

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



VOLUME LV

JANUARY 1961 TO DECEMBER 1961

CAMBRIDGE
DEIGHTON BELL

1962

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CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS AND HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1960

Adopted at the Annual General Meeting on 13 March 1961.

MEMBERSHIP. The Society gained twenty-one new members and one associate during the year, but lost seven members and one associate by death and eight members and one associate by resignation. The Society has suffered a sad loss in the death of Dr L. C. G. Clarke, a former president. There are now 308 members and nineteen associates. There are also thirty-four subscribing institutions.

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

- PROF. STUART PIGGOTT, D.LITT.HUM., F.B.A., F.S.A. *Recent Excavations at Stonehenge.* 25 January.
 LAWRENCE JONES. *The Beauty of our Churches.* 8 February.
 DAVID CLARKE, M.A. *Roman Leicester with Special Reference to Recent Research.* 7 March.
 J. ERIC S. THOMPSON. *The Maya Civilisation of Middle America.* 2 May.
 P. SALWAY, M.A., PH.D. *The Recent Excavations at Sidney Sussex College.* 23 May.
 J. H. CASE, M.A., F.S.A. *English Barrow Excavators of the Nineteenth Century.* 30 May.
 NICHOLAS THOMAS, M.A., F.S.A. *Excavations on Bredon Hill.* 17 October.
 JOAN LIVERSIDGE, M.LITT., F.S.A. *Wall-Painting in Roman Britain.* 31 October.
 J. P. C. ROACH, M.A., PH.D. *The Victoria County History of Cambridgeshire.* 21 November.

The average attendance at these meetings was seventy-three.

There was a visit to the Old Schools on 7 March arranged by Dr H. M. Taylor. The thanks of the Society are due to Dr G. H. S. Bushnell for conducting the party round the buildings and to Mr Green, the University Marshal, for showing the maces and other regalia.

EXCURSIONS. There were two excursions. On 20 May a party of fifty-one visited King's Lynn. On 23 June a party of seventy-one went to see Ickworth Hall, Little Saxham Church and Bury St Edmunds.

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

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

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31 DECEMBER 1960

CURRENT ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance, 1959					373	15	10
„ Subscriptions:							
Ordinary Members	321	17	5				
Associate Members	15	5	6				
					337	2	11
„ Investment Interest:							
British Transport Stock	57	2	2				
Defence Bonds	42	13	6				
Australian Stock	4	18	0				
Treasury Stock	4	14	4				
Savings Bonds	3	0	4				
Conversion Stock	4	9	10				
					116	18	2
„ Sale of Publications	47	9	3				
„ Income Tax Refund	30	14	0				
„ Donations	53	13	3				
					131	16	6
„ Income for 1960					585	17	7
„ Balance, 1959					373	15	10
					959	13	5
Total Expenditure 1960					701	8	5
					£258	5	0

EXPENDITURE		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Subscriptions:							
British Records Association	1	0	0				
British Archaeological Association	1	1	0				
Folk Museum	2	2	0				
Council of British Archaeology	2	5	0				
Historic Churches Fund	5	5	0				
					11	13	0
„ Fire Insurance					2	0	0
„ Custodian Cellarer's Chequer					10	18	10
„ Office Expenses					441	18	6
„ Publications					38	2	10
„ Notices and Circulars					15	11	9
„ Lecture Expenses					30	0	0
„ Secretary					150	0	0
„ Trustee Savings Bank					3	6	
„ Covenants							
					£701	8	5
Expenditure 1960							

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.
Balance, 1959	469	1	2
Deposit	150	0	0
Interest	14	17	0
Balance, 1960	£633	18	2

£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 5% Defence Bonds.
 £230 4% Defence Bonds.

EXCAVATION FUND

Current Account			
	£	s.	d.
Balance, 1959	65	12	5
Subscriptions	11	4	6
Balance, 1960	£76	16	11
Deposit Account			
Balance, 1959	148	16	5
Interest	5	0	8
Balance, 1960	£153	17	1

The Bank Balances are as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Current Account	258	5	0
Excavation Fund, Current Account	76	16	11
Excavation Fund, Deposit Account	153	17	1
Trustee Savings Bank Account	633	18	2
	£1122	17	2

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

The Capital of the Society consists of the following Securities:

£200 Australian 4% Stock 1966-68.

27 February 1961

OBITUARY NOTES

MAUREEN HUTTON AND G. H. S. BUSHNELL

L. C. G. CLARKE, LL.D., F.S.A.

1881-1960

I

DR BUSHNELL'S obituary notice in *Man* (November 1961) must have warmed the hearts of many of Louis Clarke's friends and admirers who felt that the obituary in *The Times* at the time of his death hardly did justice to his remarkable character and gifts. Dr Bushnell leaves, in fact, little to be said, yet there were so many sides to Louis' life that it may be worth while for some of us to add a few recollections of those aspects of him that they knew best. Many people knew him far more intimately as a friend and colleague than I did, yet working as his assistant in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology for nearly fifteen years I could not fail to have a special opportunity of knowing and admiring some of his qualities.

He was not altogether an easy man to work for. He liked people to have brilliance and ambition, and did not suffer fools gladly, and I often exasperated him by slowness and ineptitude. His preference for giving instructions indirectly or only in the vaguest terms, and particularly his habits of seldom completing a sentence, and of dropping his voice from the macaw-like tones that issued so surprisingly from that small frame to an almost inaudible whisper, were alarming to a nervous beginner in the Museum. But one got used to these peculiarities, and I remember with satisfaction how, at a Faculty Board meeting many years later when the appointment of a new Lecturer in Anthropology was being discussed, and Louis said 'I think it would be very nice if we could have that boy that married that girl', I was able to fill in unhesitatingly and correctly 'You mean H. . . . F. . . .'. It was this difficulty with formal speech that made him, so brilliant as conversationalist and raconteur, so disappointing as a lecturer; and there was the same contrast between the ease of his amusing and characteristic letters, written in the flowing hand of an older generation (and usually spelling, for instance, Mifs with a long f), and his painful difficulty in writing any kind of article or report—one reason why so little of his extraordinary knowledge was ever committed to paper. Though even if he had been the most fluent of writers his work as Curator would scarcely have left him time for such work, any more than Baron von Hügel, in the forty years of his Curatorship, ever found time to write up his Fijian journals of the 'seventies.

It is partly of this extraordinary hard work that I most want to write. No one who was not constantly in the Museum could realize how long and how hard he worked, or how laboriously, since much of it was office and routine work which would in these more ample days be done by assistant staff and helped by mechanical aids—but in those days the typewriter and the telephone were hardly regarded as the mode of communication between gentlemen. He was exacting with the small staff he had, but more so with himself; if he kept us working until seven o'clock he himself would probably stay on till eight. It was the more striking in a man not educated for a profession, who until he was forty had led a life always full of activity, but never tied by routine or regularity of hours. As Dr Bushnell has noticed, Louis Clarke's appointment to succeed Baron von Hügel in 1922 was 'somewhat unexpected' by those in Cambridge who thought academic qualifications essential for such a post, but it was equally surprising to some of his friends in the world outside Cambridge who could never understand why Louis, with all his gifts and means of enjoying life should, as they saw it, bury himself for good in a not very famous museum in Cambridge. Not that he by any means gave up the habits of his former life; he was often away from the Museum on social as well as on official occasions, so much so that some of his colleagues criticized him for it, not realizing that the Museum and its interests were seldom out of his mind. He would go off (he always used this compound in preference to the mere 'go') to a country house weekend or a party in London, and come back having met someone who had Bronze Age barrows on his land, or who would like to finance an expedition, or who had some special knowledge or aptitude or influence which would sooner or later be pressed into the Museum's service.

Another aspect of his life which was most fully realized by those who worked with him was his constant struggle with ill health. I think he very seldom felt really well, as a normal person expects to feel at his work; habitual insomnia, severe headaches and a very poor digestion wore him down continually. He had been a delicate child, the youngest of thirteen, and brought up in a regime of Victorian austerity better suited to the tough than to the frail, and he retained the Victorian belief that to fail to fulfil a social or official obligation through mere physical pain or discomfort was a deplorable weakness.

There was in fact more of the Victorian in him than one realized at first. He kept not only the strict self-discipline and sense of duty but also some of the prejudices, such as dislike of the metaphysical or what he would call superstitious nonsense. 'My dear, he's gone all Celtic Twilight', he said to me of a young worker in the Museum for whom he had hitherto had nothing but praise, but who thenceforth could do nothing right. It was only a part of him. It contrasted with the strain of seventeenth-century cavalier, of which his special devotion to Charles I was a symbol, and with a strong dash of the Edwardian Young-Man-About-Town. He was indeed a mass of contradictions. Violently anti-feminist in theory, he was in fact—as I am sure Dr Caton-Thompson, Dr Lindgren, Dr Margaret Murray, to name but a few, would confirm—a far more encouraging and practical supporter of

women's work, especially field-work, in archaeology and anthropology than many of the professed feminists. 'Louis, he is such a snob', said one of his uninhibited Hungarian friends, and there was a certain amount of truth in it, yet I have heard him at his wittiest and most delightful at tea in the Museum on a dark, wet afternoon with a modest audience of Mr Bird, Sammy Cowles and myself. He lived in luxurious surroundings, amidst furniture and pictures and using daily china and glass and silver that most people would have put into a museum—and who can forget the *soigné* figure, the handmade pastel silk shirts or invariable black tie, the velvet smoking suit in the evening—yet he worked as hard and disciplined himself as severely as a monk in a cell.

Of his great work in the Museum it is not for me to add to what Dr Bushnell and others have written; but I must say, not only for myself but for all of us who were with him in those years, that I don't think there can ever have been a happier or better place to work than Louis Clarke's Museum.

M. H.

II

(Reprinted by courtesy of the Editor of *Man*.)

LOUIS COLVILLE GRAY CLARKE died on 13 December 1960 at the age of 79, leaving many friends to mourn his loss. Much of what has already been written about him in *The Times* and elsewhere is concerned with what he did for the fine arts and particularly with his Directorship of the Fitzwilliam Museum, but it is appropriate here to remember rather his interest in anthropology, using the word in its broadest sense as the Americans happily do.

As a young man of sufficient means he extended his education, after taking his degree in 1903, by travelling, and in his case the Grand Tour embraced Abyssinia, Central America and Peru, at a time when travel in those countries was nowhere near as easy and comfortable as it is now. He also spent some time in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, learning from Henry Balfour something of that great man's knowledge of the works of man all over the world. When in 1922 Baron Anatole von Hügel retired from the curatorship of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge, Louis was somewhat unexpectedly chosen to be the second incumbent of that post, owing, I believe, to the wisdom and dominating personality of Sir William Ridgeway, then Disney Professor of Archaeology. The choice was abundantly justified by the results. It was a formative period in the life of what is now the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, and the Curator both built up the collections and enabled the Museum to keep its place as the heart, home and servant of the growing Faculty amid a welter of conflicting interests.

His wide knowledge enabled him to see the main gaps in the collections, his appreciation of quality resulted in many of them being filled with material of the first importance, his generosity provided funds for purchase when none were forth-

coming from University sources, and his gift for making friends provided agents in many lands. My own experience is typical. I first met him a few years after his appointment, when he had recently returned from taking part in the excavations at Kechipaun, near Zuni, New Mexico, which he and Mr G. G. Heye paid for between them. A fortuitous connection with the Museum resulted in an invitation to dine with him, a memorable experience to any undergraduate. When a year or so later I went to Ecuador on very different business and found some quite unexpected archaeological material, I remembered his interest in America and sent him some samples. The result was an enthusiastic letter, painting the importance of the material in the most vivid terms and imploring me to get some more, which was of the greatest encouragement to a young man ploughing a lonely furrow far away. Over the years that followed, the collection at Cambridge was slowly built up, and as each batch arrived, I received a long and appreciative letter, full of shrewd observations, helpful hints and news of Cambridge, written in his own hand before the days of typists in small university departments. When I came back to England on leave, he asked me to stay with him, made me feel that the things I had sent really mattered in the Museum, and introduced me to many friends. He was doing the same sort of thing for many others and he greatly assisted several expeditions by buying their collections for the Museum from his own resources. I know of one case where he sent a friend to America at his own expense to collect material which he knew would be unobtainable in a few years' time.

The Kechipaun excavations brought important material, which was of great help to a specialist on the American South-west only last year, and Louis also took part in excavations at Toszeg in Hungary, thus getting a collection which is not only most valuable to students but also helped the Hungarians, through Professor Childe, to sort out the chaos produced in their own material by the war. The mention of Hungary reminds me of one of those apocryphal stories which throw more light than the truth on the character of the subject. His enthusiasm for beads was proverbial, and it is related that he once chartered an aeroplane to take him to Budapest to secure one bead! Among the Museum's possessions is a rubber stamp saying 'Clarke gift', and it is interesting to speculate on how much time has been saved by its use in the accessions books and catalogue cards. There is hardly a show case in the building which does not contain some gifts from him, and some have many.

He published very little, only a few short papers, for the sustained attention to a subject which publication demands was not for him. Few men could have a wide enough range of interests to move effectively, as he did, from the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology to the Fitzwilliam and his knowledge was not superficial, but his mind leapt rapidly from branch to branch like the birds he loved. A tour of the Museum with him gave a similar impression, as he rushed from case to case, alternately shouting and whispering anecdotes about the objects displayed. His memory was prodigious, and was doubtless improved by early training, whence the story, which I do not think that I can have imagined, that his mother made him learn the coats of arms of all the Papal families before he was five years old! He well

deserved the recognition which the University gave him by conferring on him the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1959.

His splendid hospitality did much for our subject by bringing people of varying interests together in surroundings littered with beautiful things. When in 1952 the XXXth International Congress of Americanists met at Cambridge, and he offered to give a party in his house, I put it on the first evening because I knew that this was the best possible way to break the ice, and I believe that members will remember it when they have forgotten everything else about the Congress. He was an active Fellow of the Institute until hindered by the burden of the Fitzwilliam in the war years and just before, and he served several times on the Council between 1918 and 1942, sometimes as Vice-President. Finally, I am glad to record that he had the very great pleasure of a visit from his old friend Sam Lothrop, our Huxley Lecturer, who had directed the Kechipaun excavations forty years before, less than a month before he died.

G. H. S. B.

A BRONZE BOWL AND OTHER VESSELS FROM ICKLINGHAM, SUFFOLK

JOAN LIVERSIDGE

IN 1960 an R.A.F. Bomb Disposal unit began to clear an area on the Earl of Iveagh's estate at Icklingham beside the road from Barton Mills to Bury St Edmunds (Nat. Grid. Ref. 737738). At this spot a German bomber had crashed in 1942, scattering bombs, ammunition and German pamphlets, and now the mechanical digger brought to light parts of the aircraft with 130 bombs. It also uncovered, at a depth of 10 to 12 ft., a find of rather earlier date and more peaceful purpose: a large metal bowl or cauldron containing a small pewter platter and a shallow pottery bowl, with a packing of hay or straw. Accounts vary slightly as to the exact disposition of the two smaller vessels, but, judging from the marks on the pad of vegetation, this was put in first, then the pewter dish with its footstand leaving a clear imprint, and, on top of it, the pottery bowl.

The bowl (Pl. *Ia*), measures 7 in. in diameter and 2.1 in. in depth and is made of a hard, reddish ware covered with a dark grey slip which has worn away in places. It has a grooved vertical rim and is an uncommon type, probably inspired by the Samian form Ludowici Tn.¹ So far no exact parallels have been found for it, but it is probably of fourth-century date. The pewter platter which accompanied it is 6.1 in. in diameter, rimless, but with a thickened edge and standing an inch high on its low base (Pl. *Ib*). It too is an unusual form, and the possibility that it might have been used as a lid was considered. On the whole, however, its identification as a platter seems far more likely.

The metal bowl must have been an impressive object when complete, as it measures approximately 12½ in. in diameter and is about 9 in. deep (Pl. *Ic*). It is made of very thin bronze and a small hole in the base, which must originally have possessed a bronze plug, indicates that it was spun on the lathe. It has been painstakingly patched at least five times, the patches being held in place by rivets, or by small bronze lugs pressed through the bronze and hammered back like modern paper fasteners. The latter method was also employed for some smaller holes. No signs of rust or other traces of an iron rim or handles have survived but there are two pairs of rivet holes 2½ in. apart just below the rim, visible on Pl. *Ic*. One pair still holds fragments of bronze in place on either side of the rim and, if this pair is considered in conjunction with the patch and holes beneath, they might indicate the point where an anchor-shaped mount has been torn adrift in antiquity. The evidence

¹ For this suggestion I am indebted to Mr B. R. Hartley.

for this, however, is not entirely convincing and nothing similar for a second handle was found elsewhere although isolated holes do occur below the rim.

The closest parallel to this bowl appears to be the rather larger one found at Baschurch, Shropshire, some years ago. It has the same convex base and carinated sides but with a less-pronounced curve above the carination. The published report notes that 'At two opposite points are small round holes about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. below the top edge, and 4 in. below each is a similar hole. These were intended for riveting an anchor-shaped mount to each side, and the outline of this was still shown by rust.'¹ Another bowl of similar type, nearly 10 in. in diameter and $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, was found in Well I, Insula XXIII at Silchester. It also has been spun on the lathe, and just below the plain-cut rim there is a groove formerly covered by an iron rim binding, a few pieces of which have survived. The escutcheon of one handle is missing and the other appears to be a simple iron loop forming an extension of the rim binding, with a repair at the back of it. The cauldron shows traces of soot and, like the Icklingham example, had been patched on several occasions.²

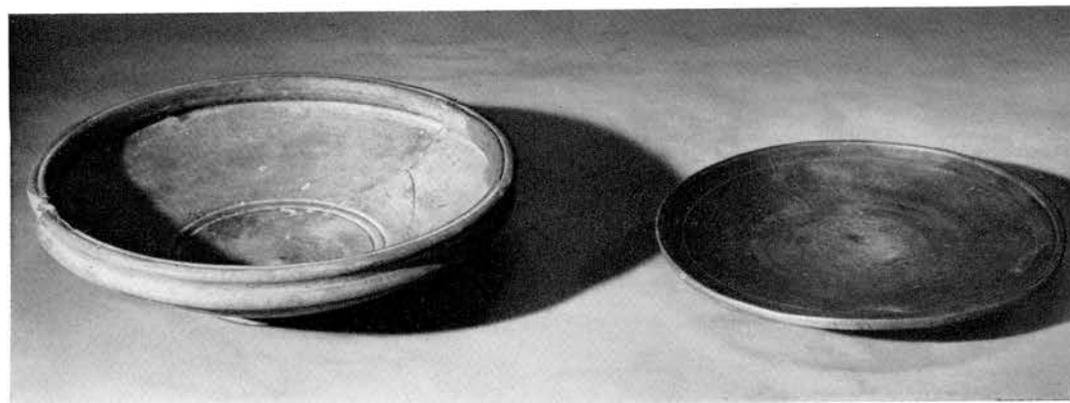
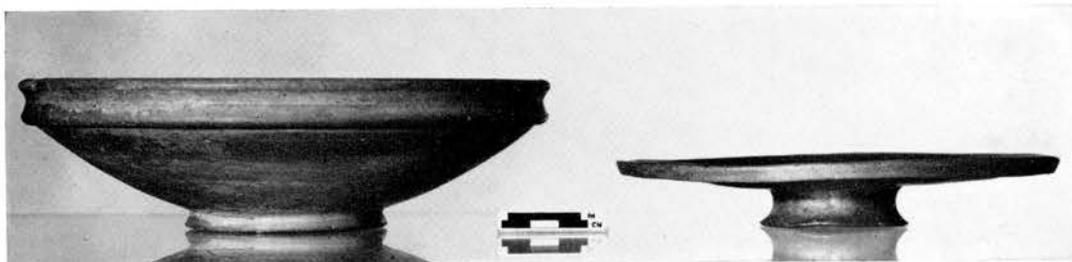
All these vessels belong to the large category of late bowls or cauldrons which Professor Hawkes has described as a development of the British bronze industry affected by Roman influences in the third century. This class dates from around the late third century until well into post-Roman times and the vessels are often found in hoards associated with other objects.³ A late third, or more probably, a fourth-century date would fit in with all three of the items from the Icklingham discovery. Its purpose is uncertain and on present evidence one can only describe it as some kind of votive deposit. Fragments of Romano-British pottery are plentiful in this neighbourhood and a few years ago a coin of Constantius II (A.D. 323-61) was turned up, only a few yards away from the site where the cauldron was discovered.⁴

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. London*, XXI (1907), p. 325.

² *Archaeologia*, LVII (1901), p. 246. For further particulars about this bowl I am indebted to Mr J. Wymer of Reading Museum.

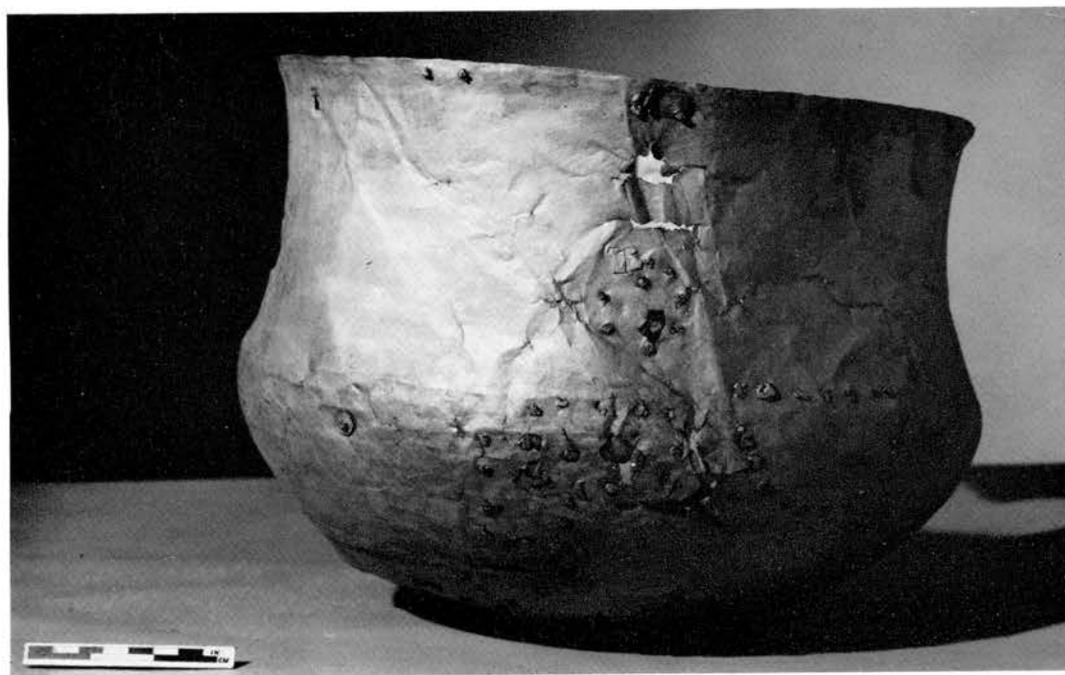
³ W. F. Grimes (ed.), *Aspects of Archaeology* (1951), pp. 186 ff.

⁴ For this information and for the news of the cauldron's discovery the author is indebted to Grace, Lady Briscoe, and to Mr L. P. Morley for the photographs.



(a)

(b)



(c)

Roman votive hoard from Icklingham, Suffolk. (a) Pottery bowl; (b) pewter dish; (c) bronze cauldron.

PAGAN SAXON BURIALS AT LITTLE PAXTON, HUNTINGDONSHIRE

C. F. TEBBUTT AND T. C. LETHBRIDGE

ON Good Friday 1961 I happened to be visiting the gravel pits at Little Paxton. On glancing down into those on the south side of the road to Ray House Farm, I saw three schoolboys out on a mud bank recently emerged from below winter flood level (Nat. 100 m. Grid. T.L. 196629). They were squatting in a tight circle and appeared to be digging something out of the mud with their fingers. Unable to restrain my curiosity I approached and found John Jaggard, a keen young archaeologist aged 14, with his younger brother and a friend, working to extract a large and nearly whole pot from the mud.

The pot, of which only part of the neck and rim was missing, was plain and undecorated and obviously of Pagan Saxon date (Pl. II *a*). It was partly filled with cremated bones among which were two applied brooches (Fig. 1 *a*).

In the mud just under the urn we found sherds of another vessel, heavily ornamented with stamps and bosses, of which enough pieces were recovered to make possible its restoration, save for the neck and rim (Pl. II *b*). The decoration of this urn consisted of five bosses placed round the widest part, five horizontal lines of stamps each of a different pattern, and below these, between the bosses, five shield-shaped panels each with its different pattern of stamps from one of the lines above.

The remainder of the mud bank, and others in the vicinity, were dug over, resulting in the finding of a small number of sherds from other urns, some decorated with stamps (Fig. 2).

It was soon realized that none of the above finds were *in situ*. The mud in which they were found was in fact the topsoil that had been dug from above the gravel subsoil by the dragline digger, swung out over the pit in its bucket and dropped into the water. The actual site of the cemetery must therefore have been north of the find spot. It seems almost a miracle that the urn containing the brooches survived, landing upright almost intact with all its contents.

From the small number of urns represented by the sherds found, it would seem to have been a very small cemetery, perhaps even a barrow. The burials too must have been shallow, as the missing rims of the two pots showed old breaks as if by damage from ploughing while they were *in situ*.

In July of the same year, about 300 yards W.S.W. of the above site (Nat. 100 m. Grid 193628), a skeleton, lying on its back and extended, was found when the topsoil was bulldozed away from a new gravel-digging area. It was a male, lying E. and W.

and had a small iron knife lying under the right upper arm. It had all the appearance of a Saxon burial.

I am greatly indebted to the directors of Messrs Inns and Co. for permission to excavate. But for John Jaggard the discovery would almost certainly not have been

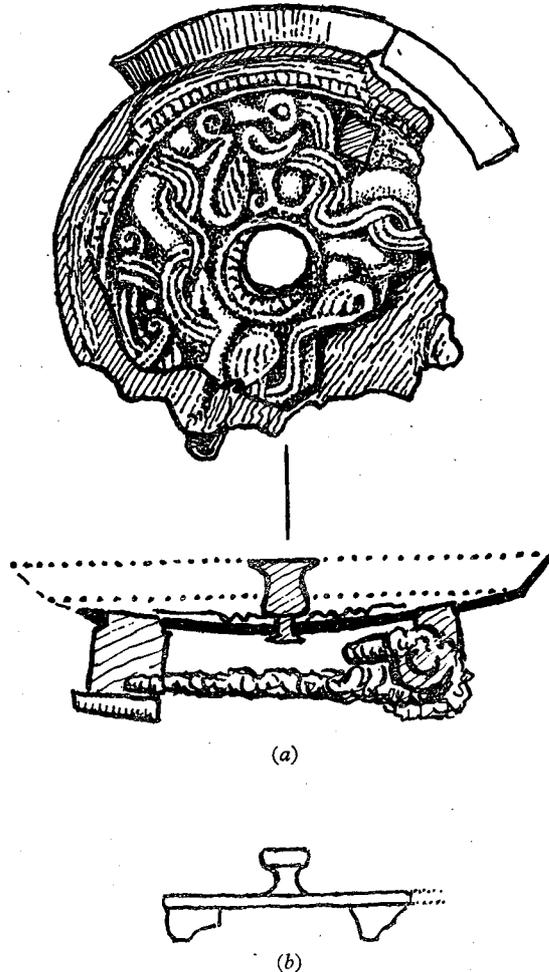


Fig. 1. (a) One of the pair of 'applied' brooches from Little Paxton, with section. (Scale: overall diameter is 2.8 in.) (b) Side view of a Romano-British disc brooch with enamel and glass mosaic face. From Woodcuts, Dorset. (After Pitt-Rivers.)

made and he and his family did most of the work. I am grateful to Mr Lethbridge for his drawings of the brooches and his valuable note on them, printed below.

The finds will be preserved in the Norris Museum, St Ives.

C. F. T.

THE PAXTON 'APPLIED' BROOCHES

(Fig. 1 a)

Cambridge is really at the eastern limit of the 'applied' brooch area. These brooches are common in the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries which lie round it, and even more common to the west; but they are rare on the other side. For some reason it became the fashion to speak of the 'applied' brooch and its cousin, the cast 'saucer' brooch, as Saxon, although the area in which they are most commonly found was apparently

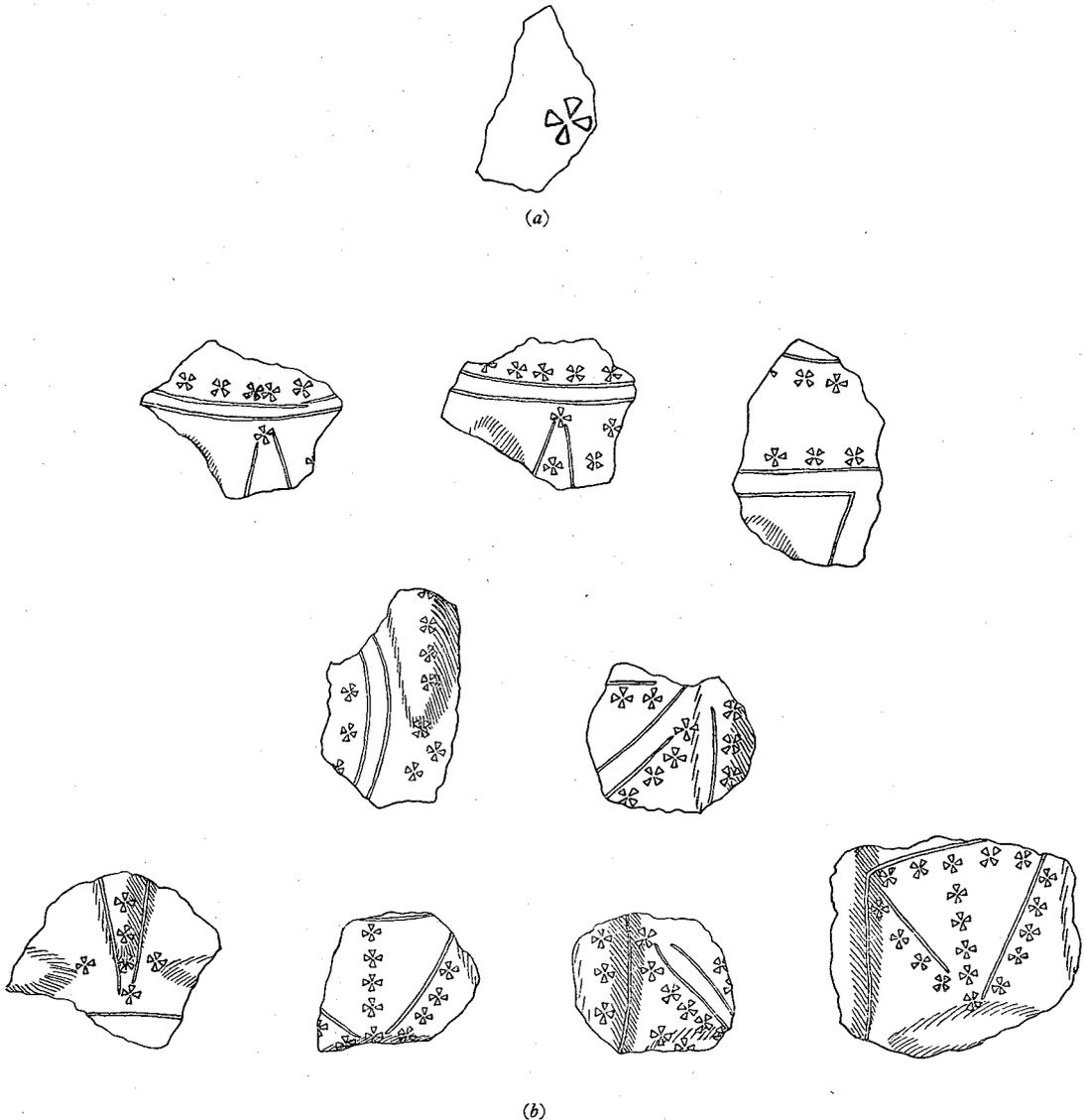


Fig. 2. Sherds of Anglo-Saxon urns from Little Paxton. (Scale: $\frac{1}{2}$.) (a) Single sherd with cruciform stamp. (b) Some of a number of sherds from an urn with incised decoration and a small cruciform stamp; this urn appears to have had both vertical and horizontal bosses.

once part of Middle Anglia. The brooches are of course numerous in some districts, such as Wessex and Sussex, which really were known as Saxon, but I do not think any cemetery has produced so many of them as the Anglian one at Kempston in Bedfordshire.¹ It has therefore become rather a crucial matter in Anglo-Saxon studies to try and find out who made these ornaments. I do not know what theory is now taught to students and so circulated to the populace in general, but I, for one, do not believe that the things were made by Anglo-Saxons at all, and only use the term Saxon as a convenience in describing the period to which they belong. The Paxton brooches therefore provide an interesting opportunity for examining the matter.

I have never counted the 'applied' brooches in the Cambridge Museum, which contains a large number of them. They are mostly faced with a disc plate of gilded bronze, which has been stamped with a metal die to form a repoussé ornamental pattern. Several of these plates in the museum, especially from the cemeteries around Barrington, are stamped with the same die as many from Kempston. They were therefore distributed over an area of perhaps thirty miles in diameter. A rarer form of applied brooch, stamped with a star pattern, apparently ranged from Guildown in Surrey to Lackford and Holywell Row in Suffolk. The theory that such things were made by itinerant metal workers is most improbable, for their manufacture involved several different processes: die cutting, bronze casting, gilding and other crafts which required a settled workshop. It was an industry which produced the things in considerable numbers. It is clear then that it was the finished article which was distributed by a travelling salesman, from a fixed centre of production. If this is the correct answer, then the brooches are not of the slightest value to students in fixing the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon tribes. They simply indicate the beats of travelling salesmen and the countrywoman's taste in a given area.

The Paxton brooches are not unique in the matter of ornament. A second pair from Barrington, from the same die, is in the Cambridge Museum and there is also a single specimen of unknown provenance (Pl. III *a, b*). This kind of ornamentation used to be known as Salin's Style I, but Sir Thomas Kendrick in his *Anglo-Saxon Art* recognized various English, or rather British, variants of this style and detected a Romano-British ancestry behind them. Our Paxton ornament is close to what Kendrick termed the Kentish variety of the Helmet style; although I do not think the helmet comes into the composition of our beast. One from Howletts in Kent (Kendrick, *op. cit.* fig. 16, v) comes reasonably close to it in general appearance. Our animal is, however, less disjointed and is presumably earlier than any of his examples. Ours (Fig. 1*a*) seems to have been formed by the addition of a beast's head and legs to a Classical skein pattern. In fact, as far as decoration counts for anything, one would say that the Paxton brooches were ornamented in a barbarized sub-Roman style.

¹ The distribution of the brooches as known at present appears to be roughly as follows: Cambridgeshire 50, Berkshire 25, Bedfordshire 20, Northamptonshire 20, Gloucestershire 12. Odd pairs are found elsewhere, but not in numbers comparable to these counties. Had the brooches been Saxon, we should have expected large numbers in Essex, Middlesex and Sussex. Berkshire may have been a Saxon area, but this is uncertain. No one knows whether the *Gewissae* were Saxons or *foederati*.

Next, let us look at the construction of the brooches. The 'applied' brooch is not confined to the Anglo-Saxon period. In an early form it was made by the pre-Roman Celts of Gaul (P. Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, pl. 166, no. 349). Then it appears as the well-known 'griffin' brooch from Santon Downham in the Cambridge Museum (Sir C. Fox, *Pattern and Purpose*, pl. 37*b*). This is clearly a British product of about the time of the Claudian Conquest. Applied brooches are found on Romano-British sites, but satisfactory dates are not easy to obtain. R. G. Collingwood, in his classification of Romano-British brooches (*Archaeology of Roman Britain*, fig. 64, 105), gives an example of a fairly common form, with a Celtic pattern of scroll and trumpet on its face, but he is not definite as to its date. These brooches are not rare. Boyd Dawkins in his *Cave Hunting* gave a figure (25) of one apparently found with fourth, or fifth, century *minimi*. Several examples have also been found of another Romano-British type, whose front plates are stamped with a design of soldiers and standards based on Constantinian coinage of the fourth century.

Another feature of several Saxon 'applied' brooches, including the Paxton specimens, is the biconical central stud. This is found on numerous Romano-British disc brooches, where it is often set with enamel on top (Fig. 1*b*). Examples are shown in the Third Wroxeter Report (pl. xvi, 11 and 12) and in Pitt-Rivers' excavation report on Woodcuts (*Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, vol. 1, pl. 13).

As far as one can see then, all the features which go to make up the applied brooch are Celtic or Roman in origin. The barbarizing of ornamental design had spread far over Britain and the Continent long before the Anglo-Saxon Conquest. The only reason we call these brooches Saxon is that they were worn by people buried in graves of that time. We do not, however, speak of the numerous corpses buried in graves of the period who had rings of elephant ivory buried with them as being Numidians! As far as the skeletons with 'applied' brooches are concerned, and this holds good also for the 'saucer' brooches, we might just as well speak of them as Britons. There is no justification whatever for theories of tribal distributions which are based on the idea that these brooches are Saxon. It is far more probable that they were produced in a sub-Roman workshop and distributed far and wide by pedlars.

I no longer feel happy in attempting to fix the date of objects in the Anglo-Saxon period, but, as far as ornament is any guide, these Paxton brooches are fairly early in the series. Their pattern should be compared with that on the big square-headed brooch from Holywell Row Grave 11. I have tried to resolve it into its component parts elsewhere (*Dark Age Britain*, fig. 21). In fact it seems to me that all these brooches, whether square-headed or applied, have, when they belong to so-called 'Kentish' types, originated in sub-Roman London between A.D. 450 and A.D. 600. Many other objects of continental and even African origin found their way into Anglo-Saxon graves, which clearly shows that merchants were getting their products distributed far about the country. It seems reasonably clear that this is what happened to brooches also.



(a)

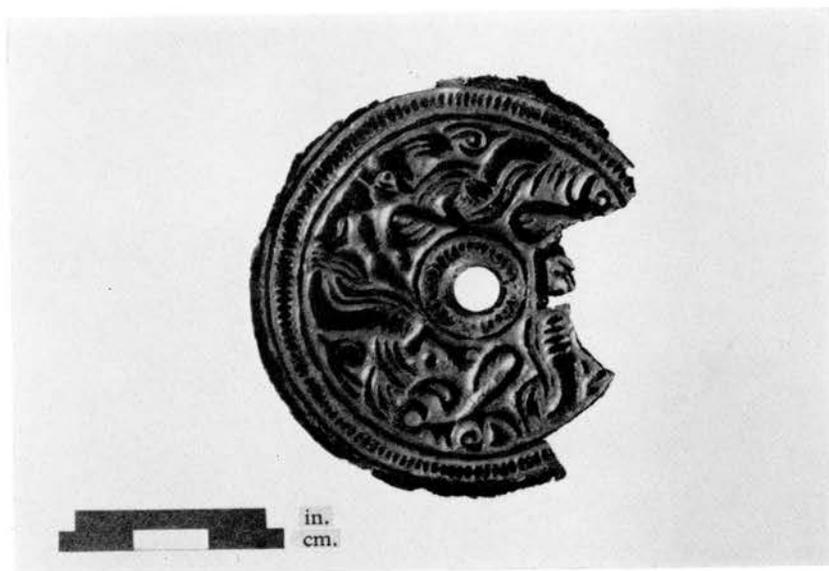


(b)

Pagan Saxon urns from Little Paxton.



(a)



(b)

Saxon 'applied' brooches. (a) A pair from Barrington, Cambs.; (b) no provenance.

AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY 'BOAT-SHAPED' BUILDING AT BUCKDEN, HUNTINGDONSHIRE

C. F. TEBBUTT, F.S.A.

IN the late summer of 1961 the construction of the by-pass on the A 1 past the village of Buckden was started, and by midsummer the whole route had been bulldozed to a depth of about 1 ft. (National 100 m. Grid TL 190675).

I noticed near the south end of the by-pass that a small area of the exposed surface—here a layer of clay—was stained with black wood ash and specks of bright red burnt clay. On scraping this with a trowel it proved to be a very thin layer, except in a narrow section where it went deeper. This soon showed itself to be a beam slot 8-9 in. wide at the top, 6 in. at the bottom and 4 in. deep, dug into the gravel subsoil. It was filled with clay, heavily stained with the burnt particles and charcoal already noted. Among these were larger pieces of carbonized wood and lumps of hard burnt clay that might have been daub.

This beam slot, running almost exactly east and west, was traced for a distance of 46 ft., where it ended abruptly at both ends. A return slot was searched for at the west end without success, but post-holes about 6 in. in diameter soon appeared in a regular line southwards and mainly equidistant. At 15 ft. a similar beam slot was found running eastward parallel to the first, but only for a distance of 41 ft. It was then seen that the two beam slots (representing the north and south walls of a building) were not straight but bulged slightly outwards in a regular curve, giving inside measurements of 17 ft. in the centre and 15 ft. at the ends (see plan, Fig. 1).

Post-holes were also found at the east end of the building, but not so regularly placed as those at the opposing end, and at the south-east corner they appeared to be in some confusion. While a modern pit near the south-east corner may have destroyed some post-holes, there was no doubt that the southern beam slot did stop short of the corner as shown on the plan.

Excavation had reached this point, when the road contractors began to dig out the pedestrian underpass tunnel across the new road 65 ft. south of the southern beam slot (the building lay across the line of both new motor lanes). Thereafter a shuttle service of lorries, carting away excavated material, crossed and recrossed the site for several days. This coincided with hot weather and the flattened surface turned to concrete.

Only later, after heavy rain, was it possible to return and restart trowelling the surface, and by this time the contractors' work on the road surfaces themselves had

HOUSE PLAN—BUCKDEN BY-PASS 1961

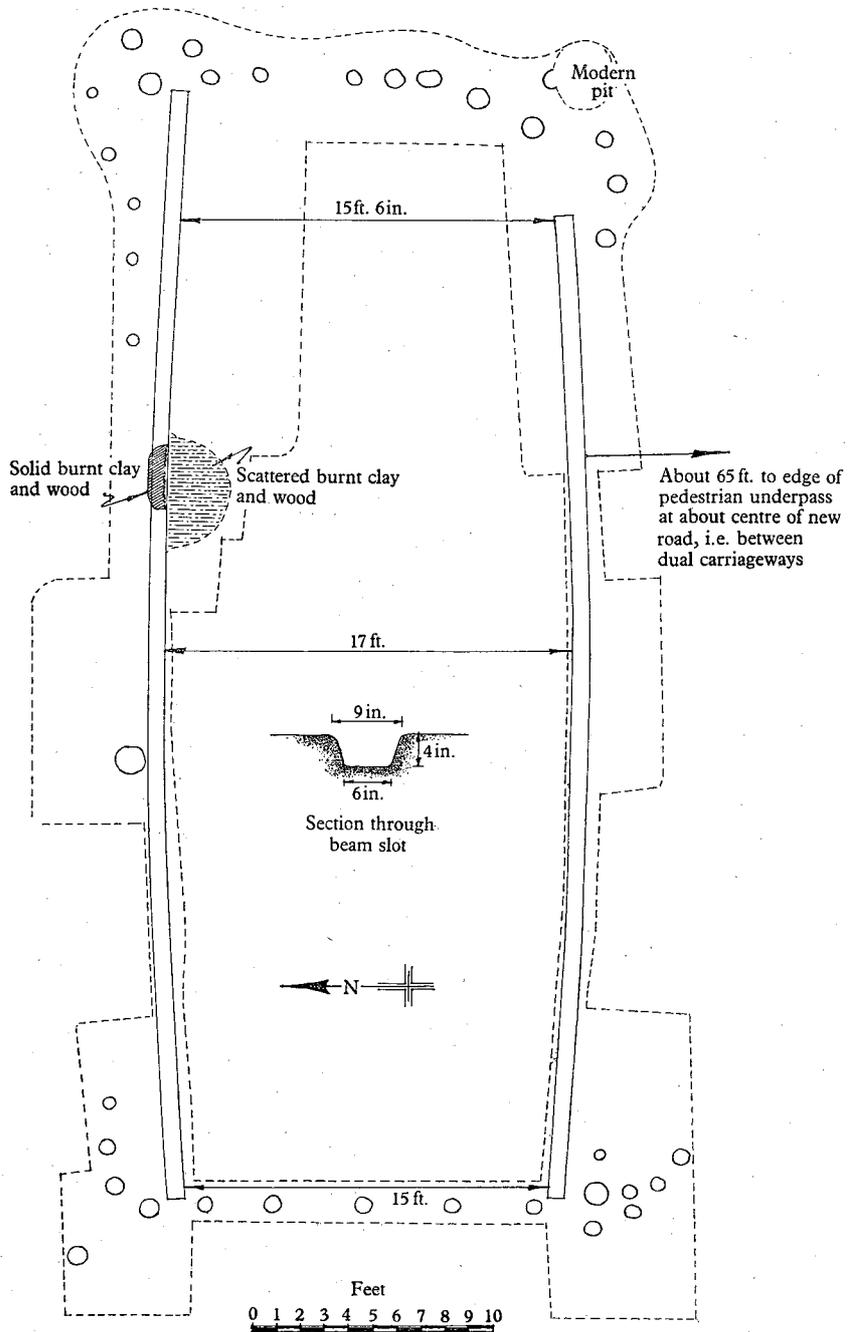


Fig. 1.

advanced almost to the site. In the limited time available, as much of the area as possible was scraped both inside and outside the building. This resulted in finding at three of the corners a number of smaller post-holes (possibly spurs) surrounding a larger one, and another large post-hole near the outside centre of the northern beam slot. The extent of the area examined is indicated on the plan.

No features were found inside the building except near the north wall to the east of the centre. Here was an area of greater concentration of burnt clay and wood than elsewhere, and the beam slot at this point was filled almost solid with similar material. There was however no great depth of burnt matter, and I am inclined to think that it may represent the place where the fire that destroyed the building was fiercest, rather than a hearth.

It is impossible to say with any certainty where the doorway or doorways into the building were. Possibly the wider gap (3 ft. 4 in.) between post-holes at the east end was one, while the shortened beam slot and irregular pattern of post-holes at the south-east corner may indicate some sort of porch.

There was no means of telling how much, if any, of the floor had been scraped away by the bulldozer. What was left was less than 1 in. in thickness and consisted of clay, probably artificially laid, resting directly on the underlying gravel.

Finds in the floor, beam slots and post-holes were unfortunately very scarce and, apart from two short iron nails, consisted of a number of sherds of well-worn pottery. These included one Roman Castor-ware base, several scraps of hand-made black micaceous Saxon pottery, and a rather more numerous group of St Neots-ware sherds. Of these last, two were found in one of the post-holes forming the east end of the building. All the other sherds were found either trodden into the floor or round the post-holes at the east end.

I am very grateful to J. Hurst, F.S.A., and B. Hope-Taylor, F.S.A., who have kindly examined the pottery. They agree that the St Neots-ware group is the latest, and dates from the second half of the eleventh century. This is, therefore, the likely date when the building became disused.

Wooden buildings with bulging or 'boat-shaped' sides are known over a wide area of Europe.¹ Their origins and connections are discussed by Dr Hope-Taylor in the article which follows.

I wish to thank Messrs A. Monk and Co. Ltd. for allowing me to work in the midst of their highly mechanized operations, Messrs E. Rogers and C. Daines for invaluable help in excavation, and Mr S. D. Cox for preparing the plan.

¹ A 'boat-shaped' Saxon house 15 ft. by 50 ft. was found by Group Captain Knocker at Thetford, but is not yet published.

THE 'BOAT-SHAPED' HOUSE IN NORTHERN EUROPE

BRIAN HOPE-TAYLOR, PH.D., F.S.A.

THE Buckden house is a notable addition to the growing body of post-Roman settlement-structures excavated in Britain. It presents, in association, two features of particular interest: namely, the curvature of its side-walls and the continuous slots in which they were set (see plan, p. 14).

Houses with curved side-walls have long been familiar features of certain continental settlement-sites, where as often as not they are found wholly or partly to have been emplaced in slots (as opposed to series of separate post-holes). Our acquaintance with structures of this kind in Britain, however, is slight and more recent, and in giving us the Buckden house-plan Mr Tebbutt provides also the occasion for tentative assessment of their significance in this country.

At the outset a general issue must be resolved. It is customary for houses with bowed sides, such as that at Buckden, to be described as 'boat-shaped'; but, while the term will be used here, there is need to point out that it is not altogether satisfactory on two counts. In the first place, it fails to provide an accurate or illuminating point of reference; for if we say that anything is boat-shaped we are bound to mean—or at all events to suggest—that it is pointed at one or both ends, like the generality of boats in historic times. The houses that are usually so described, however, are never pointed at either end. Further, this analogy with boats tends to invite the begging of the fundamental question as to the ultimate origin of this form of house.

It has often been alleged that the so-called 'boat-shaped' house originated directly from the use of overturned boats as ready-made roofs on land;¹ in which view the absence of 'prow' and 'stern' presumptively ceases to be a plain fact and has to be seen instead as a hypothetical modification of a prototype which is not in evidence.

The unlikelihood of this hypothesis is shown by reference to the archaeological record, wherein the house with bowed sides appears in two distinct and widely separated periods: first during the third millennium B.C.,² and then again during the first millennium A.D. There is no evidence of any direct connection between these occurrences, yet the correspondences between the prehistoric and the later structures are sometimes strikingly close—so close, indeed, as to indicate a real community not only in effect but in cause also. Thus, it would be most unreasonable to attribute the

¹ A view now opposed by many Continental archaeologists, but recently defended by Professor Brøndsted in *The Vikings* (Penguin Books, 1960), p. 168.

² H. Quitta, *Die Ausgrabungen in der Bandkeramische Siedlung Zwenkau-Harth, Kr. Leipzig*; in *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland*, Berlin (1958), pp. 68-74.

later occurrence of the house-type to borrowing from contemporaneous boat-forms, if the earlier manifestation of the same form could not be explained similarly.

There is in fact no evidence to suggest that boats of the requisite type and size had any place in the repertoire of the Danubian neolithic culture in which the 'boat-shaped' house is first seen to appear. Clearly, then, the hypothesis has no ascertained basis and rests merely on a single, possibly quite fortuitous, point of resemblance between the plans of these houses and of some boats. If the matter were indeed such as could be judged solely by a comparison of outlines, we might as well be asked to believe that the house-plan was derived from the use of half-barrels. Moreover, since the critical features of the 'boat-shaped' house-plan can be otherwise explained simply and directly, hypothetical reference to boats is not only uneconomical but unnecessary.

Accordingly, the house with bowed side-walls must be considered primarily as a response to some particular need or problem in the matter of house-building itself. We have to be clear that in all its known occurrences this form was being used in preference to any of a number of established rectilinear forms; so that it may reasonably be supposed to have had some positive merit of its own.

Now it is noticeable that the form with curved side-walls appears in periods when buildings in general were characteristically large and of great length relative to width. The materials and means available naturally set a fairly severe limit to the width of roof that could readily be spanned; so that, whenever socio-economic organization required buildings with greater floor-space, the desired increase had to be achieved by longitudinal development. In direct ratio to this gain, however, the severity of certain problems of structural stability became more critical. The side-walls of a long building expose large superficial areas to wind-pressures which operate against lateral stability, and the problem becomes proportionately more serious as length is increased relative to width. Thus, the use of long, narrow buildings set a premium on every possible means of preserving lateral stability.

One expedient that was widely used was the practice of placing buildings end-on to the prevailing wind, so that only the relatively small areas of the upwind end-walls were subject to its direct pressure. However, although such judicious orientation may overall have reduced the strains imposed by strong winds, it aggravated the less obvious but equally serious problem of longitudinal stability—and it is that problem which is most likely to have been the formative context of the 'boat-shaped' type of house in both its known periods of occurrence.

It is clear that curvature of the side-walls would give much the same aerodynamic advantages as are produced in our own day by the streamlining of motor-cars, and it is at all events no more daring to suggest that those advantages were realized at an early date than to derive the form, less directly, from boats at an advanced stage of adaptation to hydrodynamic problems. Especially worthy of remark, perhaps, is the fact that in a house of this type the area of the end-walls is reduced to a minimum.

The form has other merits, moreover, which become fully apparent only when the relationship between the walls and roof is considered critically; for the most important

and inescapable implication of the bowing of the side-walls is that this kind of house had a curved roof-ridge, arching high over the wide central area of the house and falling towards a low gable at either end. Only thus is it possible for all the rafters, running upward from the curved side-walls, to have met the ridge at a constant angle. Probably the convexity of the ridge was the primary feature, to which the side-walls responded; but, however that may be, it is clear that the development, as a whole, produced a greater degree of structural stability. Aerodynamic considerations apart, the bowing both of side-walls and ridge must substantially have reduced the risk of longitudinal collapse.

This type of construction offered also some economy in material, since all the rafters save those over the middle of the building were shorter than would otherwise have been the case. Further, it would have made possible the use of relatively slender timbers for the main horizontal elements of the framework, since they would gain in strength and rigidity from being held in compression to form convex curves.

From the last point, in particular, it will be seen that nothing was more vital to such buildings than a very high degree of stability in those main vertical timbers which were set into the ground. Several methods of wall-construction were used at various times and places, but each required as its basis series of uprights set out along the curved wall-line. The upper ends of these posts would be lashed, dowelled or jointed to a simple curved wall-plate, or held between pairs of flexible horizontal timbers set on edge to bend conformably. Thus, the vertical posts could be emplaced at such intervals as purely structural needs dictated, whereafter the spaces between them would be filled with rectangular panels of wattle-and-daub or planking. That method has the merit of economy in heavy timber and carpentry; but the curved plan is so dependent on settings of vertical posts as specially to invite a further development, from frame-construction to what may be called palisade-construction, in which the walls are composed entirely of close-set, upright timbers.

The wattlework panels of early framed buildings were usually set into shallow grooves or slots in the ground to make all weatherproof, and where palisade-construction was adopted it seems naturally to have led to the further development of continuous foundation-slots or trenches as the preferable alternative to series of separate post-holes. Decay of the earth-fast ends of wall-timbers would ultimately suggest the advantage of stepping them into horizontal foundation-beams—ground-sills¹—laid in the slots.

It is likely, though not certain, that the Buckden house rested on a foundation of this kind. Mr Tebbutt's recovery of its plan was achieved only by skill and persistence in the face of quite extraordinary difficulties, and the circumstances precluded that minute dissection of the slot-fillings which might have allowed a more positive diagnosis; but it can be said, at least, that nothing in the internal evidence is incon-

¹ This term is preferable to the almost invariably misused 'sleeper-beams', and is in accord with Continental usage. The term 'sleeper-trench' has an even more deplorable history and all too frequently is a vehicle for false and uncritical assumptions (for the effect of which on the study of Roman timber buildings, see I. A. Richmond in *Studies in Building History* (Odhams Press, 1962)).

sistent with the supposition that the house was based on ground-sills. In particular, the care that Mr Tebbutt has given to the observation and presentation of its plan enables us to see that the apparent curve of each wall was in reality composed of three straight sections, which could well be thought to represent so many straight horizontal timbers. On the other hand, it has to be taken into account that the ground-sill does not occur among the boat-shaped buildings of the historic period on the Continent, where nevertheless they are characteristically divided into three parts by internal partitions or roof-posts.

That mode of division, giving a large chamber in the middle section of the interior, flanked by a smaller compartment at each end, arises naturally from the boat-shaped form and underlines its social and economic implications; for both plan and elevation throw emphasis on the middle of the building, where it attains its greatest width and height, and determine that the function of the whole will be focused there. Such an arrangement is appropriate to this form of structure, which cannot satisfactorily be enlarged once it is built, and accords well with purely domestic use. Excavation of boat-shaped buildings of the historic period has revealed no sign of that special provision for the stalling of cattle that so frequently accompanies the domestic features of the true, rectilinear, long-house (which typically shows the focus of human occupation at one end of the building, the rest being given over to the animals). There is, in general, a contrast between these structural types that must reflect divergencies in social organization. The rectilinear long-house was designed to accommodate a group of farmers and its stock under a single roof, and was so constructed that expansion of the group or its herd could be met by longitudinal extension of the building. The boat-shaped house, on the other hand, appears generally to have been a dwelling for humans alone, and is suggestive of a system in which expansion of a family or other group more readily gave rise to a multiplication of households.

It was as a barrack-block, however, that the boat-shaped house was most impressively exploited, within the great Viking fortresses of Trelleborg, Aggersborg and Fyrkat (tenth–eleventh centuries A.D.).¹ Trelleborg, the most fully investigated and published of these sites,² furnishes good instances of the features that have been remarked above: palisade-type walls, set in continuous foundation-slots (though these were punctuated by regular series of localized deepenings for the reception of every other post), and division of the interiors into three parts.³ The houses at Aggersborg and Fyrkat rested in separate post-holes, with some interesting variations in constructional detail.

¹ See generalized references and bibliographies in J. Brøndsted, *The Vikings* (Penguin Books, 1960), in the same author's *Danmarks Oldtid*, III (Copenhagen, 1960), and in H. Arbman, *The Vikings* (Thames and Hudson, 1961).

² P. Nørlund, *Trelleborg* (Copenhagen, 1948).

³ In addition, it should be noted that in the Trelleborg houses, and some kindred structures elsewhere, the doors in the side-walls are set at some distance from the mid-point. The writer is thereby further encouraged to suggest that the concentration of burned clay and wood at the north wall of the Buckden house represents a doorway (see p. 15).

Until recently the reinvention of the boat-shaped house was ascribed to the Vikings. Now, however, discoveries of kindred buildings some centuries older than the Viking examples have removed the basis of that assumption. The earliest of the structures in question has been found at Hodde (Ribe, Denmark)¹ as the result of aerial reconnaissance. Trial excavation, on a small scale, has produced evidence that suggests that this, a three-aisled building with curved side-walls founded in slots, is to be dated to the earlier part of the Roman Iron Age or even to the end of the pre-Roman Iron Age. Another house with curved side-walls, based in separate post-holes and with probably two pairs of roof-posts dividing the interior into three parts, has been excavated at Traelborg (Ribe, Denmark)² and is dated to the period 400-600 A.D. Similar houses, ascribed to the eighth century, were found to underlie the larger and more sophisticated buildings of the Viking fortress at Aggersborg. A building in several respects analogous to the Buckden house has been disclosed by excavations at Lindholm Høje (Aalborg, Denmark):³ a house, based partly in long slots and partly in separate post-holes, which is referred with probability to the eighth or ninth century. The parallel is not a precise one, for the Lindholm structure has regular series of auxiliary posts outside the walls, is divided into three aisles by two longitudinal rows of roof-posts, and certainly was without ground-sills; but in size, proportion and general character there is a family resemblance. A point of special interest is that this building was found to have superseded a house of rectilinear plan.

Some houses of the later pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman Iron Age excavated in Jutland⁴ attain maximum width only in their middle sections and thus, tapering very slightly towards their ends, the side-walls present an unemphatic, angular bulge. Among the same structures there are instances of palisade-type walls and the use of continuous foundation-slots, and in general these are houses of no great length, relative to width; so that overall they might be thought to offer a hypothetical link between the normal rectilinear house and the form with curved sides.

In roughly the same period and later, buildings with side-walls more or less curved were not uncommon in Sweden and Norway; but for the most part they were walled with stone rubble and turf, and their relevance is the less immediate. Two recent discoveries in those countries must be mentioned, however: a boat-shaped building of the sixth century at Stord, to the south of Bergen, Norway,⁵ in which continuous slots housed wooden walls externally reinforced with banks of earth and rubble; and similar buildings on the island of Helgö, Uppland, Sweden,⁶ dated to the same or

¹ J. Brøndsted, *Danmarks Oldtid*, III (Copenhagen, 1960), p. 395.

² *Ibid.* pp. 283-4.

³ T. Ramskou in *Acta Archaeologica*, xxviii (1957), fig. 12.

⁴ E.g. those at Nørre Fjand, in Jutland: G. Hatt, 'Nørre Fjand', *Arkæol. Kunsthist. Skr. Dan. Vid. Selsk.* 2, no. 2 (1957).

⁵ E. Hinsch, *Naust og Hall i Jernalderen*, Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen, Humanistisk Serie (1960), no. 2.

⁶ As yet unpublished. The writer visited the site in 1960 and discussed these buildings with Mrs B. Arrhenius. The slots had been thought possibly to represent internal drains, but Mrs Arrhenius acknowledged the likelihood of the suggestion that they carried an inner facing of vertical planks.

a slightly later period. These instances remind us of the possibility that outside the wooden walls of the Buckden house there were originally earthen banks, since removed by ploughing.

Outside Scandinavia, boat-shaped houses of the eighth or early ninth century have been found at Warendorf in Westphalia¹—where, as at Lindholm, they are shown to have succeeded rectilinear buildings.

It will be apparent from the foregoing that the evidence at present available points to Scandinavia as the centre of the boat-shaped building's later development; and it suggests moreover that the appearance of the form in other regions is possibly to be attributed to Scandinavian influences. With this in mind it appears curiously appropriate that the only two well-authenticated examples known in England—the Buckden house itself and an 'apparently boat-shaped' building at Thetford,² based in separate post-holes—should both occur in the area of Scandinavian settlement and both fall within the period ninth–eleventh centuries;³ but no serious attempt can be made to judge the situation until a substantially greater number of instances is available.⁴

Mr Tebbutt's suggestion that the Buckden house stood on a ground-sill is perfectly consistent with such Scandinavian connections as are suggested, despite the fact that it would in that case appear to be the only known example of a boat-shaped building of its period so constructed; for there is good evidence of the use of ground-sills within the Scandinavian *milieu* from at latest the eleventh century onward.⁵ Further, such positive and negative evidence as is available from this country strongly suggests that the ground-sill came into favour in the century preceding the Norman conquest.⁶ Possibly it was reintroduced to England from the Continent, for it makes no appearance among the known Anglo-Saxon buildings dated within the period fifth–ninth centuries. For example, it has been shown that

¹ W. Winkelmann, in *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1958), pp. 492–517.

² G. Knocker and R. G. Hughes in *Archaeological News Letter* (January 1950), p. 119.

³ Among the house-shaped stone monuments of northern England there are numerous examples, referable to the period in question, with curved sides and 'ridge'—hence the name 'hog-back' usually applied to the whole class. The writer will shortly publish a definitive study which leads to the conclusion that this is not itself a Scandinavian type of monument, as sometimes has been alleged, but that it is an insular development. Thus, the truly hog-backed examples must mark a response to 'boat-shaped' houses actually standing in or near the dominant centres of production in north Yorkshire.

⁴ Since this was written a wooden hall with tapered ends, based on series of upright posts set in a shallow trench, has been disclosed on a documented site of royal residence at Cheddar, Somerset. This building, the maximum dimensions of which are 78 × 18 feet, is dated by its excavator, Mr P. Rahtz, to the ninth or early tenth century (before 930). The writer gratefully acknowledges Mr Rahtz's kind permission for inclusion of this further instance.

In addition, the slight curvature of the walls of Westminster Hall, built for William Rufus, should be noted. This feature was originally brought to the writer's attention by Mr H. M. Colvin.

⁵ E.g. in the later Viking trading-centres. Good instances from Hedeby and Sigtuna are shown in M. Rudolph, *Germanischer Holzbau der Wikingerzeit* (Neumünster, 1942), Abb. 119–Abb. 122 incl. Mature exploitation of this device is seen in early stave-churches (e.g. Urnes and Hemse: see E. Ekhoft, *Svenska Stavkyrkor* (Stockholm, 1914–16), pp. 30–65, 79–128).

⁶ The building of what appears to have been a sill-based house is described in the early eleventh century by Byrhtferth (*Byrhtferth's Manual*, E.E.T.S. 177 (1929), p. 142, conveniently cited by M. W. Thompson in *Arch. J.* cxiv (1957), p. 80).

the seventh-century buildings at Yeavinger, Northumberland,¹ a series of later halls at Old Windsor, Berks.,² and the original structure of the church at Greensted, Essex,³ all with timber walls set into foundation-trenches, were built without ground-sills. Ground-sills appear for the first time at Greensted in a secondary structural phase; at Old Windsor in the tenth or eleventh century, and probably in the same period at Thetford.

It should be remarked that the two examples of rectilinear houses based on ground-sills found at Old Windsor both resembled the Buckden house in that their end-walls were not indicated by beam-slots. There, it is most probable that the end-walls rested on transverse beams laid on top of the longitudinal timbers, secured by some form of half-jointing or dowelling, as in some Scandinavian stave-churches. The upper beams in that case need not have been set into the ground at all, and it is improbable that any archaeological trace of them would remain. The same explanation might well apply to the Buckden house, for the significance of the post-holes at its east and west ends remains doubtful. They appear from the plan (p. 14) to run in series, with northern and southern arms extending for some distance along the outsides of the wall-slots; from which it seems that they are more likely to represent external, ancillary features than the actual structures of the gable walls themselves. If so, the absence of truly structural indications at the gable ends increases the probability that the building as a whole was founded on ground-sills.

That and other constructional problems can be solved only in the light of a multiplication of instances, and, now that Mr Tebbutt has shown the way, it is to be hoped and expected that further discoveries of this and kindred types of house will soon be made in Britain.

Meanwhile, it can be said that the structure of the Buckden house is wholly consistent with the evidence of the associated pottery, which shows its occupation to have come to an end during the second half of the eleventh century. While the date of its construction cannot be determined with any certainty, a pre-Conquest origin seems extremely probable. The building's lifetime is unlikely to have exceeded fifty years, and that span is most reasonably set somewhere within the period 1000-1100.

In congratulating Mr Tebbutt on this important new discovery, the writer adds his warmest thanks for the generosity which allowed this broad and tentative review to proceed from it.

¹ B. Hope-Taylor in *Medieval Arch.* I (1957), pp. 148-9 (summary account). Definitive account to be published as one of the series of Ministry of Works Research Monographs.

² B. Hope-Taylor in *Medieval Arch.* II (1958), pp. 183-5 (summary account). Definitive account to be published as one of the Ministry of Works Research Monographs.

³ Excavated by O. Olsen, H. Christie and the writer in 1960. A full account is now in preparation.

THE BUILDING OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE CHAPEL

E. R. SANDEEN

Know ye that...the right honorable Sr Nicholas Bacon Knight Lord Keper of the great Seall of England, have freely bestowed vpon o^r sayd Colledg dyvers great benefits, and purposeth to encrease the same to the great commoditey of o^r sayde Colledge.¹

ON either side of the entrance to the chapel of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, stand statues of two of the college's great benefactors, Matthew Parker and Sir Nicholas Bacon. Matthew Parker's services to the University of Cambridge and to this college, which he served as Master from 1544 until 1553, rank him among their wisest and most generous friends.² Sir Nicholas, though not so intimately associated with the college and university, proved on several occasions both a bountiful and thoughtful patron of education. Twice Bacon was connected with proposals for educational reform—once he suggested that some of the revenue resulting from the dissolution be applied to the training of statesmen and ambassadors and, at another time, drafted a short treatise concerning the education of children in the care of the Court of Wards.³ The Lord Keeper was in 1574 persuaded by Archbishop Parker, who was one of his good friends, to aid the rebuilding of the Cambridge University Library, and Parker's persuasion resulted in a generous bequest of about seventy volumes.⁴ But Sir Nicholas was also interested in the welfare of his own college, Corpus Christi.⁵ A short while before his death, he endowed six scholarships in the college for boys from the Redgrave (Suffolk) Grammar School which he had founded.⁶ His most important gift to the college was the sum of £200 for the construction of a chapel which, until 1823, stood on part of the site of the new chapel. His statue on the new chapel's façade is a just tribute to a man who throughout his life honoured, respected and furthered both education and religion.

¹ Taken from a testimonial letter addressed to Sir Nicholas by the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi, 27 January 1578/9 ('Miscellaneous Documents 1400-1700', no. 39).

² John Lamb (ed.), *Masters' History of the College of Corpus Christi* (London: John Murray, 1831), pp. 85-116.

³ 'Sir Nicholas Bacon', *D.N.B.* vol. 1.

⁴ E. R. Sandeen, 'The Origin of Sir Nicholas Bacon's Book-Plate', *Trans. Camb. Bibl. Soc.* II, no. 5 (1958), p. 373.

⁵ He matriculated in the college in 1523 and graduated B.A. in 1527 ('Sir Nicholas Bacon', *D.N.B.* vol. 1).

⁶ *Ibid.*

I began my research on the chapel because of the Lord Keeper's association with the building¹ but was induced to continue because of the wealth of material available for analysis and comparison. Corpus Christi College—as a good custodian of its resources—has preserved apparently every scrap of evidence produced in the course of the construction. As I studied the MSS. which describe the building of the chapel, I discovered that earlier historians of the college had greatly misjudged the part played by Sir Nicholas.²

The number of students in Corpus Christi College grew considerably during the sixteenth century as a result of the benefactions of Archbishop Parker. By 1578 the endowment and the buildings were both considered inadequate to serve the needs of the college.³ The Fellows seem to have felt their most serious problem to be the lack of a proper chapel. While the old Saxon church of St Benedict may have served as a chapel in medieval days, in 1578 the Fellows and scholars were unable to crowd into the unsuitable college chambers which were then being used as a chapel.⁴ Sir Nicholas was invited to the college by the Master and Fellows in September 1578, for the purpose of interesting him in their plans for the construction of a new chapel.⁵ It is usually stated that the Lord Keeper agreed to contribute £200 to the project, and that others were also induced to help defray the cost of the building, which amounted to over £650.⁶ Although not false, this summary is completely mis-

¹ This article is a part of a larger study entitled 'The Building Activities of Sir Nicholas Bacon' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of History, University of Chicago, 1959).

² The most important secondary source for the chapel's construction is Robert Masters, *The History of the College of Corpus Christi* (Cambridge: J. Bentham, 1753). A later edition of this work has been cited already. Masters had been a Fellow of the college, and his description of the chapel is valuable primary source material. He does not, however, make very clear how he obtained some of his information, so that one is handicapped in criticizing his views. The other very valuable secondary work is Robert Willis, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, ed. John Willis Clark (Cambridge: The University Press, 1886), 4 vols. The chapel is discussed at some length in vol. 1, some source material being completely transcribed. Willis also reprinted three views of the chapel. The first was David Loggan's view of the entire college sketched in 1688 and showing the north side of the chapel (cf. J. W. Clark and Arthur Gray (eds.), *Old Plans of Cambridge, 1574 to 1798* (Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1921)). Second was a sketch of the porch to the chapel reprinted from *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1826, but this appears to be only Loggan's drawing enlarged. The third is the well-known aquatint of the interior of the chapel by William Westall in Rudolph Ackermann's *A History of the University of Cambridge* (London: R. Ackermann, 1815), 1, p. 170.

³ The Fellows in a petition to the Bishop of Ely stated in 1578 that 'the number of scholars be so much increased, it [the college] was become too small to hold them, without putting so many together in a chamber, as might endanger breeding pestilential diseases: that the revenues of the College were so diminished without any fault of theirs, as to be insufficient for supporting the number appointed by the foundations . . .' (Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, p. 429).

⁴ The nature of the pre-1579 chapel is difficult to determine. Willis seemed to feel that the only other chapel had been St Benedict's, but this is incorrect (Willis, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, 1, p. 289). In *Masters' History* several references are made to another chapel, e.g. 'the wall, which separated the upper chapel from the gallery, was taken down . . .' (Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, p. 121). Dr G. H. S. Bushnell has informed me that the upper chapel is almost certainly the upper of two small chapels, built early in the sixteenth century alongside the south side of the chancel of St Benedict's. The lower is now the vestry of the church, and the upper is the bedroom of one of the Fellows of Corpus.

⁵ 'Laid out for o^r Mr his expences in his iournye to wayte vpon the L. Keper to ye Coll in August and Sept. 1578' (Chapel MS. B, p. 1); and also in the Audit Book, 1550-80 for the year ending Michaelmas, 1578: 'For the entertaynment of ye L Keper at ye Coll. . . .' That this visit was related to the chapel, I assume from the presence of the entry in the chapel accounts.

⁶ Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, pp. 131-2. Willis follows Masters in this assumption.

leading. Sir Nicholas was interested in the project and did agree to contribute. His intention, however, was to provide all the money needed to build the chapel.¹

We can only speculate about the first negotiations that took place in the college in September. How far the Master and Fellows had proceeded in their planning is not known. They cannot have simply asked Sir Nicholas for a gift, however, for between this first meeting and the signing of the official indenture on 24 January 1578/9 the Lord Keeper played an active role in the planning of the chapel. A first roughly drawn 'platt'—or plan—was prepared (Pl. IV) and, on the basis of its dimensions, estimates of the chapel's total expense were prepared.² Very soon after the September meeting, a mason named William Hunyard appeared in the college; we learn from later references to this man that he was sent by the Lord Keeper.³ Robert Norgate, Master of the college, travelled to London on four different occasions between the September meeting at the college and the final agreement in January, carrying with him, I should imagine, some of the estimates and ideas which had been worked out between Norgate and the artisans.⁴ One of the estimates was entitled, 'The charges of ye Chappell as they were estemed by the artificers before yt was taken in hand w^{ch} estimate was dd [delivered] to ye L. Keper'.⁵ It is interesting that this MS. showed the estimated expenses as £202. 12s. This estimate was a wretchedly contrived list of expenses. It is difficult to believe that it was actually drawn up by competent 'artificers', but there is no reason to believe that Norgate and the Fellows expected the chapel to cost more than that amount. In the indenture which formally concluded the negotiations, 24 January 1578/9, the phraseology is quite explicit and, I believe, ought to be taken at face value.

That wheare the saide Master and fellowes have most humblie and earnestlie made suyte to the saide Sir Nicholas that it would please his Lordshipp to erect and sett up within the saide Colledge a Chapell. . . the said Sir Nicholas. . . hath assented and agreed, for the better execution of all exercises of learninge, francklie and freelie to give to the saide M^r and fellowes the some of two hundreth poundes.⁶

There then follows a paragraph which binds the Master and Fellows to certain specifications and to certain time limits. It is very clear that Bacon believed he had provided all the money that would be required for the construction of the chapel.

The chapel design passed through two distinct phases during the months between the September meeting and the January indenture, and another after the first year's building had been completed. The first two designs are clearly illustrated by Pls. IV and V. The chapel was not built according to the earlier platt, of course,

¹ By this date others had offered to help, but their assistance was in the form of building materials, especially monastic stone (Chapel MS. F₁).

² The platt is lodged in the college strong room in a bound volume of MSS. ('Miscellaneous Documents, 1400-1700', no. 41). A whole series of estimates were prepared by different craftsmen and summarized on several different sheets (Chapel MSS. D₁ and D₂, E₁-E₆, and F₁-F₆). The fact that the separate estimates which were used in drawing up the total estimate of expenses use the dimensions delineated on this paper platt indicates clearly that it belongs to the period between September and January 1578/9.

³ See below, p. 26, n. 4.

⁴ Chapel MS. B., p. 1.

⁵ Chapel MS. D₁.

⁶ This indenture with the platt (Pl. V) attached is lodged in the College Archives XXXVI, E. It is completely transcribed in Willis, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, I, p. 289.

but all the estimates which were used to arrive at £200 as the total cost of the building were based upon that platt. The Master and Fellows agreed to build the chapel according to the platt that was attached to the indenture of 24 January 1578/9 (Pl. V). Why they did not then revise their estimates of the chapel's cost in order to request a larger sum from Sir Nicholas I cannot explain.

Far more important, however, is the question of responsibility for the later platt. In the first platt, a building 48 ft. long and 26 ft. wide was visualized.¹ In the second platt the length was increased to 60 ft. In addition, the design was greatly improved. The second platt is more symmetrical, more clearly and skilfully arranged and demonstrates quite a bit more architectural sense. To have built the chapel from this platt instead of the former improved the finished building immeasurably. The person responsible for the design deserves a great deal of credit for the chapel's success. Unfortunately, no conclusive answer can be given to the question of responsibility, but the circumstantial evidence points to the influence of the Lord Keeper. Let us assume for the sake of argument that the first platt was drawn up under the direction of the Master and Fellows.² They were probably prepared to build the chapel from this platt until someone persuaded them that this design could be improved. The only one likely to do this was Bacon, since it was he who was providing the funds. The building account records a payment of 5s. 'for parchement for ye plattes and drawing them',³ but the fact that the college paid for the platts does not remove the possibility that one of Bacon's servants or artisans might have drawn them. We ought also to notice that the January indenture was witnessed by John Osborne, one of Bacon's servants and a man associated with the drawing of the platt for Stiffkey Hall, Bacon's Norfolk residence. However, we know too little about this man to credit him with any certain influence. But though our information is inconclusive, the Lord Keeper's continued concern with and influence over the chapel during the five months preceding his death, coupled with his known architectural abilities and interests, give him a strong and hitherto unappreciated claim to partnership in the creation of the chapel's design.

Had he lived a few years longer, he might have saved the college and Robert Norgate from some of the financial difficulties which soon developed. The beginning of the chapel's construction and the end of the Lord Keeper's life almost exactly coincided.⁴ As the building progressed, it became abundantly clear that the £200 estimate was ridiculously inadequate. At the end of the first account (1579/80) over £300 had been expended, and the cost mounted to more than £650 by the time the building had been completed.⁵ It was only after this unpleasant fact became

¹ The first platt has no scale of feet, but the dimensions of the building were recorded in Chapel MS. D₂.

² The only alternative seems to be that it was drawn by William Hunyard, the Lord Keeper's mason, in which case Bacon's responsibility for the chapel would be even greater. I do not think that this is likely, however.

³ Chapel MS. B, p. 1.

⁴ Bacon's mason, Hunyard, was inspecting stone at Thorney Abbey when he heard of his master's death. He wrote to Norgate, 'Thease shalbe to desyre you that you will not forget me at the Funerall to those o^r Frenedes' (William Hunyard and John Martin to Robert Norgate, 1 March 1578/9, 'Miscellaneous Documents', no. 40).

⁵ See Appendix.

apparent to the Master and Fellows that they began rather frantically to apply to old friends of the college for further gifts.¹ Why did this occur? Why did the chapel cost so much more than anticipated? First, the estimate was completely superficial. Such a major item in all building activities as labourers' wages was completely overlooked. So was the expense of ramming the foundation, nails and scaffolding.² These items were in themselves a large burden. Of course, the addition of 12 ft. to the length of the building and the enlarging of the windows, both of which were called for in the new platt, also increased the expense. The major element in the uncontrolled growth of the chapel's cost, however, was the fact that Robert Norgate refused to limit himself to the stipulations of the contract made with the Lord Keeper. He had agreed to build a chapel of stated dimensions and specifications, but, having finished this basic structure at a cost greatly exceeding what he had expected, he decided to enlarge it at still further expense—all this with no real prospect of finding another large donor. Had Bacon lived, he might have been willing to pay for a great deal of the added expense. The structure he had agreed to build was not a complete chapel. No provision was made in the estimates for the stalls and screen, and this woodwork proved very costly. But one wonders what he would have said when Norgate began to plan a library above the chapel. Apparently during the spring of 1579/80, Norgate decided to alter the plans of the chapel to include an attic story for housing the valuable Parker library. This required raising the walls about 4 ft., adding dormers to the roof, putting a floor down (Bacon's plan visualized an open-timbered roof) and building two expensive stairways to the attic.³ Worthy as this project may seem to us, it proved to be one that the college could ill afford. Most of the responsibility for this additional expenditure seems to have been Norgate's. One of the fellows, Philip Nichols, complained to the Vice-Chancellor that Norgate had run the college into debt by building the chapel.⁴

Norgate's prodigality does not seem to have been limited to the actual building expenses. Some of the largest expenditures in the account are those incurred by Norgate on his money-raising expeditions. The college laid out over £35 in expenses to obtain the Lord Keeper's donation of £200,⁵ and paid Norgate £4. 13s. 4d. for a fourteen-day trip to Canterbury which netted gifts of £66.⁶ These journeys are not inexcusable, however, since the income did far surpass the expenditure. But what can we say when we discover that he was paid £9. 15s. 6d. for his expenses in London during the whole of one Lenten season, the result of which was absolutely nothing.⁷ The tendency is to smile, but it may very well have been a heartbreaking experience.

¹ Cf. Chapel MS. B, p. 9. Only after the conclusion of the first account were the great majority of gifts received—fully one year after the death of the Lord Keeper. A full list of the donors may be seen in Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, p. 133.

² Chapel MS. D₁.

³ Chapel MS. B, *passim*.

⁴ Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, p. 134.

⁵ Chapel MS. B, p. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 2.

⁷ 'Itm for ye Masters expences in making sute for benevolenc to ye L. Mayor and Aldermen of London, and at ye Courte of ye Earle of Leycester and ye L. Treasurer and Mr. Secretarye Welson continuing there the whole Lent 1582. . . ix¹¹ xv⁸ vj^d' (*ibid.* p. 10).

Financial troubles seem to have dogged Norgate to the end of his life. His last days cannot have been happy, for on his death he was declared a bankrupt, his goods sold, and his widow and children left penniless.¹ Whether this was the result of his lavish expenditure on the college is not recorded. He seems to have been incapable if not irresponsible, but Corpus Christi became richer architecturally for his ill-considered actions.

The Corpus Christi chapel was constructed almost entirely of stone. As early as 1578, the Master and Fellows were assured of a supply of stone from Thorney Abbey, Cambs.,² then in the hands of the Earl of Bedford.³ Masters stated that 146 tons of this monastic stone were hauled from Thorney to the college,⁴ but the accounts are not at all clear concerning the amount hauled. Carriage of the stone was arranged in three stages, separate contracts being made for hauling between Thorney and Guyhirne, on the River Nene; between Guyhirne and Jesus Green or sometimes Queens' College; and from either of those points on the River Cam into the college.⁵ Unfortunately, the amounts hauled between these three transfer points do not agree. I am able to trace about 146 tons from Thorney to Jesus Green, but there are two payments for carriage from the river's side into the college.⁶ Since only Thorney stone was carried by water, it seems that a great deal more abbey stone was carried than Masters suggested—almost twice his estimate. This abbey stone is frequently referred to as rag, indicating that it was used in the walls and not for the windows or other free masonry.

A second source of stone which does not occur in the earlier estimates was the Priory of Barnwell. On 13 July 1579 the Master and his man rode 'to Haslingfield to speake with Mr Wendye for stone at Barnewell'.⁷ This was Thomas Wendy, son of a former physician to Henry VIII; he was at this time the impropiator of the Augustinian Priory of Barnwell.⁸ This Cambridge monastic house stood where the Newmarket Road crosses Abbey Road; the only surviving portion of the complex of buildings is a small thirteenth-century building called the Cellarer's Chequer.⁹ Since no payment is recorded for this stone, we can assume that the more than 180 loads carried into the college (at 8*d.* per load) were Mr Wendy's donation.¹⁰ An

¹ Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, p. 135.

² Chapel MS. F₁.

³ William Hunyard and John Martin to Robert Norgate, 1 March 1578/9, 'Miscellaneous Documents', no. 40.

⁴ Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, p. 132.

⁵ Chapel MSS. H and B, pp. 7 ff. The prices of carriage were 10*d.* per load from Thorney to Guyhirne, 2*s.* per ton from Guyhirne to Cambridge, and about 5*d.* per ton from the river to the college.

⁶ Ninety-six loads were carried from Thorney to Guyhirne and about 123 tons from Guyhirne to Cambridge. If we assume that the same stone was involved in both transactions (i.e. that 96 loads equalled 123 tons) and add to it about 23 tons carried directly from Thorney to Cambridge, we have 146 tons. The two payments from Jesus Green into the college amount to 138 tons and 143 loads (Chapel MS. B, pp. 7-8).

⁷ Chapel MS. B, p. 2.

⁸ Willis, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, 1, p. 290.

⁹ Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire* (London: Penguin Books, 1954), p. 192.

¹⁰ The account records a payment for carriage of 182 loads but indicates that other loads were carried without charge by some of the college's tenants (Chapel MS. B, p. 8).

additional 127½ tons of rag were carried into the college from an undisclosed source for about 2s. 6d. per ton.¹

Stone of a finer texture, called white stone (i.e. clunch), was obtained in smaller quantities. Between 40 and 50 tons were carried at a cost of 12d. to 16d. per ton from Hinton—that is, Cherryhinton.² Another 54 tons were purchased from a Mr Harwood of Eversden for a cost of about 2s. per ton and a carriage charge of 2s. 9d. per ton.³ This latter is the only stone for which a payment was recorded. The total amount of stone used in the chapel during the first year⁴ thus comes to approximately 700 tons—twice the amount figured in the estimate.⁵ Although the college had not spent much on the purchase of stone, the carriage expenses were enormous. In the one case in which the stone was purchased, the cost of carriage from Eversden, a distance of less than ten miles, exceeded the cost of the stone. The total expense of hauling stone during the first year was £61. 17s. 7d.⁶

Most of the timber used in the chapel was supplied from Haverhill, Essex, by a carpenter named Robert Gardener.⁷ No negotiations for the purchase of woods or the hire of carpenters and sawyers were necessary. This one man contracted to supply all the timbers in the exact dimensions required, being paid 5d. per cubic foot of wood. The staging timber or scaffolding was obtained without charge from woods in Barton belonging to a Dr Busby.⁸ At least 28 loads of timber were carried for this purpose. The Queen seems to have supplied some timber during the second year of building, but from whence and how much the account does not reveal.⁹

The other materials such as slate for the roof,¹⁰ lime, straw, sand and hardware were purchased outright. This is one of the greatest contrasts with the manor houses being built in this century. The Master and Fellows were not able to take advantage of the natural resources of the manor. The college held a number of manors, but these, being some distance from Cambridge, were useful only on the few occasions when their tenants provided free carting. Sand could not be dug near the building site, nor could brick-earth be easily and cheaply located, and a site for a kiln provided. The college does not seem to have had any timber resources of its own. The category in which this difference is most sharply manifested is carriage. The total cost for the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* and Chapel MS. J.

³ Chapel MS. B, p. 8.

⁴ Only small amounts, particularly for the porch, were carried after the first year.

⁵ Chapel MS. F₁.

⁶ Chapel MS. B, *passim*.

⁷ The contract for the first year's timber is completely transcribed in Willis, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, I, pp. 310–12. The timber in the third account was provided by other carpenters.

⁸ Perhaps 'without charge' is too simple a phrase. The account records 'laid out vppon Dr Busbye for his dinner diuers times . . . ij^s'. He appears to have lived in Fulbourn (Chapel MS. B, pp. 2 and 7).

⁹ 'For writing a supplication to ye Quens Ma^{ty} for tymber . . .' and 'for ye Clarke of ye signet for writing ye warrant for ye sayd tymber' (*ibid.* p. 10). Masters claimed the amount was 30 loads, but he gave no source. Since he also claimed the wood came from Barton, I suspect that he may have confused the timber given by Busby with the Queen's. He is surely wrong in claiming that the Queen's grant was the result of Bacon's solicitation (Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, p. 132).

¹⁰ Willis also transcribed the contract between Norgate and the slaters 'Raffe Wodward and Jhon Scatliffe off Easton in Northamptonshire' for 'slate to be raysed out of the quarrye' (Willis, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, I, p. 312). The 'slate' was therefore probably Collyweston stone.

more than half a million bricks at Redgrave Hall, Suffolk, was under £100, while stone carriage costs for the chapel amounted to over £66. The total carrying charges for Redgrave Hall and the Corpus Christi chapel are almost equivalent, although Redgrave was twice as expensive to build.

There were only a very few important workmen connected with the building of the Corpus Christi chapel. As usual, the masons were the dominant figures. I have mentioned previously that William Hunyard is known in this account as 'my Lord Keepers Mason'.¹ He is the first mason to appear in the accounts and seems to have acted as the master mason for the first year's construction.² Nothing is heard of him after the first year, however, and it is John Martin who finished the work during the next two accounts. Martin was solely responsible for the construction of the chapel porch and probably designed it as well. He is never referred to as the Lord Keeper's mason, and no connection with Bacon can be proven.³ These two men during the first year were responsible for carving such work as the windows, quoins, 'water table', 'skewes' and 'anglers'.⁴

The laying of the foundation, rough walling and plastering was done by a crew of rough masons led by a man named Parker. He worked by contract, promising to lay the foundation and raise the walls at the rate of 26s. 8d. for 'every pole in square flat measure', that is, for a square pole—256 square feet.⁵ In the second account he did some work by the day, and the members of his crew were listed. At various times the following were being employed:

Parker himself at 12d. per day
His boy Dick at 10d. per day
His boy Tom at 8d. per day
His labourer John Burdall at 8d. per day
His labourer Malin at 8d. per day
His labourer Pepin at 8d. per day
His brother at 12d. per day.⁶

The joiner, Chapman, was employed from October 1583 until after Christmas 1584/5. He supervised the work of sawing the wainscots, made moulds or templates for the seats or misericords, fashioned the doors—in short took complete charge of all the interior woodwork.⁷ He too employed a large crew of men:

Chapman himself at 16d. per day
His journeyman Richard Flood at 12d. per day

¹ Chapel MS. H, and see also Chapel MS. E₄.

² He made agreements with other workers, oversaw the winning of the stone at Thorney, laid out the building with Martin's help, purchased materials and in other ways demonstrated his authority.

³ His was the second signature in the letter written to Norgate from Thorney in which mention was made of the Lord Keeper's funeral; however, the first person is employed throughout the letter, indicating that Martin signed only as a courtesy (William Hunyard and John Martin to Robert Norgate, 1 March 1578/9, 'Miscellaneous Documents', no. 40).

⁴ *Water table* is late medieval English for the sloping tops of plinths and cornices. *Skewes* usually refer to gable copings. *Anglers* appear from the context to be stones used for interior angles, as opposed to quoins used on exterior ones (cf. Chapel MS. G).

⁵ Chapel MS. F₆.

⁶ Chapel MS. B, *passim*.

⁷ *Ibid. passim*.

His apprentice John Nixon at 12*d.* per day
 His boy Luke Brady at 6*d.* per day
 His son Andrew Chapman at 12*d.* per day
 His son Richard Chapman at 14*d.* per day.¹

Chapman's first name is never mentioned, unless the first payment in the account was also made to him. In that case, the man involved was named Andrew the joiner from Ely.² The fact that one of Chapman's sons was named Andrew increases the probability that this is really the same man—Andrew Chapman of Ely. Notice the basis upon which both the Parker and Chapman crews were built—the family and the apprenticeship system. In Parker's crew there were Parker and his brother plus two apprentices and three labourers. The boys, Dick and Tom, were probably not his sons, for, as in Chapman's case, sons are usually called sons and the word 'boy' reserved for the apprentice. Labourers were not generally taken from one job to another but were local men recruited from the day-labouring force. Malin, for instance, is found doing other things in connection with the chapel.³ I do not believe that any of the day-labourers or craftsmen were boarded.

The first year's account contains little illuminating detail, but enough is included to enable us to piece together the events of 1578–9. Early in the account we find, 'for Hunyards and Martins expences at Cambridge to set out ye ground plat 5 daies . . .'.⁴ The free masons were measuring and laying out the lines which the foundation was to follow. In another MS. the work of these first few weeks is described as 'removinge of the walls and taking vp of trees and making playne the ground'.⁵ The chapel stood on part of the site occupied by the present chapel. When completed in 1584, the chapel stood about 60 ft. south of what is now called the old court but was then the only quadrangle in the college. Between the chapel and the old court was located the Master's gallery. Abutting diagonally on the north-west corner of the chapel was a fifteenth-century structure then used as lodgings. The ground to the south and east was open.⁶ The only obstruction on the site was a staircase leading into the Master's gallery. A portion of the north wall of the chapel was raised against the south wall of the Master's gallery, and a later entry in the account discloses that a window was placed in this portion of the chapel wall so that the Master could view the service from his own chambers.⁷

Apart from the hauling of materials, the next task was the laying of the foundation. For this purpose the carter Cutche was paid for 'caryage of lxxiiij loades of Rubbishe

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 17 ff.

² *Ibid.* p. 15.

³ ' . . . for horse hyre and his [Mr Chever?] expences and Malins to Sergeant Bendeloes' (*ibid.* p. 2).

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 1.

⁵ Chapel MS. D₁.

⁶ A map of the layout of all past and present buildings of Corpus Christi College is found in Willis, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, vol. iv.

⁷ 'For vij foot of glas in the windo out of the Mrs gallery' (Chapel MS. B, p. 20). Compare the comment of the antiquarian Cole who wrote in 1744: 'In ye N Wall by ye side of ye Altar is a neat Stone projecting Window out of ye Master's Gallery, for him to overlook if he would not be at Chapel or indisposed' (Willis, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, 1, 296, quoting British Museum Add. MS. 5807, vi, 20).

from ye Quenes Colledge and Caius Coll.¹ This probably seems more alarming to us than it ought. I imagine that 'rubbishe' indicates a great miscellany of stones, flint and gravel rather than a huge pile of litter and ashes. Parker was then paid 'for ramynge ye foundation 13 poole in length and 8 foote depe'.² On this footing he then laid a standard foundation and began raising the walls. His contract stipulated the exact dimensions of all this work:

Md 19 feb 1578 Covenanted wth Parker for the workmanship of the blank wall of the Chappell viz. That he shall dig the foundacion of the sayd walls and buttresses and ram vp the same well and surely wthin 2 foote of the ground where he shall begin to warke vp the sayd foundacion wth lyme and stone vp to the height of the ground at the bredth of 4 foote and there to set out the sayd wall at the bredth of iij foote to the height of the grass table above the w^{ch} yt shall be in thickest ij foote and half vp to the top.³

At the same time as the walls were rising, the free masons were carving and setting in place the window and door frames and other free stone work.⁴ By the beginning of the winter, the masonry shell was virtually complete. On 25 October 1579 the account recorded 'takeing downe of scaffolds', and a little later 'stopping ye chappell windowe wth thack', a routine precaution against the winter rains.⁵ The expenses for the year totalled £329 although none of the timber purchased in this year had yet been used.⁶

The work of the second year can be simply catalogued. The walls were raised about 4 ft., two staircases were constructed, and the roof was framed and slated. The cost for the year's work amounted to £131. The reference to 'raysing ye walls'⁷ is important, I believe, in indicating a change in the plans. It is very difficult to separate the successive schemes which Norgate adopted, but I believe that I can isolate three stages in the evolution of the library. Carpenter's drawings indicate that before Bacon's death an open-timbered roof was planned for the chapel.⁸ A later timber estimate included several new items—timbers for a stair and a treasury.⁹ From the measurements of the treasury timbers, it is apparent that this room was to occupy one-quarter of the attic—that is, the area over the ante-chapel.¹⁰ Norgate was changing his mind for the second time, then, when he ordered the walls raised to provide space for the library. One stairway had been planned to give access to the treasury.¹¹ Two were projected for the library, one to spiral up from the ante-chapel,

¹ Chapel MS. B, p. 8. We learn from MS. D₁ that this rubbish was used in the foundation.

² Chapel MS. B, p. 8.

³ Chapel MS. F₅.

⁴ Chapel MSS. B, p. 8, and G₁. Cf. also MS. C, a contemporary mason's drawing of one of the side windows.

⁵ Chapel MS. B, p. 6.

⁶ See Appendix.

⁷ Chapel MS. B, p. 10. I arrive at the figure of 4 ft. from the account entry, 'for 16 foot of coyne at ye rayseing of ye walls higher. . . ' (*ibid.* p. 11); dividing the 16 ft. into four (for the four corners of the building), we arrive at 4 ft.

⁸ Chapel MS. E₆.

⁹ Chapel MS. E₁.

¹⁰ The partition which separated chapel from ante-chapel was set between the first pair of buttresses to the east of the entrance.

¹¹ This staircase is probably the key to another mystery which puzzled Willis. The platt (Pl. V) shows a window on the south wall of the ante-chapel (the window opposite the entrance), but in Westall's drawing of the chapel the window illuminating the ante-chapel is on the west wall. The reason for the change is

and the other to join the Master's gallery with the library.¹ In addition to framing the roof, the carpenters, during 1580-1, laid the floor in the library.²

The work recorded in the last account (1583-5) can be divided into two parts, the finishing of the interior and the construction of the chapel porch. In the interior, the library was finished in a simple manner. The rough mason, Parker, plastered the walls and ceiling; the smith provided eight window casements.³ Two of these casements were double and were probably meant for the east and west gable-ends of the library. The six single casements were placed in dormers, the three on the north side being visible in Loggan's drawing of the college.⁴ No mention is made in the account of furnishing the library with shelving or desks.

Chapman the joiner almost completely finished the interior woodwork in this period.⁵ His work included the screen, doors, forms, stalls, wainscoting, and the communion table which he made at his own house.⁶ The glazing expenses mentioned in the third account represent the cost of the great east window which contained the arms of most of the donors to the chapel.⁷ Several of the other windows were the gift of alumni of the college, but the account does not mention the installation of these windows.⁸ To complete the equipping of their chapel, the Master and Fellows begged an eagle lectern from a Mr Hawfhead of Malton and had it repaired and polished.⁹

During the years 1581-2, a porch in the Renaissance style was added to the Corpus Christi chapel. This porch was built from funds provided by Sir Nicholas Bacon's widow as a tribute and memorial to the Lord Keeper.¹⁰ One of the original mason's drawings of the porch has been preserved and is reproduced as Pl. VI.¹¹ Lady Bacon gave £25. 13s. 4d. to the college after the death of Sir Nicholas, undoubtedly indi-

easily explained when we realize that no stairs were originally planned for the ante-chapel. When a staircase was introduced, the window must have been moved. For the Westall drawing see Ackermann, *History of the University of Cambridge*, I, p. 170.

¹ 'Itm for vj sparrs to the roof of the stayers out of the Mrs Lodging to the Library', and 'Itm for vj cuppel of sparrs to the roof of the stayers out of the Chappell up to the Library' (Chapel MS. B, p. 15).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Willis, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, I, p. 251.

⁵ Masters is correct, I believe, in stating that a plaster ceiling (shown in Westall's drawing) was installed in the chapel early in the seventeenth century, but I do not believe that he had good evidence for claiming that the wainscoting was also finished at that time. The fact that three coats of arms were added to the screen is not sufficient proof (Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, p. 133).

⁶ Chapel MS. B, p. 18. A small section of the stalls from the old chapel has been retained in the new chapel.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 20.

⁸ Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, p. 133.

⁹ 'Itm for the hire of ij horses to Malton to speake wth Mr Hawfhead about the Eagle of bras', 'Itm to georg the goldsmith for making v newe claws to the eagle and for sothering on a pece of bras to the wing thereof', and 'Itm to Params wyfe for skouring the Eagle' (Chapel MS. B, p. 20).

¹⁰ 'Miscellaneous Documents', no. 140.

¹¹ *Ibid.* last folio. Pl. VI does not represent the final design of the porch (cf. Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, p. 132), but probably the first of two. The account records the phrase, 'Barganed wth Iohn Martin freemason for his woorkmanshipe of ye stone woorke of ye same [porch] accordinge to ye nowe devised plat' ('Miscellaneous Documents', no. 140). A comparison between the drawing (Pl. VI) and the porch as it was reputedly built (*Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1826) does not indicate many differences between the two. What changes were made were mostly above the entablature.

cating how she wished the money spent. When completed, the porch bore the arms of the Lord Keeper and his two wives and two inscriptions commemorating his life.¹

The Renaissance style had first reached Cambridge about 1533 when foreign (probably French) artisans carved the screen of King's College Chapel. Fifteen years before the building of the Corpus Christi chapel, Dr Caius, the eminent physician, began rebuilding the college which now bears his name. Dr Caius studied in Padua, where he was greatly influenced by Italian architecture, and in the rebuilding of Caius employed a Flemish 'architect' named Theodore Haveus.² The Corpus Christi chapel porch, in contrast to these two examples, seems to have been the work of a native English craftsman, John Martin. There is no question that John Martin built the porch—the account has recorded its construction in great detail. There are, however, no references in the account of the artisan who designed the porch. He may have been someone not otherwise connected with the building of the chapel. Whoever he was, the artisan responsible for the drawing did not have the knowledge or ability carefully to delineate the Tuscan order.³ A mason such as Martin could have produced this kind of design from a pattern book like Serlio's without very much understanding of the material he was copying. In fact, this is exactly the kind of drawing we would expect a provincial mason to be producing at this time.

When considering this porch, one naturally thinks of the other essay in the classical manner for which Bacon was responsible—the Gorhambury porch. The two structures are superficially similar. That is, they are both derived from the triumphal arch, a classical motif which had found favour in France at Ancy, Ecoen and Anet, and then in England at Somerset House.⁴ The similarity almost ends there, however. The skill with which the classical elements were handled, the artistry with which they were combined at Gorhambury, find no sixteenth-century parallel in Cambridge, not even in Dr Caius' gates. English Renaissance architecture ought to be judged on the basis of its fidelity to the classical examples and, more importantly, its ability sensitively and artistically to utilize the classical elements even though these were imperfectly understood. The chapel porch, even if executed with more skill than the design would lead us to believe, does not rank highly when judged by this standard. It is not great architecture. This is not to say, however, that it is not interesting architectural history.

When completed in 1584, the chapel presented a modest and, except for the porch, wholly traditional appearance.⁵ William Westall's drawing shows a pleasant, dignified, but simple interior.⁶ From Loggan's view of the college, we can gain some

¹ Lamb, *Masters' History of Corpus Christi*, p. 132.

² Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, pp. 8 and 108.

³ I wish to thank Sir John Summerson for pointing out to me some points at which the artisan responsible for this platt failed to follow the classical patterns. He also mentioned, however, that the execution of these classical orders was often much better than the drawing of them.

⁴ Pevsner, *Architectural Rev.* cxvi (September 1954), pp. 163 ff.

⁵ Nor was this the last Gothic or traditional building constructed in Cambridge. Not until Wren designed and built the Pembroke College chapel could the University claim to have a purely classical building (Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire*, p. 104).

⁶ Ackermann, *History of the University of Cambridge*, 1, p. 170.

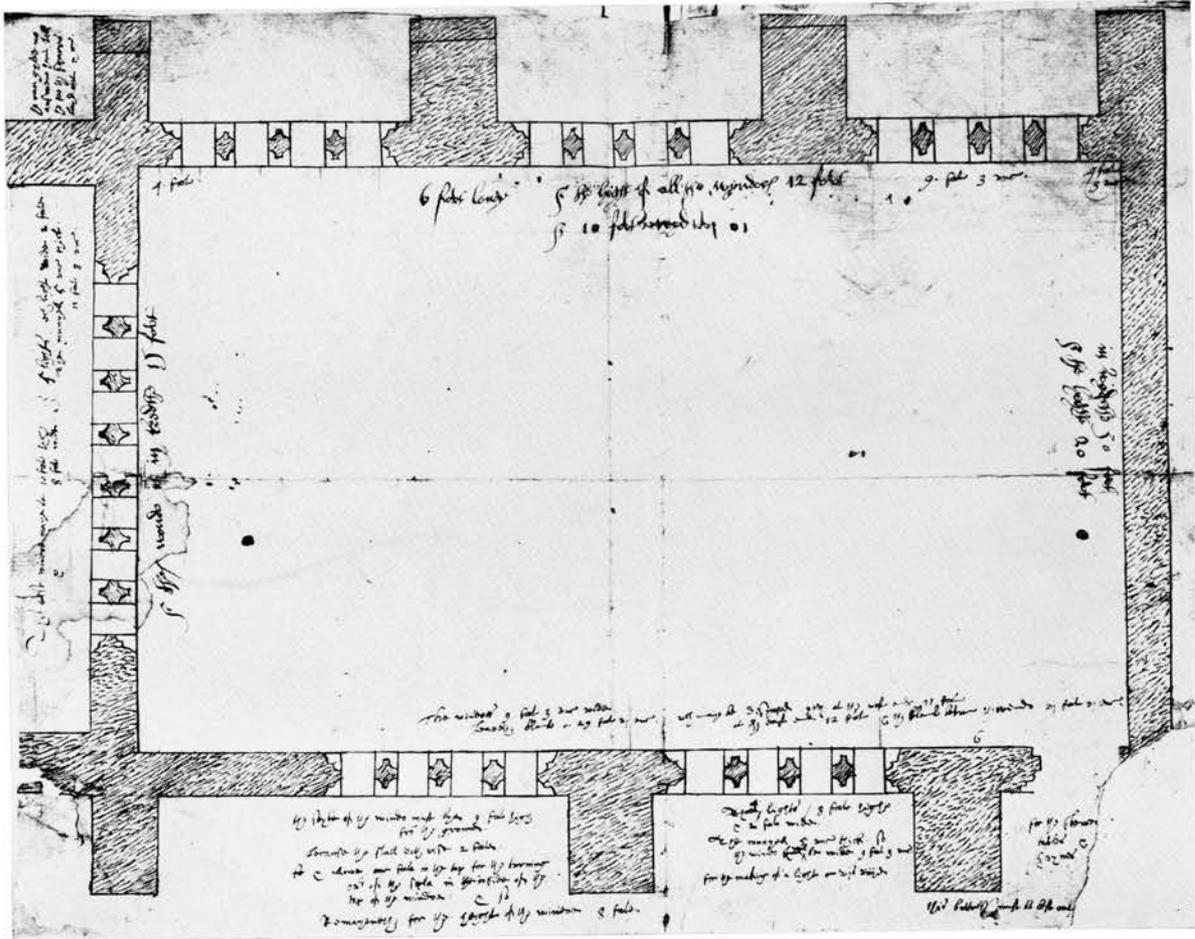
impression of the exterior—a very plain structure with a dormered roof, awkwardly crowded between the irregular masses of the older buildings.¹ The chapel cannot be called exciting or adventurous architecture, but, in keeping with the character of its chief benefactor, gave evidence of good taste and traditional ideas employed in the service of the new religion and ancient learning.

APPENDIX

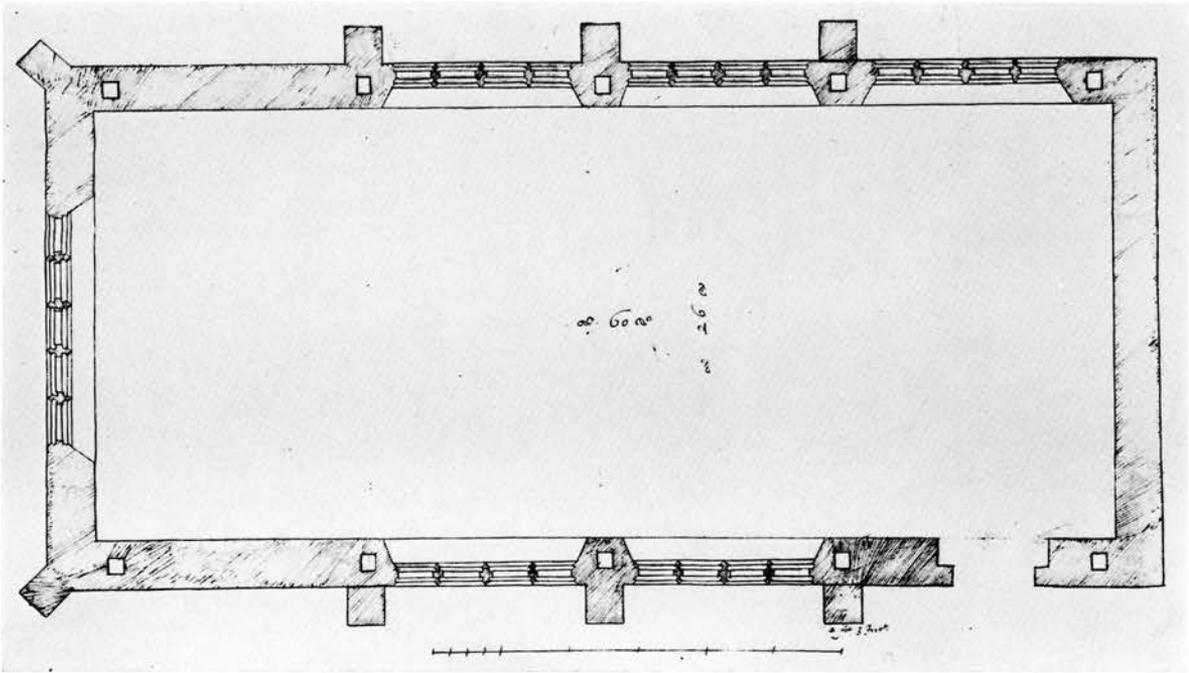
A SUMMARY OF THE EXPENSES OF BUILDING THE CORPUS CHRISTI CHAPEL

Categories	First Account	Second Account	Third Account	Total
	1578-80	1580-2	1583-5	categories
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Fund-raising expenses	38 15 10½	18 18 5	—	57 14 3½
Free masons	39 16 2	4 15 5½	48 11 7	93 4 2½
Rough masons	33 11 8	15 2 10	6 5 10	55 0 4
Carpenters and sawyers	0 18 0	12 17 10	4 11 8	18 7 6
Joiners	—	—	40 14 10	40 14 10
Painters	—	—	3 17 0	3 17 0
Slaters	—	12 3 6	—	12 3 6
Glazier	—	—	4 12 6	4 12 6
Labourers	35 18 11	0 15 10	9 3 7	45 18 4
Carriage	80 9 11	5 17 11	7 9 7	93 17 5
Stone	5 13 4	0 17 4	7 17 8	14 8 4
Brick and paving stone	1 8 0	—	2 14 0	4 2 0
Iron-work and nails	14 7 10	1 13 2	14 17 5½	30 18 6
Lime	9 4 0	23 16 0	3 2 6	36 2 6
Timber	64 11 10	14 5 1	34 6 4	113 3 3
Slate	—	18 9 2	—	18 9 2
Glass	—	—	9 2 1	9 2 1
Miscellaneous materials	2 16 11	2 5 6	4 6 3	9 8 8
Total expenses	329 4 2½	131 6 2	201 16 11½	662 7 4
Income	310 13 4	12 3 6	126 12 6	449 9 4
Deficit	18 10 10½	119 2 8	75 4 5½	212 18 0

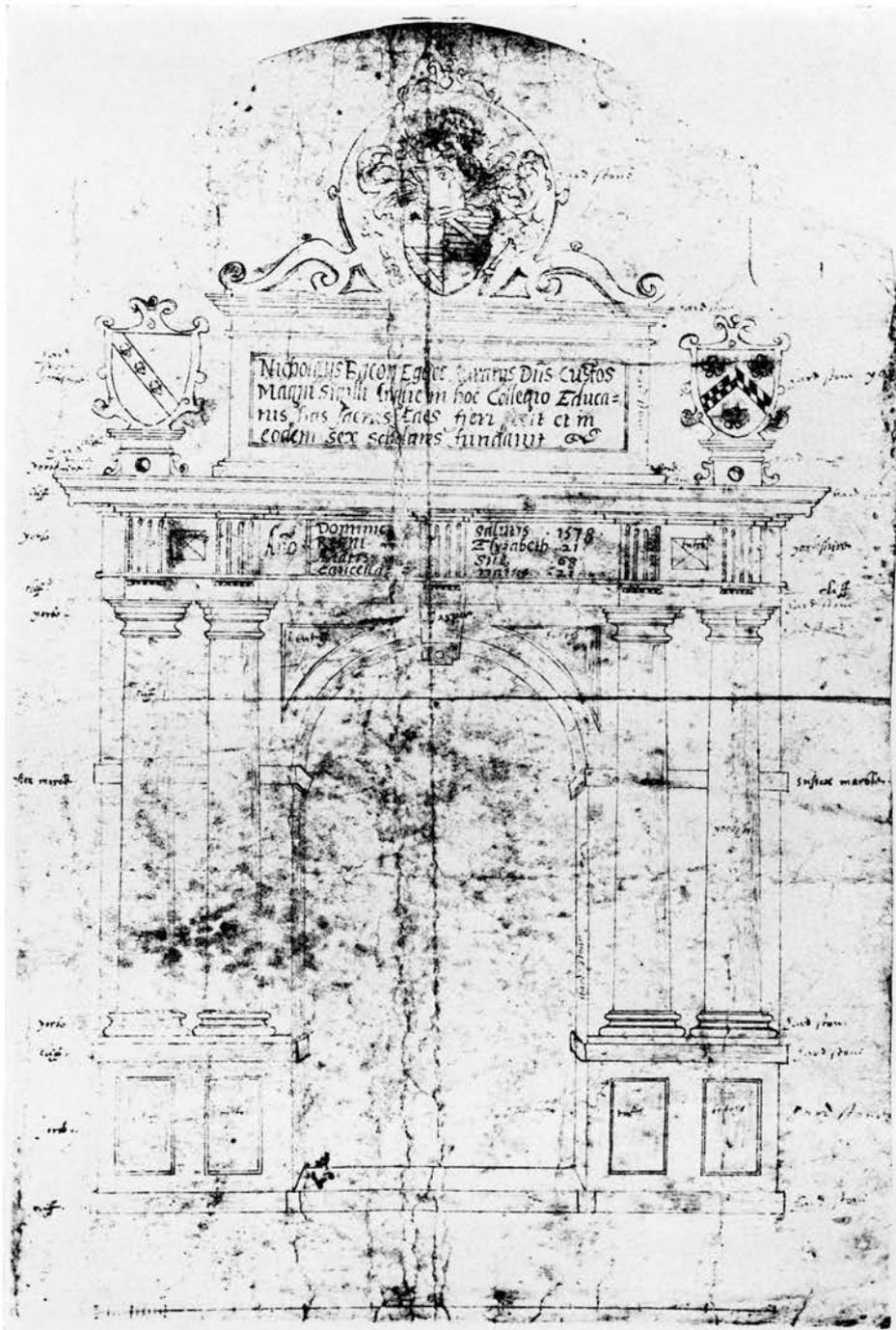
¹ Willis, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, I, p. 251.



A preliminary platt for the chapel of Corpus Christi College (see p. 25, n. 2).



The final platt for the chapel of Corpus Christi College (see p. 25, n. 6).



A mason's drawing of the porch of the chapel of Corpus Christi College (see p. 33, n. 11).

The Editor would like to thank Dr R. Vaughan, Librarian of Corpus Christi College, for permission to reproduce the three plans (Pls. IV, V and VI) and for his help in finding them, and Mr L. P. Morley, of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, for taking the photographs.

PETER GUNNING, 1613-1684: CHURCHMAN, SCHOLAR, CONTROVERSIALIST

THE REV. H. A. LLOYD JUKES, M.A., F.R.HIST.S.

THE architects of the 'Restoration Church Settlement' were, it is alleged, those divines, whose loyalty and high-church opinions had driven them into long and bitter exile with their sovereign. Considerable attention has been focused upon these men by recent research.¹ A number of the younger divines, however, did not go into exile, but laboured diligently in the cause of King and Church throughout the period of the Commonwealth. Their influence upon the eventual settlement of ecclesiastical affairs, if settlement it may be called, was considerable and merits further attention from historians. Among those who remained in this country throughout this period was Peter Gunning, whose consistent loyalty to the crown and devotion to the Church of England was rewarded after the King's restoration by his appointment successively to the sees of Chichester and of Ely.

'I was born,' Gunning tells us,² 'in the year of our Lord, according to the style of the Church of England 1613, Jan. 11, on Tuesday at five of the clock in the afternoon, and was baptised by the mercy of God Jan 16, being Sunday, as appears by the register of the parish of Hoo in Kent near Rochester.' His father was minister of the parish. Two years later the family removed to Gravesend where he died. 'When I was two years old, it pleased God to call my father out of this world', Gunning sadly records.³ Having little or no fortune, the future bishop had to rely upon the favour of influential patrons, whose interest he won by his own merit and ability.

Gunning's father left him a legacy of £40 and charged his mother⁴ to 'have a special care' in respect of his education, 'the bringing of him up in learning'. In 1626 Gunning left the private school which he had been attending at Lenham in Kent; he was now about twelve years old. At the suggestion of Dr Bargrave the Dean, he was elected a King's Scholar at the King's School, Canterbury.

Under the competent care of Mr Ludd the Master, Gunning made rapid progress. An able, even brilliant scholar, he was said⁵ to be 'remarkably ripe' for the University when he went up to Clare Hall at the age of fifteen. Among his school friends was William Somner, later to become a celebrated antiquary. 'Let the school be proud

¹ R. S. Bosher, *Making of the Restoration Settlement* (Dacre Press, 1951), ch. III, p. 88.

² Gunning MS. Copy in Cambridge University Library Add. MSS. no. 41. Cf. T. Baker, *History of St John's College, Cambridge*, I, p. 234.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 234.

⁴ This will was dated 7 December 1615 and proved at Rochester, 31 March 1616.

⁵ Baker, *op. cit.* II, p. 647; cf. Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, p. 577.

of this honour, that at the same time it instructed two of the greatest men of their age and nation, one of the best of divines and one of the best of antiquaries.¹

In 1628 Gunning was chosen 'Upper Victor' of his school. A year later he went up to Clare Hall, Cambridge, as a Sizar. This suggests that his financial circumstances were not good. It is noteworthy that the 'majority of fellows of this hall, who have left their mark upon the life of the University of Cambridge', and indeed upon the nation, 'who are remembered today for their learning and ability, began their academic life as Sizar'.² He did not remain very long in this lowly position, for, says he,³ 'I soon had a double scholarship, one of the foundation, and another of my Lord of Exeter's'. He later enjoyed the patronage of the Cecils as Chaplain at Exeter House, their London residence.

The foundations of Gunning's staunch Anglicanism⁴ had already been laid by other hands, but there can be little doubt that his opinions grew stronger under the influence of his tutor Barnabas Oley, Fellow and later President of the Hall. Barnabas was the son of the Reverend Francis Oley who married Mary Mattersome in 1600. Born in 1602 at Wakefield, he was educated at the Grammar School in that town and went up to Clare Hall in 1618. He received the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, but later refused the degree of Doctor of Divinity by *Mandamus*. Oley was an enthusiastic royalist and devoted high-churchman. To the end of his life Gunning retained an abiding affection for his tutor, whom he appointed Archdeacon of Ely on 8 November 1679. Oley did not enjoy this honour very long for he died a year or two later.

The years which Gunning was to spend at Cambridge were turbulent and critical both for the University and for the nation, as the late Dr Mullinger has so ably shown.⁵ A young and ambitious man had to walk the tight-rope of intrigue and controversy if he wished to maintain his position. Gunning showed an honesty of purpose and an integrity of opinion which accorded ill with the times. He maintained unswerving high-church Anglican leanings, in contrast to the prevailing Puritan opinions of many of his contemporaries. Naturally, he sought the company of those who shared his views, Isaac Barrow of Peterhouse, and John Barwick of St John's. He was also friendly with the simple, pious, but eccentric, Nicholas Farrar, who later was to attempt a form of Anglican community life at Little Gidding.⁶

In 1632 Gunning commenced Bachelor of Arts and was made Senior Brother.⁷ This was an expensive honour. The Senior Brother was expected to 'feaste the Doctors and Maisters of Houses . . . and to give the Father of the Acte a Satten Suyt, or the value thereof'. In 1611 the banquet had cost a Senior Brother £18, which was

¹ Kennett, *Life of Somner*, prefixed to Somner, *Ports and Forts* (Oxford, 1693), p. 5.

² Correspondence with Mr W. J. Harrison, Archivist of Clare College, October 1957.

³ Gunning MS., C.U.L. Add. MSS. 41; Baker, *op. cit.* 1, p. 234.

⁴ For my use of the term 'Anglicanism' see Boshier, *op. cit.* p. 4.

⁵ J. B. Mullinger, *History of University of Cambridge*, ch. VIII.

⁶ See J. R. Wardale, *History of Clare College*, p. 102.

⁷ Gunning MS., C.U.L. Add. MSS. 41; cf. Baker, *op. cit.* p. 234.

a very large sum for those days. Whence Gunning obtained the necessary money is unknown. 'In the year of our Lord, 1632 ending on new years day January 1st', Gunning tells us, 'I was chosen Fellow of the college when I was nineteen years old. At the same year ending at the latter act I was made tripus.¹ In the year 1633 ending February 1st I came into profit.'² This may have been the date on which he first drew his dividend as a Fellow. He also received a Leeds scholarship and a further Lord Exeter scholarship in that year. The year 1634 saw Gunning chosen Moderator of the Bachelors, in which office he continued for two terms, 'one before and one after Christmas'.

On 1 July 1635 Gunning commenced Master of Arts and was chosen Prevaricator or Varier.³ This official had to make a 'jocose or satirical speech at the commencement ceremony'. No record of his speech now exists but doubtless he acquitted himself well. At this time he was 'very much in the eye of the University, as being never wanting in any kind of academical exercises whether grave or jocose and looked upon as one, whose extraordinary parts and indefatigable industry and study promised great things; so that all colleges were some way or other ambitious to make him theirs'.⁴ Soon after this he was appointed to the cure of Little St Mary's by the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse. It is strange that Gunning nowhere refers to his ordination nor to the bishop who ordained him. There is no Ordination Book nor is there a Bishop's Register for the diocese of Ely covering this period. Since a Fellow might seek Holy Orders at the hands of any bishop, it is difficult to trace the ordinations of many Fellows at this period, or in some cases, even at a much later date.

In 1641 Gunning became a licensed preacher to the University. He tells us that he should have commenced Bachelor of Divinity a year later, but 'the heads of the University being carried away by Cromwell I refused it'.⁵ On 1 September 1642 Cromwell, under a mandate from the Committee of Lords and Commons, had sent a number of prominent University officials and doctors to London. Among these were Dr Martin of St John's, Dr Beal of Queens' and Dr Sterne of Jesus.⁶ Together with Dr Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, they were imprisoned in the Tower. Thereafter followed many sequestrations and ejections; Anglican divines suffered many humiliations.

On 6 February 1642 a great disaster befell the Church. The bishops were deprived of their votes in Parliament. Archbishop Laud, imprisoned in the Tower since 1 March 1641, regretfully commented,⁷ 'great ringing for joy and bonfires in some parishes'. On 1 September 1642 a bill to abolish bishops and deans and chapters was passed by the Commons. Then followed the setting up of the Westminster Assembly of 121 divines, most of whom were Presbyterians. A few were 'moderate'

¹ His 'witty and inoffensive' speech on this occasion was much applauded. Baker, *op. cit.* II, p. 648.

² See 37, n. 3.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 235.

⁴ Anthony à Wood, *Athenae*, p. 557.

⁵ Gunning MS.; Baker, *op. cit.* I, p. 235.

⁶ Mullinger, *History of St John's College*, p. 116; *History of University of Cambridge*, p. 149.

⁷ Laud's Diary, quoted Hole, *Manual of English Church History*, p. 292.

episcopalians and some were Independents. The party opposed to Anglicanism was now in the ascendant.

On 29 June 1642 the King had written from his headquarters at York asking the University for a loan.¹ By 1 July the townspeople of Cambridge were raising companies of volunteers to fight on the side of the rebels. On 24 July the King wrote asking for the college plate as a donation to his cause. On 10 August Cromwell's adroit move prevented this being sent. Five days later he seized the castle, with its important magazine and stores. On 17 August he was placed in command of Cambridge. On 22 August King Charles had raised his standard at Nottingham: the Civil War had begun.

The Association of the Eastern Counties was formed on 20 December 1642 with Lord Grey of Wark as Commander-in-Chief. In March, Cromwell fortified Cambridge and took Lowestoft. A request for a contribution to the rebel cause was very properly refused by the University at a meeting of heads of colleges held in the Schools, whereupon it is said that they were imprisoned there until midnight.² Some money was exacted forcibly from many college bursars, in spite of the plea that to contribute to the war against the King was contrary to true religion and a good conscience. Cromwell continued to press forward his demands for money to complete the fortifications of the city. The appeal made by the University to Parliament for relief, which was presented on 5 June 1643, was foredoomed to failure, as some of the colleges had supported the royal cause.

Meanwhile fuel was added to the flames of revolt by religious controversy. A sermon³ was preached by John Pearson of King's College defending forms of prayer. Pearson was of the same school of thought as Gunning and later became his friend and colleague. As yet, however, Gunning took no overt part in the controversy. Soon he was to plunge into the maelstrom with all the courage, ability and learning of which he was capable.

'Parliament, everywhere defeated in the field', however successful its cause might be in the minds of the people of East Anglia, 'sought to turn the scale by an alliance with Scotland.'⁴ This alliance was conditional upon the acceptance of the 'Solemn League and Covenant', by the people and Parliament of England. The Westminster Divines, the Lords and Commons, assembled in St Margaret's, Westminster and took the necessary oath in the presence of the Scots' commissioners on 15 September 1643. The fundamental Article of the Solemn League and Covenant was that which required the abolition of the episcopal and therefore 'Catholic' constitution of the Church. The Commons had virtually achieved this already by the action taken on 6 February and 1 September 1642. The Earl of Manchester was entrusted with the task of administering to the University the oath of allegiance to the Covenant on

¹ T. Baker, *History of St John's College*, I, pp. 218-19.

² F. J. Varley, *Cambridge During the Civil War* (Paul Heffer and Sons, 1935), p. 54; cf. Mullinger, *Hist. Univ. Cambr.* III, p. 244.

³ Mullinger, *Hist. Univ. Cambr.* III: 'From Election of Buckingham to Chancellorship to Decline of the Platonist Movement', p. 249.

⁴ Mullinger, *Hist. Univ. Cambr.* III, p. 249.

5 February 1644.¹ Gunning not only refused to take the oath but preached against the Covenant from the pulpit of St Mary's.² From his point of view the Covenant was a violently heretical document. Although no copy of his sermon is now extant, there is no reason to doubt that his criticisms were reasoned but severe.

It was probably about this time that Gunning visited his widowed mother, then living near Tunbridge in Kent. While he was on this visit his fiery royalist zeal burst forth in two sermons, in which he exhorted his hearers to make a charitable contribution towards the relief of some of the King's soldiers who were quartered in the district. This excited the anger of rebel sympathizers and he was obliged to flee, being 'hunted about and forced to lie in woods'.³ He is said to have been imprisoned for a while. A pamphlet⁴ written some years later states that 'some said at a committee at Tunbridge in Kent before whom his Lordship [Gunning] was brought, before his exile from Cambridge, That he was indeed a man of very good life and Conversation, the more was the pity, for such men did all the harm'. Walker says⁵ that it was after this that he was summoned to Cambridge and required to take the oath to the Covenant. He preemptorily refused and was deprived of his fellowship.

It has been suggested that a certain David Clarkson was elected to succeed Gunning in the fellowship from which the latter had been ejected. Mr W. J. Harrison, archivist of Clare College, states, in correspondence with the present writer, that in fact no election to any fellowship in succession to Gunning was then made because the number of Clare Fellows was still in excess of the customary, but not statutable, number of ten. According to M. Forbes, *History of Clare College*,⁶ John Tillotson⁷ was admitted to a probationary Fellowship on 14 November 1650 and to an actual Fellowship on 27 November 1651. It is also stated by this authority, that the fellowship to which Tillotson was elected, was the one formerly held by Gunning, and that Tillotson held it until he was ejected at the Restoration, that is, 20 June 1660.⁸ On the other hand Mr Harrison says that four Fellows were reinstated at the Restoration but none were ejected, contrary to what has hitherto been believed, and in spite of the order to eject Fellows. It is quite clear from Tillotson's letter⁹ to Dillingham that he expected to be ejected when Gunning was reinstated. The relevant portion of this letter is as follows, 'It is very probable that Mr Gunning will resume his Fellowship, in which I thinke I am, whatever become of that, I shall bee ready to serve the interest of the Colledge to my power'. Tillotson remained a Fellow of Clare only until January 1660 and thus was not in residence at the date of Gunning's reinstatement.¹⁰

¹ Mullinger, *Hist. St John's College*, p. 149; cf. Mullinger, *Hist. Univ. Cambr.* III, p. 273.

² N. Salmon, *Lives of English Bishops*, p. 249.

³ N. Salmon, *op. cit.* p. 250.

⁴ W. Saywell, *Vindication of Bishop Gunning*.

⁶ Vol. I, pp. 148-9.

⁵ John Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

⁷ Later Archbishop of Canterbury; consecrated, 31 May 1691.

⁸ The date of Gunning's reinstatement.

⁹ *Op. cit.* Dillingham, Master of Emmanuel Coll. 1653-62; Vice-Chancellor 1659; deprived of Mastership 1662.

¹⁰ See Baker, *op. cit.* I, p. 240, remarks on Tillotson as preacher. Baker is in error regarding Tillotson's ejection.

A contributory cause of Gunning's ejection from his fellowship was his part in the joint authorship of a pamphlet entitled *Certain Disquisitions and Considerations Representing to the Conscience the Unlawfulness of the Oath Entitled 'A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation...'*. The circumstances which led to its production are worthy of careful attention. The royalist party in the associated counties, although in the minority, were by no means quiescent. Alarmed at the turn events were taking and fearing for the eclipse of their cause in East Anglia, they resolved upon an urgent 'Remonstrance' which was addressed to the heads of colleges and fellows, urging them to use their influence to see that the University rejected the Covenant.¹ 'The eyes of the whole land are now fixed upon you... wee conjure you to make a timely and general Declaration of your unanimous dissent from the taking of this Oath so derogatory to the Honour of God, so destructive to the peace of the Church, and so prejudicial in the consequence to His Majesty's just rights and power.' A request was made that the heads of colleges should read 'this our Remonstrance in the college chapels, and, so far as without danger it may, that it be imparted to the rest of the University'. Gunning, together with six other distinguished Cambridge men, took up this implied challenge on their own account. Together with Barwick and Lacy of St John's, Barrow of Peterhouse, Ward of Sydney, Edmund Boldero and William Quarles of Pembroke Hall, Gunning drew up the treatise against the Covenant which bears the cumbrous title already mentioned. Walker describes the pamphlet as 'well penned and resolute'.²

Each of the seven scholars undertook to attack some section of the Covenant. They 'conferred and agreed upon the whole', meeting in Gunning's rooms at Clare Hall. The present writer believes that a leading part in the project was taken by Gunning, since the group met in his rooms—rather than by Barwick who is Dr Madan's candidate for the chief role. Dr Madan has stated with obvious truth that, 'in the work as issued there is no trace of divided authorship'.³ Since, however, Gunning had a predilection for copious quotations from the Fathers, the present writer hazards the suggestion that the treatment of Article II of the Covenant may be from his hand. This portion of the *Disquisitions* has a very large number of patristic quotations and references to patristic texts. It is possible that Dr Madan overlooked this circumstance, which is supported by comparison with Gunning's authentic works.⁴

Of the major importance of the *Disquisitions* as an historical document and doctrinal statement there can be no doubt whatever. As Dr Madan has penetratingly observed, 'It is... the most important manifesto written at Cambridge during the Civil War, and, with the "Querela Cantabrigiensis" of 1646 forms the weightiest appeal made by the still Royalist University to the sympathy of the world outside'.⁵

In his sermon at St Mary's to which reference has already been made (the text of

¹ See Madan, Essay appended to *Certain Disquisitions*, C.U.L. Cam. d. 644. 3.

² John Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*. Cf. Bentham, *Ely*, p. 203, 'A spirited and well wrote treatise'.

³ Dr F. Madan, Essay appended to Cam. d. 644. 3 C.U.L., pp. 136-7. Baker, *op. cit.* 1, p. 235.

⁴ E.g. *The Lent Fast*, Reprinted Library of Anglo Catholic Theology (Oxford, 1848).

⁵ Madan, *op. cit.*

which has not survived), Gunning urged that the *Disquisitions* should be published, but the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Brownrigg, interposed his veto. The *Disquisitions* were printed eventually and the history of the MS. from its completion until it made its appearance in print makes a fascinating narrative. Dr Madan has proved beyond reasonable doubt that the pamphlet was printed ultimately in London.¹

The *Disquisitions* never became an official document. Dr Gower, in one of his funeral sermons in Gunning's honour,² tells us that there was a large measure of agreement with the *Disquisitions*, but this may be a retrospective exaggeration. Gunning's hand in the production of this pamphlet probably contributed more than anything else to his favour with Charles II at the Restoration.

Gunning's expulsion from the University of Cambridge took place on 1 May 1643. In the same year he went to Oxford, which was held strongly for the King. He was accompanied by his friend Isaac Barrow. Barnabas Oley and one other Fellow were ejected about the same time.³ Their names are omitted from the weekly list of Fellows for the week ending 25 April 1644. The ejected Fellows continued to be paid their stipend of 5s. a quarter and possibly other emoluments. An order dated 25 March 1645 prohibited the payment of money to ejected Fellows. For the present, Gunning's career at Cambridge had come to an end. He was to return later and receive the honours to which his learning and loyalty entitled him.

On arrival in Oxford the Cambridge exiles were generously and hospitably received by Dr Pink, Warden of New College, who appointed the two friends Gunning and Barrow as Chaplains of the College. Gunning incorporated Master of Arts on 10 July 1644. He received the curacy of Cassington under Dr Jasper Maine. This office required a high degree of courage, for while he was carrying out his duties there he received many indignities from the soldiers of the rebel garrison at Abingdon, who 'pulled him out of the church' on one occasion.⁴ He preached before the King and officiated as a Royal Chaplain on several occasions. Partly for these services, he received his Bachelor of Divinity degree on the day before the city surrendered to the rebels.

Oxford capitulated in June 1646. Gunning 'came out with articles for freedom of my conscience'.⁵ He went to London, where for a month he was chaplain to Viscountess Falkland. He then entered the service of the Hatton family as tutor to Christopher later Lord Hatton and to Sir Francis Compton. He had the use of a well-stocked library and was able to continue his studies. In 1650 he received a tempting offer to become tutor to the Earl of Sunderland at double the salary which he received from Lady Hatton; this offer he refused. Since he 'instilled into both most excellent principles of loyalty to both king and Church', it is clear that he was keenly interested in his young pupils and saw that through them and young people

¹ Madan, *op. cit.*

² Humfrey Gower, *Discourses*, quoted Baker, *op. cit.* II, p. 652.

³ Gunning MS.

⁴ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy* (London, 1714), p. 142.

⁵ Gunning MS.

like them, the royalist cause might be made to flourish again. Cromwell's complaint against the royalist gentry was well founded from his point of view.¹ 'They had', said he, 'bred and educated their children by the sequestered and ejected clergy... as if they meant to entail their quarrel and prevent the means to reconcile posterity.' An alliance was forged between the high-church clergy and the country gentry which was 'to figure in politics for the next hundred years'.² It was, however, after the abortive royalist uprisings of 1655 that Cromwell resolved upon 'stern measures of repression against the sequestered clergy'.²

In 1656 Gunning received an annuity of £100 from Sir Robert Shirley who was greatly impressed by the able way in which he disputed with two Roman Catholics. It is possible that these were Spencer and Lenthall, who published a volume entitled *Schism Unmask't* in Paris, purporting to be an account of their disputation with Gunning. It was published without his knowledge or consent.

Gunning's fruitful ministry at Kirby House, the Hatton's London home, ended about the year 1656. Gunning had also refused the offer made by Lord Scudamore 'to read philosophy to him' at a salary of £40 a year for life.³

He now began his ministry as chaplain at Exeter House, the London residence of the Earl of Exeter, which became famous as a centre of Anglican doctrine and practice. Assisted by Jeremy Taylor, later Bishop of Down and Connor, and William Chamberlayne, he drew very large congregations to his services, which he conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer. It is worth recording that Gunning's tutor Barnabas Oley had recommended him to the Earl as early as 1640. Himself a Clare man, he was anxious to have a graduate of his old college as his chaplain. Gunning now ably repaid his patronage. He became the acknowledged leader among Anglicans in the metropolis, but was not the only high-church clergyman to use the Book of Common Prayer in London during the Protector's rule. Dr Mossom, later bishop of Derry,⁴ was doing so at St Peter's, Paul's Wharf, as was Dr Wild⁵ at St Bride's, Fleet Street. There were others, but the largest and most influential Anglican congregation was that of Gunning at Exeter House chapel. Evelyn, the diarist, was a regular member and held Gunning in the highest esteem. He makes frequent references to his sermons, as for example, he records on Sunday, 3 December 1657, 'Mr Gunning preached on John iii³ against the Anabaptists, showing the effect and necessity of Baptism. This sect was now wonderfully spread.' Sir John Bramston records in his autobiography, 'I had usually frequented St Gregories, Dr Mossom's, Dr Wild's, Dr Gunning's, or some other congregations where the orthodox clergie preach't and administered the sacraments: but the soldiers often disturbing those congregations, it was not soe convenient for my father to appear there'.

It is customary for historians to minimize Cromwell's repressive measures against

¹ Cf. Boshier, *Making of Restoration Settlement*, pp. 39, 40.

² Boshier, *op. cit.*

³ Gunning MS.

⁴ Dr Mossom was nominated Bishop of Derry, 11 January 1666, consecrated 1 April 1666 (*Handbook of British Chronology*).

⁵ Dr Wild was nominated Bishop of Derry 6 August 1660, consecrated 27 January 1661 (*op. cit.*).

the use of the Book of Common Prayer and to credit him with considerable toleration. Whatever the personal views of the Protector may have been, there can be no doubt that repressive action was taken by the Council. When it met on Tuesday and Friday of the week beginning 21 December 1657, Cromwell was not present owing to illness.¹ The Lord Mayor and the authorities of London and Westminster were ordered to see that the 'Ordinance for taking away festivals is observed', and to prevent 'the solemnities heretofore used in their celebration taking place'. One result of this was the creation of a great disturbance at Exeter House chapel on Christmas morning. 'In addition [to the action thus taken] the Protector was advised to send for Mr Gunning and Dr Taylor and require an account of the frequent meetings of multitudes of people held with them and cause the Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer to be observed.'² Evelyn gives a very full account of what happened at Exeter House, and reference is made to it in the government-controlled 'Public Intelligences'. Evelyn records:

25th December 1657. I went to London with my wife to celebrate Christmas Day. Mr Gunning preaching in Exeter chapel on Micah 7². Sermon ended, as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. It fell to my share to be confined to a room in the house, where yet I was permitted to dine with the master of it, the Countess of Dorset, Lady Hatton and some others of quality, who invited me. In the afternoon came Colonel Whalley, Goffe and others from Whitehall to examine us one by one; some they committed to the marshal, some to prison.

Perhaps it was on this occasion or shortly afterwards that the interview between Gunning and Cromwell took place which was noted in the Day Book of Dr Henry Sampson.³ Gunning came before the Protector in some trepidation, fearing that he would be sent to prison. Cromwell spoke of the great number of people who followed him and asked him if he were a minister of Jesus. He replied 'yes'. The Protector then asked him how he could prove this. Gunning, true to the Catholic tradition of the Church of England, said in effect that he was so as a result of his episcopal ordination in the Apostolic Succession. He urged that his ministry was derived from Our Lord through his ordination by a bishop who had been consecrated by another bishop and he by another to Cranmer, and he up to St Peter the Apostle and so from Jesus Christ. 'Can you take your oath of this,' asked Cromwell, 'was there no incision, no interruption of this succession or have you any authentic records of all this?' Gunning replied that he 'could not take his oath of it neither could it be expected that records should last so long'. 'Then', said Cromwell, 'it is but by uncertain tradition and your credulity.' To this Gunning made no reply, whereupon the Protector continued,

I'll set you how you may make proof of it a nearer and surer way. Do you be qualified as St Paul requires in Timothy and Titus? Let the good people call you to the work, begin it with fasting

¹ W. C. Abbott, *Letters and Speeches of O. Cromwell*, IV, p. 690.

² *Op. cit.* p. 691.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine* (April 1851), p. 386.

and prayer and the approbation of judicious ministers, then you may call yourself their minister and of Jesus Christ. As for your meetings, it is against my principle to persecute any for their religion, but, if they be still affronting the government under which they have protection, I must, and will, look to it.

The recorder of this interview was told of it by a Mr Howe, one of the Protector's chaplains, who had been told it by Mr Hussard Maydston, who claimed to have been present and heard the discourse. Gunning escaped with a rebuke, to which he paid little attention. He continued in his ministry at Exeter House asserting the cause of the English liturgy and drawing large congregations.

It was in this same year that he carried on a lengthy correspondence with Dr Cosin on several theological issues.¹ Among these was the right of presbyters to ordain, and the question of the Canon of Holy Scripture, upon which Dr Cosin had written a work, and of which Gunning had approved, but later questioned. A copy of a letter from Cosin is preserved in the British Museum. A note regarding the rest of the correspondence is appended to it. There seems little reason to doubt that these are genuine.

Even at this period Gunning was a zealous defender of Anglican doctrine against 'all sorts of sectaries'.² 'He would dispute with them openly on the weekdays in their own congregations. Nor was there any considerable sect whether Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, Quaker, Brownist, Socinian &c. but that he held with them at some time or other Set and Public Disputation in Defense of the Church of England.' He also disputed at length with Roman Catholics. The work, *Schism Unmask't*, purports to be a full report of his disputation with Spencer and Lenthall. It is a biased document and was, as has already been noted, published without Gunning's knowledge or consent, in Paris. In this argument with these two Roman Catholics, Pearson also took part.

Gunning was not unaware of the missionary vocation of the Church at a period when this type of activity was not carried on by the Church of England. It was not until 1702 that the first Anglican missionary priest was to sail from these shores. Nevertheless, during the latter part of his ministry at Exeter House chapel, Gunning is said to have baptized a 'Turkish' merchant whom he had converted. The person referred to was Ragep Dandulo, son of a silk merchant of the Isle of Izio.³

As early as 1653 Gunning began his long and bitter controversy with Richard Baxter.⁴ There is plenty of evidence of this from Baxter's viewpoint, but little or none from Gunning's; such as there is makes it clear that these disputants carried on their discussions with little dignity and entire absence of Christian charity, at least so far as Gunning was concerned. Space prevents any enlargement upon this rather discreditable side of Gunning's character. It may be dismissed as the product of zeal not 'according to knowledge'.

¹ British Museum.

² Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, pp. 142-3, quoted by Boshier, *op. cit.* p. 39.

³ Gunning MS., C.U.L. Add. MSS. 41; cf. T. Warmstry, *The Baptised Turk*, B.M. 1019, f. 19, (1).

⁴ Matthew Sylvester, *Baxteriana*, part 2, pp. 276-9.

Gunning's ministry at Exeter House continued until 1660, the year of the King's Restoration. Charles II was proclaimed in London on 8 May of that year. There ensued a period of considerable activity in ecclesiastical affairs. On 28 October five new bishops were consecrated, and on 22 May the Covenant was burnt by the common hangman. The return of ejected ministers proceeded slowly but steadily and the restoration of ejected Fellows of colleges was carried out by royal writ of *Mandamus*. Gunning was reinstated to his fellowship at Clare by an order dated 20 June 1660. His old friend and tutor Barnabas Oley was reinstated by one dated 9 July. Gunning was made a royal chaplain, Doctor of Divinity and Prebend of Canterbury. In the same year his former patron Lord Hatton presented him to the benefice of Stoke Brierne in Northamptonshire, and Cottesmore in Rutland became his by presentation of Sir Edward Heath. In his benefices Gunning was for the most part non-resident, but he kept curates, one of whom presented Letters of Orders from the Bishop of Candida Casa in Scotland.¹ Gunning has not signed the registers at Stoke Brierne; the name of Henry Moreland, curate, occurs after 1661.² Gunning was excused from appearing at the Visitation of the Diocese of Peterborough in 1662, and at the Visitation of 1664 he was represented by his curate at Cottesmore, Thomas Clent.³

In 1660 Gunning became Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity; the order made in July of that year directs the Vice-Chancellor to admit him at once, 'understanding that there had been some demur'. He was to receive the office 'notwithstanding any statute to the contrary'.⁴ In the same year an order was issued to the Fellows of Corpus Christi College to elect Gunning as their Master. In spite of the King's urgent appeal, the Vice-Master and Fellows showed considerable reluctance to comply. Later, however, the College received Gunning. In 1661 Pearson succeeded Gunning in the Lady Margaret chair, the latter becoming Regius Professor, *vice* Dr Tuckney to whom he made an annuity of £100. Gunning became Master of St John's College on 25 June 1661 by a unanimous consent of the Fellows.⁵ He has been described as a good but perhaps eccentric disciplinarian. His government of St John's was on the whole reasonably good, but some of his appointments seem in retrospect curious, to say the least. One Fellow appointed by him could not write Latin, nor could he pronounce it. This man died a sordid miser, while incumbent of a college living where he was the object of contempt and execration. His family had been devoted royalists; perhaps this fact blinded Gunning to his faults. On another occasion⁶ he refused, somewhat surprisingly, to present a person to a college living in spite of the fact that the candidate had been recommended by the King in letters under seal.

¹ 'Candida Casa' is the ecclesiastical name for the Diocese of Whitehouse or Galloway. 1662 Visitation of Diocese of Peterborough.

² Correspondence with Rev. E. E. Goodman, Rector of Stoke Brierne.

³ Peterborough Dioc. Records. Correspondence with Northamptonshire archivist.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers Domestic 1660-1*, p. 145.

⁵ Baker, *op. cit.* p. 236.

⁶ On these two cases see Baker, *op. cit.* p. 237, and *Cal. State Pap. Dom.*

Gunning sat as Proctor for the Chapter of Canterbury and for the clergy of the Diocese of Peterborough in the Convocation of 1661. Apart from his concern with Prayer Book revision and alleged debate with the Oxford Divine, Dr Creed, on the subject of the age at which children should be confirmed, we have no detailed record of his part in the deliberations in this assembly. An interesting sidelight upon Gunning's character has been noted by Lathbury, quoting a contemporary journal.¹ 'Saturday the 25 May. The House did not sit, in order to preparation (*sic*) to the sacrament the next day at St Margaret's church. Sunday the 26. Doctor Gunning preached the forenoon and Mr Carpenter in the afternoone. Dr Gunning refused the bread to Mr Prinn because he did not, nor would not, kneele. Biscowen took it standing.' Pepys also records this incident but describes it a little differently.² 'Sir W. Batten told me how Mr Prin (among the two or three that did refuse today to receive the sacrament upon their knees) was offered by a mistake the drinke afterwards which he did receive, being denied the drinke by Dr Gunning, unless he would take it on his knees; and after that by another the bread was brought him and he did take it sitting, which is thought very preposterous.'

Dr Overton records amongst Gunning's works a book or pamphlet entitled *A View and Correction of the Common Prayer*.³ This work, if it ever existed, cannot now be traced. It is said to have appeared in 1662 and is mentioned by Wood. If this work is discovered, it might be possible to solve once and for all the problem of the authorship of the prayer 'For All Conditions of Men'. This prayer has been attributed to Gunning by a number of reputable authorities, but on grounds of style and content his authorship of it *in its present form* is open to serious question. Recent research has suggested Sanderson as the more likely author. In 1710 Wheatly ascribed the prayer to Sanderson and this was the generally received opinion at that date. It is possible, however, to preserve the tradition of Gunning's authorship and yet establish Sanderson's association with the prayer as it eventually appeared in the Prayer Book of 1662. The prayer as we have it today is not as it was originally written. The word 'finally' seems inappropriate in its present position. Since the present form of the prayer reflects the thought of Sanderson rather than of Gunning, it is suggested that there were two recensions of it. The first, by Gunning, was much longer and more verbose. The second, based on the first, was shorter and was 'worked over' so minutely by Sanderson that it now appears to be his rather than Gunning's. In default of Gunning's *View and Correction*, the answer to this problem cannot be obtained with certainty; the tradition of Gunning's authorship is very persistent and must have some foundation in fact.

The work of Gunning in respect of the Savoy Conference⁴ has not received much attention from historians, although the late Charles Hole observed⁵ as early as 1910

¹ Lathbury, *History of Convocations of the Church of England*, p. 297. ² Pepys, *Diary*, 26 May 1661.

³ See Anthony à Wood, *Athenae*, IV, p. 579; cf. *D.N.B.* article by Overton on Gunning.

⁴ Held at the Savoy Palace, London, between Anglicans and Puritans, concerning acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer.

⁵ Hole, *Manual of English Church History* (Longmans, 1910), p. 312; cf. Cardwell, *History of Conference on B.C.P.*, pp. 257, 300, 302.

that he was 'the man of all others to have been selected if it was meant that the conference should not succeed'. It was here that he again encountered his old adversary Richard Baxter, who states that his discussions with Gunning were long and bitter.¹ Had the conference adhered carefully to its terms of reference, its results might have been very different. As it transpired, neither side would yield a single point, and neither side made any serious attempt to understand or appreciate the other's view. There is good evidence for supposing that the conference took the form of a duel between Gunning and Baxter. There was a formal debate between them towards the end of the conference in which Gunning was declared the victor.

Gunning was consecrated Bishop of Chichester on 6 March 1670.² He now resigned his prebendal stall at Canterbury, but retained his Mastership of St John's until 25 March 1670 and his Regius Professorship until 1674. This was permitted so as to compensate for the 'first fruits'³ which he had to pay to the Crown. By 1670 he had assigned both of his rectories—an act of commendable restraint. An eighteenth-century prelate would probably have retained such preferment without scruple. His episcopate at Chichester was brief, for he was translated to Ely in 1675. At Chichester his main concerns were to check the spread of non-conformity and to promote pastoral reorganization in the city of Chichester. In the first he obtained some success. Several stories are told of his relations with the non-conformists; of these the following is the most entertaining.⁴

Bishop Gunning . . . had long disturbed the meetings at Chichester in Person. Once finding the doors shut against him and ordering the constable to break them open with a sledge, one in the crowd cried out, 'What, has Peter lost his keys?' and upon his firing hotly another called him Peter GUNNER. But not being discouraged he sat as justice on the bench at Quarter Sessions at Lewes. A Councillor in the Commission who us'd to give the Charge desir'd the Bishop to do it, but he refused and took the offer for an affront. The Bishop thought himself sure of Sir T. . . N's⁵ assistance who had ever acted himself before. But he plainly told him that he found they that would have good neighbours must be such themselves.

By the statute 5 & 6 Edward VI, §§ 17–23⁶ it was enacted that in the furtherance of their jurisdiction in ecclesiastical cases 'every . . . bishop may at his liberty and pleasure join and associate himself to the justice of assize for the inquiring of, hearing and determining the same'. Therefore, despite the fact that no record of this incident exists in the official court rolls, Gunning had a perfect right to be present when non-conformists were on trial, and to hear and determine such cases with the civil justices. There is nothing in this story which is at all improbable. It was in keeping with the reputation for intolerance which Gunning had acquired. Barwick describes him as 'that incomparable hammer of the schismatics'.⁷

¹ Sylvester, *Baxteriana*, part II, pp. 337–63.

² Stubbs, *Registrum*, p. 125.

³ Sum of money paid to the crown out of the income of the see: a kind of tax. Remitted by Queen Anne.

⁴ Calamy, *Account* (2nd ed. London, 1713), II, p. 692; quoted Baker, *op. cit.* p. 650.

⁵ Sir Thomas Nott, C 193/12/3 P.R.O.

⁶ Burn, *Eccl. Law*, ed. Phillimore (1842, 9th ed.), III, pp. 406–7.

⁷ Barwick, *Life of John Barwick*, quoted in *D.N.B.*

On the other hand he had considerable pastoral zeal and much practical ability as an organizer. The fullest possible use of available manpower and buildings was in the forefront of his episcopal policy, as this passage from one of his letters to Archbishop Sheldon makes clear:¹

As to the Churches in the towne no city can be more unhappily served, for out of the walls of the Cathedral there being few Churches and some fallen almost downe and none served usually with anything else usually than morning prayer only on Sundays at 8 a clock (their stipends being so small . . . not accepted by any but the Vicars choral for the most part and I having no jurisdiction in any one of all the churches). The Chancellor therefore and I studying some way how they may be better served by some regular Incumbent &c have thought . . . to crave your Grace's assistance and direction and to acquaint you what we think may be better done in it, (with your grace's good allowance). All Saints church wch is your Grace's peculiar (Valued 10^l per annum if all be paid) the body of the church and chancel, bells, ruinous and no Incumbent nor curate in it: has not farr from it a neighbouring little church St Pancras (of value indeed 25^l per annum but the church very ruinous) nothing done in it but the Incumbent lives only in the country upon another living with few trials; the patron one Mr Oglander. And a third church St Andrew's, the value 8 pounds, the patrons the Dean and Chapter. These three churches if united (according to the Act of Parliament) might make one Competent curacy for a resident regular Incumbent and the ruinous parts of the one, and the whole (but very little) other church or chappel together with the arrears due to those churches wch have been sometime void might well repair one fine chancel and the parish according to their duty and I think not unwillingly, to repair the body of the Church. Now Your Grace having that only peculiar in this city (the church of All Saints very ruinous) would I suppose rather yt that should be the church wch should stand, and in wch the other two should be united, (covering the ground on wch those two stand enclosed still for two burying places wch be but needful in the city). The patrons of the other two, viz. Mr Oglander of St Pancras and the Dean and chapter of St Andrewes are willing to the union in your grace's peculiar and All Saints Church to be repaired for the other two, but because Mr Oglander's curacy is of value much more than double to each of the other and more than both of them put together has desired that he may be considered with a double turn of presentation, and wth the first presentation because His hath at present an actual Incumbent (as to title) the other . . . none at all. The Incumbent that now is possessed of title to Mr Oglander's Church is willing to resign to his portion yt the patron may present one who will reside (wch himself cannot). But all this is referred to Your Grace's good pleasure wch is desired yt your Grace will signify by your secretary. The other two churches remaining in the city (besides these three) wch both are in the Dean and Chapter's patronage; I think they will Unite them too, yt another little curacy made out of both may have a resident regular Incumbent also.

All Saints' Church, Chichester, is still the peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Gunning as Bishop of Chichester had no ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the city boundary. The city was until 1845 a 'peculiar' of the Dean and Chapter. It was therefore outside the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but the archbishop and bishop had powers of visitation within the peculiar. The district known as 'The Pallant' was, on the other hand, the 'liberty' and 'peculiar' of the archbishop. The advowson² of the Church of All Saints belonged to the archbishop at

¹ Birch MS. 4274. P. 42013, Letters of Bishops. Letter dated 14 August 1670. British Museum.

² Advowson is the document stating in whom the right of patronage of a benefice is vested.

this date.¹ That of St Andrew-in-the-market belonged to the Dean and Chapter.² Gunning's scheme was to unite these two benefices with that of St Pancras, add their stipends together and thus provide a resident incumbent with, for those days, a reasonable income.³

In a postscript to this letter Gunning said that he intended to hold a visitation of the diocese in September 1670. Three years later he held a searching visitation of the cathedral. The text has been preserved. It is in nine folios.⁴

In 1675 Gunning was translated to Ely. Information about his Ely episcopate is exasperatingly scarce. The Registry is singularly unproductive of evidence concerning his episcopal acts. Little or no evidence as to his tenure and conduct of the Bishop of Ely's temporal jurisdiction within the Isle of Ely is now extant. It is known that during Gunning's episcopate, regular triennial visitations were held. The schedule of Articles for the second of these was printed and copies have survived.⁵ It is an exhaustive document and merits an article to itself. It comprises twenty-one octavo pages, together with a comprehensive 'Advertisement' addressed to churchwardens and sidesmen. The minister of the parish is also asked to join with them in making presentments. This is very interesting since in the eighteenth century 'Articles of Visitation' were no longer issued to these officials but to the incumbents or curates concerned.⁶ The oath to be administered to the churchwardens and sidesmen was a precisely worded formula. It ran, 'You shall Swear, diligently to Enquire and true Presentment make of every person now or lately of your Parish, which hath made any default or offence enquirable by the King's Laws Ecclesiastical, and known unto you. So help you God and the Contents of his Holy Gospel.' This was in pursuance of canon 119 of the canons of 1604.

It is not proposed that the Visitation Articles of 1679 should be considered in detail here, as space precludes their adequate treatment. A brief summary of the titles into which they are subdivided must suffice.

- I. Concerning Religion and the Government of the Church established in this realm.
- II. Concerning the Clergy, their duty and office.
- III. Concerning the parishioners—general behaviour especially during Divine Service.
- IV. Churchwardens, Sidesmen, Parish Clerks and Sextons.
- V. Churches, their possessions, ornaments, utensils and other necessities.
- VI. Schoolmasters, Physicians, Chirurgeons and Midwives.
- VII. Public Ecclesiastical Officers of the whole Diocese, within the Bishop's Visitation.

Study of the articles under these titles makes it clear that the influence of ecclesiastical law upon every individual was potentially very great. Bishop Gunning was deeply concerned to maintain and extend that influence.

¹ *V.C.H. Sussex*, III, pp. 164-6.

² 'St Andrew OXMARKET', *ibid.*

³ All Saints was united eventually with St Andrews in 1878. Part of Gunning's scheme was carried out independently over 200 years after he first thought of it.

⁴ 30 July 1673. County Record Office, Chichester.

⁵ C.U.L. Cam. d. 679.

⁶ See the present writer's introduction to *Secker's Visitation Articles*, Oxfordshire Rec. Soc. xxxviii (1957).

In view of his alleged harshness at Chichester, it is strange that there seems to be no evidence regarding his conduct as Bishop of Ely. Formal proceedings in the Bishop's Court are preserved at the Registry at Ely but there is no evidence of the bishop's personal intervention in these accounts of the day-to-day sessions of the court. The most that can be said with certainty is that the court sat regularly and discharged its business efficiently. The fact is that Calamy's 'Account' had been completed, and no one had thought seriously of pursuing the subject further.

Gunning showed some concern for the cathedral at Ely and desired either to remove the choir further to the east or to build a new choir. He also wished to pave the choir with marble. For this purpose he left a sum of money in his Will. On these projects the present Dean writes:¹ 'The only reference to Gunning's scheme for the Cathedral that I know of, is the remark in Bentham². . . "some time before his death he had an intention of making a new choir to his Cathedral Church of Ely at his own expense: but that design not taking effect he left by his Will £300 for new paving the Choir". I do not know of any evidence that this awful scheme got further than the Bishop's brain and imagination. That seems to be the belief of Bentham.' We may well be grateful that we were spared this innovation.

Gunning died on 6 July 1684, 'as much beloved, as justly admired, revered and deservedly lamented, as ever any bishop was there'.³ He made a very precise settlement of his affairs by his Will,⁴ especially as regards his MSS., but nothing was published after his death; only his 'Lent Fast',⁵ which was reprinted in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, has any claim to a place amongst the 'classics' of Anglican Theology. The six overseers of Gunning's papers earned their £50 legacies very easily. His Will bears the date 25 August 1679; there is a certified copy in the Cambridge University Library. He left £100 to his old college in addition to the £100 he had given previously towards building a new chapel. He also bequeathed £100—in addition to former benefactions—towards the endowment of a choir. He left his library to Clare and, by a codicil, £200 in addition to his former bequest, and another £100 to St John's, and any surplus to be bestowed upon pious and charitable uses 'having respect unto the Quire begun to be founded at St John's College'. A codicil⁶ dated 12 February 1682 leaves '£300 more' to Clare Hall towards the building of their chapel, and corrects his former gift of £100 to St John's to £300 towards the building of a new chapel. He also left £350 towards the building of St Paul's Cathedral. By a codicil dated 11 September 1683 he left the remainder of his personal estate towards the relief of poor vicars in Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, 'where the impropriations are in the bishop'. In a codicil dated 27 July 1682 he left £200 towards the paving of Ely choir with marble. His books finally went to St John's College after the death of William Saywell, his executor, who was to have

¹ The Very Rev. C. P. Hankey, M.A.

² James Bentham, *History of Cathedral and Conventual Church of Ely*, p. 204.

³ Baker, *op. cit.* I, p. 237.

⁴ Documents of the Gunning Family, p. 422: Hunts. Record Office. Cf. Baker, *op. cit.* II, p. 658.

⁵ Baker, *op. cit.* I, p. 239.

⁶ Cole, in Baker, *op. cit.* II, p. 659.

half of them during his lifetime. This was ordered by 'his last Will' dated 26 June 1684.

His looks were grave and venerable and his manners could be perfect, but enough has been said in these pages to show that the eulogistic words of Humfrey Gower¹ were scarcely correct: 'So sweet and heavenly a temperament there was in him of greatness and goodness, of Meekness and Majesty, of Gravity and courtesie, of every thing indeed that is amiable and Reverend; that it was impossible to know him well and not to Honour and Delight in him.' Such may well have been the opinion of his friends and those with whom he agreed politically and theologically, but there is no doubt that he had a violent temper beneath his charm, which manifested itself frequently in his contacts with his opponents. Nevertheless, he was a true royalist, a sturdy controversialist and a great churchman. If he cannot claim a place amongst the architects of the 'Restoration Church Settlement', he may be numbered honourably amongst those who prepared the site for its erection.

¹ Gower, *Discourse* (Cambridge, 1685), p. 53.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CAMBRIDGESHIRE HEARTH TAX

H. M. SPUFFORD

DR HOSKINS in his appendix on housing in *The Midland Peasant* was able to connect hearth-tax entries with certain probate inventories for Wigston Magna, and to suggest the number of hearths that might possibly go with the number of rooms. During the course of work on seventeenth-century Cambridgeshire it proved possible to follow this up, by relating a hundred probate inventories from the decade 1661-70 to the appropriate hearth-tax entries, thereby testing the extent to which the hearth tax may be used as a general social and economic guide.¹

Hearth-tax entries are potentially useful in two ways. If it can be established that varying numbers of hearths do in fact indicate different wealth or social status, the tax provides a rough and ready guide to this, once the differentials have been established.² It can also be used as a guide to the state of rural housing in a county, as it was used by Dr Hoskins.

It must be emphasized that findings on the economic position or status that go with a certain number of hearths cannot be applied from one county to others unless they are in a region affected by the 'great rebuilding' at the same time.³

Results from the Cambridgeshire probate inventories for 1661-70, contrasted with a sample of 89 probate inventories from Lincolnshire for 1669, showed that Cambridgeshire had nearly twice as many people worth under £30 as Lincolnshire, and only two-thirds as many people worth between £30 and £60 (Table 1). In spite of this the rebuilding of small houses was much further advanced than in Lincolnshire, and both the inventories for the decade and those for 1669 itself showed that, even

¹ Information on the position of hearths, the number of rooms appropriate to different numbers of hearths, and the medians of wealth of those with one, two, three and four hearths is taken from this sample of 101. Information on house plans and their frequency, together with that on the proportions of different sizes of houses in Cambridgeshire, is taken from the whole group of 340 probate inventories of the Consistory Court which survive for the county for the decade 1661-70. They may be found in the Cambridge University Archives bundled under years. The hearth-tax assessments used were that for Michaelmas 1662 (P.R.O. E. 179/84/436), its revision made in Michaelmas 1664 (P.R.O. E. 179/84/437) and that for Lady Day 1666 (P.R.O. E. 179/244/22). Only those inventories were used for which the deceased, who had to be the only man of that name taxed in the village, was taxed on the same number of hearths in all three assessments if he died at the end of the decade, or in two assessments if he died in 1666. If he died in late 1662 the correlation between inventory and assessment in 1662 was accepted if the 1664 roll mentioned a change of tenure but still assessed the house on the same number of hearths as in 1662.

² The use which can then be made of the tax is shown in W. G. Hoskins, *Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 1688-1800*, pp. 111-22.

³ M. W. Barley, *The English Farmhouse and Cottage* (London, 1961), has shown the tremendous regional variations which existed in rural housing until the end of the seventeenth century.

in the fen-line region of the county, five-roomed houses formed the largest single group,¹ whereas three-roomed houses formed the largest single group in Lincolnshire (see Table 2).

From this example it can be seen how misleading it could be to apply an interpretation of the economic significance of the hearth tax in Cambridgeshire to a county not affected by the rebuilding at the same time.

The correlation of inventories and the hearth tax showed that a house with one hearth might have from one to six rooms, although two, three and four were most common² (see Table 3). It might be occupied by a person worth from under £10 to just under £200 (see Table 4 for the relationship between house-size and wealth), but 84 per cent of the occupiers of one-hearth houses had under £50, and the median wealth of such people was £24.³

Two-roomed cottages with no second floor were still numerous in Cambridgeshire, which in this respect differed from its prosperous neighbour Essex. They were inhabited mainly by people who left under £20, and were generally made up of hall and chamber, or parlour, although it was not very common for a chamber to be known as a parlour in as small a house as this, even if the use was identical. There was an interesting small group of two-roomed houses in which the hall had become demoted to a kitchen; examples of this were found more frequently in the fen-edge villages than anywhere else. Only one two-roomed house with hall and kitchen was found.

Three- and four-roomed houses were commonly occupied by those with goods worth under £30. Half the labourers who left inventories had three-roomed houses (see Table 5 for the relationship between status and house-size). By far the commonest design was of hall, chamber or parlour, and one service room. It appeared from the inventories that the chamber in a three-roomed house was usually a lower chamber;⁴ one of the very few exceptions was the cottage of John Collis, a labourer of Harston, which had hall and dairy and a chamber over the hall. There were also examples of three-roomed cottages with hall and two service rooms and hall and two chambers.

Upper rooms were found commonly for the first time in four-roomed houses. The predominating plan was the simple one found in the East Midlands and Bedford-

¹ Secondary service rooms like brewhouses and boulting houses (flour-sieving houses), and malthouses and maltchambers are included as rooms in these figures, since the inventories show that they may sometimes, although not always, be in the main range. However, the inclusion of these rooms does not seriously affect the figures, since they only appear in houses with six or more rooms, and only appear in any numbers in houses with ten or more rooms.

² These findings should throughout be compared with those of Dr Hoskins in *The Midland Peasant* (pp. 299-300), which they almost completely confirm.

³ The median wealth of the eighteen labourers whose inventories occur amongst those presented in the Consistory Court for the 1660's was £15. That of the twenty-four husbandmen was £30. That of the fifty-five craftsmen was £40, and that of the fifty-eight yeomen was £180. Analysis of all the inventories for the decade gave a median of £40.

⁴ A 'chamber' in Cambridgeshire might be up- or downstairs. It was, therefore, impossible to be certain of the layout of any house containing a chamber not specifically described as upper or lower. This meant that exact figures showing the prevalence or rarity of any one design could not be given.

shire,¹ with hall, parlour or chamber, one service room and an upper chamber which was placed indiscriminately over the hall or parlour, and occasionally, although rarely, over the service room. There was a very rare variant of this with hall and two service rooms down, and an upper chamber. This type was common to a wide social range. Robert Caldecot of Barrington, who was known to his neighbours as a yeoman even if he only farmed three acres on the open fields, lived in such a house, and so did John Creede, a labourer of Thriplow. The second, smaller group, the exact proportion of which it was impossible to assess because of the difficulty of terminology, was that with four ground-floor rooms, hall, parlour or chamber, and two service rooms. Lastly, there was a very small class with hall and service room both chambered over, like the cottage of the labourer Thomas King of Hauxton.²

The hearth in a single-hearth house was obviously in the hall, or its variant, so that the hall was still used for cooking in spite of the fact that almost half the service rooms in three- and four-roomed houses were known as kitchens. The usual pattern was for spare utensils to be banished to the kitchen, which held, like the kitchen of William Tilbrook of West Wrating, kettles and pewter and dairy equipment. There were no utensils in his hall except those which belonged to the fireplace itself: the bellows, tongs, firepan and cob-irons.³ There were however three very strange examples of houses with one hearth in which the inventory seems to suggest more or less clearly that the hearth might not have been in the hall. The inventory of Thomas Fordham, a husbandman of Cottenham, is not conclusive. He had hall, chamber, kitchen, and dairy. The curious thing about the inventory is that it shows him with a bed, two cupboards and chests, and a little table in the hall, but no provision for seating at all, while the kitchen contains hutches,⁴ a table, three chairs, and—the only cooking utensils mentioned—an iron pot and an iron kettle. The fire-irons are not mentioned, so the position of the hearth is not known; but it does seem that Thomas Fordham has been caught in the act of gradually using his kitchen as a main living room more than his hall. It suggests that in another generation, the hall in that house would no longer be known as such.

The other two cases are quite clear. John Farrow, a carpenter of Thriplow, and John Harvey, a husbandman of Ickleton, both had the commonest four-roomed type of house with one hearth. In neither case does the connection of the inventory with the hearth-tax entry seem in any doubt. Both men used the hall as the main living room and kept their big table, chairs, forms, stools and cupboards there. But John Farrow's kitchen contained as well as all his kettles, pots and skillets, the iron pot and its hooks, which was the principal cooking vessel, the spit, the frying pan and all 'his Colls that was in the hod'. It seems incredible that in an untidy age tidiness

¹ M. W. Barley, *op. cit.* p. 151.

² Nowhere in Cambridgeshire did the type of cottage with hall and parlour both chambered over—which made up just under a quarter of the four-roomed houses on the Duchy of Lancashire estates in Lincolnshire in 1608—occur (M. W. Barley, *op. cit.* p. 85).

³ Cob-irons were alternatives for andirons, or fire-dogs. For a fuller description, see F. W. Steer, *Farm and Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex, 1635-1749* (Colchester, 1960), pp. 25-6.

⁴ Hutches were small chests, used for storage. See F. W. Steer, *op. cit.* p. 19.

should be carried to the extreme of keeping the hod of coal in a room away from the hearth. John Harvey had no hod of coals, but he kept in his service room, which was a buttery not a kitchen, the spit, tongs, and firepan, as well as all the cooking vessels. These cases either throw doubt on the hearth-tax assessors' capacities, even in the careful 1664 revision, or show the extent to which the relationship between the kitchen and hall was changing in this period.

A house with two hearths might have from two to ten rooms, although two-thirds of those in the sample had four, five, or six rooms. Their occupiers had from under £10 to over £300 but three-quarters of them had between £10 and £100, and the median wealth of occupants of two-hearth houses was £60.

Five-roomed houses formed the largest single class in Cambridgeshire and were occupied by the biggest group of husbandmen, some craftsmen and some yeomen, who usually had anything from under £10 to £70. They were also occupied by a sprinkling of much more wealthy men, with from £100 to £200, and in one case over £400. Thirty per cent of the Cambridgeshire yeomen lived in five- and six-roomed houses.

Three main types of five-roomed houses emerge from the inventories. The commonest was that with hall, parlour or lower chamber, two service rooms, and one upper chamber. The upper chamber in these cases was usually over the hall, but sometimes over the parlour, leaving the two service rooms normally single-storeyed. Next came a group with two upper chambers, which normally had hall, parlour, and one service room downstairs. Thirdly came a very small group which possibly had all five rooms downstairs. The likelihood is that it was very rare.

The commonest type of six-roomed house was one with hall and parlour, two service rooms, and two upper chambers which were usually over the hall and the parlour. There were examples, however, both of the hall and parlour being apparently left open.

Secondly came a group of houses with only one upper chamber. It included a small number of houses with both lower chamber and parlour; but wherever this combination was found in six- or seven-roomed houses it had the effect of lessening the extent of chambering over. Only in houses with ten or more rooms was the existence of two parlours or their equivalent an indication of wealth rather than that of backwardness in the construction of a second storey. There was even one example of a six-roomed house with no upper chambers given at all. This may simply be indicative of the appraisers' failure to go upstairs; but it is symptomatic of one of the most striking features of Cambridgeshire housing as it emerges from the inventories—the rarity of symmetrical chambering over. The third and smallest group of six-roomed houses was that with three upper and three lower rooms, and it is typical that this should be the smallest group, for in houses with up to eight rooms, cases in which the upper storey had been extended as far as it could be were very rare.

When there was more than one hearth, probate inventories cannot be trusted to indicate the position of the additional ones, for they usually give only the main

cooking hearth. In most two-hearth houses the cooking was done in the kitchen and so the kitchen hearth was given; occasionally it was still done in the hall, and so a hearth in the hall was given. Only in one two-hearth house did the inventory give both hearths, and they were in kitchen and hall. There is not a single example of a house with two hearths in which a heated parlour or chamber was indicated.

A house with three hearths might have from six to eleven rooms, but over three-quarters had six, seven, or eight rooms. They were occupied by people with personal wealth of from just under £30 to over £500, but the vast majority had from just under £30 to £200. The median was £141. The biggest single group of Cambridgeshire yeomen lived in eight-roomed houses.

The plans of seven- and eight-roomed houses become too difficult to interpret. The largest class of seven-roomed houses had two upper chambers, and the largest class of eight-roomed houses had only three. It is noticeable that half the very small group of eight-roomed houses, in which the position of every room is known, had no chamber over the hall. Service rooms in these more wealthy yeomen's houses began to multiply, and the majority of eight-roomed houses had three or four.

The position of the third hearth varied considerably according to the information given in the inventories. The hearth most commonly supplied with fire-irons was in the kitchen still, with the hall hearth mentioned next. But the parlour may be heated in a house of this size; Henry Sell, yeoman of Gamlingay, had a hearth in his 'chamber below' judging from the 'iron grate' listed there, although he does not seem to have one in his parlour. Richard Wootton of Ickleton had hearths in his parlour and hall. Moreover, one hearth may be upstairs in a three-hearth house. Thomas Alban, blacksmith of Shepreth, who had seven rooms and three hearths, had a hearth in his hall, which he used for cooking, having no kitchen, and another in the chamber over the parlour, for there were listed there with his bedstead, five chests and six chairs, a little pair of cob-irons and a fire-shovel. There were no fire-irons in his parlour, where the third hearth presumably was. Samuel Mortlock of Whittlesford had a hearth in his hall, and the only other implements connected with fires were in the chamber over his buttery, where he had two pairs of cob-irons.

A house with four hearths or more had from six to fourteen rooms, and might be occupied by a person with from £34 to £1132. Five-eighths had over £300, and the median value of their wealth was £360. Only very considerable yeomen or prosperous shopkeepers occupied such houses in general. The house of John Mickelly of West Wickham, who left £546. 12s. 2d., is a good example of these outstanding houses. It had thirteen rooms. Not all their positions are known, but downstairs he had a hall, and a parlour (which contained amongst other things a long table and eighteen leather chairs), kitchen, dairy, brewhouse and cellar. Upstairs he had chambers over the hall, the parlour, the dairy and the porch. The positions of his own bedchamber and of the chamber for storing cheese were not stated, nor was that of his 'round' chamber, which contained a bed with curtains, had hangings on the walls, and contained plate and linen which brought the value of the contents of the room up to

£25. The house had five hearths, and it is the only large house in which the inventory gives the position of all five. There were fire-irons, cob-irons and tongs in the hall, the parlour, the kitchen, the chamber over the parlour, and John Mickelly's own bedchamber.

The number of hearths that a house is assessed on in the hearth tax can then, within very broad limits, be used as a guide to the size it is most likely to be. But it is not a certain one. A three-roomed house with hall, lower chamber, and service room, or a four-roomed house with hall, upper and lower chambers, and service room, was most likely to have one hearth, but might possibly have two. A five-roomed house with hall, lower chamber or parlour, two service rooms and one upper chamber was most likely to have two hearths, but might only have one. A six-roomed house with hall, parlour, two service rooms, and two upper chambers, might have two or three hearths. There were examples of eight-roomed houses with hall, parlour, three service rooms, and three upper chambers, with two, three, four and even five hearths. In large houses of ten or more rooms individual preference played an immense part, and it becomes impossible to predict how many hearths there will be. William Folkes, yeoman of Westley Waterless, who died leaving £324. 7s. 4d., had ten rooms and only two hearths. William Amye, yeoman of Little Abington, who left £253. 13s. 4d., and Francis Nun, yeoman of Swaffham Prior, lived in ten-roomed houses which each had hall, parlour, four service rooms and four upper chambers. William Amye had four hearths and Francis Nun had eight.

The main fact which emerges from this work on the hearth tax is that it can be used as a general economic guide. The widely differing medians of wealth of those with differing numbers of hearths show this.¹ It can also be used as a social guide in the sense that all persons with three or more hearths were almost certain to be yeomen or extremely prosperous craftsmen of a similar status. It does not follow that those with fewer hearths were not yeomen. The extent of economic and social overlap, and the blurring of economic and social divisions caused by inheritance and personal preference, means that although the tax may be used as a guide to status and wealth in general, it may not safely be used in any individual example. The cases of Richard London, husbandman of Hinxton, who had eight rooms and five hearths and only £34 to his name, and, conversely, of Thomas Amey, husbandman of Harston, who had a two-roomed cottage and left £119. 15s. 6d., are instructive examples of the dangers of oversimplification.

An analysis of one of the hearth-tax returns for Cambridgeshire was made,² and its results showed when they were mapped that there was no clear regional pattern

¹ It is important to note that the medians of those with four, and more than four, hearths were taken together. The numbers of those with more than four hearths are too few, and the connection between wealth and house size so much looser at this end of the scale than at the other, that this must be done to get a fair picture.

² The return of Michaelmas 1664 was chosen for this purpose, since it is an extremely detailed revision of the 1662 return which includes frequent corrections of concealments, and comments which were obviously based on personal inspection, in some cases. For this reason it seemed likely to be the most accurate return of the series. It is also nearly as full as the return for Lady Day 1674 (see C. A. F. Meekings, *V.C.H. Cambs. and the Isle of Ely*, IV, p. 273).

of personal wealth in the county.¹ In general, 30–50 per cent of the houses in each parish had one hearth, 20–40 per cent had two hearths, less than 20 per cent had three hearths, and less than 20 per cent had four or more hearths (maps, Figs. 1–5). There were very numerous exceptions to this. Of the parishes with under 30 per cent of houses with one hearth, Willingham and Histon lay in the fen or on the fen-edge, Stapleford and Little Shelford in the river valley, and Hardwick, Toft and Gamlingay on the western upland. On the other hand, a noticeable block of parishes which all had more than 50 per cent of these small houses lay together on the south-eastern upland. Most of the parishes with over 40 per cent of houses with two hearths were grouped together in the fen or on the fen-edge to the north of Cambridge, but the fen parishes to the north-east were dissimilar. Of the parishes with 20–30 per cent of houses with three hearths, Burwell lay on the fen-edge, Babraham and Duxford in the river valleys and Croydon and Gamlingay on the western upland. Exceptional parishes with 30–40 per cent of houses with four or more hearths were similarly widely distributed.

This result is particularly interesting, since it conflicts in some ways with the results obtained from analysing the personal wealth of each Cambridgeshire region as it was shown in the probate inventories. Over eighty inventories survive from the upland, and over a hundred each from the valleys and the fen-edge, for the decade 1661–70. The median wealth of the testators from the upland was £47, and that from the river valleys £30, while that from the fen-edge lay between, at £40. Most of the upland inventories came from the villages above the 300-ft. contour to the south-east of the county. But it was just here that the hearth-tax returns showed a remarkable grouping of villages with over 50 per cent of houses with only one hearth. This conflict of evidence shows the dangers inherent in relying on even a large sample of inventories, for it is quite plain that in the south-east of the county the proportion of small men leaving a will must have been very low, and the results, in consequence, are extremely misleading.

The lack of any clear pattern of prosperity in the hearth-tax return for 1664 shows clearly that the individual history of tenure and farming, and indeed of particular local initiative and the lack of it, must be investigated in villages which stand out as exceptionally poor or exceptionally prosperous. No regional generalizations will supply this deficiency.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Mr M. W. Barley, Dr J. Thirsk, Dr H. P. R. Finberg, and Dr P. Eden, for their help and advice with this work.

¹ For discussion of natural regions in Cambridgeshire, see J. J. Jones, *A Human Geography of Cambridgeshire* (1924), pp. 27–42 and 51–9, and *The Cambridge Region*, ed. H. C. Darby (1938), pp. 106–15.

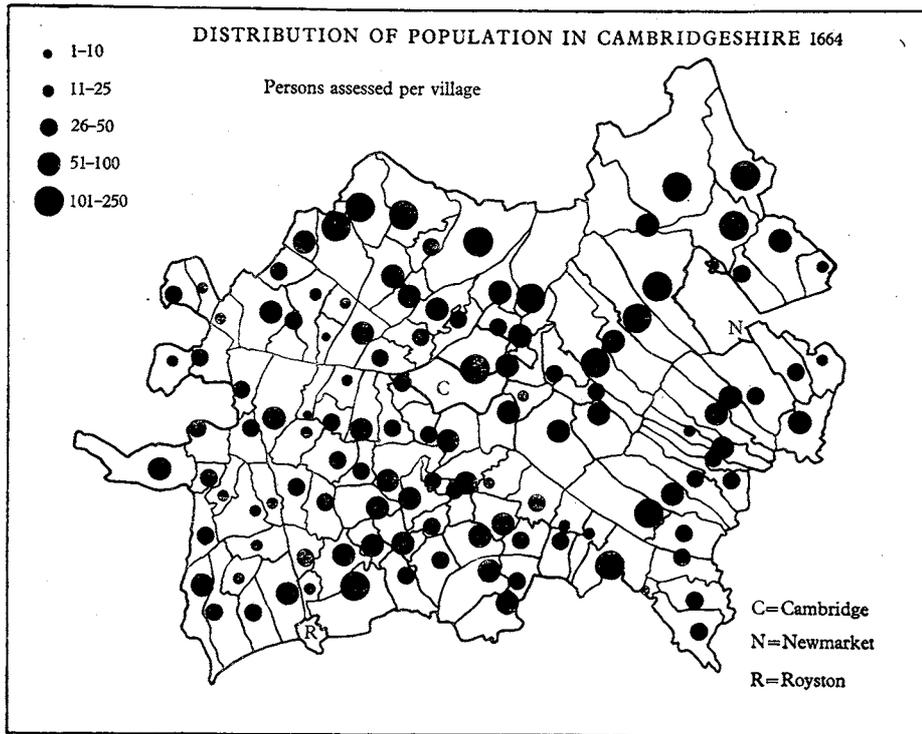


Fig. 1. This map shows the number of people assessed in each village in 1664. There is a difference in the numbers of people assessed in this return, and the number of houses in each village, since the former figure excludes empty houses, whereas the latter excludes additional inmates in houses which are divided. However, the difference between the two is usually very small, and only changes the numbers appearing on the map in the cases of Bassingbourn, East Hatley, Horseheath and Burwell. Subdivisions of houses at East Hatley, Horseheath and Burwell meant that while the number of people taxed fell within the '11-25', '51-100', and 'over 200' groups, the number of houses fell within the '1-10', '26-50' and '100-200' groups. At Bassingbourn, the number of empty houses brought the total number of houses to just over 100, while the number of people assessed fell just below that figure.

Pairs of semi-detached cottages of the seventeenth century have been found by the investigators of the Historical Monuments Commission in the county, which also has very early examples of rows of cottages (M. W. Barley, *The English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 247-8). The hearth-tax return of 1664 shows that, although subdivision was not far advanced in the county, it was sufficiently common for over forty villages to have an example or two. There is of course no reason to suppose that many of these examples were of cottages built as semi-detached. The process of inheritance by which division could be brought about is shown very clearly in the court books of Linton for 1603-65 (Cambs. R.O., R. 59.5.1). In 1617 William and Elizabeth Ridgewell were admitted to a tenement near 'le Bridgefoot' in Linton. In 1633 Ann Ridgewell was admitted to the same tenement on the death of her father William, Katherine Ridgewell was admitted to the 'end' of the same tenement on the death of her mother Elizabeth, and William and Elizabeth Byr were admitted to a tenement 'cald a kitchin', which was part of the same property. Finally, in 1651, Ann Ridgewell and Elizabeth Byr were admitted to the end of the tenement formerly in the tenancy of their sister, Katherine. Many divisions recorded in the hearth tax must have been brought about by similar means. In Chesterton and Linton, Swaffham Prior and its hamlet of Reach, Burwell and Cottenham, between ten and fifteen subdivisions each were recorded, however, and in those cases it seems quite probable that semi-detached cottages existed by 1664. The work of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments will presumably decide this point.

Note: Numbers for Cambridge are omitted from this and the following four maps.

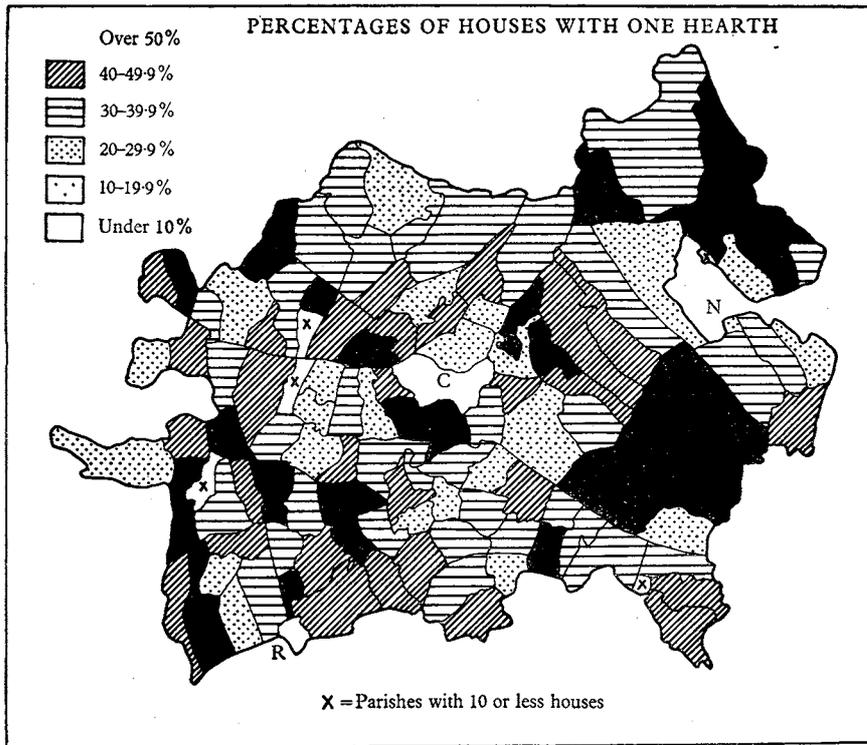


Fig. 2

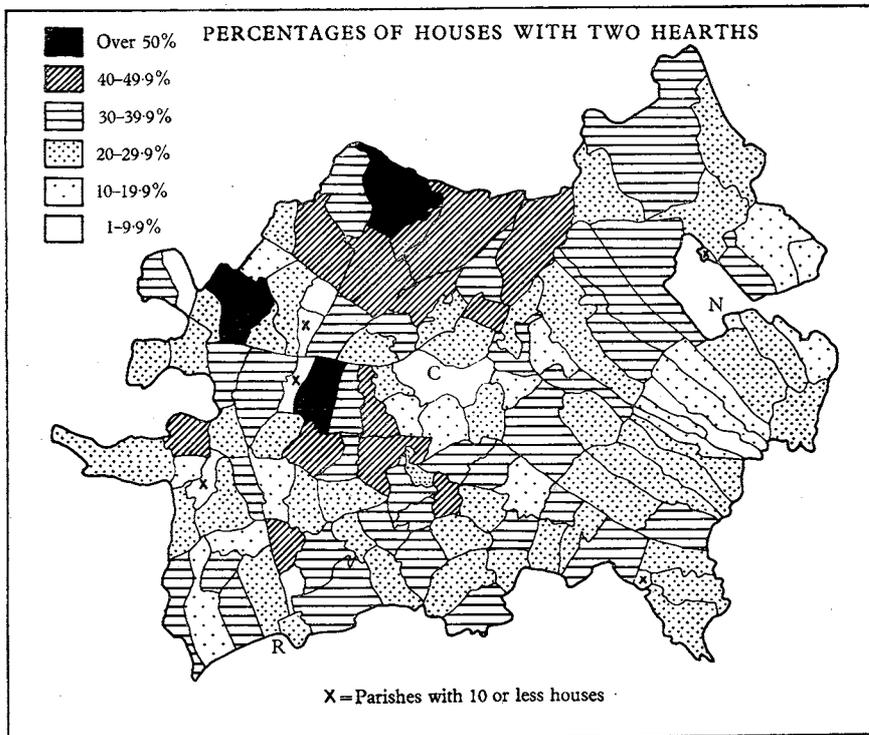


Fig. 3

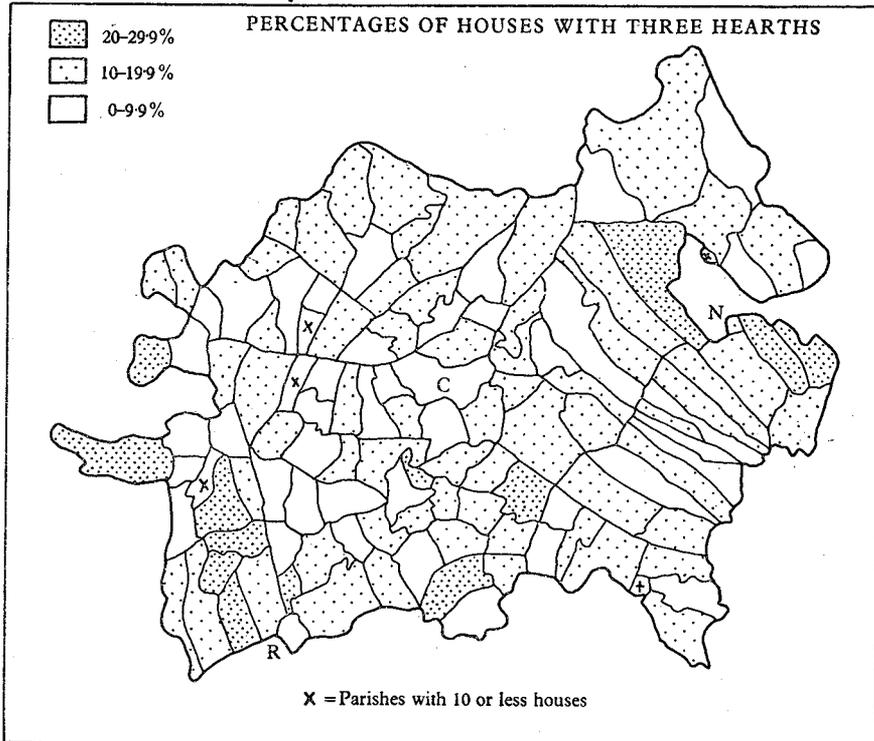


Fig. 4

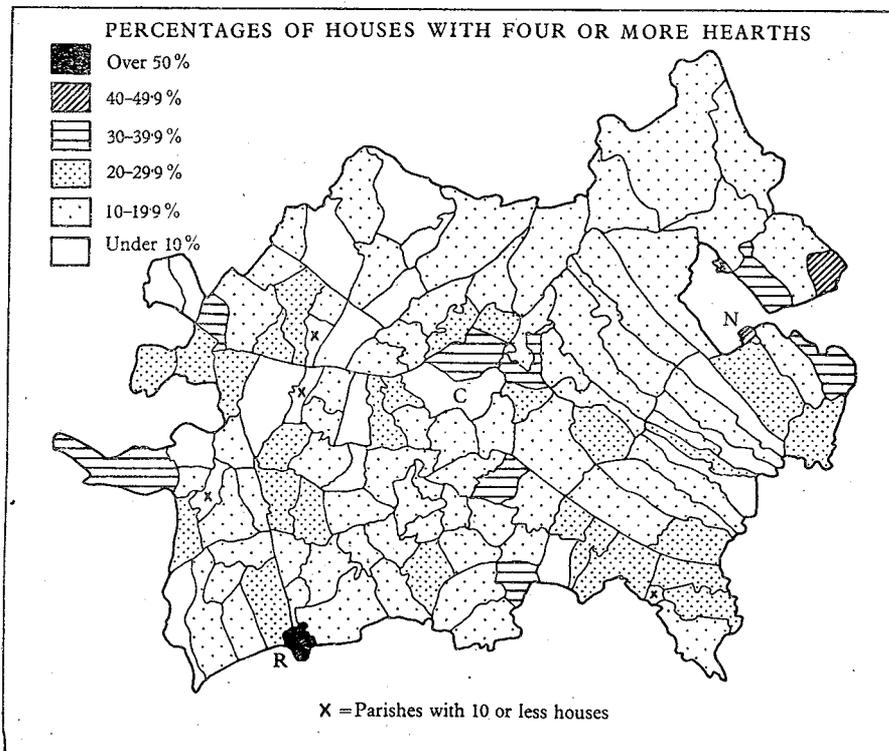


Fig. 5

TABLE 4. *Personal wealth and number of rooms—Cambridgeshire 1661-70*

Wealth	No. of rooms														Total
	Dubious	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
Under £10	8	10	11	1	5	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	36
£10-£20	14	10	13	9	6	2	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	55
£20-£30	4	3	9	12	7	6	3	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	45
£30-£40	4	3	3	4	8	1	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	26
£40-£50	1	1	2	1	7	4	.	2	.	.	1	.	.	.	19
£50-£60	1	1	1	.	4	2	3	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	13
£60-£70	.	.	1	1	3	5	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	12
£70-£80	1	.	1	2	1	4	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	12
£80-£90	.	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	8
£90-£100	.	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	9
£100-£150	1	1	1	1	5	4	1	4	1	1	1	2	.	.	23
£150-£200	.	1	.	1	4	.	.	4	2	.	1	.	.	2	15
£200-£250	.	1	.	.	.	2	1	3	1	1	1	.	2	.	12
£250-£300	.	.	.	1	.	1	1	2	.	3	1	2	.	.	11
£300-£350	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	1	.	1	1	.	.	.	6
£350-£400	.	.	.	1	.	1	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	6
£400-£450	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
£450-£500	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	3
£500-£550	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	1	1	1	.	4
£550-£600	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—
£600-£650	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
£650-£700	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Over £700	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	1	2	1	.	.	1	7
Total	34	33	44	36	53	39	21	27	8	9	8	5	4	4	325

TABLE 5. *The relationship between social status and house-size*

No. of rooms	Labourers		Husbandmen		Craftsmen		Yeomen		Gentlemen	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Dubious	4	23·5	—	—	6	10·9	—	—	—	—
2	2	11·8	2	8·7	7	12·7	1	1·7	—	—
3	8	47·0	2	8·7	4	7·3	1	1·7	—	—
4	2	11·8	4	17·4	5	9·1	3	5·2	—	—
5	1	5·9	9	39·2	7	12·7	9	15·5	1	10
6	—	—	3	13·1	10	18·2	9	15·5	—	—
7	—	—	—	—	9	16·4	5	8·6	1	10
8	—	—	1	4·3	5	9·1	11	19·0	1	10
9	—	—	1	4·3	1	1·8	2	3·6	1	10
10	—	—	—	—	1	1·8	7	12·1	—	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	7·3	3	30
12	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	3·6	—	—
13	—	—	1	4·3	—	—	2	3·6	1	10
14 and over	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	3·6	2	20
Total	17	100·0	23	100·0	55	100·0	58	101·0	10	100

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

M. D. CRA'STER, GRACE BRISCOE, C. F. TEBBUTT
AND D. F. RENN

AN IRON AGE BRIDLE CHEEK-PIECE FROM ASHWELL, HERTS

In October 1961 Mr L. J. Barratt kindly gave the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology a bridle side-piece (Museum no. 61.217), which he had found in the fields. The site was near Mob's Hole, Ashwell (Nat. Grid 262438), on land belonging to Mr Murphy.

The object is the cheek-piece of a horse's bit, of an uncommon Iron Age type peculiar to Britain (Pl. VII). It is of bronze, with the outer face decorated in champ-levé enamel. Only two of the sunken compartments still retain their enamel filling, which is red; probably the same colour was used throughout. The design has been emphasized by incised lines, marking out the forms of the pattern.

Another bit cheek-piece of comparable form (also in the Museum, no. 1901.182) was found in Cambridge itself in 1898; but this has very uninspired decoration, consisting of two attachments, presumably to hold circular enamel studs.

Sir Cyril Fox comments that the formal design on the Ashwell example is neatly suited to the narrow outline of the object; he would date it, on stylistic grounds, to the first century A.D.

A comparison can be made with the somewhat similar piece from the large hoard of horse-trappings and other ornamental pieces found at Polden Hill in Somerset.¹ But the style of decoration here is much more lively than that of the new Cambridge-shire example. To quote Sir Cyril again:² 'There certainly is a parallel to the "knob-touching-a-curve" in the Polden Hill piece, but all the vigour and movement is lost' in the Ashwell pattern.

M. D. C.

SOME ROMAN SITES NEAR LAKENHEATH, SUFFOLK

In 1952 a list of six recently discovered Romano-British sites in the neighbourhood of Lakenheath, Suffolk, appeared in the Archaeological Notes of these *Proceedings* (vol. XLV). Since then six more habitation sites have been revealed by deeper ploughing. Locations have been marked on the O.S. 6-in. maps and the finds preserved in the Mildenhall Museum. Otherwise they have not been explored.

¹ C. Fox, *Pattern and Purpose* (1958), pp. 125, 131, nn. 18, 26, and pl. 72a. For a list of the twelve known cheek-pieces of similar type, see Stuart Piggott, 'Three Metal-work Hoards of the Roman Period from Southern Scotland', *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXXXVII (1952-3), p. 21.

² Letter to the author.

One large site on Lakenheath–Eriswell Warren was revealed by rabbits and an exploratory trench dug across an occupation floor. Another site at Wangford has been explored and published in these *Proceedings* (vol. LI).

Lakenheath–Eriswell Warren; grid 780798

In 1953 an Elveden gamekeeper reported that he had found a large number of potsherds, brought up by rabbits, on an unploughed portion of the warren, and also a coin which proved to be a *sestertius* of Hadrian.

Inspection showed that the scatter of sherds extended over a wide area—4 to 5 acres—and included ‘Samian’, black and grey ware, pieces of glass and tile, and oyster shells.

At one point, in the most prolific area, a sherd of ‘wall-sided’ ‘Samian’ with part of a lion head (form 45, late second century) was found on the surface. A trial trench across this spot showed a firm black occupation layer, 1½–2 ft. thick, between the sandy topsoil and the solid chalk. This trench had to be extended to a length of 60 ft. before the occupation layer petered out.

From this layer came numerous sherds of pottery, some decorated with barbotine; a ‘Samian’ base with a potter’s mark, AV-RI; many pieces of painted wall plaster—these chiefly at the north end of the trench; a third brass of ? Tetricus I, a bronze bracelet and a bone pin; angular lumps of chalk, burnt stones and bones and charcoal; lumps of reddish clay or unbaked pottery; teeth, oyster-shells, tiles and nails.

Icklingham: Mitchell’s Farm; grid 779721

The Elveden Estate Office informed me that the plough had brought up a large spread of sherds on a field just to the east of the site of the Roman villa, explored in 1877 by Henry Prigg (*Icklingham Papers*, p. 72).

In the south-west corner of the field were many Romano-British sherds. I was told that the field had been deep-ploughed two years ago, when large sherds had been seen. Subsequent ploughing had caused them to be broken up. The sherds included third- and fourth-century rims, a few pieces of ‘Samian’ and colour-coated ware, bases and sherds of large, grey, Horningsea-type pots; also oyster-shells and bones, pieces of metal, pewter, tiles and bricks. In one spot the soil looked whitish, with lumps of chalk and flints, and building materials scattered about, probably being the remains of some structure.

These finds are deposited in the Elveden Estate Museum.

Mildenhall Fen

In the vicinity of Holywell Drove, Mildenhall, traces of five habitation sites—including one noted by Gordon Fowler and rediscovered by Colonel Kelly—have been discovered within a mile of each other.

Holywell Drove (Morley); grid 690788

A large spread of Romano-British material was found on a newly ploughed field, including: sherds of black and grey pots; a decorated 'Samian' sherd, and a base stamped FIRMVS; colour-coated, barbotine and 'dotted' ware; sherds of *mortaria* and thick storage vessels; nails, tiles, bricks, horns and oyster-shells.

Holywell Drove (Hammond); grid 684-7 795-6

After ploughing, a wide scatter of sherds was reported on a field to the west of Holywell Drove. The finds included 'Samian'—one piece decorated and one portion of a cup; a large everted rim of Horningsea type; the base of an amphora handle; many grey sherds, some with decoration; bones, and pieces of quern—both quartzite and puddingstone.

Near Holywell Drove; grid 687787

A scatter of sherds was collected by Colonel Kelly, U.S.A.F., after ploughing, on the field originally discovered by Gordon Fowler. Amongst them were bases of small lamps, both colour-coated and Castor-ware; grey bases and rim sherds, and two red, flanged rims; rim sherds of two *mortaria* of white pipe-clay with traces of colour-coating, both flanged; rusticated sherds, a 'Samian' rim from a flat bowl, and the neck of a colour-coated flagon; the rim of a small pipe-clay pot with remains of a handle; portions of tiles, and oyster-shells.

Beck Row, near Rookery Farm; grid 690785

After ploughing, a scatter of Romano-British sherds, late in type, made its appearance. Grey bases, an amphora handle, a large colour-coated sherd with bold barbotine decoration of circles and stripes, teeth of horse and cow, and a portion of red deer antler—possibly a rough-out for a tool—were among the chief finds.

Beck Row, near Sewage Farm; grid 682786

A large scatter of Romano-British potsherds was discovered on a newly ploughed field—mainly of fourth-century types. The finds included colour-coated and grey rims, some flanged; bases of small colour-coated lamps, portions of flat grey bowls, and of a Castor-ware bowl and lid with rouletting; 'dotted' and 'pink-gritted' ware; large grey bases with rilling; a sherd of a large, white pipe-clay *mortarium* with wide flanges and rouletting, and a sherd of a large, grey *mortarium* with flint grit, collared and flanged; yellowish tiles, both of the flat and the roof varieties; oyster-shells, and a large iron hook and ring.

Worlington: Bargate Farm; grid 682-4 742-3

The site is on the south side of the River Lark and showed a spread of dark soil with numerous Romano-British sherds of large vessels, mostly rough grey; also a

large 'Samian' base, the base of a 'Samian' cup with part of the potter's signature, bases of Castor-ware lamps and pots, sherds of low black bowls and of a white *mortarium* with reeded rim. Oyster-shells, pieces of tile and brick, bones and rounded quartzite stones were also present.

G. B.

A ROMAN KNIFE HANDLE FROM CROXTON, CAMBS

This Roman pocket-knife (Pl. VIII) was found by a young amateur archaeologist, Colin Daines, of St Neots, in spoil from a field ditch on the west side of the road from Croxton Kennels to Abbotsley (Nat. Grid Ref. 52/245 593). The handle is of bronze, ornamented with the greyhound-and-hare motif and slotted to receive the hinged iron blade, as in a modern pen-knife. Part of the blade can in fact still be seen in the slot.

For comparison, three other folding knives of this pattern are illustrated on Pl. VIII; these are in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. All have had iron folding blades and an iron hinge rivet.

C. F. T.

SOME SAXO-NORMAN POTTERY FROM HERTFORD

Being outside East Anglia, Hertfordshire makes a very poor showing in Mr J. G. Hurst's corpus of Saxo-Norman pottery.¹ The three sites listed (Ashwell, Long Marston and Sandon) are on the very border, near the Icknield Way, as are the subsequent finds from Therfield.² However, the pottery from Hertford described below suggests that the archaeological blank may be fortuitous.

Mr Gordon Moodey, Honorary Secretary of the East Herts. Archaeological Society, tells me that the nucleus of the Hertford Museum (established in 1914) was the local collections of R. T. and W. F. Andrews, previously kept at their offices in Fore Street. Some pottery came from the site of the Turk's Head Inn, Railway Street, in 1900 and more from the Green Dragon Inn, Maidenhead Street, in 1903. In view of the earlier haphazard labelling and display of the exhibits, the particular findspot of each sherd is now uncertain; indeed the pottery itself has been mislaid recently. Most of it was of recognizable local thirteenth-century types, but four rimsherds were of quite different form and fabric (Fig. 1):

- (1) Complete cooking-pot rim, squared off with a corrugated body. Fairly hard grey ware with a little shell.
- (2) Similar ware to (1), the neck decorated with notched-stick impressions.
- (3) Out-turned clubbed rim in hard grey ware. Jar, or vertical-sided cooking-pot?
- (4) Spouted pitcher in buff ware with a grey-toned surface. Light thumb-pressings on top of the rim and on applied vertical strips on the body.

No. (1) may be paralleled at Carr Street, Ipswich, and (3) and (4) at Exchange

¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* XLIX (1956), pp. 43-70; L (1957), pp. 29-60; LI (1958), pp. 37-65.

² *Medieval Arch.* III (1959), pp. 307-8.

Street, Norwich.¹ The stamps on (2) are Saxon in origin, and while (3) has Saxon antecedents, it is a long-lived type, variants being made at Barnet in the thirteenth century.² Spouted pitchers are well known in Late Saxon East Anglia, and (4) appears to occupy an intermediate position between them and the eleventh-century London type.³

The position and extent of the two *burhs* founded at Hertford in 912 are uncertain but Maidenhead Street and Railway Street, its continuation, run from the motte-

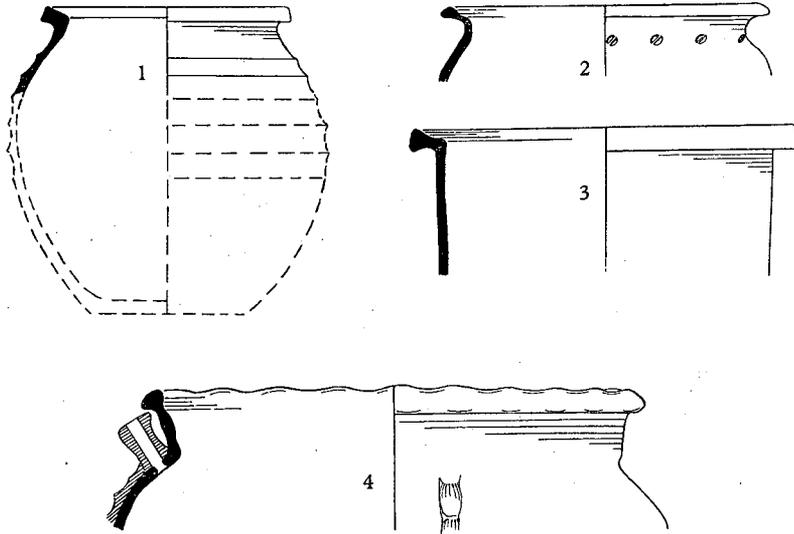


Fig. 1. Saxo-Norman pottery from Hertford. (Scale: $\frac{1}{4}$.)

and-bailey castle to the site of the priory across the area usually accepted as the south *burh*, and are thus the probable successors of an early medieval road. The pottery described has strong 'Thetford' influences (i.e. mid-ninth to eleventh centuries) and a *terminus post quem* of 912 is supported by Mr Hurst's suggestion that the trade in this pottery expanded after the reconquest of the Danelaw. But Hertford is the most southerly site on which such material has yet been identified, and it may have been local imitation of the wares being traded along the Icknield Way.

D. F. R.

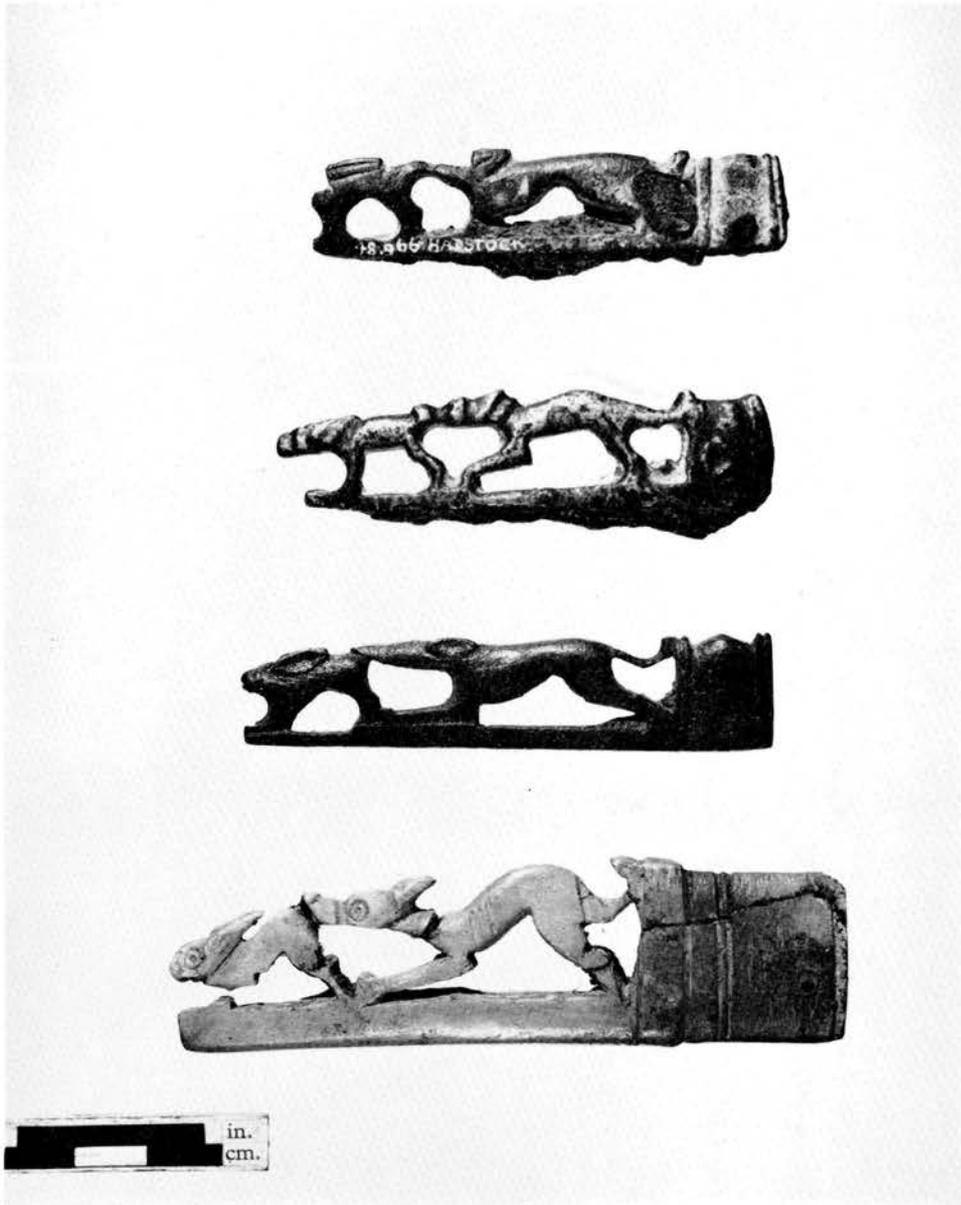
¹ *Proc. C.A.S.* L (1957), p. 33, fig. 1, no. 9; *Norfolk Arch.* xxx (1952), p. 304, fig. 9, nos. 4, 5 and 7.

² *Bull. of the Barnet and District Record Soc.* no. 12 (1960), fig. 6.

³ *Medieval Arch.* III (1959), pp. 42-3, fig. 18.



Iron Age bridle check-piece; Ashwell, Herts.



Roman folding-knife handles.

- (a) Harston, Cambs.: bronze; (b) Croxton, Cambs.: bronze; (c) Richborough, Kent: bronze;
(d) Great Chesterford, Essex: an example of the same design made in bone.

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