

51

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN  
SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



VOLUME LII

JANUARY 1958 TO DECEMBER 1958

CAMBRIDGE  
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1959

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# CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS AND HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1957

Adopted by the Annual General Meeting on 10 March 1958.

**MEMBERSHIP.** The Society gained eighteen new members during the year but lost five members by death and eight members and three associates by resignation. There are now 299 members and fifteen associates. There are also twenty-eight subscribing institutions.

**MEETINGS.** There were four council meetings and nine ordinary meetings at which the following communications were made:

M. H. BRAUDE, *The Octagon at Ely Cathedral*. 28 January.

Mrs H. DAVIDSON, PH.D., F.S.A. *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Funeral Ritual in East Anglia*. 11 February.

C. A. R. RADFORD, F.B.A., F.S.A. *Glastonbury Abbey Excavations 1951-1956*. 11 March.

S. S. FRERE, M.A., F.S.A. *The Excavations at Verulamium*. 6 May.

R. L. S. BRUCE-MITFORD, B.A., F.S.A. *Aspects of Early Insular Book Decoration*. 27 May.

M. SISSON, C.B.E., A.R.A., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A. *Kimbolton Castle*. 3 June.

Mrs TUDOR-CRAIG, PH.D. *The East Anglian History of Pictures now belonging to the Society of Antiquaries in London*. 21 October.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A. *The Art of Ancient Peru*. 18 November.

Prof. J. S. ROSKELL, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cambridgeshire Speakers*. 2 December.

The average attendance at these meetings was fifty-nine.

There was a visit to St John's College on 20 March. The thanks of the Society are due to the Master and to Dr G. C. Evans, Mr A. M. P. Brooks and Mr F. B. White, Librarian, who showed members round the College. Important pieces of College Plate were exhibited in the Combination Room. The College kindly entertained the party to tea.

**EXCURSIONS.** There were two excursions. On 20 May a party of sixty-one visited the Moot Hall, Elstow, Luton Hoo, and St Mary's Church, Kensworth. On 11 July a party of seventy-nine visited St Mary's Church and the Towers, Buckden, Drayton, and Lowick Church.

**PUBLICATIONS.** Vol. L of the *Proceedings* has been published.

**REPRESENTATIVES.** Dr St Joseph was re-elected as the Society's representative on the Faculty Board of Archaeology and Anthropology for two years. The Secretary was re-elected to the Museum Committee. Lady Briscoe and the Secretary were re-elected representatives on the Council for British Archaeology, and Mr C. F. Tebbutt was re-elected as the representative to Group 7.

# SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31 DECEMBER 1957

## CURRENT ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS			EXPENDITURE		
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
To Balance, 1956			198	2	9
„ Subscriptions:					
Ordinary Members	283	12 0			
Associate Members	14	0 6			
			298	2	6
„ Investment Interest:					
British Transport Stock	39	3 8			
Defence Bonds	42	11 0			
Australian Stock	4	12 0			
Treasury Stock	4	14 4			
Savings Bonds	3	0 4			
Conversion Stock	4	9 10			
			98	11	2
„ Sale of Publications	21	3 3			
„ Lecture Refund	1	1 4			
„ Donations	99	15 6			
			122	0	1
„ Income for 1957			518	13	9
„ Balance, 1956			198	2	9
			<u>£716</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>
			By Subscriptions:		
British Records Association			1	0	0
British Archaeological Association			1	1	0
Folk Museum			2	2	0
Council of British Archaeology			1	10	0
Local History Council			2	2	0
					7 15 0
„ Fire Insurance					1 0 0
„ Custodian Cellarer's Chequer					2 0 0
„ Office Expenses					9 10 10
„ Publications					557 17 6
„ Notices and Circulars					37 14 3
„ Lecture Expenses					4 2 8
„ Secretary					30 0 0
					650 0 3
„ Expenditure, 1957					66 16 3
„ Balance, 1957					<u>£716</u>
					<u>16 6</u>

## TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT

	£	s. d.
Balance, 1956	436	0 0
Interest	10	9 8
Balance, 1957	<u>£446</u>	<u>9 8</u>

## EXCAVATION FUND

<i>Current Account</i>		
	£	s. d.
Balance, 1956	53	17 2
Subscriptions	5	14 0
Balance, 1957	<u>£59</u>	<u>11 2</u>
<i>Deposit Account</i>		
	£	s. d.
Balance, 1956	136	2 1
Interest	4	19 2
Balance, 1957	<u>£141</u>	<u>1 3</u>

The Capital of the Society consists of the following Securities:  
£200 Australian 4% Stock 1966-68.

£644. 8s. 7d. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1978-88.  
£425 3% Defence Bonds.  
£585 3½% Defence Bonds.  
£157. 6s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.  
£100. 12s. 10d. 3% Savings Bonds 1965-75.  
£128. 10s. 5d. 3½% Conversion Stock.  
£944. 13s. 1d. British Transport 4% Guaranteed Stock 1972-77.  
£5 2½% Defence Bonds.  
£230 4% Defence Bonds.

The Bank Balances are as follows:

	£	s. d.
Current Account	66	16 3
Excavation Fund, Current Account	59	11 2
Excavation Fund, Deposit Account	141	1 3
Trustee Savings Bank Account	446	9 8
	<u>£713</u>	<u>18 4</u>

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.

E. B. HOWELL  
F. PURYER WHITE

23 January 1958

## A BEAKER FROM ELY

D. H. TRUMP

THE beaker illustrated in Pl. I was found at the end of January 1958 by workmen laying drains on a housing site near Ely. It is of a fine orange-buff paste, well smoothed, and stands exactly 6 in. high. Apart from a hole in the shoulder and a slightly chipped rim, it is complete. With it was found a handful of bones, including a piece of the sphenoid, a milk incisor, and about 2 in. of mandible with the second premolar fully erupted and the tooth on either side just appearing. This is rather anomalous, but suggests a child of perhaps nine years old. Later, and some 20 yards away, was also found a flint scraper with the feather-flaking characteristic of the period.

The burial was on the surface of the orange sandy sub-soil, 2 ft. 6 in. below the turf. The exact position was 120 yards south-west of the cottages on Newbarns Lane, behind the R.A.F. hospital, Ely, about a mile north of the town. The National Grid reference is 52/551816.

The beaker is of a fine A1 shape and its decoration is well carried out in a comb-stamp technique. The closest parallel for the design, particularly for the vertical motif on the neck with triangular indented ends, is a beaker from Bedd Bronwen, Anglesey, illustrated in *P.P.S.* (1957), p. 65, fig. 4.4. On the other hand, the tendency to a vertical elongation of the pattern is rather a feature of the North Midlands; cf. the beakers shown by Abercromby in *Bronze Age Pottery*, vol. 1, pl. VIII, figs. 49, 51, 56; pl. XII, fig. 131; pl. XIII, fig. 158, from Derbyshire and Yorkshire.

The Isle of Ely was certainly well-inhabited by beaker folk. Two burials with grave goods and many unaccompanied skeletons probably of the same date were found in a sand-pit in Springhead Lane in 1914 (*Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XXIX (1926), p. 105), 1 mile south of the hospital site. A deep valley between the two makes it unlikely that this is an outlying burial of the same cemetery, nor did a close examination of the other trenches and disturbances in the housing site show any signs of more interments here.

Thanks are due to Mr R. Bailey of Messrs Johnson and Bailey, builders, for reporting the find and for generously giving it to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.



A Beaker from Ely.

## EXCAVATIONS AT WHITELEY HILL, BARLEY, HERTS

J. C. WILKERSON AND M. D. CRA'STER

IN January 1957 a series of circular soil marks around Whiteley Hill, on the road between Royston and Barkway, were examined and sections dug across each of them.

At the top of the hill, surrounding the bench-mark (Nat. Grid ref. 375393), is a small circle, possibly a ploughed out barrow (F on plan, Fig. 1). South of this are two large concentric circles, approximately 80 yards and 160 yards in diameter; these are probably the ditches of an Iron Age hill-fort. There are two other possible barrow circles just outside the outer ditch, one to the east (C on plan), and the other, D, to the south; a fourth lay  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile east-north-east.

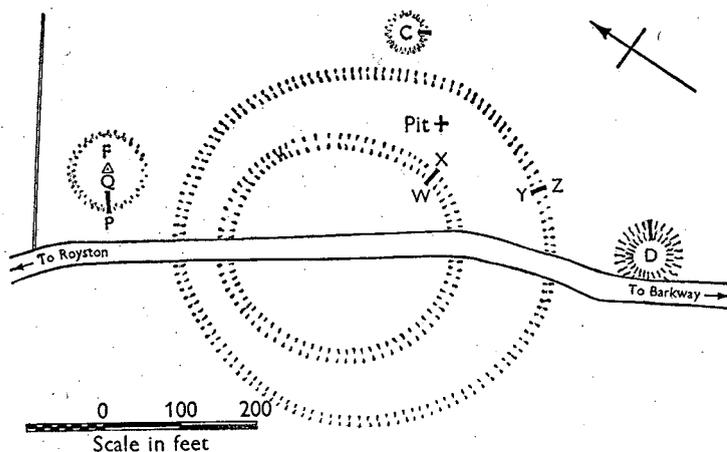


Fig. 1.

The sections across the barrow ditches yielded little information. Barrow C had a ditch 9 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep; an antler was found in the bottom, a Romano-British potsherd in the top-soil, and there were flint flakes throughout the filling.

Barrow D had a wide shallow ditch, 20 ft. across and 3 ft. in depth; the ditch filling included 12 in. of dark soil, containing numerous fragments of Romano-British pottery.

Barrow F is on a natural hummock, surrounded by a shallow ditch 18 in. deep (Fig. 2). A cobbled hearth had been put across the inner lip of the filled-in ditch, and the black soil above this yielded Romano-British potsherds.

Scattered over the whole site, both barrows and hill-fort, were quantities of flint

flakes and Romano-British pottery. Two scrapers were found within the area of the hill-fort. Since these are all surface finds and extremely fragmentary, they provide no dating evidence.

The circular fort ditches are bisected by the modern road, and no signs of the original entrance were found.

The outer ditch (Fig. 2) was 6 ft. deep and 12 ft. wide, with sides sloping down to a width of 7 in. at the bottom. Except for the top 2 to 3 ft., it was filled with clean chalk containing very little humus, which appeared to have fallen in from the inner edge. No pottery or other debris was found. This circle had apparently had a bank on its inner side, which had rapidly fallen back into the ditch, filling up the larger part of it.

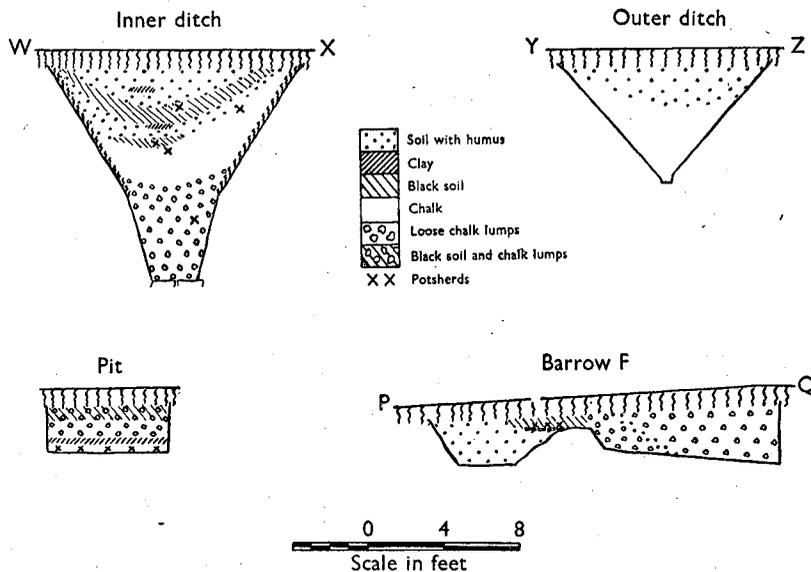


Fig. 2.

The inner circle proved to be a larger ditch, 14 ft. in width and 12 ft. deep, with sides sloping steeply to the bottom, which was 2 ft. wide and cut in solid chalk. No signs of any post-holes were seen on the edges of the ditch. The bottom 5 ft. contained no humus or signs of silting, and were filled with loosely packed lumps of clean chalk; this suggests that the ditch was kept cleaned out at first, and that when the initial filling took place, it was very rapid. This lowest layer contained animal bones, including those of cow; near the top of it several large sherds of an Iron Age A pot (Fig. 3) were found. This is of black-brown burnished ware, with a slightly angular shoulder, and a row of small depressions just below the rim.

Above the initial filling, the sides of the ditch had had time to accumulate several inches of humus. Nevertheless the second layer still consisted of comparatively clean chalk, apparently pushed in from the outer edge, as if it had been banked on that side. The top of this layer contained some abraded fragments of coarse buff pottery, decorated with cord impressions, and probably Bronze Age.

Above this, the ditch seems to have filled up much more gradually judging from several layers of dark earth and clay containing snail shells, ash and potsherds, and suggesting fairly long periods of later occupation. The lower black earth layer produced some small sherds of coarse gritted ware, possibly Iron Age. Near the top of the upper black layer was a rim fragment of Romano-British type.

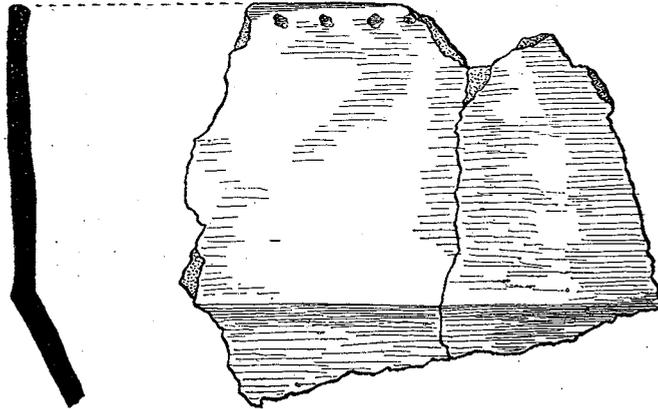


Fig. 3 (scale:  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

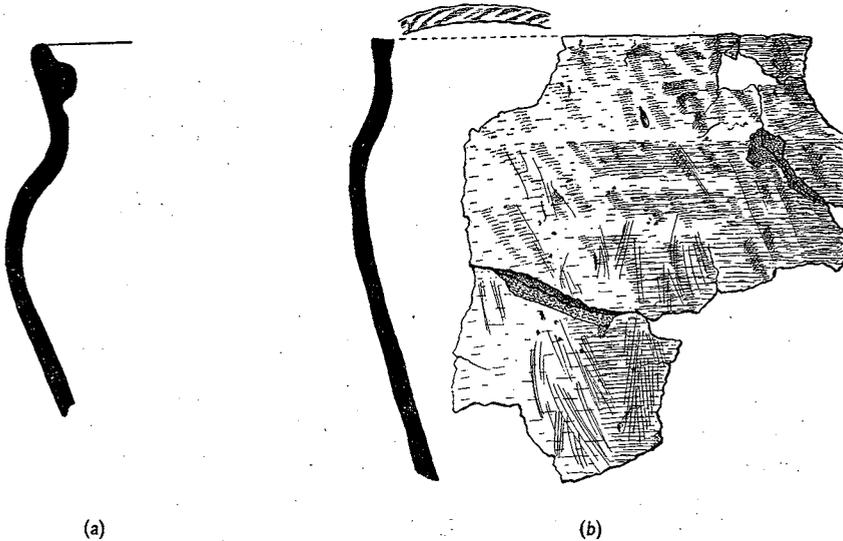


Fig. 4. Pots from pit in hill-fort (scale:  $\frac{1}{3}$ ).

Since the inner circle seems to have had its bank on the outside, it would appear to have been made to keep something in, although the ditch was deeper than necessary for cattle or sheep; indeed there would have been a danger of their stampeding into it. It would have been an effective enclosure for human beings or wild animals.

In the area between the two ditches, a pit was found, 5 ft. across and 3 ft. deep, with straight sides (Fig. 2). A large quantity of sherds, being pieces of two Iron Age A

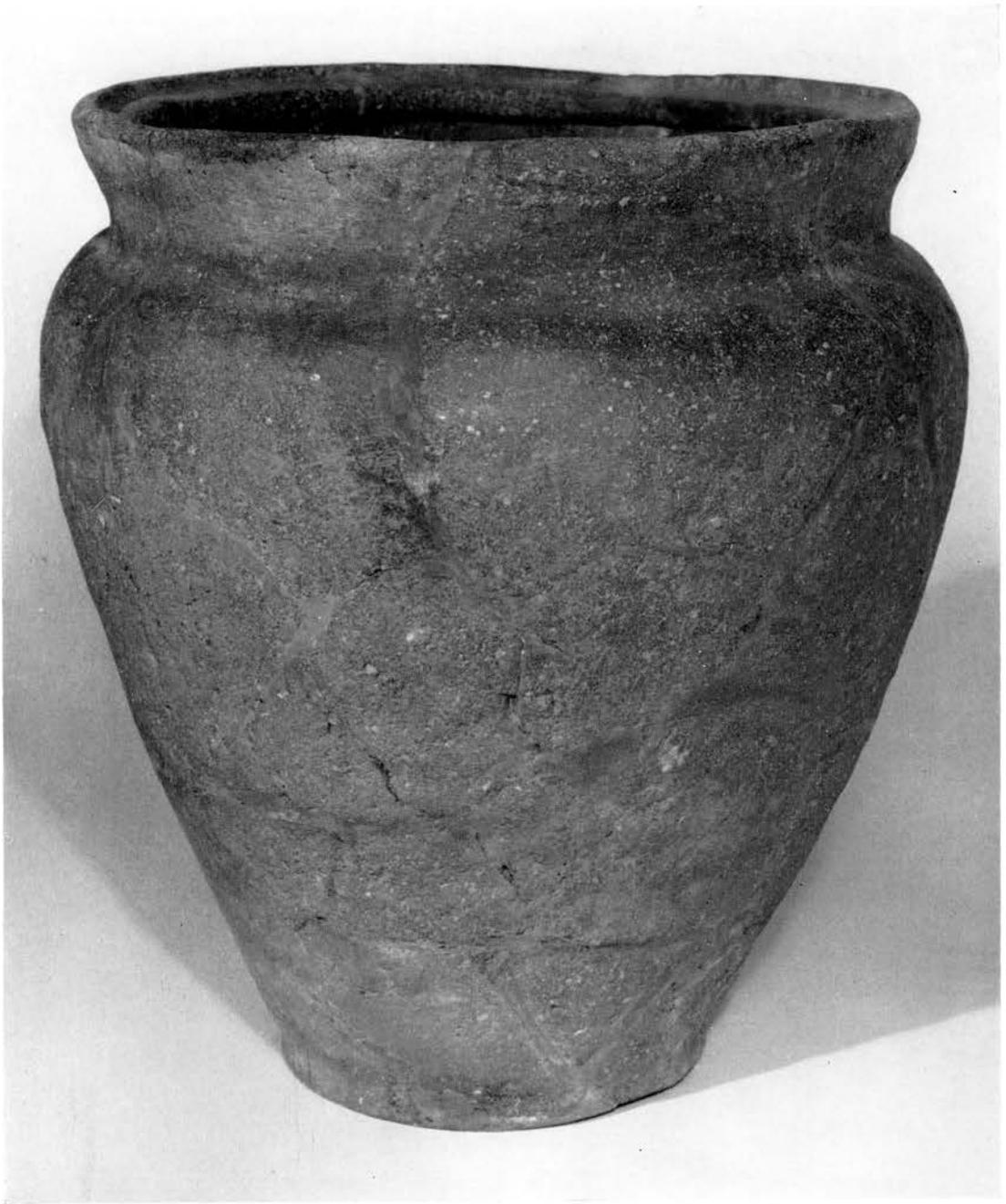
storage jars, lay on the bottom of the pit in a chalky fill, covered by a layer of clay 3 in. thick. If this was washed in from the surrounding earth, the pit must have been open for a considerable time, as the soil here contains very little clay. The rest of the pit was filled with small lumps of clean chalk. Near the surface this was mixed with black ash and contained numerous flint flakes.

One of the storage jars (Museum no. 57. 68) from the pit was almost complete, although in many fragments (Pl. II, Fig. 4*a*). It is a strongly made, undecorated jar, with an inner ledge just below the rim.

Large parts of the second jar (Museum no. 57. 67) were also present (Fig. 4*b*). This is of very coarse, friable ware, buff outside and black within; it has been roughly smoothed and the diagonal lines made by the finger-tips are faintly visible. The outer surface also has many irregular scratches, and one grain impression, just above the shoulder.

Hans Helbaek reports that the grain is hulled barley, of medium size for the species; the imprint is of the ventral view, with the rachilla visible in part.

The finds from Whiteley Hill have been given to the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, where the large jar has been repaired and put on exhibition.



Height of pot is 13 in.

Iron Age storage jar from Barley.

## A NEW HOARD OF ROMANO-BRITISH PEWTER FROM ICKLINGHAM

JOAN LIVERSIDGE, M.LITT., F.S.A.

IN April 1956, a bomb disposal unit of the Royal Air Force found a hoard of Romano-British pewter vessels at a depth of 2 ft. 6 in. while clearing high explosives from Berners Heath, Icklingham, Suffolk (Nat. Grid ref. 799754) on the estate of the Earl of Iveagh. The discovery was first submitted to Mr A. R. Edwardson of Moyses's Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds, and the author is much indebted to him and to Lord Iveagh for the opportunity to study the objects and for information about them.

The hoard comprises nine pewter vessels and an iron key and saw blade, while a few animal bones and two small scraps of Roman pottery, one of them a sherd of Samian ware, were also recovered from the site. All the objects are heavily earth-stained and the pewter cups and bowls have been finished on the lathe, a practice which enabled the workman to decorate them easily with the concentric grooves which appear on most specimens. Their detailed description is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

No. 1. Remains of shallow circular bowl, cracked and squashed out of shape. Diameter 5.5 in.

No. 2. Shallow bowl, diameter 5.6 in., exterior depth of wall 1.1 in. Two concentric grooves are visible both outside and inside rim (Pl. III *b*, no. 3).

No. 3. Shallow bowl, diameter 6.5 in., exterior depth of wall 1.3 in. Two concentric grooves inside rim, three concentric grooves about  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. apart round exterior wall and three incised circles at centre of inner surface of base. Originally the bowl possessed a low raised foot but this has mostly perished.

No. 4. Shallow flat-bottomed bowl, diameter 6.6 in., exterior depth of wall 1.2 in. Profile more angular than the previous examples, circular groovings on inside and outside surfaces of wall and two incised circles on inner surface of base (Pl. III *b*, no. 1).

No. 5. Circular dish or tray, diameter 12-12 $\frac{1}{2}$  in., much damaged and bent. Rim about 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. wide, slightly raised and grooved on the inside where it meets the body while the edge is slightly thickened. Three incised concentric circles 0.35 in. apart decorate the inner surface of the base, the outermost circle being 4.7 in. in diameter. Traces of concentric grooves occur under the rim and a raised circular ridge about 4.3 in. in diameter acts as a base.

No. 6. Fragment of the rim and part of the neck of a jug.

No. 7. Conical bowl or cup, 4.7 in. in diameter, and 2.5 in. deep. Slight flange below rim. Deep concentric grooves on inside of rim while the outer surface shows a shallower groove below the flange and two groups of deeper groovings on the body. These are visible in the illustration, Pl. III *a*, no. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the damaged and fragile state of the material most measurements can only be approximate.

No. 8. Cup with flat rim and pedestal foot,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, about 2.4 in. high. Upper surface of rim decorated with two deep and several faint concentric grooves, other faint grooves occur inside the cup (Pl. III *a*, no. 1).

No. 9. Oval dish, present length about 7 in. as one end is broken away, original length probably  $8\frac{1}{2}$ –9 in. Flat rim  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide. The interior surface is decorated with a stamped or incised drawing of a fish. The dish stands on a low footstand (Pl. III *b*, no. 2; Pl. IV *a* and Fig. 1).

Hoards and isolated finds of pewter are of not infrequent occurrence in the Fens but unfortunately little is known about them. Earlier finds from the Icklingham neighbourhood are deposited in the British Museum and objects found at Sutton, West Row and Isleham are now in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. As it is among these hoards that we must look for comparative material for the new discoveries it may be useful to give a brief account of them.

The hoard from Sutton, Isle of Ely, consists of eight large plates or dishes, mostly with rims of the same type as our Icklingham no. 5, but larger in size, being about  $14\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter. Two of them have only a simple upturned rim, while another is a square dish with a rim with a milled edge, a more unusual type. All eight might have been used as trays or dishes (*disci*) for serving food at the dinner table. Other large dishes from the same hoard are now in the British Museum.

From West Row near Mildenhall, Suffolk, comes a more varied collection of one large tray with upturned rim (15.2 in. in diameter); two plates (14.8 and 11.8 in.); and two small shallow flat-bottomed bowls; one resembling our Icklingham no. 4 and the other with the rim curving outwards and fluted on the inside and with a roundel containing seven small stamped circles decorating the inner surface of the base. Of the four cups one resembles our Icklingham no. 7 and is 5.1 in. in diameter and 2.3 in. deep with the interior of the bowl decorated with incised concentric circles; two are pedestal cups with flat rims; and a third has a narrower rim decorated with raised bosses *en repoussé*.

The largest hoard comes from Isleham Fen and forms part of the Cole Ambrose collection.<sup>1</sup> It includes eighteen items, half of them dishes or trays resembling those from the other two hoards in the Museum. A flat-bottomed dish 7.6 in. in diameter is a larger version of one of the West Row examples, there is a smaller saucer with fluted sides and a pedestal cup with a flat rim. One cup has a turned down rim with a milled edge and another cup or bowl has its flat rim shaped at the edge into eight short sides instead of a circle. This idea seems to have been developed further with the two larger pedestal bowls or *tazzas* with their flanged rims cut away to form an eight-pointed star, the same shape as the well-known *tazza* decorated with incised symbols including the chi-rho monogram. This was found near Ely and may actually belong to the Sutton Hoard.<sup>2</sup> The Isleham finds also include two jugs.

When we compare the new Icklingham hoard with these finds it is apparent that it is very similar in character in its selection of plate, bowls and cups. The shallow bowl, no. 4, is paralleled by the slightly smaller example from West Row and a larger one from Isleham. The cup with flat rim, no. 8, is almost a twin to one in

<sup>1</sup> See also *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. xxxiii (1933), p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. xxxi (1931), p. 66.

the West Row hoard and the dish, no. 5, closely resembles a dish from the same collection and also one from Isleham. Other dishes of similar type are known from Whittlesea Mere (Hunts) and Abington Pigotts (Herts) and there are also the larger examples from Sutton already mentioned. The jug fragment, no. 6, may have come from a fine flagon resembling those previously found at Quaveney and Isleham.<sup>1</sup> For a parallel to the conical cup, no. 7, we must look further afield to a well-preserved cup recently discovered in London.<sup>2</sup> This bears a close resemblance to our Icklingham specimen but it has a pronounced outer lip instead of a flange and the sides rise from a ring foot. Both vessels seem to have been inspired by the Samian ware prototype, Dragendorff form 33.

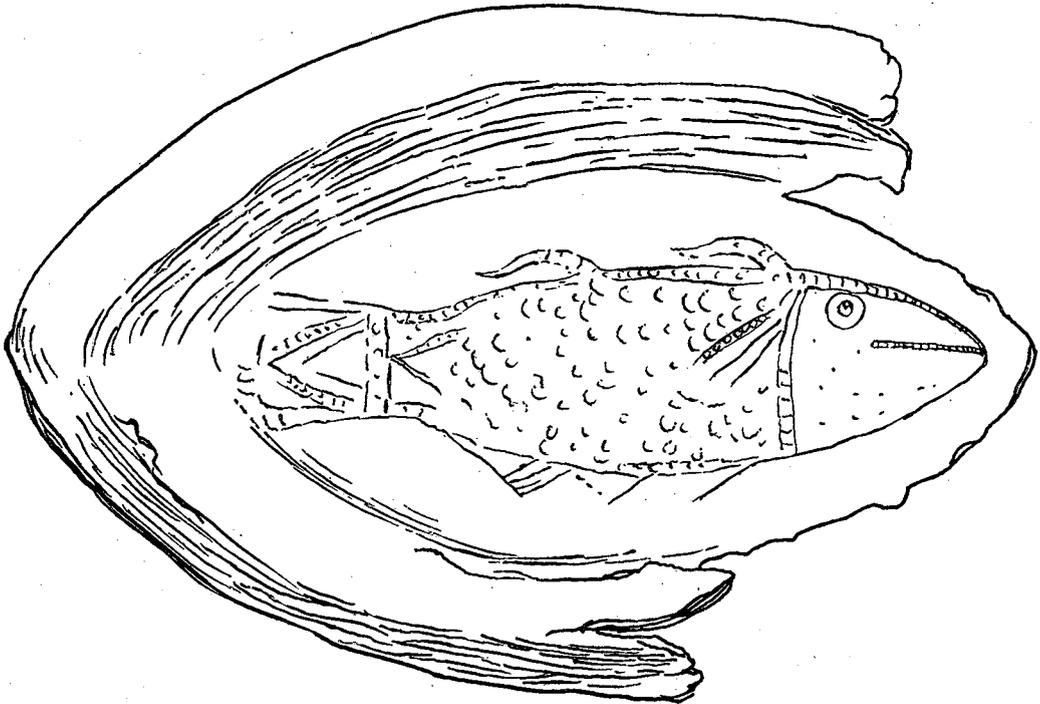


Fig. 1. Icklingham dish with fish.

There remains for consideration the most interesting item in the hoard, no. 9, the fish dish, and for a parallel to this we must also look beyond the Cambridge Region. The same motif occurs on a dish which forms part of the large pewter hoard from Appleshaw (Hants) (Pl. IVb) but there it consists of a very small stylistic fish indeed, a little over an inch in length, within an oval interlaced border.<sup>3</sup> The two dishes are of much the same size and shape, but the rim of the Appleshaw example ended in flat handles, one of which has been broken away, and the decoration is chased instead of being stamped or incised. The fish depicted on the Icklingham dish is so much

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XXXIII (1933), p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Guildhall Museum Publications, *Small Finds from Walbrook 1954-1955*, pl. VIII, no. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeologia*, vol. LVI (1898), pp. 12ff.

larger and more realistically rendered that an attempt was made to identify its species<sup>1</sup> but this proved impossible. It does recall some of the fishes which appear on the mosaic surrounding an octagonal plunge bath at Lufton, Somerset, in a villa occupied from the end of the second to about the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>2</sup> Such mosaics are, of course, often found in Roman bath buildings and the creatures which decorate them have been traced back to the Mediterranean sea fauna depicted on mosaics and wall-paintings at Pompeii. They seem to have found their way into the pattern books and reappear in the third and later centuries growing steadily more schematic and ornamental and less realistic.<sup>3</sup> It should also be remembered that the fish is used as a symbol connected with Christianity, and the suggestion has been made that the Icklingham dish or even the whole hoard might be something in the nature of a deposit of church plate. None of the objects, however, bear the chi-rho monogram and without evidence of this nature there seem to be no grounds for believing the hoard to be other than it appears, part of a dinner service with one dish of a suitable size for serving an individual portion of fish.

Samples of pewter from the Icklingham, West Row and Isleham hoards were sent to the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford, to which we are indebted for a spectrographic analysis (Table 1). This shows that the Icklingham material contains a fairly high proportion of tin, 79%, compared with 21% of lead. With this we may contrast the 74% and 26% respectively of specimens from the West Row hoard or the varying range of 69–76% of tin and 24–31% of lead from Isleham. The inscribed tazza believed to come from Sutton had a higher lead content of nearly 38% as opposed to 62% of tin and these proportions agree remarkably closely with a small dish from Abington Pigotts. A larger Abington Pigotts dish, however, worked out at 70% tin and 30% lead.

TABLE 1. *Results of spectrographic analysis of Roman pewter*

(Analysis of tin/lead content in pewters)

Museum number	Site	Tin (%)	Lead (%)	Iron	Silver
83.774	?Whittlesea Mere or Burwell	43	57	Trace	< .05
51.344a	Abington Pigotts	62.3	37.7	Trace	< .05
22.753	Sutton (chi-rho tazza)	62.2	37.8	Trace	< .05
1891.41	Sutton	67.8	32.2	Trace	< .05
22.755	Isleham	72.5	27.5	Trace	—
22.758	Isleham	76	24	Trace	—
22.752	Isleham	69.2	30.8	Trace	< .05
H.192a base	Icklingham	79	21	Trace	—
51.344b	Abington Pigotts	70	30	Trace	—
H.192b rim	Icklingham	79.5	20.5	Trace	—
1914.107.9	West Row	74.25	25.75	Trace	—
1914.107.2	West Row	73.35	26.65	Trace	—

<sup>1</sup> For advice about possible fish we are much indebted to Dr Lissman, C.U. Dept. of Zoology.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Somerset Arch. and N.H. Soc.* vol. xcVIII (1952), p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of fish on mosaics see D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, vol. 1 (1947), pp. 596ff.

It is interesting to compare these analyses with those for the Appleshaw hoard worked out by William Gowland.<sup>1</sup> He divided his results into two classes: Group A with an average composition of 71.5% tin and 27.8% lead; and group B with 78.2% tin and 21.7% lead. Group A he believed to show the proportions preferred for the Roman pewter found in Britain; group B was known but less frequently used. His work also showed that one of the Appleshaw dishes contained 33.3% lead while a dish from Icklingham examined at the same time, one of the earlier discoveries now in the British Museum, contained no less than 53.34%! Gowland points out that such a high proportion of lead is unsuitable for domestic vessels on account of its poisonous properties, a consideration to be borne in mind when considering the Sutton tazza and also one of the *disci* which was also analysed (see Table 1). Gowland's groups A and B, are both represented in our other hoards, each hoard containing vessels made up of tin and lead in varying proportions as occurred at Appleshaw. The similarities in design suggest that all the pewter dinner services found in the Fens and the neighbouring areas could have emanated from one manufacturing centre and we must hope that further discoveries of pewter hoards in a more closely datable context may provide us with some clue as to its whereabouts.

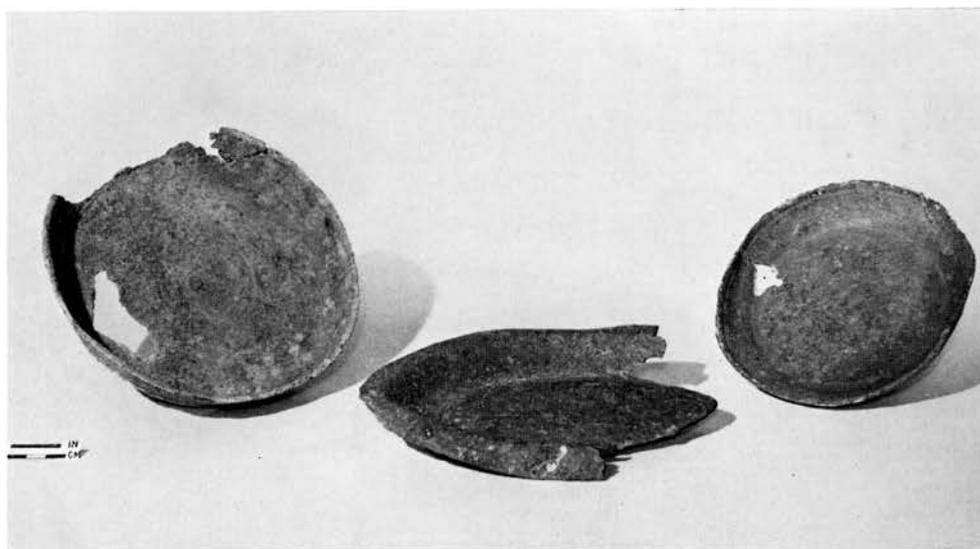
#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for Pl. IV *b*; to Mr L. P. Morley for Pl. III *a, b*, and Pl. IV *a*; and to Miss M. Hoather for the drawing, Fig. 1. Thanks are also due to the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum, for facilities to examine the pewter in their collection.

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, vol. LVI (1898), pp. 13 ff.



(a)



(b)

Pewter hoard from Icklingham. (a) 1, 2, cups; (b) 1, 3, shallow bowls, 2, dish decorated with fish.



(a)



(b)

(a) Icklingham dish with fish; (b) Appleshaw dish.

## A ROMAN WELL AT EXNING, SUFFOLK

DAVID E. JOHNSTON

IN 1948 a small circular subsidence was noticed in a field to the north-west of the village of Exning, near Newmarket. The bomb disposal squad was summoned at once, but digging was abandoned when it turned out to be a well, containing Roman pottery. This was filled in, and is now marked in the field by a patch of nettles. In the winter of 1955-6 a similar subsidence, some two hundred yards to the south-east, was at once recognized as a well, and excavation began in the following spring. A party of diggers from Newmarket, led by the Rev. M. Russell, had excavated the filling to a depth of 29 ft. by the following winter, when work was discontinued. The position of finds was measured, but no written records were kept. In June 1957 work was resumed and completed by members of the University and the Cambridge Archaeological Field Club, under the direction of Mr John Gerrard and the writer.

The well is situated on the brow of a high chalk spur (Nat. Grid ref. 52/627646) overlooking a valley to the west where water is found in a group of fine springs known as St Dendred's Well. The spur would be a pleasant site for a villa, though unfortunately no building has been identified here, and the contents of the present well do not help us substantially; the pottery, however, spans a period of about a century and a half, and we can say with certainty that the well was filled not with debris from a destroyed house, but with the contents of a centuries-old rubbish-dump which was levelled and thrown into the nearest disused well-shaft.

### THE WELL

The well was cut into the chalk to a depth of 53 ft., being 2 ft. 6 in. wide at the top, and nearly 4 ft. 6 in. at the bottom, showing, in fact, an irregular, but noticeable taper from bottom to top. The upper 4 ft. was walled with chalk masonry, and was considerably narrower than the rock-cut shaft. Marks could be seen in the sides, made by digging the well or by drawing up the bucket, though no sign was found of a winch for raising it. Water was reached at 52 ft. For about 9 in. above this the shaft was slightly larger and smoother, and it is suggested that this represents the Roman water-table. It is interesting to note that the levels have remained roughly the same.

Semicircular footholds were found in both sides of the shaft; these, however, only occurred below 28 ft. 6 in.—an odd feature which can, however, be paralleled in a chalk-cut well at Dunstable, Beds. Here, 'at 29 ft. below the surface footholds, or "scotches", appeared and continued downwards at regular distances'. These were rectangular.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *V.C.H. Beds.* vol. II, p. 7; illustration in *Trans. Assoc. Arch. Soc.* (1860), p. 281.

The top 6 ft. of the filling was modern debris, the first Roman sherds being found at about 7 ft. The filling was, in fact, disturbed to a depth of 12 ft., at which a coin of Constantine and a nineteenth-century clay pipe-bowl were found. This may represent an attempt to clear the shaft, and would account for the recent subsidence. Below this the filling was unstratified, though as Mr Hartley has shown (see Appendix) none of the pottery below 12 ft. need be later than A.D. 300, and it is possible that a fourth-century stratum at about this level has been destroyed unnoticed. The conclusion that the rest of the filling is unstratified is supported by the distribution of the small finds (for example, two pieces of the same iron strip were found at different levels, as was the bronze plate with its curious rivets (discussed below)). The rubbish of one and a half centuries was probably, then, shovelled in more or less at one time.

#### THE SMALL FINDS

Over eighty small finds were recorded from the filling, most of them fragmentary objects. The filling contained at least forty iron nails, including ten very small ones, identified as hob-nails. A few of these showed two thicknesses of leather in their corrosion, and it is probable that about 35 ft. deep there was a boot, of which the leather had disappeared. Many of the identified scraps of iron showed wood in their corrosion, and two pieces of iron strip were found, perhaps nailed to a wooden box with small nails every 30 mm. or so. The well yielded a fine series of bone pins; circular in section, these had been cut and filed to shape in several facets and then finely polished. The marks of a file are visible on nos. 17 and 28, and the two fragments (no. 23). Knife-marks can be clearly seen under the heads of nos. 6 and 24, and on the flat head of the needle (no. 28).<sup>1</sup>

The more interesting of these finds are described below, and illustrated in Fig. 1.

(1) Depth 12 ft. Clay pipe-bowl. The bowl is undecorated but bears the stamp BROWNE THETFORD in a circle, and on the spur the initials WB. Inside the bowl are four vertical ribs. The form of this pipe dates from about 1820 to 1870 (Oswald, *Archaeological Newsletter*, vol. XII (1955), type 12*a*).

(2) Depth 12-15 ft. Curved fragment of dark blue glass, with tiny red and white streaks. It is circular in section and is probably from the handle of a glass vessel, the curve being too wide for a ring or bracelet.

(3) Unstratified, but probably 12-15 ft. Several small pieces of thin bronze sheet (one with traces of wood) and one large piece, consisting of three plates roughly riveted together. This explains the use of several rivets found loose at this depth, two of which are illustrated in Fig. 1, no. 7; they are hollow, and made of thin folded bronze sheet with a triangular flap folded over across the top. Such flimsy objects cannot have been much use as rivets, but in the piece described above they were pushed through two thicknesses of metal and hammered flat on each side. One of these rivets was found at a depth of 41 ft. 9 in. Other similar bronze fragments occurred at 34 ft. and 42 ft. 6 in.

(4) Depth 15-20 ft. Bronze tweezers (Fig. 1, no. 1). Simple tweezers of strip metal are

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that at Wroxeter the cutting had been done not with a metal saw, but with cord and abrasive (*Wroxeter*, II, p. 9).

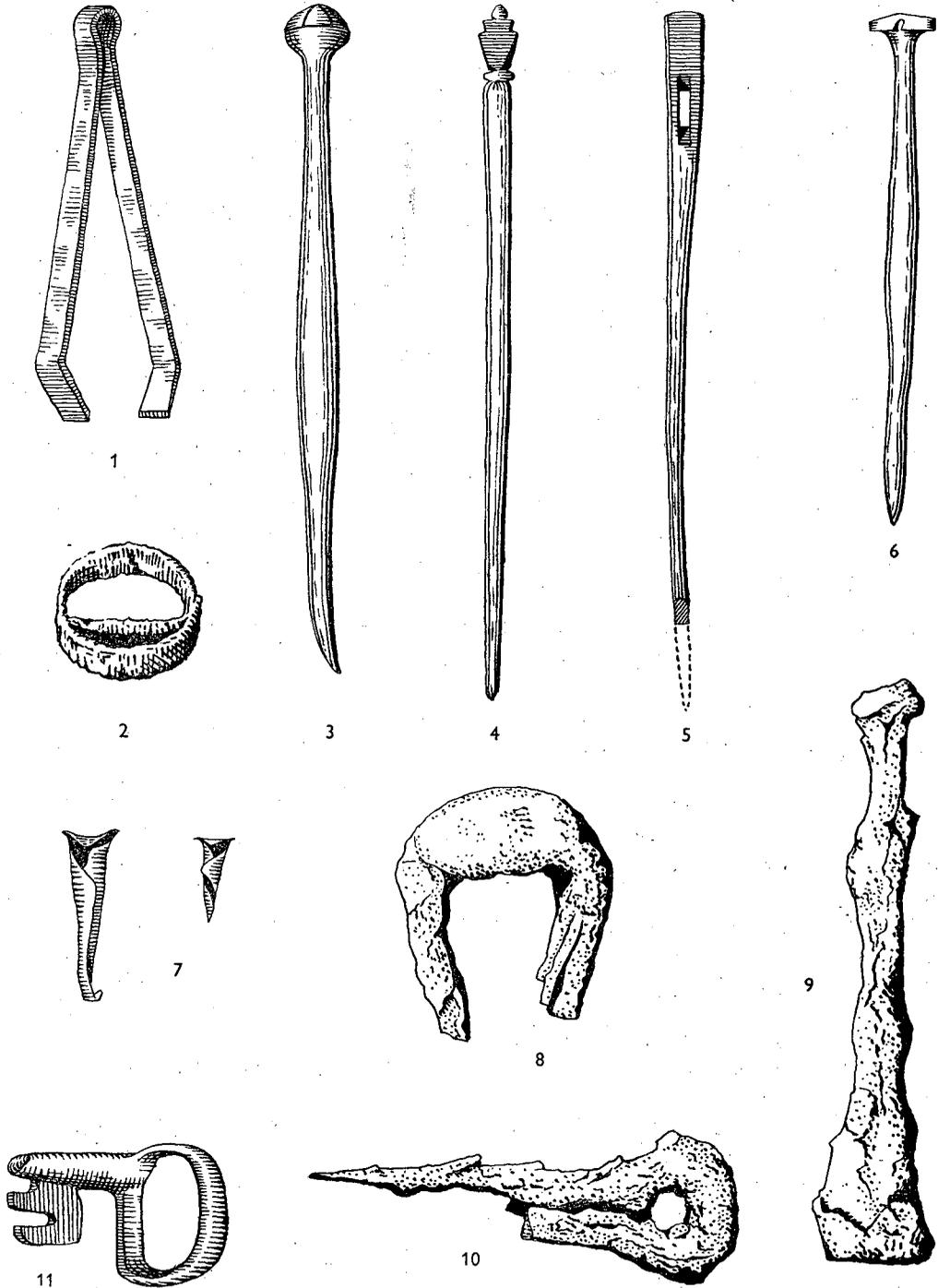


Fig. 1.

familiar toilet articles on Roman sites. In this case, however, the bevelled ends of the arms are a particular refinement.

(5) Depth 15–20 ft. Circle of bronze strip, probably a crude finger-ring (Fig. 1, no. 2). Diameter 18 mm.

(6) Depth 15–20 ft. Bone pin (Fig. 1, no. 6). The head of this pin is broken, but was originally roughly oblong, and slightly domed, with a notch on one side.

(7) Depth 18–25 ft. Fragment of a bronze finger-ring, semicircular in section and originally 20 mm. in diameter.

(8) Depth 18–25 ft. Portion of a bracelet of bronze wire, approximately circular, and with a diameter of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in.

(9) Depth 20–22 ft. 6 in. Fragment of a ring or handle of dark green opaque glass.

(10) Depth 20–23 ft. Wrought iron loop (Fig. 1, no. 10). Its purpose is uncertain, but a very similar one is illustrated in *Caerleon (Prysg Field, part II)*, fig. 27, no. 6, where it is described as 'for attaching to woodwork' (cf. also Curle, *Newstead*, pl. LXVII, 10–13).

(11) Depth 20–23 ft. Iron knife-blade, narrow, tapering and with straight sides. The existing portion is 80 mm. long, 19 mm. at its widest, and 3 mm. thick.

(12) Depth 20–23 ft. Heart-shaped iron plate, 50 mm. by 45 mm. with two holes, one containing the square head of a nail. The impression of wood can be seen in the corrosion on both sides of the plate.

(13) Depth 20–23 ft. Small iron chisel, 79 mm. long, 14 mm. wide at the cutting end. The shaft is rectangular, and the smaller end spread by hammering (Fig. 1, no. 9).

(14) Depth 20–24 ft. Iron staple (Fig. 1, no. 8).

(15) Depth 20–27 ft. Fragment of lead slag. This bears the impression of the crucible, which apparently had a wide flat base, and an angular junction with the wall which sloped at about 55 degrees.

(16) Depth 20–27 ft. Coin of Severus Alexander.

(17) Depth 32 ft. Bone pin (Fig. 1, no. 4). Flat tapering head with two notches, and pointed knob. No parallel has been found for this pin.

(18) Depth 34 ft. 6 in. Bronze key with semicircular finger-ring, of a not uncommon type (Fig. 1, no. 11). In this example the shaft is tubular, to rotate on a pin inside the lock.

(19) Depth 36–37 ft. A small chip of pink wall-plaster with white paint.

(20) Depth 38 ft. Coin of Julia Mamaea.

(21) Depth 39–41 ft. Small broken whetstone of fine grey sandstone originally square in section, but rounded with use.

(22) Depth 40 ft. Bronze coin. This was seen as circular green stain, and could not be recovered.

(23) Depth 40 ft. Broken shafts of two bone pins.

(24) Depth 42 ft. Bone pin (Fig. 1, no. 3). The head is echinus-shaped, with seven engraved divisions.

(25) Depth 42 ft. 6 in. Fragment of clear green glass rim, probably part of a foot-ring or circular glass lid.

(26) Depth 47 ft. 6 in. Coin of Hadrian.

(27) Depth 47 ft. 6 in. Segment of a bronze ring circular in section, diameter about 30 mm.

(28) Depth 49 ft. Bone needle (Fig. 1, no. 5). The point is missing.

(29) Depth 51 ft. Three pieces of thick iron tube, inner diameter 6 mm.

(30) Depth 53 ft. Part of a square iron bolt with the end forged into a small ring.

(31) Unstratified. Two coins of Constantine, one of which at least was about 12 ft. deep. These were found in the earlier excavations, as well as a curved bronze pin, about  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. diameter, which is now lost.

## THE COINS

Six coins were found in the well, and their position in the filling has already been given in the numbered list of small finds: they are as follows:

(References to Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV, part 2, are given as R.I.C. vol. IV (2).)

(26) Hadrian: As. The reverse legend is illegible.

(16) Severus Alexander: Denarius (issued in A.D. 223). *Rev.* P.M.TRP.II.COS.P.P. Mars standing l., holding olive branch and transverse spear reversed (R.I.C. vol. IV (2), Severus Alexander, no. 23).

(29) Julia Mamaea: Denarius (issued in A.D. 222). *Rev.* IVNO CONSERVATRIX Juno, diademed and veiled, standing l., holding patera and sceptre; at her foot l., a peacock (R.I.C. vol. IV (2), Severus Alexander, no. 343).

(22) Unidentified (see list of small finds).

(31a) Constantine I: Æ (issued c. A.D. 323). *Rev.* VOT. XX. Mint uncertain.

(31b) Constantine I: Æ. (issued A.D. 324-30). *Rev.* PROVIDENTIAE AVGG  $\frac{I}{PA \cup RL}$  (Hill and Kent *Num. Circ.* (1955-6), no. 290).

I am very grateful to Mr R. A. G. Carson of the British Museum for advice and help in identifying these coins.

## THE ANIMAL REMAINS

Ox, horse, pig and sheep (hornless) were represented by separate bones and skulls; at a depth of about 42 ft. lay the mixed remains of two oxen. Of these the smaller bones with quite separate epiphyses clearly belong to a very young animal whose age could be determined by the lower jaw (which has a full set of deciduous milk teeth with the first molar scarcely erupted), giving an age of about six months. The age of the older animal is seen in the appearance of the bones and in the fusion of radius and ulna, as found in very old animals.

Just below these bones was found the upper mandible of a bird; this has been examined by Mr D. Galloway of the Cambridge Bird Club, who reports that the shape and measurements of the beak suggest that it is either partridge or quail, the latter corresponding more closely to the excavated mandible. As food, however, we know that quails were avoided by the Romans for superstitious reasons (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vol. x, pp. 36, 69) though these need not, of course, have applied in the provinces. Partridge, on the other hand, was esteemed a delicacy by Romans from the time of Martial onwards. No record of either is known from British sites.

Certain bones have been identified by the British Museum (Natural History) as those of *Gallus domesticus*, or common fowl. Of these, one showed a well-developed spur—a feature sometimes interpreted as evidence that they were cocks bred for fighting.<sup>1</sup> This, however, is mere conjecture.

Among the many oyster shells in the well was one fragment of cockle shell.<sup>2</sup> Two

<sup>1</sup> This, for example, is suggested for several such bones on display in the Colchester Museum. For Roman cock-fighting see *Archaeologia*, vol. III, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Cockles have been recorded at Silchester (Boon, *Roman Silchester*, p. 172).

of the oyster shells were neatly perforated, the perforation being definitely ancient and apparently deliberate. A similar specimen (unpublished) is known from a first century A.D. context at Sandy, Beds., and two more are displayed in the villa at Chedworth, Glos., but no satisfactory explanation has yet been suggested.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Jockey Club and to Mr Day, the tenant, for permission to dig, and for generously presenting the finds to the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

I would like in particular to thank Mr E. F. Saltmarsh, of Moulton, for providing equipment and transport, and for help and encouragement at all times; also those members of the University who found time to help during Term.

In addition to those specialists I have thanked in the text for helping with the preparation of this report, I would add my thanks to Mr B. R. Hartley, who has contributed the Appendix on the pottery which follows.

### APPENDIX

#### POTTERY FROM THE EXNING WELL

B. R. HARTLEY

As Mr Johnston observes (p. 12 above), there is good reason to believe that much of the filling of the well was done in a single operation during the Roman period. This is strongly suggested by the fact that parts of the same vessels were found separated by vertical distances of 10 ft. or more. While the general range of the pottery is from the late second century to the late third century or the opening years of the fourth century, it should be noted that material which is certainly second-century is comparatively rare, especially below a depth of 29 ft. None of the pottery is certainly fourth-century, although a few sherds could have been made early in that century (cf. no. 24, for instance). It appears, therefore, that there is a strong probability that any given vessel, especially if found below 29 ft. deep in the filling, was in use in the third century. Above 29 ft. the material appears to be more mixed in date. It includes almost all the samian for instance. Above 12 ft. were two fourth-century coins (p. 15) as well as a nineteenth-century tobacco-pipe. Above 29 ft., then, the filling presumably belongs to sporadic dumping during and after the Roman period.

As the third-century pottery of southern Britain is very imperfectly known, it seems desirable to record the Exning material found below a depth of 29 ft. fairly fully. It must, however, be stressed that there may be late second-century sherds included and so, although the bulk of the material is undoubtedly third-century, care must be taken in the future in making use of the Exning group to see that dating evidence is not too rigidly applied.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A representative selection of the pottery from the lower part of the well is illustrated and described. The figures in square brackets give the depths in feet of individual sherds from the same vessels. A few sherds found above 29 ft. are illustrated for their intrinsic interest.

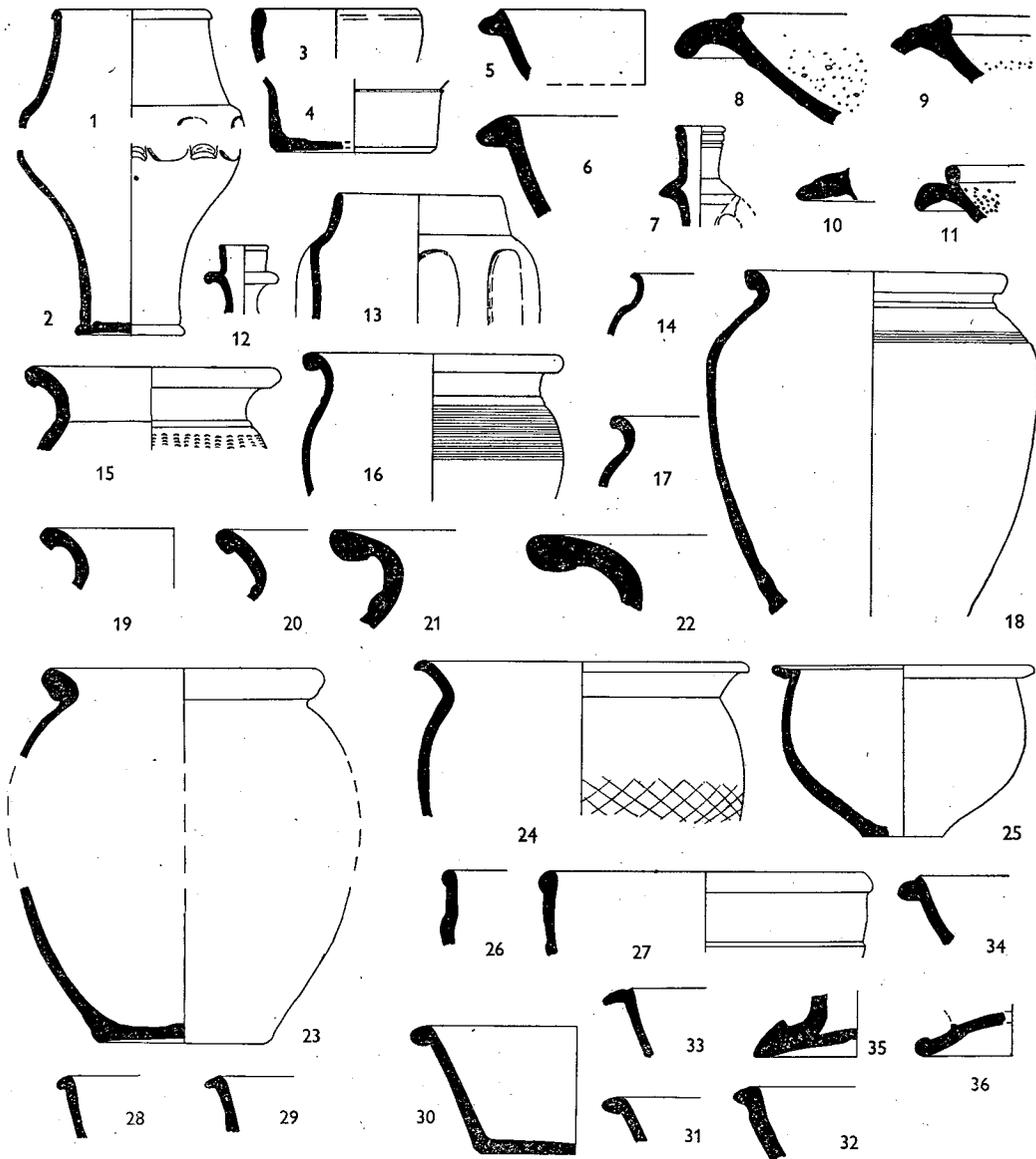


Fig. 2.

A. IMPORTED WARES  
(Not illustrated)

- (a) Samian form 31, Central Gaulish, with stamp [VI.M, c. A.D. 160-90 [on bottom].
- (b) Samian beaker base, Ludowici Vi or a similar form (*Oswald and Pryce*, pl. lxxix, 8), East Gaulish, c. A.D. 170-220 [47].
- (c) Samian form 79, Central Gaulish, late Antonine [32-43].
- (d) A few other scraps of Samian, all of late second-century character.
- (e) Many fragments of a globular amphora with the stamp of the well-known firm of L. IVNIVS MELISSVS on the handle [43-7]. According to Dr M. H. Callender, this firm belonged to the last

forty years of the second century and the early years of the third century (*Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. xxvii, p. 95, fig. 3, 33 is from the same die as the Exning piece).

The imported wares strongly suggest an Antonine date for the initial occupation of the Exning site, while the Samian fragment from the very bottom of the well hints that it was in use before the end of the century. There is nothing in the material from the upper filling of the well that conflicts with this dating.

#### B. COLOUR-COATED WARE

(Fig. 2, 1-7)

- (1) Indented beaker in buff fabric with dark brown coat [43]. Cf. *Gillam*, 46 (A.D. 220-60).
- (2) Base of a similar vessel in orange-brown fabric with dark brown to black coat [41-2]. Scale pattern strips between the indentations. Cf. *Gillam*, 53 (A.D. 240-320), but the rim form is doubtful here and the type probably ranged through the third century.
- (3) Unusual form in buff fabric with pink core [39-41]. The tan coat is on the outside only. No parallel known to me.
- (4) Unusual form in dirty white fabric with tan coat on exterior only [41-2]. This may perhaps be a variant of the Castor 'box' (cf. Hull, *Roman Colchester*, fig. 121, 308A), but a colour-coat is usual on the inside of this form.
- (5) Straight-sided flanged dish in dirty white fabric with dark brown coat; diameter 7 in. [above 29]. This is a Nene Valley product, typical of the early flanged forms at the Stibbington kilns, which were active at the end of the third century. The rounded flange contrasts with that used for the colour-coated forms of the middle and end of the fourth century (e.g. *Arbury Road*, 45, 48).
- (6) Straight-sided bowl with triangular rim in white fabric with tan coat; diameter 7 in. [39-41]. This is also typical of the Stibbington kilns of the late third century. The form probably emerged earlier in the century, however. Although common in the Fenland and its vicinity, it does not appear to have been exported to the north like the more delicate colour-coated forms.
- (7) Flagon in buff fabric with orange to brown, patchy, coat [above 29]. Common in the fourth century, the form nevertheless appeared earlier, since it was made at Stibbington and other Nene Valley centres in the third century.

#### C. COARSE WARE

(Fig. 2, 8-36)

- (8) Mortarium in hard orange fabric with grey core, ironstone grit, diameter 11 in. [50-3].
  - (9) Mortarium with reeded flange in buff with cream to orange slip, ironstone grit, diameter c. 11 in. [46-7].
  - (10) Flange fragment from a similar mortarium with feebler reeding [above 29].
- (8-10) are Nene Valley types. They were being made contemporaneously at Stibbington in the late third century, but both types were probably made earlier as well. The reeded flanged ones are especially common in the Fenland and northern East Anglia (*Caistor*, R 34 etc.; *Arbury Road*, 43, 68 and many unpublished examples).
- (11) Mortarium in red-brown fabric with grey core and cream slip, diameter 11 in. [above 29]. This form, for which K. F. Hartley uses the term ortho-flanged, was the normal mortarium of the area south of a line from Colchester to Worcester in the third and fourth centuries. It is comparatively rare elsewhere, though other examples are known from the Midlands and East Anglia.
  - (12) Flagon neck in orange-brown self-coloured fabric with burnished surface [44-6]. Perhaps a local imitation of the colour-coated flagon exemplified by no. 7 above.
  - (13) Indented beaker in light grey to brown fabric with a black (bituminous?) surface wash

[44-6]. The form is presumably in imitation of the colour-coated beakers. This is one of several vessels in this fabric (cf. 14, 15, 22), which must be the product of a local kiln. Other examples have previously been noted in the Cambridge area, for example *Arbury Road*, 88.

(14) Medium-mouthed jar in the same fabric as the last [36-9]. Two more noted from [43-6].

(15) Wide-mouthed jar in the same fabric as no. 13. The black coat ends just inside the rim [44-6]. Stabbed decoration on the body.

(16) Wide-mouthed jar in sandy grey fabric with brown core [46-8]. The shoulder is rilled below the cordon, a type of decoration favoured in the Cambridge area (*Arbury Road*, 28A etc.). See no. 36, below.

(17) Medium-mouthed jar in grey fabric with burnished surface, diameter  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. [34-6].

(18) Medium-mouthed jar in sandy brown fabric with grey core [49-50]. The almost straight sides are reminiscent of other East Anglian jars, such as *Runcton Holme*, 30, 47.

(19-21) All medium-mouthed jars of about 7-10 in. diameter in grey or greyish brown fabric with or without slightly burnished surface. This is the most common single form in the well, occurring at all depths. It was no doubt the standard cooking-pot of the area.

(22) Large medium-mouthed jar in the same fabric as no. 13, diameter 13 in. Two examples [39-41] and [above 29]. The form is reminiscent of the Horningsea jar (*Arbury Road*, 7), but the fabric is quite different.

(23) Medium-mouthed jar in the same fabric as no. 18 [49-50]. Probably a local product.

(24) Wide-mouthed jar in standard black-burnished fabric [34-41]. True black-burnished ware is very uncommon in the Fenland and East Anglia, though some of the later types like this one reached the area. Cf. *Gillam*, 146, 147 of the late third and early fourth centuries.

(25) A weakly carinated bowl with flat rim in the same fabric as no. 13 [41-2]. This is perhaps derived ultimately from the reeded rim carinated bowl, which survived in use in the area until the late second century (*Arbury Road*, 13).

(26) Jar or bowl in gritty brown fabric with dark brown burnished surface [above 29]. Perhaps hand-made, but certainly in Iron Age rather than Romano-British tradition. Such vessels occur sporadically throughout the Roman period (see *Arbury Road II*, p. 27, 5).

(27) Hemispherical bowl, probably imitating Samian form 37, in orange-brown fabric with grey core and red-brown, burnished surface. Another in colour-coated ware. Both [above 29]. These are included because non-contemporary imitations of the Samian form are unusual. It is now known, however, that they were made in the Nene Valley in the early third century.

(28-31) Straight-sided dishes and bowls, mostly in grey fabric, but no. 29 is in the same fabric as no. 13. Diameters vary from 7-9 in. This was the commonest type in the well, apart from the medium-mouthed jars. It was found at all levels. There are reasons for thinking that the form in East Anglia, unlike the black-burnished dishes and bowls, has no consistent typological development. Triangular or rounded rims are normal; the illustrations cover the full range.

(32) Coarse copy of the previous type in gritty grey fabric with black to brown surface. Hand-made? Diameter about 8 in. [above 29].

(33) Straight-sided bowl in the same fabric as no. 13. A groove in the top of the rim suggests that it is intermediate in form between the dishes of the type illustrated as nos. 28-31 and the straight-sided flanged bowls like no. 34. Diameter about 7 in. [43].

(34) Straight-sided flanged bowl in the same fabric as no. 13. Diameter 8 in. Two examples [31-6]. These must belong to the end of the third century or the very beginning of the fourth century. During the fourth century the type became very common.

(35) Pedestal-base in slightly sandy orange-brown fabric with grey core [above 29]. There is a precise parallel in *Arbury Road*, 52, which is from a late fourth-century group, though it may conceivably be a residual piece. In view of the otherwise complete absence of late fourth-century types at Exning this piece may well have been dated wrongly at *Arbury Road*.

(36) Pedestal-base in sandy grey ware with buff core and silvery grey slip [44-6]. The fabric is reminiscent of that of no. 16, and it is not altogether impossible that it belongs to the same vessel. If so, the piece may be a Horningsea product (*Proc. C.A.S.* vol. xvii, p. 57), though the dating proposed at Horningsea cannot stand.

#### GENERAL REMARKS

It is interesting to note that the Exning site was receiving products from the large kiln centres in the Nene Valley, notably colour-coated ware and mortaria. Some of the other coarse ware may also have come from there, but most of it undoubtedly reached the site from local kilns. The characteristic Nene Valley cooking-pot is not present, nor have any certain products of the Jesus Lane or Horningsea kilns been noted. On the other hand, it is clear that the vessels in the fabric of no. 13 were being made quite near. Although these have also been found in and near Cambridge, they are relatively uncommon there, and it may well be that we have to do with a Suffolk pottery.

#### References to parallels:

*Arbury Road: Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLVIII.

*Arbury Road II: ibid.* vol. XLIX.

*Caistor: Norfolk Arch.* vol. XXVI, part II.

*Gillam: Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. XXXV.

*Runcton Holme: Proc. Prehist. Soc. East Anglia*, vol. VII, part II.

## A GROUP OF ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY WITH AN OWNER'S MARK

B. R. HARTLEY AND E. STANDEN

FOR several seasons the second writer has been investigating a Romano-British site on the edge of the Fens at Horsey Toll, Stanground, Hunts (Nat. Grid ref. 52/234954). As yet, insufficient work has been done to make a general account of the site profitable, but one most interesting group of pottery merits consideration. This comes from a linear ditch 6-7 ft. wide and 4-5 ft. deep which has now been traced for a distance of 600 yards. This ditch is either a major component of a field-system or else, conceivably, an estate boundary.

The pottery now in question is a series of sherds from ten different vessels, all bearing the same owner's mark—an N or reversed N incised after firing. There is, therefore, a strong presumption that the group is a compact one chronologically, falling within the lifetime of one individual. The character of the vessels that are immediately datable bears out this presumption. The vessels are:

- (a) Samian form 33, East Gaulish, late Antonine. Owner's mark inside base. Not illustrated.
  - (b) Samian form 33, Central Gaulish, Antonine. Owner's mark on outside of the lower wall. Not illustrated.
  - (c) Samian form 31 (Sb), Central Gaulish, Antonine, with the stamp of an illiterate potter (Fig. 1, 1 and 1a).
  - (d) Base of a colour-coated beaker of Nene Valley type. This no doubt had barbotine decoration, but the wall does not survive high enough to preserve any (Fig. 1, 2).
  - (e) Chamfered base from a grey ware dish or bowl. The fabric is typical of the coarse pottery of the Nene Valley kilns. Owner's mark on the underside of the base. Not illustrated.
  - (f) Wide-mouthed jar in grey fabric with burnished surface. The fabric is again typical of Nene Valley products (Fig. 1, 3).
  - (g) A similar jar in sandy grey fabric (Fig. 1, 4).
  - (h) A small jar in the same fabric as (f) (Fig. 1, 5).
  - (i) and (j). Bases from two jars of the same general type as (f) and (g).
- Of these (c), (d) and (h) have an N as owner's mark, the rest have a reversed N.

The coarse ware can only be dated by its association with the Samian and the colour-coated beaker. The Samian is consistently Antonine and to be dated about A.D. 160-200: the colour-coated vessel could equally well belong to the late second century or to the early years of the third century. It seems certain, therefore, that the wide-mouthed jars belong to the late second century. The type is known to have been made in the Nene Valley, where it has been found in kiln deposits dating between about A.D. 230 and the mid-fourth century. The Horsey Toll evidence now allows us to say that the type had already emerged in the late second century and it

may well go back to the foundation of the Nene Valley industry.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the type was the standard cooking-pot of the Fenland and its immediate surroundings and that it entirely excluded from the area the black-burnished jars which were the normal cooking-pots of the Midlands and the north.<sup>2</sup> There is considerable variation in the precise form even in a contemporary group (cf. Fig. 1, 3-5) and it is difficult at present to isolate features which may have chronological significance.

In the Midlands and north the jars are invariably accompanied by dishes and bowls in the same fabric, almost always with lattice decoration.<sup>3</sup> These, too, are absent from the Fenland area, where their place is taken by dishes and bowls of the same general form, though with an emphasis on a rim of triangular or rounded section, in grey

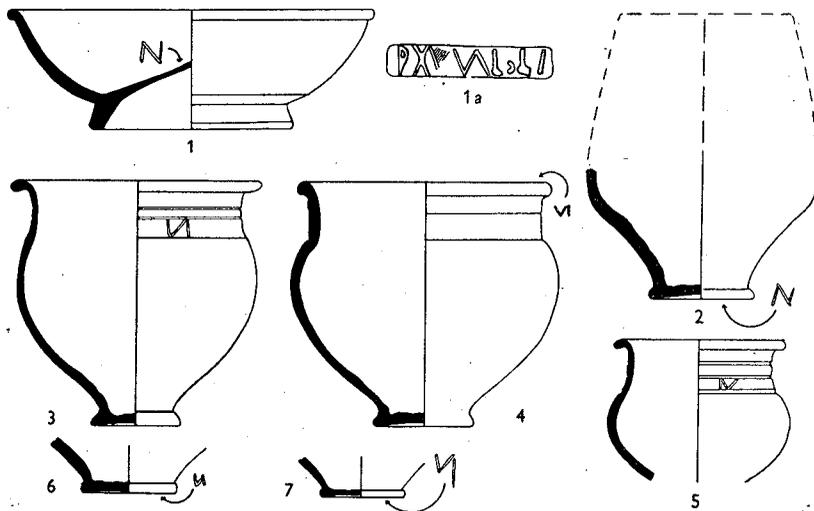


Fig. 1.

fabric without lattice decoration. Like the jars, these were being made in the Nene Valley in the third and fourth centuries and they are represented at Horsey Toll by one dish base (*e*). It seems unlikely that there is an internal typology in the series analogous to that found in the black-burnished one. The Nene Valley types, for instance, almost invariably have a chamfer at the junction of the base and wall, whatever their date. Nor does the type appear to develop into the straight-sided flanged bowl which is so prominent in the black-burnished series.<sup>4</sup> In the north these had begun to appear by the mid-third century and by the end of the century they were very common indeed, largely replacing the flat-rimmed or rolled-rimmed type. But in the Fenland the flanged bowl in grey ware is comparatively uncommon and it is clear that the flat- or triangular-rimmed type was in use well into the fourth century, and that almost all the flanged bowls were in colour-coated ware.

<sup>1</sup> The date commonly accepted for the foundation of the industry in the Nene Valley is about A.D. 170-80 (cf. K. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester*, p. 120).

<sup>2</sup> Gillam, 'Types of Roman Coarse Pottery in the North of Britain', in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. xxxv, type 120, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Gillam, *loc. cit.* type 220, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Gillam, *loc. cit.* types 226, 227.

# A ROMANO-BRITISH FARM AT ST IVES

H. J. M. GREEN

## INTRODUCTION

THE site lies on the west bank of the Great Ouse, 1 mile south-east of St Ives and in a gravel pit immediately south of the St Ives-Cambridge railway line. The subsoil is gravel and the site is 17 ft. above sea-level (O.S. datum)—map reference, O.S. 2½ in. to 1 mile 52/323700 (Nat. Grid ref.).

Gravel digging during the war removed half the site before any rescue excavation could take place. Before the remainder of the site was completely destroyed in 1955, a series of trial trenches were dug to ascertain the character and duration of the Romano-British occupation, and to uncover one of the dwellings. A preliminary account of the excavations has already been published in the *Archaeological News Letter*, vol. v, no. 2, p. 29. The finds from the site have been deposited in the Norris Museum at St Ives.

## THE SITE

*Period I.* The structural remains of this period were confined to only a small part of the total site (Fig. 1). At the southern end of the area a large ditch (D 4) empties into the river, and on either side of it were deposits of the period. It is possible that this ditch was a cleaned and remodelled stream near which the original settlement established itself. The only other structural remains found of this period were three shallow gullies. Apart from these, the area of occupation was covered by a layer of dark sandy loam (layer (5)), which varied from 4 in. to 1 ft. in thickness.

Gully 1 contains the earliest forms of pottery on the site, but both this and gullies 2 and 3 also contain Roman standard grey wares, indicating probably a date during the last half of the first, or first half of the second century for the period I deposits. The unstratified pottery which could be attributed to this period agrees with such a dating. Apart from the Belgic pottery made in the native tradition and Romano-British versions of it, shell-gritted fabrics and imported wares were scarce. The paucity of Samian is striking, but is paralleled on other domestic sites in the region, notably Runcton Holme.<sup>1</sup> Here the lack of Samian ware was attributed to late Romanization due to the Boudiccan rising and its aftermath. The same may also be true of this site.

*Period II.* The break in the pottery sequence indicates that at some period, probably during the second century, the site may have been deserted and not re-occupied again until the late third or early fourth century. This period of desertion

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* vol. XII (1933), p. 241.

is represented by layer (4) varying from 3 in. to 2 ft. in thickness and covering the whole site. The layer was of sandy loam and sterile.

*Period III.* Sealing layer (4) was a deposit of dark sandy loam (layer (3)), varying from 1 ft. to 2 ft. 6 in. in thickness. Three shallow gullies (6, 7 and 8) had been dug into layer (4), one of which was of V section (gully 6). A pit, or perhaps a well (pit 5), also cut through layers (4) and (5). Its filling consisted of layers of dark humus and loamy sand, and contained fragments of wood. Water at 6 ft. 9 in. prevented further excavation. Neither this pit nor any of the gullies produced datable pottery, but an

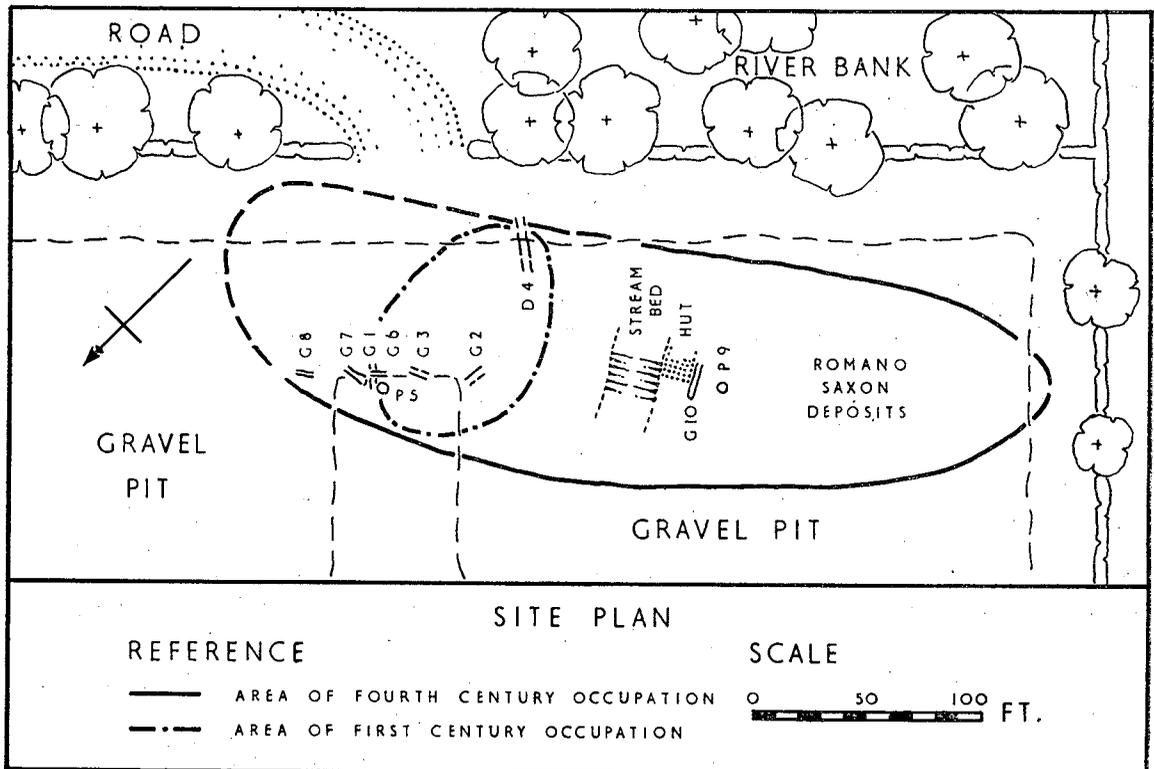


Fig. 1. Site plan.

early fourth century jar was found lying on the top of layer (4). This jar and the pottery from the hut and stream bed suggest that the site was probably reoccupied either during the late third or early fourth century. Some of the unstratified pottery from the site dates to this time or later in the fourth century, some of it being very late. The unstratified coin series is both small and late (Appendix I)—the latest is a coin of Arcadius (395-408) (Appendix I, no. 5) which probably indicates occupation into at least the first quarter of the fifth century.

*Period IV.* Extending over the whole site to a depth of about 1 ft. is a layer of compact silty clay loam (layer (2)). The layer is sterile and is clearly a deposit derived from regular, probably winter, flooding over a long period of time. Its lower levels merge into the top of layer (3), and soil tests suggest that there was little chemical

weathering of this layer before the silty clay loam deposits were laid down. It is, therefore, probable that the end of the occupation and cultivation of the site coincided with the beginning of the regular seasonal flooding which laid down layer (2).

THE HUT AND STREAM BED

*The hut.* Near the centre of the site a rectangular hut of period III had been constructed on the banks of a shallow stream, which flowed into the river (Fig. 2).

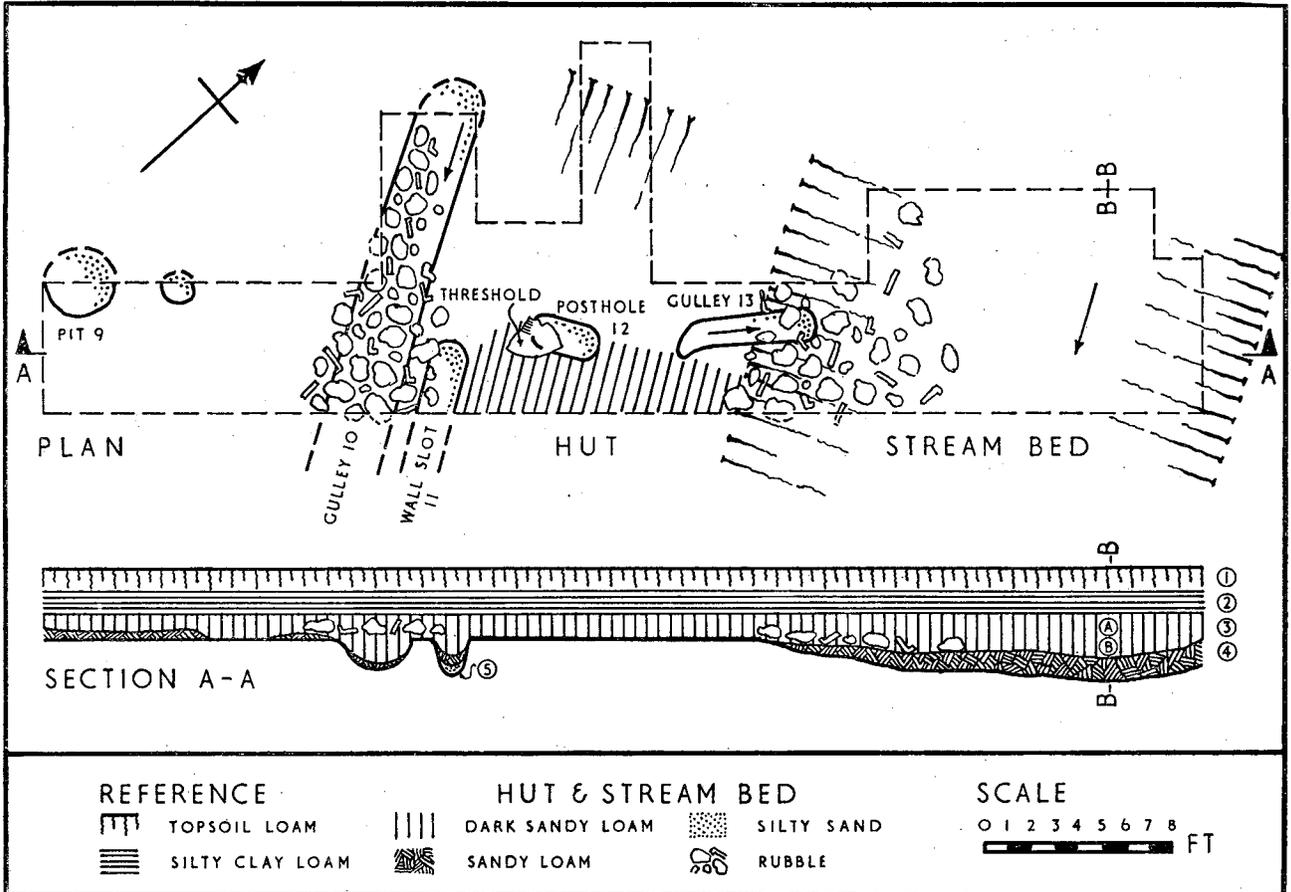


Fig. 2. The hut and stream bed.

Unfortunately gravel digging had removed all but the north-east end of the hut, but sufficient was found to gain some idea of its construction. A wall slot (11) indicates wattle and daub walls (no plaster was found), set in wooden sleeper beams. A near central post-hole (12), 1 ft. 3 in. deep, at the north-west end, probably held a post which supported the ridge-pole. The elongated shape of the post-hole may indicate that the post was renewed during the life of the hut.

The roof covering was probably of roofing tiles, tegulae and half-flue tiles,<sup>1</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> J. Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, fig. 85.

no imbrices. The position of the debris from the roof would suggest that the gable overhung the north-west end of the hut by three or more feet. The stream and a gully (10) carried off the rain-water from either side of the roof. Unlike the stream bed, very little pottery was found in the gully. The floor of the hut was of beaten earth and full of domestic rubbish. This included much broken pottery (some of it heavily burnt), a child's bracelet, a loom weight, a broken palette, a stone rubber and some glass (Appendix III). The two dozen iron nails found in and around the hut probably secured the roof timbers. Partly covering post-hole 12 was a broken quern reused as a stone threshold, but whether it was in its original position is uncertain.

After a period, long enough for gully 10 to silt up with rubbish and for the threshold to become worn, the hut may have been dismantled. The stones and broken tiles from the roof were found in heaps on either side of the hut and the posts and sleeper beams had been removed.

*The stream bed.* Immediately north-east of the hut was a stream whose deposits were 20 ft. wide and between 2 and 3 ft. thick at its centre. Soil tests show that the stream was flowing fairly fast for a period before the hut was built and occupied. The variation in the sizes of silt particles suggests that this rapid flow was probably seasonal—perhaps at the time of the winter rains. The stream collected about a foot of sediment before the hut was built, and the period of occupation is represented by debris and pottery from the bottom of layer (3)—together with some traces of charcoal. In this occupation layer and near the centre of the stream was found a complete skull of *Bos longifrons*. It appears that at this period the stream began to fill up with humus and animal matter, its apparent rate of flow decreased, and before the end of the site's occupation it was probably dry. Certainly the amount of humus from layer (3) at A suggests that the stream bed may have been under cultivation for a time before the end.

Scattered in and around the hut and on the stream bed was found an important series of late third to mid-fourth century pottery. Much Samian and colour-coated pottery was found with the coarse pottery; but unless residual, it is difficult to understand the significance of the former in such a late context.

#### THE ROMANO-SAXON DEPOSIT

In view of the late fourth-century coin and pottery series from the site, the potsherds nos. 1-4 (Fig. 3) are of especial interest. They were found together in a heap thrown up by the mechanical excavators, but which must have come from somewhere near the south-west end of the site (Fig. 1). The series included a few fragments of earlier pottery, such as Samian ware together with colour-coated ware, grey fabrics and a piece of red colour-coated pottery. The Romano-Saxon or Sub-Roman series itself, however, reflects at least three ceramic traditions. No. 4 is clearly derived from standard forms current at the end of the fourth century. The detailing is rather coarse, but the fabric of this shard, the colour-coated pottery, and the grey wares are normal Romano-British. The Romano-Saxon fragment (no. 1) is likewise probably of

Romano-British manufacture. This type of pottery is a recently recognized hybrid combining Romano-British mass production methods with decoration of a Saxon kind. Hitherto nearly all the examples known came from the Saxon Shore or its immediate hinterland. Nos. 2 and 3 are uncommon. Neither truly Romano-British nor Saxon in either fabric or form, they represent a tradition which can truly be called Sub-Roman.

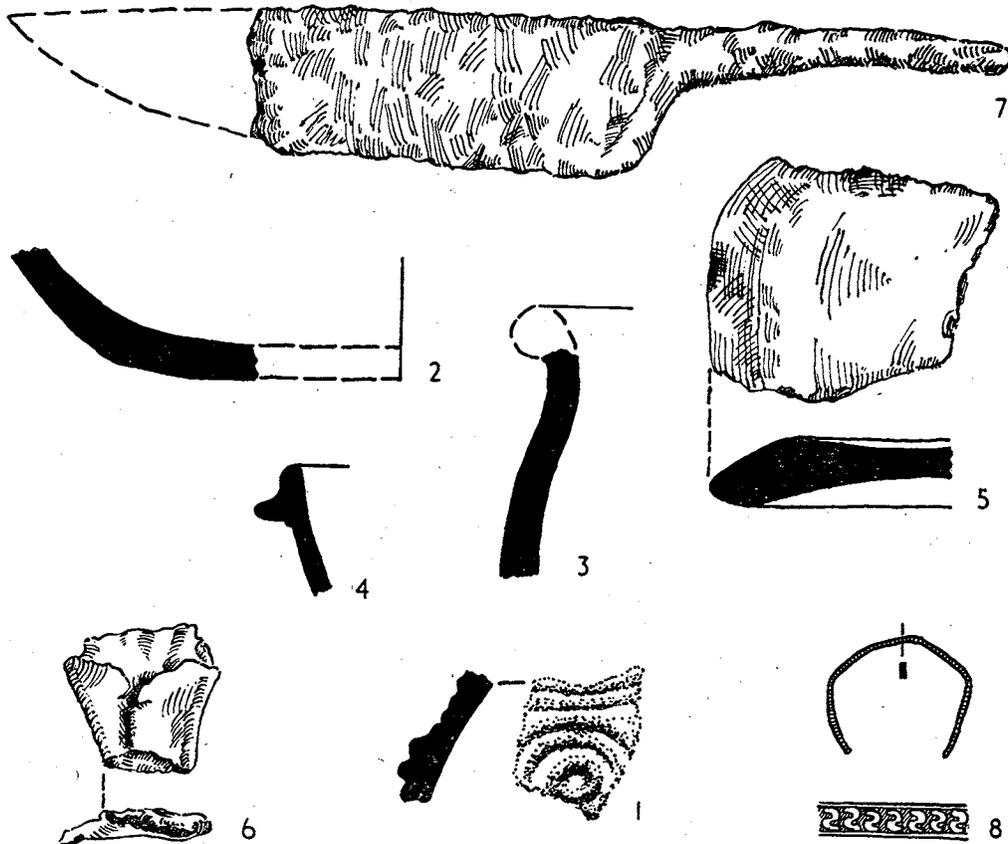


Fig. 3. Small finds, and Romano-Saxon pottery (scale: nos. 1-8 one-half natural size, and detail of no. 8 full size).

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

From the first century onwards occupation on the site seems to have been established near streams which flowed into the river in this vicinity. At its maximum extent during period III, occupation covered a little under an acre, and during period I appears to have been nearer a quarter of an acre.

By analogy with neighbouring sites the farmstead was probably surrounded by an irregular network of small fields which spread in a narrow belt along the riverside. Neither corn-drying ovens nor storage pits were noticed within the area of occupation; nor have they often been found on other local farm sites. Animal remains, on the other hand, were plentiful and probably indicate widespread use of the river

pastures.<sup>1</sup> Those from the hut and associated stream bed give an idea of the livestock during the early fourth century. There were apparently two types of cattle, the small Celtic ox and a larger breed which may have been imported to improve the native strain. The bones of both types were found in almost equal proportions. The other principal animal remains were those of sheep, which were almost as common as those of cattle. The varied ages of both sheep and cattle indicate that there could not have been any regular winter killing. The bones of horse and pig were less common on the site.

This site was evidently one of those small native farms, probably of mainly pastoral character,<sup>2</sup> which were scattered along the river edge almost continuously as far north as Somersham. Similar sites at St Ives and Earith, both fortunately with much of the field system surviving, will be described in future papers.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the late Mrs H. Anderson of Westwood Farm for permission to excavate, and to the St Ives Sand and Gravel Company when the land later passed into their possession. I am grateful to Mr J. N. L. Myres for examining the Romano-Saxon pottery, to Dr J. P. C. Kent for identifying the coins and to Dr I. W. Cornwall for examining and checking the reports of the soil tests and animal remains. I also wish to thank Mr M. A. Hyde for help in making the soil tests and Mr J. Perry for examining the stone objects. Finally I am grateful to Mr C. M. Coote and Mr E. Standen for help and for putting material at my disposal.

#### NOTE

A report of the pottery from the site, other than the Romano-Saxon material, will be incorporated in a future paper in these *Proceedings*. This paper will describe the development of Romano-British pottery in the Great Ouse Valley, and will include a survey of the material from the recent excavations at Godmanchester and at Earith.

### APPENDIX I

#### THE COINS

No.	Denomination	Emperor	Reference	Preservation	A.D. issue date	Find spot
1	As	Uncertain		Worn	First or second century	Layer 4 near hut
2	Æ 3	Constantine I	Cohen 123	Fair	321-3	Layer 3 near hut
3	Æ 4	Barbarous copy of Constantine II as Augustus	Cohen 45	Fair	337+	Unstratified
4	Æ 3	Valens	Cohen 11	Good	364-78	Unstratified
5	Æ 4	Arcadius	Goodacre 45	Fair	395-408	Unstratified

<sup>1</sup> *A.N.L.* vol. v, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. Tebbutt, *History of Bluntisham cum Earith*, p. 16.

## APPENDIX II

## ROMANO-SAXON POTTERY

(1) Decorated fragment of Romano-Saxon ware (Fig. 3, no. 1). In grey fabric with a cream-orange wash. The fabric is similar to certain types of first-century Belgic pottery, and may be an example of the revival of Belgic techniques at the end of the Roman period.<sup>1</sup> Mr Myres comments '... it does look very like an attempt in decadent R.B. ware to imitate the grooved and bossed ornament of early A.S. pottery... I suppose it comes from a sloping shoulder of quite a small vessel, with horizontal grooving or corrugation above and a line of small solid shoulder bosses each surrounded by circular grooves and surmounted by a dimple. If this is correct it would be quite in order as an A.S. decorative scheme, but neither the fabric nor the execution is normal A.S.' The decoration is comparable to that of another Romano-Saxon vessel found at Walton Castle.<sup>2</sup>

(2) Hand-made jar in black calcitic fabric with a rough black surface (Fig. 3, no. 2). Mr Myres says 'I do not think that I can make much of the base angle except that there is nothing remotely reminiscent of R.B. conventional wares about it. The closest parallels to it and to no. 3 that I can think of are the pots from Wingham, Kent.'<sup>3</sup> The slightly sagging base of this example is paralleled by Wingham no. 7, and both Wingham nos. 1 and 3 have a similar base shape and fabric to our example.

(3) Hand-made jar in black calcitic fabric with a burnished-black surface (Fig. 3, no. 3). Mr Myres comments 'I take it that no. 3, which all but reaches up to the rim is also sub-R.B., both in fabric and form'. The general neck curve is similar to Wingham nos. 2 and 4, and the reconstructed lip is based on those examples. The fabric is unusual on this site, but a few other pieces have been found in unstratified contexts. The normal Romano-British gritted wares are here mixed with pounded shell, the introduction of calcite may be a feature of the sub-Roman period.

(4) Flanged bowl in shell-gritted brown fabric with black surface (Fig. 3, no. 4). Mr Myres says 'the degenerate R.B. bowl is also interesting' and agrees that it represents a stage in the devolution of the fourth-century flanged bowl.

## APPENDIX III

## SMALL FINDS

(1) Broken palette of argillaceous limestone. The palette is very worn and subsequent to breakage had been reground to shape for further use. Hut floor, layer (3) (Fig. 3, no. 5).

(2) Lead loom weight of irregular shape and folded to hold threads. Hut floor, layer (3) (Fig. 3, no. 6).

(3) Iron knife with broken tip. Cf. with example from London.<sup>4</sup> Unstratified (Fig. 3, no. 7).

(4) Child's bracelet of bronze with dark green patina. Exterior engraved with S pattern. Hut floor, layer (3) (Fig. 3, no. 8).

<sup>1</sup> *A.N.L.* vol. VI, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> D. B. Harden, *Dark Age Britain*, fig. 3, no. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant.* vol. XVII (1944), pp. 52-3.

<sup>4</sup> *London Museum Catalogue*, no. 3 (1946), pl. xxvi, no. 5.

# WILLIAM ALLINGTON OF HORSEHEATH, SPEAKER IN THE PARLIAMENT OF 1429-30

## PAPER I

J. S. ROSKELL

IN these papers I propose to deal with two of the fifteenth-century members of the family of Allington of Horseheath and Bottisham: William Allington, Speaker in Henry VI's sixth parliament which met in the autumn and winter of 1429, and his grandson, another William Allington, Speaker under Edward IV in two successive parliaments, the first of which ran for as many as seven sessions in two and a half years, that is between 1472 and 1475, and the other, in 1478, for no more than six weeks. The earlier William Allington was one of the two knights of the shire representing Cambridgeshire when he was Speaker: it was his only return to parliament. The later William, before he sat for Cambridgeshire in the parliaments in which he acted as Speaker, had already served as a parliamentary burgess for the Devonshire borough of Plympton (in 1467-8).<sup>1</sup>

By at least one local authority (Clutterbuck) the Cambridgeshire family of Allington is stated to have had its origin at Allington in Devon. However this may be, the family seems only to have come into Cambridgeshire when it acquired half a knight's fee in Horseheath (in south-east Cambridgeshire) with the marriage of William, the father of the William Allington esquire who was Speaker in 1429, to Dionysia, daughter and heir of William Malet of Horseheath. Before he died, the Speaker's father had also acquired, perhaps by the same marriage, another half-knight's fee in Bottisham, some six miles east of Cambridge. The estates, besides these, of which William Allington was seised in the year before his Speakership, according to an inquiry into liability to a parliamentary subsidy levied on knights' fees in 1428, were all in south Cambridgeshire and within easy reach of Horseheath: one and a half fees in Wickham, one fee in Bergham, and quarter-fees in both Streetly

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes:

*C.C.R.* = *Calendar of Close Rolls.*

*C.F.R.* = *Calendar of Fine Rolls.*

*C.P.R.* = *Calendar of Patent Rolls.*

*D.K.R.* = *The Reports of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records.*

*H.M.C.* = Historical Manuscripts Commission.

*P.P.C.* = *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. N. H. Nicolas.

*P.R.O.* = Public Record Office.

*R.S.* = Rolls Series.

*Rot. Parl.* = *Rotuli Parliamentorum.*

<sup>1</sup> *Official Return of Members of Parliament*, vol. I, pp. 315, 357, 360, 363; *Rot. Parl.* vol. IV, p. 336; vol. VI, pp. 4, 168.

and Melbourn. He then also held half-knight's fees in Duxford and Linton, two half-knight's fees in Hildersham, and a whole fee in Little Linton.<sup>1</sup> Some at least of his estates are likely to have come into his possession as a result of his own marriage with Joan, daughter and heir of William Burgh of Barningham (Suffolk). The Speaker's wife, who lived to within two years of his death—she died on 27 February 1445—was well connected, and her family relationships may have been as important to her husband as her lands: on her mother's side she was a great-granddaughter of John Stonore, Chief Justice of Common Pleas in the first half of Edward III's reign, a granddaughter of Sir John Berners of West Horsley (Surrey) and Berners Rooding (Essex), and a cousin of the Sir James Berners who, impeached by the Commons in the Merciless Parliament of 1388 as a friend of Richard II, was then executed.

The Speaker in his own lifetime, in fact before his Speakership, saw further and important acquisitions of property come into the possession of his family through the marriages (in the 1420s) of his eldest son, William, and his younger bastard son, Robert, to two sisters, namely Elizabeth and Joan, the granddaughters and co-heirs of Sir William Argentine of Great Wymondley (Herts). These included the manors of Great and Little Wymondley and Weston Argentine and other lands in Hertfordshire, in Graveley, Stevenage, Welwyn, Hitchin, Almesho, and Ippolitts, together with the advowson of the hospital founded by the Argentines at Royston, well-rents in Welwyn, and other estates in Norfolk, Suffolk and Buckinghamshire.

The Allingtons, regarded as a family, were clearly very far from being badly off. In 1436 the Speaker of 1429 and his two sons were together assessed to a parliamentary tax on incomes from land, etc., as being worth £196 a year. Oddly enough, in view of the results of the 1428 inquiry into his holding of knights' fees, William senior's lands in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire together were now assessed at no more than £26 a year. One explanation of this strikingly low figure might be that he had settled a considerable part of his property on his sons, William and Robert. In 1436 these two were respectively assessed as worth £110 and £60 a year, and it is their lands which raise the family income to the substantial annual value of nearly £200. Most of this property, however, was outside Cambridgeshire. Both sons held estates in Norfolk, which their father did not. William junior, like his father, had lands in Hertfordshire, but also some in Buckinghamshire, where the father had none. The bulk of these extra-Cambridgeshire accessions evidently came through the sons' marriages. Robert's wife, Joan, died in May 1429, and most of the Argentine estates soon went to William junior in right of his wife, the other sister. It is very probably that which accounts for William junior's estates being greater in 1436 than his father's and brother's together.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Chauncy, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, vol. II, p. 114; R. Clutterbuck, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, vol. II, p. 542; Catherine E. Parsons, 'Horseheath Hall and its Owners', *Proc. C.A.S.* n.s. vol. XLI, pp. 204ff.; *Feudal Aids*, vol. I, pp. 179, 181, 182, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Chauncy, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 317; J. E. Cussans, *History of Hertfordshire*, vol. II, p. 51; 42; G. Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, vol. I, p. 14; E. Hailstone, *History and Antiquities of the parish of Bottisham* (1873), pp. 108ff.; *Feudal Aids*, vol. II, p. 448; *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. IV, p. 42; *C.F.R. 1422-30*, p. 273; *English Hist. Rev.* vol. XLIX (1934), pp. 631-2.

The considerable increases in estate and reputation made by the family of Allington of Horseheath and Bottisham in the first half of the fifteenth century were very largely due to the successful career and family policy of William Allington, the Commons' Speaker in 1429. Before him little is known of the family, except for Robert Allington, an eminent clerk who had been Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1394. Robert's kinship with William—perhaps he was his uncle—may be safely presumed: in May 1398 Master Robert was one of William's feoffees in the manor of Horseheath.<sup>1</sup> Possibly he assisted the latter's advancement.

By 1397 William Allington was a King's esquire. Precisely when he joined the royal service is not known. Apparently he was connected with Richard II's court by the beginning of 1394, for in January of that year he successfully petitioned for a royal pardon for a homicide committed in London. But he may as yet have been attached simply to the retinue of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, Chamberlain of England, the King's own half-brother and a son-in-law of the Duke of Lancaster, and may have joined the royal household later as a result. Allington was certainly connected with John Holland by 28 January 1395, when 100 marks were paid into his hands at the Lower Exchequer in aid of Holland's passage to Ireland to join the king.<sup>2</sup> The tie became a close one: on 14 April 1399, now promoted Duke of Exeter for his share in the recent proscription of Richard II's enemies in the royal family and among the older aristocracy, John Holland made Allington one of his numerous attorneys when preparing for Richard's second and ill-fated expedition to Ireland; and by 11 July 1399 Allington was Treasurer of Calais, an appointment he almost certainly owed to Holland who was Captain of Calais. (Allington and the Duke's lieutenant were then ordered to leave off harassing the Mayor and other merchants of the Calais staple for payment of some of their fellow-staplers' bonds, which had been delivered to Allington to meet the garrison's wages.)<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, it was as a King's esquire that, on the eve of Richard II's *coup* in September 1397 and shortly afterwards, Allington shared with Robert Cary (another King's esquire and a retainer, too, of the Earl of Huntingdon) two royal grants: the first, made by a letter patent of 16 September, was a grant for their lives (in survivorship) of the Wiltshire manors of Woodrew and Calne; the second, by a patent of 7 October, gave them the right to hold the estates of the alien priory of Ellingham (Hants), then in the King's hands.

In 1399 Allington's lord, John Holland, after suffering a short imprisonment, found himself degraded to his former rank of Earl in the first parliament which met after the deposition of his half-brother Richard II. Allington had little trouble,

<sup>1</sup> *C.C.R.* 1399-1402, p. 561.

<sup>2</sup> *C.P.R.* 1391-6, p. 363; Exchequer, Issue Roll, P.R.O. E 403/549, mem. 10. It is not inconceivable that William Allington's entry into the household of Richard II was contrived by his wife's cousin, Sir James Berners. If this was so, it must have been before 1388 when Berners was executed. Alternatively, it is just possible that Allington was introduced into Richard's service by the King's friend, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, sometime before 1387 when the Earl had to seek refuge in exile from the Lords Appellant: the De Veres were patrons of the church of Horseheath, where the Allingtons mainly resided. But these are mere, unsupported conjectures.

<sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.* 1396-9, p. 520; *C.C.R.* 1396-9, p. 508.

however, in accommodating himself to the effects of the Revolution, and within little more than a month of Henry IV's accession he was again one of the King's esquires. The new King realized that, to succeed, he must apply a policy of oblivion and indemnity for the members of Richard II's household and retinue. Obviously, this policy involved risks with those who had been attached to and had supported him, and who had hoped to profit from his favour more exclusively than such a policy was likely to allow. But those who had had a stake in the pre-1399 regime must be given one, if possible, in the Lancastrian dynasty. The King needed to buy up loyalties, and it was more of a seller's than a buyer's market. Allington also salvaged his two-year-old interest in the manor of Woodrew (Wilts) with a grant for life (made on 6 November 1399) which he now no longer shared with Robert Cary. (Woodrew was stated to be worth 25 marks a year, and Allington was to have *housbote* and *haybote* in the royal forest of Blackmore besides.) Allington did, however, lose his interest in Calne and in the lands of the alien priory of Ellingham, and by January 1401 he had also lost Woodrew to another former esquire of Richard II's household who, dispossessed by him and Cary in 1397, had now joined the household of Henry IV and recovered his emoluments.<sup>1</sup>

In January 1400 John Holland had been privy to the revolt of Richard II's supporters, had been put to death by a mob at Pleshey in Essex when trying to escape to the continent, and had incurred forfeiture for his treason. If Allington was still connected with the Earl, he managed to evade any personal repercussions from these events. The untimely death of the Earl of Huntingdon was probably very timely for such of his retinue as William Allington, who may well have regarded the demise of his lord with relief. Certainly, its long-term effects were advantageous to him. And for the moment, in 1400, all was well. It is true that, although appointed as royal escheator in Cambridgeshire on 24 November 1400, Allington did not hold this office beyond 3 February 1401 (instead of for the usual term of a year). On 16 May 1401, however, he was for the first time included in the Cambridgeshire commission of the peace. A year later (by patent of 11 May 1402) he was made a commissioner in the county for the arrest of seditious persons who were busy throwing doubt on the King's intention to keep his accession promises, etc.: a proper sign of royal trust. He remained a J.P. until February 1407 without interruption. In January 1403 he and other jurors in a Cambridgeshire assize of novel disseisin were being threatened by John de Windsor esquire, the heir of Sir William de Windsor (Edward III's notorious Lieutenant of Ireland). But before the end of this year Allington had clearly achieved an assured position in the royal service: on 14 July 1403 he was formally appointed (during royal pleasure) as Treasurer of the Exchequer of Ireland, an office which he had already been occupying at the beginning of June.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-9, pp. 191, 212; *ibid.* 1399-1401, p. 6; *ibid.* 1441-6, p. 262. Robert Cary was the son and heir of Sir John Cary, a former Chief Baron of the Exchequer who had incurred forfeiture for treason and been banished to Ireland during the Merciless Parliament of 1388.

<sup>2</sup> *P.R.O. List of Escheators*, p. 12; *C.P.R.* 1399-1401, p. 557; *ibid.* 1401-5, pp. 128, 234, 272; J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry IV*, vol. III, p. 133 n.

This Irish appointment suggests that Allington had already joined the retinue of the King's second son, Thomas of Lancaster, who had been given the Lieutenancy of Ireland in the summer of 1401. Almost all that is known of Allington for the rest of Henry IV's reign relates to his connection with Thomas of Lancaster and to the latter's spasmodic interest in Ireland. In September 1403, not long after Allington's appointment to the Irish Exchequer, Thomas of Lancaster returned to England and, although confirmed in the Lieutenancy in March 1406 for a period of twelve years (subsequently restricted to a period of three years as from May 1408), did not again personally discharge his duty, except between August 1408 and March 1409. Allington may very well have returned to England with Thomas of Lancaster in the autumn of 1403, because in March 1404 he was called upon to act as a commissioner in Cambridgeshire to inquire into liability to pay the recently voted parliamentary subsidy on landed incomes and personal property and by the following month had been superseded as Treasurer of Ireland. He was confirmed in the Treasurership, however, on 14 July 1406, and from then on he presumably retained the office until June 1413, when Henry V certainly appointed a different Treasurer as well as a new Lieutenant of Ireland. In the first half of 1408, when Thomas of Lancaster was preparing for a visit to Ireland, Allington also made ready to go, and he clearly preceded or accompanied the Lieutenant across the Irish Sea in that year. On 28 January 1408 he took out royal 'letters of protection' for one year as going to Ireland with Thomas of Lancaster, on 18 May nominated four Cambridgeshire men as his attorneys in England, and on 1 June agreed to act himself as attorney in Ireland for John Norbury, Henry IV's first Treasurer of England (1399-1401) and an important supporter of the Lancastrian regime who also had his connections with the King's second son.<sup>1</sup> Allington's interest in the Irish administration was clearly dependent on his connection with Thomas of Lancaster.

How close and constant was this connection of Allington's with the King's second son is clear from the fact that by September 1407 he was one of his feoffees in the lordships of Burstwick and Skipsea and other estates in Holderness (Yorkshire), which had been forfeited first by Thomas of Woodstock in 1397 and then by the next grantee, Edward of Norwich (Duke of Aumâle and later Duke of York), in 1399, at which time they had been conferred on Thomas of Lancaster. When Thomas of Lancaster was killed in France in the battle of Baugé in March 1421, of the original and still continuing feoffees only Bishop Henry Beaufort of Winchester, Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, and William Allington were then alive; the committee of feoffees had, however, been expanded to include Ralph Lord Cromwell and others, sometime after Thomas of Lancaster's creation as Duke of Clarence in July 1412. In February 1423 the feoffees conveyed their estate for forty years to a syndicate (formed to repay the late duke's debts), with remainder to the Crown. This syndicate included none of the original trust. Nor did it include any of Clarence's executors. The latter, appointed on 10 July 1417, when the duke was about to go to France with Henry V's second great expeditionary force, included three of the original

<sup>1</sup> *C.P.R.* 1405-8, pp. 203, 212, 391, 433, 440; *C.F.R.* 1399-1405, p. 254.

feoffees, Henry Merston clerk, Sir John Colville, and William Allington, in addition to Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, and Sir John Pelham.<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Pelham, who was also an executor of Henry IV, had been Treasurer of England at the end of that King's reign when a party, headed by the Duke of Clarence and Archbishop Arundel, had successfully commandeered control of the royal authority. Clarence and his elder brother, the Prince of Wales, did not always see eye to eye. This Clarence group was then in opposition to a political *bloc*, headed by the Prince of Wales and his allies, the two surviving Beaufort brothers (Henry and Thomas), which had previously dominated the royal council from the end of 1408 to the end of 1411. And Clarence's marriage with the widow of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, had only helped to widen the breach between himself and the late earl's brothers. What immediate effect, if any, this breach in the solidarity of the royal family had upon Allington's career, it is impossible to determine. He was quite clearly intimately attached to Clarence and a member of his household staff. But nothing is known of him from the time of his proposed visit to Ireland with Clarence in 1408 until 1414, apart from a casual allusion in the *Close Rolls* to his being arbiter in August 1409 in a dispute regarding a house built at Newmarket about which the *headboroughs* of the town were in some way disturbed.<sup>2</sup>

After his accession in March 1413, Henry V's earlier quarrel with his next younger brother, the Duke of Clarence (who from now until his death in 1421 was heir-presumptive to the throne), was overlaid by other considerations regarding which the two brothers were in full agreement. Especially was this so from 1415, when the French war largely absorbed the energies of them both. Meanwhile, Allington acted as a J.P. in the borough of Cambridge from May 1414 until April 1415, as sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire from Michaelmas 1414 until December 1415, and from then until December 1416 as the royal escheator in the same two shires.<sup>3</sup> Clearly, he was *persona grata* with Henry V's administration.

Appointed executor to the Duke of Clarence on 10 July 1417, a fortnight before Henry V's second expeditionary force embarked for the conquest of Lower Normandy, Allington stayed on in England. And he became, at least for a time, a member of the royal council left behind to guide Henry V's younger brother John, Duke of Bedford (then *Custos Anglie*), in English affairs. Perhaps we may regard him as being in some sense the Duke of Clarence's representative at the council board. There is a record of his attending a council meeting on 20 October 1417.<sup>4</sup> On 28 November following, after an absence of over ten years from the commission, Allington was again appointed as a J.P. for Cambridgeshire; this time his commission lasted until July 1420. It may also be mentioned that in May 1418 he was appointed as a commissioner for sewers eastwards to the sea from a line joining Cambridge

<sup>1</sup> *C.P.R.* 1405-8, p. 363; *ibid.* 1422-9, p. 59; *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, iv, A 6967; *P.P.C.* vol. III, p. 31; *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, ed. E. F. Jacob, vol. II, pp. 293-6.

<sup>2</sup> *C.C.R.* 1409-13, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.* 1413-16, p. 417; *P.R.O. Lists and Indexes*, ix, *List of Sheriffs*, p. 13; *List of Escheators*, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *C.P.R.* 1416-22, p. 84; *Chichele Register*, *loc. cit.*; *P.P.C.* vol. II, p. 218.

and Spalding, and also as a commissioner of array in Cambridgeshire. On 12 July following, however, at the Lower Exchequer he was paid £40 (by assignment) for his expenses and passage-money (*passagium maris*), as being then about to proceed to France, by the King's order, *in presenciam suam*.<sup>1</sup> The moderate amount advanced suggests that his retinue was only a small and personal one, and, therefore, that there was perhaps no intention that he should engage in active service. It is more than likely that he was already earmarked for employment in some administrative capacity in what were soon to become the back-areas of the Conquest.

By this time Henry V's armies had overrun the whole of Lower Normandy, and his main force was threatening Rouen. The siege of the Norman capital began on 30 July 1418 and lasted till 19 January 1419. Certainly by 6 October 1418 William Allington was in France, for he was then appointed to share in the arraying of troops, including those of Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter. On 26 October 1418, and again on 22 January 1419, immediately after the taking of Rouen, he was made a member of an embassy empowered to treat with the French for a final peace and for an interview between the Dauphin and Henry V.<sup>2</sup> And then, in letters dated at Vernon-sur-Seine on 1 May 1419, Allington was appointed Treasurer-General and Receiver-General of Normandy (in succession to John Golafre, esquire). This was a post for which his previous administrative experience at Calais and in Ireland was perhaps thought to qualify him. A fortnight later he indentured to serve with a retinue of six men-at-arms and eighteen archers (later increased to eight and twenty-four). About this time he was made controller of the salt-garner at Vernon and also at Fécamp. What Allington's official salary now was, is not known. But on 12 April 1419, before his appointment, he had been granted certain houses at Harfleur, and on 18 December 1419, after a visit to England which ended with his return overseas in the household-retinue of the Duchess of Clarence, he was given an annual royal pension of £100 sterling. By January 1420 he also had possession of lands and lordships at Iville-sur-Seine and 'La Lounde', in the *vicomté* of Pont Audemer, given him by the Duke of Clarence.

As Treasurer of Normandy, Allington held an office which was exacting in its requirements. In August 1419 he had been authorized, for example, to array the different garrisons in the province every quarter or half-year, and in February 1420 he was ordered to receive homages in the King's name. He was also appointed to hear disputes between the Admiral of Normandy (the Earl of Suffolk) and any sea-captains. He rendered his accounts at the year-end in the Norman *Chambre des Comptes* at Caen, where he himself had his headquarters.<sup>3</sup> In the meantime, moreover, the scope of his administration had been enlarged with the extension of the conquest: on 24 January 1420, in letters dated at Caen, he was formally appointed Treasurer-General not only in the Norman Duchy but also elsewhere in France

<sup>1</sup> C.P.R. 1416-22, pp. 450; 200; 198; Exchequer, Issue Roll, P.R.O. E 403/636, mem. 9.

<sup>2</sup> D.K.R. vol. XLI, App. 717, 733.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. XLII, App. 318, 320, 325, 339, 344, 356, 372, 400; Exchequer, Accounts Various, P.R.O. E 101/187/14; T. Carte, *Catalogue des Rolles Gascons*, etc. vol. I, pp. 323, 333, 357; J. H. Wylie and W. T. Waugh, *The Reign of Henry V*, vol. III, p. 243 n.

throughout the *pays conquis*. And this office he held until the death of Henry V in August 1422. The importance of Allington's enlarged authority can be gauged from his salary of £4 *tournois*, or roughly 12 shillings sterling, per day (half as much again when riding abroad on duty), and also from the fact that his receipts for his last sixteen months of office amounted to some £58,325 and his expenditure to some £59,537 sterling.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to what Norman estates and property he had already obtained, Allington secured a house at Honfleur in August 1421 (at precisely the same time as he was authorized to negotiate sales of houses there to Englishmen wishing to obtain them), and in February 1422 he had a grant for life of the lands of Warranville in the *vicomté* of Caen.<sup>2</sup> By this latter date he had had for nearly a year an additional interest in Caen, the centre of his administration, having been granted by Henry V the custody of both the castle and town from the time of the death of the previous custodian, Sir Gilbert de Umfraville, who had been killed in the battle of Baugé on 22 March 1421, when the Duke of Clarence also lost his life.<sup>3</sup> As Treasurer-General in Normandy, Allington had also been involved in a certain amount of diplomatic business: on 7 July 1420 he had been made one of the commission appointed to treat for a reconsideration of the conditions of the English truce with the Duke of Brittany; on 10 February 1421, along with the Earl of Suffolk and the English *bailli* of the Cotentin, he had been made one of the conservators of this truce; and on 26 March following, four days after disaster befell Clarence at Baugé, he was appointed a commissioner to redress infractions of the truce.<sup>4</sup>

Under Allington's Treasurership, Normandy at any rate was financially stable and self-supporting, although it was able to make little contribution to the conduct of the war. And Allington remained Treasurer-General of Normandy and the 'Conquest' after the Duke of Clarence's death, sufficient indication that his administration was regarded as adequately efficient. There is, however, no record of Allington retaining his office after the death of Henry V at the end of August 1422, and the likelihood is that he soon returned to England after that event. He was certainly back in England by 13 February 1423, when he entered into recognizances for 1000 marks, the more important one of them being a form of guarantee to the widow of Sir William Argentine, whose two granddaughters Allington's two elder sons were soon to marry. And on the very next day (14 February 1423) he became sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire and occupied the office until November following.<sup>5</sup> During his term he was also appointed once more as a J.P. in Cambridgeshire (by patent of 7 July 1423), an office he now went on to hold continuously until 1439.<sup>6</sup> The year 1423 must have been one of great business for Allington: in addition to being sheriff, he must have been very preoccupied as a feoffee of the Clarence

<sup>1</sup> Exchequer, Foreign Accounts, P.R.O. E 364/61, mem. B; Wylie and Waugh, *op. cit.* vol. III, pp. 254-5.

<sup>2</sup> *D.K.R.* vol. XLII, pp. 416, 431.

<sup>3</sup> Foreign Accounts, *loc. cit.* mem. C.

<sup>4</sup> *D.K.R.* vol. XLII, pp. 375, 401, 412.

<sup>5</sup> *C.C.R.* 1422-9, p. 68; *List of Sheriffs*, p. 13 (but cf. *C.F.R.* 1422-30, p. 12).

<sup>6</sup> *C.P.R.* 1422-9, p. 560; *ibid.* 1429-36, p. 614; *ibid.* 1436-41, p. 579.

estates and as the late Duke's executor. (A royal pardon for Clarence's unlicensed enfeoffments was secured for a fine of 1000 marks on 12 February 1423, but probate of his will was not granted in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury until 23 November 1423.)<sup>1</sup>

If only Clarence had not perished in the foolhardy engagement at Baugé, now, after Henry V's death, and during the minority of Henry VI, as the eldest of the latter's uncles, he would have become either Protector of England or Regent of France. This would have meant an incalculable but potentially substantial advantage to William Allington. For the development of Allington's career, the death of Clarence was sheer tragedy. The great prizes were no longer in prospect. But clearly, even as things were, work as Clarence's feoffee and executor would keep Allington in touch with the government, and his experience might yet be turned to some account. What now were his relations with the Dowager Duchess of Clarence (Margaret) is not known, but her relations with the uncles and natural protectors of her sons by her first marriage (John and Edmund Beaufort), namely with Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas, Duke of Exeter, are likely to have been cordial. And it is possible that Allington's inclusion as a sworn member of the royal council on 25 January 1424, when the council established in 1422 was slightly changed in the second parliament of the reign, was due to Beaufort influence.<sup>2</sup> He had, however, another connection in the council in Ralph Lord Cromwell, whose feoffee in the castle and manor of Tatershall and other Lincolnshire property he had already become by 27 February 1422 when a royal writ licensed the conveyances which brought the trust into being.<sup>3</sup> In July 1424 Allington's fee as a member of the council was fixed at £40 a year (minus 4s. for each day of absence), the normal rate for one of the rank of esquire. There is record of his attendance at council meetings in February and July 1424, in February 1425, and in July 1426, and he was still a member in March 1427.<sup>4</sup>

During this time of his membership of the council William Allington was one of the group of kinsmen and friends of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon (the son of Allington's first lord of that same name and title, a cousin of the Dowager Duchess of Clarence, and a prisoner in French hands since the battle of Baugé in March 1421), who in July 1425 advanced money for his ransom. Sir John Cornwall, the earl's step-father, had taken prisoner Huntingdon's captor, the Comte de Vendôme, and was prepared to release him on certain conditions to allow the liberation of the earl. Allington's subscription to the ransom-fund was 200 marks. The earl was only one of a number of notables, not all of them Cambridgeshire men, with whom Allington was connected at that time. In December 1425 he appears as a feoffee of the young Walter Lord FitzWalter in respect of an acre of land and the advowson of the church

<sup>1</sup> *C.P.R. 1422-9*, p. 59; *P.P.C.* vol. III, p. 31; *Chichele Register*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Parl.* vol. IV, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> *C.P.R. 1422-9*, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Parl.* vol. V, p. 404; *P.P.C.* vol. III, pp. 155, 166, 199, 266; vol. VI, p. 312. In the Privy Seal Warrants for Issue there are authorizations dated 25 January 1425 and 25 January 1426 for the payment of Allington's fee as royal councillor at the Receipt of the Exchequer (P.R.O. E 404/41/162; E 404/44/170).

at Great Tey (Essex), and by July 1426 he was one of the feoffees of William Fleet, the tenant of the abbey of St Albans in the manor of Moor Park in Rickmansworth (Herts), who were then licensed to crenellate the manor-house, to empark 600 acres, and to have rights of warren.<sup>1</sup> His interests as feoffee-to-uses were later to include the Cambridgeshire estates belonging to William Fynderne at Weston (by 1431), and also those of Sir Walter de la Pole, a kinsman of the Earl of Suffolk, at Sawston and Darnford, the heir to which was to be (in 1435) De la Pole's grandson, Edmund Ingoldsthorpe, son-in-law of John Lord Tiptoft, a very influential member of the royal council in the first half of Henry VI's reign. (Sir Walter de la Pole had himself been a retainer of the Duke of Clarence in Henry IV's reign.) Allington also became (by 1434) a feoffee at Castle Combe (Wilts) for Sir John Fastolf, K.G., of Caister, a close connection of the Duke of Bedford during the whole of his regency in France, but formerly (in Henry IV's and Henry V's reigns) another member of Clarence's retinue.<sup>2</sup> From how far back these various private connections of Allington's date, it is not possible to say, but he had been connected with Sir Walter de la Pole as early as 1414, and in June 1420 Sir John Ingoldsthorpe (whose son married Sir Walter's daughter) had made him one of his executors. A former Usher of the Chamber to Henry IV and Henry V, Sir William Asenhill, Ingoldsthorpe's brother-in-law, was one of Allington's co-executors of the Ingoldsthorpe will. It was Sir William Asenhill and Sir Walter de la Pole who were chosen as knights of the shire for Cambridgeshire to the parliament of 1423-4, when Allington, as sheriff, conducted the election.<sup>3</sup>

While still a member of the royal council, William Allington was appointed on 23 July 1426 to act as a royal commissioner for the raising of Crown loans in Cambridgeshire, and almost the same commissioners were reappointed for this purpose on 13 May 1428. At the time of this last commission Allington was again sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire; he acted from 7 November 1427 to 4 November 1428. On 28 April 1429 he was commissioned to inquire into concealment of royal feudal revenues and other sources of income in Cambridgeshire.<sup>4</sup> It was to the next parliament after this that, along with Sir William Asenhill, his former fellow-executor to Sir John Ingoldsthorpe, Allington was himself elected as knight of the shire for Cambridgeshire, the election being held by Sir Walter de la Pole, his successor as sheriff. Rather surprisingly, it is the only occasion on which Allington so served, and he must have been by now at least in his middle-fifties. What is even more surprising is that the Commons elected him as their Speaker,<sup>5</sup> especially because there were as many as four ex-Speakers among them, including the Speaker of the previous parliament. Whether Allington was still even technically a member of the royal council is doubtful. He was certainly no longer an attender of its

<sup>1</sup> *C.C.R.* 1422-9, pp. 270; 261; *C.P.R.* 1422-9, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> *C.C.R.* 1429-35, pp. 185, 340; *C.P.R.* 1422-9, pp. 465; 368.

<sup>3</sup> *C.C.R.* 1413-19, p. 195; W. M. Palmer, 'History of the Parish of Burgh Green', *Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, *8vo Proc.* vol. LIV, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> *C.P.R.* 1422-9, pp. 355, 482, 552; *List of Sheriffs*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Rot. Parl.* vol. IV, p. 336.

meetings. But his conciliar experience between at any rate 1424 and 1427 is likely to have now stood him in good stead.

The parliament met at Westminster on 22 September 1429, and its first session lasted until 20 December; it was then prorogued to 14 January 1430, from when it sat until 23 February. The outcome of the two sessions was of considerable importance. The English conquest in France was imperilled by the French recovery first set in motion by Joan of Arc with her relief of Orleans, and it was thought needful for Henry VI to be crowned as King of France to help balance the effect of this new turn of events and of the coronation of Charles VII. But Henry must first be crowned in England. And so he was, in the middle of the first session of this parliament, on 6 November. By this act the troublesome Protectorship of the Duke of Gloucester came to an end, the actual exercise of the royal authority still remaining vested in the council. An attack that was made at this time on Cardinal Beaufort, one of the several clashes in these years between Gloucester and his uncle, faded out when, near the end of the first parliamentary session (18 December), the Lords resolved that, although a cardinal and legate of the Roman See, Beaufort should not merely be admitted to membership of the royal council but should even be urged to attend its meetings (except when Anglo-papal issues were on hand). The Commons endorsed the Lords' view of the situation on 20 December when, in making their grant of a second tenth and fifteenth (payable at Christmas 1430), additional to one already granted on 12 December (and due on 14 January 1430), they prefaced it with a special recommendation of the Cardinal of England. It was the least they could do: Beaufort's diversion of the English forces from his Crusade in Bohemia in the previous summer to the help of the Duke of Bedford in France, had lost the Cardinal much credit at the Roman Curia. So, in another way, had his loans to the Crown cost him dearly: in the last year or so alone they had run to nearly £24,000. Knowing Allington's background, we may suspect that as Speaker he had had some share in this recommendation of the Lower House. The Commons could well afford their own extravagance in conceding a double subsidy, for these grants were the first grants of direct taxation of the regular sort to be made in parliament for eight years. Tunnage and poundage were renewed merely until the next parliament. In the second session, however, the wool-subsidy was continued until November 1433, and the time for the payment of the second tenth and fifteenth was advanced to 18 November 1430. In what they probably regarded as an all-out effort to save the situation in France, now so seriously endangered, the Commons had risen to the occasion in their traditional role of grantors of taxes. The young King was at least enabled by their votes to leave England in April 1430, for his crowning in his mother's country, with a company fit to answer the requirements of protocol, and to some extent fit to meet the immediate needs of the military situation.

Allington's former headship of the financial administration of Normandy and the other English conquests in France may well have been his most important single qualification for the Speaker's office. He is also likely to have had a personal knowledge of the circumstances of the recent disputed parliamentary election in Hunting-

donshire, where the sheriff, Sir Walter de la Pole, a friend of his, had been prevailed upon to hold a second election on the grounds that the first had been subjected to undue pressure by intruders from Bedfordshire. This disputed or amended election, together with other disputed elections in Buckinghamshire and Cumberland, may well have been behind one of the most important of the petitions which the Commons put forward in this parliament: that which resulted in the Statute defining for the first time the electorates of the counties as their forty-shilling freeholders, a Statute that was to be in force for the next four centuries.<sup>1</sup> Another successful petition submitted by the Commons in this parliament was one which drew attention to cases of blackmail by threats and deeds of arson in the borough and county of Cambridge and also in Essex, and which requested that such acts be henceforward regarded as treasonable. Another petition put the blame for these occurrences on Irish, Welsh, and Scottish scholars at the University of Cambridge, but this was not approved by the King's Council.

Himself from Cambridgeshire, the Speaker quite possibly had a hand in these complaints. He was a J.P. in the county and, in the second session of the parliament, was made a J.P. in the borough of Cambridge, not for the first time. (He held this additional office from 28 January 1430 to 18 February 1432.) Although he was never again to be knight of the shire, he continued to serve on local commissions. On 6 March 1430 he was once more appointed a commissioner for raising Crown loans, in Huntingdonshire as well as in Cambridgeshire, the creditors' security being the recently voted parliamentary subsidy. A year or so later, on 26 March 1431, he was again appointed a loan-commissioner in both these counties, and a few days afterwards, on 12 April, he was put on the inquiry in Cambridgeshire into liability to contribute to the special aid of £1 per knight's fee (or £20 of annual rent) voted in the parliament of January 1431. In the middle of the following month, on 14 May 1431, he headed the witness-list of an important enfeoffment of Cambridgeshire and Middlesex estates by John Lord Tiptoft.<sup>2</sup>

The information about William Allington, however, now begins to thin out, and it is sometimes difficult to sort what little evidence there is into what relates to him and what relates to his elder son, another William. It is very likely that the five Breton prisoners-of-war from St Malo who on 12 December 1431 were given a safe-conduct to return home to collect their ransoms for payment to William Allington, were the son's and not the father's prisoners. It was certainly the younger William who sat for Cambridgeshire in the 1433 parliament. But it is the father who is likely to have been the Crown-loan commissioner in the county appointed in February 1434. In May following, William senior and his younger son Robert, both described as 'of Horseheath', were among the Cambridgeshire notables sworn to keep the King's peace and not 'maintain' those who infringed it, William junior (as ex-knight of the shire) being a commissioner to receive the oaths (along with the Bishop of Ely and Lord Tiptoft). It was William senior who in January 1436 is likely to have

<sup>1</sup> J. S. Roskell, *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422*, pp. 16-20.

<sup>2</sup> *C.P.R. 1429-36*, pp. 614; 51, 125, 135. *H.M.C. Report, MSS. of the Duke of Rutland*, vol. iv, pp. 86-7.

been both a commissioner of array in Cambridgeshire and a commissioner for the assessment there of a parliamentary tax on landed income, and it was also apparently he who in the following month was the recipient of a privy seal writ from the council asking for a loan of £40 towards the equipment of an army which was to be sent across the Channel under the command of the Duke of York.<sup>1</sup> It was clearly William senior who was still being appointed J.P. in Cambridgeshire in the commissions of March 1437 and of March and July 1439 (for the William Allington who was appointed J.P. in November 1439 is designated 'junior'). On the other hand, it was certainly the Speaker's son who was escheator in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1436-7, sheriff in the next year, and knight of the shire in the parliaments of 1437 and 1439-40. With his exclusion from the commission of the peace in November 1439, William Allington senior drops right out of sight, and all we know of him afterwards is that he died on 19 October 1446 and was buried at Horseheath, where his 'brass' still describes him as having been once Treasurer of Ireland and Treasurer of Normandy.<sup>2</sup>

Members of William Allington's family remained locally influential, although for a time no more than that. His son and heir, William, was sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire for a second time in 1450-1 and was a J.P. in Cambridgeshire from 1439 continuously until 1458, and from 1455 to his death in 1459 in Suffolk as well. This younger William, however, only survived his father by thirteen years, and his career never came to much. He had probably grown up in his father's shadow. Although he appears to have seen active service in the French war, he achieved no distinction there, not that this was very easy to do when ground in France was being more or less steadily lost. Having a bigger estate and income than his father, he was probably more easy-going. He at least kept safe what he had. But he made little impact. He was content to let his two sons pick up brides in local Cambridgeshire families, respectably well-off but not spectacular in any way. It was William, the younger of these sons, who became Speaker in two of Edward IV's parliaments, nearly half a century after his grandfather's Speakership in 1429.

<sup>1</sup> *C.P.R.* 1429-36, pp. 355, 385, 523; *C.F.R.* 1430-7, p. 261; *P.P.C.* vol. iv, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* n.s. vol. xli, pp. 2, 4, 50.

# WILLIAM ALLINGTON OF BOTTISHAM, SPEAKER IN THE PARLIAMENTS OF 1472-5 AND 1478

PAPER II

J. S. ROSKELL

WILLIAM ALLINGTON, Speaker in the parliaments of 1472-5 and 1478,<sup>1</sup> was the younger son of William Allington and his wife Elizabeth, who was the elder granddaughter and eventual sole heir of Sir William Argentine, and a grandson of William Allington, Speaker in 1429. His elder brother, John Allington of Horseheath, who came into the major part of the Allington estates in Cambridgeshire and the Argentine properties in Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Suffolk, did not sit in parliament (so far as is known), but he was royal escheator in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1447-8 (the year after his grandfather's death) and was Edward IV's first sheriff in these counties in 1461. Aged only thirty-one at his father's death in 1459, John had already shown Yorkist sympathies and, at the time of his receiving a royal pardon in 1455, was one of the Duke of York's retainers, enjoying an annuity of 10 marks from the honour of Clare.<sup>2</sup> He was well connected through his marriage with Mary, daughter of Laurence Cheyne of Fen Ditton and Long Stanton (Cambs): Mary's sister, Elizabeth, was first wife to Sir John Say of Broxbourne (Herts), Speaker for the Commons in the parliaments of February 1449, 1463, and 1467, Under-Treasurer of England in 1455-6, 1461-4, and 1475-8, and sometime Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. John Allington was Say's feoffee in 1478.<sup>3</sup>

William Allington of Bottisham, John's younger brother, also married into a Cambridgeshire family, one of lesser social standing than the Cheynes but, nevertheless, of some solidity and influence. His wedding with Joan, one of the three daughters of John Anstey senior of Stow-cum-Quy, his near neighbour and a lawyer like himself, took place in the chapel of the manor of Holme Hall in that parish, presumably shortly after 9 January 1457, when William Grey, Bishop of Ely, issued a licence for the purpose.<sup>4</sup> John Anstey senior had been sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1430-1, escheator in 1433-4, and knight of the shire for Cambridgeshire in 1455-6, and was a J.P. of the *quorum* in Cambridgeshire from 1433 to within a

For list of abbreviations see paper I, p. 30.

<sup>1</sup> *Official Return of Members of Parliament*, vol. I, pp. 357, 360, 363; *Rot. Parl.* vol. VI, pp. 4, 168.

<sup>2</sup> Catherine E. Parsons, 'Horseheath Hall and its Owners', *Proc. C.A.S.* n.s. vol. XLI, pp. 204 ff.

<sup>3</sup> J. E. Cussans, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 51; *C.C.R. 1476-85*, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> G. Lipscomb, *op. cit.* vol. IV, p. 105; *Notes and Queries*, 13th series, vol. VI, p. 26; *The Genealogist*, n.s. vol. XIX, p. 160; E. Hailstone, *op. cit.* pp. 108 ff.

year of his death in August 1460. His son and heir, Allington's wife's brother, John Anstey junior, another lawyer, already before his father's death had served twice as knight of the shire (in 1445-6 and 1450-1), and he sat twice more (in 1461-2 and 1467-8); in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire he was sheriff in 1471-2 and escheator in 1473-4; and he was bailiff of the liberty of all the Bishop of Ely's lordships in these counties outside the Isle of Ely from 1453 to his death in 1477.<sup>1</sup> Joan Anstey also had two sisters: Mary, wife of one Henry Langley, and Elizabeth, wife of the William Tailard of Diddington (Huntingdonshire) who was a J.P. of the *quorum* in Huntingdonshire from 1461 to his death in 1505, knight of the shire for Huntingdonshire in 1467-8 and 1472-5, and sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1487-8.<sup>2</sup>

It was about the time of his marriage that William Allington the younger (as he then was) received his first royal commission, joining his father as a J.P. in Cambridgeshire on 1 July 1457. This was an appointment which he may have owed to his wife's family's and his own connection with William Grey, Bishop of Ely, the patron of scholars and a friend of the politically still neutral Archbishop Bourchier, whom Grey had followed in this fenland diocese in 1454. A week later Allington was also made a J.P. in the borough of Cambridge. Both he and his father, on 17 December 1457, were made commissioners for dividing out among the Cambridgeshire hundreds and vills the responsibility for mustering some 300 archers, the county's share of a force previously sanctioned for royal service in the Reading parliament of 1453. After another year the father ceased to be a J.P., but William junior continued to be reappointed until, in July 1459 (about the time of his father's death), he also was omitted.<sup>3</sup> Nothing of a special political significance need be read into this, because Allington junior was then escheator for Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. (He acted from 7 November 1458 to 7 November 1459,<sup>4</sup> being in office when his father died.) And in February 1460, when the Lancastrians were seemingly in complete control, he was reappointed by them as a J.P. in the borough of Cambridge. That he was clearly not active as a Lancastrian partisan at this time of commotion is indicated, however, by the fact that it was the Yorkists who reappointed him to the commission of the peace for the county and even gave him a place on the *quorum* of the bench on 26 August 1460, that is, after the Yorkists' recent victory at Northampton had placed the administration of the country at their disposal. Allington was to be dropped from the commissions of the peace for county and borough alike during the temporary Lancastrian 'restoration' of 1470-1. Otherwise he served on both commissions, continuously, from 1460 until his death in 1479.<sup>5</sup>

It was in all probability the Lancastrians' military failures in the summer of 1460 which disposed William Allington to assume a less indifferent attitude to political

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, Biographies*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 833-4.

<sup>3</sup> *C.P.R. 1452-61*, pp. 662; 407.

<sup>4</sup> *P.R.O. List of Escheators*, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *C.P.R. 1452-61*, p. 662; *ibid. 1461-7*, pp. 560-1; *ibid. 1467-77*, p. 609; *ibid. 1477-85*, p. 555.

affairs. The pronounced partiality of his elder brother John is also likely to have been an important factor. For that John was a Yorkist partisan, there can be little doubt: he was appointed by Edward IV on 6 March 1461 to be the first sheriff of his reign in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.<sup>1</sup> Certainly Edward IV's first regnal year saw William Allington placed on a number of local royal commissions, apart from his commissions of the peace in Cambridgeshire and the county town. On 18 June 1461 he was associated with the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge and others in a commission ordered to inquire into the narrowing and obstruction of the River Cam, as a result of which the great bridge in Cambridge was being damaged by the flow of water, and to see that the proper authorities undertook repairs.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the year, by patent of 1 December, he was put on a commission of oyer and terminer following a complaint by Barnwell Priory that its villeins at Chesterton were repudiating their bondage; and when, two months later, this commission was enlarged to include the Bishop of Ely and the Earl of Worcester, Allington continued to serve.<sup>3</sup> On 12 February 1462 he was also made a commissioner for sewers in south and south-east Essex.<sup>4</sup>

Early in March 1462 Edward IV himself was at Cambridge for a few days, part of his programme of watching the east coast in case of a Lancastrian landing. The opportunity was taken by some of the colleges to straighten out their business with the Crown. Corpus Christi got its royal charters confirmed, and the Master's accounts, which contain a note of a fee of 6s. 8d. already paid to Allington in 1459 for drawing an acquittance in a transaction with Barnwell Priory, again mention his employment, presumably as legal counsel, when the College now negotiated with the Chief Baron of the Exchequer and other members of the royal Council.<sup>5</sup> On 5 March, the Provost of King's College, Henry VI's new foundation which just now was precariously situated and uncomfortable about the consequences of Henry's deposition, appeared before a select committee which comprised Lord Hastings (the King's Chamberlain), Sir John Scot (Controller of the Royal Household), Master Richard Scrope (the Chancellor of the University), Dr Thomas Turney and William Allington. The purpose of this meeting was to acknowledge the Provost's quitclaim (made a week before) releasing to the Bridgettine nunnery of Syon (near Richmond) the priory of St Michael's Mount in Cornwall and other alien priory estates bestowed upon the College by the late King.<sup>6</sup>

There is some evidence to suggest that Allington had a connection with his Bishop, William Grey, who in 1469 was to become Treasurer of England for a short time. On 6 May 1462, for example, he stood surety for Grey when the latter superseded the Bishop of Carlisle in the right to farm for the next ten years the Cambridgeshire manor of Isleham, an entailed estate which had belonged to the posthumously attainted Lancastrian Earl of Northumberland and was now in the King's hands.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *List of Sheriffs* (P.R.O. *Lists and Indexes*, no. IX), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *C.P.R.* 1461-7, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> *C.P.R.* 1461-7, p. 177; *C.C.R.* 1461-8, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* n.s. vol. XVI, pp. 81 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *C.F.R.* 1461-71, p. 80.

Two months later, on 5 July, Allington was party with three local men, including his brother-in-law, John Anstey (the Bishop of Ely's bailiff), to a series of recognizances undertaking payment of £160 to one Thomas Bray, esquire of Colchester. At the end of August following, he and a London stockfishmonger received a grant of lands in Fingringhoe (Essex) belonging to a mariner of that place, along with all his personalty.<sup>1</sup> But most of these activities relate to private business, and little that has a bearing on public affairs is known of William Allington until after Edward IV's restoration in 1471, following the brief Lancastrian Readeption.

Allington continued to be a J.P. in the county and borough of Cambridge all through the first period of Edward IV's reign, and he was appointed in August 1463 to a general oyer and terminer in the shire.<sup>2</sup> On 11 November 1464 he was appointed a J.P. in Huntingdonshire as well, a commission which he held down to the Lancastrian Readeption.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that in the meantime he had been elected for Cambridgeshire to the 1461-2 parliament, when his brother was responsible as sheriff for the conduct of the local elections. But the Cambridgeshire returns have been lost for both that parliament and the next (the 1463-5 parliament), and, so far as is known for sure, William Allington's election to the parliament which sat in June and July 1467 and in May and June 1468 was his first. To this third of Edward IV's parliaments, his brother-in-law, John Anstey, went up as shire-knight from their own county of Cambridge (Allington himself being present at the hustings and attesting the indenture of return), and their brother-in-law, William Tailard, sat for Huntingdonshire. But Allington himself, along with a rising Lincolnshire lawyer and later Speaker, Thomas FitzWilliam of Louth, had to be content with being returned for the borough of Plympton in Devon.

Little is known of William Allington's doings during the period of rising hostility between the new Court party of the Wydevilles and Herberts and the house of Neville, preceding Henry VI's brief restoration in 1470-1. In March 1468 Allington and his brother were put on a royal inquiry into escapes of felons from gaols in Cambridgeshire.<sup>4</sup> In Easter term following, he and his wife were associated with her sisters and their husbands as plaintiffs in the Court of Common Bench against Sir Thomas Tyrell, an ex-Lancastrian, in a plea relating to the manor of Maudelyn (Bucks).<sup>5</sup> On 5 June 1470 (at a time when the great Earl of Warwick and his son-in-law George, Duke of Clarence, Edward IV's next younger brother, had already fled to France and were preparing to ally themselves with Margaret of Anjou in order to effect a Lancastrian restoration), Edmund Grey, Earl of Kent, made Allington one of his feoffees in the Norfolk manor of Saxthorp.<sup>6</sup> Grey's affiliations were with the new Court party, his eldest son having married into the family of Edward IV's Queen, the Wydevilles. The connection between the Earl of Kent and Allington might go some way to explain the latter's identification with the party of the King's

<sup>1</sup> *C.C.R.* 1461-8, pp. 138, 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 565.

<sup>3</sup> *The Genealogist*, n.s. vol. XIX, p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> H.M.C. Report, *MSS. of Marquess of Lothian at Blickling Hall, Norfolk*, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> *C.P.R.* 1461-7, p. 281.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 1467-77, p. 101.

friends. On the other hand, Allington's connection with the Court party may well have resulted from his relations with Bishop Grey of Ely who was Treasurer of England from October 1469 until his dismissal by the Earl of Warwick in 1470. It is possible that Allington shared Edward IV's brief exile in Flanders during Henry VI's restoration in 1470-1 (and certainly he was dropped from his commissions of the peace in both Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire).<sup>1</sup> If this was so, it would in itself account for the rapidly accelerated growth of Allington's influence in Court circles in the few years of life that remained to him, after Edward IV had regained his throne.

Edward IV's military victories at Barnet on 14 April and at Tewkesbury on 4 May 1471 ended the Lancastrian Readeption, the sole effect of the Bastard of Fauconberge's attempt on London later in May being to seal the personal fate of Henry of Windsor. It was doubtless in anticipation of trouble in this direction, and probably also in the north where the Nevilles had been so formidably strong, that commissions of array had been issued by Edward IV on 11 May, a week after the battle of Tewkesbury; Allington was appointed to act on such commissions in both Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.<sup>2</sup> On 15 July following, he was also included in a royal commission, set up under the new Treasurer (the Earl of Essex), to inquire into subsidiary rebel movements in Essex, to punish offenders themselves or hand them over to the Constable of England (Richard, Duke of Gloucester), and to sequester their land and other property to the King's use.<sup>3</sup> Allington was reintroduced to the commission of the peace in the borough of Cambridge on 4 November 1471.<sup>4</sup> And a week later he was appointed as Controller of the wool customs and of tunnage and poundage in the port of Bishop's Lynn,<sup>5</sup> a post which he continued to hold until his death. In March and May 1472, but now in anticipation of trouble from the French and from Hanseatic merchants, he was again made a commissioner of array, respectively in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk.<sup>6</sup>

In the summer of 1472, in spite of the gathering clouds of discontent between the King's brothers of Clarence and Gloucester, Edward IV and his Council regarded the domestic situation as safe enough to allow the meeting of parliament, the first Yorkist parliament for over four years. On 10 September Allington was elected at Cambridge as knight of the shire along with Sir Thomas Grey of Crawdon, a nephew and the overseer of the lands of Bishop Grey of Ely. The sheriff who held the county court was the bishop's bailiff, Allington's brother-in-law, John Anstey, who two days later also conducted the Huntingdonshire elections, when their brother-in-law, William Taylard of Waresley, was elected shire-knight.<sup>7</sup>

Parliament met on 6 October 1472. On the following day the Commons informed the acting-Chancellor that they had chosen William Allington as their Speaker. On 8 October he was presented to the King, who formally accepted his election, and he

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Wedgwood, *op. cit.* *Biographies*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.* 1467-77, p. 287.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 268.

<sup>7</sup> J. C. Wedgwood, *op. cit.* *Register*, pp. 410, 413.

<sup>2</sup> *C.P.R.* 1467-77, p. 285.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 609.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 349, 353.

then made the customary excuse and protestation.<sup>1</sup> Five days later, on the Feast of Edward the Confessor, Allington declared before the King and Lords some of the Commons' views, praising the Queen's firmness of demeanour during the King's exile when, in the Westminster sanctuary, she had given birth to her first son, Edward (an event which, said the Speaker, had afforded *grete joy and suerty to this . . . londe*), and also recommending the conduct of the King's brothers, of the Earl of Rivers (the Queen's brother) and Lord Hastings, of those who had gone into exile with the King, of those who had in any way suffered from the Lancastrian 'restoration', and also of the acting-Chancellor (John Alcock, Bishop of Rochester). He also saw fit to praise Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, for the great humanity and kindness which this Flemish nobleman, who was now to be created Earl of Winchester, had lately shown to the King in Holland and Flanders. Now in England as Charles the Bold's envoy, Gruthuyse was to act as a sort of liaison-officer in the negotiations which were already going forward to complete an Anglo-Burgundian offensive alliance against France. Allington and the Commons were pressed to grant funds for an aggressive war and urged not to let slip the opportunity of lessening the danger at home from disbanded soldiers and of recovering, in such favourable circumstances overseas, the King's ancestral Duchies of Normandy and Guienne and the French Crown.<sup>2</sup> When the first session of this parliament ended on 30 November 1472 the Commons had made a preliminary grant of the service of 13,000 archers for a year at a daily rate of pay of 6*d.* each. For their provision, however, they had voted no more than a special tax of a tenth on all property and income (which the Lords confirmed), and even this was voted on condition that the tax should be repaid if no expedition had set out by Michaelmas 1474.

The business of this first session of the parliament had included a ratification by its authority of the royal heir-apparent's titles of Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester (already given him in June 1471) and also an Act confirming his endowment with the Duchy of Cornwall (as from Michaelmas 1472). One of the provisos inserted in the latter Act included one for the Speaker himself: it undertook that he should not be prejudiced regarding any grant or office held by him in the Duchy.<sup>3</sup> Clearly, Allington's interest was already engaged in this most important part of the infant Prince Edward's appanage. Equally clearly, he was being drawn into the orbit of the Queen's very influential family, the Wydevilles. For shortly after parliament came together again after the Christmas recess, namely on 20 February 1473, an imposing group of twenty-five, including the Queen, the King's two brothers, the Queen's brother (the Earl of Rivers), the Chancellor of England and three other bishops, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Hastings (the King's Chamberlain), two royal judges, and other lords and notables, including members of the King's Council and the young Prince of Wales's own Chancellor and Chamberlain, to which list Speaker Allington

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Parl.* vol. vi, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature of the Fifteenth Century*, App. xv, p. 382; *The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury* (R.S.), ed. J. B. Sheppard, vol. III, pp. 274-85.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Parl.* vol. vi, p. 16a.

himself must be added, were appointed to be the Prince's Tutors and Councillors until he reached the age of fourteen. They were to have authority to control his estates in Wales, the Duchy of Cornwall, Cheshire and Flintshire.<sup>1</sup> Four days later, along with other members of the Prince's Council, Allington was appointed to join the commissions of the peace in the Welsh border shires of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire.<sup>2</sup> These preparations were in anticipation of an attempt that was to be made in the early spring to quell the disturbed state of the Marches by the holding of a special Assize. This was meant to be an answer to a parliamentary petition in which had been expressed the fear that those who had committed felonies in the March would go unpunished, unless the King came in person or sent *grete myght and power*. The Prince of Wales himself was now to set up permanent household at Ludlow and represent the royal authority in the Marches. Meanwhile, the second session of the parliament had witnessed an important financial arrangement with the Calais Staplers (for the payment of their Crown debts out of the wool-dues) and also a replacement of the special income-tax of the first session by a subsidy of the usual kind, leviable by midsummer but on the same conditions as before.

When, after sitting for just two months, parliament was again prorogued on 8 April 1473, Allington stayed with Edward IV and accompanied him in his progresses in the Midlands between May and September. One object of these was to stifle unrest that was at least partly a result of the conflicting ambitions of the royal dukes (Clarence and Gloucester). On 5 December following, the Speaker was to be granted by the King 40 marks in ready money at the Lower Exchequer in view of the expenses he had borne *in attending upon us this somer season laste passed in the counties of Leicester, Notyngham, Derby, Stafford, Salop, Hereford, and the Marches of Wales*.<sup>3</sup> Already the special sessions of oyer and terminer in the Marches had begun, the jurors at Hereford emphasizing to the commissioners their fear of making indictments without *the especiall comfort of the Kynges goode grace and assistance of the Lordes there present*, and undertaking to proceed only when given assurances that those whom they indicted would not lightly be given their liberty. These promises were confirmed when Edward IV himself visited Hereford and, to prevent any covert acquittals, in the presence of the jurors himself ordered Allington (in his capacity as a J.P. in the county) to take the records of the indictments for delivery to the King's Bench. All this came out in a further parliamentary petition, presumably presented in the autumn (1473) session of parliament. This petition complained that, in spite of what had been formerly agreed, at a *prive cessions* held at Ross-on-Wye on 28 October before justices of gaol delivery, twenty-three persons indicted of felony had secretly

<sup>1</sup> C.P.R. 1467-77, p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 615-16, 628, 636. Allington was to serve as J.P. in Gloucestershire from 24 February 1473 to 24 November 1474; in Herefordshire from 24 February to 5 December 1473 and from 12 May 1474 to 19 August 1475; in Worcestershire from 24 February to 16 November 1473 and from 12 May to 26 November 1474; in Shropshire from 24 February to 8 November 1473 and from 12 May to 5 August 1474.

<sup>3</sup> P.R.O. Privy Seal warrants for issue, E 404/75/3, no. 52.

been arraigned on bills remaining with the clerk of the peace and there and then acquitted; the petition successfully asked for these acquittals to be annulled by parliamentary authority and for process to be entered in the King's Bench.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime, Speaker Allington, along with John Sulyard, a lawyer of Wetherden (Suffolk), parliamentary burgess for Hindon (Wilts) in the present parliament and one of the recently created members of the Council of the Prince of Wales, had been appointed on 5 July 1473 by their fellow-councillor, Anthony Wydeville, Earl of Rivers, the Queen's eldest brother and the Prince of Wales's Governor, acting in his capacity as Chief Butler of England, to serve as his deputies in the port of Ipswich.<sup>2</sup> And on 18 August, in patents issued at Lichfield, Allington and his brother John were put on a commission to inquire in Cambridgeshire into lapses of certain financial rights of the Crown; the commissioners here and elsewhere were to report to the King's Council a week after parliament was due to come together again.<sup>3</sup>

The third session of the parliament in which Allington occupied the Speakership began on 6 October 1473 and lasted for nearly ten weeks, until 13 December. No progress had been made with the projected expedition to France, and the main public business of the session was the passage of a Resumption Act and parliament's approval of a treaty with the merchants of the Hanseatic League that had recently been concluded at Utrecht.

In the course of this third session, Allington was involved in a private transaction arising out of a debt of £1000, contracted by Isabel, widow of John Neville, Marquis of Montagu, with William Parker, a London tailor, which resulted in a threefold indenture being drawn up on 1 November. Just over a year after the death of her husband at the battle of Barnet, the Marchioness married Sir William Norreys, a Knight of the Body to Edward IV. For the repayment of the debt and £20 court costs, it was now agreed that a party of feoffees, of which Chief Justice Billing, the Master of the Rolls, and William Allington were among the members, should recover (by legal process) certain manors and lands in Cambridgeshire and elsewhere and then lease them for life to the Marchioness's mother, a sister of the late Earl of Worcester; after the mother's death, the feoffees were to have possession to the use of the creditor, Parker, for a term of six-and-a-half years. This period, it was believed, would see the debt and costs repaid, and when this result had been achieved the feoffees were to entail the estates on the Marchioness and her body's heirs. If the Marchioness were to die before this entail could be created, then her second husband, Norreys, was to have a life interest with remainder to his wife's heirs under the entail.<sup>4</sup>

The parliamentary session was almost over when, on 10 December 1473, Allington was reappointed to the Cambridgeshire commission of the peace, an office which he was now to hold until his death, and then, on the very last day of the session, 13 December, he was for the first time made a J.P. in Suffolk, a commission which he retained until November 1475.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Parl.* vol. vi, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *C.P.R.* 1467-77, p. 410.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 406.

<sup>4</sup> *C.C.R.* 1468-76, p. 329.

<sup>5</sup> *C.P.R.* 1467-77, pp. 609, 631.

The fourth session of the parliament in which Allington exercised his first Speakership began on 20 January 1474. Its proceedings were vitiated by uncertainty about Burgundy's attitude to the proposed English attack on France, and the session lasted less than a fortnight. On 9 May following, parliament began its fifth session. This lasted until Whitsuntide. Then, after a short break, parliament reassembled for its sixth session on 6 June and sat for six weeks, until 18 July. After it had been made clear to them that the invasion of France would have to be put off for another year, the Commons then made a grant of a tenth and fifteenth, instead of their previous grant of April 1473 (which had not yet been collected), plus a supplemental subsidy of £51,147 odd to meet the full costs of the force of 13,000 archers originally voted in November 1472. The tax was to be raised in 1475, half at midsummer, half at Martinmas; the proceeds were not to be turned over to the King until he was ready to cross to France, but the time by which he must so qualify for the grant was extended to midsummer 1476. The new Chancellor, Bishop Rotherham of Lincoln, then prorogued the parliament. But before he did so, he thanked the Commons, as well he might: 'the whole amount voted in the parliament was nearly equal to four subsidies to be raised in three years; more than Edward had received in all the previous years of his reign' (Ramsay). Thus supplied with the sinews of war, the King straightway (before the end of July 1474) committed himself with the Duke of Burgundy's embassy in London to an invasion of France in the following spring.

Edward IV clearly realized the Speaker's part in persuading the Commons to accept these financial burdens, and on 16 July 1474 (two days before the end of this sixth session) a privy seal warrant was issued authorizing the Lower Exchequer to pay Allington £100 *in redy money* on sight of it, on the ground that he *hath doon his true and due diligence in awaityng and attending upon our . . . parlement to his grete costis, charges, and expenses* without fees, wages, or other rewards; the warrant further provided that he should have *at thende of the said parlement an othir £100 withouten prest or eny othir charge to be sette upon him, . . . eny statute, act, ordenance, or restraint to the contrary notwithstanding*. Whether Allington was able to lay hands on all that was so made due to him is perhaps doubtful: his warrant of privy seal was endorsed by the Under-Treasurer (Sir John Say, himself a former Speaker) with only two notes of payment and they for no more than £20 and 20 marks respectively.<sup>1</sup>

Parliament came together again on 23 January 1475 for its seventh and what proved to be its last session. An indenture between Thomas Daniel, esquire, and William Hussey of Sleaford, the King's Attorney-General, drawn up on 12 March, two days before parliament was dissolved, illustrates, *inter alia*, the important measure of control over the promotion of private bills that the Speaker was able to exercise at this time. Formerly an Esquire of the Body to Henry VI, a follower of the Duke of Suffolk at the time of his fall in 1450, and a thoroughgoing Lancastrian who had also taken an active part at the Coventry parliament of 1459, Daniel had fought against Edward IV at Towton and accordingly had incurred forfeiture by Act of Attainder in the first Yorkist parliament of 1461-2. Sometime during the parliament

<sup>1</sup> Privy Seal warrants for issue, P.R.O. E 404/75/4, no. 29.

of 1472-5 but before the summer session of 1474, Daniel and Hussey agreed that if Hussey got Daniel's attainder annulled (and procured him a grant of certain manors in Ireland) he should within a month be given an annuity of 10 marks from Daniel's forfeited demesne manor of Burton Pedwardine (Lincs). On 6 June 1474 a petition by Daniel for the reversal of his attainder had been exhibited and granted. (Earlier sessions of this parliament had witnessed other reversals of Lancastrian attainders, and the political climate was favourable.) But Speaker Allington had had to be specially won round not to oppose the bill: the Attorney-General represented in the indenture that he had only performed his promise to have the attainder revoked after he had interceded with Allington, the latter being incensed with Daniel because his father had once been put in prison in London by Daniel's agency. Now, in March 1475, on the eve of parliament's dissolution, for £8 paid by Hussey and because of another bill endorsed by the King granting two more manors in Ireland to Daniel, the latter released to the Attorney-General all his title in Burton Pedwardine, binding himself in a bond for £500. The whole transaction, in all its brazen chicanery, was enrolled on the Close Roll of the royal Chancery.<sup>1</sup>

This last session of the 1472-5 parliament was very much occupied over the projected war with the French. Its financial business was mainly concerned with converting the supplemental subsidy of the previous session into a grant of a whole subsidy of a tenth and a fifteenth and three-quarters of another. The session closed with the dissolution of parliament on 14 March 1475. Its financial provisions represented a very solid achievement on the part of the Speaker. His mere tenure of the office for so long a period was in itself a substantial contribution to the work of the parliament: seven sessions, spread over two-and-a-half years and totalling over three hundred days, the longest parliament up to this time. If Cambridgeshire paid him his proper wages as knight of the shire, he received over £60 on that score alone.

Edward IV's long-intended invasion of France began with the shipment of his forces at the beginning of the summer of 1475, the King himself crossing from Dover to Calais on 4 July. A fortnight before, the infant Prince of Wales had been appointed Warden of England, and a Great Council of Regency had been set up to control affairs under his nominal headship. This Council inevitably included some of the Prince's own personal council, including its president, Bishop Alcock of Rochester (who was to act as Chancellor in England during Bishop Rotherham's absence with the King), Richard Fowler (Under-Treasurer of England and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) and Thomas Vaughan (the Prince's Chamberlain). William Allington was also a member.<sup>2</sup> Within three months the expeditionary force was back in England, the King having agreed with Louis XI, at Picquigny (near Amiens), to leave France in return for a life-pension of about £10,000 a year and a payment of £15,000 down, an act of *realpolitik* from both the English and French points of view. This also involved a welcome postscript to the acts of the 1472-5 parliament, the outstanding three-quarters of a subsidy, exigible at Martinmas, being now remitted by the King.

<sup>1</sup> C.C.R. 1468-76, p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV*, vol. II, p. 125.

At this time, except that in the presence of the Keeper of the Privy Seal on 1 November 1475 he attested the delivery of a release by the Earl of Rivers of all actions against Sir Geoffrey Gate,<sup>1</sup> nothing is known of William Allington's doings. This is also the case in 1476. Almost certainly, however, he remained a member of the Prince of Wales's Council, and possibly of the royal Council as well. In November 1476 his nephew, William Allington junior, became sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.<sup>2</sup> The ex-Speaker himself was made a commissioner for sewers in the valley of the Lea in Essex and Herts on 13 February 1477.<sup>3</sup> Later in the year two much more important appointments came Allington's way: on 24 July 1477 the Queen nominated him to be one of her Justices-in-Eyre in the forests granted her ten years before,<sup>4</sup> and on 1 September Bishop Grey of Ely gave to him for life the office of bailiff of the liberty of all his lordships in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, outside the Isle of Ely, an appointment in which he followed his brother-in-law, John Anstey, who had held the office for the past quarter of a century.<sup>5</sup>

In the course of this year, 1477, there came to a head all the disquiet that had long been centred in the person of the King's brother George, Duke of Clarence, and Edward IV decided to end it by getting rid of him. In this he certainly had the backing of the Wydevilles and doubtless of his other brother, the Duke of Gloucester. Parliament was summoned on 20 November to give colour to what was intended. A week later in Cambridgeshire, whose county court was haply the first to meet after the writs went out, both Allington and his fellow shire-knight in the previous parliament, Sir Thomas Grey, were re-elected. Parliament assembled on 16 January 1478. The Commons re-elected Allington as Speaker and on 19 January presented him for the King's acceptance.<sup>6</sup>

The main business of the session was the attainder of Clarence on the grounds of his incorrigible unfaithfulness and because he threatened, so it was alleged, the tranquillity of the kingdom. The Commons approved the bill, and on 7 February Clarence was condemned before the High Steward. After a delay the Commons demanded execution of the sentence of death, their Speaker coming before the Lords and asking that what was to be done should be done; but it was secretly and in the Tower that within a fortnight Clarence was, so to say, 'liquidated'. No taxation was demanded of the Commons, and a short session of six weeks ended with parliament's dissolution on 26 February. Three days later, in a privy seal warrant dated at Greenwich, Allington was granted £100 for *good and laudable service* as his reward for his Speakership. By the end of the current Exchequer term, however, he had been granted only half this amount, and even that by assignment and not in ready money.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C.C.R. 1468-76, pp. 432-3.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Wedgwood (*op. cit. Biographies*, p. 9) is in error in stating that it was the Speaker who was sheriff.

<sup>3</sup> C.P.R. 1477-85, p. 22. On 14 February 1477 a letter from Sir John Paston to his brother John referred to Allington's interference with the younger Paston's efforts to marry Margery, daughter of Sir Thomas Brewes of Sturton Hall (Norfolk), a match that was being held up by disagreements over the lady's dowry. (*Paston Letters* (1910 ed.), vol. III, p. 173).

<sup>4</sup> C.P.R. 1477-85, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> *Rot. Parl.* vol. VI, p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> E. Hailstone, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> P.S. warrants for issue, E 404/76/3, no. 37.

Meanwhile, the Clarence estates were mainly kept in the King's hands, being administered under the control of the royal Chamber, and by patents of 16 March and 4 May Allington was made one of the commissioners authorized to inquire into the late Duke's estates in Cambridgeshire.<sup>1</sup> Sometime between now and 4 July following, when he was ordered to make certain arrests in Suffolk on behalf of the Council, Allington was knighted.<sup>2</sup> Incidentally, within a few days he was further commissioned to investigate the liability for repairing the great bridge at Cambridge and to act as a commissioner for sewers in the marshland between Markham and Bishop's Lynn.<sup>3</sup> Possibly these were vacation 'recreations'.

That since June 1475 (when he had been one of the Council of Regency) Allington had himself been a continuing member of the King's Council seems likely, since on 11 August 1478 he was appointed as one of the King's councillors for life; he was then also given, expressly in consideration of his good service in this office before and since 8 July previous, the issues of a third of the Cambridgeshire manor of Bassingbourne and a third of the lands of the honour of Richmond, which Clarence had held by royal grant.<sup>4</sup> By this time he had also risen to be the Prince of Wales's Chancellor for the Duchy of Cornwall.<sup>5</sup> Clearly by now Allington had joined that company of fifteenth-century lawyers who attached themselves to the royal administration in one or another of its branches—the Treshams, the Says, the Fowlers, and, to look a little ahead, the Empsons, the Dudleys, and the Mores—and who managed so much of the royal business.

The effect of these additional signs of royal favour, Allington did not live long to enjoy. For he died on 16 May 1479, a writ of *diem clausit extremum*, authorizing an inquiry into his lands in Cambridgeshire, being issued by the royal Chancery to the local escheator on 16 June.<sup>6</sup> He died without issue, so leaving his elder brother John, then stated to be aged sixty, as his heir.<sup>7</sup> Already by March 1474 William had provided for there to be built at Bottisham a chantry-chapel which was to be served by a monk of the priory of Anglesea (Cambs) and where prayers were to be made for the good estate of Edward IV, Queen Elizabeth, Allington himself and his wife Joan, and for their souls after death.<sup>8</sup> It was here that Allington was buried.

Sir William Allington's wife outlived him and was still a widow in 1493-4.<sup>9</sup> His brother John, surviving him by only fifteen months, died on 25 August 1480. It was the latter's son, William Allington of Horseheath, who had been sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1476-7. At his father's death this man was stated to be thirty-one years of age,<sup>10</sup> but it was not until June 1483, immediately after

<sup>1</sup> C.P.R. 1477-85, pp. 109, 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 112, 113.

<sup>5</sup> R. and O. B. Peter, *History of Launceston and Dunheved*, p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> C.F.R. 1471-85, p. 173.

<sup>8</sup> C.P.R. 1467-77, p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> C.P.R. 1477-85, p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> J. C. Wedgwood, *op. cit. Biographies*, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 13th series, vol. vi, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> Catherine E. Parsons, 'Horseheath Hall and its Owners', *loc. cit.* Miss Parsons confuses the Speaker and his nephew when attributing to the latter the tutorship of the Prince of Wales and membership of the royal council. The problem of identification is simplified if it is remembered that the Speaker was knighted and that his nephew remained an esquire. The above article does not mention the Speakerships of the two William Allingtons in 1429 and in 1472-5 and 1478, respectively.

Richard III's accession, that he was appointed as a J.P. in Cambridgeshire.<sup>1</sup> He was killed at Bosworth Field, fighting for Richard III, having made his will a week before. Apparently, the family estates did not incur forfeiture, and this William Allington's son, Giles, the Speaker's great-nephew, a boy of twelve in 1485, was considered a good enough prospect for his wardship and the disposal of his marriage to be taken up by John, Earl of Oxford, for the sum of 800 marks payable in the Exchequer. The earl had already agreed to transfer these rights to Richard Gardiner, an alderman and mercer of London who had sat for London in Speaker Allington's last parliament and had been Mayor of the city in the year in which the Speaker died. This the earl did, and Giles was subsequently married to Gardiner's daughter and heir, Mary.<sup>2</sup> With the later history of the family which survived in the male line until 1723, we are not concerned. Suffice it to say that their representative was introduced into the Irish peerage on the eve of the Great Rebellion, and this Irish peer's brother and heir into the English peerage not long before the end of Charles II's reign.

An advance in the status and influence of a middle class land-owning family, such as the fifteenth-century Allingtons were, could be achieved in a variety of ways. Employment in war, if war there happened to be, was a chancy business, even if only financially considered. A quick, spectacular, and attractive way to an improvement of fortune was that of pursuit of favour and interest at Court. Given the talent and the opportunity, and the ability to be circumspect in political crises, service in the royal administration provided certainly one way to success. Neither of the two Allingtons who became Speaker had overmuch financial capital to start with. The first was not well-off initially, and the second was a younger son, also with his own way to make. They both, obviously, had no small measure of ability. But much else was needed: good fortune at the right time. With the fifteenth-century Allingtons, it is often a story of advance and set-back. In the case of the first Speaker Allington, early in Henry IV's reign he made a good recovery from the effects of personal associations which could have been very prejudicial; then, near the end of Henry V's reign, there came a great reverse with the adventitious death of the Duke of Clarence who had long been his lord, at a time when he was too far on in life to make a fresh start and build up credit in another quarter. In the case of the second Speaker Allington, death came when the tide of his promotion was running at its swiftest.

<sup>1</sup> C.P.R. 1477-85, p. 555.

<sup>2</sup> Somerset House, Register Milles, fo. 3; *Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII* (R.S.), ed. W. Campbell, vol. 1, pp. 213-15, 412; C.P.R. 1485-94, p. 100; H.M.C. Report, Various Collections, vol. II, *MSS. of Lord Edmund Talbot*, p. 297; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd series, vol. I, p. 357.

## A MEDIEVAL LEATHER BOX FROM ELLINGTON, HUNTS

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

A BOX of cut leatherwork, generally and wrongly called *cuirbouilli*, was found recently in Ellington church, Hunts. It measures 4.9 × 3.0 × 1.7 in., and is shown in Pls. V, VI. The appearance is clearly shown in the plates, and little description is necessary.

The lid bears the inscription JHESUS MARIA in black letter, with a band of foliage above and below, on a background of fine dots in relief which might serve to identify other examples from the same shop. The front of the lid has a row of pendent lappets, perhaps leaves, and the front of the box itself a band of foliage; both are broken by a central panel, plain except for three vertical lines on either side. The back bears two rows of curved diagonal lines, those on the lid with a slight enlargement of the upper end, and those on the box similarly enlarged at the lower end. The ends bear simplified decoration of similar character, in this case consisting of pairs of diagonal lines not enlarged at the ends under a sort of arcade of very irregular arcs; this unit is found on both ends of the lid, and is repeated on both ends of the box. The bottom is plain except for some random slashes, one of which has cut through the leather, which has also perished elsewhere exposing the wooden foundation of the box. The hinge (Pl. VIa) consists of two strips of leather, each about 0.7 in. wide, now broken. A white leather thong, now incomplete, for securing the cover passes along the outside of the bottom, through a hole at each end into the interior, and immediately out again through a hole in the side. Another thong crosses it at right angles in the middle of the bottom (it now takes a turn round it, but this may not be the original arrangement), and passes through a loop in the plain panel on the front. The lid has a similar loop, now broken, in its plain panel, and a hole in each end showing that the thong ran inside it.

The wooden foundation of the box is covered with a separate thin layer of leather, except where it is hidden by the main outer covering, the inside of the box being stained crimson, and the outside of the foundation, where it fits into the lid, brown.

This material, and the way in which it was prepared, are concisely described in the *British Museum Guide to Medieval Antiquities* (1924 ed., p. 57), where it is shown that it was used for making a variety of small objects. The Ellington box is undoubtedly fifteenth century, and the style of the lettering would be consistent with a date somewhere near the middle of the century. Little is known about the place of origin of work of this kind. G. D. Hobson<sup>1</sup> gives a list of twelve boxes, most of them cylindrical, with distribution ranging from Cornwall, through London, to York, and,

<sup>1</sup> G. D. Hobson, *English Binding before 1500* (Cambridge, 1929).

of these, three come from East Anglia, one from Rutland and one from Lincolnshire. There seems to be no reason why they should not be English, although the slight concentration in East Anglia might indicate import from the Low Countries. An English origin is supported by the only fourteenth-century example listed by Hobson, which is covered with East Anglian heraldry.

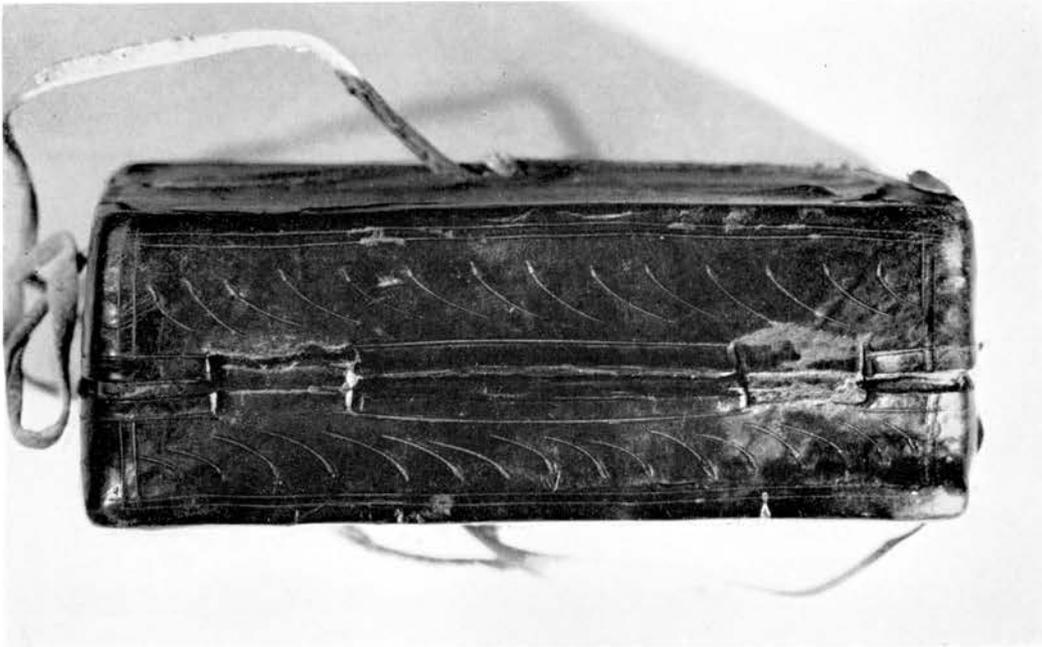
Some minor repairs have been made in the University Library, and the box has kindly been lent to the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology by the Rev. W. Lackey, Vicar of Ellington, to whom my thanks are due. I am also grateful to the Ven. A. Royle, the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, who brought the box to my attention, and to Mr J. C. T. Oates, of the University Library, for giving me the reference to Mr Hobson's book and arranging for the repairs.



(a) Front of box.



(b) General view of box.



(a) Back of box.



(b) Top of box.

## EXCAVATIONS ON THE WANDLEBURY FIGURES

T. C. LETHBRIDGE AND C. F. TEBBUTT

ALTHOUGH members of the Society may have become somewhat bored by hearing so much talk on this difficult subject, still it is felt that they should not be led to think that two successive directors of excavations have been wasting their time and labour. They have, therefore, prepared a very curtailed report of the work which they have carried out, at no expense to the Society, with the aid of certain of its members. Mr Stanley Hopkin needs particular mention for his help, both with trained labour and excellent advice.

Unless a subject is in a moribund condition, it is clear that differences of opinion must occur among those who are working at it. These controversies often lead to a considerable advance in knowledge. The excavations on the Wandlebury figures have given rise to such a controversy.

The chalk of the Cambridge neighbourhood has been under cultivation for a very long time. Evidence obtained during the excavations of the Cambridgeshire dykes suggests that most available chalk land was under the plough in Roman times and perhaps before. Where the overlying soil is thin, it has long been the practice to plough into the surface of the chalk itself and so add an inch or two a year to the cultivable soil above. Consequently it is rare to find anywhere in the district where the upper part of the chalk remains undisturbed by man since the Ice Age. On most of the sites we have excavated (see *Proc. C.A.S.* from 1925 onwards) little or no loose chalk remained in contact with the solid and unbroken rock. But this was not the case before the land was ploughed. The expansion and contraction of the rock, as it alternately froze and thawed year by year, when the Glacial Period was coming to an end, shattered the rock surface into layered and superimposed blocks, which became smaller towards the surface. Over most of Cambridgeshire many inches of these blocks have been ploughed away, except around the edges of a few ancient village chalk pits.<sup>1</sup> All that remains is the relatively smooth surface of solid rock. This rock is liable to decay on exposure to frost and rain. When wet the decay is a sticky mud. We call it sludge. It can be removed by running water and deposited somewhere else, but it still remains a natural sludge.

It is our contention that only the eye of faith can at present distinguish between chalk rotted last Christmas and that similarly rotted ten thousand years ago. There we differ from others who seem to possess this faith. The sludge, to us, remains

<sup>1</sup> This was particularly noticeable at the War Ditches, where during the excavations we found no superimposed blocks when looking for post-holes near the ditch (*Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLII, p. 117).

rotted Cretaceous rock and not some magical compound, which proclaims the date of its decay to those vouchsafed the seeing eye.

This is the crux of the controversy. The figures were sounded for with a steel bar on a surface of rock which had been ploughed smooth. The plough marks showed plainly in this rock. It was a perfect surface for such an exercise. They were plotted and published in the *Archaeological News Letter* before any excavation was carried out, in order that we might not be accused of making them. It was realized before excavation that nothing but rotted chalk might be found. We did not expect to find ditches deliberately dug into chalk rock; but only the bottoms of such hollows which might have been produced if rotted chalk had been cleaned out of unturfed outlines, had such a process been thought necessary. In fact, observation appears to indicate that it was felt easier to re-whiten the outlines by spreading fresh chalk in them. Similar results seem to have been obtained by excavators on the White Horse at Uffington, layers of fresh chalk being laid on rotted chalk sludge to whiten the figure.<sup>1</sup> (The top of the fresh chalk would of course rot into sludge in the same manner as the original rock beneath it.) Similar sludge was found in the Bran Ditch at Black Peak. Some indication of the date at which this was done was obtained at Wandlebury. Minute scraps of Roman or Belgic pottery were found under, in and above the fresh chalk. The fresh chalk was also laid in the outlines at a time when holes, scoured out by water running down the slope, had become filled with a growth of vegetation on which snails fed in considerable numbers. The most interesting of these is *Cyclostoma (Pomatias) elegans*, a southern species whose range does not apparently extend as far north as Scotland. The climate at the time of the refurbishing was in fact similar to that of today.

Little excavation was carried out by stripping process for two reasons. (1) Sir Cyril Fox continually stressed the necessity for protecting the edges of the outlines. The fears for the safety of the edges were shown later to be unnecessary. At least a foot of loose blocks had been ploughed away from the surface of the chalk and with them those which had once formed the edges of the outlines.<sup>2</sup> For the most part the outlines today are not in fact identical with those seen by prehistoric man. They are the 'ghosts' of the prehistoric outlines produced by the decay of the chalk rock beneath them. They are almost entirely natural. Man's hand in producing them was the act of stripping off the turf and removing the loose blocks at a higher level. Beneath the outlines he made, nature produced those we now see. Few archaeologists have understood this point, which was not at first clear to us. They think in terms of something which has been ploughed away and gone for ever. It has led moreover to the curious spectacle of the opposition taking pains to prove by soil analysis that a substance was natural when one of us had already said that it was (see *Gogmagog*, pp. 48ff.). (2) On this particular hill, differences in colour rapidly disappear when the chalk surface is exposed and allowed to dry. This difficulty was also

<sup>1</sup> Apparently still unpublished!

<sup>2</sup> Many of these lumps of chalk still remain in the overlying humus. Above the level of the figure's eyes, the ploughing has not been so deep and some blocks still remain in contact with the solid rock.

experienced by Dr B. Hartley during his excavations inside Wandlebury Camp; where the aim was to examine holes dug by men into the solid chalk and not to explore areas of decay in the chalk caused by exposure to the weather. Furthermore the outlines above the sludge had been filled with fresh chalk rubble, trodden tight. The eyebrows of the figure were, however, identified by stripping and had not been found by sounding.

For these reasons, the method employed was to cut sections across soft patches revealed by the bar and to follow these working to a face. It was not possible of course to follow the numerous sticks used in the original process of plotting with the bar. These had rotted away long before excavation. The outlines were followed by observation of the distinctive grey-brown colouration of the rotted chalk when it was still damp. Numerous bar holes and rotted sticks were found as the sludge was cleared out.

It is certain that the width of these cleared areas is greater than the width originally stripped of turf, for chalk decays sideways as well as downward. We have been cleaning out rotted chalk and not the fillings of man-made ditches. The material which we have been cleaning out is, as we have said, in most cases entirely natural. It ought not, in our opinion, to show any marked differences to similar chalk rotted during the Ice Age. This point has been widely misunderstood. People were expecting to observe an archaeological phenomenon and not a geological one. But the processes of geology never stop; weathering and denudation are always at work. Man enabled them to work at Wandlebury, where the turf had been stripped, just as he has been busy providing fossils, in the shape of bully beef tins and sunken ships, in geological beds which are forming at this moment beneath the sea.

One figure has been almost completely exposed. It is a quibble to say that it was never there; for numerous learned men have come to watch it being exposed and to give their opinion of how it was formed. By this they have shown that they could see the change in colour where the chalk had decayed and they can all be brought into the witness box to swear that they have seen it. Opinions have only differed on the question of when this decay took place. That is really the only point on which they should differ. Theoretical statements of opinion that such a figure could not be revealed by the bar are absurd, because it was revealed by the bar, published before excavation and found to resemble closely the plan prepared by blind sounding (Fig. 1). Some slight errors have naturally occurred in plotting so complicated a figure and were bound to do so, unless soundings had been made so close together that the waste of time would have been excessive. But a strange female figure and beast were uncovered by excavation and its outlines were shown to differ in appearance from the normal surface of the rock. Although the outlines excavated are wider than those of the original plan, they remain essentially the same outlines. Competent observers have watched the work and can vouch for the fact that the area dug out is the area formerly occupied by rotten chalk and not a figment of the imagination. We are left then with the fact that the thing is there for all to see. It was found by sounding with the bar and uncovered by methods suggested by the highest authority. What is the date of it?

We maintain that the figure was made in outline by simply stripping the turf from the surface of the chalk and cleaning out the loose rubble till the hollow thus seen was white. The outline deepened into the chalk by a process of natural decay, possibly aided at times by men cleaning the figure. We hold that it was made by the same people who built and occupied Wandlebury Camp and that there is considerable evidence in favour of this theory.

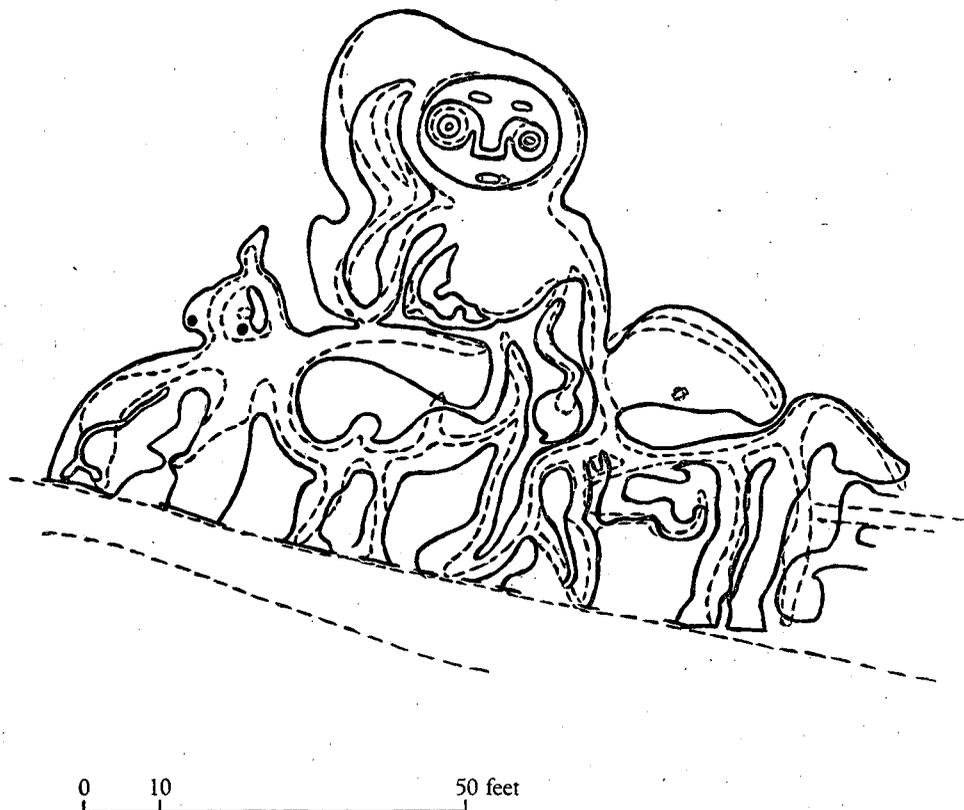


Fig. 1. Diagram showing the original plan of the figures, obtained by blind sounding (dotted line), superimposed on the plan of excavated figures. Small errors are due to the use of an old tape for the first survey and a new one for the second. Other errors are mistakes in interpretation. The area in the middle of the female figure's hair has not been excavated.

We were not excavating for the purpose of proving anything. To us it was obvious that, if the figures, found by blind plotting with the bar, could be seen to differ in any way from the surrounding chalk, then only prehistoric man could have been responsible for their shape. We were out to find, within as narrow limits as possible, what the shape of one of the figures was. It would then be open to those who doubted to apply what tests they liked to the remainder. We refused to be deviated from our set purpose, either to provide peep shows for experts, who could not know more than we did unless they worked at the problem themselves, or to spend time on experiments which could be undertaken more profitably by others; for we soon realized

that the shape of this figure was likely to prove an important clue to problems in fields other than archaeology.

Whatever others may think, the fact remains that this is not a problem which can be solved by sitting back and quoting from text-books, for it is something which has not confronted archaeologists here before. We have simply made a start. Others can now work on the other figures and see what results they can obtain. If we can be proved to have been mistaken, we would be ready to admit it; but as yet no argument has been advanced against us which appears to be in any degree valid. The figures are there, if they can be shown to have been made by any Ice Age phenomenon, it will be far more remarkable than if they had been made by man. There are certain to be some errors in plotting, but we hope that they will not be large. The onus of disproof lies squarely on the opposition.

We do not propose to go into details of the folk-lore and historical evidence now, but it may be of interest to readers to learn that freshly collected local reports tell us of three giants formerly associated with the Gogs. They were named apparently, Hog, Gog and Magog and the old name for the hills was Hoggogamagog. We have never heard this full title ourselves, but Gogamagogs is the normal term used by old countrymen. There may well be some confusion here over nomenclature. Hog probably means High and refers to Gog. The original names were, we think, High God, Mother God and Wandil. But, of course, if the figures were made by some glaciological process, it does not matter what local people called them!

The evidence brought to light on the subject of dating comes under four headings:

- (1) Holes dug by man into the surface of the chalk rock.
- (2) Pottery and snail shells.
- (3) Sling stones.
- (4) The appearance of the figures themselves.

#### MAN-MADE HOLES

Unless our reasoning and observation is much at fault these provide a decisive answer to those who think the Wandlebury figures are the result of Brodel formation in the later stages of the Ice Age. They point to air photographs of crop-marks apparently indicating Brodel formation in the Breckland, say that they resemble the figures at Wandlebury and that is that. It is not as easy as that. No one has as yet regarded the Breckland as being similar to the Cambridgeshire hills. Of course there is a resemblance between two sets of curvilinear patterns. It is of the same order as the resemblance between a spikey rubber scrubbing brush and a dragon's tooth road block. But granting this kind of resemblance, how if the sludge is the product of glaciological conditions (in reality the seasonal melting and retreat of a sheet of ice) does it come to be found on top of holes dug by man in the chalk rock? On two occasions, after the normal sludge deposit had been removed on part of the beast's head, round marks of a different colour were noticed in the chalk rock. One of these was cleaned out. The other has been left undisturbed. The one cleaned out was found to be a circular pit 1 ft. 3 in. in diameter and 9 in. deep. It had vertical

walls and had evidently been made in the same manner as the post-holes inside Wandlebury itself. The contents of this pit were natural reddish sandy material, quite distinct from the sludge. At the bottom were five small flint nodules, quite unrolled and unstained. This pit had not been made with a pick, but had probably been 'jumped' into the chalk with a chisel-ended bar. Presumably the post-holes at Wandlebury were made in this way. It will be noted that the hole was not filled in with the material dug out when it was made. It was filled with a substance not noted anywhere else in the excavations. We think that these pits were intended to represent the eyes of the beast, but we may be mistaken in this view.

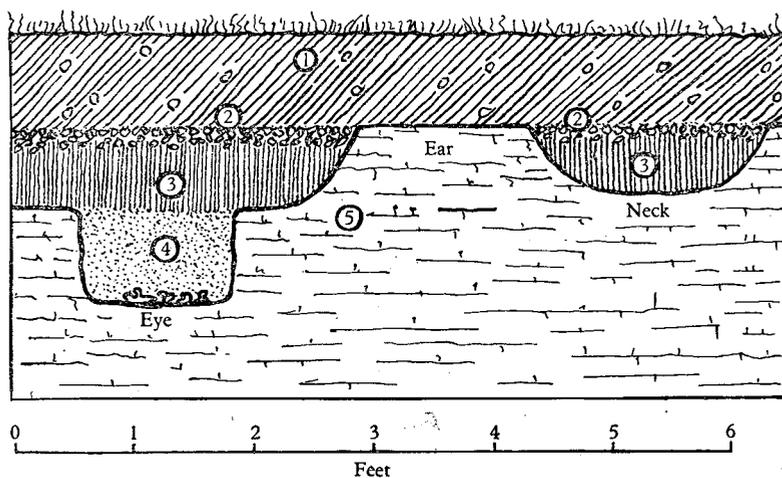


Fig. 2. Diagrammatic section over the eye, ear and neck of the beast. (1) Plough soil with lumps of chalk. (2) Chalk rubble containing scraps of Roman pottery in places. (3) Sludge. (4) Artificial pit containing reddish sandy soil with small flint nodules at base. The pit is circular in plan. (5) Chalk rock. Note: At least a foot of chalk has been ploughed away above the ear. This figure and Fig. 3 show all the major phenomena observed during the excavations except sling stones which are described in the text.

Other similar pits were found at some of the extremities of the figures. Careful observation of that at the extreme hind corner of the beast's hind foot and the one at the bottom of the object formerly thought to be a chariot, showed that they had been cut into the edge of the outlines at these points. There was another by the female figure's foremost toe, but it was damaged by traffic passing on the hollow way, which partly covers the bottom of the figure (Pl. VII*b*). There can be little doubt that these holes are those of small posts and the presumption is that they were used as fixed points in laying out figures. They were not, however, used in laying out the figure we have been excavating. This can be shown by what was observed in the breast area of the female figure.

The breast area had been deliberately filled in at some time and the floor of it was clean and free from sludge. It does not appear that the uneven floor was due to natural factors; but that it had been deliberately carved in the chalk rock to indicate breasts. The filling was not homogeneous and Mr Stanley Hopkin and other farmers

helping in the removal of the filling were of the opinion that it had been tipped in in cart loads. In some of the deeper parts, at least 4 ft. below the original ground level (Fig. 3), obvious traces of lumps of turf were found in the positions they had taken up when the hollow was filled in. A balk was left standing for a long time on the line of section across this pit. It showed a bowl-shaped band several inches thick extending from both sides towards the deepest part. This was at first thought to be a humus layer, but examination showed that it was in reality sludge. It had been formed by the flow of water running into the pit and not reaching the bottom of it, which was filled up at the time. When the balk was at last removed, a small pit was again found and above it very faint traces of a narrow post could be dimly

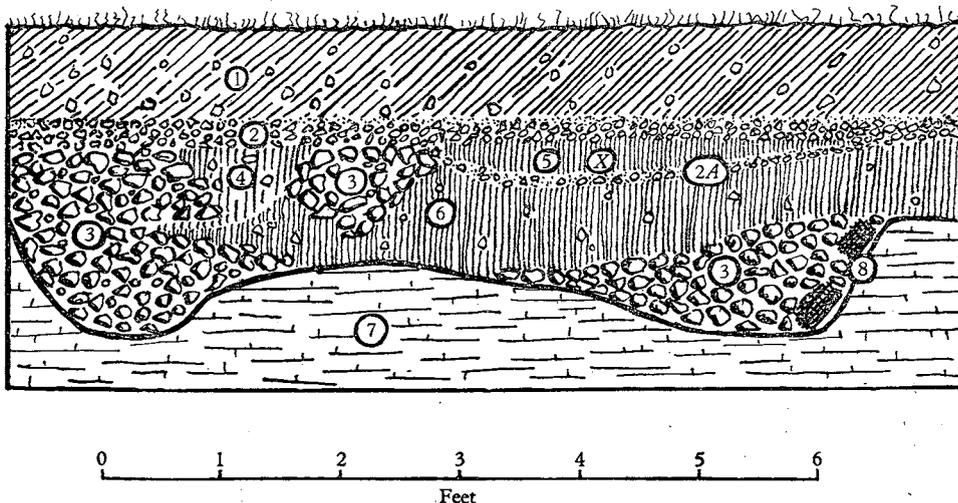


Fig. 3. Diagrammatic section over the breast area of the female figure, 4 ft. from the lowest point. (1) Plough soil with lumps of chalk. (2 and 2A) Bands of small chalk rubble trampled hard. (3) Heavy chalk rubble, put in wet. (4, 5 and 6) Bands of humus, including many specimens of *Helix nemoralis*. (7) Chalk rock. (8) Lumps of old turf. (X) Grey ware potsherd of Roman, or Belgic, date. The junction between the chalk rock and chalk rubble is quite clean. There is no sludge. Pea chalk was found at the top of band (2) and on top of (2A).

seen rising to the surface of the filling. This post did not appear to have exceeded 3 in. in diameter, or to have been sunk into the rubble filling from above. It must have been held in place while the filling was put in. It is therefore thought that it and the posts at the extremities were put there for the purpose of marking out the positions of other figures in relation to the one we were examining. The date of the filling in of the breast area and the marking out of the other figures should therefore be roughly the same. Our figure is, as had been deduced already by more competent students of ancient art, the earliest of the three.

Most of the filling of the breast area is of course natural material dug out of some chalk pit close at hand or perhaps removed from the vallum of Wandlebury itself. Some of it, however, was topsoil and contained large numbers of snail shells at all depths. Twice at least it had proved necessary to lay fresh chalk on the top of it.

Presumably the surface would not only have settled, but it would have rotted more quickly than its surroundings. Between two of these layers Mr Hopkin recovered a small fragment of fumed grey ware pottery, which might be either Romano-British or Belgic.

It is clear from these points that sludge, supposed by some to have been of Glacial origin, was washed over the top of man-made holes and into the filling of the breast area. It is hard to see how this could have happened, unless the surfaces were exposed at the time and if this is the case, what had happened to prevent their being clothed with Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age humus like all the rest of the country? This Brodel theory requires a considerable stretching of the imagination. We think that the breast area was deliberately moulded into the form of breasts. Whether these had at one time been only made in outline in the turf and had suffered so much from exposure that they had to be renovated, is impossible to say. We can only state that they were clean and white when they were filled in.

Another pit was found on the beast's rump. Here the sludge was very thin and we cannot say whether it covered the pit or not. This pit is rectangular and made in the same way as the others, with the same overall length and depth. We can form no opinion as to its purpose, unless perhaps it held a post supporting a slinger's target at one time.

The last pit, at the top of the female figure's legs, appears to indicate an anatomical peculiarity of the figure itself. Anthropologists might describe it as a 'Hottentot apron'.<sup>1</sup> It is an oval pit some 3 ft. long by 1 ft. broad and 1 ft. deep. Only part of it has been cleared out and the rest is available for examination. Its filling includes fine grains of charcoal, but it is not a cooking hole. The charcoal appears to have been either washed into it, or put into it together with liquids. It and its surroundings were covered by a 2 in. layer of fresh chalk from which were removed two small sherds of grey ware pottery of either Romano-British or Belgic date.

#### POTTERY

All pottery recovered from the excavation is in exceedingly small fragments. Few of these exceed an inch in length and none can be dated within a hundred years. Only a single sherd was found in the sludge itself, for the reason that things could only get into it when it was in the condition of soft mud. At the excavations at Black Peak on the Bran Ditch (*Comm. C.A.S.* vol. xxx) where this kind of sludge was found at the bottom of the fosse of the earthwork, Romano-British sherds were found sticking upright in it in the way they had fallen from the topsoil at the side of the ditch. This single sherd from the sludge on the figure is a piece of pink-tinted paste which resembles the ware of the lagenae imported into Britain in the middle of the first century A.D. It may have been trodden into the mud at the time of the renovation, for it was covered with a 4 in. layer of fresh white chalk on the hair of the figure. In the neighbourhood of the forehead of the beast, six small red ware sherds were recovered in and on the surface of a 3 in. layer of fresh chalk. One of these

<sup>1</sup> Compare with anatomical peculiarities of Dagda's wife Macha in Irish myth.

is a small chip from a terra-sigillata vessel. The glaze is good, but it is probably not earlier than A.D. 100. The remaining fragments of pottery are all fumed grey ware. There are no rims which might have given an approximate date, but all were found in association with the layers of fresh chalk. It is probable that they were derived with this chalk from some site which had a scatter of early Romano-British rubbish lying on it. This makes it probable that future excavation may point to a date in the Roman period for the other two figures.

#### EVIDENCE FROM SNAIL SHELLS, ETC.

Snails were found in large numbers at certain points. These points were invariably places where water running down the outlines had worn hollows which became filled with normal detritus and so could support vegetation of a lush kind. The existence of these hollows postulates the presence of channels down which the water could flow. In fact the outlines must have been there to provide the channels. The sludge scooped out of the hollows was deposited again as mud on parts of the figure further down the slope. The snails are all species living in the neighbourhood today. One, the Brown-lipped snail (*Helix (Cepaea) nemoralis*), is very common on hedgerow vegetation. Another (*Cyclostoma (Pomatias) elegans*) is a southern species ranging far down the coast of Europe and not extending into the north. A third (*Helix lapicida*) is found in beech woods. Since these hollows were covered with the layer of fresh chalk, it is evident that the outlines were in existence at a time when climatic conditions were very similar to today. The outlines must have been open to allow the passage of the rush of water, probably from melting snowdrifts, which scoured out the hollows. If they had been open since the Ice Age, one would expect them now to be so deep in the chalk rock that they would appear as ravines. Even eight thousand years of wear and tear would surely have effected this.

*List of snails. Cyclostoma (Pomatias) elegans; Helix (Cepaea) nemoralis; Helix (Helicella) caperata; Helix lapicida (scarce).*

#### SLING STONES

We are calling the objects now to be discussed sling stones, for it appears probable that they are so, but we are open to correction. They may be 'chuckie stanes', or even unconnected with man, though this seems most improbable.

Small glacial erratics are quite common on the fields near Wandlebury and it was not till we had been working on the figures for many months that it occurred to us that there were far too many turning up on the work. In the last four months more than 1500 were picked up and over 1000 have been deposited in the Cambridge Museum. Now a stone is a stone. If it is a worn and rounded glacial erratic of roughly oval shape and about an ounce in weight it is suitable as a sling stone; but nobody can say it is such a thing unless it is found sticking in the skull of a dead man, or in an obviously collected heap inside a fort. All archaeologists know that there is a scatter of such stones outside the perimeter of certain Iron Age camps.

This must necessarily be the case, for every slinger needed frequent practice and every boy slinger had to be trained from early youth. It is clear from Dr Hartley's excavations that Wandlebury Camp was remodelled to suit the requirements of sling warfare. There is presumably an extensive scattering of such sling stones round the outside of Wandlebury up to a range of about 200 yards. It is possible that the rectangular post-hole on the beast's rump once held a target for practice. It is our contention that the figures were not sacred in the sense that a graven image was sacred; but only the marking-out ground for a religious ceremony performed after long lapses of time. There would be no reason for not using the ground for sling

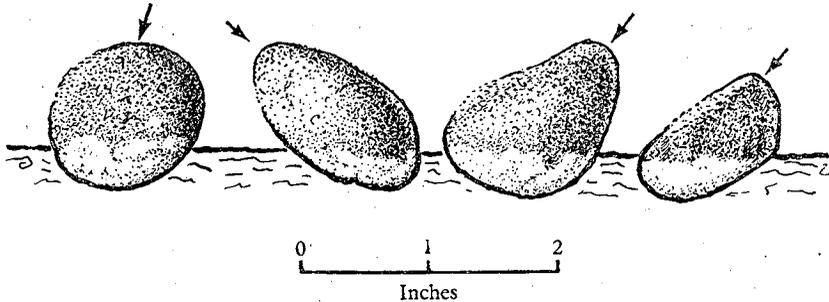


Fig. 4. 'Sling-shot'. Pebbles of quartzite type coated with a calcareous deposit which apparently indicates the plunging angle of their fall. They are shown sticking in the surface of the sludge with the presumed directions of their fall indicated by arrows.

practice. There are other possibilities, such as testing the oracle by whether your stone remained on the right figure or not, but the simplest answer is probably the best.

As soon as it became evident that glacial pebbles were abnormally abundant on the figures, steps were taken to observe how they were found in relation to the outlines. It was clear that they occurred at all levels except the lower portions of the sludge and the interior of the layers of fresh chalk. Large numbers were just in the top of the sludge. A few were completely buried in it. It was possible to note the angles at which they lay at the top of the sludge. They frequently did not lie flat, but penetrated the sludge at a fairly steep angle. It was possible to judge this angle with some accuracy because that part of the stone which lay in the sludge itself became coated with a calcareous deposit resembling stalagmite (Fig. 4). We have little doubt that such stones had plunged from a height into the sludge when it was in a sticky condition and thus conform to what might be expected from the trajectory of a sling shot. The distribution on the outlines suggests that many of the pebbles fell on them when they were dry and bounced or rolled down them towards their extremities. Large numbers should be present in the humus outside the outlines, where they must have fallen into grass or scrub. The weights of over a thousand stones were taken and are as follows:

Weight in ounces (kitchen scales)	Under $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$ - $1\frac{1}{2}$ (inclusive)	$1\frac{1}{2}$ -3 (inclusive)	$3\frac{1}{4}$ -4 (inclusive)	Over 4	Total
Number	87	739	501	35	45	1407

The bulk of the stones are well-rounded pebbles of quartzite and similar substances. Only fifty-nine are of flint. Of these twenty-three are extremely worn and battered lumps, while twenty-three are fresh unrolled fossil sponges, etc. Few of the pebbles are too small for children's practice; but some are too large for a normal sling and argue the former presence of towers for long slings or catapults on the Wandlebury defences. Some five hundred stones have not been examined yet.

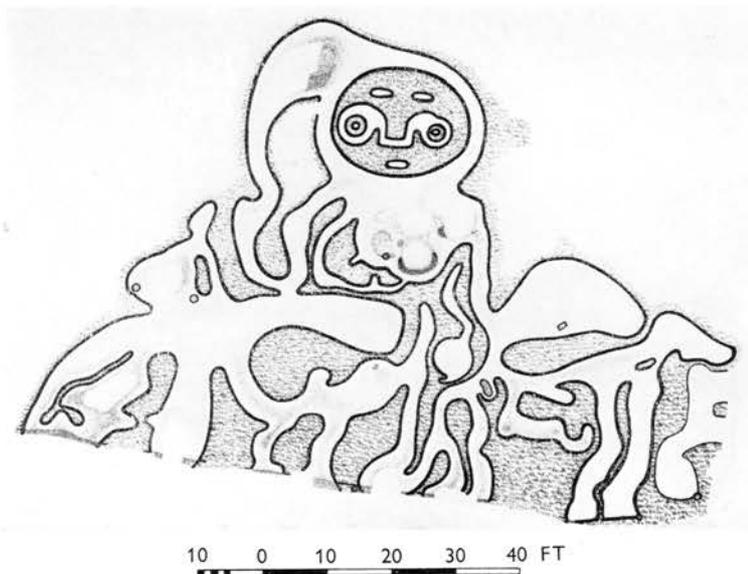
#### APPEARANCE OF THE FIGURES

We will confine our remarks to the group which has been examined. This group, in our opinion, is older than the other two figures, which remain to be explored. The drawing, although extremely primitive, is a balanced composition of a female figure beside a beast which is probably intended to represent a stallion. The drawing of this beast is scarcely less naturalistic than that of the pony shown in the illustrated medieval copy of Giraldus Cambrensis in Dublin. We mention this because the Giraldus picture shows part of the Irish hippogamous ritual in Donegal, which may be the intention here too. The female figure is thought to represent the Celtic Artemis, who as Badb in Ireland had more than thirty names and as Isis some ten thousand. She is the female principle, or the Great Mother.

The nearest archaeological connections with this figure group have been both found in Denmark. The Faardal female statuette has the same goggle eyes, skinny arms and hand indicating the breast, while the horse drawing the Trundholm sun disk has a docked or felted tail as shown on the Wandlebury Beast (for example, Shetelig, Falk and Gordon, *Scandinavian Archaeology* (Oxford, 1937), pls. 17 and 25). The felting of stallions' tails continues to this day. Both these Danish examples are probably somewhat earlier than our figure. The Faardal figure is dated to the beginning of the Danish Iron Age or the close of that of Bronze. Ultimately it is probable that links will be found with Scythian figures, for the cult appears to have spread across Europe from the shores of the Black Sea. For the moment, however, it is enough to mention the Badb's magic horse in Irish mythology, the Cailleach's horse in Scotland and the hobby horses of Cornwall. The processional hobby at Padstow has a head much like the Wandlebury beast. The Cornish rite was apparently a fertility one.



(a) Air photograph taken by Aero Pictorial Ltd a week before the excavations had been completed.



(b) Tape survey of the excavations. The curious shape of the beast's head is thought to be due to an attempt to represent it wearing a metal 'pony-cap'. Portions of the buried trackway are indicated by heavier stippling.

## FURTHER FINDS ON THE ARBURY ROAD ESTATE

W. H. C. FREND

DURING the early part of 1956 the extension of building operations southwards towards Gilbert Road resulted in further Romano-British remains coming to light.

(1) On the north side of Montgomery Road, about 75 ft. west of its junction with Alex Wood Road, trenches dug by workmen laying cables revealed rough chalk foundations lying about 1 ft. below the surface. Thanks to the kindness of the contractors, J. Brignell and Sons, a small excavation was carried out in the immediate proximity. This resulted in the discovery of part of a curious rectangular building. Chalk walls forming the south-west angle were cleared, and a wall followed for 17 ft. 6 in. on the west side and 8 ft. on the south side, where the building had been cut into and destroyed by the trench dug along the edge of Montgomery Road. On the east side, the traces of a heavily robbed return-wall were found, but, despite soundings, no wall was discovered on the north side. The wall foundations were 1 ft. 8 in. to 2 ft. wide. They were composed of blocks of clunch, some of which had been shaped and had been carefully laid on a thin base of yellow mortar. This contained some minute fragments of red-painted plaster. Among the footings, were some fragments of daub which bore traces of burning.

Within this rectangular structure was an inner wall built on exactly the same plan, but diverging slightly from the parallel (see Fig. 1). It was separated from the outer wall by a space 1 ft. 9 in. on the south side and 2 ft. on the west side. It had been built on a thin layer of yellow mortar similar to that used in the outer structure, but on the west side ragstone had been used and not clunch. These foundations bore a strong resemblance to those of the Roman farmstead found in 1953, some 300 yards north-west. As discovered, these inner walls were a mere partition, barely 1 ft. to 1 ft. 3 in. wide, and on both the east and west sides they ended abruptly in an indeterminate mass of chalk rubble containing daub and burnt material. The space enclosed by them was only 5 ft. from east to west, but extended at least 10 ft. in the other directions. A fragment of fourth-century Castor ware and some colour-coated ware were found among the footings of the west wall. A base of a third Castor ware beaker was also found during the excavation.

How were these two buildings related? The outer and inner walls could not have belonged to the same building because they were not built parallel, and the gap between them was too narrow to serve any useful purpose. The indications were that the outer walls were the later, being built on the same plan after the smaller building which had occupied the site had been burnt down. Burnt daub was found below the

level of the outer walls, but the ragstone and clunch of the inner walls had been discoloured by fire, and a good deal of burnt material was found within the area enclosed to them.

When were they built? The ground below them was honeycombed with pits, similar to those found on other parts of the estate. They had been dug 3 ft. to

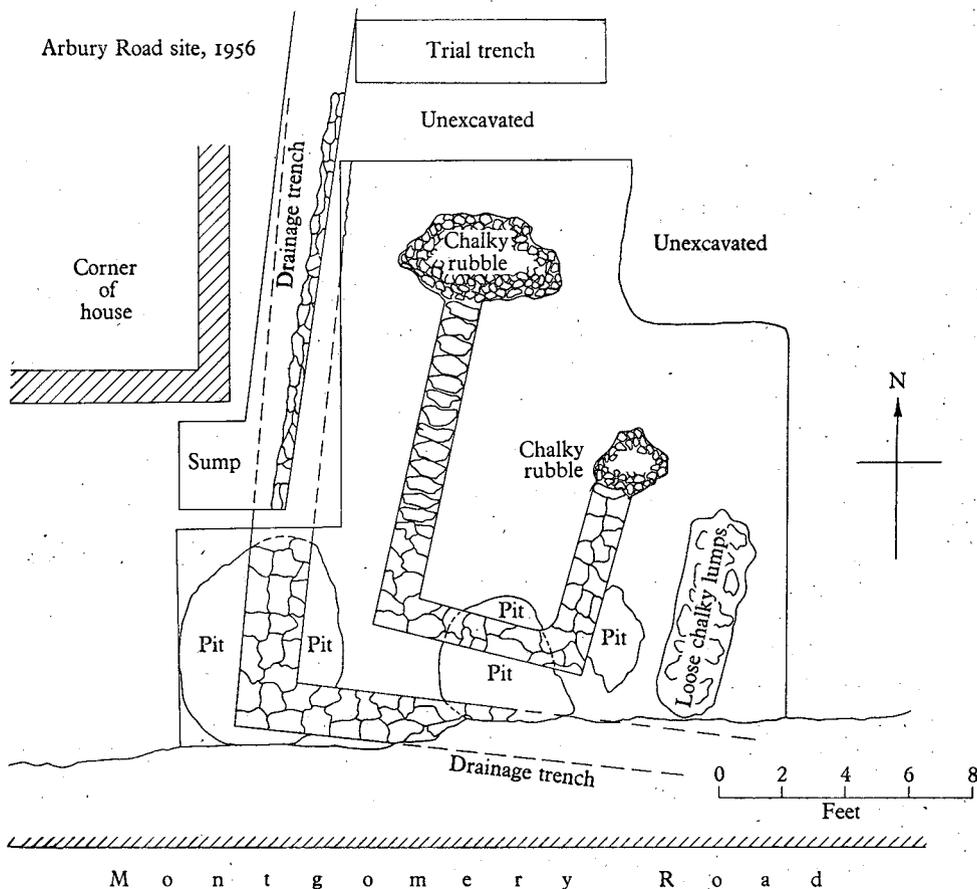
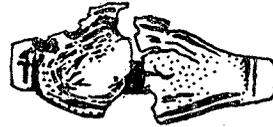
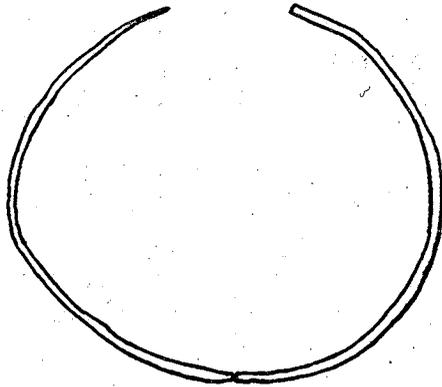


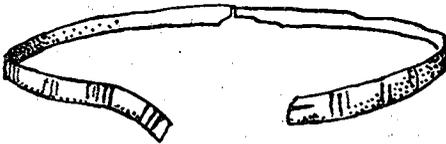
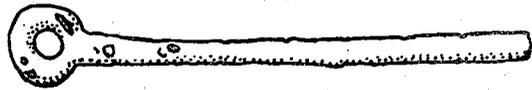
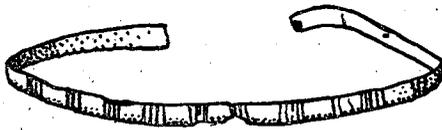
Fig. 1.

3 ft. 6 in. deep, and contained several fragments of coarse, grey second-century ware, one fragment of a Samian dish, form 18/31, and pieces of two flat sandstone querns. They had been filled up with blocks of clunch by the later builders, in the same way as the pits below the Romano-British farmstead already mentioned. At one point, 9 in. of greyish silt had accumulated between the filling of the pit and the foundations of the inner wall.

It must be confessed that the general appearance of the walls of both structures was medieval or later, rather than Romano-British. In particular, no roofing tiles such as were present on the rest of the site were found in the debris. The presence, however, of a Romano-British village, and the discovery of Roman wall plaster and

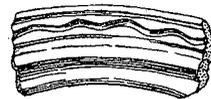
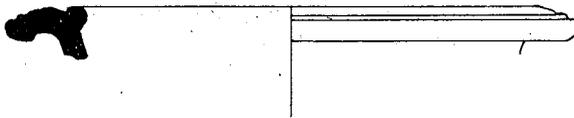


(a) Scale: 1/1



(b) Scale: 1/1

(c) Scale: 1/1



(d) Scale: 1/2

Fig. 2.

pottery in the footings suggests a Romano-British date. If that is so, it must have been in the fourth century, for the Castor ware recovered from the foundations of the inner wall was of a type found on fourth-century levels on the rest of the site. Remains of a long building with rough chalk foundations which ran for 23 ft. in one direction without remains of a returning wall were traced just east of the Roman farmstead. This was assumed to be a barn, and these structures may well have been something similar.

(2) Workmen also digging a drainage trench at a point 60 ft. south of the junction between Humphreys Road and Fortescue Road on the east side came upon a deep Romano-British pit. It was filled with burnt black earth and was 6 ft. in diameter.

It contained fragments of iron slag, cooking stones, pieces of a third/fourth-century mortarium<sup>1</sup> with a wide rim ornamented with a zig-zag groove (Fig. 2 (d)), a grey pie-dish, a base of a colour-coated mortarium and a large hand-finished storage jar of orange fabric.

There was also found a child's bronze bracelet,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in. in diameter, decorated with groups of plain incised lines, and a child's finger ring of thin strip bronze  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. in diameter with traces of border of linear decoration on the upper face (Fig. 2 (a) and (b)). This pit may well have been connected with the working floor found nearby in 1953 (*Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLVIII (1954), p. 20). A worn *antoninianus* of Gallienus 253-68 (rev. ORIENS AUG) was picked up among the spoil thrown out of the pit by the workmen.

(3) Another pit productive of third/fourth-century ware, including colour-coated and Castor ware, was discovered north of Alex Wood Road. This now seems to have marked the southern boundary of the occupied area. Building operations south of this road and west of Mere Way have revealed no further traces of Roman occupation.

(4) The cleaning of objects found during the 1953 excavations has revealed a piece of the rod of a steel-yard from the Manhole site.<sup>2</sup> It is  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. long with shallow incised divisions on two sides. On the right hand the divisions are spaced in  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. intervals. On the left hand, the divisions are half this size or  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. apart (Fig. 2 (c)). Examination of the debris from the supposed kiln at the north end of the Romano-British site suggests that the burnt clay found did in fact come from the walls of a pottery kiln (*Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLVIII (1954), p. 10). This had, however, been ruined and the fragments scattered during the Roman period.

<sup>1</sup> Compare no. 43 from Pit 5 on the Arbury Road estate, published in *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLVIII (1954), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated as Pl. IV, 13 in *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLVIII (1954), p. 25. A piece of a mortarium of the same type as that illustrated in *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XLVIII (1954), p. 35 as no. 43 from Pit 5, was picked up on the Manhole site in March 1956 from spoil out of workmen's trenches.

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**Abbreviations.** Vol. xv, App. XV, no. 15, pl. XV, p. 15, l. 15, n. 15—for volume, appendix, number, plate, page, line and note respectively. Abbreviated titles of Journals can be found in the *World List of Scientific Publications*, 3rd ed. (1952), but any self-explanatory abbreviation may be adopted: *Ant.*, *Ant. J.*, *Arch.*, *Arch. J.*, *B.M.C.*, *J.R.S.*, *P.P.S.*, *Proc. C.A.S.* are frequently recurring examples.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

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