

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN  
SOCIETY



VOLUME XLV

JANUARY 1951 TO DECEMBER 1951

CAMBRIDGE  
BOWES AND BOWES

1952

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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# OFFICERS AND COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY

1951-1952

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*Hon. Auditor*

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# CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1950

Adopted by the annual general meeting on 26 February 1951.

**MEMBERSHIP.** The Society gained seventeen new members and two associates during the year, but lost six members by death and three by resignation. In recognition of his many services, Mr Gordon Fowler was made an honorary member on leaving the district. There are now 257 ordinary members and twenty associates. There are twenty subscribing institutions.

Archaeology has suffered severe loss in the death of our honorary member Sir Alfred Clapham and of our members C. J. P. Cave, the Rev. M. P. Charlesworth and Prof. R. A. S. Macalister. The Bishop of Truro, who joined in 1919, kept up his membership until he died, though he lived away from Cambridge most of the time.

**MEETINGS.** There were five Council meetings and nine ordinary meetings, at eight of which the following communications were made:

Mr R. RADFORD, B.A. *Octagonal Chapter Houses*. 30 January.

The Very Rev. E. MILNER-WHITE, M.A., F.S.A., Dean of York. *York Minster Glass*.

17 February.

Dr GRAHAME CLARK, M.A., F.S.A. *The Maglemosian Site at Seamer, Yorks*. 27 February.

Mr R. W. MACDOWALL, M.A. *Buckingham College*. 24 April.

Mrs D. W. BROGAN, F.S.A. *Roman Gaul and its People*. 8 May.

Mr S. S. FRERE, M.A., F.S.A. *Recent Excavations at Canterbury*. 16 October.

Mrs C. F. C. HAWKES, M.A., F.S.A. *Lascaux and the Palaeolithic Artist*. 29 October.

Mr K. D. M. DAUNCEY, M.A. & Mr C. H. HOULDER, B.A. *Recent Excavations at the War Ditches*. 20 November.

The average attendance at these lectures was seventy-one.

The ninth meeting took the form of a visit to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, followed by tea at the kind invitation of the President and Mrs Hutton, whose departure from Cambridge at the end of the academic year is a serious loss to the Society.

There was a visit to Jesus College on 16 March, after which tea was provided in the College Hall. The hearty thanks of the Society are due to the Master and Fellows for their hospitality, and in particular to the Master, Dr Brittain and Dr Duckworth, who showed the party round.

**EXCURSIONS.** There were two excursions. On 17 May the churches of Burwell, Fordham, Chippenham and Landwade were visited and tea was taken at the Rutland Arms, Newmarket. The churches were described by our member Mr E. A. R. Rahbula, F.S.A., of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.

On 27 July, there was a whole-day excursion to St Albans. Before lunch, the curator, Mrs Audrey Williams, took the party round the Verulamium Museum, and afterwards they visited St Michael's Church, the hypocaust and the Roman theatre. Later the party went to the Abbey and were fortunate in having the guidance of Mr Watkins, for many years head verger, who had tea with them at the Abbey Restaurant.

The Society is greatly indebted to Mr Haddon for his services as Excursion Secretary.

**PUBLICATIONS.** Vol. XLIII of the *Proceedings* was issued during the year. It is relatively small for two reasons. First, the Editorial Committee decided to spend a considerable sum on a coloured

plate to illustrate Mr Lethbridge's article on Saxon glazed pottery, which may well have a far-reaching effect on Anglo-Saxon studies. Secondly, Council has decided to make an exception to its policy of discontinuing the quarto series in order to publish the Lackford cemetery in the same form as other Saxon cemeteries, rather than including its publication in the *Proceedings*. The volume maintains the standard of production set by its predecessors, and thanks are due to the Editor for his work in connexion with it.

TRUSTEE. Our Honorary Treasurer, Dr R. B. Whitehead, has been appointed a Trustee in place of the late Mr Mellish Clark.

LIBRARY. The Society's books, papers, prints and maps have been thoroughly examined and put in order by Mrs Robinson, who has carried out this difficult task with the greatest efficiency. Certain duplicates have been sold and this has almost covered the cost of the work.

EXCAVATIONS. The Director of Excavations reports that he has been able to do little field work since he has had to spend a lot of time in preparing the Lackford material for publication. This has gone to press.

He has assisted in the supervision of the Archaeological Field Club's excavations at the War Ditches, and has given Mr C. F. Tebbutt some help with a trial excavation at Eaton Socon Castle.

POSTER. A poster urging the prompt reporting of discoveries, similar to that which has produced good results in Norfolk, has been produced and distributed to schools and to some individuals. Council would welcome the help of members in giving it a wider distribution, for example to village inns. Copies may be obtained from the Secretary.

KENULPH'S CROSS, THORNEY. This mediaeval monument has suffered damage from horses rubbing against it. With the consent of the owner of the land, Lord Fairhaven has generously provided a fence to protect it, and has asked the Society to keep it in repair. Council has undertaken to do so to the best of its ability.

COUNCIL FOR BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY. The Council has prepared a scheme for distributing offprints of articles in proceedings of local societies to any outside their own county who choose to pay for them. Your Council decided that the scheme was not in the interests of the Society, if indeed it were practicable, and declined to participate.

# SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31 DECEMBER 1950

## CURRENT ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS			EXPENDITURE					
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Balance brought forward			54	11	8			
„ Subscriptions								
Ordinary members	260	14 0						
Associate members	12	6 6						
			273	0	6			
„ Investment Interest:								
British Railway Stock	8	4 0						
Defence Bonds	36	18 0						
Australian Stock	3	17 0						
Treasury Stock	4	14 4						
National Defence Loan	11	1 10						
Savings Bonds	3	0 4						
Conversion Stock	4	9 10						
Sudan Government Stock	3	5 0						
			75	10	4			
„ Sale of publications	56	1 6						
„ Refund income tax	18	13 4						
„ Deposit account	82	15 10						
„ Sale of prints	45	0 0						
„ Excursion credit	1	15 6						
„ Trustee Savings Bank	90	0 0						
			294	6	2			
			£697	8	8			
			£697	8	8			
By Subscriptions:								
British Records Association	1	0 0						
British Archaeological Association	1	1 0						
Folk Museum	2	2 0						
Council for British Archaeology	1	10 0						
Beds. Historical Records Society	2	2 0						
						7	15 0	
„ Printing						18	2 6	
„ Petty cash						7	0 0	
„ Custodian Cellarer's Chequer						2	0 0	
„ Secretary						30	0 0	
„ Bank charges							10	
„ Brass rubbing collection						6	0 0	
„ Publications						373	2 0	
„ Library						57	10 0	
„ Trustee Savings Bank						82	15 10	
„ Museum						20	0 0	
„ Refund subscriptions						2	10 0	
						606	16 2	
„ Balance						90	12 6	
						£697	8 8	

## DEPOSIT ACCOUNT

Balance brought forward	82	14 7
Interest	1	3
	£82	15 10
Withdrawn	£82	15 10

## TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT

Balance brought forward	445	11 0
Deposit	82	15 10
Interest	12	10 2
	£540	17 0
Withdrawn	90	0 0
	£450	17 0

## EXCAVATION FUND

### Current Account

Balance brought forward	52	17 2
Subscriptions	8	15 6
	£61	12 8

### Deposit Account

Balance brought forward	72	8 6
Interest	7	3
	£72	15 9

The Capital of the Society consists of the following Securities:

£100 Sudan 3½% Guaranteed Stock 1954-59.
£497. 3s. 6d. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1978-88.
£200 Commonwealth of Australia 3½% Stock 1951-54.
£1230 3% Defence Bonds.
£157. 6s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.
£100. 12s. 10d. 3% Savings Bonds 1965-75.
£128. 10s. 5d. 3½% Conversion Stock.
£369. 15s. 0d. 3% National Defence Loan 1954-58.
Post Office Savings Bank Book, Balance £550. 15s. 2d.

The Bank Balances are as follows:

	£	s. d.
Current account	90	12 6
Excavation Fund current account	61	12 8
Excavation Fund deposit account	72	15 9
Trustee Savings Bank	450	17 0
	£675	17 11

R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Hon. Treasurer*

We have gone through the Bank accounts and the vouchers, and consider that the accounts are correctly drawn up to exhibit the financial position of the Society. We have checked the Society's investments.

HENRY McANALLY  
F. PURYER WHITE

7 February 1951



# TWO CHARTERS OF STEPHEN AT JESUS COLLEGE

T. A. M. BISHOP, M.A.

AMONG the muniments of Jesus College,<sup>1</sup> in the archive group of St Radegund's Priory, two original charters of Stephen offer an apparent demonstration of continuity in the royal secretariat during his disturbed reign, since they were written—at an apparent interval of sixteen years—by the same chancery scribe.

Both charters (Plate I, no. 1 and no. 2) were edited for this Society by Arthur Gray, Fellow and subsequently Master of the College.<sup>2</sup> He showed that no. 1, issued at the strongpoint of Meppershall during the siege of Bedford, must be dated January 1138; and that no. 2, issued after the death of earl Eustace, must belong to the close of the reign, sometime after August 1153.

Separated by this long interval, the two charters were written by the same hand. There are, indeed, some apparent differences between them. The script of no. 1, comparatively soft and indistinct, can be explained as written by a different pen on a less favourable surface. In no. 1, but not in no. 2, *Eli* (line 1) has terminal *i*-longa; but this is not consistent practice in no. 1; compare *omni seculari*, line 9. In no. 2 an arbitrary cedilla (indicating diphthong *ae*) appears in *elemosinam*; but compare *que* and *ille* (lines 5 and 6). On the assumption—probably a fair one—that scribes were as a rule at least partly responsible for drafting the charters which they wrote, it is proper to notice some slight differences of grammatical construction between the two charters. No. 1 has *fecit...in elemosina* (line 6); no. 2 the more purposeful *in elemosinam* (line 4). In no. 1 *quieta* is followed by the simple ablative (line 9); in no. 2 *quietam* is constructed with *ab* (line 7). These are merely examples of that notorious taste, in the mediaeval draftsman and scribe, for elegant variation, of which another aspect appears in the use of both *piscatura* and *piscariam* in no. 2 (lines 4 and 6). The positive resemblances between the two charters are numerous. In both *i* is normally joined to preceding *e*, *f*, *r* and *t*; both are otherwise remarkable for discontinuity between letters and even between individual strokes, in strong contrast to most of the chancery hands of the reign. Corresponding letters of both are of the same size. Both charters exhibit the same degree of irregularity in the spacing of letters within words, and of words within phrases, and in the spacing between lines (neither charter is ruled). Detailed comparison is made easy by the similar wording

<sup>1</sup> I am obliged to the Master and Fellows of Jesus College for permission to reproduce these charters, to Mr D. J. V. Fisher for very kind assistance in having them photographed, and to the staff of the University Library.

<sup>2</sup> A. Gray, *Priory of St Radegund* (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1898), pp. 4, 9, 74, 75.

of both charters; the first twenty-three words and several block phrases appear in both. Detailed resemblances, roughly in order of their significance for identification, include: the two forms of general abbreviation marks, which are used almost indifferently; the idiosyncratic form of the tironian *et*; the sign for *-us* (*Monachus*, no. 1, line 4; *fidelibus*, no. 2, line 2); the form of the *-ct-* ligature (*predictam*, no. 1, line 7; *exactione, predicta*, no. 2, line 8); *g*, *r* and *x*; *t* (with the upright normally showing above the cross); and the broken-kneed appearance of *i*, *m* and *n*. In the identification of individual charter hands the forms of capital letters are usually of minor significance; capitals are usually written with comparative deliberation; and not every charter scribe, writing with deliberation, possessed sufficient co-ordination of hand and eye to produce a consistent result. In the script of nos. 1 and 2, which is uniformly deliberate throughout, a uniform style is clearly achieved; and among capital letters *S* and *R* are worth comparing. It has been said that the hand of these charters is that of a scribe of the royal chancery. There would be a rather strong presumption to the contrary, if they were the only surviving examples of the hand; it would be reasonable, in that case, to attribute them to a scribe employed by the Priory. As it happens, the hand of this scribe appears in charters of Stephen for numerous beneficiaries.<sup>1</sup>

The survival of a fairly considerable range of charters in the same hand offers an opportunity of determining the approximate dates of the scribe's chancery career. But I shall not attempt to list and date every charter in the hand of this scribe. Where (as in the present case) the guidance of Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville* is wanting, the problems of dating Stephen's charters, complex and closely interdependent, must be left to the specialist. Apart from no. 1, however, ten charters in the hand of this scribe have been fairly closely dated in editions and printed notices.<sup>2</sup> Only one of these is possibly earlier than 1146. Only one is necessarily earlier than 1149. At least seven must belong to the closing years of the reign. A difficulty thus arises as to the true date of no. 1, which seems to be chronologically isolated. I shall suggest three possible explanations.

The first is that the received date of no. 1 is wrong, and that the visit to Meppershall took place later in the reign. Apart from the evidence of handwriting there seem to be no reasons for believing this.

The second possibility must appear far-fetched and difficult. It is that no. 1 is a reissue, by the chancery, of a charter originally issued some years before. In the middle years of the twelfth century the Anglo-Norman and Angevin chancery seems

<sup>1</sup> Westminster Abbey Muniments xxxv, reproduced in *New Palaeographical Society*, 1st series, II, pl. 20(b). Oxford, Christ Church, reproduced in H. E. Salter, *Oxford Charters*, no. 61. Other charters in the hand of this scribe have been published in facsimile, unfortunately on a reduced scale. British Museum, Campb. ch. xiv. 6 (facsimile in *Charters in the British Museum*, no. 35) is an elaborate imitation of his hand; it is or purports to be a charter of Stephen for Aldgate Priory, which possessed models in three genuine charters of Stephen written by this scribe (P.R.O., Ancient Deeds A. 2021, 14897, 14900).

<sup>2</sup> Salter, *Oxford Charters*, no. 61; C. W. Foster, *Registrum Antiquissimum* (Lincoln Record Society), I, nos. 77, 86, 97; J. H. Round, *Ancient Charters* (Pipe Roll Society), no. 31 (the dating of which applies also to P.R.O., Ancient Deeds A. 15389, 15443); C. T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, v, 348; *New Pal. Soc.* 1st series, II, pl. 20(b); and no. 2 referred to in the text above.

R. Ece angli. Ep̄o de Eli. & Justic. & Vic. & Baron. & Minist. & Om̄ib  
 fidelib⁹ suis de Canteb⁹. salut. Sciatis me confirmasse  
 & concessisse Ecc̄ie & Sc̄imonialib⁹ s̄c̄o Wase de Canteb⁹. uaria do  
 nationē illā quā Willel⁹ Monach⁹ Augisat⁹ eis fecit de .ij. virgatis  
 t̄p̄e .7. de .ij. acris de p̄p̄ato. & de .iij. Cotayris cū tenentia sua  
 in Schelforde in elemosina p̄ anima Reg⁹ Henr⁹ & p̄ di⁹ fidelibus.  
 Quare uolo p̄cipio qđ Ecc̄ia illā & Sc̄imoniales t̄p̄ā p̄dictā &  
 p̄p̄atū & Cotayros cū tenentia sua bñ & in pace & libe & q̄ete &  
 in elemosina tenent soluta & q̄eta om̄i s̄taz exactione & serui  
 cio sic idē Wilt illi eis dedit & concessit t̄. Wilt mayrolt.  
 & Ham de Wazenna. Ap̄ Wapteshala. in obsidione.

R. Ece angli. Ep̄o de Eli. & Justic. & Vic. & Baron. & Minist. & Om̄ib  
 fidelib⁹ suis de Canteb⁹. salut. Sciatis me concessisse & confirmas  
 se donationē illā quā Comitissa Constanca uxor Com̄ Cust⁹ fit mei  
 fecit Sc̄imonialib⁹ de Canteb⁹. in elemosinā de tota piscariā &  
 aqua que buyzo Canteb⁹. p̄tinet. & de q̄etancia cor⁹ t̄p̄e sue. Q̄e  
 uolo p̄cipio qđ Sc̄imoniales ille tota t̄p̄ā nā & piscariā & aqua  
 bñ & in pace & libe & q̄ete tenent soluta & q̄eta ab om̄i s̄taz  
 exactione & seruiā sic p̄dicta Comitissa Cust⁹ illis dedit & con  
 cessit. & c̄p̄ta sua confirmant. t̄. Fulc⁹ de Dilli. & Rob⁹ fit Justic.  
 & Vic⁹ de Bida. & Henr⁹ de Hauomeycato. Ap̄ Canteb⁹.

to have used three distinct methods of dealing with charters of which—whether because they had been damaged or for some other reasons—duplicate copies were required. One method, which has been discussed by Delisle, was that of ‘innovation’.<sup>1</sup> This incorporated the substance of the old charter, but was in form a new and original act in which was recorded its actual place of issue and its actual witnesses. A second method, which has been illuminated by the discoveries of Professor Galbraith, was the ‘inspeximus’ by which the chancery recorded that the king had inspected (and confirmed) the charter or charters in question.<sup>2</sup> This method, which came to be the normal one, was already in use under Stephen,<sup>3</sup> but was still experimental in the later years of Henry II. And there seems to have been a third procedure to which I shall give the provisional name of ‘renovation’. By this a more or less verbatim copy of the charter which it was desired to renew was prepared, sealed and issued by the chancery, transcribing the place-date of the original charter (though the copy may have been written anywhere else), and transcribing the names of the original witnesses (though none of them was necessarily present when the copy was made, and though some of them may have died in the interval). The use of this method will account for the anomalies of certain charters of Henry II;<sup>4</sup> possibly it was in use under Stephen; and possibly (though very improbably) no. 1 is an example of a chancery renovation.

The third possibility, and by far the most probable one, is that no. 1 was in fact written at the date to which it has been attributed. That one of Stephen’s scribes should have worked in the chancery for sixteen years is remarkable; but it is less remarkable, on the whole, than that any royal scribe should have done so both before and after the *débâcle* in the king’s affairs in 1141. Between February and November of that year Stephen was in prison and central government in dissolution. At least one of Stephen’s chancery scribes was captured by the empress, or was brought over to her; and it is not certain that he ever returned to Stephen’s service.<sup>5</sup> But at least two of the king’s scribes—and the present scribe may have been a third—are found at work in the royal chancery both before February and after November 1141.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. Delisle, *Recueil des actes de Henri II: Introduction*, pp. 185 sqq. The notorious ‘innovations’ which Richard I required holders of his charters to obtain, pretexting the loss of his first Great Seal, were in the nature of inspeximus.

<sup>2</sup> V. H. Galbraith, *English Historical Review*, LII, pp. 67 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the charter of Stephen cited by Mr Galbraith, cf. Foster, *Reg. Ant.* I, no. 89, a primitive inspeximus.

<sup>4</sup> I hope to discuss them at length elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Two original charters of the empress (Salter, *Oxford Charters*, no. 68—Dr Salter points out that this is the hand of a royal scribe—and P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster Royal Charters, no. 16) were written by a scribe whose hand appears in four original charters of Henry I and nine original charters of Stephen; unfortunately I have not been able to date all the latter closely; very remarkably, he turns up again in four original charters of Henry II at Canterbury, Cathedral Library, all of the beginning of the reign.

If it were possible to recognize, with any assurance, a *generic* ‘chancery’ script, the remarkably fluent and practised script of three other charters of the empress (Cambridge, King’s College, St James Exeter no. 1; P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster Royal Charters, nos. 17 and 19) might be claimed as that of a royal scribe.

<sup>6</sup> (a) The scribe of (1) B.M., Add. ch. 19581 (1136–9) and (2) Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Muniments A 1/1/7, facsimile (reduced) in Foster, *Reg. Ant.* I, pl. VIII, 100 (1145); and (b) the scribe of (1) P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster Royal Charters, no. 15, printed in Round, *Ancient Charters*, no. 23 (probably 1139) and (2) Duchy of Lancaster Royal Charters, no. 18, printed in Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 140 (December 1141).

Its comparative isolation in time, however, remains a difficulty in no. 1. It has been stated that most of the original charters in this hand belong to the latter half of the reign; it should be added that this is the only recognizable chancery hand which appears in Stephen's later charters. Now surviving originals of twelfth-century royal charters afford an inadequate idea both of the chancery establishment as it stood at various periods, and of the nature of its work. By far the greater part of this consisted in writing letters which circulated solely within the administration, central and local, and which it was probably normal routine to destroy.<sup>1</sup> What have survived are documents which were issued to beneficiaries, and which it was in the interest of beneficiaries to keep. And it is morally certain that such documents (in the nature of the Charters and Letters Patent of the thirteenth century) were not obtained by beneficiaries without some small fees to the scribes who wrote them. At certain periods in the twelfth century—in the early years of Stephen, and in the early years of Henry II—this lucrative work seems to have been very fairly shared among the chancery staff.<sup>2</sup> But at certain other periods—for example the middle and later years of Henry II—it seems to have been kept mainly in the hands of not more than one or two scribes. Of possible explanations for their apparently privileged status—a connexion, for example, among prospective beneficiaries, or favouritism on the part of the *magister scriptorii*—the most probable is mere seniority. One of Henry II's chancery scribes was in the service from at least as early as 1163 to at least as late as 1187; but most of the original charters surviving in his hand belong to the last ten years of that period, and more than half of the original charters of Henry II surviving from the last ten years of that period are in his hand.<sup>3</sup> An elder colleague of his, who has been identified as a certain Germanus, was a prolific writer of charters in the period 1163–77; it is the more or less accidental survival of one or two originals which shows that he was employed in the chancery as early as 1155.<sup>4</sup> These hands represent, I suggest, the failures of the chancery; comparatively elderly men who had missed or been unfitted for the chances of careers and preferment open to able and ambitious clerks in the royal service; and who were compensated, or compensated themselves, by the privilege of earning a few modest fees. And if the scribe of nos. 1 and 2 was senior and quasi-privileged in 1154, that is positive evidence to suggest that he was already at work, as a comparatively junior member of the chancery staff, in January 1138.

<sup>1</sup> Delisle, *Recueil: Introd.* pp. 1–5.

<sup>2</sup> The hands of ten regularly employed chancery scribes have been identified in original charters of Stephen of 1135–41; and of no less than fourteen regularly employed chancery scribes in original charters of Henry II of the short period 1155–8.

<sup>3</sup> A well-known scribe, numerous facsimiles of whose work include Salter, *Oxford Charters*, nos. 19, 39 and 40, and *Charters in the British Museum*, no. 56. Cambridge, Queens' College, an original charter of Henry II in the Museum, is an excellent example of his work.

<sup>4</sup> For this scribe, cf. 'Germanus Scriptor and Nicholas de Sigillo', *Bodleian Library Record*, III, p. 185.

# THE FIRST CAMBRIDGE NEWSPAPER

G. A. CRANFIELD

WHILE no complete file of *The Cambridge Journal & Weekly Flying Post* is known to have survived, sufficient copies have been preserved to provide a fairly detailed picture of the character, content and influence of this, the first Cambridge newspaper. The *Journal* flourished between the years 1744 and 1766; and although only nine issues are available for the last six years of its life, the Cambridge University Library and the British Museum possess over five hundred copies over the period 1745 to 1760, when no rival had appeared upon the scene, and the *Journal* enjoyed its greatest success.

In a town in which the proportion of literacy must have been considerably higher than that of most country towns of this period, it may seem strange that no local paper had appeared before this. In the surrounding area, Norwich had a newspaper as early as 1701; the *Stamford Mercury* had started in 1713; and both the *Northampton Mercury* and the *Ipswich Journal* had appeared in 1720. But the provincial newspaper was still in its infancy. Certainly its introduction in a particular town formed no reliable guide to that town's influence, size or literacy, but merely indicated the presence there of a trained printer ambitious enough to promote the venture despite the risk of financial loss occasioned by the smallness of the reading public and the difficulties of distribution.<sup>1</sup> But a public was ready and waiting. Quite apart from the town, the University provided a large body of potential readers, whose avidity for news was thus described by the disapproving Roger North:

It is become a fashion, after Chapel, to repair to one or other of the coffee-houses, for there are divers, where hours are spent in talking, and less profitable reading of newspapers, of which swarms are continually supplied from London. And the scholars are so greedy after news, which is none of their business, that they neglect all for it; and it is become very rare for any of them to go directly to his Chamber after Prayers without doing his suit at the coffee-houses, which is a vast loss of time.<sup>2</sup>

Also, of course, the University formed a large reservoir of educated literary talent only too willing to contribute essays and poems. But the town's position on the post road and its proximity to the capital gave its inhabitants easy access to the London daily and evening papers, and so bore heavily against the introduction of a local weekly.

<sup>1</sup> An outstanding example of this is provided by the tiny town of St Ives, Hunts, where no less than three papers were founded before 1720.

<sup>2</sup> Roger North, *Life of the Hon. Sir Dudley North, and of the Hon. and Rev. Dr John North* (London, 1744), p. 249.

Circumstances in 1744 were, however, extremely favourable to the venture: open war with France had broken out in March, and rumours of imminent invasion had stirred the public into an intense interest in national affairs. Accordingly two London printers, Robert Walker and Thomas James,<sup>1</sup> set up a printing office 'next the Theatre Coffee-House', and, in September,<sup>2</sup> launched the *Cambridge Journal*. Walker was a printer of some note who between the years 1734 and 1762 printed six London papers.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the *Cambridge Journal* was but one of several provincial newspapers in which he had an interest, for his name appeared on the imprints of the *Warwick and Staffordshire Journal*, 1737-43; the *Shropshire Journal*, 1737-9; the *Lancashire Journal*, 1738; the *Derbyshire Journal*, 1738; and the *Oxford Flying Weekly Journal*, 1746-8. His enterprise in setting up such papers in some of the more important provincial centres, or in printing newspapers in London for distribution in particular country areas, foreshadows the activities of later 'press barons'. He was presumably the sleeping partner of the *Cambridge Journal*. But the books printed by his London office were frequently advertised in the *Journal's* columns: indeed, such trade announcements were so regular in all his provincial papers that it seems possible that his interest in the provincial newspaper press was mainly inspired by a businesslike appreciation of its potentialities as an advertising medium.

In appearance and layout the *Journal* was a typical provincial newspaper of the period. Published weekly, its price was 2*d.*—raised to 2½*d.* in 1757—and it consisted of four pages measuring 15½ in. by 11 in., with three columns to the page. As the printing press of the time was 'in design and method... still the press of Caxton',<sup>4</sup> there was not time for the printer to collect and collate a whole week's news before going to press: the news had to be printed as it arrived, and it was a common occurrence for the various posts to contradict one another. Consequently, the *Journal* was divided into three main headings: 'Tuesday's and Wednesday's Posts', 'Thursday's and Friday's Posts', and 'Saturday's and Sunday's Posts'. An explanation of this claim to print in a Saturday paper the news of Sunday's post was given immediately under that heading:

The Publick are desir'd to take Notice that whatever Occurrences are inserted under this Head are the material Articles inserted in the London Evening Papers, which do not arrive here by the Post till Sunday in the Afternoon,

while no. 183 of 19 March 1748 mentioned 'the Person who went express' for this post. The *Northampton Mercury* had achieved a journalistic triumph by employing

<sup>1</sup> The Register of Apprentices in the Muniment Room of the Worshipful Company of Stationers reveals that Walker, 'Son of Thomas, London, Gentleman', was apprenticed on 4 February 1723 to James Read, printer. James, 'Son of Thomas, London, Letterfounder', was apprenticed on 4 September 1733 to Edward Cave, printer, and took up the freedom of the city on 2 April 1751. Walker apparently never took up his freedom.

<sup>2</sup> By the somewhat dangerous method of calculating back from the first issue available, no. 26 of 16 March 1745, the date of 22 September 1744 for no. 1 is obtained.

<sup>3</sup> A. Aspinall, 'Statistical Account of the London Newspapers in the Eighteenth Century', in the *English Historical Review* of April 1948, gives a list of the London papers printed by Walker.

<sup>4</sup> *Johnson's England*, ed. A. S. Turberville, II, p. 331.

an agent to be in London early on Saturday, collect all the London papers, and ride post-haste to Northampton, arriving some hours before the official post. But there was a clear discrepancy between the *Cambridge Journal's* claim to a similar feat and its performance. No London evening paper appeared on Fridays, and the *Journal* was published too early on Saturday for any of the London papers of that morning to be quoted. Thus, the much-vaunted 'Saturday's and Sunday's Posts' consisted merely of the news in the London papers of Friday morning, and a few rumours of Friday evening which had been passed on to its agent by the postboy, when intercepted at some point between the two towns. The printers of the *Northampton Mercury* and the *Stamford Mercury*, after considering at some length the claims of their mutual rival, came to the unanimous conclusion that the title of the Cambridge paper should be, not the *Flying Post*, but the 'Lying Post'.<sup>1</sup>

The modern headline had yet to be developed, and the news items were headed quite simply 'Foreign Affairs', 'Country News' and 'London', with the occasional appearance of 'Scottish Affairs', 'Plantation News', 'Ireland' and 'Ship News'. The 'Cambridge' section, brief in length and of uncertain regularity, was inserted after the last post. Page 4 was at first devoted to news items carried over from page 1, and to advertisements, particularly those of books and patent medicines. Like all provincial printers of that golden age of quacks, Walker and James combined journalism with bookselling and with the more dubious but often more lucrative calling of distributors of quack medicines. Indeed, Walker patented a medicine of his own, the well-known 'Jesuits Drops', in 1755.

To increase their sales, the printers gave away weekly instalments of books: *The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne* in 1744; *The Life and Adventures of Simon, Lord Lovat* in 1746; and *The Impartial History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars* in 1749. Evidence that such enterprise did not go unrewarded is not wanting: by 1750 the *Journal* had agents in Stamford, Peterborough, Ely, Wisbech, Boston and Spalding; and by 1764 in London, Stamford, Ely, St Ives, Huntingdon, Boston and Spalding. The number of independent advertisements, excluding those concerned with books and medicines, rose steadily from an average of a mere half-dozen in the early years to twelve in 1749, and eighteen in 1757. Indeed, by 28 November 1747, with as little regard to strict truth as they had shown in their claim to last-minute news, the printers were boasting that 'no other Country Paper in England has so extensive a Circuit'.

Unfortunately the printers were remarkably reticent upon the subject of circulation. It would, however, be impossible, even were any figures of sales given, to estimate with any degree of accuracy the number of actual readers. As a contemporary said:

The greater part of the people do not read books; most of them cannot read at all: but they will gather together about one that can read, and listen to an 'Observer' or 'Review', as I have seen them, in the streets,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Stamford Mercury*, no. 732, 21 December 1744; *Northampton Mercury*, vol. xxvi, no. viii, 27 May 1745.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Leslie, *Rehearsals*, quoted by Charles Knight, *The Old Printer and the Modern Press* (London, 1854), p. 219.

while Addison estimated that twenty people read every copy of the *Spectator*. Lending of copies and public readings in taverns and coffee-houses ensured that the influence of these papers was out of all proportion to the number of copies actually sold. Not until no. 1040 of 1 September 1764 were any details given:

The number printed of it is much larger than most other Country Papers during the Time of Peace: wherefore the Advantage of Advertising in this is so considerable as the Circulation of it is so vastly extensive, that the Number sent Weekly to only one Town in the County of Lincoln is upwards of 600, exclusively of those sold in this University, Town, and neighbouring Villages; besides there are Seven Men at a great Expence, who convey this Paper thro' the Counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Hertford, Northampton, Leicester, Rutland, Nottingham, Derby, and Part of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, it is also by Post conveyed to London and Westminster, and into the Counties of Middlesex and York.

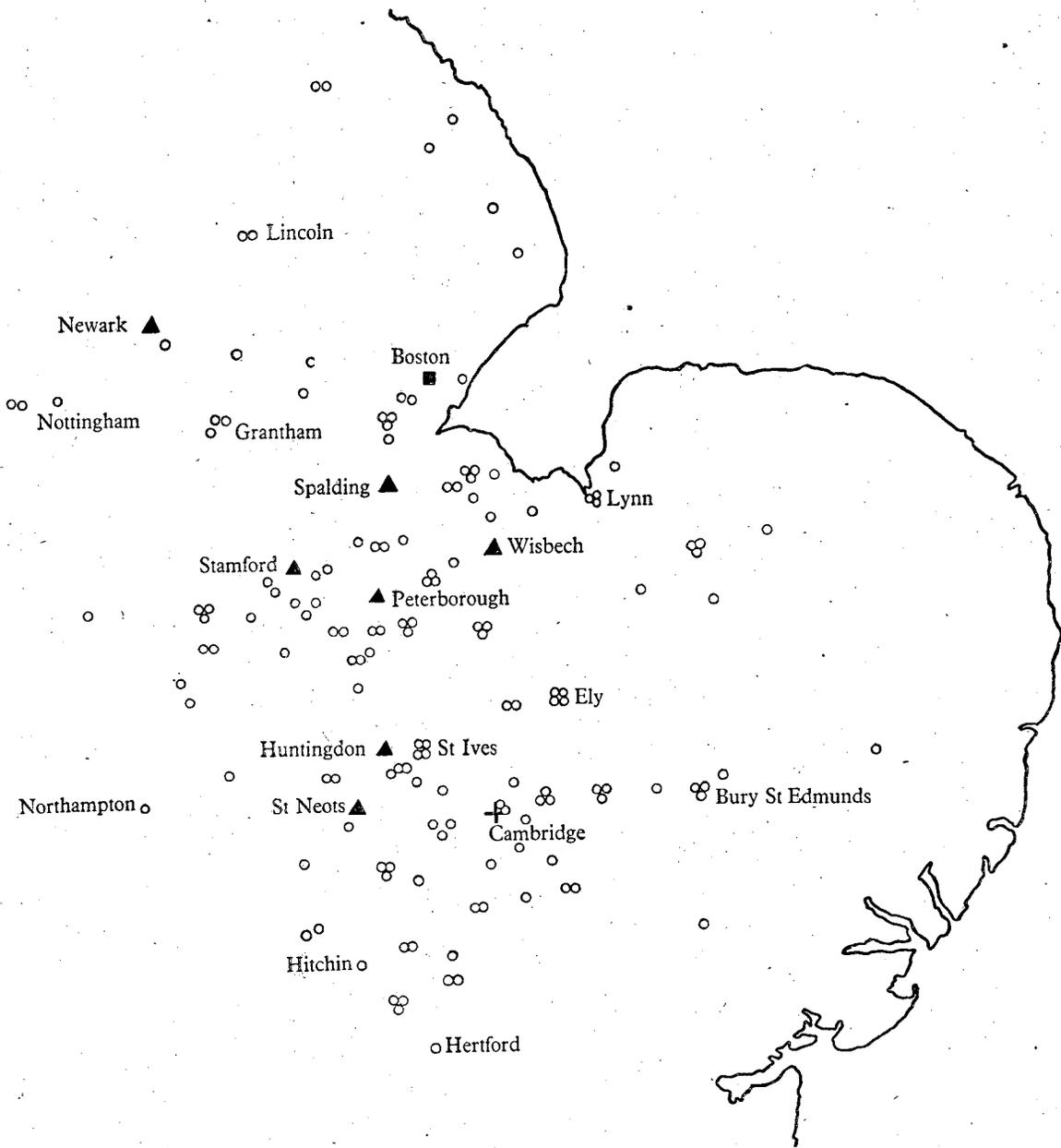
Thus, like all its contemporaries, the *Journal* overcame the distribution problem presented by the wretched cross-country postal service by means of a private delivery system based on its own news-carriers.

The sphere of influence thus outlined, and indeed claimed throughout the *Journal's* whole career, is so extensive that one would be inclined to dismiss it as yet another example of the printers' scant regard for the truth. A study of the *Journal's* advertisements, however, reveals that there was a solid foundation for such assertions. In the accompanying map, the place of origin of all the independent advertisements for the year 1749 has been plotted.<sup>1</sup> Advertisements originating in London or in Cambridge itself have been omitted, while repeated insertions have been counted as one only. The sphere of influence thus disclosed is impressive. Although the most concentrated area naturally lies in the immediate neighbourhood, Lincolnshire is very heavily represented, while quite an extensive crop appears in the surrounding counties. The number in East Anglia is noticeably small: clearly the Norwich and Ipswich papers had a virtual monopoly of this area. But the number originating in Stamford is curious, in view of the existence of the powerful *Stamford Mercury*.<sup>2</sup> A study of the *Journal* of later years shows that its extensive circuit was not only maintained but even enlarged. However, this concentration upon a wide area could prove dangerous to the paper's position in Cambridge itself, as subsequent events were to show.

It remains to explain how it was that the *Journal* could encroach so successfully upon the natural spheres of such papers as the *Stamford Mercury*. The expansion of industry and commerce was creating a demand for educated clerks, and so providing a growing reading public outside London—a public whose growth throughout the century was reflected in the steadily increasing number of provincial newspapers.

<sup>1</sup> Acknowledgement is due to Mr M. J. Wise for the idea of using newspaper advertisements for this purpose. See his article 'Birmingham and its trade relations in the early eighteenth century', in the *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, vol. II, no. I, 1949, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> So important was the custom of Stamford that in 1749 the publishing day of the *Journal* was actually changed to Friday, the market day of that town. Ten weeks later the day of publication became Saturday again: *Cambridge Journal*, 15 April and 24 June 1749.



PLACE OF ORIGIN OF ADVERTISEMENTS 1749

■ = 10 or more.      ▲ = between 5 and 10.  
 ○ = one advertisement.

Clearly Cambridge, the population of which in 1749 was estimated to be only 6131,<sup>1</sup> was too small to support a newspaper, and the printers were forced to concentrate upon a wider field. Undoubtedly Cambridge was well situated to act as a service centre for a large area—an area which, save for the Stamford paper, was uncomfortably far removed from the printing offices of neighbouring papers. But the *Journal* was not noticeably better than its rivals. The answer to the problem probably lies in the presence of the University.

As the foremost seat of learning, the University possessed a news interest of its own, appealing to a far wider public than the purely local one. It was the one great asset possessed by the printers, and descriptions of its activities formed the greater part of the Cambridge section. Accounts of Fellowships, elections, prize essay competitions, lists of the numbers and colleges of those admitted to degrees, and details of Graces were frequent. Also, in view of the intimate connexion between the University and the Church, it seems probable that many of the more distant readers of the *Journal* were clergymen hungry for preferment who hoped to find in its pages news of vacancies in the many rich livings in the gift of the various colleges. Certainly the *Journal* did its best to cater for this type of reader, and reports of preferments, usually with full financial details, were prominent. Thus, no. 219 reported that a Fellow of Clare Hall had been presented to the living of Brooks, Essex, worth £200 a year, while no. 308 noted that a Fellow of King's had been presented to that of Ringwood, Hampshire, worth £350. Such examples could be multiplied a hundred times. It cannot be said however that the *Journal* was often able to give advance information of vacancies: too often its report was of the filling of a vacancy, and so was of little use to the hungry seekers after preferment. But it did its best, and, for example, nos. 226 and 375 noted the deaths of two rectors of Balsham, 'worth near 400 l.'—with the intimation in the second case that the competition was likely to be formidable, with the Master of St Catharine's and a senior Fellow of St John's standing as candidates.

Other local news was meagre and sporadic: the absence of trained reporters meant that no attempt was made to report events outside the immediate locality. Even Stamford was largely ignored. And, in a small and largely self-contained community, gossip in taverns and along the road would spread news long before a weekly paper could put it into print. Thus, the local news consisted mainly of deaths, crime and accidents, for public events such as municipal or parliamentary elections were too well known in the vicinity to need reporting in any save the barest fashion, and would be of little interest to 'foreign' readers. Also, the printers were too anxious not to offend powerful local interests to take up a forceful line on local affairs, and so maintained a cautious silence. Thus, the University controversy over the 1750 regulations, and the subsequent conflict over the question of the right of appeal from the sentence of the Vice-Chancellor<sup>2</sup> passed practically unnoticed in the columns of

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1852), IV, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> For the whole controversy, see D. A. Winstanley, *The University of Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 199 ff.

the *Journal*. Certainly a far better account of them appeared in the London papers, and in provincial papers like the *Norwich Mercury* which, being farther removed from the scene of action, were less afraid of local interests and less susceptible to local pressure. Local correspondents who wished to air their views upon such topics were forced to go outside Cambridge: thus the Oxford paper, *The Student*, of August 1750, contained a clever satire on the regulations from a Cambridge contributor.

Like most other papers of the time, the *Journal* printed each week a list of bankrupts, stocks, and the 'Prices of Goods at the Bearkey'.<sup>1</sup> It also added, presumably for purposes of comparison, a most useful list of the prices of the more important grains and foodstuffs at various local markets—Cambridge, Ware, Hitchin, St Albans, Hertford, and occasionally Biggleswade.

However, the *Journal's* policy of stepping carefully between opposing interests is apparent in its reporting of any topic likely to arouse local passions: its ambition was to be the county paper and to make no enemies. Just as the personality of the printers was kept in the background in local politics, so in local affairs generally, apart from the occasional expression of opinion appearing in the correspondence, the *Journal* confined itself to news and eschewed views. Local questions were thrashed out by correspondents, with no editorial comment whatsoever. Thus the benefits of repairing the road from Huntingdon to Coventry were urged at great length by 'Publicus' in no. 382, while the refusal of local masters to carry goods to King's Lynn until the exorbitant charges levied by that town were abolished was given great publicity in no. 176. Similarly, the *Journal's* pages were thrown open quite impartially to a complicated and highly technical discussion on the merits and demerits of the 1747 project to rebuild the Denver Sluice in the Fens.<sup>2</sup>

However, local news and correspondence formed only an insignificant part of the contents of eighteenth-century provincial newspapers. Indeed, they were 'local' in name only. Their object was to provide for the price of one newspaper the most important items contained in a dozen or more London papers. In the words of Couper,<sup>3</sup> they were 'almost parasites on the newspapers of London and the Continent'. Thus, from no. 38 of 8 June 1745 the main announcement read:

The Advices contained in this Journal are collected from the following Papers, viz. Amsterdam, Utrecht, Hague, Leyden, Brussels, Paris and London Gazettes; the Paris A-la-Main; London, General and St James's Evening Posts; London Courant; Daily Advertiser; General Advertiser; Daily Post; Daily Gazetteer; Universal Spectator; Old England Journal; Craftsman; Westminster Journal; Dublin and Edinburgh News Papers; and Wye's, Fox's and other Written Letters; besides private Intelligence.

Nor was this impressive list conclusive, for there were few papers upon which the *Journal* did not levy tribute at some time or another. Its pages were thus filled with

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Bear Quay, off Thames Street, London, where most of the grain ships discharged their cargoes, and where the first great corn market had been established. See W. J. Passingham, *London's Markets* (London), p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> That this impartiality was wise is proved by the fact that the Cambridge Corporation petitioned against the project: Couper, *op. cit.* IV, p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> W. J. Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press* (Stirling, 1908), p. 117.

verbatim extracts from other papers: what little original matter that appeared was to be found only in the meagre local section or the rare correspondence. And even the 'Letters to the Author' were frequently borrowed from a London paper.

The amount of space devoted to foreign affairs never fails to puzzle the modern reader; for it is scarcely conceivable that the eighteenth-century public could have been passionately interested in the endless diplomatic manifestos, details of European policy and odd items about foreign courts which filled the greater part of the *Journal*. But 'Foreign Affairs' held the position of honour at the top of each post; and only once during the whole crisis of the Forty-Five did the rebellion take precedence. But authority in the eighteenth century emphasized the distinction—often quite arbitrary—between the lawful liberty of the press and what it termed 'licentiousness': and frequent prosecutions of erring newspapers served to remind the remainder that any encroachment on the field of domestic politics in the way of frank comment on government policy was liable to be regarded as seditious. Thus, the *Journal's* earlier announcements read: 'We intend to give no Offence to any Party or Private Person, but to print an impartial News Paper.' In fact, the *Journal* endeavoured to make as few enemies as possible: as the only local paper it would be read by both parties, and it sought to please both. Clearly the printers had to step carefully; for, despite their professions of neutrality, there was no doubting that their sympathies were wholeheartedly with the Old Interest or Country Party—and Walker had been taken up for printing seditious pamphlets in 1728 and 1729—while the Corporation and University were Whig.

Thus in its reports of elections it is noticeable that the *Journal* never attached a party label to the candidates: it did not adopt the device of the *Norwich Gazette*, which printed the names of Old Interest candidates in capitals, and those of Whigs—and, to press the point home, the names of condemned criminals—in italics. Really local elections were, of course, too well known to need reporting: all that appeared were the election notices appealing for 'Votes and Interest'. Usually these notices followed a stereotyped pattern; but in the heat of the Forty-Five William Montague introduced the patriotic note:

From on Board his Majesty's Ship Prince Edward... I am called away to my Duty and have received my Sailing Orders, which renders it impossible for me to be present at the Election... Nothing but my Duty to my King and Country should have prevented my personal Attendance.

Of course, the *Journal* never openly identified itself with the Old Interest in local elections, even during the bitterly fought 1754 general election. Striking proof of the contemporary interest in politics is afforded by the fact that the first notice for this appeared as early as 28 October 1752. But only the bare notices were printed, and the *Journal* regularly carried an impressive list from Huntingdonshire, Bedford, Hertfordshire and Cambridge, accepting those from both parties. Most of these notices were of the standard highly non-committal pattern; but those of the eccentric Tory candidate for Cambridge, Jacob Butler, maintained from the first a highly individual note. Thus, no. 485 declared his determination to stand

that you and the World may know that there is one left of that Principle that once I knew Nine Parts in Ten of this Kingdom were, tho' many of them now living are become Zealots of that Party they despis'd.

But the desire to retain the custom of both parties largely gagged the *Journal* in the matter of local elections: there were none of the stories of violence, bribery and propaganda that appeared so frequently in its accounts of more distant affairs. In its reports of these, such squibs as the following, in no. 273 of 9 December 1749:

*On seeing Pollers go through a certain Church to vote a certain Way*

See, sculking thro' the Isles, each Tr—<sup>1</sup> Wight,  
Like filthy Owls of Prey, who dread the Light.  
O! strange Reverse of Things! what Heart but grieves:  
The House of Prayer, turn'd to a Den of Th—s,

showed clearly the *Journal's* political sympathies. Indeed, the *Journal* had long been carrying on, in very general terms, a sort of electioneering campaign of its own. It is, of course, difficult to dignify with the title of policy a collection of quite unoriginal and frequently contradictory paragraphs culled from London papers. But it must be remembered that, if outspoken utterances were largely gagged, a good deal could still be achieved by innuendo and by a judicious selection of items and sources. Thus, if the *Journal* was never to be so outspoken in its opposition to the Whig government as, for instance, the *Norwich Gazette*, it rarely let slip an opportunity of attacking the Ministry indirectly. Its readers were frequently regaled with 'endless diatribes on long since forgotten details of policy—mountains which are no longer even mole-hills'<sup>2</sup> as the *Journal* deliberately exploited such matters as the Jew Bill of 1753, the unpopular terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the rumours that Gibraltar was to be handed back to Spain. Similarly, sentiments with which no one could openly disagree, but which were clearly inspired by opposition sympathies, were extremely regular, protests at the growth of 'corruption' and 'influence' appearing almost weekly. This steady indictment of the *ancien régime* type of government, repeated as it was in similar papers throughout the country, was of vast importance for the future. Fundamental issues were being brought to the attention of the public, which was thus being educated into a sense of its political rights and duties. The Radical movement of the late 1760's owed much to the steady dissemination of radical views in such papers as the *Cambridge Journal*.

But politics were a dangerous subject, and the *Journal* was happier on the safer topics of foreign affairs, diplomacy, and, if possible, war. So long as the 1744 war with France and the later Seven Years War lasted, the printers had no difficulty in filling their pages. Campaigns were described in exhaustive detail, such events as the loss of the Tournay action in 1745 being given three and a half columns of no. 34 and all page 1 of no. 35 of 13 May 1745. Even during the Forty-Five the emphasis remained on foreign affairs.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Lord Trentham, the Whig candidate in the Westminster election of 1749.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Hillhouse, *The Grub Street Journal* (Duke University Press, 1923), pp. 5-6.

The first uncertain rumours of the landing of the son of the Young Pretender appeared in no. 46 of 5 August 1745; yet, despite the stirring nature of the news, very little space was devoted to 'Scotch Affairs'. Certainly there was no trace of panic in the *Journal*, which usually referred to the rebellion as 'a mere Jest' or 'a very Don Quixote Enterprise'. With no. 54 of 28 September and the news of the occupation of Edinburgh, a turning point was reached: clearly the affair was not the holiday excursion of a hare-brained youth at first expected. Now appeared the first report of local action:

The Rebellion in the North growing every Day more formidable, and the Well-being of this Nation depending intirely on the Zeal and Loyalty of his Majesty's Subjects, the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of Huntingdon are earnestly desir'd to meet at the George Inn . . . to consult together and enter into proper Measures for the Defence and Service of King George and his Royal Family, and to manifest their Regard for the Protestant Religion and the Preservation of Our Laws and Liberties.

A similar notice for Cambridge and Ely appeared in no. 61—surprisingly late in the day.

The pages were now filled with the propagandist efforts of correspondents, prominent amongst whom was 'True Briton', a gentleman who combined a hatred of Popery with an equally strong regard for the sanctity of property. In no. 57 of 19 October the *Journal's* patriotism excelled itself, the slogans NO PRETENDER, NO SLAVERY, NO POPY, being inscribed in large black capitals up and down the margins of page 1, while across the bottom of the page appeared NO FRENCH INFLUENCE, NO ARBITRARY POWER, NO WOODEN SHOES. By now a series of what might be called practical hints to amateur soldiers was being printed: no. 58 explained how to counter the Highlander's broadsword, while no. 61 advised on the correct way to use a bayonet against a buckler.

But the danger disappeared with startling suddenness in December—though no. 65 of 8 December reported a panic in Stamford on a rumour that the Highlanders were approaching—and a humorous note appeared for the first time for many weeks. Thus no. 66 contained a mock advertisement:

Escaped from his Keepers at Rome about 4 months ago. A tall young Man about 25 Years of Age, very nearsighted and disorder'd in his Senses, of Scotch Extraction, whose Father was Son (by Adoption) of Mr James Stuart who kept the Crown near St James's in London.

In peacetime, however, the *Journal* was hard put to it to find material of interest to fill its columns, scanty as they were. It was forced to follow the example of its contemporary, the *Reading Mercury*, which had announced that 'when a scarcity of news happens, we shall divert you with something merry'.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the *Journal*, the peace of 1748 led to a very important development. Like many other provincial newspapers, it began to print essays from the fashionable London papers, the satirical *World* and *Covent Garden Journal* being the most popular, although a long series from the *Inspector* regaled readers with the milk-and-water type of moral

<sup>1</sup> *Reading Mercury*, no. 1, 8 July 1723.

homilies so dear to the eighteenth century. But no. 239 of 15 April 1749 announced a completely new idea, the intention to print weekly instalments of 'that curious Novel, *The Unfortunate Duchess*'. Henceforward a long list of novels appeared in serial form. The titles of these novels speak for themselves: *Mistaken Jealousy*; *Reciprocal Love*; *The Generous Country Girl, or, Disinterested Love*, etc. Such enterprise ensured that the printers were never reduced to the straits of the *Leicester Journal* which at one time printed chapters from the Old Testament, reaching Exodus before the arrival of rather more recent news.<sup>1</sup>

As was the case with all the papers of the period, the serious news was inextricably mixed with an extraordinary collection of trivialities and items of human interest. The trial of Miss Blandy, who murdered her uncle in 1751, was exhaustively reported until in nos. 391-6 the whole of page 4 was devoted to it, to the complete exclusion of the advertisements. Detailed descriptions of particularly gruesome murders, accounts of monstrous births, public executions, and all the more sensational aspects of eighteenth-century life thronged the pages of the *Journal*, jostling with specimens of the broadest possible humour. In no. 78 of 15 March 1746, 'a Bachelor not above 60 with a clear Estate of 5000 l. per Annum', who wished to have an heir, advertised for a wife. No less than ten answers were subsequently printed, all in a vein of somewhat coarse humour. Thus a woman in no. 80 wrote that 'if he is very impatient for an heir, he may depend upon one in less than five Months'.

In the papers of the eighteenth century the news was so scanty that the advertisements were sure to be read. Advertising was, however, an expensive luxury: in 1712 a tax of 1s. had been laid upon every advertisement irrespective of its length; and in 1757 this tax was doubled. The *Journal* charged 2s. 6d. for advertisements 'of a moderate length' until 1757, when it charged 3s. 6d. This was later reduced, under the spur of local competition, to 3s. for those 'not exceeding 24 Lines'.

The trade announcements were extraordinarily varied, and throw a vivid light upon the state of society. Property was advertised most frequently of all; but it was followed closely by 'stolen or stray'd' horses and by demands to debtors to pay their debts. Runaway apprentices were the subject of frequent notices; and often the descriptions of these lads were far from flattering. In no. 436, appeared the following:

Whereas on Wednesday the 24th. of January, John Hays absented himself. . . . He is broad-set, low of Stature, between 19 and 20 Years of Age, with brown short Hair, very thick Lips and wide Mouth, and speaks thick, full-fac'd, and sour Countenance, short Arms, large Hands BUT OF LITTLE WORTH.

Occasionally a lively note appeared. Clearly innkeepers, tradesmen and the owners of cattle were not alone in appreciating the publicity offered by the *Journal*, whose columns were frequently utilized for private wars. Thus the controversy over the rebuilding of the Denver Sluice was fought out in the advertisements, while public apologies were common.

On the whole therefore the *Journal* was a typical eighteenth-century provincial

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Timperley, *Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdotes* (London, 1842), p. 680.

newspaper. Its more interesting features, however, dropped out after 1755: with the outbreak of the Seven Years War, politics were cast aside, and even the literary content disappeared. So dull did the paper become, in fact, that in 1762 a rival, the *Cambridge Chronicle* appeared—a rival which in 1767 was to swallow up the older *Journal*. The *Journal* had made surprisingly little use of the wealth of talent available locally, although the readiness of the University to contribute had been proved by the number of Cambridge compositions in the *Oxford Student*; but from the first the *Chronicle* set out to capture the University public, and welcomed original contributions. Similarly, the *Journal* had paid little attention to the arts; but the *Chronicle* headed one of its main sections 'Literature and Entertainment', in which it discussed books and the stage. In the absence of any continuous run of the *Journal* after 1760 it is difficult to show how it answered this challenge. By 1764 its size had been increased to 16½ in. by 11 in., with four columns to the page, and it was giving more space to literary articles and to local news. But the *Journal's* chief reaction seems to have been in the form of abuse. Certainly the *Chronicle* rapidly gained ground, mainly by its appeal to the University interest. A correspondent in no. 4 summed up the position:

With the assistance of your correspondents, added to your own endeavours, [I] think the Cambridge Chronicle bids fair to become a favourite with the Public, and not unworthy this Seat of the Muses.

In that last phrase lay the reason for the *Journal's* failure. It was a typical newspaper of the time; but a University town might expect its local paper to be something more. And so, on 3 January 1767, the *Chronicle* appeared as *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, with a farewell message from Sarah James<sup>1</sup> announcing her retirement 'on Account of her ill State of Health'.

A life of over twenty years was no mean achievement in an age in which newspapers sprang up like mushrooms overnight, and often died quite as suddenly. And, if the *Journal* eventually failed to satisfy the more exacting standards of an advancing public, its pages possess an importance and interest for the modern reader undreamed of by its printers. Walker and the James family had no thought of writing for posterity: like all provincial journalists of the time they were intent on reflecting the opinions and interests of their immediate public. Because they reflected rather than tried to form public opinion, their newspapers form a valuable, if somewhat neglected, source for the local historian, and, for the general reader, throw a fascinating light upon the opinions and ideals of eighteenth-century Cambridge.

<sup>1</sup> The widow of Thomas James, who had died in October 1758. Walker had severed his connexion with the *Journal* in 1753.

# SIR CORNELIUS VERMUYDEN AND THE GREAT LEVEL OF THE FENS.<sup>1</sup> A NEW JUDGEMENT

L. E. HARRIS, A.M.I.MECH.E.

I AM NOT going to pretend that in the past a lot has not been written about Cornelius Vermuyden, but I would go so far as to say that, if a lot has been written, in the end very little has been said and of that little a lot has been inaccurate. In the popular mind Vermuyden is the man who drained the Fens, but, of course, the Vermuyden story is not quite so simple as that, and this statement is in itself inaccurate because his work in the Fens was confined to the Great Level, or Bedford Level as we know it to-day, and this comprises only about 307,000 acres of the Fenland as a whole, or something less than half the total area of over 700,000 acres. I am not suggesting that that fact in any way detracts from the greatness of Vermuyden's achievement, but it is cited as an example of the rather loose thinking associated with the man, if, indeed, there has been much thought devoted to him. That, perhaps, is rather strange if it is realized that undoubtedly he did occupy a position of some considerable, if varying, importance in England during the thirty-five years from 1621 to 1656, after which he disappeared behind a curtain of obscurity which has not yet to my knowledge been pierced.

Korthals-Altes, the Dutch writer, has produced what is, perhaps, the longest story to be concerned with Vermuyden—if we except the writing of Samuel Smiles—but he is inaccurate in many details. Furthermore, he has dealt in his book almost entirely with the Hatfield Chase undertaking and given only a page or two to the Great Level, by far the most important of Vermuyden's activities.

In a life so complicated as that of Vermuyden it would be impossible, within the compass of a short paper, to deal in any sensible or adequate way with more than a portion of this life, and the limited objective of this paper is to examine and dissect something of the story of Vermuyden and the Great Level in order to arrive at what, it is hoped, is a new and reasoned judgement not of the work alone but also of the man himself, and a judgement based not so much on new information but on a re-evaluation of established evidence.

In expressing the doubt whether much thought has been devoted to Vermuyden I base that statement on the conclusion that almost up to the present day it has been customary to form a judgement on him not on an independent evaluation of the available evidence but on what has been said before. To paraphrase what

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read to the Society on 12 February 1951.

Fox-Davies said about the study of Armory, 'some statement appears in a book about Vermuyden, it is copied into book after book, and accepted by those who study Vermuyden as being correct, while all the time it is absolutely wrong'. Hence the adverse criticisms and condemnations of the seventeenth century were repeated in the eighteenth and nineteenth, and even in the twentieth century, so that, starting with the rather vindictive pamphlets of Andrewes Burrell in 1641, there has been a progression of adverse criticism of such individuals as, for instance, Thomas Badeslade, Charles Labelye, Samuel Wells, Miller and Skertchley jointly and Skertchley individually, to the happily more enlightened, and hence more charitable, judgements of to-day based on a wider knowledge of hydraulic principles and of the particular problems of the Fenland.

I have no intention of entering into a discussion of any complicated hydraulic principles involved in the draining of the Fens. There is no conclusive evidence to show that Vermuyden ever had any scientific training, even within the limits of his own period, and from the evidence of his own *Discourse touching the Drayning of the Great Fennes* which was published in 1642, the reasoning on which his practical remedies were based was simply that of common sense, or pure empiricism. That was the only course to pursue because not only was there not at that time any developed science of hydraulics, or perhaps it would be more correct to say of hydrology, even if he had had the training, and moreover, the drainage of low-lying lands was not in the seventeenth century, and it is not now, an exact science. Fen drainage may, perhaps, to-day involve the applications of the principles of a developed science of hydrology to individual problems such as siltation, erosion, and so on, and also the application of the more recently developed science of soil mechanics, but it still remains to a large extent within the province of practical experience and common sense. Not that I am suggesting that it is an easy problem. It is far from that, but what I want to emphasize is that my main consideration is not drainage principles but rather Cornelius Vermuyden the man.

Nor is it intended to relate what would be the rather tedious details of Vermuyden's career in England. These have been referred to time after time in the past with varying degrees of accuracy, but I give below a brief chronology in order to provide some idea of the background against which he was working and against which, as it were, this paper has been prepared.

He was born about the year 1590 or 1595. The *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Wordenboek* gives the former date and the *Dictionary of National Biography* the latter. The place of his birth was St Maartensdijk, in the isle of Tholen, in the province of Zeeland. He came to England in or about the year 1621, in which year he carried out the repair work to the banks of the Thames at Dagenham with somewhat doubtful success. He drained Windsor Park for James I in 1623. In 1624 he and his wife were naturalized. In 1626 he signed an agreement with Charles I for the draining of the 70,000 acres of Hatfield Chase in Yorkshire. In 1628 he purchased the manor of Hatfield from the Crown for £10,000. On 6 January 1628/9 he was knighted by Charles at Whitehall and one wonders if the contribution of £10,000

to the royal treasury had anything to do with the knighthood. Later in 1629 he was very nearly appointed undertaker for the drainage of the Great Level of the Fens. In 1630 he was engaged by Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, as Director, or chief engineer, of the work of draining the Level. In 1638 when Charles declared himself the undertaker for the draining Vermuyden was again appointed Director. In 1649, after a lot of bitter argument, he was again appointed Director of the work of draining by the Adventurers of the Bedford Level, with William, fifth Earl of Bedford at their head, subsequent to the passing of the so-called Pretended Act of May of that year. The last occasion on which his name appeared in the Proceedings of the Adventurers was on 4 February 1655. In 1656 he unsuccessfully petitioned Parliament for permission to proceed with the draining of Sedgmoor, Somerset, 4000 acres of which he had purchased from the Crown some years previously for the sum of £12,000, and from that date onwards he disappeared completely from the records of history.

And the inevitable question is why—assuming of course that we admit, as I think we must, that Vermuyden was important.

In order to help us to answer that question it is desirable to know what kind of a man this Cornelius Vermuyden was. Plate II is a portrait of Vermuyden, painted by the Dutch portrait painter van Miereveld some time before 1641, which is now in the possession of the present writer owing to the generosity of Col. Noel to whom it originally belonged, Col. Noel being a direct descendant through the Earls of Gainsborough of the second creation of Anna Margareta Vernatti, great-granddaughter of Abraham Vernatti, one of the original participants with Cornelius Vermuyden in the undertaking of Hatfield Chase in 1626. It is believed to be the only portrait of Vermuyden extant.

But the interest of the portrait lies not in its history but in what it shows of the man himself. It is suggested that it was painted about the year 1638 when Vermuyden was at the height of his power and in the full favour of Charles I. It shows a man of obvious determination, a quality of which he had ample need in his later, bitter, struggles against all the obstacles with which he was faced. It shows also, perhaps, a man with more than a touch of aggressiveness, a quality, or shall we say disability, partly responsible in the end for the defection of his friends and his final passing unrecorded and unregretted.

Now whether he was born in 1590 or 1595 is a matter of little account, but there is no doubt that at the time of his birth the Vermuydens had been established in St Maartensdijk for a long time and were of no little importance. There is a record of a Colard van de Muden being concerned in the reclamation of the Middelland Polder in the 'waterschap' of St Maartensdijk as far back as 1339, and, coming forward some two hundred years, in 1570 one of the aldermen of St Maartensdijk was Bartel van de Mue, alternatively known as Bartel Marinuss Vermuyden, a grandfather of Cornelius Vermuyden.

Cornelius Vermuyden's mother was Sarah Werckendet, one of a family of some prominence in the town of Zierikzee, the capital of the neighbouring isle of Schouwen,

and her brother, Burgomaster Lieven Werckendet, had been prominent in the work of embanking and impoldering in the isle of Schouwen, and in the construction of the harbour of Zierikzee.

Plate III shows a plan of the town of St Maartensdijk made in the year 1696 and undoubtedly represents substantially the state of the town at the beginning of the seventeenth century when Cornelius Vermuyden lived there. A feature of interest is the inner basin of the harbour on the left-hand side of the plan. It is known that it was the practice in the small ports of Zeeland at that time to utilize such an inner basin as a means of scouring the main harbour by the simple method of allowing this basin to fill on the flood tide, closing the sluice between the two, and then when the main harbour was partially empty on the lowest ebb, opening the sluice and allowing the water from the inner basin to flow rapidly into the main harbour and thus scour out the silt carried in on the flood. This principle was certainly employed at Zierikzee and was undoubtedly known to Vermuyden, even if in later years changing conditions caused its abandonment. To-day only the outer harbour of St Maartensdijk remains but the market square, so conspicuous in the seventeenth-century plan, still retains all the essential features which must have been so familiar to Vermuyden.

Vermuyden was undoubtedly brought up against a background of land reclamation but it is interesting to note that in 1621, when, as he tells us in his own words, he 'was come over to England, invited to this work [of the Great Level]',<sup>1</sup> he was then employed as a tax-collector in the neighbouring town of Tholen.<sup>2</sup> I do not suggest that this fact proves or disproves anything about the experience which he brought with him, but it may lend support to the theory that the reopening of the Spanish War in 1621 after the 'Twelve Years' Truce, and the consequent cessation of land reclamation schemes in Zeeland, may have been the reason why Vermuyden left the Netherlands and sought employment in England.

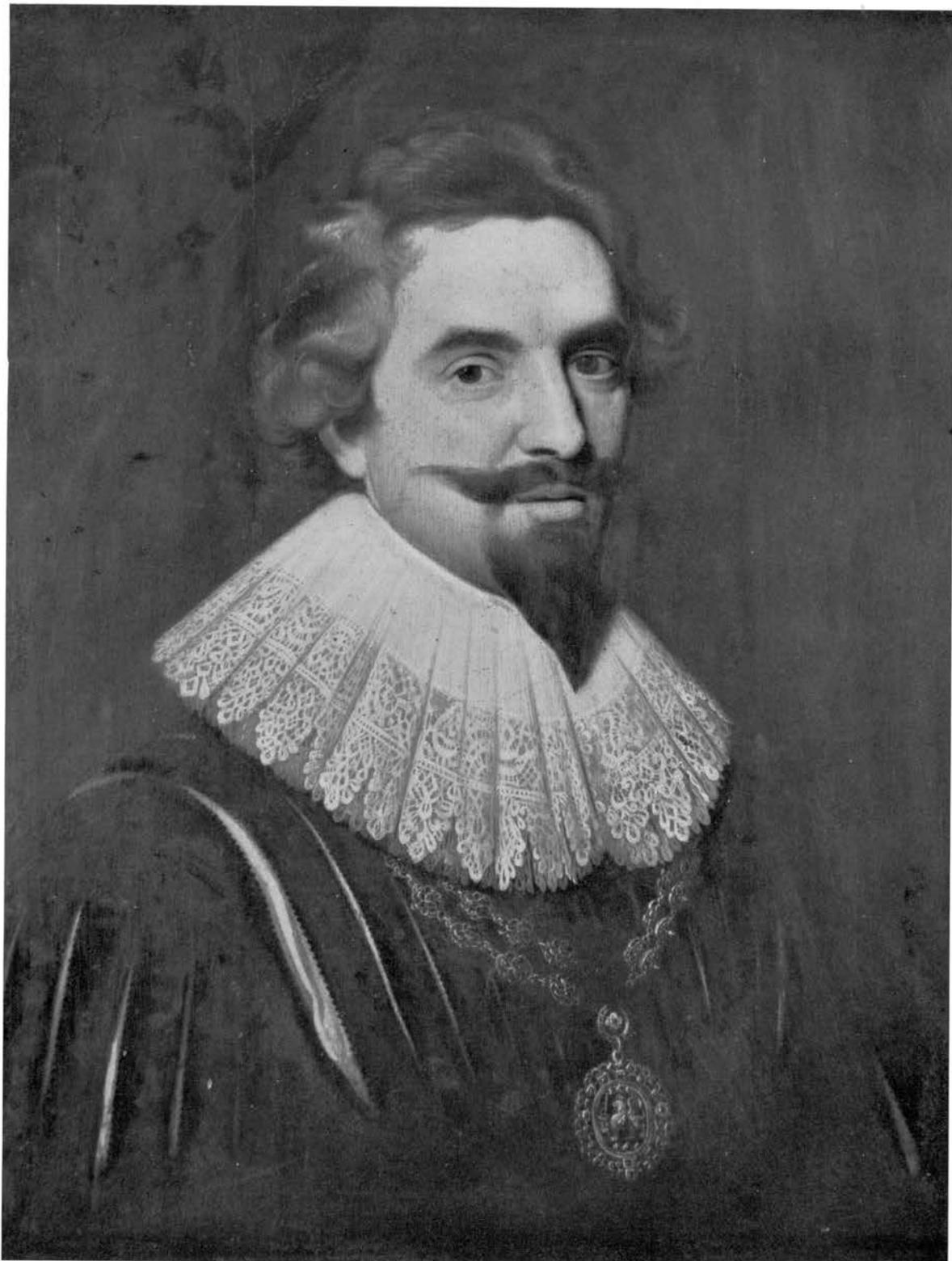
Why then was Vermuyden 'invited', as he tells us, to come to England to examine the problem of the Great Level? It is intended only to deal with the personal side of that question and there is no intention to discuss the question of the generally awakened interest in the drainage of low-lying lands in the Elizabethan and Stuart reigns.

In the town of St Maartensdijk at the beginning of the seventeenth century the family of Liens was probably of greater importance than that of the Vermuydens. It is true that it has not been possible to find a reference to the family as far back as 1339, the year when Colard van de Muden appears, but certainly in the early sixteenth century they were conspicuous, and as far as the administrative side of polder reclamation is concerned, in 1580 a Jacob Liens is mentioned in connexion with the Hikkepolder of Oud-Vossemeer on the north-east side of the isle of Tholen.<sup>3</sup> There is to-day a tablet on the front wall of the little seventeenth-century town hall in the market square of St Maartensdijk which commemorates the fact that Cornelius Liens was a member of the town council in the year 1628.

<sup>1</sup> *Discourse*, 1642.

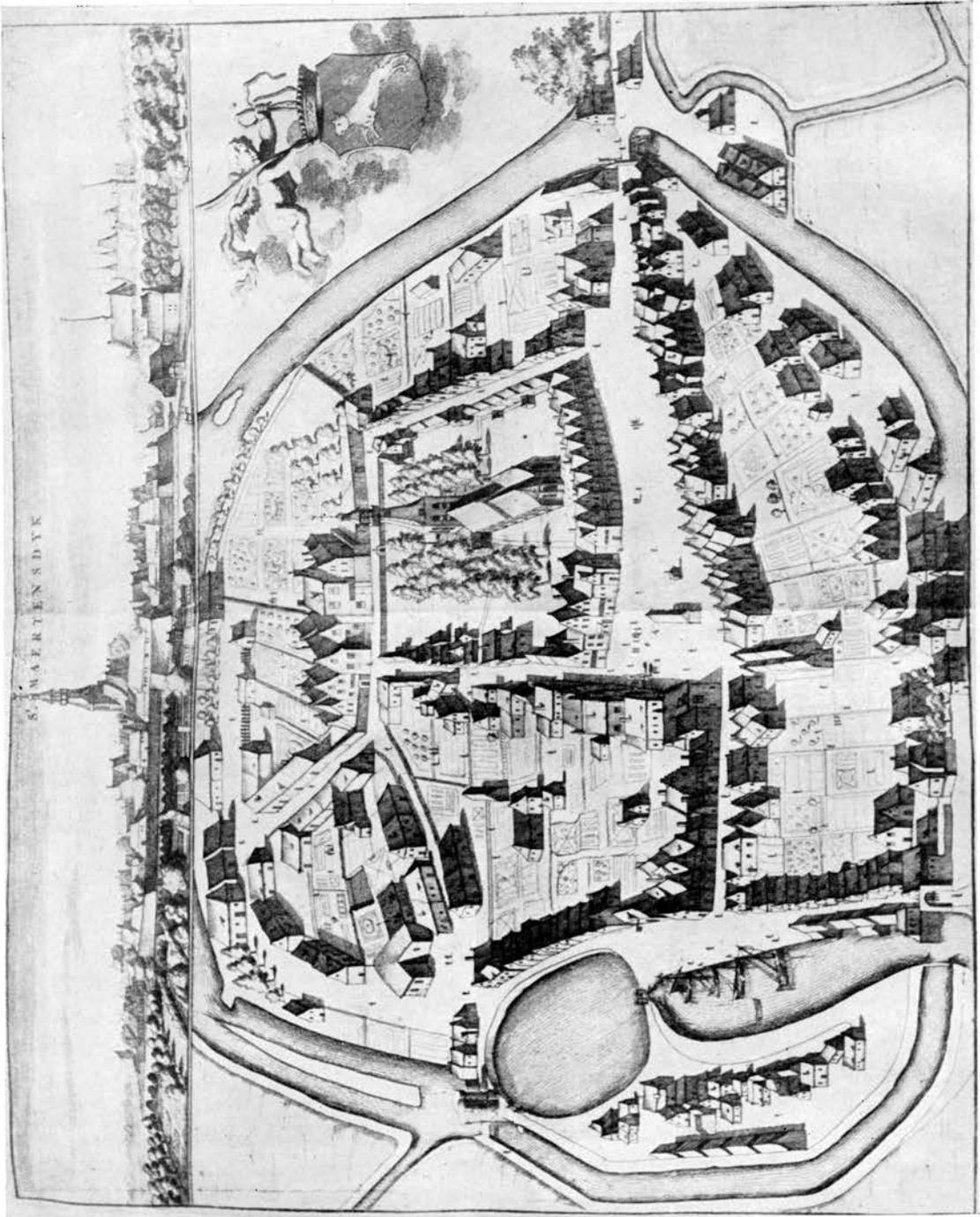
<sup>3</sup> A. Hollestelle, *Het Eiland Tholen*.

<sup>2</sup> F. Nagtglas, *Levensberichten van Zeeuwen*.



SIR CORNELIUS VERMUYDEN  
Contemporary portrait by VAN MIERVELD (1567-1641)

PLATE III



Plan of the town of St Maartensdijk from *Nieuwe Cronyk van Zeeland*, 1696

There is a record in the archives of St Maartensdijk<sup>1</sup> of a contract made on 4 October 1614 by the town council with Pieter Henderickss, clockmaker of Bergen-op-Zoom, for the building of a new town clock, similar to the one which he had already made for the town of Arnemuiden, for the sum of 316 Flemish pounds, 13 schillings, 4 groats, and details are given of the sums which were to be contributed towards this cost by various prominent citizens headed by the 'rentmeester', Joachim Liens, for the sum of 8 pounds, 5 schillings, 8 groats. Mention is also made of Jacobus, Phillipus and Hendrik Liens and of Cornelius Vermuyden and his brother, all of whom contributed either to the cost of the clock or to that of the new church bells.

Now Cornelius Liens had been in negotiation with James I on the subject of the draining of the Fens as far back as 1606<sup>2</sup> but the negotiations had then broken down, and in 1622 he had again been associated with Cornelius Vermuyden in further proposals which again came to nothing.<sup>3</sup> It was, however, another member of the family, Joachim, the principal subscriber to the town clock and brother of Cornelius, who really made his mark in England when he arrived in 1618 in company with two others as special envoy for the Netherlands Government to discuss matters concerning the Dutch East India Company and the herring fisheries. He was knighted by James at Theobalds in that year.

Joachim had married as his first wife Cornelia Vermuyden, sister of Cornelius, and when she died some time before 1612 he married as his second wife Sara van Hertsbeeke whose sister, Susannah, was married to Lieven Werckendet, Cornelius's uncle. This, perhaps, produced a somewhat complicated relationship but, complicated or not, it seems clear that this relationship resulted in the introduction to James of Cornelius Vermuyden as being capable of dealing with the problem of the Fens, presumably from the technical point of view, but bearing in mind that the Hatfield Chase undertaking of 1626 was financed entirely by capital from the Netherlands, it is possible that James anticipated the adoption of similar means in the case of the Great Level.

I cannot subscribe to the view which is sometimes expressed that the introduction came from Joas Croppenburgh, the Dutchman who embanked Canvey Island. In the first place Croppenburgh's agreement for the work on Canvey Island was not signed until April 1622, a year after Vermuyden had been invited to England for the work in the Great Level and had begun his work at Dagenham. Furthermore, my feeling is that if Croppenburgh had recommended anyone it would have been himself, as there was no lack of rivalry between the several Netherlanders then striving to make the most of their opportunities in England.

The year 1621, then, saw Vermuyden installed in England with many years of work in this country in front of him, but I am going to ignore completely the work which he did at Dagenham, Windsor Park, and at Hatfield Chase, in spite of the fact that the last of these undoubtedly had a profound influence on the principles and

<sup>1</sup> *Archief St Maartensdijk*, nr. 1, fols. 49, 51, 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, James I, XVIII, 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* cxxvii, 145.

methods of drainage which he adopted in the Great Level. But I must make this comment on Hatfield Chase.

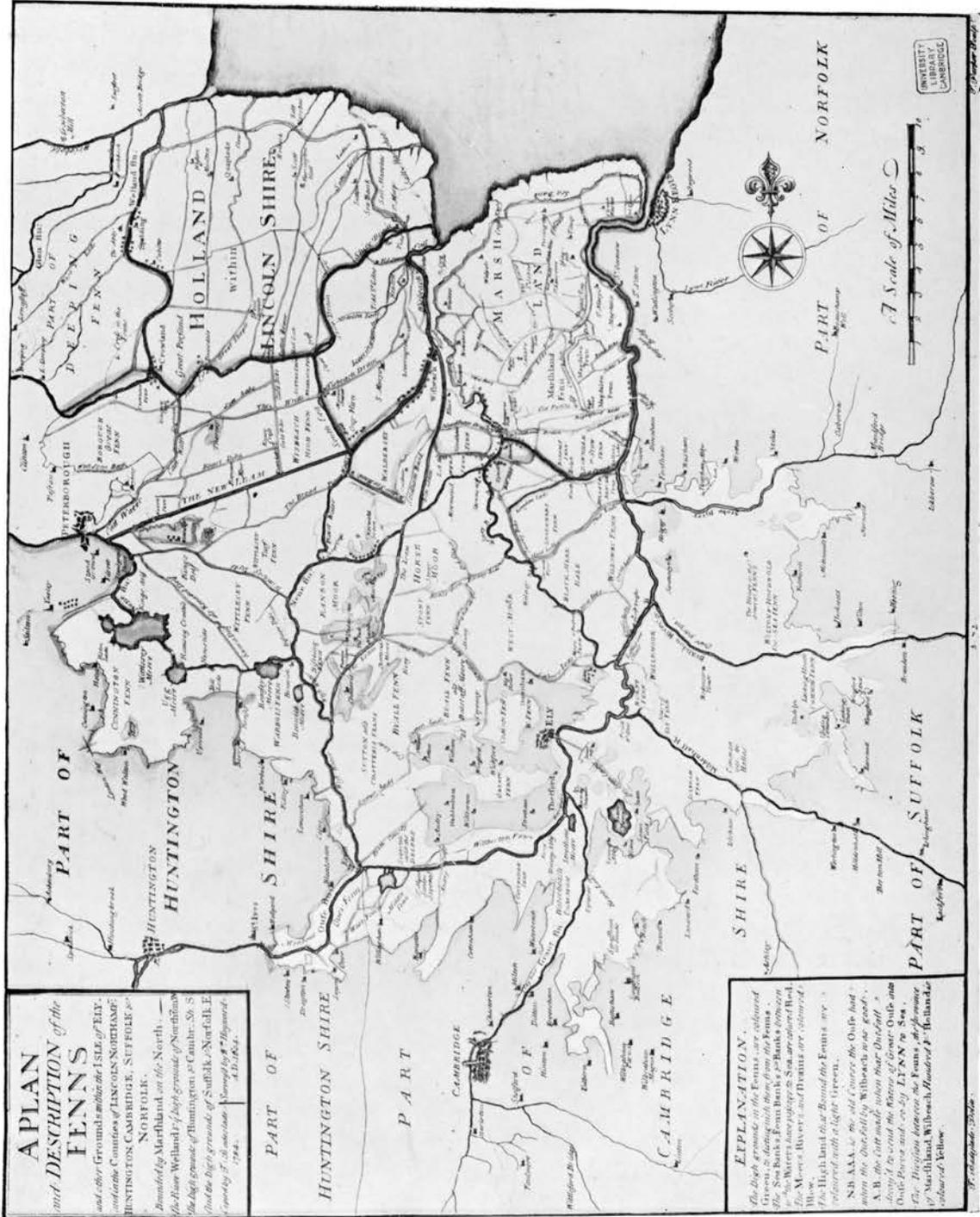
There is little doubt in my mind that when in 1626 he started the drainage work there Vermuyden was tackling something bigger than, and different from, anything which he had dealt with in the Netherlands, and therefore was to a certain extent experimenting with his methods. Dr Fockema Andreae of Leiden has suggested to me that the polder country of the isle of Tholen contributed little, if anything, to the practical development of Vermuyden, if only for the reason that the problems to be solved there were of very small scale. With this I agree entirely, and would go further by saying that the essential nature of the problem of polder reclamation with which Vermuyden probably had to deal was fundamentally different from that encountered in Hatfield Chase or in the Great Level. Now as Vermuyden has so often been accused of applying the methods employed in the Netherlands to his work in England, I think it would be as well to examine a little more closely what that fundamental difference was. But first let me say this. The Hatfield Chase undertaking was undoubtedly a financial failure, except, perhaps, to Vermuyden, but to my mind it was not technically a failure. The land there was eventually made fit for arable and pasture, at a cost, and if it did nothing else, it provided Vermuyden with the experience which he needed and which he was to utilize in the Great Level. And it is on the results achieved in the Great Level that his reputation must stand or fall.

Plate IV is the map from T. Badeslade's *History of the Navigation of King's Lynn* of 1725 copied from Hayward's original survey of 1604, and it shows the state of the Great Level before the Earl of Bedford's undertaking of 1630 was begun. In other words, it shows the state of the Level when Vermuyden, as he tells us himself, 'took several views thereof, went away, returned, and re-viewed the same, took advice of the experienced men of the Low Countries, and from time to time did study how to contrive that work for the best advantage'.<sup>1</sup> From this map it is quite clear that, particularly taking into account the northern boundary of the Level, the problem of the Great Level was, and still is, essentially a 'drainage' problem as opposed to an 'embanking' problem, and a problem involving drainage by means of rivers having their outfalls several miles outside the Level.

Plate V<sup>2</sup> will give an indication of the conditions prevailing in Zeeland. On the left is shown the 'waterschap' of St Maartensdijk as it was at the end of the thirteenth century, and on the right it is shown in its present state. The so-called isle of Tholen, of which the 'waterschap' forms part, was once an island in fact although now joined to the mainland and, in common with the other islands of the province of Zeeland, is merely the product of silt accretions in the estuary of the Scheldt extending over many centuries and combined with the 'impoldering' activities of the Zeelanders themselves. It will be clear that the problem of impoldering was essentially one of embanking as opposed to draining. In the thirteenth century the 'waterschap' of St Maartensdijk consisted of one polder, the Oudeland Polder, and from that it grew to its present state by successive embanking, or impoldering, of the silt marshes.

<sup>1</sup> *Discourse*.

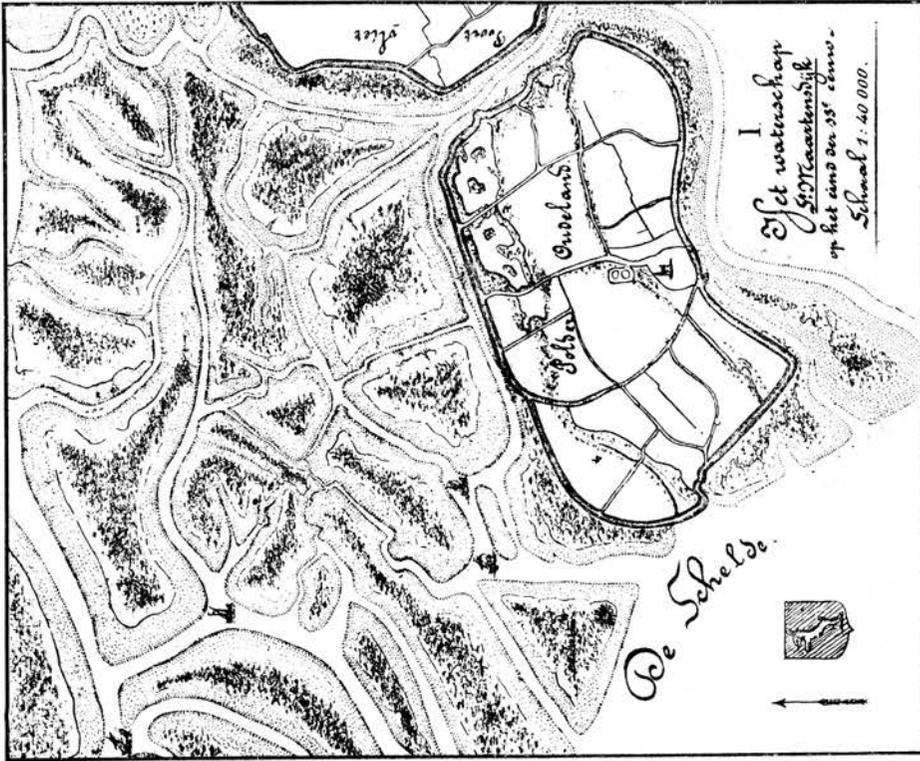
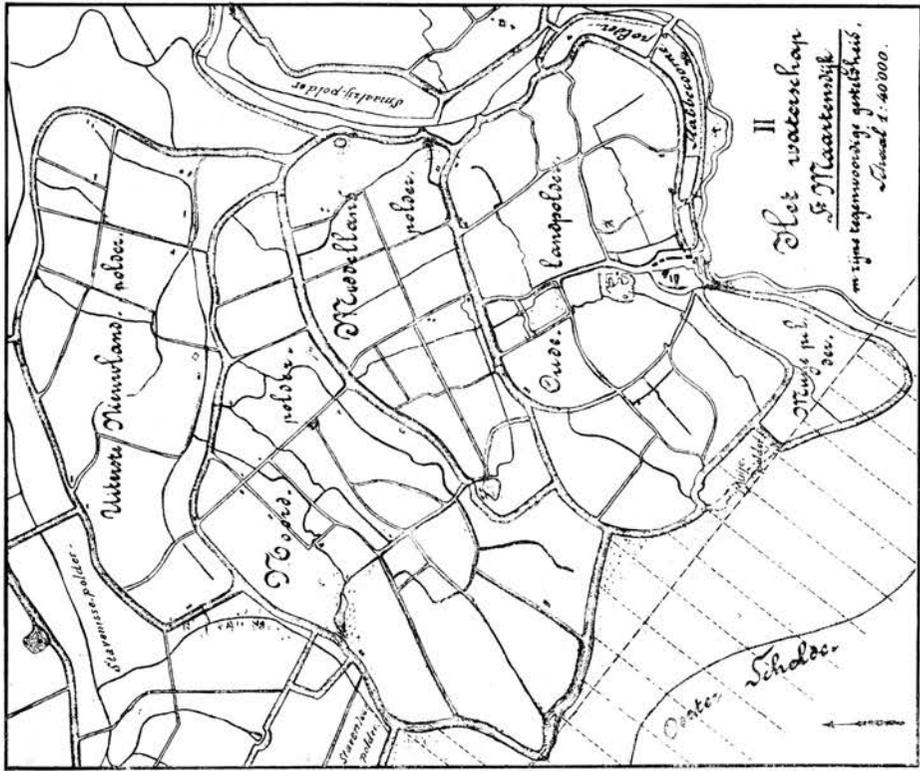
<sup>2</sup> A. Hollestelle, *op. cit.*



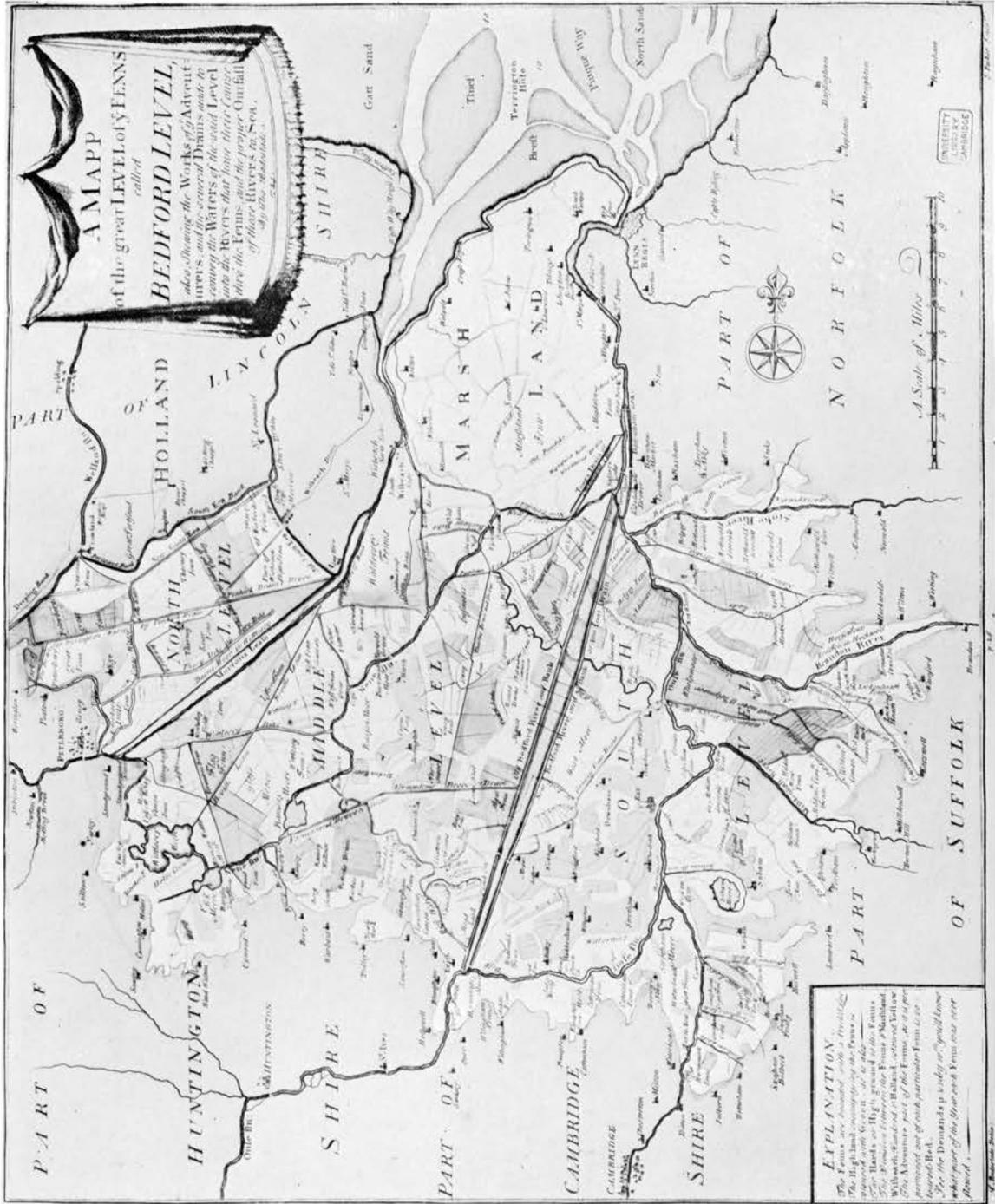
**APLAN**  
**and DESCRIPTION of the**  
**FENNS**  
*and other Grounds within the ISLE of ELY,*  
*and the Counties of LINCOLNSHIRE, HUNTINGDON, CAMBRIDGE, SUFFOLK & NORFOLK.*  
*Drawn by Marthianus, on the North. —*  
*The above Welland & high Grounds of Northham*  
*the high Grounds of Huntingdon, & Cambr. So. S*  
*that the high Grounds of Suffol. & North. E*  
*County of Ely, & the County of Huntingdon*  
*A.D. 1724.*

**EXPLANATION.**  
*The high Grounds in the Fens are coloured*  
*Green, & being with them from the Fens.*  
*The Banks & Leas Banks & Banks between*  
*the Fens, & the River of Great Ouse, &*  
*the Rivers of Great Ouse, & the River of*  
*the High Land that Bound the Fens are*  
*coloured with a light Green.*  
*S.B. A.A. is the old Course the Ouse had*  
*when the Ouse-filling with which was made.*  
*A.B. the Cut made when that Ouse-filling*  
*was made to send the Water of Great Ouse into*  
*the River of Great Ouse, & the River of*  
*the River of Great Ouse, & the River of*  
*of Northland, with which the Fens are*  
*coloured Yellow.*

Map of the Great Level of the Fens, based on Hayward's survey of 1604, from Badeslade's History of the Navigation of King's Lynn, 1725



The 'Waterschap' of St Maartensdijk (left) at the end of the thirteenth century, (right) at the present time



Map of the Great Level of the Fens, showing state of the drainage works in the year 1655



It must not be forgotten that Holland as we know it to-day consists largely of the delta portions of two rivers, the Maas and the Rhine, while Zeeland itself is part of these same deltas combined with deltaic material from the Scheldt. The direct cause of the deltas is the convergence of these three rivers into what is known as a tidal-node area where the creation of non-scouring conditions results in silt deposition.

Now Vermuyden, whatever his other faults, was no fool, as he certainly would have been had he failed to see this fundamental difference. The fact that he 'took advice of the experienced men of the Low Countries' does not mean that he slavishly followed that advice and adopted methods which were applicable to Zeeland but which were totally unsuited to the Great Level. His *Discourse*, indeed, proves that he did not.

Plate VI, the map also reproduced from Badeslade's book, shows, as the title says, 'The Works of the Adventurers, and the several drains made to convey the Water of the said Level into the Rivers' and it does substantially represent the state of the Level at the time when Vermuyden left the employ of the Adventurers in 1655. There are, of course, many other maps showing the Great Level in its pre-drainage and post-drainage states, but I have chosen these of Badeslade because, among other features, they possess the advantage of being directly comparable the one with the other and with the map shown in Plate VII. This is, in fact, the map which accompanied Vermuyden's *Discourse* of 1642 and it illustrates in a rather elementary manner what Vermuyden had done since 1630 and what he proposed to do as described in the *Discourse*. There are only two features which it is necessary to emphasize on this map, namely the old Bedford River made in or about 1632, and the proposed new channel intended to unite the rivers Lark, Little Ouse and Wissey.

I should emphasize, however, that I have no intention of giving a long description of the drainage works over the entire Bedford Level and I am going to confine my arguments solely to the South Level and to the two Bedford Rivers because, while the North and Middle Levels had a fairly respectable existence after Vermuyden's departure, the South Level experienced many vicissitudes and, with the Bedford Rivers and Denver Sluice, created arguments and bitter discussions which continued for over two hundred years, and has always been the most controversial part of the Level as a whole.

It is well known that the employment of new straight cuts to supplement or replace the existing tortuous river courses was one of Vermuyden's fundamental principles, a principle which brought him into direct conflict with his fellow countryman and bitterest rival Westerdike. The two Bedford Rivers are to-day looked upon as a monument to Vermuyden, and rightly so because he made them, but it is sometimes overlooked that the original conception of the old Bedford River was not his. Its construction had been advocated as far back as 1605 by a Commission of Sewers headed by Sir Robert Bevil.<sup>1</sup> Vermuyden was doubtless aware of this and although, therefore, the conception is denied to him, he must be given the credit for seeing the value of the principle which this straight cut represented, and for the energy with

<sup>1</sup> W. Dugdale, *History of Imbanking and Draining* (2nd ed. 1772), p. 381.

which he implemented a system of drainage after centuries of inertia and apathy in the Fens. The old Bedford River was begun some time after 1630 and was completed before the year 1637, and the reason for its existence is fairly clear. It was intended to supplement the winding course of the Ouse between Earith and Denver. But why the new Bedford, or Hundred Foot, River?

Now it will be recalled that Vermuyden in the map which accompanied the *Discourse* published in 1642 had shown how he proposed to unite the rivers Lark, Little Ouse and Wissey into one common channel to relieve the Great Ouse between Earith and Denver, but he showed on this map no second Bedford River, although the somewhat obscure wording of the *Discourse* might lead to the conclusion that he had the intention to make this. To-day will be found the second Bedford River but no common channel, which inevitably leads to the question as to why this is so.

Between the year 1638, the year when the *Discourse* was written, although it was not published until 1642, and 1649, when the undertaking in the Great Level was resumed after the Civil War, much history was made outside the Level but very little work was done inside. What passed between Vermuyden and the Adventurers after the resumption in May 1649 until December of that year, when it was finally decided to appoint him Director of the works, is written cautiously in the Adventurers' *Proceedings* which are now in the Fen Office at Ely. I say cautiously because although the bare entries in the minutes of the meetings give some indication of the clash of personalities which occurred, they cannot show the bitterness which clearly prevailed at those meetings. Nor do they tell us the details of the scheme of drainage which was eventually agreed upon.

At the commencement of the new undertaking the plan laid down in the *Discourse* still stood, and during the seven months of acrimonious discussion Vermuyden fought resolutely for his principles. He complained of the 'comptrolment', as he called it, which the Adventurers, laymen as they were, proposed to exercise over his work. He pointed out that all the time there would be the cry of 'expend not so much, do not such a work so good and so substantial'—these are his own words as recorded in the minutes of the meeting. He refused to accept the task with a rigid limit of expenditure, but in the end, and I suspect for the sake of peace and quietness, he bowed to the opposition and reluctantly sacrificed his principles. He abandoned the combined channel for the Lark, the Little Ouse and the Wissey, but realizing that this part of his plan to relieve the Ouse had to be jettisoned, he also realized that some other means of relief had to be evolved. That means was by the Hundred Foot River and it is my opinion that he had to make this larger than he had originally intended because, by the abandonment of the combined channel, the function of this new Bedford River was considerably modified.

This is all mainly surmise. It can be nothing more, but one fact that is certain is that Vermuyden was never permitted to carry out the whole of the work which he knew to be necessary for the draining of the Great Level. The two Bedford Rivers and the missing combined channel are not the sole proofs of this. Yet in spite of the restrictions which were imposed on him he very nearly succeeded completely in his

task. And modern judgement, three centuries later, justifies not only what he did but also what he was not permitted to do, and this applies not only to work within the limits of the Level but also to what he advocated should have been done on the outfalls of the rivers.

But all this gives no explanation of why he disappeared so completely after 1656, and why he inspired so much antagonism and bitter criticism after his disappearance. The answer to these questions lies, I believe, in his aggressive and uncompromising character which destroyed his friendships and created all the bitter jealousies. It may be that his disappearance was not unconnected with his intimate association with Oliver Cromwell, a theory which has not yet been fully investigated. I do not think that Vermuyden was a likeable man. There is plenty of evidence to prove that he was involved in almost continuous disputes throughout his known life. It is well known that even in his initial employment on the work at Dagenham he fell foul of the Commissioners of Sewers there, so that they refused to pay him anything when, according to him, his work was completed, and I am of the opinion that, whatever may have been the rights or wrongs of that dispute, had it not been for the very strong support which he had both from James and from Charles, this first employment might well have been his last.

But even allowing for his quarrelsome nature, it must not be overlooked that he had the misfortune to coincide with a period of constant change in the ruling caste of England, and as those changes occurred so he fell, however slightly, in favour. Nor had he the firm friendships to sustain him in these changes and so in the end his passing was unrecorded and unregretted. At least, that is my present theory based on the evidence available, but I am also convinced that he was not quite so black as he has sometimes been painted.

Samuel Wells, Register of the Bedford Level Corporation in the early years of the nineteenth century, published his *History of the Bedford Level* in 1830, and because he had full access to all the documents in the Fen Office this is a very valuable book to any student of the Bedford Level, but mainly only as a record of facts. Unfortunately in the last hundred years or so the judgement of Samuel Wells on Vermuyden has too often been accepted without question, and without the realization that Wells had an axe to grind, at least as far as Vermuyden was concerned, and thus in his book he expresses an unreasoning dislike amounting almost to hatred of Vermuyden. When Wells was writing, the Governor of the Bedford Level Corporation was John, Duke of Bedford, successor in a long line of Russells to Francis the fourth Earl, and Wells, attempting to ingratiate himself with his noble employer, set out to demonstrate that all the benefits of the original undertaking flowed from Francis, and William his son, the fifth Earl, while all the difficulties and failures—and there were plenty of these in the early years—could be attributed to Vermuyden whom he described as ‘an incubus, a nightmare, which the Corporation vainly endeavoured to shake off’. This was said particularly in relation to the dispute which went on from May to December 1649 between Vermuyden and the Adventurers over his appointment as Director. The records of the meetings at which

these disputes occurred appear in the first volume of the *Proceedings* in the Fen Office at Ely, and a dispassionate and I hope unbiased examination of these minutes leads me to the conclusion that Vermuyden was no incubus, nor was it then the desire of the Adventurers to be rid of him, whatever may have been their later feelings. He was, in fact, a sorely tried man, and if it was his earnest desire to be Director that was quite understandable because he knew that he was the only one who had the necessary experience of the Level, and a plan for the drainage which could lead to success. The Adventurers themselves were quite aware of this fact and, as the minutes of the meetings show, on every occasion when the negotiations broke down it was the Adventurers who made the first approach for their resumption, not Vermuyden.

Wells ignored these facts and by a judicious selection of the extracts from the *Proceedings* was able to create in his book the impression that Vermuyden was the villain of the piece, the incubus, the man to whom, as he also said, 'posterity offers no tribute of respect'. But in making these statements I am not in any way attempting to disparage Wells. He, no doubt, was a very estimable man. All I am trying to do is to vindicate Vermuyden in spite of Vermuyden himself, because I should be the last to say that Vermuyden was a paragon of all the virtues. I believe that he was astute, aggressive and overbearing, possibly unscrupulous and, according to the standards of to-day, somewhat dishonest, and I certainly doubt whether his behaviour in the Hatfield Chase undertaking would bear much investigation. But I am not concerned with his morals. As far as the Bedford Level was concerned his intention was to get something out of the Level for his own benefit, which was exactly the aim of the Earls of Bedford and all the other Adventurers. They were none of them philanthropists. Nor, for that matter, was Samuel Wells.

In the end Vermuyden reaped little permanent material benefit from the Great Level, or from any of his other widespread activities. Up to now, and principally on the testimony of Samuel Wells, it has usually been accepted that after 1656 he sank into a state of poverty and disgrace, and died in destitution. That, undoubtedly, is an exaggeration as even if he was compelled to dispose of his possessions in Hatfield Chase and in the Great Level, when he died, contrary to what is usually stated, he certainly possessed his 4000 acres of Sedgmoor and his interest in the lead mines in Derbyshire. These two possessions formed the subject of several suits in the Chancery Court on the death of his eldest son, Cornelius, in 1693 to whom they had descended on his father's death.

Where Sir Cornelius died I do not think that anyone can yet say. When he died is another matter. He was certainly not the Cornelius Fairmeadow with whom he is identified in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and who, it was stated, was entered in the register of St Martin-in-the-Fields as having been buried there on 6 April 1683. My main reason for saying so is that an examination of these registers reveals the fact that Cornelius Fairmeadow was buried at St Martin's on 6 April 1638, not 1683, and in that year, and for many years later, we know that Cornelius Vermuyden was very much alive. Cornelius Fairmeadow had a completely separate

existence and his identification with Cornelius Vermuyden in order to provide a date for the death of the latter (and the *Dictionary of National Biography* was not primarily responsible for this error) was the result of a lot of muddled, wishful thinking. All I can say about the death of Vermuyden is that, as far as I can ascertain at present, he died in 1677/8.

Cornelius Vermuyden was an interesting and intriguing character and a perpetual enigma. But he was more than that. It is not necessary to be a drainage engineer to appreciate the immensity of the task which he accomplished in the Great Level. That is apparent from a sight of the Fens themselves. Whether the principles of drainage which he adopted were right or wrong is a matter which can be decided only on technical considerations and, as I said earlier, modern and therefore more enlightened judgement justifies the principles and methods on which Vermuyden's scheme was based, even though he was not permitted to do all that he knew to be necessary. In other words, posterity does offer him some tribute of respect, in spite of what Samuel Wells said one hundred and twenty years ago.

# THE IRON GATE AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE GROUNDS OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE FROM TRINITY PIECE

J. S. BOYS SMITH, M.A.

MISS CATHERINE E. PARSONS, in her paper on 'Horseheath Hall and its Owners' (*Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vol. XLI, pp. 1-50), quotes a contemporary advertisement of the final sale, in the summer of 1777, of articles in and about the Hall. The items advertised included 'Large iron gates, railing and iron-work'. Miss Parsons writes (p. 47): 'The large iron gates above mentioned are those which found a home at the back entrance of Trinity College, Cambridge.' This statement is incorrect. The Trinity gates did indeed come from Horseheath Hall, but they were presented to Trinity College in 1733 by the Hon. Henry Bromley, afterwards first Lord Montfort, Baron Horseheath, father of Thomas, second Lord Montfort. The evidence for this is given in Willis and Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. II, p. 644, where entries in the Trinity College accounts for 1732-3 are quoted containing particulars of the cost of carriage and erection of the gates.

Miss Parsons's paper, however, throws a welcome light upon another Cambridge gate—the iron gate which now stands at the southern entrance to the grounds of St John's College from Trinity Piece. There is reason to think that this gate was bought at the sale at Horseheath Hall in 1777 of which she writes.

The evidence concerning the St John's gate is as follows. The gate was erected in its present position on the northern boundary of Trinity Piece in 1822. The decision to remove it to that position is recorded in a College Order of 4 July 1822. It had formerly stood near the inner, or northern, end of the narrow strip of land, now a gravel walk, which lies between the ditch that forms the eastern boundary of the Fellows' Garden (the 'Wilderness') of St John's College and the ditch which forms the western boundary of Trinity Meadow. Its removal to its present position was a part of extensive alterations<sup>1</sup> carried out in the grounds of St John's in 1822, made possible by the incorporation in the grounds, under the Inclosure Award for the Parish of St Giles of 1805, of certain additional pieces of land, of which this narrow strip, formerly unenclosed, was one. The gate had been set up in its former position in 1780. A College Order, dated 19 February 1780, reads: 'Agreed that the blue gate

<sup>1</sup> I have described these alterations, not recorded by Willis and Clark, in *The Eagle: a magazine supported by members of St John's College*, vol. LIII, no. 235 (August, 1949), pp. 147-61.

at the end of the Bachelors' walk,<sup>1</sup> leading to Trinity, be taken down, & the Iron gate, [*deleted*: lately bought at Lord Montfort's sale,] be put up in its place.' The deleted passage in this Order can be read with certainty, except that some letters of the proper name are difficult to decipher under the heavy pen-strokes of the deletion. Professor J. E. B. Mayor, who printed the Order in his edition of Thomas Baker's *History of the College of St John the Evangelist* (1869), p. 1086, line 14, read the name as 'Mountfort's'; but there can be no doubt that 'Montfort's' was intended. What is probably the same gate is mentioned in an entry in the College Rental of 1778, which reads: 'Mr Jackson for an Iron Gate & carriage of Do £36. 18. o.' There is no clue to the identity of this Mr Jackson, but he may perhaps have been a dealer who had bought the gate at the Horseheath sale in the previous year. This would afford an explanation of the deletion of the words from the College Order: the gate, though bought at Lord Montfort's sale, had been bought by the College, not at the sale, but from Mr Jackson. But, whatever may have been the reason for the deletion, the words deleted afford strong evidence for thinking that the gate had come from Horseheath Hall at the sale in 1777.

At three points both on its outer and on its inner face the gate to-day carries the device of a Tudor rose and three fleurs-de-lis. At first sight, the presence of this device seems to cast doubt upon the connexion with Horseheath Hall and to suggest that the gate was made for the College. But the same device is found on the large iron gates at the main entrance to the grounds of St John's College from Queen's Road, which were put up in 1822 as part of the extensive alterations already referred to. The roses and fleurs-de-lis on these latter gates are identical in form and size with those on the gate which now stands on the north side of Trinity Piece, and the two sets must have been made from the same moulds. There can therefore be little doubt that the device was added to the Trinity Piece gate in 1822—the device in each of its positions is attached by rivets and not cast with the gate—when the gate was moved to its present position, and the device has therefore no bearing upon the origin of the gate. The gilded crest, an eagle, was probably added at the same time, or possibly in 1780 soon after the gate was purchased.

Thus, by a strange coincidence, the Trinity gates, which came from Horseheath Hall in 1733, and the St John's gate, which seems to have come from Horseheath Hall in 1777, stand to-day within a few yards of each other, one on the eastern, the other on the northern boundary of Trinity Piece.

<sup>1</sup> The Bachelors' Walk is the walk on the south side of St John's Meadow, adjoining the ditch which separates St John's Meadow from Trinity Meadow. David Loggan, in 1688, shows a gate—perhaps the 'blue gate' of the College Order—at the western end of this walk at the point at which the iron gate was set up in 1780. The walk is described as 'leading to Trinity' with reference no doubt to the route by Trinity Piece. There was at that time no direct route from the St John's grounds to the Trinity grounds. The present iron footbridge adjoining the river was placed there in 1874, and was then an innovation.

# A LATE BRONZE AGE URNFIELD AND GROOVED-WARE OCCUPATION AT HONINGTON, SUFFOLK

C. I. FELL, M.A., F.S.A.

DURING the summer of 1938 a number of characteristic bucket urns of Deverel-Rimbury type were brought up by the mechanical grab in a gravel pit, worked by Messrs Allen Newport of Fordham, near the west bank of the river at Honington, Suffolk (Fig. 1: O.S. 6-in. sheet, Suffolk xxiii S.W.; the National Grid reference of the

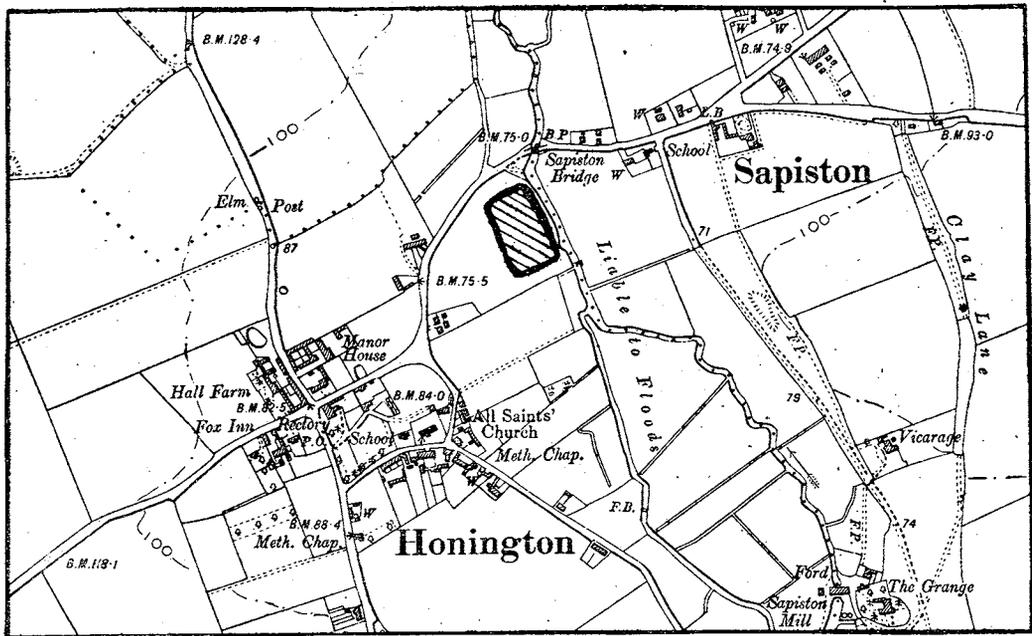


Fig. 1. Six-inch O.S. sheet, Suffolk xxiii S.W. by permission of H.M. Ordnance Survey.  
The hatched area north-east of Honington village is the site of the gravel pit.

site is 52/915748). The owner of the pit, Mr A. Newport, reported the find to Major Gordon Fowler, who in turn passed the information to the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. Dr Grahame Clark then visited the site and brought back one almost complete urn (Fig. 2a). It was arranged that the late Mr C. S. Leaf, then living at The Manor House, Freckenham, should make an investigation and decide whether excavation was desirable. No labour was available throughout the autumn months, but eventually, between 5 December 1938 and

24 February 1939, Mr Leaf directed excavations which were financed by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Unfortunately his death has made it impossible to give a full report, but thanks to the Hon. Mrs Leaf, note-books, incomplete plans and the cream of the finds have been given to the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge (Registration numbers 49.230-260). It is on these that this account is based.

The site of the gravel pit was a large grass-covered mound of natural origin close to the west bank of the river, giving the impression that at times of flood it had formed

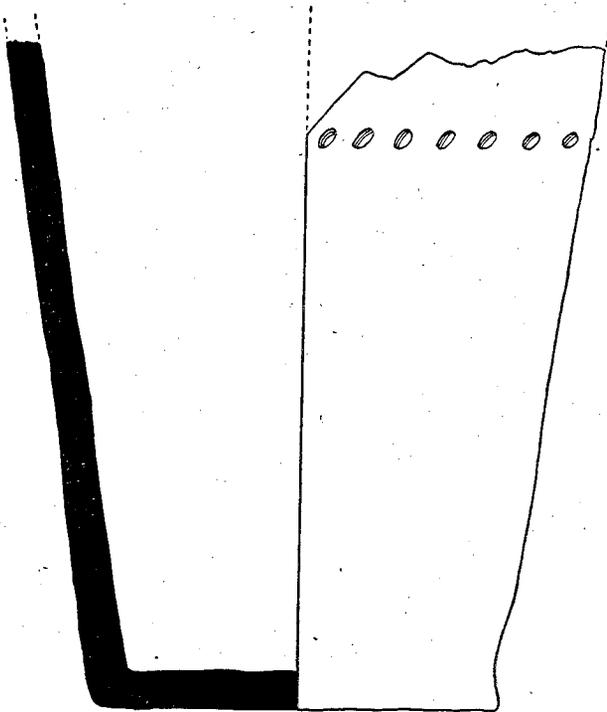


Fig. 2a. One quarter natural size.

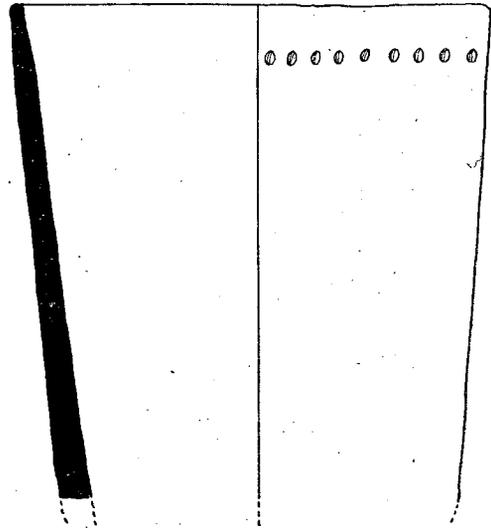


Fig. 2b. One quarter natural size.

an island. Here the gravel rested on chalk and was intersected by small gullies filled with boulder clay, the whole being overlaid by fluvial sand. Strips of gravel about 20 yd. wide, running the length of the north-south axis of the mound, were removed by mechanical grabs, starting on its eastern side. The Deverel-Rimbury urns already mentioned were found near the centre of the mound where the sand reached a depth of 4-5 ft. They had been buried in holes dug into the sand. Preliminary investigations along the eastern face of the pit revealed one more bucket urn in a broken condition, containing a cremation (Fig. 2b). Its mouth was 2 ft. below the present surface and it had been placed in a hole, the section of which showed that there had been two earlier ground levels, one 1 ft. and one 3 ft. below the modern turf. These were separated by a layer of sand containing only a few worked flints, flakes and cores and the lower one was 9 in. above the gravel (Fig. 3). Both old ground surfaces yielded

a number of worked flints very similar in character and probably more or less contemporary. Dr T. T. Paterson, who visited the site, suggested that the intervening sand was rapidly deposited by a flood from the river close by and the site temporarily abandoned, but quickly reoccupied after the water had subsided. During the 1939 excavations 6 in. of sand were deposited on the road though it was under water for less than twelve hours.

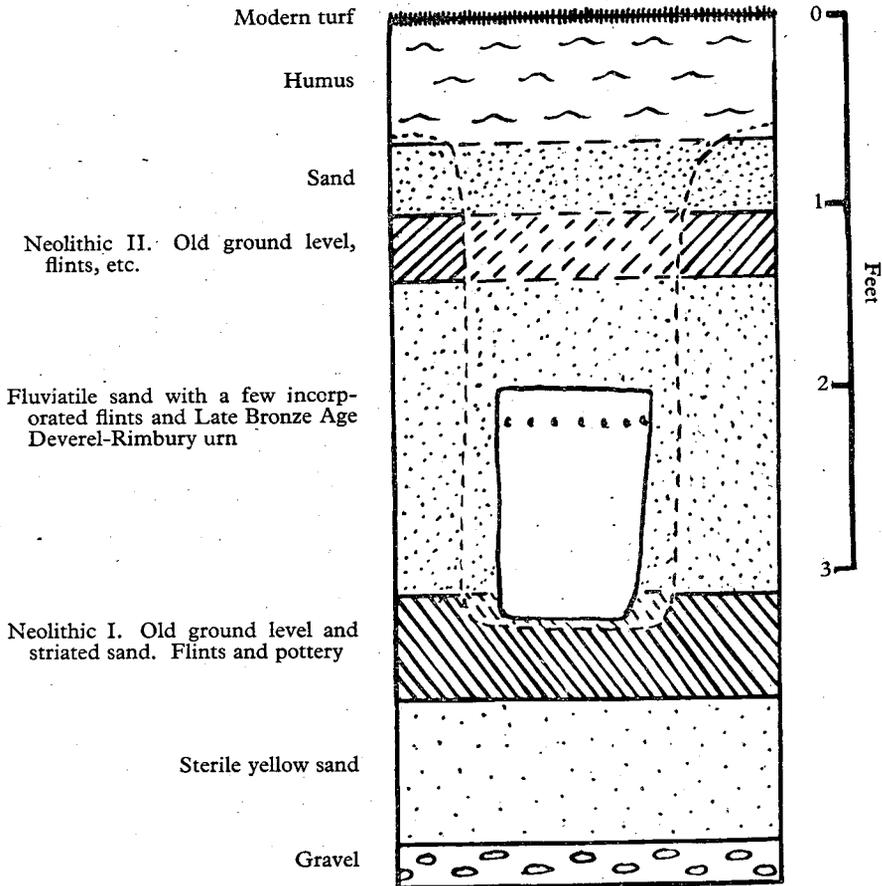


Fig. 3.

No further urns were found, but an examination of the lower old ground level revealed a cooking hole 1 ft. wide and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ft. deep containing ashes and some sherds of 'grooved-ware'. A number of flakes and cores of Mesolithic character were also found and the edge of a large, discoloured patch of sand containing many flint implements (Fig. 4, Hut G). When questioned, the gravel diggers agreed that they had noticed dark patches and holes containing sherds and charcoal in the strips which they had already dug away farther to the east. What remained was evidently the more westerly part of the settlement which, on account of its liability to flood, was probably occupied only at favourable times of the year.

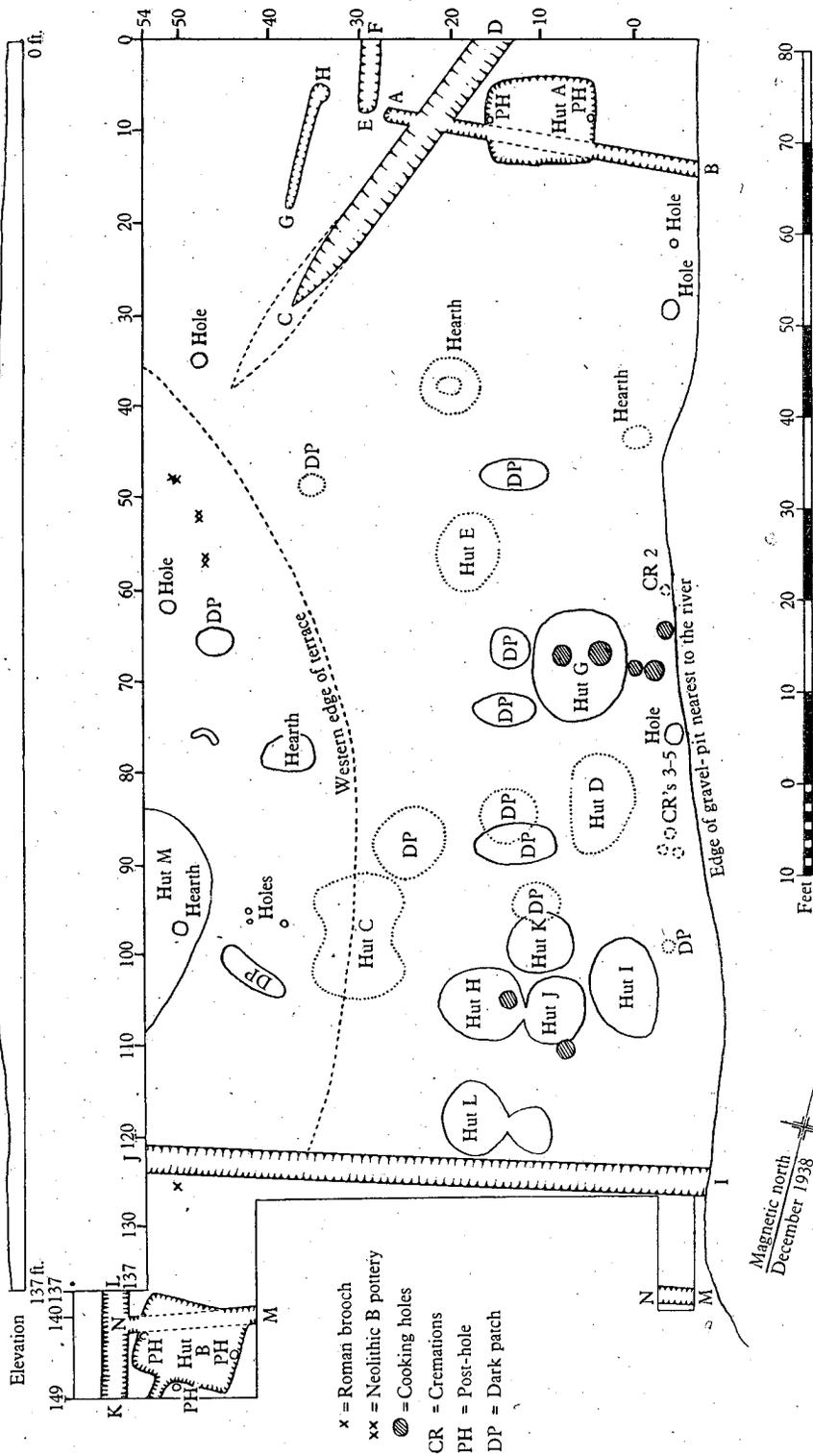


Fig. 4. Ground plan and elevation, Honington, Suffolk.

A base line was established 45 ft. west of the most westerly incursion into the face of the pit nearest the river and an area of approximately 600 sq. yd. was ultimately examined. It was cleared in strips 4 ft., and later 3 ft., wide starting at the north-east corner, and the gravel-digging plant advanced in pursuit at the rate of 4 yd. a week and sometimes more. Three men were employed in addition to Mr Leaf's two gardeners. In spite of interruptions caused by frost, snow and floods, the work was completed on 24 February 1939. The main features revealed during the excavation are shown on the ground plan and elevation (Fig. 4) and will be described in chronological order.

#### I. NEOLITHIC B (PETERBOROUGH)

A few sherds of abraded Neolithic B pottery with maggot and bird-bone decoration were found along the western edge of the strip which was cleared (Fig. 5). None were recorded in the low, natural terrace whose western edge is marked with a broken line on the plan. These sherds all occurred below the lower old ground level, resting immediately on the gravel subsoil. A few cores and blades of Mesolithic character were found at the same level. Dr Grahame Clark has pointed out that this small group of flints bears a patina different from the bulk of the finds from the 'grooved-ware' horizons and that they may considerably antedate that settlement. The two blades found in the Neolithic I level, and illustrated as Fig. 6, nos. 1 and 3, have the same patina as the group under discussion and may well be contemporary with the group and not with the flints of the later level. The Neolithic B occupation here definitely preceded the settlement by makers of 'grooved-ware', which was correlated with the lower old ground level.

#### 2A. 'GROOVED-WARE' (NEOLITHIC I LEVEL)

On the lower old ground surface a series of oval, dark grey coloured patches were found which were thought to represent the floors of tents or huts. These are shown with continuous lines on the plan and were called 'Neolithic I' by Mr Leaf. The highest concentration of implements and sherds was in these discoloured areas, though there was also a scatter of worked flints outside them. Particularly rich were the huts numbered G, H and J on the plan, each of which had associated cooking holes and appeared to have been more continuously occupied than the others, which only showed as pale grey stains, often difficult to distinguish from the surrounding soil except that they usually yielded more implements. No post holes, or other evidence of structure were seen. In addition to the huts a number of small holes and dark patches were noted and in some of the former animal bones were found, often showing traces of burning.

There was an abundance of struck flint flakes and cores as well as implements at this level, and burnt stones were common in the cooking holes near the huts (see schedule at Appendix A). The most numerous implement was a serrated flake, or saw, which Mr Leaf thought might have been used for cutting rushes for thatching,

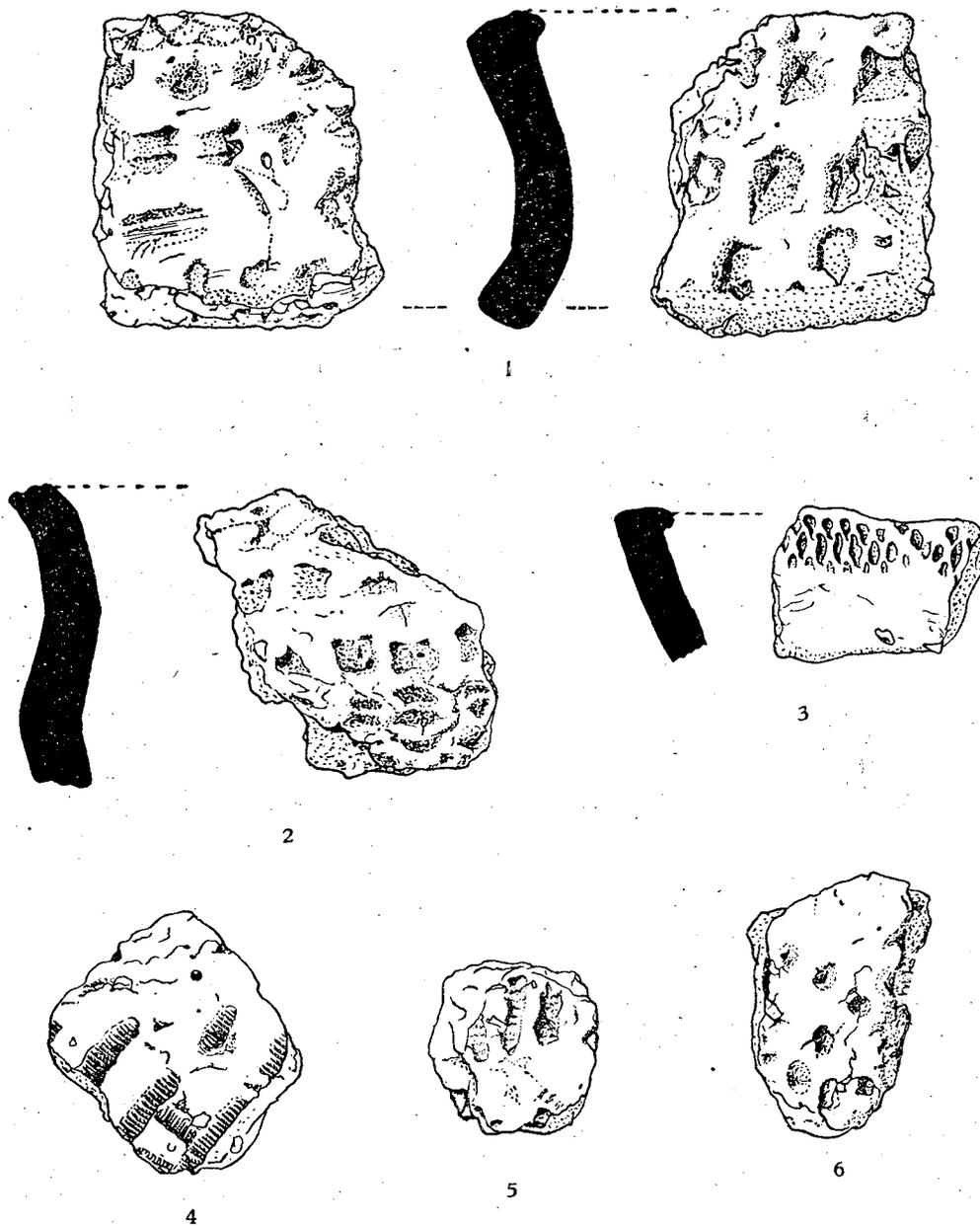


Fig. 5. Neolithic B sherds from Honington, natural size.  
Drawings by Mrs M. E. Scott.

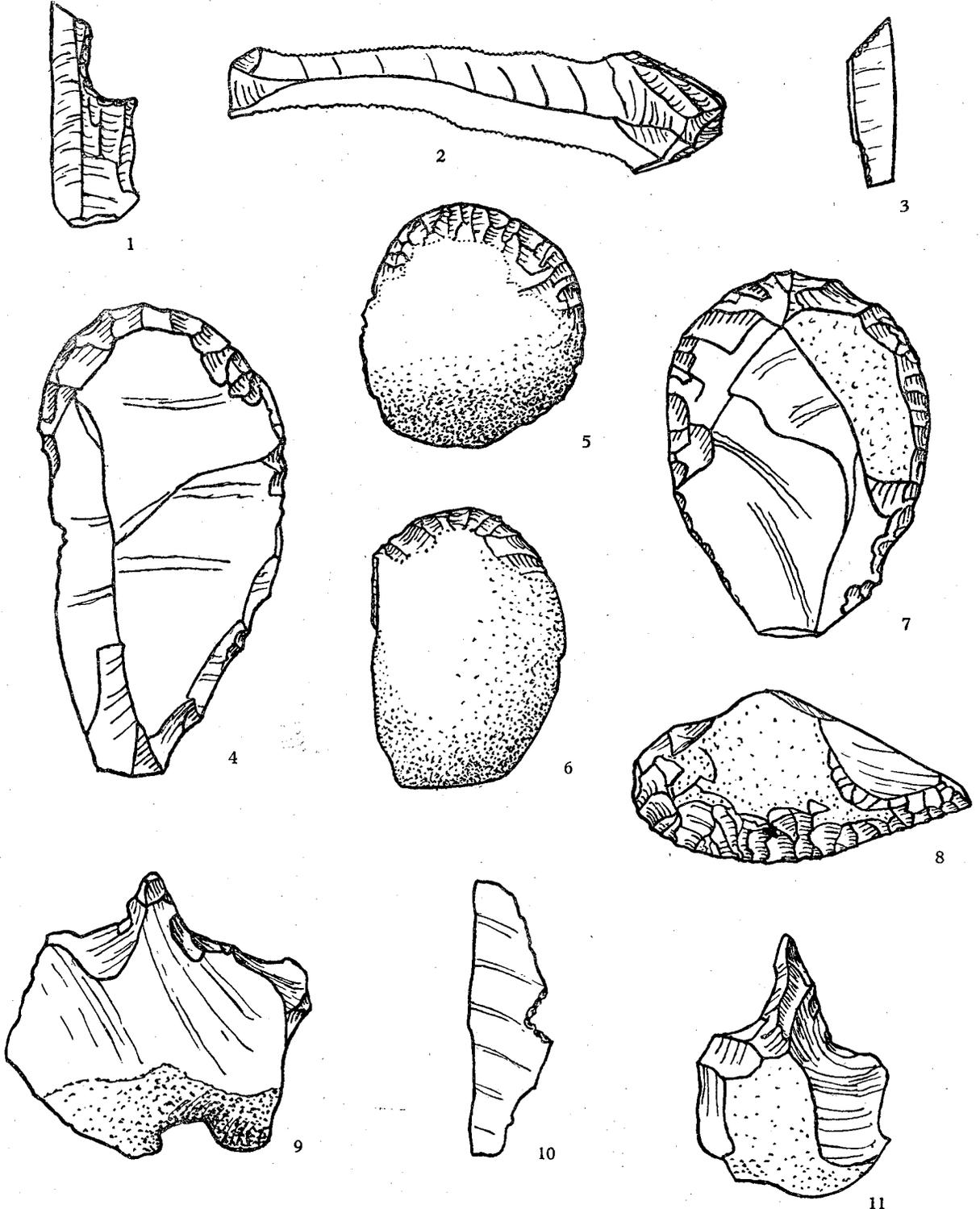


Fig. 6. Scrapers and other flint tools, natural size.

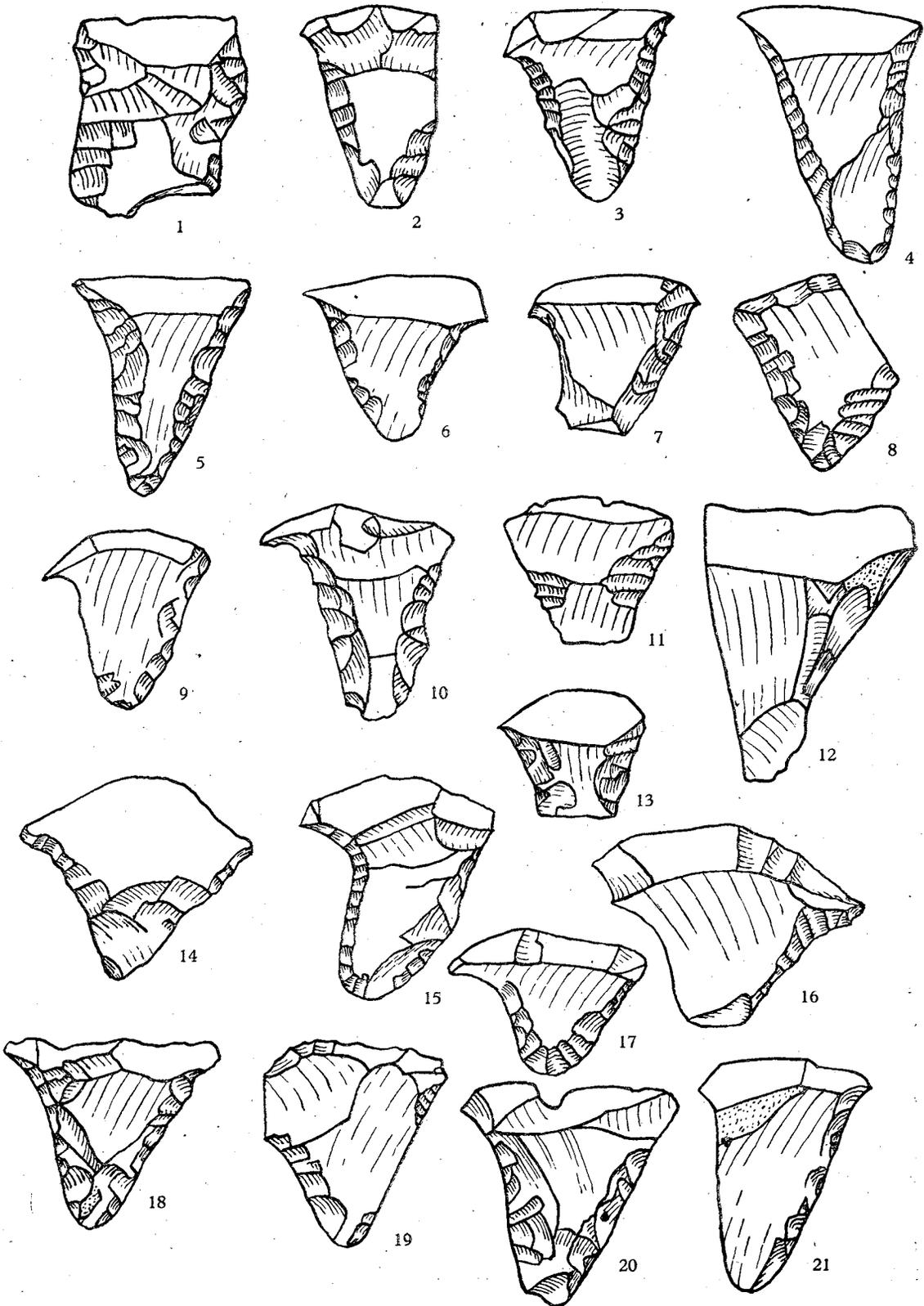


Fig. 7. Petit-tranchet derivative arrow-heads, natural size.

or basket making. Other tools included two borers, or awls (Fig. 6, nos. 9 and 11); a broken fabricator or butt end of a chisel (Fig. 8, no. 2); a rechipped fragment of a polished flint axe (there is a second fragment of a polished axe from the site but the level at which it was found is not known); part of a rectangular polished flint knife; two hammer or anvil stones; a leaf-shaped arrowhead, pressure-flaked on one side

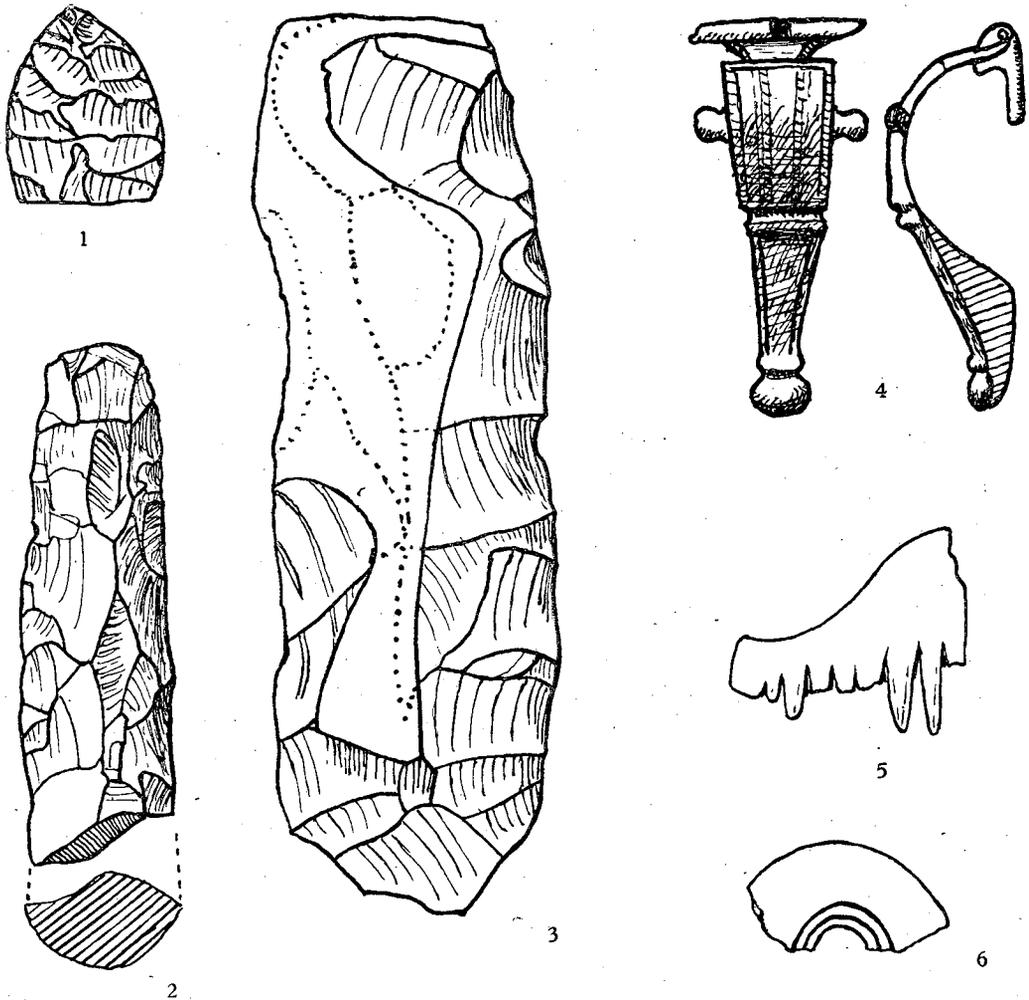


Fig. 8. Natural size.

only and one tip broken off (Fig. 8, no. 1); many large well-made scrapers, some with the cortex still adhering and some on big, broad flakes (Fig. 6, nos. 4-8); the bulbous end of a blade broken in the course of preparing a microlith by the notch technique (Fig. 6, no. 1) and a small blade of microlithic character (Fig. 6, no. 3). The patina of these two last-mentioned flints has already been discussed. Most interesting of all are the large number of petit-tranchet derivative arrowheads which were found—fourteen finished and two partly finished specimens (Fig. 7, nos. 1-16). Of these,

four are of Dr Clark's class C I<sup>1</sup> (nos. 2-5), three broken specimens of class C I or D (nos. 8, 11 and 13), seven of class D (nos. 6, 7, 9, 10, 14-16) and two unfinished ones (nos. 1 and 12).

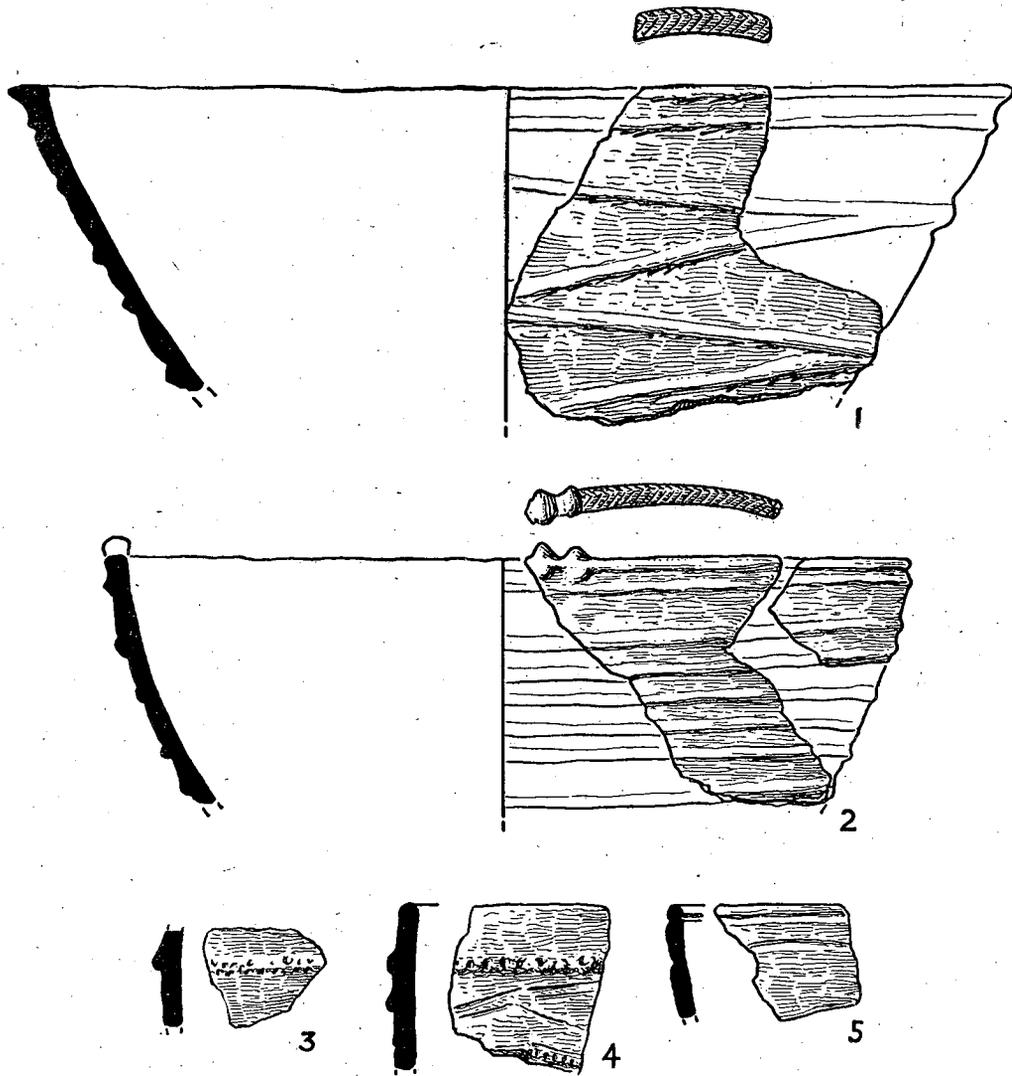


Fig. 9.

(Printed by permission of the Prehistoric Society)

'Grooved-ware' was found in the cooking holes associated with Huts G, H and J and included both decorated and plain sherds. The decorated pieces belong to at least four different vessels and most have already been illustrated in a note by Professor Stuart Piggott<sup>2</sup> though perhaps the accompanying plate (Plate VIII) gives a better idea of their texture. The ware is fragile and poorly fired, dark brown to

<sup>1</sup> J. G. D. Clark, *Arch. Journ.* xci, pp. 32f.

<sup>2</sup> *P.P.S.* xv, p. 127, fig. 2. In this note Honington is wrongly stated to be in Cambridgeshire.

reddish brown in colour, and seems to contain little grit. The two larger pieces bear herring-bone decoration on the rim (Fig. 9, nos. 1 and 2) and irregular raised ridges on the outer surface. Finger-nail impressions on each side of the ridges can be seen in the first piece, and the second has two knobs astride the rim. Both pieces come from wide-mouthed bowls  $10\frac{1}{2}$  and  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in. in diameter at the rim. In outline they had almost straight sides and are the shape of a truncated cone. The other decorated sherds (Fig. 9, nos. 3-5) are from the upright rims of beaker-like vessels. In addition to the ornamented fragments, a number of plain pieces were found, particularly in the cooking holes connected with Hut G. These were of a reddish brown coarse ware, showing black in the fracture—far thicker and heavier than the decorated sherds. These vessels had flat bases and conform to the flower-pot shape noted in the report on Lion Point, Clacton.<sup>1</sup> If the stratification were not known it would be difficult to distinguish these sherds from the Deverel-Rimbury urns also found at the site. Mr Leaf noted four plain sherds of what he took to be Neolithic A ware, also found at this level. He said that they came from the body of a vessel, but they have not been identified.

#### 2B. SAND LAYER (DILUVIAL)

Incorporated in the layer of fluviatile sand which separated the upper from the lower old ground level, various flint flakes and cores and a few implements and scraps of pottery were found. The worked flints include one class D petit-tranchet derivative arrowhead (Fig. 7, no. 17), eleven scrapers, ten saws and a hammer stone. Mr Leaf labelled this layer 'Diluvial'.

#### 2C. SECOND OCCUPATION (NEOLITHIC II)

Above the layer of sand and on the upper old ground surface, traces of a second occupation were found. Again there were dark patches representing the floors of huts or tents. These are shown with dotted lines on the plan and Mr Leaf has called this level 'Neolithic II'. No cooking holes were found and no pottery was present in the huts. Flints were similar in type to those from the lower layer and, though the second occupation appears to have been of shorter duration than the first, there is no evidence that it was far removed from it in time. The flint implements include two class CI and two class D petit-tranchet derivative arrowheads (Fig. 7, nos. 18-21); twelve scrapers; one small notched flake (Fig. 6, no. 10); twenty-one saws (Fig. 6, no. 2) and a fair abundance of cores and struck flakes (see Appendix A). Again, no trace of structure was noted.

#### 3. LATE BRONZE AGE II

Apart from the Late Bronze Age urnfield there is no evidence that the site was used during the Bronze Age after it was abandoned by the makers of 'grooved-ware'. No Beaker sherds, or flint types, nor any Middle Bronze Age pottery was found. The major part of the urnfield was destroyed by the mechanical grabs,<sup>2</sup> from which one

<sup>1</sup> *P.P.S.*, II, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, Vol. xxv, Part 2 (1951), p. 214.

urn was salvaged (see pp. 30-31 above), and one more was excavated by Mr Leaf. He found three other cremations without urns which had been buried in holes in the ground and probably dated from the Deverel-Rimbury urnfield. This urnfield forms part of a group left by settlers who made their way inland along the rivers of the Essex and Suffolk coasts during Late Bronze Age II times,<sup>1</sup> but it is impossible to say how late pottery of this type continued to be made here.

#### 4. ROMANO-BRITISH AND ANGLO-SAXON

A scatter of Romano-British and later sherds were found in the top spit of humus underlying the modern turf and well above the upper old ground level. Fragments of grey ware, cordoned vessels suggesting a Belgic ancestry, a rim sherd of a red-ware face-urn, indicate occupation here from the first to the third centuries A.D. if not longer. Two sherds of grey ware with large finger-tip frilling on the rim and on an applied band compare closely with the eleventh-century pottery recovered in such quantities from the late Saxon town at Thetford.

At the north-east and south-west corners of the excavated area, two rectangular huts were found and are marked A and B on the plan (Fig. 4). The former measured about 12 by 9½ ft. and had a central hearth and a single, well-defined post hole in each of the narrower sides. It was traversed by and was later than a ditch A-B. Other ditches marked E-F and G-H were also noticed and were thought by Mr Leaf to relate to the Romano-British occupation and were possibly field boundaries. They did not run up on to the mound itself where the soil was sandy, but kept to its sides where a foot of loam was found to overlie the gravel and provided more suitable ground for cultivation. A fourth ditch, C-D, was traced on to the mound as far as is shown with broken lines. From this ditch a pair of iron shears was recovered and it is probable that it is later than the others, possibly dating from Saxon times. Pottery from Hut A is scanty, but includes hand-made wares which might equally well be Early Iron Age or Anglo-Saxon—no rim fragments were preserved. Romano-British sherds found in this hut may have come from the ditch which it had cut across. Part of a stone spindle whorl (Fig. 8, no. 6) was also found there. Hut B, at the south-western corner, measured about 11 by 9 ft. It had a post hole in the middle of each of the shorter sides and a third on the south side which was approached by a narrow entrance. Ditch M-N traversed the hut and, as in the case of Hut A, antedated it. Some hand-made pottery, dark grey to black in colour, with plain rims, was found in the hut and also one sherd of wheel-turned grey ware. A fragment of a Roman hypocaust tile with parallel combing, animal bones and part of a single-edged bone comb (Fig. 8, no. 5) have also been preserved. The comb is of Anglo-Saxon type and as the plans of the huts compare closely with those excavated at Sutton Courtney, Berks,<sup>2</sup> and West Row, Mildenhall,<sup>3</sup> and not with Early Iron Age dwellings,

<sup>1</sup> R. C. C. Clay, *Wilts Arch. Mag.* XLIII, p. 323, pl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Leeds, *Archaeologia*, XCII, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> T. C. Lethbridge, *C.A.S.* XXXIII (1933), p. 133, fig. 1.

it seems probable that Huts A and B were constructed and occupied during the Anglo-Saxon period.

Two other large ditches were uncovered, I-J which traversed the site on the south side, and K-L running roughly north and south, only a portion of which was excavated. These ditches were not dated. A Roman silvered bronze brooch of winged 'Hod Hill' type and mid-first-century date (Fig. 8, no. 4) was found 1 ft. south of the southern lip of the ditch I-J resting on the gravel, but this does not help in the dating of the ditch itself.

About 20 ft. north of the great south ditch (I-J), a row of nine clay lumps, the greatest diameter of which was 2 ft. and depth 1 ft. 4 in., placed about 9 ft. apart, probably mark the line of a much later boundary fence and have not been shown on the plan.

#### GENERAL

The special interest of the site lies in the 'grooved-ware' settlement and its associated flint implements and also in the fact that Neolithic B pottery here antedated that occupation and that there was no trace of Beaker or other Bronze Age admixture. The low-lying nature of the site, close to the river, is in keeping with other Neolithic B and 'grooved-ware' settlements in East Anglia, Wessex and the Thames Valley.<sup>1</sup> The closest parallel to the ridged sherds (Fig. 9, nos. 1 and 2) is with 'grooved-ware' from Sutton Courtney, Berks,<sup>2</sup> though those fragments are from upright rims of beaker-like vessels and not from bowls like the Honington examples. The notched projection on the rim of Fig. 9, no. 2 has been compared with sherds from Woodlands, Amesbury, near Woodhenge.<sup>3</sup> Further afield, if the comparison still holds good, Professor Gordon Childe illustrates a pot from Scara Brae with a scalloped rim and mentions a second on which that effect was secured by fixing strips of fine clay obliquely astride the rim.<sup>4</sup> His recent finds at Rinyo, Ronsay, Orkney have produced further examples.<sup>5</sup> The projection on the rim of the Honington bowl was also added after the rest of the pot had been made. Other sherds, e.g. Fig. 9, no. 4, are more closely allied with the beaker-like vessels from the Dutch Megaliths such as the example from Bronnegar, Drenthe, illustrated in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, vol. II, p. 199, fig. 9. The position of Honington follows the known distribution of 'grooved-ware'. The settlers may have come via the Wash, Ouse and Little Ouse, or by the Orwell and Gipping and thence north to the tributary of the Little Ouse on which Honington stands.

Above all, the finds confirm the association of petit-tranchet derivative arrowheads with 'grooved-ware'. When discussing the type<sup>6</sup> Dr Grahame Clark reached the conclusion that his class B to I derivatives did not precede the Peterborough-Beaker overlap, continued in use into the Early Bronze Age, and were abundant on sites at

<sup>1</sup> Mr J. A. W. Moore has recently found 'grooved-ware' in east Yorkshire.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Leeds, *Ant. Journ.* XIV, p. 265, pl. XXIX.

<sup>3</sup> J. F. S. Stone, *P.P.S.* xv, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> V. G. Childe, *Scara Brae*, p. 129, pl. XLVI.

<sup>5</sup> V. G. Childe and W. G. Grant, *P.S.A.*, *Scot.* LXXXI, pp. 16f. and pl. X, 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Journ.* xci, p. 32.

which 'grooved-ware' had been recognized. This association is known at Lion Point, Clacton,<sup>1</sup> Newport, Essex,<sup>2</sup> Pishobury near Sawbridgeworth,<sup>3</sup> Sutton Courtney, Berks,<sup>4</sup> the West Kennet avenue at Avebury,<sup>5</sup> the second occupation level at Windmill Hill,<sup>6</sup> Ratfyn near Amesbury,<sup>7</sup> and at Woodhenge.<sup>8</sup> The Honington site confirms that the derivative forms first appeared in this country, in association, not with the Western Windmill Hill people, but with the descendants of the North European Forest Folk, known here from their Peterborough and 'Grooved-ware' cultures. It is also interesting that serrated flint flakes are common at the 'grooved-ware' settlements. They have been noted from all the sites from which petit-tranchet derivative arrowheads have been recorded above with the exception of the West Kennet Avenue, Windmill Hill and Woodhenge, but they have also been found at Woodlands, Amesbury.<sup>9</sup>

The transverse-edged axe, part of a rectangular polished flint knife<sup>10</sup> and the twenty-one petit-tranchet derivative arrowheads point to a Mesolithic strain in the ancestry of the 'grooved-ware' culture represented at Honington. That it was introduced at the very end of Neolithic times has already been deduced from existing evidence, for an overlap with Beaker culture has often been noted.<sup>11</sup> Here, at Honington, the 'grooved-ware' settlement definitely post-dated the Neolithic B occupation and no trace of the Beaker culture was found.

Finally I should like to thank Mr T. C. Lethbridge, Dr Grahame Clark and Dr G. H. S. Bushnell for reading this paper and for making many helpful suggestions, and Miss Joan Liversidge for comments on the Romano-British material.

## APPENDIX A

These figures must be read with caution as they have been compiled from Mr Leaf's rough schedules.

Level	Tranchet derivative arrowheads	Leaf-shaped arrowheads	Chisels and axes	Borers	Hammers and anvils	Scrapers	Saws	Utilized flakes and blades	Burnt stones	Cores	Flakes
From gravel subsoil overlying chalk	—	—	—	—	—	2	14	13	42	140	1028
Neolithic I	16	1	2	2	2	48	97	23	781	890	5356
Diluvial	1	—	—	—	1	11	10	2	111	281	1532
Neolithic II	4	—	1	—	—	12	21	21	158	529	2028
Miscellaneous including humus	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	—	11	37	282
Totals	21	1	3	2	3	76	145	59	1103	1877	10226

<sup>1</sup> *P.P.S.* II, pp. 178f.

<sup>3</sup> *P.P.S.* II, p. 193.

<sup>5</sup> *P.P.S.* II, p. 194.

<sup>7</sup> *Wilts Arch. Mag.* XLVII, p. 55.

<sup>9</sup> *P.P.S.* XV, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *P.P.S.* II, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant. Journ.* XIV, p. 265.

<sup>6</sup> *P.P.S.* II, pp. 194-5.

<sup>8</sup> Cunnington, *Woodhenge* (1929), pp. 118-25.

<sup>10</sup> *P.P.S.E.A.* VI, pp. 41f.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Creting St Mary. *Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, Vol. xxv, Part 2 (1951), p. 209.

# BRONZE BOWL OF THE DARK AGES FROM HILDERSHAM, CAMBRIDGESHIRE<sup>1</sup>

T. C. LETHBRIDGE, M.A., F.S.A.

## INTRODUCTION

THE late Dr W. M. Palmer always believed that an Anglo-Saxon cemetery was awaiting discovery on the Furrey Hills at Hildersham. On one occasion we cut trenches in an attempt to find it. This was unsuccessful as Dr Palmer did not know the exact spot where skeletons were reputed to have been found. During the Hitler war, however, a gravel pit on the northernmost of the Furrey or Fursey Hills (thought by Dr Palmer to be a corruption of 'Far Out' hills) was used as a bombing range. The Rev. D. C. Britt-Compton, of the Geography School, was examining the geology of this pit in 1944, and at the most southerly corner he stumbled on the remains of a bronze bowl, the hoops of a metal-bound bucket, part of an iron shield-boss and a spearhead, which had been blown out of the lip of the pit by a hand-grenade. He collected the fragments with the greatest care and, thanks to his industry, it has been possible to reconstruct a most interesting Dark Ages bowl. Dr G. H. S. Bushnell and myself accompanied Father Britt-Compton to the site in 1946, and by making a small excavation were able to demonstrate that a burial of the Pagan Saxon period had once existed there. The socket of an iron spear was actually found in the remains of a grave.

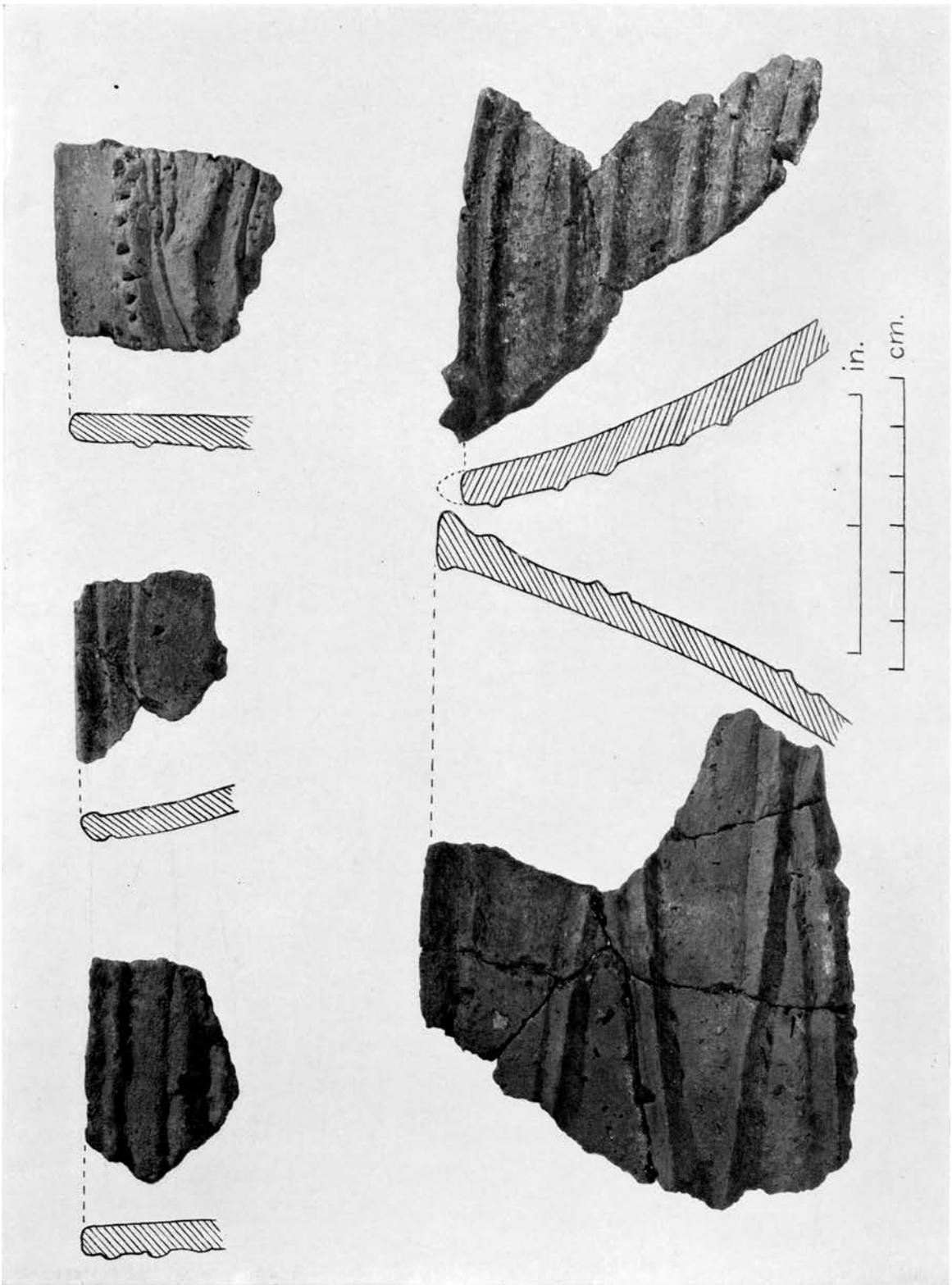
There is nothing unusual in the discovery of bronze bowls in Anglo-Saxon graves. Bowls of the so-called 'hanging' variety adorned with enamelled escutcheons and 'prints' have already been found in the neighbourhood of Cambridge on several occasions. The shield-boss fragments associated with the present specimen belong to the 'conical' as opposed to the 'carinated' type,<sup>2</sup> but can give us little help in dating the burial.

## HANGING BOWLS IN GENERAL

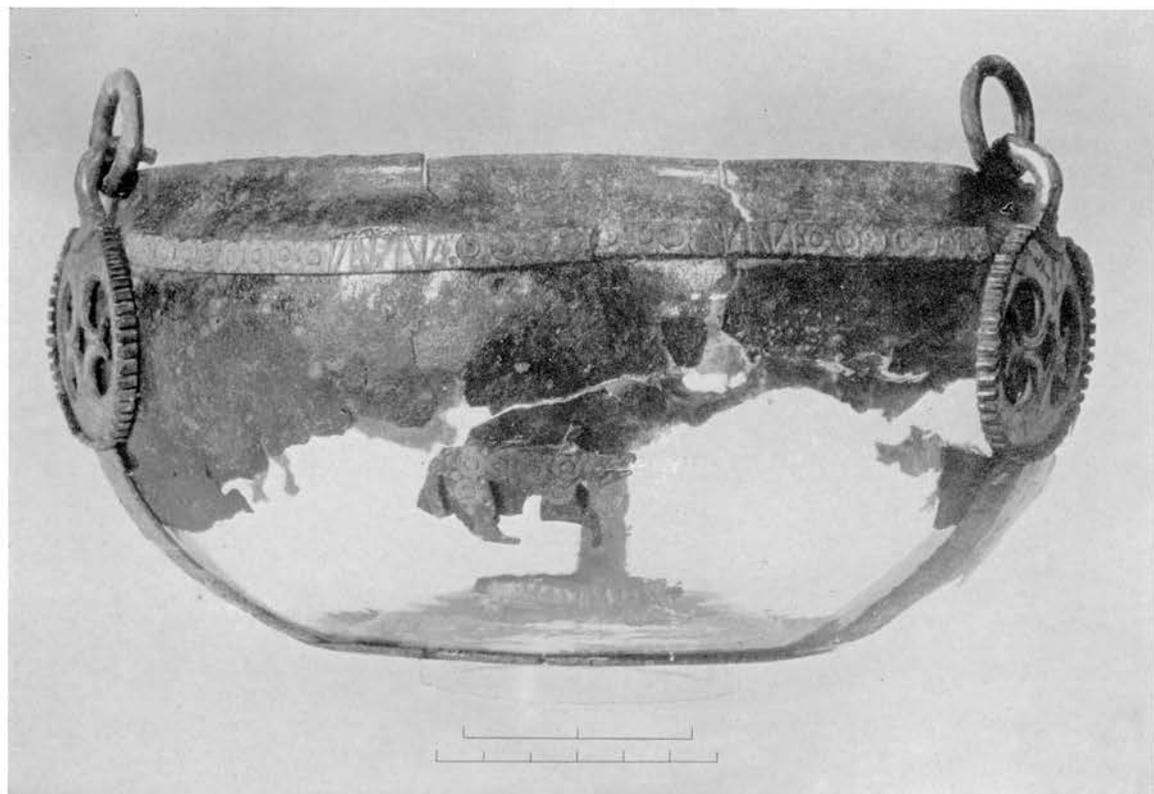
No class of objects belonging to the Dark Ages has provided a better field for amateur detectives than the hanging bowls. Although they are often found in Anglo-Saxon graves, the majority show unmistakable signs of having been made by Celtic craftsmen. Bowls of this general type were already in use before the Roman conquest, but nobody has ever felt quite certain that he knew what that use was. Their range in time is considerable, for a specimen with the same form of hanging attachments and general method of construction was found in an Irish lake-dwelling and can be dated

<sup>1</sup> Map reference 52/553487.

<sup>2</sup> *Recent Excavations in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk*, fig. 21, no. 2.



'Grooved-ware' from Honington, Suffolk



*a.* The Bowl complete



*b.* The Bowl complete

Bronze Bowl of the Dark Ages from Hildersham, Cambridgeshire



a. The Bowl complete



b. Prints and Escutcheons

Bronze Bowl of the Dark Ages from Hildersham, Cambridgeshire



0 1 2 3 4 5 6  
0 1 2 3 4 5 6  
in. cm.

Enamelled Strips and Animals

by its ornamentation to the eleventh century A.D. This specimen<sup>1</sup> was certainly a lamp. It has a wick projection and an oil strainer. Such a use for the bowls is also suggested by a picture in the Cuthbert Gospels,<sup>2</sup> where one appears to be hanging beside the saint's head.

There is, I feel, much to be said for Kendrick's view that many of the best examples of these bowls were made in Roman and in Arthurian Britain, but their manufacture certainly continued long after this period. Specimens were looted by Viking raiders and taken back to western Norway.<sup>3</sup> A very fine example was found in the Sutton Hoo ship<sup>4</sup> and the very well-preserved Winchester bowl was found in what was probably a seventh-century burial of a warrior with a scramasax.<sup>5</sup> At least one example, the Lullingstone bowl,<sup>6</sup> appears to show a form of interlacing coupled with naturalistic animals, which, although ultimately classical in origin, are perhaps related to those on the so-called Pictish carvings of the North. Kendrick dates the Lullingstone bowl early in the series.

We have to consider a very great range in time for these bowls and also, in view of their utilitarian nature, the probability that they were made at several different centres.

#### THE HILDERSHAM BOWL IN PARTICULAR

This bowl, as may be seen from an examination of the plates, combines at least three styles of ornament. There are red-enamelled 'prints' inside and outside the bottom (Plate X *b*, nos. 4 and 5), the inside one of which is purely Celtic in design and very complicated at that (Fig. 1). Although the pattern is related to the kind of fine trumpet ornament which is found for instance in the Book of Durrow<sup>7</sup> it does not really conform to the type of design which grew out of the pelta-whorl,<sup>8</sup> and is more an elaboration of the triskele pattern. There are points about this print which recall the patterns of the genuine Early Iron Age. The second print bears two circular rings of classical running spirals but carries in the centre a spiral of more Celtic feeling. A very similar print from Faversham in Kent is figured by Kendrick<sup>9</sup> and dated by him to the fifth century. There are enamelled bronze strips bearing simple spiral designs, and others ornamented with pairs of rings and dots, which could almost be of late Romano-British style (Plate XI). There are three little enamelled naturalistic



Fig. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Hencken, 'Ballinderry Gannog', *P.R. Irish A.* (1936), p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, vol. I, pl. LVIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. H. Shetelig, vol. v, pp. 83-111.

<sup>4</sup> *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (B.M., 1947), pls. 9 and 10.

<sup>5</sup> Kendrick, *Antiquity* (1932), pl. VII, no. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Kendrick, *Antiquity* (1932), pl. IV, and Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, vol. iv, pl. CXX.

<sup>7</sup> Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, vol. I, pl. XXXVII.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> *Antiquity*, June 1932, pl. V, no. 5.

figures of dogs ornamented with ring and dot (Plate XI); some believe them to be pigs, but whoever saw a pig with such a tail? These dogs, like the stags on the Lullingstone bowl, recall the 'Pictish' stone carvings, and have a late Roman origin. Finally there are the escutcheons which held the cords by which the bowl was suspended (Plate X). These are of open-work bronze, enamelled in two cases with patterns of a late Roman type (Plate X *b*, nos. 1 and 2). The third has a wavy line which ends in running spirals (Plate X *b*, no. 3). The example nearest in style is that on the bowl found at Baginton in Warwickshire,<sup>1</sup> which Kendrick, I think rightly, dates soon after the close of the Roman period. The animal heads which form the loops of these escutcheons belong to the short rather than Kendrick's long-snouted variety and the rim of the bowl is not flanged. Both features are early in the series.

There is now a nice little problem. The escutcheons of the Hildersham bowl appear to be of fifth-century date, but one of the prints (Plate X *b*, no. 5) would be thought by many people to be much later. As it happens, there is another piece of evidence. A bowl with escutcheons of precisely the same form, although without the ornament in enamel of our specimen, was found in 1922 in a midden below the ruins of the mediaeval castle, Tioram, on a tidal island in far-away loch Moidart. It seems probable that this Argyllshire specimen was originally obtained from the same district as the bowls of Baginton and Hildersham. The most reasonable explanation that occurs to me is that all three bowls, together with others of the same general type like the one from Tummel Bridge in Perthshire,<sup>2</sup> were looted from sub-Roman Britain by Pictish and Saxon raiders in the fifth century of our era. If this explanation is correct, can we be sure that the Book of Durrow is dated correctly to the latter half of the seventh century? Not only does one of our enamelled prints appear to be not so very much older than similar designs in the Book of Durrow, but there is also a picture in that book<sup>3</sup> of a beast with spirals on its limb-joints which is very much the same idea as that of the stags on the Lullingstone bowl. My belief in the accepted dating of the Book of Durrow has been shaken. Might it not be a good deal earlier than is supposed? No one can tell how old objects were when they were buried in Anglo-Saxon graves. The bowl in the Sutton Hoo ship may have been nearly new when it was buried, but it could easily have been old, for other objects in the grave were clearly heirlooms.

Our Hildersham bowl then is a warning against over-confidence in accepting the opinions of authority, especially with regard to styles of art, without proper caution. (There was nothing, for instance, to prevent the illuminator of the Book of Durrow from elaborating designs on old lamps hanging here and there in his monastery.) It is a fine example of British craftsmanship, but we do not know where it was made, and we do not know its date of manufacture. All we can confidently say is that it was included in the funerary deposit of an Anglo-Saxon warrior buried before about A.D. 650. There is however a strong probability that the bowl itself was made before

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, vol. 1, pl. XXVI, no. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For Scottish hanging bowls see *P.S.A. Scot.* LXXI, 1937.

<sup>3</sup> Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pl. XXXVII.

the date when Pictish raids into southern Britain ceased. So much of the ornament is so close to that of late provincial Roman Britain that no other conclusion appears to be reasonable.

The bowl is now deposited at the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Thanks are due to Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. for making the plastic mould on which the bowl has been mounted, and in particular to Mr Maldwyn Jones and his staff, of the Plastics Division, and to Dr W. S. Bristowe for his introduction to them. The actual reconstruction of the bowl was skilfully carried out by Mr S. C. Lilley of the Museum staff.

# EXCAVATIONS ON THE CASTLE SITE KNOWN AS 'THE HILLINGS' AT EATON SOCON, BEDFORDSHIRE<sup>1</sup>

T. C. LETHBRIDGE, M.A., F.S.A. AND C. F. TEBBUTT, F.S.A.

THE Hillings are at present a series of grass-covered earthworks situated on an old gravel terrace on the west bank of the river Ouse. They lie about half-way between St Neots and the village of Tempsford. The site might be compared topographically with that of Cambridge or Huntingdon castles. A wide river flows at the foot of a low bluff and on the farther bank lie broad water-meadows before the opposite gravel terrace is reached. In company with many other local fortresses, the site has lost its original name. Burwell castle, for instance, is now known as Spring Close, while Rampton castle bears the name of the Giant's Hills.

The Eaton Socon earthworks, which I prefer to think of as a castle, consist of a large horseshoe ditch enclosing on the river side two more or less rectangular wards. These are also separated by a ditch from one another and are ditched round on the landward side which, in the case of the northern ward, meets the enclosing horseshoe ditch at right angles and in the southern ward runs right round to the river flat. The northern ward is the lower of the two and has a high earthen rampart on its northern and western sides. The southern ward is several feet higher than the northern and has a slight bank on its northern, western and southern edges. Farther than this it has a low mound resembling a Bronze Age barrow, or the base of a windmill, more or less centrally placed within it. The interior of the northern ward is very uneven and presents an unfinished appearance. A small rectangular enclosure abuts on the rampart at its north-eastern corner, and a circular depression ringed with earth suggests the base of a wooden turret in the north-western angle, though it is improbable that it was ever a turret.

The site has points of resemblance both to Burwell and Rampton castles, and even perhaps to the great mounds at Caxton Moats. An account of it will be found in the *Victoria County History*, together with a plan by Lysons. From this it appears that on the river side a bank formerly existed which has since been levelled off. Skeletons with long iron swords are said to have been found near the entrance, but the swords have disappeared and it is uncertain which entrance is meant. There appears to have been a way into the southern ward near its south-western corner, which may have had an original bridge. There is also a narrow trackway into this ward at its north-eastern angle, which is almost certainly a secondary feature.

<sup>1</sup> Map reference 84/626781.

Miss Joyce Godber of the County Record Office, Bedford, has kindly provided us with such details as are known of the Saxon and Norman lords of Eaton Socon and we include her notes here, down to A.D. 1367. It seems clear, however, from the results obtained by trial excavations, conducted by Mr Tebbutt and supervised by myself in 1949, that the history of the site probably goes back much further than the days of Ulmar, the thegn of Edward the Confessor, and that its life as a fortress had ended before it came into the hands of Engayne in A.D. 1343.

*Ulmar of Eaton Socon*: a thegn of King Edward: held Eaton Socon, Sandy, Stanford, Little Barford. His men held four hides in Tempsford, one hide in Chicksands,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hides in Stondon.

*Eudo dapifer*: son of Hubert de Rie who had helped William when young. One of several brothers who attained eminence after Conquest. Farmer of the city and constable of the castle of Colchester. About 1096 founded the Abbey of St John in Colchester. For the last fifteen years of his life was blind, and lived at his castle of Preaux, dying there in 1120. Married Roheise, daughter of Richard son of Count Gilbert of Brionne, the founder of the great house of Claye, but left no direct heir. His extensive holding in Bedfordshire was built up mainly from that of Ulmar, but in this as in some lands in other counties his immediate predecessor was Lisois de Moustiers (*B.H.R.S.* 4 to ser. 1, p. 92). At Domesday: Eaton, Wyboston, Chawston, Tempsford, Sandy, Sutton, Southill, Stanford, Blunham, Beeston, Northill, Clifton. (Some of these are small holdings only, but the main ones—Eaton Socon twenty hides and Sandy sixteen hides—and some of the smaller holdings were ones which had previously been Ulmar's (*V.C.H.* 1, pp. 234-6).

1120-56: complicated history, for which see *B.H.R.S.* II, pp. 61 ff.

*Beauchamp of Eaton*: Hugh, occurs 1155-6, died on Crusade 1187, succeeded by grandson, Hugh. Hugh (founder of Bushmead Priory), grandson of above, died by 1217-18, succeeded by brother Roger. Roger, brother of above succeeded 1217-18, died 1220-1. And so on, till Eaton sold to Engayne, 1343. The Engayne line ended with three heiresses in 1367, after which there were many changes.

Mr Tebbutt's section across the northern ward revealed a remarkable state of affairs. His trench cut through a graveyard, which had obviously been in use for a considerable period. Later burials had disturbed earlier ones in a manner which suggests that the place had been used for centuries. Much of it had, however, been covered up by a hard layer of stones and mortar, which appeared to have been the debris of a building destroyed at the time the ditch was cut between the northern and southern wards. This supposition is confirmed by pieces of human bone occurring here and there on the southern ward, on to which they had evidently been cast when material from this ditch was thrown up on to it. The skeletons therefore are older than the castle in its present form. There is little doubt that they lie deeply buried beneath the surface of the southern ward, although this needs to be checked by future excavation. Relatively early glazed mediaeval pottery was found above the burials in the northern ward.

The interest in these burials lies, not so much in their antiquity, as the evidence they give of having in some cases come to a violent end. Mr Tebbutt observed about forty skeletons in a single trench. Out of these, two, in each case disturbed and

therefore relatively early in the burial series, had had their skulls split during life by some heavy cutting weapon. A third and undisturbed burial at a great depth had apparently been burnt to death or burnt after death in a blazing building. Falling beams, as we think, had charred off his skull and the middle portion of his body. It is surely too much of a coincidence to suppose that these people met their ends in the ordinary rough and tumble of village life and we must look round for something rather more drastic to account for it. This event, if it were a single event, must have taken place long years before the cemetery became disused and the castle assumed its present form. There is no reason to suppose that a Norman baron in an emergency would hesitate to destroy a Saxon church and desecrate its cemetery if he wished to use the site for building a castle. He would not, however, commit this sacrilege without good reason. The site is not so remarkably different from the rest of the gravel terrace in the neighbourhood and it seems more probable that the castle builder chose it because the horseshoe ditch was already there. The castle is of at least two dates. There is the outer horseshoe ditch; there are the ditches round the two wards and there is the ditch separating the two wards. All these ditches have the appearance of having been constructed either at different times, or in such a hurry that they were not properly linked up. The two wards are probably the latest military constructions on the site, for it seems likely that the circular mound within the southern one is only the base for a late mediaeval windmill. On this southern ward stood buildings with foundations of boulder stones packed in clay. These were the earliest buildings on the completed ward, which was faced with clay to prevent the gravel from slipping. Pottery fragments found in the occupation layers of these buildings consist of green glazes on a white paste and coarse shell-grit wares. The few bronze objects (Fig. 1, nos. 1-4) recovered are at present undatable, but are probably Norman. It is improbable that any of the pottery from this occupation is as late as the middle of the thirteenth century. In our present state of knowledge, it seems much more likely to date from about the middle of the twelfth century. If this is correct, we arrive at a period when Eaton Socon belonged to the Beauchamps and the first Hugh de Beauchamp was, as Miss Godber informs us, connected, either by marriage or obligation, with Geoffrey de Mandeville. Once again, as in the case of Burwell,<sup>1</sup> we have a castle, with one ward apparently never completed (the northern ward) and even the second presenting a rather disorganized appearance, which seems to be linked in some way with the war between de Mandeville and King Stephen. De Mandeville died of a wound received at Burwell in A.D. 1144.

It does not appear as if stone walls were ever built at the Hillings castle. The whole thing was run up in a hurry. A graveyard was desecrated, a mortared building levelled. Fragments of dressed stone found from time to time on the site probably come from a demolished Saxon church. A piece of a pilaster was actually found during the excavations. The buildings built on top of the southern ward were, however, plastered, for much of it was found, and they may have been burnt, for some of it presents a reddened appearance. We need not go too deeply into the matter of two

<sup>1</sup> *C.A.S.* xxxvi, 1936.

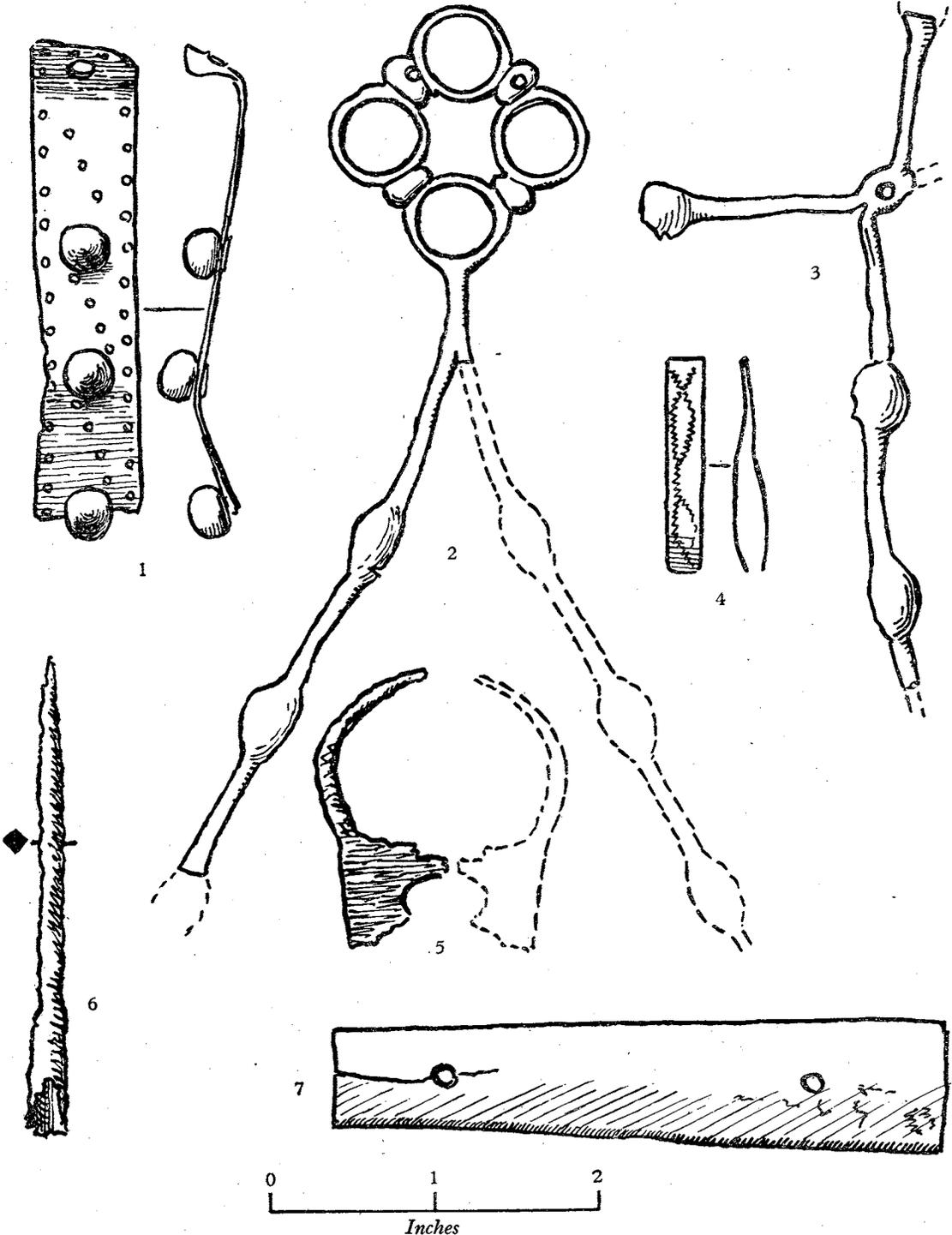


Fig. 1.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| No. 1. Heavy gilded-bronze strip.          | } Stratified in first occupation layer on southern ward. |
| Nos. 2 & 3. Gilded-bronze mounts.          |  |
| No. 4. Bronze tweezers.                    |  |
| No. 5. Part of iron buckle.                | No. 6. One of two unstratified iron arrowheads.          |
| No. 7. Plate from bone 'whip-handle' comb. |  |

unstratified iron arrowheads (Fig. 1, no. 6) found during the excavations, although from what little is known of such objects these might well date from the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> Later mediaeval pottery at a higher level in the southern ward may well have come from mill buildings.

All this, however, has nothing to do with the burials in the northern ward. The castle on the southern ward may have been destroyed by Stephen's men, but some of the persons buried beneath the other ward had met violent ends long years before. There is good reason for supposing that this happened in Saxon times.

Under the year A.D. 921 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Giles edition) has the following entry:

At that same time went out the army from Huntingdon and from the East Angles, and constructed the fortress at Tempsford, and abode, and built there; and forsook the other at Huntingdon, and thought that from thence they could, by warfare and hostility, get more of the land again. And they went forth until they arrived at Bedford; and then the men who were there within went out against them, and fought with them and put them to flight, and slew a good part of them. Then again, after that, a large army once more drew together from East Anglia and from Mercia, and went to the town at Wigmore, and beset it round about, and fought against it the greater part of the day, and took the cattle thereabout. And nevertheless, the men who were within the town defended it; and then the army left the town and went away. Then, after that, in the same summer, much people, within king Edward's dominion, drew together out of the nearest towns, who could go thither, and went to Tempsford, and beset the town, and fought against it till they took it by storm, and slew the king, and Toglos the earl, and Mann the earl, his son, and his brother, and all those who were there within and would defend themselves; and took the others, and all that was therein. Then, very soon after this, much people drew together during harvest, as well from Kent as from Surrey and from Essex, and from each of the nearest towns, and went to Colchester, and beset the town, and fought against it until they mastered it, and slew all the people there within, and took all that was there, except the men who fled away over the wall. Then after that, once again during the same harvest, a large army drew together out of East Anglia, as well of the land-force as of the pirates whom they had enticed to their aid; and they thought that they should be able to avenge their wrongs. And they went to Maldon, and beset the town, and fought against it until more aid came to the help of the townsmen from without; and then the army left the town and went away. And then the men from the town went out after them, and those also who came from without to their aid; and they put the army to flight, and slew many hundreds of them, as well of the pirates as of the others. Then, very shortly after, during the same harvest, king Edward went with the forces of the West Saxons to Passoham, and sat down there while they encompassed the town at Towcester with a stone wall. And Thurferth the earl, and the captains, and all the army which owed obedience to Northampton, as far north as the Welland, submitted to him, and sought to him to be their lord and protector. And when one division of the forces went home, then another went out, and took possession of the town of Huntingdon, and repaired and rebuilt it, by command of king Edward, where it had been previously demolished; and all who were left of the inhabitants of that country submitted to king Edward, and sought his peace and his protection. And after this, still in the same year, before Martinmas, king Edward went with the forces of the West Saxons to Colchester, and repaired the town, and rebuilt it where it had been before broken down; and much people submitted to him, as well among the East Anglians as among the East Saxons, who before were under the dominion of the Danes. And all the army among the East Anglians swore union with him, that they would all that he

<sup>1</sup> *London Museum Mediaeval Catalogue*, fig. 16.

would, and would observe peace towards all to which the king should grant his peace, both by sea and by land. And the army which owed obedience to Cambridge chose him specially to be their lord and protector; and confirmed it with oaths, even as he then decreed it.

This fortress at Tempsford has never been identified. The names given to battles are often those of places several miles from the actual scene of conflict; Hastings is a typical example. A little earthwork farther up the river towards Bedford could not have contained anything like the force of the army from Huntingdon. It might have held a hundred men, but certainly not the hutments and the like which are implied in the *Chronicle*. The Danes were building a fortified town for themselves, their women and children. It seems most probable that this fortified town, which Edward the Elder stormed and in which he slew all those who would defend themselves, was on a site similar to that of Huntingdon, although placed for tactical reasons nearer to Bedford. To us it seems almost certain that the outer horseshoe ditch was dug to protect this town and that there the Danes were buried where they fell; the site being used afterwards as the village graveyard. There a Saxon church was probably erected in memory perhaps of Edward's great feat of arms. It may have decayed and fallen down, but its ruins were ruthlessly levelled by a Norman lord in a new age of unrest. Now nothing whatever is remembered of any of it.

It may be thought that I have built too large a structure on too flimsy evidence, but, however weak the evidence may be, nothing whatever was known of the site before we started work. This reconstruction of events is based not only on what Colonel Alfred Burne calls 'inherent military probability', but also on the results of excavation. Much more excavation would, however, have to be undertaken before the theories put forward above could either be proved or disproved. T. C. L.

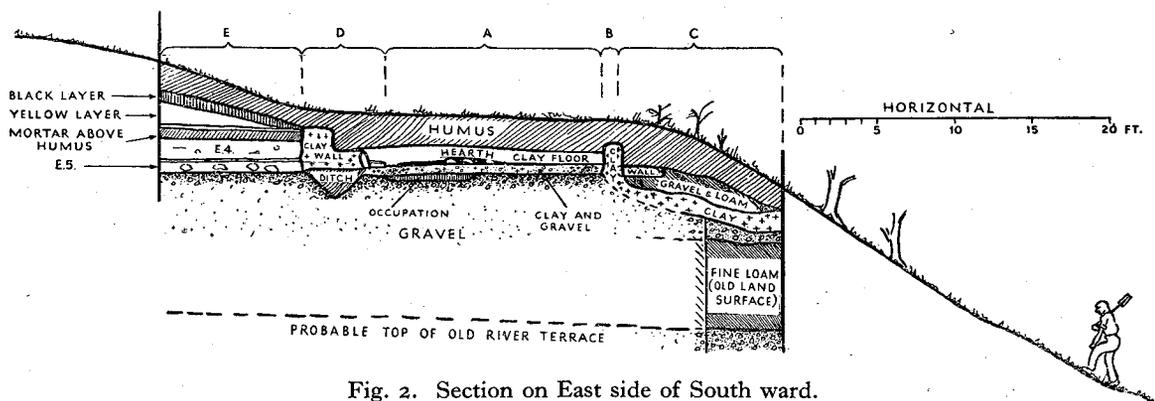


Fig. 2. Section on East side of South ward.

For many years I have been finding sherds of unglazed pottery, turned out by rabbits, on the river slope of the south ward of the Hillings, Eaton Socon, while on the north bank of the great ditch separating the north and south wards other rabbits are continually exposing human bones.

In the hope that excavation might throw some light on late Saxon or early mediaeval archaeological problems, digging was started towards the end of 1949 and

continued in 1950. The necessary permit was obtained from the Ministry of Works and permission to dig generously given by Mr A. W. McNish, owner of the site. Mr T. C. Lethbridge gave general supervision, and much hard work was done by Mr W. Key, of St Neots, as well as by parties from Wimpole Park Training College and Kimbolton School.

The south ward has steep sides but a relatively flat top, except that on it, in an approximately central position, is a low round mound. It was decided first to open a trench running almost east and west, on the east side of this ward between the round mound and the east or river slope. This part of the trench was lettered Zone A. An eastward extension of this trench down the steep slope passed through Zones B and C; while another to the west brought it to the edge of the round mound at D, and under the mound at E.

The ward itself was found to be built up with an admixture of gravel and loam with layers of clay to give stability. The steep outside slope was of clay to prevent slipping. A short way down the slope, in Zone C, a pit was dug 9 ft. deep through material of the ward to the old land surface. This, when reached, was found to be resting on natural unmoved gravel, and on it were found several late-Saxon sherds of St Neots type.

#### ZONES A AND B

Zone A was 16 ft. wide and appeared to have been occupied by a building or open shed, the floor of which was 3 ft. below the present surface. At the east end was the 4 ft. wide clay foundation of a wall (Zone B), in which were set layers of large gravel stones. This foundation was at the extreme edge of the top of the ward and probably formed the base of the wall surrounding the ward. The building at A could therefore have been a penthouse built up against it on the inner side.

The floor at A was of clay and on it had accumulated several inches of black wood-ash. Near the centre the wood-ash layer was thicker and lay on a hearth, 2 ft. wide, of cobble-stones set in the clay floor. The stones were all cracked by fire and the clay burnt red. From this floor came many bones of food animals including birds and fish, oyster and mussel shells, and numerous pottery sherds. Relatively quick and easy water transport from the Wash oyster fisheries would seem to be implied from the numerous shells found all over the site.

Below the clay floor, and between it and the material of the ward, was a slight hollow 6 in. deep by 6 ft. wide. This was filled in with dark soil mixed with wood-ash, food bones and especially large oyster shells. The small amount of pottery it contained did not differ in type from that found on the clay floor above. I would suggest that it derived from the workmen engaged on the building of the castle.

#### ZONE D

West of A, Zone D consisted of a mass or bank of irregularly shaped clay about 7 ft. wide, in which, as at B, were set large stones. Part of this was undoubtedly again a wall foundation, but its great bulk seemed to suggest that here we had also a collapsed

clay wall. This view was strengthened by the fact that besides slightly overlapping the floor of A, it sealed below it a small V-shaped ditch found to be filled with the same kind of domestic rubbish and pottery as found on the floor at A. While it is possible that the wall D was the west wall of the building A, it seemed more probable that it belonged to another building separated from A by a small yard drain.

## ZONE E

West of D our trench was cut into the low central mound and was continued for a further 10 ft. By this time 6 ft. of the top soil had to be removed to reach undisturbed occupation layers and it was decided to dig no further.

The mound itself seen in section had quite clearly been imposed on the old land surface of the south ward at a relatively late date. The material used to form it had been taken from the earth banks on the north and west sides of the ward. In it was found a range of pottery from late Saxon St Neots ware to late mediaeval glaze, as well as some scraps of mediaeval coloured window glass and an iron arrowhead of Type 7<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1, no. 6).

Below the mound the old land surface was plainly visible as a clear-cut black line with some 6-9 in. in depth of turf, which must indicate the lapse of some considerable time between the abandonment of the castle, the grassing over of the top of the ward, and the throwing up of the mound.

From this old surface level came pottery sherds as from A, including examples of bright green glaze which was subsequently found at all levels in this section. Other finds included a gilt bronze ornament (Fig. 1, no. 2), many small oyster shells and one clam, iron slag, a broken glazed floor-tile and many large stones.

Below the old turf layer, stony loam containing much evidence of occupation lay to a depth of 26 in. directly on the original surface of the ward. At the top of this were many lumps of lime mortar and plaster. The plaster all lay face-side up and most of it had been whitewashed. Some was of a pink colour on the surface, indicating burning. With this building rubbish were a number of short lath nails. All the mortar and plaster lay near the top, but throughout the layer were numbers of food-animal bones, mostly sheep and pig, but also those of fish and birds. Part of a red deer antler was found among these and a tine of roe deer sharpened to form a meat skewer. Metal objects were notably a pair of bronze tweezers (Fig. 1, no. 4), a gilded bronze strip (Fig. 1, no. 1), and several 'fiddle key' horseshoe nails.

Eight inches from the bottom of this occupation layer a thin white layer of mortar extended all over the section. This was found to have continued eastward just far enough to underlap the clay floor of the building at A. It had however been cut into by the small ditch dug below the clay bank at D.

Below this thin mortar layer the remaining lowest level of the section contained nothing to distinguish it in date from those above.

I would suggest that after the ward was built there occurred a short occupation by workmen before permanent building took place. On the arrival of builders the mixing

<sup>1</sup> *London Museum Mediaeval Catalogue*, fig. 16, p. 66.

of mortar on the ground accounted for the thin layer, and subsequently a building with plastered walls and coloured glass windows was erected. At the same time the building or penthouse represented by A was built with a small yard drain between them. The whole living site did not last long enough for pottery styles to change, and was burnt and the buildings collapsed.

Long after the site was abandoned and grassed over, a mound was made on the top of the ward, probably on which to raise a mediaeval post windmill for use when the river stream was too slack to drive the adjoining water-mill. The two graded tracks leading up to the south ward from the south-east and north-west corners were probably made at this time to enable pack-horses to be led up to and back from the windmill.

It was decided to dig two short trial trenches on the same ward north of the original trench A-E.

The first of these, named F, was on the possible line of the supposed clay wall foundation found at D, presuming it to run parallel to the west side of the ward. This presumption proved to be correct and the foundation was found at the depth of 1 ft. In this trench just east of the wall and at its level was found another part of the gilt bronze ornament found at E, as well as part of a bone 'whip-handle' comb (Fig. 1, nos. 3 and 7).

Farther north still another short trench G was dug to determine if the clay wall foundation had turned at right angles, to follow the line of the north edge of the ward. At the expected depth this was found to be the case.

#### THE NORTH WARD

Trenches were also dug in the north ward from the south slope of which human bones had come. The first and longest of these, Z, was dug right across the west side of the ward from south to north. This cut through the slight bank on the southern edge of the ward and finished at the inner foot of the large bank that defends it on the outside north edge.

At about 1 ft. below the present surface there was found to be a layer of large stones, many 6-8 in. in diameter, tightly packed together.

At the south end this layer was 1 ft. thick, but it got thinner as the trench progressed northward, practically disappearing by the time the north bank was reached. Most of the stones were natural gravel stones that had formed part of a building as many had mortar adhering, and among them were some of Bedfordshire sandstone as well as broken Collyweston stone slates.<sup>1</sup> With these were a few pieces of coloured window glass and pottery, some with green glaze, comparable with that found in the occupation levels of the south ward. 'Fiddle key' horseshoe nails and part of a horseshoe of wavy edge type<sup>2</sup> were also found. The layer of pottery continued right along the trench, sherds being rather more numerous at the north end where the

<sup>1</sup> Collyweston slates were used in Roman times in this area, and were found in abundance on the early mediaeval earthworks at Southoe, Hunts (C.A.S. xxxviii).

<sup>2</sup> See *London Museum Mediaeval Catalogue*, p. 113.

stones ceased. This layer of stones and pottery was unbroken and undisturbed and obviously later than the graves that were found below.

The section cut through the rather slight south bank of this ward proved quite conclusively that this bank was made subsequent to the destruction and spreading of material of the building in which the stones were used. The stone layer passed right under the bank and indeed enough time had elapsed for a layer of turf to be formed over the stones before the bank was made. At one time a fence or palisade had topped the bank as a hole with remains of wood, large enough for a 6 ft. post, was found driven through the clay and gravel material of the bank into the stones below.

Along the whole length of trench Z the section was consistent. Below the stone or pottery layer an old land surface could be faintly detected and below this mixed yellowish loam continued down to undisturbed gravel at approximately 5 ft. from the present surface.

At about 1 ft. below the stone layer we began to find disturbed human bones and skulls. These belonged to graves disturbed by later burials. Most of the graves had been dug down to the gravel or just into it. They were closely packed together and it is estimated that the remains of at least forty individuals were found in the trench, the majority disturbed.

No large stones were found in the grave fillings nor a single sherd of pottery of the type found in the layer above or other occupation areas of the earthwork. Several small pieces of Bedfordshire sandstone and pottery were however found at or near the bottom of undisturbed graves. The pottery was all of black or brown paste with shell grit of Pagan Saxon or St Neots type, with the exception of one piece of hard grey micaceous paste comparable with that from Saxon Thetford. This pottery was presumably lying on the land surface when the graves were filled in.

The skeletons all lay east and west in the Christian manner, and consisted of men and women, young and old, as well as children. All were carefully excavated but no grave goods were found with the exception of the badly rusted remains of an iron buckle at the waist of a young man. At least two skulls from disturbed burials had sword or axe cuts that must have caused death, while in an undisturbed grave a body had been carelessly thrown in leaving it half on its side with one arm behind its back and the other in front.

The most remarkable burial was of a male showing marks of severe burning. The leg bones were cremated to a black and blue colour, while one arm had the hand burnt off at the wrist and the elbow charred. The skull was completely cremated and lay in fragments from the breast to the knees. There was a coating of black ash over the bones and the sand at the bottom of the grave was burnt red.

In the south-east corner of the north ward a very slight bank enclosing a rectangle was noticed, and a trench, W, running north and south was cut across this. The slight banks were found to be the base of a wall covered by much collapsed rubble consisting of large stones, mortar and whitewashed plaster. As the soil appeared to be disturbed inside the building, the trench was deepened and an undisturbed skeleton

was found at a depth of 5 ft. Like the others it lay east and west and had no grave goods. Unlike the other graves in trench Z large stones from the building were found in the grave filling, and it is possible that the building predated the burial. Not a scrap of pottery or other objects were found to give a clue to its date.

Short trial trenches were also dug in the round turret-like enclosures in the north-east and north-west corners of the north ward. The material forming the ward was reached without finding any sign of occupation, and it is doubtful if they were ever completed or occupied.

It would seem to be quite evident that this extensively used cemetery in the north ward has nothing to do with the earthwork, at least in its present post-Conquest form. Indeed the great ditch between the north and south wards disturbed many burials now being turned out by rabbits along its slope. One is tempted to guess that on this spot Eaton Socon Saxon church stood, surrounded by its graveyard, in which, at some period, had been buried persons involved in war and destruction. The Norman lord had no hesitation in pulling down the church and removing it to its present site when he decided to build his castle there.

C. F. T.

#### METAL OBJECTS FOUND DURING THE EXCAVATIONS

The most important objects are of course those actually found in the primary occupation on top of the completed or nearly completed southern ward. They were found in a layer of dark soil representing the actual living surface directly on top of the gravel of the mound and inside the buildings which were first built on it. As is usual in the case of mediaeval excavations it is hard to fix an exact period for any of them, but they show resemblances to Late Saxon objects and it may be reasonable to conclude that they belong to Norman times.

(1) Several fragments of gilded bronze lattice work (Fig. 1, nos. 2 and 3). These are ornamented in a style which recalls Late Saxon keys and book-clasps. The bosses on the straight pieces are made by hammering out cups in the metal rods. It is probable that they formed part of an eight-pointed star which covered the front of some large book, or more likely a wooden box. It is possible that they may have ornamented a portable altar of the type associated with St Cuthbert.<sup>1</sup>

(2) A strip of gilded bronze with punched dot ornament and with spherical rivets inserted in it at intervals along its length (Fig. 1, no. 1). This may possibly have formed part of the binding of the wooden object to which the lattice work was fixed.

(3) A small pair of bronze tweezers resembling common Roman forms but ornamented with zigzag lines engraved on it. This type of ornamentation occurs on buckles and other objects of types apparently ranging from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.

(4) Two socketed iron arrowheads (Fig. 1, no. 6) with awl-like points of diamond cross-section were found unstratified. Until a proper classification of mediaeval arrowheads is worked out, little can be said with regard to their dates. It may be

<sup>1</sup> See *Antiquaries Journal*, xxx, pl. xix.

observed, however, that the numerous arrowheads found at Trelleborg in Denmark, which were probably of eleventh-century date, although fitted with a spike and not a socket, were mostly of this awl-like form. Similar arrowheads to those from Eaton Socon were found unstratified in the Roman castle at Richborough, which was occupied long after the Roman period. It is probable that contrary to the views expressed by some authorities this awl-pointed type is earlier than the barbed and winged long-bow arrowheads which are found from time to time. The Eaton Socon arrowheads have such small sockets that it seems unlikely that they were used with the long bow. The evidence, such as it is, points to a relatively early date for these specimens.

*Iron Buckles* (Fig. 1, no. 5). One specimen is of mediaeval type but otherwise cannot be accurately dated. A second specimen consisting of a fragmentary simple bow which might belong to any period was found with one of the skeletons on the northern ward.

*Bone*. The bone plate, flat on one side and gently keeled on the other (Fig. 1, no. 7), was found in the earliest occupation layer on top of the southern ward. It appears to be the side plate of a 'whip-handle' bone comb of the type in common use in Late Saxon times. It is not a knife handle. Although this type of comb<sup>1</sup> may have persisted into Norman times it does not appear to be known on later sites.

#### POTTERY

The fragments recovered from the primary occupation layer are all too small to be of much value for illustration purposes. By comparison with other local specimens, however, it is possible to see the kind of vessels from which they were derived. The more important classes are as follows:

(a) GREEN GLAZE WARE. This is fine mottled green and yellow glaze on white paste. It has been ornamented with a comb-like instrument.<sup>2</sup> It can now be shown that fine green and mottle green glaze occurs on many pot forms in eastern England which are also found covered with pale yellow glaze, and was obviously in use at the same time. (It is hoped to make a more extensive study of this pottery in the next volume.) There is no reason therefore why the date of the Eaton Socon glazed ware should not be quite close to the Late Saxon period. The castle at Faringdon Clump in Berkshire, described by Mr E. T. Leeds, F.S.A., in *The Antiquaries Journal* for April 1936, produced forms of this glazed ware. This castle was apparently destroyed by King Stephen after its capture in A.D. 1145. There is good reason, therefore, for believing that our glaze from Eaton Socon is not later than mid-twelfth century in date.

(b) COARSE WARE. Three types could be recognized from the small fragments. The first are fragments of vessels made of the red shell-mixed wares characteristic of the Bedford-Stamford areas at the end of the Saxon period. One pot form was that of a jug with rows of rectangular rouletting all down the neck. A jug neck from

<sup>1</sup> See *London Museum Guide*, 'London and the Saxons', fig. 30.

<sup>2</sup> See *C.A.S. Proceedings*, vol. XLIII, coloured plate I, no. 1.

the King's Ditch at Cambridge shows what the original form was like. It was a large vessel with a slightly everted hammer-headed rim and provided with a large and wide strap handle. A piece of this type of handle in grey gritted Late Saxon ware is shown in *C.A.S. Proceedings*, vol. XLIII, fig. 1, no. 1. We have been calling jugs of this type 'Late Saxon' but it is becoming clear that the Late Saxon pottery forms persist without radical change into the Norman age.

Another type consists of fragments of bowls with interned rims made from the kind of paste used by the potters who made the pots found by Mr Tebbutt and myself at St Neots, Great Paxton, Burwell Castle, Flambards Manor and other places in the Cambridge area. It is a brownish, rather soapy ware, and we have been regarding it as a Mercian counterpart of the grey grit ware found farther east at Cambridge and Thetford.

The third type consists of the remains of jars (*ollae* in Roman times) with everted rims sliced with a knife to give a pie-crust appearance all round the rim. These fragments are made from the Bedford-Stamford paste but are not so red as the jugs. This type of jar is believed to be of twelfth-century date derived from Late Saxon prototypes.

It will be seen from the above that all the evidence for the dating of the pottery of the first occupation of the southern ward points to a date close up to the Late Saxon period, but not actually in that period.

*Higher level:* the pottery from this level consists of very hard-baked, reddish vessels of the type associated with later mediaeval sites. It may be ascribed to the period of the mound which we think must have been the base of a windmill situated well above the primary occupation layer in the southern ward. *Old ground surface below the southern ward:* some small fragments apparently of Pagan Saxon ware were found in the cut made into the old ground level on which the southern ward was constructed. Other fragments were mixed up with skeletons in the northern ward.

*Window glass.* Some minute fragments of window glass were found in the primary occupation layer and probably came from windows in the castle buildings. Window glass was until recently regarded as a late feature in mediaeval times, but this is no longer the case.

*Summary of finds.* When the general character of all the small finds from the excavations is considered, it becomes clear that we are dealing with a primary occupation of buildings on top of the southern ward in which everything is of a homogeneous date. Everything resembles Late Saxon forms, but is apparently a little later than that period. It may be that it is not safe to ascribe the construction of the southern ward and the desecration of the cemetery on the northern ward to the troubles of King Stephen's reign, but it is at least evident that the castle assumed its present outline in the twelfth century.

*Bird bones.* These were kindly identified by Miss Platt at the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, as follows: Goose (small, could be domesticated or wild), domestic fowl (numerous), Mallard, Woodcock, Merganser, Pochard, Shoveller and Golden Plover.

# ROMAN FINDS AT ARRINGTON BRIDGE<sup>1</sup>

T. C. LETHBRIDGE, M.A., F.S.A.

MR F. W. MURFIT of Guilden Morden kindly drew my attention to the construction of a new bridge on the supposed line of the Ermine Street and informed me that wooden piles were being discovered beneath the modern roadway during the demolition of the existing bridge. Arrington Bridge is on the presumed site of the Armingaford, which has always interested the students of place-names. The ford, the village of Arrington and Ermine Street all derive their names from the Earningas, who owned the land through which the road passes (see Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, p. 23).

I went out to look at the excavations for the foundations of the new bridge and examined some of the piles *in situ*. These were of much the same size as an ordinary telephone pole and presumably supported a wooden bridge, but it is unlikely that this was of any great antiquity. It had the appearance of having been the bridge in use at the time the recently demolished brick bridge was built and may well have been less than three hundred years old.

Beneath the bridge and roadway ramps, however, was a gravel ford and it appears that it was from the surface of this ford that various objects of the Roman period were subsequently recovered. The more important of these consist of an iron spear-head, two 'hippo-sandals', a brass coin of Antoninus Pius and the neck of a pale buff-ware jug. The spearhead (Plate XII, *a* and *d*) has a leaf-shaped blade characteristic of those in use in the Roman army in Britain in the earlier part of the period of occupation.<sup>2</sup> It is the only weapon of its kind so far recovered in this neighbourhood.

The two hippo-sandals (one of which is illustrated in Plate XII, *b* and *c*) are in far better condition than is commonly the case and their construction can be well seen. One at any rate is far too small to have been used as a shoe for any pony. A recent comparison has been made between these hippo-sandals and the irons strapped beneath men's boots when digging in order to prevent the chafe from the spade on the sole of the boot. This might have been a reasonable suggestion if men dug with the toe of their boot pressing on the spade, but of course a digging iron goes under the instep. It is impossible to see how these sandals could be used in such a manner. We are forced back once more to Pitt Rivers's suggestion<sup>3</sup> that hippo-sandals were used as shields for the bottom ends of sledge-poles drawn on either side of a pony; shoes for poles and not for men or horses. It is most reasonable to expect such objects to become detached when crossing a ford. One specimen is, in fact, actually broken.

<sup>1</sup> Map reference Nat. Grid. 52/334486.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Curle, *Newstead, a Roman Frontier Post and its People*, pl. XXXVII.

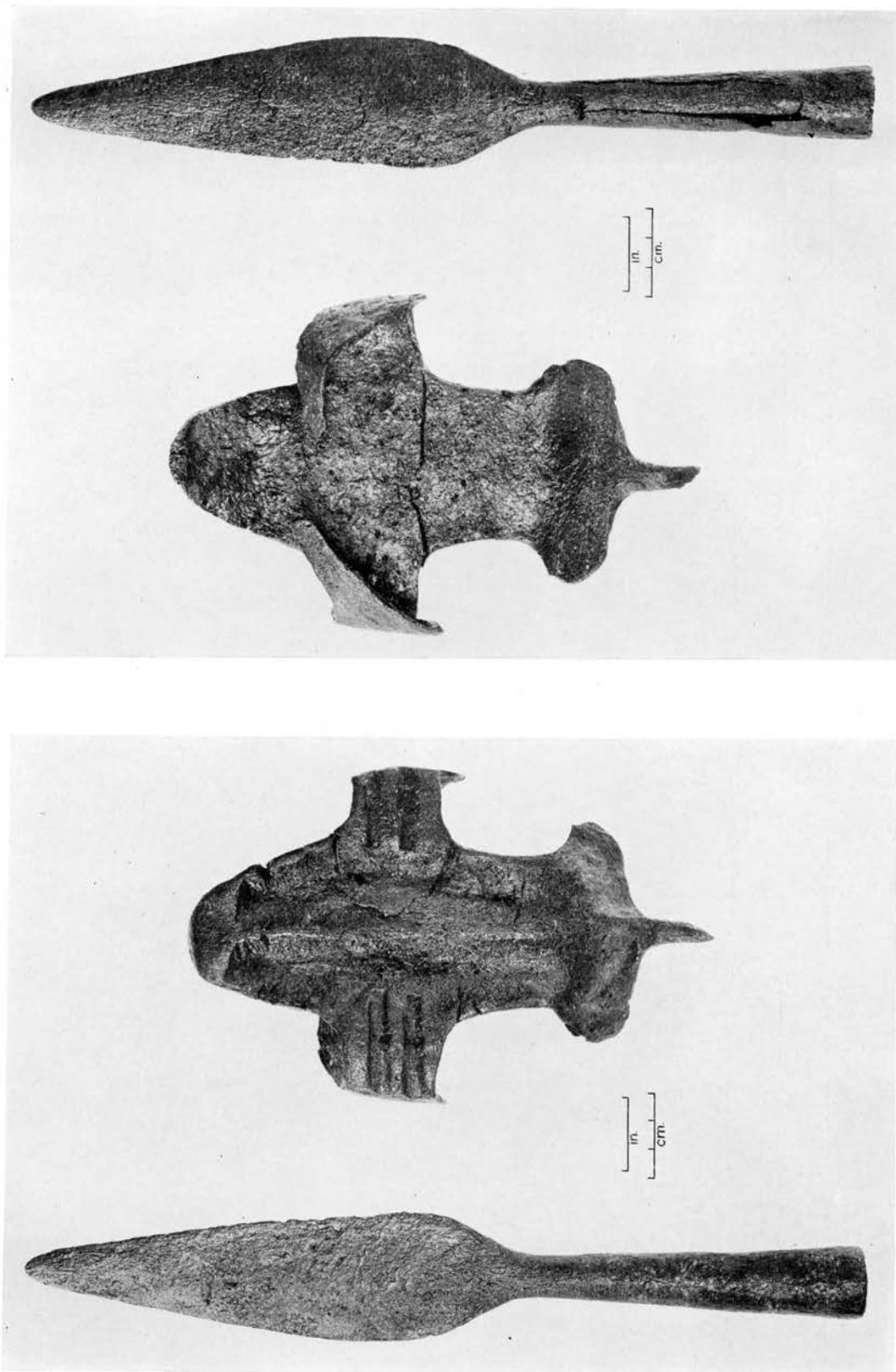
<sup>3</sup> *Excavations in Cranbourne Chase*, vol. 1, p. 78.

The trefoil-lipped buff-ware jug neck is probably datable to the second century of our era. The coin of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-61) in good condition may have been dropped at much the same time.

The only other objects of interest recovered from this site are a square-ended knife in a bone handle and an ox-goad. The knife has a projecting guard at the end away from the haft and was perhaps used for cutting leather straps. It may not be altogether fanciful to see it as having been used in connexion with the attachment of hippo-sandals. I do not, however, know an exact parallel and it may be of more recent date.

It will be seen from the above note that the ford was certainly in use in the first half of the Roman period and appears to have carried considerable traffic. It may, however, be of importance to observe that no objects of Saxon or mediaeval date have as yet been recovered from it. This may not be the Armingaford, although it was clearly the crossing of the Cam by the Ermine Street.

The damaged hippo-sandal is in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, and the remainder of the finds are in the possession of the County Surveyor's Office, Shire Hall, Castle Hill, Cambridge.



(d)

(c)

(b)

(a)

Iron Spear-head and 'Hippo-sandal' from Arrington Bridge



*a.* Early Bronze Age Food-Vessel  
*b.* Open-work Bronze Disc from Haslingfield  
*c.* Fourth Century Jar from Freckenham, Suffolk

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

C. I. FELL, M.A., F.S.A. AND GRACE BRISCOE, M.B., B.S., F.S.A.

## AN EARLY BRONZE AGE FOOD-VESSEL FROM SHIPPEA HILL FARM

AT the end of 1941, or early in 1942, a small hand-made pot (Plate XIII *a*) was found while digging a drainage shaft at Shippea Hill Farm, near Littleport.<sup>1</sup> It is now in the possession of Mr R. Taylor of Bryn-y-Mor, Redcliffe Bay, Portishead, Somerset, who kindly sent it to the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology for inspection in March 1951. Some years earlier he had shown it to Mr William Watson of the Department of British Antiquities, British Museum, who sent us his notes and the drawing here reproduced as Fig. 1. Mr Taylor says that the

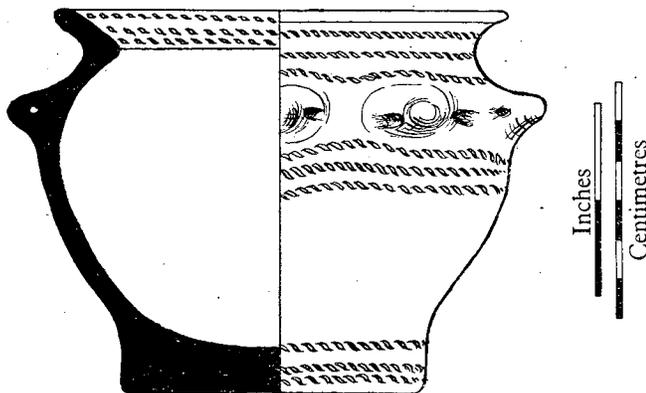


Fig. 1. Early Bronze Age Food-Vessel from Shippea Hill Farm.

pot was found lying on its side at a depth of about 9 ft. below the present ground level and that some bones were also found near it but were replaced when the drainage shaft was closed. It is therefore probable that the food-vessel accompanied a burial.

Apart from a little damage to the lip, the pot is intact. It is 5 in. high with a rim diameter of about  $4\frac{4}{5}$  in. The rim has a broad internal bevel and is decorated with three rows of cord impression. The neck is concave; the high shoulder is decorated with eight prominent, horizontally pierced lugs; the body is contracted towards the flat base which is 3 in. in diameter. Three rows of cord impression decorate the neck, the shoulder just below the projecting lugs, and the foot just above the base. The ware is coarse, but does not appear to be heavily gritted. It is dark grey to brown in colour, the outer surface being well smoothed and having a whitish appearance in places resulting from contact with the deposit in which it lay.

<sup>1</sup> National Grid map reference 52/621844.

This pot belongs to the Early Bronze Age food-vessel series, though it is not typical of the form so well known from the excavations of Canon Greenwell and J. R. Mortimer in East Yorkshire. The perforated stops, or lugs, are set on the shoulder and not in a groove as is more usual, and their number is uncommon, though food-vessels with eight stops are known from Barrow 116, Aldro Group and Barrow 101, Garrowby Wold Group, and with eleven stops at Barrow c 35 at Garton Slack.<sup>1</sup> Dr J. G. D. Clark found sherds of food-vessel ware at Plantation Farm<sup>2</sup> and Peacock's Farm,<sup>3</sup> Shippea Hill, and at the former site it was associated with Beaker pottery. Jet beads of various forms have been found in the Fen area and give an additional indication of trade or influence from East Yorkshire at this time,<sup>4</sup> though jet necklaces with triangular spacing beads sometimes continued to be worn in the Middle, and even in the Late Bronze Age, perhaps as heirlooms as at Snailwell<sup>5</sup> and at Soham Fen.<sup>6</sup>

The find is important as it emphasizes the fact, already known from the work of Dr Clark at the neighbouring sites of Plantation and Peacock's Farms, that the fen islands were occupied in the Early Bronze Age. It is a pity that the discovery of the food-vessel was not known to us at the time so that samples of the deposit in which it lay could have been taken for pollen analysis. C. I. F.

#### A BRONZE SPEAR-HEAD FROM BUCKDEN, NEAR HUNTINGDON

A small socketed bronze spearhead (Fig. 2) with leaf-shaped blade and lozenge-shaped loops on the socket (Greenwell and Brewis Class IV)<sup>7</sup> was found in November 1949 alongside the railway in the Hundred Acre Field at Park Farm, Buckden, near Huntingdon, and was presented to the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology by Mr R. G. Smith through Miss M. Midgley (Museum No. 50.671). The spearhead was found on the surface of the ground after ploughing and is a stray find.

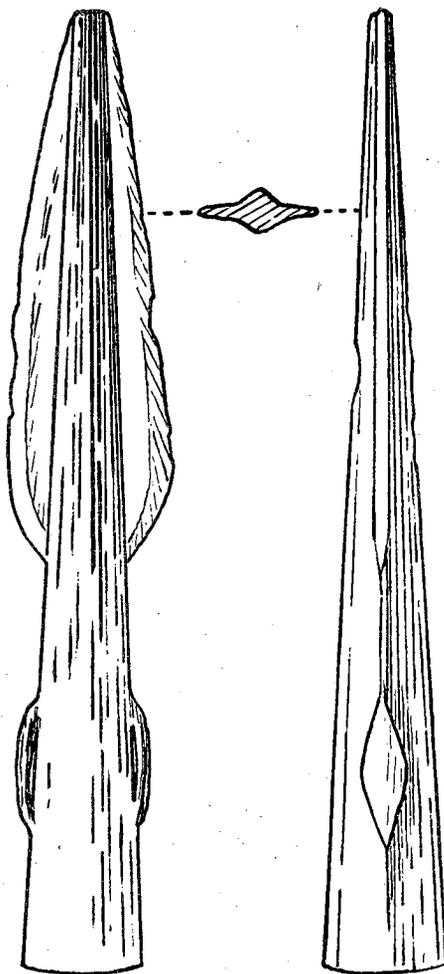


Fig. 2. Bronze Spear-Head from Buckden, near Huntingdon, natural size.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, figs. 105, 360 and 726 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant. Journ.* XIII (1933), pp. 269-70, pls. XLV-XLVI.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant. Journ.* xv (1935), p. 298, fig. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Victoria County History of Cambridgeshire*, vol. I, p. 271.

<sup>5</sup> *C.A.S. Proceedings*, vol. XLIII (1949), p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Cyril Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> *Archaeologia*, LXI, part 2, pp. 439 f.

The point of the weapon is broken and its present length is 5 in., the diameter of the socket being  $\frac{3}{5}$  in. Professor C. F. C. Hawkes describes this type of spearhead as developing at the end of Middle Bronze Age II and in Late Bronze Age I as a result of the influence of the Continental leaf-shaped spearhead on the native forms with kite-shaped blades.<sup>1</sup>

The site is on the northern edge of a low hill, lying to the west of the River Ouse and about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-west from Huntingdon.<sup>2</sup> Other spearheads of Class III and of Class IV have been found in Conington Fen and it is from the fen area that most bronze implements in Huntingdonshire have been recorded.<sup>3</sup>

C. I. F.

#### AN OPEN-WORK BRONZE DISC FROM HASLINGFIELD

An attractive open-work bronze disc was picked up some years ago by Mr E. Glasspool on the surface of a field known as Stone Hill at Haslingfield and is still in his possession (Plate XIII *b*). He kindly gave permission to illustrate and publish a short account of the find. National Grid map reference 52/417527 represents as closely as possible the place where the disc was found.

The disc, which measures 2 in. in diameter, is probably a mount from horse harness and can be compared with similar trappings from Stanwick, Yorkshire,<sup>4</sup> and Dowalton Loch, Wigtownshire.<sup>5</sup> Part of the centre has broken away. The design is in the Celtic tradition though formality and rigidity of expression place it late in time. Within the limits of a circle, a triquetra is centrally placed and a scroll is added to each of its holed arms (Fig. 3). The resulting fan-shaped voids form an integral part of the pattern, the whole effect comparing with the engraved roundels of the 'mirror style'<sup>6</sup> and the enamelled harness mounts and linchpins characteristic of the last phase of the Early Iron Age in Britain.<sup>7</sup> As Sir Cyril Fox has pointed out to me, the triquetra is the primary and the scrolls the secondary elements in the design which here reproduces the motif of the Llyn Cerrig shield boss<sup>8</sup> though with stricter symmetry. This stricter use of symmetry has resulted in the loss of much of the movement expressed in the earlier pieces. The use of the triquetral motif combined with S-scrolls is also seen on the embossed plaque from

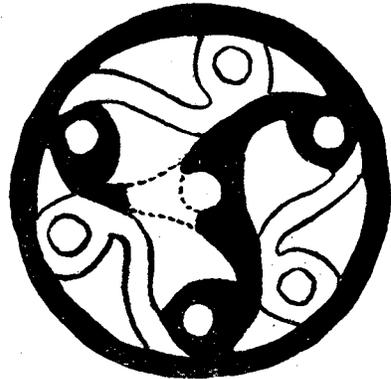


Fig. 3. Open-work Bronze Disc from Haslingfield, natural size.

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, VII (1941), pp. 128-31.

<sup>2</sup> National Grid map reference 52/185694.

<sup>3</sup> *Trans. Cambs. and Hunts. Arch. Soc.* vol. VII, part 1, p. 18 and plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeologia*, LX, p. 288 and *Proc. Arch. Inst.* (York, 1846), pp. 34-8.

<sup>5</sup> *P.S.A. Scot.* vol. III (new series, 1880-1), pp. 154-5 (figured).

<sup>6</sup> *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, xcVIII (1945), pp. 199f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ant. Journ.* xx, p. 358, pl. LVI; E. T. Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, pls. I and II.

<sup>8</sup> Sir Cyril Fox, *Llyn Cerrig Bach Report*, p. 53, fig. 28.

Lambay Island,<sup>1</sup> which was found with a provincial Roman bronze brooch of thistle type—a pattern which went out of vogue about A.D. 50. Perhaps the closest comparison is with a bronze triskele found in the metalling of the latest road outside the north-west gate of Verulamium and associated with relics of the fourth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> However there seems to be some doubt in assigning the triskele to that period and I see no reason to date the Haslingfield disc so late in time. The design appears to be earlier than the Lambay plaque and it seems reasonable to suggest that the Haslingfield disc was made before A.D. 50.

It would be interesting to know whether the disc was found on a settlement site of the Early Iron Age, or whether it was lost one day by its owner in the Stone Hill field. A bronze ring-headed pin and a bronze disc-headed pin, types often associated with an earlier phase of the Iron Age cultures in this country, were found at Haslingfield<sup>3</sup> and a bone 'weaving-comb', now in the British Museum,<sup>4</sup> and a bone cheek-piece of a bridle bit in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology<sup>5</sup> came from the same place. The exact find-spots of none of these objects is known. Early Iron Age A pottery was found at Grantchester, Trumpington and Hauxton, and Belgic wares are recorded from the same settlement sites.<sup>6</sup> An early form of the Belgic tazza bowl, probably dating to the end of the first century B.C., was found at Haslingfield itself.<sup>7</sup> All these finds suggest that people lived at Haslingfield at various times during the Early Iron Age, though their actual homesteads have not yet been identified.

C. I. F.

RECENTLY DISCOVERED ROMANO-BRITISH SITES  
NEAR LAKENHEATH, SUFFOLK

The Roman site at the base of Maid's Cross Hill, Lakenheath, has long been known, and an outlying hoard of Samian and other ware, discovered by wartime trenching, was described in volume XLI of these *Proceedings*. The south portion of the main site is now in process of excavation.

Since the war other Romano-British sites have been discovered in the neighbourhood.

*The Hiss Farm Site*<sup>8</sup>

In 1948 Mr Smith of Hiss Farm, close to Lakenheath Station, reported that the plough had turned up many sherds of pottery on a field just north of the railway line. He stated that twenty to thirty coins, close together as though from a hoard, and beads had been found in the same field in 1932. The coins had been sent to the British Museum for examination. Both coins and report are now missing, but the dates were said to be between A.D. 200 and 300.

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, p. 59, fig. 24a-b.

<sup>2</sup> Report no. XI of the Society of Antiquaries: *Verulamium* (1936), p. 216, fig. 48. Another bronze open-work disc of unknown provenance, but earlier in date than the Haslingfield specimen, was described by Sir Cyril Fox in *Ant. Journ.* xxvii (1947), pp. 1f. and pl. I.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Cyril Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, p. 76, and *Arch. Journ.* xci (1934), p. 289.

<sup>4</sup> *B.M. Early Iron Age Guide* (1925), fig. 181.

<sup>5</sup> Marked 1882. No registration number.

<sup>6</sup> *Victoria County History of Cambridgeshire*, vol. 1, pp. 288, 296.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Cyril Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, p. 91, pl. XII, 1. <sup>8</sup> National Grid 52/733867.

On the surface of the field there were many domestic Romano-British sherds and also a spread of building material strongly suggesting a minor building. The farmer stated that a large piece of stone about 2 ft. across, requiring two men to handle it, had been removed from the field.

*The Fenhouse Farm Site<sup>1</sup>*

While searching for the Hiss Farm site another larger and more important site was discovered in a field to the east, lying between the river and the railway line, close to Fenhouse Farm.

When first seen the field was dotted with heaps of Romano-British debris, tiles, building flint, bricks, pottery, etc., which had been collected for removal. At the side of the field there were similar heaps and the potholes in the lane leading to the field were also filled with debris.

The field was first ploughed in 1942 and the turning up and removal of building material had been a burden to the farmer each year. The scatters of brick, stone, tiles, flint and mortar indicated a group of smallish Roman buildings. Portions of stone (? Barnack) columns and capitals were recovered from one place, numerous red tesserae from another. Decorated Samian and Castor ware sherds and a small intact pot of whitish paste with brown wash were found on the surface. A large corroded mass of ironwork was ploughed out in 1948; it closely resembles part of the great chain with swivels and hooks from Great Chesterford now in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. This and other finds are now in the Museum.

Dr St Joseph took air photographs of the area in the spring of 1949, but these showed disappointingly little. A few trial trenches also failed to strike any structure. The tentative conclusion has been reached that the plough has destroyed most of the foundations of the numerous buildings which must have existed during the Roman occupation.

*The Warren Site<sup>2</sup>*

At the end of 1948 sewerage works were being carried out for Lakenheath aerodrome on Caudle Common. The excavations disclosed a cemetery of skeletons enclosed in wooden coffins. These have not been preserved. Sherds of Romano-British pottery were found in the spoil of the trenches. The clerk of the works reported that in 1943 spindle whorls, Romano-British sherds, portions of millstones and traces of palisading were disclosed by building excavations. In the last year or two workmen have found numerous Romano-British sherds and old bones in this area, also a coin of Aurelian. (Reported by Mr Jack King of Mildenhall.)

*The Undley Common Site<sup>3</sup>*

In 1950 Mr F. Rutterford reported the ploughing up of old pottery. The site lies on a small rise in otherwise level ground and is marked by dark soil. Numerous sherds including Samian and colour-coated ware were found on the surface, also bones, teeth, oyster shells, pieces of brick and tile and a few nails.

The finds indicated third- and fourth-century occupation.

<sup>1</sup> National Grid 52/743868.

<sup>2</sup> National Grid 52/734808.

<sup>3</sup> National Grid 52/699806.

*The Delph Site*<sup>1</sup>

Three-quarters of a mile to the south in the Delph is another site where Romano-British pottery, building materials, oyster shells, etc., have been found after ploughing. An interesting find was a double snake-headed bracelet of bronze now in the possession of the writer.

It should be recorded that in 1948 Mr H. Bennett of Lakenheath found an intact dark grey first-century pot of 'poppy-head' shape in a dyke bank situated in New Fen (National Grid 52/707857). This pot is in the possession of the finder. G. B.

## A FOURTH-CENTURY COIN HOARD FROM FRECKENHAM, SUFFOLK

A field belonging to Mr Sidney Jeffery of Freckenham was being deep-ploughed in 1948 when the plough struck and smashed a jar containing hundreds of Roman copper coins (National Grid 52/729668). The 595 coins were carefully collected, examined and classified by Mr P. A. Oldman, of Beck Row, who reports that they were issued between A.D. 306 and 361. A detailed report on them will appear in *The Numismatic Journal*.

The jar is of white paste coated with red, and is decorated with three groups of three vertical wavy stripes of white paint and has three horizontal grooves round the neck. The importance of the find lies in the definite evidence it gives of the fourth-century date of this type of painted pottery (Plate XIII c).

These objects were exhibited for a short time in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, and are now in the possession of Mr Jeffery. G. B.

<sup>1</sup> National Grid 52/704795.

## MEMORANDUM ON THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS ACTS

We are asked by the Council for British Archaeology to bring the following Memorandum to the attention of members of the Society.

### INTRODUCTION

1. As a result of the destruction of a scheduled earthwork in the West Country which only came to light recently after a long interval of time, the Executive of the Council for British Archaeology has been considering ways and means of strengthening the position. It is thought likely that there are throughout the country many people who would collaborate with the Ministry of Works in this difficult task of protecting antiquities; and the Committee has therefore decided to issue this Memorandum, which summarizes the essential provisions of the Acts of 1913 and 1931 and makes one or two suggestions as to ways in which archaeologists and others interested can be of assistance. The Executive is glad to acknowledge the help and advice of the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in the preparation of the Memorandum.

### THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS ACTS

2. Among the duties laid upon the Ministry of Works by the Ancient Monuments Acts 1913 and 1931 is that of preparing and issuing lists of ancient monuments which are subject to Sections 12 and 6 respectively of those Acts.<sup>1</sup> The ancient monuments contained in those lists are those which have been recommended for inclusion by the Ancient Monuments Boards for England, Scotland and Wales (as appropriate). The Ministry must include those so recommended. In cases of urgency it may add others to the schedule, as these lists are termed, without reference to the Ancient Monuments Board. No building for the time being used for ecclesiastical purposes or as a residence by more than a caretaker may be included in the schedule.<sup>2</sup>

3. Before the inclusion of any ancient monument in a published schedule a notice is served on the owner thereof, acquainting him of the proposed inclusion. The owner has not the right of appeal against inclusion. A notice is also served on the tenant, and the fact of scheduling is a charge on the land in question in the appropriate part of the Land Register, which is kept by the Clerk of the local authority in whose area the land lies. Change of ownership or tenant does not alter the fact that the ancient monument is scheduled under the Act, and all wise persons nowadays who intend purchasing property take the precaution of searching the Land Register in case there is any charge upon that which they intend to buy. Not all persons are wise, and some will be found who deny all knowledge of the fact that they own a scheduled ancient monument; but ignorance of the law is no defence.

4. The owner of a scheduled ancient monument or any other person legally entitled to do work to it is under the obligation of giving to the Ministry three months' notice of his intention to alter it in any way. If he does alter it without giving such notice or within the three months but without the Ministry's permission, he renders himself liable to prosecution. The maximum penalty is £100 fine or 6 months imprisonment or both. A threat of prosecution has been known to have a useful effect.

5. Upon receipt of the statutory three months' notice the Ministry has to decide upon its course of action. If it cannot dissuade the owner from his purpose and the case seems to merit it, the Ministry may ask the advice of the appropriate Ancient Monuments Board. If the Board so recommends, the Ministry may issue a Preservation Order which has the effect of total prohibition of work without consent. The owner may oppose the Order, in which case the Preservation Order is not valid beyond a period of 21 months unless it is confirmed by Act of Parliament, promoted by the Ministry. A number of Preservation Orders are in force, but once again a threat of one can be useful.

<sup>1</sup> The last complete published list of scheduled monuments appeared in 1938. It is understood that up-to-date lists on a somewhat different pattern are now being prepared for publication.

<sup>2</sup> Buildings of architectural or historic interest, whether in use or not but not already scheduled as ancient monuments are listed by the Ministry of Local Government and Planning in three categories with a view to the guidance of Planning Authorities in the performance of their duties under the Town and Country Planning Acts. Owners and occupiers of those properties appearing in the first two categories are obliged to notify the local Planning Authority of any proposal to demolish or alter their character. The position with regard to these buildings is likely to change when the Government takes action on the Gowers Report.

6. On the other hand it may seem to the Ministry that in all the circumstances preservation of the ancient monument for all time would be unreasonable, e.g. unduly repressive. It may then arrange for an adequate record to be made before the ancient monument or a part of it is destroyed. In the case of an earthwork or the like this means scientific excavation, in order to preserve the information therein instead of the actual site. Such an excavation is normally carried out by the Ministry.

#### THE MACHINERY FOR OPERATING THE ACTS

7. The Ancient Monuments Acts like other laws may be infringed through ignorance or alleged ignorance; and although, as already stated, ignorance is no defence, damage once done to an Ancient Monument is normally irreparable. Furthermore, it is a fact that for a prosecution under the Ancient Monuments Acts to be valid it is necessary for proceedings to be begun within six months of the committing of the offence. It follows that the greatest need of the Ministry in connection with this part of its duties in the sphere of preservation of ancient monuments is speedy information. It needs news of damage or expected damage to scheduled (and unscheduled) ancient monuments as quickly as possible.

8. For this and for other purposes the Ministry has a system of correspondents. Normally in England there is a Chief Correspondent in each county, who is asked to help by obtaining information by any means available and passing it on to the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments (Ministry of Works, Lambeth Bridge House, S.E. 1).

9. The work of the correspondents is entirely voluntary and is much appreciated by all concerned. But with the varied threats in modern conditions that may assail ancient monuments a small body of already heavily pressed officers cannot hope to cover the whole field; and much must therefore depend on the creation of an efficient system of liaison between the Ministry on the one hand and local archaeologists on the other.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

10. The Executive Committee believes that the C.B.A. can materially assist the Ministry in this important branch of its work. The obvious requirement is that local archaeologists who are in a position to learn quickly about developments in their areas should report at once any threat to an antiquity, whether scheduled or not. At best the result of such action might be to prevent or arrest damage; at worst it might be possible to take action against those responsible and thus provide a salutary warning to others.

11. The Executive therefore urges Constituent Societies and the Group organizations to consider this matter with a view to drawing the attention of their members to the weapons which they have at hand for the protection of antiquities; and to seeing that an effective contact is maintained, both with the Ministry and with the central office of the C.B.A. itself, so that the Executive may provide backing if it is considered desirable. Information may be sent either directly or through the local correspondent to the Ministry. A list of the local correspondents is available. In Scotland, where, owing to geographical conditions and other reasons, no definite organization of correspondents exists, information should be sent direct to the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, 21 Castle Terrace, Edinburgh 1. In Wales, information may be passed to the Keeper, Department of Archaeology, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, or it may be sent direct to the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales, Ministry of Works, Lambeth Bridge House, London, S.E. 1. It must be emphasized once again that prompt action is essential if any result is to be achieved, and that while this Memorandum is the outcome of unreported damage to a scheduled site, reports on sites at present unscheduled are also sought.

12. As practical steps towards the creation of a closer co-ordination than at present exists, Groups may wish to consider the desirability of inviting the Ministry's correspondents in their area to join their organization where they have not already done so. Some Societies already print the lists of scheduled monuments in their area, with supplements and additions annually or as required. It is suggested that others should adopt this practice. The Ministry is prepared to supply the necessary information to Societies. Both Societies and Groups might also consider the possibility of making arrangements for the periodical inspection of ancient monuments by volunteers. In many districts, at any rate, this should not present much difficulty, though the need for a tactful approach to owners and/or tenants will be appreciated. It is realized that in some places arrangements of this sort may already exist. If so, the Executive would be glad to know of them and to receive any comments or proposals that may be suggested by the experience of local organizations.

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