

Fig. 70.

demolish Clifford's Tower and to sell the stone for his personal profit was frustrated by protests from the city before he had done more than remove the battlements and roof. Interestingly, these protests were on grounds of amenity rather than because of the value of the tower as a fortress, and one petition stresses that if it were pulled down York would have no buildings left for show other than the Minster and the church steeples.1

Normal maintenance work on the defences of the city was carried on up to the Civil War. In 1594 a committee was appointed to search for fallen coping stones, and many were discovered in premises adjoining the Micklegate defences.<sup>2</sup> Holy Trinity Priory church was the source of stone used for repairs near Lendal in 1603, and a watchman was hired in case plague-infected strangers entered the city through the gap in the wall which was being repaired.3 Precautions were also taken against plague in 1631, when posterns and places where the walls could be climbed were checked.<sup>4</sup> James I's visit in 1603 was prepared for by washing and painting the bars and setting up a stone figure over Micklegate Bar.<sup>5</sup> In 1616 Lendal Tower was first used as a waterworks, a use later to become permanent.6

# DURING THE CIVIL WAR

The city was the principal base of the royal army assembled in 1640 to fight the Scots, and fortified camps were constructed to the W. and S.W. The king did not follow Lord Herbert's advice that York should be strengthened at the citizens' expense, 'that at the distance of every twenty five score paces round about the town, the walls should be thrown down, and certain bastions or bulwarks of earth be erected by the advice of some good engineer', and that all houses within 'twenty five score paces round about the wall' should be demolished.7

When the Civil War started in 1642 Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in command of the royal forces in the north, had the city walls repaired and additional earthworks made. A labour force of 1800 was set to work, and the city council complained of the great expense involved in making trenches and of the felling

of trees and hedges around the city.8 Clifford's Tower was also restored, apparently at the Earl's own expense, since he claimed the supposed right of his family to be its hereditary captains.

Cumberland was replaced in November 1642 by the Earl of Newcastle, with Sir William Savile serving under him as Governor of York. The new commander unsuccessfully beleaguered the Parliamentary stronghold of Hull, but in April 1644 the advance of a large Scottish army under the Earl of Leven, together with the defeat and capture at Selby of Sir John Belasyse, who had succeeded Savile as Governor of York, forced Newcastle to retreat to York, where he was besieged from 23 April.9

Details are known of the regulations for rationing in the city and of the price of provisions during the siege. 10 The arrangements for defence included blocking all the posterns with earth and stones and mounting cannon. There were two cannon on each of the four main gates and on Baile Hill, three on the roof of Clifford's Tower, one at the Friars (probably on the Greyfriars' Wall), three in boats moored across the Ouse near the site of Skeldergate Bridge, and 'a platform of guns' on the roof of St. Olave's Church.11

The Scottish army encamped on the S. of York, while Lord Fairfax, who had advanced from Hull, took up a position on the S.E., but the combined forces were still too few to blockade the city completely. Diaries kept by Robert Douglas, chaplain to Leven, and by Sir Henry Slingsby within York, enable the course of the siege to be followed day by day. 12 In spite of successes in skirmishes outside the walls, however, the besiegers seem to have made little progress during May. On the and they burned the seven windmills on Heworth Moor and later destroyed three mills N. of the city. On the 13th they captured St. Nicholas' church outside Walmgate Bar, taking 80 prisoners, and on the 14th they stormed and slighted a small sconce near Acomb. A general assault on the walls from all sides was contemplated, using the dismounted cavalry as infantry. 13 The Royalists made sorties on 19 and 30 May and on I June, when the Scots captured some 60 cattle and horses grazing outside Micklegate Bar.

On 3 June the army of the Eastern Association under

<sup>1</sup> B31, f. 219v; see p. 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> B3I, ff. 64, 76, 76v; K76.I, I-2. <sup>3</sup> CII, f. 72: 'to Geffray Brothericke for waching of the Broken Wall

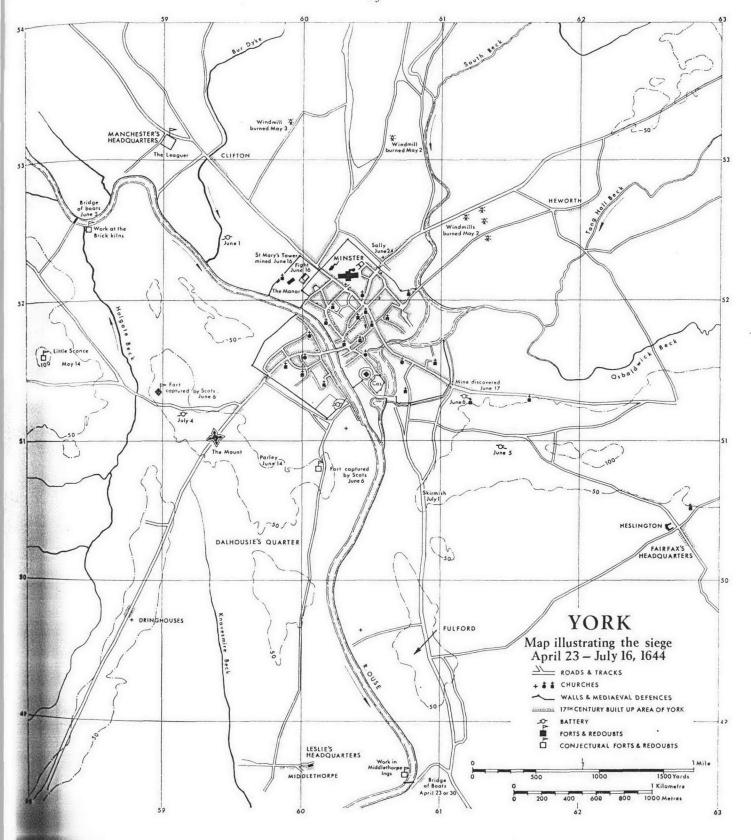
seven nights at iiijd the night'. <sup>5</sup> CII, ff. 70, 72 ff.; CI2, f. 104. <sup>4</sup> B35, f. 112.

<sup>7</sup> Drake, 141. 8 B36, ff. 78v, 79. 6 B34, ff. 93v, 97.

<sup>9</sup> L. P. Wenham, The Great and Close Siege of York 1644 (1970) quotes sources at length.

<sup>10</sup> Torr, 104; Hist. MSS Com. x, pt. I, App., 54.

<sup>11</sup> Drake, 162, 259.
12 Slingsby, *Diary*, 107–15; Douglas, *Diary*, 56–67.
13 Hist. MSS Com. x, pt. I, App., 54.



the Earl of Manchester arrived and encamped around Clifton, bringing the number of the besieging forces up to about 23,000 infantry, 7,000 cavalry, and 600 dragoons, with 25 guns, as against 4,500 infantry, 300 cavalry, and 35 guns inside the city. More information is available on the course of events after Manchester's arrival from newsletters sent to London by Simeon Ash and William Goode, chaplains in his army, and published in instalments. 1 Several letters also survive for the next month of the siege. Thus an important episode may be described in as many as ten different contemporary sources. There is even a Latin epic poem on the siege and on the battle of Marston Moor, written by Payne Fisher, a former Sergeant-Major, and published in 1650.2

A sally by the Royalist cavalry towards Scarborough was beaten back on 3 June, and two days later Fairfax's forces built a five-gun battery on Lamel Hill, 650 yds. S.E. of Walmgate Bar. Although the movement of a 60 pounder cannon from Fulford to this battery was delayed by fire from Clifford's Tower, the guns there were soon bombarding the Walmgate sector.3 Meanwhile Manchester's forces had built a bridge of boats across the Ouse near Clifton as a link with the Scots, just as a month earlier the Scottish army had built one near Acaster Malbis to provide communication with Fairfax's troops. On 6 June another battery was made in St. Lawrence's churchyard outside Walmgate Bar, and at about midnight the Scots attacked the earthwork forts forming an advanced position to the S. of the city, and captured two of them, those on Holgate Hill and Nun Mill Hill. They failed to take the central fort on the Mount, which held out until the end of the siege.

On 7 June the Royalists, now that most of their outer defences had been lost, burned the suburbs outside the gates on the N., E. and W. On the following day the bombardment damaged Walmgate Bar and a 60 lb. ball went through the tower of St. Sampson's church.4 At about this time a mine being made under Walmgate Bar was discovered through the questioning of a prisoner and was frustrated by countermining.5 Messengers who reached the city disguised as women probably

brought news that the king had ordered Prince Rupert to relieve York.6 In order to delay the besiegers while relief approached, Newcastle opened negotiations on 12 June. On the 14th he rejected the terms offered and the siege was pressed on with the bombardment by Manchester's forces of the precinct wall of the Abbey and the explosion of a mine under St. Mary's Tower on 16 June.7 This was not co-ordinated with other attacks and, although troops commanded by Lawrence Crawford entered by the breach and penetrated as far as the King's Manor, they were beaten back with the heaviest casualties of the siege, 216 captured and 40 killed, a disaster which disheartened the besiegers.

Little seems to have happened for the next fortnight, and Fairfax, writing to London for more money and ammunition, reported that his men were ready to mutiny.8 The Royalists signalled to Pontefract Castle from the Minster towers and on the 24th made an unsuccessful sally from Monk Bar. On 30 June Prince Rupert's army arrived at Knaresborough, and the besieging armies moved off to Marston Moor, hoping to block his approach. However, he marched to the N.E., and on I July encamped a short distance N. of York. The relieved garrison were able to plunder the abandoned Parliamentary camps and found there 4,000 pairs of boots, three mortars, and ammunition.9

On 2 July Newcastle's forces combined with Rupert's but were heavily defeated on Marston Moor. As a result Prince Rupert retreated towards Lancashire, while Newcastle fled with other Royalist leaders to the Continent by way of Scarborough. The siege was resumed on 4 July, and the victorious Parliamentary armies made new batteries in Bishop's Fields, S.W. of York, and between Walmgate Bar and Layerthorpe Postern. A tower, probably Tower 13 at the Toft Green angle, was shot down. 10 Preparations for storming the city were made, including the collection of ladders, the making of a bridge to throw over the Foss, and the storing of hurdles. The point selected for attack was 'where by ye Laterne (Layerthorpe) Posterne it was most easy, having nothing but ye ditch with drought

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Five of these deal with the siege. They are BM Thomason Tracts nos. E2 (1), E4 (6), E51, E51 (3), and Wing C59 g 20(33); for full titles see Bibliography under Ash and Goode.

<sup>2</sup> Paganus Piscator, Marston-Moor: sive de Obsidione Praelioque

Eboracense Carmen (1650). Fisher was present at the battle in Prince Rupert's infantry and describes details of the siege. See Wenham,

op. cit., 129-32.

3 Torr, 109; Anon., An Exact Relation of the Siege before Yorke (1644),

<sup>5.</sup> 4 Torr, 105. 5 ibid., 108.

<sup>6</sup> Hist. MSS Com., The Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke 1644-5 (1963),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Several accounts of this episode are preserved, e.g., CSP: Dom. 1644, 241, 246; CSP: Ven. 1643-7, 113-14; Douglas, Diary, 60; Slingsby. Diary, 109; Torr, 107. See also Wenham, op. cit., 57-67. 8 CSP: Dom. 1644, 246.

<sup>9</sup> Trans. RHS ns XII (1898), 71.
10 Douglas, Diary, 65: 'After all were in readiness the battery on our quarter shot down a tour.' By 'our quarter' Douglas meant the S.W. side of York.

almost dry for to hinder their entrance'. Sir Thomas Glemham, now the Governor, asked for a parley on II July, and negotiations continued for four days.

The city was surrendered on 16 July on terms favourable to the garrison: the Royalists were able to march out with the honours of war and make their way to Skipton. The victorious armies did not stay long, but moved away on the 20th, leaving Lord Fairfax in control of York. He was succeeded as Governor in 1646 by Colonel-General Sydenham Poyntz, and Sir Thomas Dickinson, Lord Mayor in 1647 and 1657, replaced Poyntz. Later Robert Lilburne, one of the Major-Generals, commanded the garrison.

For the rest of the Civil War the city was no longer involved in active warfare. On I August heavy guns used by the besiegers were sent for, to be employed against Sheffield Castle,2 and in September a mortar left by Prince Rupert, together with 30 shells, was requested for the siege of Lathom House.<sup>3</sup> Repairs to the defences started in February 1645, when Edmund Gyles, the newly elected City Husband, patched the wall at the angle of the Old Baile and built a brick and stone watch house there.4 He then built a gun platform and guard house at Toft Green and a brick watch house beside Walmgate Bar.<sup>5</sup> A similar watch house was proposed at Skeldergate Postern, where the 'pallisadoes' blocking the river were removed.6 Later in the year Castlegate Postern was unblocked and its portcullis made operational;7 the walls at Fishergate Postern were also repaired, and the ditch around the Red Tower was enlarged.8

During the spring of 1645 some of the outer earthwork defences were slighted, when the inhabitants of Rufforth, Knapton, and Hessay were set to 'demolish the worke in Houlgate and the brestworke in Bisshopfeilds', those of Moor Monkton to level 'the worke att the Brickillnes in or neare Holegate Feilds', and the villagers of Acaster Selby 'to demolish the worke in Middlethorpe Inggs'.9 For restoring the dam at the Castle Mills, damaged in February 1643 in an attempt to divert the Foss into the city ditch, every householder in St. Sampson's and St. Saviour's parishes was 'to send

an able person with spades or shovels to worke there' and 12 men were also to be hired to dig. 10

Walmgate Bar had been considerably damaged: work on its restoration commenced in October 1645 with the filling up of the mine beneath it.11 To pay for the various repairs £,300 had already been raised in York in 1644, but by April 1646 a further £117 had been spent on the walls, and there were still 'great decayes and Breaches in Walmegate Barr, the coveringe of Bowtham barr, the Comon Hall, the Castle Milne damme, and other parts of the cittie wall, the repaireinge whereof will require a greater some than at present can well be rased in this Cittie'. 12 The city's M.Ps were to see 'if the Parliament will alow anythinge towards the said repayres'. Their attempts were successful, for on 3 October the House of Commons ordered that repairs of the walls, gates, and bridges should be financed by fines on Royalists, and on 12 November a warrant was issued to pay £5,000 from this source.13 This sum, which included £400 from Sir George Wentworth's estates at Oulston,14 was not necessarily all collected, but nevertheless enabled the damaged Bars to be repaired in 1647 and 1648, 15 as the date on the Walmgate barbican confirms. Layerthorpe Bridge, however, was not finally repaired until 1655, when a stone arch replaced temporary planks.16

During the renewed hostilities of 1650 and 1651, Gyles was ordered to block the paths along the river banks beside the terminal towers of the city wall, made easier of access by the low level of the river; watch at the posterns was also increased.<sup>17</sup> In October 1651 he was instructed to store deal and timber from the battlements of the Bars, presumably temporary strengthening during the emergency, and Alderman Dickinson, the Governor, was to be consulted on the disposal of the guns.18 Clifford's Tower had also been repaired after the siege and housed an infantry garrison, partly supported by the citizens. 19 In August 1650, however, soon after a visit by Cromwell, '3,000 unfixed muskets in Cliffords Tower at York, and divers unserviceable pieces of ordnance in the castle yard, and at the several ports of York' were removed to Hull.<sup>20</sup> In 1652 brass cannon

<sup>1</sup> Slingsby, Diary, 115. <sup>2</sup> J. Rushworth, Historical Collections, v (1692), 642: they 'send to York for an Iron Demicannon and that great Piece, commonly call'd The Queens Pocket Pistol'; the latter had been captured at Hull in October 1643 (Anon., Hulls Managing of the Kingdoms Cause (1644),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CSP: Dom. 1645-7, 166. <sup>5</sup> B36, ff. 129, 131, 135v.

<sup>4</sup> B36, f. 126.

<sup>6</sup> B36, ff. 126v-129v.

<sup>7</sup> B36, f. 143. 9 B36, ff. 132v, 133v.

<sup>8</sup> B36, f. 131. 10 ibid.

<sup>11</sup> B36, f. 158v. 12 B36, f. 18ov. 13 Cal. Committee for Compounding, Domestic, 1643-60, I, 798; E63, f.

<sup>75</sup>v. 14 E63, f. 107. 15 B36, f. 203v. 16 B36, f. 181; B37, ff. 43, 74. 18 E63, f. 134v. 17 E63, f. 132.

<sup>19</sup> CSP: Dom. 1651-2, 619; E63, f. 105. 20 CSP: Dom. 1650, 276.

still remaining in the city were also sent to Hull.1 The garrison of York under Lilburne surrendered the city to Lord Thomas Fairfax on 1 January 1660, an important step towards the restoration of the monarchy.

Damage to the city within the walls during the siege was apparently mainly caused by shots aimed at Clifford's Tower from the battery on Lamel Hill. The spire of St. Denys' church was pierced by a cannon ball, so was the tower of St. Sampson's. Most of the mortar shells fired from the Walmgate side of York fell into the Foss, but one landed in the Thursday Market (St. Sampson's Square), killing a girl and damaging the old market hall. A vivid description of cannon balls coming through the Minster windows during services and bouncing from pillar to pillar is unconfirmed,2 and Sir Thomas Fairfax made a point of protecting the cathedral, even 'by making it Death to level a Gun against it'.3 The ruin of St. George's church, ascribed to the bombardment by one writer,4 was probably not due to any enemy action.

Outside the city the churches of St. Nicholas, St. Lawrence, and St. Maurice were wrecked, and the first of these remained in ruins. Ingram's Hospital in Bootham, Agar's Hospital in Monkgate, and the Free Grammar School in Gillygate were all ruined and needed rebuilding. The only houses outside the walls which were not destroyed by the Royalists to prevent the besiegers using them as cover were apparently those near Micklegate Bar, preserved by the continued resistance of the fort on the Mount. Many windmills, all no doubt wooden post-mills, were also burned in the siege.

The finds of cannon balls, mortar shells, and bullets made in recent times were all in the chief areas of fighting, namely, on the Mount, near Nun Mill, at the foot of Lamel Hill, and at Walmgate Bar. Bullets recovered from the inner face of the Abbey precinct wall must have been fired in the fighting of 16 June 1644. A cannon ball found embedded in the city wall near Micklegate Bar during restoration would have come from the Scots' artillery.

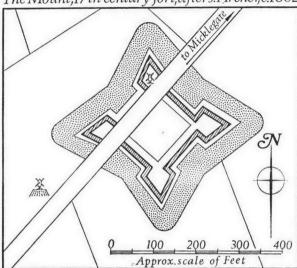
Little now remains of the earthworks mentioned in

accounts of the siege. The best attested of these are

three forts erected by the Royalists to the S.W. of the city, on the Mount, on Holgate Hill, and on Nun Mill Hill, and the Parliamentary battery on Lamel Hill. There were also works at the brick kilns near the confluence of the Holgate Beck with the Ouse, and in Middlethorpe Ings, demolished in 1645. No plans of the siege are known to exist which might reveal if the few references to trenches and lines of circumvallation mean that there were continuous lines, as at Newark.

The sconce on the Mount (NG 59385107) straddled the main road from Tadcaster.<sup>5</sup> It was constructed in

The Mount',17th-century fort, after J. Archer,c.1682



1642-3 over the site of a Roman cemetery and near the remains of St. James' Chapel. Timber revetments were removed in 16496 and the disused earthwork became the site of a windmill, remaining fairly complete until 1742, when it was partly levelled for road widening. The last vestiges were destroyed in the present century. Archer's plan of c. 1682 (Pl. 60) shows that it was a regular quadrilateral with angle bastions and a wide ditch. In plan and siting it closely resembled the surviving Queen's Sconce at Newark-on-Trent, but was only two-thirds the size. At the surrender it was described as 'a curious and strong work',7 and by William Stukeley in 1725 as 'a great sconce a little

<sup>1</sup> CSP: Dom. 1651-2, 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> T. Mace, Musick's Monument (1676), 18-20: 'The Enemy . . . had planted their Great Guns so mischievously against the Church . . . in so much that sometimes a Cannon Bullet has come in at the windows, and bounc'd about from Pillar to Pillar, (even like some furious Fiend or Evil Spirit) backwards and forwards, and all manner of side-ways as it has happened to meet with square or round Opposition amongst

the Pillars, in its Returns or Rebounds, until its Force has been quite

ent.'
3 Torr, dedication; Minster Library MS Add. 43, 47-8.
4 H. Keep, 'Monumenta Eboracensia', Trinity Coll. Cambridge MS
5 Wenham, 200-11, 214-17.
6 E63, f. 109. O.433, 140. 5 Wenham, 200-11, 214-17. 6 E63, f. 109.

7 S. Ash, A continuation of true Intelligence from the Armies in the North from the 10 day to the 27 of this instant July (1644), 6.

way off York called the Mount, consisting of four bastions raised in the civil wars'.1

The fort on Holgate Hill (NG 58955133) remained visible until recently, but only shapeless fragments remain in the gardens of houses in Enfield Crescent, which occupies its site. It was planned by Benson in 1904 and excavated in 1936 by the late Philip Corder.2 A slight rampart 25 ft. wide and 3 ft. high with a feeble internal ditch enclosed a rectangle 160 ft. by 148 ft. The summit of the hill bore a small patch of cobbling and 14th-century occupation debris. Ridges and furrows indicated ploughing of the earthwork. In plan it resembled redoubts constructed by the Scottish army around Newark, like the one at Crankley Point.3

The fort at Nun Mill Hill (NG 60135074) commanded the road from Bishopthorpe, and 'was strengthened with a double ditch, wherein there were about 120 souldiers'.4 No traces of it remain: Southlands Methodist Church now occupies the site.

Lamel Hill (NG 61455095) is now a flat-topped mound 105 ft. in diameter and 151 ft. high set on the tip of a ridge overlooking the city 650 yds. S.E. of Walmgate Bar. It is surmounted by a 19th-century summerhouse, is encircled by a spiral asphalted path, and forms a garden feature in the grounds of the Friends' Retreat. Excavations by J. Thurnam in 1849 showed that the upper 10 ft. to 12 ft. of the mound contained 16th and 17th-century coins, the latest of Charles I, many disturbed human bones, and a 15th-century seal.5 Below a turf line were 20 to 30 inhumations, orientated E.-W., and unaccompanied except for iron coffin nails and a large storage jar. This last was 17thcentury and had no doubt been inserted into an otherwise undisturbed Christian cemetery of the 8th or 9th century. The cemetery had been covered by the windmill hill used for the battery, and again, after the siege, as the emplacement of a mill.

The site of the 'Leaguer' or fortified camp where part of the royal army was encamped in 1640, which was probably also used by Manchester's forces in 1644, can be located with some probability. Entries in St. Olave's parish registers during October and November 1640 mention 'the leager in the fields in Layre Close'

or 'in Clifton'.6 This camp, 'where several ramparts and bulwarks were thrown up' and many cannon mounted, was in Clifton Fields.7 In 1836 'Legar' was the name of a field beside the Shipton Road, around NG 59055315, later to be occupied by Ouse Lea and two plots to the W. of that house.8

It was many years before the scars of the Civil War were healed. Even in 1725 a visitor could distinguish many of the earthworks erected eighty years before. Defoe wrote:

York is indeed a pleasant and beautiful city and not all the less beautiful for the works and lines about it being demolished, and the city, as it may be said, being laid open, for the beauty of peace is seen in the rubbish; the lines and bastions and demolished fortifications have a reserved secret pleasantness in them from the contemplation of the publick Tranquillity that outshines all the beauty of the advanced bastions, batteries, cavaliers and all the hard named works of the engineers about a city. . . . The old walls are standing and the gates and posterns, but the old additional works which were cast up in the late rebellion are slighted; so that York is not now defensible as it was then. But things be so too, that a little time, and many hands, would put those works in their former condition and make the city able to stand out a small siege.'9

# From the Restoration to 1800

The city charter of 1665, like that of 1632, provided for the repair of the walls, which were kept in fairly good condition during the later 17th and the 18th centuries. The capture of York was one of the objects of the Farnley Wood plotters of 1663. The Duke of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding, who was engaged in suppressing the conspiracy, moved the city's store of gunpowder to Clifford's Tower for safety, and the council had difficulty in recovering the thirty barrels.<sup>10</sup> Subsequently the Lord General, the Duke of Albemarle, wrote in 1665 recalling the plot and ordering the repair of the city walls, as he understood that they were very defective.11 The Lord Mayor was able to reply that inspection had shown them to be very little in decay, but that he would have them speedily and

<sup>1</sup> W. Stukeley, Itinerarium Curiosum (1776), 75.

 <sup>2</sup> YPSR, 1904, 9; YAYAS, Rep. 1951-2, 31-5.
 3 RCHM, Newark on Trent, The Civil War Siegeworks (1964), 45

<sup>10. 17.
4</sup> S. Ash and W. Goode, A Particular Relation . . . From Saturday the 1. untill Munday the 10th. of this instant Iune (1644), 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Arch. J., vI (1849), 27-39, 123-36; YPSR, 1849, 98-105; 1891, 32.

<sup>6</sup> The Parish Register of St. Olave, York, Yorkshire Parish Register 7 Drake, 139.

Society, LXXIII (1923), 79, 97, 98. 7 Drake, 139.

8 Catalogue of the Sale of the Manors of Clifton and Rawcliffe (1836), Lot 215, p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> D. Defoe, A Tour through England and Wales, 1724-6, Everyman Ed. (1959), II, 228.

<sup>10</sup> E85, 2; B37, f. 182V; B38, f. 6v. 11 E85, II.

was originally sealed with lead (YMH, 58, 120); see GLASS, p. 136b. Nine other vessels were given to the Yorkshire Muscum (ibid.), but only two (Fig. 73) are now identifiable, namely H. 2328, a grey beaker or narrow-mouthed jar, and H. 142, a grey jar covered with graffiti referring to former contents and therefore second-hand (see INSCRIPTIONS etc.,

No. 152).

(viii) A large inhumation cemetery was disturbed during the short siege of York in 1644, when a fort was built on the summit of The Mount. The removal of the fort during the 18th century, in levelling and widening the road, revealed that many skeletons had been thrown up into its ramparts (York Courant, 29 June 1742), though the estimate of 12,000 to 13,000 made in 1742 seems excessive. Finds, now lost, included an urn containing a cremation, a fragmentary tombstone inscribed PI ENTISSIM . . . , a coin of Nerva (A.D. 96-8), two lamps and a fibula (YA and YAS Procs. (1952-3), 18).

(ix) Coffin, of stone, empty, in the garden of Pinehurst, No. 121 The Mount, presumably came from this estate, where a group of nearly forty skeletons and some Roman coins were found in 1834. One infant skeleton was 'folded in lead', and near it was a broken urn (York Herald, 15 Feb. 1834; W. Har-

grove, New Guide . . . York (1838), 51).

(x) Coffin etc.: evidence of Roman burials was found in front of and behind Hennebique House, No. 123 The Mount, next to Pinehurst, in 1952-3 during alterations. A stone coffin containing a skeleton with a coin in the mouth, found here in 1930, was reopened in 1952 (YA and YAS Procs. (1952-3), 8, (1953-4), 30; Arch. News Letter, 6 Oct. 1948).

(xi) Cremation, of the late 2nd century, was also found at the same time and place as (x), in which (1) a large narrow-necked jar of coarse light orange ware containing the cremation had (2) a small beaker of cooking-pot form serving as a lid, while another similar beaker (3) and a tall, carinated bowl (4) accompanied them as grave furniture (Plate 30. Fig. 73).

## (m) Driffield Estate, Mount School and Holgate Railway Bridge:

The burials in the S.W. region so far described, exclusive of those in the Railway Station Cemetery, are chiefly roadside burials associated either with Road 10 or, at Holgate Villa (IV Region, (k), vii-xi), with Road 9. But near the junction of Road 10 with Road 11 they extend for some 350 yds. to N.W., and probably up to Road 9 itself, though its exact course is not here known. They formed an important cemetery (Fig. 70), rich in fragments from sculptured tombs. Indeed the purpose of Road 11 may have been to serve this cemetery.

Fragments of sculptured stones from this cemetery imply fine monuments. They include the noteworthy sphinx (see Inscriptions etc., No. 120), the tail of a large sea-monster (ibid., 121), two heads from funerary statues (ibid., 116, 117), a pine-cone finial from a tomb (ibid., 133). There are the tombstones of Baebius and of Manlius Crescens (ibid., 72, 88), the IXth Legion tombstone of a soldier from Novaria (ibid., 91), parts of other

inscribed tombstones (ibid., 81, 86, 87), the relief from the tombstone of a centurion (ibid., 95), part of another funerary relief (ibid., 99), the inscribed sarcophagus of Aelia Severa (ibid., 103), for which the tombstone of Flavia Augustina (ibid., 77) was used as a lid, and the inscribed coffins of Theodorianus (ibid., 109) and Simplicia Florentina (ibid., 108). Further, two altars, one to

the Matres, (ibid., 42, 43) also come from here.

The topography is complicated. In the 18th and 19th centuries the area was largely occupied by the grounds of Mount House, where finds were made in the early 19th century during landscape gardening. About the middle of the 19th century the house was demolished and the land developed as the Driffield Estate, including Dalton Terrace and Driffield Terrace, but much was left open and is now the grounds of Mount School. Burials found under the railway and just beyond it show that the cemetery also extended rather further to the N.W. Finds are therefore grouped where possible in three headings: Driffield Estate (i-vii), Mount School (viiixvii), Holgate Bridge etc. (xviii-xxiii).

#### Driffield Estate

(i) 'Burial Vault', found in 1769 on the N.W. side of The Mount (N.G. 59355105), containing a lead coffin (York Courant, 7 Nov. 1769; W. Hargrove, History of York, I (1818), 245). Hargrove connected the burial with St. James's chantry chapel, but the traditional site for this is on the opposite side of The Mount, and the position of the vault in a known Roman cemetery suggests a structure similar to that already described

(see p. 95).

(ii) Coffin, in stone, of Theodorianus (see Inscriptions etc., No. 109), was found (C. Wellbeloved, Eburacum (1842), 110) several years before 1842 and broken in removal to the garden of Mount House (60 ins. O.S. (1853), Sheet 141); the exact original place of discovery is not known. The coffin contained an adult male skeleton, of which the skull is now in the Yorkshire Museum. Wellbeloved (loc. cit.) states that it was found 'in the midst of urns, paterae, and other remains' and that the skeleton of a horse was close by. In 1901 the Museum purchased a series of Roman vessels said to have been found at the beginning of the 19th century and associated with the coffin of Theodorianus; and these may include the eight urns found, with a lamp and fibula, by workmen engaged in landscape gardening at Mount House in December 1807 and January 1808 (W. Hargrove, History of York, I, 281-3). Ten pots from the series are at present identifiable in the Yorkshire Museum (Fig. 74), five (H. 817-21), said to have been found together, being labelled as four cinerary urns and a small vessel. They are mainly very similar plain grey jars and include a waster (H. 823) of local ware (see p. 98a). The series dates from the 2nd and 3rd centuries:-

H. 817, 818, cooking pots, grey, with lattice scoring;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The site marked on the same O.S. map a little N.W. of the junction of Love Lane and The Mount (N.G. 59255093) may refer to the discovery of a second stone coffin from the Driffield Estate mentioned in YMH, 14.

the neighbourhood of Holgate railway-bridge, at a depth of 4 ft. to 6 ft. below the surface; one skeleton had a plaited bracelet about the arm and silver ear-rings by the skull; twenty-nine coins, chiefly of Constantine and Crispus, were also found (York Herald, 3, 24 Oct. 1818; W. Hargrove, New Guide... York (1838), 34).

(xxii) Jars containing cremations unearthed in considerable numbers in the Holgate Bridge area were destroyed. Grave goods included a penannular brooch and counters or pins of

bone (BAA Journ., VI (1851), 156).

(xxiii) Coffin, of stone, was found in 1918 on the line of the railway further S.W. than the foregoing, probably opposite Nigel Grove or Trevor Grove. It was empty (G. Benson, *York* II, 162).

### (n) Unlocalised Burials from The Mount:

Numbers of burials and grave goods are reported as found on The Mount, without further topographical detail. F. Drake in 1736 records a cremation group, with lead urn and a glass vessel (*Eboracum*, 66). The following is a select list of items in the Yorkshire Museum (see also Glass, pp. 136-41):—

(i) Grave group, found in 1824, consisting of two jet bangles (H. 316) of identical diameter, from the arms of a female skeleton, associated with a 'small earthen patera', now lost, and a small urn with cremation placed near the head, also lost (YMH, 125; W. Hargrove, New Guide . . . York (1838), 36).

(ii) Grave group, found in 1874, consists of bronze chains, some with hooks and one with a corresponding ring, small jet and bronze bangles and silver ear-rings (H. 312. 1-20). These trinkets, probably for a child, were found in a box below a cremation urn, said to be the very small rusticated beaker (Fig. 75) in red ware (H. 2071) (YMH, 135; YPS Comms. (1876), 15).

(iii) Grave group, found in 1874, included two bronze bracelets (H. 311.1-2) one with overlapping and the other with

rebated terminals (YMH, 135).

(iv-vii) Grave goods in the Yorkshire Museum include: an incomplete segmented jet bracelet (Plate 70) found in 1824 (YMH, 126); a glass vessel, H.G. 144 (Plate 66), shaped like a modern tumbler (YMH, 103, item k; Yorkshire Museum, Cook MS., 140, no. C, 1), this from a stone coffin; a glass unguent bottle (H.G. 48) from a cremation (YMH (1852), 60, item 3), and a small gold ear-ring also from a stone coffin (YMH, 122, item d); see GLASS, pp. 137a, 140a, and JETS, p. 143a.

The Museum also contains some fourteen complete vessels from The Mount, but these are omitted, as adding nothing to

evidence already adduced.

### (o) Trentholme Drive and Mount Vale:

At the S.W. foot of The Mount Hill, just before the crossing of Knavesmire Beck (now running in a culvert), an inhumation and cremation cemetery (Fig. 70) was excavated in 1951–2, 1957, 1958 and 1959. Only brief interim reports are published; the following account is based upon the MS. report by L. P. Wenham, with notes on the pottery by J. P. Gillam. Most of the finds

are in the Yorkshire Museum. A Note by Professor R. Warwick on the skeletal remains is appended, p. 109.

The cemetery was presumably limited on the N.W. by Road 10, for no burial is reported from the N.W. side of Mount Vale, and the building of St. Aubyn's Place in 1938 produced only a Ninth Legion tile (JRS, XXX (1940), 187), some pottery from the back garden of No. 4 and possibly the red flagon with multipleringed neck now (H. 71) in the Yorkshire Museum. To N.E. inhumations thinned out on the City side of the excavated area at a point 30 ft. to 40 ft. N.E. of Trentholme Drive. But earlier finds have been reported further N.E.: a stone coffin was uncovered in 1897 under the drive of Trentholme House, now the Embassy Hotel (Yorks. Gazette, 27 Feb. 1897; YPSR (1897), xi and xxxii), and a slab bearing at least a first line of an unrecorded inscription was found and buried in the rockery in front of the house (MS. note in J. Raine's interleaved copy of YMH (1881), now in the Yorkshire Museum). To S.E. the cemetery did not extend as far as the fork of Trentholme Drive, ending between houses Nos. 2 and 8. To S.W. cremations and skeletons were found in building the houses Nos. 147 and 149 Mount Vale in 1823 and 1882 (Yorks. Gazette and York Herald, 10, 17 May 1823; Yorks. Gazette, 7 Jan. 1826; W. Hargrove, New Guide . . . York (1838), 35; Gents. Mag. (1823), pt. I, 633; YPSR (1823), 31, (1824), 21, (1825), 24, (1882), 28). In 1952 an excavation in the garden of No. 147 confirmed the existence of burials here.

The main excavations (Plate 26) covered about 350 sq. yds. on each side of Trentholme Drive near its junction with Mount Vale. The south-western area, extending under Nos. 145, 147 and 149 Mount Vale and Trentholme Cottage, contained relatively shallow graves with remains of burnt bones and inhumed bodies. In the north-eastern area, however, pyres had been burned; the area was later used for inhumations up to a point some 30 yds. to 40 yds. N.E. of the Drive. The area of pyres was covered by a layer of burnt debris 11 ft. thick, and its whole extent was not investigated; but it seemed to have extended in all directions for a radius of about 30 ft., from a centre at the N.E. corner of the junction of Vale and Drive. The burnt material comprised ash and fragments of coal and wood from the pyres, nails, burnt human and animal bones, rings of bronze or jet, and bracelets, also potsherds (including six distinct tazze), Samian ware, all except one sherd later than the first half of the 2nd century, and Castor colour-coated ware. Glass fragments represented at least ten vessels, nine of the 1st or 2nd century, one inscribed, and the tenth of the 3rd or 4th century, see GLASS, p. 137a. The pyre debris also contained four coins, of A.D. 88-9, c. 141, 180-92, and a Flavian-Trajanic piece, while it was sealed by

