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INNS, TAVERNS AND ALEHOUSES IN HAMPSHIRE 1300–1600

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ABSTRACT

In late-medieval and Tudor England inns, taverns and alehouses were perceived to be three classes of building that could be distinguished one from another. In a Privy Council Certificate of 1577 regarding Hampshire, such distinctions and differences were tacitly understood rather than explicitly defined. This study seeks to identify these defining characteristics: specifically, the plan-forms and typical locations in which inns, taverns and alehouses were to be found. To this end the physical remains of some Hampshire buildings are analysed and documentary evidence is assessed. The year 1300 has been set as a start-date for this study because it was in the 14th century that inns in England were emerging as public, commercial enterprises and the year 1600 has been set as an end-date because around this time the distinction between inns, taverns and ale-houses was beginning to blur to such an extent that their study becomes problematic.

INTRODUCTION

In July 1577 Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council required a certificate to be made of the true and just number of all the innholders (innkeepers), taverners and alehouse keepers within the county of Southampton – now Hampshire (TNA SP12/117/74). Accordingly, a certificate was drawn up in three discrete columns. It seems that the Council and those who compiled the certificate thought they had a fairly clear idea how inns, taverns and alehouses could be distinguished from each other; so clear, indeed, that they did not think it necessary to spell out the nature of their distinguishing features. During the 17th and 18th centuries, however, these distinctions began to dissolve in Winchester and elsewhere (Keene 1985, 165, 277). In order to discover how people in late-medieval and Tudor Hampshire perceived the distinctions between inns, taverns and alehouses, it is necessary both to search for relevant documentary sources and also to analyse the surviving elements of historic buildings.

ALEHOUSES IN HAMPSHIRE 1300–1600

The Privy Council certificate of 1577 recorded 324 alehouses-keepers but only 67 innkeepers and 14 taverners in the whole of Hampshire and as early as 1410 there were 27 alehouses in Winchester but only nine inns (Keene 1985, 276) Thus, in late-medieval and Tudor Hampshire ale-houses were considerably more numerous than either inns or taverns. Consequently, one might suppose more alehouses would have survived for study and analysis. Unfortunately, this is not so.

In the centuries before 1600, alehouses served the poorer classes, who drank ale and not wine. Brewing and ale-selling were common economic activities both in town and countryside, the great majority of those involved being women who sold ale from their houses and for whom it was usually a secondary occupation (Clark 1983, 20–34; Keene 1985, 265). Such small-scale brewing required only limited equipment and space and was probably carried on in houses that, if they survive, would be indistinguishable from other small houses of the period (Roberts 2003, 126–47). It is also unlikely that physical features would survive to show that a room within a house had once

served as a brewhouse. It is not uncommon to find a small house built before 1600 which has soot deposited on rafters in two adjacent rooms. One such example, The Old Cottage, Duke Street, Micheldever, has recently been tree-ring dated to 1571/2. Its two-rooms with soot-blackened rafters would usually be called a hall and a kitchen in studies of vernacular architecture; but whether brewing was carried on in the kitchen and whether Elizabethan occupants called this room the brewhouse is perhaps unknowable (Fergie *et al.* 2016, 22–4).

If structural evidence has been disappointingly unproductive, the same has so far been true of documentary evidence. Occasionally one may be tempted to believe that a probate inventory refers to an alehouse keeper. For example, the probate inventory of Agnes Eton simply describes her as a widow of Hursley who died in 1558. It shows that her house comprised a hall, a parlour and chambers, and a brewhouse. The total value of her moveable property was about £65, the bulk of this wealth deriving from her livestock and agricultural stores. Her brewing equipment was valued at only £2 15s. 4d, indicating that brewing was a secondary occupation, but the inventory is silent on whether she brewed ale for her own consumption or for sale (HRO 1558B/077).

By the early-16th century, brewing on a larger scale in towns was competing with small-scale production and sale by the alewife. In many cases this was connected with the introduction of imported hops. Whereas ale had to be drunk fairly soon after brewing, brewing with hops made beer keep longer, thus allowing longer storage and a shift to large-scale production (Hare 2017, 38). The importation of hops is recorded in Winchester in 1440–63 but hops were also sent to smaller towns such as Andover, Romsey and Basingstoke (Ibid.). It would be reasonable to look for the physical remains of larger, 16th-century breweries in towns where a larger population would make them economic investments and beer could be sold on to numerous alehouses. The breweries themselves, although of intrinsic interest if they were discovered, would not assist in the study of the form or location of alehouses.

TAVERNS IN HAMPSHIRE 1300–1600

In the years between 1300 and 1600, taverns formed a select minority of drinking establishments where wine, a luxury commodity, was served to the more prosperous members of urban society. Such men were likely to gravitate towards the commercial centre of towns and cities where business deals could be negotiated. In Winchester, taverns were clustered around the south side of the High Street near the Butter Cross; they were specialised structures that were invariably located in cellars where wine could be stored and customers served (Keene 1985, 274, 277) At Number 42, High Street, there is a stone-lined cellar and, above it, a timber-framed building composed of three chambers stacked one above the other on three floors (Fig. 1). This building has been tree-ring dated to 1316–1352 (Tyers *et al.*, 2000, 123) but a change in the wording of the deeds between 1347 and c.1380 probably narrows the building date-range to *c.*1347–52 (Keene 1985, 567–8). In 1380 it was called the Paradise Tavern, '*le Taverne de Paradys simul cum shopis et cameris superedificatis*', a description closely matching the present stone-lined cellar above which are still a shop and chambers on two further floors. The three-storeyed building with its jettied timber-framing is one of the showpieces of Winchester's High Street. It is also a remarkable survival that takes us beyond the documentary records to see a 14th century tavern substantially intact. Indeed, it is the only surviving medieval tavern in Hampshire known to the author and the survival of so much of the medieval fabric makes it a rarity even at a national level (Keene 1985, 567; James *et al.* 2000, 189–198; Roberts 2003, 250).

INNS IN HAMPSHIRE 1300–1600

Late-medieval England enjoyed growing prosperity. People had money to spend on a greater number and variety of goods which had to be carried to markets along a network of trade routes (Fig. 2). Increased travel and transportation of goods called for inns where travellers and traders could stay overnight to

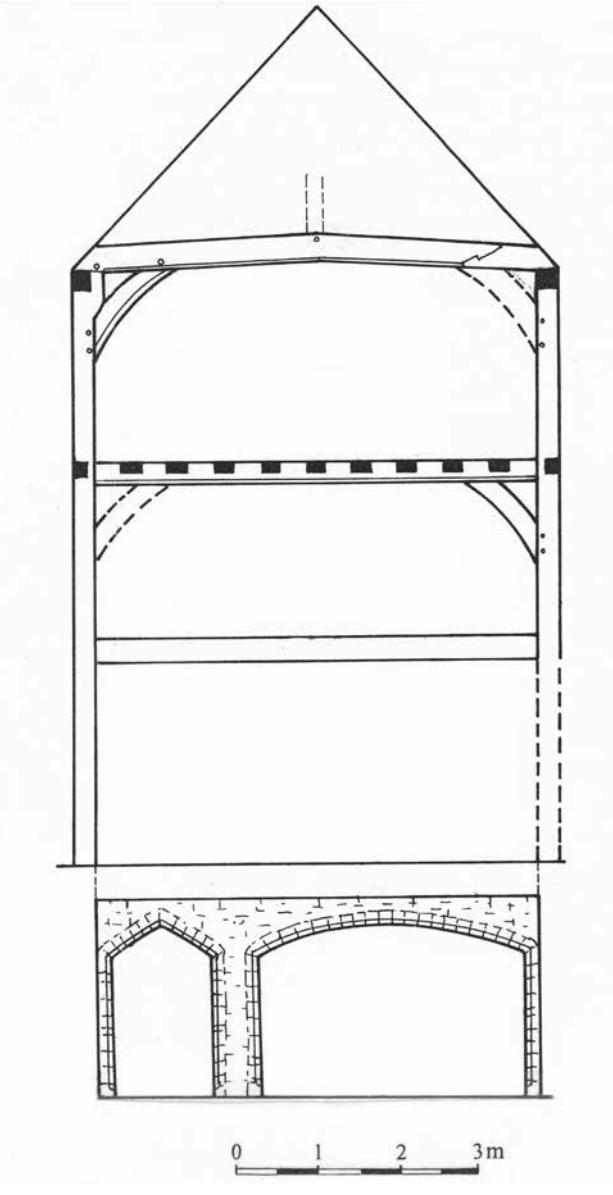

Fig. 1 No. 42 High Street, Winchester: a rare survival of a 14th-century tavern: a stone-lined cellar below with three, timber-framed storeys above. (Drawn by Philip Marter. Measured: the author)

rest and eat and have their horses fed and watered (Hare 2013, 477–8). In Hampshire, river transport was of little importance and, by the 15th century, roads lay at the heart of internal trade. Most bridges on trade routes had been built by the end of the 13th century and there is even evidence that road conditions in winter months did not hinder trade (Hare 2015, 28).

Commercial inns, where wealthy travellers

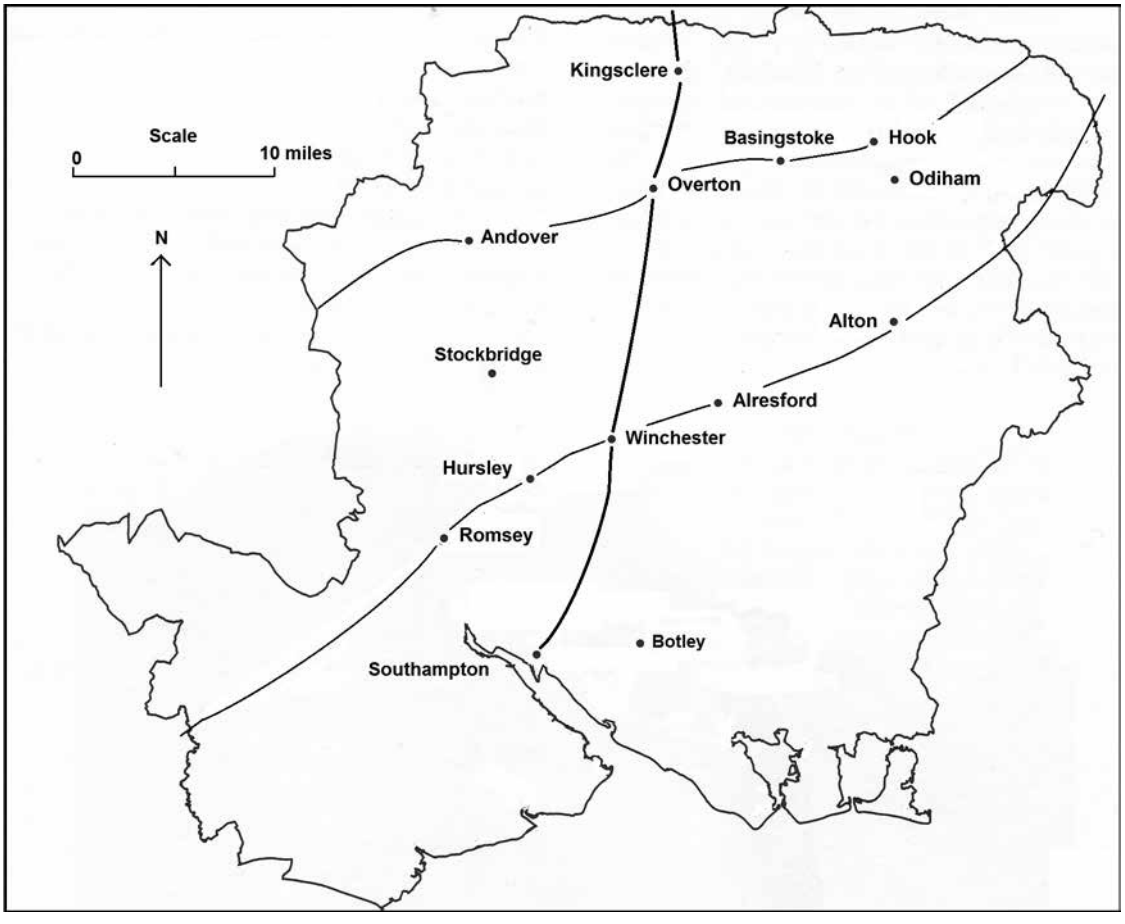

Fig. 2 Hampshire, showing places with inns referred to in the text. Also shown are roads from London through Basingstoke and Winchester leading to the West and a road from the North leading to Southampton (Drawn by Catherine Bridge)

could enjoy superior accommodation, seem to have emerged in England during the 14th century. By this time, the older ecclesiastical foundations in Hampshire had already acquired the bulk of their estates and so had few incentives to invest in new buildings. Indeed, the bishopric of Winchester owned a great deal of land but no inns in the county and, of the ancient monastic institutions, only Hyde Abbey's Pelican Inn (now the Crown) at Alton remains (Roberts 2003, 201; Hurst 2004, 40–7). It was the colleges that were founded by bishops of Winchester between the late-14th and early-16th centuries that were most active in building or acquiring inns. Foremost of these was Winchester College, founded by William of Wykeham in the late-14th century. The College built the George Inn at Alresford and the Angel Inn at Andover in the early and mid-15th century (Salzman 1952, 493–5; Hare 2005, 187–97; Roberts 1992, 162–9). It had also built or acquired the Swan Inn in Romsey by 1477 (Himsworth ii 1984, 803) and a fine building in Kingsclere (tree-ring dated to 1448/9) was College property by 1533 when it was called the Swan Inn (Himsworth ii 1984, 579; Roberts 2003, 235). The College's ownership of the Swan Inn at Stockbridge was recorded from the early-16th century and it held the Catherine Wheel in Botley in 1566 (Himsworth 1984 ii, 909 and i, 204).

Magdalen College, Oxford, founded by Bishop William Waynflete in the late-15th

Fig. 3 The Swan Inn, Romsey Market Place: an early twentieth-century photograph taken when it had ceased to be an inn. The gates to the former inn courtyard are clearly visible. (Photo: Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group and Phoebe Merrick)

century, was building the Bell in Andover in 1534 (Warmington 1976, 131–41) and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, founded by Bishop Richard Fox, acquired The Hart in Overton and The Pelican in Hursley soon after the College's foundation in 1517 (HRO 83A02/5; HRO 83A02/8). The archives of laymen who built or acquired inns have survived less frequently but it is recorded that Mark le Fayre, a wealthy citizen of Winchester, built the George Inn there in the early-fifteenth century (Keene 1985, 151, 481–2) and Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde, built the George in Alton in 1501 (Hurst & Roberts 2000, 3–20; Roberts 2000, 81).

THE LOCATION OF INNS

A majority of Hampshire's late-medieval inns were located in towns and as near as possible to the commercial centres. Great provincial centres or county towns, like Southampton and Winchester, generally had more than ten inns where travellers were likely to stay, not only for trade but on official and administrative business. Below this was a second tier of substantial smaller towns, like Basingstoke and Alton, with between two and four inns where travellers would come for a fair or a market day (Hare 2013, 485–6).

The principal inns in Winchester were grouped as far as possible towards its market focus at the Butter Cross; unfortunately, none remain (Keene 1985, 277). In Romsey, however, the White Hart, built *c.* 1500, still stands beside the Market Square, as did the Swan Inn until destroyed by a devastating fire in the 20th century (Fig. 3). At Odiham, the George Inn is a large complex with a hall range dated 1486/7 and a cross-wing of 1474, both of which face the High Street close to where the town's market house formerly stood (Millard & Roberts 2005, 19–21). In Alton, two late-medieval inns, the George and the Crown, partly survive in key commercial locations along the High Street and its extension, Crown Hill. (Roberts 2000, 81–3; Hurst & Roberts 2000, 3–20). At Overton, the Hart Inn (now called the White Hart) faces the former market street. It was first recorded in 1501 although its impressive gatehouse range probably dates to the early-17th century (HRO 83A02/8). Occupying a prime position in Andover High Street, the Angel is the finest and most complete medieval inn in the county (Roberts 1992, 153–70; Hare 2005, 187–97). The Bell Inn, which was demolished in 1969–70, was also in the High Street (Warmington 1976, 131–41).

In some cases, where the fabric of medieval inns has not survived, documentary sources attest to their quality and their position in the main street of a town. The building contract

for the early-14th century Angel Inn, Alresford (later renamed the George) describes an inn with a gatehouse range, jettied where it fronted Broad Street, the former market street of the town (Salzman 1952, 493–5; Robertson 1969, 25). Similarly, a probate inventory of 1570 describes the Dolphin Inn which stood in Southampton's English Street (now the High Street). It belonged to Edward Wilmott, a former mayor, and was a considerable establishment having then over twenty rooms (Roberts & Parker 1992, 280–9, 433).

Recent research in Hampshire has emphasised the importance of wayside inns, located on main trade routes but at some distance from the nearest market towns. Here travellers could rest and refresh themselves and their horses for the night before travelling onwards the next morning to their destinations. The former Pelican Inn in the small village of Hursley (first recorded in 1516) stood about half way between Winchester and Romsey on a main road between Winchester and the West (HRO 83A02/5). Two such wayside inns, the White Hart and the Raven, are located at Hook in the north-east of Hampshire. Before the arrival of the railway in the mid-19th century, Hook was a sparsely populated area of small, dispersed settlements through which ran the main road from London to Basingstoke, Salisbury and on to Exeter. Although it is not recorded as an inn before the 17th century, the White Hart contains a range of three bays, tree-ring dated to 1419–51. Each bay had a separate chamber on each floor, suitable for accommodating a number of guests and the whole range was jettied towards the London Road in order to impress passing travellers (Fergie *et al.* 2018, 1–3). Behind the site of a former gatehouse is a large courtyard, with what appears to be an early-17th-century stable block.

Within a mile of the White Hart is the former Raven Inn, which has been tree-ring dated to 1572/3 and was recorded as an inn in the mid-17th century. It presents a decorative (and over-restored) front to the road with what appears to be elements of original ogee bracing which would have caught the eye of passing travellers on the London Road. Although much altered, it comprised a number of separate rooms around at least two sides of what was probably a former open courtyard (Fergie *et al.* 2019, 26–27).

INNS AND SUPERIOR ACCOMMODATION

Commercial inns were developed in the later Middle Ages as an expansion of trade and travel called for a network of establishments offering superior accommodation to travellers. Some travellers were merchants but others were landowners who progressively concentrated on upgrading a few major residences while selling or leasing their minor properties, which had formerly been convenient staging posts on their journeys (Dyer 1989, 99–101; Hare 2013, 447–9). Among the telling examples of this process is the behaviour of the Stonors, a landed family who bought a London house in the 1340s but later sold it and stayed at commercial inns instead (Barron 2000, 440) and Sir John Paston in the mid-15th century, who stayed so frequently at the George near St. Paul's Cathedral in London that he could refer to 'my chamber' there (Barron 1985, 110). Similarly, 'Walops chamber' at the White Hart Inn, Alresford in 1571 was probably the regular room of a member of the Wallop family who were then wealthy and powerful gentry in Hampshire (Sanderson, 1973, 47; HRO 1571P/21) and in 1572, John Uvedale, another member of an important local gentry family, may have had his own special room at the White Horse Inn, Romsey when, in 1572, he lay there dying in a room containing a box of his deeds and conveyances (HRO 1572B/106).

Wealthy travellers could be accommodated in the grander public inns with the facilities that they were familiar with in their own homes. Substantial elements of such an inn survive at the Angel in Andover High Street (Fig. 4). Partly designed by the King's carpenter, its high status is attested by the size and quality of its timber-framing. Travellers approaching from the High Street would have seen the foundation walls in Beer stone from Devon above which were the timber-framed walls of the front of the inn (Roberts 1992, 153–70). The original building accounts of the inn describe the (timber-framed) walls of the front of the inn filled and made with bricks, '*muris de la frount*

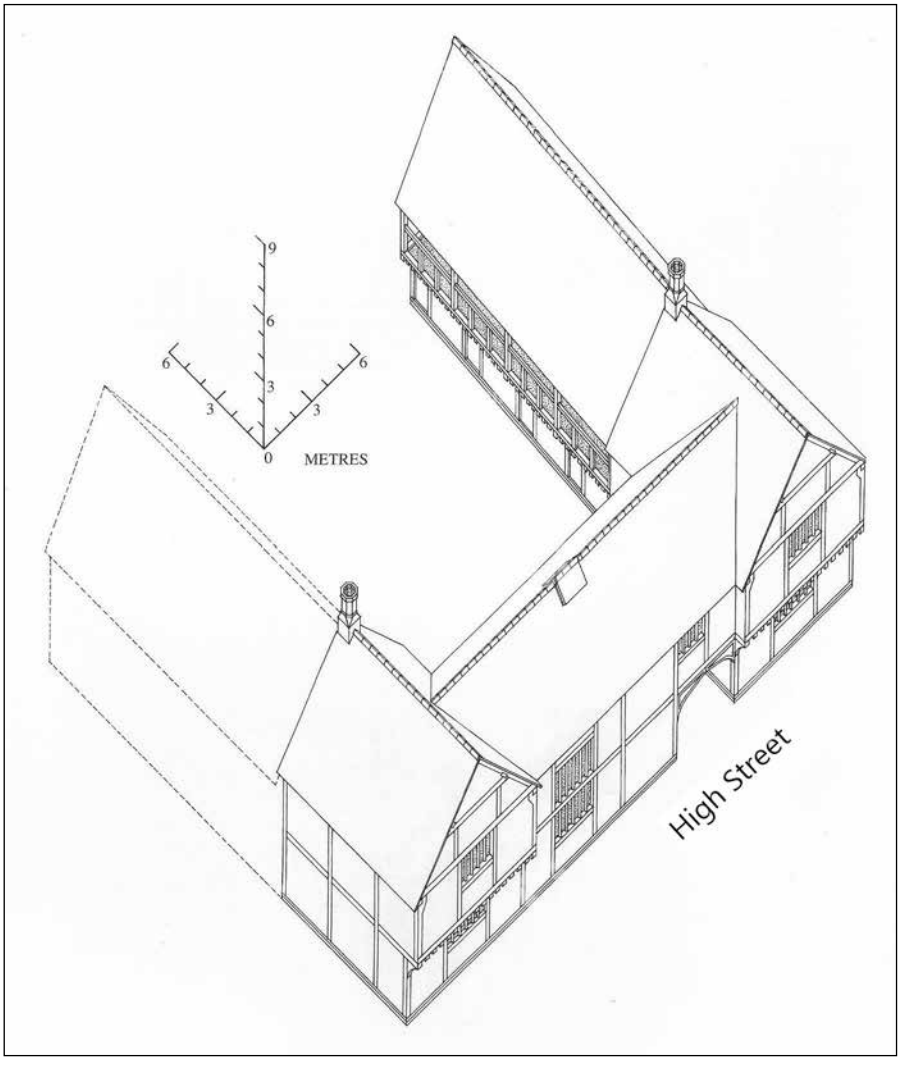

Fig. 4 Part of the original framing of the Angel Inn, Andover (1445–53). The gatehouse and hall (with the large widow) are flanked by cross-wings with superior, heated chambers (note the chimneys). Behind the cross-wings were long ranges (one of which still survives) containing first-floor lodgings with evidence of an original gallery. (Drawn by Jonathan Snowdon. Measured: the author)

predict' hospic' obstupand and faciend' cum brykys' (Roberts 1992. 162–5). This seems to mean walls of timber close-studding infilled with bricks laid in herringbone fashion, a mid-15th century innovation found only in high-status buildings (Wight 1972, 65).

Once through the gatehouse, guests would see the spacious courtyard with two ranges of stables, above which were rows of unheated rooms accessed from a gallery. However, 'while guests of inferior rank would eat together in the hall, persons of superior rank had their meals and drinks served in a variety of private rooms' (Pantin 1961, 187). At the Angel, such 'persons' probably enjoyed one of the spacious rooms overlooking the High Street. In one of them a magnificent chimney-piece was found in the 1970s before it was removed and lost

(Warmington 1972, 11–12; Hall in Roberts 2003, 89). In 1497, no lesser person than Catherine of Aragon, when on progress from the West Country to meet Henry VII in London, stayed at the Angel with her retinue where she was joined by the Earl of Surrey and the Duchess of Norfolk (Cunningham 2016, 25).

Little survives of the interior decoration of late-medieval inns in Hampshire. Another Angel Inn on the south side of London Street in Basingstoke was swept away during radical post-war redevelopment. Fortunately, prior to demolition, a superb wall painting, of probably late-16th century date, was photographed on the wall of an upper room. Painted in exquisite detail, it demonstrated the superior quality of accommodation that could be offered by a late-medieval inn (Lewis & Turle 2006, 201 and 210). Another wall painting graces an upper room at the George, Odiham. This is a colourful representation of the parliament of fowls which has been dated to *c.*1600 (Lewis *et al.* 2006, plate 2 and 213–4; Bullen *et al.* 2010, 424).

GALLERIES AND MULTIPLE ROOMS

W. A. Pantin, who wrote a seminal work on medieval inns in 1961, argued that they resembled large town houses of the period in some respects but with certain necessary modifications. Instead of a single solar, or chief chamber, there will be 'a multiplication of chambers with, if possible, independent access' (Pantin 1961, 166–8). J. T. Smith, in writing about Hertfordshire, made the slightly bolder claim that 'all medieval inns had galleries giving access to self-contained rooms' (Smith 1992, 150). How far does this generalisation apply to Hampshire's medieval inns?

Independent access to rooms can, of course, be reached through internal corridors or enclosed stairs. According to the evidence that is so far available from Hampshire, however, rooms in the lodging ranges of pre-1600 inns could be reached by stairs to a first-floor gallery that was unenclosed and open to the fresh air. The first-floor gallery at the Angel Inn, Andover has already been noted but the most detailed evidence for a complete lodging range comes from the former George Inn in Alton, tree-ring dated to 1501. Information from both an early-nineteenth century annotated drawing by the Rev. D. T. Powell and from substantial elements of the original timber frame that still survive, allows a reconstruction of this range to be made with considerable confidence (HRO 29M51/5/7; Hurst & Roberts 2000, 3–20; Roberts 2000, 81–3). Powell entered the inn through a gatehouse which he described as 'an ancient wooden arch with oak doors, over which was a room'. Once inside the inn courtyard, he observed 'on the left hand a range of wood and brick buildings of the time of Henry VII at least, being the original lodging rooms of the inn'. He sketched the bricks set in herring-bone fashion between the timber frame, indicating what must have been a high-status building erected at a time when bricks were still a rarity in Hampshire (Wight 1972, 271–3). Powell noted that the lodgings were very ruinous and about to be taken down but, fortunately, four bays of what was probably a six-bay range survive (HRO 29M51/5/7). It appears that there were two lodgings of a single bay each in the centre, flanked by a lodging of two bays on one side and, probably, a similar two-bay lodging (now demolished) on the other side (Hurst & Roberts 2000, 3–20; Roberts 2003, 181–2). Powell noted stairs to the gallery at each end of the range and the surviving frame shows that each lodging had its own private entrance-door and its own garderobe which emptied into the River Wey below. Only the door-frames to these garderobes survive, but their placement above the river leaves no doubt as to their purpose (Figs 5 & 6).

There is also a gallery at the White Horse, Romsey. This inn has a gatehouse facing the Market Place which leads to a small courtyard, on one side of which was a first-floor gallery giving access to several rooms. The inn's framing suggests an early-16th-century date and it was already called an inn in 1572 (HRO 1572B/106). In 1610, when Lucilla Dixon was the innholder, there was a hall, a great chamber and four 'gallery chambers' (HRO 1610B21). The former open gallery has now been enclosed and converted to a corridor which has been truncated by the insertion of a later staircase. Fortunately, three of the four original doorways survive to give access from the former gallery

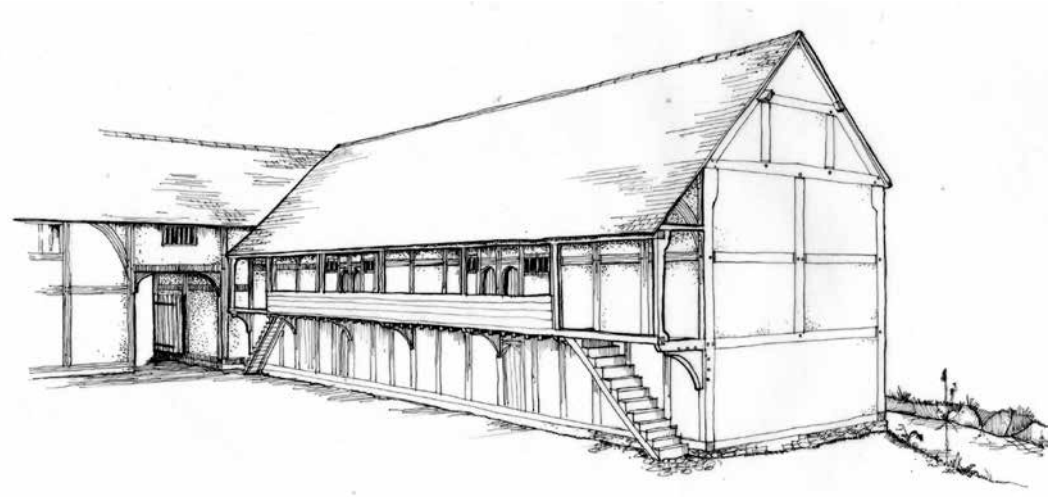

Fig. 5 An impression of the courtyard of the former George Inn, Alton in the early-sixteenth century. The gatehouse range fronting the High Street has been demolished but the lodging range is largely intact, although the gallery was removed about 200 years ago. (Drawn by Bill Fergie)

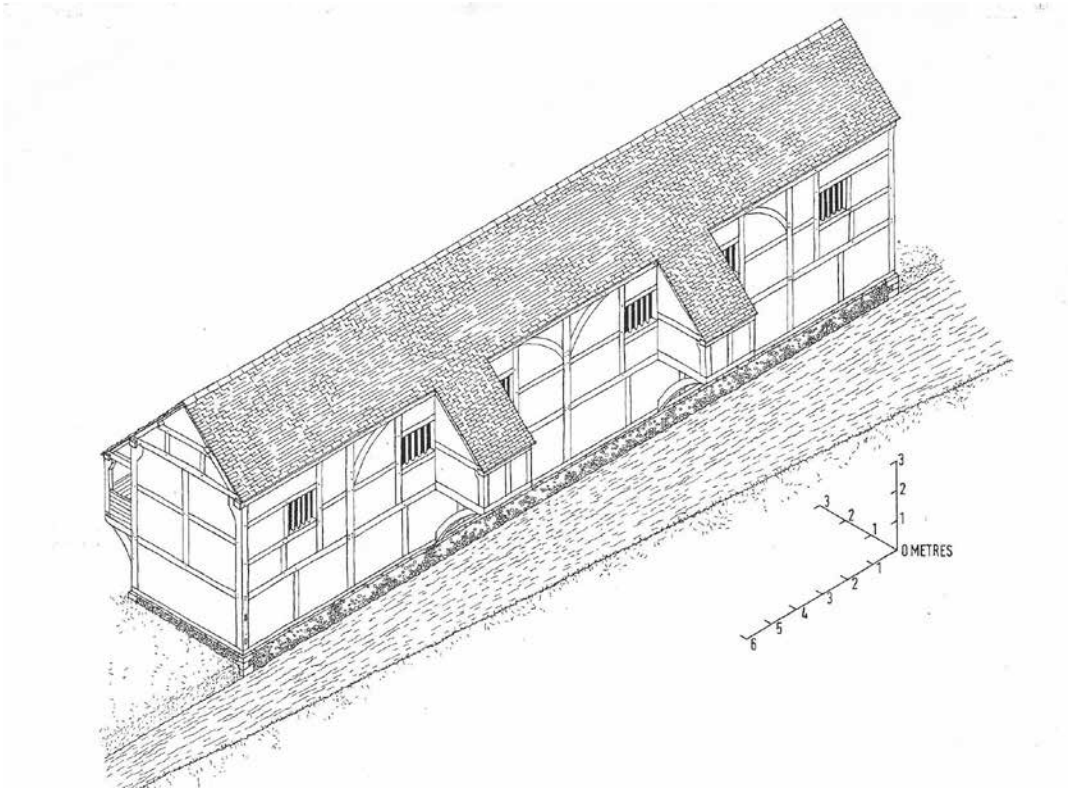

Fig. 6 The lodging range at the former George Inn, Alton as viewed from the River Wey. The garderobes that jetty over the river (reconstructed in the drawing) have been removed but are evidenced by framing for doors. (Drawn by Jonathan Snowdon. Measured: Jane Hurst, Martin Morris and the author)

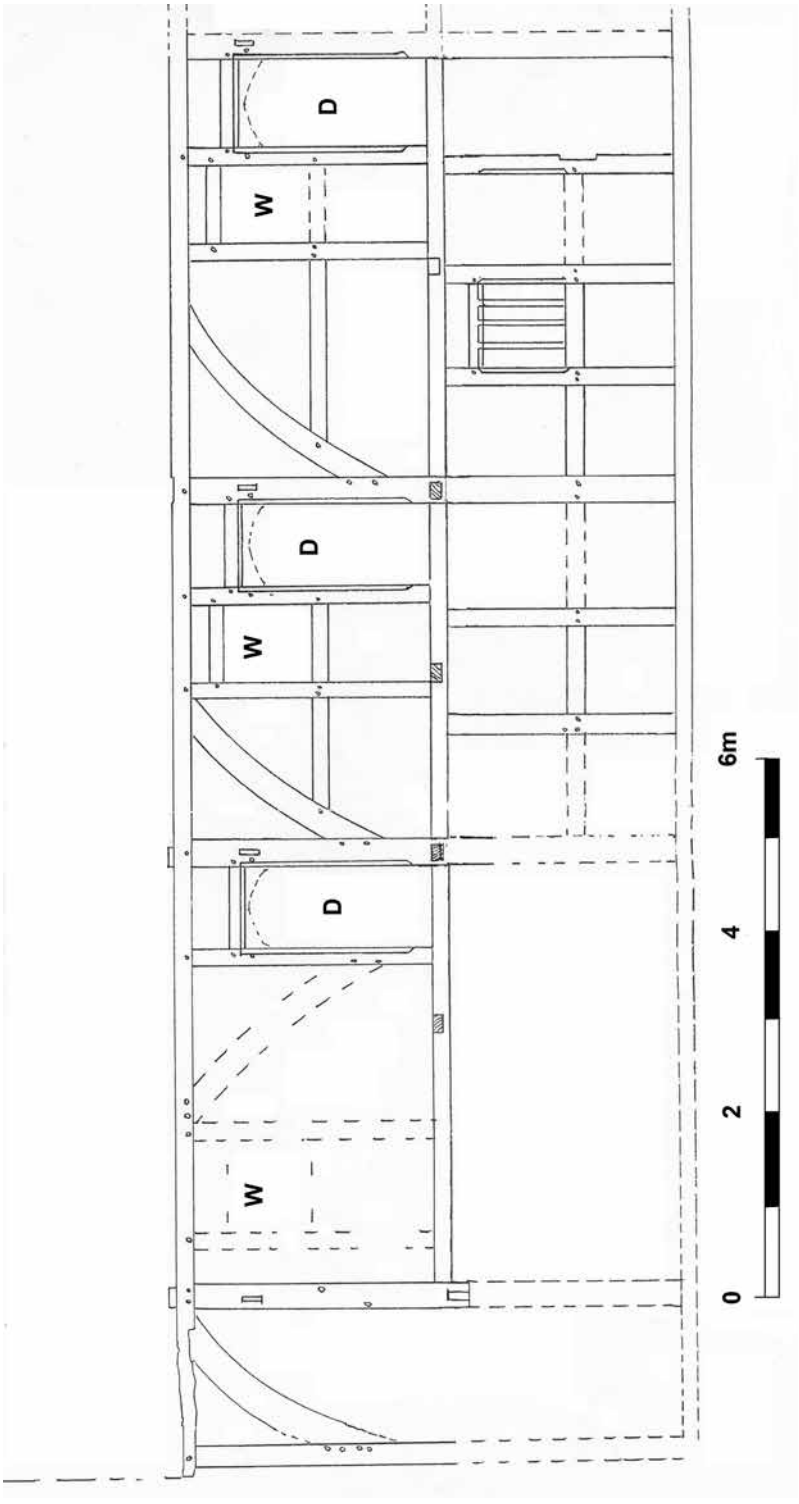

Fig. 7 A section through the gallery of the lodging range of the White Horse, Romsey. At present there are only three doorways whose jambs have pegs for 'Tudor' door-heads, although there was originally one more. 'D' signifies a door and 'W' a probable window. (Drawn by the author)

to separate rooms (Fig. 7). John Uvedale, with his box of deeds and conveyances, may well have occupied one of these rooms when he was here in 1572 and surely he would have wanted a lockable door to protect his deeds and other valuables (HRO 1572B/106); a point emphasised by the eleven locks with their keys held in 1477 by Thomas Kokys, lessee of the Swan Inn also in Romsey Market Place (Himsworth 1984 ii, 803–4).

From this admittedly limited evidence, it seems that a significant proportion of medieval inns in Hampshire may well have had galleries giving access to a series of self-contained rooms. However, multiple rooms accessed from open galleries were not solely found in public inns. They were occasionally found in the private houses of the wealthy elite. For example, in 1438–42 Cardinal Beaufort built a row of lodgings at Bishop's Waltham palace, each lodging heated by its own fireplace, with its own door and accessed from a first-floor gallery (Hare 1988, 222–37, 246–51). It is significant that those buildings with galleries, whose date of construction is known, whether commercial inns or private houses, do not predate the 15th century. With regard to the houses of the Bishops of Winchester, whereas in previous centuries the characteristic accommodation for knights, esquires or clerks seems to have been in communal chambers, the 15th-century lodging range at Bishop's Waltham exemplifies the growing requirement for more private accommodation (Hare 1988, 237). The emergence of commercial inns in the later Middle Ages reflected a similar desire among the travelling public for higher standards of accommodation.

If the houses of the elite sometimes had open galleries, there seem also to have been public inns without open galleries. It is possible that these were not purpose-built inns but large private houses that had been converted to inns in a second phase of development. For example, two ranges of the George Inn, Odiham have been dated by dendrochronology to the late-15th century and a third range can be dated typologically to a similar date. None of these ranges has framing to indicate that there was ever a gallery. The property is first recorded in 1544 but it is not until 1584 that there is a reference to the George '*now called an inn*', implying perhaps that it had recently been converted from the house of a wealthy townsman (Roberts 2003 240; HRO 47M81/PZ22; HRO 79M79/E/T44).

GATEHOUSE AND COURTYARD INNS

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the scholarly study of the English medieval inn was initiated by W. A. Pantin in his seminal essay 'Medieval Inns' published in 1961 (Pantin 1961, 166–91). The part of his article that has been most quoted by later historians, but which is also the most problematic, is his typology of inn plan-forms. He introduces his typology with the tentative words 'I think we can distinguish two sorts of medieval inn plan'; these are '(A) what may be called *the Courtyard type*, where the main buildings lie back from the street, ranged around a courtyard' and '(B) what may be called *the Block or Gatehouse type*, where the main part of the inn constitutes a solid block or range directly on the street, containing the principal rooms, and incorporating a gateway or passageway as a prominent feature' (Pantin 1961, 167–8). Pantin immediately cautions against an exaggeration of the contrast between the two types, a contrast that was only a working hypothesis for examining and classifying examples (*op. cit.*, 168). Some historians have echoed Pantin's caution: for example, J.T. Smith, who wrote on Hertfordshire inns (Smith 1992, 246). Others have been bolder. Margaret Wood wrote without qualification 'Medieval inns fall into two classes, the courtyard and the gatehouse plan' and Schofield and Stell simply refer to 'two common plan-forms, courtyard or gatehouse' (Wood 1965, 193; Schofield & Stell in Palliser 2000, 38). Clark and Steane are equally bold and unequivocal (Clark 1983,6; Steane 1985, 115).

Pantin offers a detailed discussion of six inns of 'the courtyard type' and eight of 'the blockhouse type' but, as his discussion develops, his typology seems to unravel. The Angel Inn at Andover is his first example of a courtyard type and he admits that it is 'perhaps not quite an orthodox example of what I have called the 'Courtyard' type' (Pantin 1961, 169). Indeed,

the main rooms of the Angel do not 'lie back from the street' as the typology would require but instead the hall, gatehouse and principal chambers face Andover High Street (Fig. 4). All eight of Pantin's examples of inns of supposedly blockhouse type had courtyards but their courtyards were small, presumably because the inns occupied a restricted site (Pantin 1961, 179). It is not clear how small a courtyard was required to be before an inn ceased to count as a courtyard type and attempts to apply Pantin's typology to inns in Hampshire cause similar uncertainty. The White Horse Inn at Romsey, for example, has a gatehouse but only the narrowest of courtyards, with only room for a single range of lodgings on one side. So, is it a gatehouse or a courtyard type? It is likely that its small courtyard is due to accident rather than design. It stands in the commercial centre of Romsey where street frontage was at a premium. On the other hand, the ample courtyard at the Angel, Andover was the accidental outcome of a devastating fire in the town in the 1430s which destroyed a wide area next to the High Street, thus allowing Winchester College to buy up a number of adjoining, vacant plots (Hare 2005 187–8).

Pantin's discussion of inn typology is more nuanced than the comments of some later historians who have quoted him without due qualification. It is also written in sufficient detail and with the clarity to allow critical amendment. He was after all, exploring a new field and suggesting hypotheses for future research. His achievement was a significant and lasting one. Historians who quote his typology, would do well to note the tentative nature of his remarks.

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