Historic England

Investigation and Analysis

Latton Priory Farm, North Weald Bassett, Essex: Historic Landscape Investigations

Matthew Bristow
with Magnus Alexander, Elizabeth Chamberlin, Simon Crutchley, John Etté, Neil Linford, Andy Payne, Cara Pearce and Fiona Small

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SUMMARY

Latton Priory Farm in the ancient parish of Latton, south of the area which from 1947 became Harlow New Town, contains, preserved within its agricultural buildings, the remains of the early 14th century priory church of St John the Baptist. The date of this small Augustinian priory's foundation, along with the identity of its founder, in common with many small houses of the Augustinian order are unknown, however it is likely that a priory has existed on the site since the late 12th century. The church of St John the Baptist and its attendant claustral buildings appear, from the remains of the priory church's crossing, nave and transepts to have been completely rebuilt in the early 14th century, and sat within a trapezoidal precinct defined on all four sides by a wet moat. The rebuilt priory, one of 11 Augustinian houses founded in Essex after the priory of St Julian and St Botolph Colchester in 1104-06, was surprisingly grand given its very small community, which at the time of its foundation numbered just three brethren and throughout its existence rarely had a large enough number of canons to elect priors without the intervention of the Bishop of London. Latton Priory is also not recorded in the 1535 *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and was not forcibly put down during the dissolution of the monasteries, after it was found in 1534 that the community had declined to just one canon who himself had left the priory. In 1536 Latton and all of its possessions were granted to Henry Parker and from there the priory estate descended through secular hands until 1947 when it was acquired by the father of the current owner, Ian Brown.

The site of Latton Priory is a scheduled monument defined by the extant western arm of the moat, the former line of the northern arm, a large boundary ditch which runs parallel to the in-filled eastern arm and a large pond to the south which is separated from the moated inner precinct by a meadow rich in earthworks. The much altered remains of the priory church comprise the lofty crossing with truncated tower above, a short section of the truncated nave and the truncated remains of both transepts. Adjoining the church to the east, on the site of the former presbytery and to the south, built within the remains of the transept, timber-framed barns of the late 18th and early 19th centuries attest to the conversion of the priory church to agricultural use in the post-medieval period. These barns and the roof above the crossing are excluded from the scheduled monument and during 2016 were subjected to repair and consolidation work in order to remove the structure for the Heritage at Risk Register. This work was funded jointly by the owner and Historic England in order to prevent damage to the 14th century masonry within. To the south-west of the church and likely built on the footprint of the priory Frater (refectory), the 18th-century, red-brick, farmhouse is also a separately listed structure.

Latton Priory is an important example of a small Augustinian foundation of the 12th century surviving within its landscape context, which has received comparatively little attention. It is also significant that the house was not dissolved and the church and claustral buildings were not converted to domestic use during the 16th century, nor was the wider landscape the subject of intensive arable cultivation resulting in good survival of above ground structures and archaeological evidence.

CONTRIBUTORS

Matthew Bristow, Historic Places Investigation Team (East), wrote the introductory, discussion and concluding sections, undertook the analytical earthwork survey with Magnus Alexander also of Historic Places Investigation Team (East), the analysis of the medieval fabric of the priory church and conducted documentary research to chart the historical development of the priory, in addition to collating the work of the other contributors and editing this report. Simon Crutchley, Remote Sensing, Swindon, processed the lidar data and Fiona Small, Historic Places Investigation Team (West), carried out and reported on the air photo and lidar interpretation and transcription. Neil Linford and Andy Payne provided the summary of the geophysical survey undertaken with Cara Pearce, all from the Remote Sensing team, Fort Cumberland. Elizabeth Chamberlin, Listing Information Services, contributed the detailed analysis of the post-medieval timber-framed barns adjoining the crossing of the priory church, and the roof structures over the barns and the crossing of the church. David Kenny and John Ette undertook small-scale archaeological excavation west of the crossing to facilitate the pouring of concrete slabs to support the bases of new barn doors and Patricia Payne, Imaging Team provided the majority of the ground photography. The final report was read by Kathryn A. Morrison, Magnus Alexander and Wayne Cocroft of Historic Places Investigation Team (East), the report graphics produced by John Vallender of the Imaging Team and the reconstruction drawing by Judith Dobie. The report was desktop published by Rachel Forbes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is most grateful to Ian and Jacky Brown, the current owners of Latton Priory Farm for granting unrestricted access to the research staff from Historic England during the course of consolidation work to the priory church and for their enthusiasm and support of the research project. Similarly the project would not have been possible without the support of Trudi Hughes and David Kenny, Heritage at Risk (East) and Debbie Priddy, Inspector of Ancient Monuments. The author would also like to acknowledge and thank Dr Adam Chapman and Dr Alan Thacker, respective current and former Editors of the Victoria County History and Dr Simon Payling, who assisted with the transcription and translation of a number of medieval documents.

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INTRODUCTION

This report on the former Augustinian priory at Latton Priory Farm has been prepared in conjunction with Historic England Planning Group in support of Historic England funded Heritage at Risk work to consolidate and repair the post-medieval barns adjoining the crossing of the priory church.

The report presents the findings of historical research and, predominantly, non-invasive archaeological investigation and survey carried out between February 2016 and November 2016 by the Historic England Assessment Team (East), now the Historic Places Investigation Team (East), the Remote Sensing Team and the Aerial Investigation and Mapping Team of the Historic Places Investigation Team (West). Fieldwork was conducted during February and November 2016 in order to produce a detailed measured survey of the surviving earthworks and conduct detailed analysis of the remains of priory church and post-medieval timber-framed barns. During April 2016, the Remote Sensing Team conducted Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) and earth resistance surveys in the farmyard at Latton Priory Farm, within the lawned area defined by the moat and in an area of the wider landscape which corresponded with the area covered by the earthwork survey. A detailed examination of the available published, archival and electronic sources relating to this site was undertaken in preparation of the report. Among these published sources, David Robinson's two-part BAR volume, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in England and Wales* provided the context for the foundation and development of Latton Priory while Volumes II and VIII of the *Victoria County History of Essex* respectively provided an account of Latton Priory and the history of Latton parish, both of which highlighted a number of key documentary sources. The Essex Record Office holds considerable primary material relating to Latton Priory, among it a number of topographical depictions of the priory church at the end of the 18th century and a photographic copy of a map of Latton parish in 1616 and a copy of the survey which accompanied it. The Chancery series records at The National Archives were also consulted and a full list of published works and sources consulted can be found at the end of this report.

Preliminary sections of this report detail the Heritage at Risk case and the research project, describe the location and topography of Latton Priory Farm and detail the historical development of the priory from its 12th century foundation to the present. This introductory matter is followed by sections which detail the analysis and interpretation of aerial photographs and lidar data, the analytical earthwork survey, analysis of the upstanding buildings, and a summary of the geophysical surveys and archaeological excavations. The report concludes with a discussion and synthesis detailing the evolution of Latton Priory and its landscape.

No measured survey of the standing remains of the priory church was undertaken as part of this research project and all measurements given in the report are either taken from architects' plans produced as part of the building consolidation work or were taken onsite using a hand-held laser measure.

Heritage at Risk Case and Research Project

The stimulus for new research into the remains of the church of St John the Baptist and the wider landscape which comprised the inner and outer precinct of Latton Priory was provided by the building's place on the Heritage at Risk Register and an Historic England grant to fund urgent repairs. The much altered upstanding remains of the priory church of St John the Baptist, comprising the crossing and truncated walls of the transepts and nave were added to the Heritage at Risk Register (https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/heritage-at-risk/) in 2014 following years of inactivity and deterioration.[1] The remains of the early 14th-century monastic church are contained within a series of post-medieval timber-framed barn structures constructed between the late 18th and early 19th centuries reflecting the church's conversion for agricultural storage. Deterioration of the peg tile roofs above the barns and crossing and the external weatherboard blocking to the exposed north, east and south crossing arches had allowed considerable water ingress causing salt migration and decay to the facework of the of the crossing piers (Figure 1). Though excluded from the statutory protection afforded to Latton Priory, the post-medieval roofs, barns and barn doors, (the latter long since removed), provided protection from the elements to the relatively soft Reigate stones which form the crossing. As a result, the deterioration of the condition of the barns posed a significant threat to the remains of the priory church.

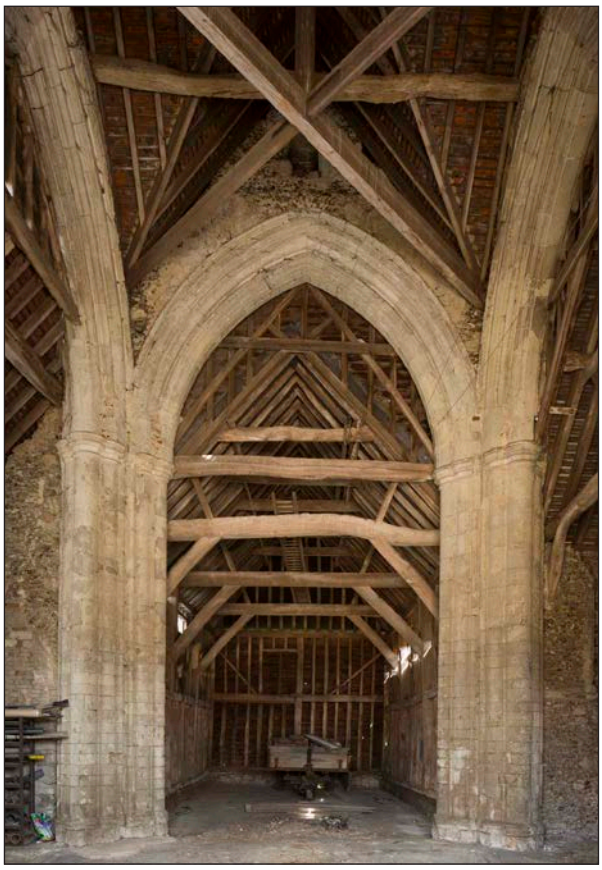


Figure 1: *The crossing of Latton Priory looking east towards the barn which marks the location of the former presbytery. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP173640*

Having been assessed by the Historic England Heritage at Risk team as Category A, or a building in very bad condition for which no repair solution had been agreed, an initial grant of £114,000 was made under Section 24 of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 to fund the replacement of the peg tile roofs, the external weatherboarding and to make repairs to the timber-framing of the barns and hang new barn doors (Figure 2).[2] This figure increased to a grant of £171,629 of a total project cost of £217,251.60 as the result of a far greater amount of tile replacement and structural repair being required than was anticipated, with the balance funded by the landowner, Ian Brown. Consolidation work began in early 2016 and Latton Priory was reassessed as Category F; a solution agreed and

repairs in progress. Following the completion of the repair work, it was removed from the Heritage at Risk register.

A further grant was made under Section 17 of the 1979 Act in order to fund on-going management of Latton Priory. This grant allowed for works to consolidate the decayed masonry of the crossing arches to prevent further deterioration and masonry falls and supported the landowner-funded production of interpretation boards to be erected on the site. Although Latton Priory is currently infrequently visited by the public, it was felt that the site would benefit from signage and interpretation material to better explain the priory's complex history and how the truncated upstanding remains related to the lost elements of the church and the wider monastic precinct. The production of interpretive material provided an opportunity to investigate and better understand a site about which comparatively little is known. Consequently, the Historic England Historic Places Investigation Team (East) working in parallel with the repair and consolidation work, undertook a programme of historical research and non-invasive archaeological investigation.

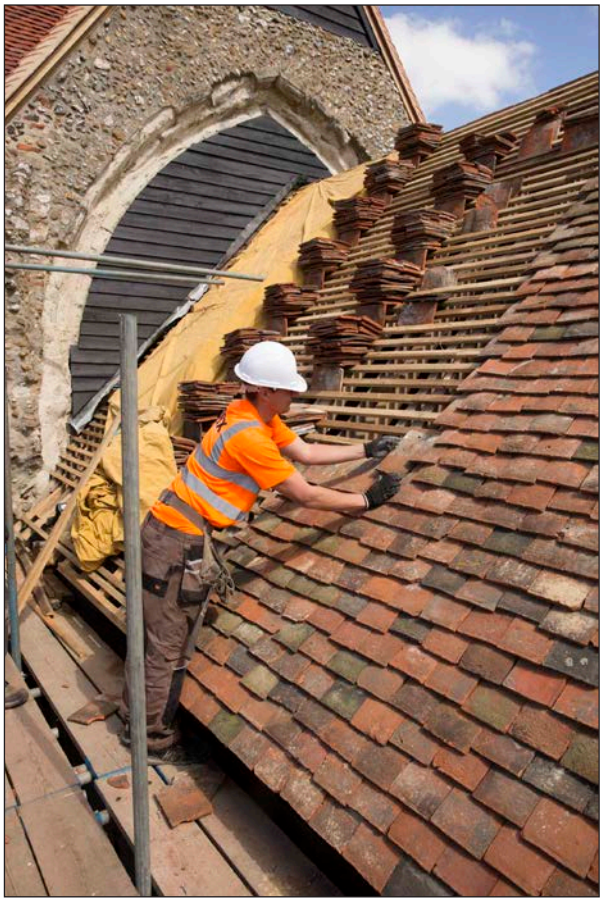


Figure 2: *Work to replace the peg-tile roof of the east barn during May 2016. The exposed and heavily weathered crossing arch can be seen behind. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP182391*

Location and Extent of the Site

Latton Priory Farm (NGR TL 46532 06574), containing the above ground remains of the priory church of St John the Baptist and the assumed below ground remains of the claustral and wider precinct buildings of the former Augustinian priory, is located in the ancient parish of Latton in the historic county of Essex approximately 4 km (2.5 miles) south south-east of the town centre of Harlow New Town and 1.3 km (0.8 miles) south-west of junction 11 of the M11 (Figure 3). The farm is accessed from the B1393 Epping Road, which runs north-east to south-west to the south-east of the farm complex, via a farm track which runs roughly east to west. The agricultural buildings and farm yard cover an area of approximately 1ha (2.47a) and the surrounding fields, including of the current farmyard, farmhouse, gardens, moat and wider landscape, an area of approximately 7.5ha (18.5a).

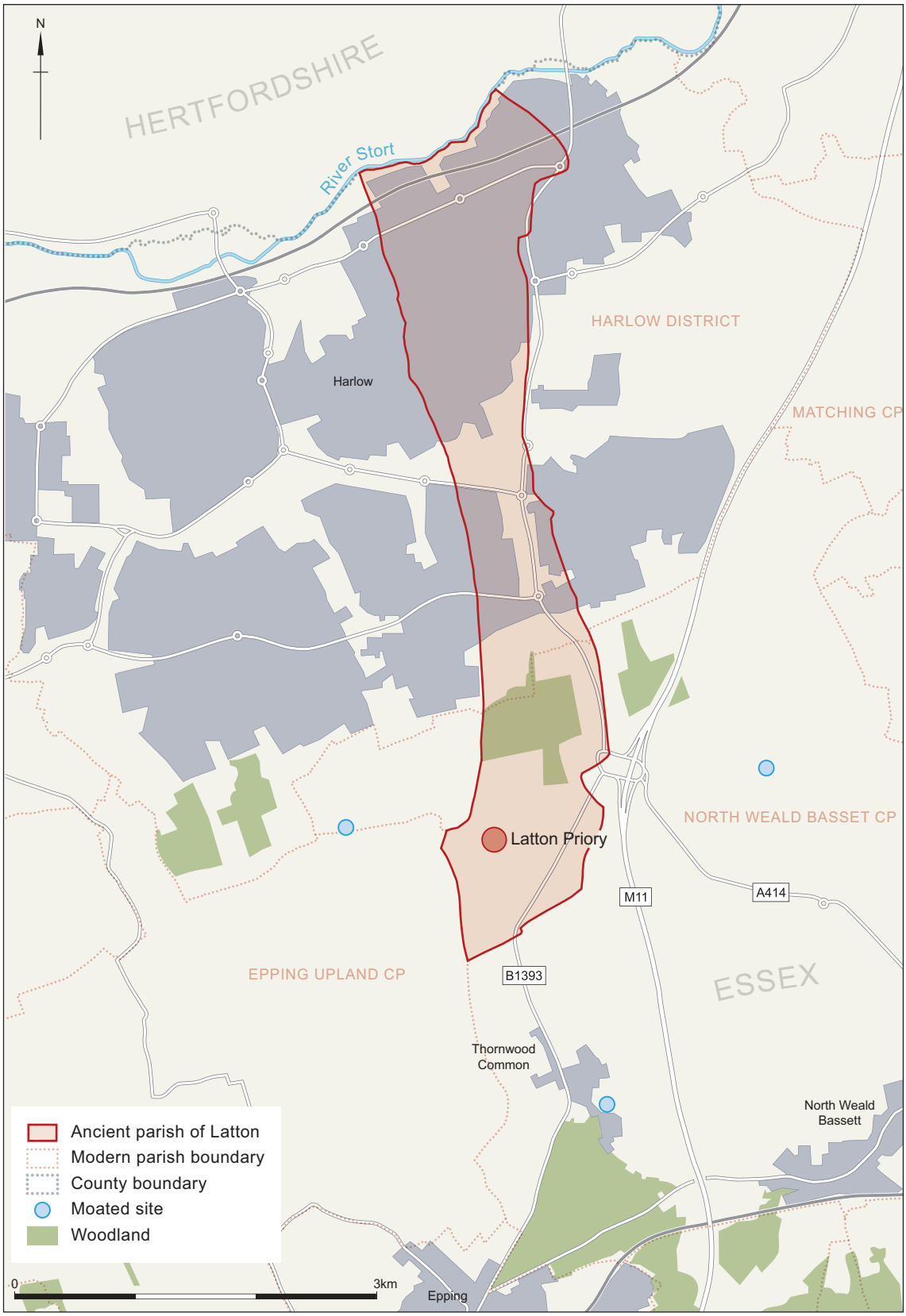


Figure 3: The location of Latton Priory shown in the context of Harlow New Town, the M11 motorway and the boundary of the ancient parish of Latton. © Historic England

Topography

Latton Priory Farm sits on a plateau within a gently undulating landscape which rises to the treeline on higher ground to the north and falls away steadily to the south and east. The farm and former priory site are located between the 105mOD and 100mOD contours and there is a gentle gradient of 1 in 30 west to east. Latton Priory Farm occupies a position in the extreme south of the ancient parish of Latton, a long, roughly rectangular parish whose northern boundary (defined by the Stort Navigation) was also the boundary between the counties of Essex and Hertfordshire. Beyond the northern extent of the Latton Priory site, Latton parish fell away to the north terminating in the low lying land of the Stort Valley at 30mOD. The parish was bisected by the Todd Brook which separated the low lying glacial gravels of the north of the parish from the boulder clays of the south.[3] Despite its elevated position, water is abundant on the Latton Priory site with the precinct moat, pond, flooded cellar of the farm house and adjacent moated site at Ryehill Common (NGR TL 45350 06649) attesting to a nearby spring and a high water table. Much of the ancient parish of Latton was built-over following the designation of Harlow New Town in 1947, with the first neighbourhoods of Frederic Gibberd's Master Plan located around one of Latton's two medieval secular manors and bearing its name, Mark Hall. The area around Latton Priory farm remains undeveloped and is principally used for arable farming.

Description of Latton Priory Farm Site

The agricultural buildings of Latton Priory Farm are grouped around a rectangular yard orientated roughly east to west. The truncated remains of the priory church occupy the eastern edge of the yard with the stub nave walls indicating that the foundations of the lost elements of the 14th century church lie beneath a concrete yard surface. The earlier of the two post-medieval barns extends eastwards from the crossing of the former church, occupying the location of the eastern arm of the church, (henceforth called the presbytery as it is in RCHM[E] account and list description) which topographical drawings indicate stood until at least 1778.[4] Immediately to the east of this barn lay the former eastern arm of the moat which surrounded the inner precinct of the priory. The early-19th century barn extends southwards from the crossing, constructed around the altered walls of the former south transept which is documented to have collapsed in about 1806.[5] Single-storey lean-to barns, added at a later date, adjoin the north and south sides of the east barn and the northern stub wall of the nave (Figure 4).

The southern edge of the yard is defined by the farmhouse and the wall of the farmhouse garden. The red brick farmhouse with gambrel roof and 19th century extensions, was likely originally constructed in the early-18th century when the antiquarian William Holman's unpublished account of the parish of Latton of about 1718 stated that, 'The old House [*frater*] is down and a mean farmhouse in its room. It stood on the south side of the church'.[6] It is likely that the farmhouse occupies the site, if not the exact footprint of the *frater* or refectory of Latton Priory. This assumption is supported by an account of 1778 by Francis Grosse which, having described the nature of the priory church's construction, states: 'a small quantity of

the same materials was found in the south wall of the farm-house which was lately pulled down, and is now rebuilt', implying that the farmhouse was originally built into upstanding remains of the refectory.[7] Brickwork bearing the inscription 'MD 1773' supports Grosse's account of a late-18th century rebuilding.

The western and northern edges of the yard are defined respectively by a two-storey C-plan brick building beneath a tiled roof currently used as a vehicle store and chicken shed, but known as the upper and lower granary and a C-plan brick cow shed. Both of these buildings have diapering created with dark bricks and were constructed between the tithe map of 1839 and the first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1874 and were likely part of improvements made by Joseph Arkwright (grandson of Sir Richard Arkwright), who had acquired the farm in 1824.[8] Following the Second World War, a range of large barns was added to the north west of the central yard which in 2016 were sublet to a frozen food wholesaler, with a further range added to the west of the 19th century barn after 1986.[9] An open fronted barn to the immediate north of priory church was constructed between 1972 and 1986.[10]

Immediately to the south of the farmhouse, a trapezoidal shaped area laid to lawn marks the supposed location of the priory's inner precinct. Historically defined on all four sides by a wet moat, the western and southern arms of the moat survive in 2018, while the northern arm and its causeway, depicted on a map of 1616, now lie beneath the farmyard and barns, though its location is indicated by a short section which is shown on the 1986 Ordnance Survey map.[11] The eastern arm of the moat is depicted on the Ordnance Survey map of 1920 and was filled in after the Second World War, though its location remains discernible as earthworks (Figure 5).

Approximately 175 metres (570 ft) south of the farmhouse and separated from the moated garden by an area of undulating rough pasture, is a large, densely tree-lined pond depicted on all of the historic mapping which formed part of the wider priory complex. While to the east of priory church and farmyard, a small terrace between the former eastern arm of the moat and a linear entrenchment which extends southwards from the farm track, represents part of the outer precinct of the priory.

Figure 4: *The former priory church of the St John the Baptist and the 18th century farmhouse define the eastern and southern sides of the farmyard. © Historic England, Matthew Bristow*

Figure 5: *Oblique aerial view of Latton Priory Farm from the south in 1995. The wood-lined arms of the moat and southern pond are clearly visible as are the earthworks which define the scheduled area. The remains of the priory church occupy the south-eastern corner of the farm yard. © Essex County Council, EXC 16586/12*

Designations

Latton Priory Farm is covered by three statutory designations respectively covering the upstanding remains of priory church, priory farmhouse and the wider landscape of the monastic precinct. The church of St John the Baptist (NHLE 1111392) was given Grade II* listed status in April 1984 at the same time as Latton Priory farmhouse (NHLE 1146791) was listed Grade II. The importance of Latton Priory and the potential for significant buried remains was recognised during the production of Volume II of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of Essex (1921) and in 1923 the remains of the priory church and the surrounding landscape were protected as a Scheduled Ancient Monument (NHLE 1017386). The scheduled area is defined to the north by the line of the northern arm of the moat, to the east by the north-south entrenchment which runs parallel to the modern farm yard, to the south and south-west by a series of prominent linear earthworks and the monastic pond and to the west by linear earthworks extending north-west from to pond to the south-western corner of the moat (Figure 6). The roof over the priory church, the east and south barns and later lean-tos are excluded from the schedule, though the ground beneath them is included.

Public Access

The site of Latton Priory and the post-dissolution farm around it are on private land and as such are infrequently visited by the public. A public footpath approaches the priory site from the Epping road to the south, entering the farmyard at the north-western corner of the moat before moving west along the farm track and ultimately heading north. The farm track itself is also part of a bridle way which links to Rivetts Farm and Rye Hill Road to the south west. These public rights of way afford views of the priory church and the former monastic precinct and the landowner conducts tours of the site on an *ad hoc* basis if visitors call at the farmhouse. Additionally, an annual service is held in the remains of the priory church on, or close to midsummer's day (24th June), which is the Christian feast day that celebrates the birth of St John the Baptist, to whom the church is dedicated.

Figure 6: *The boundaries of the scheduled area superimposed onto an aerial photograph taken in 1995. © Historic England, OS_95631 085*

Previous Research

Despite the survival of a reasonably large section of the priory church, the relatively undisturbed earthworks of the monastic precinct and the fact that Latton Priory was not converted into a secular dwelling after the dissolution, relatively little research has been conducted and comparatively little is known about its history. Antiquarian accounts by Holman (c.1718), Grosse (1778) and Storer (1809) all include descriptions of the priory site and discussions of the site's antiquity and circumstances of its foundation, while the post-dissolution history is well covered by Winstone (1891) in a publication produced by the Epping and Ongar Highway Trust.

Volume II of the Victoria County History of Essex (1907) details the history of all of the religious houses of Essex including Latton among the twelve Augustinian foundations in the county, an account which was enhanced by the detailed treatment of Latton Parish in Volume VIII of the series (1981). A contemporary of the Victoria County History project, the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) surveyed Latton Priory during the preparation of Volume II of the Essex series (1921), producing a detailed description and drawn plan of the remains of the priory church. An unpublished sheaf of papers in the Essex Record Office entitled, 'Notes on the History of the surviving remains of Latton Priory and a list of the known Priors' also contains useful research, though can only be attributed to the initials E.W.

With reference to wider discussions of the Augustinian order in England, both of the key works on the subject, by the Rev J C Dickson (1950) and David M Robinson (1980), make only fleeting reference to Latton, both commenting on the number of canons at the time of its foundation. While in the most recent publication on the subject, 'The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles' (2011), no reference is made to Latton at all and as such it is not included in the tabulated list of British houses of the regular cannons presented in that volume's introduction.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Latton Parish

The ancient parish of Latton lay in the south-western corner of the county of Essex, its northern boundary with the parish of Gilston, defined by the Stort Navigation, also formed the county boundary with Hertfordshire (Figure 7). In the 19th century, the parish covered some 655ha (1,618a), though it is likely that it was larger during the medieval period and that a sizable Latton manor held at the time of Domesday by St Edmundsbury Abbey was transferred to Harlow parish in the 12th or 13th centuries.[12] In 1949, the northern and central parts of Latton parish were merged with Harlow parish to form part of the designated area of Harlow New Town, while the southern part of the parish, including the former priory estate was transferred to North Weald Bassett parish.

Although evidence of Neolithic and Bronze Age settlements has been discovered within Latton parish, the earliest evidence for large-scale occupation within the parish comes from the late Iron Age. In the north of the parish on the boundary with Harlow and to the west of Harlow railway station, Stanegrove or Standing Groves Hill (NGR TL 46798 12306), an oval shaped mound 20ft in height, contained coin burials of the Belgic period and in 1764 and 1819, the walls and foundations of a small Romano-Celtic temple were discovered.[13] The temple site yielded a number of finds including tesserae, Samian ware pottery, Roman coins dating from the reigns of Claudius I to Valentinian I, four brooches dating from the late-first century AD and a British coin from the reign of Cunobelin (5BC to AD 42).[14] The finds indicate that the temple was built c. 70 AD and rebuilt twice before being abandoned in the 4th century and that there was continuous and reasonably extensive settlement in that part of the parish from later prehistoric times to the late 4th century.[15] Further evidence of Romano-British settlement was discovered in Latton during the Second World War when bomb craters at Bush Fair or Latton Common in the

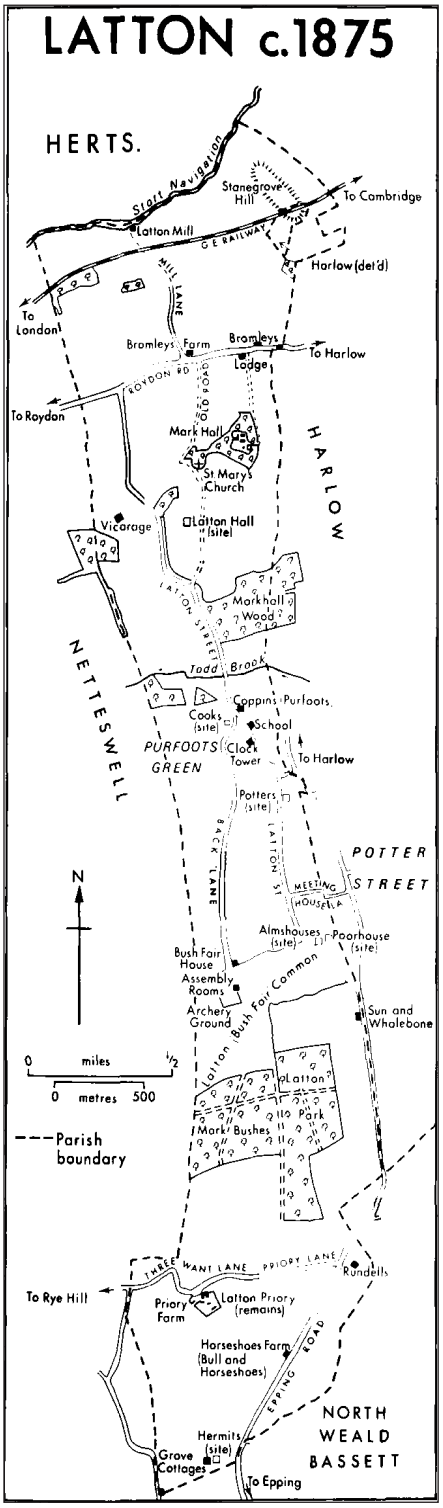


Figure 7: *(Right) The ancient parish of Latton in about 1875. © The University of London, Victoria County History*

centre of the parish exposed large quantities of Romano-British pottery and building materials.[16] Immediately to the north of the priory site, a coin of Constantine II (AD 337-40) and assorted pottery were purported to have been found when a barrow, visible on the map of 1616 and the tithe map as a small mound, was ploughed out.[17]

At the time of the Domesday survey, Latton parish had three major manors, the first of which, the 4 ½ hides held by St Edmundsbury Abbey, was soon after incorporated into Harlow and is highly unlikely to have been the land endowed to found Latton Priory as conjectured by Grosse.[18] The second manor, Mark Hall, located in the north-east and centre of the parish, comprised 1 ½ hides and was held by Adelulf de Merk from Count Eustace and the third manor, Latton Hall or Latton Tany in the north half of the parish comprised 2 ½ hides and was held by Thorgils from Peter de Valones.[19] In 1086 14 tenant households were recorded in Latton, headed by six *villani* with eight lower status *bordarii* indicating a post-domesday population of around 60 people.[20] The Lay Subsidy levied in the first year of Edward III's reign (1327) records nine landholders as being taxed in the parish of Latton, though as the number only represents the more significant freeholders, the population may have been closer to 50, a decline from the parish's estimated Domesday population.[21] When the subsidy was again levied in 1525, 18 men were assessed and by the time of the hearth tax in 1670, 42 households were recorded; an increase in population attributed to the growth of the local pottery industry.[22] While known settlement in the Romano-British period was concentrated in the north of the parish, medieval and 16th-century settlement focused on the small hamlet of Purfoot's Green in the centre of the parish, south of the two manor houses of Mark Hall and Latton Hall and close to the present day route of the A414 and the Clock Tower.[23]

The two medieval manor houses of Mark Hall and Latton Hall were both rebuilt in the 16th century and are depicted in detail on the map of 1616, though by 1562 the manors had been unified following their acquisition by James Altham of Hertford, who also acquired the post-dissolution priory estate.[24] Settlement in the remainder of the parish remained sparse and dispersed throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, with new farms and inns constructed in the south of the parish and almshouses and a poor house on the edge of Latton Common around 2km to the north. At this time a large fair was held on Latton or Bush Fair Common which may have been the continuation and extension of an annual fair granted by Edward III in 1332, but which was abolished with the owner's consent in 1879.[25]

The parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Latton, is located in the northern half of the parish in what was formerly part of the park of Mark Hall as extended by William Lushington in 1778. The church, which mostly dates to the 12th century, was subsequently surrounded by the New Town neighbourhoods of Mark Hall North and Mark Hall South (Figure 8). The Domesday entries for both Latton Hall and Mark Hall mention a priest and it is likely that the advowson or patronage of the parish church was divided between the two manors. By 1311, both halves of the advowson had been acquired by Latton Priory and in that year a vicarage was ordained.[26] The endowment of the priory with a parish church is characteristic of the Augustinian order and the intended pastoral function of their canons. It is also characteristic of a desire among the medieval lay gentry to divest themselves of the possession of parish churches.[27]

Figure 8: *The medieval parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Latton looking north-east from First Avenue. The focus of medieval settlement in Latton parish, it is now entirely surrounded by the Mark Hall neighbourhood of Harlow New Town. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP187976*

The Origins of the Augustinian Order in England

The Augustinian Order, or more precisely, communities of regular canons who followed a Rule attributed to St Augustine of Hippo, flourished throughout Christendom from the 11th century and in Britain from the early 12th century, following the establishment of the Augustinian priory of St Julian and St Botolph at Colchester between 1104 and 1106.[28] Regular canons, or canons regular existed by the mid-11th century and may be defined as those who lived communal, organised lives defined by a Rule or code and in contrast to secular canons, renounced all private property.[29] Famously described by the historian C.H. Lawrence as a 'hybrid order of clerical monks', the regular canons lived an essentially monastic life whilst actively participating in the pastoral life of the communities around them, thus bringing the canons into direct contact with the secular world outside.[30] Following the pontificate of Urban II (1088-99), a growing number of communities of regular canons began to adopt the Rule of St Augustine and by the early 12th century the Rule was adopted as universal practice by the regular canons, becoming widely established across western and central Europe over the next quarter century.[31] The emergence of the Augustinian canons has been viewed as an attempt by the church to combine the monastic life of a religious community with the apostolic work of the secular clergy, however in England, the Augustinian canons were hardly distinguishable from existing orders who lived full monastic lives.[32]

The source of the Rule of St Augustine, which would flourish in Britain in the second half of the 12th century is obscure and the nature of the Rule itself, vague. St Augustine was born in Tagaste, North Africa in 354AD and following his conversion to Christianity in 385AD, was ordained a priest at Hippo in 391AD where he built a

monastery in which he and the community lived an apostolic life under a common Rule with all possessions held in common.[33] Augustine and his community became well known, however by the time of his death in 430AD, no formal Rule or code for the monastic life he advocated had ever been written. The closest thing to a written Rule came in about 423AD when Augustine wrote in order to restore concord in a house of nuns. His letter comprised a series of precepts which was to be read weekly and a covering note. In the precepts Augustine emphasised the importance of charity, poverty, obedience, detachment from the world, the apportionment of labour, the mutual duties of superiors and inferiors, fraternal charity, common prayer, fasting and abstinence, care of the sick, and silence.[34] It is likely that this booklet was adapted for use by a male community and a masculine version was produced which was passed down as the *Regula Sancti Augustini*.[35] Other documents, each originating some time after Augustine's death, have been known as the Rule of St Augustine. The *Regula Consensoria*, believed to have come from Spain between the 6th and 8th centuries, the *Disciplina Monasterii*, a Rule of unknown origin consisting of 11 brief sections and a feminine Rule called the *Regula Puellarum*.[36] Therefore the origins of the Rule of St Augustine and the exact nature of the monastic life it prescribed are both extremely vague. This vagueness, the fame of St Augustine and the perception that St Augustine's Rule was closer to the life of the apostles than that of St Benedict saw the popularity of the Rule spread quickly across 11th century Europe, while the vagueness also saw it adopted by older religious groups, such as the secular canons of south-west England's collegiate churches.[37]

While the origins of the Rule are unclear, the establishment or 'birth' of the regular canons can be dated precisely to the Lateran synod of 1059 at which, against the backdrop of general reform within the church, Hildebrand, the future Pope Gregory VII laid down the ideals and principals which would guide the regular canons.[38] It would take nearly 30 years before the appearance of the first house of regular canons in England following the foundation of a hospital at St Gregory's, Canterbury in c.1088 by Archbishop Lanfranc, who himself had been present at the synod of 1059.[39]

The six priests and attendant clerks who tended to the inmates of St Gregory's hospital lived a full common life and could certainly be considered to be a community of regular canons, likewise the community of clerks established at St Mary's Huntington between 1086 and 1091, however it would not be until the early years of the 12th century that the first house adopting the Rule of St Augustine was founded in England.[40] The priory of St Julian and St Botolph at Colchester was the first house established as a community of Augustinian canons regular as opposed to regular canons adopting a common life. Colchester had existed as a house of secular canons since about 1093, but one of their number, Norman, upon his return from France where he had studied under Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, proposed to the community at Colchester that they join a religious order. Norman's suggestion that the community adopt the hitherto unknown Rule of St Augustine was accepted by Ainulf, the head of the canons at Colchester, and Norman and his brother Bernard were sent abroad with a letter of recommendation from Anselm, to learn the Rule.[41] The brothers studied at both Chartres and Beavais, the former not being established as an Augustinian house until 1099 thus dating their time away and it is likely that

they had returned before the establishment of a second Augustinian priory in Essex at Little Dunmow in 1106.[42] Little Dunmow and Holy Trinity, Aldgate founded in 1107 by Queen Matilda and the house responsible for bringing national attention to the Rule of St Augustine, can both attribute their foundations to the involvement of Anselm whose role in the introduction of the Augustinian canons to England cannot be understated.[43]

Following the foundation of St Julian and St Botolph's, Little Dunmow and Aldgate, the numbers of Augustinian houses rose quickly until 1120 when the number of foundations increased dramatically, with as many as 16 founded between 1131 and 1135 when the order was viewed as new and fashionable.[44] The growth in numbers continued after the death of Henry I in 1135 and throughout the remainder of the 12th century though at a steady and more even rate, before a decline in the number of foundations through the 13th century to 1270 when there were no further new foundations until five houses were founded between 1325 and 1360.[45]

Augustinian Houses in Essex

The establishment of houses of Augustinian canons in England originated in the county of Essex and during the 12th century, the county saw a proliferation of Augustinian houses, with Latton one of 10 new foundations after the establishment of St Botolph's, Colchester (NGR TL 99948 24958) and St Mary the Virgin, Little Dunmow (NGR TL 65611 21228). The lack of foundation charters make the construction of a chronology for the establishment of Augustinian houses in Essex difficult, however it would appear that a further Augustinian house was founded in Essex during the reign of Henry I (1100-1135) and the period of rapid growth in the number of Augustinian foundations. Likely established during the middle years of the reign of Henry I (c.1120), the Augustinian priory of St Peter and St Paul at St Osyth (NGR TM 12130 15696) was founded by Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London (1108-1127) who endowed the priory with the manor of Chich and the churches of Clacton, Southminster, Mayland and Althorne.[46]

During the middle years of the 12th century two further houses, the priory of St Mary and St Leonard, Thoby (NGR TQ 62686 98716), founded in the time of Robert, Bishop of London (1141-1151) and the priory of St James the Apostle, Thremhall (NGR TL 53091 21436) founded around 1150 most likely by Gilbert de Mountfichet, were established in the county before further foundations in the 1170s.[47] An Augustinian priory dedicated to the Holy Cross, later converted to an abbey, was established by Henry II in honour of Thomas Beckett at Waltham (NGR TL 38112 00646) in 1177 following the expulsion by Henry of a house of secular canons founded by Harold Godwinson in 1060.[48] On a far more modest scale, a hermitage at Bicknacre (NGR TL 78568 02690) was converted in 1175 by Maurice FitzGeoffrey of Tiltey into the priory of St Mary and St John the Baptist.[49]

The foundation of Latton Priory (see below) most likely belongs to a group of foundations by members of the local gentry for which no exact date of foundation is known, but which appear to have been founded before 1200. The priory of St John the Evangelist, Berden (NGR TL 46238 30224), originally founded as a hospital by

the Rochefords of Berden manor; the priory of St Laurence, Blackmore (NGR TL 60305 01611), founded by the Sanford family; the priory of St Mary and St John the Evangelist, Little Leighs (NGR TL 70069 18542), likely founded by Ralph Gernon and like Latton, listed on the early-13th century Hedingham Bede roll; and the priory of St Mary and St Nicholas, Tiptree (NGR 87542 14571), founded by the lords of the manor of Tolleshunt Tregoz, all belong to this group.[50]

Although Essex, at 3,464 km^2 is one of England's larger counties, the 12 Augustinian foundations represent a densely clustered group by the standards of monastic foundations, a phenomenon which can be attributed to the vagueness of the Rule of St Augustine and the lack of a central authority and legislative apparatus for the foundation of new houses. The lack of an imposed minimum convent of canons for newly founded houses, led to the foundation of numerous small priories, clustered together. The tendency to cluster was also exacerbated by the absence of restrictions governing the proximity of foundations. The Cistercian order, by contrast decreed that their houses be ten Burgundian leagues (about 48km or 30mi) apart, in the expectation that their houses would have large communities.[51] This was not the case with the Augustinians in general and certainly not the case in Essex. Using the Cistercian standard of ten Burgundian leagues, it is clear that the Augustian houses of Essex were far more densely clustered (Figure 9). A 30 mile radius around St Botolph's, the first of the houses of the Augustinian canons, includes a further eight Augustinian priories, while a 30 mile radius from an arbitrary centre of the county includes all 12 foundations. In some cases, the close proximity of the priories is extreme, with Latton and Waltham Abbey separated by 10.35km (6.43mi), Little Dunmow and Little Leighs by 5.24km (3.26mi) and Thoby and Blackmore by just 3.75km (2.3mi).

The lack of a central authority and the brevity of the Rule of St Augustine also influenced, or rather exerted no influence on the type of site selected for new Augustinian houses, and as a result a more diverse range of sites were chosen compared to other religious orders.[52] David Robinson's tabulation of Augustinian houses by date of foundation and altitude of site bears out the diversity in the situation of Augustinian houses, a diversity which is equally reflected in the Essex priories. Robinson's analysis suggests that houses founded during the reign of Henry I were more likely to have been sited in low lying areas on or below the 15m contour. This is borne out in Essex with St Osyth's Priory and St Botolph's both situated on the 15m contour. Houses founded between 1135 and 1200, a group which accounts for the remaining ten Essex houses, showed a slight statistical preference (26%) for sites located between the 30m and 70m contours. The Essex houses show a far greater statistical preference for this altitude with six priories founded at this height and only Latton (105 mOD), Berden (100mOD), Thremhall (95mOD) and Waltham (20mOD) falling outside of that altitude range. Clearly the siting of the priories was dictated by local factors, not least of which being the nature of the lands granted to found them, however even within the relatively low-lying and flat landscape of Essex, the Augustinian priories were founded at a broad range of altitudes and in a variety of situations.

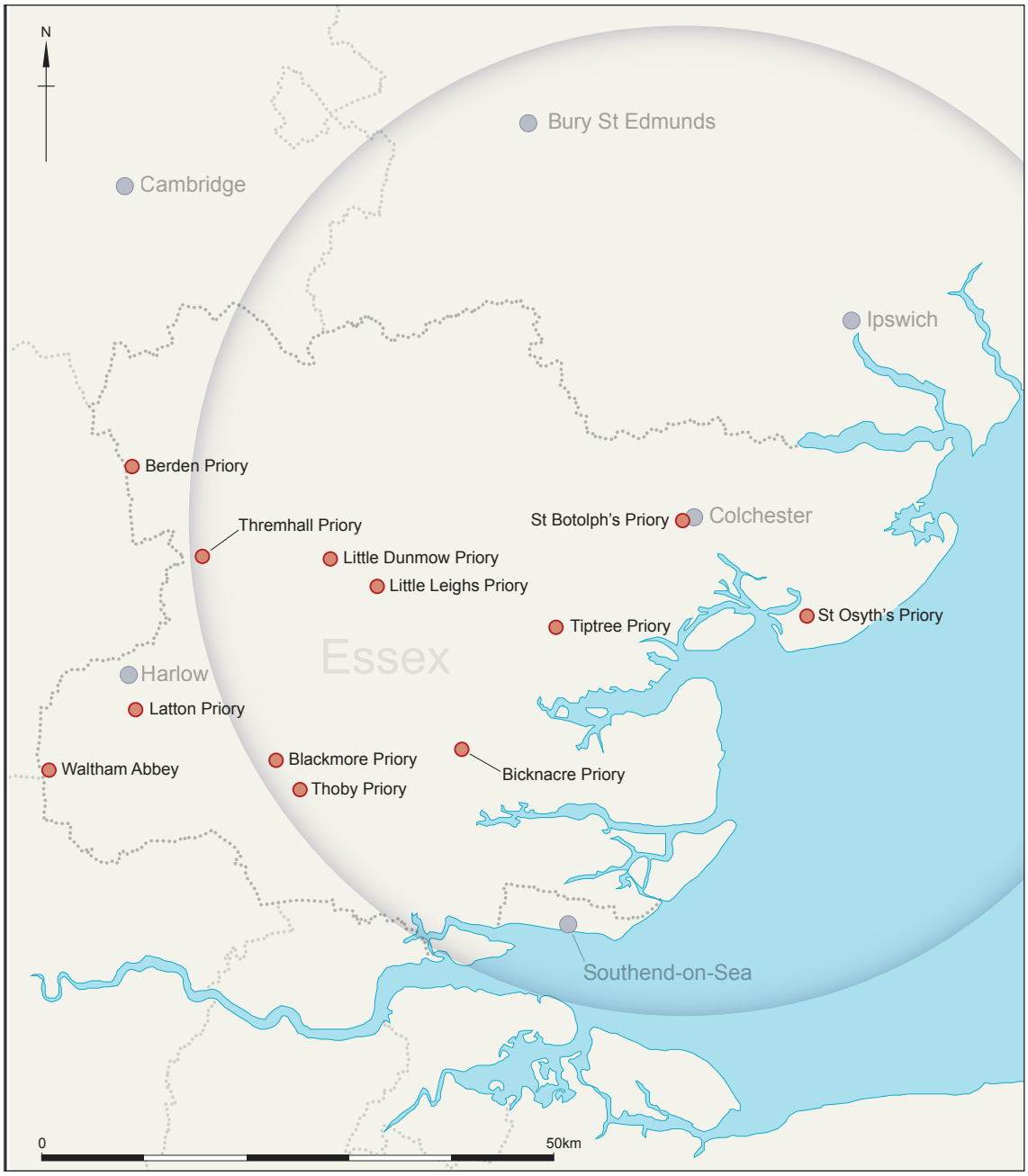


Figure 9: *The distribution of the Augustinian houses of Essex showing their close proximity and the 'clustering' of Augustinian foundations observable throughout the east of England. © Historic England*

The Foundation of Latton Priory

Latton is characteristic of many small Augustinian houses in that very little is known about the date of its foundation or its founder. In contrast to other orders, such as the Cistercians whose constitutional documents such as the *Carta Catitatis* made the foundation and establishment of new houses a well-documented procedure with precise dates of foundation and dedication, the lack of a central authority or any constitutional apparatus makes it far harder to ascertain how the Augustinian houses were founded and by whom.[53] The Augustinian order also had no system

or procedure whereby one house may be colonised from another and as such rarely were the houses daughters of mother foundations, located in either England or in Europe.[54] The absence of a central authority and constitutional apparatus also allowed Augustinian houses to be founded for far smaller communities of brethren than was traditionally the case with the older, established orders. The Cistercians for example forbade the foundation of convents with less than 13 monks, as did the Premonstratensians, who while also following the Rule of St Augustine, borrowed heavily from Cistercian legislation. The Benedictines too insisted on the 'full convent' of 13 as the normal minimum for their houses.[55]

During the reign of Henry I when the number of Augustinian houses in England grew dramatically and the order became established, the majority of the houses founded, (some 75%) were founded by members of the royal court or the King's retinue reflecting the wealth required to make the large property endowments needed to establish large foundations.[56] The decline after 1135 of large foundations with big endowments founded from within royal circles, combined with the lack of a required minimum size for Augustinian houses, brought the foundation of a house of Augustinian canons within the reach of modest founders and benefactors.[57] During the second half of the 12th century, members of the knightly class and the upper peasantry were able to found and patronise small Augustinian houses, endowing them with small grants of land from their manors and estates. It is to this group of smaller, late-12th century foundations that Latton Priory most likely belongs.

Though no foundation charter or contemporary documented account of its foundation exists, it is highly likely that Latton was founded in the late 12th century and that it certainly existed by c.1212. Within a collection of manuscripts at Headingham Castle held in 1876 by Lewis Majendie, MP, was a long roll of late-12th century date known colloquially as the Hedingham Bede Roll. The roll showed that;

> 120 churches had acceded to the entreaty of the Abbess of the Convent of Hedingham to pray for the Soul of her predecessor Lucy the Countess of Oxford.[58]

Each church is listed by name and among those listed is St John the Baptist of Latton, seemingly confirming that Latton Priory had been founded before the creation of the roll. There is some debate as to whether the former Abbess could have been the Countess of Oxford, who died c.1212, but it is certainly clear that Latton Priory was an established house by the early years of the 13th century.

From the middle of the 13th century, references to the priory at Latton become more numerous within the documentary record. Recorded in the Liberate Rolls on the 8 April 1244, William, son of Richard, the tenant of the manor of Latton Hall was commanded to give 10s. to the prior of Latton out of the farm of his lands.[59] While an annual grant of 12 pence made to the priory of St John the Baptist by Robert Gernon of Sawbridgeworth was witnessed by Richard de Tany, who had married William's daughter Margaret to hold the tenancy of Latton Hall before his death in 1270.[60] A cartulary of Latton Priory in the archives of Kings College Cambridge and likely dating to 1276 also confirms the existence of the priory with its prior, Geoffrey granting an annual rent of one mark to Robert de la Heyde and Emma, his sister.[61]

Latton Priory's position as an established Augustinian house by the middle of the 13th century is further reinforced by a chance discovery made by the current owners of Latton Priory Farm, whilst tending to their garden, south of the farmhouse. They uncovered a *Papal Bulla*, the lead seal attached to *Papal Bulls* which authenticated the documents as having been sent by the pontiff and ultimately lent that class of document its name. The Bulla they uncovered dated from the papacy of Nicholas III dating it precisely to between 1277 and 1280 (Figure 10). The location of the discovery within the inner precinct of the priory adjacent to the supposed location of the *Frater* also appears to confirm that the priory has always occupied its present location and was rebuilt in the early-14th century on the site of the original foundation. The map from an estate survey of 1616 enigmatically marks the location of 'Hermetts' field to the south of Latton Priory, possibly suggesting that the priory emerged from a hermitage as a number of other Augustinian houses had. There is however no further evidence to substantiate this and the discovery of the Bulla, locating the original priory would seem to discount that possibility.

Figure 10: *A Papal Bulla dating to the papacy of Nicholas III (1277 – 1280) discovered in the garden south of Latton Priory farmhouse. © Historic England, Matthew Bristow*

If the date of the foundation of Latton Priory can be assumed from the Hedingham Roll and chronology of Augustinian Houses in Essex to be during the last quarter of the 12th century, the identity of the founder and patron of the priory is far harder to ascertain. The principal piece of evidence is that the advowson or patronage of the priory resided with the lord of Mark Hall manor and remained so until the priory was dissolved in 1534, strongly suggesting that the initial endowment of land came from the lord of Mark Hall. This too is slightly problematic as the manor was held in overlordship by the Honor of Boulogne and tenanted by the descendants of Adelolf de Merk, who held the manor in 1086.[62]

The only written description of the foundation of Latton Priory dates from 1534 and is found within an *Inquisition* into the property of the priory of Latton taken on 9th September, prompted by the death that year of Edmund Shaa, lord of Mark Hall

and holder of the advowson. This inquisition details both the then current situation with regards to the priory and the circumstances surrounding its foundation (Figure 11). It was recorded that the priory was founded by the ancestors of Thomas Shaa (surviving brother of the late Edmund Shaa) and that it had originally been founded for a prior and two canons.[63] The evidence of the inquisition places Latton within the group of smaller houses founded after 1135 and endowed with small grants from the knightly classes. This likely indicates that the founder was the tenant of the manor of Mark Hall and not the Count of Boulogne whose patronage would have resulted in a far larger foundation. A convent of just three brethren would also place Latton as one of, if not the, smallest Augustinian priory founded during the 12th and 13th centuries and would imply a relatively modest endowment consistent with a patron from the lower gentry. The assertion that the founder was an ancestor of Shaa must be a reference to the descent of the manor of Mark Hall to the Shaa family rather than the founder being a direct ancestor of Shaa. Edmund Shaa's father John Shaa purchased the manor of Mark Hall as recently as 1501, but the descent of the manor can be clearly traced back to Adelolf de Merk and it may be that it was founded by one of de Merk's descendants, likely either Alewin or Peter de Merk who were the subsequent demesne tenants before 1210.[64]

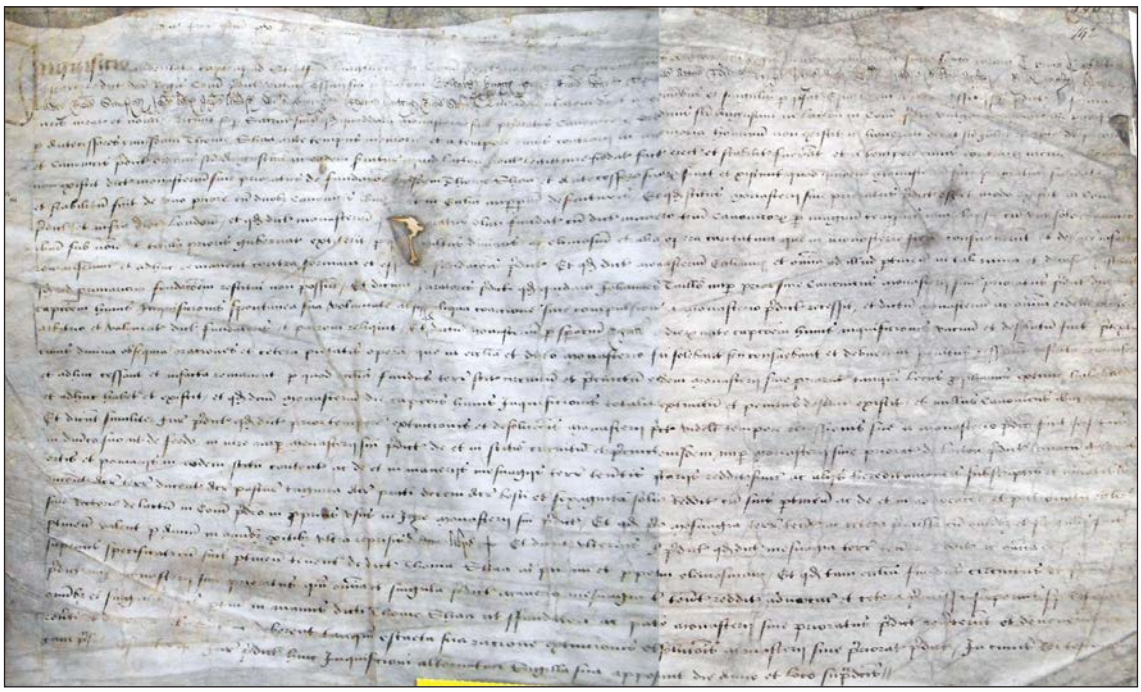


Figure 11: *An inquisition taken in 1534 stating that the priory at Latton was founded for a prior and two canons by an ancestor of Thomas Shaa. © The National Archives, C 142/81/277*

The Re-building of Latton Priory

The Augustinian priory and church of St John the Baptist at Latton were certainly well established by the middle of the 13th century as their regular appearance in the documentary record testify, though it is likely that the size of the community of canons and the priory itself remained relatively modest. Within the upstanding

remains of the priory church, no fabric, with the possible exception of *ex situ* bricks in the south transept buttress, survives from the 12th or 13th centuries and it would appear that the church and priory were completely rebuilt in the early-14th century. Both the nature of the surviving moulded stone crossing arches and blocked doorways and the large proportions of the church and moated inner precinct attest to a complete rebuilding of the priory. As with the foundation of the priory, the answer to the question of who rebuilt the priory may be found at Mark Hall manor. In 1317 some years after Henry, the last of the de Merks died without issue, his widow Gillian and her second husband, Ellis of Colchester, conveyed the manor of Mark Hall, which they held of the Honour of Boulogne, to Augustine Le Waleys (often called Augustine Le Wallais or Augustine of Uxbridge).[65]

Between the late 13th and early 15th centuries, interest among the gentry and nobility in the Augustinian order appears to have experienced a resurgence to the extent that during that period the Augustinians formed the mainstay of religious benefactions, some 117 of 431 donations made to English religious houses between 1283 and 1407.[66] The Augustinians with the vagueness and flexibility of their Rule and lack of 'standard' routines, likely appealed to patrons who sought some degree of personal involvement in the order of prayers and manner of commemoration.[67] Similarly, the flexibility of the Augustinian lifestyle allowed the regular canons to adapt to the desires of their patrons with regard to the nature and number of masses, taking advantage of the fact that as all of their number were priests, each member of the house was capable of performing masses. This attraction of the gentry to the Augustinian canons resulted in seven new houses being founded between 1320 and 1278; Badlesmere in Kent, Haltemprice in East Yorkshire, Bisham in Berkshire, Maxstoke in Warwickshire, Flanesford in Herefordshire and Kirby Bellars in Leicestershire. The founders of these new priories were characterised by a dramatic rise in status and growth of their fortunes through service to the crown. This increase in wealth saw the acquisition of large estates and the relocation of their *caputs* or family seats. The foundation of new religious houses within their lands and frequently within sight of their new *caputs* demonstrated their status and marked their 'arrival' as members of the local elite.[68] The founders of these new Augustinian houses also chose to ignore existing familial patronage to other religious houses, preferring instead to endow new houses close to their newly acquired lands. These were men like Thomas Wake (Haltemprice), Richard Talbot (Flanesford) and William Montagu (Bisham) whose families all had existing ties to other religious houses.[69]

Augustine Le Waleys, though not responsible for the foundation of Latton Priory, appears to fall into the above category of social climbers whose patronage of an Augustinian house on lands close to their family seat was preceded by substantial acquisition of new lands and the establishment of a new family seat within them. Like Wake, Talbot and Montagu, Le Waleys may also have broken ties with existing familial links of patronage in his support of the house at Latton. Augustine's father, Henry Le Waleys amassed both a considerable fortune as a successful London merchant and the favour of Henry III and Edward I during a successful political career which saw him serve as sheriff of London and Middlesex and five terms as London's mayor between 1273 and 1299, the last of these seeing Le Waleys

elected as the first mayor after the restoration of London's liberties by Edward I.[70] Though his wife and children were never mentioned among the numerous property transactions which saw Le Waleys acquire property within London and in numerous country estates, it is inconceivable that his son Augustine did not benefit substantially from Henry's death in 1302. Upon his death, Henry's executors appear to have produced a grant of exchange of property with the Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity under the provisions of his will, indicating an existing patronage of an Augustinian house.[71] It has been suggested that Henry also bequested money to the Poor Clares and Franciscans, though this claim is difficult to substantiate.

It is clear that Augustine Le Waleys was, by the time he acquired the manor of Mark Hall at Latton in 1317, a wealthy and upwardly mobile man. A cursory search of the National Archives indicates that Augustine had followed in his father's footsteps in acting as a money lender and that in the 1330s was documented as the creditor in numerous Chancery claims for the recovery of debts. Augustine also rose to prominence within the court of Edward II, serving as Warden of the Mint c.1319.[72] As such, with wealth, lands, social status and a recent familial history of benefaction towards the Augustinians, for whom he may have been named – it looks highly likely that the complete rebuilding of Latton Priory was the result of a sizable donation from Le Waleys. It is possible that Augustine's decision to acquire first the tenancy of the manor of Mark Hall and in 1535, via a grant of entail, the manor itself,[73] was prompted by the patronage of the small religious house which came with it and the opportunity to, like the founders of new Augustinan houses, 'Display not only their profits of war and administration, but also grant familial centres of atonement'.[74]

The fabric evidence indicates that the rebuilding of the small priory of Latton in the first half of the 14th century was on a scale far beyond the needs of its modest community of canons. The priory's patron at that time, also possessed all of the attributes of an emerging class of the nobility keen to demonstrate their status and piety through the foundation and patronage of Augustinian houses. It is highly likely therefore that Augustine Le Waleys was the figurative architect of the priory's rebuilding. Though Gillian de Merks and Ellis of Colchester had endowed the priory with Mark Hall's share of the parish church advowson in 1311, they seem less likely to be behind the rebuilding of the priory which has the hallmarks of a pious vanity project to mark Augustine Le Waleys' arrival within the upper echelons of the nobility. No documents exist which confirm a grant of land or money from Augustine to the priory of St John the Baptist, or for his direct involvement in the rebuilding, however the confluence of the physical evidence for a large early-14th century rebuilding and the acquisition of the patronage of the priory by a wealthy and ambitious landowner are unlikely to be coincidental.

A Chartered Fair at Latton

If work on the rebuilding of Latton Priory did begin shortly after 1317 when Augustine Le Waleys acquired Mark Hall manor and the priory's patronage, it is possible that 1332 marks the date that the rebuilding work was completed, for on the 23rd March of that year, Edward III granted Le Waleys the license to hold an annual fair (Figure 12).[75]

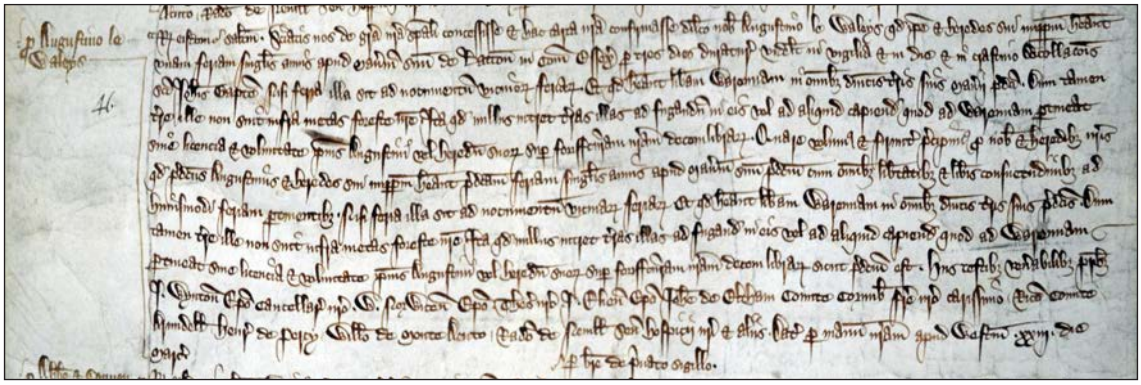


Figure 12: *Membrane 26 of a Chancery Roll of 1332 detailing the grant of an annual fair by Edward III to Augustine Le Waleys to be held on his manor at Latton. © The National Archives C53/119*

> Grant of special grace, to Augustine Le Waleys and his heirs, of a yearly fair at their manor of Latton, co. Essex, on the vigil, the feast and the morrow of the Decollation of St John; and of free warren in all their demesne lands of the said manor.

The decollation of St John the Baptist is observed on the 29th August and the grant of a fair to Le Waleys associated with the patron saint of the priory church, further ties him to the priory's rebuilding. Royal grants of annual fairs on the holy day or feast day of a priory's saint were commonplace among the Augustinian priories of Essex. Two fairs were granted to Waltham Abbey on the feasts of the Holy Cross by Queen Matilda, while fairs were granted in 1214, 1222 and 1267 to Berden Priory at midsummer, the feast day marking the birth of St John the Baptist.[76] On 23 September 1232, Henry III granted a fair to the canons of Blackmore priory on the vigil, the feast and the morrow of St Laurence (10 August), and in 1227 a fair and a market to the canons of St Osyth to be held at Brentwood.[77]

The granting of the fair to Augustine Le Waleys as patron of the priory, rather than to the canons of Latton, may further support the conclusion that Le Waleys was directly involved in the rebuilding of the priory. The reference to the fair being held 'on his manor' has previously been taken literally and the medieval fair assumed to be an ancient antecedent of the 'Bush Fair' which was held on Latton Common throughout the 19th century.[78] However, the granting of the fair on the holy day of the priory's saint, combined with the endowed priory land most likely lying within the lands of the manor of Mark Hall and the greater pastoral responsibility of the Augustinian canons, implies that the fair was far more closely associated with the priory than with Le Waleys' caput at Mark Hall. It is also significant that the granting of the fair did not, as was more frequently the case, accompany a license for a weekly market, which would have likely located it closer to a secular centre of population.

The map of 1616 also suggests that the site of the fair granted in 1332 may have been directly adjacent to, or formed part of, the priory precinct. Depicted immediately to the north and east of the priory, a field whose boundaries describe an elongated triangle tapering to a point at its eastern end, is marked as the 'Foreberry'.[79] While the irregular shape of the field recalls the triangular appearance of numerous medieval market places, the name 'Foreberry' is highly suggestive of meeting places

associated with religious houses. The grandest and most convincing example is the Forbury to the north-west of Reading Abbey, which survives today as the Forbury Gardens. Reading's Forbury was located within the outer precinct of the Abbey but without the inner precinct in an area referred to as the outer court. A post-dissolution list of property given to Edward Duke of Somerset, found in the patent rolls for 11th July 1548 contains, in Reading;

> The two yearly fairs in "le utter courte" of the monastery of Redyng called Le Forburye, in the feasts of St James Apostle and Saints Phillip and James Apostles....[80]

This appears to identify the 'Forbury' as the outer court, or part of the outer precinct of Reading Abbey and confirm that the two fairs, granted respectively during the reign of Henry I and in 1205, were held there.[81] Similarly, to the south-west of the Benedictine priory founded by Reading Abbey in the 12th century at Leominster, Herefordshire, Ordnance Survey maps name an open area as the 'Site of the Forbury'.[82] The direct association with Reading and the documented grant by Henry I of a chartered fair to the Church of St Mary, Reading to be held at Leominster on the feast day of St Peter and St Paul, indicates a further example of a Forbury forming the outer court of a monastic precinct with the specific function of staging annual fairs.[83] Of even greater relevance is the 'Bury' at the Augustinian abbey of St Osyth, Essex. The 'Bury' at St. Osyth, named as such by the 16th century but likely of far greater antiquity, comprised a large triangular area of about 2 a. situated to the south of the priory precinct, immediately adjacent to the abbey gatehouse and to the west of the site of St Osyth's market place. In the Middle Ages the 'Bury' was likely the site of St Osyth Abbey's wool fair, although unlike Latton's fair and St Osyth's market, there is no documented charter or license to confirm this (Figure 13).[84]

The 'Foreberry' depicted on the 1616 map of Latton is located in a comparable position in relation to the priory church and inner precinct at Reading, Leominster and St Osyth and is shown as forming part of the approach to the priory with 'Pryor's Lane' to the east and the causeway across the precinct moat to the south (Figure 14). The use of 'Foreberry' combined with the comparisons with Reading and Leominster suggest an outer precinct at Latton and the natural conclusion is that the fair granted to Augustine Le Waleys in 1332 was held there. Augustine and his father before him would have been well known in royal circles, in fact his father could be described as a royal favourite, and it is highly likely that the date of the royal grant of the fair was not coincidental. It is possible therefore to speculate that the grant of an annual fair associated with the priory church of St John the Baptist in 1332 marked or celebrated the completion of the rebuilding of Latton Priory, begun shortly after Augustine became lord of Mark Hall in 1317. Although this is a relatively short timeframe for the rebuilding of a reasonably sizeable priory church and its conventual buildings, the use of flint rubble as the principal building material and the soft and easy to work clunch or Reigate stone for the arches and window tracery, suggests that it was achievable.

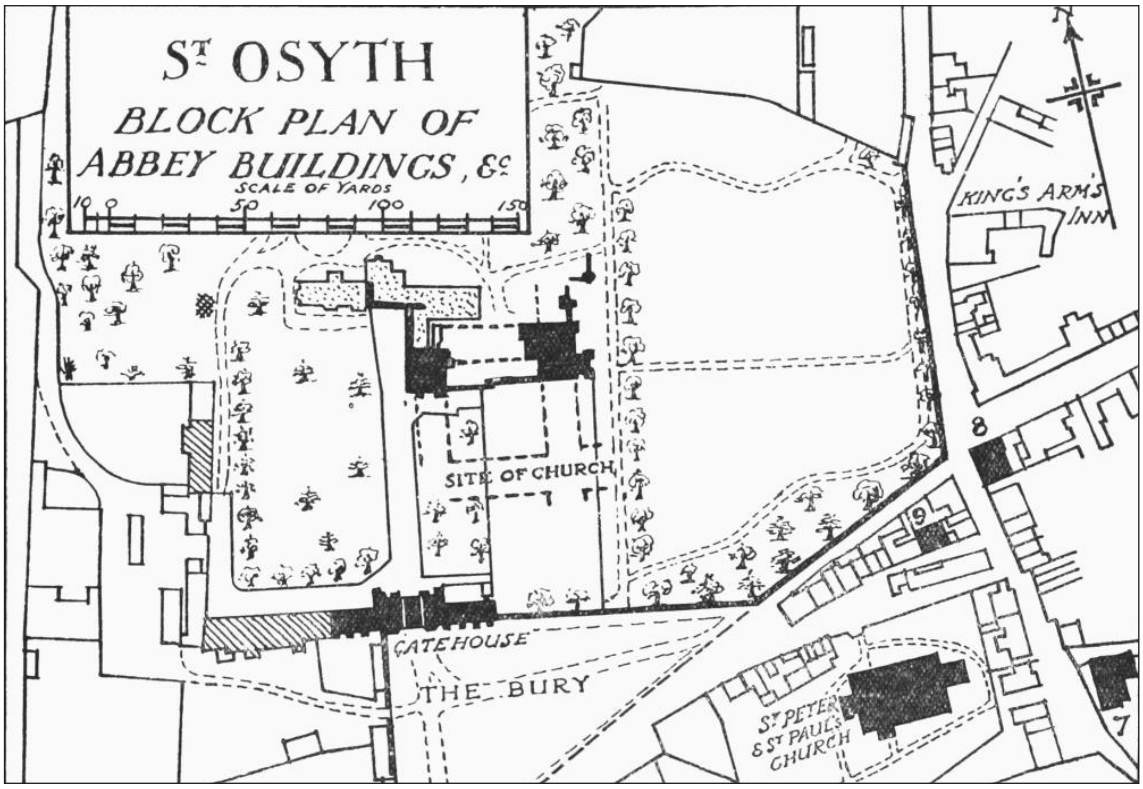


Figure 13: *A block plan of the buildings of St Osyth priory showing the location of the 'Bury', believed to be the site of the annual wool fair. © RCHME, Historic England*

Figure 14: *Extract from a 1616 estate map of Latton showing the 'Foreberry' to the north of the priory precinct. Reproduced by courtesy of Harlow Museum*

The Decline and End of Latton Priory

Despite the obvious and tangible investment in the development and expansion of Latton Priory in the early 14th century and the grant of a licence to hold an annual fair, it would appear that Latton was never able to emerge from the shadow of its modest beginnings. Evidence contained within the Episcopal Registers of the Bishop of London indicates that the community at Latton was rarely sufficiently numerous to elect their own priors when vacancies, usually caused by resignation rather than death, arose.[85] The inquisition taken on the 9th of September 1534 also documents how Latton Priory was dissolved. It found that the last prior, John Taylor had voluntarily departed Latton, leaving a single canon who continued to govern the house under the title of prior, though he had not been elected as such. As a result, the inquisition found that many divine services and prayers were not being conducted and as such, Latton had become a profane place, left completely to the will of the patron – presumably a direct reference to the Shaas and the continuation of the patronage of the lords of Mark Hall manor.[86]

No efforts were made to restore the priory and although not 'put down' under the 1535 Supression of Religious Houses Act, it was dissolved. Latton does not appear on the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the survey of finances of the church in England made in 1535 upon the orders of Henry VIII, but was valued as being worth £12 yearly at the time of the 1534 inquisition.[87]

The Secular Estate of Latton Priory 16th to 18th Centuries

Following its demise in 1534, Latton Priory, its possessions and its landholdings in the south of Latton parish were granted by Henry VIII on the 1st April 1536 to Sir Henry Parker:

> Sir Henry Parker, grant of the site of the late monastery of Augustine Canons. Latton, Essex, and all lands, thereto belonging in Essex, Herts, London, and Middlesex, in the King's hands by the dissolution. [88]

Parker granted the Latton Priory estate to William Morris in 1541, which in turn was acquired by John Hethe of Latton Hall following Morris' death in 1553:

> Sir Henry Parker. Licence to alienate the site of the late priory of Augustine canons of Lacton *alias* Latton, Essex, with lands in Essex, Herts, London, and Middlesex; to William Morres, Westminster.[89]

Hethe, who had acquired Latton Hall manor in 1548, united the priory estate with the manor of Latton Hall.[90] Latton's two secular manors were united with the priory estate in 1552 when James Altham acquired the Latton Hall and priory estates from John Titley and purchased the Mark Hall estate from Henry Parker, Lord Morley.[91] Latton Priory remained united with the manors of Latton Hall and Mark Hall as part of an estate that covered almost all of Latton parish and which passed through several generations of the Altham family following James Altham's death in 1583 and remained their seat for more than 200 years.[92] The combined Latton estate passed to James Altham's second son, Edward who was succeeded in 1605 by his

son Sir James Altham.[93] Upon his death in 1610 and leaving only a daughter, Joan, the estate passed to Sir James' brother Sir Edward Altham.[94]

The extent of the Latton estate at Sir Edward's time is captured in an estate survey of 1616 (appendix B) at which time he owned 461ha (1, 140a) in the parish, about 200a of them comprising the priory estate. The map and survey provide a detailed snap-shot of the estate less than a century after the Augustinian priory came to an end and suggests that at the time, much of the former priory and its related landscape remained intact.[95]

The priory estate was tenanted in 1616 by one Robert Stracy who was described as holding:

> One ancient House called the Priory with Barns, Stables, Orchards, Garden, Motes, Fish ponds, and other outhouses and yards.

The survey and accompanying map of 1616 depicts the former priory church as a complete cruciform structure with what appears to be a tower with a pyramidal roof rising to three stages above the central crossing (Figure 15).[96] The scale and orientation of the crude vignette prevents accurate conclusions being drawn and it is difficult to confidently state whether the drawing depicts the church aligned accurately east to west with the nave and presbytery shown as being of roughly equal lengths and of a uniform height, or rotated through 90 degrees and shown with two extant transepts. The depiction is more schematic than the accompanying depictions of Latton Hall and Mark Hall houses but if the priory church is aligned accurately then the 1616 map does appear to show that the majority of the priory remained intact at that time. If the orientations are indeed accurate, the small range shown extending westwards from the southern transept may be the *Frater* or refectory building which formed the southern wing of the cloister and into the remains of which, the farmhouse was built in the early 18th century.[97] A second smaller building depicted to the south of the church may be one of the barns or ancillary structures mentioned in the survey, but may also indicate that the Prior's lodgings, likely located to the south of the cloister, may have also still stood into the 17th century. The 1616 map depicts the priory church enclosed on all four sides by a wet moat, with access via a causeway in the northern arm. This causeway aligns with a pair of building depicted to the north, likely the stables or other outbuildings mentioned in the survey.[98]

The survey and map also record the approach to the priory site, Priory Lane, the route of which is closely mirrored by the present farm track and the Foreberry, which is described as 'Two other parcels of Pastures called the Foreberry' and recorded as amounting to a little over two acres. An orchard mentioned in the survey is shown to the immediate south of the moated precinct and the fishpond, shown to the south-west of moated site, clearly occupying the same location as the pond to the south of Latton Priory Farm.

Sir Edward was succeeded by his son James Altham, and he by his brother Leventhorp Altham who died in 1681 to be succeeded by his son James Altham who died in 1697.[99]

Figure 15: *Extract from a 1616 estate map of Latton showing the priory precinct largely intact within its moat. Reproduced by courtesy of Harlow Museum*

Latton Priory Farm 18th Century onwards

Following his father's death in 1697, the combined Latton estate passed to Peyton Altham who held it for nearly 50 years and is likely responsible for the initial steps towards the creation of Latton Priory Farm. The account of the priory site compiled by William Holman in c.1718 suggests that it was during this time that the first farmhouse on the site was constructed, built into the standing remains of the priory refectory. Holman's account also describes the priory church as, 'a stately building and most of it standing but converted into a barn' and implies that since the depiction of the priory in 1616 as a complete cruciform structure with ancillary buildings to the south, the priory church had been partially taken down and converted into a barn.[100] It is likely that this conversion involved the re-roofing of the presbytery which is depicted in topographical drawings as still standing in 1778, though possibly reduced in height.[101] The clasped purlin collar-rafter with raking strut roof over the eastern barn which now occupies the site of the presbytery, is of a type which proliferated in Essex and the east of England from the late 17th century and it is possible that an earlier roof structure was adapted and reused when the barn was erected on the site of the presbytery in the early 19th century and that it originally dates from the conversion of the priory church to a barn in Peyton Altham's time. This tenuous conclusion is partially supported by the Storer depiction of the interior of the priory which appears to show a roof structure which matches that which today roofs the barn, but also the extant stone presbytery.[102] Holman's comment that most but not all of the church was still standing may also indicate that the early 18th century work on the priory church included the removal of the

majority of the nave, truncating the structure to the west of the crossing and creating the footprint which survives to the present day. As none of the topgraphical drawings show a north chapel, it is likely that this too was removed during the conversion into a barn.

Peyton Altham died in 1741 and settled the Latton estate on his wife Maud, who in turn, following the death of their eldest sons without issue in 1765, released the estate to their surviving son, William Altham.[103] A brick located in the lower courses of the southern wall of the farmhouse bearing the date 1773 and the initials MD may imply that the rebuilding of the farmhouse described by Francis Grosse in 1778 occurred during William Altham's short ownership of the estate which lasted until that year when he sold it to William Lushington (Figure 16). William had made considerable alterations to Mark Hall house, so it is likely that his work extended to improvements at Latton Priory Farm.[104]

Figure 16: *A brick in the southern wall of the farmhouse at Latton Priory Farm bearing the inscription MD 1773. © Historic England, Matthew Bristow*

Upon acquiring the Latton estate, William Lushington was also quick to embark on a series of dramatic changes and it is inconceivable that these did not reach the priory farm. In 1778 he demolished Latton Hall House which had stood about 200m south west of the parish church of Latton and extended Mark Hall park, an extension which cut the parish church off from the rest of the parish. The extension of the park accompanied Lushington's construction of a new house in the classical style.[105] It is therefore likely that the demolition of the priory church presbytery, still depicted as upstanding in an engraving published with Grosse's account in 1778, and its replacement with a timber-framed barn was also part of the improvements to the estate carried out by Lushington. Grosse's account implies that the rebuilt priory farmhouse was completed by the time his account was published in 1778 supporting the conclusion that it pre-dated Lushington's time at Latton.

In 1786 William Lushington sold Latton Hall and Mark Hall to Montagu Burgoyne, while the priory estate was sold separately to Thomas Glyn.[106] It is likely that Glyn was responsible for the construction of the south barn – built into the remains of the south transept - which is reported by Storer to have collapsed in 1806. By 1824 the Revd J Clayton Glyn had sold the priory estate to Joseph Arkwright the vicar of Latton. Arkwright, who was the grandson of Sir Richard Arkwright, the industrialist and inventor of the water powered spinning frame, once again reunited the priory

estate with the estates of Latton Hall and Mark Hall which his father had purchased for him in 1819.[107] Joseph Arkwright held the Latton Priory estate until his death in 1864 and was likely responsible for the expansion of the priory farm in the form of the brick granary to the west of the priory church and cow sheds to the north (Figure 17).

Figure 17: *A section of the 1839 tithe map of Latton parish showing the former priory estate. © National Archives, IR 30/12/197*

During Joseph's tenure, the farm was tenanted and a probate inventory dated 10 March 1834 for the late Thomas Stallibras of Latton Priory and signed by his widow Mary Stallibras mentions their son, William Stallibrass who likely took over the tenancy. A newspaper article, published 15 July in that same year advertises the sale of growing crops of wheat, clover, barley, oats and beans at Latton Priory Farm.[108] By 1837 George Rogers was recorded as the farmer of Latton Priory when his servant, William Page was the victim of the theft of weaving apparel. [109] A Home Office document describes the trial of the burglar, William Mead, who was sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for a period of 7 years. By the 1841 census Latton Priory was still occupied by George Rogers and his wife Susanna, along with their three small children (George, John & James) and three farm servants and he is likewise listed in the 1848 White's Directory. By the time of the 1851 census, Latton Priory was occupied by William Kirby and his family, along with a Nurse, house servant and four farm labourers. William is described as a Bailiff – presumably for the Mark Hall Estate. A lease drawn up in 1864 indicated that at this point, the landlord was looking for a new tenant.[110] Amongst the terms of the lease, it stated that 'the outgoing tenant to have the use of the barns and stack yards to stack in barn and thresh his crop for six months after the expiration of his term and his last years

corn to be carted by the landlord or his incoming tenant any distance not exceeding 10 miles gratis.' At this time the Latton Priory estate was described as being of approximately 322 acres.

Joseph Arkwright was succeeded by his son Loftus W Arkwright and he in turn by Loftus J W Arkwright in 1889. L J W Arkwright formed the Mark Hall Estates company to manage the 1,363 acre Latton estate his family had amassed. Shortly after, Ernest Victor Boram was the tenant farmer at Latton Priory. Ernest lived there with his wife Lucy Jane Radford Boram and their three children, along with one boarder, the worker Henry Thomas Hawks. In 1904, the *Chelmsford Chronicle* documented a large hay stack fire at Latton Priory (with Mr Boram cited as the farmer) – the value of the hay destroyed was £50.[111] It is interesting to note that there is some evidence of burning of the timbers at eaves level at the south-east corner of the nave. In the 1911 census, Ernest Boram, his wife and three daughters were still recorded as the occupiers of Latton Priory.

In 1947 the greater part of the Latton estate managed by Mark Hall Estates was compulsorarily purchased by the Harlow Development Corporation to facilitate the construction of the New Town.[112] At this time, the former priory estate was again separated and sold to the sitting tenant at Latton Priory farm, Mr J A Brown. The Brown family continue to farm at Latton Priory to the present day and during the second half of the 20th century oversaw an increase in the size of the farm which necessitated the infilling of the northern and eastern arms of the moat.

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHIC AND LIDAR SURVEY ANALYSIS

By Fiona Small

The aerial survey of Latton Priory is based on the interpretation of lidar (airborne laser scanning) and aerial photographs supported by historical plans and maps. The survey encompassed an area of 9 km² centred on the remains of the priory.[113] In addition to the earthwork remains of the priory, moat and immediate precincts, the earthwork remains of a number of former hollow ways, ponds and field boundaries were identified from the lidar visualisations, while in addition to these the aerial photographs revealed the extensive remains of former medieval or post-medieval field boundaries and associated trackways across the entire area.

The site of Latton Priory lies within the area of the Essex NMP mapping project. One of the first projects of the National Mapping Programme, encompassing the entire county of Essex, its aim was to map and record all archaeological features from prehistory to 1945 visible on available aerial photographs and was carried out by a team based in Essex County Council between 1993 and 2003. This survey, in common with a number of early NMP projects was undertaken before the advent of digital mapping methods and the development of lidar survey. All visible remains of the Latton Priory were mapped, but the limitations of the sources available restricted the level of detail which could be recorded. Since that NMP survey more collections of historic aerial photographs have become available and on-line sources such as Google Earth and Bing have widened the range of accessible images for survey. It is now also possible to locate features with far more precision than was possible at the time of Essex NMP project.

For this most recent survey, undertaken by Aerial Investigation and Mapping section of Historic England in 2016, the earthwork remains of the medieval priory of Latton have been recorded from a combination of Environment Agency lidar images flown in 2001 and historic aerial photographs taken between 1946 and 2000. In addition to the photographic and modern and historic Ordnance Survey map sources the aerial survey was complemented by the 1616 estate survey and accompanying map by Jeremie Bailey of the land holdings of Sir Edward Altham, the then owner of the Estate of Latton Priory.

Latton Priory Precinct

The south-west and south-eastern arms of the moat can be seen in their entirety along with the southern half of the eastern side. A short spur of the north-western side extending from the north-western corner was visible on RAF vertical photographs taken in 1955 prior to this portion being in-filled and is obscured by expansion of the farm buildings to the north. The remainder of the north-western side has also been in-filled at some point in the past. Lidar suggests the presence of the northern half of the north-eastern arm of the moat (Figure 18).

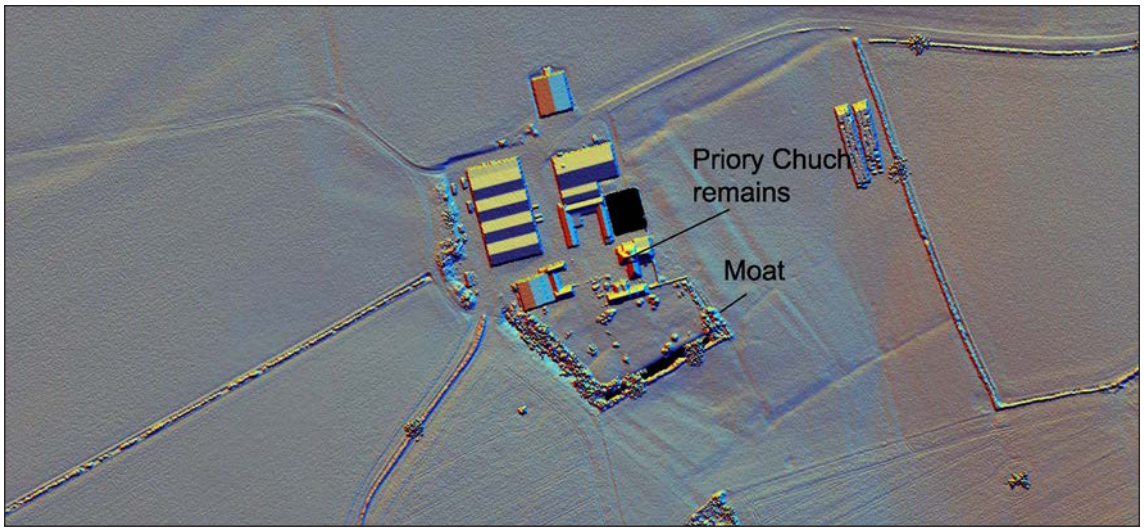


Figure 18: *The earthwork remains of Latton Priory visible on lidar. (DSM) © Historic England; Source Environment Agency (December 2001)*

The course of a gas pipeline excavated in 1992 cuts ENE-WSW through the fields to the south of the priory in the direction of Rivett's Farm.[114] The course of the pipeline can clearly be seen on aerial photographs taken in 1995-6 as a scar in the vegetation. It can also be seen on the lidar images as a potentially confusing low linear bank (Figure 19).

Figure 19: Latton Priory Farm and surrounding remains of the medieval Priory complex visible as slight earthworks. The overgrown remains of the moat can be seen to the left of the farm and the rectangular fishpond in the centre of the photograph. © Essex County Council, EXC 165586_13 11-AUG-1995

To the immediate east and south of the moat a number of linear ditches and banks can be seen as earthworks on both the lidar and aerial photographs. These represent the remains of boundaries and trackways, and some of them are likely to be contemporary with the moat and the priory site. However, some appear to be more recent vehicle tracks, both from the farm on the priory site and fanning out southwards from a gateway immediately to the west of the priory.

Within the moat, slight earthworks can be seen on the lidar in the southern half which may be traces of structures associated with the priory, but could be the result of historic or more recent disturbance associated with the farm occupying the priory site. Aerial photographs taken in 1995 record vegetation marks within the lawns to the south of the farmhouse which also suggest the presence of earlier buried features. RAF photographs taken in 1955 show an elongated fishpond measuring c. 8m x 27m, depicted on 20th century OS maps at TL 4661 0651 in the south-eastern corner of the island within the moat. It was described as water-filled following a Field Investigators visit in 1971 (Field Observation 369750) NRHE 369749, but appears to have been filled in by 1995 when photographed by Essex County Council.

A large rectangular fishpond c. 60m x 15m lies approximately 85m south of the moat at TL 4661 0638. This is now overgrown with the vegetation/tree growth, but judging by the most recent aerial photographs, it still appears to hold water and has a small island towards its eastern end. A number of ditches can be seen between the moat and this pond, at least one of which may form part of the water management system linking the moat and pond. Another pond is visible to the north-east at TL 4665 0646. This is recorded on the 1:10,000 scale OS map as a pond, but not on the current Ordnance Survey Mastermap and is not noted on the 1616 map of the estate. This may suggest either that it was no longer in use as a pond at this time, or that it was established as a pond in a natural low point amongst the earthworks of the Priory remains at some time after the 17th century map was surveyed (Figure 20).

A further pond was located just to the north-west of the moat at TL 4647 0651. This is shown as a water-filled pond on the 1616 map as well as the 1st to 4th edition Ordnance Survey maps published between 1843 and 1939. The pond is just about visible on aerial photographs taken in 1955, but now lies beneath a yard and large block of modern farm buildings constructed at some time before 1995.

A number of other ponds and depressions have been noted on the lidar and aerial photographs in fields surrounding the Priory. Most are smaller and more sub-circular than those recognised as fishponds, but nearly all were depicted as water-filled ponds on the 1616 map of the estate.

Immediately to the north of the Priory are the slight earthwork traces of an elongated wedge-shaped area which is now partially obscured by the modern farm buildings on the northern edge of the farm. Centred at TL 4665 0660, it measures c. 275m east-west and 30m wide (though likely to have been at least 45m north-south at its widest point). Marked as the Foreberry on the 1616 estate map, this is likely the site of an annual fair granted by Edward III in 1332 (see Figure 14).[115]

Figure 20: Extract of RAF V542/131 0082 17-FEB-1955 Historic England RAF Photography (top) showing the remains of Latton Priory and Latton Priory Farm as it appeared in 1955, and the Latton Priory Estate Map of 1616 (bottom). Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, T/M 453/2

The Medieval and Post-Medieval Landscape

Historic RAF photographs and recent lidar show several broad lanes leading out of the eastern and western sides of the 'Foreberry'. The eastern arm (known as Pryorie Lane) extends eastwards c.480m towards the junction with the main B1393 - 'The Way from Epping (1616)'.[116] Earthworks traces of what may be the former course of the Epping road can be seen as an embanked narrow strip along the western side of the current road immediately south of this junction. Further south, more traces of the road survive where it skirts the southern edge of the remains of a group of four parallel strip fields known as 'Hermitts' in 1616. At the western end of Foreberry the track extends northwards, probably heading in the direction of Harlow, following the suggested course of a Roman road. From this a branch marked as 'Three Want Lane' heads south-west in the direction of another moated site at Rye Hill located at TL 4536 0665 (Figure 21).

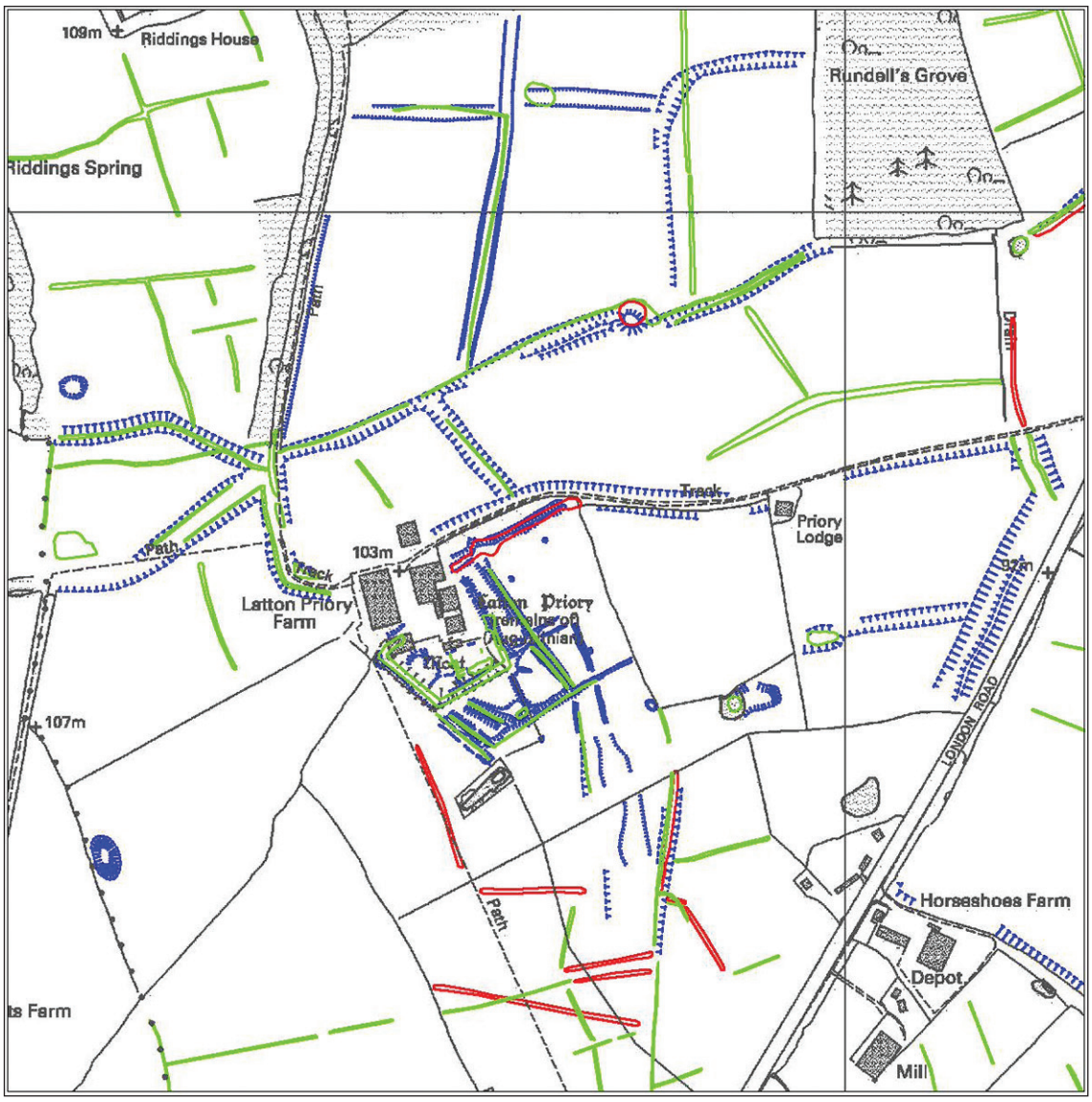


Figure 21: The remains of Latton Priory and surrounding tracks and field boundaries mapped from lidar and aerial photographs. Base map © Crown Copyright and database right 2016, all rights reserved. Ordnance Survey licence number 100024900

The lidar has revealed the remains of a number of similarly undated tracks seen as slight earthworks in the landscape surrounding the Priory forming a network of routes presumably linking former holdings and settlements (Figure 22).

Figure 22: Transcribed remains of the Priory and surrounding tracks and field boundaries overlaid to the 1616 map of Latton Priory Estate. Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, T/M 453/2

Field Systems

Aerial photographs (including Google Earth satellite imagery) have revealed the extensive cropmark remains of former field boundaries within the larger modern field system. These represent the remains of probable medieval or post-medieval field systems with associated integrated trackways. Most of the boundaries were defined by ditches and probably hedged. A number of present field boundaries are clearly remnants of this earlier landscape (Figure 23).

Apart from a possible area between Esgors Farm and High Elms Nursery (TL 4725 0530), no definite traces of medieval ridge and furrow could be identified on either the aerial photographs or the lidar images. However, several areas of former and current field boundaries have a distinct linear pattern suggesting a fossilisation of the medieval strip fields in the post medieval field systems (e.g. south of Rye Hill, south-east of Horseshoes Farm and south of Latton Priory in the area known as 'Hermitts' on the 1616 map).

Jeremie Bailee's estate map of 1616 has proved a detailed record of the field layout, ownership and settlements. This has enabled comparison of the surviving and

relic field boundaries with those of the early 17th century. The accuracy of scale and dimensions of most of the mapped features across the entire estate was such that little or no rectification of the map was required to make the old map fit the new digital map. Strangely, the least accurately drawn feature was the moat at Latton Priory, and this is only of note because of the overall accuracy of the rest of the map.

Approximately half of the boundaries seen as cropmarks are not shown on the 1840s Ordnance Survey 1st edition map. Most of these were present as active field boundaries depicted on the 1616 map. Only a small number of former boundaries seen as cropmarks were not recorded in 1616 and presumed to predate this map.

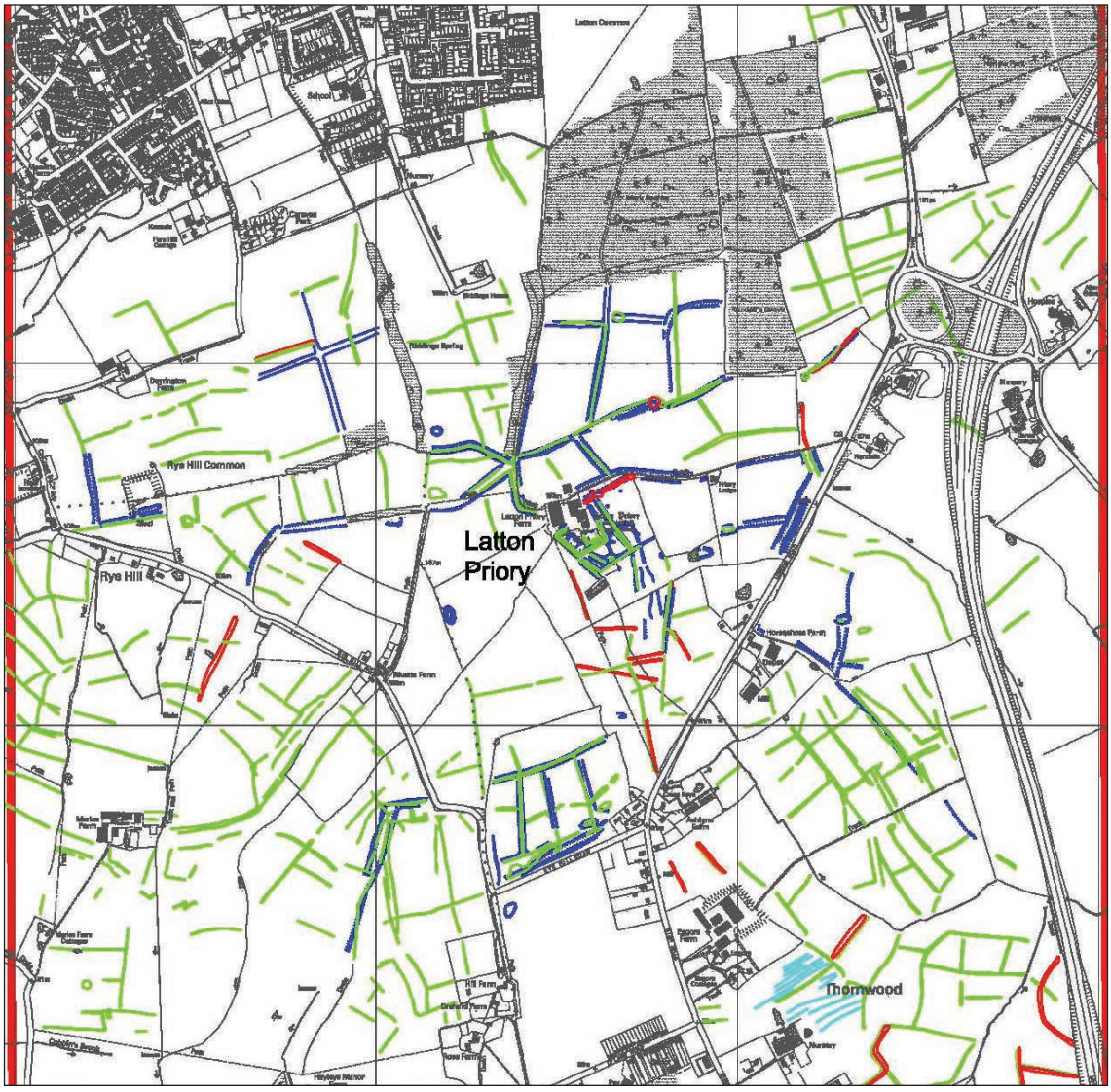


Figure 23: All archaeological remains mapped from lidar and aerial photographs around the former Priory of Latton. Base map © Crown Copyright and database right 2016, all rights reserved. Ordnance Survey licence number 100024900

Medieval and Post-Medieval Field Name Evidence

The 1616 Estate Survey and accompanying map of the land holdings of Sir Edward Altham provides an insight into the ownership, tenants, field size, function and the

field names. These field names hint at earlier activities and landscape features. Of note are the Well Field and Mill Field, both located close to the Priory (Figure 24).

Well Field lies immediately to the west of the Priory and, though recorded on the 1616 map of the estate, no well or well house is mentioned on this or subsequent maps. It may be that a well had been located either within the field or at the margins at in the medieval or post medieval period, but had fallen out of use by 1616. There is a large pond at the western edge of the field, and it is possible that such a pond rather than a true well was the local source of water giving the field its name. The 17th century map notes Myll Fielde the north-east of Latton Priory. The absence of any obvious nearby watercourse would seem to preclude the presence of a watermill in the vicinity, and there is no indication of a mill site either from map evidence or from archaeological remains. However, it is possible that an earthwork mound in the north-eastern corner of the adjacent field (17th-century field name: 'Horseleys') could have been the location of a post mill. Graffiti scratched into the stonework high in the roof of the remains of the Priory church at Latton depicts a medieval post mill on a mound, which might suggest there was such a mill in the vicinity – possibly occupying the mound, see Figure 72. However, this doesn't resolve the problem of why the adjacent field should be named Myll Fielde.

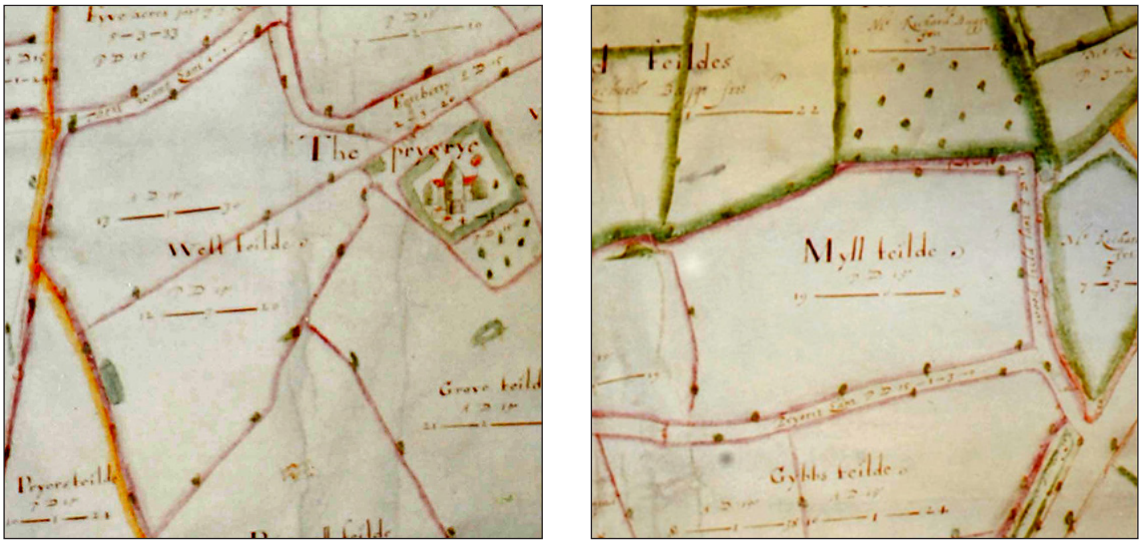


Figure 24: *Extracts of 1616 Estate map of Latton Priory illustrating Well Fielde and Myll Fielde. Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, T/M 453/2*

Prehistoric and Roman Remains

The aerial survey undertaken at Latton Priory encompassed an area of 9km². Both lidar and aerial photographs identified the extensive traces of a former agricultural landscape of relic and surviving field boundaries and trackways thought to have linked farms and small settlements. However, there was very little evidence for prehistoric or Roman features amongst these presumed later field boundaries. Only two potentially prehistoric or Roman sites have been identified during this survey: a mound which may represent a possible round barrow, and an undated enclosure.

Possible Barrow Mound

The aerial survey identified one potential Bronze Age site in the vicinity of Latton Priory - a mound located on the northern edge of Horseleys to the north-east of the Priory site at TL 4677 0687 (mentioned above as a potential windmill mound). This appears as a slight mound between 27m and 30m across on lidar images, and as a circular cropmark in 2001 suggesting a plough-levelled mound with a hint of an encircling ditch measuring approximately 27m in diameter (Figure 25)

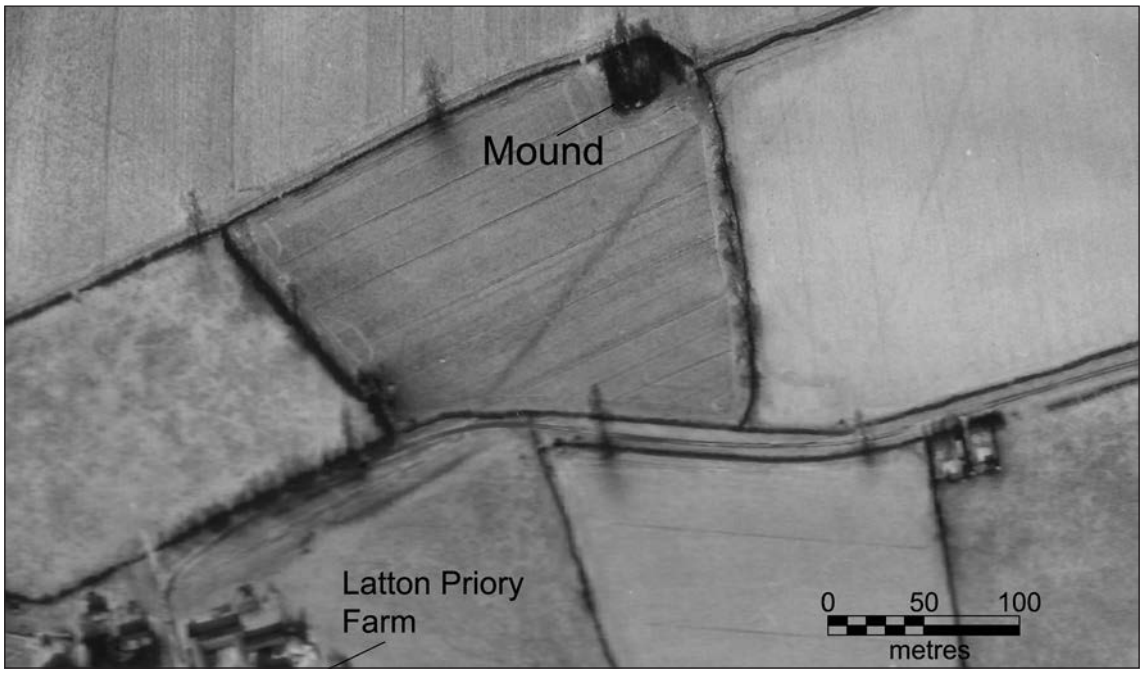


Figure 25: *The earthwork mound within a small clump of trees to the north-east of Latton Priory Farm in 1955 prior to levelling and ploughing. Extract of RAF V542/131 0082 17-FEB-1955 Historic England RAF Photography.*

The mound appears to have survived untouched at the corner of the field within a small patch of scrubby woodland until the 1970s. At some point between being photographed in 1971 and 1981 the hedges and the trees were removed, and the mound levelled and ploughed. However, despite several decades of ploughing, the Environment Agency lidar survey of 2001 indicates some mound material survived (Figure 26). The mound at Latton was first recorded on the 1616 Latton Priory estate map, but it was not annotated, named or commented upon on this map (Figure 27). The next known reference to the mound dates from the late 19th century when it was recorded during a survey of local roads and adjacent features by the Epping and Ongar Highway Trust (Figure 28).[117] The entry for the Latton mound reads: 'Near to Latton Priory on the left hand side, a short distance from the Harlow Road is a moated mound or tumulus, which is a distinctive feature of a British or Roman road'. The account was accompanied by a photograph of the mound – showing a distinct mound several meters high topped by three dispersed trees. While it is evident that the author is suggesting at the very least that the road is of Romano-British origin, no further detail or basis for this suggestion is given. Until the removal of the hedge in the 1970s the mound was located on the southern side of a boundary which

clearly around the mound, clearly indicating that the mound predated the boundary. This relationship between the field boundary and the mound was also recorded on the 1616 estate map. Finds from a 'ploughed-out barrow north of Latton Priory' have been reported to the Essex SMR/HER; comprising a Roman coin of Constantine II (AD337-340), a possible Roman metal weight and assorted pottery.[118] Though the finds are uncorroborated, this might support the idea of a Roman origin for the mound or, perhaps, evidence of reuse of an earlier barrow in the Roman period.

Figure 26: *Traces of mound visible as a cropmark in 2009 (Google Earth 2009 - accessed 17/10/2016) (top) and lidar (below) indicating slight earthwork traces of the mound surviving in 2001. © Historic England; Source Environment Agency (December 2001)*

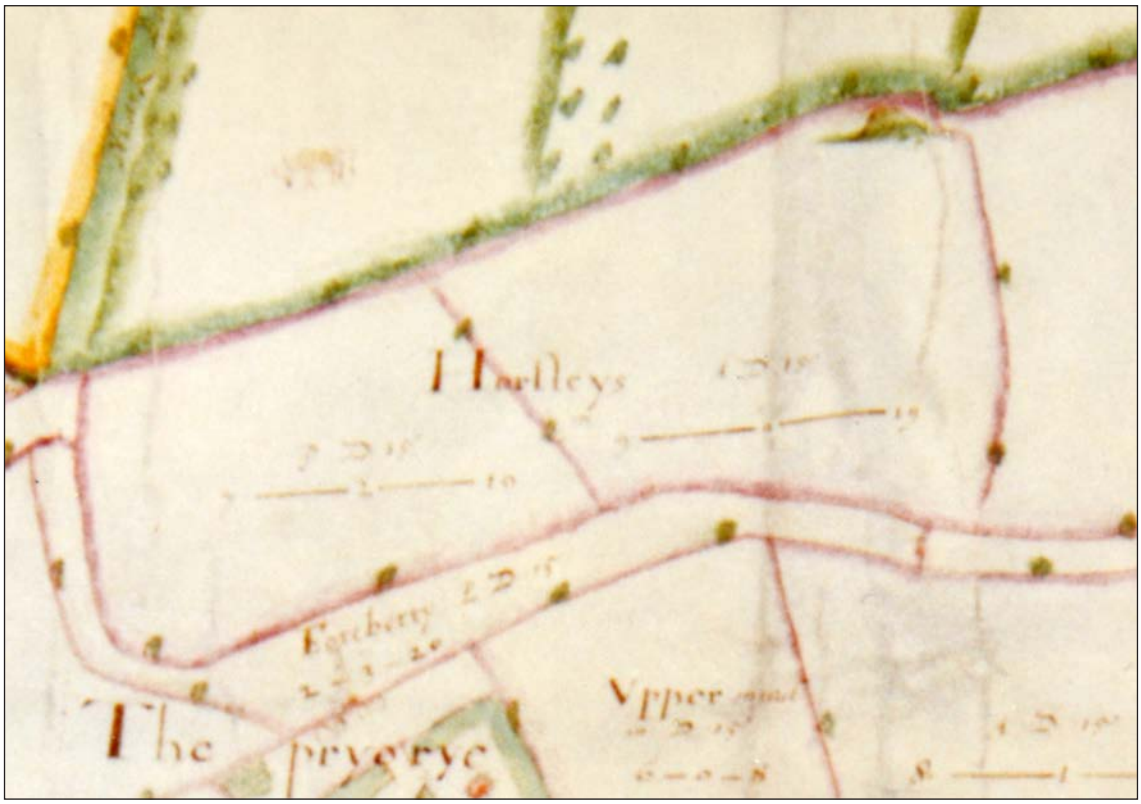


Figure 27: The mound at Latton recorded on the 1616 Estate map in the north-eastern corner of the field named Horsleys. The field boundary to the north is clearly depicted curving around the mound. Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, T/M 453/2

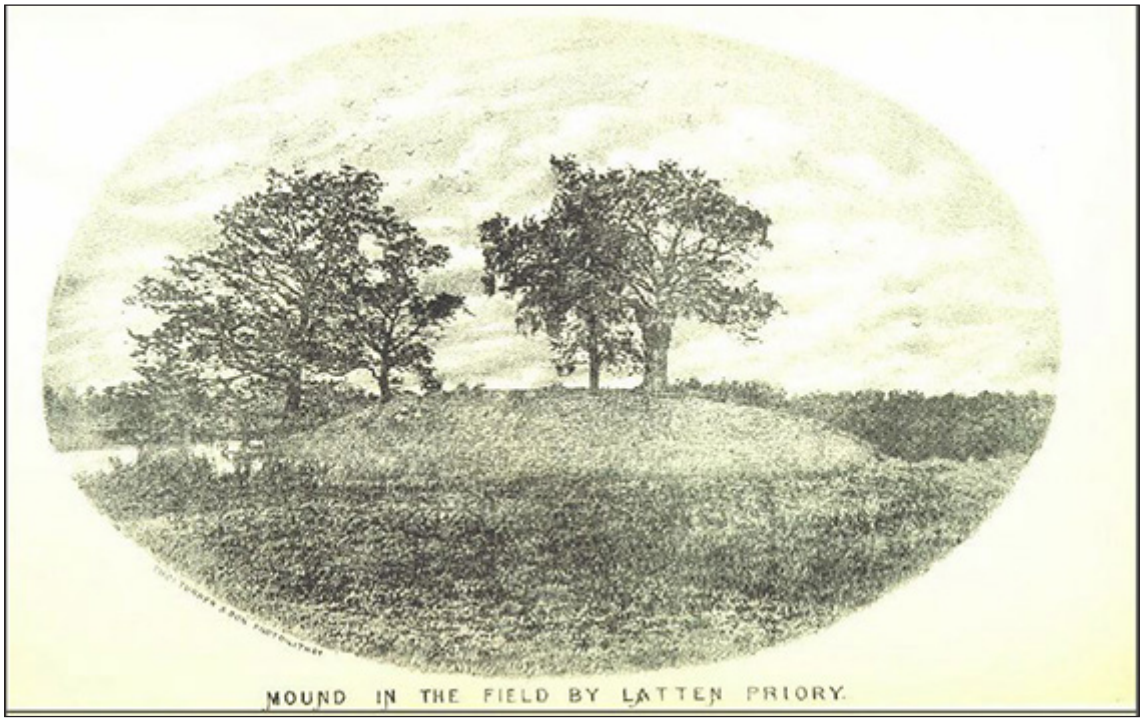


Figure 28: A photolithograph of the Latton mound taken in the latter half of the 19th century and published in Extracts from the Minutes of the Epping and Ongar Highways Trust 1769 – 1870, published 1891.

Possible Roman Occupation Site at TL 462 057

A number of cropmarks within a field 850m south-west of the Priory, appear to be the remains of medieval or post medieval field boundaries. Amongst them appears to be an incomplete broad-ditched rectangular enclosure in the region of 45m across at TL 4612 0575. The southern side and parts of the western and northern sides and south-western and south-eastern corners are visible. The relationship between the enclosure and the linear boundaries is not clear. The boundaries themselves are undated, but could be the remnants of medieval/ post medieval fields. The site lies 50-60m to the west of the given location of Roman finds identified in the 1960s at TL 462 057, just inside and to the south of a bend in Rye Hill Road. They comprised Roman brick, tile and pottery and a quantity of 16th-17th century Staffordshire slipware.[119] Further finds of Roman brick, tile, late 3rd to 4th century pottery and slag were identified during the excavations for a gas pipeline to the north and east in 1999, all suggesting the presence of a large area of Roman occupation.[120] The course of a possible Roman road from Harlow to Epping passes the site along the line of the parish boundary and a short north-south portion of the Rye Hill Road to the east (NRHE 1044015). Though no trace of any Roman road material was identified during the pipeline excavations, it did confirm the existence of the Roman road further to the south, on the same alignment. Further traces of an agger have also been identified to the north of Latton Priory on the western edge of Mark Bushes, thought to be evidence of the same Roman road heading towards Harlow (Figure 29).[121] The undated boundaries and trackways and the course of the Roman road and parish boundary all have a shared alignment suggesting contemporaneity or some degree of continuity between route-ways and landscape divisions.

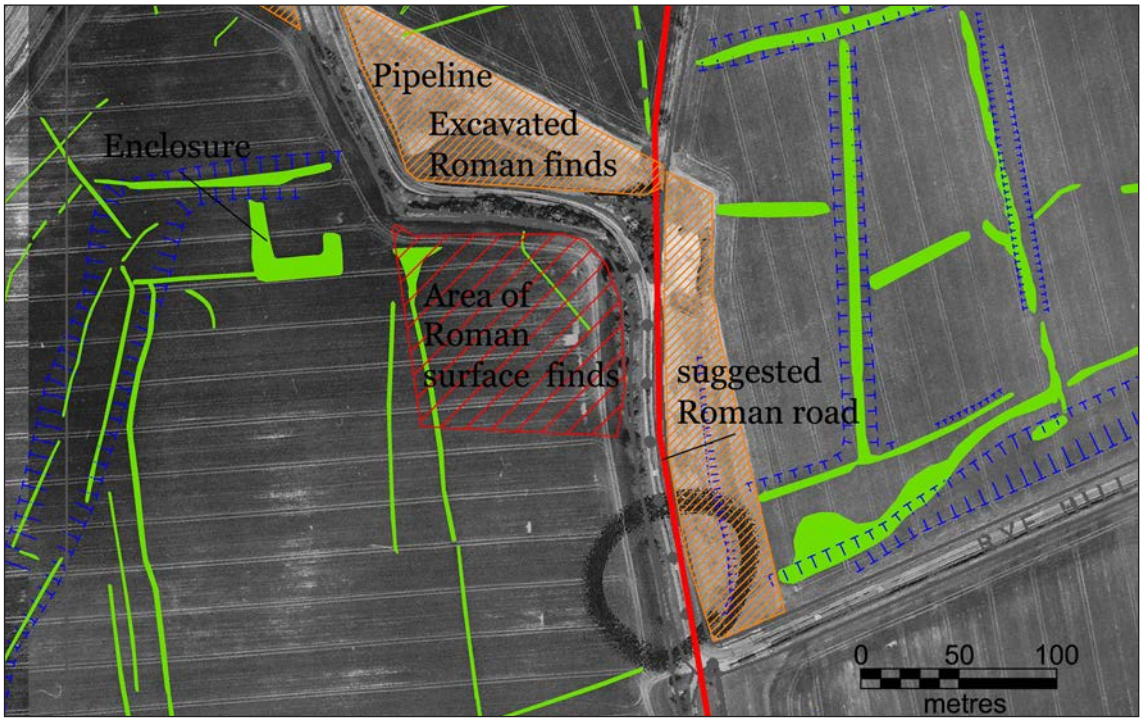


Figure 29: Transcription of the possible enclosure adjacent to an area of Roman surface finds (outlined in red) and suggested course of a Roman road (red line). The course of a gas pipeline excavation is (outlined in orange). Extract of OS/00945_3251 08-APR-2000

ANALYTICAL EARTHWORK SURVEY

By Matthew Bristow and Magnus Alexander

Introduction

This section of the report describes the result of field survey undertaken in February, March and November 2016 by Historic England's Assessment Team (East), now Historic Places Investigation Team (North and East).

Extent

The survey area comprised four main sections which when combined accounted for the entirety of the scheduled ancient monument and extended eastwards to include a number of clear linear earthworks outside of the scheduled area (Figure 30). The survey area, which covered some 5.7 ha (14.4 a) was divided into four areas comprising the inner and outer precincts of the priory, the eastern approach to the priory and supposed site of a chartered fair, the wider landscape of the post-medieval priory estate and the priory's fish pond and remains of its water management system.

The first area, referred to henceforth as the moated inner precinct and covering 0.6ha (1.5a), consisted of the trapezoidal lawned area immediately south of the priory farmhouse. This area was defined on its western and southern sides by the surviving arms of the wet moat, on its eastern side by a fence and hedge extending northwards from the south-eastern corner of the moat and on its northern side by a small, walled kitchen garden, the southern façade of the farmhouse, the southern edge of the farmyard and the southern walls of a 19th and late-20th century barn. Some features located to the south of the moat, but clearly associated with it are also described in this section.

The second area, referred to by its historical name of the 'Foreberry', covered 0.8ha (2.1a) and described an elongated triangle extending either side of the farm track from its point at the north-eastern limit of the survey area, opening out to its terminus at the north-western extent of the survey area.

The third area, called the 'Upper Mead' on the map of 1616, described a loosely rectangular parcel of rough pasture covering 3.2ha (8a) and extending southwards from the 'Foreberry'. It was defined to the east by a ditched field boundary, to the south by a wire fence and to the west by the edge of the farmhouse garden, the farmyard and 20th century farm buildings.

The fourth area named on the 1616 map as 'Grove Field' (often read as Grave Field due to previous discoveries of human remains in that area), covered 1.1 ha (2.8a) south of the southern arm of the moat and included a large tree lined pond beyond its south-western corner. It was defined to the west and south by wire fenced field boundaries.

Figure 30: The area which comprised the earthwork survey denoted by coloured hatching Base map © Crown Copyright and database right 2016, all rights reserved. Ordnance Survey license number 100024900

Description

The following description will treat the four areas detailed above separately but within those four sections describe the features topographically with the moat defined inner precinct detailed first before the outer landscape is described as a perambulation beginning at the extreme north-west of the site and progressing in a clockwise direction. Some elements of discussion will be included in order to explain the supposed relationships between the various features, though for the most part the discussion will be treated separately. Each feature will be afforded a separate, numbered paragraph which corresponds to the illustrative figures.

Numbers in square brackets refer to Figures 32-35. See also Figure 30 for the extent of the survey and Figure 36 for the complete survey drawing.

The Moat

The moat surrounding the inner precinct was originally roughly trapezoidal in form with the longest side to the NNW, though this has now been completely lost beneath farm buildings and yards. The broadly parallel arm to the SSE still held water along most of its length and most of the south-west arm survived to a considerable depth. Both were obscured in several places by dense vegetation. The ENE arm has been filled in but can be traced within the field to the east of the farm. This generally lay under rough grass. For simplicity's sake the cardinal points will be used as far as clarity will allow (Figures 31 and 32).

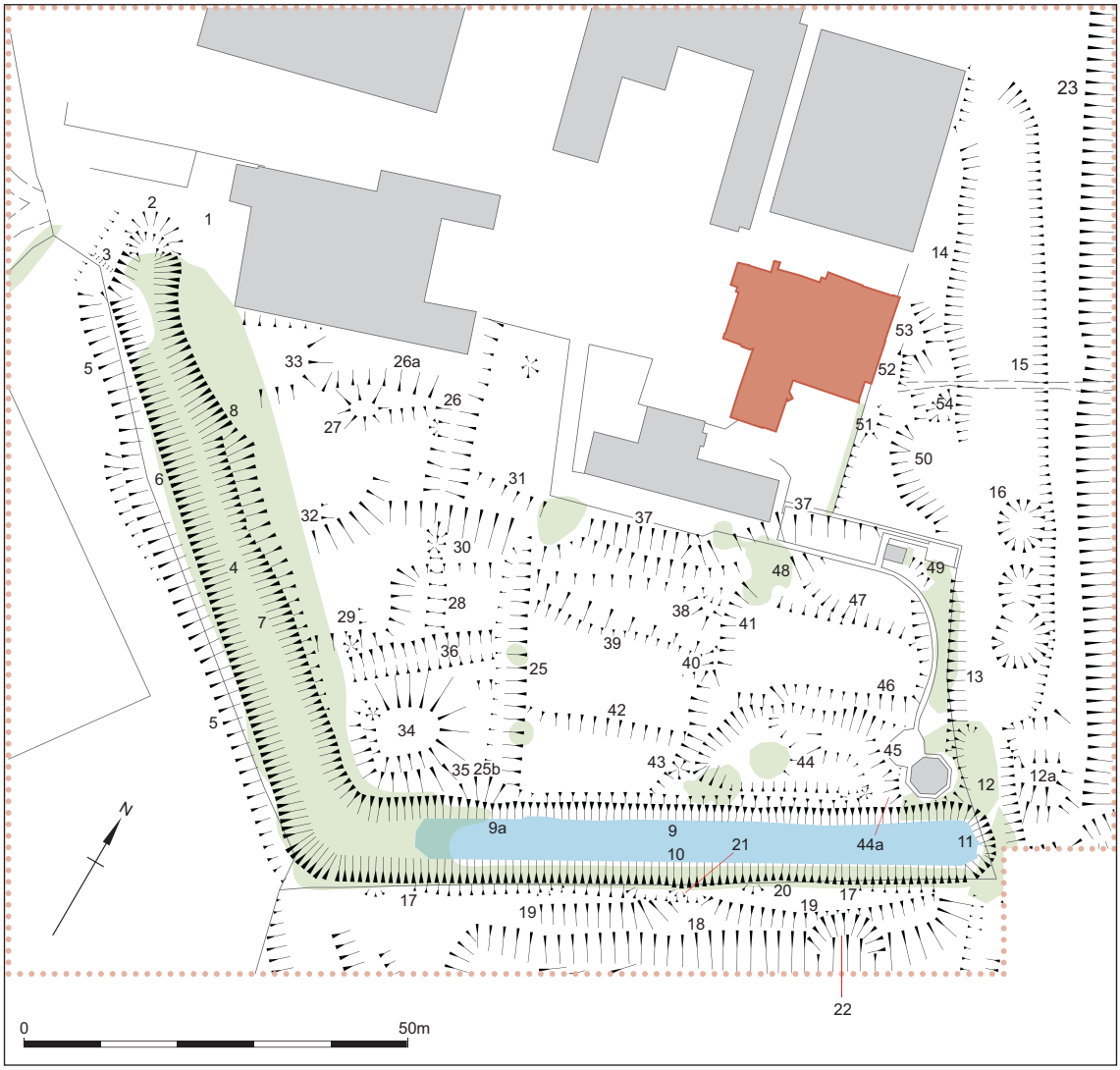


Figure 31: *Features within the moated inner precinct © Historic England*

1. The open area around the north end of the western arm of the moat was level but rough ground with a large amount of dumped material and vehicle ruts. It is known that the return with the northern arm lay in this area and had relatively recently been filled in but this could not be seen, though it is likely that it survives here

Figure 32: *The moated inner precinct, now the farmhouse garden, from the south west.*
© Historic England, Matthew Bristow

2. A substantial block built structure had been constructed within the moat and now forms its north-west terminus. This was approximately 1.8m square and at least 2.0m deep and clearly for drainage. It was surrounded by a broad but shallow circular depression, perhaps a construction trench. Within the broader depression was a second steeper and more irregular depression apparently created by surface run off into and around the main structure and fans of eroded material could be seen in the base of the moat.

3. To the south-west of [2] was a low rather irregular mound apparently formed of dumped material. This appeared to spill into the moat obscuring the continuation of outer moat scarp [4] and was clearly a late feature, probably associated with the construction of [2] and levelling of [1]. To the north-west it had been truncated by a track and had a narrow, apparently hand dug, gully crossing it to drain the track.

4. The south-west arm of the moat was defined on its outer side by a straight and consistent scarp that showed no evidence for any significant modification, though it was very overgrown in places. To the north it was overlain by mound [3] and to the south the line of the top deviated a little to the south-west as it approached the corner though this may not have been significant. The level of silting increased and the base also broadened as the ground fell from the north-west to south-east but despite this the scarp was generally about 1.5m high.

5. Above the outer moat scarp was a second more moderate and less regular scarp that may have been related. Its line was continued to the south as far as the pond by scarp [115] however and it may be related to some other feature, perhaps a field boundary, either pre-dating the moat and determining the orientation of this arm, of post-dating it and taking its alignment from the moat.

6. Scarp [5] curved away from the moat forming a slight depression that would have lain about half way along this arm when complete. A more open scarp above, in the ploughed area to the west, seemed to emphasise this feature though this was not completely symmetrical to it, perhaps distorted by ploughing. The significance of this feature could not be determined but its position along this arm suggests it may relate to the moat in some way.

7. The inner moat scarp along this arm was less regular than [4]. To the south it was fairly straight and uniform and ran parallel to [4] with the tops almost 10m apart. From about 10m to the north-west of the south corner a second scarp was visible above the main scarp, and as this increased in size to the north the lower steeper scarp deviated slightly south-west and the top of the upper scarp slightly north-east suggesting erosion above and deposition below.

8. To the north of [7] a relatively minor scarp ran in from the east, which coincided with a marked steepening and an increase in height of the inner moat scarp to about 2m, and a shift westward in its alignment which also became slightly curved, suggesting that these elements were part of a single feature, perhaps a large broad mound within the moat that had spilled over into it burying any northern continuation of [7]. Its surface was irregular and in places scarps probably associated with mound [33] could be seen and there were hints of scarps continuing the line of the southern return and running parallel with the south side of [33] suggesting that these scarps were part of an extensive, though probably late, feature.

9. The inner scarp of the southern arm of the moat was straight, steep, fairly uniform and generally about 1.2m high. Along much of this side a second more moderate scarp ran above the main scarp though this was affected by mound [35] to the west and hollow [25.a] adjacent to this and to the east was perhaps related to hollow [44].

10. The outer scarp of the southern arm was obscured by a dense hedge and although the top could be picked out, the bottom was only accessible in a few places. As far as could be determined it was straight and uniform and increased in height steadily, though not dramatically, from east to west.

11. The ENE terminus of the south moat arm had clearly been heavily modified. The inner scarp [9] curved slightly to the north where the arm running off to the north had been filled in but not quite aligned with the rest of it. The scarp curving around the end was shallower and rather irregular, as was the level area to the immediate east, which had apparently been lowered, and a brick built drain head had been inserted, probably with the last 20 years. From projecting the lines of scarps [10] and [15] below it is likely that the original corner of the moat lay about 10m ENE of the current terminus and the ground level and drain mean that the current water level in the moat must be considerably lower than in the past, perhaps by as much as 1m.

12. At the south-east corner of the moat, the inner side of the junction between the extant arm and the filled arm to the north was obscured by dense vegetation. Nevertheless scarps falling in from north-east and south-west were visible, though it was not possible to fully record them, and some standing water could be seen perhaps similar to in appearance to hollows [16] to the north. The modern summer house in this corner of the garden sat slightly to the east of the line of the inner moat scarp [13] projecting a metre or two into the former moat; perhaps material had been dug from the infilled area and thrown up onto the corner leaving the low wet area.

    a. To the immediate east of this was a low slightly irregular mound with a hollow to its north. This may relate to the filling of this area but could have been thrown up later.

13. To the north the inner side of the moat could be traced more easily as a straight and fairly consistent scarp falling away from the gardens to the west. It gradually reduced in size and could not been seen to the immediate north of what a garden wall though its line continued to the north as [14]. The intervening ground must have been disturbed at some time.

14. The line of [13] was continued to the NNW by a scarp of similar scale but rather more irregular, probably having been disturbed by demolition, dumping, levelling and rebuilding around the east end of the former priory church and access from the farmyard into the pasture to the east through a gate immediately to the north of this.

15. The scarp marking the outer edge of the former moat arm was of a similar size and form to the inner scarp ([13]/[14]), though rather more regular. Along most of its surveyed length, about 70m, it was as straight as the other moat scarps. To the north, a slight curve westward suggested the north-east corner of the moat. To the south, at a point perhaps 40m from the former corner it was slightly disturbed by some waterlogged hollows (mentioned in [16]) and immediately south of this its alignment deviated west but this could not have been related to the original form of the moat. South of this its line could not be traced, though as noted above it would be reasonable to project the line of the straight section to estimate the location of the corner of the oat originally; about 10m ENE of the service chamber mentioned in [11] above.

16. The filled eastern moat arm, between [13]/[14] and [15], was generally damp, soft and somewhat uneven. To the south were three large circular waterlogged hollows, two overlapping. It was unclear if these were intentionally dug, or just variations in the fill that had settled or not properly levelled.

Beyond the moat were several features very probably directly related to it. Overall the topography fell from north-west to south-east. As a result the south-western arm was cut into the rising ground to the west, the south-eastern arm required an increasingly substantial dam from west to east, and the eastern arm had a generally uniform dam which also increased in height to the south as it approached the

southern arm.

17. Immediately south of [10] several features appeared to evidence erosion of the top of the moat's outer scarp. These included several discrete semi-circular hollows likely to be the result of tree fall and short, moderate NNW facing scarps falling towards the moat perhaps marking more general erosion. These scarps however may be related to [19] perhaps forming a narrow ridge; to some extent their surveyed extent was limited by visibility/accessibility due to the density of the hedge.

18. South of the eastern 2/3 of the south-eastern arm of the moat and aligned roughly parallel to it, was a broad moderate scarp. To the west it appeared to turn sharply south but this return was on the same orientation as another in this area and overlay several other features so is likely to have been agricultural and probably post-medieval (see scarps [113] and [114]). It is therefore likely that agricultural activity has obscured the south-west end of this feature. The scarp ran for about 60m to the north-east increasing slightly in height as the ground level fell, maintaining an approximately level surface. Towards its north-east end it curved slightly to the north before making a definite turn to curve around to the NNW creating a well-defined terminus a few metres before the current end of the south-east arm and some distance from the likely former south-east corner of the moat (see [11] above). It appeared to have been cut by [24.b] which may have exaggerated this apparent terminus and as noted in [11] the area around this corner of the moat had been heavily modified so it could well have originally extended further to the north-east. It seems likely that this scarp had formed part of a dam along this side of the moat when the water level was higher (again see [11] above).

19. Immediately above [18] and running parallel to it were two short, moderate SSE facing scarps to the south-west and north-east separated by around 2m. The inner ends of these scarps both curved towards the north-west creating a tapering gap between them at a point that may once have been about halfway along this side of the moat if the corner was originally further to the east as suggested in [11].

20. With moat scarp [10], and enhanced by scarp [18] below] the level area above the north-east scarp of [19] had the appearance of a building platform and the tithe map of 1839 showed a rectangular structure immediately south of the moat facing pond [44], but it is more likely that this area had been modified to accommodate a building than substantial new features created as they generally appeared to be related to the moat.

21. To the immediate north of the gap was a short steep scarp that defined a low sunken area with a flat base, rather different in character to the erosion scarps described as [17]. Taken with the gap between the two scarps described as [19] it seems possible that there may have been a footbridge across the moat at this point at some time, perhaps related to the building mentioned in [20].

There were no similar earthworks on the inner edge of the moat opposite though scarp [43] was rather irregular, and the area to the east was obscured by a large shrub. It is more likely that visible remains would have been carefully removed here though as they would have been much more visible.

22. Immediately to the south of [20] a crescent shaped scarp defined a hollow facing SSE and cutting both [18] and [19]. This may represent erosion by activity associated with the building mentioned in [20], or perhaps its removal.

23. Running broadly parallel to the in-filled eastern arm of the moat, particularly [15], was a long, moderate and well defined north-east facing scarp. To the north-west it extended some way beyond the likely north-east corner of the moat and appeared to run beneath the counterscarp or hedge bank of the southern Foreberry boundary [67] suggesting that it is an earlier feature. In all likelihood this was a dam retaining this arm of the moat though its continuation north suggests it might have had a dual role, perhaps defining an outer enclosure to the north of the moat, or a more complex history. To the south it appeared to be overlain by a platform or levelled mound built up against it [76] and cut by gully [24.a]. It may have continued beyond these as ridge [77] but it seems more likely that it actually curved around the moat slightly more tightly and picked up the line of [18] but that this had been lost by the reworking of the area described in [11].

24. Running away from the area thought to have been the location of the original south-east corner of the moat (see [11]) were three distinct gullies:

    a. Running away from the east side of the corner to the ENE was a shallow slightly sinuous gully. This ran on a line somewhat to the north of the natural fall, broadening and losing definition down the slope. Its relationships with other features were uncertain: to the west it cut [23] but its northern side may have continued beyond it, though this could equally have been related to mound [12.a] to the immediate north or the probable backfilling of this area; to the east it crossed several scarps and though shown to run over these it could equally well have been overlaid by them with some settling of fill giving the former impression. It seems likely that this drained the moat at some point in time and its lack of definition suggests it may have been early.

    b. To the south, a straight, narrow gully ran away from the south side of former corner to the ESE, on a line close to the natural fall. A hollow to the immediate north-west of its north-west end could be related or could just be softer ground compressed by traffic as outlined in [77]. This was of a similar scale to gullies to the south clearly related to early modern field drains and ran towards them so could be related.

    c. Running SSE from a point to the immediate south of the current terminus of the southern arm of the moat was a straight, narrow, well-

defined gully. This was clearly modern recent and related to the drain head mentioned in [11]. It is likely though that this followed an earlier drain as the gully ran into a probable early modern conduit.

As a large proportion of the inner precinct lay under farm buildings and concreted yards the majority of the area available for earthwork survey comprised the gardens of the existing farmhouse to the south of the current buildings. Most of this was under short mown grass with the earthworks clearly visible but there were some shrubs and hedging that obscured small areas, some beds that had disturbed others and a few garden buildings and gravelled/paved areas. A strip along the eastern side of the inner precinct lay beyond the garden, within the pasture field here. This was under rough grass with some areas of very dense brambles so earthworks were less visible. Overall the surveyed area fell gently from north to south and to a lesser extent east to west.

25. The gardens were divided into two unequal parts by a relatively (for the garden) prominent WSW facing scarp which had some shrubs along its length. It appeared to overlay all other features so was probably relatively recent. Most of the area to the east appeared to be the more formal garden to the house and particularly to the SSE of the house the earthworks appeared to have been levelled so were generally slight. The area to the west was more informal and the earthworks more prominent.

    a. To the immediate west was a slight ENE facing counterscarp to [25] forming a shallow gully. It was unclear if this was contemporary and formed a part of the same feature or of it was secondary.

    b. At the south end of [25.a] was a semi-circular depression and the fall into the moat was lower here. It is tempting to see the gully as a drain or similar and this hollow to be related but no outfall was visible within the moat and the hollow may be unrelated to the gully instead providing an access point to the moat, perhaps for clearing work.

26. To the west a shallow but well defined gully ran from NNW to SSE on a line approximately parallel to [25]. The eastern side of this gully extended further to the north than the western but changed character becoming more irregular. The impression was that the presence of a 19th century building currently in use as a chicken house had affected the earthworks here but it was unclear if this indicated that they pre-or post-dated the building.

    a. The western side of the gully turned through over 90° to run WSW a few metres to the south of this building but not quite aligned with it. Immediately to the south of this was a slight counterscarp creating a low ridge which ran beneath [27] to the west and could not be seen to the east of [25.a].

27. A mound of apparently dumped material overlay the counterscarp to [26.a] and was probably a late feature.

28. To the south was a second much shorter length of gully on approximately the same alignment as [25.a] but broader and less regular. It seemed likely that this was a continuation of it but this was uncertain: the western side of this gully was rather more substantial and curved around to the west possibly defining a low mound; the eastern was slighter and straighter. What appeared as a gully could in fact be the conflation of two separate scarps.

29. The possible mound to the west of [28] became rather better defined a little further to the west where it appeared to be approximately square but may have been truncated by [36]. This suggests that gully [28] is a genuine feature with this smaller mound being separate, the apparent broader mound being a product of the surrounding features.

30. A broad curving scarp (and a vegetation hollow) separated [25.a] and [28] but the relationship between the two was uncertain. On balance it was felt that what was probably a continuous gully overlying the scarp. It is possible that to the east this scarp ran beneath [25] and continued beyond it as [36].

31. North of [30] and east of [25.a] was a scarp similar to, and approximately parallel with [30] that also appeared to continue to the east as [37]. The similarity of this scarp and the eastern end of [30], and their possible continuation to the east beyond [25] suggest that they may have been related. This also raises the possibility that the western part of [30] was a different feature, perhaps related to [32].

32. West of [30] was a mound similar to [29] though perhaps larger and more prominent. This seemed to lie above [29] without any direct relationship but the latter deviated to the south below the former and it is possible that the mound was rather more substantial than shown and overlay [29] pushing its alignment southwards and making it appear to curve more than was actually the case.

33. A third rather larger and more rounded mound lay to the north. This appeared to overlie [26.a]. On its north side this mound had been cut by the construction of a large modern shed.

34. Within the south-west corner of the garden was a broad, low mound. This was oval in form but had been truncated by [35] which had squared it off somewhat. It seemed possible that this might have been the site of a former building. Gully [25.a] and its probable continuation [28] appeared to align on it so perhaps they mark the remnants of a track of path leading to it.

35. To the south-west and south-east of [34] were scarps running approximately parallel to the top of the moat that had clearly truncated it. To the east the scarp continued as far as [25.b] and it was not clear if it related to the minor scarp above [9] though it was rather more substantial.

36. South of [28] was a narrower gully running north-east to south-west. It may

have cut both [28] and [29] but its northern side was rather irregular where it did so suggesting a more complex relationship. To the south it also cut mound [34] but this side of the gully was much more regular and the relationship seemed straightforward. To the east the gully ended at [25] which may have overlain it but there was no sign of any continuation beyond. Here there was a slight counterscarp to the south creating a short, low bank that may have overlain [25] suggesting that on balance the gully and bank were probably secondary to [25].

As noted above the area to the immediate east of [25] formed a continuous broadly level lawn running south from the farmhouse to the moat. This area was under very closely mown grass and appeared to have been levelled. Scarps were faint but several could be traced crossing the lawn from WSW to ENE though on slightly different alignments.

37. To the north, two scarps created a relatively significant fall away from the gravel terrace immediately south of the farmhouse. The upper scarp was slightly stronger than the lower and ran straight across the lawn on a line that did not respect the house and terrace. To the west it may have aligned with [31] which appeared to pick up its line and curve around slightly to the north. To the east it continued and although broken up somewhat could be traced running beneath the gravelled terrace and a path down the side of the house and across a vegetable bed. The lower scarp did not relate directly to the upper and ran on a different, slightly curving alignment. To the west it deviated markedly to the south around a shrub that may have overgrown an earlier planting bed. It is possible that this alignment was picked up to the west of [25] by [30] but it seems more likely that the latter actually aligned with [39] as these were more of a scale with one another. To the east this scarp ran into a planting bed and shrubs and was lost. It may have continued beyond merging with the upper scarp or the north end of [41] but this was uncertain.

38. South of the east end of the lower scarp of [37] was a low spur but the relationship between the two was uncertain. This may have been a former planting bed, or perhaps a remnant of a path line, perhaps continuing as [40].

39. Two scarps also ran across the middle of the lawn on a more east-west alignment than scarps [37]. The upper scarp was broader but more moderate than the lower, and towards the west curved slightly to the north and appeared to pick up the line of [30] beyond. It was however slighter, perhaps the result of levelling. The lower scarp ran straighter than the upper so deviating from it to the west and cut it. It petered out to the east.

40. To the east a low, narrow spur appeared to have been built up against the upper scarp of [39] and possibly also the lower though this may have petered out just before it. This spur may have been truncated on its eastern side by [41] which may also have shortened it, but it is also possible that the two were parts of the same feature.

41. To the east of [38] a curving, east-facing scarp ran north-south and formed the east side of [40] and turning fairly sharply to the west petering out rapidly on the main lawn. This scarp may have truncated [40] but equally the two could have been related. The area to the east of this was noticeably lower than the lawn to the south of the house though the height differential reduced from north to south as the lawn fell.

42. Another scarp ran across the lawn some way to the south of [39]. This ran roughly parallel to the moat and to the west was the suggestion of a return, apparently cut by [25]. To the east it seemed most likely that it had a right-angled return to the north forming a low platform, but it is possible that this was an extension of [43] which had truncated a terrace that had originally continued eastward.

43. A low scarp curved away from the eastern corner of [42] and appeared to be cut by the moderate upper scarp of the moat, though in reality this had probably simply eroded away. As noted above it is possible that this scarp continued to the north truncating [42] but this was considered less likely. It is also possible that the orientation of this scarp was related to the suggested bridge crossing the moat here at some time (see [21]) and that perhaps it originally to the east as a continuation of the east facing return of [42] to the north.

44. To the ENE of [42] was an approximately oval depression orientated parallel to the moat. This is known to have been a pond until relatively recently. To the SSE it was defined by a straight and relatively moderate scarp which ran parallel with the top of the moat; it must have been constructed with some care on this side. The defining scarp running around from SSW and along the NNW side of the depression were rather more irregular and gradually increased in height as the ground level rose. The base of the feature was not very level; the scarps shown could have been recorded variously and in more detail but would have added little.

    a. To the east, the level between [44] and the moat was noticeably lower than elsewhere and it seemed likely that there may have been some form of overspill here, though whether deliberately managed or incidental and the result of erosion was not clear.

45. The ENE end of [44] was defined by a scarp that curved around the summerhouse, and a second scarp that appeared to overlie the first which curved around the paved area in front of it. Both appeared to be related to the construction of these but it is possible that the former was not and actually marked the end of the former pond though it seemed rather high for this.

46. To the north of the pond depression was a straight, SSE facing scarp that ran approximately parallel to the pond scarp and also to the moat further to the south. To the west this had a small dog-leg and then petered out; this more southerly section appeared to have been cut by [44]. To the east was a

right-angled return to the NNW and this scarp also ran parallel to the scarp marking the inner side of the filled moat arm to the east. This suggests that this feature might be relatively early. It curved slightly but this may have been due to a footpath which crossed it obliquely.

47. Within the area defined by [46] was a slightly curving scarp running approximately east-west. To the east this appeared to have been truncated by the northern arm of [46] and to the west it petered out without any clear relationship with [48].

    a. A straight scarp ran off westwards on a slightly more WSW line. This clearly ran directly to a small service hatch and was presumably relatively modern. It may have been that this had affected the orientation of the eastern section of [47].

48. To the north-west was a short section of a broad but slight, south-east facing scarp visible between shrubs to the south-west and a path and vegetable bed to the north-east. This was very probably a continuation of [41] but this was not certain.

49. In the north-east corner of the garden was a short, generally south facing scarp clearly related to a small, modern paved area within the angle of the wall.

To the north of the garden it was possible to survey a small triangular area defined by the garden wall to the south, the lawned area to the south of the priory church, the priory church's former south transept and the open-fronted barn to the west, and the in-filled eastern arm of the moat [14] and [15] to the east. Although partially obscured by dense vegetation and a small spoil tip created during excavations for new drainage, a number of clearly defined features were observed.

50. In the south-west corner of this area, emerging from the dense vegetation covering a small raised area which extended under the kitchen garden hedge, a curvilinear north-east facing scarp with a northern spur defined the edge of a spread of material falling away from the level of the kitchen garden.

51. To the east of the lawned area was a low east facing scarp which represented the foot of a larger scarp beneath a hedge which fell away from the level area created for the lawn. The northern end of this scarp ran into a curved south east facing scarp, part of a truncated mound, situated above and to the west of [42]. This feature was obscured by vegetation but may represent a demolition deposit related the deconstruction of the priory church and claustral buildings.

52. To north of [43] was a low, level, regular shaped mound defined to the west by the eastern gable end of the priory church's east barn and to the north east and east by a short east facing scarp. The southern extent of the feature was obscured by the spoil tip of the drainage excavation ditch and it is possible

that this feature returned westwards to define a rectangular platform which aligned with the east barn and was related to the former presbytery of the priory church. In all likelihood, the excavation and spoil tip have caused [43] and [44] to appear as two features when in fact they formed a larger scarp which defined the eastern edge of the level platform onto which the priory church was constructed.

53. Beneath [44] was a curved north east facing scarp falling eastwards towards the western scarp of the in-filled arm of the moat [14]. Larger and shallower than [44], this scarp appears to be an erosion feature caused by the addition of the block work lean-to to the north of the church's east barn.

54. Adjoining [14] to the east was a roughly semi-circular depression adjacent to the spur of [42]. This feature was dug to accommodate a telegraph pole and aligns with two further pole pits to the north-east. Likely an expanded post-hole dug during the erection of the telegraph pole, it is possible that the feature was expanded and deepened by livestock gathering around the pole.

The 'Foreberry'

The Foreberry, as named on the 1616 map and shown as a roughly triangular area to the north and north-east of the priory precinct, adjoins the north-east corner of Latton Priory Farm and extends ENE away from the yard. The modern, concrete covered vehicle access track leading from the B1393 to the farm runs through the eastern half of the Foreberry before entering the farm yard (Figure 33).

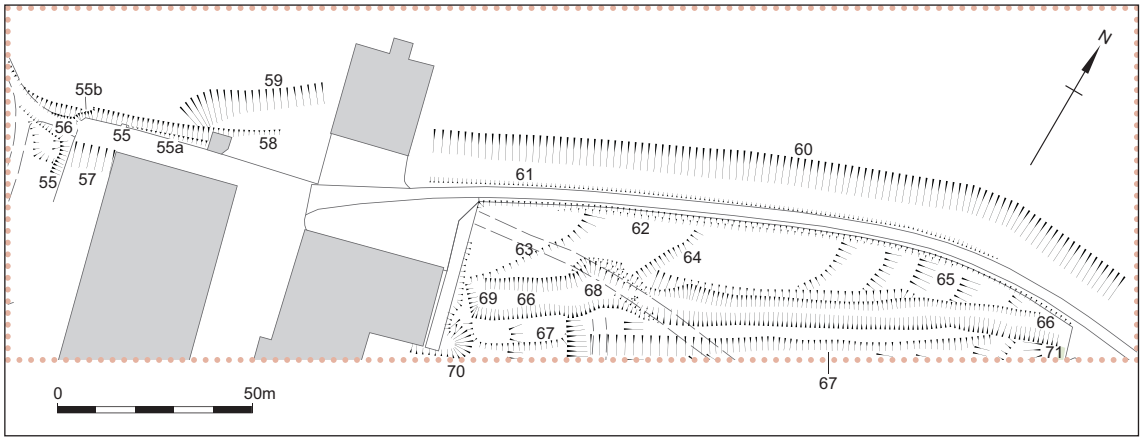


Figure 33: Features within the 'Foreberry' © Historic England

The western half of the Foreberry as shown on the 1616 map was, for the most part obscured beneath the concrete surface of the farm yard and the modern buildings occupied by Olympic Foods and was not surveyed. A few features were recorded here, all modern.

55. The area around the north-west corner of the farm complex was the highest surveyed. The modern concrete yard had been recently extended and to

achieve a level yard the ground had been cut back hard creating very steep scarps to both west and north of the yard. It is possible that to the north this might be picking up the alignment of an earlier feature but this is more probably coincidental.

a. West of a hut and its base, the bottom of [55] has been further cut back, likely during the extension of the yard surface, creating a secondary short, steep SSE facing scarp.

b. Similarly at the corner of the extended farm yard [55] had also been heavily cut back. This has introduced a very steep, secondary south-east facing scarp which has caused erosion of the main scarp above.

56. From immediately south of the north-west corner of the concrete yard a track, known as 'Three Want Lane', ran away to the west. Given the changes of levels described above it is unsurprising that this was deeply cut into the ground at its eastern end where it met the track, with steep scarps to north and south, and rose steeply to meet the natural surface about 16-20m to the west.

57. South of the start of 'Three Want Lane' the yard surface fell away noticeably to the south. This may be preserving some element of the former change in levels here before the yard was extended.

58. To the immediate north of the farm yard, a well-defined SSE facing scarp, narrow at its eastern end and broadening and steepening as it extended to the south west, appeared to align with and form a continuation of [60] to the east. The eastern end of the scarp was short and had clearly been cut back when the yard was extended towards the north and to facilitate the construction of a hut. Beyond the hut, the central section of the scarp, which was the most clearly defined, extended for around 50m to the south west before shortening and curving north-west to form the boundary of a track, visible on the map of 1616 as 'Three Want Lane'. Although cut into and eroded, this feature aligned with [60] to such an extent that it may have formed the northern boundary of the Foreberry north-west of the priory.

59. To the west of the modern barn north of the farmyard was a low SE facing scarp which began to turn to the south at its western end before running into [55]. This feature is on a different alignment and orientation to [60] and as such is not related to the boundary of the Foreberry and may be the result of erosion.

The eastern half of the Foreberry lay within an area of rough pasture with long, lush grass which hampered the identification of features. A vehicle access gate at the intersection of the Foreberry, farm track and Upper Mead Field marked the eastern extent of the survey.

60. North of the farm access track in a field under arable cultivation at the time of

the survey was a broad, gently sloping scarp extending westwards from the eastern edge of the survey area. South facing for the first 32m of its length, the scarp became WSW facing, a change in alignment mirrored by the line of the vehicle track to the south with the scarp and track running parallel for a further 140m. At its western end as the scarp approached a eastern side of a modern barn, the top of the scarp remained clearly defined while the base of the scarp became indistinct until both petered out, doubtless obscured during ground levelling for the construction of the barn.

61. Immediately to the north of the farm track and south of [60] was a long, narrow north-west facing scarp which formed a low embankment that carried the farm track with [62]. Extending ENE from the farmyard entrance, the scarp began to turn to the east and run parallel to [60] when it petered out as the track level and land to the north equalised.

62. To the south of the farm track was the corresponding SSE facing scarp of the track embankment. This scarp was more clearly defined at its eastern end that the northern scarp and was clearly discernible until it was truncated by a concrete hard stand at the eastern edge of the survey area. The profile of the scarp became more complex towards the centre of its length, becoming shallower as it reached the level surface of the rough pasture.

63. Extending from the western end of the gully [66] to the southern scarp of the track embankment [51] and following the contouring of the site was a low, short south-east facing scarp. At its northern end this scarp curved to the north and lengthened before being truncated by the track embankment [50] and [51]. There was no evidence of this feature continuing north of the farm track but this could well have been lost to the plough and may represent former terracing of the Foreberry area.

64. About 25m to the east of [52] and on the same alignment was a shorter but straighter and steeper south-east facing scarp, which petered out short of the farm track embankment and may be further evidence of terracing the natural contouring of the site.

65. Within the roughly triangular area defined by [49] to the north and the gully [66] to the south, were four evenly spaced, ESE facing scarps aligned south-west to north-east but curving back to the north. This series of close terraces was on a different alignment to [52] and [53] and appeared to be cut by the boundary gully [66]. South of [66] the linear scarps [70] and [73] may be continuations of these features possibly indicating that they were related to an earlier phase of arable cultivation which predated the creation of the Foreberry enclosure.

66. To the south-east of and broadly parallel to [60] and the vehicle track embankment [61]/[62] was a long, deep and well defined gully extending ENE from the concrete hard stand in front of northernmost range of the 20th century Priory Farm buildings for approximately 148m and terminating at

the vehicle access gate to the east. In general the gully was fairly uniform and symmetrical (but see [68] below) though the northern scarp was more disturbed with erosion along its top, possibly consistent with forming the boundary of an area of more intensive use. To the west the gully was truncated by scarp [69], very probably associated with the barn and concrete hard stand to the west. To the east the depth of the gully gradually decreased almost petering out as it met the gate. Taken in conjunction with the low scarp [49], the gully almost certainly represents the southern boundary of the triangular field marked as the Foreberry on the 1616 map.

67. Approximately 2.75m to the south of the gully [66] was a south-east facing scarp with a relatively shallow profile. This ran along most of the length of the gully though became broader and shallower in the area of disturbance [68] and then became better defined to the west of [73.a]. Its proximity to [66] and relatively uniform distance from it may suggest that this feature was the counter-scarp created when the gully was cut. It is also possible, given the likelihood of [66] forming a boundary that this feature may have formerly been a hedge bank to further define this boundary.

68. About 35m from its western end [66] was significantly disturbed. This appeared to be associated with a modern track crossing the gully obliquely from west to east apparently to access a large haystack, but the degree of disturbance suggests traffic through this area for an extended period of time. The level of disturbance to the northern side of the gully was much more significant than that to the south and consisted of a mark turn to the north-east of the main gully scarp and then a more oblique return to the east re-joining the line of the gully. This created a ramp down into the gully and may have been deliberately created to allow more stable vehicle transit. No corresponding feature was seen on the south side of the gully but the disturbance here seems to have been more general and spread over a wider area so perhaps vehicles tended to fan out from this point taking different lines depending on their destination. Two short steep inward facing scarps were however recorded to north and south of the current track, apparently associated with more recent consistent traffic to the haystack. Deviation in the line of the southern gully scarp to the west of the current track may be due to other past track lines, hints of wheel marks were recorded running off to the SSE though this was clearly less well used than the east west track.

69. Crossing the western end of [66] was a short north-east facing scarp which narrowed towards its north-eastern end. Although appearing to form the western end of the gully, it is far more likely a later feature resulting from the creation of the concrete hard stand to the west, with the material removed during levelling of the area creating a small ridge defined by this feature to the east and a longer, shallower WSW facing scarp to the west.

70. At the western end of the gully [66] and cutting [67] was a semi-circular hollow with scarps extending to the west and north, the latter quite irregular. These describe a corner with short falls to the concrete hard stand east of

the farm buildings. The mound is likely further evidence of excavations to create a level surface for the building and hardstand, which sit lower than the surrounding landscape. It is possible that what appears to be a return to the north of the west end of [67] is actually also a part of this work.

71. At the eastern end of the gully [66], a small mound falling to the south-west against the natural topography may represent a dump of material formed when hollows were dug for the row of telegraph poles [54]. The northern edge of the mound appears to be cut by [66], indicating that this eastern section of the gully has been reworked, probably eroded by traffic through the gate.

The 'Upper Mead'

The 'Upper Mead' as named on the 1616 map and survey comprises a roughly rectangular field extending south-west from the southern boundary of the Foreberry to a barbed wire fence level with the fish pond in the south-west of the site. An entrenched field boundary to the east marked the extent of the survey and is a perpetuation of the boundary shown on the 1616 map. Upper Mead extends as far west as the in-filled eastern arm of the moat and the modern farm yard. At the time of the survey, this area consisted entirely of rough pasture which obscured detail but was otherwise without impediments to the survey save for a large stack of hay bales in the north-east corner (Figure 34).

72. The possible southern counter scarp to the boundary of Foreberry overlay numerous linear features extending south into Upper Mead on two distinct alignments. To the east these ran almost due north/south and comprised from east to west:

    a. Two scarps apparently forming a shallow but reasonably well defined gully. This appeared to overlie [66] and may have truncated [67] and could well have been a track from the gate to the north across the field. It could however be an earlier feature as there was the suggestion that the western scarp at least continued north of [66] and given the surrounding earthworks it is reasonable to think that any continuation of the eastern scarp has been lost rather than never been present. However to the south the western scarp continued for at least 160m whilst the eastern petered out after about 75m. This difference could however be explained by silting in the valley floor and rising topography to the west beyond this though the slight deviation to the east here might be significant (see [75]). On balance it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that this was an earlier feature eroded in the area of the gate to the north but it could well be early modern in its entirety with the suggesting of a continuation within Foreberry being coincidental. The former is supported by the relationships between scarps [65] and [72.a], the latter by the relationship with [75] to the south.

    b. Immediately to the west of this were two broadly parallel east facing

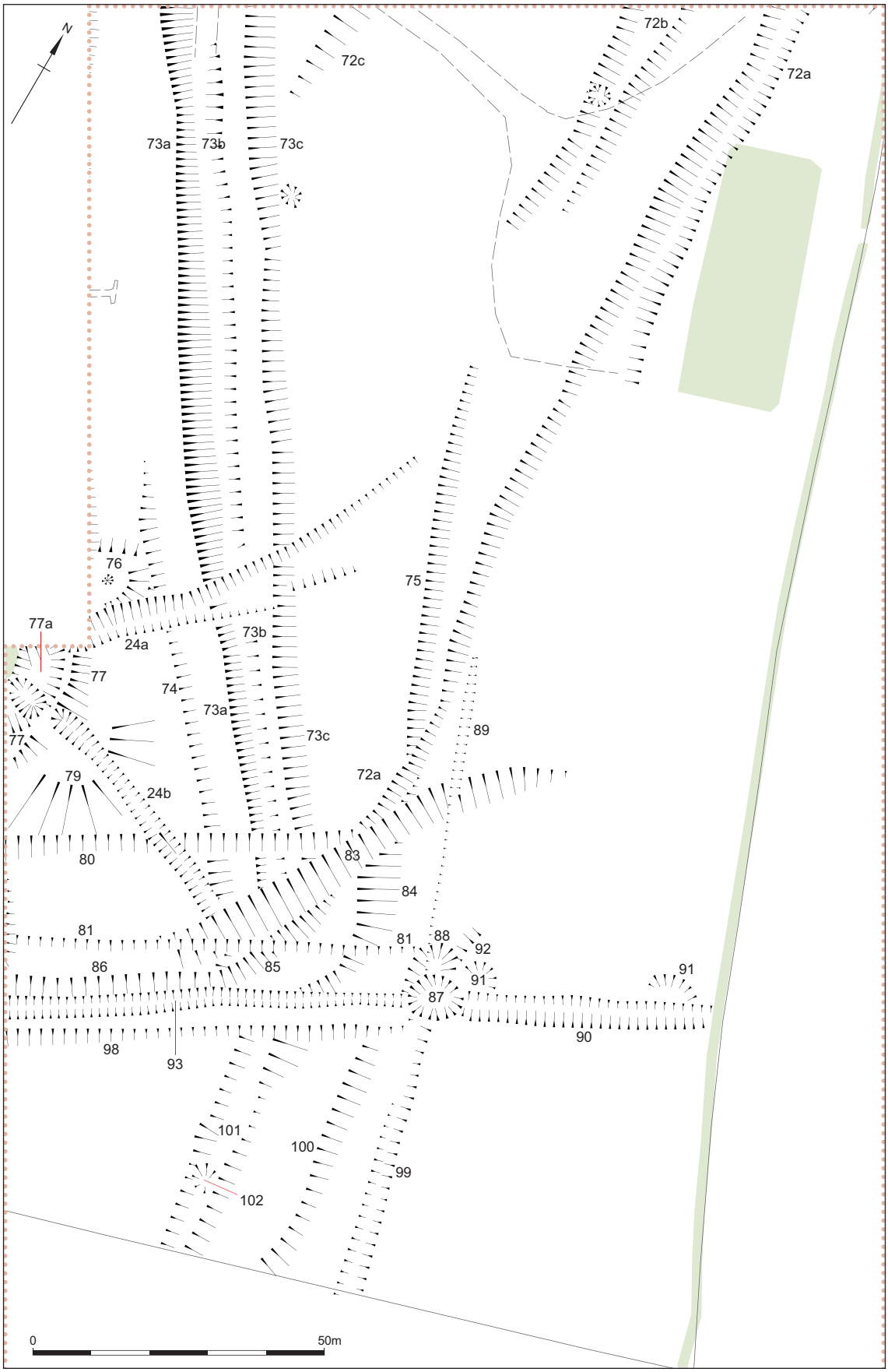


Figure 34: *Features within the 'Upper Mead' © Historic England*

scarps. These appeared to diverge slightly to the north and would appear to align with similar scarps within Foreberry described as [65] above. This supports the suggestion of a continuation of the western side of [72.a].

c. Some way to the west of the features above was a very broad slight scarp. This could only be traced with difficulty but appeared to pick up the line of the westernmost scarp of [65] above.

To the west of the features above several scarps ran on similar lines, roughly NNW to SSE. Of these scarp [23] has already been described and probably formed part of the dam retaining the moat and perhaps an enclosure to the north of this.

73. To the east of [23] were three parallel scarps all running parallel with one another and very close to parallel with [23] for approximately 95m. To the south of this all three scarps continued for a further 75m or so before getting lost amidst other features, but ran fractionally more to the south-east and closing up slightly. These scarps all appeared to be related to one another (though [73.a] may be secondary) and perhaps to [23]. They comprised from west to east:

    a. A strong and fairly uniform east facing scarp. The relationship with this scarp and [67] was uncertain. It appeared to overlie it but it was quite strong and [67] weak in this area so it could be that the reverse was the case with traces of [67] being lost on the steeper ground. No trace of it (or any of the others) was seen beyond [66].

    b. To the immediate east was a slight and somewhat intermittent west facing scarp that did not extend as far north as the others. It was not clear if this should be seen as forming a gully along the base of [73.a] or a ridge with [73.b] but traces of a track to the north suggest the former.

    c. A broad east facing scarp to the east again, similar to [73.a] but lower and more moderate.

74. To the south, along the section where the scarps of [73] ran on a slightly different line, was another parallel east facing scarp running above (west) of them. This was much slighter but the alignment suggests a relationship.

75. Between the southern end of [72.a], from approximately the point where the eastern scarp petered out, and [73.b] was a scarp similar to both but parallel to neither. It is possible that it was picking up the line of one of scarps [72.a], to the north, but this would imply that these were quite sinuous. If this is correct then the slight deviation to the east of the southern end of the eastern scarp of [72.a] may be significant as it would appear to hint at a turn in this feature reflecting the turn required for [75] to run to [72.b]. To the south [75] appeared to run beneath [72.a] which may support the suggestion above that

much of [72.a] is a more recent track.

76. To the east of the southern end of [23] was a mound appearing to describe a sub-circular platform defined by two scarps. The lower scarp was more regular, describing the northern and eastern sides of a sub-square, while the upper scarp appeared to describe the south-eastern quadrant of a circle. The western side of this platform overlay scarp [23] and its southern side truncated by [24.a]. Corresponding high resistance anomalies identified by the earth resistance survey likely identify this mound as a building platform, possibly, given its shape and location, perhaps the base of a dovecote or pigeon house, possibly medieval.

77. South of gully [24.a] the line of [23] appeared to be continued by the east facing scarp of an asymmetric ridge which had a slighter west facing scarp, perhaps related to the underlying topography. This ridge curved around from NNW to SSW, apparently wrapping around the probable former location of the corner of the moat (as suggested in [11]). It was cut by gully [24.b], truncated by gully [24.b] and in a similar vein to its relationship with [23] to the north may have continued beyond it as scarp [78]. Although it is possible that this marks the line of the moat dam these continuing features are rather lower than [18], more certainly the dam along the south-west side of the moat, and have an awkward relationship with it. It seems more likely that they are the result of erosion by traffic around the corner of the moat, perhaps compounded by soft material backfilling this area creating the ridge not seen to north and west.

    a. If so, then a slight east facing scarp to the west of the ridge might also be the result of traffic.

78. As noted above, the line of the outer scarp of [77] was probably continued by this broad moderate SSE facing scarp. This was probably the result of traffic along this side of the moat and not directly related.

79. Cut by [24.b] was a broad SSE to ESE facing scarp which curved through 90 degrees and appeared to describe a corner. The scarp was long and gentle and difficult to reconcile to any other surveyed features, though did follow the natural contouring of the site and as such may represent erosion.

The area to the south of the features described above was rather confused with various linear features running over and under one another without it always being clear which was which, possible continuations not always aligning, and features merging and possibly being conflated. All the stratigraphic relationships described below are therefore tentative.

80. The northern of two parallel south-east facing linear features running WSW-ENE would appear to overlie most others. It was a moderate breadth and quite gentle but became stronger to the west where the ground became steeper. Its relationship with [24.b] was uncertain but it probably overlay it

and though it appeared to be cut by [24.b] this was probably the recent recut of this feature rather than the original. To the east it appeared to be truncated by [72.a] and/or [83] but it could just have been less visible on the steeper ground they created. To the west it ended at [24.c].

81. The southern of the two parallel scarps was narrower and slighter than [80] and more difficult to trace but on the same alignment and also appeared to overlie all other features. It extended further north-east than [80] and appeared to run into features associated with the drainage system along the valley floor ([88]). To the south-west it ran into [82] a few metres before [24.b] but again the relationship between the two was uncertain.

82. To the east of the south end of [24.b] was a low spur or mound of material. This appeared to overlie [81] and it seems most likely this was a dump of material excavated from [24.b] relatively recently.

83. Running more north-east to south-west across the eastern end of [80] and probably beneath both it and [81] was a broad slight scarp.

84. South of [83] considerable erosion, likely caused by [72.a] and/or [83], has significantly lengthened an east facing scarp which runs beneath [81] turning to the south-west and shortening as it did so, before being cut by [93]. Though there is considerable erosion and disturbance of the features in this area, likely the result an ill-defined corner of a vehicle track, it is highly likely that this feature is the southern continuation of [75] though the south-west return had probably been affected by the underlying topography and [93].

85. To the west of [84] was the trace of an ESE facing scarp also apparently running beneath [81]. This was very probably the continuation of [72.a] that had curved around towards the south-west due to the underlying topography. Where it met [93] it ran into a gentle scarp [86] that ran along the northern side of this feature but it is most likely that the two were unrelated. Though no obvious continuation was recorded beyond it is possible that this feature originally turned to run on a similar line to [93] and so has been completely lost.

86. As noted above [85] appeared to continue to the south-west as a well-defined SSE facing scarp which ran parallel to the northern scarp of. This scarp may have originally continued to the east but been truncated by the scarps described above and to the west may have continued beyond [82]/[24.b] but this area had been heavily disturbed. It perhaps represents part of an earlier, more substantial southern feature than [93] - possibly the southern boundary of the Upper Mead as depicted on the 1616 map.

To the south and east of the rather confused area described above was what was clearly a relatively modern drainage system (probably 19th century) comprising a network of gullies that connected at two discrete hollows ([87] and [94]) at both of which metal grates revealed brick culverts with flowing water.

87. In the valley bottom was a circular depression roughly 9m in diameter with a flat base. A metal grate at the centre of this feature identified it as being part of the system of brick drainage culverts which utilised the natural fall of the site to take water away to the south. Inlets could be seen from the east, north and west all of which were associated with gullies. This hollow may have cut [88] to its immediate north.

88. To the immediate north of [87] was a hollow of a similar scale though perhaps slightly elongated north/south. It is just possible that the western side of this feature aligned with scarp [100] to the south and potentially that the east side aligned with the east side of [99] though this seems even less likely, but it is possible that this feature marks the north end of a wide gully underlying the drainage system.

89. To the north of [87] a faint ENE facing scarp could be traced running north for 30m before forming a slight narrow gully that ran for a further 25m or so, which appeared to cut all other features. This clearly aligned with a drain running into [87] but was much slighter than other gullies visible at the surface but given its valley floor location it had probably seen rather more silting than the others.

90. A second gully associated with the drainage system ran away from [87] up the slope to the ENE as far as the hedge and drain along the field edge, the area beyond was not checked and it may have continued. Again, a conduit could be seen running into [87]. This gully was much broader and better defined than [89] probably in part because the topography meant that it was unlikely to silt up but it was also rather broader than gulley [93]/[95] running off to the south-west of [87] which possibly hints at a slightly different history. It may be that this was an earlier feature reused, perhaps associated with [86].

91. To the immediate north of this gulley were two similarly sized hollows defined by crescent shaped scarps. These had the appearance of tree throws and suggest that [90] may have once had a hedge along its northern side and therefore acted as a boundary.

92. A short scarp to the immediate west of the western of the hollows described above would appear to be associated with it but might perhaps align with [99].

93. To the WSW of [87] another gully ran away up the slope and again this aligned with a conduit visible within the grate. This was also well-defined but significantly narrower than [90], particularly to the east where the topography was relatively flat and it may have experienced more silting. It extended for about 70m as far as a second circular depression [94] and appeared to cut the base of scarp [86] to the north so was probably secondary to it.

94. The second circular depression south-west of [93] was very similar to [87] though slightly smaller. The grate here revealed conduits running in from

the NNW ([24.b]) and south-west ([95]) and water being carried away to the ENE towards [87] by the conduit running along [93].

95. To the south-west of [94] the line of [93] was continued by another gully running into the area of 'Grove Field' (below). This was rather narrower and appeared to narrow further as it ran up the slope, though visibility was poor due to nettle growth.

96. At the west end of [95] was a broad shallow hollow enclosing it. This may have been of a similar nature to [94] and [87], accommodating the construction of a conduit junction though without the grate, erosion of scarp [112] crossing the end of [95] or possibly even the remnant of a former boundary suggested by [86] and [90].

97. A short narrow gully to the west hinted at the continuation of [95] in this direction.

To the south of [93], [94] and most of [95] was an approximately parallel SSE facing scarp that appeared to have a terminus just before it met hollow [87]. At its western end, the scarp appeared to turn through 90 degrees to face ENE, though this return was far from clear. The main SSE facing scarp was thought at the time of survey to be associated with the construction of the drainage system but the alignment was not exact and it is also possible that it was associated with an earlier underlying feature suggested by [86].

The area to the south of the drainage system described above was generally rather rough and featureless, apart from a few scarps and hollows.

98. A broad, rather shallow and irregular gully ran away to the south of [87] as far as the southern boundary of the field, beyond which it was rapidly lost to the plough. Once again this aligned with a brick conduit visible in [87] and taking water away from it, but it was significantly broader than [89] and [93]/[95] being more like [90] so perhaps was also an earlier feature reused. It is possible that the eastern side of this gully aligned with hollow [88] or perhaps scarp [92] also suggesting that it may be earlier, though this could be coincidental.

99. To the west was a broad, fairly uniform, east facing scarp overlain by [98]. It is possible that this aligned with the west side of hollow [88] perhaps pre-dating the drainage system described above.

100. West of this were two parallel but quite irregular east facing scarps oriented a little more to the west of north and east of south than [100] that also ran beneath [98]. It is possible that they aligned with features to the north but it seems more likely they were unrelated.

101. A small hollow, possibly a tree throw, overlay these two scarps.

102. A second hollow to the west was larger and had a counterscarp to its east was perhaps more certainly a tree throw.

'Grove Field', the Orchard and the Fishpond

Grove Field as named on the 1616 map is shown as a large, open field to the south and west of the moated precinct, with an enclosed orchard to the north and a large pond at its centre.[122] Grove Field has subsequently been sub-divided by a footpath which extends SSE from the south-west corner of the moat and by barbed wire fences which extend from the pond to the ENE, defining the southern limited of the surveyed area and to the north-west defining the western limit. The area between the southern arm of the moat and the fishpond and barbed wire fence was more undulating than the other surveyed areas and fell more appreciably from south-west to north-east across the site. This area was for the most part under rough pasture and the earthworks were not masked by dense vegitation. The fishpond was closely surrounded by reasonably dense trees with significant ground-lying vegetation which did not mask the features but did make recording them challenging (Figure 35).

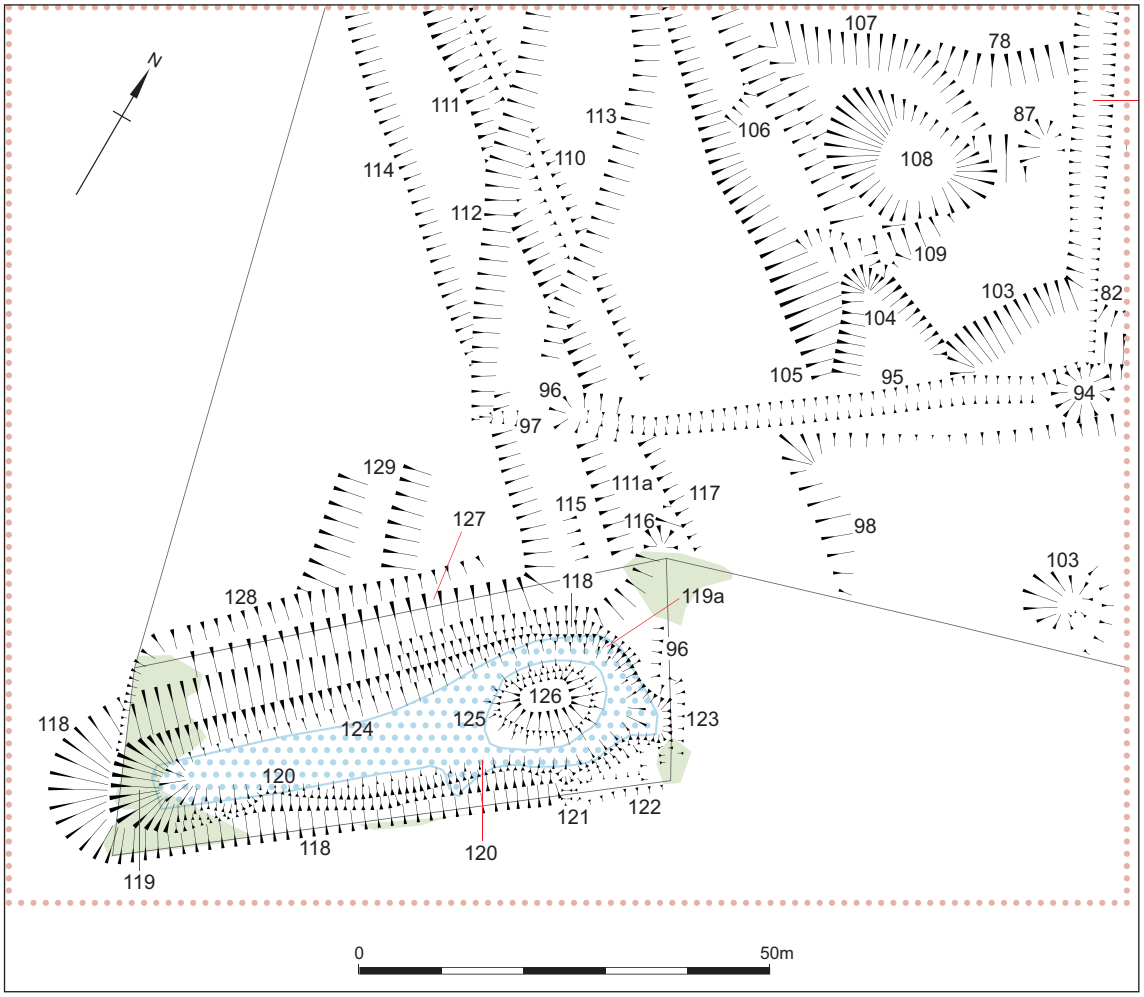


Figure 35: Features within 'Grove Field' © Historic England

103. At the southern end of [24.c] was a broad south-east facing scarp creating a level, roughly triangular area above the upper scarp of [95]. This scarp gave the appearance of turning to the south-west, though it is more likely a western extension of [81] which has been eroded and pushed out away from [95].

104. To the west of [103] was a well-defined scarp which described an open triangle which pointed north-west. This scarp fell towards the gully [95], cutting [103] and [106] and creating a flat bottomed depression at the top of the gully. This feature appears to be secondary to those it cuts and may represent erosion into the gully [95].

105. To the west of [104] and on a broadly similar alignment to [110], [111] and [114] was a less well-defined, curving scarp which began at the base of the northern section of [18] and broadened at its south-east end where it was partially cut by [104] and truncated by [95]. It is possible that the poorly defined ENE facing return of [98], actually represents a continuation of [105] south of the gully [95].

106. To the north-east of [105] was a broad and gentle north-east facing scarp which turned sharply to the south before running into [105].

107. To the east of [106] and south of [18] were three scarps which described a south-east facing, open trapezium in which [108] was located. The western and eastern scarps were roughly parallel while the northern scarp was aligned parallel to [18] to the north. This feature was difficult to interpret, though it did appear to have a relationship with [108] to the south.

108. To the south of [107] and cutting its eastern scarp was a large, roughly oval shaped depression sub,-circular base, a short and steep scarp to east and north and a long, well-defined scarp to the west, elongating what may originally have been a more circular feature. Anecdotal evidence from the landowner indicates that this feature dates from 1940 when an errant bomb aimed for nearby RAF North Weald, landed south of the farm.

109. South of [108] was a curved NNE facing scarp which appeared to represent a continuation of [107] south of [108]. The extensive disturbance caused by [108] makes any interpretation of this feature highly speculative.

110. To the east of [111] and aligned parallel to it was an opposed pair of scarps facing south-west and north-east respectively formed a narrow ridge which was also cut obliquely by [112] and [113]. The eastern scarp continued beyond [113] and may have continued south of [95] as scarp [117], though the lignments do not entirely match. It is possible that the western scarp formed a gully with [111] to the west and that the eastern scarp formed the counter scarp of that gully, which like [111] formed part of the system of managing the water in the moat and fishpond.

111. South-east of the south-western corner of the moat and continuing along the alignment of the outer scarp of the western moat arm was a long, broad north-east facing scarp extending to the south-east which was cut by [112] and [113] which crossed it obliquely. The scarp petered out before the gully feature [95], however a short, north-east facing scarp [111a] south-west of [95] which ran towards the pond hinted at the continuation of this feature beyond [95.

a. South-east of [111] was a moderate north-east facing scarp which extended for about 13m from the south-western end of the gully [95] towards the pond to the south. This scarp may represent a continuation of [111], evidencing a change in direction of the feature, or may, when viewed with the scarp [115] to the south-west, represent a short ridge.

112. Extending SSW from the western end of [18] was a broad, gentle east facing scarp which cut [110], [111] and [114] obliquely before petering out. That this scarp cut several features aligned to the western arm of the moat and reflecting the trapezoidal shape of the inner precinct, likely suggests that the scarp was a secondary feature which related to the post-dissolution period. This scarp aligned with a footbridge across the moat mapped in the 19th century and may identify a track between the moated farmhouse garden and the fishpond to the south.

113. To the NE of [112] and aligned roughly parallel to it was a broad and gentle ENE facing scarp which curved gradually to the south and cut [110] and [111]. Both of these scarps were relatively faint and cut obliquely across the more clearly defined features below suggesting that they were both secondary and less substantial. It is possible that these regularly spaced and aligned features are evidence of the post-dissolution use of this area as an orchard.

114. To the south-west of [111], a long, moderate and well defined north-east facing scarp extended in a south-easterly direction from a gate adjacent to the south-west corner of the moat to the edge of the pond. This scarp followed a similar alignment to [5], though was clearly not a continuation of it and may have formed the western boundary of the priory enclosure as shown on the map of 1616. This boundary formed a trapezoidal southern extension of the moated precinct, possibly defined by [86] to the south and an earlier iteration of [24.b] to the east and is shown in 1616 as an orchard.

115. Facing the southern end of [114] was a short, narrow south-west facing scarp extending north-west for about 5m creating a short gully. This fragmentary feature may evidence the location of a counterscarp to the boundary feature [114] or form a short length of ridge with [111a].

116. To the NE of [115] and [111a] was a semi-circular depression running into the upper scarp of the pond which appeared to be an eroded tree bowl.

117. North of [116] was a north-east facing scarp, narrow at its south-eastern end and broad at its north-western end which was cut by [95]. Although running in a similar direction to the features north-west of [95], the differing alignment appeared to rule out a direct relationship.

At the south-western extent of the surveyed area and within 'Grove Field' as depicted on the 1616 map, was a large, steep-sided pond aligned north-east to south-west. The pond was surrounded by trees and dense vegetation, which hampered the survey, and by modern barbed wire fencing. Largely dry, though heavily silted at the time of survey, it was possible to record a small island at the north-eastern end of the pond depicted on both the Tithe and Ordnance Survey maps.

118. At the south-western end of the tree-lined pond, was a broad, shallow and well-defined scarp described a crescent which faced north-east. This scarp continued to the north-east as a pair of straight and broad opposed scarps which defined the top of the pond on its south-eastern, south-western and north-western sides. The southern of these opposed scarps was truncated by the drainage feature [121] while the northern scarp turned to the north away from the pond at its eastern end. The association of these upper ponds scarps with the modern barbed wire fencing lines would indicate that this feature likely represents erosion of the tops of the pond sides.

    a. At the north-eastern end of the northern scarp of [119] was a break in the scarp above. This scarp did not turn to the north as [118] but rather curved towards the south-east, mirroring [119] below which defined the eastern end of the pond. It is likely therefore that this scarp predates [118], possibly marking the original top of the northern pond side. At the north-east end of the pond

119. Below [118] and mirroring its shape and alignment, was a broad and steep scarp which described a crescent at its south-western end and proceeded north-east as reasonably straight opposed scarps which diverged slightly at their north-eastern end. The southern scarp was also interrupted by the drainage feature [121] but continued to the east, defining the eastern end of the pond. The northern scarp turned to the south-east describing a loose semi-circle around the pond island and a shallow, roughly square bed at the eastern end of the pond. This bed, a square open-sided to the west and situated slightly above the main pond bed, aligns with a rectangular channel which extended the pond to the east and is depicted on the 1839 tithe map.[123] The disparity in depth between this bed and the main pond bed likely points to a modern reworking of the pond and that this square bed is of an earlier date to the main pond bed.

    a. The northern scarp of [119] became significantly narrower and steeper at its eastern end around the pond island as it defined the eastern end of the pond. This seemed to indicate that this section of the pond sides had been recut using a mechanical excavator, possibly at the same time that the drainage feature [121] was introduced.

120. In the southern scarp of [119] a break was recorded, extending south-west from the drainage feature [121]. This break steepened the scarp above and broadened it and is likely both further evidence of erosion of the pond sides and of a re-cutting of the lower level of the pond sides with a mechanical excavator as recorded in the eastern end of [119.a] and around the pond island [126.a].

121. South-east of the pond island [126] was a short, narrow and shallow gully which cut [118] and [119] and extended south-east to the line of the modern barbed-wire fence. Associate with this feature and located immediately to the north-west of it, an open-sided box of cement board contained a modern field drain outlet. The installation of this drainage feature had pushed [119] to the south-east, creating a short, steep, crescent shaped scarp.

122. Immediately to the East of the drainage feature [121] was a narrow scarp which defined a rectilinear platform aligned south-west to north-east, open at its eastern end an truncated by a short, narrow north-east facing scarp. This platform aligned with southern scarp of the erosion feature [118] to the south-west. This might indicate that the south eastern corner of the pond side has not to be subjected to the same level of erosion and that this feature represents an earlier top to the pond bank.

123. To the east of the pond and the square bed formed by the eastern end of [119] was a short, well defined south-west facing scarp falling towards the line of the barbed-wire fence. This may have been the result of erosion along the fence line or more likely represent the western edge of a deposit of material used to fill in the rectangular channel which is depicted on the 1839 tithe map as extending further to the east than was recorded.

124. Below [118] and [119] which defined the shape of the pond and generally mirroring that shape was a shallow gentle scarp which reduced the gradient of the pond sides towards the pond bed. This appeared to be the result of silt accumulation which had raised the level of the pond bed and created this break in the pond sides.

125. At the base of the pond island [126] a similar shallow and gentle scarp formed a ring around and the island and fell towards the pond bed. This too was likely the result of silt accumulation on the pond bed.

126. At the north-eastern end of the pond, an island covered in dense vegetation was recorded as a low mound, oval in form and defined by a broad, well-defined scarp which fell away from the flat, oval platform at its crest to the pond bed below.

    a. Below [126] was a narrow, steep scarp which ringed the island mound above, cutting into the base of [126] and clearly representing a re-cutting of the end of the pond bed with a mechanical excavator as

[120].

127. North of the northern arm of [118] was a broad, shallow south-east facing scarp falling towards the top of [118]. At its north-eastern end, the scarp turned through 90 degrees, seemingly joining [114] and describing a corner. The section of this scarp aligned south-west to north-east carried a barbed-wire fence suggesting that this feature and [114] defined the boundaries of a field to the east of the priory outer precinct. It is also possible that this is an erosion feature caused by foot traffic along the northern side of the pond towards [114], a known boundary shown on the 1616 map.

128. To the north-west of [127] was a broad, shallow, south-east facing scarp which turned to face east and became narrower and steeper at its western end. This section of the scarp followed the line of the barbed-wire fence as it cut [119] and is likely associated with its construction. The broader shallower section is likely an erosion feature caused by foot traffic along the boundary described by [127] and the barbed wire fence.

129. North of [128] was a pair of short, broad, east-facing scarps which followed the contours of the site. The lower scarp may have been a continuation of [112], though a difference in their alignment may mean they are unrelated.

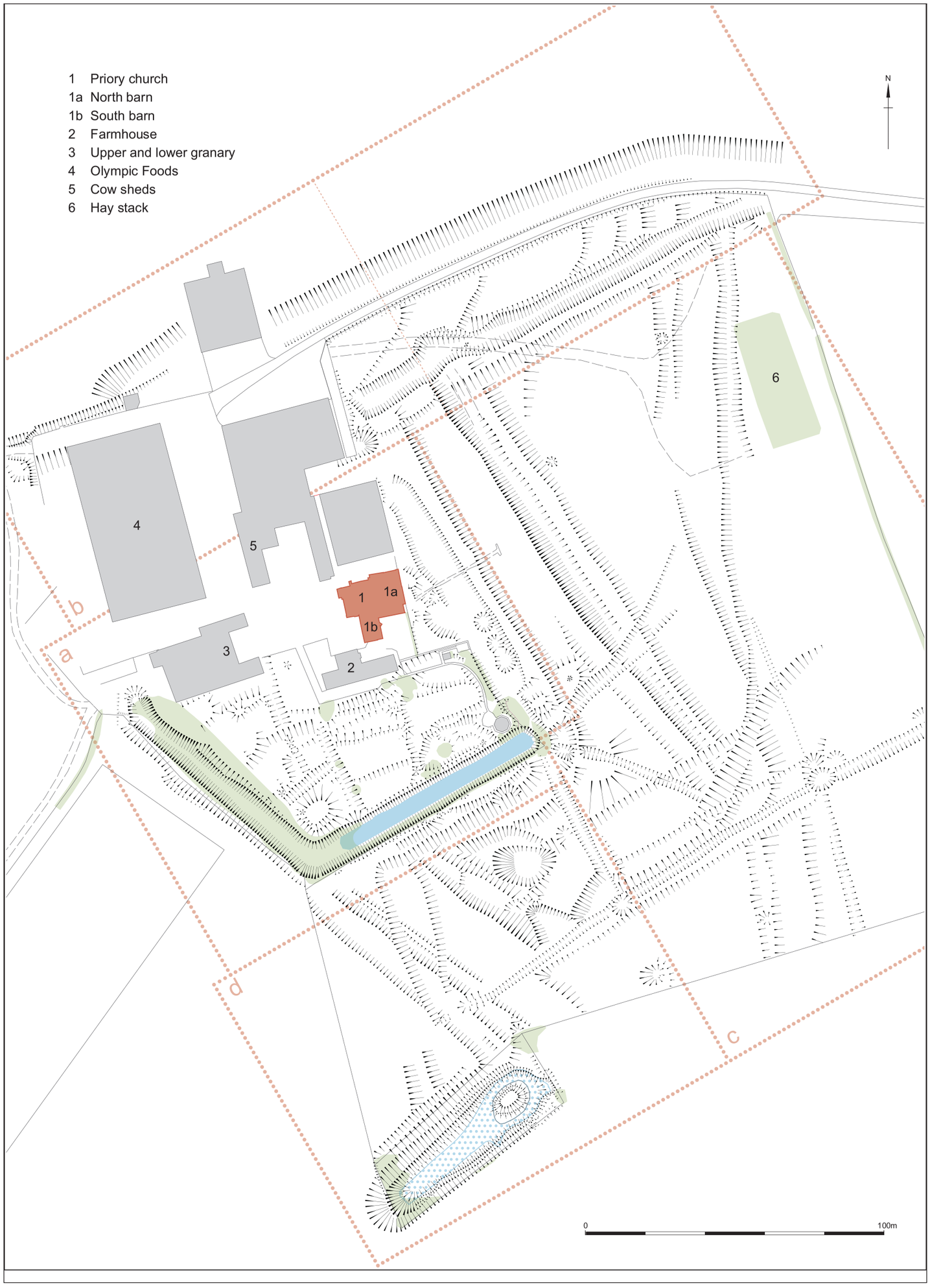


Figure 36: Earthwork survey reference plan © Historic England

HISTORIC BUILDINGS ANALYSIS

The Church of St John the Baptist

The upstanding remains of the priory church of St John the Baptist (NGR TL 46579 06558) sit at the south-eastern corner of the farmyard of Latton Priory Farm immediately to the north of the Latton Priory farmhouse. This site was formerly the north-eastern corner of the inner priory precinct, defined by a wet moat which created an island accessed via a causeway to the north. The northern arm of the moat now lies beneath the concrete covered farmyard and the eastern arm has been filled in. In 2016 the priory church comprised the complete central crossing with the truncated remains of a tower above, approximately 3.4m of the nave extending westwards from the central crossing and truncated to terminate in the form of a pair of large barn doors (reinstated during the recent works), the much altered and truncated remains of the north transept and the eastern wall of the south transept (Figure 37). The location of the former eastern arm of the church is represented by a timber-framed and weather boarded barn adjoining the crossing to the east while a similarly proportioned barn of slightly later date is built around the surviving east wall of the south transept. Smaller, single-storey lean-to structures adjoin the southern wall of the east barn, the northern wall of the stub nave, while an open-fronted cart shed adjoins the northern wall of the east barn.

The surviving elements of the medieval priory church describe a footprint which measures 15.3m from the southern end of the surviving south transept wall to the truncated northern end of the north transept and 19.9m from the western end of the truncated nave to the eastern wall of the east barn which is assumed to mirror the footprint of the former presbytery. This footprint is initially difficult to reconcile with measurements published in Storer's 1809 account of the priory. Storer states that prior to the collapse of the south transept, an event which pre-dated his account by three years, the priory church measured 66ft (20.1m) from north to south and 54 ft (16.5m) for west to east.[124] On initial inspection, these measurements are difficult to reconcile with the surviving footprint of the church which, save for the collapse of the south transept, has been little altered since the replacement of the presbytery after 1778. However, the west to east dimension can be reconciled if the stub walls of the nave are not included as part of the footprint of the priory church. These truncated walls are approximately 3.4m in length and their deduction from the overall west to east dimension of the existing structure produces a figure of 16.5m from the nave crossing arch to the eastern end of the east barn. The north to south dimensions provided by Storer are far harder to reconcile and suggest that the remains of the priory church were more extensive prior to the collapse of 1806 and that about 5m have been removed collectively from the north and south transepts. It is clear from comparison of the depictions of the north transept in 1765 and 1818 that its length was reduced when it was cut back, its north window, wall and buttresses removed and a lean-to thatched roof and weather boarded wall added.[125] This work however, is unlikely to have reduced the length of the north transept by any more than 1m, leading to the conclusion that either Storer's measurements are incorrect or the southern transept extended four to five metres further south than the surviving east wall and brick buttress suggest.

Figure 37: *The church of St John the Baptist from the east following the Historic England funded consolidation work. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217024*

Crossing

The most complete surviving element of the priory church of St John the Baptist is the central crossing with which the truncated nave, transepts and east barn intersect. Four arches with internal spans of 4.2m rise to an apex 8.7m above the cobbled floor surface and are of a style characteristic of the early 14th century (Figure 38). Constructed of either Reigate stone, a soft greensand stone, easy to work but highly susceptible to weathering, or more locally sourced clunch, the arches were described by Holman as being, 'Of free stone curiously done'.[126] The responds of the crossing arches are moulded and each respond has three attached shafts describing a trefoil with moulded bases and capitals. The intersection of the responds at each corner of the crossing is defined by chamfered stops at the same level as the capitals. Springing from the capitals, the two-centred arches over the crossing are of two moulded orders with labels above, which once terminated in label stops, though these are now difficult to discern.[127] The west-facing stone of the crossing arches is heavily weathered and decayed, attesting both the long absence of the barn doors which formally hung between the stub walls of the nave and the soft nature and propensity for decay of the Reigate stone.

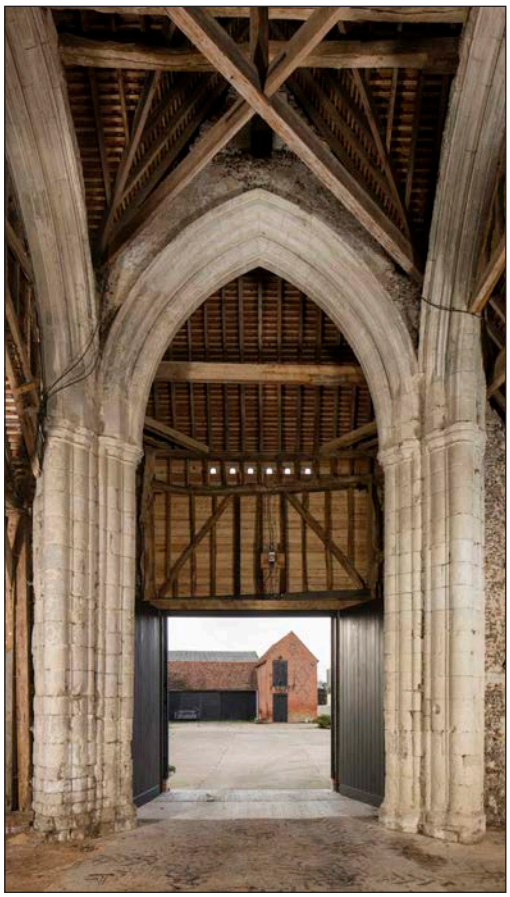


Figure 38: The crossing of Latton priory church looking west through the truncated nave to the modern farm yard beyond. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217018

Tower

The depiction of the priory church on the map of 1616 and William Holman's early 18th century account indicate that a substantial central tower rose from the crossing. Holman describes the church as, 'Lofty built in forming a cross' while the crude 1616 vignette appears to show a tower of two further stages above the arches of the crossing, topped with a simple pyramidal roof.[128] The existence of the first stage of the tower is confirmed by the heavily truncated surviving fabric above the crossing arches. 0.65m of the north and south walls of the tower above the crossing survive, cut back (likely in the early 18th century) to facilitate the addition of the current roof arrangement and the conversion of the church to a barn. Within the flint rubble and partially rendered walls, opposed rows of tile lined sockets above a single - course of flat red bricks - possibly of the kind found in the south transept buttress carried the timber joists which in turn carried the floor of the tower's first stage (Figure 39). Three elm joists of indeterminate date, each unsuitable for dating by dendrochronology, remain *in situ*, though the easternmost of these sits at a different height to the rest and was clearly compromised when the tower was cut back. A depiction of the inside of the crossing looking north-east towards the north transept and east barn published as part of Storer's 1809 article shows the five joists *in situ* and the frame for a trapdoor. Interestingly, the easternmost joist is shown out of alignment with the rest confirming that the arrangement of the sockets predates the 19th century. This view also shows the tops of the four walls above the crossing arches as being horizontal, cut back to the level of the joists, indicating that the current pitched roof which necessitated the further cutting back of the walls to form gables, occurred later in the 19th or early 20th century.[129]

Figure 39: *The south crossing arch and tile lined sockets. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP182401*

The eastern and western walls of the tower above the crossing arches retain rectangular openings beneath the gables created by the truncation of the tower. Both of these openings are framed with worked blocks of Reigate stone with a moulded recess. The opening to the east is more complete than that to the west, though the latter remains open with a view into the remnants of the nave while the eastern opening has been blocked with brick, an in-filling which is visible externally as a patch above the apex of the east barn roof (Figure 40). The function of these openings is not obviously apparent as their location, just above the crossing arches likely meant that they were below the level of the presbytery and nave rooflines and looked down into those areas of the church. Additionally, if the joist sockets to the north and south walls and corresponding lips to the east and west walls indicate the location of a floor level within the tower, the sills of these openings would have been level with the floor. This may suggest that the sockets and floor level are entirely post-medieval.

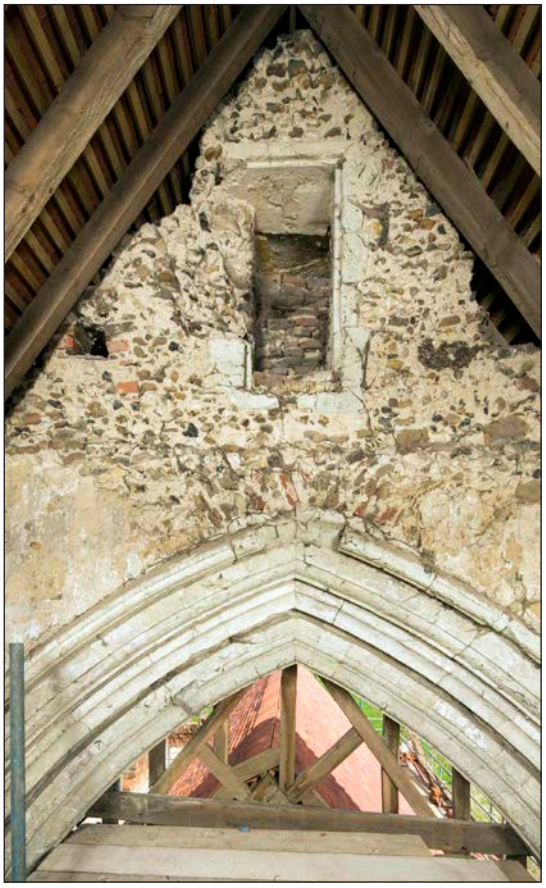


Figure 40: The east opening above the crossing arch into the chancel. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP182397

Nave

Very little comment can be made regarding the nature of the nave of the priory church as so little of the structure survives above ground or remained extant at the time of the various topographical depictions in the late-18th century. The results of the ground penetrating radar survey suggest that the nave extended for approximately 20m (60ft) west of the crossing arch. If the east barn represents the dimensions of the former presbytery then the nave was almost exactly double its length. The truncated walls are of the same flint rubble construction as the crossing, tower and transepts and there is no visible fabric evidence to challenge the conclusion that the entire church was rebuilt in the early 14th century. No windows survive within the remains of the nave, save for one circular clerestory window in the north wall immediately to the west of the crossing (Figure 41). Now blocked, this window was once sexfoiled, a geometric gothic decorative device consistent with an early-14th century date. Beneath the clerestory window, an external string course which corresponds to the raking line of a former pent roof on the western wall of the north transept, suggests the former presence of a north aisle which necessitated the clerestory above to light the nave. A single, north aisle was seen by the 19th century architectural historian J T Micklewhite as being a distinctive characteristic of the Augustinian order, reflecting the influence of pre-existing parish churches close to their foundations and evolutions in parish church design from aisleless cruciform

churches to aisled churches in the 13th century; the southern claustral range adjoining the monastic churches allowing the addition of only a single, north aisle.[130] The nature of this 'aisle' will be discussed below.

The hipped and tiled roof above the remains of the nave sits on three courses of post-medieval bricks which raise it slightly, though given the survival of the clerestory window, the present roof is likely to be at a similar height to the original nave roof.

In the southern stub wall, immediately to the west of the crossing, a doorway presenting a two-centred arch to the interior and a segmental pointed arch to the exterior was formerly the eastern of two processional doorways linking the nave of the church with the cloister walk. The moulded jambs are of two orders, though the eastern jamb has been almost completely replaced with brick and the western jamb has been heavily repaired using concrete. Both the interior and exterior arches of the doorway had moulded labels, shown with label stops in the engraving of 1778, but these mouldings have subsequently become heavily degraded.[131]

Above and to the east of the processional doorway at the intersection between the nave and the south transept, a deep scar indicates the former location of a circular stair turret (Figure 42). It does not appear to have descended to floor level and looks as though it rose from above the cloister walk to the upper stages of the tower. The inner curve of the turret is clearly visible within the outer fabric of the nave wall as is the line of the stair winders. Both the 1778 engraving which illustrates Francis Grosse's account of Latton and the 1809 engraving of the priory from the south published as part Storer's Topographical Cabinet, show an opening into the stair turret, though the depictions vary wildly in the size and character of the opening.

Figure 41: The blocked sexfoiled clerestory window in the north stub wall of the nave viewed from inside the crossing. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217019

Figure 42: The deep scar west of the south transept crossing arch indicating the former location of a stair turret. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217007

Presbytery

Nothing remains of the former presbytery which appears to have survived until at least 1809 but had been replaced by the current timber-framed barn by 1818.[132] Two depictions of the presbytery, one, a copy of a crude pencil drawing of the priory church from the north made in 1765 and the other the engraving produced in 1778 for Francis Grosse's account, do show the extant structure shortly before its demolition. There are issues of scale and perspective associated with both depictions, however they do provide invaluable information about the appearance of the medieval presbytery. The depiction of the northern elevation of the presbytery made in 1765 and copied in 1771 shows a structure which is roughly proportionate to the timber-framed barn which replaced it. Most interestingly, the depiction shows that the clerestory suggested by the blocked sexfoiled window and stringcourse surviving to the northern wall of the nave, continued along the length of the presbytery, with three circular sexfoiled windows shown (Figure 43). This confirms the one possible interpretation drawn from the 1616 map that the nave and presbytery were of equal height but also suggests the presence of a structure to the north of the presbytery which necessitated the clerestory above. The 1765 drawing also depicts, though far from clearly, a tall and wide, blocked two-centre, pointed arch rising to the stringcourse above at the western end of the presbytery's northern façade. This arch and surviving evidence of a corresponding blocked arch on the eastern façade of the north transept, (see below) when taken in conjunction with the evidence for the clerestory above, strongly suggests the presence of a north chapel (see below), which is of a contemporary date to the rebuilt priory church. To the east of the blocked arch, the drawing shows a simple timber door beneath a flat lintel which was likely a later insertion to access the eastern end of the church following the removal of the chapel and the conversion to a barn. The easternmost bay of the presbytery appears to have been lit from the north by a two-light, square-headed mullioned window, though it is impossible to comment on the nature of the tracery and it is possible that this window is a later replacement.

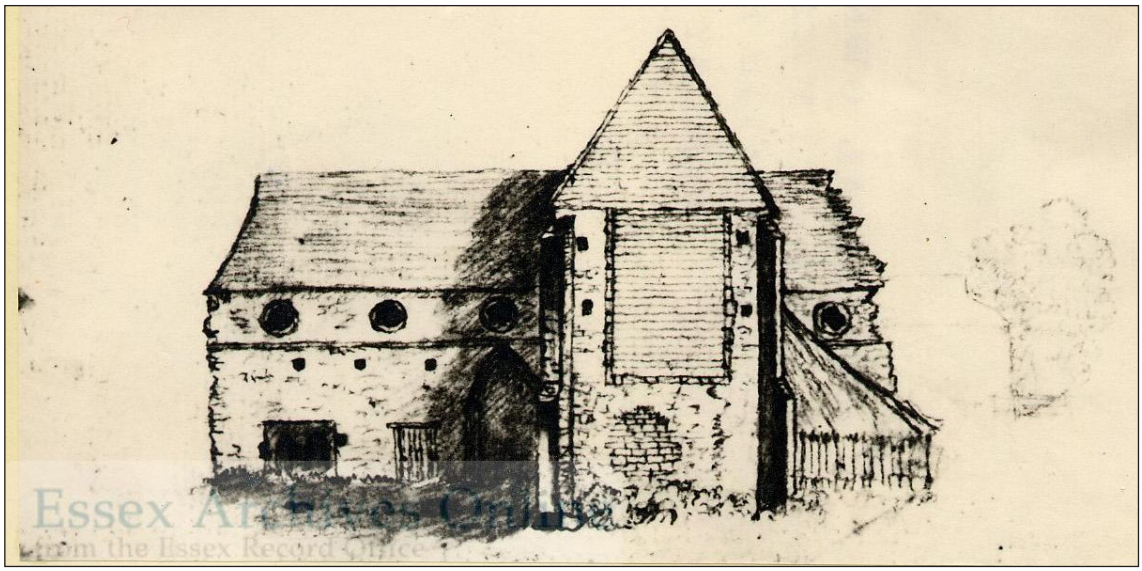


Figure 43: *The remains of Latton priory church from the north in September 1765. Rproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, I/Mb/211/16*

The engraving of Latton Priory church from the south, included as an illustration in Grosse's 1778 pamphlet, is more detailed than the 1765 depiction and no less revealing about the nature of the presbytery. Despite obvious issues with scale and proportion, the engraving confirms conclusions drawn from the 1765 depiction and details the nature of the presbytery window tracery (Figure 44). The depiction of the southern façade of the priory again suggests that the rooflines of the nave and presbytery rose to the same height and that the roof over the presbytery was tiled and half-hipped. It also suggests that the clerestory windows shown on the north façade were not present on the southern elevation and that the roof over the presbytery was asymmetrical, extending further on the southern side than the northern as shown in the engraving. It is possible however, given the substantial alterations to the priory church made during its conversion to a barn, that the clerestory level had been removed from the southern wall of the presbytery. Either way, the 1778 engraving shows that the southern elevation of the presbytery was divided into two bays by a central buttress and that a buttress adjoined the south-east corner of the structure. The perspective chosen for the composition prevents any comment being made on the western bay, however the easternmost bay is clearly depicted and shows the window which lit the presbytery from the south. A two-centre pointed arch window beneath a label with stops, the window is of three lights with trefoiled heads with three trefoiled eyelets above and is of a geometric design entirely consistent with the early-14th century, reinforcing the conclusion that the entire priory church was rebuilt at that time. The window is large, the arch rising to the eaves of the roof, level with the tops of the buttresses and appears to be of the same character as the window shown in the southern wall of the adjacent south transept.[133]

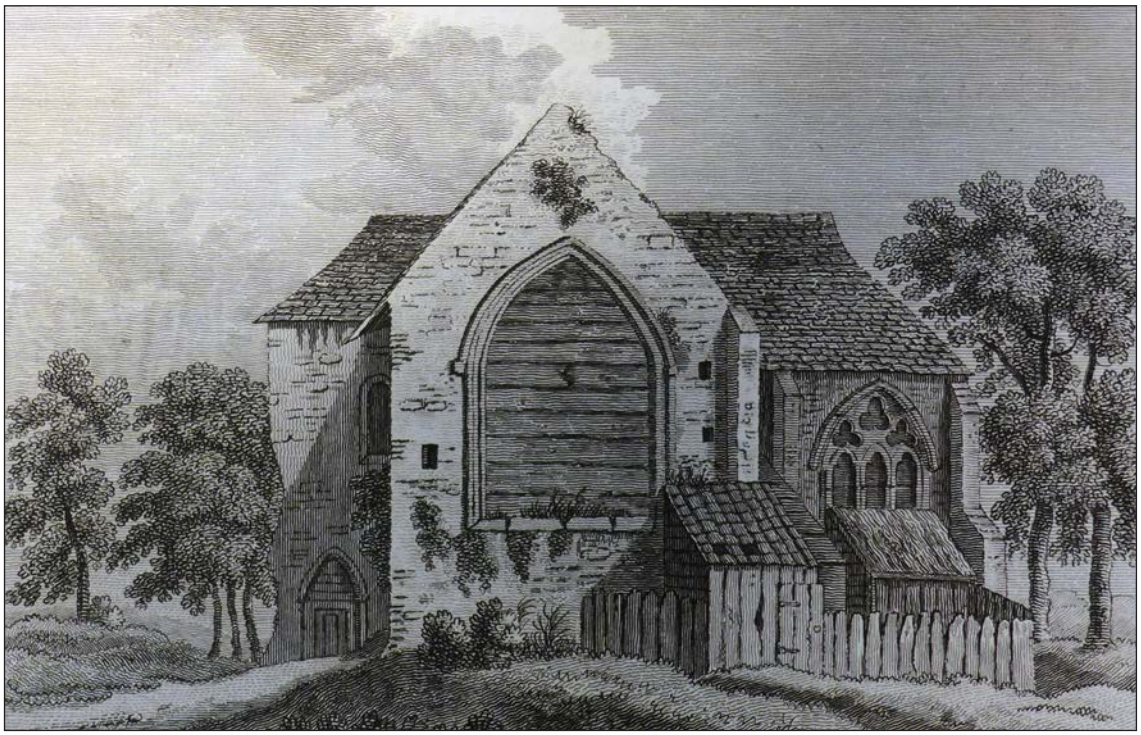


Figure 44: *An engraving of Latton priory church from the south published in a pamphlet of 1778 by Francis Grosse. © Essex Record Office, LIB/PAM 1/9/16*

Scars in the upstanding masonry of the transepts and earthwork evidence to the east of the east barn, suggest that the barn which replaced the presbytery did not exactly match the former footprint. The 1765 drawing hints at truncation of the northern wall at its eastern end while one might expect the eastern buttress on the southern elevation to be angled if it were supporting the corner of the building. To the east of the barn, there is surviving earthwork evidence of a building platform which may also indicate that the presbytery once extended further to the east and closer to the eastern arm of the moat. With regards to the surviving fabric evidence, while the northern wall of the east barn appears to be have been built onto the masonry return of the former presbytery, the southern wall sits inside of the scar which marks the intersection between the presbytery and the south transept. This combined evidence indicates that the east barn is both shorter and narrower than the presbytery it replaced.

North Transept

Adjoining the crossing to the north, the north transept survives *in situ*, though its northern end has been heavily truncated and the large north window and buttresses depicted in the 1765 drawing, cut back to be replaced with weather boarding and a steeply pitched tile roof. The existing structure extends for about 3.5m from the crossing arch and although this likely represents the majority of the transept's medieval footprint, there is evidence of heavy post-medieval rebuilding and alteration.

At the intersection between the east wall of the transept and the north-east corner of the crossing, a blocked-two centred pointed arch - stylistically consistent with the crossing arches – evidences the location of a structure between the transept and presbytery, most likely a north chapel. The responds of the arch, like the arches of the crossing, had attached shafts, the simple moulded capitals of which survive *in situ* both externally to both responds and internally to the southern respond. The internal face of the northern respond has been heavily altered and attests to post-medieval rebuilding of the northern part of the transept (Figure 45). The internal span of the arch (1.784m) is noticeably narrower than the external span (2.053m), the latter retaining both its shafted responds and capitals (Figure 46). The northern internal respond has been 'made up' of pieces of worked squared stone, changing the profile of the arch and flattening it. The scar of the former arch profile and line of the respond can be discerned within the fabric of the eastern wall and corresponds to the external proportions of the arch. A piece of moulded stone within a string course which the scar passes through may be the northern capital surviving roughly *in situ*. Below the string course the scar of the respond passes through a piscina of 14th century character, further confirming that the eastern wall has been much altered. The arch has been in-filled with a combination of post-medieval brickwork and irregular sized blocks of worked, squared stone. The stones bear the striations of medieval tooling and may have originally formed part of the north chapel, the presbytery or nave. Within the fill of stone blocks, the *ex situ* drain of the piscina, set on its side with the circular drain facing outwards, further evidences a phase of post-medieval rebuilding. The piscina, although clearly reconstructed and *ex situ*, has shafted jambs and a trefoiled head consistent with an early-14th century date,

and would have likely been originally set within a niche in the south wall of the presbytery. The piscina is also conspicuous by its absence in Storer's 1806 depiction of the north transept, seemingly confirming its reconstruction following the removal of the presbytery. Just above the piscina, a flat brick of the Roman or medieval 'Great Brick' type, adds to the eclectic collection of material used to reconstruct the wall.

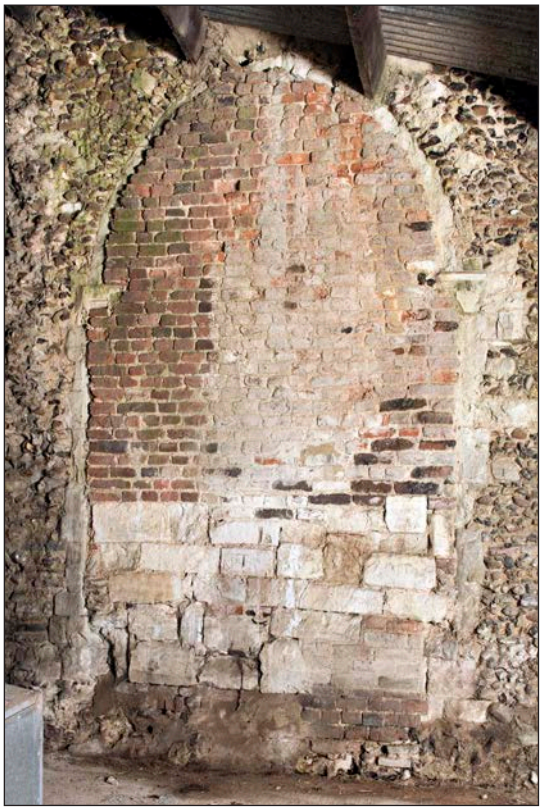


Figure 45 (Left): *Heavily altered and remade arch in the east wall of the north transept. It likely accessed a north chapel. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217025*

Figure 46 (Right): *The arch between the north transept and north chapel from the east. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217027*

At the same height as the capitals of the former arch into the north chapel, a string course can be observed on the internal eastern and western walls of the north transept and the exterior of the eastern wall. Although the moulded stone in line with the scar of the former arch respond may be the capital of the removed arch respond, the rest of the string course is made up with *ex situ* pieces of moulded stone. On such piece of stone, set at the northern end of the east wall's string course, may retain the truncated remains of a rib from a vaulted ceiling (Figure 47). It is clear that this fragment and the pieces which make up the east wall's string course have been reused from elsewhere within the church or claustral buildings. However the *ex situ* string course in the north transept aligns with the *in situ* capital of the arch into the north chapel and the *in situ* string course and window sill in the south transept (see below), indicating that it likely represents an original feature.

Figure 47: *Ex situ worked stone used to remake an internal stringcourse. One piece may contain the fragment of a rib. © Historic England, Matthew Bristow*

The northern end of the north transept has been truncated by around a metre and entirely remade with no masonry or fabric retained. The north wall is constructed of horizontal timber weatherboarding with the east and west walls projecting beyond the line of the north wall cut-back at an angle to form pseudo-buttresses. The upper sections of the east and west walls have been cut back to carry a steeply pitched peg-tile roof which intersects with the crossing several metres below the apex of the crossing arch, exposing the arch's northern face to the elements. The northern wall of the north transept has been entirely remade and no traces of the north window or roof structure remain. Topographical depictions indicate that externally, the north transept rose to a simple gable and that the northern façade contained a large window. As depicted in 1765, the window is shown blocked up and without its arch.[134] However, on the assumption that it matched the window

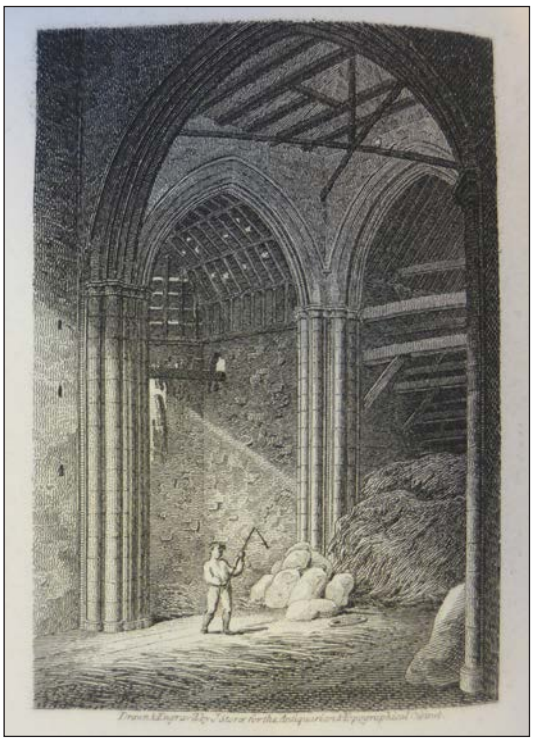
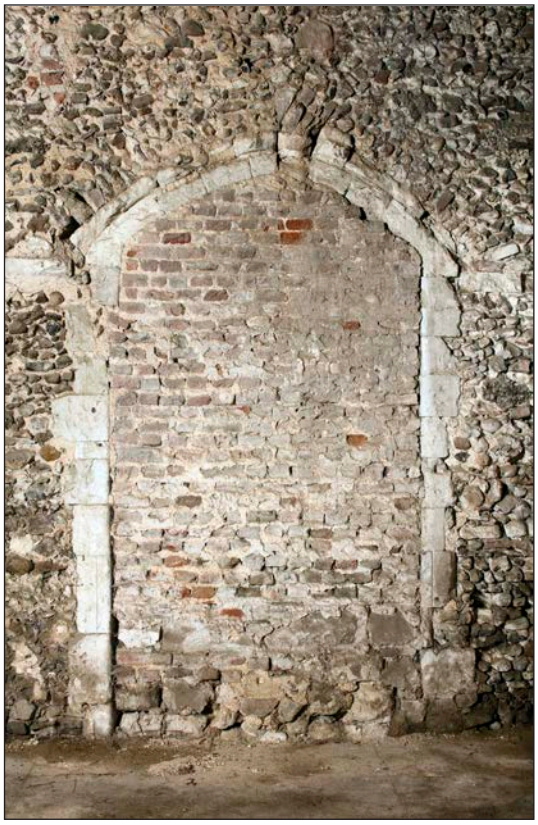


Figure 48: *The interior of Latton priory church looking north-east as depicted by Storer in a publication of 1809.*
© British Library

depicted on the south transept, it was likely a moulded, two-centred arch with labels above, consistent in style with the crossing arches and an early-14th century date.[135] The Storer depiction of the interior of the north transept published in 1806 depicts what would appear to be a seven-cant coupled rafter roof with straight rather than curved soulaces (Figure 48).[136] Tree-ring dated examples of this roof type cover a wide date range and were used in both secular and ecclesiastical contexts and as such this type of roof could also be consistent with a single-phase rebuild of the early-14th century.

Within the western wall of the north transept, a blocked doorway appears to confirm the existence of an aisle, chapel or other structure north of the nave. The eastern side of the doorway has a flat, four-centred arch and the western side of the doorway has a two-centred arch consistent in style with an early-14th century date (Figures 49 and 50). The four-centred arch, the apex of which is lower than the apex of the two-centred arch, is likely a supporting rere-arch and contemporary in date with the pointed two-centred arches of the 14th-century rebuilding. Widely seen in parish churches on the inside of porch doorways, the presence of a rere-arch confirms that the blocked opening in the west wall of the north transept was not an open arch but an arch built with a rebate to contain a door and as such beyond it lay a separate room rather than a different liturgical space such as an aisle or chapel.



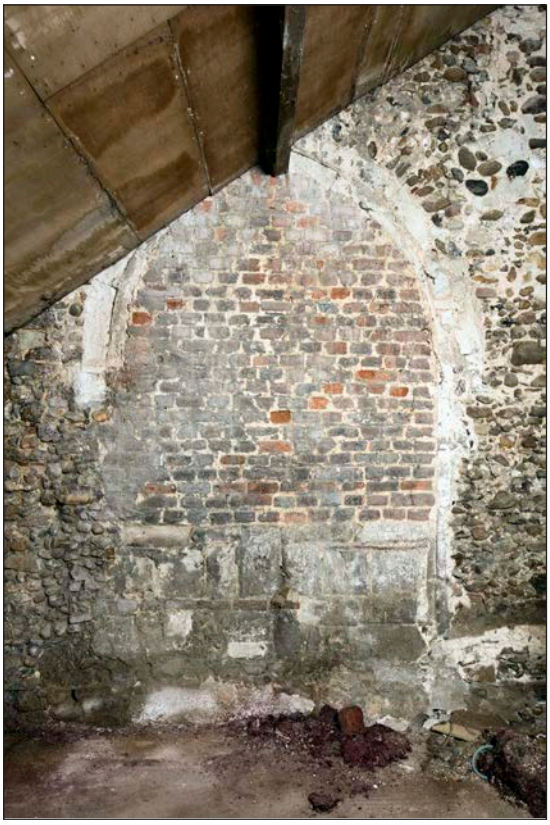


Figure 49 (Left): *The rere-arch of the doorway between the north transept and the room north of the nave. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217023*

Figure 50 (Right): *The west side of the doorway between the north transept and the room north of the nave. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217024*

North 'Aisle'

The raking line of a former pent roof on the western wall of the north transept, a corresponding string course beneath a sexfoil clerestory window in the stub remains of the nave's north wall and the blocked doorway in the western wall of the north transept leave little doubt as to the existence of a structure north of the nave (Figure 51). The style of the clerestory window and the absence of evidence for a raising of the nave roof, indicates that a clerestory was part of the early-14th century scheme and therefore so was a structure beneath it. This conclusion is further supported by the two-centred arched doorway into the north transept which is also consistent with an early-14th century date. As mentioned above, a single north aisle has also been viewed as characteristic of Augustinian priory churches which developed from aisleless cruciform plans in line with evolutions in the plan forms of parish churches and in order to match the aspirations of wealthy patrons who sought a more extravagant monument to their patronage.[137] The established interpretation of the priory church at Latton has been that the church rebuilt in the early-14th century did include a north aisle, however closer examination of the surviving fabric would seem to preclude this. The principal impediment to the existence of an aisle is the absence of evidence for an arcade springing from the north-western crossing pier. The 3.2 metres of northern nave wall which survived the conversion of the church to a barn are of entirely solid construction and shown no signs of rebuilding beneath the level of the clerestory window. This suggests that there was no arcade and that the structure to the north of the nave was not an aisle but was a separate room. The confirmation by the rere-arch that the opening in the west wall of the north transept was a doorway and not an open arch also supports the interpretation that beyond lay a room. The lack of arches and arcading appear to eliminate both a north aisle and a small north chapel and imply an outshut beneath a pent roof. It is highly likely that instead of an aisle, the structure between the nave and north transept was a porticus and if so, the plan of the priory church of Latton is directly comparable to that of the Augustinian priory of St Mary in the Meadow, Beeston Regis, Norfolk (NGR TG 16756 42801). The aisleless priory church, a characteristic of the Augustinian order (see above) required the brethren to negotiate the choir stalls which traversed the crossing in order to access the north transept. Early Augustinian churches often incorporated small porticuses or passages to allow direct access to the transepts from the nave. By the late 12th century new Priory Churches were being designed with north aisles and earlier churches were having north aisles added. If the rebuilt priory church at Latton retained the aisleless nave and porticus arrangement with doors linking the nave and north transept via the porticus, then it, like Beeston Regis was markedly old-fashioned in its design.[138] It has also been suggested that the porticus at Beeston Regis was a northern sacristy, an hypothesis which is likewise plausible at Latton.

The topographical depictions of Latton Priory church from the north produced in 1765 and 1818 both show a small, thatched outshut occupying the location of the proposed porticus and it is likely the door between it and the north transept remained in use during the 18th century. The lower part of the doorway has been blocked on its western side with four courses of squared and worked stone and it is possible that the blocking-up of this doorway is contemporary with the demolition of

the presbytery and that that is the provenance of this *ex situ* stone. A timber lean-to store beneath a low roof now occupies the location of the suggested porticus.

Figure 51: *The blocked sexfoiled clrestory window, stringcourse and scar of roofline. ©Historic England, Matthew Bristow*

North Chapel

As detailed above in the discussion of the north transept and the presbytery, there is compelling evidence that the priory church of St John the Baptist had a northern chapel located between the north transept and north wall of the presbytery. Springing from the north-east corner of the crossing, a tall and wide two-centred, pointed arch, now blocked with a mixture of squared stone and brick (see above), evidences the entry from the north transept into a northern chapel. The 1765 depiction of the priory church from the north, although crude, appears to show a corresponding arch of matching character at the western end of the north wall of presbytery. The continuation of the clerestory - formed of round sexfoiled windows – along the length of the presbytery would also appear to confirm both the existence of a north chapel and that it formed part of the early-14th century rebuild and was not a later addition. The addition of chapels adjoining the presbytery east of the transepts was common among Augustinian priories which were noted for the contrast between their plain, aisleless naves and highly articulated crossings and east ends and allows further comparisons to be drawn with St Mary in the Meadow, Beeston Regis, the early-14th century north chapel of which survives in ruinous form.[139]

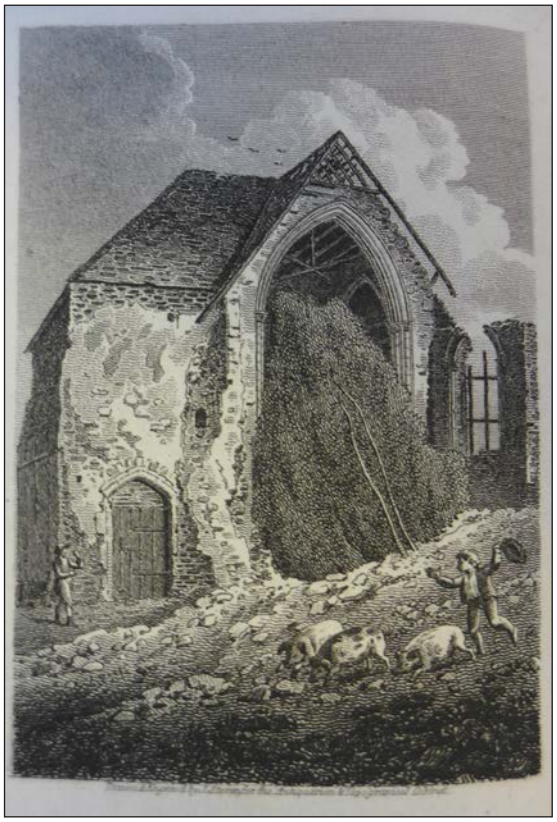
South Transept

In contrast to the north transept, which although heavily altered, retains much of its original walling and a number of medieval features, the south transept is considerably less complete. William Storer's account of Latton Priory, published in 1809 and likely dating to c.1806 mentions the 'fall of the south transept' and provides measurements of the priory church prior to that event, suggesting that it had occurred within his memory.[140] Storer's account also includes an engraving of the priory church from the south-west which confirms the collapse of the south transept and the survival of a short section of the east wall (Figure 52). Following the collapse of the south transept a timber-framed barn (discussed below) was erected around the surviving east wall, extending the footprint of the transept to the south and replacing the lost west wall.

The east wall as depicted by Storer in c.1806 appears to remain largely intact. An *in situ*, though heavily degraded, moulded internal string course at a corresponding height to the remade string course in the north transept and capital of the blocked north chapel arch, extends from the crossing to the end of the upstanding masonry wall (Figure 53). The string course forms the sill of a blocked window with shafted splays. The head of the window has been destroyed, lost when the upper levels of the east wall were cut back following the collapse, though Storer's depiction shows that the window formerly had a two-centred arched head with moulded capitals and a moulded label with label stops above.[141] The northern splay of the window is heavily degraded, however the southern splay is far better preserved, retaining its moulding profile and detail to the shaft base at sill level. The style of this window is entirely consistent with the early-14th century, reinforcing the likelihood of a single phase of rebuild.

The junction between the upstanding masonry wall of the south transept and the weather boarded wall of the timber-framed barn reflects the extent of the surviving

transept wall depicted by Storer and there is no reason to suspect that this wall has been further cut back. Sitting above the present floor surface, a large stone with mortared fabric which corresponds with the rest of the transept appears to describe the southern return of the south transept. Francis Grosse's 1778 depiction, although of questionable proportions, appears to confirm that by the 18th century, the south transept did mark the southern terminus of the east range of the cloister and that no remnants of the chapter house, dorter range or latrines survived. Grosse's depiction also documents the south window of the south transept which is - like the other extant remains of the priory – of the early-14th century and comprised a two-centred arched head with moulded capitals and a moulded label with label stops above. (See Figure 44).



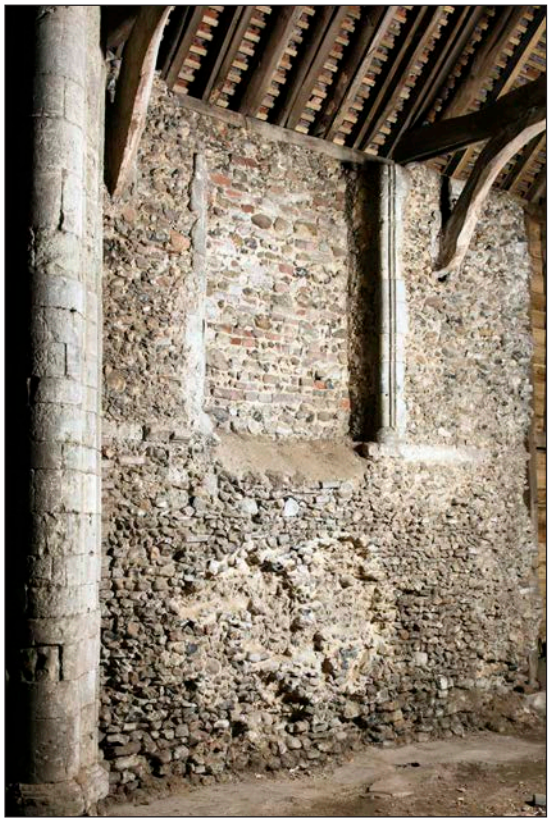


Figure 52 (Left): *The remains of Latton priory church from the south-west following the collapse of the south aisle as depicted in an engraving by Storer published in 1809. © British Library*

Figure 53 (Right): *The east wall of the south transept, the only part of the priory south of the crossing which survives into 2016. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217028*

The surviving fabric of the south transept does little to explain the clear disparity between the north to south measurements of the priory church prior to its collapse in 1806 as proffered by Storer and the corresponding distance between the inferred north wall of the north transept and the southern end of surviving east wall of the south transept. Storer's measurements suggest that the footprint of the church extended at least another 4m further south implying that some element of the cloisters' eastern range remained into the early 19th century. If this were the case,

it has not been depicted in Grosse's engraving from the south, either implying that Storer's measurements were inaccurate, or that surviving fragments of the eastern claustral range were excluded from the 1778 engraving in order to improve the composition.

Diagonal Buttress

As detailed above, almost all of the medieval fabric extant within the remains of the priory church of St John the Baptist, dates from the early-14th century and attests to a complete rebuilding of the priory at that time. The major exception is a heavily altered and repaired diagonal buttress to the south-east corner of the south transept (Figure 54). The buttress, much repaired with post-medieval bricks is a diagonal buttress, mostly comprised of large, rectangular tile-like bricks measuring 300mm x 170mm x 45mm. These bricks have previously been interpreted as reused Roman material or at the very least as 'bricks of the Roman type', however their dimensions do not fit into the typology of Roman bricks proposed by G Brodribb in 1987.[142] Furthermore, several of these bricks have broken or eroded edges allowing examination of their cores, which in most cases were darker and reduced. This indicates that these bricks are in fact a type of medieval 'Great Brick' and not Roman bricks which both tend not to have reduced cores and which have a greater tendancy to warp during firing.[143] Comparison of the dimensions of the bricks which comprise the transept buttress with other excavated examples of medieval great brick suggests that they are most directly comparable to bricks excavated by P J Huggins at the monastic grange of Waltham Abbey. P J Huggins' excavations at Waltham identified a range of brick types which in length varied from 290mm to 380mm, in width from 145mm to 195mm and in thickness from 32m to 90mm.[144] Huggins concluded that bricks of the thinner type - namely those between 32mm and 50mm in thickness – were earlier in date. Thinner bricks, used in the stylobates, were discovered during the excavation of 'Building I' in the monastic grange,

Figure 54: *The brick buttress at the south-east corner of the south transept. Although heavily altered and repaired, it is possible that it is comprised largely of bricks dating from the late-12th century and manufactured at Waltham Abbey. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP173631*

likely constructed c.1200 and of 'Building X' which may date from soon after the re-foundation of the abbey in 1177.[145] The bricks used in the buttress at Latton fall in the middle of the size ranges of bricks manufactured and discovered at Waltham Abbey and are of the thinner variety suggesting that they date from c.1200. This would imply that the buttress to the south transept incorporates reused material from the first priory church constructed on the site.

At what point these medieval bricks were reused is difficult to state with confidence. The buttress is heavily altered and does not appear to be fully bonded to the east wall of the transept. The stone offset does not appear to be correctly seated and the south transept is known to have collapsed, perhaps implying that the buttress is a post-medieval addition. A single brick of corresponding dimensions was also excavated from beneath the present floor surface of the stub nave. It was laid flat, appearing as a floor tile, but was not mortared in. This may imply that the reuse of the bricks was contemporaneous with the destruction of the nave and that more fabric of the first priory church was incorporated into the rebuilt church than is evident in the extant structure. This view is supported by Grosse's 1778 account which suggests that bricks from the first priory once survived in greater number stating:

> In digging some years ago in the orchard a pavement or path of old bricks was found, of which there are now no remains[146].

That said, diagonal buttresses such as the one described above as opposed to angled, clasped or set-back buttressed, are a characteristic feature of 14th century ecclesiastical architecture and the 1765 and 1778 topographical depictions of Latton show angled buttresses to both the north transept and presbytery. The later depiction also suggests that, as it does today, the south transept had only one buttress and that buttress was extant before the collapse of the transept.

Post-Medieval Alterations

By Elizabeth Chamberlin

Following the transfer of the Latton Priory estate to Henry Parker in 1536, the priory church and elements of the claustral arrangement appear to have remained reasonably intact, with complete structures depicted on the map of 1616. Though the nave and upper stages of the tower likely came down later in the 17th century, the presbytery and transepts remained upstanding untill at least 1778 when they were depicted in the Grosse pamphlet, though they were both down by the time of Storer's depiction in 1809. To facilitate the continued use of the former priory church as an agricultural building, two timber-framed barns were constructed; one to the east of the crossing on the footprint of the former presbytery and one into and around the upstanding east wall of the south transept. The rooflines of both barns were lower than the buildings they replaced, exposing the crossing arches above.

The timber-framed barns at Latton are atypical – due to the fact that they were both attached to the crossing of the existing priory church and neither has a cart entry – both barns were accessed from the Church crossing. There is, however, both documentary evidence relating to the agricultural use of the barn in the form of late-18th century and early-19th century illustrations and the evidence of the historic fabric.

The visit to assess Latton Priory by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) in 1919 provides photographic evidence that the east barn was used for the storage of crops. One of the photographs accompanying the record card shows straw stored in the East barn, piled up to the height of the tie-beam.[147] There is further documentary evidence dating from the early-19th century, which shows the agricultural use of the barn. The engraving of the interior of the barn published by Storer in 1809 illustrates the crossing being used as a threshing floor – providing clear evidence of the church and attached barns being used for the storage and processing of crops. The engraving depicts threshing taking place inside the barn. A man is shown holding a flail, with a pile of threshed straw in the background. There is a circular feature lying on the floor which is likely to be a sieve for winnowing and there are a group of rather lumpy-looking sacks in the background, perhaps of chaff – a useful by-product of winnowing (Figure 48). The grain was separated from the chaff by the winnowing process and the chaff could be used for animal bedding in the winter months.

The depiction raises questions about the form and orientation of the structure as an agricultural building. Threshing barns typically have two opposed doorways to create a through draught – although these doorways did not have to be of the same dimensions - often one was a cart entry and the other a pedestrian entry. Fresh air was important for the comfort of the farmer, as the process of threshing created a great deal of dust, which made it an unpleasant and unhealthy task. A through draught was even more important for the winnowing, when the grain was separated from the chaff using a sieve and the draught created by the wind. The engraving of the barn interior certainly pre-dates the construction of the south barn and may pre-date the construction of the east barn. Normally one would expect to see threshing taking place on a threshing floor between opposed doorways. If threshing did take place on the crossing floor, it would suggest that there were opposed openings either opposite the west doorway at the east end of the structure, or at either end of the north and south transepts. The Storer engraving shows the unprocessed crop stored in the eastern arm of the structure, blocking the eastern crossing arch, suggesting that at this date there was no opposing doorway in the East elevation. Part of the north crossing is depicted and from what can be seen at this angle, there is no doorway in this wall – although part of the North transept window is depicted. The barns at Latton are not what one would expect to see.

The prevailing wind direction was likely to be an important factor in the siting and orientation of threshing barns. In the case of the barns at Latton Priory, the orientation of both the east and south barns was dictated by the site of the central crossing. Although no assessment of the particular wind direction at Latton has been undertaken it is worth noting that the large barn doors were positioned at the west end of the crossing. The processing of the crop was not immediate and once harvested, the threshing and winnowing of the crop would be undertaken over the autumn and winter months, when the farmer had time to do this. Most prevailing winds from the months September to April come from the south or south-west.[148] Although there is no opposing pedestrian or cart entry to the main barn doors, there was a large opposing window in the upper stage of the east elevation of the barn, as can be seen in the photograph of the barn in the RCHM(E) volume for Essex, and it is possible that when open, this window may have provided the draught required

for winnowing the crop. It is also possible that small side door in the north elevation of the east barn could have created a draught which would have assisted with the winnowing the crop.

The evidence for two low brick walls adjacent to the entrance to the barn, which were identified during the watching brief, may represent the low walls which once supported a suspended timber threshing floor. The two lines of bricks ran parallel to walls of the nave, adjacent to the central doorway into cart entry leading into the building. Other examples of suspended timber threshing floors are recorded at Domine Farm in Wrabness, Essex[149] and Batsford in Warbleton, Kent.[150]

The early photograph published in the RCHM(E) Essex volume of 1921 also provides further evidence for the historic use of the barn for threshing and winnowing. The photograph taken from the north-west shows the large barn doors finishing a foot or so above the ground level and the gap beneath infilled with what appear to be one or two large boards. The gap at the *threshold* below the doors is clear evidence for a 'lift' (sometimes called a threshold leap or hatch boards) where removable boards are placed at the base of the waggon entry. The boards served the dual purpose of keeping livestock out of the barn and preventing loose grain from flying up into the yard from the threshing floor beyond. The threshold leap or lift is also depicted in the engraving by J Greig, which was published in the 1819 publication *Excursions in the County of Essex* by T Cromwell.[151] Evidence for the raised doors of the barn (now removed) can also be seen in the surviving timber jambs of the barn door, where the pintles can be seen a metre or so above ground level.

The Post-Medieval Barns

Both east and south barns are primarily constructed from elm, with elm weatherboarding. Elm is a hardwood, with a distinctive uneven grain. When elm decays, the outer layers sheer off to form a very smooth edge, which can make it difficult to identify how the timber has been finished. The smooth surfaces of elm can be mistaken for machine sawn. There is however evidence for both adze cut and pit-sawn timbers, as well as some machine-cut timbers which are likely to be later replacements. One of the timbers in the east gable wall of the east barn shows clear evidence for having been hand-sawn and given the angle of the cut-marks, probably trestle-sawn.[152] The relatively straight saw marks on the elm posts are at a 90 degree angle to the run of the timber and this suggests that they were pit-sawn. Village carpenters continued to produce and use pit-sawn elm and oak into the 19th century.[153] The fact that a timber is pit-sawn is not therefore particularly helpful in terms of dating the construction. Equally, it is worth noting that machine-sawn timber can date to the 18th century, when water-driven mechanised saw mills are known to be in operation.[154]

The east and south barns were assessed for dendrochronological analysis, however the timbers were not suitable for analysis. The assessment of the timbers identified just a few oak timbers, however these were re-used and therefore would not be helpful in terms of dating the construction of the barn. See appendix F for a copy of the report on the dendrochronological assessment of the timbers.

The East Barn

The East barn is a timber-framed and weatherboarded barn of three bays, which was built over the site of the presbytery of Latton priory church. The barn is roofed with plain tiles. The roof is hipped at its east end, however the roof at the west end is finished in a gable, which butts up against the arch of the church crossing. The barn therefore only has three timber-framed walls, as the west end of the barn is built up against the crossing arch.

The timber framing rests upon a low brick sill wall, built in English bond on all three sides. It is also interesting to note that the brickwork at the top of the nave wall at the west end of the church, has been undertaken in English bond.

The timber framing is typical of the eastern school of timber-framing, which is characterised by close studding and a continuous sill.[155] The barn has both side and end girts – the horizontal timber placed halfway between the sill beam and the wall plate (sometimes referred to as the mid rail). The barn is clad in relatively flimsy weatherboarding. The weatherboarding is overlapping tapered weatherboarding, which has subsequently been given a hot-tar coating.

The timber framing utilises normal assembly, where the tie-beam is seated on top of the wall plate, rather than beneath it. There is, however, a form of normal assembly which is of a more primitive type and is not fully integrated – this is known as longitudinal assembly. In longitudinal assembly, the longitudinal rows of posts or wall frames are assembled first, the plates are laid along the tops of the posts and finally the tie-beams are placed transversely across the plates.[156] This method of longitudinal assembly can be seen in the construction of the east barn – particularly in the relationship between the longitudinal wall plates and the gable-end transverse wall plate (Figure 55). The wall plate of the east gable wall of the barn has been fitted in-between the two parallel longitudinal wall plates – the two longitudinal wall plates extend just beyond the face of the east gable wall.

Figure 55: *The transverse (east gable) wall plate is shown on the left with the longitudinal wall plate on the right (which extends beyond the end gabled wall). © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

The way in which tie-beam **II** relates to the wall-plate and posts is also rather clumsy, where the form of the post-head and tying joints for the tie beams differs from what would usually be expected. On closer inspection, however, the non-standard relationship between the post and tie beam probably relates to the fact that there is a scarf joint in both the north and south wall plates at this location. Scarf joints are often positioned close to a post, but in this instance the position of the scarf joint at the same position as the post and tie-beam has necessitated a different (if rather clumsy) method of joint assembly. It should be noted that the there are two scarf joints to the longitudinal wall plates; the first is by the easternmost tie-beam **I** at the eastern end of the barn, although the arrangement of post, tie-beam and wall plate is not quite as clumsy as that shown in tiebeam **II** (Figures 56 and 57).

Figure 56: *Tiebeam II (south side of barn). The top of the jowled post has been roughly shaped to receive the tiebeam –this is probably due to the position of scarf joints in the wall plate at this precise location. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

Figure 57: *Tiebeam II (north side of barn). Top of post is jowled & extends beyond top of wall plate. Tiebeam is seated into the top of the jowled post. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

There are three openings in the timber-framed walls of the barn, two in the north elevation and one in the east gable elevation, although only the latter appears to be an original opening.

The original window in the east gable elevation is positioned above the end girt. The form of the timber-framing surrounding the east window clearly indicates that this is an original feature. The strut on the north side of the intermediate post is positioned at a different angle than that on the south side to allow extra space to accommodate the window opening. In recent years the window was covered over with weatherboarding, however it is visible on the early photograph of the structure, which was taken from the north-east and published in the Royal Commission volume of 1921.[157]

A large window opening has also been inserted in the centre of the north elevation, just below the level of the eaves. There is evidence for the mortice holes in the soffit of the wall plate, where three studs have been removed to accommodate the window and three short chocks inserted in their place (Figure 58).

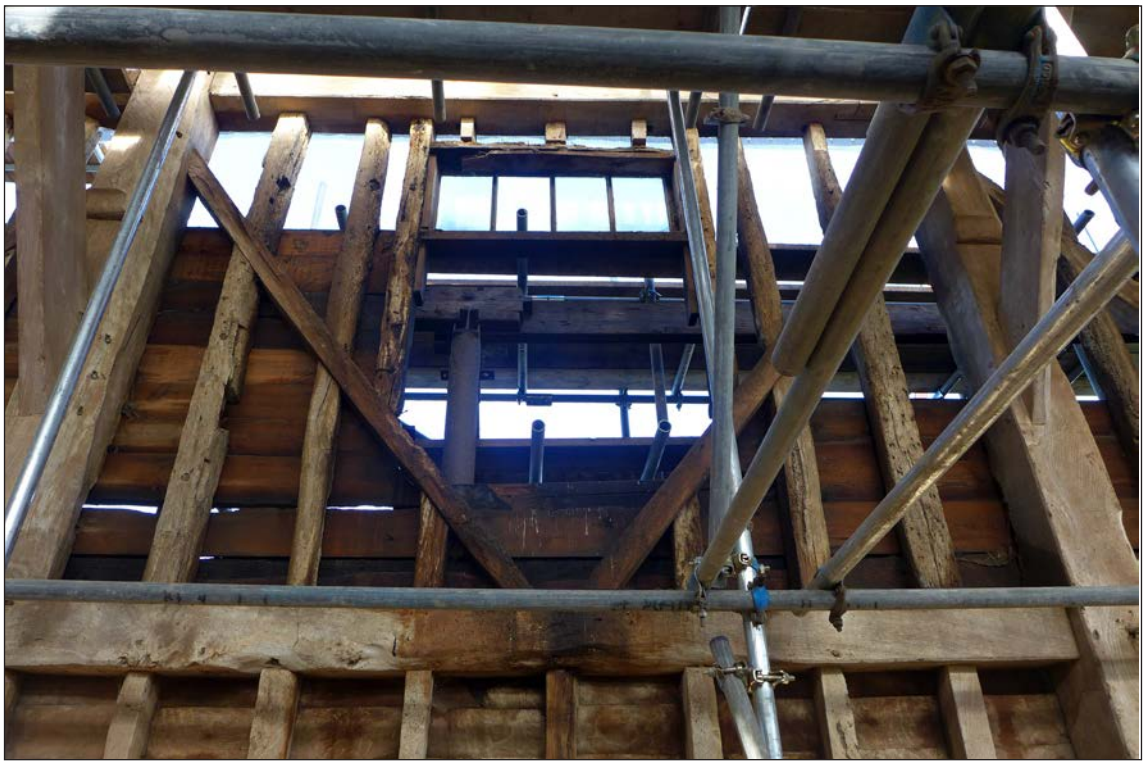


Figure 58: *Inserted window in N wall of East Barn. Three chocks inserted above head of window to support the position of the frame. The mortice holes for the tenons of the original studs are just visible to chocks 1 and 3. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

The third opening is an inserted doorway in the north elevation of the barn wall, immediately adjacent to the eastern crossing arch. This doorway would have allowed access from the east barn into the single-storey lean-to shed which was formerly positioned along the length of its north elevation.[158]

All three elevations of the barn are fully braced above the side and end girts – using tension bracing. The bracing is confined to the upper stage of the barn and there is

no tension bracing below and this is an earlier style of bracing weatherboarded barns than those which were braced to both the upper and lower levels.[159] The Martins' study of *Farm Buildings of the Weald* suggests that although the use of full bracing to the upper level is more commonly found in earlier barns, it is still found in almost half of early 18th century barns.[160]

It is widely known that bracing was required in order to prevent racking and collapsing in high winds.[161] The braces are of equal thickness to the adjacent studs and therefore should described as raking struts. The struts interrupt the lines of the studs, which have been cut to fit around the struts. Where the stud butts up to the strut, it is angle-cut and nailed to the strut. Martin & Martin state that this method of nailing the interrupted studs to the struts became dominant in the early to mid-18th century.[162]

The barn has jowled principal posts with rounded jowls (ogee-shaped) with a roll-moulded edge. Martin writes 'over half the surviving barns constructed during the early to mid-18th century have jowls with a rounded bowl, a type first recognised locally during the last quarter of the 17th century. It is this 'rounded' jowl which is found in the vast majority of late 18th-to 19th-century barns.' [163]

Both sill beam and wall plate have face-halved scarf joints with bladed abutments and with four edge pegs.[164] Cecil Hewett identifies this type of scarf joint as coming into general use by 1575 and continuing until the present day.[165] Therefore in this instance the type of scarf joint used on the barn does not give a precise date, as it is of a type in general usage from the late-16th century to present day. It is also worth noting that the scarf joints are numbered with roman numeral assembly marks. The carpenters' marks are discussed in the text below.

The trusses are arch braced from principal post to tie-beam and are roughly straight, rather than convex. According to Martin & Martin straight braces became popular in the 18th century and were increasingly used from the mid-17th century onwards (Figure 59).[166]

Figure 59: *Close studding and tension bracing above the mid-rail. Internal view of south wall of east barn. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217030*

The East Barn Roof

The East barn has a clasped purlin collar-rafter roof with raking struts and there are intermediate collars to every fourth purlin. The use of alternating collars gave additional support to the purlins between the wide bays.

The hipped east end of the roof is constructed using hip rafters, rather than a high-set collar.[167] A large number of the jack rafters are re-used and although there are some carpenters' marks, they don't seem to relate to their positions within the current roof structure. There is no principal central jack-rafter.

The common rafters and principal rafters are all of equal scantling. The principal rafters are the same dimensions above the collars, as below – meaning that the principal rafters are undiminished. The rafters are all pegged at the apex and there is no ridge tree or yoke. A substantial number of the rafters are re-used, with clear evidence for empty mortices which don't relate to their use as rafters in the current barn (see Appendix D and Figure 60).

Figure 60: *Intermediate Post, with VII carpenters' mark representing its position as the seventh upright timber in the gable wall. Evidence for trestle-sawn post to east gable wall of east barn. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

Assembly Marks

There is a mixture of scribed, chisel-stamped and gouge-stamped carpenters' marks apparent on the timber-framed elements of the barn. The type of mark used, depends upon the position of the timber within the structure. Generally it appears that chisel-stamped Roman numerals were used to number the principal components of the barn – the wall plate, sill beam, principal posts, principal trusses and some studs, whereas the intermediate members were either scribed or gouge-stamped.

The principal posts of the east barn are marked with chisel-stamped roman numerals. The numbering sequence runs from west to east, with the post immediately adjacent to the arch of the crossing marked with a **I** to both the north and south posts, and the other two sets of intermediate posts are marked consecutively **II** and **III**. The fourth set of posts which form the gable at the eastern end of the structure are unmarked and it is perhaps significant that these are the only posts which are not jowled. The final set of posts form part of the end cross frame and it would have been easy for the carpenters to distinguish between the easternmost posts and the others.

The sill beam & wall plates are also marked with carpenters' marks. The scarf joint of the sill beam immediately adjacent to the Post II appears to be marked **PII** (although this might be read as **III**) and the adjoining timber on the other side of the scarf joint is marked **III**. The marks on the sill beams and wall plates all take the form of chiselled roman numerals, like the posts (Figures 61 & 62).

Figure 61 (Left): *Roman numeral to the scarf joint of the sill beam immediately adjacent to the post appears to read PII (the horizontal stroke between the two II marks appears to be a natural mark in the timber). To the left of the image is another carpenters' mark, which appears to show a III. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

Figure 62 (Right): *North wall plate of East Barn (exterior face). Scarf joint of wall plate is marked with the roman numerals II to either side. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

The sequence of carpenters' marks to the roof structure of the East barn is fairly complex and differs in orientation to the numbering sequence of the principal posts below. The principal trusses are marked with chiselled roman numerals and these run in sequence from east to west. The first tie-beam and principal rafter at the easternmost end of the barn is numbered **I**, however the form of the roman numeral differs between the north and south sides. Along the southern side they take the form of chiselled roman numerals, however at the northern side, the roman numerals are elongated and scribed with a race knife (Figure 63).

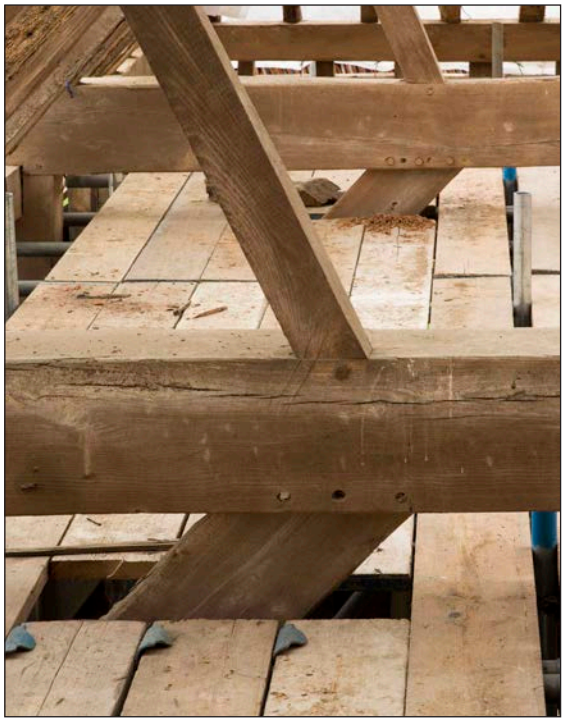


Figure 63: Two views of the carpenter's marks in the East Barn.
© Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP182042 & DP182043

It is a known phenomenon for the assembly marks of two sides of a timber-framed structure to be represented by different types of carpenters' marks. For example, at Birley Hall (north of Sheffield) the north posts have numerals represented by simple upright cuts and the southern have corresponding cuts made using a curved chisel – **C C C**.[168]

The form of carpenters' marks also depends upon whether the carpenters' marks appear on the principal trusses or the intermediate collars. The alternate collars are all numbered using elongated roman numerals which have been scribed with a race knife. In this instance and like the posts below the numbering sequence begins at the west end and runs to the east end. There are only two intermediate collars and the first at the west end of the structure is marked with an elongated scribed **I** at its south side with the northern side of the same collar marked with an elongated **II**. The next intermediate collar is marked in the same style with a **III** to the south side and **IIII** to the north side. See Appendix E for reference.

At the east end of the barn, large parts of the weatherboarding had been removed from the exterior of the building, revealing the outside face of the studs. Here a range of scribed and gouge-stamped assembly marks could be seen. Many of the studs and braces forming the east gable wall of the barn were individually numbered. The numbering clearly shows which timbers are original to the construction of the barn and those which are later replacements. At the lower level there are 12 studs and a central intermediate post between the two corner posts at the eastern end of the structure. Studs 1-6 are numbered consecutively with simple chiselled roman numerals, as well as the intermediate post 7 marked with the equivalent roman numerals. All of the others to the northern side are replacements, apart from stud 11 (which is also represented in chiselled roman numerals). A number of the replacement timbers are themselves reused and some have carpenters' marks which don't relate to the current timber-framed structure.

The form of the carpenters' marks to the upper level, above the end girt of the east gable wall differs, depending upon which side of the frame the studs were located. Here, roman numerals were also used to mark the relationship between the raking struts and the associated studs. Gouge-stamped marks were used to the south side of the intermediate post and long scribed roman numerals to the north. As already noted (in the description of the East barn), the position of the raking struts in the east gable wall is asymmetrical and this is to accommodate an original window in the upper level of the end frame (Figures 64 & 65).

Due to the location of the scaffolding and the fact that some areas of the barn were covered with plastic sheeting, it was only possible to study the outer (east face) of the east gable wall of the barn. It is possible that if the other two faces had also been studied in detail, further evidence for this method of marking timbers would have been seen.

Figure 64 (Above): *East elevation of East gable wall of barn, upper level, south side. The numbering of the studs and struts is consecutive, strut 4 is numbered `CCCC', the raking strut immediately adjacent to it is numbered CCCCC and the next stud CCCCCC. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

Figure 65 (Below): *East elevation of End Girt, north side, with long scribed carpenters marks to stud and strut. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

The South Barn

The south barn is also timber-framed and weatherboarded and of three bays. As is typical for Essex post-medieval barns, the barn utilises tension bracing, however the west wall of the barn has struts both above and below the side and end girts and in this way differs from the East barn, which has struts to the upper level only. The use of low-level bracing in weatherboarded barns is thought to be a later feature. According to the Martins' study of *Farm Buildings of the Weald*, it was virtually unknown before 1700; although it was introduced in the form of straight raking struts during the course of the 18th century.[169]

All of the intermediate posts used in the south and west frames of the barn are strengthened with iron ties (unlike the east barn). There is a high-level window at the south end of the west wall of the barn.

Part of the eastern wall of the barn is formed from the old flint wall of the south crossing, meaning that the east wall of the barn is a composite of timber framing and the masonry construction of the old church. The tie-beam of the north end of the barn rests on the flint walling of the church and the strongly curving brace which is bolted into the tie-beam is also built into the flint walling at its lower end. The braces are all bolted into the tie-beam, rather than pegged. The south gable wall has a central intermediate post, which utilises an iron strap to attach it to the end girt (mid-rail). The quality of the timber chosen for the south barn does not appear to be as good as for the east barn – the tie-beams of the south barn all have strong curves, suggesting that poorer quality timber was used.

The South Barn Roof

The south barn is attached to the south crossing arch of the priory church, however the roof of the barn is hipped at its southern end. The barn is roofed with plain tiles. The barn has a simple collar rafter roof with clasped purlins, strengthened at a later date with the addition of raking queen struts. The apex of the roof has saddles, which are nailed onto the rafters and which provide support to the ridge plank. This is entirely different to the east barn, where the rafters are all pegged at the apex and there is no ridge piece. The barn also incorporates a large number of re-used timbers, as can be seen in the figures 66 & 67.

The use of metal bolts and straps in the construction of the barn is typical of the group of early-19th century barns, which were built throughout Essex at the time of the Napoleonic Wars (1796-1815). The declaration of war was followed shortly by a rise in grain prices. The high price of grain and rent resulted in a surge in the construction of new farm buildings to take advantage of the boom time.[170] However this general trend towards the production of grain clearly varied depending upon the local economy. Montagu Burgoyne, owner of the nearby Mark Hall Estate 'noted in 1806 that many farmers, including himself, were converting arable to pasture, because of the low price of grain'.[171]

Figure 66: *Apex of South Barn roof, with ridge plank and nailed saddles. There appears to be a scribed carpenter's mark on the saddle. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

Figure 67: *South Barn, raking strut inserted to provide additional support to purlin. The strut and the additional piece added to strengthen the rafter overlie the scribed carpenter's marks beneath. Note the original pegged construction of the rafter and collar and the use of nails for timbers added at a later date. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

The description of Latton Priory which appeared in Storer's publication states 'about three years since the south transept, as before hinted, fell to the ground, leaving but a small part of the eastern wall'.[172] The book was published in 1809 and therefore suggests a date of c.1806 for the collapse of the south transept, or perhaps a year before, if the book was published within a year or so of being written. This suggests

a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the south barn of c.1806 and would fit with the suggested stylistic date of early-19th century for the barn. Given the comments of Montagu Burgoyne, it is interesting that the barn was constructed at a time when arable production appears to have been declining in favour of pasture. It is notable that in the case of Latton, both timber-framed barns were built as replacement structures for the presbytery and south transept and that arable production was sufficiently important to require the construction of replacement structures.

The Roof over the Crossing and Baltic Timber Marks

The roof above the crossing is formed from a pair of scissor beams with iron supports and a central mast rising up from the centre of the beams to the apex of the roof. The engraving of the interior of the church by J Storer, produced for the *Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet* shows these timbers *in situ*, along with the beams of what was once a floor above the crossing and some of these same timbers which can be seen today (see Figure 48). The floor depicted in the illustration is formed from five beams which stretch from north to south across the crossing. The surviving evidence in the form of tile-lined wall sockets shows that there were originally five beams - although two of the beams are now missing and only three are still *in situ*. The floor clearly pre-dates the roof structure as depicted in the drawing (and as surviving today). The mast (post) which supports the apex of the roof stretches down below the floor through an opening (which looks like it once formed a hatch in the floor). There is an empty mortice in one of the surviving floor beams matching the position of the transverse beam of the hatch. The other illustration in the volume entitled 'W View of Latton Priory Essex', although intended as an external view of the Priory, also shows the detail of the crossing roof glimpsed through the rubble of the collapsed south transept and the large heap of pea straw which the farmer has used to try to plug the gap (see Figure 52).

The roof structure above the crossing shows some evidence for Baltic timber marks. These marks were put onto timber by Baltic timber merchants to denote the quality, origin and potentially other information relevant to the sale and transportation of the timber. Baltic timber marks are increasingly being noted on many post-medieval buildings and recent research into their meaning and origin has proved significant.[173] Two of the timbers which form the supporting structure of the crossing roof are inscribed with Baltic timber marks - one of the scissor beams and the mast are marked.

The scissor beam shows evidence for both bracking and tally marks. Bracking marks denoted the quality and origin of the timber and the tally mark represented a number. The marks have been scribed with a race knife. The beam on which the bracking marks can be seen has been inverted. There is a tally mark with the three vertical strokes, all crossed, then a space and two more vertical strokes. Vertical marks, crossed are thought to represent multiplies of ten[174] therefore the marks at Latton would represent the number 32. The tally marks are followed by a gap before the bracking marks. The bracking marks are made up of a number string Nx3382 followed by a mark raised above the character line. This symbol is similar to a St

Andrew's cross with a long vertical line through the middle. There is then a further number, which looks like a highly stylised number 3 and 8 with two vertical strokes above. The symbol which is similar to a cross can clearly be identified as the mark for the port of Gdansk in Poland. The mark is raised above the character line and the vertical line extending above and below it can be clearly seen. The fact that the mark is not truncated and the mark is raised above the character line indicates that this is Gdansk timber of the first grade.[175] The timber is a type of softwood – probably pine (Figures 68 & 69).

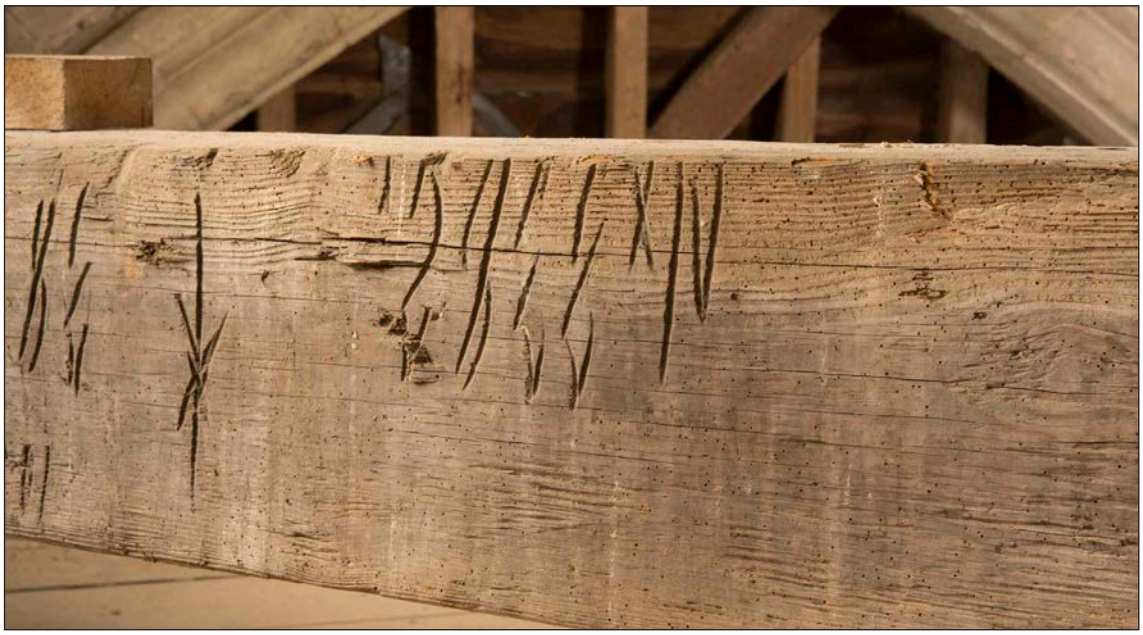


Figure 68: *Carved number string xN3382 and port mark for finest quality Gdansk timber, followed by 38. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP182407*

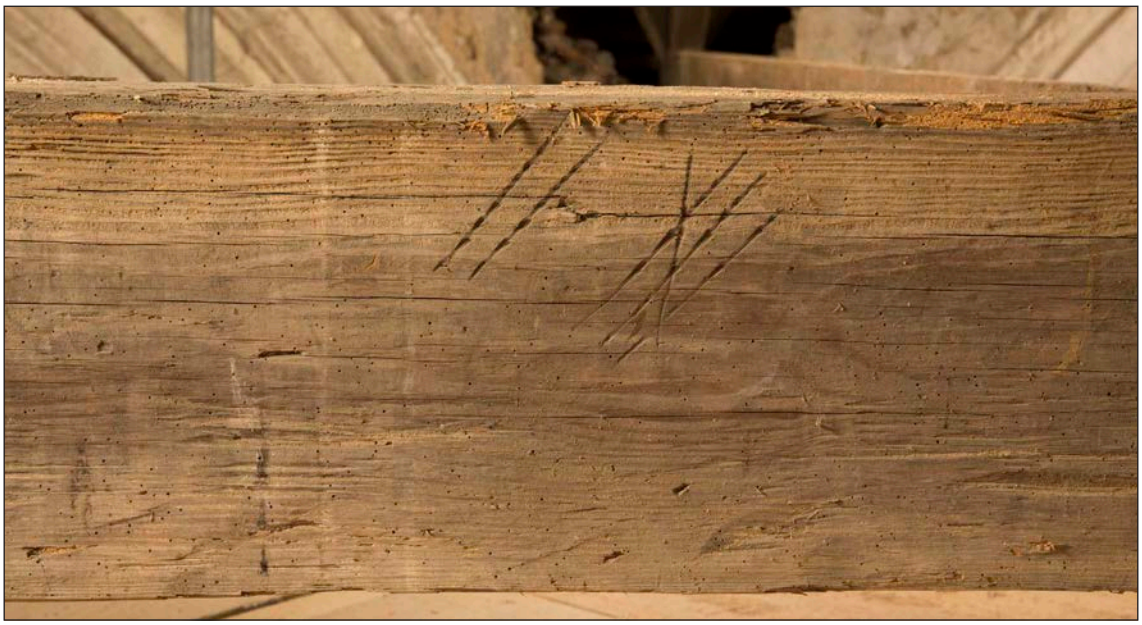


Figure 69: *Carved tally mark. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP182406*

The mast of the crossing is also marked with a Baltic timber mark, however it is not as easy to distinguish what is being represented. There are six vertical lines along the edge of the timber, which have been truncated when the timber has been cut to size and there is a further set of marks with vertical strokes and a curving shape as shown in Figure 70.

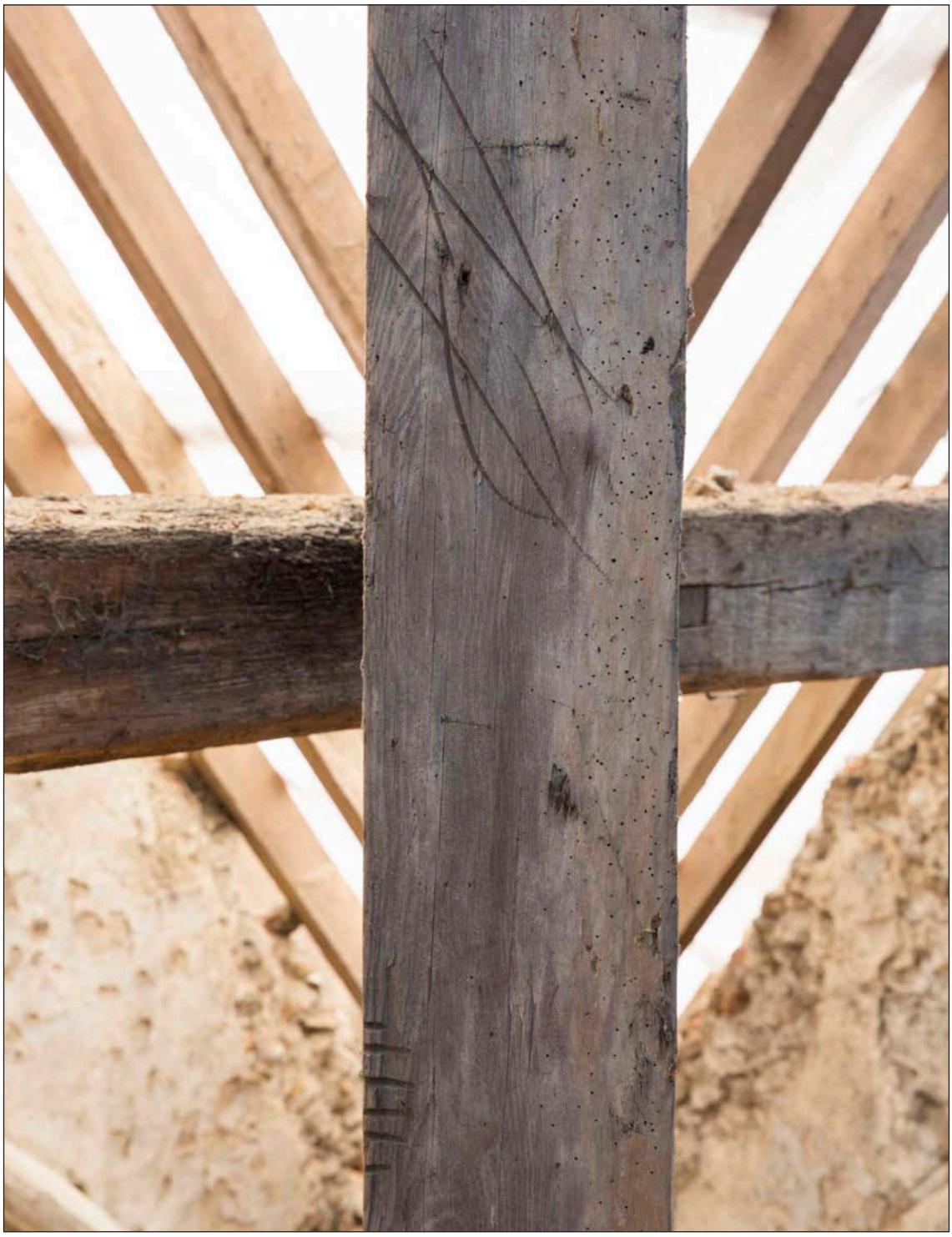


Figure 70: *Baltic timber marks on the vertical mast over the crossing. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP182048*

Graffiti and Apotropaic Marks

By Elizabeth Chamberlin

A number of these marks were noted over the course of three visits to the site in February 2016, however the following discussion is not exhaustive. There are a large number and variety of graffiti and apotropaic marks scribed into the ashlar of the transept crossing. Of the marks noted, they include names and initials (occasionally with dates), pictorial depictions, a large number of compass drawn marks including daisy wheels, as well as Marian symbols (associated with the Virgin Mary).

The dating of graffiti is particularly difficult, unless the graffiti is linked to some particular event, structural phasing, or the style of the depiction or script provides some dating clues. There is much debate about the meaning and date of particular categories of marks. Some of the graffiti formed from names and initials identified at Latton Priory have dates scribed with them.

The earliest piece of graffiti with a date scribed next to it is apparently of early-18th century origin. This is located high up on the soffit of the arch on the west side of the north transept arch. The name *W Stallibras* and the date *1706* has been inscribed beneath it, in the same script (Figure 71).

Figure 71: *Graffito of W Stallibras with the date of 1706. The initals R.W have been inscribed beneath it, perhaps a later date. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

A number of pieces of graffito on the west side of the nave crossing have been scribed inside scratched frames. The use of scratched frames to contain initials appears to be a convention used in the 18th century and has been noted elsewhere in East Anglia. The ringing chamber in the tower of All Saint's Church, Litcham, Norfolk contains a number of mid-to late 18th century inscriptions of names and initials contained within a scribed frame.[176] At Latton, the graffiti contained within frames on the arch to the nave is unfortunately quite badly eroded, making it difficult to clearly make out the initials and dates within. Just above one of these graffito frames, located part way up on the west side of the pier forming the northern nave arch is the name *J Nash* and the date *1886* beneath it.

A further graffito on the pier on the west side of the North transept has the initials B W (or VV) and beneath the letters J C L A and beneath, what appears to be the date 18(08)? There are many other examples of graffiti initials, the majority scribed onto the piers of the crossing. There is also some graffiti executed in pencil, which dates from the early-20th century and is situated in at the apex of the nave arch. The farmer, E V Boram wrote his name in pencil on the soffit of the arch in 1912 and again in 1913. The 1912 graffiti reads E V Boram and beneath it *Sunday Morning Sept 1912 Wet*. Beneath and in the same hand are details of crops and acreage - oats, barley and clover are mentioned. Ernest Victor Boram is known to have been the farmer occupying Latton Priory in the early-20th century, as discussed earlier in the text.

Although undated, a graffito in the soffit of the north transept arch with a deeply incised letter D is located immediately adjacent to the timber beam and frame which infills the upper part of the arch. The graffito was clearly made before the timber frame was inserted, as it would be impossible to inscribe the initial with the timber frame in the way. The depiction of the interior of the building published by Storer in 1809 clearly shows the North transept before it collapsed – suggesting that the timber structure and mono-pitch roof over the remains of the North transept was erected in the early-19th century. Although it is tempting to suggest that some of the initials or dates are linked to the alterations and erection of timber-framing, we don't have the documentary evidence to link particular individuals to these alterations.

In addition to initials, dates and details of crop yields there are also many examples of pictorial, geometric and symbolic or potentially apotropaic graffiti. High up on the south transept crossing, there is a graffito of a post mill – complete with all four sails and the ladder up to the mill (Figure 72). A circle has been inscribed over the top of the post mill graffito, although it is difficult to be certain about the order in which the cut circle and the post mill were made. Perched on top of the circle is what appears to be a stylised bird – with five long curving tail feathers. There are also a number of VV symbols, one above the other. The graffiti is located high up on the west side of the transept crossing, on the stone just beneath the corbel of the south transept arch. This single piece of ashlar contains layers of graffiti – both pictorial and symbolic. This is not the only example of a post mill graffito found in an ecclesiastical context – another example has been identified at St Mary's Church, Dalham in Suffolk.[177]

Figure 72: *Graffiti depicting a post mill, stylised bird, cut circles, daisy wheel and WW symbols. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

Likewise depictions of stylised birds have also been found in other ecclesiastical buildings, such as at St Mary's Church, Parham, Suffolk.[178] It interesting to note that there was a mound 385m to the north-east of the church, which, although likely Roman in origin, could have been reused to site a post mill. This post mill would have been visible from the upper stages of the church.[179] The map of Latton dating from 1616 describes the field adjoining the mound site as *Myll Feilde* and this gives credence to the suggestion that the post mill is a medieval graffito, which may even date to the reconstruction of the church in the 14th century.

There are a large number of circular, compass-drawn symbols inscribed on the arches of the transept. The dating and interpretation of these circular symbols is particularly difficult, since they are known to have a wide date-range and there are differing approaches to their interpretation. There are a number of daisy wheels scribed onto the piers of the crossing – with fully formed petals and some with incomplete petals. There are also a number of simple circles (such as the one overlying the pictorial depiction of the post mill) and others formed from two concentric circles. The meaning of these symbols is the subject of much debate with theories ranging from apotropaic (from the Greek for evil-averting) to symbols which are geometric and were used by masons to mark out constructional details.

Daisy wheels have been found in many different sorts of buildings and places, other than churches. They have also been widely found in domestic contexts, often on windowsills and on beams above fireplaces and these are widely acknowledged to be apotropaic in meaning.[180] It is also interesting to note that this device has been identified in agricultural buildings associated with the processing and storage of crops. There is a local example of this at Ken Brown's Garage in Harlow – where a small daisy wheel is scribed next to the hay loft of this medieval barn (now used as garage).[181] Other examples of daisy wheels associated with threshing barns include Slads Threshing Barn (Gloucestershire)[182] and Gray's Farm, Gray's Lane, Wethersfield, Essex.[183] The link between barns and stables and circular apotropaic marks has been made before.[184]

It is notable that many of the compass-drawn symbols (including the daisy wheels) at Latton are found high up on the piers of the crossing arches. The piece of ashlar immediately beneath the post mill also contains a graffito in the form of an elaborate daisy wheel and there is a compass-drawn circle over the depiction of the post mill. The position of the stylised bird perched on top of the circle suggests that this circle was not just geometric, but perhaps a symbolic meaning.

The theory that the majority of compass-drawn symbols on churches were made by the masons who built them, has been called into question,[185] however there is some evidence at Latton which supports this theory. Some of the circles, such as that shown in the illustration below, appear to have been made before the stones were placed on the pier – the compass-drawn circles disappear off the edge of the piece of ashlar and are not present on the adjacent stone. This suggests that at least some of the marks were made by masons during the construction process. There are also examples to the contrary, where the circles were clearly made, once the stones were *in situ*. One of the circles, on the west pier of the north transept spans two pieces of ashlar meaning that this example was clearly made after the stones were placed in position.

Given the length of time which it would have taken for the masons to have constructed the Priory, it is possible that they could have been responsible for many of the compass drawn marks – particularly as many of these were made high up on the piers of the transept – meaning that they were made either before the stones were in place or by those with the means to access these locations. It is acknowledged that masons were not the only people with the means to access these locations, since once any barn is piled high with a stored crop, this in itself allows the upper parts of a structure to be accessed (Figure 73).

Figure 73: *The compass drawn concentric circles are just visible above the double frame in the centre of the photograph. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217021*

Another symbol of interest is located on the piers on the east side of the north transept arch. The symbol is of an elongated V-shape incised across two blocks of ashlar, with horizontal strokes between the lower part of the two arms of the V-shape.

One of the other symbols which is found in a number of places on the piers of the crossing are VV symbols and these are generally considered to be Christian in origin. These marks have been recognised in many different types of historic buildings – both secular and ecclesiastical and over a wide date range. Intersecting VV symbols (which look rather like a W) are thought to stand for Virgo Virginum (Virgin of Virgins) and represent an invocation to the Virgin Mary.[186] Further VV symbols can be identified lower down the western side of the columns of the south transept as well as lower down on the east side of the south transept arch. A couple of stones on the west side of the south transept arch contain multiple inscriptions of the VV symbol. A number of examples (although not all) are at a level which could easily be reached from ground level. One of the inscriptions reads VV M. The initial M, when

found in association with VV or V symbols is usually thought to represent a Marian symbol – standing for Maria (Mary).

There is, in conclusion a wide variety of types and forms of graffiti to be found on the arches of the Church crossing, from graffitied initials, names and dates to marks with an overtly Christian meaning, such as the VV symbols to the pictorial depictions and compass drawn circles and daisy wheels – which are far more difficult to interpret.

Bottles in the Walls

The flint walling in the east wall of the south transept has three glass bottle ends incorporated into the wall at a high level – the bottles are clearly handmade, with deeply-dished bases. They are aligned in a row (Figures 74 & 75). It is possible that these bottles relate to the repair and isolated rebuilding works to the wall, following the collapse of the south transept in the early years of the 19th century. It is thought that the south transept collapsed in c.1806 and therefore it is possible that these bottles relate to an early-19th century phase of consolidation of the structure, following the collapse. Bottle ends incorporated into flint walling have been identified in other early-19th century contexts. There is an example of wine bottles used to decorative effect at Gable Cottage, Marsh Lane, New Buckenham, where the bottles have been placed to form the date of construction of the cottage of 1820.[187] Another example of the use of bottle ends in the decoration of a wall can be found at Coleshill in Buckinghamshire and dates to 1809.[188] Curiously, at the other side of the crossing and set within the stub wall of the north side of what remains of the Nave of the Church there are two bottle necks. These are clearly deliberate placements and it is tempting to liken their use to a 'topping-out' ceremony or at least a personal means of signifying the consolidation work.

Figure 74: *Bottles in wall. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP217012*

Figure 75: *Bottle necks in the wall. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin*

Latton Priory Farmhouse

By Matt Bristow

Latton Priory Farmhouse lies to the south-west of the remains of the priory church and is predominantly a building of the late-18th century (Figure 76). Constructed of red brick in Flemish bond beneath a tiled gambrel roof with dormers, the farmhouse was rebuilt in the late-18th century following the collapse of the south-wall of the house which preceded it. This first farmhouse at Latton was constructed in the early-18th century and was, according to testimony of Grosse, built into the remains of the former priory *frater* incorporating some of its extant fabric which was 'of the same materials' found in the priory church. An inscribed brick dated 1773, set low down in the south wall of the farmhouse may date this rebuilding.

Figure 76: *Latton Priory Farmhouse from the south-west in 2016. © Historic England, Kathryn Morrison*

Although appearing to be arranged over only two storeys with an attic and dormers, the farmhouse has a cellar which was inaccessible at the time of this survey. The cellar extends southwards under the garden, its location visible within the farmhouse lawn during times of drought as lush grass drawing on the water which is retained in the flooded cellar.[189] While no inspection of the cellar was possible, nor can any comment be made on the character of its fabric, it is a possibility that the cellar incorporates 14th century fabric. In his analysis of the refectory at the Premonstatensian abbey of Easby, Peter Ferguson concluded that the refectories of the canons, were most usually of the two-storey type and that they were placed parallel to the cloister walk opposite the church.[190] This he argued, was a conscious attempt by the canons to recall the Cenaculum, in Jerusalem (traditionally believed to be the site of the Last Supper) and the adoption of the refectory within

a two-storey building was a 13th-century phenomenon which followed England's involvment in the Third Crusade.[191]

The farmhouse was extended to the east in two phases during the early 19th century. The easternmost phase, comprising a single-storey brick lean-to housing a large bread oven, was rebuilt to redress subsidence which required new foundations be dug. During these small-scale excavations, multiple phases of floor surface were uncovered and beneath the earliest layer, a brick and masonry lined drain which passed under the lean-to from the south-west, continuing beyond the farmhouse towards the eastern arm of the moat (Figure 77). Though no archaeological recording was undertaken, it was concluded at the time that the archaeological deposits below the floor surfaces pre-dated the earliest phase of the farmhouse and that they related to the pre-dissolution priory. Given the location of the lean-to at what was once the south-eastern corner of the priory cloister, it is likely that this excavation uncovered evidence of the priory latrines or *reredorters* and the precinct drain which served them (see below).

Figure 77: *Photograph taken during the excavation of new foundations for the eastern extension of the farmhouse. The excavations exposed several former floor surfaces and evidence of the priory reredorters and precinct drain. © Jacky Brown*

SUMMARY OF GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY 2016

By Neil Linford, Andy Payne and Cara Pearce

Geophysical survey was conducted at Latton Priory Farm to support the conservation works assisted by Historic England through the Heritage at Risk (HAR) programme. Whilst parts of the precinct have been obscured by later farm buildings, the full extent of the moated inner precinct containing the original claustral range, is known, with foundations and other features relating to the church and claustral buildings surviving beneath the present buildings and surfaces.[192] The aim of the geophysical survey was to complement a topographic and analytical earthwork survey over both the garden surrounding the 18th century farmhouse and the outer wards of the priory (see figure 36), particularly through the use of Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) over the concrete yard surfaces of the modern farmyard. A previous magnetic survey of the farm house garden did not reveal any significant anomalies.[193]

Ground Penetrating Radar survey

A graphical summary of the significant GPR anomalies, [gpr1-48], discussed in the following text, are shown superimposed over the topographical survey in Figure 78. A number of services [gpr1] were detected, particularly within the farmyard, but also include the possible location of the cess-pit soak away drain [gpr2] for the farmhouse in the wider precinct. Strong linear reflections suggest the survival of wall-footings related to the nave [gpr4], potentially extending an additional 15m from the upstanding remains of the priory church, and a possible western arm of the cloister [gpr5] heading south towards the farmhouse. An area of more complex responses [gpr6] may, tentatively, provide some evidence for a north aisle or other structure although the response here is more fragmented than either [gpr4] or [gpr5]. Some areas of high and low amplitude response may represent floors or voiding respectively within the structural remains associated with both [gpr5] and [gpr6], although there may be some uncertainty depending on the construction base of the overlying jointed concrete pavement. The wider farmyard area appears to be dominated by a combination of services and the concrete pavement.

In the lawned area south of the farmhouse within the moat, there was generally a good correlation between the GPR responses and the analytical earthwork survey with high amplitude anomalies replicating the linear depressions, [gpr10] and [gpr11], and scarps [gpr12-14]. Some of these anomalies correspond with boundaries [gpr12] shown on the historic mapping, together with an in-filled pond [gpr15], and the original kerbed, circular turning circle including central ornamental planting outside the house [gpr16].[194] Evidence for structural remains is slight, with only fragmentary anomalies associated with the building platform proposed from the earthwork survey at [gpr19], and some tentative rectilinear form to the response at [gpr20]. More amorphous areas of high amplitude response, [gpr21] and [gpr22], are found in the vicinity of [gpr20], with a similar anomaly in front of the farmhouse at [gpr23]. Both [gpr22] and [gpr23] are comparatively shallow with no apparent topographic expression or well defined rectilinear wall-type reflections, suggesting they are more likely to represent rubble spreads, possibly due to more recent garden landscaping.

Figure 78: *Summary of significant GPR anomalies, April 2016. © Historic England, Geophysics Team*

The highest amplitude anomalies are found along the course of eastern [gpr28] and southern [gpr29] arms of the in-filled moat, presumably due to nature of the material used to level the ditches, although it is unclear whether the more rectilinear areas of response at [gpr30] relates to the moat or to a potential building platform. Some other areas of high amplitude response [gpr31] and [gpr32] between 6.4 and 16.0ns (0.29 to 0.73m), suggest further localised in filling of water management features, perhaps originally joining the east arm of the extant moat to the pond immediately south of the survey coverage. Linear anomalies, [gpr35-38], perhaps represent later field divisions and are partially replicated in the orientation of the earthworks at [gpr36] which appear to overlie the water management system. Anomaly [gpr38] also appears to pass through the location of two slight depressions, at [gpr39], and

[gpr40] which correspond with the site of a former pond approximately 2.5m in diameter.[195]

There is little discernible structure in the wider scatter of discrete anomalies found across the outer ward. Some fragmented linear anomalies, for example [gpr45], seem most likely to represent modern vehicle routes between the field gate to the large haystack, which is itself surrounded by areas of increased reflectance [gpr46] and [gpr47] with some discrete, presumably modern, responses possibly related to visible rubble in fill noted during the survey. The more dispersed responses at [gpr48] could, however, be more significant given their closer proximity to the priory buildings.

Earth Resistance Survey

A graphical summary of the significant earth resistance anomalies, [r1-24], discussed in the following text, are shown superimposed over the topographical survey on Figure 79.

Within the lawned area south of the farmhouse, rectilinear high and low resistance anomalies [r1-4] correspond with the GPR results, together with a weaker linear [r5] heading south, and a curvilinear high resistance response [r6] that correlates directly with [gpr21]. Whilst these anomalies might represent a former garden design, gravel paths or paved surfaces, they could be indicative of structural remains. A linear anomaly [r7] corresponds with [gpr11] and a scarp recorded in the earthwork survey, although the supposed building platform immediately to the south is devoid of any earth resistance response to corroborate [gpr19]. The driveway or turning circle [gpr16] is replicated by [r8] with the central ornamental planting indicated by a low resistance anomaly [r9]. Further sub-rectangular anomalies, [r10-12], may relate to former garden boundaries and sub-divisions shown on the historic mapping, although [r12] corresponds with [gpr23], and could possibly represent more significant structural remains or rubble spreads. A narrow linear anomaly [r13] (cf [gpr18]) to the east could represent a ditch, planting feature or possibly a drain from the farmhouse heading towards the in-filled rectangular pond, shown as a very slight increase in the background resistance [r14] (see figure 79).

The small lawned garden, adjacent to the priory church, contains two pronounced high resistance responses [r15] and [r16], possibly related to structural remains, although these are only partially described in the small area available for survey.

An area of high resistance [r17] adjacent to the east wall of the priory church probably relates to rubble deposits and the response to an open exploratory test pit against the side of the building. To the east the former moat is defined by a high resistance response most pronounced at [r18], corresponding to [gpr28], becoming less well defined to the south [r19], and much weaker to the north [r20] presumably due to varying deposits of rubble infill along its course. A much weaker response was recorded over the earthworks within the survey area, visible most clearly in the processed data as tentative banks and ditches [r21] and [r22], and fragmented linear anomalies at [r23] and [r24]. The high resistance anomalies at [r25] correspond to test pits opened to locate drainage (Figure 80).

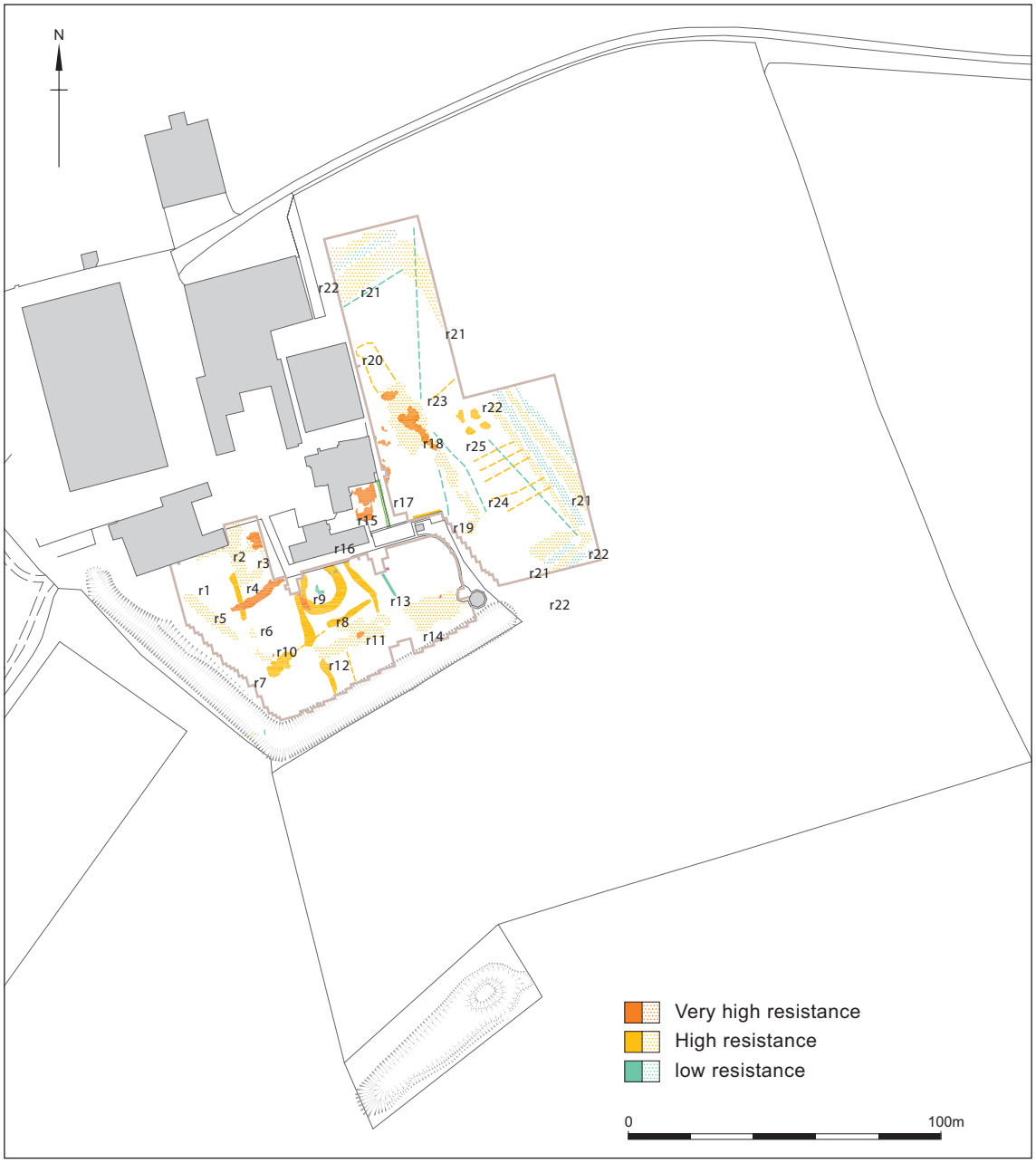


Figure 79: *Summary of significant earth resistance anomalies, April 2016. © Historic England, Geophysics Team*

Figure 80: *Summary of significant geophysical anomalies and earthworks, April 2016.*
© Historic England, Geophysics Team

SUMMARY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

By John Etté

An archaeological evaluation/recording brief was undertaken to establish levels ahead of the construction of new doors for Latton Priory barn. The investigations were undertaken by John Ette and David Kenny of the Historic England East of England Heritage at Risk team on Friday 5th February 2016 as part of the conservation project for Latton Priory and were supported by the landowner Ian Brown and by Simon Pilmer of Apex Roofing.

Ahead of the construction of a reinforced concrete footing to support the new barn doors and door frame between the stub walls of the former nave, the threshold measuring c.5.35m by 2.05m was excavated by hand to a depth of 250mm. The barn floor in the area of the main barn doors was excavated by hand removing the yellow sandy clay hoggin sub-floor deposits. The material comprised a chalky white and yellow sandy clay matrix with c.30% medium sized irregular flint cobbles and large gravel fragments measuring c.40-80mm. At a depth of c250mm a series of six modern red brick wall footings were uncovered. The bricks formed a footing layer on top of the natural yellow clay with flints (Figure 81). The bricks were bedded with frogs visible in most cases except for one of the walls close to the medieval doorway where the bricks were bedded on edge. The south and northernmost brick footings demarked bays 530mm and 550mm respectively with the other bays varying between 1010mm and 1030mm in width. The bays were all internal to the barn butting up to a low brick footing which was all that survived of a low wall below the former barn doors.

Figure 81: *Archaeological evaluation in the threshold of the stub nave showing footings of brick bays.*
© Historic England, John Ette

Additionally, three small test pits were excavated to test the subsoil. One inside the former priory church, measuring 330mm north-south and 350mm east-west and 270mm deeper than the brick footings layer, exposed the subsoil immediately below the brick course. The second two test pits were ovoid in shape and excavated outside of the east wall of the east barn to a depth of 500mm (Figure 82). They measured 400mm by 330mm to the south and 380mmby 480mm to the north and exposed dirty grey clay with flints apparently re-deposited farmyard deposits. Modern nails were the only finds aside from a single stray Tudor brick located in the sub-floor close to the threshold to the south.

Figure 82: *Archaeological evaluation to the east of the east barn. © Historic England, Patricia Payne, DP173634*

Conclusions

The sub floor made up of sandy clay and chalk and flint cobble hoggin appears to be a barn levelling deposit dating to the post-medieval barn period - probably laid down during the major late 18th or 19th century alterations to the priory church. The footings of a series of narrow bays likely relate to the later agricultural use of the barn although dating earlier than the hoggin sub floor. These brick footings likely carried a suspended timber threshing floor as indicated by Storer's 1809 depiction of the interior of the former priory church. No medieval features or finds were noted during these initial excavations and the archaeological significance and special interest of the barn was retained.

DISCUSSION

Romano-British

The portion of Latton parish which formed the priory estate does not contain any known sites of Romano-British occupation, though archaeological finds dating from the Romano-British period are reasonably numerous within the parish. Analysis of aerial photographs and lidar data as part of the analysis of the wider landscape of Latton Priory has identified a possible site of Roman occupation at NGR TL 462 057, some 850m to the south-west of Latton Priory Farm. Comprising a broad-ditched rectangular enclosure, the site lies 50-60m to the west of the given location of Roman finds of brick, tile and pottery identified in the 1960s. Further finds of Roman brick, tile, late 3rd to 4th century pottery and slag were identified at an adjacent site during 1999, all suggesting the presence of a large area of Roman occupation in the southern part of the parish.

Immediately to the north-east of the priory, a ploughed out mound, visible on both the aerial photographs and lidar, is possibly a barrow. Uncorroborated 4th century finds were reported to have been recovered from the mound when it was ploughed out, suggesting that it too is a Romano-British feature, possibly a roadside tumulus. It is also possible however that the barrow is of Bronze Age date and the finds represent evidence of reuse in the Romano-British period.

The upstanding remains of the priory church of St John the Baptist, Latton, contain within them numerous flat, square, red bricks of the 'Roman type', most notably within the south transept buttress which have previously been interpreted as being reused Roman material from a nearby settlement site. However, the complete bricks found at Latton measure 300mm x 170mm x 45mm and as such, even allowing for reasonable variation, do not fit into the typology of Roman bricks proposed by G. Brodribb in 1987.[196] It is therefore unlikely that the bricks extant within the fabric of the priory church represent evidence of Romano-British settlement.

Medieval

Arable Farming

The southern part of the parish in which the former priory of Latton sits, appears not to have been the subject of arable cultivation prior to the establishment of the priory on land granted by the lord of Mark Hall manor. The southern uplands of Latton parish likely formed part of an area of ancient common woodlands which was included in the Royal Forest of Essex by Henry III and corresponded to the common pastures in the river valley in the north of the parish.[197] A relatively small proportion of Latton parish was under arable cultivation in the middle ages and this amount continued to decline so that by the 15th century, there was only 240 acres of arable land within the 1,600 acres of Latton parish.[198] The earthwork evidence supports the assertion of the documentary record that the area which formed the priory estate was not intensively cultivated. No ridge and furrow earthworks were identified during either the earthwork survey of the priory site, or the analysis of aerial photographs and lidar data, save for a small area south of Latton parish.

Towards the eastern end of the 'Foreberry', four, evenly spaced ESE facing curved scarps [65] described a series of terraces, clearly truncated by the outer boundaries of the Foreberry. It is possible that these fragmentary features represent agricultural terraces from a phase of arable cultivation which predates the cutting of the Foreberry boundaries, however the historic pattern of land use in the southern half of the parish would seem to argue against this.

The Late 12th Century Priory

The inclusion of the priory of St John the Baptist on the Hedingham Bede Roll of about 1200 clearly indicates that the priory was in existence by that point and in the absence of foundation charters or a documented endowment, it is assumed that the first priory was founded in the later years of the 12th century. In addition to the absence of documentary evidence relating to the priory's foundation, there is also little physical evidence of the priory before the early-14th century. No recorded earthworks or geophysical anomalies appear to predate the supposed rebuilding of the priory in the early-14th century. Similarly, the upstanding remains of the priory church can be dated on stylist grounds to the first half of that century suggesting a complete reconstruction of the site. The single exception is the heavily altered brick buttress to the south-east corner of the south transept. Although reconstructed and repaired and almost certainly not in its original location, the buttress is primarily comprised of large, flat, rectangular bricks measuring 300mm x 170mm x 45mm. Similar in appearance to the medieval 'great bricks' manufactured at Coggeshall Abbey, the bricks which survive at Latton are the same size as those found at nearby Waltham Abbey. The Waltham bricks varied in length, width and thickness, but those surviving at Latton fall within those variations. Perhaps most significantly, P J Huggins' excavations at Waltham Abbey concluded that the thinner bricks, or those between 32mm and 50mm thick, were earlier in date. Bricks of that thickness were used in the stylobates of Building I in the monastic grange at Waltham, believed to have been constructed about 1200.[199] This may indicate that the reconstructed buttress to the south transept at Latton contains bricks from the original priory likely founded at the end of the 12th century and that those bricks were manufactured at nearby Waltham Abbey.

A physical connection with the Augustinian house at Waltham Abbey may also alter our understanding of the circumstances which lead to Latton's foundation. Although undocumented, save for a retrospective account produced in 1534 upon the death of the lord of Mark Hall, the foundation of Latton Priory may be directly associated with the far larger and more significant abbey at Waltham. The Epping Road towards Waltham passes immediately to the south of the priory estate, past a field marked on the map of 1616 as 'Hermetts Field'. Waltham Abbey was re-founded and rebuilt in about 1177 and Latton was in existence by no later than 1212, the latest date for the compilation of the Hedingham Bede Roll. It is possible, though complete conjecture, that Latton, like the similarly sized Augustinian priory of Bicknacre, began life as a hermitage or cell of a larger house, in this case Waltham and that following an endowment, likely by Alewin or Peter de Merk of Mark Hall manor, a small priory was formed. That this small priory appears to have been constructed using bricks manufactured at Waltham Abbey does lend this hypothesis some credence. It may also be significant that a 15th Century Barn at Netteswellbury (NGR

TL 45566 09355) believed to have been built to serve Waltham Abbey, is also located within the acient Parish of Latton.

The Moat

The priory of St John the Baptist, Latton was clearly in existence by the early years of the 13th century and well established by the 1280s when the Latton cartulary was produced. The surviving buttress of medieval great bricks of the size, shape and composition of those manufactured at Waltham Abbey in the late 12th century also suggests that the priory had always occupied the site of the extant remains of the early 14th century priory church, an assertion reinforced by the discovery of a late 13th century Papal Bulla in the garden south of the farmhouse. It is possible therefore that some of features recorded during the earthwork survey and landscape analysis relate to the earlier phase of occupation of the priory site between about 1200 and the acquisition of the advowson of the priory by Augustine Le Walleys in 1317. However, the likelihood is that, as with the priory buildings, the surviving medieval earthworks document a wholesale rebuilding of the priory precinct in the first half of the 14th century.

The largest surviving earthwork feature and that with the clearest interpretation is the moat which surrounded the priory's inner precinct. Fully moated Augustinian priories were reasonably rare, however a number of examples including Ulverscroft, Leicestershire (NGR SK 5012312710), Michelham, Sussex (NGR TQ 55893 09322) and Norton, Cheshire (NGR SJ54866 83061) are directly comparable to Latton, while Waltham Abbey and Maxstoke (discussed above) both had moated elements to their sites (Figure 83).[200] Moats were generally cut around monastic houses for two reasons: to carry excess water away from low-lying sites by lowering the water table and employing a connected drainage ditch, and to serve in the place of a ditch or precinct wall to provide security and create the isolation demanded by monastic life.[201]

The need to regularly maintain moats, to clear the beds of silt and add drainage channels, makes their dating problematic. As such it is possible that the moat dates from the phase between the priory's foundation and rebuilding and that it was essential for the drainage of the site. The heavy clay soils of the southern half of Latton parish and natural springs would have made the priory site wet (as it remains today), and a moat would have both drained the inner precinct and formed part of the water management system.

While the regularity of the scarps of the surviving western and southern moat arms [4], [9] and [10] indicate that they had been regularly recut in the post-medieval period, subtle earthworks surrounding the moat testify to its original construction. Feature [23], a regular, reasonably shallow scarp running north-west to south-east tracks the line of the in-filled eastern arm of the moat, visible as the slight scarps [14] and [15]. This feature would appear to be the counter-scarp to the eastern arm of the moat, part of the dam created when the moat was cut. Although later tracks and field drainage have heavily disturbed the earthworks to the south-east of the moat, feature [18], a similarly regular scarp which follows the alignment of the southern arm of the moat, may be a continuation of [23] and also part of the construction dam.

Figure 83: *Aerial view of Ulverscroft priory, Leicestershire showing the remains of its extensive moat. © Historic England*

The natural contours of the priory site describe a slight fall from north to south and a fall across the site from west to east. This implies that the source of the priory's water was located to the north-west of the moat, likely at the location of a large pond depicted on the tithe map of 1839 of which no physical remains were recorded. At the time of survey, the extant western arm of the moat was largely dry and silted up, while a more significant body of water was observed in the southern arm, with the greatest depth at its eastern end, reflecting the topography of the site. Whether the moat was cut as a matter of necessity in order to lower the water table and drain the site, or whether it was for security and was fed by a water source to the north-west, the moat would have formed part of a managed water system and water accumulating in the south-eastern corner would have to be let out when it reached a certain level. In the modern landscape, a system of drains in brick culverts allows water in the moat to run off reflected above ground as three gullys [24a-c]. However, while [24a] returned significant anomalies during the geophysical surveys [GPR29], recording the location of the brick culvert, no anomalies were recorded for [24b]

which ran south-east away from the south-eastern corner of the moat. It is possible, therefore, that this feature is in fact earlier and relates to the medieval precinct moat, allowing water to run off into the wider landscape.

In addition to offering security and a drainage solution, it is also highly probable that monastic houses took inspiration from lay seignurial sites, building moats as much for prestige as for security and practicality. A number of large secular moated sites within close proximity to Latton include the moated site at Rye Hill (NGR TL 45359 06656), 1.15km to the WNW and 'Marshalls' in North Weald Bassett (NGR TL 47483 04376) to the south-east. If, as has been widely assumed, moated priories were inspired by the secular taste for moated manor houses, then it is most likely that a moated monastic precinct would date to the high period of secular moat construction, 1250-1350. This is consistent with the hypothesis that Latton Priory was completely rebuilt after 1317 at the behest of the patron and lord of Mark Hall manor, Augustine Le Waleys. Le Waleys - as a member of a gentry class keen to demonstrate its increased wealth and status through the patronage of monastic houses and likely influenced by the grand rebuilding of their *caputs* by that same group - may well have taken inspiration from nearby moated secular sites in the rebuilding of Latton Priory. It is also worth noting that the construction of a complete precinct moat required a considerable investment. At Norton Priory for example, it has been calculated that the moats alone would have taken a team of 40 labourers three years to complete.[202] Such a substantial investment accords with a complete rebuilding of the priory church and claustral buildings by a wealthy and pious patron keen to display his wealth and status and suggests that the moat was cut as part of a re-planning of the wider priory site and water management system which was contemporaneous with work on the buildings.

The Inner Precinct

Evidence for the nature and extent of the inner precinct of Latton Priory falls into two groups: those features within the hard standing of the modern farm yard and comprising the upstanding remains of the priory church and below ground anomalies identified during the ground penetrating radar survey, and those features evident as earthworks and geophysical anomalies within the area defined by the extant and in-filled moat. The depiction of the priory site on the map of 1616 as being fully moated and accessed via a causeway to the north allows the moat to be confidently identified as the boundary between the inner and outer precinct.

Within the concrete hard standing of the farm yard, all of the extant medieval fabric and evidence of the ground penetrating radar survey attest to a complete rebuild of the priory church and claustral buildings at a far grander scale than such a modestly size community of canons required. The crossing of the priory church - the most complete surviving element – is formed of tall, two centred arches of two moulded orders with labels above, a style characteristic of the first half of the 14th century. Similarly the surviving sex foiled clerestory window in the northern stub wall of the nave, the blocked arch from the northern transept into the former north chapel and the topographic depictions of the windows to the south wall of the presbytery and the north and south transepts, are all of a type of geometric tracery associated with

the early 14th century. The 14th-century piscina (reconstructed in the east wall of the north transept) and the diagonal buttresses depicted in 18th-century drawings on the north transept and presbytery also attest to a complete, single-phase rebuilding of the church in the first half of the 14th century. There is no evidence that an earlier iteration of the priory church was incorporated during the rebuilding, save for the buttress to the south transept which appears to have been constructed using 12th-century bricks of the Waltham Abbey type. As this buttress is of the diagonal 14th-century type, and so likely remade, it is clearly not an *in situ* part of the earlier priory.

The height of the crossing, the length of the barn which occupies the site of the presbytery and the depiction of the church on the map of 1616 imply that the church of St John the Baptist as rebuilt in the early 14th century, was on a grand scale. This assertion is confirmed by the earthwork and geophysical evidence which suggest that the priory church was c. 40m (120ft) in length east to west. Feature [52], recorded during the earthwork survey to the east of the east barn appeared to represent the eastern end of the original building platform on which the presbytery stood, implying that the presbytery was slightly longer than the barn which replaced it. Small scale excavations undertaken in this area during repair of the barns appeared to suggest the existence of stone foundations extending beyond the eastern end of the barn but the evidence was far from conclusive.

The GPR survey of the farmyard was successful in locating the foundations of the lost nave [GPR4] extending on the same alignment some 17.5m to the west from the truncated stub walls. The GPR survey also seemed to confirm the presence of a structure adjoining the nave to the north, although the anomalies recorded were more disturbed in this area. It is most likely that this feature [GPR6] was a porticus or sacristy and not a north aisle as the latter would have necessitated the construction of an arcade and both the stub north wall of the nave and the foundations identified as [GPR4] indicate that the north wall was solid and not arcaded (Figure 84).

At the western end of the nave, the GPR survey also appeared to locate the intersection with the western range of the cloisters, with [GPR5] describing two walls turning 90 degrees to the south. The confines of the yard prevented any further survey, however the short section of foundations identified would imply the standard arrangement for the inner precinct of an Augustinian priory with the 'cellarars' range forming the western side of a square cloister. The Cellarar was responsible for the priory's provisions and the cellarar's range often included an undercroft for the storing of provisions and in a small priory plan may also have housed the kitchen at its southern end, allowing direct communication with the refectory to the east. In larger monastic houses, the western range also included guest accommodation, though Latton was unlikely to have been large enough to warrant this.[203] The western end of [GPR4] also appears to shown an entrance into the nave at a location where one might expect to see the western of two processional doorways which linked the church with the cloister walk. Although not conclusive, the GPR plot appears to confirm the location of the western doorway corresponding to that at the eastern end, which survives extant within the remains of the southern nave wall. This further supports the assertion that Latton's claustral buildings were arranged in a typical way around a square cloister, most likely with a covered cloister walk.

Figure 84: *Aerial view of the remains of the Augustinian priory of St Mary in the Meadow, Beeston Regis, Norfolk. Directly comparable to Latton in proportion, date and layout, this view clearly shows the porticus between the north transept and the nave.*
© Norfolk County Council

In such a standard arrangement, the southern range of the cloister would have been occupied by the *frater* or Refectory, the dining hall where the convent would eat communal meals dictated by the Rule that they observed. In Augustinian houses, the *frater* was generally built above an undercroft and this appears to have been the case at Latton. William Hollman's c.1718 account of the former priory precinct describes how the first farmhouse was built into the standing remains, namely the south wall, of the *frater*. Though the farmhouse collapsed and was rebuilt at the end of the 18th century and the present structure does not exactly mirror the alignment of the nave of the priory church, it is clear that the location of the *frater* is marked by the farmhouse.

Set into the south side of the cloister, most likely mounted into the northern wall of the *frater* range would have been the *lavatorium* or cloister laver. The washing of hands before meals was characteristic of the Rules followed by all of the monastic orders in England and the cloister laver, complete with a supply of fresh, clean water would have been an integral element at all monastic sites.[204] *Lavatorium* at English monastic sites, tended to take one of two forms: the more elaborate detached laver housed in a separate building and often circular or polygonal in shape, and the more common and almost exclusively British, wall mounted laver which consisted of a

long trough set into the wall of the refectory.[205] Where the refectory was on an east-west alignment, as at Latton, it was more usual for there to be the trough type within a single recess on the north wall facing the cloister.[206] Both variants of cloister laver would have required the provision of piped water from a clean supply kept separate from the water required to flush the drains and fill the moat and ponds. The GPR survey of the farmyard at Latton did not identify any evidence of such a water supply due to later disturbance of the yard and the insertion of modern pipes and services. If, as suggested above, a source of fresh water existed to the north-west of moated inner precinct, one might expect a piped supply of fresh water to have entered the cloister beneath the cellarar's range from the north-west. A concrete hatch, north of the farmhouse adjacent to the likely location of the *lavatorium* may mark the location of a former well and represent a spring within the inner precinct.

The earth resistance survey, conducted in conjunction with the GPR survey of the yard, also identified two large anomalies which may identify the location of a chapter house at Latton. In most abbeys and priories, the chapter house - which formed the main meeting space for the brethren – formed part of the cloister's eastern range, usually located to the south of, and on the same alignment as, the presbytery. During the earth resistance survey of the small lawned area south of the east barn, two high resistance features [R15] and [R16] were identified. Though the anomalies don't describe a coherent set of building foundations, it is possible that they represent a former floor surface and or a spread of demolition debris. In both cases, and given the location of the anomalies, it is likely that the small lawned area marks the location of a small chapter house.

No evidence, in either the surviving fabric of the priory church or identified during the geophysical surveys, can be presented for the nature or extent of the eastern range of the cloister. The eastern processional doorway strongly suggests that the cloister walk extended along the eastern side of the cloister, but no conclusions can be drawn regarding the character of this range. Assuming a standard Augustinian priory plan, the eastern range likely comprised the *dorter* or dormitory for the canons resident at Latton. This range would have extended south from the transept to join the *frater* range to the south and may have been at first-floor level, extending above the chapter house, slype (passageway), and sacristy adjacent to it, and accessed directly from the priory church via the night stair.[207] If the dormitory was at first floor level, the space below would likely have been vaulted and entered directly from the cloister. At the southern end of the east range would most likely have been the latrines, or to call them by their more common 19th century term, *reredorters*, entered directly from the dormitory.[208] The latrines were typically arranged over two floors - though may have been more modest at Latton - and situated at the south-eastern corner of the east range and arranged to allow the main precinct drain to pass through the ground floor, flushing away waste without the drain passing through the cloister or close to the church.[209] (Figure 85). Excavations to facilitate new foundations for the lean-to extension at the east end of the house appeared to uncover both earlier floor surfaces and a drain lined with brick and masonry passing under the farmhouse extension from the south-west. This would appear to confirm the location of the latrines in their typical position at the south-eastern corner of the cloister.

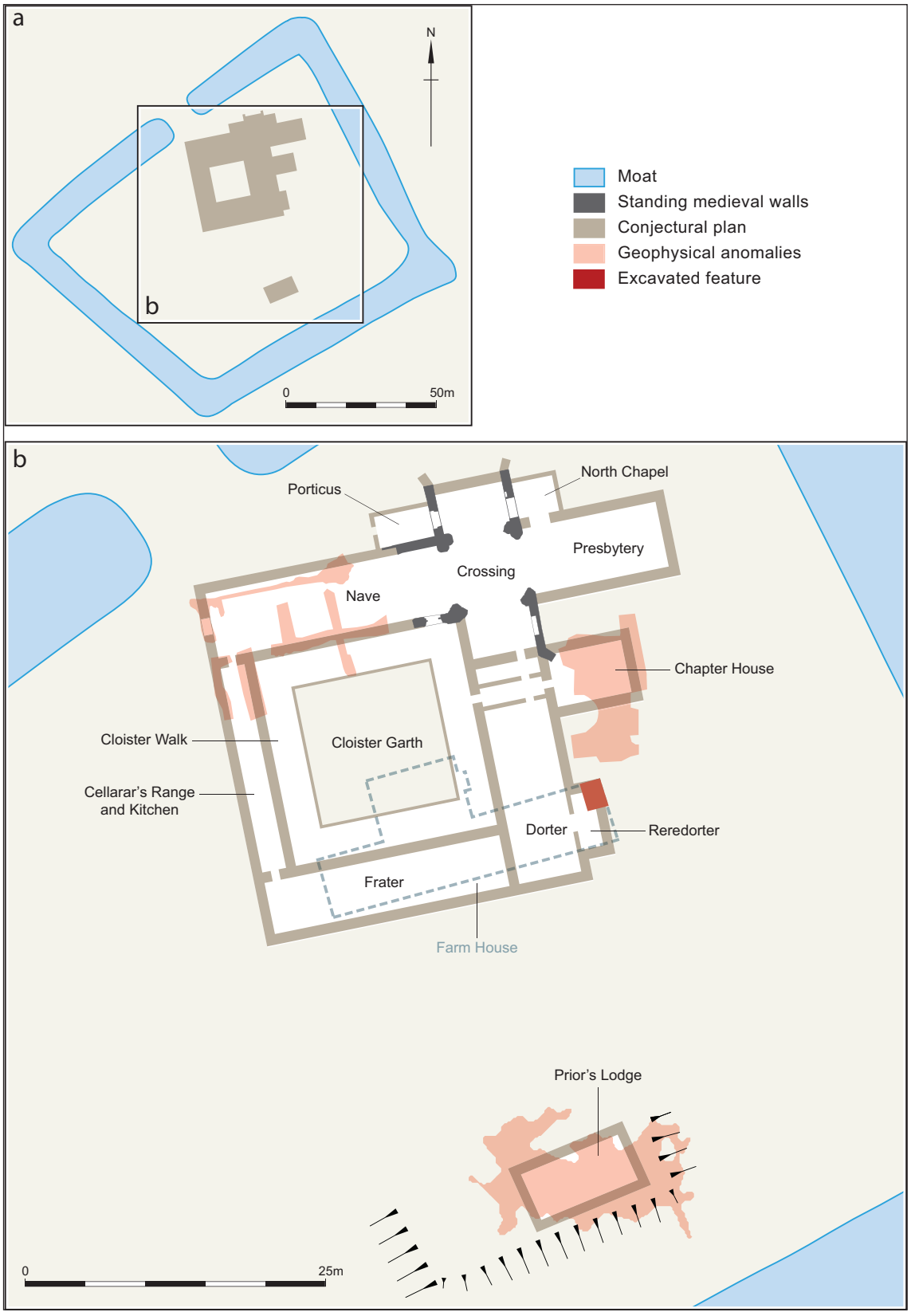


Figure 85: Conjectural reconstruction plan of Latton priory, plotting the upstanding remains of the priory church and significant geophysical anomalies against a standard Augustinian priory plan © Historic England

South of the present farmhouse and former cloister, within the area enclosed by the moat, the lawned farmhouse garden contained numerous features recorded during the earthwork survey. However, due to post-medieval landscaping, these were difficult to interpret with confidence as relating to the priory's inner precinct. Although interrupted, features [31] and [37] recorded within the lawn and continuing into the small kitchen garden, appeared to be related and could have in fact been a single feature. If a single, largely south-facing scarp it is possible that these features are evidence of the process of creating a level area on which to construct the claustral buildings. Further to the south and centrally located within the gardens, [42] appeared to describe the south and east sides of a rectangular building platform, the eastern end of which had been truncated by [25], a post-medieval feature related to garden levelling. This putative building platform correlates to a spread of high resistance features [R12 and GPR23] identified during the earth resistance and GPR surveys and the features identified as building platforms on the Environment Agency lidar. Any interpretation of such scant evidence is highly conjectural, but it is possible that a building in this location may have been the prior's lodge, as the prior would have been provided with private accommodation as befitted his status. The depiction of the priory on the map of 1616 also shows a building extant to the south of the church and the *frater*, the location of which appears to match the location of the possible building platform.

A more obvious and pronounced building platform was recorded as feature [34] at the south-western corner of the moated inner precinct. Oval in shape and clearly visible as a pronounced mound, the feature appeared to be a building platform, crested by a spread of demolition debris. However, the earth resistance and GPR surveys returned very little activity in this area [GPR19], either suggesting that any monastic building in this area was of ephemeral construction, or more likely that the platform was at one stage the site of a small, post-medieval summer house.

Water Management

Management and manipulation of water in order to ensure a regular supply for drinking, washing, filling moats and ponds and flushing latrines, is one of the most remarkable aspects of the layout and construction of medieval monastic houses. It can also be crucial to understanding a site's arrangement and layout. At Latton, the water management system likely included the four-sided moat which defined the inner precinct, a large sub-rectangular fish pond 85m south of the moat, and a system of channels in order to manage the water levels in both the moat and the pond, allowing the former to lower the water table and keep the precinct island dry and the latter to be filled and emptied. The system at Latton would likely have included a main precinct drain, which utilised a head of water to flush waste away from the latrines and a supply of potable water, most likely piped, for drinking and to supply the cloister laver for hand washing. In many monastic houses, the greatest challenge was in bringing water to the site and many houses were deliberately sited to take advantage of natural springs, rivers or streams. It cannot be known whether a readily available source of water played a part in the siting of Latton Priory, but what is clear is that water did not need to be brought to the priory site. Both the 1616 map and the 1839 tithe map show numerous ponds and sources of water adjacent

to the priory and it is clear, both from moat, which remains largely wet, the 19th century insertion of a system of field drains and the numerous moated secular sites in the area, that the water table in the south of Latton parish was very high and likely served by multiple springs. As described above, a large quantity of standing water is depicted on the 1839 map to the north-west of the inner precinct and it is possible that this was fed by the natural spring utilised by the canons at Latton.[210] No evidence of a piped water supply to the inner precinct was identified during the ground penetrating radar survey, although it is likely that some provision would have been made for conveying clean water to the *frater* and *lavatorium* beyond the moat which surrounded the precinct. Without a separate supply independent of the moat, it would have been almost impossible to prevent contamination and ensure clean, potable water.

In addition to an abundant supply of fresh water, monastic houses also made considerable provision for the removal of waste and effluent. The latrines were designed to be 'flushed' and this was achieved by the steady flow of water through them. The simplest way the achieve this was to align them over a natural water course, as was the case at Fountains Abbey where the River Skell was canalised in order that it pass through the latrines and the infirmary.[211] It was, however, more frequent for an artificial watercourse to be created, more often than not utilising the slope of the site and existing natural heads of water to create the main precinct drain which both flushed the latrines and also carried away waste water piped to the cloister and used in the *lavatorium* and kitchen. No evidence survives within the extant arms of the precinct moat at Latton for sluices or other forms of managing the flow of water, but it is most probable that, as at the moated Augustinian priory of Norton, Cheshire, the moat formed part of the system for flushing the latrines and removing waste water. At Norton, the monastic drain was supplied by water from the eastern arm of the moat, which serviced the latrines before emptying into the mill pond to the west.[212] It is possible that Latton employed a similar system, in which water in the moat, following the west-east fall across the site, was channelled through the main drain which ran south-west to north-east to the south of the refectory servicing the kitchen, the prior's lodgings and the latrines at the south-east corner of the cloisters before emptying into the eastern arm of the moat. The waste water would, thanks to the contours of the site, collect in the south-eastern corner of the moat where it could be run off away from the precinct via a channel such as the one tentatively proposed as feature [24b]. The break in the moat created by the northern causeway would have assisted the manipulation of the head of water to flush the precinct drain.

Evidence for the course of the main drain within the lawned garden south of the farmhouse is likely to have been destroyed by post-medieval landscaping. However, gully [36] running ENE away from the western arm of the moat towards the likely site of the latrines and truncated by later levelling of the central section of the lawn may relate to an early phase of water management at Latton. The line of this gully also describes a drop of 0.5m between the top of the western arm of the moat and the top of the infilled eastern arm, suggesting that a sufficient head of water could have been achieved. The geophysical survey also identified a corresponding line of high resistance [R7] and [GPR11] suggesting a masonry or brick feature buried

within the gully. Monastic drains often comprised a flagstone base with stone sides and a slab top and would return such a high resistance anomaly. It is not believed that this feature is the result of installing modern services, and the absence of geophysical responses in the area where the heaviest level of landscaping of the lawn has taken place may confirm that it does relate to monastic water management. If Gully [36] is part of a drainage system which connected with the latrines to the east of the farmhouse, it appears to cut features [28] and the platform [34], which may suggest these features belong to an earlier phase.

The Fish Pond

As with the moat, the fish pond [118] to [129], located to the south of the moated inner precinct, was likely part of the 14th century rebuild of the priory complex, or at the very least was re-cut and integrated into the wider water management system at this time. Fish played a significant part in the monastic diet, with fresh fish the staple for special feasts and for the visits of important guests.[213] The priory of St Swithun, Winchester, for example, documented in its dietary rolls for 1492-93 and 1514-15, 175 fish days in the annual calendar. Assuming 227g (8ozs) of unprepared fish per person per meal, C K Currie calculated that each one of the brethren would consume 40kg (87 ½ lbs) of fish per year.[214]

Fish could be obtained from a variety of fresh and saltwater sources, but it is the networks of fresh water ponds constructed adjacent to monastic houses that have left the most enduring archaeological evidence and which are most associated with monastic life. The earliest examples of large-scale fish ponds associated with monastic houses date from the early-12th century and appear to have been in the form of gifts of existing ponds from secular benefactors, with the patrons of newly founded houses keen to ensure their foundations had access to ponds. As such, before 1200 the vast majority of the known fishponds in England were either secular ponds, or secular ponds granted to monastic houses.[215] From the 13th century, the engineering of ponds for the farming of freshwater fish fell more frequently to the monastic houses themselves as benefactors granted land on which ponds might be built rather than access to existing ponds.[216]

From the end of the 12th century therefore, monastic communities began to develop their own expertise in the engineering of fishponds and the farming of fish in order to meet the demand for fresh fish as part of the monastic diet. It is possible therefore that a pond formed part of the priory as founded at Latton around 1200. If this were the case, it would have been a simple, single pond which took advantage of the high water table to fill by ground-water seepage. It is however more likely that, despite the 14th century seeing a decreased reliance on locally managed fish in favour of purchased sea fish, the extant pond at Latton was largely a product of the early 14th century.[217]

The Latton pond falls into the simplest class of monastic ponds, namely a reasonably small, ovular pond with no evidence that it ever formed part of a longer chain of linked ponds. Much like the moat around the inner precinct, there is evidence, as one might expect, of re-cutting and erosion of the pond walls, and silting up of the pond

bed. However the earthwork survey recorded a number of features which appeared to define the shape of the medieval pond, most notably [119], a steep sided wall to the pond with and erosion feature [118] above it and a modern re-cutting [119.a] below it. It is also possible that a roughly square eastern extension of the pond more accurately reflects the level of the pond base. The main base of the pond had clearly been re-cut [120], whereas the eastern extension, itself truncated by the later feature [123] appeared to have escaped later reworking.

The pond is separated from the moat and the inner precinct by c.85 m, an area which remains rich in earthworks recorded during the survey. The earthworks fell into two groups: those orientated north-west to south-east, matching the alignment of the western arm of the moat and, seemingly overlaying them, those aligned north to south. Two features in particular, [110] and [111] which were visible as a ridge and a gully and aligned as to extend the western arm of the moat, likely represent the interconnection between the moat and the pond. Monastic ponds would have needed to be drained and refilled and the stock of fish within them moved during maintenance. Features [110] and [111] - which are covered with far denser vegetation indicative of a richer, wet fill, the result of partial infilling with silt build-up cleared from the moat in the 20th century – were part of a system of diversion channels which connected the moat and the pond. The GPR survey identified high resistance anomalies which matched these earthworks, potentially suggesting later infilling of a more substantial feature such as a southern annex of the moat. However channels which facilitate the management of the pond, seems a more likely explanation.

The Outer Precinct

While the inner precinct at Latton was clearly defined by the wet moat with its northern causeway, the outer precinct, or outer court, was also a clearly defined, inward facing enclosure. While the cloister and the inner precinct catered for the convent's spiritual and domestic needs, the outer precinct contained the agricultural and industrial buildings which would have allowed the priory to exploit the wider estate and be self-contained and self-sufficient. The outer court of a monastic precinct was usually enclosed with a wall or bank and the combined evidence of the earthwork survey and the 1616 map indicate the area covered by the outer precinct at Latton. To the east of the moated precinct, extending south-east from the 'Foreberry' (see below), [73a-c] comprised a long bank, entrenchment and counter scarp which extended for 150m. This boundary is depicted on the map of 1616 and defines the eastern extent of the priory's outer precinct. Between the bank and the counter-scarp of the eastern arm of the moat [23], a level terrace colloquially referred to by Grosse as the 'Monk's Bowling Green', would appear to be the logical location for the barns, stables and other agricultural buildings which would have formed part of the wider precinct. The geophysical survey of this area yielded little beyond the high resistance fill of the eastern moat arm, though as the agricultural buildings were likely of timber construction, this is not entirely surprising. The earth resistance survey did identify an anomaly at the south-western corner of this terrace which corresponded with a loosely circular platform built onto the bank of the moat counter-scarp. The position and shape of this platform and the corresponding high resistance anomaly suggests that this feature once housed a building, possibly (given the shape) a small dovecote,

a common feature in the outer precincts of medieval monastic houses.

While the eastern extent of the outer precinct was clearly defined by the bank and entrenchment [73a-c], the 1616 map suggests that the western boundary of the priory site was defined by the western arm of the moat and a bank which extended south-east from the south-western corner of the moat on the same alignment and as a continuation of the western moat arm. Recorded during the earthwork survey as [114], a regular south-east aligned scarp extending from the south-western corner of the moat appears to mark the western boundary of the precinct. To the south, a long gully comprising features [90] [93] and [95], seemingly re-cut during the 19th century to facilitate the installation of field drainage, may originally have been a wider entrenchment, implied by [86] may have defined the southern extent of the outer precinct, joining [73] and [114] to describe a trapezoidal enclosure which mirrored the shape of the inner precinct defined by the moat. Eighteenth century discoveries of human remains in the enclosure south of the moated precinct formed by [86], [73] and [114] and the reading of 'Grove Field' on the 1616 map as 'Grave Field' has led to speculation that this area contained a lay cemetery administered by the priory. However neither the earthwork survey nor geophysical surveys produced evidence to support this interpretation.

The 'Foreberry'

On the 23rd March 1332, Edward III granted Augustine Le Waleys, lord of Mark Hall manor and holder of the advowson of Latton Priory, a licence to hold an annual fair on the vigil, the feast and the morrow of the Decollation of St John the Baptist. The licence, granted to Le Waleys and not to the priory, was for a fair to be held at Le Waleys' manor of Latton. While this could have meant that the fair site was closer to Le Waleys' residence at Mark Hall, the direct connection to the priory through a fair which commemorated its chosen saint and the likelihood that as patron, Le Waleys was responsible for the reconstruction of the priory, suggests that the site of the fair was within, or close to the priory precinct.

A loosely triangular field depicted on the map of 1616 adjoining the priory precinct to the north and north-west and labelled as the 'Foreberry' appears to be the likely site of the fair. Annual fairs were held in the 'Forbury', part of the outer court of Reading Abbey, in the 'Forbury' at Leominster and in the 'Bury' at St Osyth. During the earthwork survey, features recorded as [60] and [66] were found to correspond exactly to the boundaries of the 'Foreberry' as depicted and named on the map of 1616 and tithe apportionment of 1839. Feature [66] a well-defined gully formed the southern boundary of the 'Foreberry'. The intersection with the outer precinct boundary [73a] had eroded and pushed up a section of this southern boundary [68]. However, it remained clearly and well defined with its counterscarp [67] to the south also evident. To the north, a far broader and shallower scarp [60] defined the northern boundary, with its gentle change in alignment mirrored by the modern farm access track. The two boundaries created a large, level, roughly triangular space to the north-east of the priory complex. They appear to mark, fossilised in the landscape the remains of the outer court or the site of the yearly fair on the Decollation of St John the Baptist. As depicted on the map of 1616, the 'Foreberry'

formed part of the original approach to the priory, with visitors proceeding down 'Prior's Lane' from the east, through the 'Foreberry' and to the causeway across the northern arm of the moat. Incorporating the site of the fair into the approach to the priory would have facilitated the collection of tolls during the annual fair, which would have allowed Le Waleys to recoup some of his investment in the priory.

19th-and 20th-century additions to the priory farm and the extension of the yard to the north have truncated the western section of the 'Foreberry' and have removed all trace of the relationship between the fair site and the causeway and moated precinct. Earthworks recorded to the north-west of the priory site as [58] and [55] appear to be a continuation of [60]. However, the extension of the farmyard has created considerable disturbance and, as such, these features must only be tentatively associated with the 'Foreberry'.

Post-Dissolution

Field Boundaries and an Orchard

Unlike many religious houses which were 'put down' during the Dissolution, Latton was not converted into a secular dwelling after it was dissolved. This preserved both upstanding elements of the priory complex such as the unaltered 14th century church crossing, but also a large quantity of earthworks relating to the priory precinct which were not erased or lost beneath a formal garden landscape. The map of 1616 therefore shows boundaries and features likely dating from the medieval period rather than post-dissolution alterations. One possible exception is the enclosure south-east of the moated inner precinct formed by the western boundary of the outer precinct and an antecedent of the modern drainage ditch [24c]. The 1616 map shows lines of trees indicating use as an orchard, a use confirmed by the accompanying survey.[218] The lines of trees are on a different alignment to the western boundary of the enclosure and are depicted as running north to south. As such, features [106], [112] [113] and [129] - a series of fainter scarps which cut obliquely across the stronger earthworks which align with the western moat arm – could be the fragmentary remains of a post-medieval orchard.

As discussed above, feature [18] likely formed part of the dam created during the cutting of the moat. However it also appeared to define a level platform south of the top of the southern moat arm. By 1839, when it was depicted on the tithe map, this platform housed a building, possibly related to the orchard and enclosure to the south. Within the level area defined by [18] there was also the earthwork indication of an early crossing point [21] to the moated inner precinct. This precursor to the crossing depicted further to the west on the 20th-century Ordnance Survey maps may relate to the post-dissolution period but could conceivably form part of an earlier route between the cloister and fishpond to the south.

18th Century

The East and South barns, The Farmhouse, and Garden

The antiquarian William Holman's account of c.1718 provides a snapshot of the former priory site a century after the depiction on the 1616 map. His description implies that the church, which appeared to be complete in 1616, had by c.1718 been partially taken down and the process of converting it into a barn begun. This almost certainly involved the removal of the nave and the reduction in the height of the tower from the three stages depicted in 1616 to the single stage depicted in the topographical drawings of the late 18th century. Holman's account also states that the *frater* or 'Old House' 'was down' and a farmhouse built into the standing remains. Francis Grosse's account of 1778 confirms this, stating that the south wall of the farmhouse contained a small quantity of the same materials of which the priory church was constructed. The farmhouse subsequently collapsed and was rebuilt in 1773, a date inferred by an inscribed brick in the southern elevation and supported by the tiled gambrel roof and flat roofed dormers. It is aligned only roughly east to west and not directly parallel to the foundations of the priory church nave. It is likely, therefore, that the rebuilt farmhouse only approximately marks the site of the *frater*, though the cellar below it – inaccessible at the time of survey – may contain fabric relating to the 14th-century priory. The variations in the level of the ground floor and in the lower-courses of brickwork in the northern elevation, also attest to the current farmhouse incorporating an earlier structure and experiencing several phases of rebuilding.

The numerous topographical depictions of the 1760s and 1770s confirm that the presbytery of the priory church remained up-standing until the end of the century, though the north chapel and north sacristy had already been removed. The most enigmatic of these depictions is Storer's 1809 view of the interior of the crossing which appears to depict a clasped side purlin roof of a near identical arrangement to the present east barn roof, sitting atop masonry walls at a height above the apex of the crossing arch. The implication is that the east barn roof is older than the east barn and that it was reused when the presbytery was taken down (Figure 86). Though this interpretation is supported by the nature of the roof design, prevalent in Essex from the late 17th century, and contemporary structural issues associated with the eastern hip of the roof, the complete and matching sets of carpenter's marks on both the roof trusses and vertical posts of the barn's walls suggest that the two elements of the barn are contemporaneous. The east barn has jowled principal posts with ogee shaped rounded jowls, a feature widely used in the east of England on barns constructed during the early 18th century, but which continued to be used into the 19th century. As the barn can be no earlier than the 1778 depiction of the extant stone presbytery, the east barn may date from c.1800 and be of a slightly outdated design with a roof arrangement which few would have been constructing at that date. Storer's depiction of the collapsed south transept published in 1809 may even be interpreted as depicting no structure at all on the site of the presbytery, pushing the construction of the east barn firmly into the 19th century. While the design of the east barn's frame might support a 19th century date, the roof must be earlier adding credence to the interpretation that it was reused. Henry Warren's 1817 depiction of the crossing from the east which depicts a roof of completely different character to the present barn roof which sits above the apex of the crossing arch and spans a width which takes in the former arch between the north chapel and transept, must

surely have been an imagined perspective (Figure 87).[219]

Within the former moated inner precinct to the south of the rebuilt farmhouse, some levelling appears to have taken place in order to create a lawned garden area in

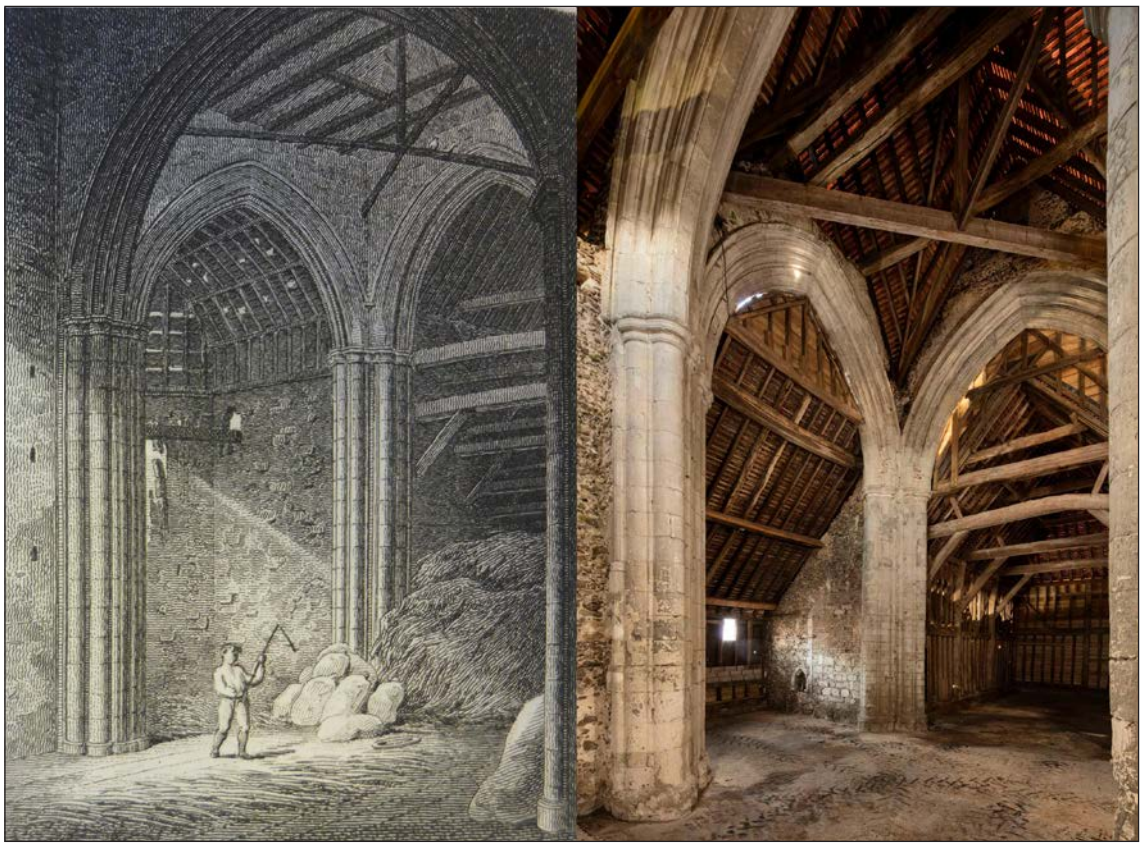


Figure 86: *A comparison of the roof over the east barn as depicted by Storer in 1809 and as extant in 2017. The arrangement of the roof trusses appears to be the same in both images, though in the Storer depiction, the roof sits above the apex of the crossing arch, seemingly atop masonry walling implying that the roof predates the barn and was reused. © British Library and Historic England DP217013*

Figure 87: *An interior view of 1817 of the crossing of Latton Priory from the east by Henry Warren. By kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London*

front of house, with feature [25] seemingly defining the western edge of this levelled area, a boundary depicted on the Ordnance Survey map of 1874. In the south-west corner of the farmhouse garden, a series of scarps recorded as [44] correspond to a long, narrow pond depicted on the tithe map of 1839 and successive editions of the Ordnance Survey. Long or canalised ponds were a popular element of formal garden designs of the 18th century and it is likely that work on the garden south of the priory was associated with one of the phases of the farmhouse's construction.

19th Century

The south barn, built into the surviving east wall of the south transept following its collapse is easier to date than the east (above). Storer's account of the priory, published in 1809 describes how the south transept collapsed three years prior to his account and suggests that the south barn was built during the first decade of the 19th century. This accords both with the physical and historiographical evidence as the use of metal bolts and straps in barn construction was typical of early 19th century barns built throughout Essex during the Napoleonic Wars (1796-1815). These early-19th century barns were often a response to the high price of grain brought about by the conflicts. That grain production was central to activities at Latton Priory Farm during this period is confirmed by the surviving and excavated evidence at the western end of the former church for a suspended threshing floor and a 'lift' to keep livestock out and loose grain in, both providing clear physical evidence that the priory church was used for cereal processing as implied by Storer's depiction. Henry Warren's 1816 depiction of the former priory church from the north-west confirms the existence of a 'lift' and also clearly shows a granary carried on timber stilts to the west of the church, further confirming that Latton Priory Farm was engaged in the production of grain, despite Montagu Burgoyne's 1806 assertion that he was converting his farms to arable pasture.

During the mid-19th century, likely during the ownership of Latton Priory Farm by Joseph Arkwright, a number of improvements were made to the farm and new buildings added. The granary depicted in 1816 to the north of the remains of the priory church was removed and replaced with a brick built range of cow sheds, and a brick built two-storey granary was constructed to the western edge of the farmyard replacing its timber predecessor. A northern extension consisting of two roughcast rendered two-storey parallel hipped roof ranges was added to the farmhouse and a linking range was added between the farmhouse and the south barn.

Culverts and Drainage

Within the wider landscape of the priory estate, a network of brick culverts, identified through visible drain heads within the circular depressions [84], [87] and [91] and responsible for the linear gullies [24a] and [24c], was added creating a more robust system of field drains. No precise date can be ascribed to this work beyond the appearance of the visible bricks in the culverts, however it is likely that this work formed part of a wider programme of improvements made to the farm in the mid-19th century.

Garden Features

Between 1839, when Latton Priory Farm was depicted on the tithe map and the publication of the first edition of the Ordnance Survey in 1874, a more formal garden had been created to the south of the farmhouse. A driveway or turning circle with central ornamental planting is depicted on successive editions of the Ordnance Survey up until the 1974 edition, by which time it had been removed, most likely as part of alterations to the garden which reduced in size the pond within the moat. The driveway, turning circle and ornamental planting were clearly identified during the geophysical surveys and can be seen as features [GPR16], [R8] and [R9].

20th Century

The Second World War

In the area to the south of the moat, the earthwork survey recorded a substantial sub-oval depression [108] and a further scarp above it [107]. These features did not relate to the series of regular scarps aligned with the western moat arm and appeared to have caused considerable disturbance to the features recorded around them. These features would seem to corroborate the assertion by the landowner that during the Second World War, Latton Priory Farm narrowly avoided being destroyed when bombs intended for nearby RAF North Weald landed in this area.[220]

New Farm Buildings

Between 1960 and 1974, a new farm building and hardstand was constructed to the north-east corner of the farm close to the end of the farm access track. This building further truncated the southern boundary of the 'Foreberry', creating features [69] and [70] during the levelling of the site. Between 1986 and the present day, a further farm building was added to the north-west corner of the moated area. The construction of this building was responsible for features [26a] and likely [33] recorded within the garden south of the farmyard. This phase also saw the infilling of the northern return of the western arm of the moat which created dumps of material [2] and [3].

In-filling the Moat

Between 1974 and 1986 the eastern arm of the moat was filled in, with only shallow earthworks [14] and [15] indicating its location, though the dam created during its construction [23] survives largely intact. The unevenness of the fill, shown on the geophysical surveys as [R18] and [GPR28] created a series of circular depressions [16] which regularly retain standing water. Following the in filling of the eastern arm of the moat, the eastern end of the southern moat arm was reconfigured and re-cut creating features [11] and [12].

Vehicle Tracks

Several features recorded during the earthwork survey as cutting obliquely across more well-defined features below seem to indicate the lines of recent routes through the wider landscape for farm vehicles. Features [24a], [72a], [72b] and [75] all suggest tracks which described routes between the south-east corner of the inner-precinct

moat and the eastern end of the Foreberry, where a gate provides direct access from the modern farm track. This north-eastern corner of the survey area also contained a large haystack and [72a] appeared to be associated with it. The survey recorded considerable disturbance and erosion to the south-east corner of the outer precinct boundary defined by the intersection of [73] and [81]. Features [83], [84], [85] appear to have been caused by light vehicles cutting this corner and heading westwards towards the pond. It is possible however that this disturbance was caused by earlier foot traffic and that it is in fact associated with an earlier phase of occupation of the priory site. It is also possible that feature [84], which turns to the west and defines a corner, may be associated with the south-eastern corner of the outer precinct and that it has been 'pushed out' by erosion.

There is also evidence of vehicular traffic within the boundaries of the 'Foreberry'. Features [63] and [68] are the result of a track which connects the gate at the north-western corner of the 'Foreberry' with the hay stack and which is still an active route. Whether this track also created the erosion feature [64] is harder to determine. Also within the boundaries of the 'Foreberry' is the farm track which connects Latton Priory Farm with the Epping Road to the east. This track likely follows the route of 'Pryor's Lane' depicted on the map of 1616 and runs through the former 'Foreberry' on a small embankment formed by [61] and [62].

SYNTHESIS

The Story of Latton

The priory of St John the Baptist, Latton belongs to a small group of Augustinian houses founded in Essex during the second half of the 12th century following the establishment of the order in England at St Botolphs, Colchester between 1104 and 1106. In common with many Augustinian foundations, no foundation charter exists for Latton Priory and thus the date of its foundation and identity of its patron are unknown. An inquisition held in 1534 claimed the priory to have been founded for a small community comprising the prior and just two canons and that the founder had been an ancestor of the then Lord of Mark Hall manor, Thomas Shaa. It is likely that, rather than a direct ancestor of Shaa, the founder was one of his predecessors as lord of Mark Hall, the secular manor which held the patronage of the priory until the priory estate passed into secular hands in 1536. The exceptionally modest size of the convent at Latton is also representative of the houses founded for the Augustinian canons. The lack of a central authority, legislative framework for foundation or a minimum size of the convent, meant that Augustinian houses were often small, requiring of only a modest endowment and bringing the patronage of religious houses within the reach of the lower gentry.

It is possible - given the very small convent and viewed in the context of the 12th century bricks in Latton Priory's south transept buttress (of a type also found in the excavated buildings of Waltham Abbey) and the reference on the map of 1616 to 'Hermetts Field', south of Latton Priory on the road towards Epping and ultimately Waltham Abbey – that Latton began as a hermitage of the priory of the Holy Cross at Waltham, founded by Henry II in 1177. If Latton had begun as a hermitage associated with Waltham, located 6 miles to the south-east, then it may - like the small priory of St John the Baptist at Bicknacre – have been converted into a priory following the grant of land by a secular lord. Given that the church of St John the Baptist, Latton must have been well established by the time of its first appearance in the documentary record (listed in the Hedingham Bede Roll of c.1200), it is probable that Latton was founded by either Alewin or Peter de Merk who were tenant lords of Mark Hall manor before 1210 and who were descended from Adelolf de Merk who held the manor in 1086. It is likely that the priory estate, some 200 acres in size when surveyed in 1616, was granted from the southern part of the manor of Mark Hall, the manorial seat of which was located about 4.5km (2.8mi) to the north of the priory site, adjacent to the parish church of St Mary the Vigin, Latton.

The church listed in the Hedingham Bede Roll was likely of a modest scale, serving as it did a very small community. The large, thin, rectangular bricks which survive in the south transept buttress of the remains of Latton Priory church, are likely of late-12th century date and suggest that the first church at Latton Priory may have been similar in appearance to the gatehouse chapel at Coggeshall Abbey (c.1220) and shared the source of its bricks with the buildings I and X excavated at Waltham Abbey. The extent of the priory complex immediately after its foundation cannot be determined, however Latton Priory was in receipt of grants from the local gentry during the 13th century and was significant enough to receive a Papal Bull between

1277 and 1280, the lead seal of which, (or *Bulla*), was discovered in their garden by the current owners of Latton Priory Farm.

The upstanding remains of the priory church at Latton attest to a complete rebuilding during the early years of the 14th century. The crossing, stub walls of the nave and heavily altered transepts bear arches, moulded responds and geometric tracery stylistically consistent with a single phase of construction in the first half of that century. The rebuilt and likely significantly enlarged church and claustral buildings may well have been the direct result of the patronage of Augustine Le Waleys, who acquired the manor of Mark Hall and with it, the advowson of Latton Priory in 1317. As a wealthy and ambitious member of the gentry who had recently inherited the substantial estate of his later father, Henry Le Waleys, Augustine may have chosen to mark his arrival among the local elite and his acquisition of a new *caput* with patronage of the monastic house within his lands. A grand display of pious vanity may explain how such a modest monastic community, seldom large enough to elect its own priors, came to completely rebuilt its church and claustral buildings.

When complete, the rebuilt priory church of St John the Baptist would have measured about 36.5m (120ft) east to west, been cruciform in plan and comprised a central crossing with three-stage tower above, nave and presbytery with clerestory, north and south transepts, a north chapel and north porticus. The surviving processional doorway in the south wall of the nave, west of the crossing and the geophysical evidence for the western range of a square cloister indicates that following the rebuild the priory church would have formed part of a classic Augustinian priory plan with a square cloister formed by a *dorter* or dormitory range to the east, extending south from the southern transept, a Cellerars' range with kitchen to the west, and a *frater* or refectory range, including the *lavatorium* to the south (Figure 88). It is likely, though not confirmed by the geophysical survey that there was also a chapter house which would have been located to the east of the eastern arm of the cloister, south of the presbytery. South of the cloister, there may have been a separate building which served as the prior's lodgings. This is inferred by the depiction of the priory in 1616 and by geophysical anomalies and the faint traces of a corresponding building platform within the present lawned gardens. Latton's plan would likely have been exceptionally similar to the Augustinian priory of St Mary in the Meadow, Beeston Regis, Norfolk, which like Latton had a church measuring about 40m in length, had both a north chapel and porticus and which, like Latton, failed to attract further benefactions and only ever had a very modestly sized community.[221]

Figure 88: *Latton Priory as it may have looked on the 29th August 1335. Following the rebuilding of the priory church, its inner precint and its claustral buildings after the acquisition of the priory's patronage by Augustine Le Waleys in 1317, Waleys was in 1332 granted license to hold an annual fair on the feast day of the Decollation of St John the Baptist. The fair likely took place in the 'Foreberry', a triangular enclosure to the north of the moat which defined the inner precinct containing the priory church, cloisters and the Prior's lodgings.* © *Historic England, Judith Dobie*

The inner precinct of Latton Priory as rebuilt in the 14th century was defined by a wet moat on all four sides, accessed via a causeway to the north of the cloister. Although possibly dating from the earlier phase of the priory, it is most likely that the moat was also cut during the early 14th century, corresponding to the zenith of secular moat construction which may well have inspired it. The moat would have formed part of a wider water management system which included the large fishpond to the south-west and likely a series of channels which connected the two. The tithe map of 1839 also suggests that the spring which provided the priory site with its source of water may have lain to the north-west of the precinct from where the natural topography of the site would have been used to provide a source of fresh water for the *lavatorium* and precinct and a head of water, used in conjunction with the moat to feed the main precinct drain which carried away waste from the domestic ranges of the precinct. The outer precinct of the 14th century complex was defined to the east by a deep entrenchment which created a level terrace to the east of the moated inner precinct. Though no conclusive evidence for structures associated with the priory was identified here, it is the likely location for ancillary structures such as barns and stores and possibly also a dovecote.

If the acquisition by Augustine Le Waleys marked the beginning of work on the rebuilding of Latton Priory, the 1332 grant by Edward III of a licence to hold an annual fair on the feast day of the Decollation of St John the Baptist may mark the completion of work on the priory. Though awarded to Augustine Le Walleys and not the priory itself, the granting of a fair so closely associated with the saint to which the priory church was dedicated implies that the fair was intended to benefit the priory. It is likely therefore that the fair site was adjacent to priory precinct and not closer to the manor of Mark Hall. As such, the fair was likely held in the 'Foreberry', identified on the map of 1616 and preserved in the extant earthworks at Latton Priory. Similar 'bury' fair sites are known at Reading, Leominster and St Osyth and it would appear that the fair site at Latton formed part of the 14th century complex, if not a formal part of an outer court as at those larger and grander examples.

Despite the considerable investment in Latton Priory in the early 14th century, as evidenced by the standing remains of the priory church, the geophysical survey and extant earthworks, it is clear that the priory did not flourish. The number of brethren seldom numbered enough for the community to elect their own priors without the intervention of the Bishop of London and in 1534, with the departure of the last elected prior, John Taylor, and no monastic community remaining, the priory at Latton was dissolved. The priory was not listed in the *Valour Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 and in April 1536 was granted by Henry VIII to Sir Henry Parker.

The secular estate of Latton, which appears to have been the same size as the monastic estate, remained in secular hands and was not subdivided. At the time of the detailed survey of Latton parish in 1616 much of the priory complex remained intact and the former priory church appeared to retain its three-stage tower and cruciform arrangement. The 1616 survey also showed that the moat had not been filled in and that the area south of the inner precinct was in use as an orchard.

At the time of the 1616 survey, the priory estate was in the hands of Sir Edward

Altham whose grandfather James Altham acquired it in 1552. The Althams held Latton Priory until 1778 and during the 18th century were likely responsible for the first major alterations to the priory church and refectory. An account of c.1718 described how a farmhouse had been constructed into the standing remains of the refectory and that the priory church had been converted for use as a barn, likely indicating the period during which the majority of the nave was removed and the tower truncated. It may be during this period that a suspended threshing floor was inserted. The first farmhouse at Latton was entirely rebuilt in the late 18th century, as attested to in Francis Grosse's account of 1778 and by a brick in the farmhouse's southern wall inscribed with the date 1773, suggesting that this work was the last act of alteration made by the Althams before William Altham sold the priory estate to William Lushington in 1778.

The presbytery of the priory church was depicted in both 1765 and 1778, though by the time of Storer's engraving of c.1806 it appears to have been demolished and been replaced by a timber-framed barn of similar proportions. The framing of the barn is consistent with a late-18th century date and it is probable that the demolition of the presbytery and the construction of the barn took place as part of major improvements to the Latton Hall and Mark Hall estates made by Lushington before he sold the priory estate to Thomas Glyn in 1786. The Glyns were likely responsible for the final major phase of alterations to the priory church, which involved the construction of a barn to the south of the crossing following the partial collapse of the south transept, an event documented by Storer in 1809. The replacement barn was of a similar style to that which replaced the presbytery but of a far cruder nature seemingly confirming that they were not contemporaneous.

During the early 19th century under the ownership of Glyn or Joseph Arkwright, Latton Priory Farm was further enlarged with the addition of stables and a system of culverted field drains which extended from the south-eastern corner of the moat. The garden to the south of the farmhouse was levelled and a more formal arrangement created with a carriageway and turning circle, work which further obscured evidence of the priory's inner precinct. The farmhouse was also extended to the north in the form of two parallel ranges. The northern extension of the farmhouse also included an outshut which joined the farmhouse to the southern end of the south barn, allowing direct access from the farmhouse to the remains of the priory and temporarily restoring the arrangement of the south-eastern corner of the cloister. The later 19th century also saw the insertion of the farmyard hard standing and the covering over of the northern arm of the moat.

In 1947, the priory estate was separated from the secular estates of Mark and Latton Hall for the final time when it was sold to the sitting tenant, Mr J. A. Brown. The Browns made further additions to the farm, filled in the eastern arm of the moat and reworked the eastern end of the fish pond. The late 20th century also saw the removal of the pond within the farmhouse garden and the outshut linking the farmhouse with the south barn.

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TNA C142/81/277 Inquisition into property

TNA C142/55/6 Inquisition Post Mortem of Edmund Shaa d. 1534

TNA C142/64/78 Inquisition Post Mortem of Henry Parker d. 1541

TNA C142/100/32 Inquisition Post Mortem of William Morris d. 1553

TNA C142/202/176 Inquisition Post Mortem of James Altham d. 1583

TNA C142/258/74 Inquisition Post Mortem of James Morris d. 1599

TNA C142/304/74 Inquisition Post Mortem of Edward Altham d. 1605

TNA C142/319/201 Inquisition Post Mortem of James Altham d. 1610

TNA C142/482/63 Inquisition Post Mortem of Edward Altham d. 1632

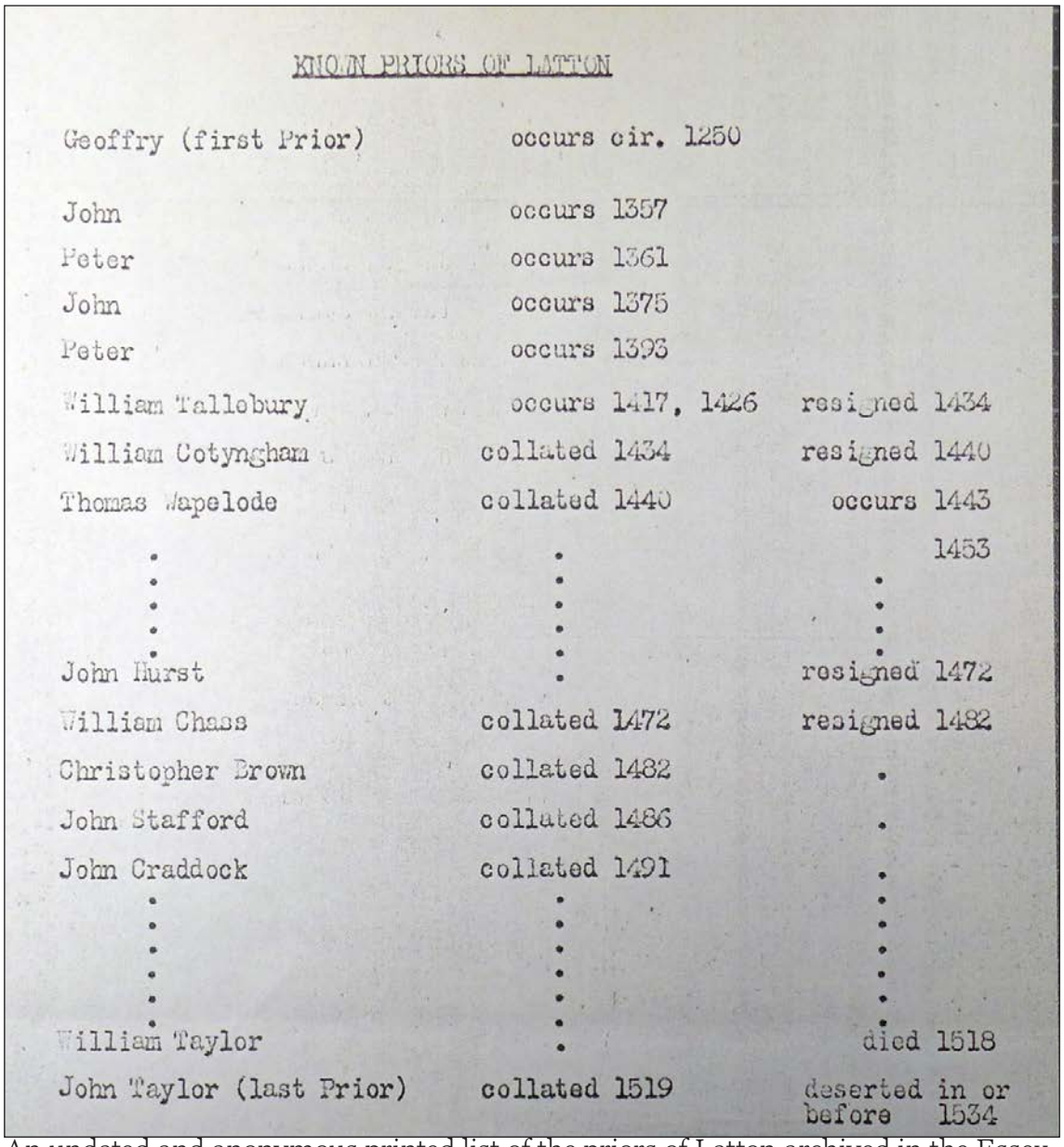
TNA IR 30/12/197 Tithe Map of Latton/Latton Bush

TNA PROB31/1328/495 Exhibit 1934/495 - Probate Inventory for Thomas Stallibras, March 1834

APPENDICES

Appendix A

List of Priors of Latton



KNOWN PRIORS OF LATTON

Geoffry (first Prior)	occurs cir. 1250	
John	occurs 1357	
Peter	occurs 1361	
John	occurs 1375	
Peter	occurs 1393	
William Tallebury	occurs 1417, 1426	resigned 1434
William Cotyngham	collated 1434	resigned 1440
Thomas Wapelode	collated 1440	occurs 1443
		1453
John Hurst		resigned 1472
William Chass	collated 1472	resigned 1482
Christopher Brown	collated 1482	
John Stafford	collated 1486	
John Craddock	collated 1491	
William Taylor		died 1518
John Taylor (last Prior)	collated 1519	deserted in or before 1534

An undated and anonymous printed list of the priors of Latton archived in the Essex Record Office, REF: T/P/199/1. No sources are given to accompany this list, though it is assumed that it was reconstructed using the Bishop of London's Register

.

Appendix B

The 1616 Survey of Latton by Jeremie Bailee


Potters streete
Latton Comon
Markhall Comon
Twelve acres

Reproduced in three sections (above), Jeremie Bailey's 1616 map of the ancient parish of Latton produced for Sir Edward Altham as photographed by R. L. Knight and (overleaf) the entry of the accompanying survey which details the Latton Priory estate. Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, T/M 453/2 and D/DQ 92/1

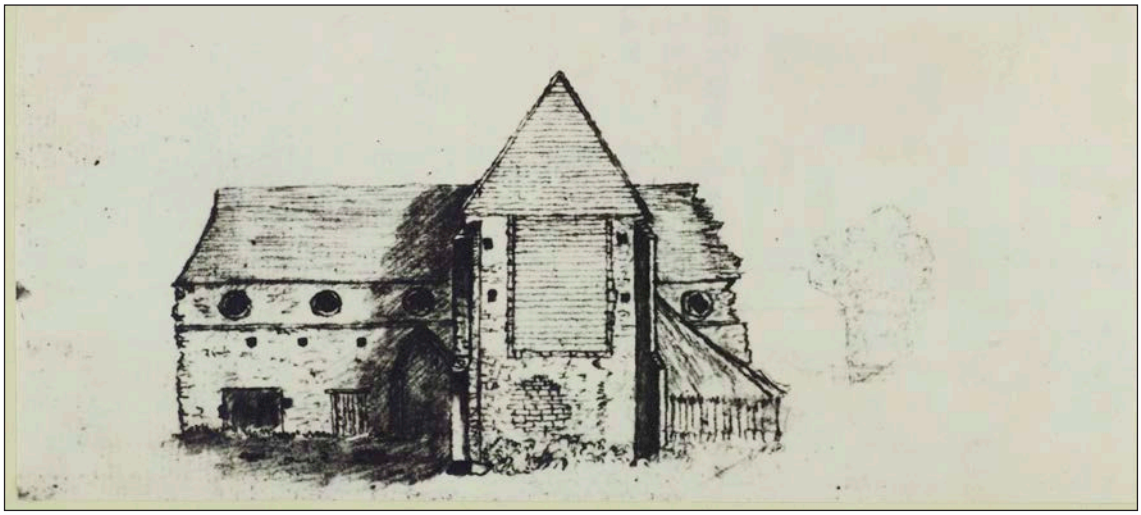
The Priory being on Lease

		A	R	P	Rent p ann.
	Imprimis Robert Stacy holdeth one ancient House called the Priory with the Barns Stables Orchards, Garden Mote ffish ponds, and other outhouses and yards cont.	4	3	"	
	One Meadow next adjoining called the Upper Mead cont.	6	"	8	
	Four Closes of Pasture and Arr. Ground next adjoin. called Gibbs field cont.	27	3	24	
	One Arr. Ground next adjoin. called Mill ffield cont.	19	"	8	
	Two Closes of pasture & Arr. Ground next adjoin. called Horsleys cont.	16	2	29	
15	One Lane used as pasture called Priory Lane cont.	1	3	"	
	Two other parcels of Pasture called the ffreeberry cont.	2	3	20	
	One other pasture Ground called ffive Acres being part of the Ryddens cont.	5	3	33	
	Two Closes of pasture & Arr. Ground called Westfields cont.	26	1	10	
	One Pasture next adjoin. called Prythwell ffield cont.	23	2	3	
	One Arr. Ground next adjoin. called Grovefield cont.	21	2	34	
	One parcel of Wood Ground next adjoining called Priors Grove cont.	3	2	24	
	One Meadow near adjoin. called Nether Mead cont.	8	"	"	
	Three parcels of Meadow Ground lying in Broad Mead cont.	4	"	25	
In Epping 15	One Tenem.t lying in the Parish of Epping called Horsmans, with a Barn Backside and five parcels of Pasture and Meadow Ground the one called Gibbs Croft cont.	6	1	4	
	Three Closes of Pasture and Arr. Ground called the Ryddens cont.	9	3	1	
	One past. Ground adjoin. upon Westfield called Priors ffield cont.	10	1	24	
	One other past. Ground next adjoin. called Little Pond Croft cont.	1	3		
	Suma acres	200	2	7	
	John Benton holdeth one Tenem.t called Hermits with Barns Stables &c. with one Close of pasture Ground called Barn Croft cont.	6	"	17	
	One pasture Ground next adjoin. called Pond Croft with a Little new Orchard therein cont.	6	"	6	
16	Two Arr. Grounds next adjoin. called Hermitts cont.	10	"	12	
	One Meadow Ground next adjoin. called Long Mead cont.	1	3	27	
	One Arr. Ground called Stockins cont.	6	1	"	
	One Meadow Ground ~~next~~ next adjoin. called Stockins Mead cont.	4	"	21	
	One pasture Ground near adjoin. called Baldox cont.	2	3	18	
	One Meadow Ground called Baldox Mead cont.	1	2	26	
	One parcel of Wood Ground called Priors Grove and one other Arr. Ground called the Hoppet cont. together	8	2	4	
	Suma acres	47	2	11	
17	Francis Benton holdeth one Tenem.t called Blinkingsops with other outhouses, Orchard Garden and two parcels of pasture & Arr. Ground, the one called Little Stockins cont.	6	"	27	

Appendix C

Topographical Depictions of Latton Priory Church

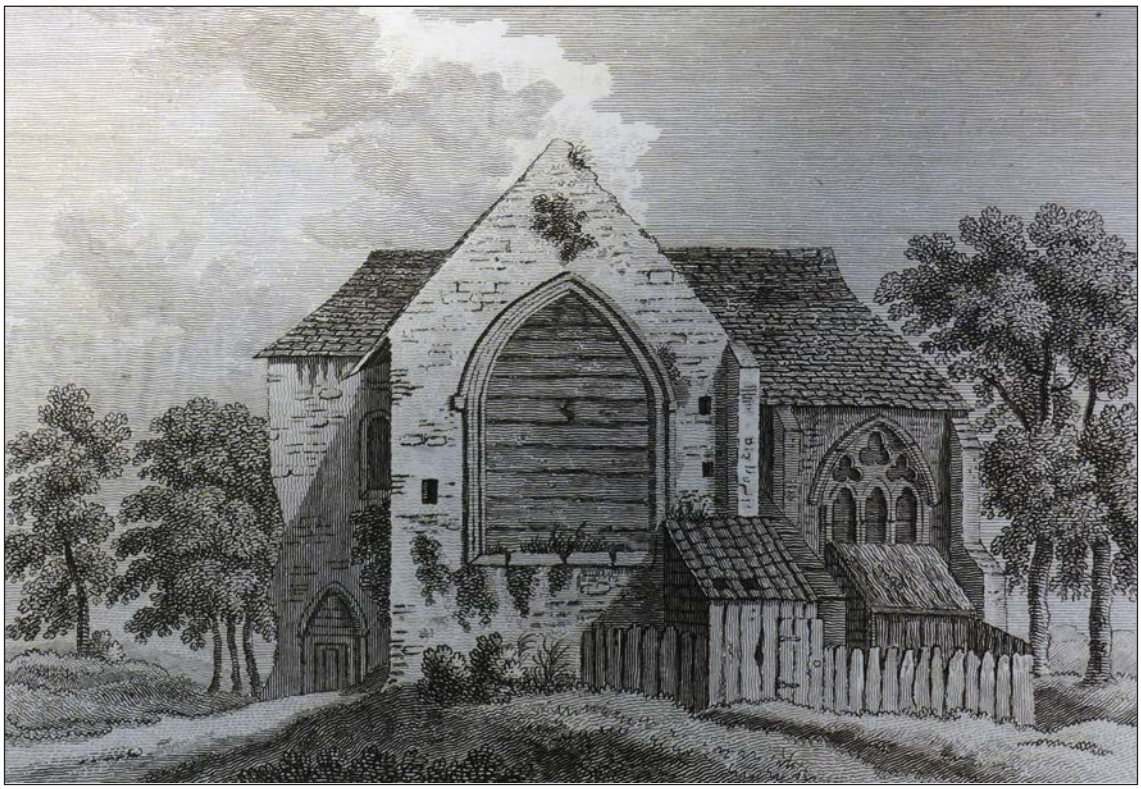
The earliest detailed depiction of the site is a copy of a line drawing, illustrating the north elevation of the priory church. The drawing is dated March 1771, however the accompanying handwritten text on the drawing states that this is a copy of an original drawing, dated 12 September 1765. The drawing shows the north elevation of the priory church, with the north arm of the priory crossing and presbytery of the church extant. Another late-18th century depiction of the site, an engraving by Sparrow, shows the south elevation of the church. The engraving is dated 10 January 1778 and was printed as part of leaflet on Latton Priory by F Grosse. The engraving shows the south elevation of the crossing – with both the south crossing of the church and the presbytery intact and a large traceried window between two buttresses at the east end of the presbytery. The 1778 depiction provides clear evidence that neither the east nor south barns were extant by this date. There are further sketches of Latton Priory, dating to the 1770s which were made by Edward Forster, an Essex merchant and naturalist and which were photographed by C O Harvey. The handwriting on the one of these sketches, dated 1775 and photographed and published by Harvey in 1971, is remarkably similar to the handwriting on the unsigned sketch of 1771 mentioned above. The view on the 1775 sketch depicts the south elevation of the church, with the south transept and presbytery intact, as shown in the view by S Hooper of 1778.



The remains of Latton priory church from the north in September 1765. Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, I/Mb/211/16

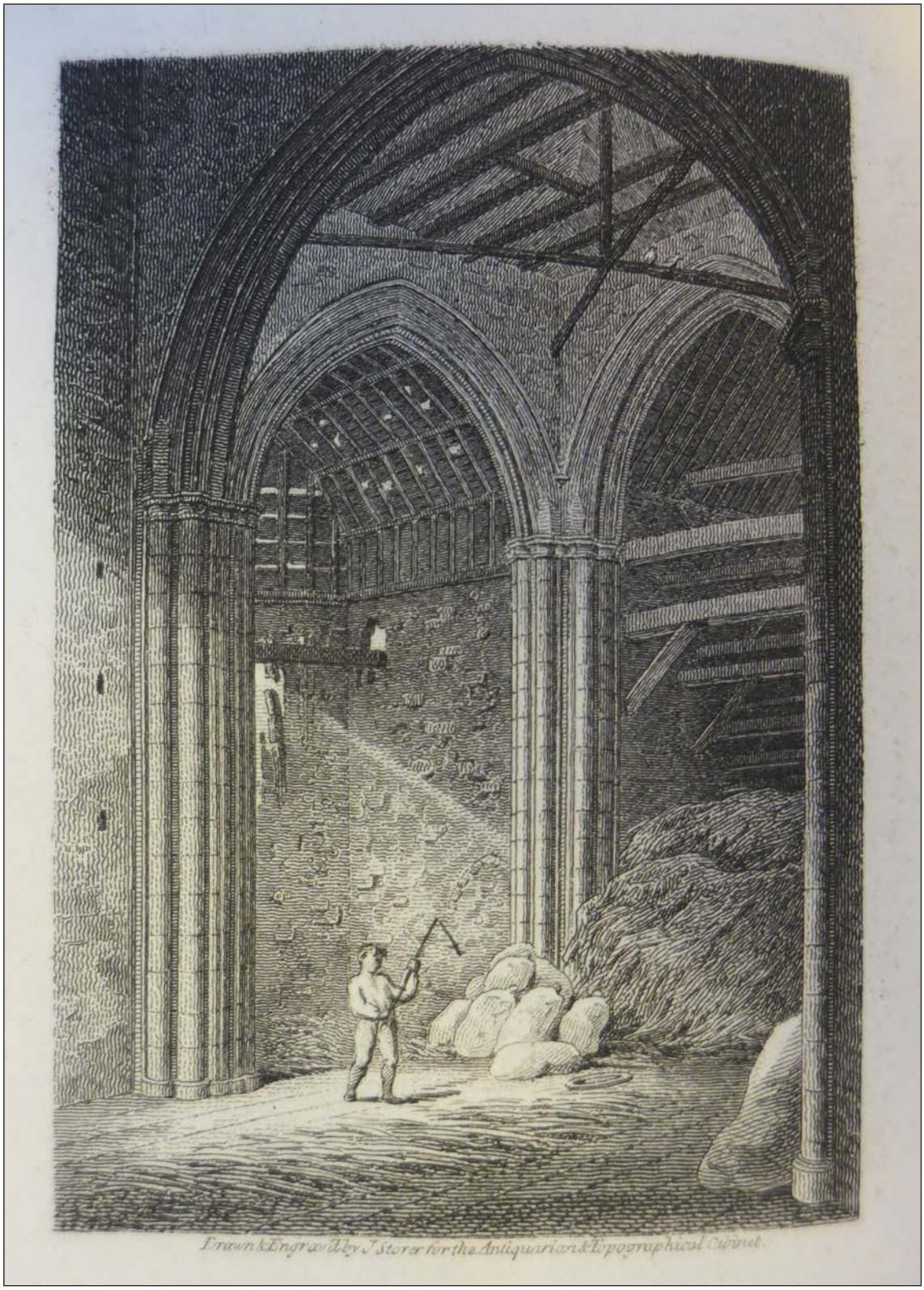
Later depictions of the site were published in 1809 in *The Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet* by J Storer. The engraving by Storer shows the first internal view of the church. The view looks towards the north-east corner of the crossing. A roofed structure is depicted in the position of the presbytery of the church. The north wall of the east side of the structure is shown in deep shadow, with braces disappearing into what appears to be a solid wall. The position of the tie-beams

and braces is very similar to the roof structure which survives to the present day. It is possible that these braces and tie-beams could be the braces and tie-beams of the timber-framed east barn, however the artist has not drawn the posts and studs of the north wall of the barn and has instead depicted what appears to be a solid masonry wall.

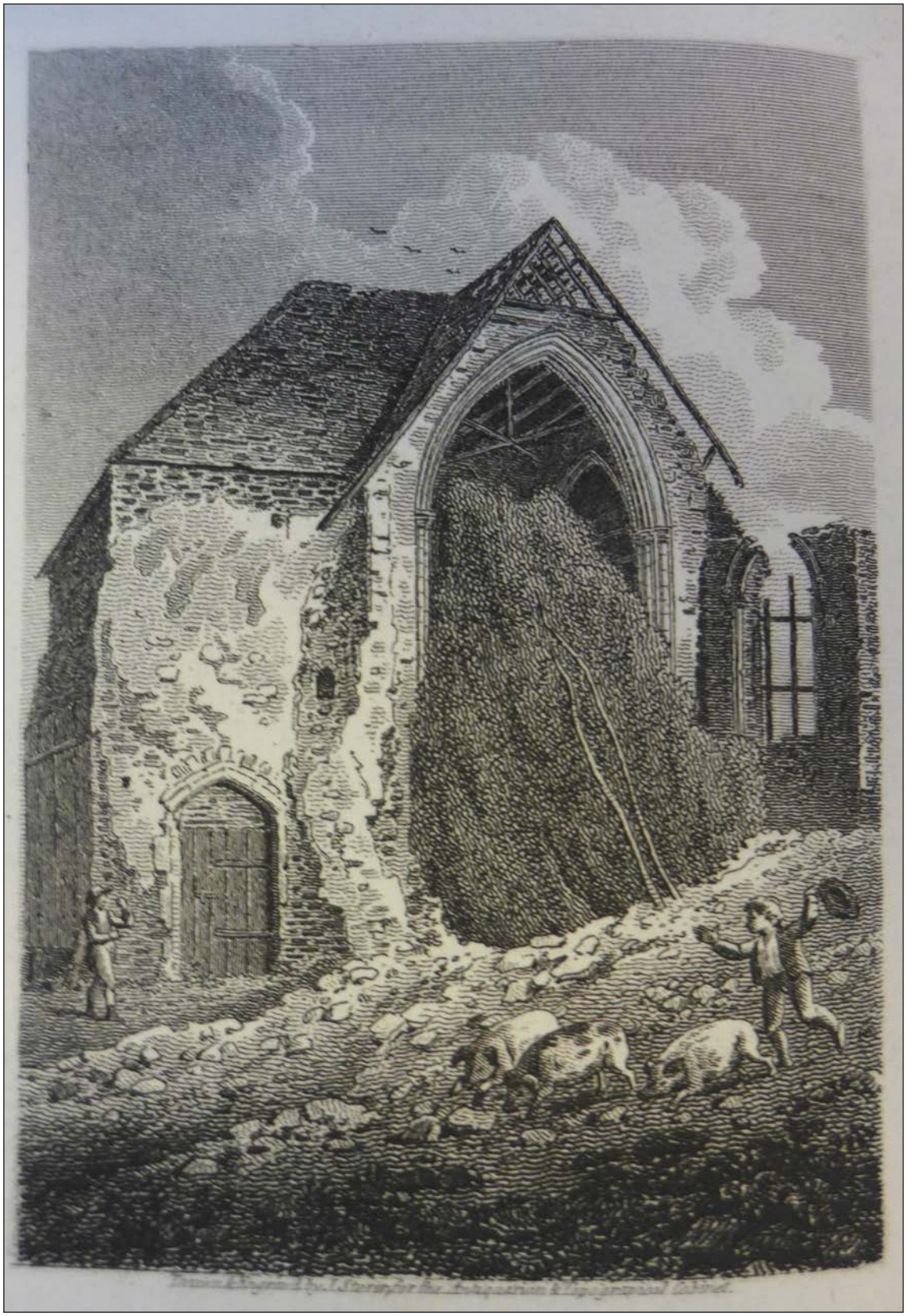


An engraving of Latton priory church from the south published in a pamphlet of 1778 by Francis Grosse. Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, LIB/PAM 1/9/16

A similar perspective of Latton priory church from the south, sketched by Edward Forster an Essex naturalist in 1775. The matching style suggests he was likely responsible for the view of the church from the north dated to 1765.



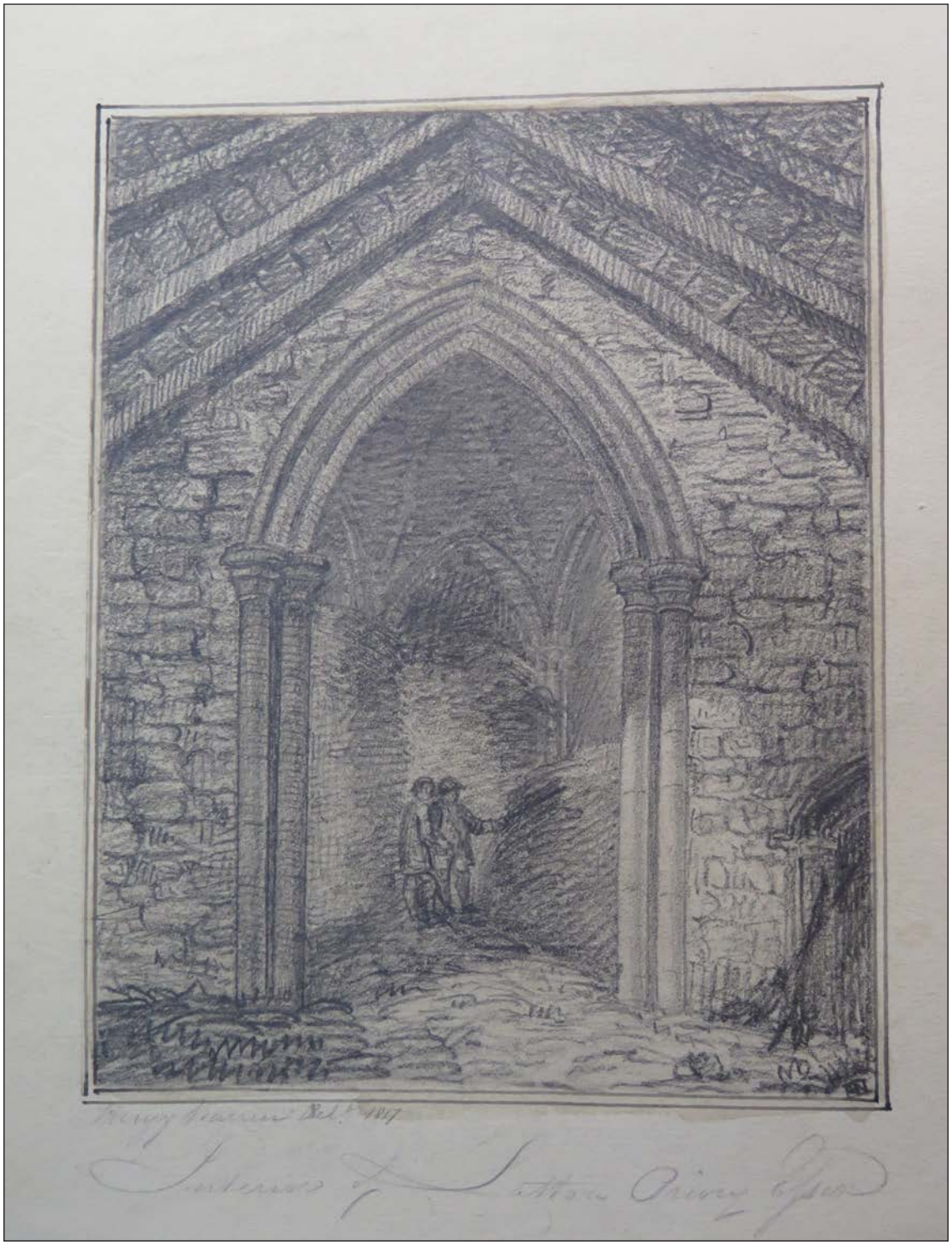
The interior of Latton priory church looking north-east as depicted by Storer in a publication of 1809. © British Library



The remains of Latton priory church from the south-west following the collapse of the south aisle as depicted in an engraving by Storer published in 1809. © British Library

Latton Priory from the north-west as drawn and engraved by John Greig and published in 1818 in, 'Excursions through Essex'. Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, I/MB 211/1/7

Latton Priory from the north in 1816 by C. Warren. By kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Joseph Sim Earle collection E 12 36



The interior of Latton Priory looking west towards the crossing in 1817 by H. Warren. By kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Joseph Sim Earle collection E 12 36

Appendix D

Inventory of Timbers in the East Barn - By Elizabeth Chamberlin

Schedule of timbers – **North side of roof structure -East Barn**			
Number	Description	Evidence for re-use?	Saw Marks?
1	Jack rafter. Poor condition, nailed on		
2	Jack rafter. Poor condition, nailed on		
3	Jack rafter. Numerous nails hammered into side of it. Nailed on.		
4	Jack rafter. Empty mortice, still with peg. Nailed on, also a peg further up	Re-used.	
5	Jack rafter. Empty 'through' mortice for through brace. Nailed on.	Re-used.	
6	Jack rafter. Two empty mortices (neither are through mortices)	Re-used.	
7	Jack rafter. Many nails, cut off. Two mortices; bottom mortice is empty with peg hole; top mortice still has part of the tenon & the peg in it.	Re-used.	
8	Rafter. Replaced as part of works, but old timber still present on site & checked for signs of re-use.	No signs of re-use.	
9	Principal rafter. Clear evidence for setting out marks. Dimensions 8cm by 10 cm. Clasped purlin adjacent to collar. The rafter is morticed & tenoned into the large tie-beam. Scribed carpenter's mark to top of tie-beam \.	No signs of re-use.	Saw marks – widely spaced and at an oblique angle.
10	Rafter. Inner face decayed.	No sign of re-use.	
11	Rafter.	No sign of re-use.	
12	Rafter. Good condition. Knot at bottom.		Criss-cross saw patterns.

13	Rafter. Distinctive grain (elm). Collar and rafter both marked with same Carpenter's mark ////		Saw marks.
14	Rafter.	No evidence of re-use	
15	Rafter. Three mortices – all empty.	Re-used.	
16	Rafter.	No evidence of re-use.	
17	Principal rafter. Scribed carpenter's mark \\ to top of tiebeam.	No evidence of re-use.	
18	Rafter.	Modern replacement	
19	Rafter. Badly decayed.	No evidence of re-use	
20	Rafter. Replaced/missing		
21	Collar rafter – seating on wall-plate. Carpenter's mark //	No evidence of re-use	
22	Rafter. Very poor condition.	No evidence of re-use	
23	Rafter.	No evidence of re-use	Saw marks.
24	Rafter.	No evidence of re-use	
25	Principal rafter. Scribed carpenter's mark on top of tie-beam /|\.		
26	Modern machine cut rafter resting on upper beam beyond.	Not re-used. Modern.	
South Side of East Barn roof			
1	Missing jack rafter.	Missing.	
2	Jack rafter. Poor condition, but no evidence of re-use. Nailed.		
3	Jack rafter. Poor condition, but no evidence of re-use. Nailed.		
4	Jack rafter. Poor condition, but no evidence of re-use. Nailed.		
5	Jack rafter. Empty mortice in bottom half.	Re-used.	
6	Jack rafter. Three empty mortices (top one broken away).	Re-used.	
7	Jack rafter. Poor condition at bottom.	No evidence of re-use.	
8	Rafter.	No evidence of re-use NB this rafter was due to be replaced.	

9	Principal rafter. Chisel-stamped carpenter's mark **I**. Roman numeral. Good condition.	No evidence of re-use	
10	Rafter.	No evidence of re-use	
11	Rafter. Three empty mortice holes (all empty)	Re-used.	
12	Rafter. No evidence of re-use		
13	Collar rafter. Scribed carpenter's mark **** to both collar and rafter. Setting out marks also visible.	No evidence of re-use	
14	Rafter.	No evidence of re-use	
15	Rafter. Three mortices, all empty.	Re-used	
16	Rafter. Sheared/split.	No evidence of re-use	
17	Principal rafter. Chisel-stamped carpenter's mark **II** (roman numeral).	No evidence of re-use	
18	Rafter.	No evidence of re-use	
19	Rafter. Another piece of timber has been placed next to it (new repair).	No evidence of re-use	
20	Rafter.	Modern replacement	
21	Collar rafter. Single scribed carpenter's mark **/.**	No evidence of re-use	
22	Rafter. Very decayed (due to be replaced).	No evidence of re-use	
23	Rafter. Very decayed	No evidence of re-use	
24	Rafter. Looks like a (20th century) replacement, but still has woodworm.		
25	Principal rafter. Carpenter's Mark **III** to collar & rafter. Chisel-stamped.	No evidence of re-use	
26	Rafter supporting the studwork which infills the crossing arch.		
East gable hip of roof			
1	Jack rafter. Chamfered edge. Nailed on.	Re-used.	
2	Jack rafter. Very decayed. Nailed on.	Possibly re-used.	

3	Jack rafter. Much better condition than others. Carpenter's Mark **XXIIII** at the base of the outer face.		Sawn/pit sawn?
4	Jack rafter. Heavily decayed. Nailed on.		
5	Jack rafter. Empty mortice for brace. Nailed on.	Re-used.	
6	Jack rafter. Two mortices & remains of a tenon in one of the mortices. Nailed on. 115mm x 100mm.	Re-used.	
7	Jack rafter. Remains of two mortices, both empty. 115mm x 100mm. Nailed on.	Re-used.	
8	Jack rafter. Two mortices, both empty, but pegs still there.	Re-used	
9	Jack rafter. Two mortices. Partial remains of tenon in the lower mortice.	Re-used.	
10	Jack rafter. Empty mortice. Nailed on.	Re-used.	
11	Jack rafter. Empty mortice. Nailed on.	Re-used.	
12	Jack rafter. Much better condition. Carpenter's Mark **XXIII** to base of outer face.	No evidence of re-use.	
13	Jack rafter. Poor condition.	No evidence of re-use in terms of empty mortices, however very poor condition might suggest re-use?	
14	Jack rafter.	Re-used.	
H1	Hip rafter. Dimensions 2 ¼ by 4 ¼ inches.	No evidence of re-use. Both hip rafters H1 & H2 are the same dimensions and appear to be contemporaneous.	

H2	Hip rafter. Dimensions 2 ¼ by 4 ¼ inches.	No evidence of re-use. Both hip rafters H1 & H2 are the same dimensions and appear to be cotemporaneous.	
North Wall of Barn – Inner Face (lower stage)			
1	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
2	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
3	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
4	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
5	Stud	Possible re-use – possible two socketed indents at top (see photo) 1-7 shot	
6	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
7	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
8	Post. Chisel-stamped carpenter's mark **III** at brace.	No evidence of re-use	
9	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
10	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
11	Stud. There is a scarf joint in the sill plate between studs 10 and 11. Scarf joint marked with a carpenter's mark **II**.	No evidence of re-use	
12	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
13	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
14	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
15	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
16	Post. Chisel-stamped carpenter's mark **II** at brace.	No evidence of re-use	
17	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
18	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
19	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
20	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
21	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
21a	Inserted stud. Not morticed – to create a door.		
22	Removed when door inserted	Missing.	
23	Removed when door inserted	Missing.	

24	Post. Chisel-stamped carpenter's mark **I** at brace.	No evidence of re-use	
North wall of Barn (upper stage)			
1	Stud – 1a and 1b separated by a tension brace.	No evidence of re-use	
2	Stud – 2a and 2b separated by a tension brace.	No evidence of re-use	
3	Stud – 3a and 3b. Large empty mortice socket towards bottom of 3b.		
4	Stud (centrally placed between posts)	No evidence of re-use.	
5	Missing.		
6	Stud – 6a and 6b separated by a tension brace. Very poor condition.	No evidence of re-use.	
7	Stud – 7a and 7b separated by a tension brace.	Re-used.	
8	Post. Scarf joint at top labelled with carpenter's mark **I** (Roman Numeral).	No evidence of re-use.	
9	Stud – 9a and 9b separated by a tension brace.	No evidence of re-use.	
10	Stud – 10a and 10b separated by a tension brace.	No evidence of re-use.	
11	Stud – 11b above the tension brace is missing. Removed to insert the window. Short stud 11a ***in situ*** below the tension brace. Chocks inserted above window.	11a missing.	
12	Central stud removed to accommodate the sash window. Chocks put in above window.	Missing.	
13	Stud – 13b above the tension brace removed to accommodate the inserted window. Short stud 13a *in situ* below the tension brace. Chocks put in above window.	13a missing.	

14	Stud – 14a and 14b separated by a tension brace. Poor condition.	No evidence of re-use.	
15	Stud – 15a and 15b separated by a tension brace. The halved housing for a dovetail joint and the bevelled housings for rafters visible. Probably a re-used wall plate.	15a and 15b re-used.	
16	Post. Chisel-stamped carpenter's mark **II** to brace.	No evidence of re-use.	
17	Stud – 17a and 17b separated by a tension brace.	No evidence of re-use.	
18	Stud – 18a and 18b separated by a tension brace. Mortice for passing brace on outer face of upper part of stud (18b). Empty mortice to bottom of 18a.	18a and 18b re-used.	
19	Stud – 19a and 19b separated by a tension brace. Poor condition.	No evidence of re-use.	
20	Central Stud. Good condition.	No evidence of re-use.	
21	Stud – 21a and 21b separated by a tension brace. Poor condition. Empty mortice to 21b.	21b re-used.	
22	Stud – 22a and 22b separated by a tension brace.	No evidence of re-use.	
23	Stud – 23a and 23b separated by a tension brace. Empty mortice for through brace to 23b.	23b re-used.	
24	Post. Chisel=stamped carpenter's mark **I** to post and brace.	No evidence of re-use.	
South Wall of East Barn (lower stage)			
1	Stud	No evidence of re-use	Hand sawn
2	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
3	Stud. Bottom part of stud missing due to decay.	No evidence of re-use	
4	Stud		
5	Stud. A piece has been taken out of it, but this appears to be due to decay. Not a mortice.		
6	Stud	No evidence of re-use	Hand sawn.

7	Stud. The top part of the stud is missing, due to decay/damage.	No evidence of re-use	Hand sawn.
8	Post. Carpenters' marks on brace & on post next to brace **III**. These match the carpenters' marks on the other side of the barn (also a **III** on brace & post).	No evidence of re-use	
9	Stud. There is a cut part way down, as if the stud was originally to be used for something else.	No other evidence for re-use, apart from the cut.	
10	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
11	Stud. Splashed with red paint.	No evidence of re-use	
12	Stud. Splashed with red paint.	No evidence of re-use	
13	Stud. Splashed with red paint.	No evidence of re-use	
14	Stud	No evidence of re-use	Hand sawn.
15	Stud	No evidence of re-use	Hand sawn.
16	Post. Carpenters' marks **II** on brace & post. NB. Same as other side. There is a scarf joint in the sill plate, marked **III** between stud 15 and post 16.	No evidence of re-use	
17	Stud	No evidence of re-use	Saw marks
18	Stud. Timber from lean-to structure on north side of barn resting on face-edged mortice on E side. Empty face-edged mortice on W side.	Uncertain.	
19	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
20	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
21	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
22	Stud	No evidence of re-use	Hand sawn
23	Stud	No evidence of re-use	
24	Post. Red paint on it. Carpenter's mark **I** on brace and post.		
South Wall of East Barn (Upper Stage)			
1	Stud – 1a and 1b separated by a tension brace. 1a has moulding to west face of stud.	1a re-used; no evidence of re-use to 1b.	
2	Stud – 2a and 2b separated by a tension brace. Quite decayed		

3	Stud – 3a and 3b. 3a decayed	3b re-used – filled mortice to outer face.	
4	Stud (centrally placed between posts)	No evidence of re-use	
5	Stud – 5a and 5b separated by a tension brace. Long slot in north face of 5b.	5b re-used.	
6	Stud – 6a and 6b separated by a tension brace. Very decayed	Both very decayed.	
7	7a and 7b separated by a tension brace. Quite decayed.	No evidence of re-use to either.	
8	Post		
9	Stud 9a and 9b separated by a tension brace. Empty mortice to 9b.	9b re-used.	
10	Stud 10a and 10b separated by a tension brace. Empty mortice to 10b.	10b reused.	
11	Stud 11a and 11b separated by a tension brace. Empty mortice to 11b, decayed.	11b re-used.	
12	Stud (centrally placed between posts). Very good condition.	No evidence of re-use.	
13	Stud 13a and 13b separated by a tension brace. Very decayed.		
14	Stud 14a and 14b separated by a tension brace.	No evidence of re-use to either.	
15	Stud – 15a and 15b separated by a tension brace.	No evidence of re-use	
16	Post	No evidence of re-use.	
17	Stud – 17a and 17b separated by a tension brace.	No evidence of re-use to 17b.	
18	Stud – 18a and 18b separated by a tension brace.	No evidence of re-use to 18b.	
19	Stud – 19a and 19b separated by a tension brace. 19b has evidence for decayed mortice.	19b reused.	
20	Stud (centrally placed).	No evidence of re-use.	

21	Stud – 21a and 21b separated by a tension brace. Very decayed. 21b has empty mortice and peg hole at base.	21b reused.	
22	Stud – 22a and 22b separated by a tension brace. Quite decayed.	No evidence of re-use to 22b.	
23	Stud – 23a and 23b separated by a tension brace. Quite decayed	No evidence of re-use to 23b.	
24	Post. More roughly finished on side nearest end of chancel.	No evidence of re-use	
East wall of East Barn (outer East face of timbers)			
P	Post		
1	Stud. Carpenter's Mark **I**		
2	Stud. Carpenter's Mark **II**		
3	Stud. Carpenter's Mark **III**		
4	Stud. Carpenter's Mark **IIII**		
5	Stud. Carpenter's Mark **V**		
6	Stud. Carpenter's Mark **IV**		
7	Intermediate Post. Carpenter's Mark **IIV**		Evidence of saw marks, suggesting it was trestle saw.
8	Stud. Carpenter's Mark **XIII** on south-facing side of stud and a rough **IIII** on north-facing side. Not tenoned in to midrail at top.	Re-used.	
9	Stud. No carpenter's marks.		
10	Stud. Carpenter's mark **IIIV** at top of stud on south face.	Re-used.	
11	Stud. Carpenter's Mark **IX**		
12	Stud. No carpenter's marks. Not tenoned in at top.	Re-used.	
13	Stud. Carpenter's mark **IIX** at top of stud on south face. Not tenoned in to midrail at top.	Re-used.	
P	Post		
Upper stage E wall of E Barn			
P	Post		

1	Stud 1a and 1b separated by a tension brace. Gouge-stamped Carpenter's Mark **C** to 1a.		
2	Stud 2a and 2b separated by a tension brace. Decayed at based, potentially hiding evidence of carpenters' marks.		
3	Stud 3a and 3b separated by a tension brace. Gouge-stamped Carpenter's Mark **CCC** to 3a.		
4	Stud 4a and 4b separated by a tension brace. Carpenter's Mark **CCCC** to 4a. There is also a further scribed carpenter's mark **/** extending across the joint between the brace and 4b.		
TB	Tension Brace. Gouge-stamped Carpenter's Mark **CCCCC**. Pegged into midrail.		
5	Stud. Gouge-stamped Carpenter's Mark **CCCCCC**.		
6	Stud. Gouge-stamped Carpenter's Mark **CCCC** visible, however decayed at base and likely that some gouge-stamps missing due to decay.		
7	Post. Mid-rails tenoned in at either side.		
8	Missing stud.		
9	Missing stud. Modern stud inserted between 8 and 9 for temporary support.		
10	Stud. Fairly decayed.		
TB	Tension brace. Scribed carpenter's mark**** extending across the joint between the base of the brace and the mid-rail.		

11	Stud 11a and 11b separated by a tension brace. Scribed carpenter's mark \\\ extending across the joint between the base of stud 11a and the mid-rail. A further scribed carpenter's mark \\ extending across the joint between the tension brace and the base of stud 11b.		
12	Stud 12a and 12b separated by a tension brace. Base of stud very decayed, removing any evidence of scribed carpenters' marks.		
13	Stud 13a and 13b separated by a tension brace. 13a quite decayed, removing evidence of carpenters' marks.		
P	Post		

Explanatory Notes

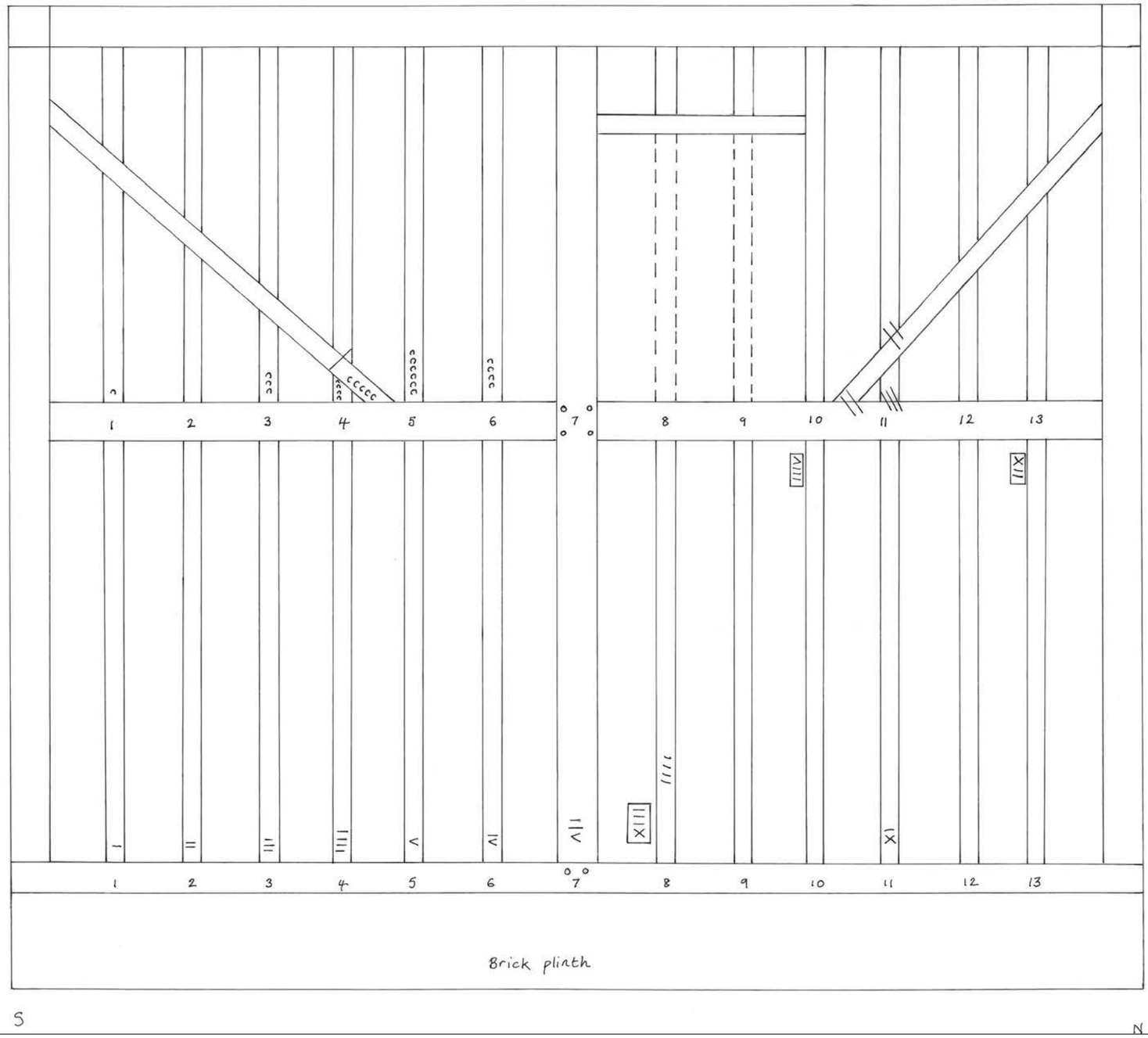
- Where 'a' and 'b' is used to describe a stud separated by a tension brace, 'a' represents the lower of the two studs and 'b' the upper.

- Where \ and / used to denote carpenters marks, each represents the different orientation of the marks.

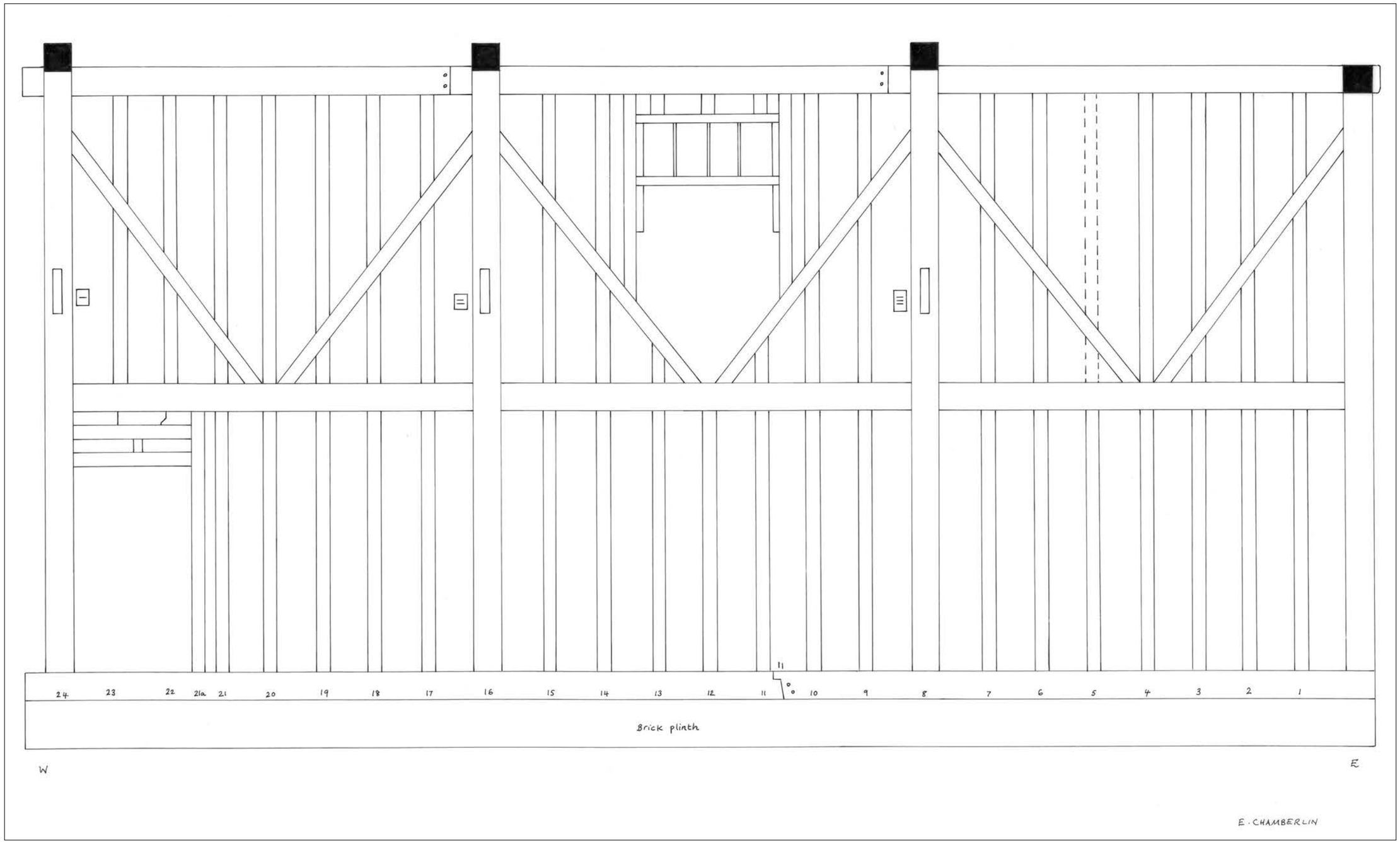
- It is important to note that the weatherboarding had only been removed from particular areas of the barn – especially from the East wall of the barn. It is therefore highly likely that many more carpenters marks (on the outer face of the barn) would have been observed, had the more weatherboarding been removed from the north and south walls of the barn.

Appendix E

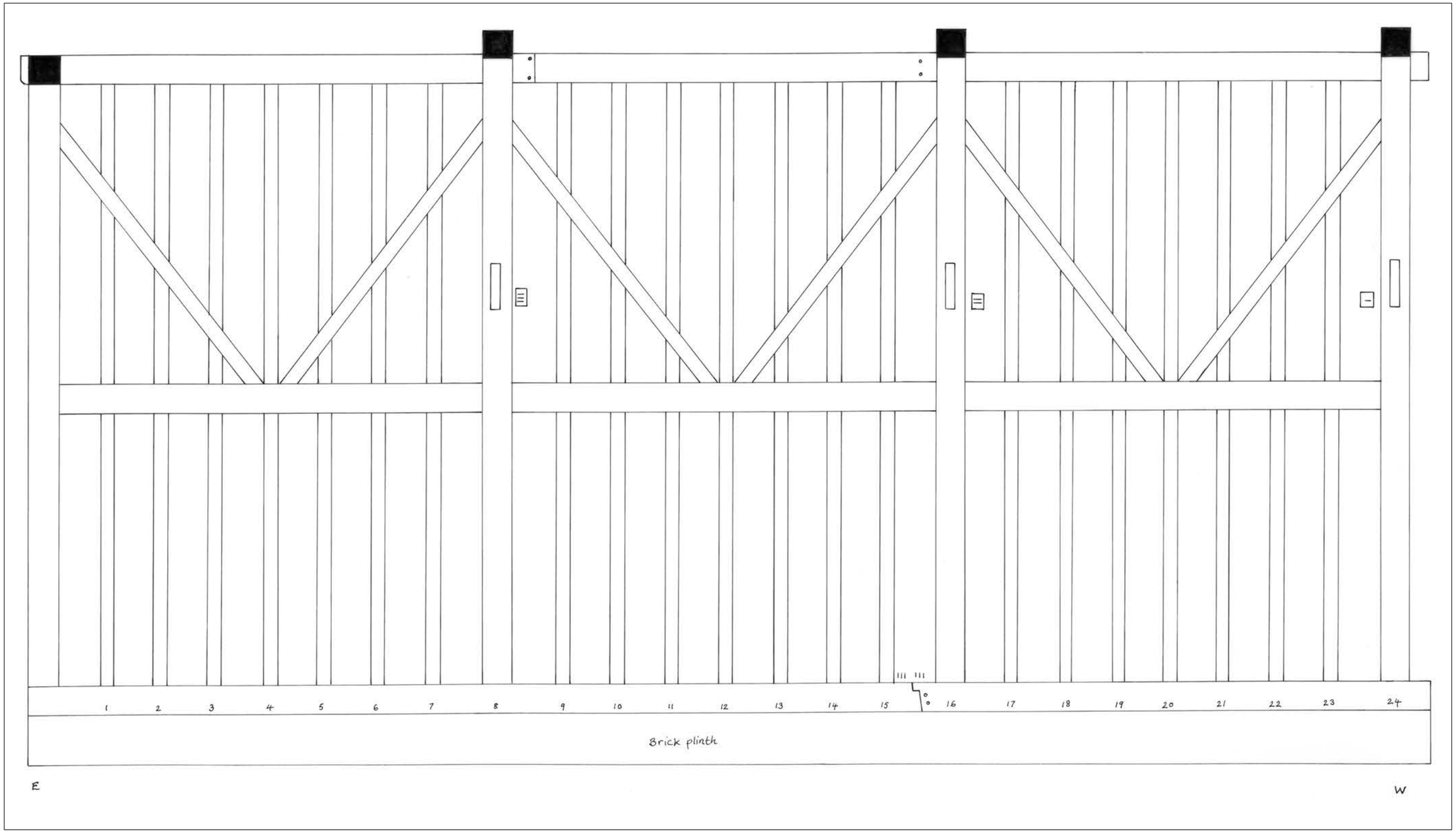
Location Diagrams for Timber Inventory



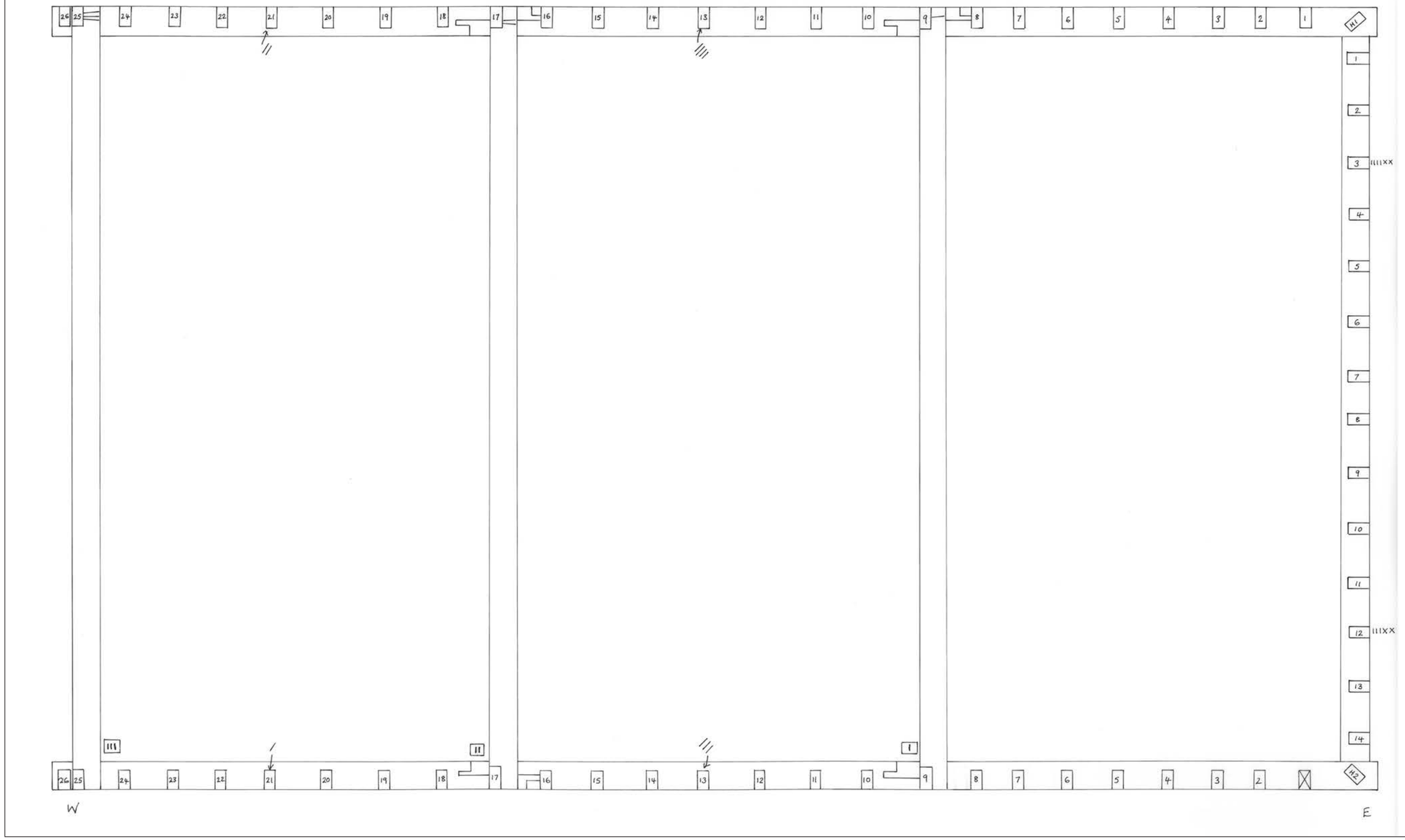
Internal elevation of the east wall of the east barn. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin



Internal elevation of the north wall of the east barn. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin



Internal elevation of the south wall of the east barn. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin



Reference plan of the east barn to accompany timber inventory. © Historic England, Elizabeth Chamberlin

Appendix F

Historic England

SCIENTIFIC DATING SERVICE

DENDROCHRONOLOGY ASSESSMENT

Name of site	Latton Priory		
Address of site	Latton Priory, London Road, North Weald Bassett, Epping Forest, Essex		
OS Grid Reference	TL 46579 06558		
Access contact	Simon Pilmer (site foreman) Gregory Pilmer (contracts manager)	Tel no	07946 760901 07802 481044
Access Address	As above		
Site Access (eg any issues/problems)	Parking to farmyard		
Notes	Active building site – full PPE required. Check availability of power		
Overall assessment	Not very good. Almost all timbers of elm, many of softwood/pine. Very small number of oak timbers, 8–12, possibly of different phases.		
Date of Assessment	26.01.2016	Assessed by	AA/RH

Please copy and paste the next section to correspond with the number of phases /areas for which assessment is requested on the Dendrochronology Application form.

Your reference *(phase)*	Roof
Description of phase or feature *(please attach plan for showing location & photos)*	
Roofs generally of principal rafter with tiebeam and collar trusses with raking queen struts from tie to collar. Trusses support single purlins which in turn support common rafters (Fig 1). Additional, diagonally set (pine?) timbers used at central crossing. Almost all these roof timbers are believed to be of elm, though some common rafters may be of pine and some other type of softwood. None of the roof timbers appear to be of oak.	
How many timbers could potentially be sampled?	150+ elm timbers 15+ pine/other timbers
How many rings do the timbers have? (approx)	30 to 50+ (elm) 40+ to 100+ (pine/other)

What is the approx size of the timbers?	20X20 cms (tiebeams) 20X10 cms (collars) 15X10 cms (principal rafters) 10X8 cms (common rafters)
Details of timbers *(eg sapwood/bark edge/fastgrown, etc)*	
Timbers mostly of elm, with a few of pine and some other type of softwood. Some of these timbers, particularly the common rafters, appear to be reused, as evidenced by redundant mortices. Some elm timbers appear to retain some sapwood, with a few having bark. None of the pine timbers appear to have sapwood or the h/s boundary.	
Access *(eg details of any issues that will need to resolved)*	
Full scaffold to site both inside and out. Platform to roof void.	
Drawings. *Will the drawings provided be adequate to locate and samples you take? If no please provide details below of what drawings are required.*	Believed that a drawn survey of the roof may be made

Your reference *(phase)*	Timber framing
Description of phase or feature *(please attach plan for showing location & photos)*	
Framing of posts, sill-beams, cross-rails, and studs, with some diagonal bracing (Fig 2). Again, almost all this framing is believed to be of elm, though there may be one or two timbers of pine and some other type of softwood. However, amongst this framing, there are a few oak timbers forming two main posts, two or three studs, and possibly a short cross-rail to the front of the building, plus a sill beam to one side (Fig 3a/b). A further oak timber, used as a lintel, is now ex-situ (awaiting disposal) but is stored on site (Fig 3c). In addition there are three, probably reused, oak beams to the ceiling of the crossing (Fig 3d). It is possible, though unlikely, that one or two further timbers may be uncovered.	
How many timbers could potentially be sampled?	150+ elm 5+ pine/other softwood 8 – 12 oak
How many rings do the timbers have? (approx)	30+ to 50+ (elm) 50+ (pine/other) 40+ to 60+ (oak)
What is the approx size of the timbers?	20X20 cms (oak posts/ceiling beams/ sills) 10X10 cms (oak studs) 15X10 cms (oak ex-situ beam) 20X20 cms (elm posts/sills) 10X10 cms (elm studs/rails) 10X10 cms (pine/other studs)
Details of timbers *(eg sapwood/bark edge/fastgrown, etc)*	

Some of the timbers have the h/s boundary, with one of the posts possibly retaining complete sapwood. Most timbers fast to moderately fast grown. Some elm timbers appear to retain some sapwood and the h/s boundary. None of the pine timbers appear to have sapwood or the h/s boundary.	
Access *(eg details of any issues that will need to resolved)*	
Full scaffold to site both inside and out. Ladder may be needed for some timbers	
Drawings. *Will the drawings provided be adequate to locate and samples you take? If no please provide details below of what drawings are required.*	Believed that a drawn survey of the framing may be made

Fig 1: View of typical roof truss (all elm)

Fig 2: View of the wall framing (mostly elm)

Figures 3a/b: View of the oak posts and studs (top) and the oak sill beam (bottom)

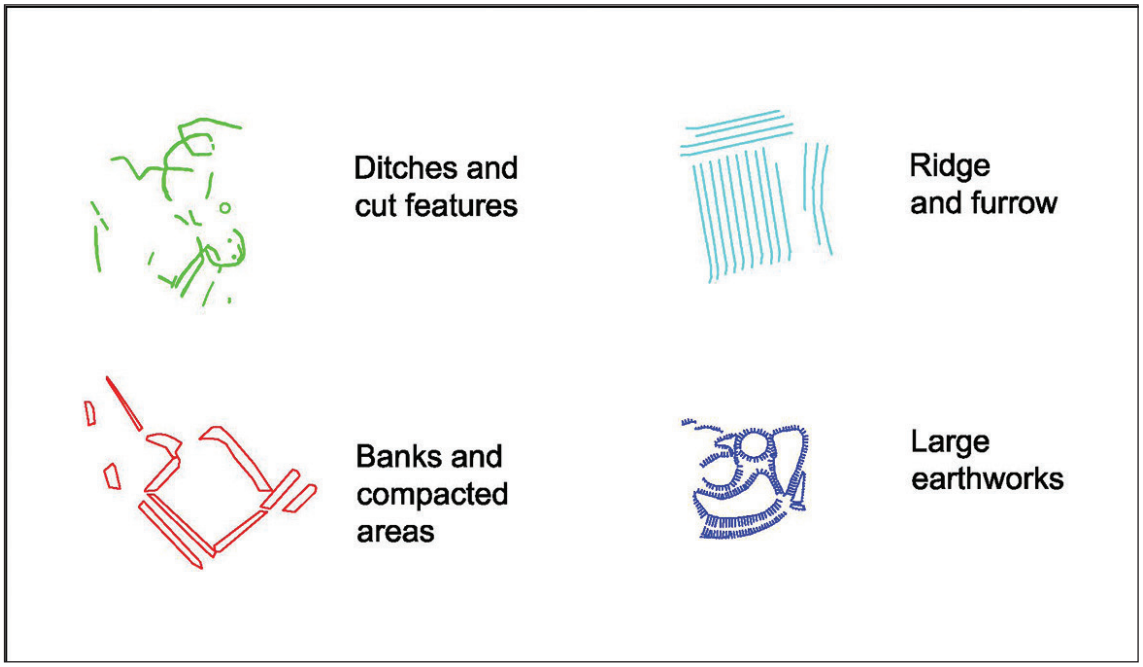
Figures 3c/d: View of the oak ex-situ timber (top) and the oak ceiling beams to the crossing (bottom)

Appendix G

Mapping Conventions and Sources Used in the Aerial Photographic and Lidar Surveys

Features recorded and conventions

Features have been mapped using National Mapping Programme mapping conventions for buried ditches and banks, but extant earthworks are depicted with T- hachures. Where a feature could not be clearly discerned the extent of the feature has been recorded.



Mapping conventions used for recorded features mapped from lidar and aerial photographs.

Sources

The sources consulted comprised both aerial photographs and lidar images.

A number of differing lidar visualisation generated from Environment Agency lidar flown in 2001-2. The source data was surveyed at 2m resolution giving a reasonable view of the surviving earthworks.

The aerial photographic sources held by Historic England

The majority were vertical photographs (187 prints) taken for non-archaeological purposes between 1946 and 2000 flown by the RAF, Ordnance Survey, Meridian (MAL) and Hunting Surveys (HSL).

Oblique specialist photographs (11 prints in total) held by Historic England were also

consulted, but found to contain no additional useful archaeological information.

Google Earth and Bing were also consulted and those from Google Earth's 2009 survey found to be most useful for recording the cropmark traces of buried former field boundaries and trackways in the farmland around the priory site.

Map Sources

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