wrote to Thomas Hearne in 1712 and said 'The Roman Shield was bought by Mr Conyers of a Smith in Rosemary Lane, who bought all the Waste-Things in the Tower at the New-Fitting up of the Armourey, at the latter end of the reign of K. Charles 2d. The Shield probably came thence . . .⁴'.

That the shield had come from the Tower was probably correct, although it was not a belief shared by another antiquarian of the period, John Bagford (Appendix III). He too was a friend of Hearne's and had told him in 1709 'that formerly there was a shield Gallery at Whitehall, in which was a great Collection of Shields, and other military Instruments as there is now at the Tower', and thought it had been one of them⁵. Unlike Hearne or Henry Dodwell but like the possessor of another magnificent collection, John Kemp, he seems to have had some reservations as to the great antiquity of the Doctor's shield.

John Bagford had known Conyers well and in a letter to Hearne which was subsequently published in the latter's edition of John Leland's *Collectanea* (1715) told of Conyers remarkable discovery of elephant bones and tusks during the digging for gravel near Battlebridge, an area near the present day King's Cross. The Bagford papers today are to be found amongst the Harleian manuscripts of the British Museum, one of which (MS. Harl. 5953 ff. 112-3, Transcript, Appendix II) is headed *Mr Conyer's Observations*. It is almost entirely concerned with what he believed to be the discovery of a lost river but as part of his argument he writes, '... Then upon ye discovery of ye bones & Teeth that were found 11 Dec: 1673 in ye side of ye River over agt. Black Marys in great pits that were made for Gravel ... wch. have lain as long as Claudius Caesars time ... The beasts as I suppose having been there slain at Landing ... by one of ye Teeth was found a British weapon made of flint dextrously shaped ... to be seen at my house in Shoe Lane'⁶. Bagford agreed with this remarkable hypothesis, and went on to relate that the flint weapon was now in Kemp's collection, and proceeded to make a drawing of it. This was reproduced by Hearne which

now enables us to recognise it as a late Acheulian hand-axe. As far as is known Conyers was the first person to recognise that these Palaeolithic tools were man-made and could be used as a weapon.

No more than his contemporaries did John Conyers think of excavating with the deliberate intention of furthering the study of prehistory but for him the rebuilding of the City after the Great Fire brought a very real recompense and one of which he took every advantage. The apothecary's shop was on the north side of Fleet Street and it was his habit to walk up Ludgate Hill in order to see how the reconstruction of St. Paul's was proceeding. In his memoranda book (Sloane MSS MS 959; Appendix I for transcript) he wrote on 20 August 1675 'That this month at severall dayes the labourers at the East End of St Pauls ... by the high way & Pauls Schoole & under part of the place where St Pauls Cross formerly stood ... were forced to Digg in som places neare 5 or 6 and twenty or 30 feet deep for sound ground' in order to make a trench for foundations⁷. He was a keen and accurate observer and noted that the ground had been raised at least twice to a total depth of fifteen or sixteen feet. This he attributed to two layers of corpses having been buried there in the days when the churchyard was used for its original purpose. He noticed also that at about twelve feet there was '... a layer of white matter which might bee Chalke & hewings of stone when the church was built by Wm the Conquerors favorite Lanfrank bishop of London.' A little below this white line were flint pavements which he believed to be the paved areas of the yards belonging to the houses which Lanfrank was said to have bought in order to enlarge his church.

Conyers then remarked that as the workmen went deeper, below the flint pavements, the earth changed from black

to a yellow sand in which was ‘. . . a foot of Redd earthen Pottsheads, the Pott as redd & firme as sealing wax & upon som of the Pott or Cupp bottoms inscriptions, som upon Cupps to drinke others upon dishes like sallet dishes but cunningly divided & wrought . . . all which appears to bee of the old Roman use in Brittainia . . .’ and then goes on to make a significant observation ‘for I have severall brassen Coines that was found with these, all of the Roman & non other . . .’ Clearly he was well aware of the importance of associated finds in archaeology for dating purposes.

Others had something of the same idea, but not so firmly expressed. Strype in describing Wren’s activities wrote ‘. . . the North-side of this ground had been very anciently a great Burying-place . . . for upon the digging of the Foundations . . . he found under the Graves of the latter Ages—Saxon, British and Roman—. In the same row (with the British) and deeper were Roman Urns intermixed. This was 18 feet deep or more and belonged to the Colony when Roman and Britains lived and died together.’⁸

Conyers however was to go further and make even more significant observations. Small shreds of green serpentine, marble, porphyry and other stones which he likened to the mosaic work of St Edward the Confessor’s monument at Westminster, were found at fifteen feet depth, and eight feet lower, Roman pottery. This inspired him to write that he was able to ‘. . . see Epochs or beginnings of things & in these various heighths of ground poynt & shew with my finger the Roman concernes lay deepest, then higher those of more recent or fresher concerne’⁹. Thus did Conyers foreshadow the discovery of the value of stratigraphy in archaeological excavations.

Yet today, if Conyers has any claim to fame, it is for his report of the discovery

of Roman pottery kilns at the north-east corner of St Paul’s cathedral in 1677. He wrote that they had been found “. . . about 26 foot deep neare about the place where the market house stood in Olivers tyme” and then went on to describe them in detail. ‘Of these 4 severall [ie kilns] had ben made in the sandy Loame in the ground in the fashion of a Cross Foundacon & onely the west standing, this 5 foot from topp to bottom & better & as many feet in Bredth & had no other Matter for its form & building but the outward Loam as it naturally lay crusted hardish by the heat burneing the Loame Redd like brick the flooer in the middle supported by & cutt out of Loame & helped with old fashion’d Roman tyles shards but verry few & such as I have seen used for repositoryes for urns in the fashion of tile ovens & they plastered within with a Reddish mortar or Tarris but here was no mortar but onely the sandy Loame for cement.’¹⁰ Not content with the description he tried his hand at drawing a plan of the stokehole with the four kilns grouped round it, and of one of the kilns in ‘close-up’ (Pl. 1).

Conyers was not a great draftsman but his illustrations of the Roman earthenware then being discovered (Pl. 2) are recognisable types of the late 1st. and early 2nd. centuries AD. Each small drawing bears an added note such as ‘2 quart colinder whitish’, ‘ʒiii [ie 3 ounces] urne cinamon collour’ ‘ʒviii a censer or lamp whiteish earth’ or ‘2 ounces earthen Lamp gilded wth electrum’ As always he was impressed by the Roman workmanship and wrote at the bottom of the page, ‘all these a sort of earth allmost like crucibles except the black & will indure the fier instead of brass as at this day in use about Poland’. So making one immediately wonder just what Conyers knew about Poland, a country which must have felt to Londoners of the Stuart period

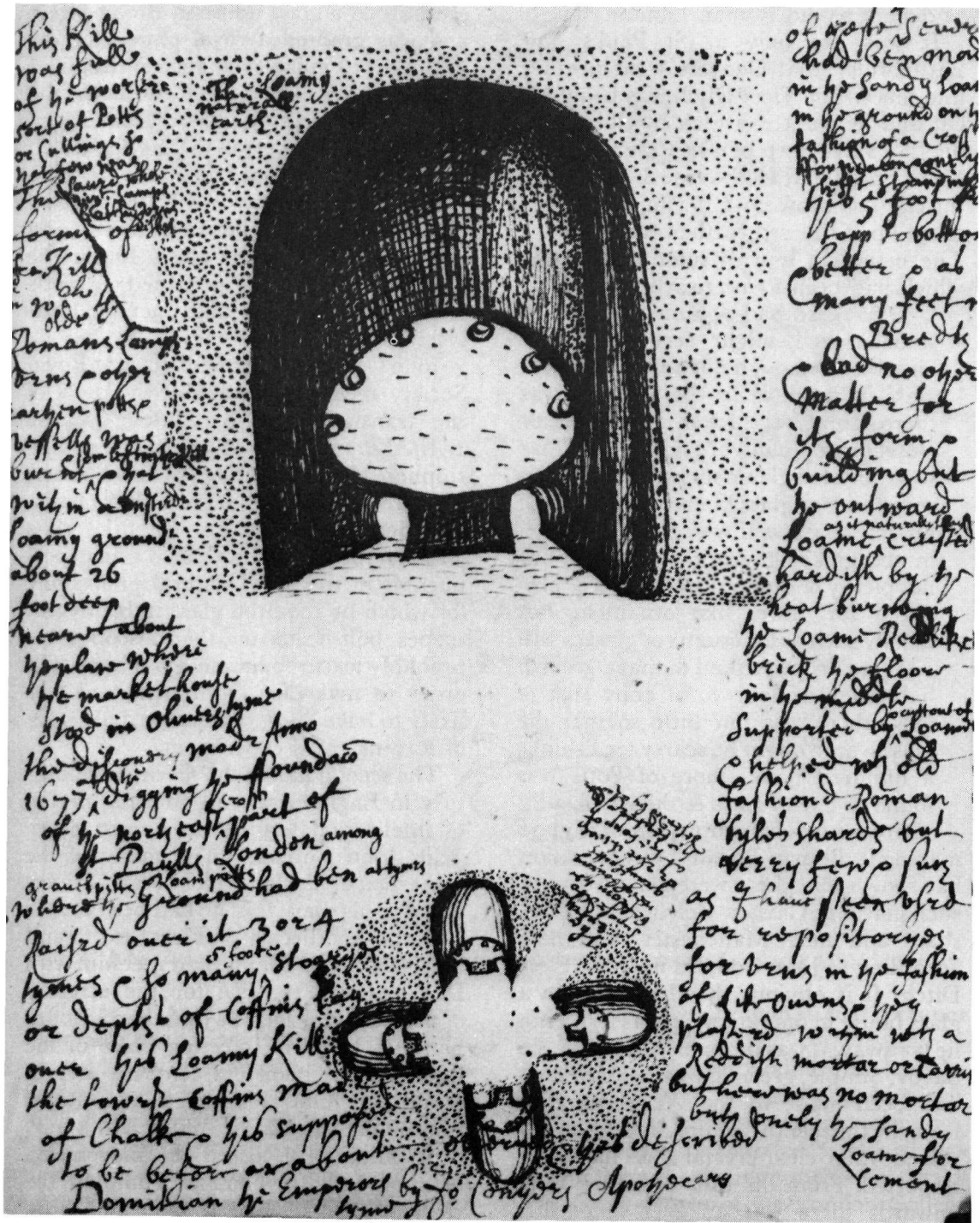


Plate I John Conyers; Drawings of Roman Kilns from Conyers' memoranda. Sloane MS. 958 f. 106v. (Reproduced with kind permission of the British Museum).

as distant as did Roman London.

It was not only at St Paul's and Battlebridge that Conyers went peering into holes. The Fleet Ditch was being re-cut and he went to watch the labourers dig '... verry deep between the fleet gate & the bridg[e] at Holbourne & there next the clay or yellow sand 15 foot d[ee]p] was taken up of this red earthen ware cupps'. The men told him of some small kilns which had been found nearby,

'... & these had a funnel to convey smoake wch might serve for glass fornese for though not anny potts with glass in it whole in the fornaces was there found yet broken Crucibells or Vesls for molteing of glasses togeather with boltered glasse such as is to be seen remaining at glass housen amongst the broken Glass wch was glasses spoyled in the makeing was there found, but not plenty & especially coulered & prepared for Jewel like ornament but mostly such as for cruetts or glasses wth a lipp to dropp withall & that a grenish light blew collour & of anny sort of glass there was but little so that the glass worke might be scarsy for I thinke a hundred tymes more of Potts was found to one of glass & then broken¹¹.'

There is no documentary proof of glass making in Roman Britain but excavation has shown that there were glass works in such places as Caistor, Colchester, Faversham and near Manchester, and now according to John Conyers near the Fleet Ditch. It is obvious that he had seen a glass house in operation, and as it did not lie far away, it was probably the one at the Savoy. Simple, green, blown-glass vessels had been made in the Weald since at least the thirteenth century, but the highly prized water-clear crystal glass had to be imported. From the time of Henry VIII onwards there was an ever increasing demand for this Venetian glass. In 1575 Giacomo Verzelini, a native of Venice,

established a glass house in Broad Street and was granted a royal patent for the sole right to make such glass in England for 21 years¹². After the Restoration the demand for crystal glass became even greater and soon outran the supply, which led George Ravenscroft in 1673 to set up a glass house in the Savoy with the avowed intention of discovering an attractive and acceptable high grade glass. In this he was successful for he perfected methods of producing a heavy and tractable lead-glass with rich clear tones¹³.

John Conyers, a frequent guest at Royal Society meetings, undoubtedly knew of the translation of the Italian treatise *L'Arte Vetraria* made in 1662 by Dr Christopher Merrett, Fellow of the Society. This translation is thought to have had a considerable effect on English glass manufacture. Conyers was an avid experimenter in the 'new' natural philosophy for which he required glass in his hygrosopes, bolt-heads and thermoscopes. He probably learnt to handle glass himself in order to make his equipment and was likely to have been an interested observer of Ravenscroft's experiments.

The second half of the seventeenth century in England saw an amazing period of intellectual ferment in almost every field. John Conyers knew many of the great men of his day. Hooke several times noted in his diary that he had been to 'Mr Coniers, Apothecary, in Fleet Street', and on one occasion that he had met him with Dr Wood and Francis Aston, the secretary of the Royal Society, at Jonathan's Coffee House a favourite meeting place of the intelligentsia. Conyers lent his hygroscope to John Flamsteed the Royal Astronomer, so that he could make a copy of it, and he discussed the movements of another with Thomas Tompion the clockmaker who had a shop and work place at the corner of Water Street and Fleet Street. He also knew that other great

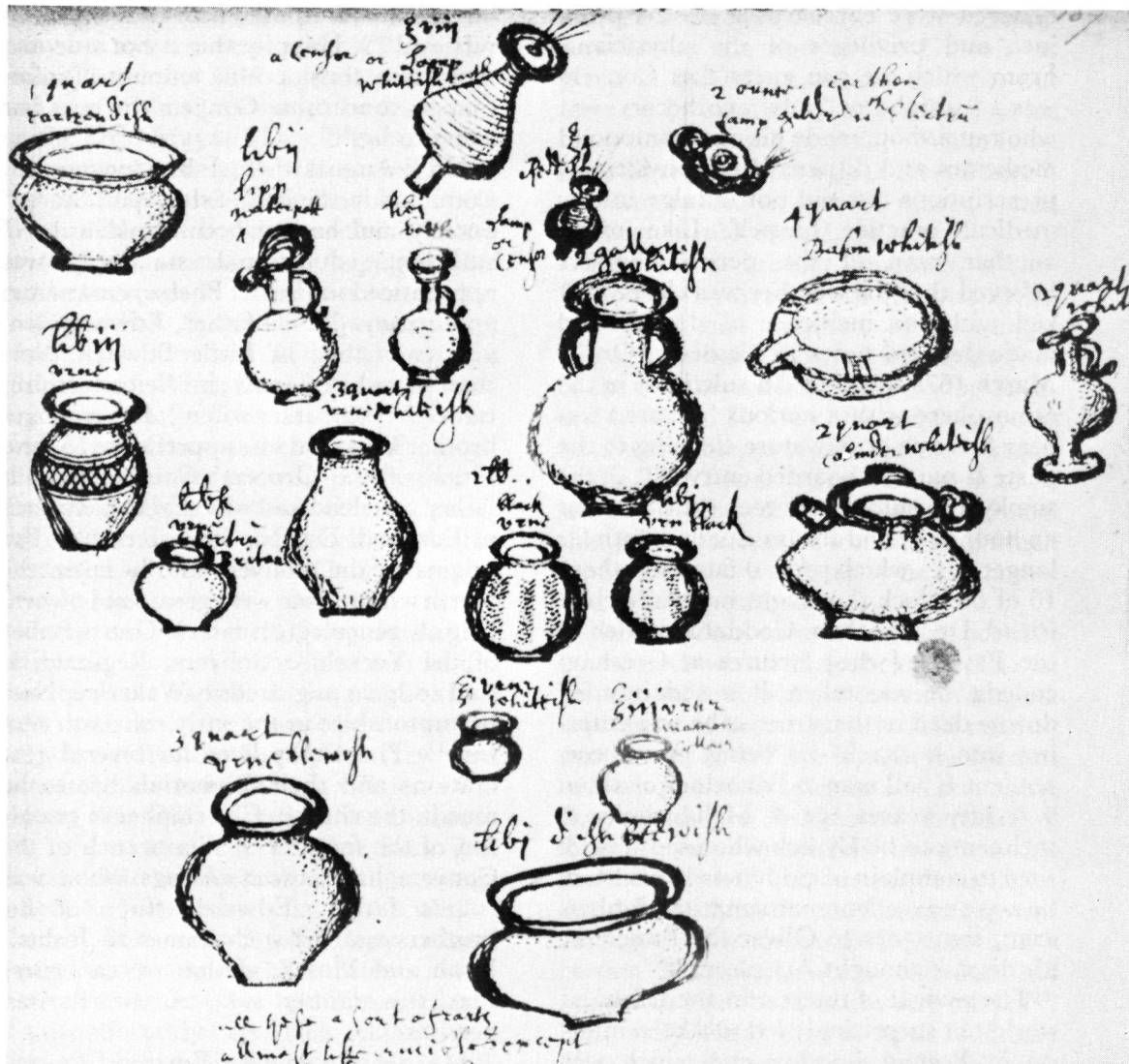


Plate 2 John Conyers; Drawings of Roman Pottery from Conyers' memoranda. Sloane MS. 958 f. 107v. (Reproduced with kind permission of the British Museum).

collector of antiquities, Elias Ashmole. Samian ware fascinated Conyers and he wrote, "Now of this Redd pott the bottom of [the] cupp Mr Ashmole keeps by him wch hath a inscription vizt: Saturnalia wch though [it] came to him for part of a urne I suppose saturnalia shews it to have rather contained wine in it; & another sort of his redd Pott hath frosted in the bottom little bitts of white hard sand or

stone that makes it rough so that it cannot be well cleaned . . .¹⁴⁹".

For Dr Jonathan Goddard he had the greatest respect which is particularly interesting as it gives us a hint concerning Conyer's type of practice. Goddard was one of the most distinguished scientists of his age, a censor of the London College of Physicians, and a determined antagonist of those apothecaries who he

believed were encroaching on the province and privileges of the physicians. From which we can guess that Conyers was a 'straight' or 'pure' apothecary, one who ran a shop, made his own compound medicines and dispensed the physician's prescriptions but did not indulge in any medical practice himself. Like many another man of the period Conyers believed that the weather was closely linked with the incidence of disease and made detailed notes in his diary. On 24 March 1675 he noticed a sultriness in the atmosphere with a curious '... smoakyness & a due or moisture cleaving to the paste & painted boarded entyes . . .', the smoky and sulphurous reek continued for an hour or so and the unusual warmth for longer, '... which proved fatal for about 10 of the clock that night my verry good friend Dr Jonathan Goddard reader of the Physick [who] lectures at Gresham colledg, he was taken ill & sodainly fell downe dead in the street as he was entering into a coach, he being pretty corpulent & tall man, a Bachelour of about 5 & fifty yeares age & Mellancholly & inclineing to be Cynick who used now & then to complain of giddyness in his head; he was an excellent mathematicin & physician, somtymes to Oliver the Protector, his disease thought Apoplectick¹⁵'.

The revival of interest in the Classical world not surprisingly led to a keen interest in Roman London one which was studied almost entirely by means of literary sources. A piece of statuary or a fine inscription found accidentally in the earth would certainly arouse the scholars attention but the work of such men as Edward Stillingfleet or Henry Dodwell was confined to literary deductions. These classicists' lives are well known but those of the men, such as John Bagford and John Conyers, who did not stray from the archaeological evidence is meagre indeed. Joseph Levine has gone so far as to write,

"... now the apothecary is almost past retrieval¹⁶". Happily this is not true and recently a considerable amount of information concerning Conyers the man has come to light.

On 2 August 1649, John Conyers was examined in the hall of the Apothecaries' Society and having been found to be of sufficient educational standard, was apprenticed to Robert Phelps, citizen and apothecary. John's father, Edward Conyers, was then of Little Bowden, Northamptonshire, (now in Leicestershire) but eight years later when John's younger brother Emanuel was apprenticed to John Finch of the Grocers' Company, their father was dead and was said to have been of Edmund Thorpe, Leicestershire. The origins of the Conyers family lie in the North where some were great land owners (Fig. 1, genealogical table). One member of the Yorkshire Conyers, Reginald, is said to have migrated to Wakerley, Northamptonshire in the early sixteenth century¹⁷. There they lived for several generations and their memorials are to be seen in the church. Christopher, a grandson of the founder of this branch of the Conyers, had six sons amongst whom was John's father, Edward; three of his brothers sported such names as Joshua, Noah and Moses, so that we can guess that this family was of the Puritan persuasion.

It is not known what Edward Conyers' occupation was, but John relates in his memoranda that in 1632 his father married Jane Clarke in the little church of St Faith's which now lay under the ruins of St Paul's cathedral. The place of birth or baptism of their children has not been found though it is probable that the parents had soon left London for the Midlands, and stayed there for the remainder of their lives.

John gained his Freedom of the Society of Apothecaries on 25 February 1658. He

never rose to great eminence in his Company but nevertheless paid his £15 livery fine in December 1667, and six years later was one of those chosen to be a steward on the Lord Mayor's Day. He was one of the many apothecaries who stayed in the capital during the Great Plague of 1665. He published a booklet entitled *Direction for the prevention and cure of the plague, fitted for the poorer sort* in which was stated that two Cordial Sudorific Powders were obtainable from him at the Unicorn in Fleet Street. When the plague was slackening its grip, in February 1666, he married Mary Glisson the niece of one of the most eminent men in the history of English medicine. Francis Glisson, president of the College of Physicians, Regius Professor of Physick at Cambridge for forty years, was by this time nearly seventy and spent little if any time at the university. John Aikin tells us that he did not leave the capital in the plague time, and possibly the two men worked together. After the Great Fire they were near neighbours for Francis Glisson's will relates that Glisson owned five houses in the new streets between Shoe Lane and Fetter Lane besides his capital messuage where he lived, which lay to the west of them¹⁸. Both he and John Conyers were buried in the church of St Bride's.

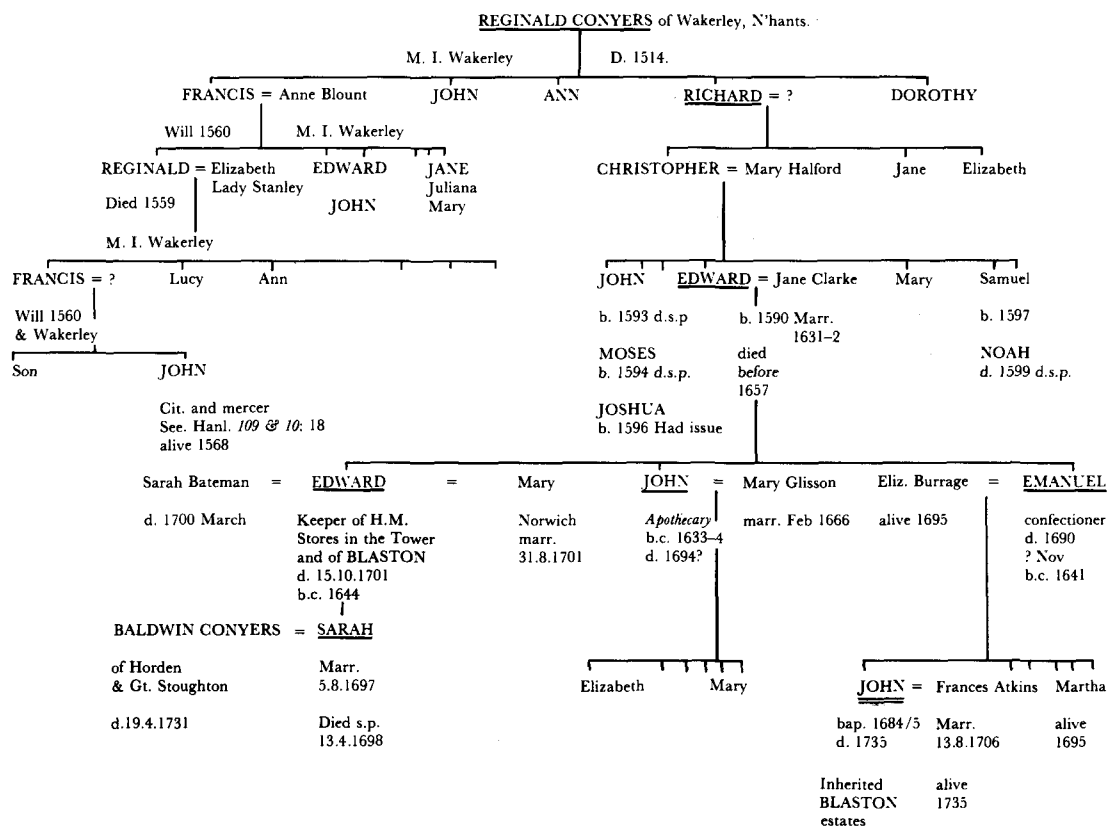
Conyers must have had a magnificent if uncomfortably close view of the Great Fire of London. Looking up Ludgate Hill, he must have seen the spectacle of the destruction of old St Paul's, and if he had walked round the corner into Blackfriars he would have witnessed the loss of the ancient buildings of his own company. He must have suffered considerable damage for he figures in a manuscript which was produced in 1666 relating to the then inhabitants of the parish of St Bride's¹⁰. From this document it can be determined that his shop and house was on Fleet Street within seven houses of the entrance

into Peterborough Court. This was presumably at the sign of the Unicorn as given in the advertisement of 1665, but later on in the 1670s as he relates in his diary he was at the sign of the White Lyon but still on the north side of Fleet Street²⁰. At some unknown time he moved round the corner into Shoe Lane.

Besides his brother Emanuel, a confectioner who lived in All Hallows Staining, John had another, even younger brother, Edward. Edward was made Free of the Leathersellers' Company by Richard Coole on 10 May 1667 and ten years later was a keeper of His Majesty's stores in the The Tower²¹. It would seem to be extremely likely that it was from Edward that John obtained his iron shield of which Dr Woodward was later to be the happy and envied possessor.

Edward Conyers made money, possibly by methods which do not bear too close an inspection, and had the common English aspiration of becoming a landed country gentleman. In 1679 he bought the manors of Blaston and Bradley in Leicestershire, but any hopes he had of founding a dynasty were completely thwarted. He and his wife had but one surviving child, Sarah²¹. Nothing daunted a marriage was arranged between Sarah Conyers and a certain Baldwin Conyers who does not appear to have been in anyway related²³. Tragically, Sarah died in April 1698 only 8½ months after marriage, to be followed by her mother a year later. Edward made a second marriage within 18 months. If it was with the idea of fathering another child, it was doomed to failure, as he was dead within six weeks, having outlived both his brothers.

The apothecary was buried on 8 April 1694 and of his large family of eight daughters and two sons only two girls survived childhood. The confectioner died in November 1690 leaving at least two living children, Martha and John.



The earlier part of the pedigree is based on that in Nichols *op. cit.*, p. 456. Later part amended to accord with more recent research.

Fig. 1 John Conyers; Genealogical table of the Conyers family of Wakerley, Blaston and London.

Although none of the wills of the three brothers, John, Emanuel and Edward has been found, it seems highly likely that it was John, son of the confectioner, who inherited the not inconsiderable estate of the late storekeeper at the Tower²⁴. John had been born early in 1685 and so inherited when he was a mere boy of 16; he married a Frances Atkins in 1706 but again only daughters survived his death in 1735 so that by a curious quirk of Edward's will the estates passed to a Conyers family of great wealth which was quite unrelated²⁵.

In fact the inheritance of this country estate may well have proved something of an embarrassment to the apothecary. John

Conyers was a man of the budding scientific world with its stimulating gatherings and societies; it was not he, but Edward and Emanuel who went a-hunting of the hare in Epping Forest. It was more to his taste to propound the problem of tri-secting an angle and finding two mean proportionals (1680), or a method of demonstrating one of Euclid's propositions, which was only too quickly refuted (1684)²⁶. It is doubtful if he would ever have willingly left the capital for the relative isolation of a small Leicestershire village. There, there was no Tompion to show his hygroscope, no Royal Society where he could happily join in the erudite conversation, no excavations to watch,

and above all how many would have made the difficult journey to view his collection of curiosities?

As an epitaph one can not do better than quote from Professor Atkinson, "... I believe that our concepts and techniques of today can be evaluated only if we know and understand the roots from which they have grown. In a very real sense, therefore, British archaeology owes its present high standards to the work of its pioneers, at least as far back as the seventeenth century..."²⁷.

NOTES

1. J. Batteley, *The Antiquities of Richborough and Reculver*, London, 1774, pp. 134–6 an abbreviated and translated version of his *Antiquitates Rutupinae*, 1711.
2. G. Daniels, *A Hundred and fifty years of Archaeology*, p. 16.
3. J. M. Levine, *Dr Woodward's Shield*, University of California Press, 1977, p. 1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 327, note 1; British Library, Add. MSS, MS 6127, f. 81. Thomas Smith reported that Woodward paid £7 or £8 for it, and that it was bought from Conyer's daughter.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
6. British Library, Harl. MSS, MS. 5953, ff. 112–3. This document is curious in as much that it is partly written in the first and the third persons, there are also some small gaps in it which leads one to guess that somebody has had difficulty with handwriting whilst making a copy of another document, and then made a few additions; many of the phrases used are characteristic of those used by Conyers and his handwriting is execrable! See Appendix II, Pt 3.
7. British Library, Sloane MSS, MS. 958, ff. 105r.
8. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments*, London, Vol. III, 'Roman London', 1928, p. 140, quoting Strype.
9. Sloane MSS., *op. cit.*, note 7, f. 109r.
10. *Ibid.*, f. 106v.
11. *Ibid.*, f. 106r.
12. Verzelini retired when he was 70 and before his patent had expired; he died in 1605, aged 84, and his tomb may be seen in the church at Downe.
13. Besides the Savoy glasshouse there were two other important factories, one at Southwark and another at Ratcliffe; by the end of the seventeenth century London had 11 lead glass factories.
14. Sl. MSS., *op. cit.*, note 7, f. 109v.
15. *Ibid.*, f. 118v.
16. J. M. Levine, *op. cit.*, note 3, p. 142.
17. J. Nichols, *The History and antiquities of the County of Leicester*, London, J. Nichols, 1798, vol. 2, p. 456. Claim is made that these Conyers were descended from the Conyers of Hornby Castle, but Nichols points out that there is some doubt.
18. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11 355 f. 116. Nov. 1677.
19. Guildhall Library, MS. 14819, f. 79r. 'Inhabitants in St Bride's 1666'.
20. Sl. MSS., *op. cit.*, note 7, f. 116v. "... it seems the south side of the house next Fleetstreet in my shop that was then the warmer ..." 18 March 1674/5.
21. Records held by the Leathersellers' Company; Sl. MSS, *op. cit.*, note 7, f. 127v.
22. In 1667 Edward Conyers of the Tower of London, aged 30, married Sarah the daughter of Matthew Bateman of Whitechapel, a fellow citizen and leatherseller. See *Allegations for licences issued by vicars-general of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1660–79*, Harl. Record Soc., vol. 23, p. 135.
23. Baldwin's father, John Conyers of Gray's Inn, was the son of Christopher of Horden, Durham by his first wife Elizabeth Langhorne of Putney.
24. John Nichols has written in his *History of the County of Leicester* that it was John Conyers the apothecary who had inherited Edward Conyers' estate, and printed a completely erroneous pedigree in which the apothecary married again in 1706 and fathered more children—although well over 70; the same pedigree shows Emanuel the confectioner to have been born when his father was 92!
25. P.R.O., P.C.C. Prob. 11 718 f. 146. The will of Edward Conyers of Copt

Hall, Essex proved in 1742. The Walthamstow Conyers originated in Whitby and Scarborough, Yorkshire; a member of this family, Sir Gerard, was a governor of the Levant Company and a director of the Bank of England.

26. R. T. Gunter, *Early science in Oxford*, printed for the subscribers, vol. 7, pp. 403, 538; vol. 4, p. 85.
27. R. H. Cunnington, *From Antiquary to Archaeologist. A biography of William Cunnington*, Princes Risborough, Shire Publications, 1975, Introduction, p. xi.

APPENDIX I TRANSCRIPT OF JOHN CONYERS' MEMORANDA (Sloane Mss. Ms. 959

f. 105r.

August 20. 1675 Memorandum.

That this month at severall dayes the labourers at the East End of St Pauls London can tell (?) one the north side of the church as the church is now altered by the care & direcons of the Learned Sr Christopher Wrenn etc this being the part of the church nearest to—by the high way & Pauls Schoole & under part of the place where St Pauls Cross Formerly stood & a new cutt for foundacon the church being made wider much then formerly widening (of) the widnes all towards the North or the booksellers as you go to & from Cheapside there they was forced to Digg in som[e] places neare 5 or 6 and twenty or 30 foot deep for sound ground & there making the foundacon.

Now all one that side vizt: ye north side of the east end of St Pauls it doth appeare that in the highest part of sound ground the ground hath been raised at the least 15 or 16 foote and now it appears also that by (two?—a blot of ink) layers of corpses the one layer 6 or 7 foot deep and the other neare 10 or 12 foot deep the ground hath been there raised twice since they used to burye in that Churchyard & about 12 foot deep there was a layer of white matter w[h]ich might bee Chalke & hewings of stone when the church was built by Wm: the Conquerors favorite Lanfrank bishop of London. Now a little below this veine of white chalke (it lay all along paralel the east end of St pauls) there appeared here & there flint pavents (sic) w[h]ich was the pavements of yards for Lanfrank is said to purchase houses of Citizens then to add to the chir[ch]yard of St Pauls which church was then layed in a larger foundacon then then ever before. Now below the said flint pavements as the ground ceased to be black earth & came to be more of the yellow sand collour there was found a foot of Redd earthen Pottsheads the Potts as redd & firme as sealing wax & upon som[e] of the Pott or Cupp bottoms inscriptions som[e] upon Cupps to drinke others upon dishes like sallett dishes but cunningly devised & wrought the inscriptions on som[e] de

or brass by laying in the dark long now the Coyndes taken up by
 turned in some place to Copper St Pauls in the new foundacon
 or Copper gilded wth a sum of of the Church how in grand pitt
 Calaminaris som of the new now Dugg of old time by the Romans
 antiq^{ue} or worn of some fresh as filled wth rubbish of course great
 dithe clay ground present or sand Lett shewd som of the m^{en}com^{er}
 moist ground w^{as} the som of the redd earth of the of the old
 old fashiond path shewd of the fashiond marked various colourd
 taken up in places like as of old o marked earth near 25 foot
 crests where boats have how might deep the found many cond^{er}
 canve w^{er}thly laud^e as you might see a thick green rust of the
 see by the w^{er}ind of the worn away quite eaten to rust green colour
 of sand sh^{ow}ing the down for the salt of the dirt
 the earth of the in the new dugg ground being covered wth flux a height
 for foundacon all the part of the of black earth may vary wth
 of sand raised by the h^{er}ides of the occasion the rust of flux a
 w^{er}ind blowing at the up height long tract of time from lapped
 why the of the w^{er} shows the water like a spongy hold like
 over flowed the parts in the old wormholes inter mingled in
 kind of brittain & Roman how the yellow firm ground brought
 was taken up at the bridge low with moisture rocks to the
 in the sand buried Spurawells as now at the East end of the south
 bed of the hand broader old fashiond near the school about 15 foot
 the of the daggery crushed wth a blon^{is} deep was found shreds of the
 the of the rust som^e the in of pretty green serpent like hard stone
 Coyndes Julian & far not so high of the porphery or reddish white
 imbossed as the Coyndes but as if the Sun like a paper like colour
 of King James the 1st the 2nd & better stone as was used in the m^{on}ast^{er}
 the later periods w^{er} the Copper work of St Edwards the Confessor
 cross on one side & flower de luce monument at w^{est} end w^{ch} holds in
 the of the medall^e of the 24 latin the laying so low of the Roman
 letters of som of the crucifix the 6 or 8 or 10 foot deep
 And marie on one side & cross that as time passed away so
 one the of the Shipp Counter w^{as} the
 at the bottom

Plate 3 John Conyers; Sample handwritten page from Conyers' memoranda. Sloane MS. 958 f. 105r.

(Reproduced with kind permission of the British Museum).

Primani: other de Parici: other Quintimani others Victor: other Janus & Recinox: all w[hi]ch appears to be of the old Romans use in Brittainia.

f. 105v.

& their broken potts for I have severall brassen Coines that was found with these all of the Romans and non[e] other som[e] of w[hi]ch by long continuance are quite eaten through to peices amongst the rest one of a fine mettle finer then bellmettle & as hard w[hi]ch were eaten to peices in the middle onely som[e] of the letters left to shew of the Coynes affirms one Hadrian & one the reverse a large ship rowed amongst others of Constaine & Claudius & Romulus & Rhemis with the wolfe.

Now these pottsherds & som[e] glass & potts like broken urnes w[hi]ch were curiously layed one the outside w[i]th like Thorne pricks of rosetrees & in the manner of raised work this upon potts of Murry collour & here & there greyhounds & staggs & hares all in rais'd worke other of these were Cinnamon Collour urne fashion & were as gilded w[i]th Gould but vaded Som[e] of strang[e] fashiond Juggs the sides bent in so as to be six square & these raisd upon them & curiously pinched as curious raisers of past[e] may imitate Som[e] like black earth for Pudding Panns one the outside indented and crossed quincunx fashion Now many of these potts of the finer sort are lite & thin & these workes raised or indented were instead of Collours yet I finde they had som[e] odd Collours—not blew—in those tymes & in a way of glazing different to what [is] now & here take notice that the Redd earth before mencond bore away the belle in these tymes because the names of their Judges & Comanders & Victors were therein placed.

Now som[e] of this redd earthen ware or mettle for it appears to be a sort not much inferior to China ware some of w[hi]ch I received of & see tooke upp of labourers in the new cutt of fleet ditch vizt that part verry deep between the fleet gate & the bridg[e] at Holbourne & there next the clay or yellow sand 15 foot d[eep] (?) here & there was taken up of this red earthen ware Cupps etc w[i]th inscriptions or stamps vizt de primani or of the first Legion & others de parici or vessells for the Judges & it appears as if when the Thames spread all over there.

f. 106r.

The Labourers tould me of som[e] Remains of other such kind of small kills that was found up & downe nere the place of the other Pott kills & these had a funnel to convey smoke w[hi]ch might serve for glass fornases for though not anny potts w[i]th glass in it whole in the fornases was there found

yet broken crucibells or Vesls for Molteing of glasses together w[i]th boltered glasse such as is to be seen remaining at glass housen amongst the broken Glass, w[hi]ch was glasses spoyled in the making was there found, but not plenty & especially coulered & prepared for Jewel like ornament but mostly such as for cruetts or glasses w[i]th a lipp to dropp withall & that a grenish light blew collour & of anny sort of glass there was but little so that the glass worke might be scarsy for I thinke a hundred tymes more of Potts was found to one of glass & then broken.

Now besides Redd Pott such as have inscriptions on the bottom there was black potts w[i]th inscriptions & the part or earth white & the glasing black & both these might be made in that place as well as a Gilded sort of Earthen Ware w[hi]ch might possibly be of the Electrum of the Brittain as Cambden menciond.

Now this a brownish sort of inclineing to yellow & the gilding easily coming ofe Now whether this was a thin wash of gold Collour or folliated I know not yet I thinke foliated the other vesells of Potts & urnes of whitish yellow softe kind of earth & this mingld or compounded w[i]th oyster & Mussel shells or at least strewed at the bottom of the inside to hinder them from wearing as allso so (?) the bottom of som[e] Redd earth now other Potts of curious thinn sydes as thinn as of Glass w[i]th imbossed or outward Raised worke & these as of a silverd or bellmettle colloured glaseing the Imagry hounds hares staggs thornes trees & branching flourishing all Raised workes.

So then Lamps I have of gilded brittish worke & of Redd earth & of course whitish yellow & so urnes of Gilded of Redd & black & whitish yellow Collours & so bottles & potts with lipps for dropping at their sacrifices all of the same Collours.

f. 106v.

(This page consists of the drawing of a kiln (see separate sheet) which is profusely annotated.)

This kill was full of the worser sort of Potts or Cullings so that few was saved whole vizt. Lamps bottles urns of (sic) dishes

The form of a Kill in which the olde Romans Lamps urns & other earthen potts & vessells was burnt & som[e] left in the Kill & that with in a unstird Loamy ground about 26 foot deep neare about the place where the market house stood in Olivers tyme the discovery made Anno 1677 at the digging the foundacon of the north east cross part of St Pauls London among gravel pitts and Loam pitts where the Ground had be[e]n at tymes Raised over it 3 or 4 tymes & so many 8 foote stoaryes or depths of Coffins lay over this Loamy Kill the

lowest Coffins made of chalke & this supposed to be before or about Domitian the Emperors tyme.

of these severall had be[e]n made in the sandy Loame in the ground on the fashion of a Cross Foundacon & onely the west standing this 5 foot from topp to bottom & better & as many feet in Bredth & had no other Matter for its form & building but the outward Loam as it naturally lay crusted hardish by the heat burneing the Loame Redd like brick the floer in the middle supported by & cutt out of Loame & helped with old fashioned Roman tyles shards but verry few & such as I have seen used for repositoryes for urns in the fashion of tile ovens & they plasterd within with a Reddish mortar or Tarris but here was no mortar but onely the sandy Loame for cement.

(A note on the plan drawing)

The entry suposed to be from the neighbouring gravell pits or else it was at the topp of the center & so desended by a Ladder.

f. 107r.

(This page consists of drawings of the 'potts' he found—see separate sheet).

f. 108r.

these potts broken were throwne overboard or at least was the first rubbish brought & layed in layst (? layers) all for the bounding in the fleet river w[hi]ch then was without bounds by reason of the then unskillfulness of the old brittains.

Now in this fleet ditch or river of wells for so Stow tells us it was calld in the Conquerors tyme as the new foundacons of the wall for the river was dugg there verry low was found many old Roman Coines of Copper & brass & of all Sorts except gold & verry little Silver & Ring mony nay & of all sises (? sizes) som[e] as bigg as neare a 5 shillings peece som[e] as of $\frac{1}{2}$ crowne & others as the new coind Copper halfe peny & farthing & som[e] as small as the farthing made in King Charles the first his reigne those with a yellow snipp in their sides & som as small as $\frac{1}{2}$ those farthings & at Holbourn bridg[e] two of ye old Romans false gods vizt their Lares or penates of the biggnes of 1 quarter of pinte Pewter pott & about that height & these were of brass w[i]th long Laying cased here & there with petrifick matter these the one called Ceres & the other Bacchus

Now all these Coines laying moist were preserved bright the water washing of[f] the fretting Salt from tyme to tyme so that many of them was washed & wasted thinn & much out of shape etc & is to be noted that all pinnes of brass petrified w[i]th sand there about fleet bridg[e] these pinns were bright as at first though had layen there many yeares there was arrowheads cased over with a

blewish stony rust & scarce hurt w[i]th Laying many hundred yeares also brass or Copper seales som[e] as broad as a Crowne peice w[i]th a noose to hang to a purse this w[i]th a spread eagle upon it & a inscription in a ring round it vizt: Sigillum ingelram: de pruce (?) in Large Saxon letters & a Copper Cross with it or neare it both found & dugg much below the foundacon of an old chalke wall neare fleet bridg[e] in fleet street as it was part of the Olde ditch wall going up towards the fleet & one Shooe lane side another seale an oval fashion Stamp or Scutcheon w[i]th an inscription viz Sigillum Rogeri de Remtum (?) in old Saxon letters or like lattin letters this found neare Holbourne bridg[e] many large brass Coines of note (?) Vespasian & one the Reverse Judea Capta & som[e] seemd to be Copper within & brass without

f. 108v.

or brass by laying in the earth long turned in som[e] places to Copper or Copper gilded w[i]th a fume of Calaminaris som[e] of these were more antique or worn & som[e] fresher as either clay ground preserved or sand moist ground wasted them & som[e] other old fashioned pottsherd & Tiles & these taken up in places like as of old creeks wher[e] boates here & there might conveniently lande as you might see by the veines of Clay worn away & veines of sand shelving up & down & there could I see in the new dugg ground for foundacon all the exact veines of sand raised by the tydes & the veines laying at a Just heighth w[i]th tydes w[hi]ch shews the waters over flowed these parts in the old tyme of brittans & Romans there was taken up at fleet bridg[e] low in the sand buried spurr rowells as broad as your hand & broader old fashioned Keys & daggers crusted w[i]th a blewish petrified rust & one Peeice of Coyne Julius Cesar not so high imbossed as other Coynes but as y^t of King Jameses w[hi]ch Picis (?) I vullue other later peeices vizt: Copper Cross one one side & flower de luce the other & medalls of the 24 lattin letters & som[e] of the crucifix & Ave Maries one on side & Crosses one the other & Shipp counters w[i]th Saxon great letters

Now the Coynes taken upp by St Pauls in the new foundacon of the chirch there in gravel pits dugg of old tyme by the Romans & filled w[i]th rubbish of course gravel Pottsheards som[e] of the mencond redd earth & others of the other old fashioned marked various collourd & marked earth neare 25 foot deep) these Coynes many coverd w[i]th a thick green rust & others quite eaten to rust green collour for the saltnes of this earth being coverd w[i]th such a heighth of black earth may verry well occasion this rust & such a long tract of tyme since lapped & like a spongy holes like wormeholes

intermingld in the yellow firme ground w[hi]ch moysture rockes to & fro

Now at this east end of St pauls neare the schoole about 15 foot deep was found shreddes of the pretty green serpentine hard stone or Egiptian marble & the porphery or Redd & whit[e] such like a Jasper & other Collour'd stones as was used in the mosaick worke of St Edwards the Confessours monument at Westminster w[hi]ch tells me this laying so low & the Roman Pott 6 or 8 or 10 foot deeper that as tyme passed awaye

f. 109r.

I might see the Epochs or beginings of things & in these various heighths of ground poynt & shew with my finger the Romans concernes lay deepest then higher those of more recent or fresher concerne Now it doth appear the Romans hadd excellent mechanicke vizt pottmakers & stamps of coyne yea & they had excellent workers in glass for amongst these Roman Potts was found glass beads as bigg as could be put on your little finger & these hollow within & of blew glass & wrought or enamelled w[i]th yellow glass & blew beads of a Collour of the Turkois stone divided were these beads into threads as bigg as Pack thread & amongst the rest great Pinns made of bone or Ivory the heads of many like the great brass pinn others vermiculated or skrew heads others like the popes tripple crowne & yet long before his mitter [mitre?] was publick of these a large sort fell to my share as many as a pint pott would hold so that those being most whole shews as if upon sacking the City or som[e] such lik[e] disaster these things happned to be there Spoyle & their vessells broken & so made a heap

There was also there found brass imbossments w[i]th glass sett in instead of better Jewells w[hi]ch I keep & glass dropps yt were loose & the bottom of an old fashiond crucible w[hi]ch had glass melted in it & there was also peeices of necks of glass cruets w[i]th out drawne to a point lipps to power [pour?] out by all these & som[e] Iron turnd to perfunctory rust these shewd antiquity & profoundly prove it

Now of this Redd pott the bottom of [the] cupp Mr Ashmole keeps by him w[hi]ch hath a inscription vizt: Saturnalia w[hi]ch though came to him for part of a urne I suppose saturnalia shews it to have rather contained wine in it; & another sort of his redd Pott hath frosted in the bottom little bitts of white hard sand or stone that makes it rough so that it cannot be well cleaned this I suppose was so orderd to preserve it intire to the service of their abominable godds else why roughin the bottom & som[e] of this redd earth one the outside wrought over in raised worke w[i]th a whitish glassy or

stony matter excellently wrought in flowers others of the Redd earth in shape herb bettony & som[e] mingle of Imagery of their god Jupiter & cornucopias & Snake

memorandu[m] [Squeezed in at the bottom of the page]

taken up a specul of mettle or mettle to shew the face of bed (sic, ? bell) mettle—ne (?)

f. 109v.

& amongst the heap or Mixture of Rubbish harte-horn sawed into peeices old heifers hornes & abundance of boars Tushes & som[e] in their jawbones w[hi]ch shews they did often hunt the wildboare here in these tymes & upon manny potts parts of inscriptions as one/dio the rest broken w[hi]ch shews as if it were Claudio that vaine person who would be worshipd as a godd & last of all one som[e] the inscription of Januarius or Janus w[hi]ch was a man som[e] say noah or one the Romans worshipd but for other months as to August I found not Now I do suppose in those tymes this Redd earth was esteemd as now plate is w[i]th us for indeed its Excell[en]t ware still though so olde & well glazed & wrought into vessells of Extraordinary shapes som[e] w[i]th Lyons heads one their sides & for distinction from false Gods marked a knife through the head thus ↑ as I can shew & upon a womans head w[hi]ch else I should have taken for Venus or Diana som[e] of these [have] holes in their sides to hang them up & covers for others oddly made & great pott sheards & eares of Six gallon Potts & its observable that there is none or not anny of this Redd earthen ware to be hadd at o[th]er potters neither do they know it & indeed the other earthen ware is as strange upon the matter & I do suppose ther Redd to be brought from Rome for it is not Leghorne or that of Portugall it may be it might be made in England & the way of it now lost as that of Redd glass & ther then was an imitacon of this by a baser sort found here w[i]th that finer nay a nother colloured earth vizt grey covered or cased over w[i]th this Redd earth or something lik[e] it & as these heathens loved this Redd so doth the bloody church of Roome keep to her Rubrick

Now these & many other things not mencond tyles of the brittons Roman tyles & bricks were & are Collected by & in the custody of John Conyers Citizen & Apothecary of London w[hi]ch God permitt & to him be glory in Secula Seculoru[m] f. 113v.

its verry Notable that Ivory worke & great Pinns made of Bone & bodkins of the same great numbers of each wch was of the Romans worke was found buried together wth store of Bores teeth & also oyster shells & other shells & Roman coines &

ornamentall beads of Green blew like enamel & the fibulae they used to fasten their garm^{ts} & earthen ware wth inscriptions & glass was found in gravel pitts 26, 27 & neere 30 foot deep oposite & neere S^t pauls Schoole in London under the graves y^t of Normans & Saxons & Danes & all the black earth consisting of 3 storyes of graves y^t had been Raised in tract of tyme 15 foot deep at least & one above another there in the yellow ground so deep these Roman trinketts wth the bones of staggs deere oxen Cocks etc were found wth but little damag so that allmost 2000 yeares tyme they was not rotted to dirt, wch argues that the deeper the safer, the deeper the less liable to corrupt & Rott because there so low is little Rarification & Condensation & so an Argum^t Rarific. (ation) & Condensation reaches not so lowe in the earth & is onely sup(er)ficall.

The Timber of piles of Oake & Deale last long in the earth beinge within the bowells thereof witness that at fleet old bridg(e) & other places under the Foundacon of the old wall of fleet ditch where deale piles were drawn out & was pretty sound yet black & those putt there in Edw: 3 tyme & those at old fleet bridg(e) as old as that & those was of Oke & was black & verry sound allso a Large oke frame of a water mill a little beyond the Fleet by the ditch side the large timber verry sound allso a large framing of timber worke found then at holborn bridg(e) foot wch lay deep und^{er} ground one (sic) that side as holborn cundit or Snowhill is upon & this wth great Piles for stares to go upp all this when about the yeares 1674 & 1675 when the ditch there was enlarged & dugg & new walled.

That within the gravelly earth of the ditch bottom there as above was found old daggers old larg(e) spurr rowells* the old shafts of Arrows & darts old Keys & sisers knives all the Iron or steel not much eaten in but covered wth a blewish strong crust that preservd it und^{er} ground & water And Allso Copper & brass Roman Coynes wch was as bright as if scowerd wth oyle but wasted wth that brightnese it seemes the ditch water clensted them as well as the bright pinns there found, but Silver all black & the Glass above had a Fin(e) Pouder that Peeld ofe & was bright shining underneath this I meane the Roman glass

Conyers, in common with his contemporaries, had no knowledge of chemical composition or reactions; he explained almost all physical and chemical phenomena in terms of "rarification and condensation". He knew of Boyle's experiments and theories but was not convinced and spent much time "rebuking" them.

* as large as the Pame of yr hand

APPENDIX II

MR CONYER'S OBSERVATIONS (MS. Harl. 5953, Part I pp. 112-3)

f. 2. The Heades of ye Tractes in this Booke Relating to London

Mr Coyners (sic) Obs. of Verulam and ye Elephant 465.

ff. 112-3.

"This land was not worth the naming with other Countries in Caesars time by reason of their ——— (blank space) and not to say Barbarousness of their names being Brittich yet their Names then are worth the Knowing significant to their Places if you consider them before the conquest the Laws of ye Nation were not Despiseable

The Quintessence of the Confessors Laws

To Consider the small Remains of Julius Caesar, To look for glorious buildings at Verulam or London within themselves they being often overtaken wth Famine w^{ch} made them less desirous of much ornam^{ts}. Their Weapons were not of Iron but Flint the Principal Trade they had was between Verulam and London.

So y^t on Watling or Verulam rode possibly there was a Communication backwards and forwards w^{ch} continued untill the Seas in Holland and the Fens and other Marshy places (Verulam) a Kingly Seat bringing great Tribute from the Trades upon its River, tho after it became a Denn of Theeves as Leland mentions, and that course of Water belonging to it might for that reason be turned off from it.

So y^t Londons Communication by Water was taken off too y^c River at Pancras dried away & no use for Battle bridge. Now consider that London was not London, a City thatcht since y^c Conquest and the Cathedral of St Pauls before y^t but a small thing.

Taking it for granted y^t y^c Island of Trinobantes on w^{ch} London was placed, being incompassed from the beginning & in y^c time of y^c Britains with two great Rivers y^c one in y^c East going up from Lee mouth by Bow and Stratford and Ware from thence turning to Verulam, by y^c Walls of w^{ch} passing down by Circumference from thence to Finchley Common & so leaving Hampstead on y^c right by a natural Course coming down by Pancras and so along leaving Pindar of Wakefield on y^c right at last Disembognes into y^c Thames going down by Black Marys hole where it appeareth to have reached formerly crossing the high way going to Grays Inn from y^c Pindar of Wakefield y^c breadth of w^{ch} being near twenty Score of my Paces up & down Now it doth appear in those days there was such a River.

First if you consider the situation of y^c favouring Hills naturally Placid, Then upon y^c discovery of y^c bones & Teeth that were found 11 Dec: 1673 in y^c side of y^c River over ag^t. Black Marys in great pits y^t were made for Gravel where in some places 9 foot deepe & others at 12 was found here & there sometimes one tooth sometimes another ——— (blank space) at 50 & sixty foot distance as y^c power of y^c stream carried them, w^{ch} have lain as long as Claudius Caesars time

In the afores^d. Spaces of ground was the breadth of the old Bourn or River. The Beasts as I suppose having been there slain at Landing and y^c Body rotting in Time was by y^c force of y^c waves distributed asund^{er} and then by degrees covered with Sand & Gravell such as y^c Water brought down from Hampsted wth great Violence, for there, by one of y^c Teeth was found a Brittish weapon made of flint dextrously shaped by their extraordinary (skill) to be seen at my house in Shoe Lane.

Now it might be said some Ship or Vessel come from Verulam might there be cast away; however it is plain Leland in his *Cygnocis Cantio* mentions a River by St Albans or Verulam, this River passing by y^c Walls of Verulam, down as afores^d to the Walls of London might occasion y^c name Murus, signifying a Wall, tho since by the Conquerer called the River of Wells, perhaps by mistake.

Now having found out a famous tho forgotten old River, w^{ch} from y^c beginning was in use amongst the old Britains; yet upon ye alteration of y^c Channel y^c Seas abating or falling off from as well Holland & the fenns & other places by w^{ch} means Ships could not arrive at Hartford or Verulam as formerly where it is said Kings oft had a great Tribute

The Saxons, Danes & Normans, considered w^t additions they made to London

London no longer an Isle the Water having forsaken Verulam, no Castle (sic) could pass without Ferrying at Verulam. Now y^c West gate of London was made Wider and a Bridge over Murus by y^c fleet. Now St Dunstans and the Temple buildings were erected

Luneden Diana hunting trade found

Pauls at London hill near Ware

1673 Decemb^r 11 an Elephants Tooth and part of y^c blades bone, w^{ch} was dug out of y^c Ground or Sand Pit 10 or 12 foot deep on y^c left hand near the Pinder of Wakefield near y^c River o^{er} y^c Ditch side Mr Lilly and three Labourers being present

1679 He took up another Tooth & bone of y^c Elephant (as he supposes) slain in the Battle between y^c Romans and y^c Britains 10 or 12 foot deep near the drying house on y^c other side of the River.

APPENDIX III JOHN BAGFORD

Humfrey Wanley, great bibliographer and librarian to Robert Harley, described John Bagford as "a Person (tho' not Master of the learned Languages) very well skill'd in the different sorts of Ink, Illumination, Binding, Hands, Parchment, Papers, or almost any sort of Workmanship not to mention Books . . . relating to our English History¹". His ambition was to write a history of printing for which he gathered together a great amount of material, but it was a project which never came to fruition.

From all accounts he was largely self-taught though the statement by Hearne and others that he was "bred a shoemaker" seems to be based on flimsy evidence. The Reverend John Calder relates the story that once whilst watching a friend stitching at a broken shoe, Bagford took it over remarking that he was more practised in the "gentle craft"². This may well have been no reference to shoemaking but to stitching leather, a craft that any book-binder of that age would have known.

From an early age Bagford had been passionately interested in antiques and books, and as Calder has written, he ". . . bought and sold literary curiosities; he spent much of his life in this occupation and crossed the seas more than once with commissions. He was a book-broker rather than a bookseller." Calder went on to relate that it was said Bagford had been admitted to Charterhouse as a pensioner where he was buried as a result of the good offices of Bishop Moore who had given him many commissions, and that "He died at Islington, 15 May 1716 aged 65³." This gives a birth date of 1650 or 1651 and is completely at variance with what Calder had earlier written, "John Bagford was born in London, probably in 1675 . . . it appears he married or was a father pretty early in life as in the Collection is a power of attorney from John Bagford junior to John Bagford senior empowering him to claim and receive the wages of his son as a seaman, in case of his death, dated 1713 when the father was only 38. See Harl. MS 5995."

Calder had based Bagford's age on an entry in Bagford's writing on the fly leaf of one of his books, "John son of John and Elizabeth Bagford baptised 31 October 1675 in the parish of St Anne, Blackfriars". Obviously he must have believed this to be the bookseller's own birth and not his son's. The marriage of John Bagford has not as yet been found but there are other entries relating to his children in the parish of St Anne's; the burial of an unnamed infant on 12 June 1673, and of a still born child on

14 December 1674. These entries are then followed by the baptism on 31 October 1675 of John son of John and Elizabeth Bagford.

He died intestate, probably a poor man as he appears to have had no well developed sense of money frequently giving away his choicest antiques. Letters of administration were granted to his son John in December 1716, for the estate of John Bagford formerly of the parish of St Sepulchre's, London, widower⁴.

JOHN KEMP

Of him there is almost as little known as about John Bagford, Levine writing that "of all the famous collectors [he] is the most obscure." Much of his collection came to him from Lord Carteret and encompassed the famous museum of the Frenchman Dr Jacob Spon⁵.

John Kemp of the parish of St Martin's in the Fields, gentleman, made his will on 21 June 1714. He bequeathed £100 in South Sea stock to his cousin Elizabeth Kemp daughter of his Uncle James, the same amount to his sister Hope Kemp, and double the amount to another sister Mary Kemp. The last two were also to receive each "1/8th part of the value arising from the sale of my collections of antiquities."⁶ He then went on to say, "I direct that the Rt Hon Earle of Oxford and his son Lord Harley or one of them [are] to have the whole collection of antiquities with my books relating to such antiquities upon his or their paying to my executor £2,000 within three months of my decease but if they refuse then the collection is to be sold to the best purchaser within eighteen months."

He made a codicil on 26 March 1716 in which he reiterated the disposition of the antiquities and

books, but added that neither Oxford nor Harley were to have them "... until they have paid the full £2,000 within three months."⁷ Possibly a wise proviso and perhaps one of the reasons for the auction being held after Kemp's death. The catalogue, *Monumenta Vetustatis Kempiana* (London, 1720) was drawn up by Robert Ainsworth, a schoolmaster in Hackney with a sound knowledge of Roman antiquities who was a contributor to the re-born Society of Antiquaries⁸. John Kemp was the son of John Kemp and Hope Gilbert who, though both of the parish of St Andrew's, Holborn, were married by licence at St Nicholas Cole Abbey on 28 August 1665⁹. By 1695 the widowed Hope Kemp was living with the daughter named after her in the parish of St Leonard, Foster Lane.

NOTES

1. J. M. Levine, *Dr Woodward's shield*, University of California, 1977, p. 326, quoting Wanley to Dr John Covel, 30 Aug. 1701, B.L., MS. Add. 22911, ff. 1-2.
2. J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, London, 1812-15, vol. II, pp. 462-5.
3. Unfortunately the Charterhouse records for 1716, both admissions and burials, are missing. See *Hart. Rec.*, vol. 18. However there is some confirmation to be found in Strype's expanded edition of Stow's *Survey* (1720), Appendix I, "For these last accounts I am beholden to my friend Mr Bagford, late deceased in the Charter House, having been a Brother there."
4. P.R.O., Prob. 6 92, ff. 244, 239.
5. Spon and an Englishman, George Wheeler, botanist and correspondent of James Petiver and John Woodward, travelled together in the Middle East. Spon brought back manuscripts and inscriptions, and was the possessor of an ancient shield (or what was thought to be a shield) which had been found in the River Rhône.
6. The remaining 3/4 share passed to his brother William Kemp who was made executor. Hope was to have in addition the manor of Hockley which had been surrendered to John Kemp as "a mortgage or security to me for £53."
7. P.R.O., Prob. 11 559 f. 170. Proved September 1717.
8. Amongst those who were present at the Bear Tavern in the Strand for the resuscitation of the long-lapsed Society of Antiquaries were John Battley, Humfrey Wanley and John Bagford.
9. It is interesting to note that the rector of St Andrew's, Holborn in 1665 was Edward Stillingfleet, Dean of St Paul's and later Bishop of Worcester who wrote a book *The True Antiquity of London*.