

BASTION 10A: A NEWLY IDENTIFIED BASTION IN THE CITY OF LONDON

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INTRODUCTION

From time to time throughout the medieval and post-medieval period there appear references in documentary records to the letting of the gates of the City of London for non-military purposes on the condition that the fabric is kept in good condition. In this way Aldgate was leased to Geoffrey Chaucer in 1374¹ and Bishopsgate to the Hanseatic merchants: until 1461 they were 'bound to keep a mansion on the gate and keep guard in time of war the part above the portcolys'.² In 1311 the gates were used to accommodate the Templars, held as prisoners.³

There are in addition records of agreements about some of the bastions or 'tourelles'. On 6 June 1235 Henry III made a life grant to Alexander Swereford, treasurer of St. Paul's, of the use of the turret in the city wall near and to the north of Ludgate and opposite the grantee's garden. The grant enabled Swereford to build in the turret such buildings as he pleased, to have full use of it in time of peace for the storage of goods, and to enjoy free entry and exit on both sides of the turret within the wall. In time of war when 'it may be needful to munition the City wall with arms and men, the turret and even the buildings in it shall be exposed to receive the munitions of the City like the other turrets in the wall'.⁴ From the 13th century two, perhaps four, of the bastions were regularly inhabited by hermits.⁵

During the course of the author's research into medieval housing in the City two further references to the letting of bastions on either side of Bishopsgate have been found. In 1305 the 'tourelle' situated on the east of the gate, with place adjoining, was let to a King's serjeant (it had been formerly let to a chaplain), on condition that he maintain it.⁶ In 1314 a tourelle 'on London Wall near Bishopsgate' was granted to Sir John de Elyngham, chaplain, as long as he maintain it.⁷ In 1314 the words *London Wall* would refer not to the street of that name (first known as such in 1547)⁸ but to the City Wall generally. Since the position of the bastion is not given, the 1314 grant could refer to a bastion on either side of Bishopsgate and indeed to the one mentioned in 1305.

The bastions on either side of Bishopsgate are shown on the copper plate map of c. 1558, attributed to Anthonis van den Wyngaerde (Fig. 1).⁹ They appear as semicircular attachments to the wall, rising up the equivalent of one storey above it and with a door to the walkway on the inside. The representations are identical and are no doubt schematic, unlike that of Bishopsgate itself which is drawn with turrets, an oriel on the inside, approach stair from the wall on the east side and an added building on the west. A bastion is shown half way between Bishopsgate and the church of All Hallows on the Wall.

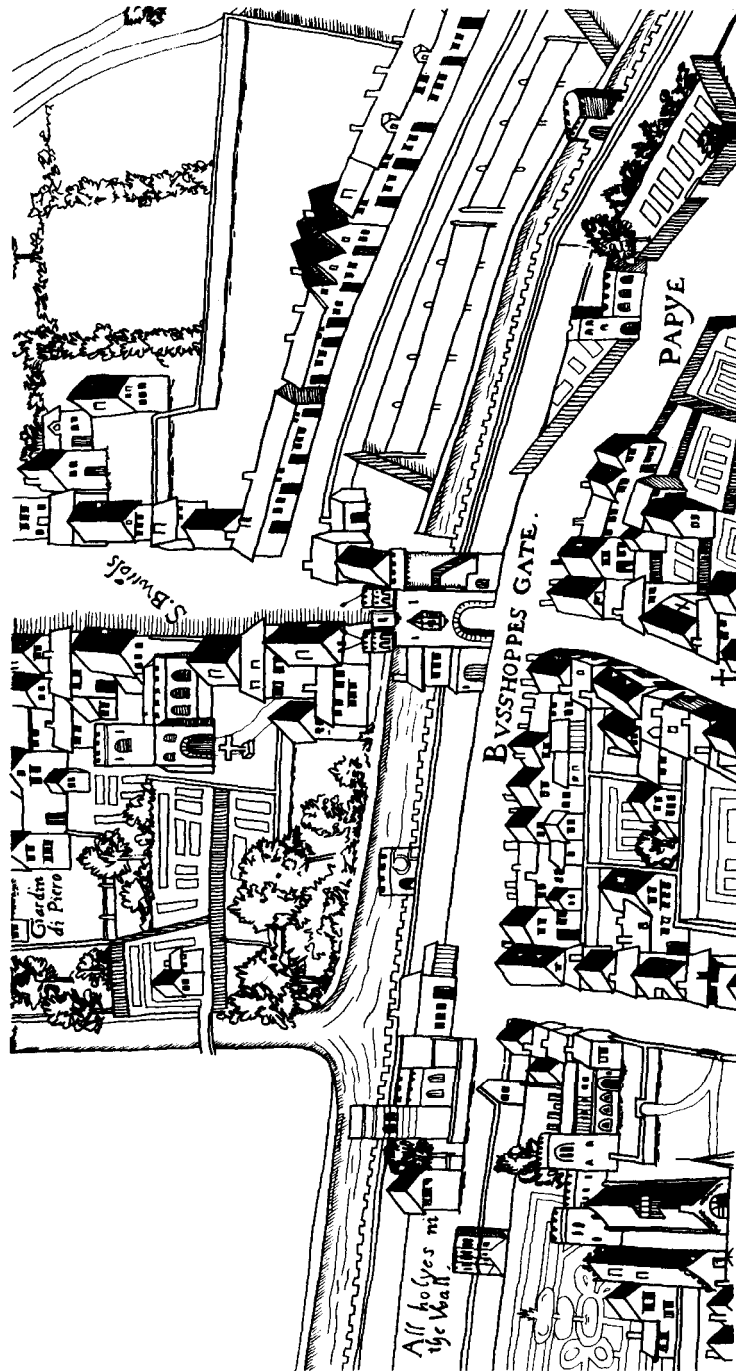


Fig. 1. Bastion 10A: Bishopsgate and the adjoining medieval wall, from the copperplate map of c. 1558 (redrawn by *Esta Demroche*).

Because the copperplate map was not published until 1966 neither the Royal Commission volume for London published in 1928 nor Merrifield in 1965 recorded this bastion.¹⁰ To the west a bastion is known to have projected from the north side of All Hallows London Wall itself, since it was excavated beneath the vestry of the modern church in 1905, and said to be probably late Roman in date.¹¹ This Bastion 11 is not shown on the copperplate, perhaps because it was attached to the church. The whole stretch of the city wall from the church to the gate, a distance of 160m (500ft), is one of the longest sections of wall for which there is no archaeological record. It therefore seems possible that this is a new bastion to be added to the eastern series, for which the number 10A may be proposed.

First, the accuracy of the copperplate map should be checked. In general Holmes¹² found the map an accurate representation of public buildings such as the Guildhall, and suggested several confirmatory links with known topographical features. Current work suggests that the representations of churches are substantially consistent with Hollar's and Wyngaerde's other drawings of them, and indeed full of particular information comparable with other documentary sources.¹³ Since only two sheets of the map survive, showing the middle and eastern part of the city from Aldermanbury to Mark Lane, only four bastions are shown, three to the east of Bishopsgate. These three accord with the known, excavated, positions of Bastions 8-10. In particular the change in angle of the wall between Bastion 10 and Bishopsgate, and the relation of the main body of All Hallows on the Wall church to the end of Broad Street is in close agreement with modern cartography.

This demonstrable accuracy also helps rule out the possibility that Bastion 10A might be Bastion 11, the All Hallows bastion, drawn some distance from the church. Bastion 11 was half way along the north side of the church which was built on the city wall. How access along the walkway or into the bastion was gained in the medieval period is not known, but an anchorite is known to have lived in the bastion from at least 1465.¹⁴ By the normal bishop's licence for such cases¹⁵ an anchorite's cell had to have a window to the choir of the church to witness mass and receive the Eucharist. The 1314 reference to the chaplain Sir John de Elyngham has been taken to refer to this bastion,¹⁶ but without clear proof. It is however interesting that the former tenant of the bastion on the east of Bishopsgate was a chaplain, and that this bastion must be Bastion 10, which was within the churchyard of St. Augustine Papey. It is therefore possible that one or both bastions were let to chaplains because of their proximity to churches.

Fortunately the recent indexing of the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen by Miss Anne Sutton of the Corporation of London Record Office has produced a series of references between 1529 and 1532 to a bastion west of Bishopsgate which throw further light on the matter. On 25 May 1529, Husy the Chamberlain was given 'the little tower with the garden under the wall there which lies west from Bishopsgate, late in the tenure of William Heydon'. No rent was charged, and the grant was for life.¹⁷ On 2 September 1532 John Husee at his own request was discharged his office because of disease, and granted the little tower and garden at London Wall provided he did not devise the term or any part of it to a person other than a freeman.¹⁸ The lease of 10 October read: 'the little tower and garden on the north side of London wall in length from Bishopsgate along by the said wall to an old tower in the wall adjacent to the church of All Hallows on the Wall towards the west'. The rent was a bushel of red roses to the then mayor.¹⁹

In 1676 William Leybourn produced a survey, which is kept in the Corporation of London Record Office, drawn at 10ft to the inch, of the strip of land 16ft wide outside the walls. On this survey there is no sign of the bastion in the stretch between Broad Street and Bishopsgate. By this time the bastion, if it existed, had been demolished.

We have then a bastion for which there is some evidence in 1529, and which appears on a map of *c.* 1558, only to be demolished before 1676. It is possible that the reference of 1314 is also to this bastion, but there are two other candidates (Bastions 10 and 11).

The present state of the site between Broad Street and Bishopsgate was examined. The western half of the wall in this sector had been destroyed, if not before, by a recent property development of the early 1970s. Archaeological observation at the time did not detect the wall at all. In the eastern half the wall line was represented by the back walls of a row of post-Fire buildings, now mostly shops, on the north side of Wormwood Street. North of the wall line lay the churchyard of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate. The southern part of this churchyard was occupied by a small formal garden and a tennis court; but between the tennis court and the back of the Wormwood Street buildings a narrow strip 35m by 5m was planted with occasional shrubs. This strip of undeveloped territory lay precisely over the position of any bastion protruding northwards from the wall (Fig. 2).

A resistivity survey of the area²⁰ was arranged and carried out in November 1977.

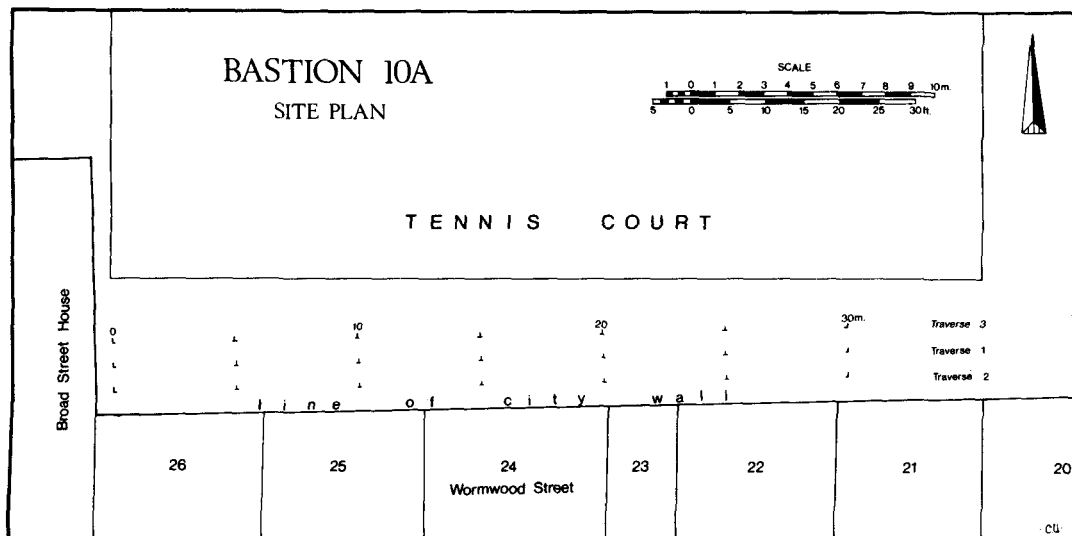


Fig. 2. Bastion 10A: Site plan.

RESISTIVITY SURVEY

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Methods of Measurement

Using a Martin-Clark Resistivity Meter, measurements were made along three search traverses parallel to the line of the City Wall.

Three probe configurations were used: the Wenner, which responds well to substantial buried features but produces a confusing double response to small ones; the Double Dipole, which gives better

definition, especially to smaller features, but a rather weaker response; and the Twin Electrode, in which two electrodes are moved while the other two are placed in a fixed, remote position, and which is also capable of giving a clear response to small features.²¹ Resistivity measurements can see to a depth of roughly equal to the probe spacing.

Traverse I, two metres from the building line (Fig. 2), was measured with Wenner and Double Dipole at 1m, 2m and 3m spacing, and with Twin at 2m and 3m spacing, giving eight sets of readings of increasing penetration along a single line. Traverse II was 1m from the building line, and traverse III was 3m from it. In the light of the results from traverse I, both of these were measured only with Wenner and Double Dipole at 3m spacing. Each traverse was 30m long.

Results (Fig. 3)

The readings at 1m spacing revealed a clear high resistance feature at the centre of traverse I (Fig. 3: A). This was probably shallow because it was much suppressed with the 2m spacing, at which a deeper and wider feature was beginning to show in the first half of the traverse (Fig. 3: B). This was also detected at 3m spacing (most clearly by Double Dipole) and seemed to be of the scale and depth that one might expect of bastion remains in such a situation. In traverse III, although the readings were suppressed by a marked change in the soil near the surface, this anomaly was again detected. However in traverse II it was absent, indicating that whatever was causing the anomaly was not attached to the City wall, and therefore was unlikely to be a bastion; possibly it was due to the chance presence of a gravelly patch below the churchyard soil.

High readings near the beginning of traverse I, 1m, could have been due to the projecting building just beyond, but seem to be somewhat detached from it and therefore possibly represent another shallow feature like the one in the centre of the traverse: these could be substantial graves.

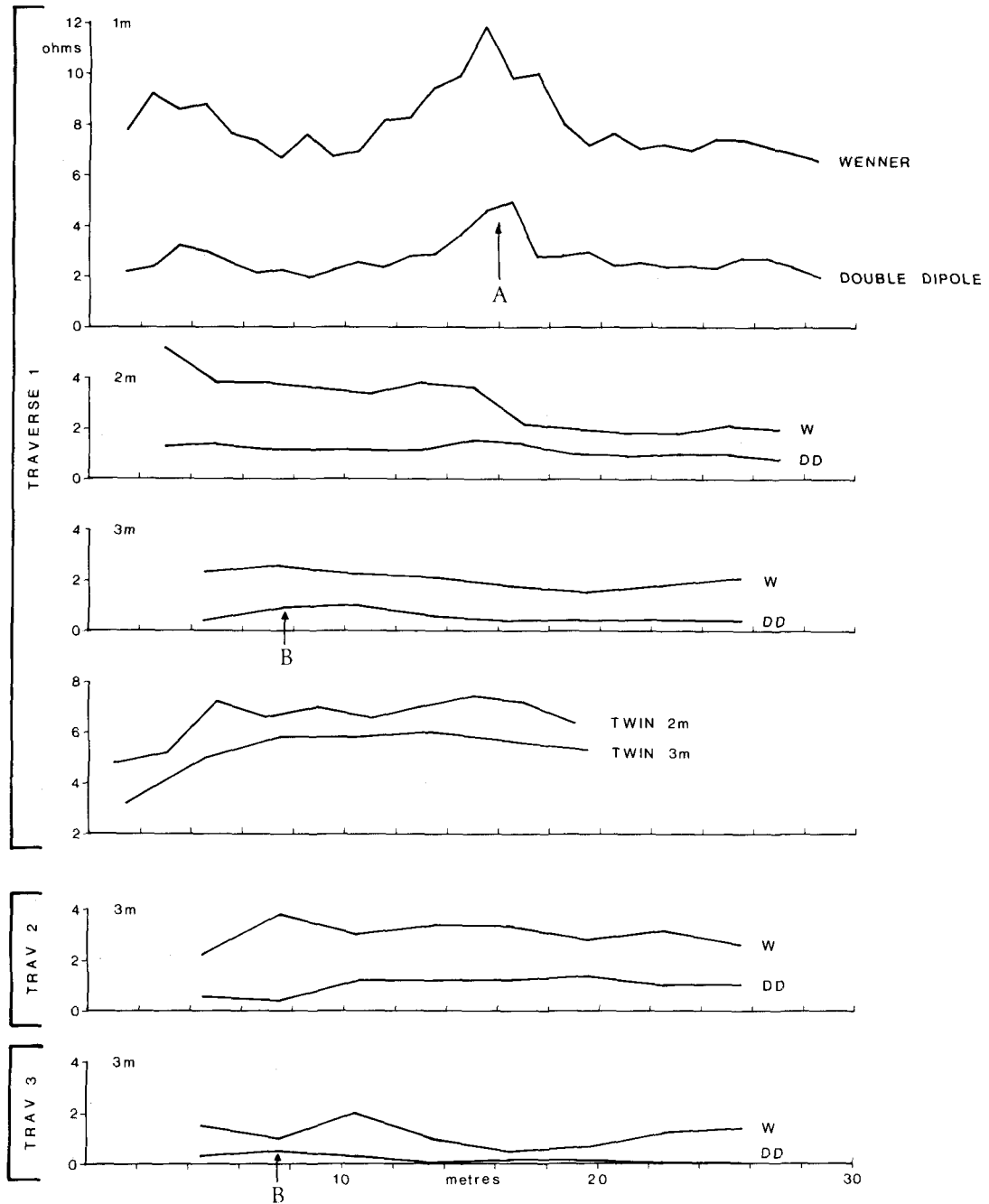
The Twin Electrode readings of traverse I were curtailed before the end of the traverse because of difficulty in placing the fixed electrodes sufficiently remotely on this cramped site. This is probably why they have an overall tendency to increase towards the east; nevertheless, allowing for this, they broadly confirm the pattern of the other readings.

DISCUSSION

The verdict of the resistivity survey was 'not proven'. The extreme caution associated with the results when seen in isolation may however be slightly lessened when other considerations are taken into account.

Bastion 10A, now recognised from documentary sources, would fill a gap in the eastern series of Bastions 1 to 11 (Fig. 4). Of these, seven have produced rough dating evidence. Apart from the hollow Bastion 1 within the Tower, the other six have solid bases incorporating fragments of inscriptions and funerary monuments from the Roman cemeteries immediately outside the walls; the first piece of the tombstone of *Classicianus the Procurator*, for instance, was found in Bastion 2, and a fragment of frieze and sculptured figures in Bastions 9 and 10. The solid bastions are generally thought to be probably late Roman in date.²² Investigation of Bastion 6 in 1971 tended to confirm this since a layer of rubble with nothing later than 4th century pottery and late Roman coins had apparently accumulated against the bastion.²³ The hollow western series, from Bastion 11A onwards, are thought to be medieval, based largely on the discovery of Bastion 11A itself in 1965 overlying a deposit with 13th century pottery.²⁴

That Bastions 1 to 11 were built at roughly the same date is argued not only by the similarity of construction and the large gap (formed by the headwaters of the Walbrook) between them and the western series, but also by their spacing. Between Bastion 9 and Aldgate, the bastions are almost regularly spaced, at intervals of between 180 and 240 feet.



BASTION 10A RESISTIVITY SURVEY

Fig. 3. Bastion 10A: Resistivity Survey.

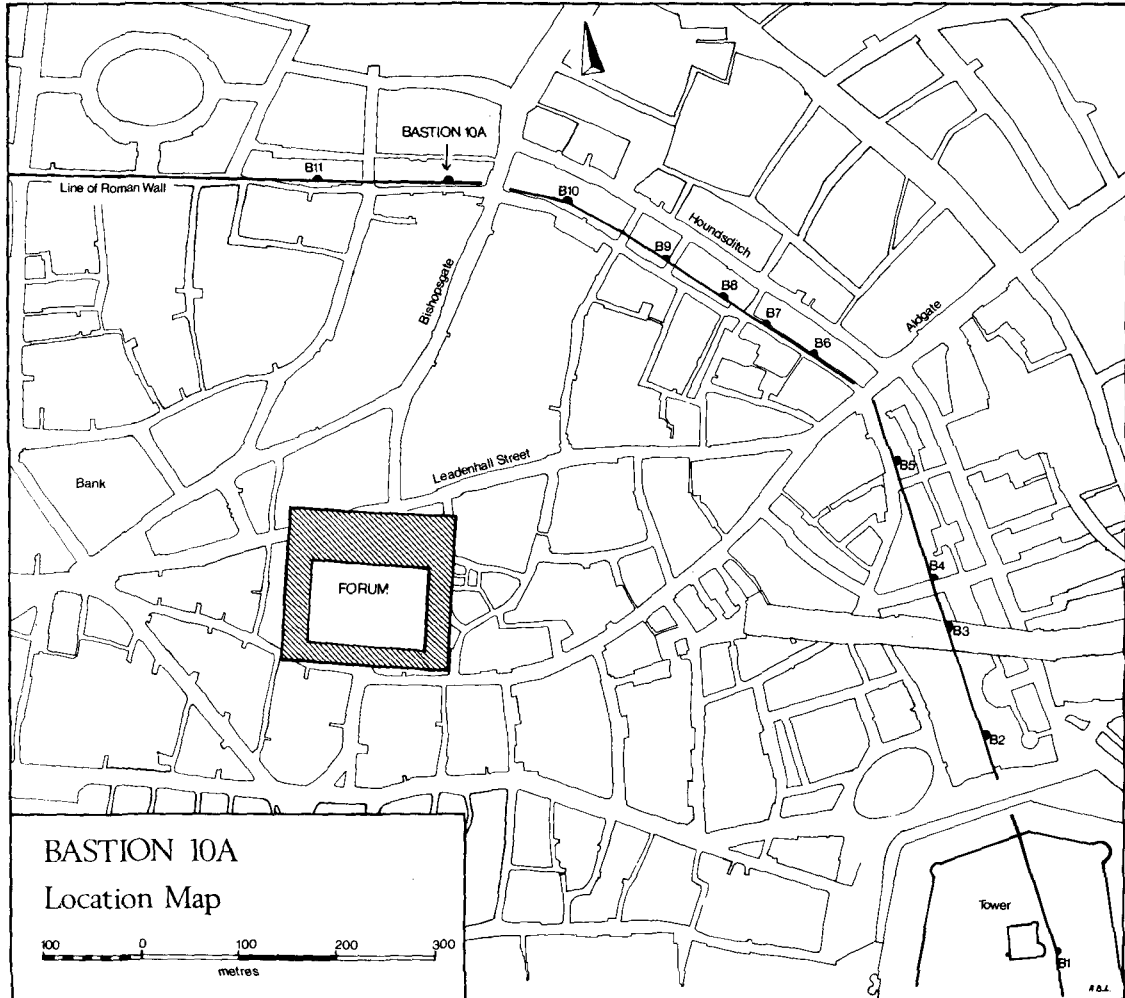


Fig. 4. Bastion 10A: Location of the new bastion.

This is also roughly the distance between Aldgate and Bastion 5, and between Bastions 4 and 3. The distance of 410 feet between Bastion 5 and 4 and about 400 feet between Bastion 3 and 2 might indicate that the sites of other, unknown bastions are to be found at a mid-point between each pair. It is then about 800ft between Bastions 2 and 1, and the interval between Bastion 1 and the corner of the wall, and the intervals between the possible bastions on the riverside wall beneath later medieval towers (Lanthorn, Wakefield and Bell Towers) of the Tower complex²⁵ are about 200-210ft.

North-west of Bastion 9, in the region of Bishopsgate and Bastions 10-11, the rough module of *c.* 200ft between bastions and between bastions and gates can also be, tenuously, applied. It is about 400ft between Bastion 9 and 10, arguing perhaps for a missing tower between. It is then about 250ft. to Bishopsgate, where the precise site of the Roman gate is not known. Beyond the gate westwards the distance from the gate (taking a measurement

from the middle of the present road) to Bastion 11 at All Hallows church is 625ft. Division of this into thirds gives the rough modular distance. This would suggest the possible sites of two bastions, one immediately to the east of New Broad Street and the other in the stretch of churchyard investigated in the present paper. The precise site of the eastern bastion would be about 10m out from the starting point of the resistivity survey. Here on the survey was the anomaly marked at point B (Fig. 3).

CONCLUSIONS

Cartographic and documentary references between 1529 and *c.* 1558 indicate a hitherto unrecognised bastion (for which the number 10A is proposed) between All Hallows on the Wall church and Bishopsgate. The resistivity survey came to a 'not proven' verdict on the stretch of ground available for inspection inside the churchyard of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate, but did register a weak anomaly precisely at the point suggested by the regular spacing of nearly all the known bastions and eastern gates. It is therefore suggested that Bastion 10A is an addition to the eastern series of bastions.

This is not the place for a detailed consideration of the whole eastern series, which should await the publication of the excavation of Bastion 6, but it is a reasonable speculation that if the regular spacing of the late Roman bastions on the landward wall was thoroughly carried out there would have originally been nineteen bastions, and not the known eleven, defending the eastern city between the river Thames and the marsh at the head of the Walbrook, immediately west of All Hallows on the Wall church.²⁶

NOTES

1. *Calendar of Letterbooks of the City of London, Book G* ed. R. R. Sharpe (London 1905) 327-8.
2. *Calendar of Letterbooks of the City of London, Book H* ed. R. R. Sharpe (London 1907) 13.
3. Cal. Close Rolls 1307-13, 308.
4. Cal. Patent Rolls 1232-47, 106-7.
5. Rotha M. Clay *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London 1914) 66-8.
6. *Calendar of Letterbooks of the City of London, Book C* ed. R. R. Sharpe (London 1901) 143.
7. *Calendar of Letterbooks of the City of London, Book E* ed. R. R. Sharpe (London 1903) 39.
8. E. Ekwall *Street-names of the City of London* (Oxford 1954) 188.
9. The map is most conveniently reproduced in Philippa Glanville *London in Maps* (London 1972) Plate 2.
10. In fact the bastion could have been seen before 1966 on other maps which were copies of the copperplate, e.g. Braun and Hogenberg's map of 1573 (Glanville *ibid.* Plate 3).
11. R.C.H.M. *Roman London* (London 1928) 103-4; R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London 1965) gazetteer no. 323.
12. Martin Holmes 'An unrecorded map of London' *Archaeologia* 100 (1966) 105-28.
13. J. Schofield 'Pre-Fire churches of London: some sources of reconstruction' *in preparation*.
14. The most famous occupant, Simon the Ankar, produced a small devotional treatise, *Fruyte of Redemcyon*. The treatise is printed as an appendix in Charles Welch ed. *The Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of All Hallows, London Wall . . . AD 1455-1536* (London 1912) XXV.
15. Will of William Gregory; James Gardiner ed *The Historical Collection of a Citizen of London* Camden Soc. N.S. 17 (1876) xvii.
16. Welch, *ibid.*
17. Rep. 8, f.41.
18. Rep. 8, f.43. The author is grateful to Miss Sutton for these references. It should be noted that the Repertories have only been indexed to 1580, and that reference to the demolition of the bastion before 1676 may be found in the future.
19. Rep. 8, f.251b.
20. Suggested at the time by Steve Roskams, to whom thanks.
21. A. J. Clark 'Archaeological prospecting: a progress report' *J. Archaeol. Sci.* 2 (1975) 297-314.
22. Merrifield *op. cit.* in note 11.
23. Excavation by Peter Marsden.
24. W. F. Grimes *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (London 1968) 71-5.
25. W. G. Bell, F. Cottrill and C. Spon *London Wall through eighteen centuries* (London 1936) 43-5.
26. The author is grateful for the assistance of Esta Denroche, Chris Unwin and Alison Balfour-Lynn, who drew Figs. 1, 2 and 4; and for the advice and encouragement of Tony Dyson.

Mr. Adrian Prockter has noticed a further new bastion on the map of London by Hogenberg (based on the copperplate (1573)), between Aldgate and the Tower, perhaps between bastions 4 and 5; see A. Prockter and R. Taylor *The A to Z of Elizabethan London* (Lympne/London, *forthcoming*).

This bastion is however not shown on the Agas woodcut, which is a slightly earlier and better copy of the copperplate, and may be a copyist's error.