

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Nina Frances Layard (1853–1935) was the cousin of Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817–94), the famous excavator of Nineveh.<sup>2</sup> She was great-granddaughter of Charles Peter Layard, Dean of Bristol, and great-great-granddaughter of the celebrated physician Daniel Peter Layard (1721–1802). Her father, the Revd Charles Clement Layard, was chaplain of the Trinity House Almshouses, Mile End (London) at the time of her birth, but later moved to Wembley and Harrow, and after that to Combe Hay near Bath, where the young Nina became interested in geology.

Miss Layard moved to Ipswich in around 1890. She soon became a noted figure as an authoress, poetess and lecturer, and protagonist for working-class education. Her religious background made her opposed to Socialism: she approached the problem of the antiquity of Man with caution, 'but, when confronted with the great changes in opinion on these matters, which the discoveries of recent years have brought about, she examined them with an open mind, and, if convinced of their truth, accepted them unflinchingly' (Reid Moir 1935b, 161).

She had a lifelong antiquarian interest, and distinguished herself by excavation and research in prehistoric archaeology and the palaeolithic. She became a Fellow of the Anthropological Institute in 1902, and of the Linnaean Society in 1906. Her close association with the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia and with this Institute culminated in Presidency and Vice-Presidency respectively. When the Society of Antiquaries first allowed the admission of women, in 1921, she was one of six ladies to whom the Fellowship was immediately offered, and one of the four who accepted it (Evans 1956, 389). In 1905 she lived at 'Rookwood' in Fonnereau Road, Ipswich, very near to both the Christchurch Mansion and the High Street Natural History Museums.

From 1896 until the end of her life, Miss Layard was helped in her work by her constant companion Mary Frances Outram (1862–1935), who was also an authoress, lecturer and water-colourist. Both ladies had private means, influential family and social connections, and the leisure to pursue their interests. Miss Outram, then of Chantry House, Felixstowe, was the eldest child of Sir Francis Outram of the Indian Civil Service (sometime private secretary to the Viceroy Lords Dalhousie and Canning), and granddaughter of Sir James Outram 'the Bayard of India', noted for his campaigns in Persia and India, and in the Indian Mutiny, in which Sir Francis also served with distinction. She inherited literary expectations from her great-great-grandmother, Margaret Outram, and from her great-great-grandfather, Dr Anderson. Furthermore she was the cousin of Baron Anatole von Hügel of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. She was brought up in Scotland, and the two ladies holidayed there each year.

In 1906 the ladies already had close connections with the Ipswich Museums. These two institutions, with the Free Library, were administered by a Committee of Ipswich Council under the Chairmanship of Alderman Edward Packard. The Curator and Secretary was Frank Woolnough. Miss Layard assiduously formed a collection of antiquities by inspecting building works and quarries in and about the town, and some were displayed on loan. Her investigations of conventual sites in Ipswich were published (Layard 1899). In 1902–05 she was mainly occupied with a controlled geological excavation in the Valley Brick Field, Foxhall Road, and showed that human ancestors of the late Acheulian type had lived on the site after a glaciation which deposited Boulder Clay (Layard 1904, 1906a, b). Throughout the winter months of 1903 and 1904 she had superintended this work voluntarily with two paid employees, as the official representative of a Museum sub-committee convened for the purpose. Her work was highly praised, and the finds were displayed at the High Street.

## WORK FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

The year 1905 was the last of a long period of Conservative government led by Arthur Balfour. Mass unemployment made the party increasingly unpopular. Under pressure from the rising

Labour movement, in that year was introduced the Unemployed Workmen Act, by which £200,000 was voted for the setting up of work schemes. To benefit, Councils were to create Distress Committees to co-ordinate the work. Ipswich Council resisted the political origins of the legislation: refusing to appoint a Committee, they instead set up an independent scheme (see below). The project was taken up by H.W. Raffe, Chairman of the Paving and Lighting Committee, at the end of August 1905, and pilot schemes were at once begun, providing manual labour. Rates of pay were calculated for comparability with private contractors (*Minutes, P. & L.*, 31 Aug. 1905 et seq.).

As winter approached, the Committee inspected a new site with a view to creating a more lasting project (*Minutes, P. & L.*, 11 Nov. 1905). As one crosses the Seven Arches Bridge, going out of Ipswich, straight ahead the London Road ascends steeply to the south-west. At the bottom of this slope the Hadleigh Road leads off to the right, rising in a more gentle gradient towards the north-west before veering westwards after a few yards. In the mid-19th century, a deep railway cutting had been navigated so as to intersect both roads at an oblique angle, beneath bridges, leaving a roughly triangular piece of high ground between the road junction and the railway line. In 1905 there were houses on the London Road frontage of this plot, but the area behind them was pasture, consisting of two fields (Fig.40; Layard 1907a, Fig.1). The land was part of the Handford Hall Estate, property of Ipswich Corporation.

The Committee evolved the plan to widen the Hadleigh Road to a uniform width of 35ft as far as the railway bridge, and to level down on the south side for 300ft so as to create a building plot. The works, which became the major unemployment relief scheme in Ipswich, began on 14 November 1905 with seventy-eight men under foreman H. Cable. The levelling involved cutting into the hill on the south side, and dumping the spoil on the other side of the road where the land fell away towards the river. The men worked with picks, shovels and wheelbarrows, eight hours a day for four days a week. Payment was on a piecework basis, at fivepence per cubic yard of earth moved, subject to review as the wheeling distances increased.

At the end of November, the Ipswich Guardians held a heated meeting (*E.A.D.T.*, 1 Dec. 1905).

Mr Rampling moved that This Board regrets the action of the Ipswich Corporation in refusing to elect a Distress Committee as laid down in the Unemployed Workmen Act 1905, and would respectfully ask that the position the Town Council had taken up should be reconsidered and a committee at once formed, so as not to deprive the Unemployed of Ipswich of the chance of participating in the Unemployed fund now being raised in London.

The Chairman remarked that 'the Corporation felt that inasmuch as the Paving & Lighting Committee had put on 150 men to deal with the Handford Hall Estate, they had met to a large extent the necessity for finding employment and they did not think it necessary to put the Act into operation'. Mr Brooks commented that 'the Act did not come from the right party'. But the motion was carried.

The road-widening was finished by the beginning of December, and the cutting was already being pushed further into the hillside. By 6 December, when the first skeleton was found, it had advanced between forty and fifty yards south of the road and was being worked to a depth of eight feet. The press reported the 'grim discovery' of a complete, well-preserved skeleton of a woman 'buried in a recumbent position, the knees being drawn up'. Her rounded (but undecayed) teeth were thought to show that she had been at least forty-five years old, and her stature was estimated at 5ft 7in. A small oblong hole, not caused by the workmen, was found clean through the skull. Since the field was believed always to have been a permanent pasture, and no trace of buildings had been found, a long-forgotten crime was suspected (*E.A.D.T.*, 7 Dec. 1905).

On the following Monday (11 December) the second skeleton was found, about three yards away from the first, and was again reported in the press (*E.A.D.T.*, 12 Dec. 1905).

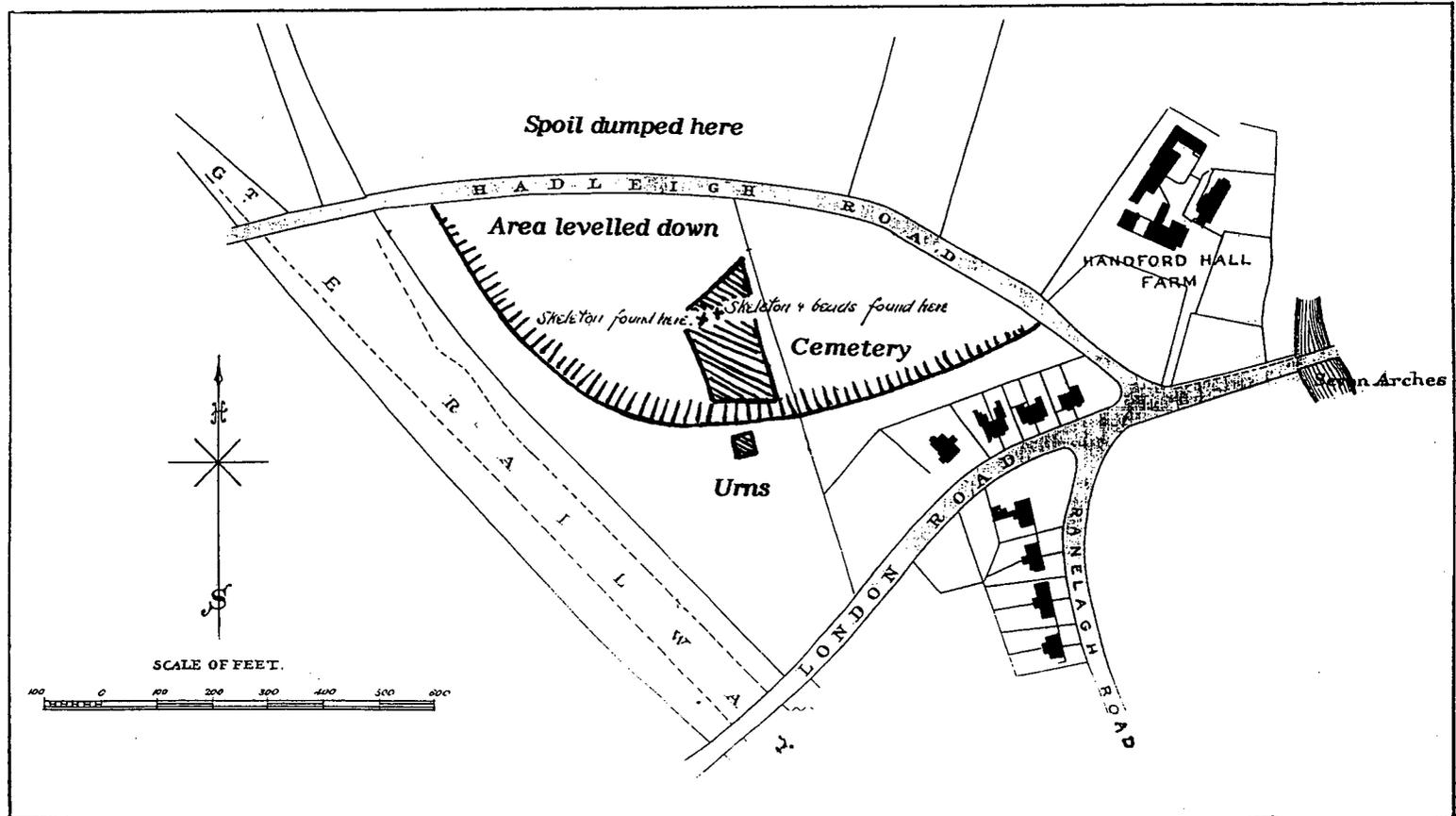


FIG. 40 - The Hadleigh Road excavations, 1906 (based on contemporary surveys).

Unfortunately the soil where the skeletons have been discovered is fine sand of a dark colour, the slightest movement of the pick or shovel bringing down a considerable quantity of earth, and thus the exact position of the second skeleton cannot be defined, while the bones could not be seen in position. Like the other, however, it appears to have been buried hastily, and within 3 feet of the surface. The depth of the cutting at this point is about 8 feet, and having worked back to about the place where Wednesday's skeleton was found, the workmen at the point climbed to the surface and commenced cutting in order to take a fresh depth.

They had not gone far before the bones, dislodged from their grave, fell out of the side, or wall, of the excavated ground, some being broken by the fall. A careful examination proved that a complete skeleton had been disturbed, and, judging by measurements, it was that of a man of about 5 foot 10 inches, and about 60 years of age. The skull is somewhat damaged, and the upper jaw has not, as yet, been picked out of the soil; the lower one, however, presents a fine array of teeth in an excellent state of preservation. A peculiarity about the skull is its abnormal shape and size – very narrow at the forehead, and receding to form an immense cranium. The thigh and leg bones are stout, and time and soil have had little effect on them.

Only these two graves were reported before Christmas 1905, though Miss Layard later listed five as having been found by the time of her first visit to the site on 4 January 1906 (Layard 1907a, 338). On 13 December 1905, at a Museum Committee meeting,

the Curator reported the receipt of an iron spearhead found near two human skeletons on ground the property of the Corporation on the Hadleigh Road (from Mr E. Buckham, Borough Surveyor). The Curator reported that several articles had been found on this ground by workmen employed by the Corporation and had been offered for sale to various persons, and that one article had been purchased by Mr H.C. Casley. Mr Buckham had endeavoured to stop this illicit trading (Minutes, M. & F.L., 13 Dec. 1905).

The object bought by Mr Casley, a member of the Committee, was a brown glass vessel with trailed decoration, and was one of a pair of which the other had been smashed (Layard 1907b, 3n). It was later presented to the Museum. (Among the first objects which Miss Layard obtained from the site was a similar pair of glass flasks. The two graves which contained these four flasks must have been fairly near one another, at the north end of the cemetery.) The Museum took no further action at this stage, and on 18 December the total number of men at work rose to 150, in six gangs of twenty-five, deployed in the 'second field'. By the end of Christmas week they had been at work for seven days (Minutes, P. & L., 7 and 15 Dec. 1905).

#### MISS LAYARD STEPS IN

On 4 December 1905, Balfour's government resigned, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman formed a Liberal Ministry. Not yet enfranchised, Miss Layard spent that Christmas in Scotland at Clach-na-Faire, Pitlochry. There she read in the *East Anglian Daily Times* that skeletons had been unearthed on the Hadleigh Road site, had been pronounced recent, and re-interred. It seemed to Miss Layard a strange place to find modern burials, and soon after returning to Ipswich, she inspected the works on 4 January 1906 (Layard MS 3). By that time she was able to gain details of five skeletons in all.

She was hoping for palaeolithic remains, and her early accounts refer to the geology of the substrates:

The section which had been exposed to view presented a most interesting appearance, the strata being mixed up and tumbled together in an extraordinary way. Red Crag,

shelly, and denuded of shells, white, yellow and red sand with Boulder Clay, etc, were to be found alternately below or above each other. A great wall of Boulder Clay 120 feet long by 15 feet broad ran from north to south, dividing the excavation into two parts, on either side and at the ends of which was the Red Crag (Layard MS 1).

'Boulder Clay is oftener seen below shelly Red Crag than above it, and there seems to be a sort of general rebellion against the laws of stratification' (Layard 1906b, 499).<sup>3</sup>

Miss Layard wrote to her friend, the eminent archaeologist Sir John Evans, on 22 January 1906: 'After coming upon some drinking cups of the Bronze Age, I determined to search very carefully for human remains in connection with them' (Corr. 71). The presence of Beakers on the site is otherwise unrecorded, but among Miss Layard's pre-1920 donations to Ipswich Museum were two Beakers, one from Hadleigh Road and one from Foxhall Road (Layard MS 4). These are apparently cognate with two small examples of 'barbed-wire' type later re-acquired in a group-number (Museum, 1920.52.4 & 5) and labelled only 'Ipswich-Layard Collection'. A newly-discovered press report (*E.A.D.T.*, 30 May 1908) has resolved the seventy-year-old confusion and shows that the larger is from Hadleigh Road (Museum, 1920.52.5), presumably that found in January 1906. In the same group-number is a larger thumb-decorated Bronze Age urn marked 'Hadleigh Road' (Museum, 1920.52.9). There are many small prehistoric pottery fragments with the Anglo-Saxon sherds (Museum, 1907.29).

Miss Layard herself found the next skeleton, on 11 January: 'Searching round the walls of the cutting, I saw human bones protruding from the Red Crag at a depth of 3½ feet. The soil was clean and had no appearance of organic matter in it, from which I concluded that the remains were not recent. The skeleton lay facing north. Nothing was found with it. After this I visited the place almost daily' (Layard MS 1). This was Grave 6 in the published inventories,<sup>4</sup> and the true alignment may have been north-east. Between the publication of her first and second reports (Layard 1907a & b), the wording and orientation were deliberately altered to clarify that most bodies were lying with their feet towards the north-east (Corr. 24). As the cutting advanced southwards, the foot- and leg-bones were often the first parts exposed.

Miss Layard wrote at once to Professor Macalister of Cambridge, in the hope that he would visit immediately to confirm her observation that the bones lay in geological strata: for her, the scent was still palaeolithic, and she wished 'to avoid scepticism in the future'. But he was unable to come (Corr. 2, 71). The discoveries of Grave 7 on 19 or 20 January<sup>5</sup> and Grave 8 on 22 January confused matters as the first artefacts appeared.

On 22 January she described her finds to Evans (Corr. 71). Of Grave 7 she wrote:

I found another skeleton, lying horizontally with an iron helmet against the skull. It was in shelly Red Crag just below the red earth. The strange thing is, that though apparently an Iron Age individual, the skull is the most extraordinary shape. It is quite as flat or flatter, I should think, than the Spy skull, and more so than the Neanderthal. The lower jaw is almost perfect, with 13 splendid teeth, ground down, and a finely developed wisdom tooth, and prominent chin. The skull is very long and narrow with practically no forehead, or rather with no height to it. (Fig 41)

Grave 8 had contained part of a skull 'of the same low type', with a spear head beside it and an iron knife: this was three yards to the left of Grave 7.

The new skull and 'helmet' from Grave 7 were shown to Dr Henry Laver of Colchester, and he identified the 'helmet' as a shield-boss (Layard MS 1, deletion), confirming Evans's immediate suspicion that an Anglo-Saxon cemetery had been found. Laver also gave the first opinion that the shape of the skulls was owing to posthumous deformation, later confirmed by Macalister (Corr. 1, 3, 20, 72). Evans told Miss Layard to watch out for fibulae. A fine male skeleton was found on 24 January (Grave 9) aligned north-east, with the legs doubled-up, together with two shield-bosses, a spear-head and fragments of an urn. Also between 22 and 24 January a labourer

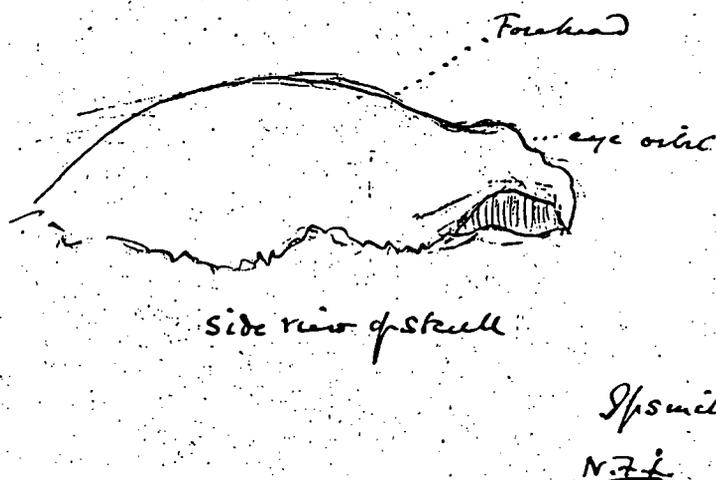


FIG. 41 – Sketch of the skull from Grave 7, showing posthumous deformation (Corr. 71 – Ashmolean Museum).

handed in a beautiful pair of glass vessels. These had been taken from one of the graves uncovered earlier, probably Grave 5, at a depth of about three feet.<sup>6</sup>

On 25 January Miss Layard could list her finds to Evans as some Beakers, five skeletons (Graves 5–9), two glass cups, two spearheads, two knives and three shield-bosses. ‘I am carefully watching the excavation day by day, and teaching the workmen what to look for. Some of the leg bones of the skeletons are much bowed, as if from a habit of riding’ (Corr. 72). On 28 January she added: ‘I think I may find some more treasures, but no fibulae or beads have as yet turned up. May I conclude by the cups being buried with the dead, that these were pagan Saxons, and consequently that the burials may be 5th or 6th century?’ (Corr. 73). The next day, Grave 10 produced eight beads with a female skeleton, and so by the end of January 1906 she was sure of the nature of the find.

#### PROGRESS OF THE DIG: FEBRUARY–MAY 1906

Once she realised the importance of the find, Miss Layard was filled with despair as the scale and urgency of the problem dawned on her (Layard MS 3). Her work at Foxhall Road had been a controlled sample study, but she had experience of rescue archaeology from her work on Ipswich monastic sites. She realised at once that at Hadleigh Road the entire cemetery needed to be recorded and the grave contents recovered. Two factors were on her side. First, as the section advanced into the hillside, the cutting increased in height, slowing the pace of destruction of the archaeological levels. Second, as the spring drew on, the labourers found other jobs, and the number of men on the site fell significantly each month. Perhaps it was these factors which caused Miss Layard to continue her work without any official support or notification until the beginning of May.

In late spring 1906 she wrote:

Unfortunately as the men were engaged in piece work it was difficult to save the interesting relics buried with the dead, for no sooner was the earth picked down, than it was carried off in barrows to be precipitated into the valley below. Only by watching their rapid work as carefully as might be and seizing upon any scrap of iron or verdigrised metal that fell out, was anything saved. Later I arranged with four of the men to work for me during part of the dinner hour when we were able to examine the graves more carefully (Layard MS 1).

But elsewhere she stated that after the first discovery, 'a systematic examination was then made of every grave as it was found' (Layard 1907b, 2). Later she recalled:

With so many men about, it was all-important to keep the discovery as quiet as possible, for fear of the relics being dispersed, and I could only watch the every spadeful of material as it was spread out, and gather up fragments of iron, bronze, glass, pottery or beads for future examination . . . By means of a few judicious tips, I soon got the men from end to end of the field to let me know when human remains were exposed, and then with notebook in hand, I took down particulars with as little ostentation as possible in order not to provoke curiosity (Layard MS 3).

On 8 February, Grave 12 produced a rare silver necklet:

When I remember how narrowly this extremely valuable object escaped destruction, my heart almost stands still. It was found at the time before I had been able to institute any methodical work, and I could but watch as best I might, for all that was carelessly thrown out. The upper part of the skull, much flattened, and a small knife were the only indications left of the wearer of the silver torc, who may have been a person of great importance. Only by careful search in the dislodged earth, was it recovered, in two pieces – happily the amber bead was still in position (Layard MS 3).<sup>7</sup>

Clearly once graves were found, Miss Layard was given the chance to explore them, albeit hurriedly. Picturesque literary formulae about 'spadefuls of earth carelessly thrown out by the workmen' occur in earlier writings (Layard 1899), as do references to the need for secrecy (Layard 1906b, 495), and they do not mean that she was not permitted to investigate when a discovery was made. At this stage there were never more than two graves worked on any one day, and only on Sunday 18 February did she think it worthwhile to dig at the weekend. Increasingly she was able to record the relative positions of objects (e.g. Grave 19), and many small items such as knives and beads were recovered during the second half of February.

The system of 'judicious tips' seems to have worked well, for she gave a bonus for every bead found by her helpers, and the outlay became a burden (Layard MS 2). She wrote on 2 March to Charles Hercules Read, Keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities at the British Museum:

Mr Smith will have told you that I am beginning to feel anxious about the daily expenses connected with my Anglo-Saxon find. I have been working at it now for nearly two months, and as it is very necessary to encourage the workmen to save everything, the daily outlay is becoming a serious matter. Would it be possible to secure me a grant . . . I superintend the work myself, and indeed actually use pick and spade, and help the men in the more delicate part of the work. It is impossible at present to know when we shall come to the limits of the cemetery, but just now we seem to be in the heart of it (Corr. 50).

This procedure of participative superintendence followed the pattern of her work at Foxhall Road, and her 'helpers' appear to have become a regular fixture already.

As to excavation procedure, 'our plan was, if possible, to start working from the feet of the

skeleton upwards, and when we reached the neck-bone to carefully sift the earth, after picking out all the beads that could be found in situ' (Layard 1907b, 5). Much later, in the excavation of Grave 103, they were 'working from the feet upwards, and hollowing out the grave without removing the top' (Layard 1907a, 330). The fact that the body-position was often recorded shows that the bones were not removed until they had all been uncovered. The graves were presumably at first 'hollowed out' as a consolidating measure, on account of the looseness of the sandy earth surrounding them (*E.A.D.T.*, 12 Dec. 1905). At the start of March, Miss Layard attended a meeting of the Linnaean Society in London at which she was elected to Fellowship, caught a severe chill, and was confined to bed for several days (Corr. 51). She placed a foreman in charge (Layard MS 3), showing that the system of helpers was now regularised. During her illness they found five skeletons, but obtained only one spear-head and shield-boss. Miss Layard listed them all collectively as Grave 25. She was back on site by 16 March, when Grave 26 produced a rare Frankish buckle (Fig.42). This was one of only three graves found over the next four weeks, under her direct superintendence: there is no reason to suppose that any were missed during her absence.

In fact the rate at which new graves were exposed was slowing. Of 144 men working at the start of February, there were but 117 on 1 March, on 1 April ninety-three, on 26 April only fifty (of whom sixteen were reported to be 'loafers') and on 7 June a mere twenty-five (*Minutes, P. & L., passim*). The works closed on 8 June. The last major find of the spring (Grave 29) had contained a rare square-headed fibula with a stud on the bow, together with a necklace of five beads. New information reveals they were two of amber, two of blue glass, and one of red glass

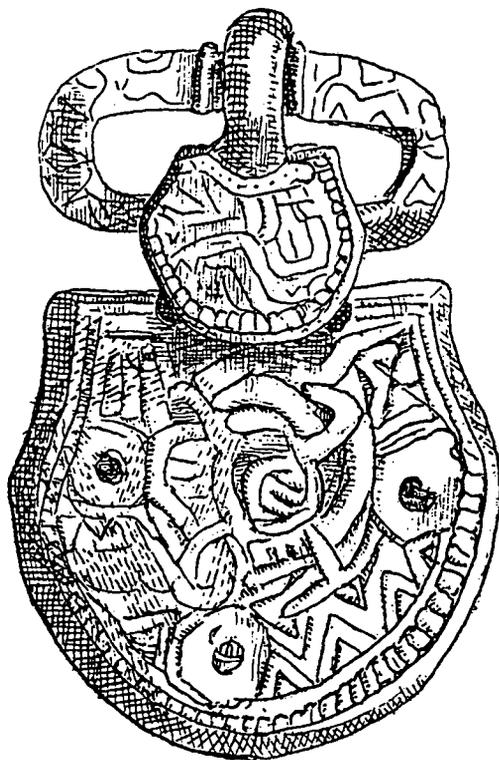


FIG. 42 - Drawing of the buckle from Grave 26, by Nina Layard (S.R.O.I., S2/3/3).

paste with yellow dots, and the group can now be reconstructed (Layard MS 1). Four other graves were excavated by 7 May, when Miss Layard felt it was safe to stop and take stock.

On 30 April she and Miss Outram went to Cambridge, where a lecture on the Foxhall Road palaeoliths was delivered to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (Layard 1906b). Miss Outram arranged a meeting with her cousin, Baron von Hügel, and the Anglo-Saxon finds travelled with them and were compared with specimens in his Museum. Von Hügel pointed out a parallel from Bornholm for the fibula with stud bow, and his assistant recommended that the iron objects be immersed in boiling wax to conserve them. On their return to Ipswich there was a panic when the fibula was misplaced, but it was found later packed in the wrong box (Corr. 5, 6, 74–77).

At a meeting on 2 May, Alderman E. Packard communicated to his Committee that Miss Layard had informed him of her finds. It was proposed that a glass case should be provided for their display in Christchurch Mansion, and a small room in the East Wing was to be placed at Miss Layard's disposal for study and preparation of the specimens. A hearty vote of thanks was forwarded to her for her work (Minutes, M. & FL., 2 May 1906). Some assurances were also given, and Miss Layard wrote to von Hügel (Corr. 76):

I have just been given the use of a fine room in Christ Church Mansion . . . to use as a Museum for my own collection. I say 'my own' but I mean the things that I have found, but which I am allowing the town to take over. I shall have full control over the things and shall have the position of a sort of amateur honorary curator, which will be very pleasant. The town will find cases and expenses, etc, & I shall see my precious treasures properly set up.

She wrote in the same vein to C.H. Read a few days later (Corr. 51).

#### THE SUMMER MONTHS: MAY–SEPTEMBER 1906

Thirty-three graves had so far been unearthed, including those found before Christmas. On 23 May, Miss Layard wrote to C.H. Read 'I am glad to say the difficulty as regards funds for carrying on the Anglo-Saxon diggings is solved, as a friend in Ipswich has given me *carte-blanche* to proceed with it and to spend what is necessary . . . The ground is being reserved till my return from Scotland in August, when I hope to go on with the excavations' (Corr. 51). On 16 May she had left for an extended holiday in Pitlochry; and she wrote again to Evans, who suggested other parallels for the studded fibula, but advised her to show the finds to Reginald A. Smith of the British Museum. He also encouraged her to submit a paper for the British Association meeting (Section H) to be held at York that August, as an advance shot towards a possible presentation to the Society of Antiquaries later in the year (Corr. 7).

This suggestion being made to C.H. Read elicited the response that she might exhibit her finds to the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House in the autumn, but that ladies were not admitted to meetings of that Society, and her communication would have to be made through him or another Fellow (Corr. 8, 51–52). The British Association paper was straightforward, for she had delivered two and a third was scheduled on the subject of Foxhall Road (Layard 1903, 1905, 1907c). She sent off a report on Hadleigh Road, her own copy of which survives and is the first connected account (Layard MS 1). Whilst in Scotland she added a note concerning her bronze annular brooches (Graves 19 and 30): 'When showing the brooch to a Highland gentleman, he at once noticed its exact similarity to Highland brooches which were in use up to about 100 years ago. By the kindness of Mr McIsaac, Provost of Oban, who lent me a specimen belonging to him, I have been able to bring one of these brooches for comparison.'

At York, where she met Evans and Read, Miss Layard delivered her two papers on 6 August (Layard 1907c and d). Returning to Ipswich, formal arrangements were made to continue the

excavations almost at once. Edward Packard negotiated permission for Miss Layard from H.W. Raffe through the agency of the Town Clerk, and work was allowed to proceed on the understanding that if it were found that she were making too great a disturbance to the land, she would be informed that she must stop (Corr. 10). The discovery was announced to the Paving and Lighting Committee (Minutes, P. & L., 16 Aug. 1906): the workroom in Christchurch Mansion was made available, and a duplicate key to the display case was promised (Corr. 11).

The Museum's involvement was now formal. Miss Layard noted:

I offered my services to the committee, when we obtained leave to have certain areas marked out for more serious research, and employed four men, whom I trained to the work, to excavate with a view to the Anglo-Saxon remains only. The scheme was warmly taken up by the Museum authorities, and the funds for this extensive work liberally supplied, so that it might be done as efficiently as possible (Layard 1907a, 327).

The helpers were paid twenty-two shillings per week, and Miss Layard gave them a bonus for finds. (They remained with her until the dig ended, and may have been the same four who had worked with her during the spring.) Frank Woolnough, the Museum Curator, was asked to consider the mounting of the specimens and a pattern of case for their display (Minutes, M. & F.L., 5 Sept. 1906).

On 20 August Miss Layard celebrated her fifty-third birthday, and the next day embarked on an intensive month of digging. Between 21 August and 13 September they opened a further thirty-three graves. The work moved quickly, and on some days three or four graves were dealt with. Since the Corporation works were closed, there was no immediate threat; and although the work was not leisurely, the excavation of graves 33–66 was presumably as thorough and systematic as Miss Layard wished to make it. Certainly the inventory at this stage gives quite precise details about the positions of the skeletons and the grave-goods.

In the absence of the labourers, new graves were not automatically exposed, and Miss Layard had to consider how to locate them. It was probably at this stage that she began the wholesale removal of topsoil from the site: 'As skeletons turned up at various parts of the large area that was being levelled, it became evident that our small gang would have to turn over the whole of the surface in advance of the army of unemployed, if we were to lose nothing of this important find' (Layard 1907a, 327). That process may even have begun in the spring. She decided to develop an advance section at the top of the cutting, to a depth of about four feet, so as to form a ledge at the interface with the substrates: the spoil was thrown over the lower section (Pls XI and XII).

The finds of August and September were not quite so spectacular as the first had been, but familiar items such as spears and knives were found consistently. There were several bronze annular brooches, an urned cremation, and some fine bead necklaces: the latter were carefully described and are mostly identifiable. There were also the fragmentary mounts of a situla (Grave 52), two square-headed brooches, and tweezers, which at first were thought to be pendants because found near the necks of the skeletons (Corr. 53). Other types of evidence were observed, such as the position of a shield-boss over the face (Grave 60), a pit of wood ash (Grave 61), verdegriis marks on bones showing how ornaments were worn (Grave 39), and burial groupings (Graves 49–51). 'These are just the things that make the find of any use in increasing our Anglo-Saxon knowledge' (Corr. 83).

On 13 September Miss Layard again stopped digging. The next day she wrote to R.A. Smith, 'I am having good success. The 20th necklace of beads was found yesterday. I now have four men who I have trained, to do the work, and I superintend them myself. The weather has been perfect, but a long walk every morning in the heat was almost too much' (Corr. 54). Clearly she felt the site was safe, her men were not excavating, and at this point she updated her script of the lecture she had given (Layard MS 1, alterations). She visited R.A. Smith at the British Museum on 17 September (where she inadvertently left her sable boa) en route to Bushey Heath, probably to see Sir John Evans, and thence travelled to Warminster (Corr. 54), where her brother-in-law, H.R. Whytehead, was Rector.

Ironically, on the very day she ceased digging, the Paving and Lighting Committee met to decide on the reopening of the relief works, which was set for 8 October. Later sixty-seven men were interviewed and made ready to be set on (Minutes, P. & L., 13 Sept., 2 Oct. 1906). Meanwhile Miss Layard made preparations for showing the finds to the Society of Antiquaries in November. The Museum Committee agreed to the loan of the specimens on condition that they were all mounted and labelled as Museum property beforehand (though this was not done) (Woolnough MS). Evans took the opportunity to further an interest of his own, and wrote to her: 'Would it not be well for you to write to Mr Read and express your willingness to attend. His reply might furnish me with a text on which to dilate' (Corr. 12).

#### BACK WITH THE UNEMPLOYED: GRAVES 67-123, 8 OCTOBER-26 NOVEMBER 1906

Returning from a stay at Pakefield, Miss Layard set to work again with her helpers on 8 October as the labouring works reopened. She started fairly high up the hill towards the south end of the cemetery, and after opening three poorly preserved graves, the next day she moved further down the slope on the north-west side (Layard 1907a, 343). There, perhaps nearer the heart of the cemetery, many new graves were found. To begin with they worked solidly for seven days and opened fifteen graves, including the only double burial (Grave 77) which contained both a woman's beads and a man's spear.

The number of labourers increased rapidly. On 16 October the total rose from 107 to 150, and it was agreed that a further fifty could be set on in the future. Plans were even considered for the installation of a portable tramway for tipping wagons to dump the ballast, but were rejected as being too costly (Minutes, P. & L., 16 Oct. 1906). Meanwhile the Museum Committee publicly acknowledged Miss Layard's valuable services, and announced that the finds would be known as 'The Layard Collection' (Report 1906, 11; *E.A.D.T.*, 18 Oct. 1906).

On 18 October an entire day was given to the excavation of Grave 85, one of the most important. In a female grave, two glass palm-cups were found at the feet, with a pair of double-toothed combs, one either side of the feet. There was an iron girdle-pendant, a small buckle, fragments of a fine pottery libation vessel,<sup>8</sup> and a pair of twisted wire earrings. The grave was sketched before the goods were removed (Layard 1907a, 336-37).

My first experience of glass finding was the hearing of a musical tinkling sound as a heavy workman's pick struck into the earth. Almost tearfully I gathered up 40 fragments of the thinnest wafer-like glass of a lovely opalescent colour. As a second vessel should have been present, we carefully searched around, only to be disappointed, but at home, building the precious pieces together, bit by bit – behold – two lovely tumblers came to light out of the debris (Layard MS 2).

This suggests the cups were stacked one inside the other, as were those in the warrior grave from the Ipswich Buttermarket cemetery.<sup>9</sup>

Work went on busily, and hurriedly: Evans wrote to sympathise at the way the cemetery was being treated (Corr. 13). On 24 October another important female burial (Grave 92) was discovered, with a bronze girdle-ring and pendant, a necklace, and a keystone garnet disc-brooch very like one which had been found in the spring (Grave 19). On this occasion a photographer was brought in, and most of the known photographs of the dig (Pls X-XII) were taken. They show the team sieving the soil to find beads, working on a level surface on the advance cutting. The one oval bronze girdle-ring in the collection belongs to this grave, and the group can now be reconstructed (*E.A.D.T.*, 13 Dec. 1906). By this time the advantage gained over the summer was again reduced, for they are seen only just in advance of the main cutting. Although they were moving briskly from one part of the field to another, they were working orderly rectangular sections (Fig.43).



PLATE X – Hadleigh Road, Ipswich, 1906 (probably 25 October). General view, looking roughly north-west. In the foreground are the archaeologists, two of whom are sieving for beads. The ‘unemployed’ are working below. Various sections already worked are marked with sticks or shovels, including that in Plate XI (centre, middle distance). (Photograph: Ipswich Museum).



PLATE XI – Hadleigh Road, Ipswich, 1906 (probably 25 October). Miss Layard's team posed on a completed section (see Plate X). One man is standing on top of a heap of discarded spoil (foreground, right). (Photograph: Ipswich Museum).



PLATE XII – Hadleigh Road, Ipswich, 1906 (probably 25 October). Miss Layard's team is at work on the upper section, with the 'unemployed' in the foreground beside the spoil heaps. The full section height is about 3½ to 4 metres. Miss Layard is at the top. (Photograph: Ipswich Museum).

From 27 October 1906 we are fortunate that Miss Layard's original site notebook is preserved (Layard MS 5). The published inventories were copied almost verbatim from the manuscript, but a few valuable new details emerge. It shows that a confusion in the numeration of the graves (see Note 4) arose from a complete renumbering up to Grave 115, carried out on or soon after 20 November 1906. It also clinches the fact that when Miss Layard refers to the position of an object as being to left or right of the skeleton, she means the skeleton's left and right hands respectively. This is a very welcome and useful clarification.

More rich female graves were found (especially 98 and 102) with square-headed brooches and plentiful beads, and also many simpler male graves. The pressure was increasing, for on 30 October thirty-nine more labourers brought the total to 171 (Minutes, P. & L., 30 Oct. 1906). Preparations for the London meeting were under way, and some of the specimens (but not the jewellery) were sent to C.H. Read at the British Museum on 2 November, when finds were coming in 'thick and fast' (Corr. 55). Drawings were to be made at once for the proposed publication, and slides prepared in readiness for the lecture.

The site notebook (Layard MS 5) identifies the sixteen beads of Grave 112 as 'including 3 large, 1 of fluted yellow glass, 1 dark blue black with white spots, and one blue with red spots –

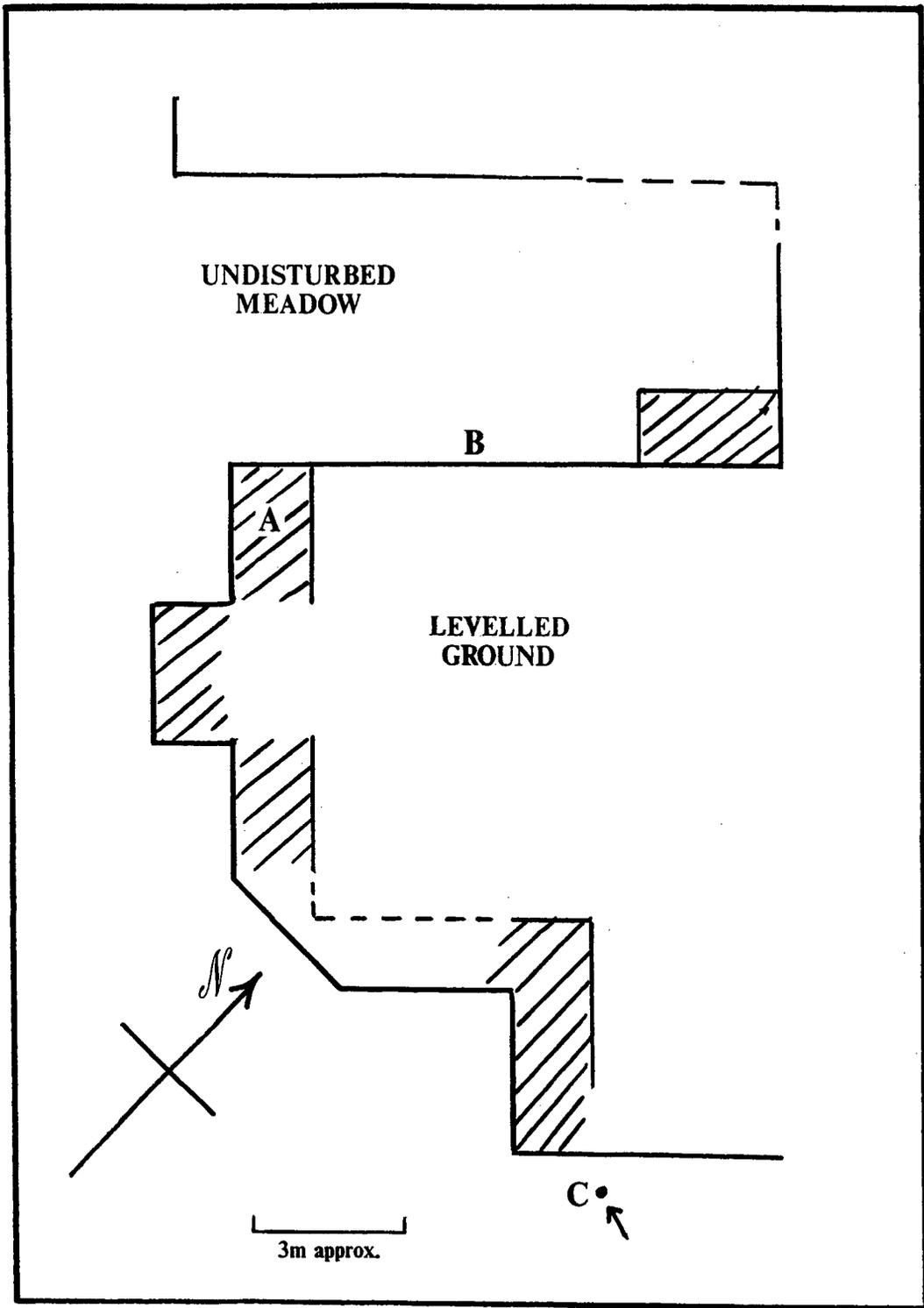


FIG. 43 – Reconstructed plan of the excavation, 25 Oct. 1906., based on the photograph in Plate X. The shaded areas are those cleared by the team to a depth of 3–4ft, not yet removed by the labourers, and are indicated in the photographs by positioned shovels or sticks. (A), area shown under excavation in Plates X and XI; (B), full section height about  $3\frac{1}{2}$ –4m at this point; (C), position of camera in Plate X. (A) is the probable site of Grave 92. (Scale 1: 100 approx.).

and one bead of amber'. This new information has enabled the necklace to be identified positively for the first time since 1907.

Maria Evans arranged for Miss Layard to stay at their new house at Berkhamsted on the night before the lecture, so that she could travel up to London with Sir John (Corr. 14–16). Pressure of excavation remained constant: Miss Layard was actually absent from the site, confined to bed by her doctor in a state of exhaustion, on 7–9 November (Corr. 56). On 12 November – another exhausting day – she took the jewellery up to London and arranged the specimens with R.A. Smith and C.H. Read (Corr. 57). Amusement was caused by an 'iron instrument in a silver case', which proved to be a key and strip of rolled metal from a tin of Chicago beef (Corr. 57, 58).

#### THE BURLINGTON HOUSE EPISODE

With excavation in full flight, Miss Layard drew an arbitrary line at 20 November, when 115 graves had been found, and wrote an account of the circumstances of the dig and the more important discoveries. Although the paper as printed in *Archaeologia* was structured in two parts (Layard 1907a), the second or appendix describing finds from 20 November 1906 to 31 January 1907, the first part was much revised before publication, and contains information not available when the lecture was read in London on 29 November 1906. The text of the Antiquaries' lecture was used for another meeting a fortnight later (Corr. 61) and a lengthy paraphrase exists (*E.A.D.T.*, 13 Dec. 1906). Finds kept coming in right up to the day she left for London, notably a decorated bronze buckle (Grave 118).

The meeting was coloured by Evans's annoyance at the statute of the Society denying admission to women. He tabled a motion that it should be suspended for that evening, so that Miss Layard could attend. He wrote to her: 'I hope to make some arrangement by which you may at all events be present when your paper is read even if you do not yourself read it. The words of the statute are a disgrace to the Society . . . I pity you for having the unemployed with whom to contend' (Corr. 16). The 'arrangement' may have involved concealing Miss Layard behind a screen, which sometimes happened before women were admitted.

C.H. Read wrote to Miss Layard hoping she could dissuade Evans. He explained:

The reason that I cannot interfere is that when the Society made this addition to the statutes, five years ago, Sir John thought and still thinks that I was particularly active in the matter, which was not the case. He regards it as a personal matter, and it is thus impossible for me to discuss it with him . . . I regret all this very much, for I fear he will meet with a severe rebuff, which at his age is not a pleasant thing (Corr. 17).

Miss Layard replied that she was powerless in the matter, and that while she would like to attend, she would take no offence if she could not (Corr. 18).

Evans's move was unsuccessful. The paper was read by C.H. Read, and was received with great interest. R.A. Smith added his own comments at length concerning other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Layard 1907e). Two colleagues of Miss Layard's from the Suffolk Institute, the Revd F.E. Warren (Honorary Secretary) and the Revd F.J. Eld of Polstead, travelled to London together to attend. Warren wrote to her: 'I expanded and endorsed Sir John's last remark about the disability of ladies in the matter of membership, and said as much as it seemed safe to say on the subject to an evidently unsympathetic audience, so far as the majority of it was concerned, and as far only as that special point was concerned' (Corr. 22). F.J. Eld added:

Sir John had previously spoken to the same effect, but that was a mistake on his part, as he had been the cause of the bye-law being passed by the council a few years ago, for he had introduced Lady Evans to the meetings, and that was winked at, as the question was then unsettled as to whether ladies could be present at the meetings: but then he brought

in his daughter, and then the Council looked into the matter and found the statutes forbade the admission of ladies, and that they had no power to alter them or to suspend their operation (Corr. 23).

### RETURN TO IPSWICH

Miss Layard had left Ipswich on Wednesday 28 November, and in her absence her helpers opened three graves on Saturday 1 December, which are described in detail (Graves 124–26). Now a disaster struck: ‘The complete record of the graves is here interrupted, as our workmen were taken off this part of the cemetery, and 180 unemployed set to work upon it, with the result that numerous graves were destroyed, and no relics found. Meanwhile we worked far to westwards of the field, where we found broken urns only’ (Layard 1907a, 350). The number of graves so destroyed was estimated at ‘probably 30’ (Layard 1907b, 6).

What had happened was that on 26 November, thirty-five more men had been selected to begin work on Monday 3 December, bringing the total up to 183 (Minutes, P. & L., 26 Nov. 1906). Perhaps the foreman, H. Cable, simply took advantage of Miss Layard’s absence; but she noted in her site book, ‘my workmen were turned off the front by the Chairman of the Paving and Lighting Committee’ (Layard MS 5). The situation was under control by Wednesday 5 December, when she wrote:

I am quite knocked up with the work and sometimes fear that I shall not be able to finish it. It is more perhaps the worry than the work, for you can imagine my feelings when I returned from London to find my men turned off the rich spot we had reached, and over 150 unemployed hacking away at the cemetery, and rolling out skulls and finding *nothing*. By superhuman efforts I have got this stopped again, but it wears one out (Corr. 59).

On the Monday and Tuesday they were banished to a spot shown south (not west) of the main cemetery, where five cremation urns were found (Layard 1907a, Fig. 1). The main damage was probably caused on the Monday, when there is no evidence that Miss Layard was present. On the Tuesday she noted that she was able to watch the labourers, and she recorded three inhumations, two in some detail, with finds (Layard 1907a, 351). Before noting them, she wrote in the site book on that day, ‘Mr Packard appealed to Mr Raffe and my men put back on front, but only after irreparable harm has been done. I have been ill and obliged to have doctor in consequence’ (Layard MS 5). On the Wednesday one inhumation was recorded. Miss Layard surely recorded all she saw on the Tuesday: either the estimate of graves destroyed was a little exaggerated, or else Cable deliberately tried to destroy the site on the Monday – which, with 183 men, was within his power.

From this point onwards, Miss Layard gave up the long walk each day to and from the site, and, perhaps realising the strain of her work, took a fly instead. She was again ill later in the week, but arranged a résumé of her paper for the *Athenaeum* (Corr. 60–63). Meanwhile two letters, one containing the coin of Marcus Aurelius from Grave 59, had gone astray in the post to the British Museum, and were never recovered (Corr. 24, 61, 63, 66). When the specimens were returned from London, two of the best urns were found smashed (Woolnough MS). Six had been taken among the specimens to be drawn (Corr. 57) and are probably those shown in the *Archaeologia* appendix (Layard 1907a, Fig. 13).<sup>10</sup> The Museum was becoming alarmed at the financial outlay (Corr. 25). It was altogether a bad week, but Evans agreed to attend and support her lecture to the Suffolk Institute the following week (Corr. 26).

That meeting took place on the evening of Wednesday 12 December in the Council Chamber at Ipswich Town Hall, and was fully reported in the press (*E.A.D.T.*, 13 Dec. 1906). Those present included members of the Institute, Sir John Evans, the Mayor, Alderman Packard, H.W.

Raffe, and many other interested parties. Miss Layard was a great success, Evans gave an entertaining follow-up speech, and the finds were set out and greatly admired. The upshot was that the Mayor and others gave assurances that 'the greatest possible care would be taken in operating upon the ground so rich in relics'. It was remarked that Mr Raffe was trying to assist the work of research despite embarrassing difficulties.

Little more was done before the New Year. Miss Layard had a relapse of exhaustion soon after the meeting (Corr. 28, 63–65). She wrote to R.A. Smith:

My lecture here went off very well indeed . . . I don't think I shall have any more raids of unemployed on the precious preserves. I am amazed to see fantastic accounts of the find appearing in every paper – it is impossible to attempt to correct them. They persist that I have found a 'double-twisted comb' whatever that may be. It is as bad as the Chicago meat-opener! (Corr. 63).

She was approached by *The Queen* and supplied approved details and pictures for a feature, with C.H. Read's consent (Corr. 64).

Two more skeletons were excavated on 19 December, and a spear-head was handed in by the unemployed. The site note-book records:

Obliged to give 2/6 for it [the spear-head], as they said a gentleman had been up and offered that for it. Since my lecture on the Anglo-Saxon finds at the Town Hall on December 12th, strangers have been down to the field, picking at the sides and searching for remains. Also bribing the men offering 2/6 for spear (Layard MS 5).

Two hundred and two men were then at work, but Christmas week was quiet at the site (Minutes, P. & L., 20 Dec. 1906, 3 Jan. 1907). Miss Layard gave her four helpers a Christmas box of two shillings each, and agreed to pay them at a rate of five days work a week.

### THE LAST GRAVES

The little which now remained to be excavated was probably the extreme south-western corner of the cemetery. Miss Layard returned to work on 2 January 1907: only nine more graves were opened by the end of January, at which point it was considered that the cemetery was worked out. The Museum Committee decided not to advance much more money for the helpers' wages (Corr. 78), but the dig was actually abandoned before the available funds were spent, Miss Layard returning sixteen shillings which had been advanced (Report 1907c, 4). The most interesting find of the month was a female skeleton (Grave 154) with a bead necklace and twisted wire rings. The coin of Faustina (Layard 1907a, 349), not ascribed to a grave, was brought to her from the site on 27 December (Layard MS 5).

Newspaper reports of Miss Layard's lecture had reached the *Yorkshire Post*, and elicited an enquiry from E.G. McBretney of Castleford, who analysed a glass sherd of the palm cups for her (Corr. 29, 32, 33). At the Museum, F. Woolnough was instructed to put aside all other work so as to get the cases built and the specimens displayed as soon as possible. H.C. Casley presented to the Museum the glass cup which he had bought a year earlier (Minutes, M. & F.L., 2 Jan. 1907). All the beads had to go to London to be drawn in colour by C. Praetorius for the Antiquaries (Corr. 31): his three plates of illustrations, reproduced in these *Proceedings* (Layard 1907b), do not show the beads in their true arrangement on the necklaces (Layard 1907a, 335n).

A note from Miss Layard to Woolnough of 16 January shows the mood of the last days of the dig:

I am glad to say I find things quiet at Hadleigh Road. Beyond asking our men whether anyone had told them to work, Cable left them alone, and I did not see him at all . . . As

we know *where* two more skeletons are lying which cannot be got at till next week, I thought it better to keep the men on another week at any rate, and I will still oversee the work. If I have any more trouble with Cable I will give it up, but the men themselves are most anxious that I should work with them still so I shall try to continue (Corr. 79).

On Monday 28 January she and Woolnough met in the Anglo-Saxon room at the British Museum (Corr. 80, 81), perhaps taking the beads for drawing. Grave 159, the last recorded, was excavated on 31 January 1907, and the four workmen were dismissed that day; but one of them, Brown, reported a further skeleton found on 1 February and was kept on for a further week.

#### DISPLAY AND PUBLICATION

The feature for *The Queen* was run on 16 February, and contained the only (very small) published photograph of digging in progress at Hadleigh Road (*Queen*, 16 Feb. 1907) before the present article. At this point the site notebook supplies the important note that a supposed Anglo-Saxon grave was discovered on another site in Ipswich. The entry runs: 'Feb. 21. 1907. Mr Francis' farm "Broadmere farm" on Bramford Road. Skeleton facing south-east, depth 3 feet. Skull much depressed. Teeth of aged male. Anglo-Saxon knife beside it' (Layard MS 5).

Miss Layard spoke to the Aldeburgh Literary Society on 5 March and showed the specimens, and a long résumé was published in the press (*A.L.S.T.*, 16 Mar. 1907). Furthermore the objects were again shown to the Antiquaries at Burlington House later in March. A very bad feeling now grew up between Woolnough and Miss Layard over whether or not she was entitled to take out the specimens. On 11 March she withdrew an offer to present the Museum with her collection of bone implements, pointing out that it had been promised when she reported the finds that she should have a duplicate key to the cases; and she offered to cover all the Museum's previous costs (about £90) and keep the objects if they would not accept her terms. She felt disinclined to assist the Museum in any further work (Corr. 82, 83; Minutes, M. & F.L., 20 Mar. 1907).

In March 1907 Woolnough was perhaps more interested in the arrival of a rhinoceros at the High Street (Markham 1990, 39), and Miss Layard's attempts to interfere with his work irritated him. She was told that the items were the property of the Corporation, but that she could have access on application to the Curator. This was necessary because the glass cases designed by Woolnough (and objected to by Miss Layard) were opened only through plate glass ends, bolted to the case, and weighing  $\frac{3}{4}$  cwt each. Miss Layard felt that this new arrangement was not in the true spirit, and her disagreement with Woolnough made access almost impossible since he was usually at the High Street and the cases were at the Mansion (Corr. 86).

By 1 May all the specimens were in the Museum's hands, and some were already on display at the Mansion. Part of Miss Layard's concern was that valuable data would be lost if the objects were not properly grouped. The stained bones showing how the ornaments were worn had been separated from the finds, and confusions were becoming possible. Also iron objects not directly associated with the graves had been displayed alongside the grave-goods indiscriminately without adequate labelling (Corr. 80). She appealed to Packard to allow her to correct these details with Woolnough, but no response is recorded.

By June the mounting of all specimens was nearly finished. In August Miss Layard again sought independent access and was again referred to the Curator. She also required a key for access to her loan collections, to which Woolnough responded that they should simply be handed back to her, as a miscellany not worthy of the best Museums (Minutes, M. & F.L., 7 Aug. 1907). This undiplomatic suggestion was not adopted by the Committee.

On receiving this response, Miss Layard became irate, and threatened to sever all connections with the Museum and publish the letters. She wrote, 'cases have been so constructed as to make the specimens as inaccessible as it was possible to make them, so that the objects for all working

purposes are absolutely lost to me . . . this arrangement is tantamount to excluding me from them altogether . . . I can only regard it as a breach of faith' (Corr. 86, 87). But again she was referred to the previous decision (Minutes, M. & F.L., 4 Sept., 2 Oct. 1907). She now turned for advice to Dr Laver at Colchester, who urged her to publish (Corr. 36): but first she appealed directly to the Museum's President, Sir E. Ray Lankester of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington (Corr. 36, 37).

This was a shrewd move, for Lankester knew and admired Miss Layard's work on the palaeolithic, and was a man of great character. His immediate reaction was that she should publish all the letters, including his advising her to do so: on second thoughts he proposed first to write to the Mayor, adding 'I shall also write a separate letter to Packard about Woolnough's ignorance and incompetence'.<sup>11</sup> He went on, 'The conduct of the Committee . . . amounts to deliberate *fraud*. And likely enough they seriously think that as you are a woman and the whole affair is 'only' about antiquities – the ordinary obligations of honesty and decent consideration do not hold' (Corr. 37). The Museum Committee responded by inviting him to meet a deputation and inspect the arrangements personally (Minutes, M. & F.L., 11 Oct. 1907; Corr. 39). He came to Ipswich, and at his own suggestion looked over the display with Miss Layard before meeting the sub-Committee (Corr. 40).

#### AMATEUR HONORARY CURATORSHIP

At their meeting on Saturday 26 October 1907, Lankester agreed a Memorandum with E. Packard, E.H. Fison and Dr F. Ward, deposing that the cases should be altered to have hinged doors with keys, that the Foxhall Road flints were to be removed to the 'Layard Room' at the Mansion, and that Miss Layard should hold keys and have charge of the room (Corr. 43). However, the specimens were not to be removed from the room without the Chairman's consent. In a difficult meeting on 6 November, the Museum Committee accepted the Memorandum. E.P. Ridley and J.S. Corder brought a counter-motion attempting to block the alterations to cases and Miss Layard having authority, but with five votes for and five against, Chairman E. Packard cast his vote in Miss Layard's favour and the Memorandum was carried intact (Minutes, M. & F.L., 6 Nov. 1907). The Memorandum was at some time abstracted from the Minute-book, but a copy survives (Museum, 1907.29). Miss Layard's letters of complaint to the Committee, supposed to be annexed to the Minute-book, found their way into Frank Woolnough's scrapbooks (Woolnough MS).

In mid-October the *Archaeologia* article appeared. Several noted academics wrote in response to the paper and its publication, among them G. Payne, H.F. Bidder, W. Flinders Petrie, Baron von Hügel and G. Baldwin Brown (Corr. 30; 34, 35, 45; 41; 44; 88). Baldwin Brown (1915, Pl. LXV) later made reference to the material. Miss Layard's work was warmly praised for its scientific approach and thoroughness. Woolnough's displays were also admired (Corr. 103, 104),<sup>12</sup> and were recorded in a special photographic brochure produced by the Museum Committee (Report, 1907b), which was criticised on submission as an 'absurd expenditure' (*E.A.D.T.*, 11 Nov. 1907). It shows the finds in two large island cases with tall glass sides, with most of the artefacts displayed.

Miss Layard accepted the new terms, but whilst at Pitlochry that Christmas she suggested (subject to Lankester's approval) that the provision of a table case to hold items temporarily being studied, would avoid the need to alter the cases (Corr. 90, 91). But the President demurred, and Miss Layard sent this telegram to the Committee (Corr. 92):

SIR RAY LANKESTER WRITES MY FIRM OPINION IS THAT THE CASE FRONTS SHOULD BE MADE TO OPEN AND SHUT WITH HINGE AND BE PROVIDED WITH KEYS. FIRMLY CLOSED CASES SUCH AS THOSE

HOLDING ANGLO SAXON THINGS ARE WRONG AND A HINDRANCE TO STUDY ALWAYS. SIR RAYS OPINION I THEREFORE ADHERE TO. LAYARD.

Soon afterwards, the cases were altered.

By March 1908 Miss Layard was in control of the room. When R.A. Smith wrote to Woolnough asking to inspect the collection (Corr. 105), it was she who replied, 'As the room is now entirely in my charge and I do not work in connection with Mr Woolnough at all, I should prefer not meeting him at the room' (Corr. 70). Yet by mid-June, when she wished to set everything in order for the Museums Association meeting held that year in Ipswich, Woolnough and the Committee were again making obstructions (Corr. 94-97). After the meeting, Miss Layard sought the President's views. He replied uncompromisingly:

I am astonished to hear that Mr Woolnough has been allowed to even enter the room at Christ Church except as one of the general public. To allow him to arrange specimens . . . except under your direction *is a complete breach of the agreement made with me . . .* they should no further be touched by Mr Woolnough, who I know to be unfit to deal with them (Corr. 47, 48).

Poor Mr Woolnough had simply done as he was told, to the best of his ability.<sup>13</sup>

Miss Layard was fully reinstated (*E.A.D.T.*, 15 Jul. 1908), but it was not until February 1909, at her instigation, that she and Woolnough returned to speaking terms (Corr. 100, 101). By that time her position was more secure, and she had embarked upon the 'amateur honorary curatorship' which marked the beginning of the period in which local archaeology at Ipswich Museum developed through the dual and complementary functions of excavation and display. She chose to retain control over her own collections until Woolnough's retirement in 1920, during which time Woolnough independently developed an archaeology collection. An unfortunate incident was the theft of the small ornamented buckle from Hadleigh Road Grave 118 in March 1917: the Committee accepted blame for not having made the case secure, and Woolnough was reminded of her authority over the Layard Collections (Corr. 106-109).

Anglo-Saxons were again to the fore in 1911, when Miss Layard found a pagan grave in another part of Ipswich, in a field.

The skeleton, which had almost disappeared, was recognised by portions of a skull. It lay at a depth of 3½ feet. A necklace of 17 beads, two small bronze fibulae, and a knife were in the grave. The beads are of glass, amber and vitreous paste. None of them are ornamented. The fibulae are quite unlike any found in Hadleigh Road. They are 2¼ inches in length. The head is in the shape of a small half-moon, the bow forms a high arch, and the foot is an elongated triangle. The small knife, worn at the waist, is of the ordinary pattern. I examined the grave carefully, but could find no traces of the iron ring by which the knife must have been fastened to the girdle (*E.A.D.T.*, 5 Sept. 1911).

Miss Layard had indeed become quite famous for her Anglo-Saxon investigations, and she was called upon by the London County Council in March 1913 to inspect some skeletons found at Cane Hill, Coulsdon, in Surrey. Ten graves were opened, of which one contained a double burial. Several of the skeletons were headless, and only tiny scraps of iron were found beside the bones. The description of Grave 10 (Layard MS 6) includes the interesting statement: 'It took four of us working for three hours to open it without disturbing the bones, and sifting the earth which was removed.'

After the Great War, Miss Layard lectured more than once on the subject of Hadleigh Road (Layard MS 2 & 3; Layard 1918).<sup>14</sup> She did not miss the opportunity to highlight the Anglian, as opposed to Saxon, character of the graves, drawing the conclusion that East Anglians could with some relief consider themselves to be of Scandinavian rather than German descent. R.A. Smith attended at least one of these lectures. Of her discoveries of pagan Saxon interment sites, she

wrote, 'I have added four, two at Ipswich, one not far from Bramford, and one at Coulsdon, Surrey' (Layard MS 3). Perhaps Miss Layard's Bramford site was related to the recent Boss Hall find; the urgent circumstances of its excavation would have been familiar to her.

Miss Layard's peculiar gift was the ability to discover sites of interest, and she had the patience and persistence to collect from them and to record her finds methodically. Until the Great War she was mainly concerned with palaeolithic materials, including the bone-beds at Stoke Tunnel (Ipswich) and the 'Older Series' of flints from Larne, Ireland. After the War she and Miss Outram shifted their attention to higher strata, especially at the East Anglian sites of Mundford, Buckenham Tofts and the Colne Valley, in French cave deposits, and in the flint mines and workshops at Sainte Gertrude in Holland. They made careful stratigraphic studies at Warren Hill, Mildenhall, in 1930. Their last published interest was in Seacliff Cave near Tantallon Castle in Scotland: on their visit there together in 1905 they had been thrilled to learn that infant skeletons had been found, suggesting human sacrifice. In 1906, the Hadleigh Road episode had intervened, but now they recalled this event from their holiday together thirty years before.

In strictly archaeological terms, Miss Layard's other major discovery was that of the two bronze crowns and a chain and disc ornament, from Cavenham. She obtained these in 1918 from the landlord of the Crown Inn at Mundford. By prolonged study, and in the face of much academic doubt, she and Reginald Smith built up a strong case to show that they were unique Roman survivals. Miss Layard tracked down the finder, located the original findspot, excavated, and demonstrated a Roman archaeological context; and only in around 1924 did academic opinion swing in favour of her conclusions. The rescue of this contextual information, vital for an understanding of the crowns, reveals her very sound archaeological instincts and priorities. These objects are also preserved at Ipswich Museum (Museum, 1921.20).

The houses and gardens of Allenby Road now occupy the area in which the Hadleigh Road cemetery was found. This residential development replaced an earlier one which had already arisen by 1918 (Layard MS 2). A steep slope at the rear of the estate still indicates where the cutting was abandoned. Borings taken in 1991 on the north side of Hadleigh Road showed that the spoil was deposited there to a depth of over twenty feet, suggesting that an artificial depression may have existed there (perhaps a pit) before 1906.<sup>15</sup>

We can now appreciate the tremendous efforts made by Miss Layard, both to impose an orderly method on the recovery of the Hadleigh Road finds, and to preserve a systematic record of the site. It is greatly to her credit that she followed this objective through, despite physical and nervous exhaustion and disheartening setbacks. This study offers some reassurance that, although definitely incomplete, Miss Layard's account was conscientious and reliable. It shows that the damage caused to the site in early December 1906 was probably an isolated incident, in contrast to the orderly, if hurried, excavation of the recorded graves. Many individual burials are recorded in useful detail, and the more important among them (often with recognisable and valuable contents) are of the greatest interest in their own right. We are very lucky that Miss Layard left us a clear, if inevitably flawed, picture of the entire cemetery context to which they belong. Her work first drew attention to the responsibility which the town carries for the recovery of the extraordinary history lying at its feet. The story is growing, and the responsibility persists.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The manuscript sources used for this paper are listed and quoted by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, of the Ashmolean Museum, of the Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch, and of Ipswich Borough

Council Museums and Art Galleries. I am most grateful to Miss D. LeFaye, Ms Anita Herle, Mr Arthur MacGregor, and the staff of the Suffolk Record Office for their patience and assistance with searches and copies. I wish to thank Douglas Atfield for his work on the photography, and Colin Ward, Richard Woollett and Dr Stanley West for their encouragement.

## NOTES

- 1 The hanging bowl (Museum, 1952.225) was donated after the death of the finder, C.W. Marfell (formerly Deputy Borough Surveyor), with the information that it was found near the Hadleigh Road in the 1920s or 1930s. It is not generally noted that C.W. Marfell surveyed the published plan of the cemetery (Layard 1907b, 2n & Pl. I): he therefore knew about the site, strengthening the probability that the bowl is from a related context.
- 2 Family details of Misses Layard and Outram are drawn from materials compiled and formerly displayed at Ipswich Museum (Museum, 1907.29).
- 3 The abnormal geology of the site may account for the good preservation of human bone in the cemetery, which is exceptional in this region.
- 4 Grave numbers in this article follow the inventories in *Archaeologia* (Layard 1907a), after authors, which differ in numeration slightly from the other version (Layard 1907b). Minor inconsistencies occur between text and inventories, (e.g. Grave 103 but Layard 1907a, 330), but the intended grave is obvious. The narrative for January 1906 is garbled in Layard 1907b. Perhaps grave numeration was only finalised at a later stage.
- 5 Sources differ between Friday 19 Jan. (Inventories) and Saturday 20 Jan. (Corr. 71).
- 6 The depth is 1 1/2ft (Inventories) but 3ft in an annotated sketch in a contemporary letter (Corr. 73).
- 7 The necklet was first thought to be iron (Layard MS 1) and then bronze, and was noticed to be silver by R.A. Smith in November 1906 (Corr. 58). The 'amber' bead is in fact clear translucent glass.
- 8 The vessel is mentioned in the text (Layard 1907a, 337) but not the inventories.
- 9 Pers. Comm., John Newman, Suffolk Archaeological Unit.
- 10 If so (and it seems probable), they are to be identified with finds made before 26 November 1906, and the textual reference (Layard 1907a, 348) is misleading.
- 11 'Lanckester often was very downright in his criticisms and remarks, but that should account to his honour. In most of such cases it was obvious that, behind his sometimes apparently harsh demeanour, were real sympathy and kindness of heart' (Reid Moir 1935a, 42-43).
- 12 Woolnough wrote to Arthur G. Wright, Curator of Colchester Castle Museum: 'I am fairly mad with rage, I have got to spoil the cases in which our Anglo-Saxon collection is placed, Miss Layard has upset everybody, she wants to be able to open the cases by herself. The sides are at present one sheet of plate glass, weighing 3/4 cwt and they are to be cut in two and a bar put down the middle, you may be thankful she does not reside in Colchester! I hear she has been pitching a fine tale to Dr Laver about my sins I shall hope one of these days to tell him the other side, I have done my best to help her, but there is a limit to human endurance' (Corr. 110). Wright replied: 'I have heard some story from Dr Laver anent yourself & Miss Layard, but have always felt there was another side to it. There should be no outside interference in Museum work - it is fatal to all progression' (Corr. 104).
- 13 Lanckester was aware of the problems Curators experienced. Later he wrote, of provincial museums in general, 'The local museum committee should be not more than five men say in number, and should be solid, sensible men, not busy bodies. They should help the Curator but not treat him as a servant or mere machine for carrying out their fancies' (Reid Moir 1935a, 146).
- 14 Although Layard MS 2 is marked as being the text of a lecture given to the Suffolk Institute in 1918 (in Miss Outram's hand, but in the authorial person of Miss Layard), Layard MS 3 (a less coherent document in Miss Layard's hand, with many alterations), a different text, has the wording reflected in the short published account of her lecture (Layard 1918).
- 15 Pers. Comm., Tom Loader, Suffolk Archaeological Unit.

## REFERENCES

- A.L.S.T.*, 16 Mar. 1907. 'An Anglo-Saxon Graveyard', *Aldeburgh, Leiston and Saxmundham Times*.  
 Baldwin Brown, G., 1915. *The Arts in Early England*, III. London.  
 Corr. 1-109. Correspondence (see separate list).  
*E.A.D.T. East Anglian Daily Times*:  
 1 Dec. 1905. 'Ipswich and the Queen's Fund'.  
 7 Dec. 1905. 'Grim Discovery at Ipswich'.

- 12 Dec. 1905. 'Ipswich Skeletons'.  
 18 Oct. 1906. 'Ipswich Museum and Free Library'.  
 13 Dec. 1906. 'An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Ipswich'.  
 11 Nov. 1907. 'Ipswich Museum and Free Library'.  
 30 May 1908. 'The Layard Collection. No. 1 – Bronze Age Drinking Cups'.  
 15 Jul. 1908. 'Welcome to the Town'.  
 7 Sept. 1911. 'Another Anglo-Saxon Grave in Ipswich' (letter).  
 Evans, J., 1956. *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*. London.  
 Layard, N.F., MS 1. 'Discovery of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery in Ipswich – British Association Section H', S.R.O.I., S2/3/3.  
 Layard, N.F., MS 2. 'Anglo-Saxon Lecture Given Before the Suffolk Institute of Arch: Ch. Ch. Mansion Ips. Aug. 15. 1918', S.R.O.I., S2/3/5.  
 Layard, N.F., MS 3. 'Points of Special Interest in the Anglo-Saxon Discoveries in Ipswich by N.F. Layard', S.R.O.I., S2/3/3.  
 Layard, N.F., MS 4. 'Catalogue of Antiquities Presented to the Town of Ipswich by N.F. Layard', S.R.O.I., S2/3/5.  
 Layard, N.F., MS 5. 'Anglo-Saxon From Oct 27. 1906' (Notebook), S.R.O.I., S2/3/2.  
 Layard, N.F., MS 6. 'Report of Discoveries of Anglo-Saxon Remains at Coulsdon, Surrey, by Nina F. Layard' (typescript, 3pp.), S.R.O.I., S2/3/5.  
 Layard, N.F., 1899. 'Original Researches on the Site of Religious Houses in Ipswich', *Archaeol. J.*, LVI, 232–38.  
 Layard, N.F., 1903. 'On a Recent Discovery of Palaeolithic Implements in Plateau Gravels of Ipswich', *Rep. Brit. Assoc.*, LXXII (1902), 759.  
 Layard, N.F., 1904. 'Further Excavations on a Palaeolithic Site in Ipswich', *J. Anth. Inst.*, XXXIV, 306–10.  
 Layard, N.F., 1905. 'Further Excavations on a Palaeolithic Site in Ipswich', *Rep. Brit. Assoc.*, LXXIV (1904), 725–26.  
 Layard, N.F., 1906a. 'A Winter's Work on the Ipswich Palaeolithic Site', *J. Anth. Inst.*, XXXVI, 233–36.  
 Layard, N.F., 1906b. 'Account of a Palaeolithic Site in Ipswich', *Proc. and Comm. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, XI (New Ser., V), 493–502.  
 Layard, N.F., 1907a. 'An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery in Ipswich', *Archaeologia*, LX, 325–52.  
 Layard, N.F., 1907b. 'Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Hadleigh Road, Ipswich', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, XIII, 1–19.  
 Layard, N.F., 1907c. 'A Winter's Work on the Ipswich Palaeolithic Site', *Rep. Brit. Assoc.*, LXXVI (1906), 693–94.  
 Layard, N.F., 1907d. 'An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery in Ipswich', *Rep. Brit. Assoc.*, LXXVI (1906), 694–95.  
 Layard, N.F., 1907e. 'Miss Layard's Communication' (Remarks by R.A. Smith), *Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, 2nd Ser., XXI (1906–07), 241–47.  
 Layard, N.F., 1918. 'Anglo-Saxon Relics', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, XVI, 278–80.  
 Markham, R.A.D., 1990. *A Rhino in High Street*. Ipswich Borough Council.  
 Minutes, M. & F.L. Minute Books of the Museum and Free Library Committee, Ipswich Borough Council. Ipswich Museum.  
 Minutes, P. & L. Minute Books of the Paving and Lighting Committee, Ipswich Borough Council, S.R.O.I., DB 22/1/6.  
 Museum, 1907.29 (etc.). Ipswich History Files.  
 Reid Moir, J., 1935a. *Prehistoric Archaeology and Sir Ray Lankester*. Ipswich.  
 Reid Moir, J., 1935b. Obituary – Nina Frances Layard, F.L.S., F.S.A., *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, I, 160–61.  
 Queen, 16 Feb. 1907. 'Relics of the Past', *The Queen, The Lady's Newspaper*.  
 Report 1906. *Museum and Free Library Committee Annual Report*, LVII (1905–06). Borough of Ipswich.

Report 1907a. *Museum and Free Library Committee Annual Report*, LVIII (1906–07). Borough of Ipswich.

Report 1907b. *Anglo-Saxon Relics (Layard Collection)*, Ipswich Museum. Borough of Ipswich.

Report 1907c. *Museum and Free Library Committee Financial Report*, for year ended 31 March 1907. Borough of Ipswich.

Woolnough, F., MS. Transcripts of *Minutes, M. & FL.* with commentary, and original correspondence, 'Controversies – Layard Correspondence', Woolnough Collection, S.R.O.I., qS 9, vol. 86.

CORRESPONDENCE: ABBREVIATIONS

Note: a few items listed below are not cited in the text, but are included for conformity with a complete transcript, similarly numbered, deposited by the author in the Ipswich Museum Archive.

*Abbreviations for correspondents*

AGW	Arthur G. Wright	HFB	H.F. Bidder
AM	Prof. A. Macalister	HL	Dr Henry Laver
AvH	Anatole von Hügel	JE	Sir John Evans
CHR	Charles Hercules Read	ME	Maria Evans
EGM	E.G. McBretney	MFLC	Museum & Free Library Committee
EP	Edward Packard	MFO	Mary Frances Outram
ERL	Sir E. Ray Lankester	NFL	Nina Frances Layard
ETL	E. Thurlow Leeds	P & S	Phillips & Sons, Case-builders
FDS	Prince F. Duleep Singh	RAS	Reginald Allender Smith
FEW	Revd F.E. Warren	WB	W. Bantoft (Town Clerk)
FJE	Revd Francis J. Eld	WFP	William Flinders Petrie
FW	Frank Woolnough	WHSB	W. St John Hope
GBB	G. Baldwin Brown		
GP	George Payne		

*Abbreviations to letters*

Papers of Nina Layard (S.R.O.I., S2/3/3, S2/3/4)

Corr. 1.	JE to NFL, 23 Jan. 1906	Corr. 26.	JE to NFL, 11 Dec. 1906
2.	AM to NFL, 25 Jan. 1906	27.	JE to NFL, 14 Dec. 1906
3.	JE to NFL, 26 Jan. 1906	28.	JE to NFL, 19 Dec. 1906
4.	FDS to NFL, 1 Feb. 1906	29.	EGM to NFL, 24 Dec. 1906
5.	AvH to NFL, 4 May 1906	30.	GP to NFL, 11 Jan. 1907
6.	AvH to NFL, 16 May 1906	31.	WHSB to NFL, 15 Jan. 1907
7.	JE to NFL, 24 May 1906	32.	EGM to NFL, 7 Feb. 1907
8.	CHR to NFL, 22 Jun. 1906	33.	EGM to NFL, 13 Mar. 1907
9.	JE to NFL, 30 Jul. 1906	34.	HFB to NFL, 17 Mar. 1907
10.	WB to EP, 13 Aug. 1906	35.	HFB to NFL, 19 Apr. 1907
11.	EP to NFL, 14 Aug. 1906	36.	HL to NFL, 30 Sept. 1907
12.	JE to NFL, 6 Oct. 1906	37.	ERL to NFL, 8 Oct. 1907
13.	JE to NFL, 22 Oct. 1906	38.	FEW to NFL, 10 Oct. 1907
14.	ME to NFL, 7 Nov. 1906	39.	EP to ERL, 12 Oct. 1907
15.	JE to NFL, 12 Nov. 1906	40.	ERL to NFL, 14 Oct. 1907
16.	JE to NFL, 21 Nov. 1906	41.	WFP to NFL, 16 Oct. 1907
17.	CHR to NFL, 22 Nov. 1906	42.	FDS to NFL, 17 Oct. 1907
18.	NFL to CHR, 25 Nov. 1906 (copy)	43.	ERL to NFL, 22 Oct. 1907
19.	CHR to NFL, 26 Nov. 1906	44.	AvH to NFL, 31 Oct. 1907
20.	AM to NFL, 27 Nov. 1906	45.	HFB to NFL, 5 Nov. 1907
21.	WHSB to NFL, 30 Nov. 1906	46.	NFL to EP, 16 Dec. 1907 (copy)
22.	FEW to NFL, 30 Nov. 1906	47.	NFL to ERL, 23 Jul. 1908 (copy)
23.	FJE to NFL, 1 Dec. 1906	48.	ERL to NFL, 29 Jul. 1908 (copy)
24.	RAS to NFL, 4 Dec. 1906	49.	ETL to NFL, 23 Feb. 1912
25.	CHR to NFL, 6 Dec. 1906		

## British Museum, Dept of Medieval and Later Antiquities Archive (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

- |           |  |           |                                       |
|-----------|--|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| Corr. 50. | NFL to CHR, 2 Mar. 1906                        | Corr. 60. | NFL to RAS, 7 Dec. 1906               |
| 51.       | NFL to CHR, 23 May 1906                        | 61.       | NFL to CHR, n.d., 'Sat': ?8 Dec. 1906 |
| 52.       | NFL to CHR, 23 Jun. 1906                       | 62.       | NFL to CHR, 8 Dec. 1906               |
| 53.       | NFL to RAS, 14 Sept. 1906                      | 63.       | NFL to CHR, 15 Dec. 1906              |
| 54.       | NFL to RAS, 17 Sept. 1906                      | 64.       | NFL to CHR, 15 Dec. 1906              |
| 55.       | NFL to CHR, 2 Nov. 1906                        | 65.       | CHR to NFL, 19 Dec. 1906 (copy)       |
| 56.       | NFL to CHR, 9 Nov. 1906                        | 66.       | NFL to RAS, 3 Jan. '06' (1907)        |
| 57.       | NFL to CHR, n.d., 'Friday': prob. 16 Nov. 1906 | 67.       | NFL to RAS, 13 Mar. 1907              |
| 58.       | RAS to NFL, 17 Nov. 1906 (copy)                | 68.       | NFL to RAS, 22 Mar. 1907              |
| 59.       | NFL to CHR, 5 Dec. 1906                        | 69.       | RAS to NFL, 25 Mar. 1907 (copy)       |
|           |  | 70.       | NFL to RAS, 18 Mar. 1908              |

## Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Dept. of Antiquities

- |           |                         |           |                         |
|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| Corr. 71. | NFL to JE, 22 Jan. 1906 | Corr. 73. | NFL to JE, 28 Jan. 1906 |
| 72.       | NFL to JE, 25 Jan. 1906 |           |                         |

## University Museum, Cambridge, Archaeology and Anthropology

- |           |                          |           |                         |
|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| Corr. 74. | MFO to AvH, 27 Apr. 1906 | Corr. 76. | NFL to AvH, 14 May 1906 |
| 75.       | NFL to AvH, 9 May 1906   | 77.       | NFL to AvH, 14 May 1906 |

Scrapbooks of Frank Woolnough, Vol. 86  
'Controversies, Layard Correspondence' (S.R.O.I., qS 9)

- |           |                                   |           |                                       |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| Corr. 78. | FW to NFL, 8 Jan. 1907            | Corr. 91. | NFL to EP, 30 Nov. 1907               |
| 79.       | NFL to FW, 16 Jan. 1907           | 92.       | NFL to EP, 4 Dec. 1907                |
| 80.       | NFL to FW, - Jan. 1907            | 93.       | P & S to FW, 4 Dec. 1907              |
| 81.       | NFL to FW, 23 Jan. 1907           | 94.       | NFL to FW, 25 Jun. 1908<br>(no names) |
| 82.       | NFL to FW, 3 Feb. 1907            | 95.       | FW to NFL, 26 Jun. 1908<br>(no names) |
| 83.       | NFL to EP, n.d. (?Mar. 1907)      | 96.       | NFL to MFLC, 1 Jul. 1908              |
| 84.       | EP to FW, 15 Mar. 1907            | 97.       | FW to NFL, 1 Jul. 1908                |
| 85.       | EP to FW (memo, n.d.)             | 98.       | NFL to FW, 3 Jul. 1908                |
| 86.       | NFL to MFLC, 2 Sept. 1907         | 99.       | FW to NFL, 10 Jul. 1908               |
| 87.       | NFL to EP, 16 Sept. 1907          | 100.      | NFL to FW, 15 Feb. 1909               |
| 88.       | GBB to FW, 24 Sept. (?1907)       | 101.      | FW to NFL, 15 Feb. 1909               |
| 89.       | FW to MFLC, 28 Sept. 1907 (draft) |           |                                       |
| 90.       | NFL to EP, n.d. (?25 Nov. 1907)   |           |                                       |

## Ipswich Museum (History File 1907.29)

- |           |                               |           |                         |
|-----------|-------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| Corr.102. | MFLC Memorandum, 4 Nov. 1907  | Corr.107. | NFL to FW, 24 Apr. 1917 |
| 103.      | AGW to FW, 16 Nov. 1907       | 108.      | NFL to EP, 30 Apr. 1917 |
| 104.      | AGW to FW, 19 Nov. 1907       | 109.      | NFL to FW, 30 Oct. 1917 |
| 105.      | RAS to FW, 17 Mar. 1908       | 110.      | FW to AGW, 19 Nov. 1907 |
| 106.      | FW to NFL, 7 Apr. 1917 (copy) |           |                         |