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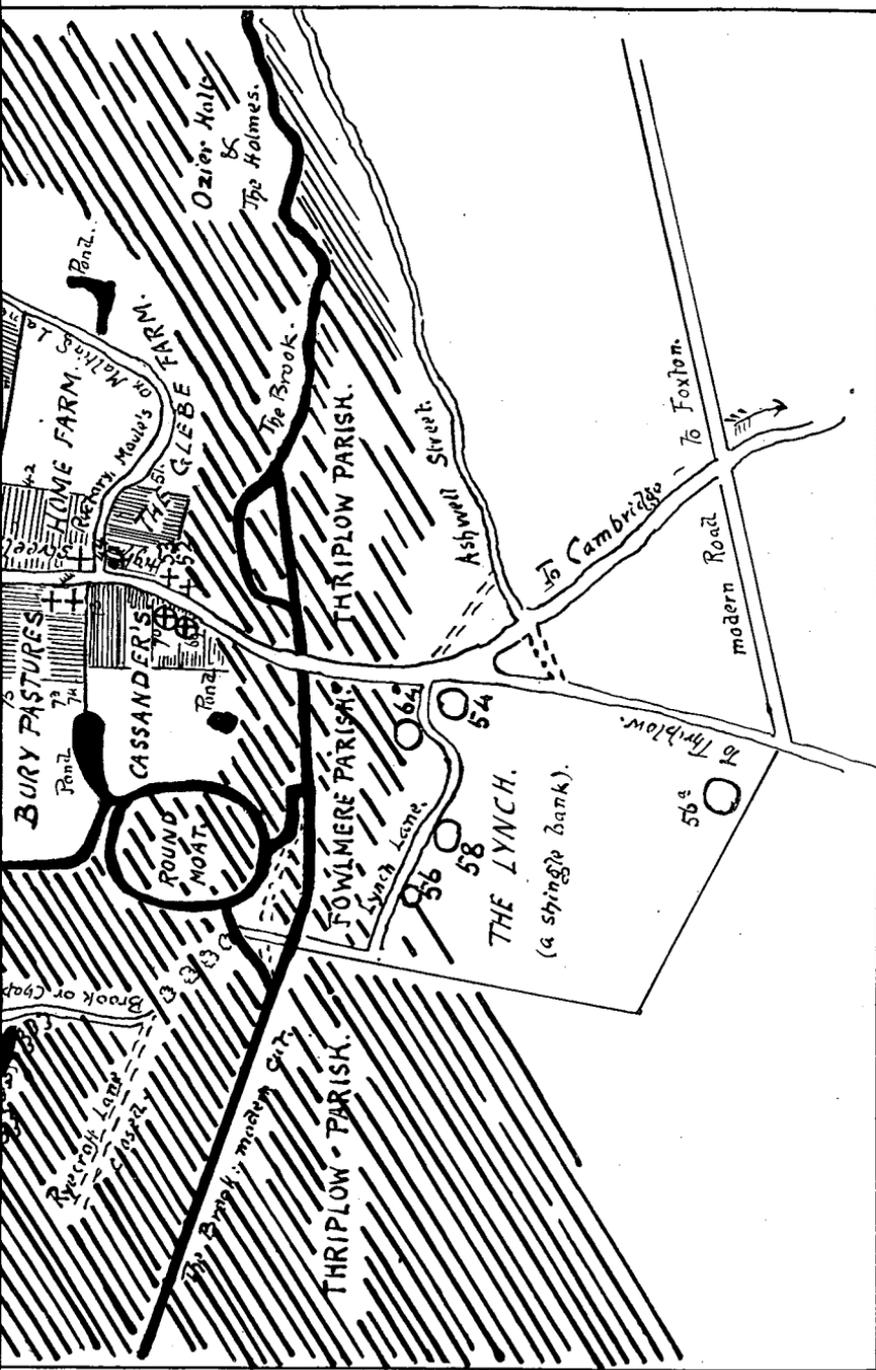
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The Rev. A. C. YORKE then read a paper, illustrated with maps and plans, on

A VILLAGE IN THE MAKING.

“What we want to find out is whether, in the Rural districts, the British villages, with their open fields round them, were generally adopted by the Romans; and whether, having survived the Roman occupation, the Saxons adopted them in their turn.”

SEEBOHM, *The English Village Community*, Chap. xi., Sec. ii.

PART I.

PRE-SAXON FARMSTEADS.

Fowlmere, humdrum, commonplace, yields to the curious and inquisitive much that is of amusement and interest. Puzzles, problems, enigmas—call them how you will—pop out from every corner. Why it is, where it is, and as it is? Why the roads meander as they do? Which is the older, road or tenement? Why this parcelling out of little freeholds in a setting of copyholds? Why some copyholds assume the bulk of freeholds? Why this copyhold should enjoy the “ancient Right of Common Pasture,” and that, t’other side of a crumbling wall, should never have had that Right? Why should the original copyholders have scattered themselves as they did? What older settlement did they displace? Has abolition, or absorption, obliterated the traces of that older settlement? How comes it that a shabby and ramshackle village styles itself “Town,” “Township,” and “Manor”?

Searching for answers to these questions I have come across evidence that will, I hope, interest the Society.

However often the eye turns to the Round Moat, pranked in the greenery of the Bury Pastures, we must abandon the idea that there dwelt the ancient Briton. You will remember¹ that the spade revealed nothing distinctly British, or Romano-British, when we dug the enclosure from end to end. If you look again at Caesar (*de B. G.* v. 8, 18, 21) you will see that he does not say that it is an *Oppidum*, but simply that the British idiom calls it by something that sounds like that Latin word: *Oppidum autem Britanni vocant*. And Mr Seeböhm's pregnant pages (*English Village Community*) give us, in terms of the Gwentian Code, conditions of British homesteads far other than the cramped miasma of our Round Moat.

The homesteads stand apart, just as Tacitus (*Germania*, xvi.) sketches those of the Rhine provinces. They are dotted along the edge of forest and jungle: and such forest and jungle can be seen still in our Fowlmere "Grove" and "Black Peak"; and, if you picture the brook-side still so clothed, you will see that not a few of Fowlmere farms must have stood right under the forest boughs as does the Brook Farm to-day. The farmsteads too stood away from their arable, whether in primitive flux of "co-aration of the waste," or in more settled fixity of the Open-field: just as still our Fowlmere arable straddles the Fard'n Hill from Waterden to North Moor. Further (and this, no doubt, accounts for the stand-offishness of the British homesteads), every Briton's house, with its stockyard and rickyard alongside, had lawful right to four acres of adjacent pasture for *domicilia* or home-paddock.

The Code has more to tell us. The Community must be an ordered Community. We are either a complete group, or a part of a group, of 12 homesteads, divided into 4 "Randir" of 3 "tyddyn" each. If we have this arrangement complete then Fowlmere is a "Trev"; a term rendered *Villa* by the Romans, and equivalent to "Town" or "Township" among ourselves.

We have just seen how Fowlmere farmsteads stand apart along the edge of the old jungle, and away from their arable. Curiosity urges us to enquire whether to each there was attached this 4 acre pasture, and whether it be traceable to-day.

¹ Cf. Report on Excavations in Vol. xii. *C. A. S. Communications*.

Let us begin at the **Brook Farm**. It stands just on the edge of the lift above the level of saturation; and its rickyard cuddles round the Grove. The whole steading sums up to exactly **4 a. Or. 9 p.**

Between it and London Lane is a group of close and farmstead; the latter now occupied by the Congregational Chapel. From one of its Closes I shall call it **Piper's Farm**. An old water-channel runs through it, which in old days must have lessened its area, now **4 a. 1 r. 24 p.**

Facing these two across Brook, or Chapel, Lane is **Whitehall**, with a little block that abutts above on the Green, containing **4 a. 1 r. Op.**

On the W. of this, alongside London Way, is the **Townhead** block, with **4 a. Or. 20 p.**

On the E. of Whitehall is **The Bury Farm**, with Closes measuring **4 a. Or. 18 p.** Perhaps a slice should be shaved off for wet ground near the Moat.

E. of the Bury is a group of little Closes, whose lower side certainly occupies ground that then was jungle and swamp. From one of its Closes I call it **Cassander's**. The gross area is **4 a. 3 r. 39 p.** Deducting one quarter of the two wet Closes (3 r. 20 p.) the remainder is just **4 a. Or. 19 p.**

Hence we cross London Way to its N. side, to the present grounds of the Rectory. Sixty years ago these were the **Glebe Farm**. Alterations and the 1845 Inclosure have altered boundaries and land-marks. We must make considerable deduction for swamp which, as we can plainly see as we stand in the Meadow, covered fully half the ground. Estimating the area of "dry" ground between the brook and the Rectory Lane at one-half the present gross area of Inclosures, we get a possible "home-paddock" of **4 a. 1 r. 19 p.**

The Acropolis of Fowlmere is built about the shoulder of a little knoll, having frontages to High Street (London Way), Long Lane, and the Rectory, Moule's, or Malting Lane. Little Closes and Pightels occupy the crest, the edge being tonsured with a fringe of small messuages and tenements. Across this space, as a suture across a skull, runs a line of fence sundering freehold from freehold. On the E. or lower side is the **Home**

Farm, from which seemingly a paring has at some time been taken for the Chequers brewhouse. Allowing for this, this block measures **4 a. Or. 17 p.**¹

The upper side of this knoll is occupied by the **Lane Farm**, as I have called it for reference. Making a corresponding allowance to that for the Home Farm, the area is **4 a. Or. 30 p.**

Across Long Lane is a narrow strip of messuages between the Lane and the Bar Field on Fard'n Hill. It is balanced about the Bar Lane, that leads out to the Hill and Field. If I have to refer to it again as a whole I shall call it the "West group." An old farm, now turned into three cottages, almost faces Long Lane at the N. end of this block. That farm I call **Dyer's**. Its homestead area measures **4 a. 1 r. 28 p.**

On the slope just above is the **Manor Farm** block. It is intersected by the little Bar Lane, which gave access to its rickyard. The N. side of Bar Lane is encroached upon by the Bakehouse, and possibly by the Queen's Head Inn, the two totalling 1 r. 28 p. Both these are copyhold, and their omission leaves us with an area of **4 a. Or. 10 p.**

So far we have 11 of these domiciliary areas. A British settlement styled "Trev" required 12. Not every settlement was a *trev*, but, having got 11, it is hardly likely that the complete number is wanting. Every inch of available ground behind us is already assigned. If there be another *tyddyn* and *domicilia* it must lie ahead of us. If it does so lie it will exactly complete the circuit, for at the lower end of the Manor Farm, where we now stand, we are immediately opposite our point of departure. So that, from the ordered sequence, if we find a twelfth site here we shall feel certified that our argument has been sound.

There is not another roof to suggest a *tyddyn*, not one snug Close left to hint at *domicilia*. But the Inclosure Award Map says that we are right. It discloses a line of hedge—now cleared away, but still in the Gaffers' memories—coming down from the Manor rickyard, and running out to that line of trees still

¹ The Chequers, long in a sub-fief, reverted to the Lordship early in Jas. I. The date on its front shows rebuilding in 1675. The Lordship Malting previously monopolised the brewing trade.

standing out from the hedge in Houndsditch Bottom. It and the curving London Lane enclosed a long, narrow strip of Close pasture, called South Close, containing just the area we want—

4 a. Or. 3 p.

We cannot doubt that this is the *domicilia* of the “**Lost**” *tyddyn*. The 12 are identified, and we can group them in the administrative *Randir*.

1st *Randir*.

Piper’s,
Brook Farm,
Whitehall,

all on Brook Lane.

2nd *Randir*.

Cassander’s,
Bury Farm,
Townhead,

all on S. side of London Way.

3rd *Randir*.

Lane Farm,
Home Farm,
Glebe Farm,

all between Long Lane and the Brook, on N. side of London Way.

4th *Randir*.

Dyer’s,
The Lordship Farm,
The “Lost” Farm,

all on the W. side of Long Lane and London Lane.

Thus we have our 12 *tyddyn*, in 4 *Randir*, making 1 *Trev*: and we can declare Fowlmere as having been a “*Trev*,” called by the Romans for administrative purposes a *Villa*: surviving in its Closes and Yards of daily use, and in its claim to be “Township” and “Manor.”

This is the interpretation I put upon the Oggam script of hedge and fence about our village knoll.

COMPONENTS OF TYDDYN AND DOMICILIA.

Randir	Farm	No. on Award	Tenure	Name of Holding	Details			Total		
					A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.
1st. Brook Lane	Piper's	111		Purkiss's Close	1	2	10	4	1	24
		112		Piper's Close	1	2	37			
		113		" "	2		10			
		114		Cottage & garden			32			
		115		Piper's Close			10			
		116		Meeting House	1	5				
Probably some small deduction should be made for swamp										
" "	Brook Farm	105		Rickyard		3	14	4	0	9
		106		Spring		2	35			
		109, 110		House & orchard	2	2	0			
" "	Whitehall	85, 86		House, garden, playground	1	3	10	4	1	0
		87		Caldecote's	1	1	22			
		88		Plantation			22			
		90		Beldam's home-stead		3	26			
2nd. Bury Pastures	Cassander's	65		"ad pontem"			16	4	3	39
		66		House & garden			8			
		67		House &c.			16			
		68		Yard			10			
		69		House & garden			28			
		70		House & garden			28			
		71		Garden			10			
		72		Churchyard		3	3			
		92 ^a		Church Close	2	0	6			
		93		Cassander's Close	1	1	34			
		Deduct $\frac{1}{4}$ of 92, 93 for swamp and jungle								
" "	Bury Farm	73		Black Horse Inn		1	2	4	0	18
		74		Cottage & garden			11			
		75		Bury homestead & yard	1	0	32			
		91		Garden & orchard		3	29			
		92		Champion's Close	1	2	24			
The house seems originally to have been poached from "the Green," and is now re-absorbed in the "Green House" garden. Above includes house area.										

Randir	Farm	No. on Award	Tenure	Name of Holding	Details			Total				
					A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.		
3rd. (continued)	Glebe Farm	49 ^a		Parsonage Close (allotment made in 1845)	2	3	21					
		51		House & garden	1	2	38					
		12		Rayner's Close	4	0	19					
					8	2	38					
				At least $\frac{1}{2}$ this ground must have been swamp and jungle originally. The ter- race can be traced. Therefore deduct			4	1	19			
				Balance						4	1	19

4th. West Group	Dyer's	16		Orchard	1	1	28					
		17		Homestead (now cottages)			35					
		18		Cottage & close	1	1	27					
		19		Ward's Close	1	1	18	4	1	28		

" "	Manor Farm	20, 21		House, garden, tenement			3	0				
		22		Queen's Head Inn				32				
		23		Bakehouse, &c.				36				
		118		Hog-yard	1	0	12					
		119		Lordship home- stead	2	0	38					
					4	1	38					
				Deduct 23, certain encroachment						4	1	2
				Deduct 22, possible encroachment								32
										4	0	10

" "	"Lost" tyddyn	117		South Close Pas- ture						4	0	3
				This Pasture lay alongside the South Close arable, but was distinct there- from. The separating hedge has dis- appeared, but is recorded in Inclosure Award, and remembered by old resi- dents.								

Excavations were made in some broken ground about the "Lost" tyddyn. That which was found was little. To use Mr Walker's words, it was "sufficient to stimulate, but not enough to satisfy." Had I been hunting for relics I should heartily endorse the verdict. Undertaken as they were for confirmation of the site as that of the "Lost" homestead, that which was found was in such remarkable agreement with that, and with what is to follow, that I must briefly summarise my reading of the remains.

The area may be divided into three sections lying diagonally from N.E. to S.W.; the middle section being a narrow strip from corner to corner. The two triangular sections to right and left of this strip may be dismissed curtly. The pottery there found was broken into mere atoms, and was in heterogeneous mixture, scraps of Roman, mediaeval and modern type being jumbled together side by side.

The explanation is to hand. Across London Lane is the Congregational Chapel with its burial ground. A very old farmstead, that which I have called "Piper's," was demolished to make room for it. At that time, A.D. 1780, Mr Benjamin Wedd its promoter was tenant on long lease of the Manor Farm; the ground we are exploring being his South Close Pasture, and contiguous to his hog-yard. There can be little doubt that the ruins of Piper's were dumped on the low, wet ground of this S. Close.

The third section, that from corner to corner, was spared from the rubbish; and the "Inclosure Award" map tells us why. From London Lane two footpaths started: the one inclining back to the boundary between the Manor and the "Lost" farms; the other striking across S. Close for the Waterden. The course of the latter public path, closed in 1845, is the ground of our third section. And so ancient was that right of way that, on the further side of the adjoining arable, the hedgerow follows the footpath "on the skew." The footpath sufficiently accounts for the "moved" rubbish not being found thereon, and for a penny of 1772 and a farthing of 1752 being found on its course.

Digging into this unmolested ground we struck, at 20 inches

from the present surface, a cobble floor, from the surface of which was picked a defaced, but unmistakeably Roman, brass coin.

The pathway throws back the age of anything under its surface behind the date when the tyddyn ceased to be occupied; for no path would trespass upon premises in occupation. The coin gives approximate date of the last occupation, viz. at some period of the Roman supremacy.

The cobble floor measured from N. to S. 15 ft. 6 in.: from E. to W. 9 ft. 6 in. On the E. side was a projection of 3 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. wide, apparently the entrance through the thick turf wall. About 10 ft. in front of this entrance we found a pit, 4 ft. 9 in. deep, entered by three rough steps, but absolutely empty of anything. The only things found by the cobble floor were (1) a bit of Niedermendig millstone, and (2) a much worn rubbing-stone. But, on the N. side of the floor, we followed for 42 ft. a narrow trench, or much worn path, to a pit, 9 ft. in diameter, 5 ft. 4 in. deep, which soon had 9 in. of water standing in it, and which therefore I call "the Well." Just at the bottom of this, but above the waterline, were some pieces of blackened pottery of Romano-British type, and the bones of a cock. The finds were scanty enough, but at least they betoken human habitation.

If a human habitation the hut must have had a roof; and, for a roof, the hut must have been circular. I am reminded that the floor shows no circle, and therefore was possibly not a human habitation. But we find this floor not in a pit, as is often the case. It is on the solid marl surface; and indications, but no more than indications, were there of a drip-trench suggesting a circular roof. A circular cobble floor would be unnecessary for British custom. A part of the hut circle would be taken up with the dais for seat and bed, made of turf stacked against the side. If I am right about the drip-trench, such a dais readily accounts for the curtailment of the cobbles.

If it were human habitation, why are there no clearer signs? Why this absence of pottery and utensils? Two reasons may be given, combining in a third. Either the place was deliberately abandoned, everything worth taking being taken away; or, whenever the pits were filled in, the workman

appropriated all that was left; or both these may have cooperated to "lick the platter clean."

We have seen how the path and the coin indicate an early date for the disappearance of the "Lost" tyddyn. From time immemorial it has been merged in the Manor Farm. All the indications, positive and negative, on the ground agree with this fact of a "Lost" farm at the hither end of my paper. What bearing they may have on the latter end we shall presently see.

It may, however, be as well to remind the reader that, even if my reading of the cobblestones be wrong, my argument about the 12 homesteads and the Trev is not overthrown. It is that which sustains this about the hut: not the hut that supports the other. If my hut and mill-stones, pit, well, coin, path, do not give us the site of the homestead, we have the *domicilia* for sure, and the tyddyn alone is lost, and yet recoverable from the grass of that South Close Pasture.

PART II.

FROM CELT TO SAXON.

Over the Celtic settlement that we have found in Fowlmere, as a Rune over an Oggam script, comes the tale of another settlement whose signs we must decipher. Our Oggam tells us of the Free Man in the Free Hold. Our Rune, of which we hold one end to-day, talks of Free Men and Free Holds over-lording Customary Men in the semi-servile tenure of Customary Holdings.

We want to know what really happened to those Pre-Saxon farms: whether the change was by a system new *ab initio*, or by some process of assimilation. The one would imply conquest, and a race of new comers with new customs: the other an intrusion of a people with much in common between them and the older people alongside whom they settled, and whom, and whose possessions, they absorbed.

In following out this enquiry I shall embody the conclusions

of a paper which I read in 1906, but which I withheld from publication because of its incompleteness. Amended and verified this paper will start us from the halfway house of the Domesday Record upon "The Footsteps of the Villein and Bordar in Fowlmere."

The Numbers of the holdings are those of the Inclosure Award Map, and the areas from its Schedule.

D. B. and I. C. C. tell us that in our village were domiciled in A.D. 1086 the households of 22 Villeins, 10 Bordars or Cottiers, and 4 Serfs. If we can find where these were housed we shall be well on our way towards the discovery of the method by which their advance was made.

The Serfs are soon disposed of. Unable to pay rent, and completely at the disposal of their lord, their hovels must have been on the freehold of the domain. One such miserable tenement, gardenless and yardless, stood till recent years at the corner of High Street and Rectory Lane, on ground once domain later of the Glebe Farm. Three others, freehold on the edge of copyhold, stood fronting High Street where now is the garden-wall of the Green House. All are gone, yet are still in memory of old villagers. We can, with easy mind, assign them to the Serfs.

Take the other end of the social scale—the Villeins. D. B. tells that there were *in dominio v hidae*. Evidence is to hand that each "hide" had its own farmstead. Therefore if each farm had one Villein as its "bailiff," we have accounted for five Villeins at the Lordship, Bury, Home, Glebe, and "Lane" farmsteads respectively.

A sixth, perhaps the Tungerefa, or my lord's Seneschal, would be at Townhead, a freehold residence held, without arable concomitant, "at the Annual Rent of Two Shillings and Six Pence."

All those freeholds had the Right of Common Pasture. This gives us a clue for the identification of the other 16 Villeins and 10 Bordars. Messuages held of Customary Service yet enjoying this same Right are likely to be of better class and more ancient assignment than such as do not have that privilege.

Customary messuages with the Right of Common Pasture, for which compensation was given at Inclosure, I find situated as follows:—

LONG LANE, 17, 18, 22, 25, 28.

HIGH STREET, 24, 40, 44, 52, 53, 69, 70, 73, 74, 90.

LONDON WAY, 79, 81, 82.

BROOK LANE, 85, 109, 114.

THE LYNCH, 54, 56, 56a, 58, 64.

The above numbers refer, not to premises, but to the section on which stands the dwelling house.

Here we have 26 messuages, the exact number required by the 10 Bordars and 16 Villeins still on our list.

It is not impossible to apportion these between the 16 and the 10. The Quit-rents are for the most part known. In one or two instances the Quit-rent is above the actual value of the immediate neighbourhood. Circumstances, such as use for a public-house, have added to the amount. We can write such down to the surrounding value. In cases where I have done this, or have had no value stated for the premises, I mark the guess by a note of interrogation (?).

VILLEIN TENANTS. 16 in number.

RENT 18s.....109. The land seems to have lain in Severals.

6s. 10d.....24. The Swan Inn.

6s. 8d.40. The Chequers' Inn.

5s.....18, 22, 28, 44, 52 (?), 53.

4s. 6d.69, 81, 82 (?).

2s. 9d.56, 58.

2s. 7d.85.

2s. 4d.64.

BORDAR TENANTS. 10 in number.

2s.....54, 56a (?).

1s. 6d.79, 90 (?).

1s. 2d.17.

1s.....73 (Black Horse Inn), 74, 114 (?).

9d.25.

8d.70.

No other messuages than these carried the Right of Common. On the principle of first come first served it is conceivable that these are the original Customary messuages, and that those who were without the Right are later comers, and, from the evidence, post-Domesday.

These, then, somehow and at sometime crept in, and dented their mark upon the Celtic freeholds. They came, as we say, to stay; for they are with us to-day, 830 years after the Great Survey.

To understand something of their arrival I grade them in three steps of advance.

1st GRADE. Those that are outside that which is the natural boundary of the Parish, and, with the exception of this group, is so used. THE LYNCH, of 15 a. 0 r. 17 p., measuring 28 chains along the brook by 58 chains along the Thriplow Road, is the spot where that step is planted. On it we have found five such messuages. None of these intruded on any Celtic farmstead. They were in "Thriplow Field." But the fact that this Lynch looks to the Fowlmere Lordship, and is customary of the Manor of Fowlmere, bears out the argument for these 5 homesteads being there settled by the primary sufferance of the then Maer, "lord," or *Villicus*, as shown below.

2nd GRADE. Those that have chipped a fragment off the Celtic freehold, and therewith been content. Of such we have on the HIGH STREET 8, all of our former list but numbers 69 and 70. In LONG LANE 4, only No. 17 being excepted. On LONDON WAY all three as given. On BROOK LANE 1, Purkiss's having intruded into Piper's.

3rd GRADE. Those that have obtained entire possession of tyddyn and *domicilia*. On HIGH STREET 2, viz. 69, 70 together absorbing Cassander's farm. On LONG LANE 1, viz. 17, Dyer's. On BROOK LANE 2, viz. 109 and 85, the latter being absorbed by two (of which 90 is one).

Of the 12 tyddyn, then, Cassander's, Dyer's, Whitehall, and the Brook Farm were swamped under the new system of semi-servile tenure; the other eight, but for bites taken from the edge, still remained freehold, viz. the "Lost," the Manor, Townhead, the Bury, the Home, the Glebe, the Lane, Piper's.

Domesday Book gives us a glimpse of a change that was being worked out under the new system; a change that completely altered the allotment of the arable.

By law every tyddyn had its 100 acres of corn-land in the Open-Field. The 12 tyddyn had, therefore, 1200 acres of arable. D. B. tells us of the arable that *Fuglemaere pro x hidis se defendit*, and, of these, *v hidae in dominio*; the implication being that the other five were in Villeinage. The Cambridge-shire hide was always 120 acres. It certainly was so in Fowlmere where the Virgate, the $\frac{1}{4}$ part of a hide, *continent xxx acras*¹. The 10 hides, then, preserve the total acreage, 1200, but redistribute it—600 acres to domain, and 600 to Villeinage: i.e. the corn-land of six tyddyn fall on one side, and of six on the other; and in the domain those six tyddyn and appurtenances were adjusted as five farms of 120 acres each.

Looking at the list just given we see exactly what was done to the eight which had kept their chins above the flood of Villein occupation. The "Lost," the Manor, the Bury, the Home, the Glebe, the Lane farms are the six tyddyn that fell to the lordship; and the extinction of the "Lost" gives the five *in dominio* which are with us unto this day.

Villeinage already had four tyddyn, and presumably their corn-land. To Villeinage is now given the arable of Piper's and of Townhead: all of the 600 acres thus allotted being held in semi-servile tenure by the 22 Villeins and 10 Bordars. Their home-paddocks remained freehold of the lordship till the sale of the estate in 1867.

The grades of encroachment and the hidage bear plain evidence to the existence of some power that was able to check, direct, patronise the advance of the new system, and to adapt it and redistribute the arable in accordance with its peculiarities. The new, semi-servile system was firmly established before 1086; indeed before 1066, as nothing was then changed but the person of the lord. The older Celtic system of freeholds could not have endured much beyond 410 when the Romans

¹ Hundred Roll, 1279.

began to pack up. The power, then, must have been exercised either by Briton, by Roman, or by Saxon.

The Briton, crushed and enervated, was impotent. The Saxon, even if there were strength sufficient in East Anglia or Mercia, in Cnut or Offa, was hardly likely to rivet on himself shackles which were a degradation of his own "heuerling" freedom (cf. *Appendix*). Rome alone had the power and the experience. She was doing the like within her *limes* on the S. German frontier. Diocletian (284—305) introduced a system of jugation, having much in common with what we know as hidage. Between 320 and 390 a system of *sordida munera* was effected very like the Villeinage of English Saxondom. About 285 was appointed the *Comes* of the Saxon Shore to regulate the entry of the Saxon hordes, Carausius being its first titular¹. It is more than probable that the continental *sordida munera*, being but the tyrannical adjustment of Teuton customs, would follow the Saxon invasion.

Generally speaking in rural districts, where the British chief had a *Maer* to administer the taxes of a dozen Trev, such as Fowlmere, the Roman appointed a *Maior Villae* or *Villicus* to administer each *Villa* or Trev. The Roman coin on our cobbles declares that for Fowlmere the "Lost" farm was abolished during the Roman dominion, and at the time when the British centuriation was being altered to the Roman jugation. The change for this *Villa* must have been made before 410, but not earlier than 284.

As I spell out the Oggams and Runes of fence and farm the tale is, briefly, this. Up the Wash and the Ouse to Cambridge, at the head of navigation and almost on tidewater, came the rising Aegir of Saxon immigration. Its wavelet along the Cambridge-London Way was checked upon the Lynch while the *Villicus* consulted head-quarters. The rising tide was next directed into little pockets eaten out of the British freeholds. Saxon farming, being shown to yield better fiscal returns than that of the incapable Celt, was later conducted into the tyddyn and *domicilia* of the Briton; ultimately put in charge of the

¹ Mr Seebohm's pages summarise the literature on the subject, and to them I am indebted.

freehold farms that, under the new jugation, were administered under the eye of the *Villicus* himself.

Thus, when the last Roman had left—the *Villicus* from Fowlmere, the legionary from Melbourn camp—there is no need to move a single man. Each Villein was in his place. Past Fowlmere, thus quietly settled, swept the fresh flood of rising Englishry: and undisturbed, but for the Inclosure of 1845, the Customary tenure is known to-day, and the Pightels and Closes keep their ancient bounds.

If critics, better read than I, do not allow that I have satisfied the want voiced in Mr Seebohm's words prefixed to this paper, I hope they will admit that I have added some reliable facts to our Cambridgeshire story; have shown how the insistent questions with which we started find their answer; and have demonstrated that our homely and familiar surroundings hold

Secrets that, to those who seek,
Are precious in the finding.

APPENDIX.

An Extract from *Britain's next Campaign*, by Julie Sutter.
Pub. R. Brimley Johnson. 1903.

The following extract is so apt to our subject that it demands a place in these pages.

Note that Bielefeld is in Westphalia, in the N. of Germany, far beyond the Roman *limes*. It is in the parts whence flowed the tide of "Saxon" immigration upon the *litus Saxonicum*. The customs on this "peasant" property are of manorial type. *Heuerling* is exactly our English rustic "hoireling." The *Meier* is of course a blood-relative of the *Villicus maior* (see Spelman), and seems to claim kin with the Celtic *Maer*. As one reads it is impossible not to speculate whether "Aluric

Camp" of D. B. was not a "champion" farmer, rather than a "champion" of the host.

"In the neighbourhood of Bielefeld...one day last autumn I came upon a peasant holding, an almost patriarchal farm, which has descended from father to son for upwards of 1000 years. That peasant's name, and family, and ownership of that particular farm, can be traced in the archives of Bielefeld to the days of Wittekind. And even as this old Saxon hero, the compeer of Charlemagne, was followed to the grave by his caparisoned but riderless horse, so is this peasant; many of the old customs surviving in that country side, which, somehow, like an island in a turbulent sea, was almost the only spot in Germany not touched by the 30 years war; and so the line of descent and ownership has never been broken.

"A family property surely: yet the owner is nothing but a peasant, and proud to be one:—a peasant rising at three on a summer morning to see to his own fields, his wife rising at the same time to attend to her dairy....This man is lord of all he surveys, of the fields stretching away to the hill-chain, and of a couple of hills too, well wooded and yielding their timber; yet he is but a peasant. Of course he needs labourers, but his very labourers are small owners on his farm, holding their bits of land from which he cannot oust them, in perpetual lease as we should call it. Those lesser peasants in that part of the country are called 'hirelings' (they actually have the word, being Saxons, though spelling it *heuerling*, the diphthong pronounced *oi*)—the hireling giving the larger peasant, instead of rent, a certain amount of labour at seed-time and harvest-time, and threshing-time, being free otherwise to work on his own little farm. And some of these hirelings have been in their homesteads for generations....

"Nor is that man an isolated specimen of his country; that Ravenspurger land within the Province of Westphalia is fairly stocked with them—a peasantry for a poet's dream....I have purposely kept to the appellation 'peasant' in its true sense—a freehold tiller of the soil....In that particular part of Germany the larger peasant owner is called *Meier*, but everywhere

else in Germany the word *Bauer* holds, as does *paysan* in France."

I strongly suspect that Fowlmere might have shown us something like this idyllic peasantry, but that Roman rule degraded the "service" of the dependent, and Norman rule aggrandised the lordship of the owner.

Kemble tells us that "the centre and groundwork of the whole Teutonic system is the individual Freeman....The Free man is emphatically called Man...waepned man, *armatus*."

Amongst the Celts too only the Free man could bear arms and fight for his home and country.

Monday, 29 May, 1911.

ELLIS HOVELL MINNS, M.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

EDWARD S. PRIOR, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper, illustrated with lantern-slides, on

MEDIAEVAL FIGURE-SCULPTURE OF ENGLAND.

CONTENTS

OF PROCEEDINGS, No. LX.

VOL. XV. (NEW SERIES, VOL. IX.) No. 3.

	PAGE
A Sub-Fossil Horse Skeleton recently found near Bishop's Stortford. Rev. Dr IRVING (n. p.)	199
Cambridgeshire Doctors in the Olden Time. W. M. PALMER, M.D.	200
The Birth of Athena and its significance. A. B. COOK, M.A. (n. p.)	279
Seventy-first Annual General Meeting	280
A Village in the Making (Plate XX). Rev. A. C. YORKE	281
Mediaeval Figure-Sculpture of England. EDWARD S. PRIOR, M.A., F.S.A. (n. p.)	299
On the Library of S. Mark, Venice (Plates XXI—XXV). J. W. CLARK, M.A.	300
Loan Exhibition of Stuart and Cromwellian relics	315
Index to Vol. XV	317

n. p. means that the Communication has not been printed in full.