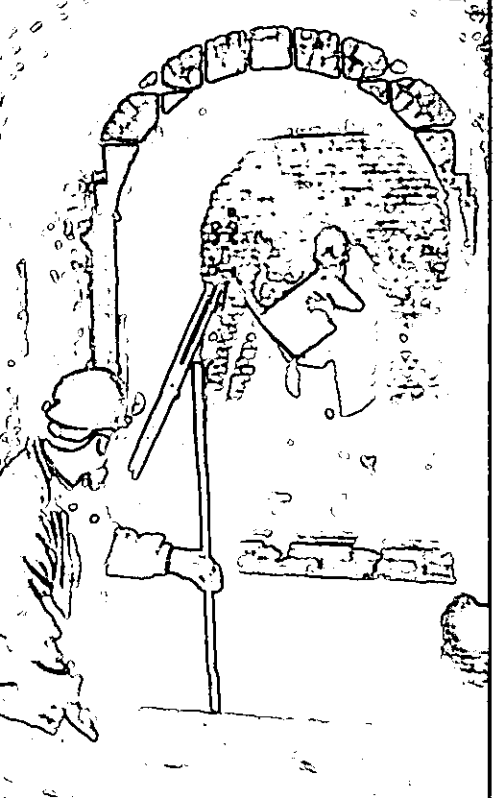

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SOUTH COMMON, LINCOLN:

An archaeological investigation of an urban open space

David Field

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SURVEY REPORT

LINCOLN, SOUTH COMMON:

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CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout most of the historic period there were in Lincoln four areas of rough 'waste' ground owned collectively by the inhabitants and administered on their behalf by the City authorities. In conjunction with two open fields situated to the north of the city, also held communally, where each inhabitant was able to cultivate crops, these provided opportunity for grazing stock and thereby supplementing diet or income. The open fields were finally enclosed late in the 18th century and, despite quarrels, rights in them were extinguished, but the four areas of 'waste', the Commons, continued to be used in the traditional manner, two of them to the present day.

The four Commons were not distributed evenly around the city for social convenience, but instead occupied those portions of ground considered of little or marginal use for cultivation or building purposes, essentially the damp, wet, more clayey areas (Fig 1). West Common occupied the lower levels to the north of the River Till. The Holmes too, was a marshy area situated at the confluence of the Till and Witham south of the Brayford Pool, and which was sold off in 1870. Monks Leys Common comprised a portion of the steep, quarry enhanced, escarpment to the east of the city, and was converted into an arboretum in 1870, with an adjacent enclosed area being used for a 'Beast and Sheep Fair'. Finally South Common, the subject of this report, lay on the opposite side of the river, partly on the swampy flood plain and partly on the north-facing hill slope and this has survived as an open space to this day.

As the crow flies it lies over 2km from the Cathedral, but is separated from the core of the medieval town by the River Witham. Isolated from the commercial centre, early land-use here developed in association with local villages and settlements, Bracebridge, Wigford and Canwick, rather than the medieval town across the river. Consequently use and administration of the Common is intricately related to these places, and in particular to Canwick, to the extent that it was formerly known as Canwick Common.

This, the South (or Canwick) Common, a large piece of open ground towards the edge of the suburban development of the city, contains an extensive series of archaeological earthworks, which were analytically surveyed during the earlier part of 2004 in order that they might be examined, interpreted, understood and appropriate areas deserving of conservation identified. Together with a similar study of the West Common (Brown 2003), the investigation formed part of an examination of the archaeological potential of urban commons and wasteland across the country as a whole and, in addition, fed into an ongoing chronological study of the archaeology of the City of Lincoln referred to as the Lincoln Archaeological Research Assessment (LARA).

The Common is a predominantly north-west facing tract of land, situated on the south-

eastern slopes of the Witham Valley centred on NGR SK 976695. Rising 45m in height over a distance of 500m, its form follows the contours and curvature as the valley arcs to the south. Over 400 ha in extent, it measures 1.5 km from north to south and just less than 500m in width, with a total circumference of 4.25km. Now bounded by the urban development of South Park in the north, Cross Cliffe Road in the west, Canwick Road in the east, only in the south-east is there remaining open ground, where agricultural land reaches to the lip of the bluff above the valley slopes.

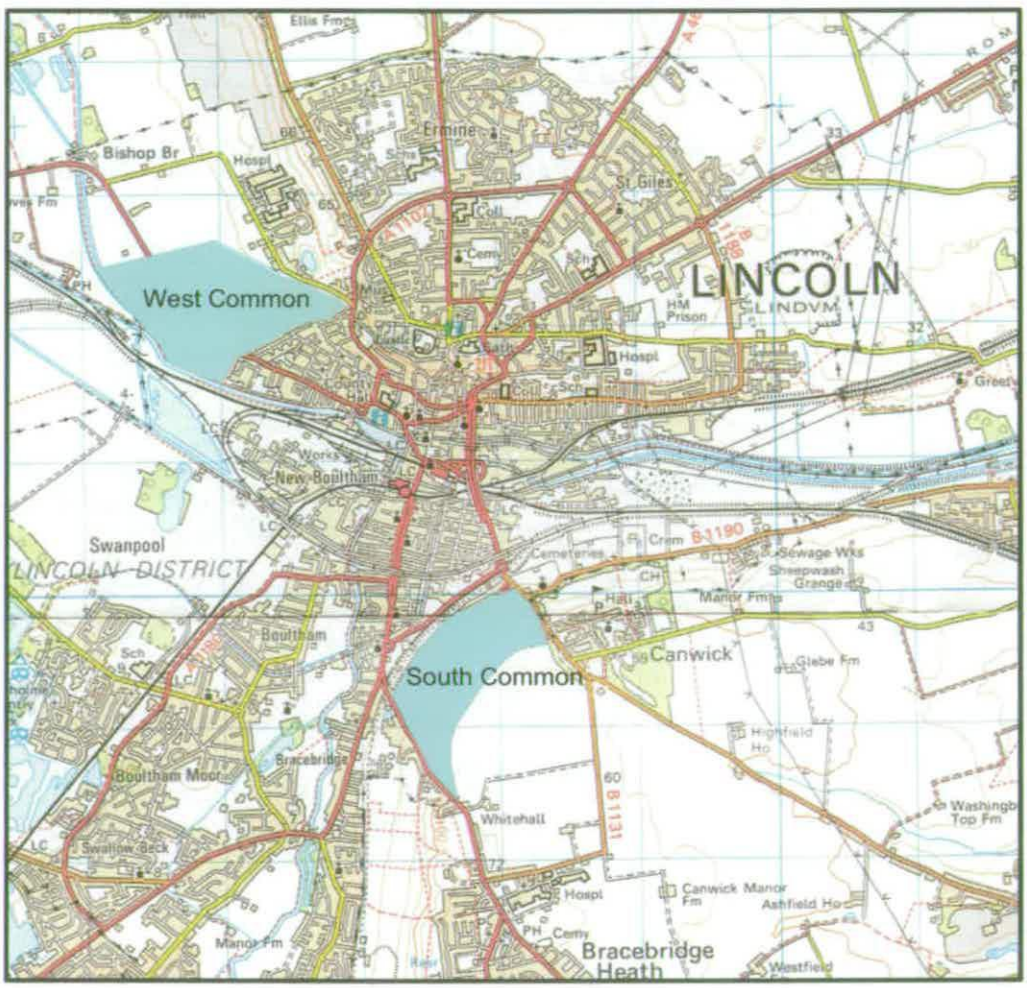

Figure 1 *Location of the two surviving Commons in Lincoln (based on an Ordnance Survey map. ©Crown copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage licence no. 100019088).*

2. GEOLOGY

The geological framework informing the morphology of the site is provided by the Lincoln Cliff, a major north to south aligned ridge with a pronounced west facing scarp that extends from Grantham in the south almost as far as the Humber in the north. This dominant feature is interrupted by a river breach at Lincoln and South Common occupies the southern, north-facing slopes of this gap. The ridge itself comprises a sequence of deposits that outcrop along the face of the escarpment, each of which inform and influence land-use in a different way (e.g. Mills 1957).

Much of the lower part of the Common is clay, part of the Upper Lias deposit that elsewhere in the vicinity has been utilised for brick making (Wilson 1948, 25). Above this, amongst a series of shales, lies the Northampton Ironstone which is said to contain a high percentage of iron and was heavily worked in south Lincolnshire and in Lincoln itself, north of which the iron content diminishes (Wilson 1948, 88). Bedford (1839: 1843) records and illustrates this as four separate beds of successively ferruginous gravel with nodules of iron pyrites, clunch clay, ferruginous gravel and sand with masses of pyrites, and the ferruginous Ochry stone bed through which spring water seeps depositing ferruginous ochre along its course (Bedford 1843, 19). 2.5m of Ironstone was recorded as resting on the Lias Clay in Mr Best's brick pit at Bracebridge just to the south of the Common, while resting on the Northamptonshire Ironstone at Canwick are the lowest of the Lincolnshire Limestone Beds (Ussher *et al* 1888, 39).

The Lincolnshire Limestone Formation, the highest of the deposits occupying South Common, comprises bands of limestone separated by layers of clay and sand. These were investigated by Ashton (1980) by comparing exposures in quarries and railway cuttings and correlating them with the observations of earlier workers. Each deposit varies in its useful characteristics: the lower oolite bed used for building stone; above which is a bed said to be good for foundations; above which is a further bed good for building; above this the 'silver bed' a durable stone used for chimneys and floors and which has been quarried on the northern side of the river and evidently used for construction work in the Cathedral (Wilson 1948, 91). Elsewhere in Lincolnshire the deposits have been widely used for lime. Springs issue from the impervious levels at the base of the limestone and Northamptonshire Sand (Wilson 1948, 6).

The quaternary processes in the area are not well defined. The ridge top of the Lincoln Cliff stood proud of ice throughout the Pleistocene and, solifluction episodes aside, any

Palaeolithic sites on the plateau might be expected to be *in situ*, although the severe periglacial effects may be responsible for some of the fissuring visible on aerial photographs on the summit of the cliff (NMR 12855/08 (Figure 2)).

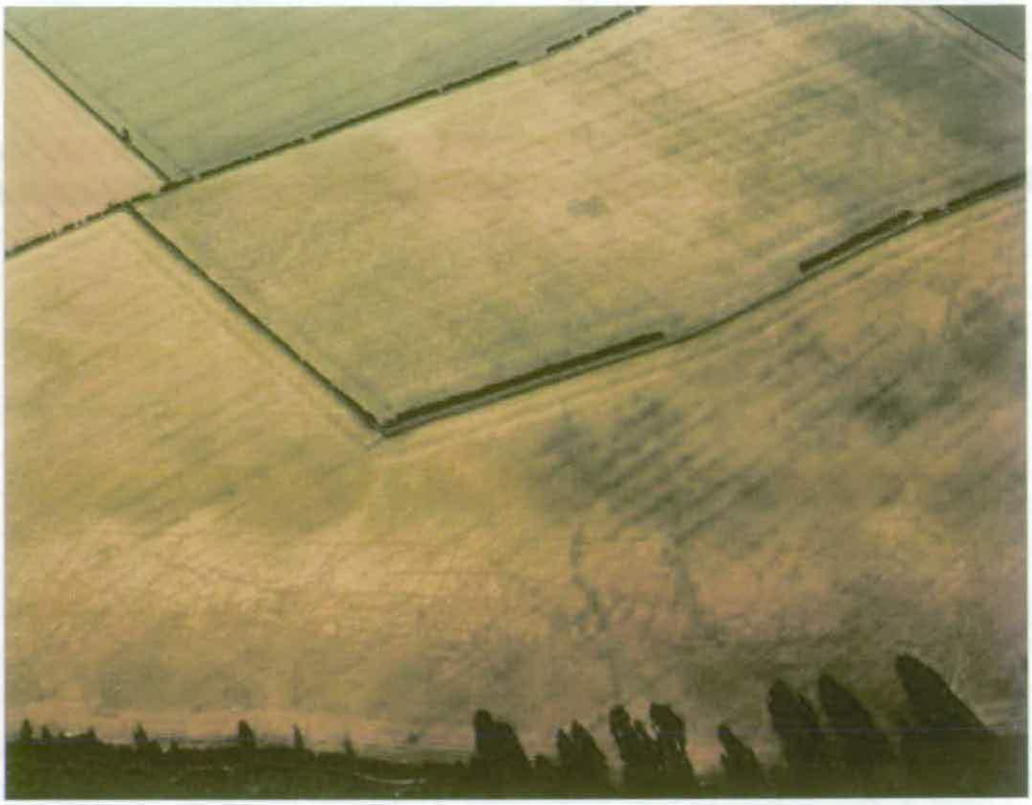

Figure 2 *Crop marks on the plateau immediately above South Common marking the presence of fissures in the underlying limestone (NMR 12855/08 ©Crown copyright. NMR).*

The gap through the Lincoln Cliff was originally of glacial creation and thought to carry a forerunner of the River Trent, but is now occupied by a diverted River Witham. While a considerable amount of solifluction will have contributed, the drift deposits that fill the gap are mainly riverine gravel terraces that rest on the Lias Clay (Ussher *et al* 1888) and mark the presence of several stages of a Pleistocene high level river (Ministry of Housing 1955). A 2.5m deposit of quartzite gravel was recorded at the Sewage Works at Canwick sealed by almost 6m of later sands and clays. A series of sand and gravel terrace remnants and islets either side of the present channel have been recorded and others might be expected to survive.

The precise course of the river channels during later prehistory is unknown but they will have shifted considerably throughout the Holocene, with the stream probably braiding in response to deposited silt islands and the whole regime shifting and metamorphosing periodically. Expected river mechanics alone might indicate that the T-junction formed

by the Witham and Till rivers is likely to be a historic construction and the only interpretive map produced of this period (Jones *et al* 2003, 16 fig 4.4) although of enormous use is perhaps over simplistic. Waters emanating from the springs on the Common are likely to have collected and fed into the former marshy area to the east of Wigford as a small stream or series of rivulets. Aerial photographs depict amorphous vegetation marks, otherwise inexplicable, that may depict the course in the low northern part of the Common to the west of the South Park road bridge over the railway cutting. It might even be that the earlier course of the Sincil Dyke was influenced by and adopted such a feature.

The extent to which the area might have been wooded during the ancient past is unknown, but deforestation either as part of a natural or anthropogenic process will have led to erosion and deposition of material down slope. The present soils on the lower part of the valley slope are sandy loams of the Blackwood series, considered suitable for the cultivation of root crops or cereals, although to avoid waterlogging drains need to be constructed. On the slopes, fine loam Wickham 2 soils occur, but again drainage is poor and such areas are generally used for pasture. Over the Limestone on the upper slopes and plateau are shallow and well drained fine loams, Elmton 1 soils, suitable for root crops and cereal cultivation (Soil Survey 1983). Employment of the area of South Common as pasture would not therefore be considered an inefficient use of the land, but even so, ditching has been considered necessary to improve drainage.

3. LANDSCAPE HISTORY

Situated beside the confluence of the Rivers Till and Witham, the area might almost be considered a better settlement location than Lincoln itself, were it not for its north facing aspect that unfortunately ensures that much of it receives the sun late in the day. Nevertheless, ridge and furrow observed on aerial photographs (e.g. PFFO 0049RAF300006) in neighbouring Canwick indicate that these valley slopes were certainly cultivated at an early date (Figure 3) and given the field layout depicted on early maps of Bracebridge to the west there is no reason why the same did not apply there. The latter parish utilised a 2km wide land-unit that focussed on the River Witham, with fields and lands extending upslope and on to the plateau. In contrast, settlement at Canwick, occupying a unit of only slightly greater width, appears to have developed on the upper slopes of the hill.

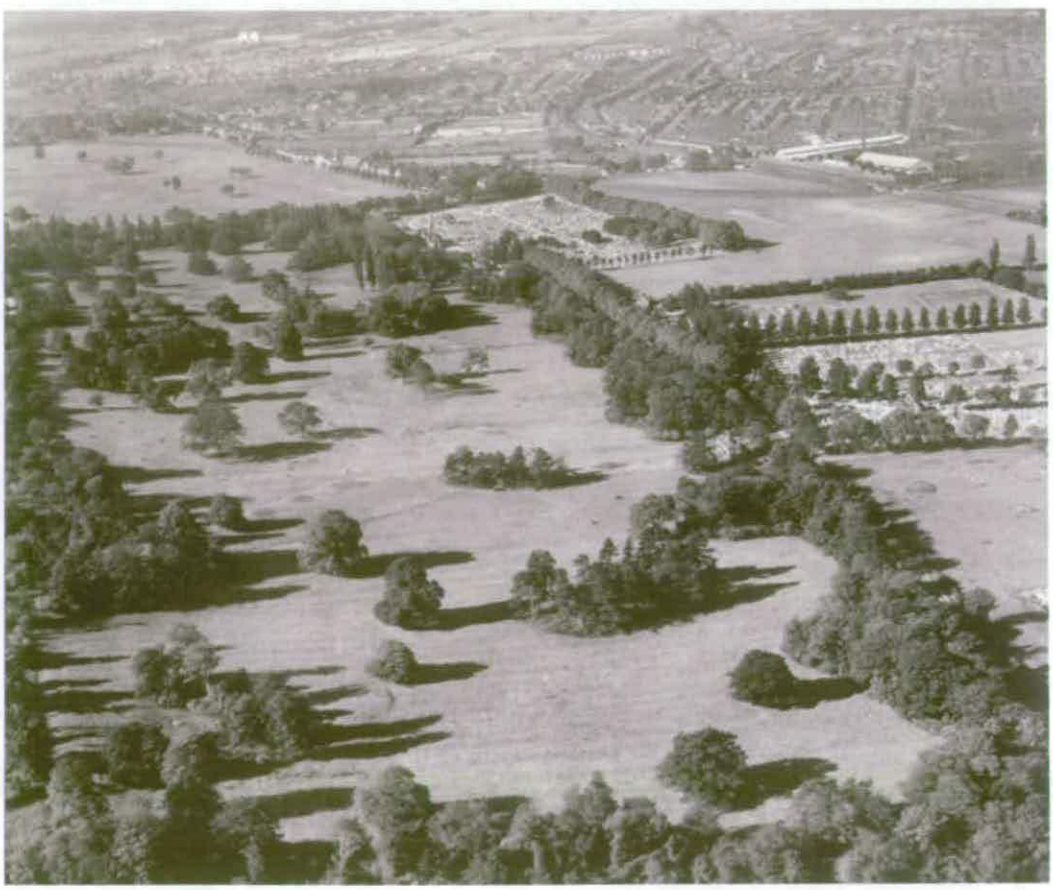

Figure 3 *Ridge and furrow within parkland at Canwick, with South Common in the left distance. (Photo RAF/CPE/UK/2333 PFFO 0049 English Heritage (NMR) RAF photography).*

That the intervening land, at least on the face of it, was not utilised for settlement appears curious. The plot was sizeable enough to contain permanent occupation utilising similar

resources to those parishes on either side of it. The village or suburb of Wigford, situated alongside the Fosse Way (NMR Linear 576), one of two Roman roads that converged here, may have influenced matters, but there is no documentary indication of claim over the land and indeed there has been a suggestion that together with Bracebridge, Canwick and Wigford, it once formed part of a larger estate (Mills 2001). At some unknown date the expansion of Wigford was curtailed by the construction of the Sinsil Dyke, thought to have provided a defensive perimeter to that settlement (Vince, in Jones *et al* 2003) and while this helped with drainage in Wigford (Mills 2001) it all but severed casual contact with the area. At some point traffic to Wigford was channelled across bridges and through formal entrances at Great Bargate (NMR SK 96 NE 14) and Little Bargate, both of which were evidently linked to each other by walling, and this only served to emphasise the isolation.

In some respects the vacuum was occupied by two early hospitals and a religious house, the Hospital of St Sepulchre (NMR SK 96 NE 15), St Catherine's Priory (NMR SK 96 NE 13) and the Hospital and Church of the Holy Innocents respectively (NMR SK 96 NE 12). The former pair were situated in the area of the modern St Catherine's Church, between the Newark Road (A1434) and the River Witham, with the hospital placed northernmost: and the latter to the south of Lincoln City football ground (NMR SK 97 SE 117), bisected by a former railway cutting and partially occupied by Queens Park School and by allotments. Both hospitals were established relatively early in the medieval period and, along with the Priory, will have had considerable lay support and operated as independent, self-sufficient units.

The available documents imply that there was a degree of uncertainty concerning the boundaries of the Common. Originally its range must have encompassed marshland stretching northwards as far as the river incorporating what later became the Bargate Closes and, prior to the construction of the Hospital of St Sepulchre, to the river in the west (Mills 2001, 10). Thus it included the triangle of land between the London and Sleaford Roads, referred to as Swine Green, and a considerable area of the lower meadowland of Canwick in the area known as the Cow Paddle. Encroachments on the area were evidently being made from Domesday onwards (Hill 1990, 343, 353), although the present boundaries have become well established as a result of early mapping and the Act of Enclosure of 1787.

In 1465, a charter of Edward IV (guaranteed by Charles II in 1660) eventually brought Bracebridge and Canwick (as well as Branston and Waddington) within the jurisdiction of the city of Lincoln (Anon 1791, 557) and it left the status of the unoccupied ground unclear. The result of an investigation in 1585 presumably masks rival claims and counter quarrels regarding rights (Appendix 1), but it allocated an area referred to as the Ox Pasture to Canwick for use in the summer months from March 25th, the date of the Annunciation, until the 1st of September, after which it was to be used by the residents of Lincoln 'as before it hath been accustomed'. The Ox Pasture appears to have been located to the north of the

Washingborough Road (maps in Mills 2001a, 135; 2001b, 7) and it may be that at one time all of the lower ground to the north of the Washingborough Road as far as the Washingborough parish boundary was part of the Common. In terms of pasture allocation, the townspeople seem to come off worse here and it is worth considering whether they were using it in a different way. Certainly the needs of urban inhabitants differed from those of the agricultural settlement at Canwick. On the rest of the common they fared little better. Canwick husbandmen could keep 2 horses, 6 cows and 4 young cattle all year round and Canwick cottagers 2 cows, while Lincoln freemen living in Wigford could only keep 3 cows or horses and other citizens just one animal. The people of Canwick were entitled to impound animals found transgressing as well as impose fines for their release (Lincolnshire Archives LC Jappanned Deed Boxes 5a Commons).

The position was further formalised in 1787 when Enclosure Commissioners examined the area and established boundaries and access ways. The Award (Lincolnshire Archives Canwick Parish Enclosure Award) confirmed that the Common was to be used and enjoyed by the residents of Lincoln forever (Appendix 2) and established the present division between Canwick and the Lincoln South Common (see Mills 2001a, 135; 2001b, 9).

Responsibility for care of the common rested in the Chamberlain of the South Ward of Lincoln i.e. Wigford. The officer was empowered to impound errant or illegally pastured stock in a pinfold, one of which was recorded as being sited near the Bargate and another on the Canwick Road. Increasingly, there were problems relating to stock blocking the highways, while the very gates of the Common proved a hindrance to traffic where route ways passed through and it was eventually determined that wardens were needed. In 1834 a contract was set up with William and Thorpe Cooper to repair all fences, gates, ditches and watercourses for 5 years for the payment of £30 a year (Appendix 3). However, the Common Committee soon considered that the work had been neglected, the ditches being choked and fences left in disrepair; although they also recognised that £30 per year was perhaps insufficient to carry out the work adequately and they resolved to end the contract (Lincolnshire Archive L1/1/1/9).

There must have been renewed concern over the management of the Common for by 1836 it appears that there was a dispute concerning the responsibilities of the new City Corporation and an enquiry was set up both into the state of the Commons and to determine the extent to which the Corporation was responsible for administration and maintenance (Appendix 3). Rights then understood by custom allowed the householders of South Ward (i.e. Wigford) to pasture 1 cow, freemen 2 cows and freemen who were also householders 3 cows. The beneficial rights of Canwick residents and other restrictions of former years had evidently been forgotten, subsumed by the Act of Enclosure. The same rights applied to Swine Green, a triangular piece of common land at the junction of the Fosse Way and Cross

O'Cliffe Hill Road, although from the beginning of May until the end of September pigs could be turned out there instead of cattle; hence, obviously, its name. The owners of St Catherine's and the Malandry Close also claimed rights of pasture between 25th March and 24th November; the areas that the two institutions were entitled to use were separated by a ditch or watercourse dividing the Common from north to south, the Malandry being confined to the east and St Catherine's to the west of it (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/1/9). The origins of these rights remained obscure and the town clerk was asked to investigate further, but probably result from long running disputes about grazing whereby in 1516 St Catherine's was restricted to the area to the west of '...the path that goes up to the myllne against the Malandry at the south end' (Hill 1990, 351) .

It was evidently decided to invite tenders to construct lodges for the wardens. There were several applications to do the work. One dated July 1838 and signed by William Rickers, William Walker and William Holmes offered to '...Erect and Complete the Four Lodges on the South and West Commons according to Plans and Specifications prepared to Show the Same for the Sum of Five Hundred Eighty Eight Pounds Twelve Shillings and Sixpence £588-12-6.' Similar tenders were received for £460-0-0, £495-0-0, £368-0-0 and £622-0-0 (Lincolnshire Archives City of Lincoln Roll 266 Box 19). However, the cost may have resulted in some reconsideration for by 1841, rather than employ a separate warden for each Common, the Corporation appear to have provided one for all (Appendix 4). The successful candidate was John Mason, a printer. As Warden or Keeper of the Commons, he was responsible for supporting and maintaining them and preventing illegal pasturing, and was given powers to impound stock and recover fines (Lincolnshire Archives Lincoln City parcels 38/168). A plan of the South Common surveyed by William Skill in 1855 indicates the extent to which plans had changed regarding the lodges but is unfortunately missing from the archive (as is another by the same surveyor dated 1869 (Lincolnshire Archives City of Lincoln Rolls 213 and 214).

After much canvassing, the City agreed to the proposal of the Great Northern Railway Company, for the Grantham to Honington railway line to pass across the Common (NMR linear 1011). The course, surveyed by Joseph Cubitt, cut across the northern end of the Common and the line was opened in April 1867 (Ruddock 1974, 126). This left some isolated portions of land to the north of the railway, which in 1869 the Corporation duly proposed to sell off along with the Holmes and Monks Leys Common (Appendix 5). An Act of Parliament was required for this and local inhabitants were informed of the Corporation's intention. Documents were prepared to authorise the Corporation to sell '...10 acres and 30 perches...of a common called the South or Canwick Common and being that portion of the same common which is situate between the Sincil Dyke and that portion of the Lincoln and Washingborough Turnpike Road, running through the said South or Canwick Common, 2 chains or thereabouts south of Bargate Bridge...'. It was considered that the profit made from these sales should provide for '...better draining, fencing, levelling, altering, planting,

ornamenting and otherwise improving' the Common, some of which had already been implemented, and for the construction and maintenance of a lodge for the warden. Rights of pasture would continue, every freeman '.....shall retain the right to stock either the West Common or the South Common with two head of cattle.....may let his or her right to any other person resident and inhabiting within the said city.....'. Part of the functions of a warden would be to keep a register '...wherein he shall enter all stock depastured' (Lincolnshire Archives LDP 1/105)'. The Act was passed in 1870. The plan of proposed building sites dated 1870, depicts 10 plots between the road and the Sincil Dyke. It also shows the position of a Lodge on the edge of the Common, now a Police Station, a little to the south of the toll cottage, with the Pinfold opposite it (also see Lincolnshire Archives Lincoln City Deed Boxes 5a).

Swine Green was similarly broken up into 7 lots and sold for building. The sales particulars point out that '...Canwick Common, which will face or be in close proximity to the several plots of ground, has lately been planted, drained, and ornamented - ornamental pieces of water have been made, and a fancy iron park fence will be placed down from the Canwick gate entrance to near the toll Bar, so as to separate the Common from the road, which will give the Common a perfect Park-like appearance. The two gates at the west and east end of the Common will be taken away immediately the fence is put up'

In 1875 the Corporation proposed to sell off further portions of the Common and, anticipating some opposition, prepared a pamphlet outlining their case (Lincolnshire Archives Lincoln City Jappaned Deed Box 5E). '...The Corporation has well considered the present condition of the South and West Commons, their practicality and use, and how far they may be made more useful and beneficial to the Citizens generally....The anomalies of the mode of stocking the Commons were swept away by the Commons Act of 1870, but the Corporation cannot shut their eyes to the fact that a great deal of illegal stocking now exists.....The Corporation therefore propose to apply for an Act in the ensuing session of Parliament for power to sell by auction or by private contract the Cow Paddle or part thereof, also to sell the margins of the South Common.....'. Again the reason given was to allow improvements in planting, drainage and make and maintain cricket, rifle practice and other recreational facilities. They also proposed to change the stocking arrangements by auctioning to the highest bidder, bidding to take place before April 30th each year, in order to provide funds to pay the Warden's salary and to construct two lodges. A Commons Committee would determine the number of cattle that the Common would carry.

The sale of the Cow Paddle was strongly opposed and a formal petition signed by local citizens sent to the Corporation. '...We the Undersigned Resident Householders and Freemen of the City of Lincoln, being of the opinion that the proposed Scheme for the Sale of the Cow Paddle..... the application of the monies to arise from such sale....and for limiting the number of Horses and cattle which may be depastured in the South and West

Commons and for letting the Rights of Pasturage upon the said Commons by public auction, is objectionable in several important particulars, hereby respectfully request that the Corporation will not take steps to promote any Bill in the ensuing Session of Parliament for carrying into effect such Scheme; but will grant the Householders and Freemen more time to consider the same, and make their objections and amendments thereto'. The Cow Paddle was retained, but by 1883 almost all of the areas sold off had houses on them (Mills and Wheeler 2005, 101).

Alongside these events, everyday business continued. In 1884, Joseph Blades, Warden of the Commons (Kelly's Directory 1885), reported Mr Morley 'for placing a Cow on the Common on Friday last without having the same registered or branded', while the following year there was concern about the yew trees after two horses died when the fencing remained unrepaired (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/1).

Ordnance Surveys of 1886 and 1887 published at scales of 25" (1889) and 6" (1889) respectively, indicate that a degree of development had taken place east of the Wigford suburb by that date. The enclosed fields on the valley floor oriented north-north-east encroached on what was formerly probably common land, but themselves were being adopted as units of housing development. A second railway line, the Great Northern and Great Eastern Joint Railway, cut across the area, making north to south movement difficult. A terrace of villas was constructed along the desirable piece of ground backing on to the Lincoln to Honington line, facing the by now reduced South Common. To the east of the Sleaford Road the Cow Paddle was depicted as divided into closes with a new cemetery in the angle of the Sleaford and Washingborough Roads.

With an increasing population in Wigford, the burial of the dead was an escalating problem. The Burial Board, representing St Botolph's, St Peter at Gowts and other parishes applied in 1884 to enlarge the burial ground already established on the Common in 1856 (Mills 2001, 141) by purchasing a further portion of the Common, with the intent of extending the ground to the east (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/1). However, after several months consideration the Corporation determined that 'in the interests of the Public', they were not in a position to sell any of the land.

The area of the Malandry Close and former Leper Hospital is shown as bisected by the railway line, at this point a wide and deep cutting, though with three bridges across it to provide access for those insistent enough to use the Common. On the Common itself, five ponds were depicted, one in the southern corner at the east end, one at the southern end; the other three relatively close to each other and located centrally; two of them fenced and surrounded by trees. Other than the position of occasional trees the only other feature of note was the presence of three separate rifle butts on the higher ground, two with firing points at 500 yards, the other at 600 yards, to the north of the railway line. The former lodge (if indeed it was such) was now the City Police Out Station, while Normanby House occupied

the site of the Malandry.

To celebrate Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887, it was agreed that 'a Bon-Fire' be made at the top of the Common (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/1), the exact site being carefully selected by the Deputy Chairman, presumably to give it maximum visibility across the City. After a day of festivities and games on the Common, a firework display accompanied the bon-fire, followed by a torch light procession (Redmore 2002). By the turn of the century, the term Canwick Common was no longer in use in Corporation literature; South Common prevailed. (e.g. Lincolnshire Archives LDP 1/296).

In 1913 there were proposals to construct '...an Open Air School' on the Malandry and applications by them to open two gates and construct a sewer and water drain across part of the Common to South Park were approved by the Commons and Markets Committee (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/9).

Towards the end of summer 1914, there were further moves by the Corporation to extinguish the rights of Freemen regarding stocking of the Commons. It was recognised, however, that this would not be popular and the matter was consequently put aside until peace returned (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/9) by which time proposals appeared to have been toned down. Only minor changes were introduced in 1916 whereby householders were defined as '...tenants or occupying owner'. In the summer of that year, the Commons and Markets Committee considered applications from 59 people across the city '...to pasture animals on the Commons in addition to the one animal that each householder was entitled to pasture by law...', but it was agreed to limit to 20 the number of animals that any individual could pasture there. The traditional use of the Common primarily for pasture was beginning to disappear, increasingly replaced by leisure and recreational pursuits, particularly golf, cricket and football.

After World War II, further trees were planted that enhanced the polite, park-like environment. The inscription on one cage reads:

'The trees were planted in 1946 to commemorate rural Britain's achievement of raising nearly £9,000,000 for the service of the Red Cross Agriculture Fund during the World War 1939 1945. Of this amount the County of LINCOLNSHIRE subscribed £448, 404 .
Through God's good grace, through strength of English Oak.
We have preserved out faith, our throne, our land.
Now with out freedom saved from tyrants yoke.
We plant these trees. Remember why they stand.'

4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

No previous archaeological work appears to have taken place on the Common, although a number of excavations have taken place in Wigford around Monson Street and at Lincoln City football ground. In addition, some chance archaeological finds have been reported from the area and these have assisted knowledge and interpretation.

The river margins provide a superb location for early activity and given the utilisation of such places on similar river systems, it would perhaps be surprising if there were no evidence of prehistoric occupation here. At present, however, there is little evidence for such activity. A pecked and ground axe of rock Group I from Cornwall was found in 1952 in Canwick village (at NGR SK 985695), just two hundred metres east of the modern Common boundary (Cummins and Moore 1973: McK Clough and Cummings 1988) and a further stone axe, presumably ground, was found on the Cow Paddle (at NGR SK 984703) in about 1932 (M Jones pers comm), but was not located at the City Museum. Neither is it listed among the axes petrologically investigated by Cummins and Moore (1973). The siting places it close to the northern boundary of the cemetery. Such axes of rock foreign to Lincolnshire are likely to have been carefully curated in the Neolithic period and where complete are more likely to indicate a ritual deposit than practical activity such as tree clearance.

A large primary series Collared Urn (NMR TF 07 SW18: LCNCC 295.15) was discovered in a sand pit (at NGR TF 000703) in 1914, in the area now occupied by the sewage works considerably east of the present Common. Two Middle Bronze Age palstaves (NMR SK97SE11) with shield ornament below the stop ridge and now in the British Museum, were also discovered in the same locality (Philips 1934, 173: also Davey 1973, number 53). A probable cemetery, comprising seven round barrows (NMR TF07SW55), was recorded from air photographs just a few hundred metres to the east, focussed around two locations (NGR TF 00167068 and TF 00287068). Three were noted as earthworks on early aerial photographs, although like the others have since been ploughed. Archaeological fieldwalking here by the Washingborough Field Group in 1997 indicated that these survive as shallow mounds with Bronze Age potsherds being recovered from the surface of the most prominent (SMR 60930-L160). In Canwick, the field names 'Berghes' mentioned in documents in 1251, and the 'Barowes' in 1602 (Cameron 1985, 213), are likely to indicate the presence of prehistoric barrows. Recent documentary research has traced these to the same area as those noted above (Mills and Mills 1997). Also at Canwick, 'Gildehou' is mentioned in a 13th century document, while the mound said by Hill (1948, 231) to have supported the city gallows at the junction of Heighington Lane with Branston Road may also have been a barrow.

The only other indication of presence during prehistory is a Bronze Age cinerary urn that was recorded from 'Canwick Farm', although whether Canwick Heath Farm or Canwick Manor Farm is unclear (Philips 1935, 163).

A number of Roman and Romano-British finds have been recovered from the Common, two at least of military origin and others indicating personal ornaments indicative of funerary activity. The first of these, a pair of bronze tweezers (Fig 4) were found during 'railway operations on Canwick Common' (LCNCC 1930.56: Trollope 1866, 304-5), presumably the Honington and Lincoln Railway, which was opened in 1867 (Leleux 1976, 198). The presence of inscribed tombstone slabs at Monson Street were thought to define part of an extensive (?roadside) cemetery located to the east of the High Street in Wigford (Trollope 1860, 19) and the find provided an extension to the distribution of that material.

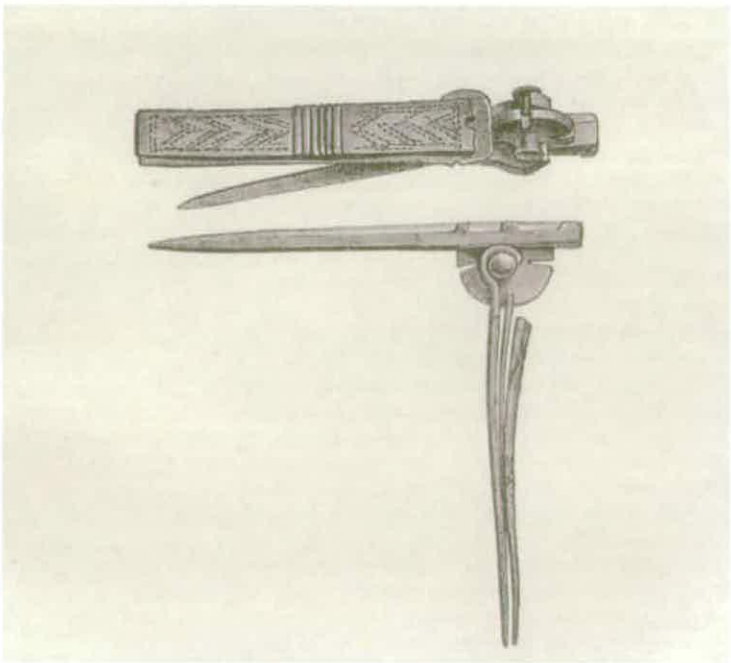

Figure 4 *Bronze tweezers found on South Common (from Trollope 1866).*

An inscribed tombstone thought to date to the earliest years of the occupation was found on the Common in 1909 during the process of levelling the ground for a cricket pitch (Smith 1909, 12; 1929, 9-10: Collingwood and Wright 1999 No 257). At its meeting on 13 November 1908, the Commons and Markets Committee of the City Council discussed the request of the Lincoln Amateur Cricket Association to even-out and smooth the ground for some cricket pitches in order that they would be serviceable for the following season (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/8). The request was acceded to and in the following February during the

process of flattening 'a mound' as part of this work, fragments of the tombstone were revealed. The process was monitored by the Commons Warden and reported to the City Museum, where the find was deposited. The cricket pitches were located on the lower, more level, ground, one early reference being to a site in the northeast of the Common. The inscription on the tombstone is translated as "Gaius Valerius, son of Gaius, of the Maecian tribe, soldier of the Ninth legion, Standard-bearer, in the century of Hospes, aged 35. Served fourteen years. He left instructions in his will for this monument. He lies here." (Smith 1929, 9-10). The fragmented nature of the stone led Smith to believe that it was not in its original position and that it had been moved, perhaps with spoil from the railway cutting. However, the railway cutting here is massive and the present survey did not encounter evidence for huge quantities of spoil. It seems likely that instead spoil was transferred to be utilised in embankments elsewhere. In either case, Smith's observation that the slab is not complete is relevant. No burial was found with it, but it need not have been moved far and it may have resulted from, for example, disturbance during the extensive brickearth quarrying on the lower levels of the Common.

A Romano-British cremation discovered in a rusticated grey-ware jar (Fig 5) and thought to be contemporary with these finds was found with two, possibly three, glass flasks (Fig 6) and fragments of a bronze mirror in 1911 (LCNCC 1910.1012, 1013 and 1014; 1911.36 and 37). The discovery was possibly protected by a stone cist (Webster 1949, 58 and fig 11). Other potsherds, molten glass and iron fragments are thought to have been found while levelling a football pitch. According to the Lincoln Sites and Monuments Record (SMR 583) they were found 4m to the north of a further cremation vessel, fragments of a lamp and other sherds (LCNCC 96.81 and 1981.101) found in 1981 (White 1982, 71), although this latter was also said to have come from a 'sand pit' (SMR 1663). No recently operational sand quarry has been identified, though the reference may have been to a golf course bunker. Clarity is needed regarding these finds and their associations. Whether a small, plain jar that was found in 1910 (LCNCC 1910.1011) was associated with them is unclear, but the fact that it is almost complete indicates that it lay in a protected environment.

Known activities on the Common at that date provide little assistance with the matter. A public gentlemen's urinal was erected to the south of the plantation around the eastern pond in 1910 and approval was given for the creation of a further cricket pitch in the same year. There were certainly problems with the football pitches at the beginning of the following season as the Commons and Markets Committee resolved to change the position of many at the end of the season i.e. in 1912 (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/8). Those disturbances remain the likeliest cause of discovery.

Figure 5 *Roman-British rusticated greyware jar found on South Common.*

Figure 6 *Roman glass flasks from South Common.*

A further toilet implement, a second pair of bronze tweezers attached to a ligula, from an unknown provenance on the Common, was presented to the City Museum in 1930 (LCNCC 1930, 57). A bronze strap-end of military type found on the Common was presented to the City Museum in 1978 (LCNCC accession no. 1978.39) although, like the tweezers, its precise provenance is unclear. Similarly, four Roman coins spanning the first to fourth centuries have been found on the Common, all from unknown locations (LCNCC 3958, 3959, 3960, and 3961). All of this provides general background and implies a certain Roman presence, although the precise nature of activity cannot with confidence be ascertained. The cremations and tombstone certainly imply burial and it would not be out of place for funeral monuments to occur alongside the road on the first dry ground outside the town.

Medieval finds are, perhaps surprisingly, less in evidence. A sword found on Canwick Common during the latter part of the 19th century (NMR SK 96 NE 9) and initially thought to be of Viking origin, contains a (?magical) inscription 'ANTANANANTANANAN', inlaid in silver wire along the blade (British Museum Accession Register 1881, 5-9: Philips 1934, 163: Shetalig 1940, 98-99). It is the nature of the silver wire inlay that is now thought to infer a later date (Davidson 1962, 46: Evison 1968, 183). Such an object would be a remarkable casual loss and perhaps the likeliest scenario would be from a burial.

A number of early buildings at the southern point of entry into Wigford, initially at least, are likely to have been constructed on the open spaces. The earliest appears to be the Hospital of St Sepulchre, which according to Cole (1903-4, 266), was founded by Robert Bloet the second Bishop of Lincoln and therefore might date to sometime before his death in 1123. The unusual dedication is likely to result from the influence of the Knights Templar and their work in Jerusalem during the early crusades (Arnold-Foster 1899, 35-6) and, like similarly dedicated churches at Cambridge and Northampton, the building may even have been circular in replication of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. It was by no means unusual to place hospitals outside town limits, especially where infectious disease was involved. Elsewhere at Lincoln, the Hospital of St Giles *Without* was probably present in the 13th century, while the Hospitals of St Bartholomew and St Leonard, both built for lepers in the early 14th century were both constructed '*without* the castle'. Little is known of the Hospital, except that St Catherine's Priory, built alongside late in the 11th or early in the 12th century, was given custody of it by Henry II in 1154 (Cole 1903-4, 266). It's location is later given as to the north of the Priory and bordered by the 'Kings dyke' (Cole 1903-4, 278), presumably the Sincil Dyke, and it must therefore have been between the modern Altham Terrace and Colegrave Street.

The Priory itself, a Gilbertine House, is thought to have been established in 1148, and in any case before 1154, being confirmed in that year by Henry II. Gilbert of Sempringham,

evidently well known, respected and influential, was clerk to two Bishops of Lincoln (Venables 1876, 164: Cole 1903-4, 265-6) and knew the city and its politics well. St Catherine's was just one of 11 religious houses in Lincolnshire that followed his rule that were established before his death in 1189 (Venables 1876, 164). The unusual curiosity regarding such Gilbertine houses is that although strictly segregated, both sexes were allowed to operate in the building and consequently even the church was generally divided down the centre by a screen. There were four categories of occupant, canons, nuns, lay brethren and lay sisters (Venable 1876, 187). However, Cole (1903-4, 265) indicates that such a situation was not allowed to occur here and documents denote that, unlike other Gilbertine establishments, St Catherine's was for Canons only and there was no need for the complex arrangements observed elsewhere to divide the sexes.

Venables (1876, 187) pointed out that the location of the Priory, immediately outside the town, placed upon it certain duties of hospitality towards travellers and it was here, for example, that in 1290 the body of Queen Eleanor was taken overnight by King Edward I, perhaps being embalmed before leaving for London. As a result the first of a series of commemoratory monuments, the Eleanor Crosses (NMR SK 96 NE 17), was erected outside (Venables 1876, 187).

Gilbert's rules indicated that all of his houses should be dedicated to St Andrew or St Mary, and St Catherine's is therefore quite unusual in this respect. As Cole implied (1903-4, 265) one reason could be that it marks the presence of an earlier church on the site. The name of St Catherine (writers e.g. Venables (1876) and Cole (1903-4) use different forms of the spelling; 'K' was the most common form before the Reformation and said to be closest to the Greek original; however, local and modern usage utilises 'C' so I have used it here) appears to derive from stories applied to the corpse of an unknown individual found on Mount Sinai in the 9th century and symbolically named St Catherine in order to make a political point to the controlling Saracens (Arnold Foster 1899). Thus the location of churches dedicated to St Catherine is often on hills or promontories, often with a view of the sea (Arnold-Foster 1899, 117-122). While not exactly hilltop, before the construction of the Sincil Dyke the land here may have formed a small promontory. However, the available evidence suggests that a dyke in some form predated the adjacent Hospital of St Sepulchre and the Hospital was deliberately constructed outside of the town. The reason behind the dedication must therefore remain obscure.

The buildings, however, provided a considerable focus as the dual purpose of religious house and stopping place for travellers. They also offered an integral link to people of the town because of the service delivered by the hospital. The link between Priory and hospital provided greater purpose to the lay brothers who dealt with hospital matters, lay sisters dealing with the sick, while the canons were able to devote themselves to religious matters

(Cole 1903-4, 267).

The original buildings may have been similar in general appearance to those Norman houses still surviving in Lincoln. When a new road was driven through the site in 1876 and houses constructed, the foundation of a considerable, 1.2m thick, east to west oriented wall, supported by buttresses, was discovered and traced for 4.5m. This had a plain chamfered moulding on the north side and was thought to be part of the church, perhaps an aisle wall (Venables 1876, 189). A pavement or causeway led from the area of the wall towards the River Witham. Masonry, including Norman capitals and zigzag moulding was recovered, probably from a doorway, while Early English capitals, vaulting rib stones, bases and other architectural pieces were also recovered. In addition stone coffins and sepulchral slabs were found during the work. One with a foliated cross was taken to St Botolphe's Churchyard. Further redevelopment of the site took place in 1890, although no additional details regarding structures were reported (Cole 1903-4, 321-2).

Among the income from six churches transferred to St Catherine's at its foundation, that from Canwick was described as prebendary, that is it provided the income that went to support a cleric at the Cathedral (Cole 1903-4, 266, 273). It seems unlikely that this responsibility was simply transferred to the Priory for there would be no benefit in it to either party. Done with the agreement of the Dean and Chapter, it may be that it was the income formerly used as prebend that was transferred to the Priory, or that land was transferred from which the prebend (a tax) had to be paid. The advowson of the church at Canwick belonged to the King (Coles 1903-4, 280-1), but the 'living' for the church at Canwick included 6 acres of arable and the Priory was responsible for providing a house with a little land for the vicar. Gifts of land ensured that Priory income increased and by the end of the 13th century included a further 10 acres in Canwick and receipt of rent from the mill at Bracebridge (Brooks 1935, 163). The link with Canwick was evidently considerable and in 1306 the Prior and canons obtained permission to '...lead the water from a well in Canwick field by an underground channel to their house' (Cole 1903-4, 279: Graham 1906, 189: Hill 1948, 248: Vince in Jones *et al* 2003, 266). This may be from the Holy Well identified from documents as being to the east of Canwick village (Mills and Mills 1998, fig 2) although this would mean piping through or around the village.

In 1331 the Priory obtained a house and land in Canwick (Cole 1903-4, 283), presumably that property later described as a grange. 'The Grange, grangium prioris Sancte Katerine extra Lincoln apud Canwick 1375 (Cameron 1985, 210). It is thought that this might relate to Village Farm situated within the village itself (Mills and Mills 1998, 52).

At the Dissolution, the Priory is listed as owner of 12ha of meadow at Canwick most of it

marshland; 9ha of enclosed pasture most of which was on the heath and 99ha of arable land, of which 48 were on the heath. Together with income from rents, the gross value of this was assessed at £22 2 4, against which were placed deductions for Prebend payments and pensions amounting to £11 3 4, leaving an annual profit of £18 4 8. Interests in Bracebridge were smaller, amounting to £7 1 0 per annum.

Towards the end of the 13th century, there is evidence that St Catherine's had expanded considerably and significantly on to the Common. The Hundred Rolls (here quoted from Cole 1903-4) contained the results of an enquiry by Edward I into changes that had taken place in Crown income during the absence of his father at the crusades. Monastic property, in particular, of which St Catherine's had considerable amount within the city, was not liable for tax; neither did it contribute to the administration of the city and there were consequently a considerable number of complaints by Lincoln citizens. Along the waterside, for example, the Priory had encroached on the River Witham by between 2.4 and 3.6m along the whole length of their courtyard and garden, while the Prior had built a lodge there, all of which was said to obstruct the citizens.

The lay brethren of the Hospital of St Sepulchre, who were responsible for the everyday subsistence of the Priory, were also accused of a whole series of misdemeanours, including further narrowing the Witham to the extent that certain boats could not pass, as well as appropriating four islands. They had expanded onto the strip of land north of the hospital to the Kings Dyke (presumably an early reference to the Sincil Dyke). They had appropriated a portion of common pasture reaching some 278m (55 perches) in length from the southern gate of the Priory and from 80 to 161m (16-32 perches) in width, and on this they had built granges, cowsheds, and other buildings, including a windmill, effectively '...depriving millers of so much of their trade'. In addition, it was claimed that they had cultivated 12ha (30 acres) of the common pasture. Together with John of Bracebridge they also usurped part of the Common between the '...Kings Highway running towards Bracebridge and that which passed under the gallows' for a distance of 121m (24 perches) and 60m (12 perches) in breath '...northwards from the mill'. There appears to be no record of any decision taken about these problems, but in 1285 '...the Prior and Canons obtained licence (retrospective planning permission) to build a windmill in a great plot without the gate of their Priory in the east'. Whether this referred to an additional mill or to the existing one is not clear. The area used would appear to be between the London A1434 and Sleaford A15 roads, probably the area of the gasworks and or the school to the north of it.

Problems between the Priory and City re-emerged in 1447 when a panel was set up to arbitrate in a series of disputes. It was claimed that a boundary wall belonging to the Priory to the east Bargate encroached on the common land by 0.5m (half an ell) and that they had encroached on a strip of common land for a length of 114m (five score ells) and a breadth of

15.4m (fourteen ells). They had also pastured cattle on the Common where they had no right to do so and had used Lincoln Common to graze animals from the other parishes of Boultham and Bracebridge. In addition, it was claimed that they had refused to pay rent to the city for the site of a windmill and that they had prevented the community from using common pasture at Canwick (marsh land is mentioned and presumably this refers to the area of the Cow Paddle or the Canwick Ings). In response, the Priory pointed out that the city had enclosed some 16ha of common land with banks and ditches; an area known as the 'New Meadow' which was situated to the south and east of the Old Ee (thought to be the Sincil Dyke according to Cole), and this, in turn, had deprived the Priory of pasture (Cole 1903-4, 306). The panel came out largely in favour of the Priory, but allowed only limited grazing '...for five or six of their cows...pasturage for "foreign" sheep for a month'. For the latter and several other privileges, including the site of the windmill and access to it for wheeled vehicles; they were charged a sum of 11s a year. The 'New Meadow' was to be re-opened for use as common pasture by the Priory, but they were also considered to be at fault in certain matters and it was determined that it was unlawful for the Priory to enclose its land at Canwick as the city had common rights there. It was also acknowledged that spoil from the periodical cleaning out of the city ditch to the north of the Hospital could be placed on Priory land on the south bank (Coles 1903-4, 307).

The Priory's sheep farming activities continued to exercise the city and new agreements were drawn up in 1447 regarding sheep brought from other parishes, reconfirming that they could graze a large flock at shearing time (Hill 1948, 350: Vince in Jones *et al* 2003, 274).

Soon after, in 1511, a further agreement indicates that pigs were at loose on the Common and that they could drive pigs across the Common from the Priory to Canwick without interruption (Hill 1948, 350-1: Vince in Jones *et al* 2003, 274). Such activities must have proved annoying to those grazing cattle and there were further agreements that included '...forbidding the placing of sheep or swine on the common land by any of the parties, an exception is made for the shorn sheep of the Prior of St Katherine's at sheep shearing time, according to an old agreement and arbitration... .' (Cole 1903-4, 307).

The Priory was dissolved on 14 July 1538 and while the remaining canons were given pensions, there was no provision for the lay staff (Graham 1906, 189). The Priory buildings themselves appear to have been stripped for valuable materials, the lead being placed in Minster Yard, and in 1569 it was decided that the stone should be sold off by the cartload, although the city retained some for municipal purposes. It was probably at this time that any farm buildings on the Common, including the windmill, were pulled down and the materials sold.

In December 1538 the site, four Granges including Canwick, and common rights of pasture for sheep on Lincoln Common were granted to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, but not 18 months later he sold it to Vincent and Thomas Grantham (Cole 1903-4, 318), who built a house, referred to as St Catherine's Hall, on the site. The entrance gates to this lay opposite the junction of the Sleaford and Newark roads and the house was described as being '...four or five stories high was built of wrought stone, with mullioned windows, the roof either flat or guttered around'. Associated were '...large and stately stables' and a large garden (Coles 1903-4, 319). It was sold to Francis Manby during latter half of 17th century, but it soon fell into neglect and was pulled down before the end of the eighteenth century. The site of the Priory itself is marked as south of St Catherine's Road by W Marriott on his map of 1817 (Mills and Wheeler 2005) and repeated by Cookson (1843), but placed north of it by the Ordnance Survey in the 1st edition 25" of 1889. Documentary investigation is needed to establish which applies.

The site of a 'Hospital of the Holy Innocents' for leprosy, sometimes referred to in documents as the Malandry (NMR SK 96 NE 12), is marked on early OS editions in the north western corner of the Common, immediately south of the Little Bargate entrance into Wigford. According to Cookson (1843, 30-1), the unusual name - Le Malandri or Malardri - was a corruption of Norman-French Maladerie or Maladrerie, meaning a hospital for lepers or 'Lazar house', the 'Lazar' deriving from St Lazarus, to whom many such hospitals were dedicated. It has been claimed (Hill 1990, 343) that Giraldis Cambrensis indicated that the hospital was founded by Bishop Remigius (died 1092 after constructing Lincoln Cathedral) . If it was constructed before AD 1092 when Remigius died, and Hill (*ibid*) points out that this is by no means assured, the Hospital was one of the earliest such establishments in the British Isles. It may have been Archibishop Lanfranc at Canterbury who provided the inspiration, for he is thought to have established a hospital sometime between 1077 and his death in 1089 (Orme and Webster 1995, 20), and it would be of no surprise to find Remigius following suit. According to Cookson (1843, 41), the Hospital of Holy Innocents was provided with an endowment of 13 marks by Remigius, although whether that supported a pre-existing establishment or construction of a new one is not known (and c.f. Brooks 1935, 161-2 for the view that it was founded by Henry I). The status of the Holy Innocents was certainly confirmed by Henry 1st and further provided with income for the maintenance of ten lepers, a warden, a clerk, and two chaplains (Cookson 1843, 41). Some support for this derives from a hoard of almost 750 coins, contained within a sack, dating to the early 12th century and thought to have been buried about 1134AD, perhaps in response to uncertain times (Vince, in Jones *et al* 2003, 165), found when pipes were laid across the site during the demolition of the South Park open school in 1972 (Marjoram 1972, 45). By midway through the 12th century nearly 70 hospitals had been established across the country, almost half of them specifically for lepers (Orme and Webster 1995, 23).

During the medieval period, those contracting leprosy were generally escorted with full

ecclesiastical ceremony from their homes to 'a hut built on the waste' (Cookson 1843, 34). Like the Hospital of St Sepulchre the provision of a hospital outside the town boundary on the edge of the Common was not unusual. The principle of isolation being carried through into recent times with the erection of a smallpox hospital on the West Common at Lincoln in the early 20th century (Brown 2003: also Lincolnshire Archives. Lindsay Dep Plans 1/296). The typical early hospital plan was of a long rectangular building or infirmary incorporating a line of 'cells' or small rooms situated each side of a corridor. But in order to ensure isolation, leper houses are thought to have consisted of a series of individual dwellings set in an enclosure along with a chapel, only adopting the nuclear design in the later 13th century (Prescott 1992, 5: Orme and Webster 1995). Documents indicate that the Hospital of Holy Innocents had rooms for 20 lepers, 10 of each sex; each cell provided with a 'curtilage', presumably a plot in the garden, and entitled to 40 bundles of turves at Michaelmas, indicating that each room had its own hearth (Brooks 1935, 162). Edward I took a decided interest in the site and laid down instructions for filling vacancies, ordering that chaplains and brethren were to live in one house, and lepers and sisters in separate houses.

There were constant assertions of maladministration with, for example, occasions when only a few lepers were housed and rooms rented out to others and there is some indication that wardens were directing income to their own ends. The petition of a chaplain and some of the brethren in the early 14th century, for example, alleging that John de Careleton, the Warden, had 'permitted tenants to waste the property of the hospital and to erect houses within the precincts' (Brook 1935, 180). In the mid 14th century, the Warden, John de Nessefield made a grant of a house 'within the hospital to Thomas de Spayne and Eustachia his wife'. This house was described as the 'Le Kychenhalle' and was situated adjacent to the highway and backing on to the chapel and had a solar and kitchen set on the first floor. Along with this, Thomas was allocated '...a close containing 17perches 7feet by 5 perches 17ft, with trees and grass therein, which the hospital was bound to enclose and maintain as a garden...' (Brooks 1935, 174). A chapel for use by the 'inmates' was an integral part of the Hospital and dedicated to either the Virgin Mary (Venable 1887-8, 329-30) or Mary Magdalene (Brookes 1935, 157).

By the reign of Edward III, income had increased considerably and included that from rents of houses nearby the Hospital, the mill at Bracebridge and 10 acres of land at Canwick (Cookson 1843, 42).

The Hospital was apparently independent, although received royal patronage and influence, but there is an implication that like other leper hospitals it was subject to the influence of the Knights of Lazarus, a chivalric, religious and military order allied to the Hospitallers and it certainly came under their control in 1456 when the King granted the Hospital to the Master of Burton Lazars Hospital in Leicestershire (Cookson 1843, 45: McKinley 1954, 37: Clare

1966, 45) on the understanding that it should take three lepers from the King's estate. The founder of the latter hospital at Burton, Roger de Mowbray is thought to have become influenced by the Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem, who protected leprous pilgrims and who had established a hospital outside that city, during his visit to the 2nd Crusade (McKinley 1954, 36).

After the dissolution the site fell into private ownership and was initially tenanted by William Spur. It is not clear what became of the hospital buildings or of the chapel, but in 1553 William Cecil was granted a 'capital messuage' and cottage with garden as well as five additional cottages on the site (Brooks 1935, 177). It maybe that the capital messuage was the former 'kychenhalle' and the 20 cells forming the leper accommodation were incorporated within the five cottages. A deed of 1702 refers to '...Malandry Farm and Messuages' and it was evidently still a farm in 1764 before being split up in 1767 (Cookson 1864, 46-7).

In the late 18th century the 'the property was divided into three parts, the eastern for the benefit of the vicarage of Normanby, the middle portion for the Rectory of Snarford, and the western for the vicarage of Canwick (Brooks 1935, 178). However, the right of pasture on the South Common was retained through to the 19th century (Brook 1935, 178). The Rector of Snarford was allowed to graze seven animals from old Mayday to old Lady Day and forty sheep from old St Andrews day to old Lady Day, while the vicar of Canwick held rights to pasture six oxen and the vicar of Normanby eight (Brooks 1935, 178). While the rest of the site was left open, Normanby House was built on the eastern portion and was still present in 1905, being depicted as immediately south of the 'hospital' site on the Ordnance Survey edition of that year.

The remnants of the buildings themselves may have been destroyed in the 18th century, although lack of comment or illustration by early travel writers led Brooks (1935, 157) to conclude that they had disappeared before the middle of they the 16th century. Certainly the parliamentarian siege (Vince in Jones *et al* 2003, 318) at the Bargate entrances to the city would almost certainly have utilised any buildings. A map of 1817 surveyed by William Marret on which he depicted the 'sites of' some of the ancient buildings of Lincoln (Mills and Wheeler 2005, 6, 28), shows the Malandry Fields as divided into three, presumably those owned by the Vicars of Canwick, Snarford and Normanby respectively, with a cruciform building in the northeast of the enclosure described as Holy Innocents Church, and a further building between it and the road marked as the Malandre Hospital.

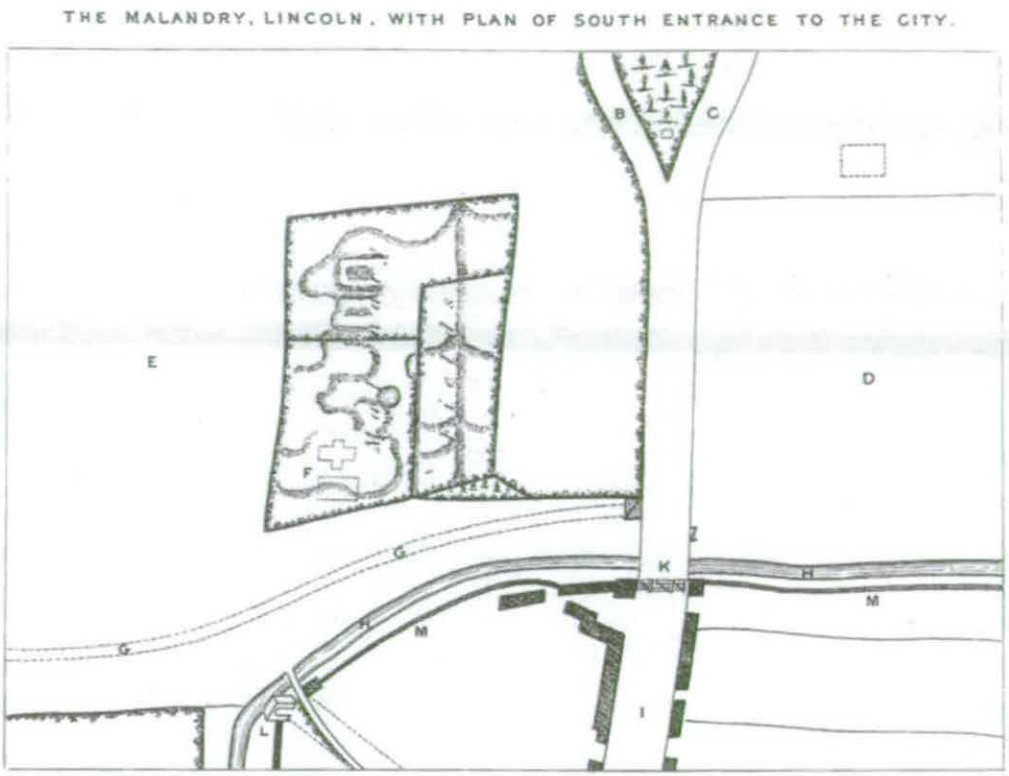

Figure 7 *Cookson's (1843) illustration of the Malandry with south to the top. A Swine Green, B Cross O'Cliffe hill Road, c Newark Road, D St Catherine's Priory Fields, E South Common, F Cow shed, G Road to Canwick, H Sincil Dyke, I High St, K Great Bar gate, L Site of Little Bar Gate, M Line of City walls long since destroyed. Note gates at entrance to Wigford and to the South Common.*

In 1841, the Malandry was 'surrounded by a thorn fence and again divided into three fields, each having a separate gate opening onto the common' (Cookson 1843, 29). Cookson's illustration (ibid: here produced as Fig 7) appears to be largely based on the earlier plan by Marret, but adds further detail. The cruciform building in the northeast corner is likely to be the chapel rather than the Church of Holy Innocents and the building between it and the road is described as a cow shed '...apparently built out of the ruins of the ancient hospital' , but which may have been 'Le Kychenhalle' given that it was built between the chapel and the highway. Cookson used a method of shading that appears to illustrate the presence of earthworks. A north to south linear feature may indicate the presence of a conduit that fed water to the five cottages. Linked to this is what appears to be an amorphous garden arrangement perhaps derived from the levelling and landscaping of earlier features, and this in turn, is overlaid by and therefore earlier than, the three close divisions. At the southern end two rectangular platforms each have rectangular cross-hatched features on them, likely to indicate the presence of former buildings. Two ponds are depicted. A circular one just southwest of the 'chapel' and an oval one hard against the central close boundary.

The site was still visible in 1886 as a fenced rectangular enclosure of c2.3 ha, when

undulations marking the site of former buildings were visible (Trollope 1866, 212: Brooks 1935, 157). The Great Northern, Lincoln to Honington Railway completely bisected the site and work on the cutting sliced obliquely through the enclosure at the point where the chapel was thought to be located, revealing a grave over which was an inscribed memorial slab (Fig 8). The inscription referred to Ivette wife of Hugh of Rauceby, who was presumably either a benefactor or inmate, and is thought to date to the later 14th century (Anon 1865, 11-13: Trollope 1866b: LCNCC 1982. 19). Finally, South Park Girls School was built on the northern portion by the road during the early 1920s and the remainder was put down to allotments.

Figure 8 *Sepulchral slab found at the Malandry (from Trollope 1866b).*

A parish church, the Church of Holy Innocents, serving the local lay community is thought to have stood outside the city, south of Bargate, on the east side of the Newark or London

Road (Brookes 1935, 157). According to Venables (1887-8, 329-330), it was located at the southern extremity of the hospital precinct, while Hill (1990, 344) placed it to the west of the Malandry boundary on his map. The area was focus to the farmhouses, bake houses, mills etc serving the religious houses and hospitals although nevertheless may have numbered in relatively low figures in terms of parishioners (Vince in Jones *et al* 2003, 308). The location 'on the Green' (Brookes 1935, 157) presumably refers to Swine Green, which is taken to refer to that triangular portion of land between the London and Sleaford Roads and west of the Malandry depicted on early mapping (e.g. The Canwick Enclosure map (Lincolnshire Archives Canwick Parish 17), though its origins need not have confined it to that zone. Indeed the road migration proposed below would allow it a position closer to the southern boundary of the Malandry as indicated by Venables (1887-8, 329-330). The Act of Union (of parishes) of 1549 makes no mention of the church, nor are sales of materials mentioned (Venables 1887-8, Appendices). The only evidence offered is a reference in 1272-3 to 'Ecclesia de Grene' (Venables 1887-8, 330).

5. THE EARTHWORKS

Earthworks resulting from a wide range of past uses can be traced across the whole Common and these vary from relatively subtle undulations to major and dramatic engravings reaching 4 or 5 metres in height. The sheer density of earthworks dictated the scale, 1:2500, at which the Common was surveyed in order to cover the area in a reasonable time scale, but inevitably resulting in some subtle material escaping record. The major elements have been recorded, analysed and salient points are highlighted and they provide a signpost to the need for more detailed investigation, including excavation, at some time in the future. The resulting plan is here reduced to A3 size (end piece) for convenience. As this means that some features may appear very small, a number insets and explanatory plans have been included to aid interpretation. To provide a numbered inventory and precise description of each fragment of earthwork would be unwieldy, repetetive and unnecessary. Instead features are described here in a series of themes according to the interpretation placed on them. For convenience the area has been divided into four broad benches or terraces. These are situated at different levels above the valley floor that, generally speaking, echo the 15, 25 and 35m contours of the hillside and in part the underlying geology (FIG 9). Each terrace has been employed in a slightly different way, although certain elements of past use extend across all four of these areas.

Routeways

The earliest features appear to be associated with a Roman Road. It has often been considered that the course of Ermine Street might pass across the Common, but until now it has remained unidentified. Earthwork survey indicates that little of the road itself survives; instead it is marked by a linear arrangement of small quarries, markedly different from those found elsewhere on the Common and which define a zone not more than 60m wide along the course (Fig 10). In the south, the eastern boundary of the Common has been defined by the road itself. At this point it is now levelled, but the side ditches are visible in the arable land to the east as soil marks on aerial photographs and its position is marked in Fig 11a.

At the point where the course enters the Common, the road is interrupted by a spring, which may have been of importance during the Roman period for either practical or ritual purposes and the road may have been carried over it on a bridge. Immediately north of it, and just slightly angled at the point where it starts to descend the hillside, a 20m length of 8m wide bank almost certainly represents the road. It is little more than 0.7m in height, but approached from downslope it is greatly enhanced by traffic encroachment and reaches 2m in height.

Similarly its eastern ditch has been widened by traffic and appears as a 30m stretch of hollow way 20m wide and surviving to a depth of c1m. Along with the bank, it is curtailed at its northern limit by a quarry. A trench cut into the bank by illegal metal detector users reveals the presence of limestone in the spoil, but there is also much ironstone littering the surface and while this could have resulted from nearby quarry activities it also raises the possibility as to whether the road was paved with this material.

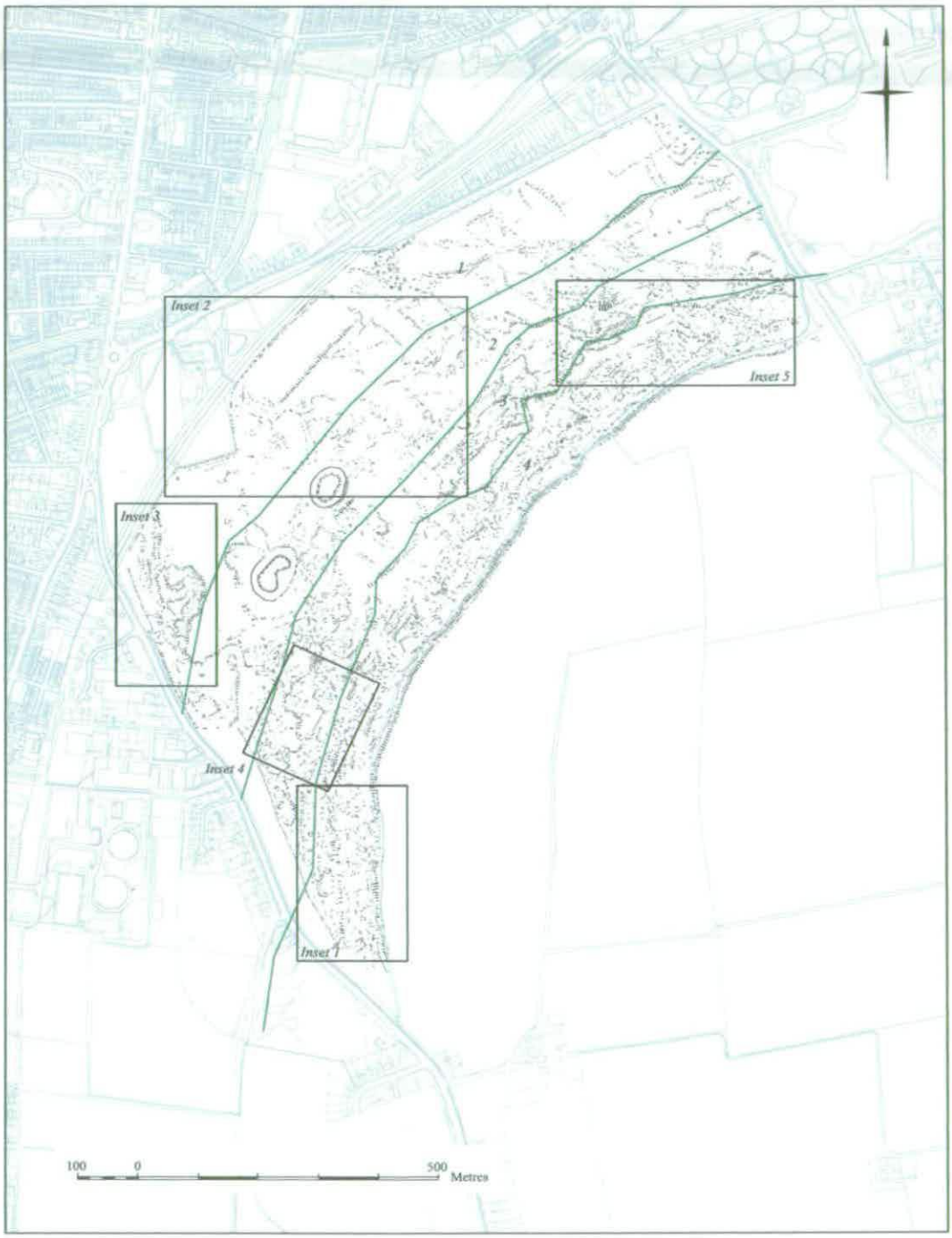

Figure 9 *Location of levels or benches and inset maps.*

***Figure 10** showing the course of the Roman road (yellow).*

Figure 11 a) *The southern end of the Common showing the Roman road approach from the south, the position of the spring and a substantial bank (a) with adjacent hollow way which is almost certainly a continuation of the road and side ditch. Just north of (a) the road has been curtailed by a quarry and a series of trackways (b-e) each form by-passing elements before themselves being quarried into.* ***b)*** *Remnants of the Roman road (red) with traces of field system including the perimeter of the Malandry marked out in green.*

A further length of probable roadway survives on the lower terrace as the alignment approaches the railway cutting (Fig 10 and 11b). Here an agger 8m wide and less than 0.5m in height can be traced for a length of over 40m. Either side of it is a ditch 8m wide by c0.25m deep. These components, minus the agger, can be observed for a further 45m to the south. In the north, the arrangement has been interrupted by small scale quarrying and cut into by a more recent bulldozing episode where a large area has been levelled for football pitches.

Three short, 50m, lengths of hollowed trackway are present towards the southern end of the Common almost parallel to each other and which descend the hillside in a manner that sidesteps the Roman Road (Figs 11a). Each in turn, is curtailed by quarrying and may mark a chronological sequence of trackway use that by-passes working quarries.

A further stretch of multiple trackway is present in the northwest corner (Fig 12 a). These features form hollow ways up to 12m wide and 0.2m in depth, which bifurcate across a corridor of about 50m. They pass within about 40m of the western boundary of the Malandry and can be traced southwards from the railway cutting for 150m as far as a large quarry which cuts into them. They are not visible to the north of the railway cutting, an area that may have been levelled for use as a cricket pitch during the early 20th century (see below). They evidently mark an earlier course of the Cross O'Cliffe Road and are probably a successor of the interrupted tracks recorded further to the south east (Fig 11a).

Figure 12 a) *Trackways in the northwest corner of the Common truncated by a later quarry, and* ***b)*** *in the east where a series of trackways from the direction of Canwick village are in turn curtailed by the quarries.*

In the east, traces of routes across the Common from Canwick can be identified. The first and probably the earliest of these exists among the quarried areas in the higher part of the Common (Fig 12b). They appear as a series of truncated lengths of hollow way, rarely scoured to more than 0.7m deep, that feed across and through the quarried area, in one case forming a ramp down the quarry face. Some appear to be curtailed by quarrying and the indication is that tracks represent activity over a considerable time period as the quarrying developed. If extended, the course would lead to the St Catherine's/Malandry area and emphasises the importance of this local contact rather than the medieval city.

A second corridor of trackways can be traced from the direction of the Washingborough Road junction and, cutting the north-east corner of the Common, leads in the direction of Wigford. These are extremely shallow features, rarely more than 0.15 in height. They cut across equally shallow ridge and furrow but have been overlaid by substantial deposits of 'landscaped' bulldozed spoil from one of the football pitches.

Agricultural features

At right angles to the Roman Road, a series of extremely shallow linear scarps, often no more than 0.2m in height, occur on a consistent alignment just north of east (Figs 11b and 13). In one case, a right angled boundary indicates that these may have defined small square or rectangular land units and as similar features on the same alignment occur at greater distances from the road there is an implication that they are probably part of a field system rather than roadside paraphernalia such as mortuary enclosures or house plots. The boundary

of the Malandry shares the alignment and is

Figure13 *Agricultural features laid out on the Roman road alignment.*

likely to mask elements of the same system. At further distance, some of the features in both the south and east of the Common also retain the alignment. In the former case, the general appearance and regularity of a number of linear scarps resembles that of field lynchets, although given damage by quarries it is difficult to be certain of their original form. In the east, a number of boundaries towards Branston Road retain the alignment and it can also be seen reflected in Canwick Park to the east of the Common, where they are associated

with ridge and furrow and certainly indicate medieval use. Shallow traces of ridge and furrow aligned at right angles to the slope (Fig 13) was also noted for c80m to the west of the Lincoln to Branston road, all cut across by the trackways noted above. This is probably part of the same series as that in Canwick Park.

Quarries

The Roman Road itself appears to have suffered considerable quarrying, since for most of its course it is not extant, but pockmarked by small pits and platforms that probably mark the robbing of its materials. These differ in scale and outline from the large extraction pits and spoil heaps noted elsewhere. The trackways noted above that by-pass this have in turn been cut into by quarries for ironstone. There is no historical record of the quarrying although there are references to early extraction of an unknown material in Canwick very early in the 13th century (see below).

Each of the benches or terraces has been quarried into at times in the past. The lowest level or terrace, a swathe of land between c70 and 120m wide, contains a large quarry of amorphous meandering plan form, situated towards the south western part of the Common, which was presumably for brick earth. Particularly prominent is that close to the south-west perimeter (Fig 14 A), where the relatively unweathered face survives proud in profile up to c2m in height. The lack of regularity in plan may indicate that there was no restriction placed on the site operator, or that the limit of any agreed area was not reached. As noted above, the quarry cuts into the course of trackways leading towards Wigford and the fact that it does so indicates that the road must already have taken its present course along the Cross O'Cliffe Road by the time that the quarry was in operation. No trackway is visible leading into the quarry and access was presumably directly from Cross O Cliff Road.

Similar quarries, of equal significance, though less dramatic in profile (Fig 14 B and C) occur on the second level. In part they are now landscaped and used for ponds, but with faces cut into the hillslope reaching over c3m high. Isolated episodes of quarrying at the same level took place further east, although this appears more impromptu (for example at D on Fig 14, where a sub-rectangular pit c 40m by 20m was dug), or often quite small, pits of just a few metres across being dug in places.

The third terrace has seen even greater activity and almost the whole of this level appears to have been the subject of quarrying at some point. The raw material is Upper Lias clays and shales, but

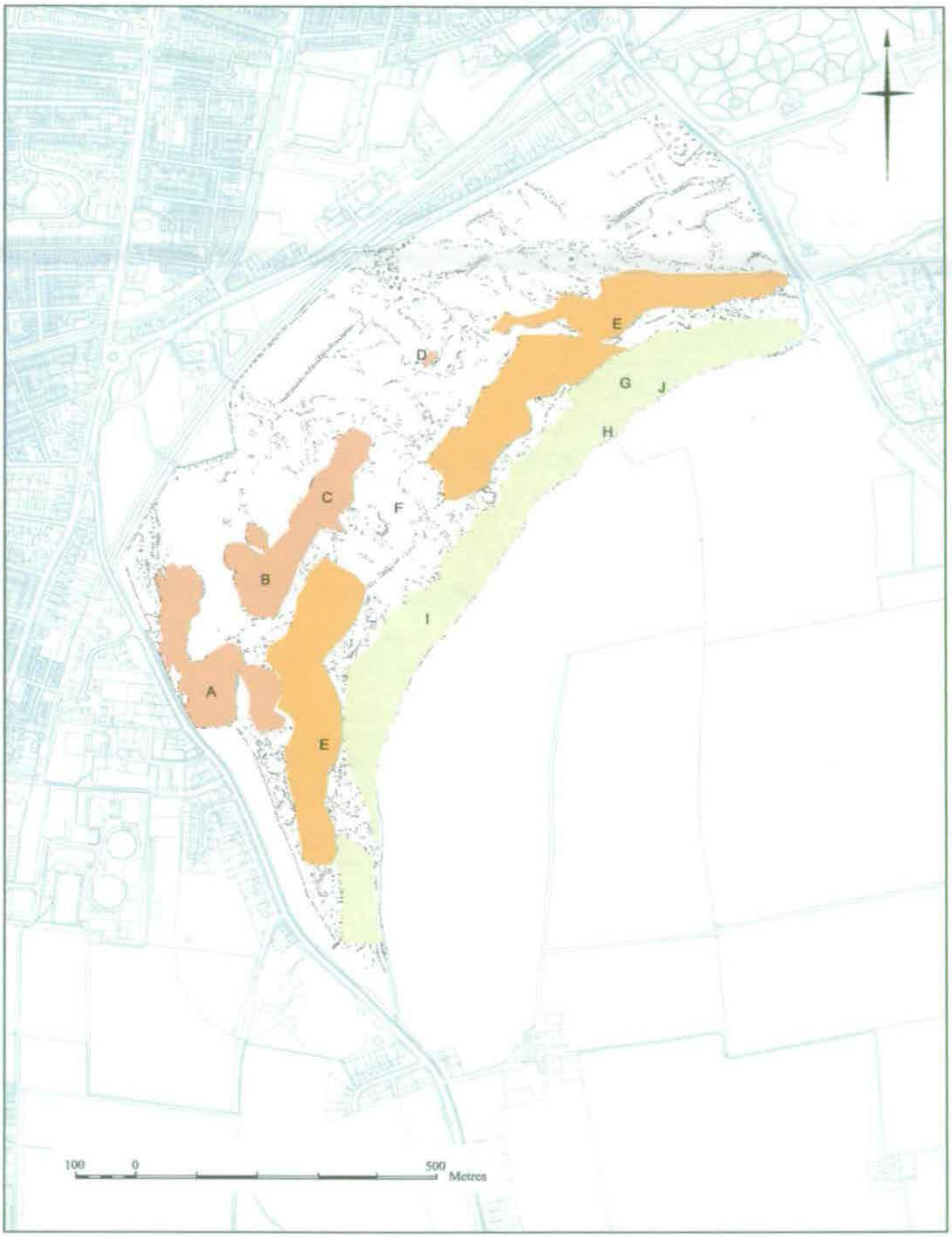

Figure14 *Areas of quarrying on South Common.*

there are sand and ironstone deposits that were evidently being extracted. The target appears to have been ironstone, nodules of which can be found in the rabbit burrows. In the south, quarries have been cut into the hillside, leaving a linear scarp up to c2m in height (Fig 14 E). Some appear remarkably regular and it may be that former field boundaries were utilised as units of exploitation. Further north towards the central part of the Common, a 20m wide strip appears to have been shaved off, leaving an almost level bench interrupted only by a 100m

stretch of unquarried surface (Fig 14 F) and a prominent face on the uphill side up to 4m in height. Undulations on the floor at this level form amorphous mounds that probably represent discarded topsoil, overburden or other debris. Although intensive, there is a certain regularity about the quarries at this level, but there is no indication of access ways or cart tracks: neither can any clear divisions or operating units be identified and as the process would appear to imply a large scale operation it may be that corporate organisation was involved.

Almost all of the upper level, terrace 4, contains evidence of quarrying and in places it has been quite extensive (Fig 14 G). The face that demarcates the south-eastern limit of the Common, reaches 7m in height in places and a series of mounds, some of them quite massive, situated along the length of the Common appear to represent spoil heaps from the extraction process. Beds of Northamptonshire sand and ironstone occur at the base of this level and surface scatters of ironstone, clinker and slag occur at one point close to the summit (Fig 14H) indicating that the material had been worked. Only at one location is there any indication of the presence of wheeled vehicle access (Fig 14 I), where a short length of hollow way may indicate a loading point. Above the ironstone, the Lincolnshire Limestone has also been quarried. One rectangular faced block was noted (Fig 14 J).

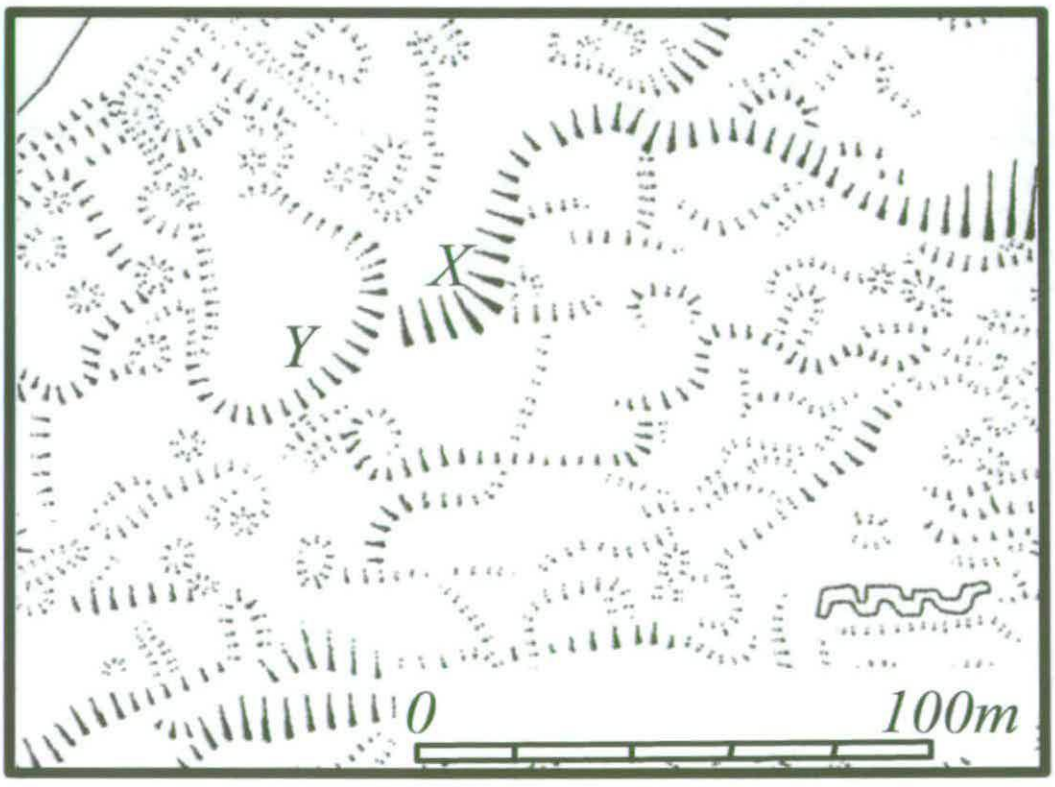

Figure 15 *Regular scarping, some of which may be agricultural, but obscured by quarries.*

Buildings

Rectangular platforms and a series of right-angled scarps set on a different alignment to those already mentioned, occur on the middle levels at the point where the contours begin to change direction (Fig 15). At least one may have supported a building. The right angled dog-leg scarp at (X on Fig 15) is cut into by a later quarry (Y) and it appears to be an earlier feature. All this may, of course, be related to a phase of quarrying, but the regularity suggests that there is a template to the quarries, and it is equally likely that they represent some of the farming activities known to have been carried out by St Catherine's Priory. Centrally positioned on the edge of level 3 and adjacent to earthworks of a shooting range (see below) is a 4m wide circular bank, 21m in diameter and 0.7m in height. It may be the site of a windmill, but there is little to support this interpretation and it has been included with military earthworks (below).

Water

Springs issue from a number of places beneath the Lincolnshire Limestone and Northamptonshire sand and ironstone (Fig 16) and there is likelihood that some of these were tapped for drinking water. One 0.5m deep rectangular depression, measuring 16m by 8m, below one such spring at the southern end of the Common, close to the Roman Road, has the appearance of a cistern (Fig 16 and 17) and it may be very much deeper. It is linked by scarps to a second smaller depression but any conduit link with the lower ground may have followed the course of the trackways and has been truncated by the encroaching quarries. The date of this is unknown, but it would appear to be earlier than the quarry episode and it would not be out of place in a Roman or Medieval context.

It is possible that a similar arrangement occurred in the northeast where a prominent drain has been cut in a straight line; east to west obliquely across the contours, for some 650m in the direction of Wigford and Canwick (Fig 16). The latter feature is quite prominent, measuring in places 4m wide by 1m deep, but has seen innumerable recuts, and irregular spoil banks in places testify to cleaning episodes. Consequently it has deviated quite considerably from its original course and new channels have been cut, probably as old ones became choked with silt. It appears to lead from the pond in the east and can be traced to the low ground around the area of the South Park road bridge over the Great Northern railway line. A number of smaller tributary drains feed into it.

Figure16 *Drains and water features*

The present ponds on the Common are more recent, although they may have adapted earlier features. Indeed the two central fenced ponds are the result of landscaping a pre-exiting quarry (Fig 18). The pond in the east, of oval plan and measuring 35m by 30m, may have served the drain just mentioned, while that in the south, D-shaped and measuring 32m by 20m acts as a reservoir for a spring immediately above it and drains to the Cross O'Cilffe Road. Both have a massive retaining bank.

Drains occur right across the Common and while the profile of some indicates that they have been dug in recent times, the width of others implies a process of recutting much earlier examples. Generally they are no more than 0.5m deep with a small bank on either side for the upcast material, but others, particularly on the higher slopes, are of greater dimensions, often reaching 8m in width and up to 1.5m deep. Most tap the spring line and take the water straight across the contours to the lower ground. Accordingly there is no apparent use of them in catchworks or other methods of grass management.

Figure 17 *Cisterns to the north of a more recent pond.*

Along the summit of the hillside is a narrow terrace that can be traced for over 300m and which is set below, but follows the course of, the uppermost quarry face. It is between 5 and 10m in width, but varies locally quite dramatically, perhaps because it cut into and utilised the form of spoil tips and scree from the quarrying. The presence of holly and rhododendron encourages the view that this once formed part of a formal ornamental walkway along the summit of the Common and which evidently fell into disuse being in part replaced by a footpath just above it. A 70m length of hollow way cuts across the south-east (Canwick) corner of the Common. This is quite shallow, no more than 0.25m deep but with a slight camber in the middle. It has the appearance of an inclined tramway for accessing the quarries, but its course is marked on the 1st edition OS 25" of 1889 as leading to the footpath along the summit. Indeed if extended it leads to a kissing gate in the iron palings. It may have provided formal access, perhaps even a flight of steps up the difficult slope, to the ornamental promenade walk.

Military

There is some evidence of military activity. Four firing butts are present and they provide some of the more dramatic earthworks on the Common (Fig 19). Each of these comprises a steep earthen embayment, at the base of which targets could be placed ensuring that stray rounds

or ricochets would harmlessly hit the backdrop. Two of these are on the upper part of the Common, allowing the maximum range when firing from the lower ground alongside the road.

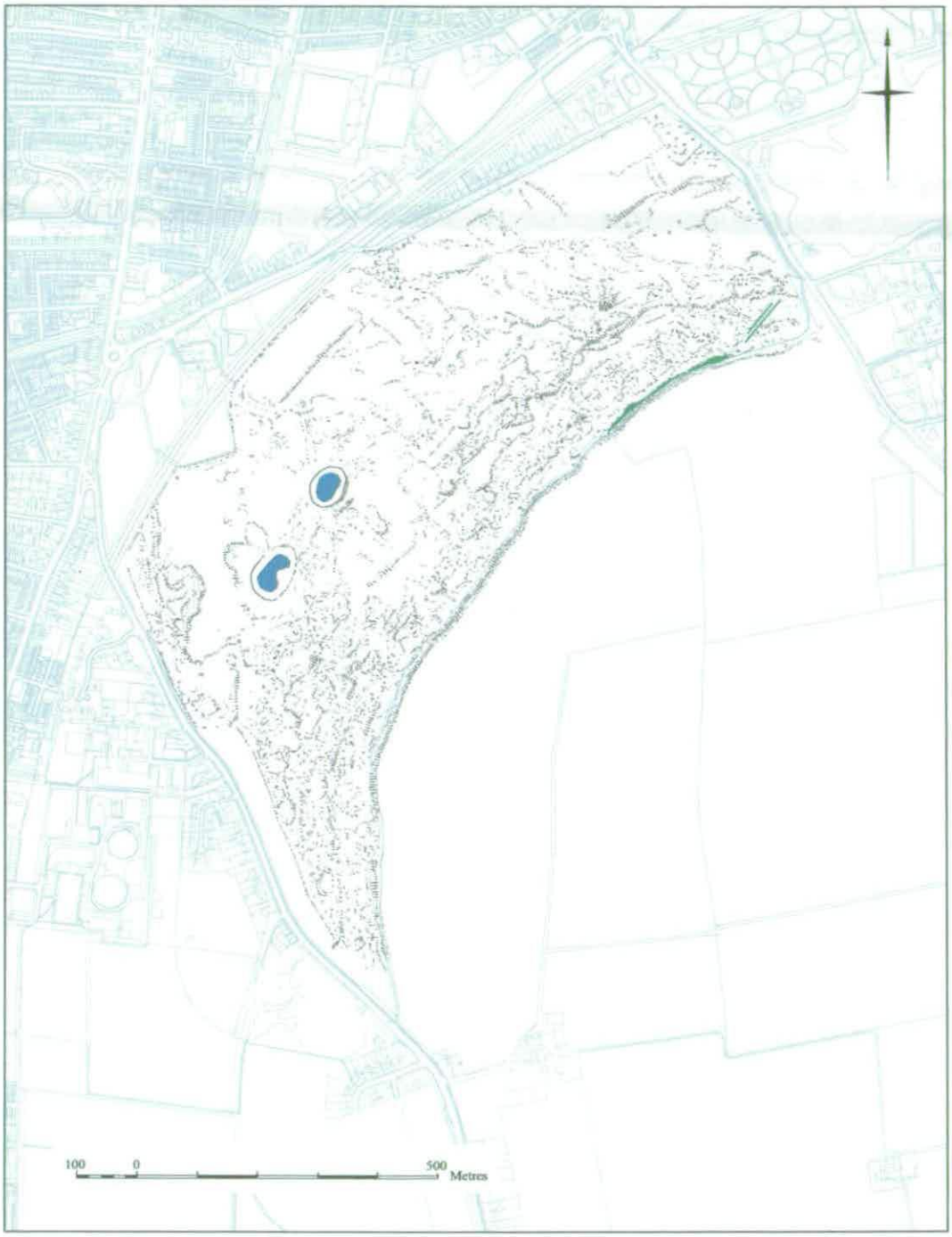

Figure18 *Leisure on the Common. Part of a quarry on the lower ground was used for the construction of two ponds, each being landscaped, planted with trees and fenced off. An ornamental promenade walk was constructed just below the summit and planted with holly and rhododendron. Other trees were planted across the Common and the perimeter enclosed with iron park railings.*

The southernmost measures 25m across the bay by 3m in height and is further covered by a quarry spoilheap reaching an additional 3m to the rear. The second at 12 m is rather narrower.

Both are cut into, and made use of, the quarry spoil tips at this level. The third has utilised the quarry face of the third level, providing a butt 4.3m in height that encloses 20m. The fourth example, also cut into the third terrace, is rather different, in that it is fully enclosed as well as being set a little further down slope. The embayment reaches 2m in height and 16m wide at the base providing one side of a rectangular area 50m in length with the ground within lowered by a metre. This may have been for short range or pistol shooting with a firing line at the northwest end. Close to the firing line is a 4m wide circular bank, 21m in diameter and 0.7m in height, but set on the edge of a quarry face artificially high in the northwest (circled in Fig 19). It has been noted above as a possible windmill stance, but may be a wartime feature, although it is unlikely to be a searchlight position as there is no adjacent position for the generator. Equally there is no entrance or position for the trail legs were it for an anti-aircraft gun.

***Fig19** Military earthworks: The butts of four shooting ranges dating to the 19th century and remnants of a system of 1st World War trenches.*

On the brow of the slope at the southern end of the Common are traces of a single line of military trenching. This survives as a backfilled trench, castellated in typical First World War manner c 1m in width and little more than 0.2m deep. The most prominent portion (depicted) incorporates 5 castellations over 90m, but fragments of the system can be traced for a length of least 150m along the contour and for 200m on one aerial photograph (Lincoln City Planning Dept AP 511837). No communication or reserve trenches are present, but shallow traces of a second line of trenching (Fig 20) occur on the lower ground around the edge of a quarry and it may that these opposing trenches formed part of a set piece manoeuvre.

Recreation

Golf course tees, forming levelled stances or raised rectangular platforms along with curvilinear flat areas for greens, are ubiquitous (Fig 20). They represent several phases of

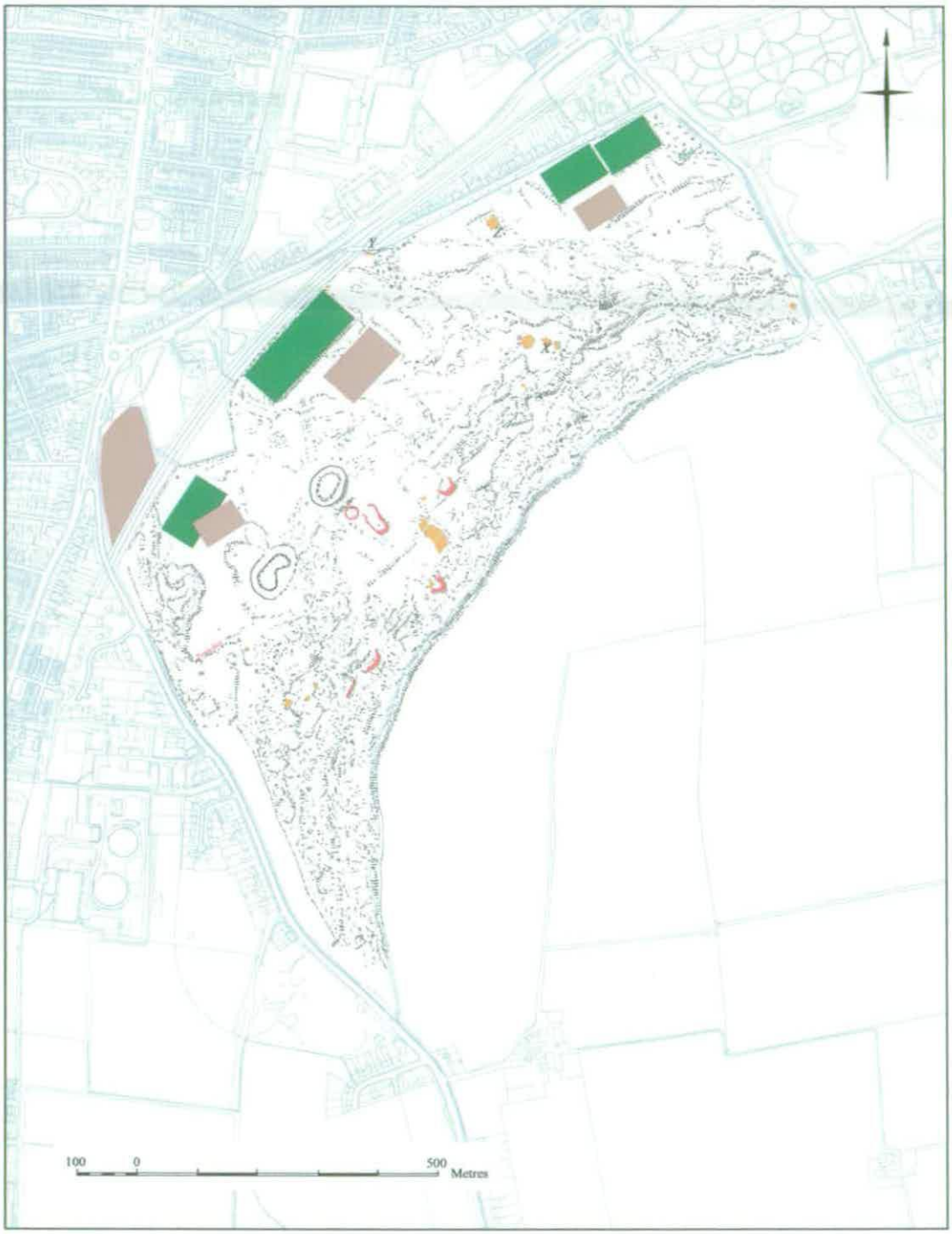

Figure20 *Military use (red) and recreation on the Common. Large areas were levelled to provide sports facilities during the late 19th and early 20th century. Cricket (brown): football (green): and golf (yellow). The most ubiquitous earthworks are the small and often replaced rectangular golf tees which litter the Common, some of which are marked here.*

reorganisation of the course, mostly over the north-eastern part of the Common. Central is a large sub-circular green, 20m in diameter with spoil placed on the down slope side to create a bank, and a number of small rectangular features may represent associated huts or sheds

(Fig 20 X). Set into the railway embankment against the South Park road bridge (Fig 20 Y) is a building platform, initially thought to be connected with the railway, but evidently the site of a club house (see below).

A number of levelled areas alongside South Park may represent the site of huts. One, 20m by 20m cut level to a depth of 0.3m, may even mark the site of a bowling green (Fig 20 Z). Two areas have been significantly bulldozed to form level ground for football or cricket pitches. One in the northernmost corner 99m by 70m, is said to have formerly been used by Lincoln United (pers comm. local resident). A second, measuring 190m by 75m, lies alongside the Great Northern Railway cutting. These have destroyed all formerly extant earthworks in these areas, although the bulldozed spoil lies in landscaped heaps and may seal earlier features. One such heap in the north-east corner obscures a series of trackways from Canwick (see above).

6. DISCUSSION

LARA and the RAZs

As archaeological excavation and research over the last 30 years has increasingly influenced the planning process it has become important to reassess current knowledge in order that archaeological effort is productively channelled into answering outstanding questions and conundrums. The results of accumulated archaeological excavations and antiquarian records have recently been processed, reassessed and brought together as the Lincoln Archaeological Research Assessment (LARA). In this, phases of Lincoln's past were divided into 'eras' numbered from 5 to 11, beginning with the prehistoric era (5) and finishing at the industrial era (11). Full details are published in Jones *et al* (2003). Based on this assessment, a series of research questions grounded in geographical units referred to as Research Agenda Zones (RAZs) were established. The following discussion takes place within the framework of LARA and its RAZs, addressing those issues that relate to the work carried out at South Common. Numbered topics raised by that study are referred to in parenthesis.

The Prehistoric Era – from the Mesolithic period to c AD43 (Era 5).

There is no firm evidence of prehistoric activity on the Common. That is not to say that it never occurred, for the location is one where considerable presence might be expected and indeed there is sufficient evidence of Neolithic and Bronze Age ritual in Canwick nearby. It seems likely that most traces have been removed by the early quarrying, leaving very few areas of original land surface where vestiges might remain. Such fragments of land surface, including that sealed beneath banks and other features, including the Roman Road itself, might provide the only opportunity of establishing the nature of former occupation and land use.

The only question posed directly by the LARA relates to the Jurassic Way (RAZ 5.1) as a corridor for prehistoric movement (NMR Linear 77) and the route to a postulated early river crossing at Stamp End (5.2). The original idea behind such a route was that a striking, high-level, topographical feature such as the Lincoln Edge channelled and provided guidance to travellers across great tracts of country. W F Grimes established it as an archaeological construct, building on the geological study of road patterns carried out by North (1937, 76-83), by proposing it as a long distance prehistoric route from Wessex to Lincolnshire, although Grimes himself was pushed to provide hard evidence and resorted to suggesting that the prehistoric road lay beneath the Roman one (Grimes 1951, 145, 169). No evidence

was found of any feature resembling a trackway or routeway in the direction specified during the present survey. Even accepting that much of the Common has been truncated by medieval and later activities, fragments or 'ghosts' of track ways might be expected to be recognised, particularly if the route survived into the historic period. Neither is there evidence of such a route marked out by air photographs on the plateau above the Common.

In Wessex, early routes across open country on the chalk downs produce characteristic wide swathes of intersecting and bifurcating hollow ways that can encompass a corridor of ground over 200m in width. Although details of the geology differ, that in Lincoln nevertheless comprises similar soft rock, sands and clays to Wessex and the impact and engraving of former activity might be expected to leave a comparable archaeological signature. The lack of such evidence is not altogether surprising. The idea that long distance 'motorways' existed in the prehistoric period erroneously assumed the need for a massive amount of 'commercial' movement of such a nature that it involved by-passing villages and settlements. It also assembled disparate pieces of evidence in support, i.e. occasional Neolithic or Bronze Age sites were incorporated with Iron Age hillforts to build the argument. Evidence of such routes has simply not been forthcoming in the intervening half century and the whole idea of 'trade' in a prehistoric context has been reconsidered (e.g. essays in Scarre and Healy 1993). Other named long distance trackways have fallen into disfavour too. Twenty five years ago Chris Taylor (1979, 32-9) demonstrated how modern finds of Iron Age sites situated just off the route of the Icknield Way called into question its interpretation as a major highway. In Surrey, the North Downs Trackway or 'Pilgrims Way' was demonstrated to have been founded more in fiction that in fact (Turner 1980), while the well known 'Ridgeway' above Avebury on the Marlborough Downs has been emphatically rejected as a prehistoric route way (Fowler 2000, 22 and 60-3). In the case of the Jurassic Way, Taylor (1979, 32-9) demonstrated not only the lack of hard archaeological evidence but also the unfeasibility of the route.

If there is no evidence for such a thoroughfare across the Common, there are implications for the adjacent zones to the northeast (RAZ 5.2), and the area leading to the supposed river crossing at Stamp End. Locally high ground here is enclosed as a 'ham' within what appears to be an ancient loop of the river. The 'handaxe' recorded on the prehistoric distribution map of the area (Jones *et al* 2003, 21, Fig 5.2) appears to be a misidentification, either with that recovered during excavations at Flaxengate in 1948 (Roe 1968, 190), or with a stone axe found on the Cow Paddle in 1932 (see above). However, the 'ham' would be an excellent settlement site during Holocene prehistory and there is increasing evidence across the country of the use of such landforms. Evidence of early, potentially Beaker date cultivation, has been found right up to the waters edge at Hopton Street, in London (Ridgeway 1999,74), for example, and there is no reason why a similar occurrence should not happen here, in a location where the well-drained soils, periodically refreshed by minerals from overbank floods provided productive farmland.

The river crossing has been suggested here as it is the nearest narrow point down stream of the City. Today's river is the result of over a millennia of human manipulation and the T-junction formed by the Witham and the Till is an unlikely natural course for the rivers to adopt. If river configuration at this point was as now, it was likely, however, to be swift flowing and dangerous and only accomplished by boat or bridge. Structures thought to be bridges are not unknown in the Bronze Age. One such, 25m in length crossing a relict channel of the River Blackwater, in Hampshire, with timbers dated to the Middle Bronze Age was discovered in 1999 (Wessex Archaeology 2000, 26) and there have been suggestions that wooden jetty-like structures at Eton and Vauxhall leading into the Thames were also bridges (Anon 1999, 4).

However, the construction of bridges implies a considerable degree of traffic and the likeliest crossing places during prehistory might have been at fordable shallows, particularly where braided islands occur. There may have been a series of these around Wigford. Documents relating to St Catherine's Priory mention the presence of several on which they built houses in the 13th century (Cole 1903-4, 277), while reference to a *Plan and section of the road 100 yards each side of Bargate Bridge* prepared in 1833 implies that Bargate itself may have stood on an island, the road across the 0.5m high incline perhaps being lowered by the Turnpike Trust (Lincolnshire Archives PAD 2/22). The Iron Age huts discovered on one of the islands at Wigford (Jones and Stocker, in Jones *et al* 2003, 26) might be considered unlikely to form part of a major settlement because of the difficulty in accessing farmland. Given the nature of the terrain, they could, however, represent some other, perhaps even ritual, activity (ibid 26).

A series of artefacts thought to have been ritually deposited were found in the River Witham at Stamp End lock (Jones *et al* 2003), but given the regularity of clusters of prehistoric material of all periods recovered from along the Thames (e.g. Adkins and Jackson 1978: Needham and Burgess 1980: Field 1989) it would not be surprising if a similar concentration were encountered closer to the city.

A similar point can be made concerning the round barrow or ring ditch cemetery at Canwick. This lies over 2km from the South Common, close to the Washingborough parish boundary, but the regularity of such cemeteries along other river valleys, for example the Ouse (Woodward 1978), might point to the presence of a further cemetery in the area of the Common.

Ritual or ceremonial monuments might not only be expected by the waters edge but also on the hill slope, here quarried away. The barrow cemeteries are only the visible manifestation of what appear to be a numerous, stable and probably sedentary population, which must have utilised the valley slopes and plateau beyond to its full capacity. Use of such places for ceremonial, funereal or ritual purposes, however, need not mean that this general stretch of

land was taboo and unavailable for mundane use.

The Roman Military Era - from cAD43 to cAD90 (Era 6).

The Roman military occupation of the area is likely to have had considerable impact on the landscape, particularly after the roadways and fortress on the opposite hillside was constructed. The demand for food, water, building materials, accommodation, grazing and metal will have been insatiable. Little is known of the area during the military campaign period and it may be that as much activity occurred to the south of the river as north of it (Jones 2002).

The first two archaeological questions, (6.1) and (6.5), relate to the possibility of the site of a fortress in the St Catherine's area, and a route to the Stamp End causeway. The present survey indicates that there is little evidence for a long distance routeway across the Common to Stamp End causeway during prehistory. Regarding the position of an early fortress, one intriguing possibility concerns the site of the Malandry, which although respecting the alignment of Ermine Street and the 'Celtic' field-like scarps that emanate from it, has a boundary that has endured and must have been a significant feature when the plot was adopted for construction of the Hospital in the 11th or 12th century. Traces of a ditch and external bank exist on the south side and it is feasible that the latter is a counterscarp, in which case the levelled defensive bank of any fort or camp would be encompassed by the allotments and school (the idea was first suggested by M Jones). Suitable caution needs to be applied, as it is equally feasible that a monumental boundary was constructed as part of the Hospital precinct. However, the plan form and the location and area enclosed fits easily into the pattern of Roman forts and camps known from elsewhere in the country (Welfare and Swan 1995: Johnson 1983) and the fascinating possibility remains one that needs to be tested.

There are further questions relating to the nature of the roads beyond the military settlement (6.21) and to the use of the valley and hillslopes (6.22 and 25) that are not answered by the present survey. Indeed, some activity south of the river is indicated by the presence of the military burial. Whatever use was made of the Common, whether military, pastoral, industrial, or combinations of all, it was subsumed by reorganisation of the landscape once the metalled road of Ermine Street had been established.

Figure 21 *The southern boundary of the Malandry enclosure showing ditch and bank to the south of the modern perimeter fence. The ranging pole 1m in height marks the position of the ditch.*

The Roman Colonia Era - from AD90 to the early 5th century (Era 7).

Relevant questions here concern the nature of roads leading to the Colonia (7.1), the potential for industrial exploitation of the area (7.5), and the location of cemeteries (7.24). The survey has made a contribution on all of these points.

If burials were placed in formal manner alongside roadways, and that would appear to be so at Monson Street from where cremations were recorded (Steane *et al* 2001, 20-1), it might provide some support for the idea of an earlier route that was utilised by the military. Certainly construction of a road pattern had dramatic effect on local land-use with the primary route being Ermine Street, along which properties in Wigford were aligned.

The line of Ermine Street has now been identified with a reasonable degree of certainty. The general route can be gauged from a series of aerial photographs (e.g.NMR12855/05: NMR3G/TUD/UK197/5477: NMRCPE(B)UK/3/5164 Hunting Surveys UK65321B/9212: OS/66/127/9269:V82RAF767/0244) that depict its course as it approaches from Bracebridge Heath to the south of the site. These indicate that it lay in the arable field immediately east of the footpath along the top of the Common, entering the Common itself just before the Common boundary curves to the northeast. At this point a 30m stretch of bank and ditch survive that has been cut into by later quarrying, and from where the 'ghost' of the road can be traced obliquely across the Common as a 60m wide strip of small scale quarries that stand out as markedly different in nature from those recorded elsewhere. A further 40m stretch of agger with ditch on either side survives on the lower ground retaining the same

alignment and if projected would lead more or less directly to the road junction with the Fosse Way revealed by excavations at St Mary's Guildhall and Monson Street (Steane *et al* 2001, 37-64).

Figure 22 *Aerial Photograph showing the position of the Roman Road as two dark parallel lines in the arable field below the hedgerow, marking the side ditches as it runs parallel to the Common (RAF/82/767 V 0244 English Heritage (NMR) RAF photography). Note how the boundary to the Common deviates sinusoidally where the road alignment passed beneath it.*

Neither Ermine Street or the Fosse Way appear to have utilised a straight course into the Roman town. The Fosse Way, as seen in the modern road system, changes course at St Mary's Guildhall and it seems likely that both roads made for a local high point and here the sand island reached 4.8m OD (Steane *et al*, 2001, 60). Roads are known to shift around considerably, especially when ill defined, and there are other unknown factors such as the topography of the low ground around Wigford that may have influenced the route. The excavations at St Mary's Guildhall and Monson Street emphasised that the framework was fossilised by the early third century when buildings were constructed at right angles alongside Ermine Street, indicating prominence over the Fosse Way at that time.

Alongside the extant portion of the road on the lower part of the Common, a shallow bank was recorded from which a number of further extremely shallow banks can be traced at right angles. Since these are aligned on the road, it is likely that they are later in date. It is possible that they form property units, perhaps those of shops, workhouses or even cemetery enclosures and it is worth bearing in mind Jones' point that the considerable Roman population had to be buried somewhere (Jones 2002, 116) and may have resulted in as many as 100 burials per year. However, shallow scarps on the same alignment can be found at greater distance from the road, in which case the likeliest explanation is that they represent traces of a field system. Use does not appear to have been intensive, as

lyncheting has not developed to any great degree, but in any case the slope here is not dramatic. The Greetwell villa had 'field boundaries' (Jones 2002, 102) adjacent to it and it would be no surprise if the building discovered beneath Canwick church (Mills 2003), if indeed a villa, had likewise. However, to the west of the extant road fragment, the area known as the Malandry also lies on this alignment and itself may have formed part of the field system. It may be that the system formed part of an overall reorganisation of the Wigford suburb and its immediate hinterland. The late 11th or early 12th century date suggested for the Malandry as a hospital site helps to bracket the period of use. Perhaps the likeliest time of such corporate layout, however, is during the 3rd century when buildings were being constructed alongside Ermine Street at St Mary's Guildhall and Monson Street. The earlier cemetery at Monson Street had been forgotten and redeveloped at this time and it may be that any similar burials on South Common, indicated by the presence of the inscribed memorial, had also been forgotten.

The recognition of a few Romano-British potsherds, both greywares and samian, was noted during survey above and along the quarry face to the east end of the Common and these can be set alongside other finds made in the general area. Mills (2003; 2005) drew attention to finds from Canwick, including that of a tessellated pavement beneath the church but, of relevance here, pointed to several Roman coins and potsherds found on Canwick Hill from the area of allotments above the Common. This may indicate a degree of settlement along this part of the hill that perhaps influenced the course and direction of the later roadway. It would by no means be unusual for the settlement to contract or migrate.

Wigford is thought to have been repopulated during the 11th century (Steane 1991, 29), but the building layout appears to be on a completely different axis. The church of St Peter At Gowts and St Mary's Guildhall was constructed on the line of the Fosse Way rather than Ermine Street, while the area around the Malandry site retained the former orientation based on Ermine Street: the implication being that a considerable template still existed in the landscape at this point and that in contrast to the plot opposite Swine Green occupied by St Catherine's Priory, integration with the new road system was here of less importance.

Quarries

There is a suggestion that some of the quarries may have been relatively early in date. The initial objective may have been the ironstone and although there is no direct evidence of either extraction or smelting, it would be surprising if it were not targeted in later prehistory or the Roman period. Certainly the needs of a legionary base would require provision of and repairs to, weapons, armour, and the trappings of daily life such as nails. There is evidence

of Roman smithing activities at several suburban locations (Jones 2002, 140), in particular, locations in the angle of the Roman Road junction at Monson St from the early 2nd century. In addition, the presence of a vessel decorated with an anvil, hammer and a pair of tongs and thought to represent a Smith god from St Mary's Guildhall site (Steane *et al* 2001, 209). It may even be that use was made of local materials, ironstone nodules, slag or cinders, in the construction of Ermine Street as it was at, for example, in Stane Street at Alfodean and elsewhere in the Weald (Winbolt 1936, 100: Margery 1965, 90: Cleere and Crossley 1995). Indeed, it was suggested that the very process of road construction may have been responsible for the discovery of iron deposits there and it may have been at Lincoln also. The roadside ditches provide prefect geological prospecting trenches.

This might also make sense of some of the small scale quarrying of the road itself. Quarrying of the material of Roman roads was a not uncommon practice and it occurred elsewhere along Ermine Street. According to Trollope (1869, 154-164), surface paving was missing at Winterton, while the bank was totally destroyed and stone missing around Temple Bruer and either side scarred with traffic ruts. Indeed, elsewhere the practice persisted into the 19th century, the Horsham Stone used to metal Stane Street at Alfodean in Sussex, for example, being stripped in order to roof houses (pers comm. J English: West Sussex Record Office QDP W/10).

The Anglo-Saxon Era - from the early 5th to the Late 9th century (Era 8).

There is no evidence of continuity in the use of Ermine Street (8.3.1) after the 4th century (Steane 1991, 52). At St Mary's Guildhall, the road was covered with humic soil, while pits were cut into it during the Late Saxon Period, indicating that it went out of use during the latter half of the first millennium and certainly before the early 12th century (Stocker 1991, 16: Steane 1991, 62). There was abandonment of areas of settlement elsewhere in the country at this time, for example, on Salisbury Plain (McOmish *et al* 2001, 109,157), but it may equally be that increasing use of the Common for industrial purposes, with the consequent damage to and subsequent by-passing of the road, led to its lack of use as a major thoroughfare.

The fields may have continued in use at this time and the area used for occasional quarrying although there is no firm evidence for either. Otherwise there is little that can be added concerning the nature of surrounding land useable for settlement and agriculture (8.4).

Figure 23 *Hollowed trackway by passing quarried Roman Road and which in turn has been quarried into.*

The High Medieval Era - from the late 9th century to c1350 (Era 9).

Routeways

The resurgence of Wigford as a suburb and local centre is thought to have taken place in the 11th century (Steane 1991, 29), but as noted above the building layout appears to be on a completely different axis, based on the Fosse Way route rather than Ermine Street. St Mary's Guildhall, constructed between 1150 and 1170 (Stocker 1991, 92) was built on the Fosse Way alignment, although encroaching onto the road itself. The tower of St Peter at Gowts was constructed in the 11th century (Hill 1948, 135-141) and like St Mary's Guildhall, must have been partially constructed on the roadway. As it approached Lincoln, Ermine Street was no longer in use as a direct access road (9.12.1). Instead, it was necessary to use the by-pass around the industrial area which must have led to a more southerly confluence with the Fosse Way ((Fig 23). The process of road migration might have continued unchecked and the confluence with the Fosse Way shifted to ever more southerly positions were it not for the restraining influence of parish fields at Bracebridge which occupied the valley slopes.

The establishment of the Priory of St Catherine's and its holding in Canwick demanded frequent, probably daily, transport between the two places. There is some indication, in the form of short, truncated stretches of hollow way and ramps down quarry faces, of a former

route (9.12.13) directly from Canwick village where the Grange is likely to have been located (Mills and Mills 1998) to the monastic buildings.

Pasture

Both St Catherine's and the Malandry claimed rights of pasture in the area on the Common (9.8) and there is an implication from later documents that their respective areas of entitlement were divided by a ditch. St Catherine's with large flocks on other holdings evidently grazed on the Common, to the complaint of others.

In the east, ridge and furrow is visible at right angles to the contours and is probably a remnant of the Canwick open field, part of the system of ridge and furrow cultivation visible immediately east of the Branston Road within Canwick Hall parkland on aerial photographs (RAF 30006 SK9970/4: see ***Figure 3*** above). This is an area referred to as Canwick Field in the Enclosure map of 1787 (Lincolnshire Archives Canwick Parish 17), by which time it had already been truncated by the Branston Road. Mills (2001, 9) pointed to the need for a physical boundary between arable fields and open pasture to ensure that stock did not stray, but none was traced. The fences and hedges of the common were said to be in need of repair in 1579, but in 1559, 1563 and 1569 there is also reference to the need for boundary stones (Hill 1990, 354) implying that no physical boundary existed.

Quarries

Lincolnshire Limestone was evidently in some demand being used at, for example, Windsor Castle (Alexander 1995, 111), but whether it was being extracted from the slopes of South Common is less clear (9.41.1). As noted above, limestone may have been quarried for building material from as early as the Roman period although there is no direct evidence of it south of the city. The catalyst may have been the religious and public building of the Saxon period or soon after. The tower at St Peter at Gowts is dated to the 11th century, while Stocker (1991, 17) indicates that the stone used in St Mary's Guildhall, dated to between 1150 and 1170, is Jurassic Limestone and it may therefore have derived from this source. Quarries were certainly in operation in 1202 as there is record of a death in one at Canwick at that date. There is a suggestion that the man was murdered (Stenton 1926, np 805) as it was not reported to the authorities. However, an innocent interpretation, with the death being caused by collapse of the quarry face, is equally likely. The Lincolnshire Assize Roll 479 for 1202 that refers to the occasion states:

'Quidam homo obrutus fuit in quadam quarraria ita quod obit. Et uillata de Kanewic' ubi ita obrutus fuit' non fecit quod facrere debuit quia non fecit fieri uisum de eo antequam

inhumatus esset et preterea ipsa non uenit corum Justicus et est in m'ia (Marg. Murdrum m'ia)

De aliis capitulis nil '

'A man has been overwhelmed in a quarry and as a result died. And the vil of Kanewic where this happened did not do what it ought to as it did not cause the body to be viewed before burial and furthermore did not come before the justice. It is in mercy' (trans G Brown).

Whether the quarry in question was within the area then known as Canwick Common, or closer to the village is unknown. A 'Scutschalpit', or quarry worked or owned by a Scot, is also mentioned at Canwick in about 1251 (Cameron 1985, 214) and indicates that quarrying was still a significant activity here during the 13th century.

In all likelihood the religious buildings at the foot of the Common also utilised local materials in their construction. Venables (1876) talks of stone found on the site of St Catherine's, most of which was sold off in 1569 (Cole 1903-4), while the mansion that replaced it was said to be made of 'wrought stone', although no further detail is provided. A squared block of limestone was noted close to the quarry face during fieldwork which perhaps indicates that masonry activities took place within the quarries themselves.

Figure24 *Earthwork traces of quarrying on South Common. In the middle distance of the Middle Lias deposits and beyond that of the Northamptonshire ironstone and overlying Limestone deposits.*

Sand and iron were probably extracted during this period. The two pointed ingots found in excavations at St Mary's Guildhall and thought to be late medieval in date imply that interest in iron working was held somewhere in the vicinity (Stocker 1991, 72-3).

The presence of windmills on South Common is not expressly mentioned in RAZ questions, but is referred to in documents relating to St Catherine's. The precise site was not determined by the survey, but a number of possibilities present themselves, not least the likelihood that any site has been quarried away. However, it seems likely that the mill(s) associated with St Catherine's would be present until the Dissolution. A potential windmill site has been identified on the edge of the third terrace, but the surface remains allow no certainty of this and it is included with military remains (below). It may also be that the potential building sites noted above represent the location of Priory farm buildings and the windmill. The Priory Mill is shown as to the west of the Malandry on W Marret's map, but it is difficult to know whether the cartographer witnessed surviving remains, or whether it was tradition that led to his placing it there. The likeliest location given the documentary description is that the site lay on the area known as Swine Green in the area now occupied by the gas works or brick works quarry.

Eleanor's Cross

A monumental stone cross is said to have been erected on Swine Green by Edward I on the occasion of the death of Queen Eleanor at Harby, near Lincoln in 1290 (Gilbert 1906, 189). It was one of 12 such monuments erected to mark the spot where her coffin was rested on the journey from Lincoln to London, the others being at Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, St Albans, Waltham, West Cheap and finally Charing Cross. Only three, those at Geddington, Northampton and Waltham survive and only Geddington, now in the care of English Heritage, is complete. The example at Charing Cross is not the original. That on Swine Green was erected by Richard of Stowe and lavishly carved with statues of the queen (Cole 1903-4, 287: Venables 1876, 187). Leland referred to it as 'a very fair crosse and large' (Toulmin Smith 1964, 30) when he passed by in about 1538. It evidently fell into disrepair and was restored in 1624, but finally destroyed by Order of the Common Council of Lincoln in 1643 during the Civil War.

A further cross once stood on Cross O'Cliffe Hill, marking the boundary of the City (9.45.1 also 10.45.1), but was evidently removed in 1600 (Kelly's Directory 1885, 532). It has been claimed that markets were held there during outbreaks of plague, and that as a boundary marker it may have been respected in boundary processions (Stocker in Jones *et al* 2003, 334). Its location was not detected during the investigation.

Sincil Dyke

The cutting known as the Sincil Dyke (10.51.5) must be later than Ermine Street, the course of which would have been cut by the dyke. The name itself is unusual. The prefix 'sin' is often taken as an Old English term for 'huge' or 'great', and 'cil' a Celtic term for 'a retreat or corner', while sicel is an Old English term for 'a small stream' (Smith 1956, 122). The earliest reference to the Sincil Dyke appears to be in 1529 (Cameron 1985, 38), there are earlier references to a Silver Dyke from 1348 to 1616, to a Kings Dyke from 1226 to 1612 and to an 'old ee' from 1226 to 1505 (Cameron 1985, 38), although the extent to which these might refer to the same feature is unclear. The link between Kings Dyke and the Hospital of St Sepulchre is clear from the document of 1275, which places the Hospital immediately south of the ditch (Cole 1903-4, 278), thereby indicating that Kings Ditch and Sincil Dyke are one and the same. The southern boundary of Lower Wigford (9.51.5) was certainly present as a dyke therefore from 1226, but since the Hospital was thought to have been present from 1123 the implication is that the ditch was there in some form before it as it is unlikely that the ditch would have been cut across the Hospital grounds. It was considered that the Sincil Dyke was created by William I as a defence for the expanding town, but such a ditch cutting off a promontory might not be out of place among, for example, Viking defences and it may be that the dyke simply recut an earlier feature.

Monastic

St Catherine's Priory and the Hospital of St Sepulchre (9.54) are relevant here only insofar as they had impact on the former or present Common. An earthwork interpreted as a water cistern occurs on the upper part of the Common (Fig 17). There is no date for this but perhaps the most likely user is St Catherine's Priory. Unfortunately the truncation of features by the quarries ensures that conduits could not be traced to source. Similar cisterns have been located as earthworks at Fountains Abbey (Bowden 1991).

There is documentary reference to an underground channel from a well in Canwick Field to St Catherine's (Cole 1903-4, 278), and the straight 'drain' from the pond in the east is a reasonable contender for the line of a conduit. The drain is massive, its alignment purposeful and its course unnecessary for land drainage. Other land drains on the Common channel water directly down the slope. It may, however, have once contained lead pipes, perhaps dug up at the dissolution and sold with the other materials. The line if extended would lead directly to St Botolphe's Church, a not impossible destination, but it would involve crossing the Sincil Dyke and there is no supplementary evidence for a water outlet there. However, the explanation may lie in the fact that if to St Catherine's, and it was necessary to detour around the Malandry precinct, a course retaining the incline meant that skirting the northern precinct boundary was the only practical solution. 'Conduit field' in Canwick is mentioned in documents of 1626, 1637 and 1638 (Cameron 1985, 214) and this appears to have been

located to the east of Canwick village (Mills and Mills 1996); it may have been the ultimate source of the water. Construction of conduits over considerable distances was by no means rare amongst monastic houses. The conduit at St Werburgh's, Chester, reached 3km in 1282, and Greyfriars, London, 2km (Bond 2001, 94-5). At Stanley Abbey, Wiltshire, the springs were tapped at Loxwell 3.5km away and a conduit constructed in 1214 (Chettle and Kirby 1956, 273), while like that at Reading (Bond 2001), the drinking water for Lacock Abbey was piped from Bowden across the adjacent river (Rogers 1979, 25). In Lincoln, Blackfriars received permission to construct a conduit in 1260, and St Catherine's in 1306.

Holy Well

'Hallow Well' in Canwick is mentioned in a document of 1626 (Cameron 1985, 214) and its location has been traced to east of Canwick church and linked with Conduit Field (Mills and Mills 1996). The implication is that the conduit and well were associated and that the Holy Well is the well mentioned in the documents as providing water to St Catherine's. The diagonal ditched feature recorded above was noted by the Mills' but discounted as the incline was felt unsuitable. However, assuming that the feature does lead to St Catherine's it implies that it extended through Canwick village in a straight line. The drop of almost 20m over 0.5km between well and pond, the incline across the whole distance being almost even and a closed conduit could carry water at any angle providing that it was not too diffuse (Bond 2001, 94).

There is a possibility that other springs on the hillside were once considered sacred. In particular that that interrupts the course of the Roman road.

The precinct and building foundations associated with St Catherine's Priory are buried beneath a housing estate constructed during the 19th century. Certain observations made at the time have been recounted above, but further documentary research into the construction programme might reveal further details.

While the Malandry (9.56) held right of pasture there is no indication that they erected structures beyond their precinct. The Precinct itself is extremely well defined and the template, whether or not of Roman origin, endured into the 20th century. It may have been walled to provide seclusion. The position of what may be the chapel is depicted on W Mallet's map, respected by Cookson (1843). Both individuals illustrate a building to the north of this that was thought by them to be the Hospital, although as pointed out above this may have in fact been the kitchen hall and gatehouse and that instead the individual cells were dispersed around the grounds.

Era 10 The Early Modern Era - from c1350 to c1750

The system of trackways that by-passed Ermine Street was probably defunct by this time and a course close to the present Cross O'Cliffe Road, represented by the hollowed trackways noted above (Fig 12a) which passed close to the west of the Malandry, was well-established (10.12).

The intimate connection of St Catherine's to the Canwick grange and vicarage is likely to have generated a significant amount of traffic and there is some indication of a route way from the south-east corner of the Common. A ramp descending the quarry face and other fragments of hollow way and suitably oriented scarps lead in the general direction of St Catherine's (Fig 12b). During this 500 year period it may be that the route fluctuated in response to developing quarry activities (10.12.3).

Pasture

Land was evidently being improved by cutting drains during this period. The process of draining the area to improve pasture (10.8.4) may have started as early as the late 12th century for there is reference to 'Micel dic' at Canwick at that date (Cameron 1985, 214). Marshland on the lower parts of the Common was being enclosed by the 15th century and the dispute in 1447 between St Catherine's Priory and the City concerning grazing on marshland to the south and east of the 'Old Ee' that had been enclosed with banks and ditches and referred to as 'New meadow' implies an interest on the part of the city to drain and improve the low lying land to the east of Wigford (9.4). Leland's comments suggest that reclamation of the marshland was completed by about 1538 (Toulmin Smith 1864, 30).

In later years the grazing rights attached to St Catherine's and the Malandry appear to have been divided by a north to south ditch across the Common (Lincolnshire archives L1/1/1/9). A glance at the plan (Fig 16) makes it clear that this cannot be identified with any certainty, and although it may have been proposed rather than dug, it could have suffered in landscaping or levelling for recreational activities.

With the demise of the major institutions, it may have been considered beyond the means of individuals to create catch works or improve pasture in other ways. Some of the drains are of considerable proportions and only likely to have been carried out with corporate involvement.

Figure 25 *General view of South Common with drain in the foreground.*

Quarries

The quarries on the lower levels of the Common may have provided raw material for the tilery (10.40) known to have been operating in St Botolphe's parish at this date.

Monastic

At present, the development of the monastic (10.54) and hospital institutions (10.56), can only be traced from documentary sources, but there is enormous scope for future archaeological investigation.

Era 11 The Industrial Era - from c1750 to 1945

The major change during this period was the provision of a new boundary and a new name. The Enclosure Act of 1787 established formal boundaries notably between Canwick and the City of Lincoln and along with this certain rights were relinquished (Mills 2001, 10). The Common, referred to as Canwick Common on the Enclosure map (LA Canwick Parish 17), was henceforward known as South Common. While rights of pasture were retained for those in Wigford (11.16) and the new owners of the Malandry, new tensions arose as the Corporation sought to respond to the needs of an expanding city by placing a new emphasis

on leisure and recreation.

Gates

Prior to enclosure of the Common with palings, two gates were placed across the route ways in order to prevent stock from straying. One of these was located to the south of Great Bargate Bridge (Fig 7) and the other across the Branston Road at the foot of the hill. Close by were enclosures or pinfolds within which illegally grazing animals were impounded. One is shown adjacent to the north-west corner of the Malandry on the 1870 map (Lincoln City Deeds Box 5a) and there was evidently another at the foot of Canwick Hill (Lincolnshire Archives Sibthorp Scrapbook, 40).

The 1836 document recommended the erection of lodges at Canwick Gate and Bargate Bridge gate, initially to look after the gates, and there are documents referring to the erection of lodges through to 1870. At least one of these was constructed, as the First Lincolnshire Rifle Volunteers are recorded as paying their annual fee to the keeper of South Lodge (Lincolnshire Archives Hill 12) in 1867, but further research is required to determine the relationship of lodges to those constructed in similar locations to collect road tolls.

The first appearance on mapping is in 1851 when an unnamed building occurs on Padley's map (Mills and Wheeler 2005, 69). A lodge is shown on a plan dated 1870 adjacent to a series of plots being sold off for building to the south of the Sincil Dyke adjacent to the gate to the Common across the road that led to Canwick and Washingborough (Lincolnshire Archives Lincoln City Deed Box 5a Plan of Building sites - Lincoln South common 1870). In 1883 a building is depicted in the same location (Fig 26) but on a different alignment and it appears to have replaced the earlier one.

Routeways

A route utilising the course later adopted by South Park, passing to the north of the Malandry and leading eastwards towards Washingborough (Mills 2001, 138), is present on late 18th and 19th century maps and while it seems likely that this developed at a relatively early date no firm evidence is provided by the survey. Hollowed trackways cut the north-east corner of the Common and disappear beneath a heap of bulldozed spoil. But the continuation of the track across the levelled football pitch can be seen on some aerial photographs (1947 RAF 30003 SK 9870/3).

A linear earthwork, 6m wide by 80m in length, that is arranged to diagonally truncate the south-east corner of the Common cut through some of the quarry earthworks at a steep angle. The course is depicted on the 1st edition of OS 25" 1887 and is potentially an inclined tramway to the quarry face to ease carts up the gradient. However, depiction on the map suggests that it might be a later feature and perhaps formed an approach to the promenade, cutting the angle to avoid transgressing on the toll road.

The location and purpose of Little Bargate Bridge (11.4 6) is obscure. Situated so close to the Great Bargate Bridge it remains almost superfluous. The traffic ruts on the common indicate that Cross O'Cliffe Road formerly passed close to the west of the Malandry and fed across Great Bargate Bridge. However, some of the earlier Ermine street by-passes may have passed to the east of the Malandry, in which case the Little Bargate Bridge would be well placed to carry such traffic. It also suits an earlier route across the Common directly from Canwick village.

The Bargate toll bar and cottage (11.6.3) is depicted as 80m north of the Sincil Dyke toll house on maps made in the early 19th century (Lincolnshire Archives PAD 2/22: Mills and Wheeler 2005, 28: Cookson 1841). This and the toll bar in Canwick Road are each located close to the Common gate and the relationship between toll road and Common gates needs further research.

Figure 26 *Lodge near Bargate, now a Police House.*

Quarries

There is no firm evidence of quarrying on the Common at this time. The quarry in the north-west is of sharp profile and the condition of the earthworks, coupled with the fact that it cuts into a series of track ways, suggests that it is relatively recent. However, it is not depicted on early mapping and there is no mention of it in documents. Equally, it was not mentioned in early geological accounts when fieldworkers were looking for exposures (Usher *et al* 1888) and it must have been thoroughly turfed over at that time. It had presumably gone out of use by the beginning of the 19th century if not considerably earlier. Similarly a quarry south of Southcliffe House to the west of the Cross O'Cliffe Road, in St Botolphe's parish, and probably once on the Common, had been partly landscaped and incorporated as a garden feature by 1887. This pit might have been contemporary with the quarry aforementioned on the Common, or in use immediately after it as permission to dig on the Common dried up. Cross O'Cliffe Road providing access to quarries on either side, much as the earlier truncated trackways must have done.

Ussher *et al* (1888) describe the stratigraphy in successive brick pits along the base of the escarpment at Waddington Station and further north at Bracebridge and note that ' the further end of the village of Bracebridge is the deserted brick pit formerly worked by Messrs Kirk and Parry'. This is situated on the Middle Lias, extracting 'sand over blue clay with bands of iron rock' and likely to be the landscaped pit at Southcliffe House. Immediately south of it they refer to a large pit sunk for about 6m deep to accommodate 'the new gasworks', the spoil there consisting of bluish grey clay (Ussher *et al* 1888, 30).

However, brick and tile manufacture (11.42) was taking place a little further south towards Bracebridge. A quarry here on what was formerly Swine Green, is described as 'Brickyard' on the 1887 Ordnance Survey 25" edition and 'Old Brick Yard' in 1907 and identified as Mr Best's brickyard (Squires 1992). The geology here, however, would have encountered the Upper Lias clays, but Ussher *et al* (1888) also refer to some 2.5m of Northamptonshire ironstone above the clay in Mr Best's pit. The quarry here does not seem to have expanded in the two decades between the 1887 and 1907and appears to have reached the limit of its property by the earlier date. It may, however, have begun extracting ironstone and continued by extracting material from deeper levels for bricks. The present buildings on the site were erected soon after the turn of the century and were not related to the original workings (Squires 1992). An area of brick pits exploiting the Lias Clay at Waddington Station and Bracebridge were sited between the 15 and 20 m contours i.e. the level of the quarries subsequently landscaped for ponds on the Common. These are more weathered than the pits just mentioned, which were certainly landscaped by 1887 and likely to be early in the brick pit sequence. The earliest brick works in Lincoln are likely to date to the Tudor period and indeed there is documentary reference to a clay pit on West Common in 1581 that was presumably for bricks or tiles (Vince in Jones *et al* 2003, 334).

Hill (1974, 124, 201) refers to Joseph Ruston, a local farmer, ironmaster, founder and entrepreneur prospecting for ironstone on the Common in the 1870s and being interested in leasing land at Canwick to extract ironstone. (Hill 1974, 124, 201). This evidently came to nothing as there appears to be no further record of activity. The quarries in the cliff face (11.41.3) were by this time defunct, the quarry face taken up to the established boundary.

Gallows

Unless significantly marked in some way, the location of the gallows (11.69) may have shifted through time. The expansion of St Catherine's Priory between the road to Bracebridge and 'that which passed under the gallows' (Cole 1903-4) implies that there were gallows in the area of Cross O'Cliffe Hill during the 13th century. However, Brookes refers to gallows on Canwick Hill and suggests that the Malandry received payment for burying those hanged there (Brooks 1935, 165). He recounted the case of Margaret de Burgh, whose son 'was pursued with stolen property. Margaret hid him,....she was charged with harbouring him.....found guilty and was taken to the gallows on Canwick Hill and there hanged....cut down and removed for burial at the Malandry. There, however, she miraculously recovered and settled down....amongst the inmates....after...two years in 1284 a royal pardon..' (Brookes 1935, 167). It may be, as Cookson implied that the Knights Hospitaller connection involved the burial of criminals as an act of piety. He points out that in the Norman-French version of '*The legend of St Hugh*', '....Jopin the Jew was dragged by wild Horses out of Lincoln, and then hanged (as I've heard say) beside Canwick, on a high hill where people are hanged who commit Larceny or Treason' (1843, 42).

Hill placed the gallows at the junction of the Heighington and Branston Roads and remarked that they were supported by a mound, but this strangely places them beyond the city limits and out of the sight of inhabitants (Hill 1948, 231, 345: Vince in Jones *et al* 2003, 319-320; Stocker in Jones *et al* 2003, 334).

Public parks and Gardens (11.76)

Towards the middle of the 19th century greater acknowledgement was given to leisure uses of the Common: 'In 1844 the delightful rural walk called the Promenade extending along the summit of the hill above the South Common was made for public use, the cost being defrayed by the subscribers' (Anon 1909-10: Lincoln City Library Abell Coll Agriculture 1 Commons newspaper cutting quoting Dury's Strangers Guide to Lincoln

1849: White's Lincolnshire Directory 1856, 102). The earthworks recorded alongside the summit indicate that this was, in part, a formal construction with plantings at intervals and it may have influenced the siting of the footpath that now runs for the length of the summit (Fig 18). Trees were planted and railings were mentioned in the sale of 1870.There were some 221 seats on the Common by 1913, including 6 on the Cow Paddle (Anon 1913, 28). Two ponds were constructed in an old quarry, planted with trees and fenced off. A further pond to the south of the Malandry was freshly made or freshly cleaned out on 1947 (RAF 30006 SK9769/4). In 1909 it was 'resolved that a urinal (be) constructed on the South side of the plantation surrounding the eastern pond on the South common' (L1/1/20/9).

Discussion concerning the nature of the pond situated close to the Branston Road ensued in a local newspaper. It was suggested that it represented a cistern constructed to provide water for the Royal Agricultural Show that was held at the foot of the Common (on the Cow Paddle) in 1854. A correspondent claimed that water was supplied from a spring in Canwick at the rate of 10 gallons a minute and up to 20,000 gallons was stored in the reservoir before being piped to the riverside below (Lincoln City Library Abell Collection: Agriculture 1 Commons (The Lincoln Echo 7-12-55, page 3)). A D-shaped sheet of water is marked to the west of the Branston Road in the position of the pond is depicted on the engraving of the Show (Abell Coll Agriculture).

Figure 27 *Pond on South Common: a former quarry appropriately landscaped and planted with trees.*

Work on the drains, initially necessary for the grazing, was increasingly important for leisure

and recreational activities. The liability for drains accepted by the Corporation in 1836 and William and Thomas Cooper were contracted to clean them in 1834 (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/1/9). Work on the drains near the Great Northern Railway line was carried out in 1913 (Anon 1913, 28) and more the following year (Anon 1914, 27) as more cricket and football pitches were created and again after the war when in 1920 the Northern Command agreed to pay for the wartime damage including the repair of the main drain and to 'plough and cross harrow the twelve acres of land at the south east corner where it was worst cut up' (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/9).

Events

The Common remained a place for miscellaneous gatherings of all kinds. In 1816 a duel was fought between Samuel Gibbeson of the Royal Navy and Edward Fowler, a merchant, 'arising out of some observations made by the latter in reference to a Lady of the other gentleman's family'. Each was attended by a second and each having shot and missed, the matter was considered resolved. One of the protagonists was reputed to have had his neck cloth damaged by his opponent's shot (Critch's Annual 1915-1916, 7).

There were occasional political, military and industrial meetings. In 1922, for example, the Union of Agricultural Workers applied to hold a meeting on the Common (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/9), while fairs and circuses were held there during the 20th century and probably long before. In 1854, the Royal Agricultural Show was held on that portion of South Common then known as the Cow Paddle (Mills 2001, 139). An engraving in the Illustrated London News of 22 July 1854 (Abell Coll Agriculture) showed that it consisted of ranks of temporary buildings and fenced enclosures. No cemetery, or trace of Washingborough Road is depicted, but a building thought to be a tollhouse is illustrated at its junction with Branston Road.

In 1869, the Lincolnshire Show took place on the same site. A plan of that date shows that it was confined to the area of the recently established cemetery but spread either side of the curving Lincoln and Honington Railway Line with a formal crossing point shown (Lincolnshire Agricultural Society Archive kindly brought to our attention by A Walker). Subsequent shows were held on West Common or elsewhere in the county (A Walker pers comm.).

Recreation

Recreation became increasingly important as the Corporation sought outlets for the increasing population of the City (11.78). The early influence of Thomas Grantham, owner of St Catherine's Hall, in horse racing is evident, as in 1596 he spent £5 'for erecting the golden bell for the horse race' (Lincolnshire Archives ANDR 1/141). This is the earliest mention of horse racing in Lincoln, but whether it was on the South Common opposite Grantham's house is not known. In later years, horse racing took place on the heath to the south around Waddington (Bradley 1906, 506-511: Wheeler and Mills 2005, 6-8). Plans were drawn up for a course on the Common during the late 18th century, though never implemented (Wheeler and Mills 2005, 6-8) and it appears that the sloping terrain, but also the amount of quarrying that had taken place, may have influenced matters.

Cricket

A cricket pitch was made in or about 1876 (Lincolnshire Archives Lincoln city Jappaned Box 5e) and two professional cricketers are recorded as living in Lincoln in the 1881 census (usa.cricinfo.com), one of them, F Green, at 2 Park View. With interest increasing, in 1885, the Commons Committee resolved to level about 0.5 hectare for a cricket pitch opposite Alderman Beard's residence, in order to engage those unemployed in the City – maximum wages to be 2/- per day (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/1). Beard appears to have lived at The Hollies, St Catherine's (Kelly's Directory 1888) and the pitch therefore will have been to the west of the Malandry.

Further pitches were made in 1909 (Anon 1909, 20), as in that year the Amateur Cricket Association wrote to the Commons Committee asking that '...a ton of Nottingham marl be placed on each of the seven cricket pitches recently made on the commons in order to improve them for next season..' (L1/1/20/9). In the years before the war there appears to have been a further upsurge of interest in cricket. In 1910, there was a request for the '...provision of a further cricket pitch on the South Common (L1/1/20/9) and in 1911 another at the eastern end (L1/1/20/9). By 1913 there were four pitches on the South Common and three on the Cow Paddle (Anon 1913, 28) and a letter was sent to the Corporation expressing appreciation of them (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/9).

Following the damage caused by the 'war machines' (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/9) the Borough Surveyor was asked to prepare cricket pitches in May 1919. The damage was repaired by 1921 (Anon 1921, 27) and cricket pitches, including one at the east end of the Common, were made in that year (L1/1/20/9). By 1923 there were 22 cricket pitches on the two Commons (L1/1/20/9). Three concrete cricket wickets are visible on air photographs

taken in 1947 and are still present on the ground (RAF 30006 SK9769/4).

Football

Two football pitches were made in 1911 (Anon 1911, 25), but apparently overused. Problems were soon highlighted and in October of that year it was resolved that 'steps be taken at the end of the football season for the alteration of the position of football pitches on the commons for the ensuing season .....in order that the grass may recover from the excessive use of certain portions of such grounds' (L1/1/20/9). There were some 15 football pitches on the two Commons by 1913 (Anon 1913, 28).

In 1922, St Botolphe's Old Boys Association asked for the site of their football pitch, between the High Street and the Great Northern Railway, to be improved by levelling. (L1/1/20/9). This is presumably on the ground to the west of the Malandry previously used for cricket. A football pitch is visible south of the Malandry on aerial photographs taken in 1947 (RAF 30006 SK9768/6 and SK9769/4), an additional pitch in the north-east on (RAF 30006 SK 9870/3) and 3 football pitches on the Cow Paddle (RAF 30006 SK9970/4).

Golf

According to Warrener (1906, 525), the earliest golf clubs in Lincolnshire were established in 1890 and Lincoln Golf Club, based on West Common and instituted in 1891, was the most influential of them. South Park Golf Club had established a course on South Common prior to the turn of the century and a building stance recorded as an earthwork during the survey cut into the embankment leading to South Park railway bridge was for a club house, an application for the pavilion being lodged with the city council in 1897. However, in 1901 the South Park club joined the Lincoln Golf Club on West Common.

Golf continued on South Common with Southcliffe Golf Club, but by 1913 problems with animals led them to apply to the Commons and Markets Committee for permission to enclose some of the greens (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/9).

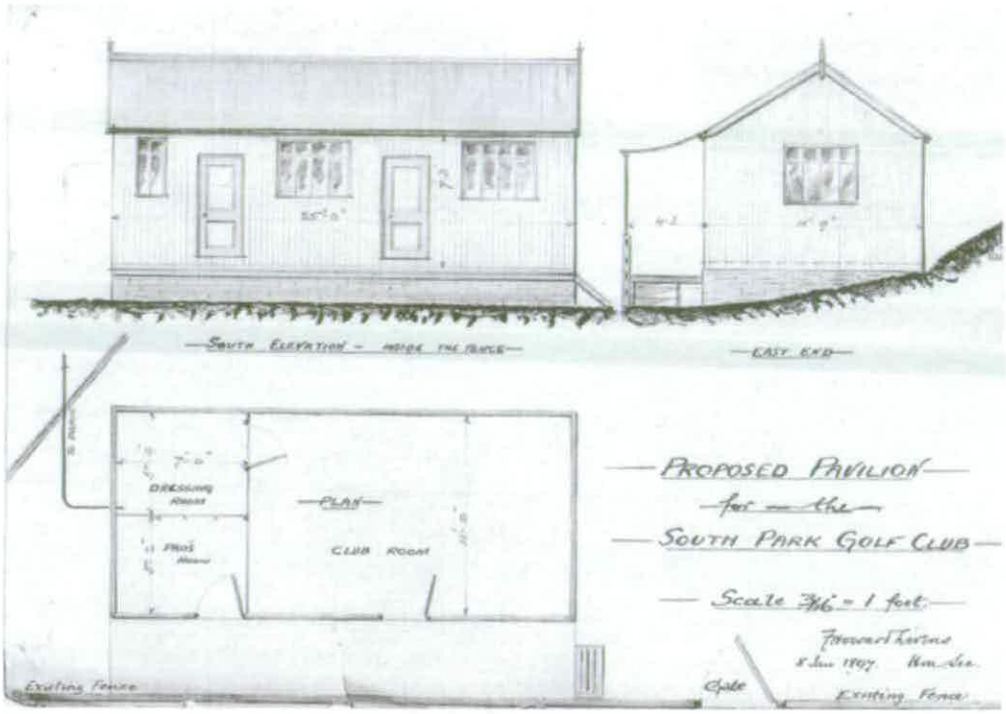

Figure 28 *Plan submitted for the erect ion of a Golf Club pavilion in 1897(by permission Lincoln City Council).*

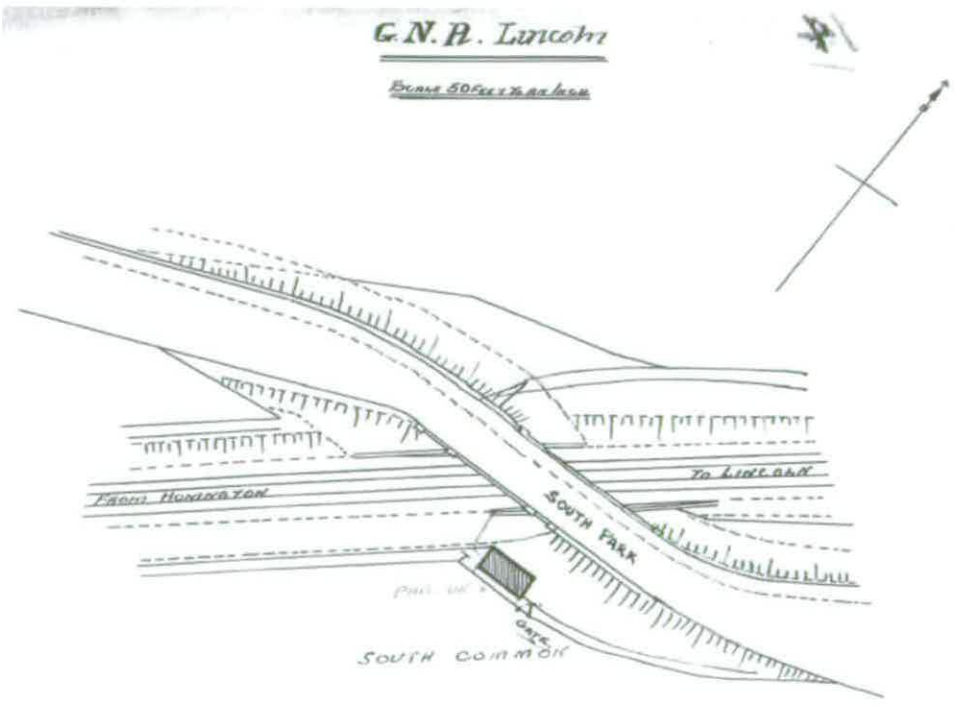

Figure29 *Plan submitted with application for the erection of a golf club pavilion in 1897 showing proposed location (by permission Lincoln City Council).*

Figure30 *Aerial photograph taken in 1953 showing fairways of the golf course and the circus adjacent to the Malandry site (RAF/82/767V 0220 English Heritage (NMR) RAF photography).*

There was a proposal in 1948 to extend the Golf Course to 18 holes, but there were many letters of opposition including one from the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the prevailing view being that although the golf course had a high profile, the Common was used by all, including many children and the golf balls would be extremely dangerous. In 1963 the Southcliffe Golf Club proposed that the golf course be extended and the Council agreed 'involving a net increase of two greens and two tees'. In 1974 golf moved to West Common and Canwick Park, but until recently, the Council retained the golf course for municipal use.

Cycling

An application to construct a cycling track on the area of the old refuse tip on the Cow Paddle close to the factory of Messrs Robey and Son just after war was declared in 1914 was turned down (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/9).

Shooting butts (11.84.2)

Although linked by county association, as professional soldiers, the Tenth Foot rarely assembled or drilled in Lincoln (Lee 1911), though one Robert Bonner, who in 1741 deserted his regiment, was sentenced to be shot on the Common (Lincolnshire Archives Sibthorp Scrapbook, 46). Instead, the shooting ranges identified in the survey were probably established for the local militia and volunteers soon after 1757 following an Act of Parliament encouraging the establishment of such groups. It was, however, said to be customary for soldiers to assemble on Canwick Common and in 1798, for example, General Egerton reviewed the 34th Regiment of Foot (Swallow 1999, 8), while during the early years of the nineteenth century the City of Lincoln Volunteer Infantry frequently paraded there (Swallow 2000, 10, 22). The recorded early histories of both militia and volunteers are mainly concerned with uniforms and drill – in 1820 drill took place on Monks Leys Common, later to become the Arboretum, and although the militia assembled in Lincoln annually for an extended period of training (Fane 1901) it is not clear where this took place. The Militia carried out drill on South Common in 1853 (Swallow 2002, 29).

After the formation of The First Lincolnshire Rifle Volunteers Corps in 1859, it was resolved that 'the South Common is in the opinion of the Committee an appropriate practice range for the Company' (Lincolnshire Archive Hill 12). From then onwards the local newspapers carried monthly and sometimes weekly commentaries on the competitions taking place at the butts; while the Annual Statement and Reports of the First Lincolnshire Rifle Volunteers (Lincolnshire Archives Hill 12) refer to the costs of upkeep. In 1867, for example, repairs to the butts cost them £39-1-0 and the targets and mantlett £2-7-6. They also made an annual payment to the keeper of the South Lodge amounting to £2-0-0 in 1867 (Lincolnshire Archives Hill 12) for use of the butts.

The sale of the strip of Common land adjacent to the Bargate had implications for the Volunteers as it lay close to their firing positions and in 1869 they feared 'that it will be necessary to erect a new butt.....if so an expense of some £250 will fall upon the Corps'. The following year they reported that 'Owing to the sale of land on the South Common your Committee will be compelled to erect another butt to the west of the present one'. The Volunteers evidently constructed new butts on the Common some time before 1883 as the Government had 'recognised the heavy expenses incurred by the Corps in constructing Butts and putting up Targets and Mantlets at the Ranges which have for years been used by the Royal North Lincoln Militia for their Annual Class Firing and have made a grant as well as for future use of the ranges' (Lincolnshire Archives Hill 12).

Figure31 *Shooting butts at upper edge of South Common.*

By 1885, the trees planted around the ponds were growing to maturity and affecting the line of vision from the firing points (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/1). The 1st Battalion Lincolnshire Regiment wrote to the Commons Committee emphasising that 'In the line of range between the right Butts and the railway, a clump of trees planted within the last few years now entirely obstructs the view of the targets at the 500 yards distance partially so at 600 yards....these targets and the butts erected at considerable expense (over £80 was spent on improvements in 1882) are now useless'. The Regiment asked for the trees to be pruned or thinned, alternatively they would need to 'make a fresh butt midway between the two existing butts, the range extending downwards between the grounds north of the Railway'. The Committee felt that the trees should be left but agreed that a new butt could be constructed 'midway between the two existing Butts the site first being approved by the City Surveyor'. However, a few days later the Corporation reconsidered and agreed that the trees should be cut where necessary.

The surveys of 1886 and 1887 by the Ordnance Survey (OS 6" 1890 and OS 25" 1889) depict three ranges, both firing from positions west of the railway cutting. One of these, over 500 yards, was located north of the Malandry and the others, each 600 yard ranges, to the south.

It is not clear how, if at all, the ranges were used during the 20th century. It may be that with the dramatic increase in interest in cricket and football, use of the shooting ranges had to be curtailed. One of the greatest drawbacks to local recruiting before the Great War, was

considered to be the lack of a rifle range. A quarry at Greetwell was considered and in 1913 land southeast of the Nettleham Road leased for the purpose (Lincolnshire Archives Lincolnshire Territorial Association: Minutes of meetings 1908-1920) and the Army Council were asked to provide funds, though eventually they declined.

During the First World War the Common was used for testing Little Willie, the prototype of the first military tank, or tractors as they were initially called. Foster's Foundry and manufactory was in Waterloo Street and William Tritton, the Managing Director, was asked to design a machine capable of crossing trenches. Presumably the undulating terrain on South Common was considered more testing than that of the West Common, which in any case had been largely taken over by the Royal Flying Corps. The nearest part of the Common to Waterloo Street, the north-west corner, contained an old Brickearth Quarry which represented ideal terrain for the trial. However, the trip there would have involved publicly processing along Wigford High Street, at least in part and the initial trials appear to have fascinated a considerable gathering (Pullen 2003, 26), although later trials, seem to have been low key. Evidently they ranged further afield than the brickearth quarry as Ministry of Munitions recognised that damage was being caused and in 1916 acknowledged the courtesy of the Council in not objecting to the 'testing of tractors and stating that the Ministry would be prepared to consider favourably any claim for damage which might result from the testing' (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/9). When production was under way in 1917 the Ministry applied to fence off about a hectare under the Defence of the Realm Act, in order to park about 200 tanks (Lincolnshire Archives L1/1/20/9). The Council acceded, but placed conditions regarding damage etc., to which, for the most part, the Northern Command agreed. They eventually used much more than the agreed plot and the tank testing evidently destroyed several cricket pitches. After the war there were reminders about the damage. 'The occupation by the Ministry of Munitions for testing war machines, of some 12 to 15 acres at the north east corner of the South Common left the surface in a very bad state, and at this request we are carrying out the work of restoration. Steam cultivators have been employed and other work done, but certain drains remain to be remedied, when the whole will be sown' (Anon 1920, 19). After correspondence from Northern Command, in Feb 1920, the City Surveyor was authorised 'to repair the main drain and to plough and cross harrow the twelve acres of land at the south east corner where it was worst cut up' (L1/1/20/9). By the following year the damage caused by trials of 'Munitions Tractors' was completely restored, though the document refers to it as being in the north-west corner (Anon 1921, 22).

There is also reference to the use of a bayonet fighting course on South Common in 1917 although unclear where it was located (L1/1/20/9). The 5th Territorial Forces Reserve South Staffordshire Regiment, quartered in the city, were authorised to train on the Common in both 1916 and 1917 (L1/1/20/9) on the understanding that any disturbance to the ground would be repaired on departure and Lt Col Crump applied for permission to reopen the easternmost rifle butt as a machine gun range, although the application was subsequently

withdrawn. After the war The Lincolnshire Association of Small Bore Rifle Clubs applied for permission to use one of the ranges as a miniature rifle range (L1/1/20/9) although it is unclear whether they did so.

There were evidently buildings constructed on the South Common in connection with the war effort, as in 1919 there were requests from the Amalgamated Society of Wheelwrights, Smiths and Motor Body makers, amongst others, asking for the restoration of the Common and removal of the buildings. The Council considered the purchase of them and Clayton and Shuttleworth agreed to sell one for £105 (L11/20/9). It is not clear what transpired, but no trace of such buildings remains.

Traditional stocking of the Common continued but at a much reduced in scale. In 1908 stocking of The Common with sheep was offered to Mr G B Jackson 'at the same price as that paid by him last year' (L1/1/20/9). In 1917, 243 additional animals were pastured, and in the following year 235 additional animals.

Railway

The course and earthworks of the Lincoln and Honington Railway (11.11) was not inspected as part of the survey. For the most part the railway was placed in a deep cutting that sliced through the northern part of the Common in a north-easterly direction, then curving northwards in a loop.

The Corporation were persuaded to allow the Great Northern Railway Company to use the Common for their railway when the latter pointed out the benefits to the City: 'This tedious journey (from Grantham) will be greatly reduced by the formation of the intended railway which will start from the ticket platform of the Great Northern at Lincoln.....through or close to the 17 towns and villages of Bracebridge, etc etc.....By this line a connection will be made with the fast express trains of the Great Northern Railway at Grantham Station and the journey from Lincoln to London will then be performed thus....or a saving in time of 1¼ hours....the whole of the Corn grown in the district will be put on the new line....carriage of coal....introduce Derbyshire coal into Lincoln.....The landowners and occupiers of the land are (almost without exception) very anxious for the line and willing to aid in the cost of its construction. A single line will only be made and it is estimated that it will cost £126,000' (Lincolnshire Archives: Lincoln City parcels 41/164). The Council may have felt it difficult to refuse such a plea. The course of the line was surveyed by Joseph Cubitt and the construction carried through efficiently, with disruption to users of the Common not

documented and the line was opened in 1867 (Ruddock and Pearson 1974, 120).

Conclusions

Analytical earthwork survey of the South Common has now added considerably to the known archaeology of Lincoln. It has identified the course of Ermine Street and established that an early land template linked to the orientation of the Roman road survives in part. Much of the chronology is floating and needs refining, the tracks leading to Canwick, for example, form ramps down pre-existing quarry faces, but are also interrupted by quarrying. On the one hand, the Roman Road provides a base line, on the other the 18th and 19th century maps depict no active quarrying. In addition, the major quarry face at the summit of the Common had reached its extent before the present boundaries was defined, i.e. by the Act of Enclosure.

The quarry landscape was overgrown and forgotten by the major change in use occasioned by the increasing population of the mid-19th century. Shooting butts, cricket and football pitches were all cut into and obscured remnants of this earlier use while other places were landscaped and provided with picturesque ponds.

The location of isolation hospitals, here the Holy Innocents and St Sepulchres outside the confines of the urban area, is something that is replicated across the country both in historic times and more recently. The smallpox hospital on Lincoln's West Common is just one example.

Land use, probably by St Catherine's, involved tapping the springs and constructing cisterns and conduits as well as pastoral activities.

The quarries themselves are widespread both spatially and chronologically and may date from the earliest of historical times. The Roman Road itself was quarried for material, and trackways by passing it were in turn cut by further workings, forcing a migration of the road to the west to its present course down Cross O'Cliffe Hill. Weight of use on the Common may have eased after the Dissolution with the decline of the Priory, the Hospitals and the farm buildings and paraphernalia that attached to them, not to mention the daily traffic between the Priory and their farm at Canwick.

Traditional pastoral uses began to change in the mid 19th century with the industrialisation of Lincoln and the need for greater numbers of people to have access to leisure space. Old quarries were landscaped and ponds laid, new tree planting, railings and walkways and a

promenade constructed along part of the summit of the hill. Shooting at rifle ranges became a popular pastime as much for civilians as the local military, while the Common was used for parades and general mustering. During the First World War a trench system was cut for practice and the Common played host to trials of the prototype tank. During the 20th century sport came into its own and construction of cricket pitches, football pitches and golf tees all left their imprint on the terrain.

Figure32 *South Common in relation to the city and Cathedral*

7. METHOD

Earthworks on South Common were surveyed using Trimble 4700, 4800 and 5700 dual frequency, real-time GPS equipment. The resulting data was processed using Geosite Office software and AutoCAD. Certain detail was added using taped offsets from known points and the resulting plan penned and the Ordnance Survey Land-Line data added using Adobe Illustrator.

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I would like to thank the staff at Lincolnshire Archives and Lincoln Reference Library who during several visits provided welcome assistance. Dennis and Joan Mills were also extremely helpful regarding matters south of the Witham and their knowledge of the history of the area remains unsurpassed; Andrew Walker for comments and information regarding the Royal Agricultural Shows at Lincoln; Anthony Lee and Thomas Cadbury at Lincoln City Museum.

The programme of work in Lincoln was carried out in two intensive periods of activity dictated by the growth of vegetation and was monitored by Mark Bowden. The survey team included Graham Brown, Nicky Smith, Mark Bowden, Jon Lord, Rachel Argles and Clare Maxfield.

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APPENDIX 1

Lincolnshire Archives LC Jappanned Deed Boxes 5a Commons 'Extract from the Common Council Book 22nd Sept 1585 A Composition for the South Common') 'The Award is made and indented the 21 day of Dec An 27 Eliz by John Mouner Wm Meltham Wm Hineage and Thomas Grantham Esq by virtue of her in Commissions

First it is ordered that a piece of grounde of late tyme called the Ox Pasture for the better relief of husbandry by kept severall to the husbandmen of Canwyke from ye Annunciation untyll the first of September yearly and then to be Common as well as to the inhabitants of Lincoln as before it hath been accustomed.

Item every husbandmen in Canwick to keepe for every plough land there of kye (?cow) and younge beasts sixe a kye and younge beasts four and two horses upon ye South Common at ther election all times in the yeare and not above and every Cottager of Canwick has two kie and not above.

Item every Citizen Free and inhabiting betwixt High Bridge and bare gate to keep on ye said Commons three kie or three horses at ther election and not above

Item every citizen not free inhabiting as aforesaid to keep one (? illegible) a horse and not above and no other person then as above mentioned to keepe and cattle there at all provided that none of the Freeman or (illegible) nor any of the husbandmen or Cottages shall lett a sett over any best gates a horse Gates in any of these places aforesaid to any person

Item that the Ings shall be kept severall yearly from the Annunciation of ouer lady until ye first of September except that W Mourn for the time being, his brethren and (illegible) aforesaid and the Inhabitants of ye town of Canwycke shall by their assent and consente b(illegible)ake the same sooner and then the second Ings to be eaten only with oxen and horse which horses by this order are limited to be such as many kept in and upon the Common by this p'sent order and the rate thereof to be kept in a manner aforesaid.

Item it is agreyed upon the assent of Mister Maur his brethren and Commonalty of the said Cite of Lincoln and also by the assent of the whole inhabitants of Canwick that if any person of the like of L do transgresse the order aforesaid in keeping other horses and beasts more than his (illegible) or is sufficiently warranted by this Order to keepe any horse or beast in ye commons aforesaid it shall be lawful for any of the Inhabitants of Canwyck to (illegible) and impound every such beast or horse there found and to take upon every such impounding 12d wherof 4d shall be to thir (illegible) use (illegible) impoundeth and the other 8d to the ChurchWardens of the towne to the use of the poor of that towne And if any ye inhabitants of Canwyck offered in manner and (illegible) as aforesaid (illegible) any Citizen or freman of the said City to dis(illegible) and impound any suche horse or beast and to take 12d for the same (illegible) is 4d to the impounder and 8d to be delivered to Mr Maur for the time being

on the poor inhabiting between the High Bridge and Bargate....'.

APPENDIX 2

Extracts from the Canwick Enclosure of 1787 (Lincolnshire Archives Canwick parish Enclosure Award)

'One Publick Drain to begin at the River Witham....southward along the east side of the said allotment No 6 to the southeast corner thereof and from there to extend westward between the allotments of the said Ings....aforesaid on the north and several allotments in the said Ox Pasture...to the ...between the Cow Paddle and the said Common called Canwick or the South Common and the Parish of Canwick aforesaid And we do order and direct that the said drain shall be of the width of twelve feet at the top and four feet at the bottom and of sufficient depth throughout to carry the fall of water and that the same shall be called the Ings and Ox Pasture Drain.'

' ...We do award assign and allot unto the Surveyor or Surveyors in the said office of Surveyor for the time being for the purpose of getting Stone Gravel and other materials for repairing the roads and ebays within the said parish of Canwick'

' ..And we the said Commissioners having taken such views as aforesaid Award set out and allot all and every the said open and common fields common meadows pastures and waste lands within the parish of Canwick aforesaid directed by the said are to be inclosed containing (exclusive of lands and grounds herein before set out and appointed for publick and private roads and of the lands hereinafter plotted for getting stone and gravel for repairing thereof One Thousand Eight Hundred and twenty One Acres..'

'One Publick Road or Highway beginning at the Said Canwick or South Common Gate...extending south-eastwards...to an ancient Windmill..'

'And we do hereby set out and assign and appropriate the said Common called Canwick or South Common as and for a Common to be fore ever hereafter used exercised and enjoyed by the freemen and Inhabitants of the City of Lincoln resident for the time being within certain districts or parts of the said City and the several other persons having right of common thereon by reason of their property in or near the said common....and we do hereby declare and ascertain the Limits and Boundaries of the said Common in Manner following (that is to say) Beginning at Lincoln Bar Gate by a drain called Sincil Dyke on part of the north by old inclosed lands in the parish of St Botolphe or parts of the East/North and Northwest by old inclosed lands in the parish of St Peter at the Goats on other part of the northwest and by old inclosed lands in the parish of St Mary...'

'respectively on or towards other parts of the East and other parts of the South by Old Inclosed Lands in the parish of Bracebridge or towards the southeast by the Sleaford Turnpike Road and a plantation belonging to the said Mayor, Sheriffs Citizens and Communality on or towards part of the west across the said Turnpike Road and by the old inclosed lands in the said parish of St Botolphe belonging to Henry Rutter and across the Newark turnpike road on the remaining part of the South and by old inclosures in the said

parish of St Botolphe on or towards the remaining part of the west which reaches to Barr Gates aforesaid'

'And we do hereby order and direct that all the present antient fences dividing the said common from the lands hereinafter allotted to the said Samual Lyon No15 No16 and No47 and to the overseers of the poor of the said parish of Canwick No 18 from the said Turnpike Road and from the lands hereinafter allotted to the said Humphrey Sibthorp No 47 to the northeast corner of the common near the hilltop and from the end of the Sheepwash Road shall from time to time forever hereinafter be maintained supported and kept in repair as the same heretofore been usually done And we do hereby declare that immediately upon execution of our award as well all Rights of Common had exercised or claimed by the proprietors or occupiers of estates within the parish of Canwick.....in upon or over the said common called the South common or any part or parcel thereof as all Rights of Common has exercised or claimed by the freemen or Inhabitants of the said City of Lincoln resident as in the said Act is mentioned and the said other persons having or claiming such last mentioned Rights by reason of their property in or near the said Common but not being proprietors of estates in Canwick aforesaid in upon or over the Lands and Grounds directed by the said Act to be inclosed shall respectively cease determine and before ever extinguished And we the said Commissioners so further certify and declare that after we had taken a view of all the Lands and Grounds within the said parish of Canwick and duly examined the Roads and ebays that it would be necessary to make in and over the same and before –proceeded to set out any of the allotments hereinafter mentioned—did in pursuance of the Directions contained in the said Act appoint and Stake out all the Publick roads and Highways within the said parish and gave Publick notice of the same in the Lincoln Rutland and Stamford Mercury....'.

APPENDIX 3

An inquiry by the Corporation into the state of the commons and the Corporations its liabilities reported in February 1836 (Lincolnshire Archive L1/1/1/9). This is a most useful document and is best left to speak for itself:

'The committee appointed on the 18th day of January last to inspect the state of the bridges, roads and conduit pipes....the state of the Commons, to inquire into the rights of depasturing such Commons, and the nature and extent of the liability of the Corporation to fence, drain, and otherwise take the charge of the same, presented the following Report: That the Commons or Commonable Pastures of the City of Lincoln, are

1 The South common or Canwick Common, with the Swine green
2 The West Common or Race Ground
3 The Monks Leys
4 The Holmes

No documentary testimony showing the precise rights of depasturing these Commons was produced to the committee, but the rights appear to be by custom and in practice as follows – Upon the South and West Commons Householders have a right to have one hedd (sic) of Cattle each, and freemen two, or if Householders three, one as such Householders and two in respect of their Franchise-The Householders who stock the South Common being those who reside in the South Ward, with a small part of the east ward from the High Bridge the Sincil Street; and the West Common, those who reside in the North, West and other part of the East wards.

The Swine green, which was formerly open to and formed part of the South common, is subject to the same rights of depasturage or common-rights as that Common, with the addition that the persons possessing the right to stock may, from old May-day to old Michaelmas day, turn on pigs in lieu of other Cattle, which cannot be done on any other Common.

With regard to the South Common it should also be noted that there are other rights of depasturing the same besides those mentioned; rights in respect of property enjoyed by the owners of St Catherines' and of the Malander Closes have Beast gates and Sheep gates, or a right to stock with a limited quantity of Beasts and Sheep-The sheep are depastured between St Andrews Day and Old lady-day: those belonging to the owner of St Catherines' or his Tenant, being confined to the west side of a line or grip running across the Common from the North to South; and those of the Owners of the Malander Closes to the East of the said line or grip.

The Committee has not been able to ascertain the origin or exact nature or extent of the last mentioned rights, but they have directed the Town Clerk to consult such documents as are most likely to give information upon the subject and they will by a Supplementary Report state the result of those enquiries.

From old Lady-day to old May-day both the South and West commons are laid in or cleared of all descriptions of Cattle.

The Monks Leys and the Holmes are exclusively Freemens Commons - each Freeman may have two head of Cattle on either, without regard to the situation of his residence, but they cannot stock the Commons or any of them with more than two head of Cattle at the same time in respect of Freedom-thus if a Freeman, not a householder, has two head of Cattle on any of the four Commons he is enjoying his full right, and the same if he has one head on one common and one on any other. The Monks Leys and the Holmes are not laid in or cleared of Cattle at any period of the year –

To each Common, or rather to each Ward is attached a Pinfold, which is supported and repaired by the Corporation, namely-

For the South Ward, on the Common near the bars
West Ward, in Far Newland
East Ward, in Broadgate
North ward, in (blank) now down.
The Corporation has hitherto also repaired
Canwick Pinfold –

The Committee have ascertained from the Corporation Records and from traditional testimony that the Corporation has always repaired and maintained those parts of the Fences, Gates, etc of the several Commons hereafter described namely-

The South common, from the Great Bargate Bridge along the London Road to Bracebridge Lordship at the top of the Hill, part of the line being a double fence inclosing the Plantation-the South fence at the top of the Common from the South West angle at Cross-Cliff to Canwick Lordship, about half the whole length, and from the South East angle next Canwick-Gate to the Washingborough Gate-There are three ponds and three Gates-The Swine Green (formerly open with the above) on the East and West sides-it has one Gate.

The West Common -that part of the North Fence which runs from the Gate in the north East corner along the Occupation Road below the Mills to the point where the road diverges or turns off - This Common has four Gates.

The Monks Leys on the North, East and South sides It had two Gates, a stile and a Pond.

The Holmes – one gate – no Fences.

The commons and Pinfolds were formerly confided to the care of the Chamberlains of the city, who made all the necessary reparations and provisions and charged the same in their accounts, the Chamberlain of the South Ward having had charge of the South Common and Swine green, the Chamberlain of the West Ward the West common and Holmes, and the Chamberlain of the East ward the Monks leys, with their respective Pinfolds, and the Chamberlain of the North Ward of his Pinfold only.

This plan of superintending the Commons was continued, except as regards the South common and Swine Green until the accession of the present Corporate Body: with respect to

the South common and Swine green a contract was made by the late Corporation in the month of January 1834 with William Cooper and Thorpe cooper, by which those persons in consideration of £30 a year agreed to repair all the Corporation Fences, Gates, Ditches and Watercourses, for a period of five years from the 10th January then instant.-

The committee have carefully perused this Contract and inspected the Fences etc to which it refers, with a view to ascertain whether it has been fairly fulfilled by the contractors, and they regret that they are compelled to Report that it has not been so fulfilled, but that the work has been grossly neglected: on the South Common the upper part of the Dyke on the West side of the Fence abutting upon the Turnpike Road at Cross Cliff hill is nearly choked and silted up - The dyke on the inner side of the same Fence is still worse, it never having been cleansed, or scoured since the date of the Contract (Indeed the Contractors contend that the cleansing of this inner Ditch is not within their Contract, but the Committee can see nothing in the terms of the agreement to justify that assertion). There are also several Drains and Watercourses which are choked up and incapable of performing their offices – some of the Hedges and Fences require repairs tho' to no great extent, and part of them want weeding-

On the Swine Green all the Quick-Hedges and Dykes, and particularly the inner ones, are in a very broken and dilapidated state and require great attention and repairs as also do the Post and Rail Fences.

The Committee are of opinion that Cooper's Contract is a most improvident Agreement on their part, one which, should the strict performance of it be insisted on by the Corporation must be attended with ruinous consequences to the Contractors. The Committee think that no one can satisfactorily execute the work and provide the materials stipulated for, at £30 a year and they strongly recommend that, after the Coopers shall have entitled themselves to the last half years' payment upon the Contract, they should be released from it for the remainder of the term and that some other arrangement should be made with regard to those Repairs for the future.

Independently of Coopers Contract the Committee wish to suggest with regard to the South Common that about 22 Ash and 9 Elm trees at the top of the Hill (some of which have arrived at their full growth and others damage the Quick-Hedge) should be sold, and felled and taken away by the purchaser- That the whole of the Lombardy Poplars in the Fences of the South common and Swine Green adjoining the Newark and Sleaford Roads should also be sold and felled as they have run to an extreme height and obstruct the growth of the more ornamental Forest Trees in the same Hedge-rows, and prevent free access of Son (sic) and Air to the Roads. That the Pond on the Hill on the West side of the Common, which is deep and dangerous to Cattle getting in, should be fenced with 14 or 15 lengths of Posts and Rails: and that the Tunnel which conveys the water from the Common under the Road into the Sincil Dyke near the footbridge leading to St Botolphe's, should be repaired and lengthened at the end next the Drain, otherwise the Bank itself will soon be washed down by the action of the water rushing through the Tunnel in its present short and broken state.

With regard to the state of the West Common.....

Whilst referring to the Commons the Committee cannot forbear from urgently pressing upon the attention of the Corporation, the great public inconvenience and danger occasioned by the gates which cross the Turnpike Roads on the South and West Commons for the purpose of keeping in the Cattle - One of these roads has now become a considerable thoroughfare for Stage Coaches as well as other vehicles and the delay, danger and inconvenience occasioned by the Gates are become the subject of just complaint. The Committee are not prepared to say that these Gates may be altogether dispensed with, but they think that the Corporation might remedy the mischieves attending them by the erection of two lodges on each Common, viz one at the Canwick Gate and another at the Bargate Bridge Gate of the South Common and one at the West and one at the East Gate of the West Common – The lodges, erected at moderate expense and with small gardens and Common-rights attached, might be let to persons who would take charge of the gates at rents which would amply pay the Corporation Interest for the necessary outlay, and the Committee beg particularly to press their Suggestion upon the attention of the council.

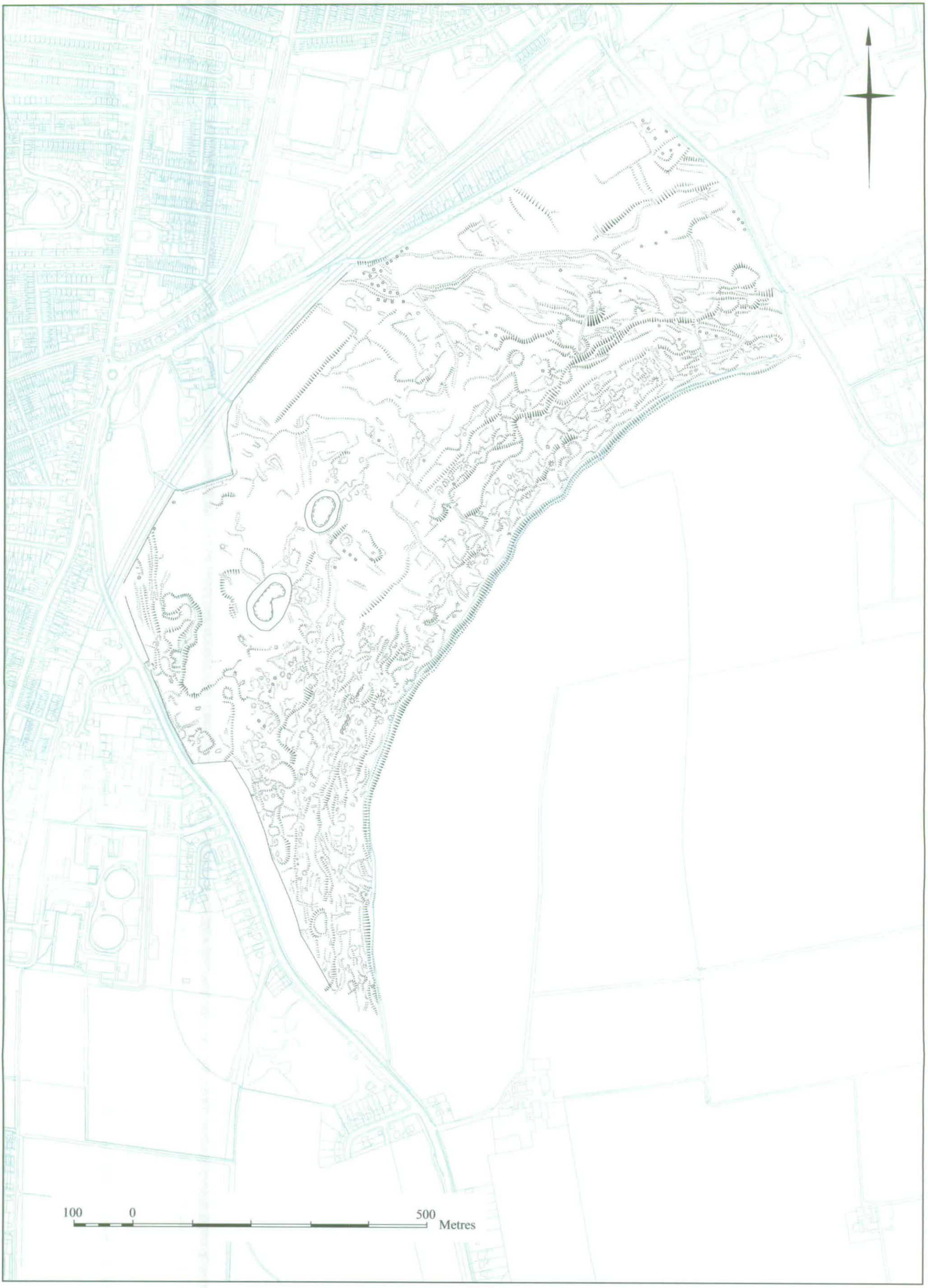
Another intimation which the Committee would submit to the Corporation whilst on the subject of the Commons they also think deserving great consideration as if it can be accomplished it would make the Commons support their own expenses as in sight they – ought to do – that is, if practicable with reference to existing rights and interests, the let to Rent the depasturing of the West Common with sheep from St Andrews Day to old Lady-day in a manner similar to that practiced on the South common – This would produce an annual sum equal to the necessary outlay on all the Commons, and would be beneficial rather than injurious to the Common so depastured, and consequently to the parties possessing the right to stock.'

APPENDIX 4

(Lincolnshire Archives Lincoln City parcels 38/168) 'Know all Men by these Presents that the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough and City of Lincoln do hereby constitute and appoint John Mason of the said City of Lincoln Printer (?) to be the Commons-Warden or Keeper, during their pleasure, of the Several Commons or Commonable pastures within the City of Lincoln and County of the same City, for the purpose of supporting and maintaining the said Commons and the drainage and fencing thereof and for preventing the illegal stocking or depasturing of the said Commons or any of them. And for that purpose to enter upon the same Commons at such times as he shall think proper with or without helpers and assistants to view and ascertain the state and condition thereof, and to inspect the drive and examine the Cattle and stock from time to time found thereon And to seize, impound and distrain all Horses, Cows, heifers, Beasts, Asses, Pigs or other Cattle, which shall be found trespassing upon the said Commons, or which shall be put theron illegally or contrary to the stints restrictions and regulations established by wage and custom for the stocking and depasturing of the said Commons or any of them, and to dispose of such distresses and Cattle so taken according to Law and custom And also recover and receive all fines fees and emoluments payable upon the inspection and driving of such Commons by persons have a right to depasture the same and imposed as fines (?)muless upon the Owners of cattle found trespassing thereon or depasturing the same illegally or contrary to the stints restrictions and regulations established by usage and custom And to do and perform the duties and exercise the several powers and authorities for the maintenance and preservation of the said several Commons and for preventing and remedying the illegal and improper depasturing of the same or otherwise in relation thereto which were performed and exercised by the Sheriffs of the City of Lincoln previously to the making of the act of the fifth and sixth years of King William the Fourth entitled " An Act to provide for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales" In Witness whereof the said Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses have hereunto set their Common Seal this sixteenth day of August In the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty one.'

APPENDIX 5

'Notice is hereby given that application is intended to be made to Parliament to empower the Corporation to widen and improve the following roads or streets.... Lindum Terrace....Monks Road...to take by compulsion or agreement, lands, houses, and property.....to purchase all common rights and other rights and interest of the commoners, freemen and others....called Monks Leys Common...To authorise and require...the Corporation:...to sell such portion not exceeding 3 acres as they think fit of the Monks Leys Common and the several other commons....and to extinguish all rights of common....First the whole of a common or extra-parochial place called Holmes Common. Secondly a portion containing 10 acres and 30 perches...of a common called the South or Canwick Common and being that portion of the same common which is situate between the Sincil Dyke and that portion of the Lincoln and Washingborough Turnpike Road, running through the said South or Canwick Common, 2 chains or thereabouts south of Bargate Bridge..."...To provide for the better draining, fencing, levelling, altering, planting, ornamenting and otherwise improving, by the Corporation...of the West Common, and South or Canwick Common.....west common...and for the erecting and maintaining....on some part of that common of a lodge for the Common's Warden or other officer having for the time being the charge and superintendence of the commons....To empower or require the Corporation to appropriate and maintain.... as a public park or pleasure ground....all that part of Monks Leys Common which shall not be sold....and to make drives, rides, walks, gardens, shrubberies, lakes, ponds, and other ornamental works.....To provide that every freeman of the said city, resident and inhabiting therein and every widow of a deceased freeman of the said city.....shall retain the right to stock either the West Common or the South Common with two head of cattle.....may let his or her right to any other person resident and inhabiting within the said city.....To provide....for the appointment of a common's warden and the keeping by the common's warden of a register wherein he shall enter all stock depastured on either the West or South Common....dated the 10th day of November 1869' (Lincolnshire Archives LDP 1/105).



***Endpiece**: Earthworks on South Common*

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