

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN  
SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



VOLUMES LVI & LVII

JANUARY 1962 TO DECEMBER 1963

CAMBRIDGE  
DEIGHTON BELL

1964

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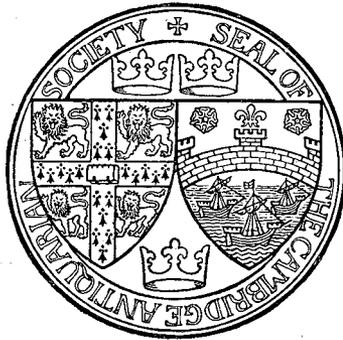
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CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY  
(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



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# OFFICERS AND COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY, 1962-1963

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# CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS AND HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1961

Adopted at the Annual General Meeting on 12 March 1962.

**MEMBERSHIP.** The Society gained nineteen new members and one associate during the year, but lost five members and five associates by death and four members by resignation. Eight members are suspended for non-payment of subscription. There are now 310 members and fifteen associates. There are also thirty-eight subscribing institutions.

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

- PROF. J. G. D. CLARK, SC.D., F.B.A., V-P.S.A. *The Excavations at Hurst Fen.* 30 January.  
MISS H. E. PEEK, M.A., F.S.A. *An Introduction to the University Archives.* 13 February.  
MARTIN BIDDLE. *The Excavations at Nonsuch Palace.* 13 March.  
MISS M. D. CRA'STER, M.A. *The Iron Age Excavations at Barley.* 1 May.  
C. THURSTAN SHAW, F.S.A. *An Excavation in Ghana.* 29 May.  
M. C. BURKITT, M.A., F.S.A. *Reminiscences of the Early Days of Prehistory and Anthropology in Cambridge.* 23 October.  
MISS A. S. ROBERTSON, M.A., F.S.A. *The Antonine Wall.* 13 November.  
G. E. DANIEL, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A. *The Megalithic Monument of New Grange.* 20 November.

The average attendance at these meetings was eighty-one.

There was a visit to Queens' College on 23 March. The thanks of the Society are due to the President and Fellows, especially the Rev. H. Hart, Dr Goodyear and Mr Mathias. The freshly decorated hall, the lodge, the new Erasmus building and an exhibition of old books in the Library were all shown to members.

**EXCURSIONS.** There were two excursions. On 25 May a party of forty-eight visited Stebbing and Copford Churches and the Museum and other places of interest in Colchester. On 6 July a party of fifty-five went to Stamford and Burley on the Hill.

**PUBLICATIONS.** Vol. LIV of the *Proceedings* will not appear until early in 1962.

**CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S ROOM.** The books, photographs and other local historical material belonging to the Society are to be moved from the room adjoining the old Haddon Library to a new room on the first floor of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. This has been necessitated by the removal of the Haddon Library into the building next door. Members retain the right to consult books in the new Haddon Library and it is hoped that when the new building is erected on the Sidgwick Avenue site, the library and the Society's room will once more adjoin one another.

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

# SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31 DECEMBER 1961

## CURRENT ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS			EXPENDITURE			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance, 31 December 1960			258			5 0
„ Subscriptions:						
Ordinary Members . . . . .	358	11	0			
Associate Members . . . . .	12	8	0			
			370			19 0
„ Investment Interest:						
3½% British Transport Stock . . . . .	19	6	6			
4% British Transport Stock . . . . .	37	15	8			
3% Treasury Stock . . . . .	4	14	4			
3½% Conversion Stock . . . . .	4	9	10			
3% Savings Bonds 1965/75 . . . . .	3	0	4			
4% Australian Stock 1966/68 . . . . .	4	18	0			
3% Defence Bonds . . . . .	12	15	0			
3½% Defence Bonds . . . . .	20	9	6			
4% Defence Bonds . . . . .	9	4	0			
5% Defence Bonds . . . . .	5	0	0			
			116			18 2
„ Sale of Publications . . . . .	13	6	8			
„ Donations . . . . .	102	14	2			
„ Income Tax Refund . . . . .	27	5	11			
			143			6 9
Balance, b/f . . . . .	258	5	0			
Income . . . . .	631	3	11			
			£889			8 11

By Subscriptions:						
British Archaeological Association . . . . .	1	1	0			
British Records Association . . . . .	1	0	0			
Cambridge Folk Museum . . . . .	2	2	0			
Council for British Archaeology . . . . .	1	10	0			
Local History Council . . . . .	1	1	0			
			6			14 0
„ Fire Insurance . . . . .	1	0	0			
„ Custodian Cellarer's Chequer . . . . .	2	0	0			
„ Office Expenses . . . . .	8	14	7			
„ Publications . . . . .	1	11	6			
„ Notices and Circulars . . . . .	53	10	7			
„ Lecture Expenses . . . . .	6	0	0			
„ Secretary . . . . .	30	0	0			
„ Editor, <i>Proceedings</i> . . . . .	30	0	0			
„ Stamping of Covenants . . . . .	11	0	0			
			140			1 8
„ Bank Balance, 31. 12. 61 . . . . .	749	7	3			
			£889			8 11

## TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT

Balance as at 31 December 1960	£	s.	d.
Interest	633	18	2
			15 16 6
Balance at 31 December 1961	£649	14	8

## EXCAVATION FUND

<i>Current Account</i>			
Balance, 31 December 1961	£	s.	d.
	£76	16	11
<i>Deposit Account</i>			
Balance, 31 December 1960	153	17	1
Interest	5	10	0
			£159 7 1
Balance, 31 December 1961	£159	7	1

The Investments of the Society as at 31 December 1961 consist of the following:

- £644. 8s. 7d. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1978-88.
- £944. 13s. 1d. British Transport 4% Guaranteed Stock 1972-77.
- £128. 10s. 5d. 3½% Conversion Stock.

- £425 \* | £415 3% Defence Bonds.
- £585 3½% Defence Bonds.
- £230 4% Defence Bonds.
- £5 5% Defence Bonds.
- £200 4% Commonwealth of Australia Loan 1966/68.
- £100. 12s. 10d. 3% Savings Bonds 1965-75.
- £157. 6s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.

\* The holding of £415 3% Defence Bonds is in process of conversion to 5% Defence Bonds as from 1 March 1962.

The Bank Balances are as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Current Account	749	7	3
Excavation Fund, Current Account	76	16	11
Excavation Fund, Deposit Account	159	7	1
Trustee Savings Bank Account	649	14	8
			£1635 5 11

C. J. E. STEFF, *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  
E. PURYER WHITE

26 January 1962

# OFFICERS AND COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY, 1963-1964

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## *Curator of University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology*

G. H. S. BUSHNELL, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., V-P.S.A.

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J. F. H. PETERS, M.S.I.A.

# CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS AND HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1962

Adopted at the Annual General Meeting on 11 March 1963.

**MEMBERSHIP.** The Society gained fifteen new members during the year but lost one honorary member, eight members and one associate by death and twelve members and one associate by resignation. Twelve members are suspended for non-payment of subscription. There are now 300 members and fifteen associates. There are also thirty-eight subscribing institutions.

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

- PROF. J. D. EVANS, M.A., F.S.A. *The Aegean Neolithic: some Reflections on Recent Work.* 29 January.  
CHARLES GREEN. *The South Gate of Roman Godmanchester.* 12 February.  
MISS M. R. TOYNBEE, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A. *Col. Euseby Andrew: A Cambridgeshire Royalist.* 12 March.  
FRANK JENKINS, F.S.A. *The Roman Rhineland.* 7 May.  
MRS A. H. QUIGGIN, M.A. *Early Cambridge Tradesmen.* 21 May.  
P. M. G. DICKINSON, F.S.A., F.R.HIST.S., F.R.G.S. *Clare Friary and some other lesser religious houses of East Anglia.* 22 October.  
B. R. HARTLEY, M.A., F.S.A. *Recent Work on Roman Forts in the Pennines.* 19 November.  
PROF. B. DICKINS, M.A., F.B.A. *The Favells of Petty Cury: A Cambridge Family in the Napoleonic Wars.* 3 December.

The average attendance at these meetings was sixty-two.

There was a visit to Jesus College on 22 March. The thanks of the Society are due to the Master and Fellows, and especially to Dr H. Plommer and Mr G. Pollard. The College kindly entertained the party to tea.

**EXCURSIONS.** There were two excursions. On 31 May a party of sixty-one were shown over Papworth St Agnes Manor House by Mrs Butler and then visited Southill Church and Southill Park as guests of Major and Mrs Whitbread. On 27 July Lady Briscoe showed a party of seventy-three over Mildenhall Museum. Houghton Hall was then visited and the Society is particularly indebted to the Earl and Countess of Cholmondeley for personally showing the party round.

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

**REPRESENTATIVES.** The Secretary was elected as the Society's representative on the Faculty Board of Archaeology and Anthropology for two years and was 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 1962

## CURRENT ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS				EXPENDITURE			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance, 31 December 1961			749 7 3	By <i>Subscriptions</i> :			
<i>Subscriptions</i> :				British Archaeological Association	1	1	0
Ordinary Members . . . . .	356	10	11	British Records Association	1	0	0
Associate Members . . . . .	15	17	6	Cambridge and County Folk Museum	2	2	0
			372 8 5	Council for British Archaeology	1	10	0
Interest on Investments . . . . .			113 16 4	Do. Group 7	15	0	
Sale of Publications . . . . .			67 13 6				6 8 0
Grant . . . . .			60 0 0	Publications . . . . .			846 18 0
Income Tax Refund . . . . .			27 14 8	Notices and Circulars . . . . .			53 9 5
Miscellaneous . . . . .			7 13 1	Fire Insurance . . . . .			1 0 0
			1398 13 3	Internal decoration of C.A.S. Room			22 10 0
Sale of Investments . . . . .			2934 3 2	Lecture Expenses . . . . .			9 16 0
			2934 3 2	Stationery and Office Expenses			18 4 2
			£4332 16 5	Secretary . . . . .			30 0 0
				Editor, <i>Proceedings</i> . . . . .			30 0 0
				Custodian, Cellarer's Chequer			2 0 0
				Stamping of Covenants . . . . .			1 0 0
							1020 6 7
				Purchase of Investments . . . . .			2934 3 2
							3954 9 9
				Balance, 31 December 1962.			378 6 8
							£4332 16 5

## TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.
Balance as at 31 December 1961	649	14	8
Interest	16	4	6
Balance as at 31 December 1962	£665	19	2

## EXCAVATION FUND

<i>Current Account</i>			
Balance as at 31 December 1961	76	16	11
Subscriptions . . . . .	5	6	0
			82 2 11
Expenditure . . . . .	1	10	0
Transfer to General Account . . . . .	6	5	0
Transfer to Deposit Account . . . . .	50	0	0
			57 15 0
Balance as at 31 December 1962	£24	7	11

<i>Deposit Account</i>			
Balance as at 31 December 1961	159	7	1
Transferred from Current Account . . . . .	50	0	0
Interest . . . . .	5	11	7
	£214	18	8

The Investments of the Society, after having been revised, consisted of the following as at 31 December 1962:

- £2,378. 1s. 1d. Metropolitan Water (B) Stock.
- £1,500. City of Cambridge 5½% Mortgage Loan.
- £10. 5% Defence Bonds.

All registered in the name of Barclays Nominees (Branches) Limited.

The Bank Balances as at 31 December 1962 are:

	£	s.	d.
Current Account . . . . .	378	6	8
Excavation Fund, Current Account . . . . .	24	7	11
Excavation Fund, Deposit Account . . . . .	214	18	8
Trustee Savings Bank . . . . .	665	19	2
	£1283	12	5

C. J. E. STEFF, *Hon. Treasurer*

We have gone through the Bank Accounts and the Vouchers and consider that the Accounts are correctly drawn to exhibit the financial position of the Society. We have also checked the Society's investments.

E. B. HOWELL  
F. PURYER WHITE

25 January 1963

# CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS AND HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)

## LAWS

As approved by the Annual General Meeting on 25 February 1935 and amended by an Extraordinary General Meeting on 26 April 1948, by the Annual General Meeting on 28 February 1949, the Special General Meeting on 26 May 1952 and the Annual General Meetings on 11 March 1963 and 9 March 1964.

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I. This Society shall be called The Cambridge Antiquarian Society, incorporating the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society.

II. The object of the Society shall be to encourage the study of History, Architecture, and Antiquities, especially in connection with the University and City of Cambridge, and the Counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon; to hold meetings at which papers can be read on these and allied subjects, and at which they can be discussed; to print those which commend themselves to the judgement of the Society; to distribute them to its members; and to collect antiquities or promote their preservation *in situ*.

III. The subscription of each member of the Society shall be as follows:

For members elected before the Annual Meeting, 29 May 1922, one guinea annually.

For members elected after that date, two pounds annually.

The subscription shall be due on the first day of January in each year; payment of this sum shall entitle a member to all the publications of the Society issued during that year. A member elected before the first day of July in any year shall be liable to pay the subscription for that year. Election of a member in the Michaelmas Term shall not involve payment in respect of the remainder of the calendar year, nor carry the right to receive the publications issued in that year.

Members of the University of less than M.A. standing may attend the ordinary meetings of the Society without introduction. Such persons, anyone under twenty-one years of age, and the wife and daughters of a member may also become Associate Members of the Society on payment of a subscription of 15s. per annum, the subscription being due on the first day of January in each year. Payment of this sum shall entitle such persons to all the privileges of members except that of receiving the Society's publications. Associate Members already paying a lower subscription shall be entitled to continue it unchanged.

IV. The right of compounding for future annual subscriptions has been abolished, but the position of existing compounders is not thereby affected.

V. No publications of the Society shall be issued to a member until the subscription for the current year be paid. If the annual subscription of any member be four months in arrear, the Treasurer shall make application for it. If the said subscription be still unpaid at the expiration of one year from the time when it became due, it shall be in the power of the Council to remove the name of such member from the list of the Society and in that case the Secretary shall inform him of the fact. A member shall not be considered as having ceased to belong to the Society until he shall have received such notice or shall have given notice of resignation in writing to the Treasurer or Secretary, and subscriptions are due until such resignation be sent in writing to the Treasurer or Secretary.

VI. No member whose subscription is in arrear, and has been applied for according to Law V, shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Society.

VII. Any person desirous of joining the Society must be proposed by two members of the Society, and his or her name, with the names of the proposer and seconder, shall be sent in writing to the Secretary. The application shall be considered at a meeting of the Council, and if approved shall be voted upon at the ordinary meeting of the Society next ensuing.

VIII. Names for election to Honorary Membership of the Society shall be proposed in the same manner as in the case of ordinary members, and provided the sanction of the Council be given, they shall be voted upon at the Annual General Meeting of the Society. Honorary members shall have all the privileges of ordinary members.

IX. No person shall be declared elected who shall not have received the votes of at least three-quarters of the members present and voting.

X. Libraries and other institutions approved by the Council may obtain the Publications of the Society post free by an annual subscription of two pounds if paid in advance.

XI. (a) The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Council consisting of a President, three Vice-Presidents, the Disney Professor (*ex officio*), the Curator of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (*ex officio*), a Treasurer, a Secretary, a Librarian, a Director of Excavations, an Excursion Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than nine members of the Society, of whom two shall be appointed annually by the Advisory Committee for Huntingdonshire constituted in paragraph (b). Provided that it shall be in the power of the Council, in the event of the member appointed to edit the Society's *Proceedings* not being a member of the Council, to co-opt such member as an additional member of the Council. Each member of the Council shall have due notice of the meetings of that body, at which five shall constitute a quorum.

(b) There shall be an Advisory Committee for Huntingdonshire consisting of nine members, who shall be elected each year at the Annual General Meeting, members resident in Huntingdonshire alone voting. It shall elect its own officers.

(c) The property of the Society shall be vested in Trustees of whom there shall not be more than four or less than two who shall deal with it as directed by the Council; as vacancies occur in their number they shall be filled by vote of the Council.

(d) No portion of the income or property of the Society shall be paid or transferred by way of dividend, bonus, or otherwise howsoever, by way of profit to the members of the Society or any of them, except in payment of a salaried officer of the Society, or in payment of work done for the Society by any of its members.

XII. (a) The President, the senior Vice-President, the Treasurer, the Secretary, and the three senior ordinary Members of the Council shall retire annually. The President shall not be eligible for the office of President for more than two successive years. The retiring Vice-President shall not be eligible for re-election to the office of Vice-President. The retiring ordinary members of the Council shall not be eligible for re-election as ordinary members of the Council. An ordinary member appointed by the Huntingdonshire Advisory Committee shall not serve in that capacity for more than three successive years.

(b) The publications of the Society shall be printed under the direction of an Editor who shall be annually appointed by and responsible to the Council. He shall be advised by an Editorial Committee which shall consist of the President, Treasurer, Secretary, three other members of the Council nominated by it and a member nominated by the Advisory Committee for Huntingdonshire. The Editor shall keep the minutes of the Committee.

XIII. The President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary Members of the Council, shall be elected annually by ballot, at the Annual General Meeting which shall be the last General Meeting of the Lent Term. At the Annual General Meeting the Report and Balance Sheet for the previous calendar year shall be presented for adoption.

XIV. Three weeks prior to the Annual General Meeting the Council shall issue to every member of the Society a list of the members whom they nominate as Officers and new Members of the Council for the ensuing year, also a list of members whom they nominate as members of the Advisory Committee for Huntingdonshire, on the advice of the existing Committee. Any seven members may nominate any other members as Officers or Members of the Council by delivering such nomination to the Secretary not less than two weeks prior to the Annual General Meeting. The said list with such added names shall constitute the voting list for the election and shall be issued to every member one week prior to the Annual General Meeting. The names of all candidates for the same post shall be in alphabetical order.

XV. In case of a vacancy occurring at any other time among the Officers or Members of the Council, such vacancy shall be filled up by the Council, and the member so appointed shall hold office until the next Annual General Meeting.

XVI. Any Member of the Council who shall not have attended half the Council

Meetings of the Academic Year shall cease to be a member, unless for special reason approved by the Council.

XVII. At the meetings of the Society or of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, and, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President, the Treasurer, or senior ordinary Member of the Council then present. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

XVIII. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; an abstract of such accounts shall be printed for the use of the members.

XIX. The Society shall meet once at least during each term; the place of meeting, and all other arrangements not specified in the Laws, shall be left to the discretion of the Council.

XX. No alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be sent to all the members at their last known place of abode. Provided that the Council shall have power to alter or suspend any Law by giving two weeks' notice to all the members of the Society at their last known place of abode, and such alteration shall be in force until the next Annual General Meeting; unless a requisition signed by not less than seven members of the Society be sent to the Secretary, in which case the Council shall summon a Special General Meeting to consider the proposed alteration.

XXI. The Secretary shall keep a book of addresses, and a member's address, as on the proposal form, shall be entered therein immediately after his election. Such address shall be deemed the correct address until a member shall have communicated a new one in writing to the Secretary or Treasurer, and so on from time to time. All notices, communications, and publications whatsoever of the Society, sent to the member's correct address as here defined, shall be deemed to have been duly received by him.



## BRONZE AGE POTTERY AND FLINTS FROM JOIST FEN, LAKENHEATH

GRACE, LADY BRISCOE

IN the note on Icenian coin finds (p. 123), it is stated that pottery and flint artifacts were picked up from the surface of all four islands in Joist Fen. These were all of earlier date than the coins and resembled closely the groups found at Plantation Farm on a sandhill 8 miles to the west.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Beaker rims are fragmentary; at least twelve pots are represented. About half the sherds are covered with notching, the rest have criss-cross lines, chevrons and small stabs. The notching in some cases has been done with a small implement having three or more serrations. It has been shown that such a decoration can be produced by notching the edge of dentine slivers with a sharp-edged flint.<sup>2</sup> There is little to indicate that a rouletted implement was used. Fig. 1, 6-9, Pl. I, 9-11.

(2) The most abundant ware belongs to the Rusticated class; decorated rims represent fourteen pots. The walls are thick, usually buff in colour, with coarse paste. The sherds are decorated with thumbnail, finger-tip and stab impressions, some on cordons. (Fig. 1, 1-5, Pl. I, 1, 2, 4), or with grooves (Fig. 1, 10-11).

(3) Cord impressions occur on heavy rims with internal bevels, and these are repeated on the external surfaces, using different thicknesses of cord, six to ten hollows to the inch. These are probably parts of collared urns. One body sherd has a criss-cross pattern with ten hollows to the inch. Pl. I, 3, 5-8.

(4) A group of plain black or dark grey sherds with good paste and well-smoothed surfaces are difficult to date. They resemble, but not very closely, the black sherds found at Peacock's Farm (close to Plantation Farm) ascribed by Stuart Piggott to the Neolithic A period.<sup>3</sup> They may be later and belong to the Iron Age C period.

The collection of flint implements also resembled the finds at Plantation Farm.

### *Arrowheads*

Four tanged and barbed; two hollow-based, one complete and another broken. Fig. 2*a-e*.

One petit-tranchet derivative; this is partly made and suggests a microlithic origin. Fig. 2*p*.

*Plano-convex knives.* Fig. 2*f, g*.

Two or three.

### *Scrapers*

Over seventy, varying from tiny 'thumbnails' to 3-in. long specimens showing retouching with pressure-flaking. The 'thumbnails' have a wide angle of platform. Fig. 2*i-l*.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. D. Clark, *Antiq. Jour.* XIII, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> G. Briscoe, *Proc. C.A.S.* LIII, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. D. Clark, *Antiq. Jour.* xv, p. 298.

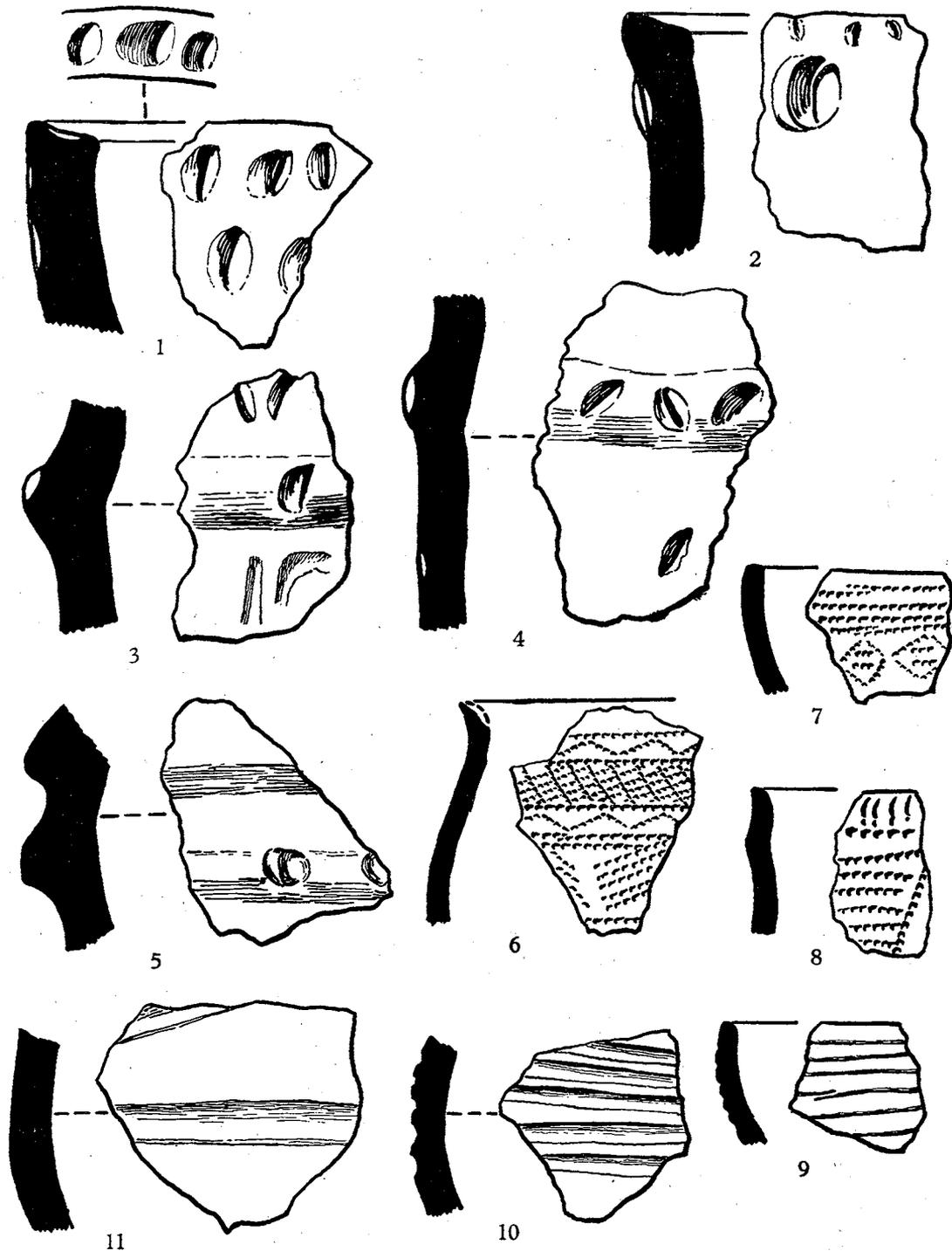
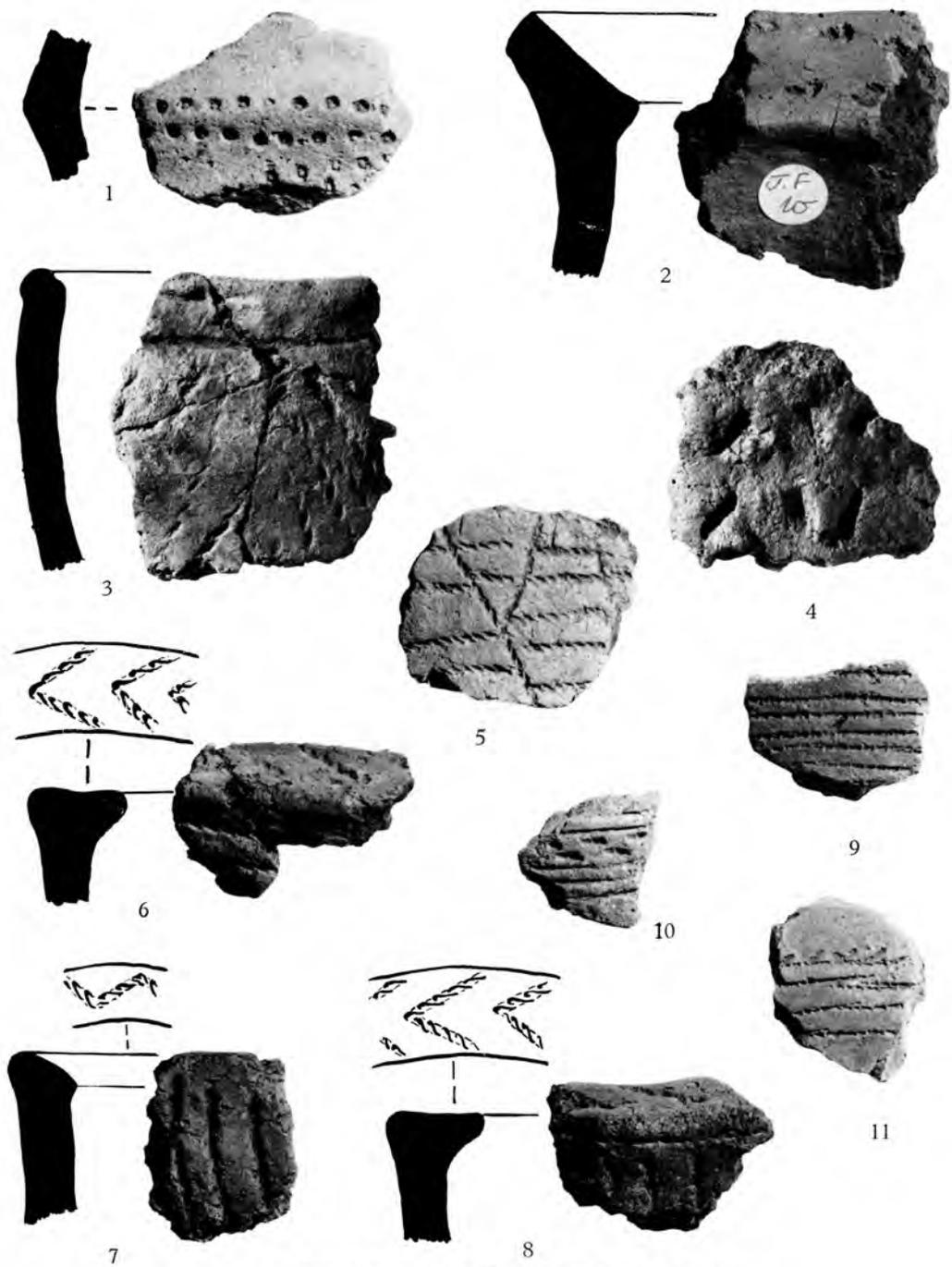


Fig. 1. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .



Bronze Age pottery, Joist Fen, Lakenheath. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

*Awls*

Two: one is well made, the other roughly finished. Fig. 2*h*.

*Serrated flakes*

One brown flake,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. long (Fig. 2*m*), has a very finely serrated edge, about twelve notches to the inch, which may well have been used for ornament such as that seen on the sherd, Pl. I, 11. The sharp edge of the flint will give a triangular channel, instead of the rectangular channel usually seen in notched ornament. Other flakes have coarse serrations. Fig. 2*m*.

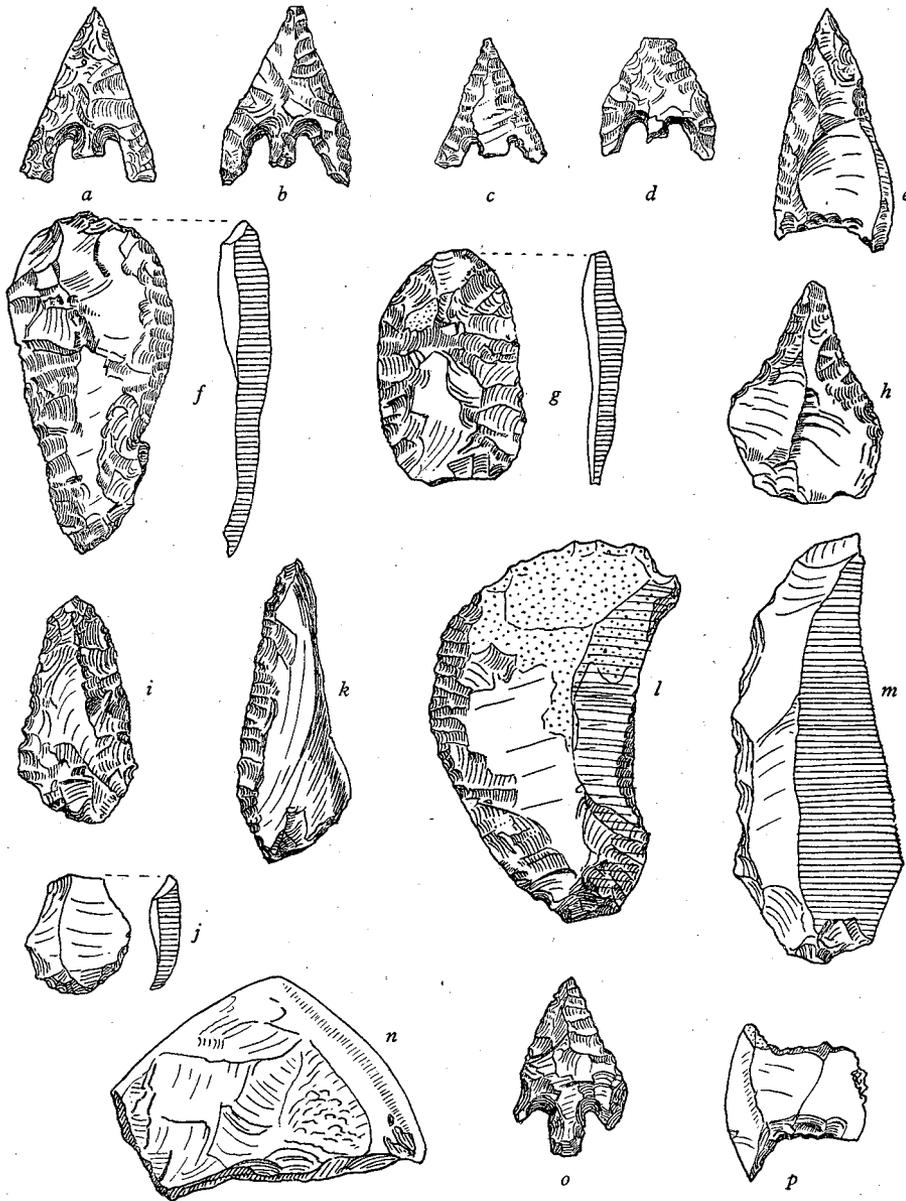


Fig. 2. Scale  $\frac{1}{1}$ .

Two sandhills close to the Joist Fen site give evidence of early habitation.

*Right-up Drove (TL 715861)*

A mile to the east, a similar collection lay on the surface of the ploughed soil.

- (1) Over twenty sherds of finely made Beaker with notched decoration. Three rims.
- (2) Rough Rusticated sherds with finger-tip and -nail ornament, a cordon with an impression, three rims and over forty sherds.
- (3) No cord impressions, except possibly on the cordon, mentioned above.
- (4) A small group of black sherds, undecorated, with fine paste and smoothed surfaces.

The flints included:

*Arrowheads*

One leaf-shaped, tip broken. One barbed and tanged. Fig. 2o.

*Knives*

One re-chipped. Part of a square flat knife with polished edges. Fig. 2n.

*Scrapers*

Numerous.

*New Fen (TL 706852)*

On the second sandhill half a mile to the south-east, there were a few Beaker sherds, two scrapers, and pieces of burnt flint and bone.

## A FLAT AXE FROM CHATTERIS FEN, CAMBS

JOHN M. COLES

IN the 1820's a small flat axe, presumably of bronze, was found during drainage operations in Chatteris Fen, Cambs. The axe was presented at a later date by Mr C. V. Armitage to the City of Lincoln Museums, and has recently been given to the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> through the offices of Mr F. T. Baker, F.S.A., of the City and County Museum, Lincoln.

The axe (Fig. 1*a*) is 10.4 cm. long with a maximum width across the blade of 4.4 cm. Midway down the length of the axe there are outward expansions of the sides to present a shouldered outline; at this point the axe is 2.9 cm. across and 0.7 cm. thick, and here are located two small holes, probably cast with the axe and drilled out afterwards. They are countersunk from one face only, and are irregular and sloping. The faces of the axe are corroded and damaged and lie very slightly below the level of the hammered sides of the axe. There is no trace of any incipient stop-ridge. The sides of the axe are plain, and the profile is a slender pointed oval. On the faces there remain traces of decoration, vertical punched strokes arranged in irregular rows as a 'rain' pattern, more marked now on the lower part of the axe, but visible on the upper part as well where the axe is less well preserved. There are two features about the Chatteris axe that help to establish its position in the Bronze Age. These features are: (1) the form and decoration, (2) the perforated shoulders.

The axe belongs to Megaw and Hardy's Type I of decorated British-Irish axes, a type without definite flanges or stopridge.<sup>2</sup> The expanded cutting-edge, the rounded butt, the slender pointed oval profile are all characteristic of this type; the very slight hammered flanges are also present on many Type I axes. The simple 'rain' pattern visible on the faces of the Chatteris axe belongs to Megaw and Hardy's group 2 decoration, where the ornamentation consists of simple all-over patterns of one motif only. Many Type I axes have this group 2 decoration.<sup>3</sup> The map<sup>4</sup> shows that axes such as these, and other decorated Early Bronze Age axes, are widespread in their distribution, with a large proportion from north and eastern Ireland. On the whole, this concentration outweighs the scatter in England-Scotland; from East

<sup>1</sup> Register 63.177.

<sup>2</sup> B. R. S. Megaw and E. M. Hardy, 'British Decorated Axes and their Diffusion during the Earlier Part of the Bronze Age', *P.P.S.* IV (1938), pp. 272ff., figs. 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* figs. 2*a* and 12*c*.

<sup>4</sup> Based on Megaw and Hardy, *op. cit.* fig. 7, and J. J. Butler, 'A Bronze Age Concentration at Barge-roosterveld', *Palaeohistoria*, VIII (1960), pp. 101ff., fig. 55, with amendments. This map includes both flat and low-flanged decorated axes.

Anglia we have only three axes comparable to the Chatteris example, one from Quy, Cambs, one from Eriswell, Suffolk, and a Norfolk find.<sup>1</sup> As Megaw and Hardy pointed out, a number of these decorated axes, and other more developed Early Bronze Age forms, were traded to the continent, to Southern Scandinavia and Central Germany, and several others are now known from the Netherlands.<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that perhaps these Irish-type decorated axes were made on the

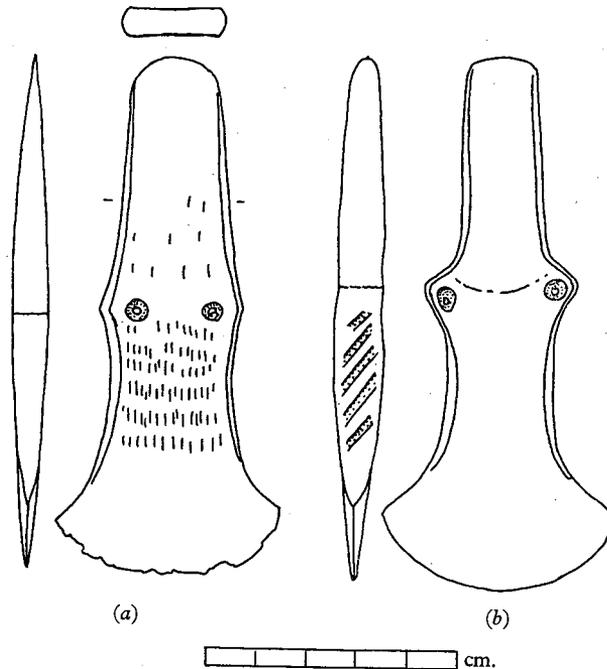


Fig. 1. (a) Chatteris, Cambs, (b) Co. Westmeath.

continent by Irish smiths; the Wageningen hoard in Holland contains Irish axe and halberd, a dagger and metalworkers' material, and may represent the equipment of an Irish smith.<sup>3</sup> The map then shows a possible trade route from the British Isles to the Netherlands and Central Germany; the Scandinavian finds may have arrived by a different route. O'Riordain's map of Irish-type halberds shows the same spread.<sup>4</sup> Butler has commented upon the fact that analyses show the Irish axes to be made of true Bronze, with from 9 to 14 per cent tin, while local continental copies were still being made of copper. The date of this trade, in Central German terms, seems to lie in or around the seventeenth century B.C. in developed Únětice and late Reinecke A1

<sup>1</sup> University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology; Ashmolean Museum; British Museum 66, 6-27, 10 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> P. J. R. Modderman and J. J. Butler, 'A Decorated Low-flanged Axe and a Stone Axe from Haren (North-Brabant); with a Note on the Maas-Rhine Group of Irish Early Bronze Age Exports', *Bericht van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, IX (1959), pp. 284 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquity and Survival*, II, nos. 5-6, 127.

<sup>4</sup> S. P. O'Riordain, 'The Halberd in Bronze Age Europe', *Archaeologia*, LXXXVI (1937), pp. 195 ff.

contexts, the date suggested for the German Dieskau and Swedish Pile hoards, partly on the basis of sixteenth-century Shaft Grave correlations for Reinecke A2.

The shoulders on the Chatteris axe are a feature not previously encountered on Irish-type decorated axes. In a low-flanged form comparable but larger axes, without



Fig. 2. Decorated flat and low-flanged axes.

decoration, are a feature of the South German Early Bronze Age whence they were exported to Schleswig-Holstein and south Jutland, Kersten's Zone 2 of the Nordischer Kreis, to form one of the components of the Sögel group in that area.<sup>1</sup> This trade and local production came at a perhaps slightly later date than the main group of Irish decorated axes in the north, but some influence for a shouldered axe could of course have been transmitted back to the British Isles where the Chatteris axe

<sup>1</sup> E.g. R. Hachmann, *Die frühe Bronzezeit im westlichen Ostseegebiet und ihre mittel- und südosteuropäischen Beziehungen* (1957).

was made. However, it seems more likely that the inspiration for the Chatteris axe comes from another group with both Irish and continental connections, best illustrated in the Ulstrup, Jutland, find.<sup>1</sup> Two flat axes were found here, one a normal Irish-type decorated axe, the other with loops midway along the sides and with more elaborate double chevron ornament executed in shallow punched dots. This presumably is also of Irish workmanship, as comparable although less elaborate decoration occurs on the Knockaun, Co. Waterford, axe.<sup>2</sup> A similar style and technique is known on other Irish and Danish axes. The Ulstrup axe is close in general form to the Chatteris find, although it is larger. The loops curve out from the very slight hammered sides to make distinct shoulders, more marked than those on the Chatteris axe. Another axe, probably from north-eastern Ireland, also belongs to this small group. It is flat, with involved punched dot and rain pattern, and has side loops like the Ulstrup axe.<sup>3</sup> Butler has noted several other finds of looped axes, which are not as close to the Chatteris axe as Ulstrup and the north-east Ireland axes. However, an unpublished axe from County Westmeath, at present in the National Museum of Ireland,<sup>4</sup> is remarkably close to the Chatteris find (Fig. 1*b*), with hammered flanges, wide blade and accentuated and perforated shoulders. The flanges are decorated with oblique grooves, a feature of other Irish decorated flat and low-flanged axes.<sup>5</sup>

The Chatteris axe then is best considered as a member of the small group of decorated axes with loops or perforations, belonging to the Irish Early Bronze Age. The Ulstrup axes and an unlooped one in the Gallemose hoard<sup>6</sup> show Jutland as a market for trade in Irish Type I decorated axes. Associations at Gallemose include Pile-type axes and a number of penannular rings which have analogues in Ūnětice hoards of a developed Early Bronze Age nature. The Dieskau hoard of central Germany, belonging to this phase, also has a decorated Irish axe. The Chatteris Fen axe, on the basis of this dating, should therefore belong within the British Early Bronze Age contemporary with the Wessex culture of southern England, but of Irish manufacture.

<sup>1</sup> J. Butler, 'Irske Bronzeøkser fra Ulstrup', *Kuml* (1955), pp. 36 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 4; J. Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements* (1881), fig. 107; also see fig. 106 for a decorated and looped 'chisel'.

<sup>4</sup> Register 1944: 197. I am grateful to Mr Etienne Rynne for telling me of this find and for a drawing on which Fig. 1*b* is based.

<sup>5</sup> It is more likely that the loops or perforations on these axes were intended as decoration rather than as an aid to hafting, as the holes on the Chatteris axe are too close to the centre of the axe to be functional. Perhaps related to these flat axes is a group of decorated low-flanged axes with a slight shouldered effect at the sides; these may represent the tradition of the loops or shoulders on a typologically later form of axe (Evans, *op. cit.* figs. 68, 97).

<sup>6</sup> Hachman, *op. cit.* Tafel 4.

## EXCAVATIONS AT THE WAR DITCHES, CHERRY HINTON, 1961-62

D. A. WHITE

THIS is the first paper to be published about the War Ditches, Cherry Hinton, since T. Lethbridge's account of his excavations of 1939 appeared in this journal.<sup>1</sup> Since then there has been a great deal of archaeological activity at the site, as the whole area has been gradually cut away by mechanical excavator because of the enlargement of the chalk pit.

The present paper will cover the latter part of this period, from about 1957 to 1961, and the author's excavations in 1961-2. During this time the southern part of the War Ditches was destroyed. The material and site notes from the northern part of the ditch have been deposited at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology by previous excavators, and the finds, mostly Romano-British, will be published as a second part to this paper.

### THE STATE OF THE SITE IN NOVEMBER 1961

In the area of the hill-fort the chalk had been dug down to a depth of approximately 15 ft. The whole of the northern half of the main ditch had been removed, whilst the quarry now extended to the south-west and the south-east quadrants of the hill-fort, where the mechanical excavator had dug up to the ditch. Caius Pit had been left as an island in the middle, while Tebbutt's Pit and Lethbridge's trench remained as a peninsula on the western edge of the quarry. The only part of the interior of the hill-fort left was that under the Cambridge Water Works Reservoir to the south.

Caius Pit appeared to be a whole mass of 'ditches'; these however were places where the excavator had cut tangentially to the line of the Pit. In the south-west part of Caius Pit a fine section of the hill-fort ditch was to be seen. While this portion of the main ditch was being cleared away by mechanical grab in April 1962, a human skeleton was dislodged from a rubble and ash layer, roughly corresponding to layer 9 of the section, Fig. 1. A small area of the surface chalk inside the hill-fort was also left in the south-western corner of the quarry; this contained remains of Romano-British occupation. In the south face of the quarry, the section of a field drainage ditch discovered in 1959 could still be seen. In the south-east face of the chalk-pit was a longitudinal section of the hill-fort ditch, in the northern part of which the entrance of the fort still remained, although the ditch on the south side only of this entrance could be traced. Finally the stump of a well already dis-

<sup>1</sup> T. Lethbridge, 'Further Excavations at the War Ditches', *Proc. C.A.S.* XLII (1948), p. 126.

covered in 1958 remained in the south-east corner, although the top 15 ft. had been removed by the excavator.

During the small-scale excavations carried out from November 1961 to November 1962, a section was cut across the main hill-fort ditch in the south-east corner of the quarry. The south entrance ditch was sectioned, the south-west corner was examined and a further 15 ft. of the well cleared out.

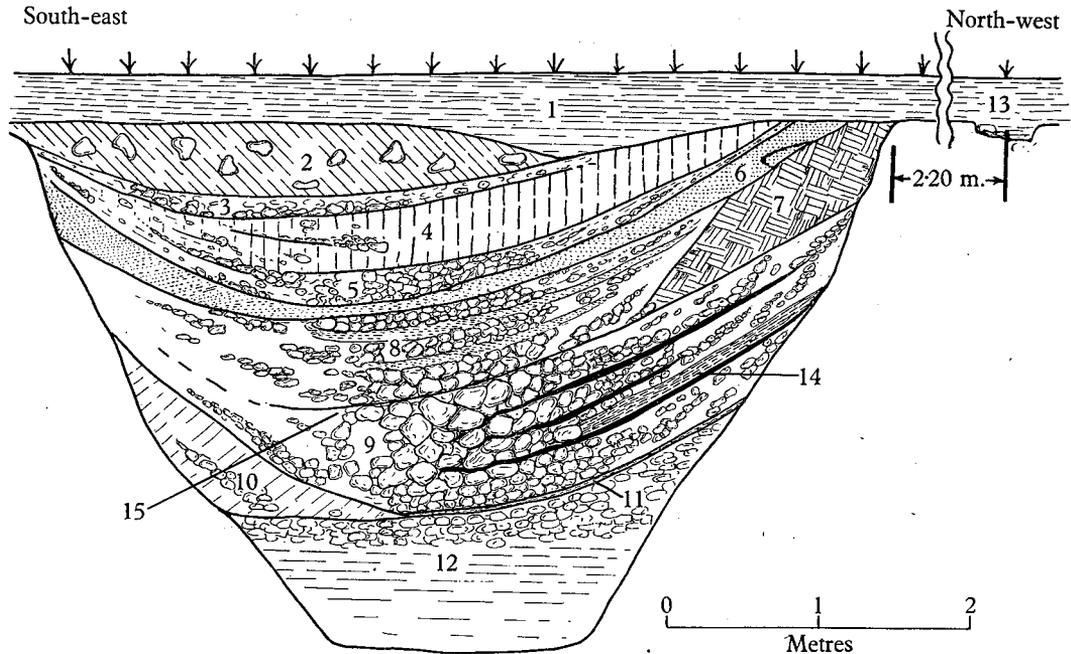
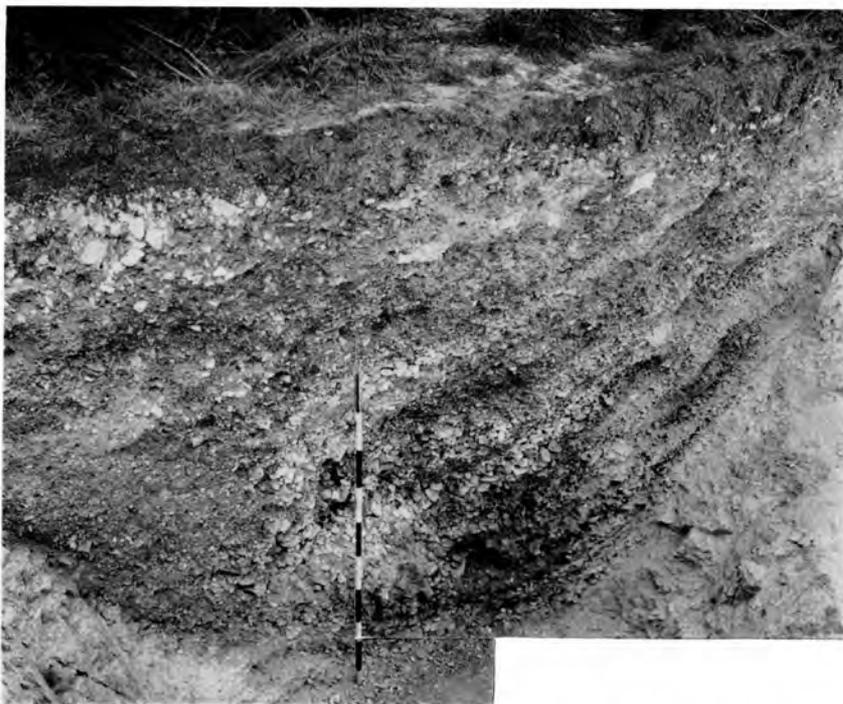


Fig. 1. Section of hill-fort ditch in south-east section looking south-west. KEY: 1, topsoil; 2, hard chalky fill; 3, small rubble band; 4, humus deposit of Phase II; 5, small chalk rubble; 6, turf line; 7, cemented chalk layer; 8, heavy rubble and humus bands, little burning; 9, heavy rubble and charcoal bands; 10, rubble fill; 11, thin turf line; 12, primary silt; 13, post-hole of palisade; 14, heavy ash band; 15, position of skull (skeleton, Pl. IIIc).

#### THE MAIN DITCH

A section was cut across the main ditch of the hill-fort, where its south-east sector goes into the southern boundary fence of the quarry (Fig. 3, no. 1). This part of the ditch is not of the same dimensions throughout: where it meets the entrance causeway, the bottom of the ditch was found by Mr M. F. Howard to be an irregular system of 'steps', some areas of which were less than 2.0 m. below ground level. Halfway between the present section and the entrance (Fig. 3, no. 3), the ditch narrows considerably; this was first noticed by L. Barfield, and can be seen today as a 'crop mark' in the vegetation growing on the top of the chalk in the quarry.

At the point where it was sectioned, the ditch was 5.5 m. wide and 4.0 m. deep (Pl. II a). The primary silting (Fig. 1, no. 12) lay to a depth of about a metre. This was covered by a thin, patchy line of humus (Fig. 1, no. 11), probably produced by grass growing in the ditch during the period of Iron Age occupation. From the thinness



(a) Main hill-fort ditch, looking south-west. (Scale divisions: 9 in.)



(b) South-west corner, showing ridge-and-furrow marks crossing hill-fort ditch.  
(Scale divisions: 9 in.)



(a) Well, showing foot-holds.  
(Scale divisions: 9 in.)



(b) Female skeleton in south entrance ditch.  
(Scale divisions: 10 cm.)



(c) Skeleton in main ditch section. (Scale divisions: 10 cm.)

of this layer we must conclude that this phase of habitation must have been short in duration.

Above this turf line lay a thick deposit of rubble and charcoal (Fig. 1, no. 9), from the centre of which came two sherds similar in fabric to Iron Age A pottery found elsewhere on the site. A very striking feature of this level is the thick ash band (Fig. 1, no. 14). This layer represents debris from the rampart of the hill-fort, which was thrown in from the right of the section illustrated—the fragments of charcoal being the remains of the wooden palisade. Above the burnt deposit lay a layer of rubble and humus (Fig. 1, no. 8) about three-quarters of a metre deep, which is more fall from the ramparts to the west. Fig. 1, no. 7 is a chalky cemented layer, whose upper easterly edge may mark the position of the rampart after the slighting of the hill-fort defences.

Next (Fig. 1, no. 6) comes a turf line which extends all over the section and probably represents the first century A.D. ground level in the ditch; a 'Belgic' rilled sherd was found here and a wheel-turned pot rim. Above is a thin layer of small chalk rubble (no. 5). Then (Fig. 1, no. 4) a deposit containing a large number of animal bones and potsherds thrown into the ditch from the first century A.D. settlement.

Later a hard chalky fill (Fig. 1, no. 2) was laid over the ditch in the second century A.D., to cover it completely and to enable the whole of the area to be utilized as arable land.

The examination of the ditch has indicated the existence of three phases on the site:

(1) The period of the construction and use of the hill-fort and its subsequent destruction.

(2) The period of the layer (Fig. 1, no. 4) when the ditch, although slighted, could still be seen and used as a rubbish tip.

(3) The period after the ditch had been completely filled and levelled.

About 2 m. from the western edge of the main ditch (Fig. 1, no. 13), a round depression in the chalk 35 cm. in diameter and 10 cm. deep was excavated. From its position, it may have been one of the six post-holes (Fig. 3, no. 4) approximately 1 m. apart, found by L. Barfield and connected with the main fort ditch. These are most probably the remains of the palisade. A similarity of the defensive system with that of Wandlebury II is possible.<sup>1</sup>

#### SKELETON IN MAIN DITCH SECTION

During the Long Vacation of 1962, much of the rubble from the sides of the section trench fell in. This layer was very loose and made digging most difficult. When it was visited in October 1962, a human skull was noted lying amongst the fallen rubble; its position is projected on to the section (Fig. 1, no. 15). A shaft was cut into

<sup>1</sup> B. R. Hartley, 'Excavations at the Wandlebury Iron Age Hill Fort', *Proc. C.A.S.* 1 (1956), p. 7, fig. 4c (left-hand palisade).

the side of the trench, and the skeleton disclosed; since it lay in heavy rubble, most of the long bones of the arm had been broken. The body was that of an adult male of about 30 years of age. He, like the female found near the entrance, had probably been thrown into the ditch (see Pl. III *c*). As the skull had already fallen into the trench, the body was headless, but otherwise complete. He lay on his back with the left arm over the right shoulder and the right arm lying across the chest. Both legs were drawn up with the knees together.

The skeleton lay in the heavy rubble in the main burnt deposit, and was thus associated with the destruction of the defences.

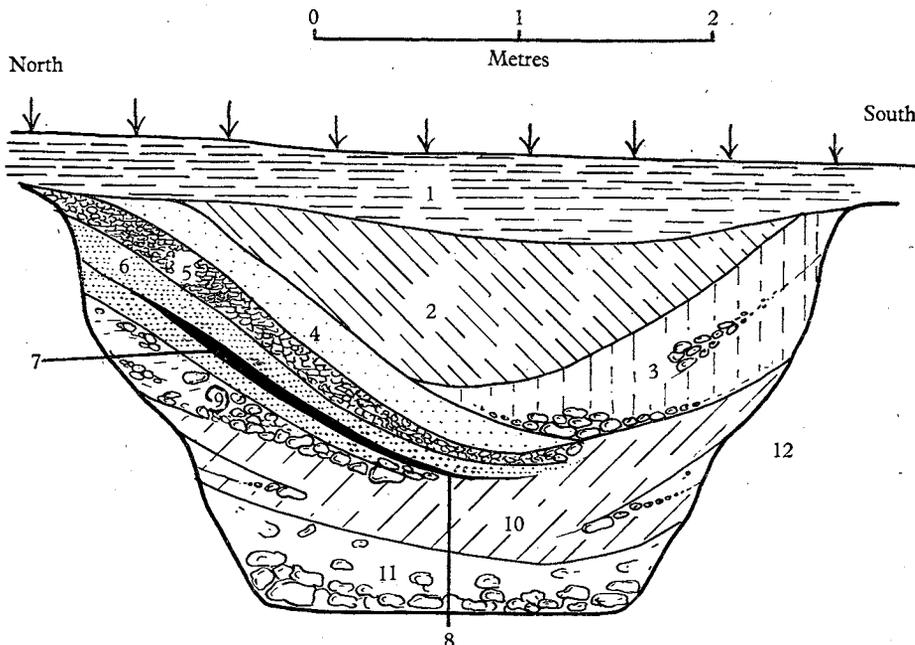


Fig. 2. Section of south entrance ditch looking east. KEY: 1, topsoil; 2, clayey fill; 3, clay and rubble; 4, humus band; 5, rubble; 6, humus and charcoal fragments; 7, charcoal band; 8, position of human skull (skeleton, Pl. III *b*); 9, rubble; 10, rubbly fill; 11, primary fill.

#### THE HILL-FORT ENTRANCE

The edge of the quarry, which had taken a diagonal cut across the south entrance ditch and the adjoining part of the main ditch, was cleaned back to the east side of the main ditch. This part of the ditch had either been already excavated previously or had suffered badly from the mechanical grab. Here were found the fragments of the skull of an elderly woman and the base of a hand-made Iron Age A bowl with a burnished surface. Unfortunately all were disturbed, and so unstratified.

It appeared that some reasonable stratigraphy still existed down on the north side of the entrance ditch. The layers here remaining included the rubble (Fig. 2, no. 5) and the charcoal and rubble destruction bands 6 and 7; the southern half of the

trench was a blank. In layer 6 a complete skeleton of an adult female was found (see Pl. III *b*). She was put into the ditch lying flat on her back with the head tipped over to the left. The left arm was drawn up to the head and the left foot brought into a crouched position. The most surprising thing is the right leg, which was thrown out below the left leg at a very unusual angle, and is evidence for the body having been left about for some time before burial. The woman was slung into the ditch presumably head first from the right. After removing the skeleton a bone ring or toggle was found by her right foot (Fig. 7, no. 2). Probably this was used for her clothing, but since she was thrown in in a dishevelled state, we can say nothing of its probable use or position on the body.

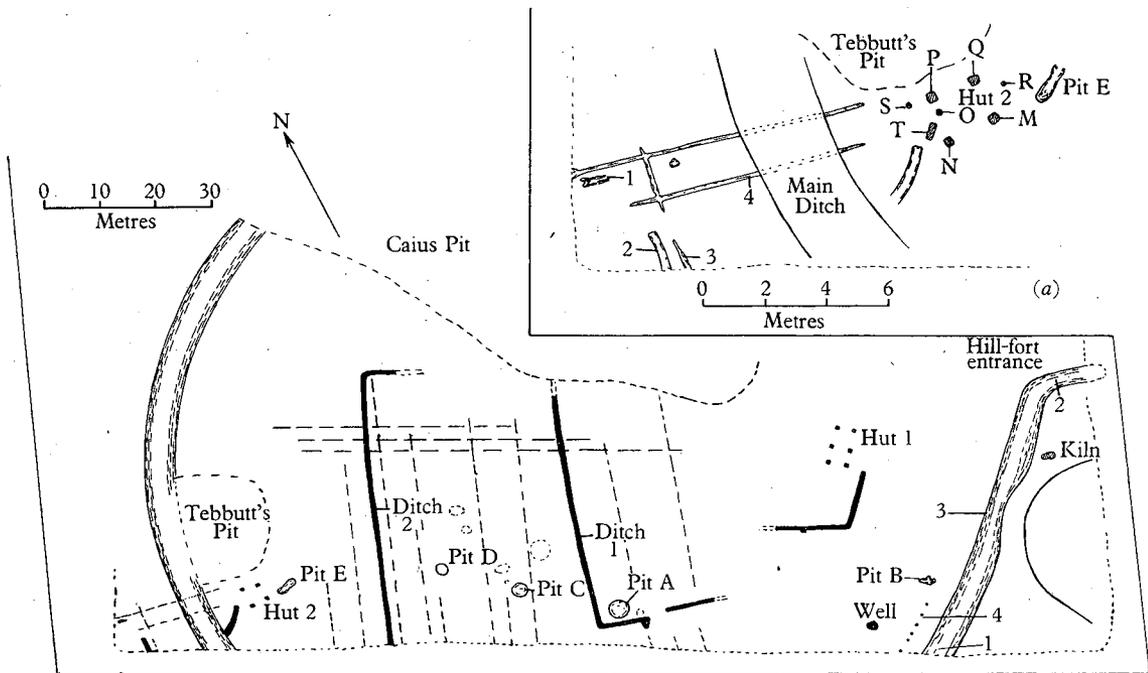


Fig. 3. General plan of southern part of War Ditches. (a) Detail of south-west corner.

Because of the absence of reasonable stratigraphy in the southern part of this area, another section was cut across the entrance ditch, which is about 2.1 m. deep and 4 m. broad (Fig. 3, no. 2).

Nothing was found in this trench except a few bones from layer 6. Layer 7 is a charcoal band which is found all over the site and is contemporary with the destruction of the hill-fort; 8 marks the position of the skull of the female, mentioned above; the legs came up to the left of the section as drawn. The striking thing about the section is the comparative absence of rubble; 3, 5, 9 and 11 are the only rubble layers.

Trenches were also dug along the sides of the entrance ditch, with the aim of obtaining its plan. A cut put in the field to the east revealed no traces of the entrance ditch. Presumably it terminates under the thick hawthorn hedge separating the

quarry and field. A proton-magnetometer survey was carried out in this part of the field, but failed to locate any archaeological feature. This entrance is similar in form to that found at the Caburn hill-fort<sup>1</sup> in Sussex.

#### THE WELL

The well was found in 1957 (Fig. 3), and in the interim 5.7 m. of chalk were removed from the area. The well was relocated in 1962 by Dr D. H. Clark who used a crowbar to probe for its position. The fill below this level was found to be stony—the larger stones round the sides of the well (as may be expected of a filling). The soil showed traces of burnt material.

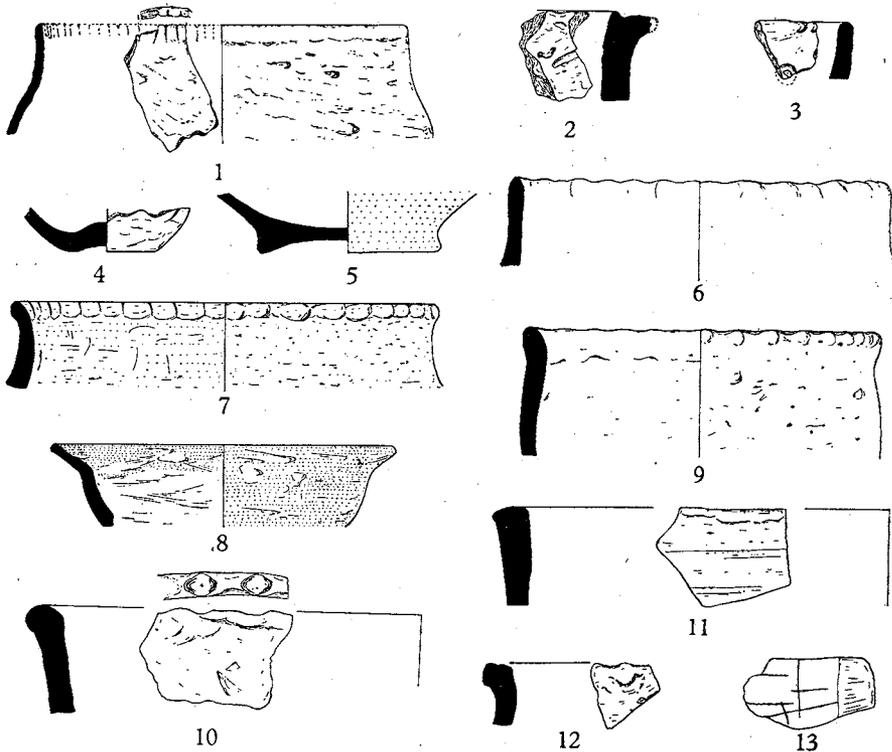


Fig. 4. Iron Age A pottery. Scale:  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

The pottery from this level was mostly crude, very coarse Iron Age A ware with white grit in the fabric; only about three small sherds appeared to be wheel-turned. Another interesting feature was the series of foot-holes (Pl. III a) in the sides of the wall. At a depth of 0.90 m. from the quarry surface—6.6 m. from the well top—a fragment of a bone knife handle was found (Fig. 7, no. 3).

At a depth of 1.75 m. below the quarry bottom (i.e. 6.45 m. from the top of the well), the fill suddenly changed to chalk lumps with a large number of flints and

<sup>1</sup> A. E. Wilson, 'Further Excavations at the Caburn', *Sussex Arch. Coll.* LXXX (1939), p. 193.

oyster shells; this layer lasted for 0.25 m., below which was fine rubble without any traces of burning. This clean fill was then dug to a depth of 4.65 m. below the quarry, or 10.35 m. down in the well. At that depth the fill was beginning to change to chalky silt.

The pottery from this lower layer was mostly wheel-turned, fine, grey, polished ware, very much superior in texture to the sherds found higher up in the well. The Iron Age A sherds from the top of the well should not be thought of as later than the pottery found below it. Despite the scarcity of this type of pottery on the site, it is probable that the well was filled with soil containing disturbed Iron Age A material.

#### THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER

In the south-west corner of the quarry lies a small area of the hill-fort, from which the topsoil only has been removed. When the grass began to grow here in the spring of 1962, buried linear features could be observed as crop marks. When the area had been scraped clean (Pl. II*b*) two long shallow marks about 20 cm. deep were found running from west to east (Fig. 3*a*, no. 4), crossing the main ditch, where their continuation was traced in 1959 by Dr Clark. These form part of a 'ridge and furrow' system found elsewhere on the site and shown in Fig. 3 by dotted lines. This type of ridge and hollow field seems to be not infrequent in Roman times, and may be seen to this day at Bullocks Haste near Cottenham.<sup>1</sup> Another similar line went approximately north to south, and in its southerly extension (Fig. 3*a*, no. 3) a Roman flagon neck was found (Fig. 6, no. 7). A piece of 'Samian' Form 31 was found at Fig. 3*a*, no. 4. Both these sherds were in good condition.

Fig. 3*a*, no 3 marks the position of a larger feature, probably a field drainage ditch, which is about 20 cm. deep. Some Romano-British sherds came from this; however the small number and poor quality give no idea of the probable age of the ditch. The whole field system is superimposed on the hill-fort ditch, which must have been filled in by that time. At Fig. 3*a*, no. 1, a skeleton appeared unexpectedly. Only part of the pelvis and the long bones of the leg were preserved and the bones were in a terrible condition. The body was lying on its back and its feet are pointing eastwards.

#### THE KILN

This lies just outside the main ditch in a similar position to the one found by Lethbridge<sup>2</sup> on the other side of the quarry. Dr Clark examined this in July 1957. The bulldozer had removed most of the kiln and only about 10 cm. of the structure remained. Its plan was dumb-bell shaped, 70 cm. by 1.70 m., with the long axis east-west.

With the kiln were a number of oxidized pink wasters. Unfortunately the pots these came from must have been stacked top uppermost—no rims appeared, and only the presence of a couple of sherds with horizontal, Belgic-type rilling give any dating evidence. A pot with this type of decoration also came from Lethbridge's kiln.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. D. Clark, 'Excavations on the Car Dyke 1947', *Ant. Jour.* xxix (1949), p. 145, pl. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> T. Lethbridge, 'Further Excavations at the War Ditches', *Proc. C.A.S.* xlii (1948), p. 126.

## PITS AND OTHER FEATURES

During the whole of the period under review, the mechanical excavator moved slowly and methodically westwards. By April 1958 it had removed about 20 ft. of the well (later partly cleared in 1962). In July 1958 the excavator uncovered a flat-bottomed pit (pit A, Fig. 3), 3.5 m. in diameter and 0.6 m. deep, with sides meeting the bottom at an angle of 100 degrees. The corners were filled with chalk rubble. The excavator only allowed time to dig out half the pit; however a quantity of Iron Age A material came from it.

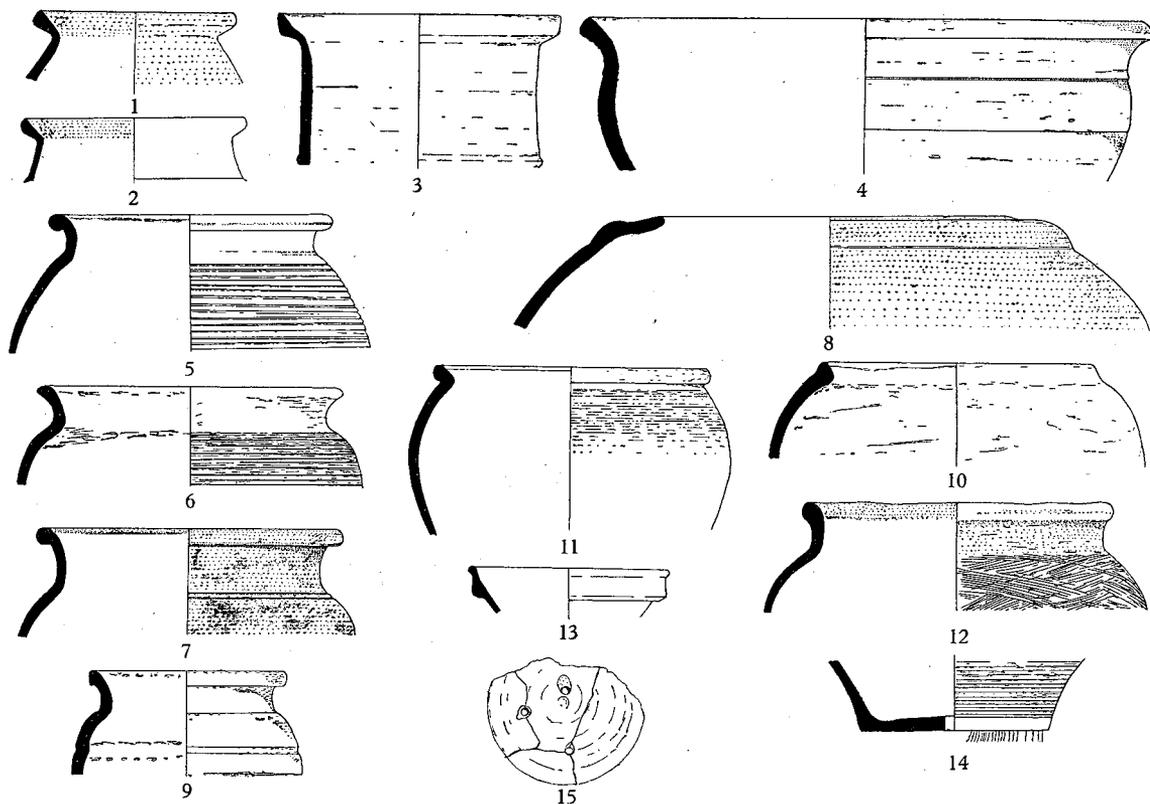


Fig. 5. First-century A.D. pottery in the Belgic tradition. Scale:  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

Around the pit lay ditch 1, which was about 80 cm. wide and 0.25–0.3 m. deep; the top 0.10–0.15 m. of the ditch was silty soil and the bottom was rubble. From this rubble a small base-herd of a strainer in native Romano-British ware was found. Unlike the strainers found with the Belgic style pottery, the holes of this one were made before firing and not drilled into the base afterwards (Fig. 5, no. 15).

Pit C is 2 m. in diameter and 20 cm. deep; it contained a couple of Iron Age A sherds. In ditch 2 a fragment of 'Samian' of first-century date was found (Appendix I, no. 2). Pit D had been cut by the bulldozer and contained nothing of interest.

Just south of Tebbutt's Pit, an interesting concentration of Romano-British

features were found (Fig. 3*a*). Pit E ('Rosalind's Pit') was oval shaped, 3 by 1.50 m. The excavator had already cut a section across one end, and there appeared to be three levels. The top 15 cm. was an earthy layer, which when excavated yielded the iron knife (Fig. 7, no. 1), lying in the centre of the pit, 8 cm. below the surface. Two

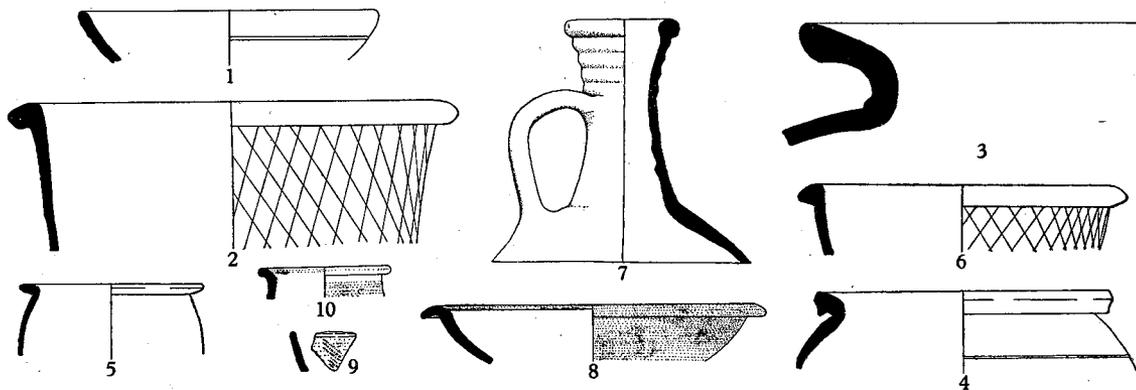


Fig. 6. Later Roman pottery. Scale:  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

other layers existed, one of chalk rubble 1 m. deep, and one of black silt 15 cm. thick at the bottom. There was no time to investigate the lower levels of the pit. Pit E must have been the rubbish pit for the nearby Roman hut. For the pottery found in it, see Fig. 6, nos. 4-6.

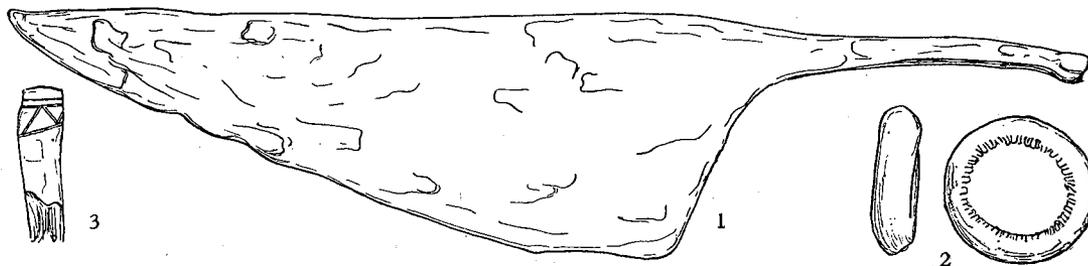


Fig. 7. Small finds. Scale:  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

Time did not allow a thorough investigation of this hut. Post-hole M was 50 cm. square and 63 cm. deep; in the filling a colour-coated sherd was found. Post-holes N, P, Q and M form a square on the plan. O and R are small round post-holes 30 cm. in diameter and about 25 cm. deep. S has the same diameter and T is a rectangular hole 1.20 m. by 40 cm. by 20 cm. deep.

The material from Pit B near the south-eastern arc of the fort (Fig. 6, nos. 1-3), and the Iron Age A sherd from the north-eastern corner of the main ditch in the primary silting (Fig. 4, no. 6), were found by Mr Howard of the Leys School during his investigations at War Ditches in 1957.

## CONCLUSIONS

Despite the small amount of Iron Age A pottery found at the War Ditches, the close similarity between the sherds from Wandlebury and Cherry Hinton may indicate that both hill-forts were built by the same cultural group, possibly subjects of the chieftains of the Iceni. However, Iron Age hill-forts are uncommon structures in East Anglia,<sup>1</sup> and since the construction of a hill-fort would be an extremely difficult task for a primitive community, it seems unlikely that the War Ditch and Wandlebury, only a few miles apart, were occupied at the same time.

The pottery gives no indication of which is the earlier; for this the conservatism of the Iron Age A potter is responsible and here is yet another example of the persistence of this pottery without any significant change over a long period of time. There is only one small shred of evidence as to which of the two hill-forts is the later. Assuming that both Wandlebury and the War Ditches were equally suitable sites for Romano-Belgic occupation, the settlers are more likely to have made their farm on the clearer site of the more recent hill-fort, rather than resort to clearing scrub covering the older, abandoned fort. No 'Belgic' pottery has been found at Wandlebury, hence one may conclude that War Ditches is the later fort.

The War Ditches were never completed before they were overrun, the palisades burned and the ramparts slighted. There is strong evidence of a considerable slaughter of the defenders, who were then slung into the ditch by the workmen engaged in destroying the fort. Some of the bodies found by previous excavators showed signs of mutilation,<sup>2</sup> whilst the female found by the present author in the south entrance ditch had assumed such a fantastic posture that she must have rotted for some time before being thrown in the ditch. The six skeletons found since 1949 associated with this destruction are all of young individuals, two males and two females under twenty years old and a male and female under thirty years at death. The youth and the large proportion of women among the defending force make an interesting comparison with the defenders of Belgic Maiden Castle.<sup>3</sup> The War Cemetery at Maiden Castle contained twenty-three adult males, ten adult females and an adolescent female.

Although with only six skeletons from the War Ditches available for study, any conclusions about the defending force are only tentative—the absence of adult warriors does seem surprising and the composition of the force defending War Ditches is not what one would have expected. Possibly the warriors may have been killed in an earlier battle leaving desperate women and youths to make a last stand at Cherry Hinton. The date of the battle would appear to be some time between the mid second century before Christ and the first decade of Roman rule in Britain, more probably later in this period than Wandlebury. On available evidence it is not possible to be more precise.

<sup>1</sup> R. R. Clarke, *East Anglia* (Ancient Peoples and Places) (Thames and Hudson, 1960).

<sup>2</sup> T. Lethbridge, 'Further Excavations at the War Ditches', *Proc. C.A.S.* XLII (1948), p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler, 'Excavations at Maiden Castle', *Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, no. XII (1943).

There is another point which has been made about the War Ditches by Fox.<sup>1</sup> He suggests that the site was refortified by 'Belgae' who subsequently suffered a 'second massacre'. No evidence of a refortification was found by the author in the section dug in 1962, and Fox's evidence seems difficult to understand. Wandlebury, a completed hill-fort with two ditches—a far superior construction to that of the single incomplete ditch at the War Ditches—was never occupied by the 'Belgae'. Fox's theory appears to have been based on finding 'Belgic' pottery from the rampart debris in the ditch; but this could indicate that workmen using pottery of that type had been engaged in slighting the ramparts of the hill-fort, which would confirm a later date of construction for the War Ditches.

The site was subsequently resettled by Romano-Belgic folk who used the hill-fort ditch as a rubbish tip. To this period belong the kiln and burials found by Lethbridge.<sup>2</sup> The date of this phase is almost certainly the latter half of the first century A.D. Eventually the ditches were entirely filled in and the area used for agriculture. On the evidence of the 'Samian' sherd found in ditch 1 (Appendix I, no. 1) and the flagon neck from the south-west corner, a date at the beginning of the second century A.D. can be assigned provisionally to this phase. Finally, no typical third-century fragments have yet been seen by the author, and it is possible that the Roman occupation of the site had ended by then. The details of this period will be better known when the Romano-British material now lying in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology has been published as a sequel to this paper.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Miss M. D. Cra'ster for providing me with working space in the Museum and with advice on this publication. The reports at the end of this paper were kindly written by B. R. Hartley (the Samian ware), D. R. Hughes and C. B. Denston (the human remains) and D. W. Phillipson (the animal bones). Barry Cunliffe gave me advice on the Iron Age A material. My thanks also go to previous excavators, Dr D. H. Clark of Fulbourn Hospital and Mr M. F. Howard of the Leys School. I must also acknowledge the large amount of help given me by members of the Archaeological Field Club, A. L. Prentice, C. J. Knowles, D. W. Phillipson, C. Turner, H. Newton and Miss Anne Wallis, and by C. Spode and R. L. Stevens of Linton. I am also grateful to John Mudie of the Department of Geophysics who spent a day doing a proton-magnetometer survey on the site.

For permission to excavate I am grateful to the British Portland Cement Company and to Mr Lacey of Fulbourn.

#### IRON AGE A POTTERY

(Fig. 4)

Since the Iron Age hill-fort was not completed, the occupation connected with Phase I would be short in duration. This would help to explain the comparative

<sup>1</sup> C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (Cambridge, 1923).

<sup>2</sup> T. Lethbridge, *op. cit.*

scarcity of Iron Age A material from this site, considering the size of the area which had been cleared for the quarry. Other factors which would have contributed to this shortage were agriculture during the Roman period and the difficulties experienced in carrying out the rescue dig 1957-60.

The material falls into three groups:

- (1) Pit A dug in 1958 by Dr Clark. Nos. 1-5.
- (2) One sherd found in 1957 in the primary silting of the main ditch (north-east sector). No. 6.
- (3) Material obtained by the present author in the top 1.70 m. of the well dug in 1962. Nos. 7-13.

#### *Pit A (1-5)*

Quite a large amount of material came from this pit. Most of it was badly fired, grey ware with patches of oxidized fabric and fragments of flint grit. A few sherds of better quality were found; these contained no grit, were fired a uniform grey colour and were usually burnished.

(1) Grey fabric, slightly oxidized on outside. Large fingernail impressions on inside of rim. A jar whose shape is derived from the Hallstatt situla (Maiden Castle,<sup>1</sup> p. 204). Situlate jars with this rim decoration are only known from Wandlebury<sup>2</sup> (nos. 10, 14, 60 and 62).

(2) Coarse pot with inturned rim, orange outside, grey within; large flint grit in fabric.

(3) Soft light grey fabric decorated with small incised 'chevrons' on rim and a little circle on the shoulder probably made with a small bone before firing (Wandlebury,<sup>3</sup> nos. 30, 37).

(4) Base in soft grey fabric.

(5) Ring base in grey burnished ware (Wandlebury,<sup>4</sup> nos. 24, 63; Barley,<sup>5</sup> no. 85). Typical of Late Iron Age in the Weald<sup>6</sup> and also has connections with Wessex.<sup>7</sup>

#### *Primary silting. Main ditch, north-east sector*

- (6) Black, well made fabric. Rim of a situlate jar (Wandlebury,<sup>8</sup> no. 26).

#### *Top 1.70 m. of well*

A number of Iron Age A sherds were found here, together with a few pieces of wheel-turned pottery. This deposit overlaid a level containing Gallo-Belgic pottery.

(7) Black, hard, rough fabric with small white grit. Fingernail impressions on the inside of the rim (see no. 1).

(8) Dark brownish-grey fabric, well burnished on the outside and inside the rim. This bowl rim is related to Wandlebury,<sup>9</sup> no. 28, but is better represented by the bowls of group B from Barley<sup>10</sup> which were also found with burnished fabrics.

(9) Dark grey fabric, white and grey grit. The outer surface of the pot is lighter in colour. Same form as no. 6.

<sup>1</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler, 'Excavations at Maiden Castle', *Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, no. XII (1943).

<sup>2</sup> B. R. Hartley, 'Excavations at the Wandlebury Iron Age Hill Fort', *Proc. C.A.S. L* (1956), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> B. R. Hartley, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> B. R. Hartley, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> M. D. Cra'ster, 'Iron Age Settlement at Barley', *Proc. C.A.S. LIV* (1960), p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'Oldbury', *Archaeologia*, xc, p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> K. M. Kenyon, *University of London Institute of Archaeology, 8th Annual Report* (1952).

<sup>8</sup> B. R. Hartley, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> B. R. Hartley, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> M. D. Cra'ster, *op. cit.*

(10) Light brown-grey fabric, small grit. Finger impressions on top of rim (Wandlebury,<sup>1</sup> no. 21; Barley,<sup>2</sup> p. 43, Rim G(i)).

(11) Brown-grey fabric, no grit (Wandlebury,<sup>3</sup> no. 53).

(12) Orange fabric, grey centre, gritless.

(13) Grey, slightly orange fabric. This incised decoration is paralleled in Wessex<sup>4</sup> (Wandlebury,<sup>5</sup> no. 6). However, this example is not burnished and may be a local imitation; the incision was made before firing.

The cultural links of this group are with Wandlebury and Barley. No angular vessels characteristic of the Early Iron Age at Linton<sup>6</sup> and West Harling<sup>7</sup> have been found at the War Ditch.

The two main types represented are the degenerate situlate jar (nos. 1, 6, 7 and 9, possibly 10 and 11), and a bowl with a wide mouth no. 8.

In common with Barley and Wandlebury a late date should be given to this group, and, since the Iron Age A of this area is notoriously difficult to date, a wide range of time can be assigned to this pottery. The outside dates would seem to be the second century B.C. and the first few years of the Roman conquest, as has been shown at Barley.

#### FIRST CENTURY A.D. POTTERY, IN THE BELGIC TRADITION

(Fig. 5)

This pottery comes from the tip-line in the main ditch (Fig. 1, layer no. 4). It is a deposit of many vessels, spread over a large area of the half-filled main ditch, which was used by the Phase II inhabitants for their rubbish. Connected also with Phase II is the kiln excavated by Lethbridge whose products were published by Hartley.<sup>8</sup>

(1) Rim of butt beaker, grey core, orange on outside, well burnished.

(2) Rim of butt beaker, black core, outside brown, well burnished.

Several other fragments of butt beakers were found; some had vertical incisions in groups of four. These had either orange burnished fabrics, or reddish unburnished surfaces. This is a normal Gallo-Belgic type.<sup>9</sup> However, it apparently continues into the Flavian period in one form or another.<sup>10</sup>

(3) Light core with white pipe-clay slip, burnished. This must represent an extremely debased form of the tazza. This kind of fabric occurs very commonly at Camulodunum.<sup>11</sup> It is typically Gallo-Belgic and believed to be made in the Colchester area. It does not occur at Camulodunum after A.D. 61.

(4) Dark fabric, brown slip. This is a simple wide-mouthed bowl, 'an archaic type' at Camulodunum.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. R. Hartley, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> M. D. Cra'ster, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> B. R. Hartley, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> K. M. Kenyon, *University of London Institute of Archaeology, 8th Annual Report (1952)*.

<sup>5</sup> B. R. Hartley, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> C. I. Fell, 'An Early Iron Age Site at Linton, Cambs.', *Proc. C.A.S.* XLVI (1952), p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> J. G. D. Clark and C. I. Fell, 'An Early Iron Age Site at West Harling', *P.P.S.* XIX (1953), p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> B. R. Hartley, 'Notes on Roman Pottery Kilns in the Cambridge Area', *Proc. C.A.S.* LIII (1959), p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, 'Camulodunum', *Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries*, no. XIV (1947), p. 237, types 111-19.

<sup>10</sup> H. J. M. Green, 'Roman Godmanchester', *Proc. C.A.S.* LIII (1959), p. 18, nos. 24, 25.

<sup>11</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *op. cit.* p. 238.

<sup>12</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *op. cit.* p. 264, type 230.

*Medium-mouthed jars*

(5) Grey core with black smoked exterior, decorated with horizontal rilling on the shoulder. Burnished on top of rim.

(6) Grey fabric oxidized at the end of firing; horizontal rilling on the shoulder.

The use of horizontal rilling begins in the early first century A.D. Jars decorated in this manner come from the primary silt of the Belgic *oppidum* at Verulamium.<sup>1</sup> These have a beaded rim and are in orange fabric. This type is found at Camolodunum (form 260B) before A.D. 61, and locally was one of the main products of the War Ditch kiln.<sup>2</sup> The fabric of no. 6 is similar to that found at this kiln, whereas no. 5 is in a Romano-British smoked fabric—typical of the second century on Hadrian's Wall.<sup>3</sup>

(7) Dark fabric, burnished. This jar with its cordoned rim is of Hartley's type 2B.<sup>4</sup>

(8) Rim of jar with inturned rim to support a lid. Black polished ware. A typical Belgic form in similar ware from Verulamium<sup>5</sup> and Camolodunum.<sup>6</sup> In both contexts it is pre-A.D. 61. Even at large sites it occurs very infrequently, and seems unparalleled from this district.

(9) Small jar, in light grey fabric with a burnished rim. This form is reasonably closely paralleled at Godmanchester.<sup>7</sup>

*Cooking pots*

These are roughly made vessels in hard fabric.

(10) Pot with grey core and oxidized surface. The fabric contains small fragments of shell grit.

(11) Same fabric as 10, but with slight horizontal combings on the shoulder.

This is found at Camolodunum.<sup>8</sup> Such bead-rim cooking pots were rare in Belgic Verulamium<sup>9</sup> but became more abundant there later in the first Roman city.

(12) Necked cooking pot, dark sandy fabric, whitish inside. Shoulder decorated with rough combings.

(13) Bell-shaped cup in reddish fabric, imitating the Arretine krater Loeschke 8. This is type 57 at Camolodunum,<sup>10</sup> and also appears in rough local ware from a mid first-century context at Verulamium.

*Bases*

(14) Base with horizontal rilling, and incised concentric grooves on the bottom. This example is in the same fabric as the medium-mouthed jar no. 5 paralleled by Hartley.<sup>11</sup> This type is typical of this group, and fragments of other similar bases were found.

(15) Base in brown fabric with holes bored after firing. Another common occurrence here. This may have been the base of a broken pot which was subsequently used as a strainer.

The discovery of a late first-century 'Samian' sherd in a field ditch in the centre of the quarry suggests that this group may not be later than the early Flavian period.

<sup>1</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler, 'Verulamium', *Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries*, no. XI (1936), p. 27, form 60.

<sup>2</sup> B. R. Hartley, 'Notes on Roman Pottery Kilns in the Cambridge Area', *Proc. C.A.S.* LIII (1959), p. 24, type 24.

<sup>3</sup> J. P. Gillam, 'Types of Roman Coarse Pottery Vessels', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, xxxv (1957), pp. 193, 202.

<sup>4</sup> B. R. Hartley, *op. cit.* p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler, *op. cit.* p. 172, fig. 22, no. 4.

<sup>6</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *op. cit.* p. 267, form 253.

<sup>7</sup> H. J. M. Green, 'Roman Godmanchester', *Proc. C.A.S.* LIII (1959), p. 15, type 12.

<sup>8</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *op. cit.* type 257.

<sup>9</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler, *op. cit.* p. 195.

<sup>10</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *op. cit.* p. 227.

<sup>11</sup> B. R. Hartley, 'Notes on Roman Pottery in the Cambridge Area', *Proc. C.A.S.* LIII (1959), p. 25, no. 14.

Survival rates of Belgic pottery in East Anglia have still to be worked out however, and since no 'Samian' was found with this group, its actual dates are vague. It will be of great importance to discover groups of Belgic pottery from local sites, securely dated by associated 'Samian', which can date survivals of Gallo-Belgic types in the Cambridge Region.

## LATER ROMAN POTTERY

(Fig. 6)

*Pits B and E*

The pottery from pit B are nos. 1-3, from pit E, 4-6. The filling of both pits contained colour-coated ware, thus placing the group well into the Antonine Period. From pit B came a 'Samian' fragment, dated A.D. 80-110; From pit E one dated A.D. 115-50. The groups are probably late second century, though it is difficult to be certain with such small quantities.

- (1) Rim of dish with curved sides in light orange fabric.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) Dish in black fumed ware similar to Gillam, type 219.<sup>2</sup>
- (3) Storage jar with reddish core and light grey wash—probably from the Horningsea pottery.
- (4) Medium-mouthed jar; grey core, red on outside.
- (5) Small open bowl in fine grey fabric.
- (6) Ware and type similar to no. 2.

*From plough scratch* (Fig. 3A, no. 3).

- (7) Single-handled ring-necked flagon in light yellow ware, Gillam, type 2,<sup>3</sup> Godmanchester,<sup>4</sup> p. 20, no. 31. Late first, early second century A.D.

*Pottery from lower part of well*

- (8) Bowl with flanged rim—light grey, very fine and well-polished ware. Camolodunum.<sup>5</sup> A Belgic form.

- (9) Ware similar to no. 7—with rouletting.

- (10) Dark fabric with burnished rim.

## SMALL FINDS

(Fig. 7)

- (1) Iron knife blade: Wandlebury,<sup>6</sup> Camolodunum,<sup>7</sup> Maiden Castle.<sup>8</sup> A common type lasting throughout the Roman Period. Pit E.

- (2) Bone ring or toggle in association with skeleton in South Entrance Ditch.

- (3) Knife handle or comb fragment. Decoration in Iron Age A tradition.<sup>9</sup> Associated with Iron Age pot in the top of the well.

<sup>1</sup> H. J. M. Green, 'Roman Godmanchester', *Proc. C.A.S.* LIII (1959), p. 14, type 2.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Gillam, 'Types of Roman Coarse Pottery Vessels', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, xxxv (1957), 180.

<sup>3</sup> J. P. Gillam, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> H. J. M. Green, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, 'Camolodunum', *Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries*, no. XIV (1947), p. 225, type 46.

<sup>6</sup> B. R. Hartley, 'Excavations at the Wandlebury Iron Age Hill Fort', *Proc. C.A.S.* L (1956), p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, 'Camolodunum', *Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries*, no. XIV (1947), p. 343, no. 24.

<sup>8</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler, 'Excavations at Maiden Castle', *Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries*, no. XII (1943), p. 272, fig. 89, no. 10.

<sup>9</sup> N. Smedley, 'Iron Age Wearing Combs', *Proc. C.A.S.* LIV (1960), p. 47.

## APPENDIX I

## SAMIAN WARE

B. R. HARTLEY

- (1) South-west corner. Fig. 3a, no. 4. Central Gaulish Form 31. Antonine.
- (2) Ditch 2. Form 15/17 South Gaulish Fabric. Fabric and relatively careless finish put this piece late in series, c. A.D. 70-90.
- (3) South-west corner scatter. Flanged bowl Form 38, Central Gaulish. Antonine, though not necessarily later than A.D. 150.
- (4) South-west corner scatter. Form 64. Orange fabric and red glaze can be matched with examples of Form 64 of the Hadrianic period from both Lezoux and Martres de Veyre.
- (5) Pit B. Curle 11. Colour of fabric has been changed by fire after fracture. More likely to be South Gaulish rather than Central Gaulish. c. A.D. 80-110.
- (6) Pit E. Form 18/31R or 31. Fabric suggests origin at Martres de Veyre; a Hadrianic date is possible though early Antonine period would not be impossible. c. A.D. 115-50.

## APPENDIX II

THE HUMAN REMAINS FROM THE CHERRY HINTON  
WAR DITCHES, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

D. R. HUGHES, M.A., AND C. B. DENSTON

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Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge*

NOTE. The six skeletons upon which this report has been written are all known to date from the destruction of the Iron Age hill-fort. Three of them were found during the period that D. A. White was excavating at War Ditches. Eu. 1.3.243 is the female found in the entrance ditch (p. 13), Eu. 1.3.245 the female found by the mechanical grab in April 1962 (p. 9), and Eu. 1.3.246 the male found in the main ditch (p. 11). The other three skeletons dealt with were excavated at sundry periods and by divers excavators, and deposited in the Duckworth Laboratory. However, information supplied by the excavators has enabled an Iron Age date to be put to these remains, since they were all found in heavy rubble in the main ditch of the fort. D.A.W.

*The remains*

The human remains that form the subject of this report were forwarded to the laboratory by the excavators at various dates between November 1956 and September 1962. It appears, however, that they can be considered collectively, on archaeological grounds, and the opportunity has now been taken, therefore, to describe them together. Brief routine reports on the individual finds were prepared as a matter of course, and these are filed in the laboratory archives, under the appropriate reference numbers. It will be seen, as a result of this procedure, that the reference numbers used in the present report do not all run consecutively.

The identifiable individuals in this group are six in number, the actual total being, of course, unknown but probably in excess of that number. The six are as follows:

Eu. 1.3.211—adult, male sex; age about 18-23 years.

Eu. 1.3.212—adult, undetermined sex; age about 17-21 years.

- Eu. 1.3.213—child, female sex; age about 14 years.  
 Eu. 1.3.243—adult, female sex; age about 30 years.  
 Eu. 1.3.245—adult, female sex; age about 20 years.  
 Eu. 1.3.246—adult, male sex; aged about 20-25 years.

There is, in addition, a mandible of an immature individual Eu. 1.3.244, which, from the archaeological evidence now forthcoming, almost certainly belongs to the immature female Eu. 1.3.213 listed above.

#### *Estimations of sex and age at death*

The estimations of sex were made on a basis of anatomical appreciation, a high degree of certainty being attached if both skulls and pelvis were preserved. Additional criteria such as the overall size and general robustness of long bones were also taken into consideration, whenever possible. Only in one instance (Eu. 1.3.212) could no clear estimate of the sex of the individual be made.

Estimations of age at death were made on a basis of the examination (whenever possible) of such criteria as (1) the degree and extent of endocranial and ectocranial sutural closure, (2) dental eruption, and the degree and nature of dental attrition, (3) the appearance of the pubic symphyses, (4) the degree of ossification of certain epiphyses. Generally, no great conflict occurred between estimates based upon different sets of criteria, and, in particular, a reassuring correlation between estimates based upon sutural closure and those based upon other criteria was noted.

#### *Estimations of stature*

Estimations of stature are only possible when long bones (preferably several long bones) are preserved. The regression formulae of Trotter and Gleser (for 'whites') were utilized for reconstructing stature, and it was possible to calculate the following estimates:

Individual	Reconstructed stature (approx.)	
	ft.	in.
Eu. 1.3.211 (♂)	5	6
Eu. 1.3.243 (♀)	5	1½
Eu. 1.3.246 (♂)	5	7½

#### *Metrical characters*

Measurements were taken on all available bones in accordance with the biometric technique described by Buxton and Morant (1933), Morant (1936) and Mukherjee, Rao and Trevor (1955). Unless otherwise stated, data are shown in millimetres.

TABLE I. *Metrical data relating to the War Ditches skeletal remains*

(measurements in millimetres, unless otherwise stated)

Eu. 1.3.211. *Cranial measurements*: none. *Mandibular measurements*:  $W_1$  116.0;  $CyL$  19.2;  $RB'$  30.0;  $M_2P_1$  27.2;  $ZZ$  46.0;  $M\angle$  126°;  $CpL$  75.0;  $RL$  49.0;  $ML$  102.0;  $CrH$  62.0;  $M_2H$  25.5. *Femoral measurements* (right side only):  $FeD_1$  24.2;  $FeD_2$  36.2. *Tibial measurements* (right side only):  $TiL_1$  ? 345.0;  $TiL_2$  345.0;  $TiD_1$  36.0;  $TiD_2$  25.0.

Eu. 1.3.212. *Cranial measurements*:  $L$  185.0;  $B$  142.0;  $B'$  102.5;  $S_1$  122.0;  $S_3$  116.0;  $S$  370.0;  $T'$  318.0;  $U$  519.0;  $S'_1$  114.0;  $S'_2$  110.0;  $S'_3$  97.0;  $G_2$  40.0;  $FL$  36.8;  $FB$  29.3. *Mandibular measurements*:  $W_1$  113.0;  $CyL$  19.0;  $RB'$  34.0;  $M_2P_1$  31.0;  $M\angle$  128°;  $CpL$  73.5;  $RL$  55.0;  $GoGo$  91.0;  $ML$  105.5;  $CrH$  56.5;  $M_2H$  23.5. *Long bone measurements*: none.

Eu. 1.3.213. *Cranial measurements*: none. *Mandibular measurements*: none.

Eu. 1.3.243. *Cranial measurements*:  $L$  174.0;  $B$  135.0;  $B'$  94.0;  $H'$  134.5;  $LB$  99.0;  $S_1$  119.0;  $S_2$  125.0;  $S_3$  116.0;  $S$  360.0;  $S'_1$  105.5;  $S'_2$  114.0;  $S'_3$  99.5;  $G'H$  ?67.5;  $GL$  ?95.0;  $GB$  84.0;  $G'_1$  47.0;  $G_2$  38.4

TABLE I (continued)

( $\gamma$  ?118.0; OH 112.0; BOH 112.0; T' 298.0; NB 21.9; NH' 48.4; O<sub>1</sub> ?39.5; O<sub>2</sub> 31.2; FL 36.5; FB 31.0. Mandibular measurements: W<sub>1</sub> 113.0; GoGo 84.0; ZZ 45.0; RB 29.2; ML 99.0; RL 55.0; CyL 19.1; M $\angle$  122.0; CpL 71.5. Femoral measurements: FeL<sub>1</sub> (L) 397.0, (R) 389.0; FeL<sub>2</sub> (L) 391.0, (R) 383.0; FeL<sub>3</sub> (L) 377.0, (R) 372.0; FeD<sub>1</sub> (L) 22.0, (R) 21.5; FeD<sub>2</sub> (L) 31.0, (R) 30.0. Tibial measurements: TiL<sub>3</sub> (L) 320.0, (R) 320.0; TiD<sub>1</sub> (L) 31.0, (R) 31.2; TiD<sub>2</sub> (L) 22.5, (R) 23.0. Humeral measurements: HuL<sub>1</sub> (L) 278.0, (R) 290.0; HuD<sub>1</sub> (L) 23.0, (R) 21.6; HuD<sub>2</sub> (L) 17.6, (R) 16.1; Radial measurements: RaL<sub>1</sub> (L) 220.0, (R) 221.0. Ulnar measurements: ULL<sub>1</sub> (L) 240.0, (R) 242.0. Fibular measurements: FiL<sub>1</sub> (L) 329.0, (R) 329.0.

Eu. I.3.245. Cranial measurements: L 185.0; B ?144.0; B' 100.0; H' 144.0; LB 100.5; S<sub>1</sub> 128.0; S<sub>2</sub> 133.0; S'<sub>1</sub> 111.0; S'<sub>2</sub> 118.0; G'H 71.0; GL 89.0; GB 85.0; G<sub>1</sub> 43.0; G<sub>2</sub> 37.2; T' ?318.0; U ?527.0; NH' 48.7; O<sub>1</sub> ?40.1; O<sub>2</sub> ?35.4. Mandibular measurements: none. Long bone measurements: none.

Eu. I.3.246. Cranial measurements: L 185.0; B ?122.0; B' 94.5; H' 144.0; LB 109.0; S<sub>1</sub> 124.0; S<sub>2</sub> 126.5; S<sub>3</sub> ?111.0; S 363.0; T<sub>1</sub> 295.0; U 507.0; S'<sub>1</sub> 111.5; S'<sub>2</sub> 116.0; S'<sub>3</sub> ?93.0; G'H 69.0; GL 104.5; GB 93.0; G'<sub>1</sub> 51.2; G<sub>2</sub> 37.0; O<sub>1</sub> 31.0; O<sub>2</sub> 42.4; FL ?40.5; FB 30.2; NB 23.3; NH' (R) 50.0; OH 114.5; BOH 114.0. Mandibular measurements: W<sub>1</sub> 120.0; CyL 21.0; RB' 32.2; M<sub>2</sub>P<sub>1</sub> 29.8; H<sub>1</sub> 35.0; ZZ 42.0; CrCr 97.5; M $\angle$  129.0; CpL 78.0; RL 61.0; GoGo 91.0; ML 114.0; CrH 65.5; M<sub>2</sub>H 27.0. Femoral measurements: FeL<sub>1</sub> (L) 454.0, (R) 450.0; FeL<sub>2</sub> (R) 444.0; FeL<sub>3</sub> (R) 432.0; FeD<sub>1</sub> (L) 24.5, (R) 24.0; FeD<sub>2</sub> (L) 34.5, (R) 35.0. Tibial measurements: TiL<sub>1</sub> (L) ?365 (R) 373; TiL<sub>2</sub> (L) ?365.0, (R) 369.0; TiL<sub>3</sub> (R) 353.0; TiD<sub>1</sub> (L) 42.0, (R) 42.2; TiD<sub>2</sub> (L) 24.0, (R) 25.0; Humeral measurements: HuL<sub>1</sub> (R) 327.0; HuD<sub>1</sub> (L) 21.7 (R) 22.1; HuD<sub>2</sub> (L) 19.1, (R) 20.0; Radial measurements: RaL<sub>1</sub> (L) 249.0, (R) 250.0. Ulnar measurements: ULL<sub>1</sub> (L) 269.0, (R) 258.0.

#### Non-metrical characters

##### Wormian bones

The presence of wormian bones was noted in each of the six crania available for examination. The bones were, in all cases, present in the lambdoid suture. The numbers of these supernumerary ossicles are shown below, with the reference numbers of the crania.

Eu. I.3.211	9	Eu. I.3.243	16
Eu. I.3.212	8	Eu. I.3.245	9
* Eu. I.3.213	2	Eu. I.3.246	4
(at least)			

\* This cranium was incomplete.

Figures, in each case, are minima, as ossicles of less than 2 mm. overall length are excluded.

##### Metopism

No case of the persistence of a metopic suture was seen. The frontal bone was available for inspection in all six crania.

##### Parietal notch bone

Four out of the six crania could be inspected in connection with this character.

Eu. I.3.212—one parietal notch bone present, on the left side.

Eu. I.3.213—two parietal notch bones, on the right side (the left side of the neurocranium was damaged).

Eu. I.3.243—one parietal notch bone present, on the left side.

Eu. I.3.246—no occurrence of a parietal notch bone.

##### Orbital osteoporosis

Three cases were noted where a slight degree of osteoporosis is exhibited. These were: Eu. I.3.211, Eu. I.3.213 and Eu. I.3.243. No signs were visible in the orbits of the other crania.

*Tori mandibulares*

One case of slight bilateral development of mandibular tori was noted, viz. Eu. 1.3.246. There were no signs of these tori in four other mandibles, and in one case, Eu. 1.3.245, the mandible was not preserved.

*Tori auditivi*

No case was observed in the six crania that were examined.

*Torus palativus*

Two cases of slight development of this palatine torus were recorded, viz. Eu. 1.3.243 and Eu. 1.3.246. In three other crania there was no such torus, and in the case of Eu. 1.3.211 the palate was damaged.

*Tori maxillares*

No case of these maxillary tori was observed, and Eu. 1.3.211 could not be examined in this connection.

*Articulation at pterion*

Three cases of normal pteric articulation, i.e. sphenoparietal, were observed. The type of articulation could not be ascertained in the cases of Eu. 1.3.211, Eu. 1.3.213 and Eu. 1.3.245, because of damage or incompleteness. No cases of the existence of epipteric bones were observed.

*Pre-maxillary suture*

In all cases, the suture dividing the premaxilla from the palatine processes of the maxilla was clearly visible.

*General pathology**Osteo-arthritis*

Signs suggesting the existence of osteo-arthritis were noted in only one individual, Eu. 1.3.243, and were confined to slight degrees of lipping on the axis and atlas, the 5th lumbar vertebra, and (possibly) on the head of the humerus and the proximal extremities of the ulnae.

*Other disease or injury*

(1) The following points of interest were noted in the case of Eu. 1.3.243:

(a) The spinous process had failed to unite with the body of the 5th lumbar vertebra.  
 (b) The right clavicle has a more flattened and broader appearance than the left one, and there are signs suggesting the healing of an old fracture. The right first rib is also appreciably broader than its left homologue.

(c) The left pubic symphysis is abnormal in appearance. (The right symphysis is missing.)

(d) The left fibula presents an unusual amount of bowing, in the posterior direction.

(2) In the case of Eu. 1.3.246, the following points were noted:

(a) There are signs of a healed fracture in the distal third of the right ulna.

(b) Numerous striations and small foramina are noticeable on the medial surfaces of the mid-sections of both tibial shafts.

(c) There is a well-defined articular facet to be seen at the mid-point of the posterior border of the foramen magnum. This appears to articulate with the posterior tubercle of the atlas. There are also small bone nodules along the perimeter of the foramen magnum and bordering the occipital condyles.

- (3) Abnormally numerous small foramina were noted in a number of cases:  
 (a) Eu. 1.3.211: a cluster visible on that portion of the palate that was preserved.  
 (b) Eu. 1.3.212: hundreds of very small foramina covering the parietal bones about 50 mm. from the sagittal suture, and also on the occipital bone near the lambdoid suture.  
 (4) A femoral neck anomaly was noted in two individuals, viz. Eu. 1.3.211 and Eu. 1.3.246.

#### Dental pathology

With the exception of Eu. 1.3.211 (left portion of alveolar arch missing) and Eu. 1.3.245 (mandible missing), many features of the lower and upper dentitions were preserved for inspection, despite a certain amount of post-mortem tooth loss. The majority of the findings are summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 2. *Dental pathology: data relating to War Ditches—human remains*

	Reference number					
	Eu.1.3.211	212†	213†	243	245	246
Post-mortem loss*	8/24	10/32	4/25	6/32	4/16	1/32
Ante-mortem loss*	0/24	0/32	0/25	4/32	0/16	0/32
Carious teeth‡	0/16	0/22	0/23	4/19	0/12	0/31
Periodontal disease	Nil	Nil	Nil	Slight	Nil	Medium
Hypoplasia	Slight	Slight	Slight	Slight	Slight	Medium
Abscesses	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Calculus	Slight	Slight to medium	Slight	Slight	Nil	Slight to medium
Tooth rotation§	1/16	10/22	13/23	5/19	2/12	8/31

\* Loss shown as a fraction of possible total of teeth.

† Immature individuals, thus third molars erupting or unerupted.

‡ Number of carious teeth shown as a fraction of total teeth remaining *in situ*.

§ Number of teeth affected shown as a fraction of total teeth remaining *in situ*.

Reference to Table 2 will show that, in general, the condition of the teeth of these individuals was good, ante-mortem loss and carious cavities being present in only one individual, viz. Eu. 1.3.243. The possibility of the true incidence of carious teeth being higher cannot be excluded, however, in view of the post-mortem loss of a number of teeth. It should also be remembered that, with the exception of Eu. 1.3.243, all the individuals are young adults or adolescents. The incidence of hypoplasia may indicate dietary insufficiency of some kind during the period of the growth of the permanent teeth or possibly some non-chronic early disease. The degree of tooth rotation noted is in no case excessive, and is often caused by overcrowding of teeth in the dental arch.

The molar teeth were examined for attrition and, as might be expected from the age of the individuals, the degree observed was only slight (corresponding to Broca's 'class I') in all cases.

When upper and lower teeth were in occlusion, overbite was noted in Eu. 1.3.211, 212, 213 and 246. The type of bite could not be ascertained for the other two individuals.

#### References

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### APPENDIX III

### FAUNAL REPORT

DAVID W. PHILLIPSON

Of the animal bones submitted for examination only those groups from the Iron Age levels of the main ditch and from the first-century Roman deposits were sufficiently numerous to allow a useful study to be made. Even so, with a total of 118 bones in the Iron Age group and 241 in the first-century Roman, the figures given below must be treated with extreme caution.

Most of the bones in both samples were very fragmentary. Those in the Iron Age group also usually showed signs of prolonged weathering.

The species were present in the following proportions:

Species	Iron Age (%)	First-century Roman (%)
Cattle	13	41
Horse	2	5
Sheep or goat	80	40
Pig	—	11
Fallow deer	2	—
Bird	—	2
Rodents	3	—
Man	—	1
	100	100

Despite the small samples on which they are based, it seems reasonable to interpret these figures as indicating that the Roman farmers of the first century A.D. kept sheep (and/or goats) and cattle in roughly equal numbers, whereas their Iron Age predecessors had been predominantly herders of sheep. Pig bones formed over one-tenth of the Roman sample but were not present in the Iron Age sample. If pigs were not present during the Iron Age occupation of the site, they were certainly present in the area, as at Wandlebury<sup>1</sup> and Barley.

Horses were not numerous in either period and it seems likely that they were kept mainly for work rather than for food.

The meat supply of both periods would appear to have been derived from domestic animals; the only trace of wild species is a fragment of worked fallow-deer antler in the Iron Age group. There is thus no evidence for the hunting of wild animals to supplement the food supply.

It was found that the samples were not sufficiently large for analyses of the ages at death, indicated by the jaws and teeth, to produce results of any validity.

One human tooth, the partly decayed molar of an adult individual, was found in the sample from the first-century Roman layers.

<sup>1</sup> B. R. Hartley, 'Wandlebury Iron Age Hill Fort, Excavations of 1955-56', *Proc. C.A.S. L* (1956), p. 25.

# EXCAVATIONS AT THE WAR DITCHES, CHERRY HINTON, 1949-51

D. A. WHITE

## INTRODUCTION

THIS paper describes a concentration of Romano-British structures comprising a post-hole complex, a large pit, a well and a series of drainage ditches, all of which belong to a farmstead dating from the second to the fourth century A.D. It lies slightly to the west of the entrance of the Iron Age hill-fort of War Ditch, at 150 ft. above sea-level (Grid Ref. 484556).

The site was discovered by Mr T. C. Lethbridge in the summer of 1949, after the topsoil had been cleared from the area to make way for chalk quarrying. Something

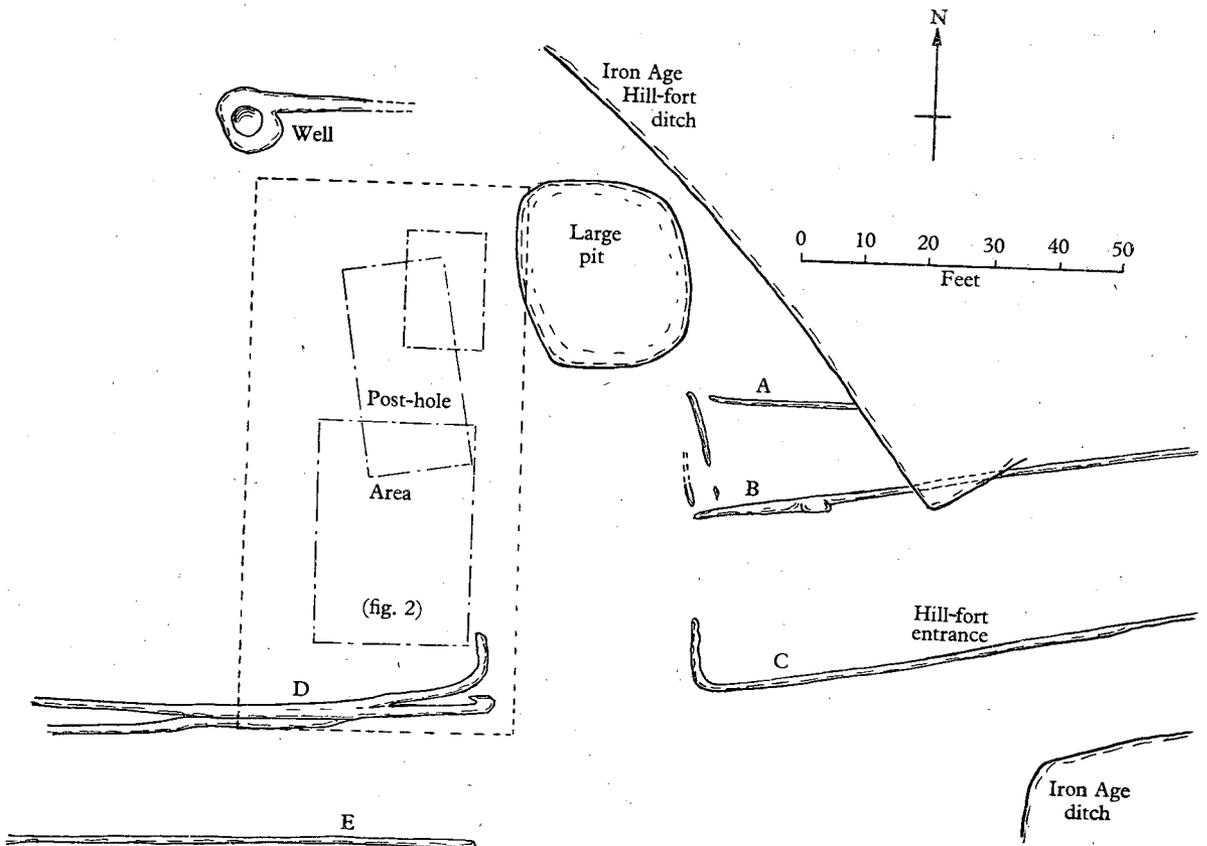


Fig. 1. General plan of site.

was done on the area by Mr Lethbridge, but extensive work was not begun until later in the same summer under Mr K. D. M. Dauncy of Birmingham University, who directed excavation of the post-hole complex and some of the ditches. The examination of the area was continued by Mr C. H. Houlder, then a member of the Cambridge Archaeological Field Club, who cleared out the large pit (no. 85) and the well; work on the site finished in 1951. In the autumn of 1962, the author began working on the material from this site in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, and is publishing the findings under the auspices of the Cambridge Archaeological Field Club.

Figure 1 is a general plan, illustrating an area 200 by 150 ft. The only substantial features on the site are the well, the large pit and the Iron Age hill-fort ditch, in the north-eastern and eastern parts of the area. The remaining features are shallow and had suffered a good deal of damage when the bulldozer removed the topsoil. Especially noticeable is the complete removal of the eastern half of the run-off to the well. The damage caused in the area of the post-holes must have been immense, apparently removing all traces of floors. The post-holes have been badly truncated, only the bottom few inches being left. Some are extremely shallow features and it is highly likely that all traces of several post-holes were completely removed by bulldozing. In Fig. 2 the position of hypothetical post-holes is shown in dotted outline.

#### THE POST-HOLE COMPLEX

Figure 2 shows the details of the post-holes and the structural skeletons to which they would appear to conform. They are numbered A, B, C, D or E according to the alignments they follow. The post-holes belong to at least two structural periods, whose dates may be estimated from the material found in them. B 5, B 11, B 17 and C 13 produced body sherds of a possible second-century A.D. date. They are characterized by the darkness of fabric, which oxidizes to a chocolate colour; two of the sherds had a dark polished slip. More conclusive evidence comes from other post-holes, most outstanding being the discovery of a base of a jar with incised rings and dark polished slip<sup>1</sup> in B 2; B 5 and B 8 produced shoulder sherds of narrow-mouthed jars of the late first or early second century; these too have soapy, polished fabrics. The Antonine date of the complex is further substantiated by a worn shoulder sherd of a jar with horizontal rilling<sup>2</sup> from B 9. From C 6 came a body sherd with a soft calcite-gritted fabric, almost reminiscent of Iron Age A pottery; similar fabrics have been found on the site in a second-century context from the well (see Fig. 6, nos. 1, 3, 4). In E 1 and E 3 were fragments with light grey fabric, characteristic of sherds from third- and fourth-century contexts on the site; these had no slip applied to them. D 12 produced a small fragment of colour-coated ware and E 2 a fragment of a flanged bowl rim.

The conclusions would appear to give an earlier date to post-holes of the B and C series; the fact that the B and C are contemporary is further confirmed by the alignments B 18 to B 23 and C 5 to C 8, which are almost identical. One would be inclined

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* LIII (1959), p. 25, no. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* nos. 2, 3.

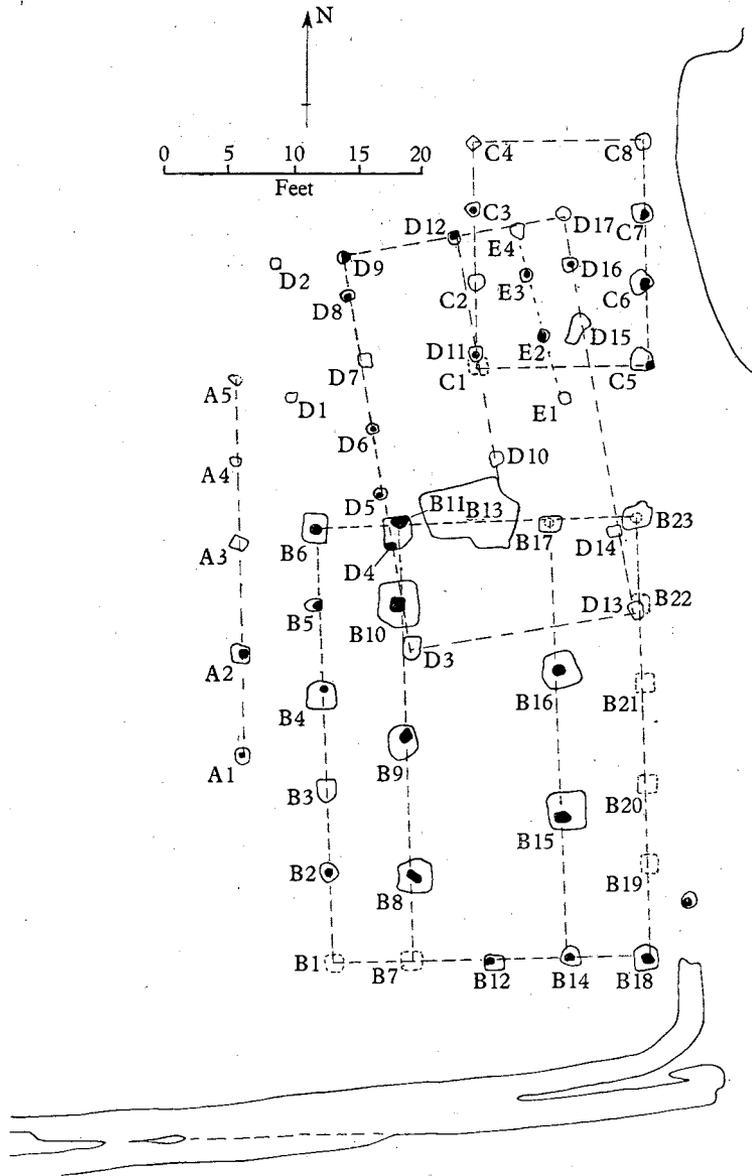


Fig. 2. Detail of post-hole complex.

to assign a similar date to row A because of its orientation. Post-holes of the D and E series are later in date; their alignments have been turned slightly anti-clockwise.

Figure 3 gives a conjectural view, from the south-east, of the post-holes of the 'B' series. The plan on Fig. 2 gives only the details of the main structural members; the dark spots in the post-holes are the plan view of what was left of the actual wood used in the building; the shapes of these spots indicate that tree-trunks rather than shaped timbers were used for the wooden uprights (see cross-section, Fig. 4).

The building was a large one, measuring 25 by 35 ft.; to support its roof a special design would have been necessary. It was important to construct a rigid, strong timber framework to hold it up. The framework was probably based on the rectangle with B7, B11, B14 and B17 as corners. Timbers about 13 ft. in length are required to cross the gaps, B17 to B16, B11 to B17 and so forth. Timbers of this length are about the longest that can be obtained naturally as a reasonably straight piece of

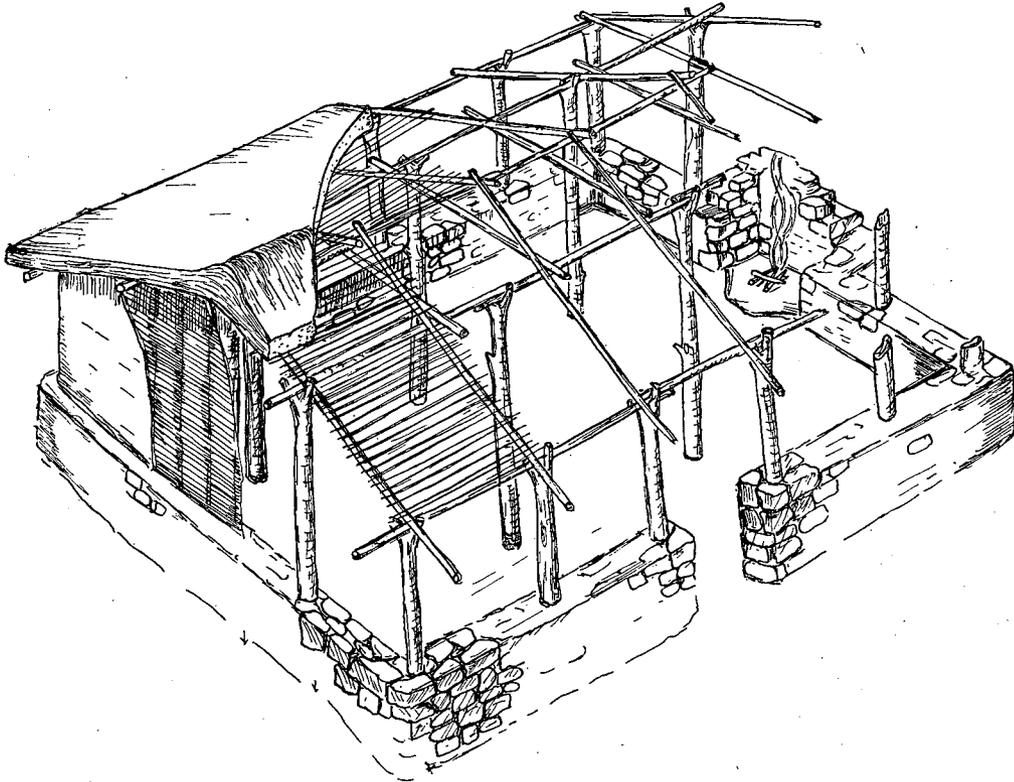


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of building B.

wood. This puts a design limit not only on maximum possible spans, but also on the maximum possible height of an upright. Assuming that it was necessary to dig the posts in 3 ft. down for stability, the large uprights B8, 9, 10, 15, and 16, could only have supported a roof 10 ft. off the ground along the lines B7 to B11 and B14 to B17. Assuming the roof over the walls B1 to B5, B18 to B23 was 6 ft. off the ground, the ridge of the roof must have been at least 14 ft. high. To support the ridge directly a 17-ft. length of timber is required; since this would be almost impossible to get, the designers had to rely on a rigid framework, supported by posts also on the lines B7 to B11 and B14 to B17, to hold most of the weight of the roof.

The posts along the sides B1 to B6, B18 to B23 therefore had a smaller weight to carry. Their main function was to stabilize the walls. One very interesting aspect of the wall construction concerns the nearby large pit or quarry (Fig. 1).

It seems highly probable that the pit was a source of building stone for the walls, as shown on Fig. 3. Dr N. Davey of the D.S.I.R. Building Research Station states that the use of chalk blocks for walling is an extremely old practice, and not at all impossible in our climate, providing that adequate precautions are taken to keep the

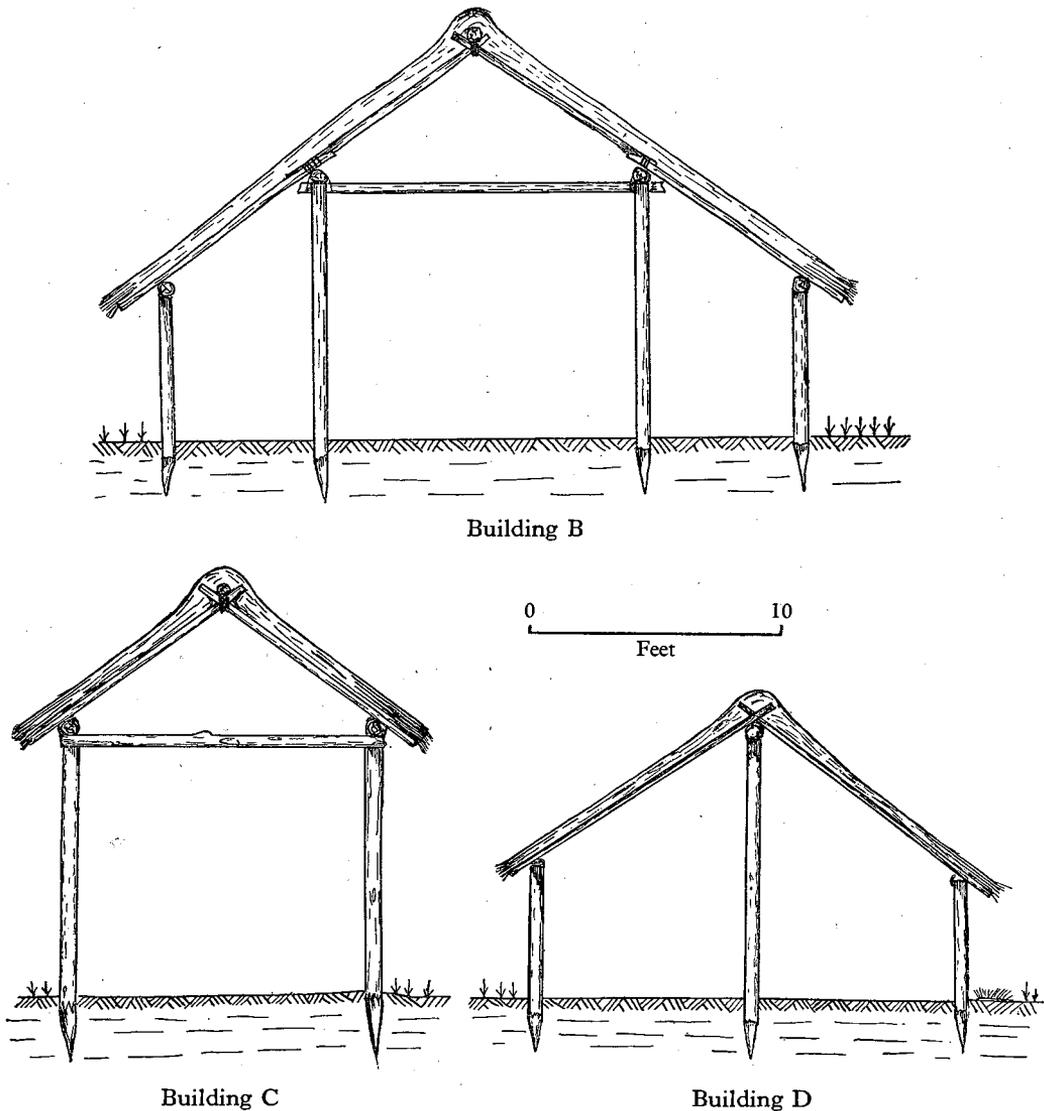


Fig. 4. Reconstructed cross-section of huts.

walling dry; otherwise the chalk would suffer damage by frost and erosion. The sketch on Fig. 3 shows the higher portions of the wall continued by wattle and daub, but it should be noted that the excavators make no mention of the presence of wattle and daub in destruction deposits of this period and do not comment on its absence. No tiles are reported from any part of the site; thus the building probably had a

thatched roof; the absence of a solid supported ridge must have given the roof a pronounced bow in the centre.

Figure 2, B 13, is a shallow hollow, partly outside the hut. When excavated it was found to contain a great amount of burned earth and thus may possibly represent the hearth of the house, in which case a chimney as shown in Fig. 3 is possible. The position of the door is not certain, but from the general layout of the site the position as shown in Fig. 3 between B 20 and B 21 is most probable. There may well have been internal walls in the hut but no traces of any were found. The presence of a large amount of burnt debris, from deposits of the Antonine period, suggest that this building was burned down in the middle of the second century A.D.

Just to the north of building B lie the series C post-holes, representing the foundations of a rectangular building 18 by 13 ft. The width is about the maximum possible using only the outside walls as a roof support, as a 13 ft. timber is required to span the gap from C 4 to C 8 and so on. C 1 to C 4, C 5 to C 8 could thus have been 10 ft. high and its general shape would, of all the buildings, most resemble a barn. It is probably contemporary with building B, and its conjectural cross-section is shown in Fig. 4.

The foundations of the building represented by the series D post-holes are the most incomplete, but would seem to show the outline of a building 32 ft. long and 18 ft. broad. The main axis had been turned slightly anti-clockwise from those of buildings B and C. It is obviously not contemporary with these. Its width of 18 ft. necessitates the use of a central roof ridge, supported by the uprights D 10, D 11 and D 12 (see Fig. 4). Timbers 18 ft. in length to span the whole width of the building would be virtually impossible to obtain. Thus the ridge of the roof could be no higher than 10 ft. and the side walls D 3 to D 9, D 13 to D 12 would probably be only 5 ft. high, giving the building the appearance of a dwelling rather than a barn.

The post-holes of series E are difficult to explain, but may have been added to support some of the timber members of hut D.

#### THE WELL

Mr Houlder describes the well in the north-west corner (Fig. 1) thus:

Three feet in diameter and excavated to a depth of forty-two feet. The fill was entirely of rubble, apparently thrown in deliberately. Nothing resembling a primary deposit was found. The well was perfectly circular and vertical-sided and had steps cut in two opposing vertical rows: these were holes six inches square and one and a half feet apart centre to centre, arranged alternately so that a descent could be made straddle wise. At the mouth the sides expanded sharply at a depth of two feet to a diameter of about seven feet at the surface of the chalk. Around the mouth were a few small stake holes as of a hurdle fence. A shallow runnel one foot three inches wide ran to the east but faded out after twelve feet.

From near the bottom of the excavated portion of the well came a large deposit of early Antonine Samian, forms 31, 31 R and 33. Many of these sherds show signs of intense burning, a feature shared by much of the coarse ware from the well. Especially noticeable was the burnt handle of a flagon which had a few fragments of

clinker adhering to it. There seems little reason to doubt that the well fell out of use during this period and was purposely filled in then. This view is further strengthened by the discovery of fragments of an Antonine Samian vessel, form 31, from the top 2 ft. of the well deposit. The sherds from the well filling can thus reasonably be dated to the years A.D. 140-70.

The gutter leading east from the well (Fig. 1) runs on an axis roughly parallel to the northern and southern walls of buildings B and C. The uniformity of alignments suggests that the well and the buildings are contemporary.

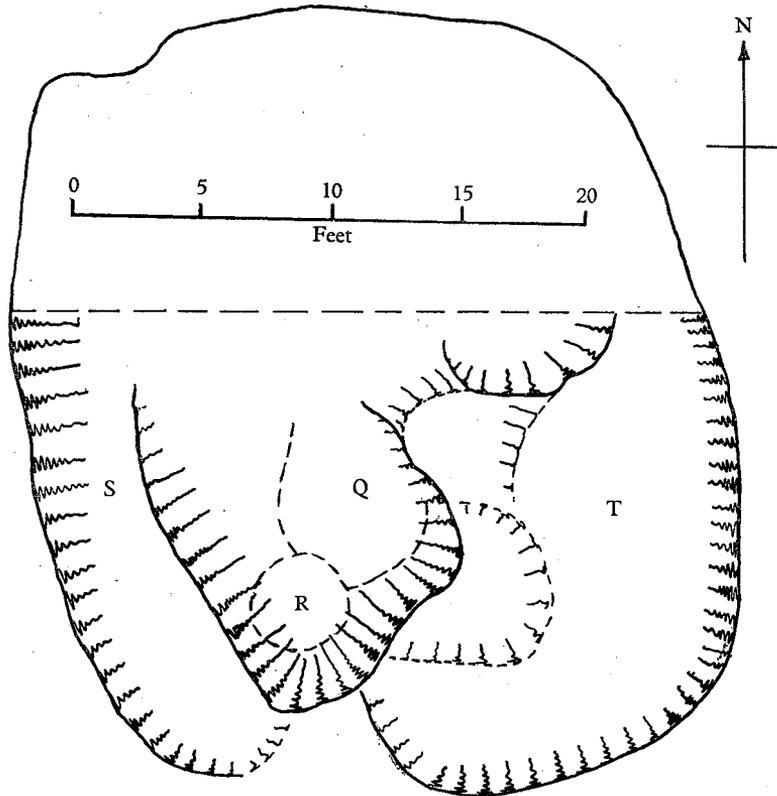


Fig. 5. Plan of large quarry pit.

#### THE LARGE PIT

A plan of this pit is given in Fig. 5. It is a large oval feature which had a very irregular floor. At Q its depth is about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ft. whilst at T there is a slight shelf cut only a foot or so into the chalk. Fig. 5(S) is a ramp which leads from the bottom of the pit to the surface.

A possible reason for cutting the pit may have been to obtain chalk blocks for building or burning for lime. Its width and the absence of internal post-holes seem to rule out the hypothesis that this was dug to make a pit dwelling, and its use as a quarry is further substantiated by the presence of buildings nearby.

Debris from the Antonine period was thrown into the bottom level of the pit. Much of this debris is burnt, as already observed in connection with pottery from the well. This suggests that the pit was dug to provide material for the large building B and outhouse C, which would appear to date from the Antonine period.

Later two rubbish pits Q and R were dug into the primary rubble; third- and fourth-century pottery were thrown into these holes but, since they were dug into an earlier layer, the later pits are contaminated with Antonine pottery, and detailed descriptions of the finds are omitted. Instead, some of the best pieces are illustrated in Appendix II, since they give some indication of the dates of the later phase. A section of the whole pit is also omitted, since a great deal of the upper layers were removed before serious excavation started.

Finally, a word about the ditches shown in Fig. 1. No significant finds of pottery from these features have been preserved and it seems impossible to date them more accurately. However, features on Fig. 1, B, C, seem to follow the alignments of the later building phase, E and A those of the first phase, whilst D contains two ditches on both alignments. Whether this constitutes dating evidence for these features is still open to doubt, especially since many Roman native sites on the Fenland seem to have been constructed without any master plan or semblance to a rectangular order.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Rectangular buildings, of the type found at Cherry Hinton, replace the traditional round Iron Age dwelling,<sup>1</sup> as at Maiden Castle,<sup>2</sup> in the early decades of the Roman period. In the more out-of-the-way districts, the transition takes place at a later date than in the developed urban areas. Rectangular structures occur at Park Street and Lockleys in the last quarter of the first century,<sup>3</sup> whereas in Somerset round dwellings exist up to the second century.<sup>4</sup> This latter state of affairs may hold true in Cambridgeshire for two reasons; first, the relative backwardness of the indigenous Icenian natives, and, secondly, the halt of natural development caused by the suppression of the Boudiccan revolt. There seems little reason to doubt that the area of the War Ditch was continuously inhabited from the Flavian Period onwards; however, the construction of the farm in the Antonine period *c.* A.D. 130—if this represents the first Romanization on this site—comes at a very late date indeed. But the pottery sequence from this area shows conclusively that the farm was first occupied in this period.

Applying Collingwood's definition to this site,<sup>5</sup> it must be concluded that the remains belong to a 'Villa'. But, as Rivet has pointed out,<sup>6</sup> the discovery that the isolated farm is more common in Roman times than was once thought tends to

<sup>1</sup> For a local site see Tebbutt, *Proc. C.A.S. L* (1957), p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeler, 'Excavations at Maiden Castle', *Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries*, no. XII, p. 125, pl. xx.

<sup>3</sup> Rivet, *Town and Country in Roman Britain*, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> O'Neill, *Studies in Building History*, ch. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Collingwood, *Archaeology of Roman Britain*, p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> Rivet, *op. cit.* p. 104.

invalidate the definition, and one is forced to refer to the present site as a farmstead. The largest building in this complex, building B, measuring almost 25 by 40 ft., is almost the size of Park Street or Lockleys, showing that the dividing line between farmsteads and 'Villas' is a very difficult one to define on the basis of size of construction.

Richmond<sup>1</sup> has discussed problems concerning the construction of Roman timber buildings and raises points relevant to the farmstead at Cherry Hinton. The hypothesis that the maximum easily obtainable length of timber is 13 ft. is borne out by the width of portals of timber gateways in Roman forts. These portals would be spanned by continuous widths of timber. The relevant lengths are 12 ft. at Inch-tuthil, 10 ft. at Hod Hill and 13 ft. at Fendoch.

The problem of wall foundation-trenches is also mentioned by Richmond.<sup>2</sup> These are an important feature of a timber building, their function being to stabilize the walls. They are absent at Cherry Hinton. Whether this absence is at all significant is difficult to judge. They may have existed, but could easily have been removed by the bulldozer. The walls were further strengthened by uprights, which, according to Richmond, are placed at intervals of 5 ft. This observation is further substantiated by the uprights of the walls of building B, and by the eastern and western walls of both buildings C and D; these uprights too are 5 ft. apart. The actual method of wall construction of the buildings at Cherry Hinton cannot be stated with any certainty. In this connection, the use of chalk blocks as building stones has already been mentioned. Although this material would not seem very satisfactory when exposed to the rigours of our climate, even less hardy materials have been used by Romano-British builders. Richmond<sup>3</sup> reports the use of 'heat-dried', possibly sun-baked, clay bricks in the walls of buildings at Castell Collen and Colchester.

Cherry Hinton stands on the border of two provinces of Roman Britain: to the south lies Essex and a countryside studded with villas, very different from the Fenland to the north, characterized by small farms and villages.<sup>4</sup> By their nature the structures at the War Ditch seem to belong to the Fenland settlements, for, although the site is raised over 100 ft. above the low fens, the farmstead at Cherry Hinton should be interpreted as typical of the large number of farms that must have existed in the Roman Fenland.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Mr C. H. Houlder and Mr K. Dauncy for making their material available. Mr B. Cunliffe and Miss M. D. Cra'ster have advised and helped me prepare this report. Mr B. R. Hartley examined the Samian Ware and gave me the notes from which Appendix I has been written. Mr A. L. Prentice helped with the pottery drawing.

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Building History*, ed. E. M. Jope (Odhams, 1961), ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> C. W. Phillips in Grimes (ed.), *Aspects of Archaeology* (Edwards, 1951).

## APPENDIX I

### SAMIAN WARE

A large proportion of this group of fifty Samian sherds is burnt, and with only two exceptions an early Antonine date, A.D. 140-70, seems certain. Most of the sherds are fragments of forms 31, 31R, 33 and 37 although there is one Curle 15 from the large pit and an 18/31 of Hadrianic date. There are five fragments of the same form 37—two from the well and three from the large quarry pit; this has a large winding scroll-pattern and wavy-line border paralleled in the work of Attianus of Central Gaul.<sup>1</sup> This is in his late style.

#### *Stamps*

From the bottom of the well there are three examples.

(1) MACRINVS (on form 33). A stamp of the Central Gaulish potter Macrinus also occurs on form 33 at the Wroxeter Gutter<sup>2</sup> and on an early example of form 29 from Cirencester.

(2) AETERNIM (retrograde stamp) on a form 31; this stamp has a possible blind A. Aeternus is an Antonine potter of Central Gaul; retrograde stamps probably of this die come from the Wroxeter Gutter and Aquinam.<sup>3</sup>

(3) CIM-[ Stamp of Cintugenus of Central Gaul probably from a die reading CIITVGENI as at Newstead, where its Antonine date is not in doubt.

(4) JMINIF on a form 31; a stamp of one of the Geminidae of Central Gaul. This stamp comes from the bottom of the large pit.

## APPENDIX II

### COARSE POTTERY

In sheer weight a great deal of Romano-British coarse pottery was found at the War Ditch; in two respects, however, it was a somewhat disappointing assemblage. First, the features found had already been badly damaged before excavation began and so a large proportion of stratified material was lost. The second reason is more fundamental; the main period of occupation on the site was Antonine and there was certainly a much smaller fourth-century occupation. But the fourth-century deposits were found in pits that had been dug into Antonine debris; these pits contained a large proportion of material derived from an earlier context—so much, in fact, that there appeared to be more Antonine than fourth-century sherds in the finds from the two pits dug into the large rectangular quarry pit. Accordingly, most of the material from a later context has been neglected in this paper, but for the sake of the record a few fragments are shown to illustrate the fourth-century occupation on the site.

The extent of pottery contamination at the War Ditch shows what can happen on any site where there is a considerable depth of stratigraphy. On such sites many so-called 'survivals of earlier types' must surely be derived from an earlier context. Where there is a large depth of debris of a number of periods of occupation, it is possible to work out the skeleton of a pottery sequence. However, the bare bones of such a sequence must be filled with the flesh which is obtained from the examination of small isolated features, graves, kilns and storage pits,<sup>4</sup> wherever there is any evidence that these features were filled within a short period of time. Then the

<sup>1</sup> Stenfield and Simpson, *Central Gaulish Potters*, pl. 87, nos. 21, 25 and 26.

<sup>2</sup> Atkinson, *Excavations at Wroxeter* (Oxford, 1923-7).

<sup>3</sup> Jahász, *Archaeologiai Eresito* (1936), p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> For instance the local Arbury Road Groups, *Proc. C.A.S.* XLVIII (1954).

survivals of earlier types found on larger sites may be cross-checked, for, if they are not present in small groups of the same date, one may strongly suspect that they are not contemporary with the filling of the deposit but derived from an earlier context.

For reasons given above, the filling of the well and of the bottom of the large quarry pit, in the present site, should be considered contemporaneous and Antonine in date. The sherds in these deposits are thus typical of the mid-second century in the Cambridge area, and so are worthy of publication.

*Antonine coarse pottery from the War Ditch (Fig. 6, nos. 1-7)*

First a couple of negative points. In the deposits from the well and pit there was not one sherd of colour-coated ware, this being yet another illustration that such wares were not used in the

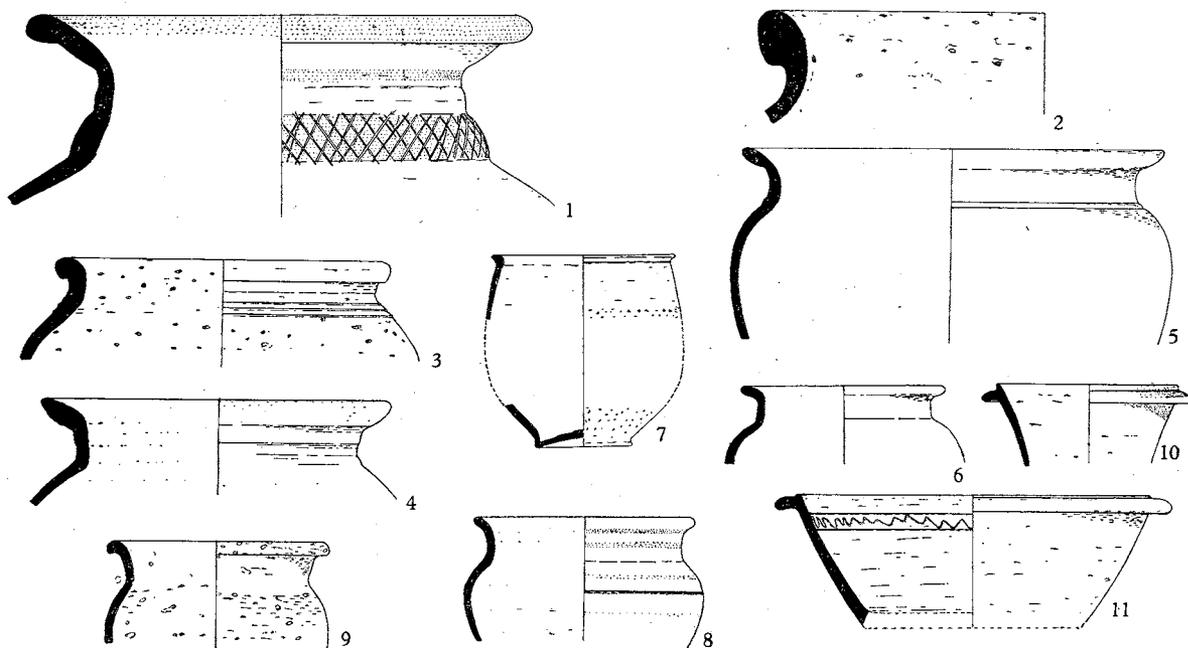


Fig. 6. Coarse pottery. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

Cambridge area until the late second century at the earliest. There are also no *mortarium* fragments from these deposits. The absence of such vessels is interesting and may indicate some irregularity in the diet of the Roman farmers at Cherry Hinton. Of this group, nos. 1, 2 and 3 come from the well, and the others from the large quarry pit.

*No. 1.* Large jar from the well in a slightly smoked grey fabric burnished on rim and neck, and decorated on the shoulder band with incised lines (the incisions being made after firing). Similar types have been found in second-century deposits locally at Godmanchester,<sup>1</sup> and at Arbury Road.<sup>2</sup>

*No. 2.* Rim of a large storage jar in a shell-gritted ware. The fabric has a grey core and is oxidized to a reddish-pink on the outside. The sherd shows traces of burning. Similar jars

<sup>1</sup> Green, 'Roman Godmanchester', *Proc. C.A.S.* LIII (1959), p. 17, no. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Hartley, 'Arbury Road', *Proc. C.A.S.* XLVIII (1954), p. 32, no. 17.

come from second-century layers at Jewry Wall<sup>1</sup> and Hadrian's Wall,<sup>2</sup> though the most exact parallel was found locally at Orton Longueville.<sup>3</sup>

No. 3. Jar, possibly a cooking-pot, in gritted fabric similar to no. 2; however, the sherd is baked a uniform pink; again there are traces of burning on the outside. This is a localized form, the only apparent parallel being from Godmanchester.<sup>4</sup>

No. 4. Pot similar in fabric to no. 3, but with a brown core. No parallels. These gritted fabrics are typical of the second-century deposits and represent an attested survival of first-century wares,<sup>5</sup> themselves very reminiscent of Iron Age A fabrics.

No. 5. Medium-mouthed jar in light pinkish fabric with a dark polished slip; the shoulder is cordoned. A 'classic' Belgic survival into the second century, this type has been found in the upper filling of the hillfort ditch<sup>6</sup> in a first-century context, and also from the kiln at the War Ditch.<sup>7</sup> It is known from a second-century deposit at Verulamium.<sup>8</sup>

No. 6. Small jar in pink hard fabric, burned slightly on the outside, paralleled—in shape only—at Orton Longueville.<sup>9</sup>

No. 7. Rough-cast beaker in whitish-grey fabric with a dark grey slip. This example is in an unusual fabric for this well-attested second-century type; most examples are in colour-coated ware. Locally this type is known from Godmanchester,<sup>10</sup> and has also been found on Hadrian's Wall,<sup>11</sup> Verulamium<sup>12</sup> and Jewry Wall.<sup>13</sup>

#### *Material from later deposits (Fig. 6, nos. 8-11)*

Colour-coated ware was plentiful but fragmentary. The sherds included pieces of bulbous beakers, most examples having rouletting, similar to those from the Nene Valley<sup>14</sup> and Hadrian's Wall.<sup>15</sup> Another type found at the War Ditch was the Castor-ware lid.<sup>16</sup> The occurrence of these fragments attests a fourth-century date for much of the material from the deposits.

No. 8. Small jar with grey core slightly oxidized on the outside, a patchy thin grey slip, and bands of burnishing. This fragment is undoubtedly derived from an earlier source by its rim shape<sup>17</sup> and fabric, which would not be out of place in a first-century deposit. This example is included as typical of the contamination in the later deposits at Cherry Hinton.

No. 9. Jar in soft pink gritted fabric, paralleled in shape by a vessel from Godmanchester.<sup>18</sup> However, its presence in these deposits is not necessarily indicative of a fourth-century date.

No. 10. Flanged bowl in light grey fabric with a dark slip. A fourth-century type found also at Arbury Road.<sup>19</sup>

No. 11. Flanged bowl in pinkish fabric with grey slip. The decoration of zig-zags was made before firing and similar decoration is known from Hadrian's Wall.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kenyon, 'Excavations at Jewry Wall', *Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries*, xv, p. 176, no. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gillam, 'Types of Romano-British pottery in North Britain', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, xxxv (1957), p. 231, no. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Dakin, 'Roman Site at Orton Longueville', *Proc. C.A.S.* LIV (1960), p. 59, no. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Green, *op. cit.* p. 19, no. 34.

<sup>5</sup> See my previous paper on the War Ditch, *Proc. C.A.S.* present volume, Fig. 5, nos. 10, 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 5, no. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Hartley, *Proc. C.A.S.* LIII (1959), p. 25, no. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Wheeler, 'Verulamium', *Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries*, no. XI, p. 184, no. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Dakin, *op. cit.* p. 59, no. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Green, *op. cit.* p. 17, no. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Gillam, *op. cit.* p. 228, no. 72.

<sup>12</sup> Wheeler, *op. cit.* p. 183, no. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Kenyon, *op. cit.* p. 164, no. 41.

<sup>14</sup> Hartley, *op. cit.* p. 25, no. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Gillam, *op. cit.* p. 243, no. 230.

<sup>16</sup> Hartley, *op. cit.* p. 25, no. 18.

<sup>17</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* present volume, Fig. 5, nos. 5-7.

<sup>18</sup> Green, *op. cit.* p. 60, no. 66.

<sup>19</sup> Hartley, *op. cit.* p. 34, no. 54.

<sup>20</sup> Gillam, *op. cit.* p. 243, nos. 231, 232.

## WOOL STREET, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

P. C. DEWHURST

The Editor much regrets that the Author died before he was able to see the proofs.

In publishing this article, the Council of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society would like it to be regarded as a tribute to an old and enthusiastic member both of the Society and of Council.

IN the spring of 1959, practically the whole distance of Wool Street, from the Gogmagog Hills south-east of Cambridge to near Haverhill—some 10½ miles—was trenched longitudinally by a power-operated trenching machine for the purpose of laying a large gas-main: see Fig. 1, based on O.S. 1 in. map, sheet 148.

The author, with the encouragement of Dr G. Bushnell and with the advantage of living not far from the route, took charge of the archaeology of the trenching operation throughout the daily progress of the five months work. By tacit consent the author represented the Roman Roads Association of East Anglia and the Cambridge Antiquarian Society—thus facilitating close liaison between the Eastern Gas Board and their contractors and the interests of archaeology. Since the excavation work was under continual observation by the author under the aegis of the Roman Roads Association, they have agreed to allow its publication in this manner. The co-operation of the contractors was also facilitated by there being only one archaeologist for them to deal with.

The utility of a longitudinal trench-section along a supposed Roman road had been doubted in some quarters, but such a trench—particularly of a continuous length of more than 10 miles as in this case—enabled the variations in construction to be ascertained in a manner quite beyond the scope of any practicable number of cross-sections.

### THE TRENCH-CUTTING MACHINE

The trenching machine employed by the contractors was ideal from an archaeological point of view, because its operating method produced a clean-cut trench and provided convenient opportunity to scrutinize the upcast from the trench, both in its passage through the machine and when finally deposited. The actual cutting was performed by a large-diameter wheel, rotating in the line of the trench and furnished near its periphery with a number of rigidly fixed 'buckets' and 'teeth' similar to but smaller than those on a normal mechanical excavator. An endless moving belt travelled transversely across the machine, on to which each bucket discharged as it reached a certain height; in its turn this belt delivered the excavated material in a continuous stream to one side of the trench as the machine proceeded. The evenness of the cut is clearly evident in some of the illustrations. The size of the detritus thus produced ranged from 1½ in. down to dust, and this enabled objects such as coins to be observed either on the transversing belt or when they fell to the lower edges of the

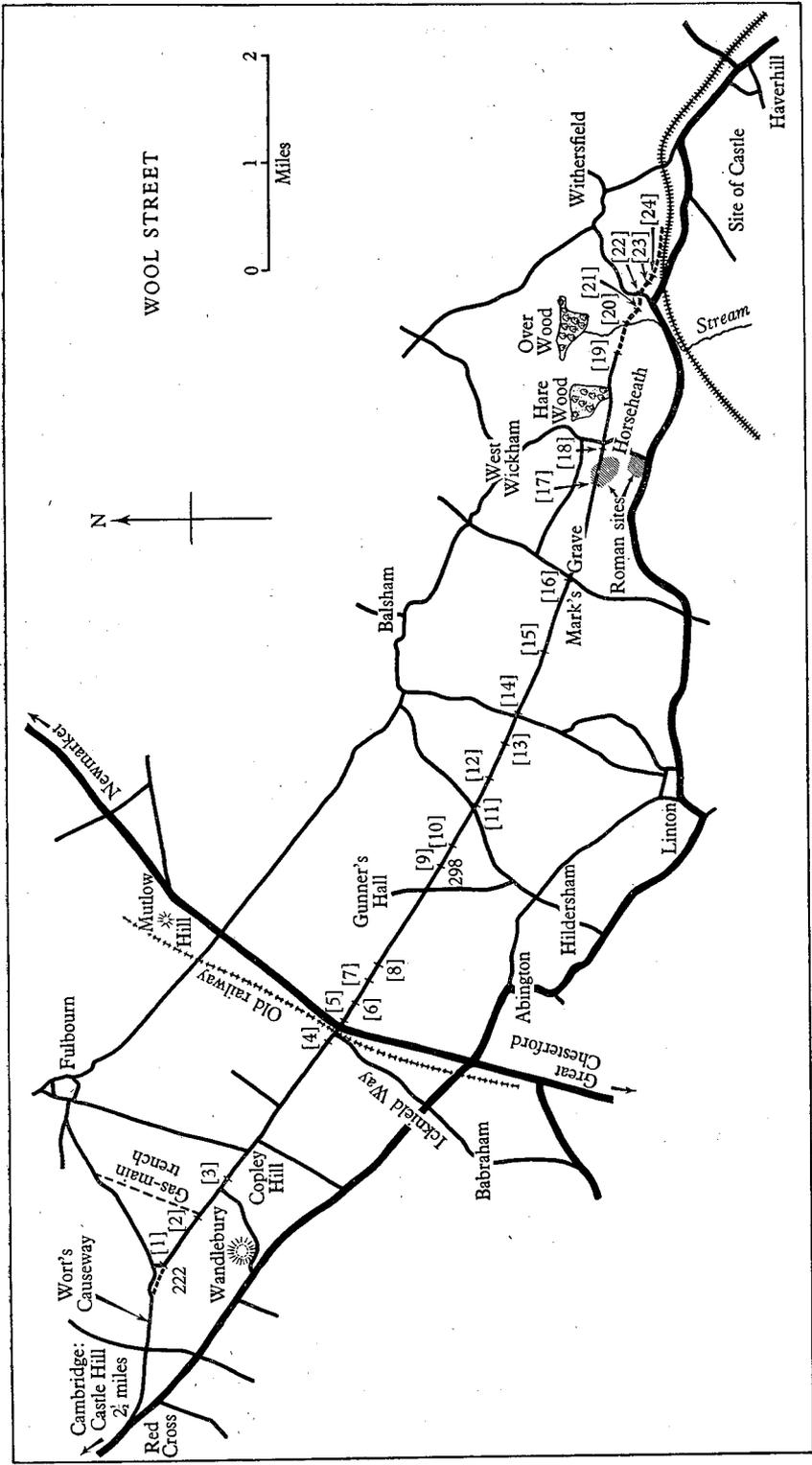


Fig. 1. Route map. Scale: 1 mile = 1 in.

A-shaped continuous discharge-heap deposited along one side of the trench (see Pl. IV *b*). The general principle of working was to cut the trench towards one side or the other of the assumed centre of the Roman road, but in practice, due to waviness of the formation, this could not always be maintained. Nevertheless, the trench was never in the Roman ditch and only rarely was it near the centre of the *agger*.

The width of the trench cut was 2 ft. 3 in., whilst its depth (except where varied for a specific reason) was automatically maintained at 3 ft. below modern ground surface. When actually trenching the machine could advance at the rate of over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. per minute, giving it a travelling range of as much as  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile a day. Hence the logistics of archaeological attendance were, in practice, simply that of being always present when the machine was working. However, the entire pipe-laying operation is governed by other considerations, and there were cases where as much as 300 yards lay open for three or four days, whilst on the other hand at a given spot the trench might be cut, the pipe laid and the trench filled in within a period of three or four hours.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE ROAD

(Numbers in square brackets in the text refer to corresponding numbers in the map, Fig. 1)

It is convenient to begin at the commencement of the road, adjacent to O.S. spot-level 222 (Grid 493546), where Wool Street meets other routes which may very likely have a pre-Roman origin [1]. From 222 south-east for the first 5 furlongs the route is untrenched for the gas-main, but the *agger* is plain, and it is apparently in this section that Fox made his cross-cutting showing an *agger* 3 ft. 9 in. high, composed of alternate layers of chalk and earth capped with gravel.<sup>1</sup> The new pipe-trench comes into the line of the road at [2] and proceeds along it; after about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  furlongs the road section, where it was cut across by the pipe-line, was seen by Dr Bushnell at grid 566535 [3]. He found this section less than impressive, the top of the natural chalk not very regular, and what appeared to be its surface in the middle of the road, 35 in. from the present surface. Here it was overlain by (I) a scatter of small chalk fragments mixed with earth about 6 in. thick; (II) over this were 9 in. of soil, overlain by (III) an irregular band of flint rubble about 14 in. thick. At the top were (IV) 6 in. of packed chalk visible here and there. The trench here came along the south-west side of the road and generally seemed to be just clear of it. Back toward the commencement of the road at 222 there was a fairly constant band of chalk rubble, about 9 in. above the top of the chalk; this may have been the feather edge of Fox's top chalk-rubble layer.

The road does not form so high a ridge here as it does nearer to its commencement, where Fox described two sections. Comparison of the present observations with Fox's descriptions suggests that we saw a pale reflection of what he records, and the chalk bands do not exactly agree with his layers. The surface is much damaged by recent wear and to this we ascribed the irregularity of the flint-rubble layer. The chalk at the top of this section may have been a recent filling.

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* xxiv (1923), p. 21, fig. 1.

The differences between the layers as found by Fox and Bushnell respectively may be due in part to original variations as well as to subsequent repairs. What is remarkable is the finding of a thick layer of flint rubble. At no other place in the whole 10½ miles has such a feature been seen (except at the crossing of a stream 9½ miles further on, near Withersfield), and certainly it suggests medieval repairs of some moment. There is little doubt that medieval traffic used the Cambridge end of the road, as it formed part of the packhorse route for a number of villages adjacent to Wool Street before many of the late medieval roads now in use were made.

#### CROSS-SECTION OF ROAD FORMATION

The outline of the road continues to Worsted Lodge in similar style (see Pl. IV a), whilst the full cross-section at [4] exhibits the impressive height of the *agger* and the width between ditches of 42 ft. (Fig. 2). Also to be noted is the much-simplified formation of the *agger* which, although similarly upstanding to that found by Fox nearly at the beginning of the road, has only the one layer of chalk rubble and the

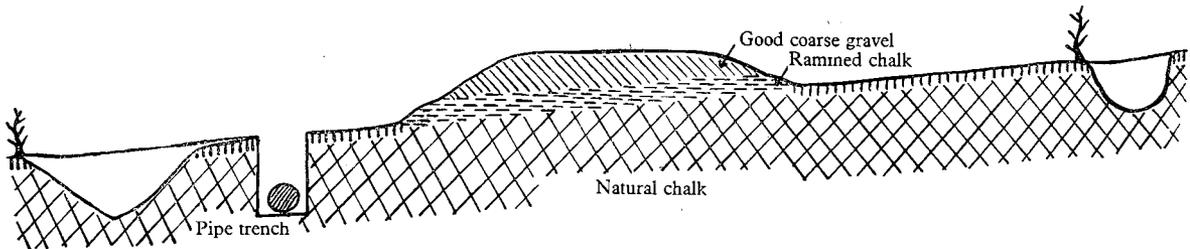


Fig. 2. Cross-section at [4] near Worsted Lodge, looking north-west. Scale: 1 in. = 8 ft.

very thick capping of gravel. It is also significant that the chalk layer had been laid directly upon the original undisturbed turf, as demonstrated by the occurrence of remains of the latter under the lower surface of the chalk layer. This seemed to have been the practice throughout, where a chalk layer was present, and so will not be referred to again. A feature—pleasing even to a modern civil engineer—is that, in this vicinity at any rate, the amount of chalk excavated from the ditches would have closely approximated to that needed for the chalk layer in the *agger*. The simplification in the formation of the *agger* compared with the elaborate layering which was found by Fox and to a lesser degree by Bushnell, seems an early phase in a gradual lowering of standards of construction, as the distance from the 222 end of the road increases.

This cross-section was cut at the highest part of the *agger* [4] some 155 yards on the Cambridge side of Worsted Lodge (3 miles from 222). It was a complete cut including both side-ditches, and the drawing speaks for itself (Fig. 2). The great height of the formation is partly due to the solid chalk being here a kind of outlier from the 'hill' to the north-east, but there is also an extra thickness of 'topsoil' under the chalk layer, composed of loose material comprising many old roots, indicating that some of the adjacent topsoil had been thrown up to make the road even higher at this point. It is also noteworthy that the surface of the gravel appeared

but little worn. The total height of the *agger* from the original topsoil is approximately 3 ft. 2 in. whilst from the solid chalk it is 3 ft. 7 in. The ditches are 42 ft. apart and whilst that on the south-west side is well shaped, that on the north-east is less well defined, perhaps on account of the natural inclination of the land-surface being higher in that direction.

It is interesting to consider the provenance of the material forming the *agger*. The section shows that the amount of chalk removed from the side-ditches was here approximately equivalent to that of the chalk layer, whilst at a distance of less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile to the north-east there exists to this day a very large gravel pit.

#### JUNCTION OF ROADS AT WORSTED LODGE

This spot [5] which, after Cambridge, seems to be the most important Roman road junction in the district (Fig. 3), produced much useful information, as it was found possible for a sufficient length of the trench to be left open at one time to expose the chalk layer and other features in line across (Fig. 4), from that portion of Wool Street on the Cambridge side at A to the resumption of the *agger* on the south-east side of the modern main road A 11 at B. The investigations there were complicated, but the result was as follows:

(1) The original chalk layer of Wool Street had formerly been continuous but, most significantly, in the portion between the present main road at C and the integration of the modern successor to the Icknield Way at D, it is laid at a lower level than it is in the *agger* on either side of this complex road intersection. It is interesting to note that the surfaces of the present roads still retain a depression corresponding to the line of the Icknield Way at this spot; also despite the various disturbances arising from the construction of the (now extinct) railway, there exists alongside the short connecting piece of road at C-D, the relic of the south-west ditch of Wool Street.

(2) The ancient line of the Icknield Way (before the diversion of the medieval road for the railway) coincides with the depression of the chalk layer of Wool Street, and it is manifest that the lower level of Wool Street at this point which this implies had for its object the avoidance of any serious obstacle to the passage—for instance, of cattle—along the Way (see Fig. 4).

(3) At the point where the main road (the present A 11 from Chesterford to Newmarket) arrives at the junction, the trench revealed a most disturbed subsoil under the modern road; the whole section showed disturbed ground as far down as 4 ft., consisting of remains of the Wool Street chalk layer and other irregular chalk formations. Without a section across the A 11 at some place *away* from the junction, however, nothing definite can be said about the structural formation of this Chesterford road. What can be said, however, is that the chronological order of the roads and tracks here is:

*First*, Icknield Way in existence in some form.

*Second*, Wool Street constructed with special modifications in height, so as to avoid major obstruction to Icknield Way.

*Third*, the present road from Chesterford (presumably Roman, although the author does not know of proof), impinging upon the older intersection.

A peculiarity in the interrelation between the existing roads and the true line of Wool Street had previously led to some misapprehension here. This peculiarity is not readily apparent even from the 25 in. O.S. maps, but is clearly evident on the site

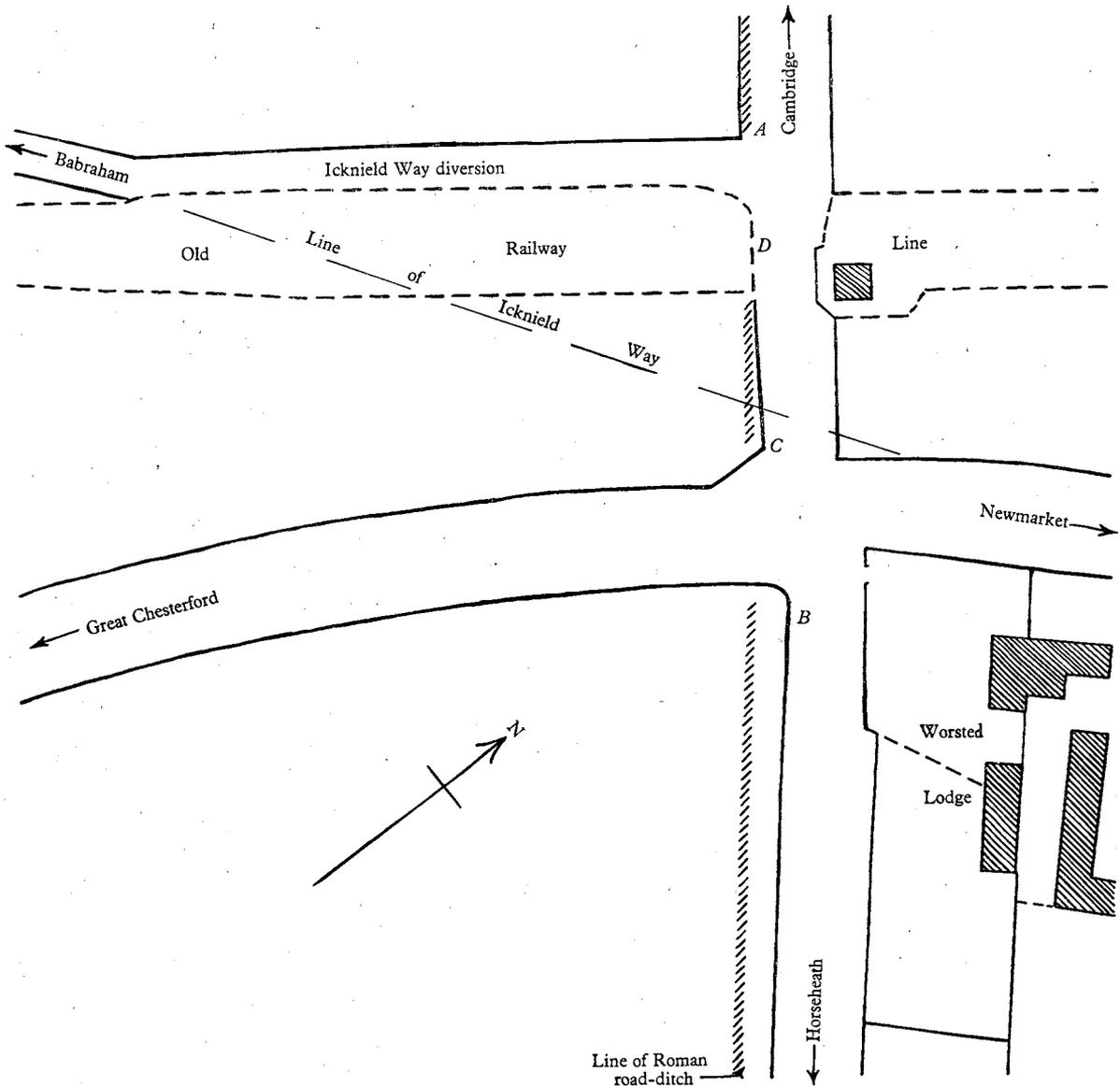


Fig. 3. Plan of road intersection at Worsted Lodge (based on O.S. 25 in. map). Scale (approx.): 1 in. = 110 ft.

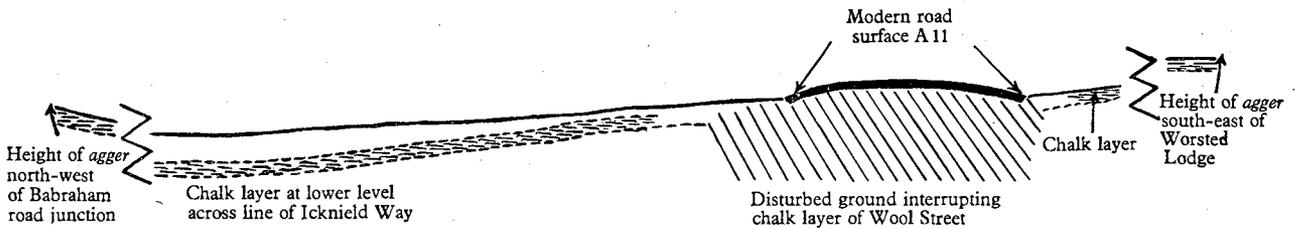


Fig. 4. Longitudinal section along Wool Street crossing of Icknield Way and main A11 road, looking north-east. Horizontal scale: 1 in. = 16 ft.; vertical scale: 1 in. = 8 ft.

plan (Fig. 3). The fact that the present track towards Horseheath—known locally as a part of Wool Street—is on the north-east side of the *agger* of the Roman road led to an erroneous idea that this vehicle passage represented the line of the Roman road and that the *agger* was a defensive linear earthwork against attack from the south-west. Actually—as will be appreciated from Fig. 3, although no cross-section was made here—it is clear from the lie of the land that the south-west ditch is in the adjacent field, whilst the present pseudo-Wool Street occupies the site of the north-east ditch. The official misapprehension regarding the line of Wool Street led to an

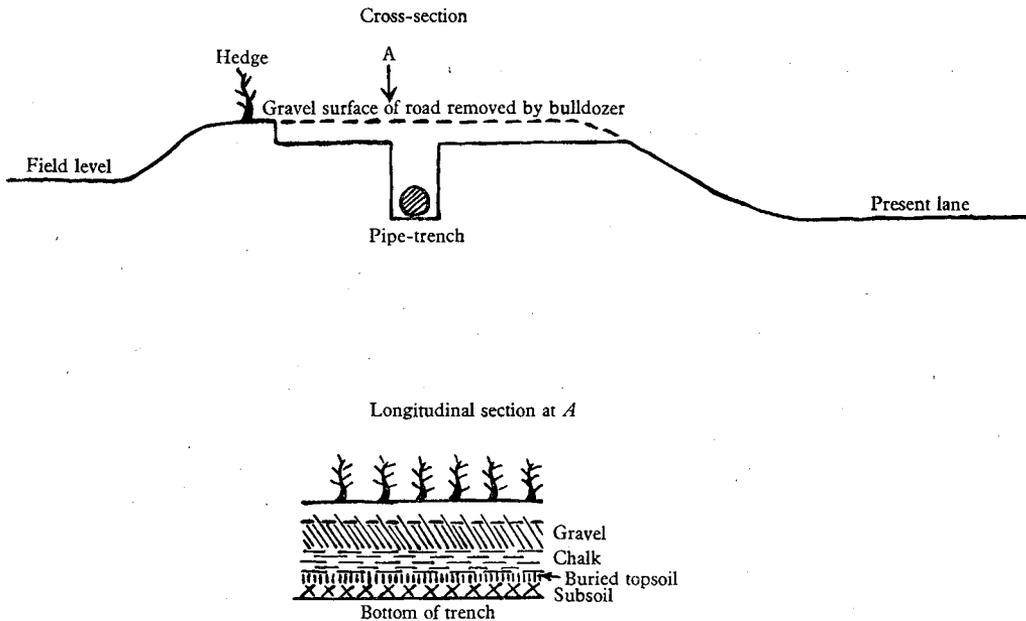


Fig. 5. Cross-section of Wool Street at Worsted Lodge, looking north-west, and longitudinal section of full depth of *agger*. Scale: 1 in. = 8 ft.

amusing operating error: with the idea of keeping the pipe-trench away from the centre of the Roman formation to lessen the depth of the trench, the plans called for the trench to run along what was really the centre of the *agger* (Fig. 5), and some inches of the top of the *agger* were removed by bulldozer. When I became aware of the intended location of the trench in this position, I first thought of raising an alarm, but realizing the difficulty of altering the alignment of the trench already cut through the complicated road junction and, indeed, with a desire to see a longitudinal trench through the full depth of the *agger*, I desisted. This led a little farther on to the situation illustrated in Fig. 5 [6], showing the trench somewhat off the centre of the *agger* but close enough to reveal almost the full thickness of the chalk layer and the superimposed gravel. This case of the archaeologist proving more correct than the official plans impressed the contractors considerably and facilitated further dealings with all concerned.

The photograph (Pl. IV *b*) was taken a little farther on [7], where—although the

*agger* was not apparent—the extreme regularity both of the Roman manual work and of the latest mechanical trenching (with the gas-main lying in its appointed place, 3 ft. from the surface) were most noticeable. The modern machine-cutting shows the marked difference in the sides of the trench between the texture of the original soil below the chalk layer and the Roman-deposited gravel above it. The continuous mound is, of course, the upcast from the trench, not the *agger*, although the top of this upcast is in fact not far from the centre of the Roman structure underground. Incidentally, relative depths here show that the chalk layer and the gravel topping can both be present, without causing a visible *agger*.

#### MODERN ROAD CROSSINGS

It should be recorded that, with the exception of the special conditions at Worsted Lodge already fully described, all the other five crossings of 'made' roads disclosed nothing beyond the normal medieval or post-medieval formation: that of the Hildersham-Balsham road, for instance, showed only three or four inches of gravel and flints, including the most recent layer of bitumen-impregnated material at the modern road surface.

#### FIRST DISAPPEARANCE OF THE AGGER

Proceeding south-east from Worsted Lodge the full *agger* continues for 530 yards when its height gradually lessens, and in a further 200 yards the gravel top disappears; no trace of any formation—chalk or gravel—then occurs for 280 yards, the subsoil being all unadulterated loam as in the adjacent fields; then the chalk layer appears again in the subsoil, but with no indications of any *agger* and with less exactness of direction than before the changes at 730 yards from Worsted Lodge [7] ( $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles from 222). There is no doubt that at this point 'something happened', as besides the aforementioned changes, the alignment which has been exactly observed from 222 comes to an end. This is duly shown on the 6 in. and 25 in. O.S. maps, and can be verified by sight on the ground. It seems that here we may have the first sign of hesitancy in the prosecution of the work to the original exactness. It is emphasized that never again does the full *agger* and its formation reappear, nor does the strict straightness of the road margins recur. This sudden disappearance of the *agger* might suggest wholesale gravel robbing, but this solution is untenable for various reasons, and not even the known voracity of the seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Chesterford-Newmarket road-repairers would explain the utterly complete and clean removal of a substantial road formation, nor why the despoilers went half a mile along Wool Street from the main road before commencing their operations. A repetition of this phenomenon of the entire disappearance of the *agger* recurs some  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles further on and is dealt with under the 'Transitional Half-Mile'; the conclusion there arrived at is that it is explicable as the result of an unforeseen cessation of work amongst two or more working parties carrying out different operations as parts of a planned job.

## ROMAN COAL

A little over half-a-mile from Worsted Lodge—3 miles 3 furlongs from 222 [8]—the trench cut through a thin layer of coal (Pl. Va); the trench at this spot was located some way from the centre-line of the road formation, although there was actually no *agger* visible above ground. The important point is that the coal deposit—though rather towards the outside feather-edge of a spread—is securely stratified—being on the top of the chalk layer and imprisoned by the gravel topping layer on the surface. As this gravel layer is entirely homogeneous for some hundreds of yards, it is clear that we have here coal deposited upon the chalk layer between the laying of the chalk and the topping by gravel during the construction of the road. To relate the site to its probable source of supply, samples of the coal were kindly examined by Miss M. A. Butterworth of the Coal Survey Laboratory, Chester, and an investigation of the miospore content indicates the coal's affinity with outcrop seams in, *inter alia*, the Nottinghamshire and South Derbyshire coalfields. From this it seems evident that the coal would have come from some Nottinghamshire outcrop site and it is logical to suppose that its delivery route would have been via the Car Dyke, if that water route ever was navigable throughout its length, or—seemingly just as probable,—by Roman roads via Chesterton-on-Nene and Godmanchester. It would appear that this Wool Street find-spot is more remote from the source of supply than other deposits found at Welney and Littleport, but these latter may be 'sea coal' travelling inland via Wisbech. The location of this coal reinforces the author's conclusion that the road was being constructed from the Cambridge end.

## THE TRANSITIONAL HALF MILE

At  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles from 222 begins what I have christened the 'Transitional Half Mile', because in that distance there are disclosed three stages in the decadence and extinction of the Roman road-building. Commencing at [9] which is at a high point (spot level 298), the road begins to descend fairly sharply; at the summit the Roman road surface evidently coincided with the natural chalk which at this spot has become almost bare of humus from natural causes. Proceeding south-eastwards down the slope, there is at first no trace of an *agger* although a commencement of side-ditches about 40 ft. apart seems indicated; then where the decline steepens there emerges, plain to see, [10] Grid 554502, an *agger* rather to one side of the centre of the present, wide trackway. The cross-section (Fig. 6) shows the profile at this spot. The material of the *agger* is entirely of dug chalk, and it is clear from the irregular profile of the natural chalk on the north-east limit of the trackway that this material was excavated there, being obtained from one side only because the descending road was being built on a lateral declivity.

Advancing farther into the valley the road gradually becomes carried on an embankment made of pure loam, and it seems clear that this was obtained from adjacent topsoil. Proceeding in this form, the embankment now runs horizontally

into the opposite side of the valley. Its direction is almost exactly in line with that from Worsted Lodge, and in order to preserve such a line the road would have had to climb quite a steep ascent; instead of this, the track curves and so reaches the top of the acclivity [11]. Then some distance beyond the Hildersham-Balsham road crossing, the chalk layer reappears [12]—but not aligned with the portions of road hitherto mentioned. At [13], some 480 yards on the Cambridge side of the Linton-Balsham road crossing (Grid 571493), the Roman road is found at a considerable depth, there not only being the chalk layer of 4 in. but also 2½ in. of gravel upon the chalk—the whole being buried some 3 ft. below the present surface. The site is in a

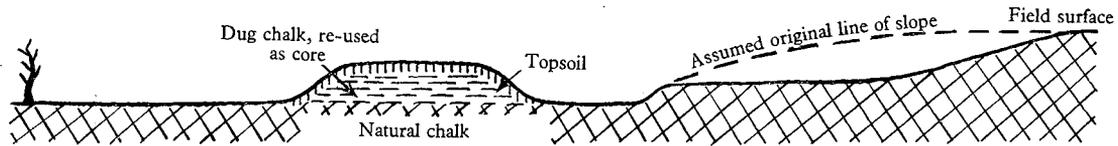


Fig. 6. Cross-section at 'Transitional Half Mile', looking north-west. Scale: 1 in. = 12 ft.

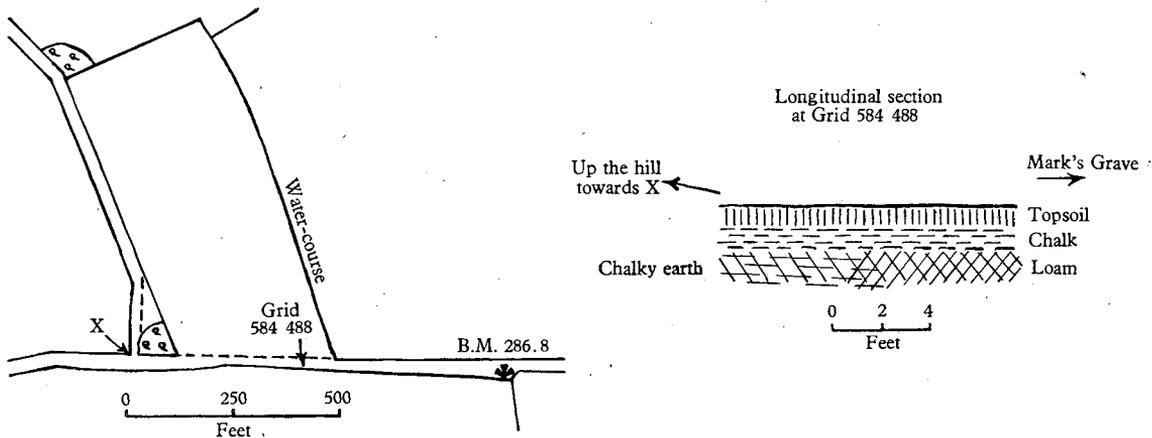


Fig. 7. Last appearance of Roman road formation at [15], Grid 584488. Map of site, and longitudinal section, looking north.

dip in the road, and so in the course of centuries has been silted over with topsoil. What original thickness is represented by the 2½ in. of gravel it is impossible to say, and so the site, although seemingly unique in disclosing gravel topping at such a depth below ground level, does not help in indicating the period of usage of the Roman road surface. Further on other portions of the chalk layer reappear, but again without forming parts of one continuous alignment. This goes on until the crossing of the Linton-Balsham road [14]. Then immediately after this crossing, there are some more substantial portions of the chalk layer, becoming sparser until their disappearance at [15], 6¾ miles from 222.

An ingenious reading of the Half-mile riddle is that we here have, 'frozen' as it were, the exact state of the work of Roman construction, when a radical change in the project occurred. Upon which point it is important to observe that never again

does anything resembling the portions of Roman formation previously described recur. It would seem that when orders were received to abandon the full Romanization project, the work was being constructed with two or perhaps three principal working parties, each engaged on different stages of the job. It may be that the decision to desist had occurred during the winter and that the method of surmounting the difficulty of the incline into which the end of the alignment had run was under consideration, at the time the cessation of work was ordered. This difficulty was never resolved, and to this day the track winds upwards, as can be observed by anyone going to the crossing of the Hildersham-Balsham road adjacent to [11].

At  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles from 222 near the lowest point between two higher spots [15], Grid 584488, an isolated portion of chalk layer was found, only a few yards long and buried some 10-12 in. down amidst perfectly homogeneous loam (Fig. 7). No gravel was above the chalk and it was clear that the chalk, which was of true Roman laying and was presumably originally at the surface, must have been gradually completely buried by fine loam washed down from the adjacent slope.

This was the last piece of Roman work we found;  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile farther on is the spot known as Mark's Grave [16], and from here onwards the track becomes even more wavy and erratic than before.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE HORSEHEATH SITES

The Horseheath main settlement [17] is on the south-west side of the line of the road, but possibly partly on the north-east side also, in the parish of West Wickham (see p. 56 for the significance of this). The site is ideal, being on the brow of a hill and on its south-western face; it is approached by the track from the Cambridge direction with quite a steep inclination. Furthermore, although in a very well-drained position, springs issue where the inhabited area was obviously placed and there is a convenient stream at the foot of the descent for a carry-away. An account of the finds made in a somewhat limited excavation here at what we may call the upper site, by Miss C. Parsons, was given in these *Proceedings*,<sup>2</sup> and sherds of Romano-British pottery have occasionally been found from 1931 onwards. Recently an important additional feature has been the discovery by Mrs J. Bullen of Horseheath of many similar sherds on the edge of the present village, in the valley. The relative positions of the two sites rather suggests a superior establishment on the higher ground with one or more buildings, connected with a peasant site nearby but lower in the valley. The coins found on the upper site by Miss Parsons were all dated between A.D. 117 and 350, but potsherds from the first century onwards were also found, a few of which may be attributed to the Belgic period.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately east of the Mark's Grave cross-roads, where the track takes a southward bend, the Roman line was thought by the late Mr R. Rainbird Clarke to follow straight across, as it were along the chord of this southward bend. In June 1936 he noted that 'the track of the Roman road is indicated in the growing corn of this field [i.e. north of the present trackway], by a broad dark belt, flanked on both sides by a thin white line' (MS. note on O.S. 6 in. map—Ed.).

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* xxxi (1931), p. 99.

A great deal of Roman road-remains is stated by Walker<sup>1</sup> to have been found in a cross-trench through the line as it passes adjacent to—or through—the upper settlement. Yet the present longitudinal trench, although passing right alongside—or through—the settlement, revealed no clear evidence of any regularized stratum of Roman road construction; there were however signs of disturbance of the ground where the Roman road appeared to have run, giving the impression of a poorly made (though at this point straight) road, which had subsequently been patched many times; also it appeared that the formation alongside—or through—the settlement was of greater proportions than in parts some little distance away.

#### FALSE CHALK LAYER

Shortly after leaving the upper settlement the existing track becomes a sunk road between fields higher than itself, being waterlogged because the subsoil hereabouts is riddled with springs. In this section [18] the machine-cut trench showed what at first sight appeared to be a recurrence of the Roman chalk layer. Plate *Vb* shows this feature and it seems worth reproducing as a warning. The trench-cutting crew hailed the reappearance of the chalk layer with enthusiasm and so at first did I, until on getting down into the trench where the full length of the layer was exposed I noted its irregular composition compared with previous appearances. Close examination disclosed the layer to be resting on waterlogged rough soil and then, well under the layer, pieces of relatively modern brick appeared. A day or so later, a 'local' recollected having heard that several years ago a nearby farmer had had many loads of chalk laid there!

#### MARK'S GRAVE TO THE WITHERSFIELD ROAD-CROSSING

From the road crossing at Mark's Grave [16] to the Horseheath site and from thence to the presumed crossing of the Withersfield road [22], only one doubtful vestige of Roman setting-out is observable, except when passing the Horseheath settlement and at one other place now to be mentioned, although evidence of the trackway is clear and practically continuous. The exception [19] is some  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from Hare Wood, where the line is straight and a portion of this length exhibits extreme lateral limits of the trackway approximating to the limits of the fully Romanized portions. At the end of this stretch the line arrives at the crossing of the stream running down from Silver Street Farm and Over Wood [20] and here there is a thin and irregular layer of chalk on both sides of the water-course; this layer is evidently the result of medieval or more recent filling-in, in the style of that now existing at [18] (Pl. *Vb*). A continuation of the straight line before mentioned beyond the stream-crossing would lead the track into a steep incline and the parish boundary indicates that a curved contour-line was followed [21], bringing the crossing of the Withersfield Road approximately to where it would have arrived had the straight alignment been followed [22]. This circumstance is mentioned because the gas-main trench was cut,

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* xiv (1909), pp. 161-3.

by ordinary pick-and-shovel methods and to a considerable depth and width, partly on the line which would have comprised prolongation of the straight alignment, yet no sign of any track was disclosed, proving that the contour-line route was not a subsequent deviation from any straight Roman alignment. Thus almost at the extremity of the route with which this paper deals, there is definite evidence against a Roman alignment, but there is a pale reflection of Roman practice respecting the overall width, for a short distance.

### END OF THE TRACK AT WITHERSFIELD

The portion of the route after Withersfield road-crossing [22] may be considered of particular interest, in view of the supposition that the Roman-designed route carried on through Haverhill, perhaps on the line of the present main street of that town;

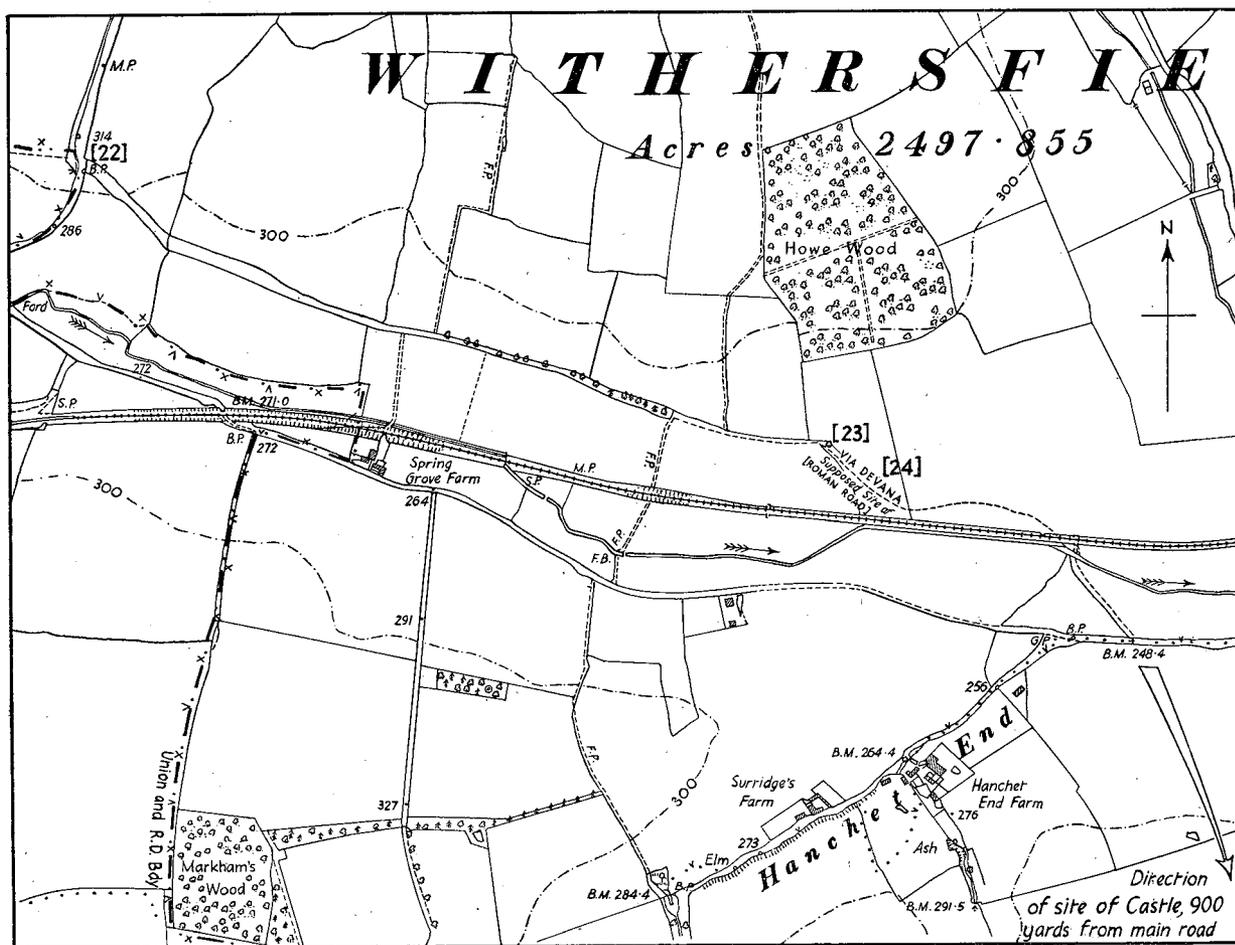


Fig. 8. End of the track, near Withersfield, based on O.S. 6 in. map.

Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, Crown copyright reserved.

but the ending of the track in the manner it does gives no support to that idea. On the contrary, the meandering of the track (Fig. 8) supports the opposite view, plus the fact that although the trench cut through the meanders as they are shown on both 6 in. and 25 in. O.S. maps, no signs of any Roman road or road-material were found either on the meandering line or in the various lengths of trench adjacent thereto. If therefore there had been such a trackway—and presumably there must have been to have given rise to the indications on the maps—its formation hereabouts must have been extremely slight and certainly not Roman. From where the track abandons any pretence of straightness [23] on Fig. 8, it at first follows a curved sunken route [24]—very similar to a much-worn packhorse trail—which is now tenanted by a water-course; it could be that it indicates where a subsidiary medieval track, splitting from the main track on the higher ground, ran down to cross the river, but no vestige remains to justify a supposed prolongation of any relatively straight portion on to Haverhill. Such a meandering breakaway track might indicate a subsidiary—or even a primary—way, leading down to cross the river and onward to what the maps describe as ‘Castle Site’ (Grid 655456),  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile south of where the old track seems to have crossed the present main road; but this is a matter outside the scope of this paper. In any case it is extremely difficult to harmonize the sinuous ending of this track with its being part of a purposely made road, such as would normally be visualized for a route ‘from Colchester to Chester’.

#### COIN AND POTTERY FINDS

The scarcity of finds of any kind along the route—only one coin (indecipherable) and very few sherds of pottery—is no doubt principally due to the trench hardly ever being cut on the site of the ditches or margins of the road formations. Nevertheless such paucity, combined with the lack of even minor settlements adjacent to the route, is not to be expected upon a length of over 10 miles of a supposedly busy Roman through-route. At the Horseheath settlement itself, partial excavation (mentioned above) produced 29 Roman coins ranging from Hadrian to practically the end of the Roman occupation. This represents at least 250 years, although the pottery also indicates very early Roman, if not actually Celtic, occupation of the site and presumably—although not necessarily—of the road itself.

#### CORRECTION OF SOME MODERN ERRORS

The theory lately advanced by Mr T. C. Lethbridge, supported by Sir Cyril Fox, that Wool Street was in fact a defensive earthwork,<sup>1</sup> now becomes superseded. Whether the unusual profile of the road line (see Fig. 5) and the anomalous position of the present track south-east of the Worsted Lodge crossing (see Fig. 3) conspired to suggest a defensive barrier facing south-west, or whether the irregular profile of that portion of the *agger* and track in the Transitional Half Mile (see Fig. 6) was

<sup>1</sup> *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire* (T. H. Reaney, 1943), p. lix.

responsible for the idea, I do not know; both sites are misleading on superficial knowledge. Likewise the suggestion of Professor T. McKenney Hughes<sup>1</sup> that a portion of the Roman road near spot level 222 extended towards War Ditches is also rendered untenable.

The author considers it fortuitous that the alignments from Cambridge both to the north-west (to Godmanchester), and to the south-east coincide—thus suggesting the so-called 'Via Devana'. Whatever justification this name may have for the Roman road north-west of Cambridge, it is clearly shown by the present facts to be inapplicable to Wool Street. It is agreed of course that the land level on a direct line from spot level 222 to Cambridge Roman station may have been subject to floods; there is also the fact that the alignment south-east from 222 only persists as such for  $4\frac{1}{4}$  miles and that from no part of that alignment (following the mythical assumption that it was constructed *from* the south-east) is 222 in sight for a sufficient length to align it upon Castle Hill; also that such an objective as Cambridge could have been reached more reasonably than by going up to 222. The author's view is that point 222 was selected for the purpose of joining an existing trackway, or part of a Roman road, from the direction of Newmarket or Exning to the settlements near Trumpington and Hauxton in the Cam-Granta valley, probably by way of Wort's Causeway.

#### ORIGIN OF THE NAME WOOL STREET

The origin of the current name Wool Street has been much debated, but this writer believes it to be fairly simple, although differing from previous suggestions. The early references dating from 1207 to 1573<sup>2</sup> carry as their main stem—with minor variations in arrangement of letters—WOLVUESTRATE. On p. 112 in the same work, under West Wickham parish, appears a reference to IpmR for 1470 Wikam Wolvis; Wolvis referring to the knight's fee held in 1373 by William Wolk (Close Rolls). Now, West Wickham parish has Wool Street as its south-west boundary with the parish of Horseheath for nearly 3 miles; the Horseheath Roman settlement is about midway along this length and may have extended partly into West Wickham parish. As said elsewhere, the route from Cambridge seems to have had a special relation to the Horseheath site, which in early medieval times may well have been considered the road's objective; so the track could logically have assumed the name of the knight's fee ownership of one of the two adjacent parishes to which it obviously led—Wolvis Street—without any need to invoke the wolf population of the district or a special addiction to the transport of wool.

#### PROLONGATION TO COLCHESTER AND THE VIA DEVANA MYTH

Notwithstanding the factual proofs now brought to light showing that the hitherto accepted view of the status of Wool Street is incorrect, it is thought that a résumé of what has appeared from time to time in the literature may usefully be included,

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. C.A.S.* x (1903), pp. 457-8.

<sup>2</sup> According to P. H. Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire* (1943), pp. 31-

particularly as the results of the present investigation in the field are so totally at variance with long-established beliefs. A comprehensive study of the literary evolution of what the author considers the growth of a myth has been made; there are some 15 authorities altogether (see Appendix), of which the first half-dozen or so have added their quota to the Via Devana theory.

The first appearance—so far as the author can trace—of the suggestion that Wool Street was part of a planned major through-route from Colchester to the Midlands and the north-west is in Salmon, *A New Survey of England—Essex* (1731). He is quoted by Thomas Walford of Birdbrook in this district—a great protagonist of the 'Via Devana' school—as saying 'The military way from Colchester to Camboritum (Gogmagog) makes 35 miles. It leads through Ford Street, Colne, Halsted, and at Castle Hedingham returns into the Ikening Street, which comes from Maldon; thence by Yeldham, Ridgewell, Baythorne, to Haverhill; thence by a broad and direct way crossing [at Worsted Lodge] the road from Newmarket to Bourn Bridge, goes up the hill to Gogmagog.' Dr Salmon is here quoted in full because his statement is typical of all the accounts which followed him, with the exception of Walford and 'Agricola', who will be dealt with further on. All fail to cite any actual evidence until after (i.e. west of) Haverhill; even then nothing factual is mentioned until they reach the neighbourhood of Horseheath and Worsted Lodge, when some of the writers give a description which seems to denote that they had seen that portion of the road. This author has no confidence in such writers, his experience being that if in a continuous account of a Roman road—or any other like matter—portions of the subject are given in detail, whilst other portions are skated over, it is because the writer is reasonably informed about the former but knows nothing or relatively nothing of the latter. It seems that this rather ruthless criterion should here be applied, i.e. that when formal statements are made without citing supporting evidence it is likely that such supporting evidence did not exist.

Reference should first be made to Dr Mason who is always credited with the bestowal of the name 'Via Devana' upon the route. Dr Mason appears to have had no more local knowledge than had Dr Salmon; at least he seems never to have published any such during his lifetime and afterwards his papers appear to have become untraceable. He must surely have known Dr Salmon's military-way theory of 1731 and as he was active in Cambridge circles until 1762 there was ample time for him to deal with the matter. There is, in this author's opinion, an aroma of Stukeley-ism about the 'Via Devana', and it is perhaps significant that the period coincides with the Druids at Stonehenge and Bertram's Richard of Cirencester.

Returning to the other authorities, 'Agricola' of 1795 requires particular notice since he differs from the others by citing something tangible. He was a frequent writer of letters to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and says—making reference in part to Dr Mason '... from Colchester this road proceeds, obscurely it is true . . . by Colne, Sible Hedingham (where I once saw some remains of it), Yeldham, Ridgewell and Haverhill to Horseheath; whence it runs quite visible and still very high raised over the open country and crossing the Icknield Street [at Worsted Lodge], continues

straight to Gog Magog Hills'. It is to be noted that 'Agricola' is at pains to emphasize a close acquaintance with Dr Mason's views: he states 'the information I have received from' him. The fact would seem to be that Dr Mason possessed little more information than 'Agricola' himself, since otherwise the latter would have embodied it in his letter.

Here again we have the same nebulous commencement, gradually becoming more factual (in this case on reaching Horseheath) towards the Cambridge end of the road. This account however accentuates what is actually the case today—that from Horseheath onwards the route is relatively well marked. The aforementioned criterion again applies: if 'Agricola' had known of definite traces of Roman roads nearer Colchester he would have said so—particularly as he was writing to the magazine more or less as a mentor knowledgeable in Roman road matters.

'Agricola' mentions that he *saw* the remains of a Roman road at Sible Hedingham and this will doubtless have been located in one of the straight portions—called Swan Street—of the present main Colchester–Cambridge road in that area. There are other fairly straight stretches in the present road; one for instance known as Pool Street being  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles nearer Haverhill and obviously forming part of a valley road; the distance between these two portions tends to support the author's view that we are dealing with a pre-Roman trackway Romanized in parts—not only so far south-east, but also in many parts of the section still called Wool Street north-west of Haverhill, which we have here covered in detail. There are three other '... street' place-names further on in the general direction of Colchester, but so situated as to preclude their consideration as possible clues to a general line of road.

The only other authority needing our attention is Thomas Walford who lived at Birdbrook, Essex, and contributed a paper to *Archaeologia* in 1801 entitled 'A Roman Military Way in Essex'. In his paper, Walford treats extensively of what he describes as Roman roads in his district, but his approach to the subject is remarkably uncritical and he only cites one factual instance of Roman road, if such indeed it be. He was imbued with the Military Way theory, quoting largely from Dr Salmon, but his unsupported suggestions concerning various lines of road are unconvincing, there being many instances in his account of incompatibility between the text and his own accompanying map. Walford's discovery of the two portions of the Roman road  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile south-west of Ridgewell village—if correct—renders untenable much of his other allegedly Roman roads, since they lie parallel to his supposed lines of road through the village. In addition the route he suggests (following Dr Salmon) for a Roman road running via Ridgewell, Baythorne End, Sturmer and Haverhill, has only to be followed on his own map between Ridgewell and Sturmer via Baythorne End to be found ridiculous as a Roman line. In brief, the author has some difficulty in according full credence to some of the statements in Walford's book, and is even uncertain whether the often-quoted pieces of *agger* at Ridgewell were really Roman and not (as inspection of the site suggests) portions of a non-Roman valley-bottom road, perhaps used by the inhabitants of the Roman villa which is adjacent to the road. It is interesting, now that the matter of place-

names is no longer on a speculative basis, to observe that the name of Ridgewell has been in the past used (erroneously) to imply the existence of a Roman *agger* in that parish.<sup>1</sup>

The whole of this matter of the track—now mostly unknown—from west of Haverhill in the direction of Colchester calls for further investigation. The author is aware that in recent years a branch road has been found leading off from the London-Colchester Roman road near Lexden and pointing in the general direction of Cambridge, which it has been conjectured might connect with the *Via Devana*. However, this branching-off road may belong to another line of road, having the Cambridge area via Chesterford as its objective, rather than a direct connection with Wool Street; but this is a matter beyond the scope of this paper.

The author is also aware of some suggested traces of Roman road running eastwards near Haverhill; but research in the area and inquiries amongst its inhabitants have failed to provide any evidence which he can consider satisfactory.

#### WOOL STREET: GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

A summary of the Wool Street trench excavation shows the following results: it was a pre-Roman trackway, probably connecting with other pre-Roman routes in the vicinity of spot level 222; it extended south-eastwards at least to within  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Haverhill and almost certainly continued in some form or other via the Colne valley to Colchester; it was Romanized in parts only, and this work was commenced at the Cambridge end—the full Roman construction only extending  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles from 222. This project may have been planned either by Cambridge influence alone, or in combination with a growing Romano-British community at Horseheath; the project of a full-style Roman construction was carried on for a comparatively short period, and when the full-style plan was abandoned the various gangs engaged upon the work had reached different stages of construction at different places. Some stretches of the old track were also semi-Romanized at fairly frequent intervals as far as Horseheath and it was somewhat improved beyond, until within  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Haverhill, the most defective places being patched with a poorer grade of road formation; some minor straightening of the route was undertaken, but no attempts were made to line up the improved portions with each other. What is quite evident from all the factual indications on and below the ground, is that Wool Street south-eastwards from 222 was not part of a nationally inspired Roman main road from Colchester to the north-west via Cambridge, the road consistently and increasingly shedding its Roman character as it proceeds south-east; thus the author considers it established that it was only a Cambridge-area enterprise. No central government authority—Roman or other—based on Colchester or in that area would commence making a road at the farther end—some 40 miles away from Colchester—and work towards itself. In actual fact it is only for the first  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Cambridge end (spot level 222) that the fully developed Roman construction extends. Consequently

<sup>1</sup> See *Place-Names of Essex*, P.N. Soc. xii.

any claim to a title corresponding to the 'Via Devana' of Dr Mason entirely fails. Further confirmation that the work was a Cambridge-region project is provided by the discovery of the layer of Roman coal deposited during the construction.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### APPENDIX

##### AUTHORITIES AND MYTHS

(Only works actually citing Wool Street or its supposed construction from—  
or to—Colchester are given.)

- 1731 Salmon, Nathaniel, *A New Survey of England—Essex*, p. 143.  
 1734-62 Dr Mason, Woodwardian Professor of Geology, Cambridge. Seems never to have published anything.  
 1768 Morant, P., *History and Antiquities of Essex*, II, p. 348.  
 1795 Agricola in *Gentleman's Magazine*, part I, about p. 365.  
 1796 Gough, R., *Sepulchral Monuments*, II, introduction, p. lxi.  
 1801 Walford, T., 'A Roman Military Way in Essex', *Archaeologia*, XIV (1803), pp. 61-74.  
 1808 Bennett (Bishop) in Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, II, part I, Cambridgeshire, p. 44.  
 1883 Babington, C. C., 'Ancient Cambridgeshire' in *Proc. C.A.S.* (1883), pp. 32-4.  
 1888 Price, J. E., 'Roman Remains in Essex', *Archaeological Review*, II, pp. 92-102.  
 1903-18 Codrington, T., *Roman Roads in Britain* (3rd edn.), pp. 193-4.  
 1910 Walker, F. G., 'Roman Roads into Cambridge', *Proc. C.A.S.* XIV, pp. 161-3, 1924, etc.  
 1923 Miller, Christy, 'On Roman Roads in Essex', *Trans. Essex Archaeological Soc.*, various parts.  
 1923 Fox, C., *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, p. 129, Pl. XIX and pp. 168-9.  
 1931 Parsons, C., 'A Romano-British Site at Horseheath', *Proc. C.A.S.* XXXI (1931), pp. 99-104.  
 1943 Reaney, P. H., *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire* (1943), Lethbridge and Fox in Corrigenda, p. lix.  
 1955 Margary, I. D., *Roman Roads in Britain*, I, pp. 184-5.



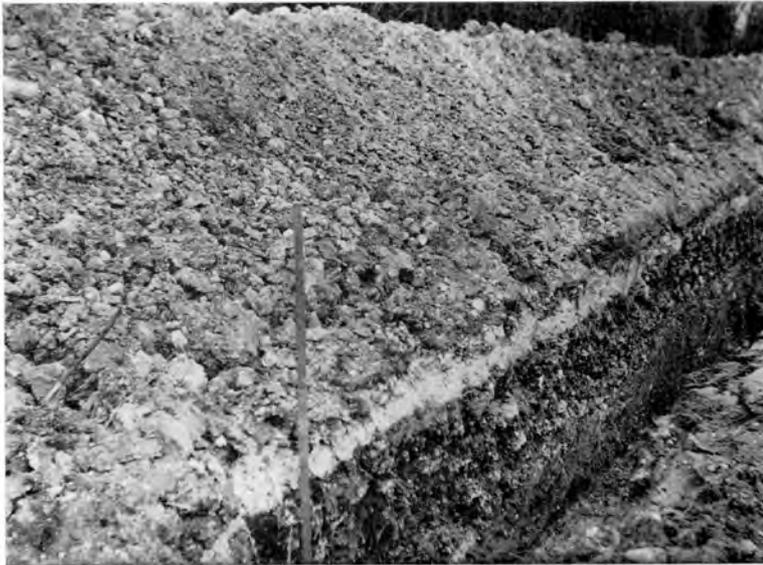
(a) Wool Street between [2] and [3] looking north-west. Pipe trench (indicated by white labels) partially refilled. On the right, the 3 ft. high *agger*; its side has been partly cut away and then covered by the upcast from the trench. Note thorn bushes beyond far edge of *agger*.



(b) Trench south-east of Worsted Lodge, looking north-west, showing chalk layer overlying natural and surmounted by gravel topping.



(a) Wool Street. Roman coal deposit, sealed by gravel topping.



(b) Near Horseheath. Recent chalk resurfacing of the track.

# EADNOTH, FIRST ABBOT OF RAMSEY, AND THE FOUNDATION OF CHATTERIS AND ST IVES

CYRIL HART

WHEN in the year 969 St Oswald chose Ramsey as the site for a new foundation to embody his ideals of monastic reform, he took full advantage of family contacts close at hand, for among his relatives was the wife of Æthelstan Mannessune.<sup>1</sup> Her name is unknown to us,<sup>2</sup> but her place in the early history of the house is secure, for she was the mother of Eadnoth,<sup>3</sup> the young Worcester monk whom Oswald brought with him to Ramsey,<sup>4</sup> and who became the first abbot of the monastery after Oswald's death in 992. Eadnoth's father Æthelstan was one of the most powerful thegns of the Eastern Danelaw, and the friend of Ealdorman Æthelwine of East Anglia,<sup>5</sup> who fostered the temporal affairs of Ramsey as ardently and effectively as Oswald directed the spiritual life of the community.

The immediate site of the monastery, and much of its surrounding territory, was given by Æthelwine's family, but Æthelstan owned important properties in the neighbourhood, without which Ramsey could never have ranked as a great abbey of

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon Abbatie Ramesiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, Rolls Series, London, 1886, p. 61 (cited hereafter as *Chron. Rams.*). It will be recalled that Oswald, the nephew of the Archbishop Oda of Canterbury, was a Dane by birth. Professor Whitelock, in *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. Clemoes, 1959, pp. 75–6, suggests that he came from the Eastern Danelaw.

<sup>2</sup> She is called Ælfwyn in *Chron. Rams.* p. 76, but comparison with p. 61 shows this to be an error; the Ælfwyn who held *Slepe* was not the wife of Æthelstan Mannessune, but his daughter.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, R. Hist. Soc., London, 1962, p. 141 (cited as *Lib. Elien.*). The claim here put forward rests upon the identification of Eadnoth's sister Ælfwyn, first abbess of Chatteris, with the Ælfwyn who was Æthelstan Mannessune's younger daughter (*Chron. Rams.* p. 60). There is no direct evidence for this identity but it may safely be inferred from the fact that the early endowment of Eadnoth's foundations of Chatteris and St Ives was derived wholly from the donations of Æthelstan's family.

<sup>4</sup> *Lib. Elien.* p. 141 states that Eadnoth was a monk at Worcester before Oswald brought him to Ramsey, and supports the thesis advanced by Mr Eric John in *Land Tenure in Early England* (Leicester, 1960), pp. 80–112, that Oswald expelled the clerks from Worcester in 964. It is necessary to distinguish very carefully between the five Eadnoths appearing in the Ramsey Chronicle. One, called Eadnoth *senior* by the monks, had been brought by Oswald from Westbury-on-Trym, and became the first prior of Ramsey. Eadnoth, the first abbot, the subject of the present essay, was called Eadnoth *junior* by the monks; he became Bishop Eadnoth I of Dorchester, Oxon. A third Eadnoth, who was a novice in the Abbey soon after its foundation, was related to Abbot Eadnoth; he became Bishop Eadnoth II of Dorchester. A fourth Eadnoth, who was the grandson of Ælfwold, Ealdorman Æthelwine's brother, became a monk at Ramsey some time after 990, but did not achieve high office. Abbot Eadnoth had also a nephew named Eadnoth (see pedigree) who was not himself a monk; but he was a benefactor to Ramsey, and his son became a monk there. The five Eadnoths are carefully distinguished in the index to W. Dunn Macray's edition of the *Ramsey Chronicle*. They are often confused one with the other in later Ramsey sources.

<sup>5</sup> *Chron. Rams.* p. 59. There is no evidence that the two families intermarried.

the fenland. With the deaths of Oswald and Æthelwine, full direction of the monastery's affairs fell upon Abbot Eadnoth; and there is much to suggest that he devoted special attention to the estates which descended to the abbey from his father and other members of his family. Among these estates were sites upon which he erected Ramsey's daughter cells of Chatteris and St Ives. The traditional accounts of the early years of these two foundations are poor materials for the historian, but some welcome information may be gleaned by carefully examining the descent of estates which were used by Eadnoth for their endowment. The key document for this study is the will of his father Æthelstan Mannessune.

Æthelstan died on 14 June 986.<sup>1</sup> The Latin abstract of his will preserved in the Ramsey Chronicle<sup>2</sup> cannot be complete, for no mention is made of his heriot; but it seems probable that the remainder of his estates are all recorded. They lay in the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon and Bedford, with outlying properties in Norfolk and Lincolnshire. Of these, land at Chatteris in Cambridgeshire, which had descended to him from Mann his father, was given to Ramsey direct, together with the reversion of four estates—Elsworth and Graveley (Cambs), Waresley (Hunts), and Clopham (Beds)—which he left to his wife as a dowry for her lifetime. Ramsey received also the reversion of a substantial twenty-hide estate at *Slepe* (later St Ives, Hunts) and of Hackthorn (Lincs), which were to go first to Æthelstan's youngest daughter Ælfwyn, then to her children, should she beget any, and finally to the abbey. After his death, Æthelstan's widow made an agreement with Ramsey, by which Elsworth was to become hers absolutely, in return for which *Slepe* was to descend to the abbey as soon as Ælfwyn died, whether she had children or not.<sup>3</sup>

We move next to consideration of those estates left by Æthelstan to his wife, which she could dispose of as she pleased. These comprised *Owra*, Holywell (Beds), half of Knapwell (Cambs),<sup>4</sup> and half of a fishery at *Welle* (Upwell and Outwell in Norfolk). She was succeeded at Holywell and Elsworth by one Ælfwaru, who

<sup>1</sup> *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. W. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons, Rolls Series, London, vol. III, 1893, p. 166 (cited as *Cart. Rams.*); *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. W. Dugdale, 1846 edn., vol. II, p. 566 (cited as *Mon. Angl.*). The former lists *obits*, the latter anniversaries, of donors. The Ramsey *obits* are a valuable and little used source for establishing the early chronology of the house. For the most part they are reliable, but four corrections may be noted. Æthelwold, brother of Ealdorman Æthelwine, could not have died in 981 as stated in this Ramsey source, for his widow married King Edgar in 965. St Oswald and Ealdorman Æthelwine died in 992, not 993 as stated in the *obits*; Ealdorman Brihtnoth died in 991, not 1029; Ælfwine the Black died in 1049, not 998 (cf. *Chron. Rams.* p. 169). There is no reason to doubt the dates of the remaining 17 *obits*, several of which are corroborated elsewhere. The anniversaries printed in *Mon. Angl.* appear to have been taken from a twelfth-century calendar. Altogether 31 are given, all except two being pre-Conquest, and there is good reason to believe the accuracy of the list; the dates given for the kings and bishops are confirmed elsewhere, as are those for the battles of Maldon (death of Brihtnoth) and *Assandun* (death of Eadnoth), except that in three cases the anniversaries were kept one day late and in one case two days late.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 59–60, ending . . . *et duabus filiabus.*

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. Rams.* p. 61. A later reference (p. 129) describes this estate as the 'east part' of Elsworth.

<sup>4</sup> As will be shown later, this half descended to Ramsey (DB I, f. 192b), and was used to endow the daughter foundation of St Ives (*Mon. Angl.* II, p. 632). The remainder of Knapwell was given by Æthelstan to his relative Leofsig, and descended via Lustwine (*Lib. Elien.* p. 158) to his son Thurstan, and finally, in 1042–3, to Ely (*Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. D. Whitelock, Cambridge, 1930, no. xxxi; cited as *A. S. Wills*).

died in 1007,<sup>1</sup> and part of whose will appears, in an abstracted form, in the Ramsey Chronicle and the *Liber Eliensis*.<sup>2</sup> In view of this succession, one may reasonably identify Ælfwaru with the unnamed eldest daughter of Æthelstan Mannessune, to whom he gave Gransden (Cambs).<sup>3</sup> The bulk of her property was in Norfolk, and this probably came to her through her mother's family, for Æthelstan left his only Norfolk property to her mother.

A small estate in Ælfwaru's possession which has hitherto escaped identification is *Chinnora*,<sup>4</sup> which I suggest is to be equated with part of the *Owra* which Æthelstan left to his wife. The name survives as Over, Cambs, and derives from O.E. *ofer*, 'river bank' (the river being the Ouse). This is clearly the second element in *Chinnora*, the first being O.E. *cinu*, 'ravine'. A small stream running through the parish is called Over Chain in 1870, and Chain Ditch on modern maps;<sup>5</sup> in spite of the absence of intermediate forms, there can be little doubt that its early name was *Chinnora*.<sup>6</sup>

Ælfwaru left Holywell, her small estate (*praedium*) at Over Chain, and her church and estate at Elsworth to Ramsey, together with her share of Barley in Hertfordshire, an estate which she held jointly with one Eadnoth,<sup>7</sup> a member of the community at Ramsey, described as *quodam cognato suo* by the abbey chronicler, a phrase which cannot be a reference to her brother Eadnoth, who was abbot of Ramsey in the year that she died. Ælfwaru's bequest came opportunely, for Abbot Eadnoth was engaged at that time in building a small nunnery upon his ancestral estate at Chatteris, and he used Over Chain and Barley to endow his new foundation.<sup>8</sup> He installed his youngest sister Ælfwyn as the first abbess there,<sup>9</sup> and soon afterwards, his work for Ramsey and its daughter foundation completed, he left to become

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Rams.* III, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. Rams.* pp. 84-5; *Lib. Elien.* pp. 132-3.

<sup>3</sup> Gransden, a 15 hide estate, had been left for Æthelstan's daughter by her godmother Æthelswyth. It descended to Hearnic of Wantage (Berks), who sold it to Bishop Æthelwold (*Lib. Elien.* p. 115), who exchanged it with Ealdorman Æthelwine for other estates (Red Book of Thorney, Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. 3020, ff. 13-15). Part of it (Little Gransden) descended to Ely, possibly by gift of Æthelwine.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. Rams.* p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, by P. H. Reaney, Cambridge, 1900, p. 170 (cited as *P.N. Cambs*).

<sup>6</sup> Chinnor in Oxfordshire has a similar etymology (*Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, ed. E. Ekwall, 3rd edn., 1947, p. 100). For *cinu*→*chine*→*chain* see *English Place-Name Elements*, ed. A. H. Smith, Part I, 1956, p. 94. In Cambridgeshire, the name must be considered in conjunction with Chain Farm in Littleport (*Littleport Chayne*, 1674), Chain Bridge in March (*March Chaine*, 1680), and Chain Causeway (1828) in Sutton. Some of these refer to small unnavigable streams, which precludes any derivation from ferry chains or toll chains, as suggested in *P.N. Cambs*, p. lx.

<sup>7</sup> This appears to have been the monk who became Eadnoth II of Dorchester.

<sup>8</sup> For the earlier history of Barley, see *Lib. Elien.* p. 109. The small estate at Over was rated at one hide in Domesday Book (I, f. 193), and Barley at three-and-a-half hides (*ibid.* f. 136); these, together with the three hides at Chatteris itself (f. 192b) comprised about half the total land endowment of Chatteris Nunnery at the time of D.B. The other half, with the exception of a small property at Burwell (Cambs), must have been acquired by Chatteris between 1007 and 1065, as there is no record in the *Ramsey Chronicle* of the estates concerned. It follows that the whole of the foundation endowment of Chatteris was derived from the donations of Æthelstan's family.

<sup>9</sup> *Lib. Elien.* pp. 140-2, the best source for the foundations of Chatteris and St Ives. Later legend, quoted as recently as 1948 (*V.C.H. Cambs*, II, p. 220), identifies Abbess Ælfwyn with the widow of Æthelstan Half-King, but this implies an impossible chronology; Ramsey sources give the death of the Half-King's widow as 8 July 983.

Bishop of Dorchester, Oxon. (in which diocese Ramsey lay), the first of that name. He was killed at the battle of *Assandun* in 1016.

Ælfwaru's bequest of Holywell remained in the possession of Ramsey, but Eadnoth used her gift of Elsworth church to supplement the endowment of the small monastery which he had founded at St Ives in 1001-2.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the whole of the tiny St Ives endowment was derived from estates which had been left to Ramsey by Æthelstan's family, for, besides the twenty hides at *Slepe* itself,<sup>2</sup> its sole property consisted of land and churches at Elsworth and Knapwell.

We have not yet exhausted the Ramsey associations of persons mentioned in Æthelstan's will, which reveals that, besides Eadnoth, he had another son to whom he left Cottenham<sup>3</sup> in Cambridgeshire. He is not named in the will, but he emerges later in the Ramsey Chronicle as Godric, the brother of Abbot Eadnoth, who died in 1013,<sup>4</sup> leaving valuable saltings at Terrington in the Norfolk Marshland to the abbey *ut abbas eiusdem ecclesiae Eadnothus frater meus adquietet eam de servitio quod 'heregeat' Anglice dicitur.*<sup>5</sup> Godric had two sons, to the younger of whom, another Eadnoth, he left Oakley, a wood in St Ives; some time between 1043 and 1065 this Eadnoth willed Oakley to Ramsey, to provide clothing for his son Æthelric upon his admission as a monk there.<sup>6</sup> Finally, reference must be made to yet another Eadnoth, a relative of Ælfwaru,<sup>7</sup> who was educated at Ramsey<sup>8</sup> and became the second of that name to be bishop of Dorchester; upon his death on 19 September 1049 he left to Ramsey his share of the family lands at Knapwell and Over in Cambridgeshire, and Barton in Bedfordshire.<sup>9</sup>

It is profitable to turn now to a chain of evidence which links the family of Æthelstan Mannessune with that of Ælfhelm Polga, another important thegn of the Eastern Danelaw, whose estates lay further south than those of Æthelstan; they were centred on Essex, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire, and it is therefore not surprising that Ælfhelm appears more prominently in the records of Ely<sup>10</sup> than those of Ramsey. The connection between the two families is brought out in an all

<sup>1</sup> *Lib. Elien.* pp. 140-2. The small early endowments of St Ives are recited in D.B. under the name of the parent abbey of Ramsey, but they can be identified from the bull of Pope Urban II, issued 1088 × 1099 (*Mon. Angl.* II, p. 632), which shows that St Ives then included Woodhurst and Old Hurst, where there were chapelries.

<sup>2</sup> Soon after the death of Æthelstan Mannessune, half of *Slepe* was claimed by the priest Oswald, a relative of Ælfwyn; but Eadnoth recovered this by a complicated three-cornered transaction, the surviving record of which reads like a Latin abstract of one of the O.E. law memoranda which are characteristic of the period (*Chron. Rams.* pp. 76-8).

<sup>3</sup> Cottenham descended to Ely (*Lib. Elien.* pp. 132, 138) but I have not established the relationship (if any) of the donors with Godric's family.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. Rams.* pp. 111-12.

<sup>5</sup> The phrase appears to mean that the estate was left so that Ramsey could use it to pay the king his heriot when Eadnoth died. If this is the correct interpretation, Godric's gift was probably made before Eadnoth became Bishop of Dorchester. But see E. John, *Land Tenure*, pp. 57-8, on abbatial heriots at this period.

<sup>6</sup> *Chron. Rams.* pp. 173-4. It lay near Woodhurst, cf. *Chron. Rams.* p. 266; *Cart. Rams.* I, pp. 98, 283-4.

<sup>7</sup> *Chron. Rams.* p. 84. The exact relationship of Eadnoth II to the rest of the family is unknown, but it must have been a close one.

<sup>8</sup> *Chron. Rams.* pp. 112, 148.

<sup>9</sup> *Chron. Rams.* pp. 148, 159.

<sup>10</sup> *Lib. Elien.* pp. 80, 83, 88, 91, 103, 143.

too reticent passage in Æthelstan's will,<sup>1</sup> in which he leaves two hides at Hatley on the Cambridgeshire–Bedfordshire border to his unnamed second daughter, and the remainder of Hatley to one Leofsige, a relative of Ælfhelm; in the next passage he goes on to leave land at Potton (Beds) to his (Leofsige's) unnamed brother's unnamed son, 'after the death of Æffa, the wife of the said Ælfhelm'. But the following chapter in the Ramsey Chronicle<sup>2</sup> claims that Leofsige's nephew could not prove his right to the reversion of the land, and quotes a charter in which Ælfhelm and Æffa are made to grant Hatley and Potton to Ramsey. One is left with the strong impression, from these passages, that Æffa was Æthelstan's second daughter.

The situation is complicated, however, by an undated charter<sup>3</sup> entered in an Ely Gospel book, in which Ælfhelm grants one hide at Potton to his goldsmith, and by the survival of a contemporary copy of the will of Ælfhelm,<sup>4</sup> who died on 31 October 989, three years after Æthelstan, according to Ramsey sources.<sup>5</sup> In his will Ælfhelm leaves his long ship to Ramsey, and the estates at Hatley and Potton to two brothers Ælfstan and Ælfmaer, who are otherwise unidentified. This disposal of the estates, by which neither Ramsey nor Ælfhelm's wife Æffa (who survived him) appears to have benefited, is puzzling, but the will does show that Ælfhelm claimed control of the estates at the time of his death. The fact is that Ramsey, which commemorated Ælfhelm as the donor of Hatley and Potton, did not possess them by the time of the Norman Conquest; among many possible explanations, one might suggest that an agreement could have been reached during Ælfhelm's lifetime for the sale by the abbey of the reversion of the estates to Ælfstan and Ælfmaer. Whatever the solution to the problem of their descent, the importance for our purpose of the references to these properties is that, by demonstrating a close connection between the families of Æthelstan and Ælfhelm, they extend our knowledge of the family tree of Eadnoth, the first abbot of Ramsey.

It remains to discuss the significance of the thesis here put forward—that Eadnoth used his family's endowments for the foundation of two daughter cells, in one of which he installed his sister as head of the community. By any reckoning, this was a policy unique for the period. Indeed, it might appear at first sight to be in conflict with the very ethos of the Benedictine revival, for one of the evils this sought to stamp out was the tendency to regard a monastic foundation as no more than a convenient and safe form of property-holding by a family. It is unthinkable, however, that such a notion could have entered Eadnoth's mind, trained as he was by St Oswald himself and Abbo of Fleury; he was head of a model house in the forefront of the reform movement, and in charge of his novices was the renowned Byrhtferth, biographer of St Oswald and author of the most fundamental scientific

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Rams.* p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. Rams.* p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1939), no. LXXI (cited as *Robertson*); the MS. is described by N. Ker in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 36–7.

<sup>4</sup> *A. S. Wills*, XIII.

<sup>5</sup> *Cart. Rams.* III, p. 166, where Ælfhelm's name is misprinted as *Alfelinus* (*m* being misread as *in*). In *Mon. Angl.* II, p. 566, the name is further distorted by the twelfth-century copyist to *Alwen* and described as *soror nostra*.

manual to come from an English monastery since the time of Bede. Such a background could not be further removed from the old concept of a monastery in lay hands; moreover it must be remembered that no sooner had Eadnoth established the two daughter foundations, than he himself vacated the abbacy of Ramsey.

He was in fact applying a unique policy to a unique situation, for the early estate history of Ramsey differs radically from that of its fenland neighbours at Ely, Thorney, Peterborough, and (one may safely assume) Crowland, all of which derived the bulk of their initial endowments from the land transactions of their founder, St Æthelwold.<sup>1</sup> Æthelwold acquired his estates by many devices, from landholders both great and small—by gifts *inter* and *post vivos*, by exchange, by forfeiture, and to a large extent by purchase; but characteristically the endowments of his four foundations were built up piecemeal, and were not derived as in the case of Ramsey from block donations of whole tracts of land by individual families, who maintained an almost proprietary interest in the abbey's welfare.

Ely, it is true, can boast its Brihtnoth to set against Ramsey's Æthelwine; the parallel has been drawn on several occasions,<sup>2</sup> but it has not been sufficiently appreciated that whereas the donations of Æthelwine and his family were completed within twenty-five years of the monastery's foundation, those of Brihtnoth and his daughters to Ely were nearly all gifts in reversion of properties which did not come into that abbey's possession until the first half of the following century;<sup>3</sup> moreover the estates in question were scattered over a far greater area than those given by Æthelwine to Ramsey.

The case of Brihtnoth excepted,<sup>4</sup> none of Æthelwold's fenland houses can show anything to compare with the long series of donations which Æthelstan Mannes-sune's family made to Ramsey during and after Eadnoth's abbacy. It is not to be wondered at that Eadnoth should wish to make special recognition of his family's services. The *inventio* of the uncorrupt body of St Ivo at *Slepe* provided one such opportunity, which led to the foundation of the small monastery at St Ives. The need for a nunnery gave Eadnoth ample justification for his second foundation. At the time he founded Chatteris, apart from Barking in Essex, there was no other nunnery in the whole of eastern England.

It is possible that Eadnoth's death supporting Edmund Ironside at *Assandun* may account for the failure of the two new monasteries to attract any further substantial lay endowment. Cnut favoured Ramsey, but not its daughter foundations, and Æthelric, the Ramsey monk who succeeded Eadnoth I as Bishop of Dorchester,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The authorities for Æthelwold's land transactions are: for Ely, the *Liber Eliensis*; for Peterborough, Robertson, nos. xxxix, xl; for Thorney, the foundation Charter in the Red Book of Thorney, Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. 3020, as yet not satisfactorily edited.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 59; F. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2nd edn. 1947), p. 449; E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge, 1951), p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Lib. Elien.* pp. 422-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. Rams.* p. 116, claims that Brihtnoth's gifts were originally intended for Ramsey. Although the chapter is misdated, there is no reason to disbelieve the story there given.

<sup>5</sup> From 1006 to 1049 Ramsey supplied three bishops in succession to Dorchester, the parent see.

MANN = ?  
*Chron. Rams.* c. 29  
Held Chatteris (Ca)

ÆTHELSTAN MAN- = ?

NESSUNE  
†14 June 986  
*Mon. Angl.* II,  
p. 566  
*Cart. Rams.* III,  
p. 166  
*Chron. Rams.* c. 29,  
30  
*Lib. Elien.* II, c. 13,  
33  
Estates in Cambs,  
Beds, and Hunts;  
also Upwell (Nf)  
and Hackthorn  
(Li)

A relative of St  
Oswald; survived  
ÆTHELSTAN  
Inherited estates  
mainly in Norfolk  
*Chron. Rams.*  
pp. 60-1

? = ?

? = GODRIC  
† 1013 *Cart. Rams.*  
III, p. 167  
Left Cottenham  
(Ca); willed Ter-  
rington (Nf) to  
Ramsey

ÆLFWARU  
† 1007  
*Cart. Rams.* III,  
p. 167  
Goddughter of  
ÆTHELSWYTH  
*Chron. Rams.* c. 29,  
52  
*Lib. Elien.* II, c. 61  
Estates mainly in  
Norfolk; also in  
Suffolk, Hunts,  
and Cambs

ÆLFWEN 'Domina'  
c. 1007 first abbess  
of Chatteris  
*Chron. Rams.* c. 29  
Left Hackthorn (Li)  
and St Ives (Hu)

EADNOTH 'junior'  
992 first abbot of  
Ramsey  
c. 1007 Bishop of  
Dorchester  
Killed at *Assandun*  
1016

? = LEOFRIC  
of Holywell (Beds)  
*Robertson LXXI*

ÆFFA  
*Chron. Rams.* c. 29,  
30  
*A. S. Wills* XIII  
Survived ÆFHELM

= ÆLFHELM POLGA  
† 31 Oct. 989  
*Mon. Angl.* II, p. 566  
*Cart. Rams.* III,  
p. 166  
*A. S. Wills* XIII  
*Lib. Elien.* II, c. 10,  
11, 29, 73  
*Lib. Mon. de Hyda,*  
p. 245  
*Robertson LXXI*  
Estates mainly in  
Essex; also Suf-  
folk, Herts and  
Cambs

ÆLFHELM  
the Younger  
*Lib. Elien.* II, c. 10,  
11  
*A. S. Wills* XIII  
*Robertson LXXI*  
*Lib. Mon. de Hyda,*  
p. 245  
Left Ickleton (Ca)  
and share in  
Troston (Sf)

= ? Two Sons  
*A. S. Wills* XIII  
Left shares in  
Troston (Sf)

Son  
EADNOTH  
Left *Acleya*, a wood  
in St Ives (Hu)  
1043 × 65  
*Chron. Rams.*  
c. 117-18

= ?  
ÆTHELRIC  
a monk at Ramsey  
*Chron. Rams.*  
c. 118

Bishop EADNOTH II of Dorchester  
† 19 Sept. 1049  
Educated at Ramsey: a relative  
of ÆLFWARU (*Chron. Rams.*  
c. 52, 69, 92)  
Left Knapwell and Over (Ca)  
and Barton (Beds) to Ramsey  
*Chron. Rams.* c. 92, 105

GODRIC  
*A. S. Wills* XIII  
*Robertson LXXI*

=  
daughter  
*A. S. Wills* XIII  
Left Gestingthorpe  
(Ess) and share of  
Conington (Ca)

ÆLFGAR  
*A. S. Wills* XIII  
Left Whepstead  
and Walton (Sf)

ÆTHELRIC  
*Robertson LXXI*  
*A. S. Wills* XIII  
Left share in  
Conington (Ca)

ÆLFWOLD  
*Robertson LXXI*  
*A. S. Wills* XIII  
Left shares in  
Troston (Sf) and  
Conington (Ca)  
Possibly the  
ÆLFWOLD of  
*Merthamlege* who  
held land in  
Stretham (Ca),  
*Lib. Elien.* II, c. 10

showed scant respect for his former abbot when he persuaded Cnut to establish a second nunnery in the grounds of Ramsey itself.<sup>1</sup> The scheme eventually fell through, but not before building had already started, and the ruins of the crypt of the intended church remained in the abbey graveyard at the time the Ramsey Chronicle was being compiled a century and a half later. Eadnoth's foundations remained small, but at least they survived. It is a remarkable fact that, at the very period at which St Ives and Chatteris were being established, the neighbouring priory of St Neots, a cell of Ely, ceased to exist.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Rams.* p. 126. F. Barlow, in *The English Church 1000 to 1066*, 1963, p. 103, n. 1, gives a rather different interpretation of this passage.

<sup>2</sup> *Lib. Elyen.* p. 420.

# EXCAVATIONS ON A MEDIEVAL SITE AT WATER NEWTON, IN THE COUNTY OF HUNTINGDON, IN 1958

CHARLES GREEN

## I. INTRODUCTION

IN the spring of 1958, the Water Newton Excavation Committee, an *ad hoc* body set up by the Council for British Archaeology with the support of the Ministry of Works, carried out test excavations at various points along the projected line of the reconstructed Great North Road (A1) in the parishes of Chesterton, Water Newton and Sibson-cum-Stibbington, all in Huntingdonshire. In the western part of the field immediately to the south of Water Newton House, Mr Graham Webster, who directed the work in the eastern sector of the Committee's area, revealed the foundations of stone walls, ditches, pits and some evidence of a timber structure, all of which appeared to belong to the early medieval period. His test trenches were necessarily somewhat scattered and so, as they seemed to provide evidence of an early deserted village, the writer was asked by the Ministry of Works to continue the excavation in this field after the Committee's work had come to an end.

For the earlier excavations, a 'road-zone', 200 ft. wide, through which the new 150 ft. wide road would eventually run in a slight curve, had been pegged across the field in 50 ft. squares. For the more intensive digging of the second phase, this was felt to be insufficient and the pegs of a smaller grid of 20 ft. squares were inserted, based on the westernmost peg-line of the earlier grid. The cuttings shown on the plan, therefore, can be seen in part to be 'at random', made to test the productivity of the site, and in part so placed that, in the available time, the structures of the postulated village could be isolated. To this end, those of Mr Webster's trenches which contained foundations were left open and the writer's further cuttings were sometimes detached and sometimes an extension of a pre-existing one.

The later excavations began on 28 April 1958, and were completed by 22 May. Though the work was somewhat impeded by rainy weather, it proved possible to identify and date the later structures and to obtain sufficient evidence of the earlier occupation of the site to form provisional theories of its nature and date—theories to be tested, it is hoped, by extended work on the site in the future.

My thanks are due to Mr Graham Webster and Miss Joan Jeffery, his assistant, for their ready and thorough collaboration in the handing over of their records and finds, to the Chairman and Members of the Huntingdonshire County Council and to their Surveyor at the time, Mr T. H. Longstaff, and to the local members of the

Water Newton Excavation Committee, Messrs E. Standen, F. Dakin and S. O. G. Wilson, for help given in various ways. To Dr C. Hart of Yaxley I am especially grateful for the help he gave in providing information on the early record-history of the parish and for the appendix he has written for this report. The difficulties inherent in taking over a partly completed excavation were greatly eased by my chargehand, Mr S. Vincent, who had previously worked with Mr Webster in that capacity, and who is well acquainted with my methods from previous excavations we have done together.

It should be noted that G. W.'s cuttings are numbered, e.g. D17.1, C16.3, and C.G.'s with Roman numerals and letters, e.g. BII, CIV.

All the finds are now in the Norris Museum, St Ives, Huntingdon.

## II. THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE SITE

The parish of Water Newton is bounded on the north by the river Nene, which here forms the boundary between Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire, on the east by the Billing Brook, on the south by a tributary of the brook and on the west by a common boundary with Sibson-cum-Stibbington, a boundary not marked by outstanding topographical features. From east to west, close to the river Nene, runs the Great North Road and southward from this through the middle of the parish runs the Elton road (Fig. 1).

The village is small and, apart from a few houses on the south side of the main road, is clustered between that road and a ford crossing the Nene to the Northamptonshire parishes of Ailsworth and Castor. By the ford stands a watermill and close by to the west is the church. The Great North Road itself, which from near Huntingdon has followed the line of the Roman road, Ermine Street, leaves that line in Chesterton parish to the east, at the south-eastern gate of DVROBRIVAE, and follows roughly the right bank of the Nene to the crossing at Wansford, some 3 miles to the north-west.

The field forming the site of the excavations is divided from the main road to the north by the gardens of Water Newton House, which fronts the road; on the west it is bounded by the Elton road. The underlying 'solid' rocks belong to the Jurassic 'Lower Oolite' series, but in this field a layer of boulder clay shrouds them, to form the subsoil. In the south-eastern part of the same field, Artis (1828) marked the site of a Romano-British villa, but this lay slightly downhill, some 700 ft. distant from the centre of the medieval site here described. This building was doubtless the source of the very occasional Romano-British tile and pottery fragments which were found. At the time of the excavations the field was in use as a sheep-pasture, and the very shallow topsoil, together with the absence of a clearly defined plough-soil, suggested that this, indeed, had been its use for centuries. The present-day surface level of the excavated area lies between 62 and 65 ft. O.D., as measured from a bench mark on the Great North Road.

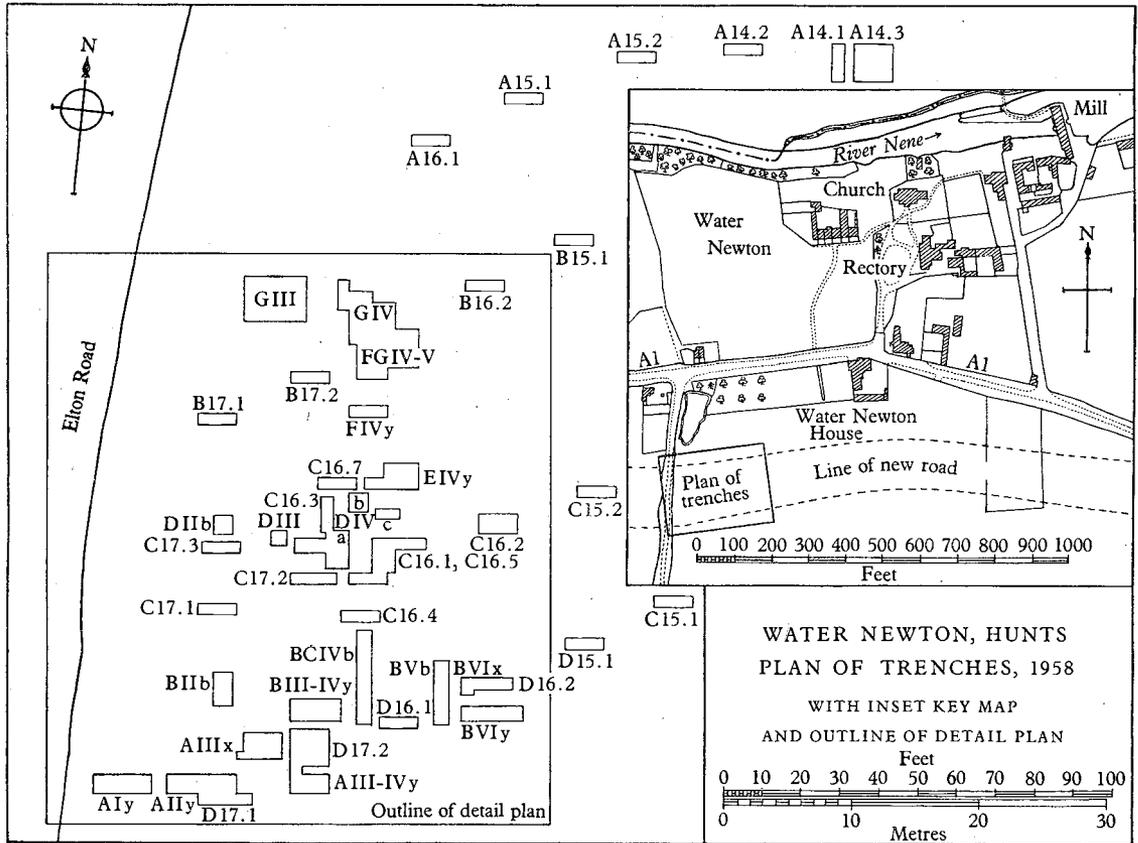


Fig. 1.

### III. THE OCCUPATION OF THE SITE

Clear evidence was found of two main occupations, the one inferred to be in Late Saxon times, the other dated more precisely to the thirteenth century. Structural changes carried out during that century probably indicate that the second occupation began at a somewhat earlier date. As has already been said, the occasional occurrences of Roman pottery and tile fragments may be attributed to the presence of the building in another part of this large field, for no trace whatever of Roman foundations or floors was observed. In the following subsections the finds are summarized and discussed and the details of the exposures and finds are given in subsequent sections.

#### (a) *The Late Saxon occupation*

To the Late Saxon period are attributed the sleeper-beam structure with its clay packing and the contemporary broad ditch. The purpose of this heavy structure is not very clear. Its width and the absence of any recognizable internal floor make it fairly certain that it cannot be the wall of a house or other building. The presence of

post-holes which cut slightly into the beam-line, the occasional patches of stone packing and the very rough timbers used as sleeper beams, as well as the very irregular width of the structure, combine to suggest that it represents the base of the north-western part of a stockade, most of which lay to the south of the excavation area. It may be inferred to have comprised a central clay wall packed between two timber revetments keyed into the sleeper beams. Outside the stockade and a narrow berm at its foot, there would seem to have been a defensive ditch, though its apparent absence from the cuttings on its north side leaves this at present uncertain.

The close dating of this 'stockade' from the archaeological evidence is impossible, but there are indications which, when combined with the available record evidence, enable a provisional date to be suggested. As will be shown below, the wall overlying the inner beam-slot can be dated to the thirteenth century, a dating confirmed by much associated material from the site. And, as will also be seen, the beam itself must have decayed before the wall was built. The ditch on the west side had been completely filled before the smaller wall, exposed in D 17. 1, was built and this wall is certainly earlier than the adjacent one to the west, which cannot be later than the thirteenth century. From the basal filling of the ditch and from the beam-slot levels, as well as from the contained clay packing, came sherds of Stamford and St Neots wares which, on our present knowledge, can be attributed to the period A.D. 900-1100, the 'developed' St Neots ware of later date occurring only in higher levels. Not a single sherd of Middle Saxon ware was found on the site. As Middle Saxon 'Ipswich ware' has now been shown to be not uncommon at Castor, across the river Nene,<sup>1</sup> it seems likely that some fragment of this ware would have been found here had the site been closely occupied during the seventh-ninth centuries.

It is here that the record evidence proves of value. The parish name 'Newton' indicates that it was not that of an early Saxon settlement and, in fact, most 'Newton' names can be attributed to the tenth century. But in our first mention of the name in 937, at the time when a grant of crown land was made to a subject, the thegn Sigulf,<sup>2</sup> the phrase used in the charter, *terram v. manentium ubi ab incolis nominatur Niwantun*, rather suggests that the name was already in use at that time.<sup>3</sup> However this may be, Sigulf's ownership may perhaps mark the first residential occupation of this land by a man of consequence, though the possibility of its occupation by a Danish lord between Alfred's treaty with Guthrum and the reconquest of the Danelaw cannot be altogether overlooked. But as, before about 970, the land had come into the possession of a much greater man, the thegn Ælfric, for two years (983-5) Ealdorman of Mercia (Garmonsway, 1953, 124-5), and after 973 belonged to the Abbey of Thorney until the Dissolution, a tenth-century stronghold may with more confidence be attributed to Ælfric.

If, then, further work can demonstrate more certainly that this clay and timber

<sup>1</sup> Fragments of at least nine vessels of this ware were found by the writer in 1958, in the filling of two small pits, while excavating in the extension to the parish churchyard.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> This suggestion was made to me by Dr Hart *in litt.* dated 14 December 1958.

structure is a stockade surrounding a thegn's hall and the archaeological dating is not contravened by later finds, this structure may be attributed to a tenth-century thegn of Newton and, most probably, to Ælfric himself, before the day of his elevation to Ealdorman's rank.

It seems probable that the 6 ft. wide ditch running north from the 'Stockade' may also belong to this period, but its purpose is not clear. It may have served as a drainage ditch, the forerunner of the broader ditch on the western edge of the site which belonged to the later occupation.

*(b) The thirteenth-century occupation*

The most significant evidences of this period were the remains of drystone walling found in various parts of the site. At first thought perhaps to be remains of houses or other domestic buildings, it became clear when they were traced across the area, that they were in fact field enclosures, built in the fashion of drystone walling so characteristic of 'Oolite' country, best seen today in the Cotswolds. No trace of internal flooring was discovered and, at the north-eastern corner of the enclosure, a worn hollow reinforced in part with gravel and cobbles and flanked by post-holes, appeared to be the site of a gateway.

First in time came the more northerly of the west side enclosures. This was bounded on the south by the earlier east-west wall. Probably contemporary, but not certainly so, was the smaller southern enclosure bounded on its west side by the slighter north-south wall overlying the Late Saxon ditch. At a later date, this east-west partition and the slighter north-south wall were demolished and a new north-south wall, to the west of the earlier one, was built with its northern end abutting on the southern end of the original structure. At a later date again, the area of the enclosure was once more reduced. The southern north-south wall was demolished and a new east-west wall was erected. This, at its western end, did not exactly overlie its forerunner. At the same time the ditch-side paving to the south of this new line was reinforced and the new paving rested in part on the top of the residual wall-stump.

The date of this second east-west wall was established with fair certainty, for it contained, as described below, sherds of 'developed' St Neots ware, including a decorated jug. This dates the wall as not earlier than the thirteenth century and as so much of the associated pottery in the various cuttings dates the general occupation to this century, the wall may be accepted as belonging to this time. As, however, comparable pottery was also found in the layer immediately overlying the destroyed 'stockade', it seems probable that the first walls were built about the beginning of the century or perhaps late in the twelfth.

The somewhat restricted size of some of the enclosures, the trodden and reinforced gateway and the inference drawn from the depth and appearance of the topsoil, all point to the enclosures having been sheepfolds. The Domesday entry for Newton (Stenton, 1926) has no mention of sheep. If then this inference as to their use is correct, this land which, in 1086, may have formed a part of the 'land for eight ploughs', was converted to sheep-pasture about the end of the twelfth century.

The line of the broad shallow ditch to the west of the walled area is still marked by a hollow in the field's surface. Running northward, it lies parallel to the Elton road and ends in a deep hollow, still water-filled, in the angle between that road and the Great North Road. Doubtless excavated to serve as a drainage ditch, it may also have served for watering the flocks penned in these adjoining sheepfolds.

#### IV. DETAILS OF THE EXCAVATIONS

##### *The first north-south (west side) wall*

This was exposed in the trenches GIII, B17.1, DII, C17.3, C17.1 and BII (Fig. 2, and sections *E-F* and *M-N* in Fig. 3). In all of them it appeared as a simple drystone wall with a very shallow footings trench and no indication whatever of an internal floor. On its west side there were remains of a gravelled or cobbled paving which varied somewhat in density from exposure to exposure. This was apparently—as shown below—the paving lying between the wall and a drainage ditch.

Trench GIII also showed the north-west angle of the enclosure, where the wall, here reduced to its lowest course, turned roughly east. The external paving did not extend to the east along the outside of the north wall, thus confirming its use as a ditch-side pathway. No internal paving or prepared floor could be discerned in this north-west corner, though the spill from the north wall still covered the surface and had therefore protected it from later disturbance.

The southernmost of these cuttings, BII, showed the remnants of the original south-west angle, though the first south-side wall running east from this point had been reduced to its lowest course and was partly overlapped by its successor (section *E-F-G*).

##### *The second north-south (west side) wall*

This was exposed in the trenches BII and D17.1 which bordered the excavation area. This wall, though of similar construction to the original west-side wall to the north, was not in exact alignment with the latter and was partly butted against it. From this joint it continued southward, bordered on the west as before by the cobble paving, which in AII-D17.1 was shown to slope down to the ditch-lip. Its lower margin was actually lower than the present-day water level and, as is seen in section *A-B*, it was slightly overlapped by a band of water-deposited silt. This silt was present only in the northern half of this trench and appeared to be the remains of a shallow pool in the underlying denser clay filling. Above this silty layer, the filling contained, in addition to earlier pottery, sherds of seventeenth-century black manganese and yellow glazed wares and a sherd of English delft ware.

The ditch-side paving in D17.1 was seen to have been overlaid by further cobbling which slightly overlapped the remains of the wall. Some of this overlapping stone may have been spill from the disintegrating wall, but sufficient cobbling was present to make it clear that the path had been reinforced and used



deeper here than farther north, had cut into the clay packing over the more easterly wall-base (section A-B). The latter, in turn, had its footings laid in the mixed clay filling of a considerable ditch running in the same direction (section K-L).

*The intermediate east-west wall*

Exposed in cuttings BII, BIII-IV, BCIV, BV and BVI, this was shown, as has already been stated, to have been of two periods (sections F-G, O-P). That running continuously through the trenches was the later wall and, in the more easterly cuttings, there was no evidence of a double build as was shown in BII to exist. But

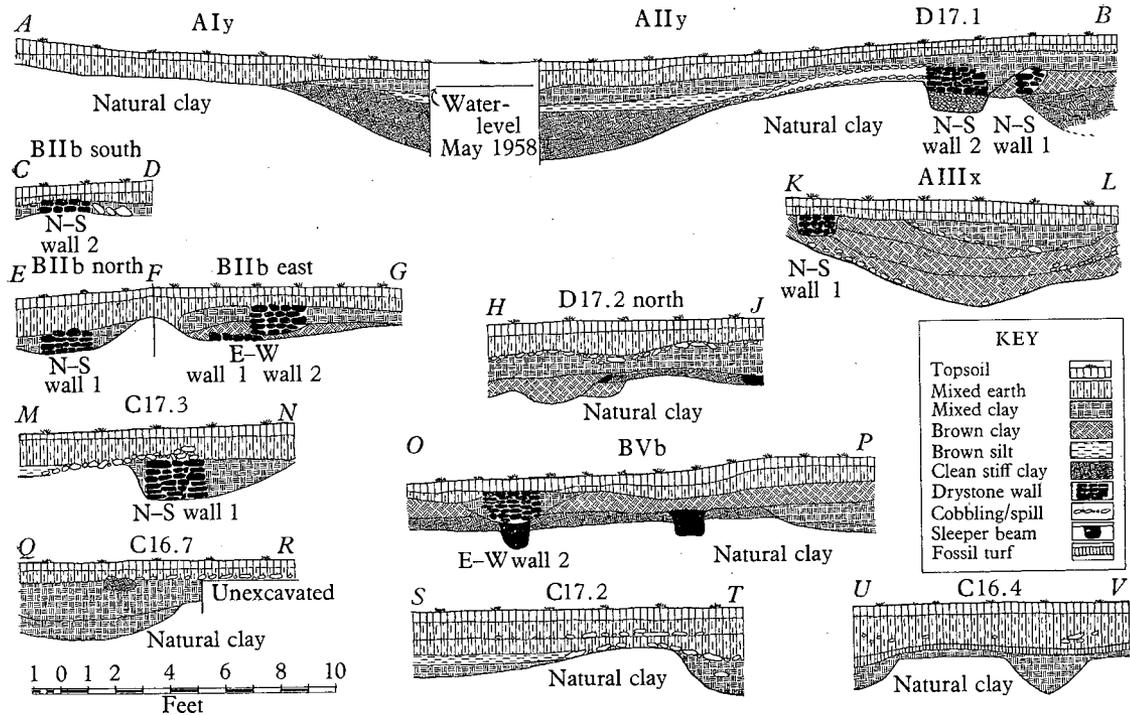


Fig. 3.

the odd contraction in the structure, shown in BCIV, gave some indication of such a double build and this is doubtless the point where the later wall came to coincide exactly with the line of its forerunner.

It was in the substance of this later wall, removed in BV, that sherds of 'developed' St Neots ware were found. These included a glazed jug fragment, with oval reticulated stamps on slip roundles, clear evidence of the wall's not ante-dating the thirteenth century. Here, too, the footings trench of the wall (section O-P) was seen to have cut into the underlying beam slot and its mixed carbonized filling.

*The north wall*

This was exposed in GIII and GIV. It had disintegrated to its footings level which was concealed by its debris. It was seen to turn south again in GIV, where its

line was lost and, with occasional bald patches, the trench showed a spread of scattered stone. After the more obvious wall-spill had been removed, the lower layer was seen to be mixed cobbling and some broad, flat slabs, resting in part on a spread of fine reddish gravel, mixed and partly covered with a thin layer of dark 'muddy' earth. At each of two points near the western edge of this spread, a post-hole was defined, though the more northerly was somewhat uncertain.

The complex was interpreted as a gateway, the entrance, perhaps closed by hurdles, to the walled enclosure lying to the west. The broad slabs in line along the north side were worn and smoothed and probably formed a narrow pathway along the side of the animal-churned gateway approach.

### *The central walls*

Exposed in cuttings DIIIb, DIVa, C16.1, 5, DIVc, C16.6 and EIV, the first indication of this complex was seen by Mr Webster and thought to be a hut wall. However, no flooring traces or other evidence of internal occupation, or any evidence of a roof, could be found. When followed through the later cuttings, it was seen in EIV to turn and branch again. In DIIIb-IVa the east-west wall turned north and ended abruptly at a break, beyond which no further trace of it could be found. Construction-method and disposition alike point to these walls being a part of the enclosure-system already described.

In C16.2, the base of a stone-built oven was exposed. There was, however, no other evidence here to suggest the interior of a building, and the oven rested on the same clay level which formed the internal surface of the whole enclosure.

The western part of this central complex was seen to be built on the silty clay filling of a 6 ft. wide ditch (sections *Q-R*, *S-T*, *U-V*). In this clay filling were sundry sherds of Romano-British wares and a few small sherds of Stamford and St Neots wares.

### *Early 'stockade' and ditch*

These features were seen in D17.1, AIII, AIII-IV, D17.2, BIII-IV, BCIV, BV, D16.2 and BVI (sections *H-f*, *O-P*). In D17.2, where the structure was first noted, it appeared as two roughly parallel sleeper-beam slots filled with carbonized wood and clay, and with the base of a heavy boulder clay packing between the beams, reinforced with occasional stones. What appeared to be two post-holes, each cutting somewhat into its adjacent beam-line, were also noted. Followed in AIII-IV to the southern edge of the excavation area, the beams continued and a curious overlapping junction in the western beam-line gave evidence that they were roughly laid split logs. To the north, they were seen to turn (BIII-IV) roughly through a right angle to the east and here the more southerly (in BCIV, BV and BVI) approximately underlay the later east-west medieval wall. The section exposed in BV (section *O-P*) also made clear that the wood in the sleeper-slot must have been completely carbonized before the later footings trench was dug, for the latter was dug into the beam-slot in such a way as to show that the timber had given no resistance. In

places there were also remnants of stone packing against the outer sides of the structure, and the internal filling was everywhere heavy boulder clay. In AIII-IV this boulder clay contained a few sherds of glazed Stamford ware and, in both BV and BVIa, sherds of both Stamford and St Neots wares.

In D17.1 and AIII an early broad ditch was shown to lie parallel with this timber and clay structure, with a 4 ft. berm between. The exposure in AIII sug-

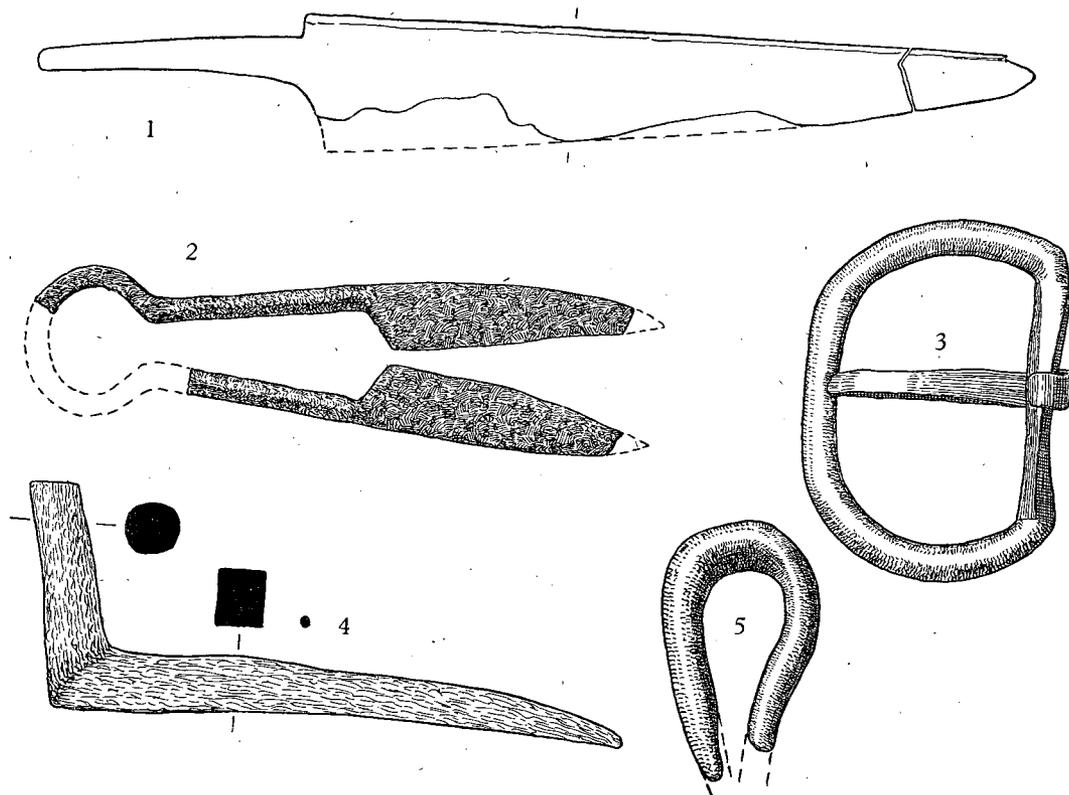


Fig. 4. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

gested that this ditch would curve round to the east, parallel to the timbering, but no clear evidence of this could be seen in BCIV. In BIII-IV, where it might have been exposed at the west end, the surface at the level of the ditch-lip and its filling was obscured by the presence of the remnants of a hearth on the clay, which was reddened by fire and blackened by ash, and the time available did not permit further excavation at this point. No other direct evidence of this ditch was observed either to the north or east. In BCIV, however, the north end of the trench showed a slightly down-sloping boulder clay surface braided with small 'channels'. Here in the silty clay on this natural surface were sherds of Stamford ware, one with rouletted rim, and a butt-beaker base of Romano-British Castor ware. A somewhat similar surface was again noted in BV (section *O-P*) below similar silty clay, but the latter here was archaeologically sterile. The early silting in the ditch, exposed in AIII, contained sherds of both Stamford and St Neots wares.

Other ditches were noted in C 16.4 and D 16.2, but these were not seen in adjacent trenches.

Further to the north and east, more widely scattered test trenches, A 14.1, 14.2, 14.3, A 15.1, 15.2, A 16.1, B 15.1, 15.2, C 15.1, 15.2 and D 15.1, were made by Mr Webster. All these proved to be archaeologically sterile.

#### THE FINDS

##### (1) *Objects of iron* (Fig. 4)

1. Knife blade (C 16.7, below fallen stones). A tanged blade of triangular section with slight shoulder and simple unriveted tang. This blade has no unusual features and is an ordinary example of the twelfth–thirteenth-century knife. Cf. LMC (1940), 51–2, pl. XI, 2.

2. Shears (FIVy, topsoil). This broken pair of shears seems to be of early type as defined by the angle between blades and shafts. Those from pagan Anglo-Saxon graves always had a U-shaped head (e.g. Neville, 1852, 25, pl. 39), the ring-headed type not appearing until the eleventh century (LMC 1940, 153 ff.) and this pair doubtless belongs to the twelfth–thirteenth-century occupation of the site. Small shears of this type were apparently the forerunners of true scissors, used for a variety of domestic purposes.

3. Harness buckle (DIVa, south of east–west wall, over ditch-filling). This is an ordinary buckle with no unusual features, but is dated to the medieval period, as it was deposited on the early ditch-filling before the collapse of the stone-walling, in association with early pottery only.

4. Hinge pintle (DIVa, south of east–west wall, over early ditch filling). This is a normal smith-made gate-fitting. Found with no. 3 above, it antedates the collapse of the wall.

5. Loop, probably the head of a smith-made ‘split’ lynch-pin (C 17.2, in mixed earth over early ditch-filling). This layer was the surface-soil of the wall-structure period and contained only pottery of the period, so that this iron fragment is probably contemporary.

A few iron fragments, of uncertain use and date, which were found in topsoil, have not been described and illustrated.

##### (2) *Objects of iron, bronze, stone and bone* (Fig. 5)

6a, 6b. Horseshoe fragment and horseshoe nail (C 16.1, below scatter of stones east of wall). The shoe fragment is the branch-end of a lobed horseshoe with a folded-over calkin. There remains some trace of the punched hollow, through the centre of which the nail-hole passed. The fragment is shown against the (broken) outline of a complete shoe, in excellent condition, taken from an early medieval layer in Westgate Street, Gloucester, in 1939 (Gloucester Museum Cat. no. 2733). Though commonly regarded as of Romano-British type, the lobed shoe appears to persist until after the Norman Conquest, though Ward is cautious in his acceptance of Murray’s admittedly provisional dating (Murray, 1936, 25 ff.; Ward, 1939, 147 ff.). But the Gloucester shoe was from a medieval deposit well above Romano-British levels and is rather larger and wider in the branch than shoes of certain Romano-British date from Gloucester. Ward Perkins (LMC 1940, 114 ff.) has since brought forward evidence to show that the type persisted into the thirteenth century, so that the almost certain medieval date of this fragment may be accepted. The fiddle-key nail is characteristic of the lobed shoe; the base of the head rested in the outer punched hollow. The Gloucester shoe had two of these nails, in excellent condition, still in the holes and the so-called T-shaped nail, mentioned by both Murray and Ward, appears to be merely a heavily worn nail of fiddle-key type.

7, 8. Bronze strap-ends with rivet holes and one with a central slot (A 14.3, from mixed earth

in an otherwise sterile trench). These are roughly made strips from thin sheet bronze and were probably used to attach small buckles to leather straps.

9. Bronze strap-end with rivets still *in situ* (B15.1, topsoil). Of thin sheet bronze, this apparently formed a buckle-attachment for the end of a leather strap.

10. Bronze 'horn-shaped' fragment of roughly circular section with a small rivet-hole (GIV, at base of topsoil). This was apparently a small projecting appendage which has been broken away from its matrix-object at the attaching rivet. Its use is unknown.

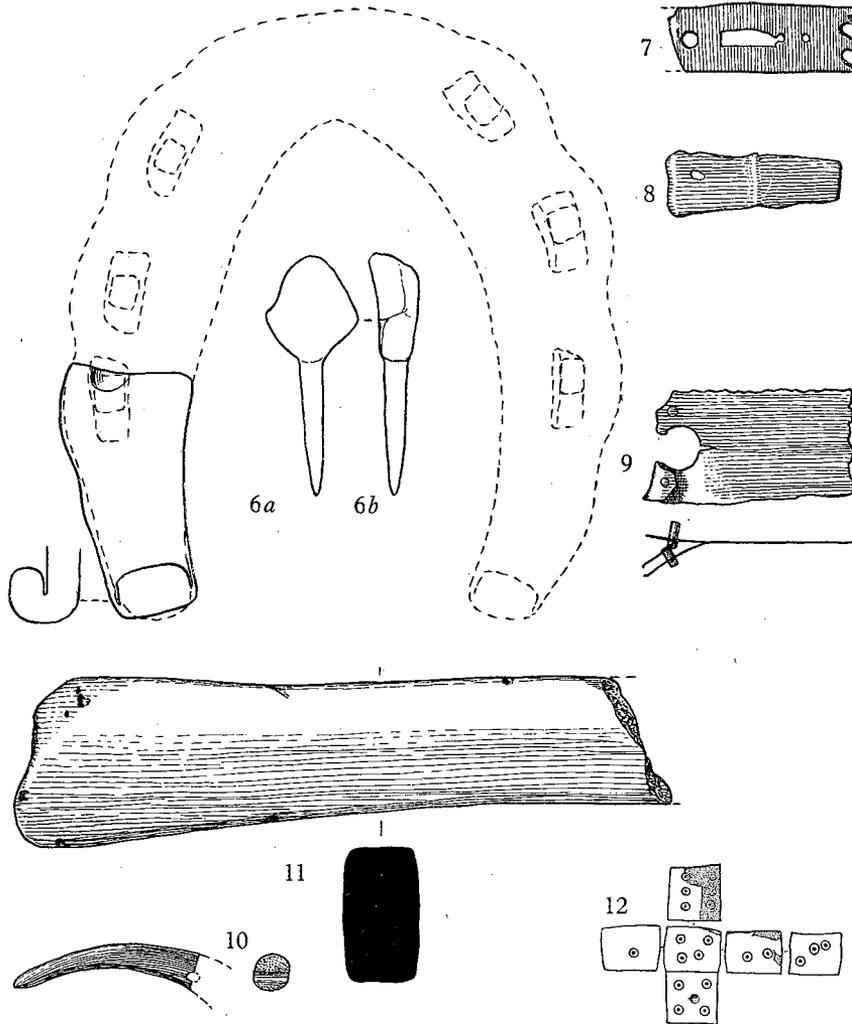


Fig. 5. Scale  $\frac{1}{5}$ .

11. Whetstone fragment of grey mica-schist (A14.1, from topsoil). Hones of this type have commonly a hole for suspension bored at one end and the missing part was doubtless so pierced. Dunning (1937, 683-95 and LMC 1940, 293-4) has attributed these hones with near certainty to the twelfth century, which again is in agreement with the date of the later occupation of this site.

Two whetstone fragments of a hard sandstone, from the topsoil of B15.1 and FIVy respectively, appear to be of post-medieval date and are not illustrated.

12. Bone gamester's die (C16.7, topsoil). Though dice of this general type are well-known throughout the historic period in this country, this specimen, though not closely dated, is probably not modern. It is somewhat irregularly cut and, as it seemed possible that it had a bias, 500 throws were made with it. The percentages recorded were: 1, 7%; 2, 10%; 3, 9%; 4, 7%; 5, 31% and 6, 36%. The die is clearly biased to give 5 or 6 and must indeed have been valuable to its owner for the old game of 'Sevens and Elevens'.

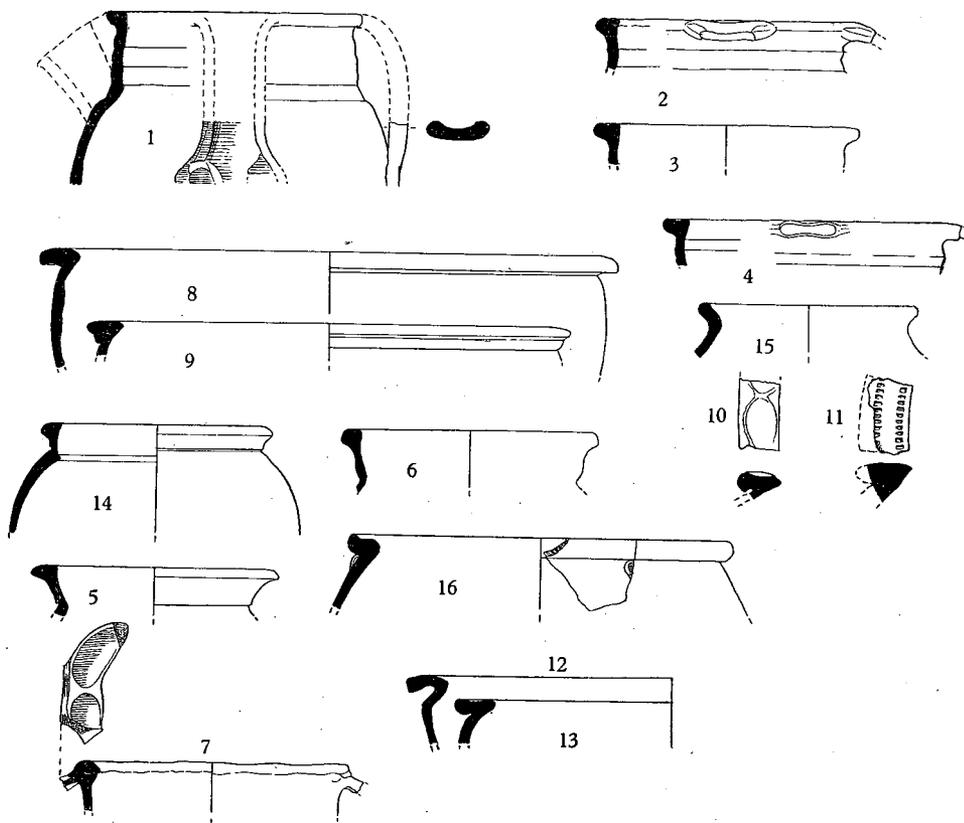


Fig. 6. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

### (3) Pottery (Figs. 6-8)

Considerable quantities of pottery were found, mainly in small sherds. It comprised Romano-British wares, mainly colour-coated, Stamford ware, St Neots wares, Thetford ware and a few sherds of later medieval and post-medieval wares. The Romano-British fragments had no features of special interest and, as they have no stratigraphical value, they have not been illustrated or described in detail.

#### (a) Stamford ware (Fig. 6)

The sherds of this ware formed only a small proportion of the total number found, but it is of interest to note that the group comprised both glazed and unglazed jugs, cooking pots and bowls. As Stamford lies some 10 miles only from Water Newton, this parish falls within the area of the 'home' market which, as Dunning (1959, 37) has said, is normally the area where the whole

range of types is found. The glazes recorded from this site varied in colour from a pale clear green, through a greyish sage green to pale clear yellow. A selection of the rim-types is given below. The descriptive surveys by Dunning (1936) and Hurst (1958) make a multiplication of quoted parallels unnecessary.

(1) Pitcher (D 17.1, upper ditch filling east of early wall). Fragment of neck and handle, of cream paste with a pale buff external surface. The base of the handle and adjoining parts of the neck have a thin, almost colourless glaze with a faint greenish tinge. Cf. Hurst (1958), fig. 1, 3.

(2) Pitcher (D 16.2, topsoil). Fragment of neck and handle-attachment, of cream paste with pale buff surface. The handle-base and outer side of neck show large patches of very pale yellowish-green glaze. Similar to no. 1.

(3) Pitcher (A 14.1, topsoil). Fragment of moulded rim only, of cream paste with a pale buff external surface. The external face shows patches of pale yellowish glaze. As above.

(4) Pitcher (C 17.2, below stone-spread at base of topsoil). Fragment of rim and handle-attachment, of cream paste with a buff surface. Externally the fragment has patches of pale green glaze. Cf. Hurst (1958), fig. 1, 2.

(5) Cooking pot (D 16.1, in clay below stone-spread). Fragment of moulded rim and neck, of cream paste with some smoke-blackening. Enough of the neck remains to show the constriction at its base and the outward curve of the shoulder. This fragment is unglazed. Cf. no. 4.

(6) Pitcher (A 14.2, in mixed clay). Fragment of moulded rim and neck, of cream paste, slightly smoke-blackened in places. The fragment is unglazed. Similar to nos. 4 and 5.

(7) Pitcher (D IVc, in topsoil). Fragment of rim and handle-attachment, of creamy-buff paste with a deeper buff surface. The top of the rim is decorated with an applied thumbed strip. Externally there are traces of a thin green glaze.

(8) Bowl (A 15.1, topsoil). Fragment with broad flattened rim, of cream paste without decoration or glaze. The surface finish is a little less fine than that of the glazed jugs. Cf. Dunning (1936), fig. 4.

(9) Bowl (D 17.2, below stone-spread). Fragment with broad rim, flattened above but moulded and thickened below, of cream paste.

(10) Bowl (BVb, topsoil). Fragment of hammer-head type rim, of cream paste covered with a clear yellow glaze. The top of the rim is decorated with a row of thumb-impressions. Cf. Hurst (1958), fig. 3, 16.

(11) Bowl (BCIVb, in silty clay at north end). Fragment of rim of hammer-head type, of deep cream paste. The top of the rim is decorated with two rows of rouletting. Cf. Dunning (1936), fig. 5, 12.

(12) Bowl (BIII-IVy, in packing of beam-slot). Fragment with broad projecting rim, trimmed on the outer edge and with defined carination below the neck. A somewhat similar bowl from Alstoe Mount has roulette decoration (Dunning, 1936, fig. 4, 20).

(13) Bowl (BVIy, mixed base of topsoil). Fragment with broad slightly hollowed rim, of very pale buff paste. Cf. Hurst (1958), fig. 2, 29.

(14) Cooking pot (D 17.2, below stone-spread). Fragment with moulded rim thickened on the outside and slightly concave internally, of cream paste, smoke-blackened on the rim and very slightly on the outer body-surface. Cf. Dunning (1936), fig. 3, 5; Hurst (1958), fig. 2, 38.

(15) Cooking pot (A 14.3, in mixed clay). Fragment of thickened everted rim, of greyish paste somewhat smoke-blackened. Cf. Hurst (1958), fig. 2, 9.

(16) Cooking pot (BVIx, in basal mixed clay around beam-slot). Fragment with sharply everted rim, slightly concave on upper face, of cream paste with pale buff surface. Immediately below the rim on the outside is the remnant of a vertical thumbed strip. The external face and rim are coated with a pale greenish-yellow glaze. Cf. Hurst (1958), 40.

*(b) St Neots wares (Fig. 7)*

Sherds of the shell-filled red and brown wares of St Neots type formed by far the greater part of the total number found. Though the majority of these sherds possessed no value for typological dating in the series, most of them probably belonged to the later stages of the ware's history, many indeed being of that 'developed' type characteristic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is probable, though not certain, that towards the end of the period the shell-content of the ware tends to be more comminuted and less frequent, so that the latest types are rather 'shell-speckled' than 'shell-filled' in appearance. No complete bases were found, but fragments of the characteristic bowls and cooking pots were of sagging-base type. It is also to be noted that the true small cooking pots of Saxo-Norman type (cf. Hurst, 1956, fig. 4) seem not to have been very common on the site. In the 'wall-structure' period they had in large part been replaced by the larger pots of 'early medieval' shape and of the 'developed' ware, which were certainly more common here.

The ware has been descriptively surveyed by Hurst (1956) with addenda (1958), so that references have not been multiplied. 'Developed' jugs have been discussed by Dunning in Kenyon (1948).

(17) Bowl (D 17.1, upper filling of 'stockade' ditch below early wall).

(18, 19) Bowls (A 14.1, topsoil).

(20, 21) Bowls (A 14.3, mixed clay).

(22) Bowl (B 16.1, topsoil).

(23, 24) Bowls (B Vb, topsoil).

The above fragments are all of bowls with slightly or strongly lipped, inturned rims. Some are decorated externally with a row of finger-tip impressions and one has a row of small notches on the carination at the base of the rim. All are of shell-filled paste, burnt to a reddish-brown or dark chocolate brown, with usually a somewhat lighter grey core. All doubtless had sagging bases. They are well-matched by a series from Cambridge (Hurst, 1956, figs. 5 and 6). No. 17, from its position under the wall, can hardly be later than the first half of the twelfth century.

(25) Cooking pot (A 14.3, dirty clay).

(26) Cooking pot (C 17.1, clayey earth inside wall).

(27) Cooking pot (D 17.2, below stone-spread).

(28) Cooking pot (A 14.2, clayey soil).

(29) Cooking pot (A 14.3, dirty clay).

These fragments with everted rims belong to the earlier type of small cooking pot, though no. 29, with its more upright rim, is perhaps an intermediate between this and the following group. They are of shell-filled paste, burnt to shades of dark brown on the surface, with grey cores; no. 29 only is a rather lighter red on the surface. Cf. Hurst (1956), fig. 4.

(30) Cooking pot (C 16.2, below stones).

(31) Cooking pot (D 16.1, among stones at west end).

(32) Cooking pot (D 17.2, topsoil).

(33) Cooking pot (D 16.1, clay below stones).

(34) Cooking pot (D IVa, surface of ditch-filling).

(35) Cooking pot (A IIIx, ditch-filling below stones).

(36) Cooking pot (D 17.2, below stones).

These fragments are made of a representative range of St Neots type shell-filled paste, but are sherds from large pots called by Dunning (1959, 44 ff., Group 5) 'Early Medieval Ware'. The type is characterized both by the size and by the developed rims which tend to be more upright than those of the smaller pots. Nos. 30 and 35, with slightly everted short necks capped by sharply carinated vertical rims, flattened on top, are fairly common on this site. The shallowness of the

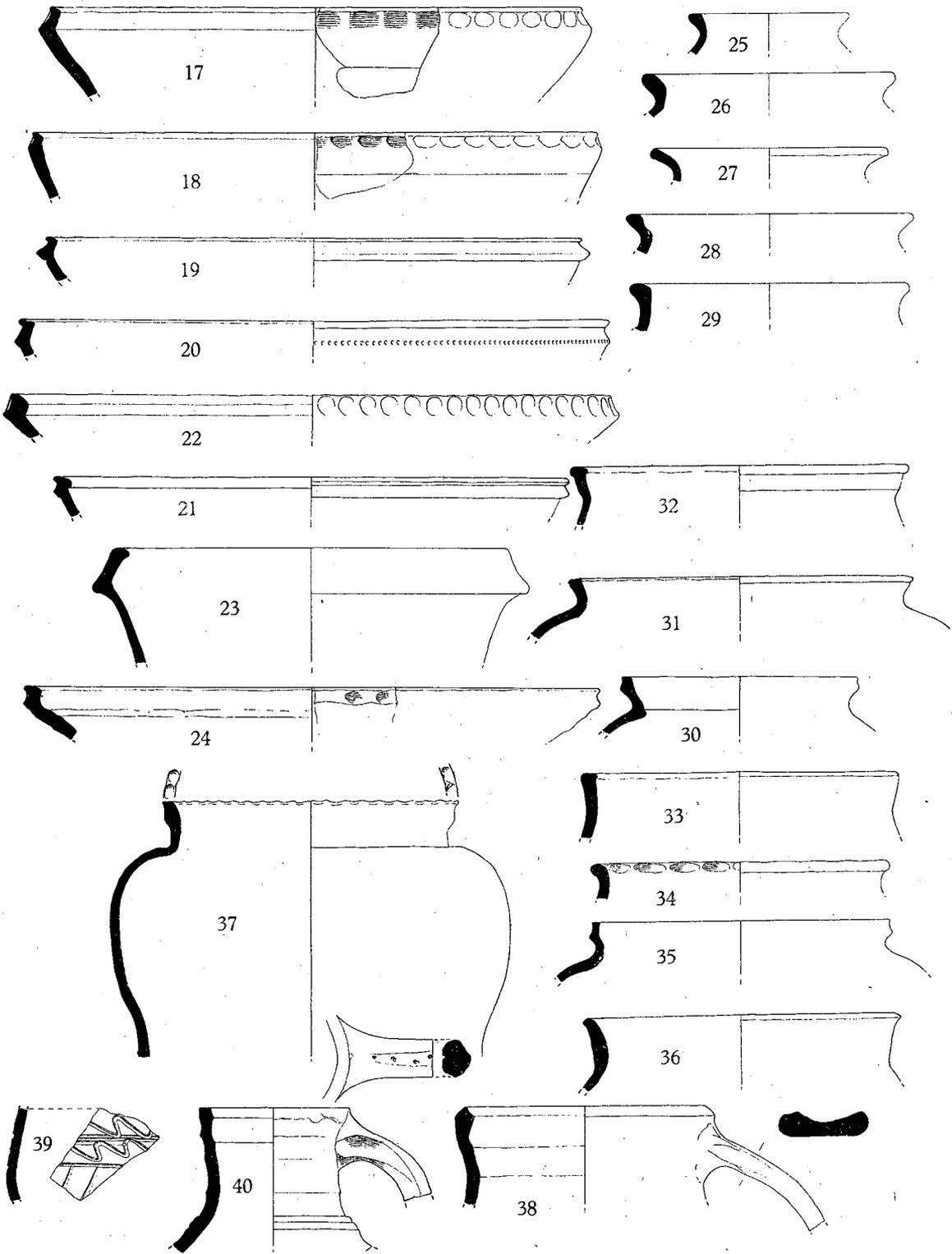


Fig. 7. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

site, however, and the lack of closely dated stratification make it impossible to date the change from small pots to large ones. But the comparatively large number of these later types suggests that they were in common use during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the remnants of the smaller pots being the debris of an earlier period. This seems to be confirmed by no. 37 (below).

(37) Cooking pot (D17.1, top-filling of 'stockade' ditch below early wall). Many sherds forming a considerable part of a large cooking pot with thickened upright rim (cf. nos. 30 and 35), decorated on its edge with a row of finger-tip impressions. Of shell-filled paste burnt to a light red on the surface, with a grey core, and somewhat smoke-darkened in its lower part, it is a well-developed member of Dunning's Group 5 (*supra*). But its date must be similar to the bowl, no. 17, and so cannot be later than the first days of the post-Conquest 'wall-structure' occupation.

(38) (D17.1, upper ditch filling east of early wall). Fragment of neck and handle, of shell-filled paste (the shell being largely finely powdered), burnt to a bright red on the surface, with a grey core. The external surface is partly coated with transparent glaze, the body-colour showing as a bright red-brown. This vessel, though still of St Neots type paste, is certainly a 'developed' medieval-type jug and its stratification suggests a date possibly as early as the twelfth century.

(39) ? Jug (A14.1, topsoil). A body sherd, probably of a large jug of shell-filled paste, burnt to a bright red on the surface, with a grey core. It bears scored decoration in zones: (a) horizontal wavy lines between straight lines, and (b) a row of obliquely upright lines. It is unglazed. Apparently a fragment of another 'developed' jug.

(40) Jug (D16.1, clay below stones). Neck and handle fragment, of a paste with some shell-filling visible on the outer surface and in the core, but almost entirely burnt out on the inner surface, leaving tiny cavities. The neck and handle bear patches of green glaze and there are traces of applied decoration. This jug is of that 'developed' type discussed by Dunning (Kenyon, 1948). Small fragments of others, some with applied roundles of yellow glazed clay stamped with a reticulated pattern, were also found.

(c) *Thetford ware* (Fig. 8)

Very few sherds of Thetford ware were found on the site, but a few scraps enable the three main types of this ware, bowls, storage jars and cooking pots, to be represented here. Pending the issue of Group Captain Knocker's 'Thetford' report, the summary survey by Hurst (1957) is used for comparison.

(41) Bowl (EIVy, topsoil). Several rim sherds of a large bowl with broad flattened rim, of dark grey hard sandy paste. A rather unusual type, but it may be compared with Hurst (1957), fig. 6, 10.

(42) Storage jar (AIII-IV balk, in the mixed carbonized filling of the beam-slot). Two body-sherds with an applied thumbed strip, apparently horizontal. The paste is the characteristic dark grey sandy mixture. Cf. Hurst (1957), fig. 8, 1.

(43) Cooking pot (BVb, base of topsoil). Fragment of simple everted rim, of hard sandy dark grey paste. Cf. Hurst (1957), fig. 6, 18.

(d) *Medieval wares* (Fig. 8)

(44) Jug (A14.1, topsoil). Fragment of neck and rim, of hard very sandy paste burnt to a light red on the surface, with a grey core. There are traces of a thin greenish glaze near the base of the neck.

(45) Jug (C16.7, topsoil). Fragment of rim and neck, of pale buff paste with a darker core, glazed somewhat patchily on the outer surface with a thin green glaze. The handle-attachment shows large thumbed flanges.

(46) Cooking pot (D17.2, below stone-spread). Fragment of rim and shoulder of large

cooking pot, of thin shell-filled paste burnt to a mottled dark brown on the outer surface and a smooth fawn internally, with a grey core. This fragment has only doubtfully been excluded from the St Neots group, but as its shape is unlike the characteristic ones of that group and as it bears a remarkable resemblance to a similar shell-filled pot found at Lydney Castle (Casey, 1931, 256, fig. 7, 18), it is treated separately.

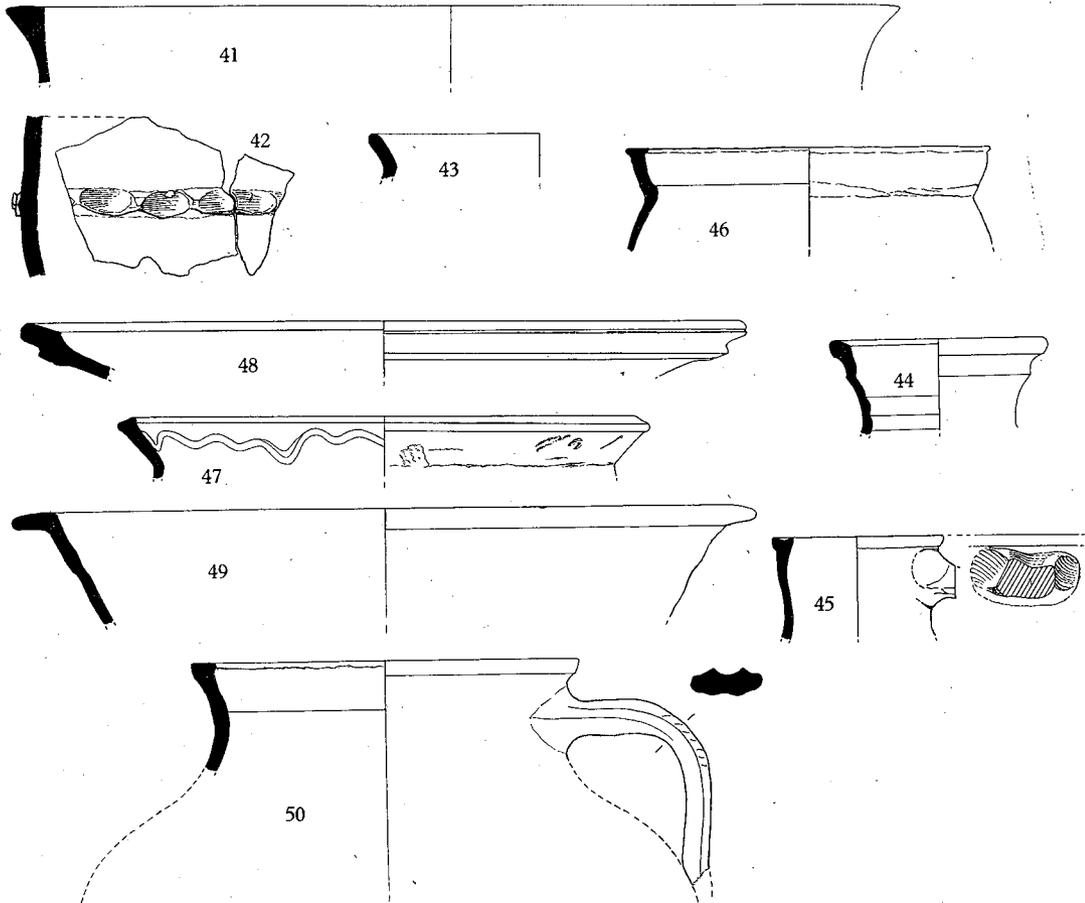


Fig. 8. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

(47) Cooking pot (D 17.2, below stone-spread). Fragment of rim of a large cooking pot, very similar to no. 46. Of shell-filled paste, it is burnt on the surface to a very dark brown and is decorated on the inner face with a scored wavy line; the outer surface has a series of irregular scars, probably accidental.

(48) Dish (A 14.3, mixed earth). Rim fragment of harsh gritty paste, burnt to a reddish-brown on the surface, with grey core. There are thin traces of a brownish glaze in the inner surface inside the thickened rim. Apparently an early Tudor vessel.

(49) Bowl (B 16.1 and B 17.2, topsoil).

(50) Pitcher (C 16.3, topsoil). Two conjoining fragments of the bowl and one of the pitcher are all of exactly similar hard sandy paste burnt to a bright red. The handle of the pitcher and the rim-surface of the bowl have a somewhat darker red-brown coating, flaked away in places, which appears to be a matt-surfaced colouring.

## APPENDIX

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF WATER NEWTON

CYRIL HART, M.A., M.B., F.R.HIST.S.

There is no clue in the place-name as to the precise date of settlement at Water Newton. O.E. *niwan tūn*, 'new tūn', from which the early forms are undoubtedly derived, is perhaps suggestive of a migratory settlement of inhabitants from a pre-existing nearby site, which may or may not have been abandoned in the process. The name, therefore, is unlikely to have originated in the earliest days of the English settlement, although 'the period during which tūn was an active name-forming element was very long, covering the whole O.E. period' (Smith, 1956, II, 191). On the other hand the phrase 'terram v. manentium ubi ab incolis nominatur Niwantun' rather points to the place-name having become fixed before we first hear of it.

This earliest reference to Water Newton occurs in a charter<sup>1</sup> dated 937, by which King Athelstan grants in perpetual inheritance an estate of five hides at *Niwantun* to one Sigulf. Although this personal name does not happen to occur elsewhere in the surviving charters of Athelstan, it was a common one, and it would be hazardous to identify the recipient with the moneyer Sigulf who struck coins in Athelstan's reign. The bounds of the estate, which are recited in the charter, are virtually the same as the bounds of the modern civil and ecclesiastical parish of Water Newton.

We next hear of the estate some time in the period 963-73, when it was in the possession of a powerful thegn named Ælfric Cild, who was later Ealdorman of Mercia.<sup>2</sup> He was a prominent local landowner much interested in the contemporary monastic revival, and when he sold Water Newton to Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester for £20, Æthelwold used the estate as part of the foundation endowment of the great Fenland abbey which he re-established at Thorney, Cambs. Later, when Ælfric successfully denied the validity of this transaction, Æthelwold purchased the estate from him a second time, paying for it a further £13, together with 2 hides *æt Resnan* (possibly Market Rasen, Lincs), 2 at Irchester and one at Titchmarsh, both in Northants.<sup>3</sup>

Water Newton remained in the possession of Thorney Abbey from this time until the dissolution of the monasteries some six and a half centuries later. Usually it was tenanted by a layman, the earliest known being Æthelferth, who held it early in the eleventh century; at this time the estate supported a fishing community, which was supplied with a boat by the abbey for use on the river Nene, by which access could be gained to the fishing grounds of Whittlesey Mere.<sup>4</sup>

At the time of the Domesday survey (Stenton, 1926) it was a fully developed estate, still assessed at five hides, with arable, meadow and woodland, a church and two mills, shown by subsequent records to have been water-mills on the river Nene. A survey of 1279 shows the economy of the

<sup>1</sup> Preserved in a fourteenth-century cartulary called the Red Book of Thorney, Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 3020-1, f. 16v (old numbering, f. v.). For a description of this MS., see Davis, 1958, 110, no. 964. The editions of this charter by Kemble (1839-48, no. 1114) and Birch (1885-93, no. 712) are based on a secondary source, which omits a large part of the text and the whole of the witness list. A full edition by the present writer, including a discussion of its authenticity and the location of the land conveyed, will appear in *The Early Charters of Thorney Abbey*, to be published shortly.

<sup>2</sup> For historiography, see Robertson, 1956, 369-70.

<sup>3</sup> These transactions are recited in King Edgar's foundation charter to Thorney Abbey (Kemble, 1839-48, no. 579; Birch, 1885-93, no. 1297), which will be re-edited in *The Early Charters of Thorney Abbey*. Although the surviving text is a spurious conflation, the information it contains as to the early land endowments of the abbey is almost certainly derived from authentic material.

<sup>4</sup> Robertson, 1956, 253-5; on the date, see Ker, 1957, 126-7.

manor in somewhat greater detail (Simkins, 1936), but the general picture is much the same as that given in Domesday and earlier records; for instance, the inhabitants still had a common boat provided by the abbey for use on the Nene. The post-Conquest history will be greatly illuminated when the many unpublished Water Newton charters in the Red Book of Thorney find an editor.

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## KING'S COLLEGE SCHOOL IN 1564

SIR JOHN GRAY

ON 15 July 1564, the Bishop of London wrote to Andrew Perne, President of Queens' College and Vice-Chancellor of the University, announcing the intention of Queen Elizabeth to come to Cambridge on 8 August and to stay there for several days and that she wished to stay in the Provost's Lodge at King's College. A few days later word came that she would now arrive three days earlier than had previously been announced. On 4 August Sir William Cecil, the Queen's Secretary of State and Chancellor of the University, arrived in Cambridge and gave various instructions altering certain of the arrangements for her reception. There is no need to go into details, but these numerous instructions and counter-instructions must have caused considerable flutters in more than one academic dovecote. In the circumstances it is somewhat surprising that everything went more or less according to plan.<sup>1</sup>

Before describing the part played by the members of King's College School in the subsequent events, some preliminary words are necessary regarding the site of the College and the earlier history of the School itself.

First of all, it has to be remembered that in 1564 the only buildings then standing on the present site of King's College were the Chapel and a wooden belfry just outside the west door of the Chapel.<sup>2</sup> The land between the present Screen, Wilkins', Webb's and Bodley's Buildings, the River Cam and Clare College was surrounded by a wall with a number of gate-houses. One of these stood approximately where the present front entrance now is; another stood at the end of what is now Queens' Lane and as late as 1822 was still known as Friars' Gate, thus recalling the time when the adjacent site was occupied by the Carmelite Friars.<sup>3</sup> A third gate-house stood on the east bank of the Cam more or less due west of the front gate-house.<sup>4</sup> The College itself stood on the site of the West Court of the Old Schools.<sup>5</sup> To the east of the Chapel was the Provost's Lodge. To the south-east thereof was the original King's

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the details of the Queen's visit have been taken from Harleian MS. 7037, ff. 109-28 (Baker's Collections).

<sup>2</sup> In very dry weather the foundations of this belfry can still be seen. It was removed in 1779.

<sup>3</sup> In a letter, dated 4 November 1822, and addressed by the College's solicitor to the Cambridge Paving Commissioners, it is described as 'Friar's Gate belonging to King's College' (*Reply of King's College to the Statement of the Cambridge Commissioners for Paving* (1831), p. 4).

<sup>4</sup> A wooden bridge crossed the river at this point. Two clumps of trees in the meadow on the far bank, which is now known as Scholars' Piece, are the remains of a causeway leading from that bridge to what are now the Backs.

<sup>5</sup> Purchased by the University from King's College in 1829 after the completion of the Wilkins buildings in that College. The lower portion of the west gateway of the Old Schools and part of the adjacent wall were part of the original College.

College School. This building was pulled down in 1693 and a brick building with the School occupying part of the ground floor was erected in its place. In very dry weather the foundations of this later building are still visible. Both the Provost's Lodge and the School were outside the wall and abutted close to what was then known as the High Street.

Since the days of Elizabeth I the School has more than once moved to other sites before it was finally rebuilt on its present site off West Road. As is only to be expected, in the course of over five centuries it has gone through various vicissitudes of fortune, but it can claim to be the oldest school now existing in Cambridge. King's College was founded in 1441 and endowed with the revenues of certain suppressed alien priories. According to the Statutes of 1453 there were to be sixteen choristers on the foundation. They were to be 'poor and indigent, of good condition, notoriously below the age of twelve years, knowing competently how to read and sing'. There were also to be six Priest Conducts (vicars choral) and ten lay clerks. One of the Priest Conducts was to act as Precentor and one of the Priests or lay clerks was to be competent 'jubilate in organis'. Elaborate rules were made as to the choral duties of the sixteen boys. They were also to be required to assist the other college servants in waiting upon the Fellows in hall 'humbly and honestly'. Except for a direction that they were not to be allowed to wander in the town without special leave from those in authority, nothing was said about their general conduct or their attendance for instruction in purely secular matters.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, there is evidence that in the very earliest days they were given instruction in grammar and other kindred subjects. In Statute III of the Eton Statutes the Founder gave a preference to Choristers at King's and Eton in election to King's Scholarships at Eton.<sup>2</sup> As early as 1448 Thomas Roke, one of the choristers, was granted a King's Scholarship at Eton, whence he proceeded in 1453 to King's at the age of seventeen, of which College he eventually became a Fellow. In his *Eton College Register, 1441-1596* Wasey Sterry has shown that in the latter half of the fifteenth century seventeen former King's choristers became King's Scholars at Eton, the majority of whom eventually returned as undergraduate scholars to King's. Owing to the paucity of information given in contemporary records I have not been able to trace any others, but it may well be that the number of entrants at Eton, King's and elsewhere from the ranks of the choristers was considerably larger. It is perhaps not out of place to mention that two at least of the seventeen, namely, John Bramston and Clement Perchilde, were natives of Cambridge.<sup>3</sup>

In 1549 the Visitors appointed by Edward VI to reform the University received an injunction that moneys expended in any College on choristers, chantries or other ecclesiastical services or on grammar schools should be converted to the support of

<sup>1</sup> The Statutes are to be found in Harleian MS. 7323. Articles I, XV, XXII, XLI, XLII, XLIV and LVII deal with the choristers.

<sup>2</sup> Heywood and Wright, *Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century of King's College and Eton*, p. 479.

<sup>3</sup> The names of the choristers in question appear in alphabetical order in Wasey Sterry, *Eton College Register, 1441-1598*. Bramston was admitted at the age of 12 at Eton in 1467 and in 1470 at King's, Perchilde was admitted a year later at Eton at the age of 13 and in 1474 at King's.

scholars in literature or philosophy.<sup>1</sup> Thus, at Trinity College, where the foundation provided for a grammar school for forty 'childer grammarians', the Visitors called upon the College 'to surrender the Grammar Schole', which they accordingly did and the pupils thereat were absorbed into the college as undergraduate scholars.<sup>2</sup> But there were on the foundation of the College ten choristers with masters *pro musica* and *pro grammatica*. Possibly the Visitors were bearing in mind the words William Bingham had used in 1439 in his petition to Henry VI for the foundation of God's House, namely, that 'Gramer . . . is rote and ground of all the said other Sciences'. Whatever their reason, they decided to hold their hands in so far as the choristers at King's and Trinity were concerned.

On 16 January 1557 the Marian Visitors to the University came to King's College and inspected 'the chorusters chamber and schole', from which it may perhaps be legitimate to infer that at that date the boys' dormitory was above their classroom. The reason of this inspection was because they believed that certain prohibited books could be found there. On 15 February 'Peter G. . . with iii or iiii other boyes of the gramer schole came and made supplicayon for the bookes that were taken away'.<sup>3</sup> One would like to know something more about the offending books and also to be able to identify with greater certainty Peter G. and his companions.<sup>4</sup> What is to be noted is that their school is described as a grammar school.

Having survived the visitations of Edwardian and Marian days, the two schools were once more spared on the accession of Elizabeth. In 1569 the teaching of grammar in colleges was expressly prohibited save in the case of Jesus College and that of the choristers of King's and Trinity. In 1570 the exception in favour of Jesus College was omitted, but that in favour of the choristers at King's and Trinity was preserved.<sup>5</sup>

In all probability the strict ban on the teaching of grammar in colleges was regarded in each of the two colleges as limiting the teaching thereof to choristers on the foundation and prohibiting the introduction of non-foundationers into those schools, but as will be seen hereafter their early education at King's was quite sufficient to enable at least four (if not six) of the sixteen choristers in the year 1564 eventually to proceed to the University.

Before describing the part played by those sixteen choristers at the time of Queen Elizabeth's visit, something must be said about the Chapel and the services therein.

The building of the Chapel was completed in 1515. In the 1530's, as now, it was divided into two parts—an Ante Chapel and a Choir separated by a Rood Loft. The

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Gray, *Earliest Statutes of Jesus College, Cambridge*, pp. 52, 53.

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Rouse Ball, *Cambridge Notes* (2nd edn.), pp. 12-14; H. McLeod Innes, *Fellows of Trinity College*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, II, 124.

<sup>4</sup> Mr John Saltmarsh informs me that the accounts for 1556-7 give only five surnames of choristers. Only one of these begins with G—'Gravet' or just possibly 'Grave'. As he says it would be hardly safe to identify him with Peter G.

<sup>5</sup> For the history of the school at Jesus College see Gray, *op. cit.* pp. 52, 53. The history of the choristers' school at Trinity has yet to be written.

present organ in this Rood Loft was not erected until much later, but parts of the organ case have incorporated fragments which seem to date from the time of Henry VIII.<sup>1</sup> Prior to the present organ a humbler type of instrument must have been encased therein. In 1512 Geoffrey Blythe, a former Fellow of the College, who was then Master of King's Hall and was later to become Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, gave to his former Collège 'a pair of great organs of the value of £40', which may well have been in use at the time of Elizabeth's visit.<sup>2</sup> At that date it in all probability stood in the position in which it is shown in the plan of the Chapel made by Smithson between 1605 and 1615, namely, where the altar might have stood in less puritanical times.<sup>3</sup>

The Choir stalls and sub-stalls bear in many places the cyphers 'HR' and 'HA', that is Henry VIII and his second wife, Anne Boleyn, the mother of Elizabeth I, who was beheaded in 1536. As we learn from the account of her daughter's visit in 1564, the choristers sat on benches on either side of the Choir in front of the sub-stalls. These would appear to be the benches which are still to be seen built into the desks of the sub-stalls. This arrangement must have been made at a very early date, as the Statutes of 1453 direct that at matins and prime the choristers should recite the psalms and canticles *alternatim divisi ex utraque parte chori* in accordance with the Use of Sarum.

A word or two must also be said about the music provided for Queen Elizabeth at the services in the College Chapel. Directions had been given that at her first entry into the Chapel 'all the King's Colledge must be within the Chappell in their several places and copes redie to synge some imne and so conduct the Queen's Majestie into the Chappell'.<sup>4</sup> Although the strict letter of these directions was not carried out, preparations were made to provide her with fully choral services. King's Chapel was in fact one of the first places of worship in England into which prick song was introduced.<sup>5</sup> In the fifteenth century almost all singing had been in plain song, that is to say, in a certain specific mode of chanting in unison, which was guided by definite rules and of which the Gregorian chants are one example. Prick song on the other hand was the name given in the sixteenth century to divisions or descants, which were written or pricked out and were distinguishable from plain song which could be performed extemporaneously. The term is derived from the dot or prick forming the head of the note.<sup>6</sup>

One of the fathers of English prick song was Christopher Tye, who may have

<sup>1</sup> Pevsner, *The Buildings of England—Cambridgeshire*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> At the same time he gave to the College 'a gilt mitre for the Barne Bishop'. In 1518 he also gave 'a rochet of the best cloth for the Barne Bishop' (*D.N.B. sub tit. 'Blythe'*; Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge*, I, 212-13). The Barne Bishop was the Boy Bishop, who was to be elected by the choristers to perform divine service on St Nicholas' Day by the Statutes of 1453, but was prohibited from so doing on Innocents' Day (Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, I, 197).

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Hussey, *King's College, Cambridge, and the College Buildings*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Baker MS. Mn. 23, f. 137.

<sup>5</sup> Mr John Saltmarsh informs me that a College Inventory of 1529 contains a schedule of items of Church Music which is called a List of prick songs belonging to King's College.

<sup>6</sup> Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, *sub tit. 'Prick Song'*.

been the chorister with that surname appearing in the King's College Accounts between 1509 and 1512.<sup>1</sup> What, however, is certain is that Christopher Tye, clerk, appears in the Accounts for the year 1537. In the previous year, Grace Book I (p. 312) records the fact that Christopher Tye, having studied the art of Music for the past ten years with much practice in composing and teaching boys, was granted the degree of Bachelor of Music. There can be little doubt that amongst his pupils were the choristers of King's. In 1545 a Doctorate of Music was conferred upon him. As no suitable robe had been prescribed for such a doctorate, a Grace was passed empowering him to wear the robes of a Doctor of Medicine.<sup>2</sup> He left Cambridge at about the end of 1542 to become Master of the choristers at Ely. Later still he became organist at the Chapel Royal. Entering Holy Orders, he eventually was inducted into the rich living of Doddington, Cambs, where he died in 1573. During his lifetime he composed a number of forms of church services, anthems and motets and personally versified in English the words of many of his musical compositions.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, full details are lacking as to the words of the forms of service in King's College Chapel, but it is very probable that some of them were the work of Christopher Tye.

As already said, the Provost of King's was directed to surrender the greater part of his Lodge to the Queen's use during her stay at Cambridge. The Fellows and Scholars were likewise required to double up so as to provide quarters for the use of the members of her retinue. We are also told that 'the choristers schools were made the buttery', but there is no record as to the alternative accommodation provided for them.

On the night of 4 August Queen Elizabeth stayed at Haslingfield. Next day she set out on horseback by way of Grantchester for Cambridge. The Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge met her at the town boundary a little above Newnham and escorted her to the Mill at Newnham, where she alighted and 'went into the Miller's Yard for a space'. She then mounted another horse and crossing the Small Bridges, where the Silver Street Bridge now stands, reached the north entrance to Queens' Lane. Here the Mayor handed over his duties as escort to the Vice-Chancellor. Then riding between the ranks of dons and scholars on either side, she passed through the Friars' Gate and entered the grounds belonging to King's College. Over a century and a half was to pass before Gibbs' Building was to be erected between Friars' Gate and the Chapel. In her day she passed along what had once been Milne Street, but had so far fallen into disuse that special instructions had to be issued for 'the way to be gravelled (and) strewed with rushes'.<sup>4</sup> The Provost, Fellows and Scholars were lined up in two ranks in full academic dress between the Gate and the West door of the Chapel. The Chancellor (Sir Robert Cecil), Vice-

<sup>1</sup> Richard Tye, who was a Conduct at King's until his death in 1545, may have been the chorister of 1509-12.

<sup>2</sup> Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, I, 310.

<sup>3</sup> Grove, *op. cit.* and *D.N.B. sub. tit.* 'Tye, Christopher'.

<sup>4</sup> Baker MS. Mn. 2. 23, f. 126.

Chancellor and other principal officers of the University were waiting to receive her at the Chapel door. Here there was a ceremonial surrender of the University emblems of office to the Queen and her formal return thereof to the holders. This done, 'Mr William Masters of the King's Colledge, the (Public) Orator, making his three curtseys, kneeled down on the greese or step of the West Door, which was on the walls covered with verses, and made his oration'.

At this stage, it would appear that things did not go entirely according to plan. Directions had been issued that the Queen should be provided with a seat inside the Chapel. We were told that the Orator addressed the Queen without a copy or notes of his speech and that at the end thereof 'she much commended him and did much marvel that his memory did so well serve him'. Perhaps he was so nervous and so anxious to get his allotted task over and done, that he forgot that it had been arranged that he should deliver his speech to her when she was seated inside the Chapel. The oration was in Latin and took half an hour to deliver. It was a hot August day and the Orator was fully robed. The Queen was sitting side-saddle on a fresh mount and was wearing a long train, which the Lady Strange had to hold up when she eventually entered the Chapel. In the circumstances one wonders which we ought to admire most—the Queen, the Public Orator or the horse.

It would appear that the Queen, who had some knowledge of Latin, had received an advance copy of the oration. We are told that, 'when the Public Orator began to praise the many and singular virtues set up and planted in Her Majesty, Her Highness not acknowledging (there)of, shaked her head, bit her lips and fingers and sometimes broke forth in these passions and these words "non est veritas" and "utinam"'. But when he began to praise her virginity, 'she said to the Orator "God's Blessing of thine heart; there continue"'.

When at long last the oration ended, she alighted from her horse and, entering the Chapel, knelt down at a specially prepared desk between the north and south doors. Here, the Provost, Philip Baker, approached her and 'pointed unto the Psalm *Deus misereatur*, inquiring whether she would please Her Majesty to answer and say it with him'. But the Provost was suspected of having Romanist inclinations and the young woman had a strong will of her own—more particularly in matters of religion. She told him that she wished to 'pray privately', whereupon 'he likewise privately said the same Psalm, and after a Collect for the Queen'. Thereafter 'the whole quire began to sing in English a song of gladness' and so went in procession into the Choir. The Queen took up her station in what was called a Travis. This Travis is described as being of crimson velvet and standing 'about the middle between the communion table and the South vestry Door', and was provided with a curtain so that, if she so desired, she could listen to the service unseen. We are told that she greatly marvelled 'at the beauty of the Chapel (and) greatly praised it above all other in her realm'.

When the song of gladness was finished, 'the Provost began the *Te Deum* in English, which was solemnly sung in prick song and the organs playing. After that he began Evensong, which was also solemnly sung, every man standing in his cope; which being ended the Queen's Majesty came forth of her Travis and went to her

lodging. . . . And as she went, she thanked God that had sent her to their University, where she altogether against her expectation was so received as she thought she could not be better'.

The next day (6 August) was a Sunday. The Queen did not attend matins, which was celebrated between seven and eight o'clock in the morning. But a number of the lords and gentlemen in her retinue attended and occupied many of the upper stalls, thus crowding out the Bachelors of Arts, and Conducts, who had to sit in the sub-stalls. The ordinary scholars had to sit 'on the forms of the choristers'. Though there is no mention of the service having been choral, the choristers were certainly required to be in attendance at the service which followed almost immediately after the close of matins; one imagines they had already taken up some position in the Chapel for that purpose.

We are told that, 'when Mattins were ended, every man repaired unto the court gate to wait upon the Queen. . . . So the Queen came on foot unto the North door of the Church, which was kept with Yeoman of the Guard, and so was the Quire door also, to whom by Mr Secretary's commandment, order was given that they should suffer none to enter but the Masters of Arts coming in their habits to hear the sermon *ad clerum*.' As before, the Queen entered her Travis, opposite to which a pulpit had been erected. The Queen caused the curtain of the Travis 'to be drawn open and so at the end of the stool did sit down and was seen by the people all the time of the sermon'. The service began with a Litany and was followed by a sermon in Latin preached by the Vice-Chancellor, Andrew Perne. Directions were given that its duration was to be three-quarters of an hour.<sup>1</sup> We are told that 'about the midst of his sermon, Her Majesty sent the Lord Hunsdon [to tell Dr Perne] to put on his cap, which he did until the end, at which time, ere he got out of the Pulpit, by the Lord Chamberlain, she sent him word that it was the first which she ever heard in Latin and she thought she would never hear a better', words which make one wonder whether she was playing upon their double sense and spoke with the royal tongue in its royal cheek. When the sermon was over, we are told that 'the Quire sang in prick song a song, which done, she departed to the palace by the secret way'.<sup>2</sup>

The rest of the morning and afternoon were employed in setting up a stage in the ante-chapel for the Latin play *Aulularia* of Plautus, which was to be acted by divers members of the University, other than those of King's College.

We are told that 'at Evensong the company of King's College, being informed that the Queen's Majesty would not come to the same, began to sing'. Then word came that the Queen was coming after all. So the service was 'stayed', and, when she came into her Travis by the secret way, they did of new begin Evensong, 'which ended she departed by the same way to the play *Aulularia Plauti*'.

<sup>1</sup> Baker MS. Mn. 2.23, f. 127.

<sup>2</sup> This door gave the Provost direct access to the Chapel from his Lodge. It gave access through the wall of the north-eastern side chapel (Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, II, 191). The stone work of the east wall still shows where this doorway has been blocked up.

Evensong was the last service which the Queen attended in the Chapel, though she was to return there on Monday and Tuesday nights to see two more plays.<sup>1</sup>

During daytime the Queen paid a round of visits to all the then existing Colleges except Jesus 'which stood far out of the way', and Magdalene. She was also 'entertained' by interminable sermons, disputations, and loyal addresses, both in prose and in verse, and in many different languages, including Hebrew and 'Caldee'. On Wednesday she was informed that it was proposed by the members of King's College to entertain her with yet a fourth play.<sup>2</sup> In the circumstances one is not surprised to learn that 'Her Highness, as it were tired with going about to see the Colleges and hearing disputations and over watched with former plays, for it was very late nightly before she came to them and departed from them, and minding early in the morning to depart from Cambridge, could not . . . hear the said tragedy'.

So on Thursday, 10 August, she set out from the Provost's Lodge for Hinchinbrooke, where she was to stay the night at the house of Sir Henry Cromwell, grandfather of the Protector. In fact she was so tired that, when on the way she reached Magdalene College, 'she excused the heat of the day and the press of the people and therefore required that the paper of the oration', which the Master of the College had proposed to deliver, should be given to her and so rode on her way to Huntingdon.<sup>3</sup>

I now return to the sixteen choristers at King's, who had played their role in the entertainment of the Queen. It so happens that we have a complete list of them with both their surnames and their Christian names and are thereby enabled to follow the after careers of many of them in some detail. The names would appear to be given in the order of their seniority and read as follows:

Rob. Polley	Gul. Forthe	Petr. Scarlet	Tho. Rinshine <sup>4</sup>
Geo. Wylde	Tho. Jugge	Joh. Bentle	Tho. Bar
Phil. Baker	Tho. Atkinson	Adam Robins	Bab. Carlton
Will. Creeke	Alex. Kinge	Jo. Cowell	Lau. Stockes

We know for a fact that at least three of their number became King's Scholars at Eton and eventually returned thence to King's College. One other was eventually admitted a pensioner at Caius.<sup>5</sup> Two others may have been admitted at Trinity Hall and Clare Hall respectively.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On Monday night was acted the Tragedy of *Dido*, written by John Rightwise, High Master of St Paul's School and a former Fellow of King's, in hexameters without any chorus. On Tuesday was acted *Ezechias*, written by Nicholas Udall, Master of Eton, a sacred drama founded on the Second Book of Kings. Both plays were in Latin and 'played by the King's College and the charges thereof by them borne'.

<sup>2</sup> 'The tragedy of Sophocles called *Ajax Flagellifer*.'

<sup>3</sup> 'The Duke of Norfolk accompanied Her Majesty out of the Town and then returned, entered Magdalene College and gave much money in the same, promising 40 lib. by year until they had built the quadrant of their College and further promised to endow the land for the increase of the same.'

<sup>4</sup> B.M. Add. MS. 1033, f. 95.

<sup>5</sup> George Wilde, son of Robert of Felmersham, Beds, son of Robert W., was admitted a pensioner at Caius, aged 18, on 3 October 1569. For this and other information relating to members of Cambridge University I am indebted to Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

<sup>6</sup> William Creeke may have been admitted at Trinity Hall as a scholar on 21 July 1573; LL.B. 1580, Fellow of the College 1581-90. Robert Polley may have matriculated as a sizar from Clare Hall at Michaelmas 1568.

A number of the choristers were doubtless natives of Cambridge. Three of them have the same surnames as three of the lay clerks and may have been relatives of those clerks. If so, they may have lodged with their relations in one or other of the houses allotted to the use of the lay clerks, which stood on the east side of the empty site to the south of the Chapel.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand we know for a fact that, as will be seen later, three other choristers hailed from as far away as North Devon and one other from Bedfordshire.<sup>2</sup>

There is one, whom we know with absolute certainty to have been a native of Cambridge. This was Peter Scarlett, who came of a well-known family of printers, stationers and booksellers. The first of the family to set up in business at Cambridge was John Scarlett, who came from Leominster to Cambridge in 1551 and established himself in 'a lytell house at ye west end' of Great St Mary's Church.<sup>3</sup> He died in the following year and was succeeded in the family business by his brother Philip, who is mentioned in his will. Philip died intestate in 1582, when letters of administration of his estate were granted to his widow with Peter Scarlett as one of her bondsmen. Philip's son William then took over the business, which until his death in 1617 he carried on at premises on the site of what is now No. 1 Trinity Street in the occupation of Messrs Bowes and Bowes. Between the present occupants and William Scarlett a continuous succession of booksellers have had their premises there.<sup>4</sup>

Peter Scarlett, the ex-chorister, did not go into the family business, but eventually became an apothecary. At some stage in his career, he borrowed money from his former fellow chorister, John Cowell.<sup>5</sup> Possibly Cowell lent him the money when the time came for him to set up in business. As an apothecary, he continued to live in Great St Mary's Parish, where he was chosen as one of the Church Wardens in 1583, 1584 and 1587. In 1592 he subscribed twenty shillings to the fund for the erection of the present tower of that church and another fourteen shillings in 1594.<sup>6</sup> He was married and had a son, John, who took his Degrees from Pembroke Hall in 1607 and ultimately became a fellow of that College, and a daughter, Elizabeth,

<sup>1</sup> As to the position of this Court see Willis and Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, I, 555. The choristers in question were Robert Polley, Thomas Bar (? Beare) and Bab (? Baptist) Carlton. The lay clerks were Richard Polley, John Beare and John Carlton (B.M. Add MS. 1033, f. 95). Of these the last named matriculated as a sizar from King's in 1554.

<sup>2</sup> See note 5, p. 95, with respect to George Wilde.

<sup>3</sup> The present tower of Great St Mary's was not completed until 1608. The cost thereof was defrayed by public subscription.

<sup>4</sup> For the history of the Scarlett family as booksellers see G. J. Gray, *The Earlier Cambridge Stationers and Binders*, Bibl. Soc. (1904), pp. 66-7; *Cambridge Bookselling* (1925), pp. 27, 28; 'The Shops at the West End of Great St Mary's Church, Cambridge', *C.A.S. Proc.* N.S. XIII, 288; and Gray and Palmer, *Wills and Testamentary Documents of Printers, Binders and Stationers of Cambridge*, Bib. Soc. (1915), pp. 33, 63, 81, 82. The original premises occupied by John Scarlett were pulled down in about 1587 or 1588 and the materials purchased by Peter Scarlett, the ex-chorister (Foster, *The Churchwardens' Accounts of Great St Mary's Cambridge*).

<sup>5</sup> In his will Cowell gave the residue of the term of the lease of a house to Scarlett 'always provided that he shall not by benefit of Lawe whatsoever challenge the extinguishment of such debt as he doth owe me, but answer it as an ordinary debtor'.

<sup>6</sup> Foster, *op. cit.* It is interesting to note that John Cowell in 1595 also contributed twenty shillings for the like purpose.

who married his partner, John Crane.<sup>1</sup> Scarlett's son-in-law, John Crane, was to acquire a great reputation in his calling and 'was in much greater practice than any physician in the University'.<sup>2</sup> But his father-in-law does not appear to have obtained any remarkable reputation in his profession. For us the interest lies in his lifelong friendship with the most distinguished of all his former fellow choristers, John Cowell.<sup>3</sup>

As already said, three of the choristers of 1564 came from North Devon. They must have owed their places to the Provost, Philip Baker, who came from Barnstaple. One of these, another Philip Baker, who was born at Ilfracombe in about 1552, was almost certainly a near relative. He eventually went to Eton as a King's Scholar in 1566 and returned as a scholar to King's in 1569. He died in College and was buried in the Chapel early in 1571.

The other two Devonians were about the same age as Philip Baker. They both went to Eton in the same year as he did, but did not return to King's until a year later. One of these, Adam Robyns, was also born at Ilfracombe and was admitted a scholar at King's on 24 August 1570.

The third Devonian was John Cowell, the son of William Cowell, who owned an estate at Landkey Newlands, a village about two miles to the south-east of Barnstaple. His name appears in the list of choristers immediately below that of Robyns. It would appear that he and Robyns first arrived in Cambridge at one and the same time, whence Cowell proceeded to Eton in the same year as Robyns. Both were admitted as Scholars at King's College on the same day and both were elected as Fellows in the same year. Thereafter their ways parted. Robyns went into the Church and died on 14 April 1613 as Rector of Everdon, Northants.

John Cowell, on the other hand, acting on the advice of Richard Bancroft, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, took up the profession of law, taking his Doctor's degree therein in 1588.<sup>4</sup> In 1594 he was appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law and in 1598 became Master of Trinity Hall. It was probably due to his ability and learning that civil law, which had in general tended to languish during the earlier part of the century, began to revive at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

Here is not the place to go into detail concerning his legal treatises, but mention must be made of the last of them, which was to lead to Cowell's downfall. The book in question was called *The Interpreter: or Booke containing the Signification of Words*. It was printed by John Legate of Cambridge in 1607, and was dedicated to Bancroft, who had become Archbishop of Canterbury three years before. At the time of publication it received the *nihil obstat* of the Commissioners for the oversight of

<sup>1</sup> According to *Ely Diocesan Records*, p. 174, Peter Scarlett received licence in 1578 to marry Alice Beale of Newmarket. 'Alice' may be a mistake for 'Ann', which is the name given to his wife in John Cowell's will of 1611. It is of course possible that Scarlett was married twice or that Cowell misnamed her in his will.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, LX, part I, pp. 509-10.

<sup>3</sup> In 1590 'Jacobus' (? James) Scarlett was a chorister at King's (Austen Leigh, *College Histories—King's College*, p. 65), but I have not been able to place him in the family tree.

<sup>4</sup> For a tradition regarding Cowell in his early days at King's see Appendix II.

<sup>5</sup> Bass Mullinger, *History of Cambridge University*, II, 425.

books. Examination of the book shows that the author must have spent many years of study in the compilation thereof. His intention was to show the common elements in the civil and the common law, but in several passages he had expressed himself in favour of a very pronounced idea of the extent of the royal prerogative.

For the time being all went well and, to judge from the number of copies thereof known to be extant at the present time, it would appear that sales were good. It was not until some two years later that the storm burst. The common law judges, headed by Sir Edward Coke, who was then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, took great exception to certain passages therein dealing with the royal prerogative. Early in 1610 the House of Commons was moved to attack 'the exorbitant position therein held' and petitioned James I for leave 'to proceed by their authority against the said Cowell'. Rumour had it that 'it is thought they will go very near to hang him'.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this was what the author himself feared, when in great trepidation he came to London to answer the matter in the Parliament House.

The book was sent to the House of Lords and was eventually referred to the King in Council, where it was found to be on certain points 'repugnant to the fundamentall Lawes of the Realm'. One imagines that in his heart of hearts James would have been very desirous of giving the author his fullest possible support, but he had been long enough on the English throne to learn that self interest required him to trim his sails to the winds of change. He accordingly promised to have the book suppressed, but gave Council and Parliament to understand that, as regards the author, 'he would not have his person to be troubled or to incur any danger for the same (as the House seemed very desirous to proceed criminally against him)', and Parliament agreed to 'relent their poursuite therein'. Cowell himself had appeared before the King in Council. By this date he must have been verging on sixty years old and, as his later career shows, a very sick man. Fresh charges had been raised respecting the contents of the book in the Council Chamber, which evidently took the author by surprise. He seems to have put up a lame defence and pleaded for time in which to prepare his answer. He was then committed to the custody of an Alderman 'till he can better prepare himself for his justification in that behalf'.<sup>2</sup>

On 25 March 1610 a proclamation went forth announcing that the *Interpreter* was to be publicly burnt, because the author, 'being only a civilian by profession . . . hath fallen in many things to mistake and to deceive himself . . . speaking irreverently of the Common Law of England, and of the works of some of the most ancient and famous judges therein; it being a thing utterly unlawfull to speak or write against the law under which he liveth'.<sup>3</sup> I am disposed to think that the draftsman of this proclamation was Sir Edward Coke, who made a point of referring to the author of the *Interpreter* as 'Dr Cowheel'. At the time of issue of the Proclamation the Commissioners for the oversight of books received an official rap over the knuckles for allowing the book to be put into circulation.<sup>4</sup>

The offending book was reprinted unexpurgated in 1637. With the lapse of time,

<sup>1</sup> *Winwood Papers*, III, 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Notes and Queries* (3rd series), I, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 131, 137.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P. Domestic, 1603-10*, p. 594.

like any other authoritative legal text book, it required enlargement and amendment in the light of subsequent statutory law and later judicial decisions, but, as so edited, it was reprinted no less than five times between 1672 and 1729. In the circumstances the verdict of history must be that in 1610 John Cowell got a very raw deal and that Coke's pompous and vituperative vindictiveness did not add lustre to his reputation as a judge.

Though the *Interpreter* went up in flames at the end of March 1610 its author was still detained in custody. On 30 April 1610 Archbishop Bancroft wrote to Lord Salisbury praying for his release.<sup>1</sup> On 28 May 1611 he resigned from his Regius Professorship, in all probability under strong political pressure.

Cowell eventually returned to Cambridge sick in body and broken hearted in spirit. As his will shows, he was a hypersensitive man. After his handling by the Privy Council he felt that he owed the University some sort of 'a satisfaction for certain transgressions of mine towards the University'.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of October 1611 Cowell was suffering acute agonies from the stone and was told that his life could only be preserved by undergoing a surgical operation—a dangerous enough process in the case of much younger men and extremely likely to be fatal in the case of a person of his age. He accordingly began to draw up his will, 'being sick in body, but whole in mind and memory (the Lord be thanked for it)'. The original will is now in the custody of Trinity Hall. The wording thereof is clearly that of Cowell himself. So, it would appear, is the handwriting, which is in a clear, legible and firm hand. But the signature of the testator, which is attested by three of the Fellows of Trinity Hall, is in a much more shaky hand. The will is dated 8 October 1611. Three days later Cowell died whilst undergoing the operation of being cut for the stone.<sup>3</sup>

In that will Cowell made divers bequests to relatives of property which he had inherited in Devonshire. He also made a number of pecuniary and specific legacies. One of these is

To Mrs Alice Hinde for her great care of me in my sickness divers times over and above that poor consideration that she hath had from me, fifteen pounds, and her carriage home as decently as she was brought hither.

Amongst a number of charitable legacies there are:

To the poor prisoners of the Tolbooth 20 sh.—to those in the Castle 20 sh; to other poore people that have been honest Householders in Cambridge, or true labouring men 10 lib, if mine Executors shall finde in myne estate sufficient to perform.

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P. Domestic, 1603-10*, p. 605.

<sup>2</sup> In his will Cowell gave £30 to the University Common Chest 'Towards the discharge of Dr Mowtelowes debt, as he was Burgess of the Parliament, and to no other use, except he be first satisfy'd, wch I would not have taken for a meere legacy, but a satisfaction of certain transgressions of mine towards the University'. Earlier in his will he bequeathed to Mowtelowe, 'mine ancient and loving Friend, my scarlett gowne and hood, hoping he will accept it, how poore a remembrance soever'. Henry Mowtelowe, like Cowell, proceeded from Eton to King's and ultimately was elected a Fellow of Trinity Hall. He was M.P. for Cambridge University from 1603 to 1611 and in all probability had taken an active part in procuring Cowell's release from custody.

<sup>3</sup> *Warren's Book* (ed. A. W. W. Dale), p. 276.

He left a number of books to Trinity Hall as well as a house in Cambridge 'towards perpetuall maintenance of a Logique lecture' and gave elaborate directions as to the manner in which such lecture was to be held.<sup>1</sup>

He likewise left a silver gilt bowl and a number of law books to King's College, 'sorrowing in my heart that mine estate serves not to leave some more memorable thankfulness to that worthy College, the especiallest place and meanes of my education'. As other passages in the will show, he was in those words recalling not only his undergraduate days, but also those much earlier days when he and Peter Scarlett were fellow choristers at the School attached to the College.

Members of the Scarlett family come in for frequent remembrance in the will. Elizabeth Crane, the married daughter of Peter Scarlett, receives all his plate not otherwise disposed of. Prudence Scarlett receives his best salt cellar. William Scarlett, the bookseller, is given a legacy of forty shillings.

Peter Scarlett, his former school fellow, is given the residue of the term of a lease of a house at Grantchester, subject to certain conditions<sup>2</sup> with a remainder to his wife Ann, who is to pay therefrom £5 yearly 'to Mr John Scarlett of Pembroke' who is to succeed to the benefit of the lease after he decease.

Finally, Cowell appointed as Executors of his will 'my beloved friends Mr Peter Scarlett and his son in law John Crane'.

Peter Scarlett did not long outlive his former school fellow. He was buried at Great St Mary's on 20 February 1612-13. John Crane lived until 1652. As already said he was to be a benefactor both to the Town and University of Cambridge.<sup>3</sup>

At the time of his death almost half a century had elapsed since Cowell first made the acquaintance of Peter Scarlett in the King's College Choir. One can only guess at the reasons which led to the friendship between the two being so enduring and so intimate. It may be that, as a chorister, John Cowell was boarded out with the neighbouring Scarlett family. If not, it may well be that, when from time to time he had liberty to take his walks abroad, a lonely boy, who at a very early age had been taken from his family in far off Devonshire, found a 'home from home' in the Scarlett household. The two lived in days when friction between Town and Gown was constantly recurring, but of John Cowell let it be remembered that, even though he rose to high estate in the academic world, he never forgot the kindness that he had received as a boy from a family of townsmen in a more humble station in life.

In conclusion I should like, as must any person who attempts to write about the early history of King's College, to express my indebtedness to Mr John Saltmarsh for his assistance and advice in compiling this paper. That indebtedness calls for far fuller acknowledgement than can be given in mere footnotes. It would need acknowledgement on almost every page. In particular he has prevented me from falling into a number of pitfalls and helped me generously with his vast fund of information about the College and its buildings. If there are still any errors or inaccuracies in this paper, the fault rests with me and not with him.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I to this article.

<sup>2</sup> See note 5, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> See *D.N.B. sub tit.* 'Crane, John'.

## APPENDIX I

## DR COWELL'S HOUSE IN CAMBRIDGE

I am indebted to Mr S. E. Abbott, Bursar of Trinity Hall, for enabling me to see John Cowell's original will and other documents relating to his house in Cambridge.

In his will Cowell describes the house as being 'my house in the occupation of Henery Preist, barber', and directs that it shall be used 'towards maintenance of a logique lecture'. Thereafter elaborate directions follow as to the duties of the lecturer. Succinctly, as said in Warren's Book (edited by A. W. W. Dale at p. 276), directions were given 'for a Logick Lecturer to read four times a week at least in term time, two hours every day from six of ye clock to eight in the morning'.

In a list of the properties of Trinity Hall dated 1719 there appears the following note:

'Query, which is the House? I take it to be the tenement now Banks, for in the account of 1612 there first appears a tenement in Great St Mary's in Trumpington Street rent £4 and the same year there appears a payment of £4 as a lecture Stipend founded by Dr Cowell.'

A statement to the like effect is repeated in a MS account of the estates belonging to College, which was compiled by the then Bursar, John Hancock Hall (Fellow, 1822-41), in 1834, who described the tenement as being in Trumpington Street.

The street, which branches off to the south from Bridge Street opposite to the Round Church and eventually leads to Trumpington, has been known by different names at different dates. The plans of Lyne (1574) and Braun (1575) call it the High Street. In Fuller's plan (1634) it has become Trumpington Street. In that of Custance (1798) the sector leading past St John's College as far as Trinity College Chapel is called St John's Lane. The remainder is still Trumpington Street.

In the plan in the *New Cambridge Guide* of 1821 it is still called Trumpington Street, but mention is therein made (at pp. 29-30) of 'the superb pile of building' which was shortly to be built and to be separated from the street 'by a magnificent colonnade'.

In all the above-mentioned plans the site of the present front court of King's is masked by a row of houses abutting on the street. In 1824 the building facing the Chapel and the screen and present front gateway began to be erected in accordance with plans drawn up by William Wilkins and the buildings abutting on the street were removed.

The plan in the *New Cambridge Guide* of 1868 shows the present frontage to King's College and divides what was once Trumpington Street into its present sectors of Trinity Street, King's Parade, and Trumpington Street, the last of which begins on the south side of Bene't Street.

At the time when J. H. Hall wrote his account of the properties of his College the new name of King's Parade was apparently not yet in vogue. The site of the house which he describes as being in Trumpington Street is that now called No. 20 King's Parade and is still the property of Trinity Hall.

'Henry Prist, my barber', received a legacy under the will of Dr Stephen Perse (d. 1615) and is also mentioned in the wills of other Cambridge dons. He naturally found Dr Cowell's house a suitable headquarters for carrying on business with his University patrons.

The Logic Lecture appears to have come to a very early end. The terms of its tenure which were imposed by Cowell were distinctly onerous and the remuneration very poor even for the spartan days of the early seventeenth century.

## APPENDIX II

TRADITION REGARDING JOHN COWELL DURING HIS  
EARLY DAYS AT KING'S

I am indebted to Mr John Saltmarsh for the following extract from the Senior Scholars' Book regarding John Cowell during his early days at King's College. It should be explained that the expression 'Dor' means leave to lie abed and to cut compulsory early morning chapel. Mr Saltmarsh informs me that the passage was still being copied out by the junior scholars and that in all probability the ritual was still being observed during the early days of Queen Victoria's reign. The entry appears under the date 7 January and reads as follows:

'The Senior Scholars visit after supper . . . for a Dor the 8th in memoriam Doctoris Cowell, because then and never else he overslept himself and missed early Prayers.'

## THE FAVELLS OF PETTY CURY: A CAMBRIDGE FAMILY IN THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

BRUCE DICKINS

ON the wall of the south aisle of St Andrew the Great, Cambridge, is a black marble slab which commemorates by name eleven members of the Favell family—John and Elizabeth Favell and the nine of their sixteen children who survived infancy, in order of birth George, Samuel, John, Elizabeth, James, Thomas, Mary, Edward and William. The father John Favell, a house-painter, was born in 1739 or 1740, and Edward, the last of his children, died in 1854. Five of the seven sons had served in or with the Royal Navy or in the Army, and the three soldiers, Samuel, John the younger and William, all died of wounds received in action against the French.

Readers of Leigh Hunt and Charles Lamb will call to mind Samuel Favell, who was a contemporary of those authors at Christ's Hospital, as a decidedly touchy person, 'said to be a little too sensible of a humble origin'. In his *Autobiography* (I, 78-9) Leigh Hunt relates how 'Favell, a Grecian [that is a sixth-former], a youth of high spirit, when Boyer [the formidable headmaster] had struck him, went to the school-door, opened it, and turning round with the handle in his grasp, told him he would never set foot in the place, unless he promised to treat him with more delicacy. "Come back, child; come back!" said the other, pale, and in a faint voice. There was a dead silence. Favell came back, *and nothing more was done.*' Lamb too, in his essay 'Christ's Hospital Five and Thirty Years Ago', writes of Favell as 'dogged, faithful, anticipative of insult, warm-hearted, with something of the old Roman height about him', and as 'ill capable of enduring the slights poor Sizars are sometimes subject to—in our seats of learning'. Again, Favell is transmuted into the W— of Lamb's essay on 'Poor Relations', described as 'a fine classic, and a youth of promise, turned into a servitor of Oxford who fled from the University when his father, a house-painter, had set up shop in the city. . . . A letter on his father's table the next morning announced that he had accepted a commission in a regiment about to embark for Portugal. He was among the first who perished before the walls of St Sebastian.' Samuel Favell was the son of a house-painter and did obtain a commission in a marching regiment; the rest, as we shall see later, is fiction, based indeed on fact, but suitably heightened for dramatic effect. In the same way Lamb's 'Oxford in Vacation' describes Cambridge, which Lamb visited more than once and knew far better than Oxford.

The earliest reference to John Favell the painter is to be found in the Common-Day Book of the unreformed Corporation of Cambridge; on 31 October 1770 'John Favill [*sic*], late Apprentice to Mr Alderman Thomas Wiseman Burgess and Herald and House Painter, according to Ancient Custom, had the Freedom of this Corporation'. John Favell was almost certainly setting up as a master painter, after five or seven years as an apprentice and a further period as a journeyman; his father was not, nor ever had been, a burgess of Cambridge, but may have been the John Favell, carpenter, who was buried in St Andrew the Great on 3 March 1786.

About this time, or shortly after, John Favell the house-painter must have married, for his eldest son George (baptized on 12 January 1772) was twenty-six when he died of consumption on 31 May 1798. Where John Favell first set up shop is not known. His sons George, and a John who died as an infant, were baptized in St Andrew the Great, but from 1775 till 1779 he lived in St Bene't's parish, for the next three of his children were baptized in that church. Soon afterwards he moved to 2 Petty Cury, where he remained till his death on 14 May 1804, and the rest of his children were baptized in St Andrew the Great.

On 24 August 1778 he had been chosen one of the Common-Councilmen of the Corporation and was active in its affairs from 24 August 1781 till within a few weeks of his death. What he looked like in early middle age can be seen from an etching, anonymous and undated, of which there is a pull in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Pl. VI). John Favell was definitely in the swim. His second son Samuel was presented to Christ's Hospital by Mr John Purchas (the second of the name), a Cambridge alderman who had been Mayor for 1771-2; for him see J. Milner Gray, *Biographical Notes on the Mayors of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 51. Furthermore it can scarcely be doubted that the younger John's commission in the Cambridgeshire Militia owed something to his father's connection with the Corporation, then 'managed' by John Mortlock III, banker and country gentleman, in the interest of the Duke of Rutland, who had an estate at Cheveley. An active Common-Councilman would be a member of the Rutland Club which met, for uncommonly good dinners, at the Eagle and Child in Bene't Street and 'never had so disgusting a ceremony as being called on to pay the bill'. Those who knew Cambridge before 1914 may remember that the ducal connection with Cambridge was kept in memory by a little public house in Botolph Lane, the Rutland Arms.

After John Favell's death in 1804, we learn from Elizabeth Favell's announcement in the *Cambridge Chronicle* for 26 May 1804 that her husband had been in business for more than thirty years and that she intended to carry it on with the help of her sons. And so she did. At the celebrations to mark the Peace of 1815 she displayed in a transparency the sentiment 'I rejoice for my Country but mourn for my sons'. Mrs Favell died at the age of ninety-three on 13 October 1840, having survived all but two of her sixteen children, and the *Cambridge Chronicle* (17 October 1840) bore tribute to her as 'an exemplary Christian, and a warm supporter of the old and valued institutions of the country'.

John Favell the younger (baptized on 11 November 1777) survived his brother George for little more than a year. He was gazetted Lieutenant in the Cambridge-shire Militia on 25 April 1798, and, along with Lieutenant P. Robinson of the same Militia, was given a regular commission as Ensign in the 2/20th, or South Devonshire, Regiment (later the Lancashire Fusiliers) on 13 August 1799. Soon after he had joined his battalion, it embarked for Holland as part of the Duke of York's expedition and landed at the Helder on 28 August. The British forces had at first some success. In the second of the two engagements near Egmont-op-Zee (6 October 1799) both Ensign Favell and his company-commander Lieutenant Charles Steevens were picked off by the French riflemen.<sup>1</sup> They were carried to Egmont-op-Zee and when the British forces retired were made prisoner by the French cavalry. They were first taken to Alkmaar, and from there Steevens was moved to Breda. Before he reached Breda he parted with Favell who was dangerously wounded in the chest and unable to speak. Favell was left at Amsterdam where on 4 November he died of his wounds; he was buried in the Cathedral at Leyden, as the Favell slab records. Steevens, who told the story many years later in *Reminiscences of a Military Life* (Winchester, 1878), pp. 8-14, mentions that he was afterwards acquainted with Samuel Favell of the 61st Regiment, whose career is now to be described.

Samuel Favell, the second son, was baptized in St Bene't's on 5 November 1775 and was admitted to Christ's Hospital in April 1785. He proved an apt scholar and rose to be a Grecian. During his penultimate year at school he met again his older contemporary Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who inspired him, temporarily at least, with his own enthusiasm for Pantisocracy, the establishment of an ideal community on the banks of the Susquehanna; the locality was chosen for its excessive beauty and was warranted free from the danger of bisons and hostile Indians. On 1 September 1794 Coleridge wrote from London to his fellow enthusiast Robert Southey:

The younger Le Grice<sup>2</sup> (a sweet-tempered Fellow—he goes with me to Cambridge) and Favell, who goes to Cambridge next October twelve month—have intreated that they may be allowed to come over after us when they quit College. This morning Favell put this Sonnet into my hand—

## SONNET

Flashes of Hope, that lighten o'er my Soul!  
 Shapings of Fancy, than the Earth possess'd  
 More lovely, more extatic! o'er my Breast  
 What glittering Waves of visioned Rapture roll.  
 With silent sweet survey of tearful Joy  
 I gaze the Vale, where bloom in fadeless Youth

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Fortescue (*A History of the British Army*, iv, 698 n.) cannot have seen Lieutenant (later Colonel) Steevens's book, for he says that not a single English person present, apparently, left any account of this action.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Le Grice (1775-1802) went up to Trinity as a sizar with a Christ's Hospital Leaving Exhibition. He was admitted on 10 February 1794 and matriculated at Michaelmas 1795. He obtained a commission in the 60th Rifles and died in Jamaica.

Love, Beauty, Friendship, Poesy, and Truth.  
 My Brethren! O my Brethren! then I cry—  
 And you, Ye mild-eyed Forms! a Brother's Kiss  
 Give me! that I may drink of your love-bowl!  
 And mix in every draught the high-wrought Soul,  
 And pluck from every Bank the Rose of Bliss!—  
 Mock me not, Phantoms! lest my poor fond Heart  
 Outcast for ever into madness start!—

The sonnet<sup>1</sup> was coming into fashion again after a long period in eclipse; but Favell's was poor stuff, even for a schoolboy. He was no more cut out for a poet than Coleridge for a Light Dragoon.

Samuel Favell was awarded the Leaving Exhibition from Christ's Hospital, as Coleridge and Le Grice had been before him. He was admitted to Pembroke Hall as a sizar on 24 April 1795 and matriculated at Michaelmas the same year. A sizarship served a valuable purpose in the days before entrance scholarships were offered by colleges. It enabled many poor boys who later became distinguished scholars to work their way through the university. Notable examples from a single college are James Wood, Master of St John's (1815-39), and John Hymers, President (1848-52), whose mathematical works brought both of them fortunes which they put to good use; they are coupled in a line of Calverley's *Carmen Sæculare*:

Circum dirus Hymers nec non inutile Lignum.

Sir Isaac Newton and Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity (1700-42), were both admitted as subsizars, and Newton matriculated as a sizar of Trinity in 1661. Cambridge had no such rule as had Christ Church, Oxford, which excluded William Stubbs, who had been a servitor, from a Studentship of the House. Sizars were often the sons of unbeneficed clergy, wretchedly poor and shabby, sometimes uncouth as well. A sizar had rather a disagreeable status, feeding on broken meats and wearing a distinctive gown, even less prepossessing than the pensioner's 'bum-curtain'. But Richard Watson, later Bishop of Llandaff, who had come up as a sizar of Trinity, thought it had stimulated him to work hard and win a scholarship at an unusually early stage of his academic career.

Whatever may have been the reason, Samuel Favell went down from Pembroke prematurely and of course without a degree, exchanging the gown for the sword. It is unlikely that a letter to the Duke of York unsupported by someone of influence would have procured for him the commission of an Ensign, without purchase, in the 61st, or South Gloucestershire, Regiment (4 March 1797). His battalion (later the 2nd Gloucesters) sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, which had recently been taken over from the Dutch, and spent two years there. Four of its companies were posted to India but were diverted to the Red Sea. They landed at Kosseir, and Samuel Favell was one of those who made the fearful desert march to join Sir Ralph Aber-

<sup>1</sup> That beginning 'No more my visionary soul shall dwell', and attributed to Favell in Southey's letter of 19 October to his naval brother, is certainly by Coleridge (E. L. Griggs, *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 1, 104).

cromby's force in Egypt. The 61st were too late to take part in the battle of Alexandria (21 March 1801), in which Abercromby was killed, but remained on garrison duty in Egypt till 1803 when they embarked for home. They got no further than Malta. Samuel Favell, who had been promoted Lieutenant, again without purchase, on 8 December 1801, must have gone for a time on half-pay, since on 11 July 1803, when the short peace that followed the Treaty of Amiens had come to an end, he was gazetted back to full pay. In June 1806 the battalion was in garrison at Messina, keeping the French from landing in Sicily, the last foothold of the King of Naples. Its flank companies<sup>1</sup> landed in Calabria and shared in Sir John Stuart's victory at Maida (4 July 1806), which was brilliant but of absolutely no strategic importance. It is best known for having given its name to a London suburb, Maida Vale.

After a further spell in garrison, this time at Gibraltar, during which Samuel Favell was promoted Captain of a Company (4 April 1809), the 1/61st (which will henceforward be styled simply the 61st, since the 2nd Battalion of the Regiment was at home throughout the Peninsular War) joined Wellington's field army, posted to Cameron's brigade in Sir George Sherbrooke's First Division. This was just before the defensive battle of Talavera (27-28 July 1809) against Marshal Victor's army. On the second day Cameron's brigade occupied the right-centre of Wellington's position, holding part of the eastern slopes of the Cerro de Medallin, at the foot of which flowed the Portiña brook. Sebastiani's French division, almost twice as strong as Sherbrooke's, moved down to the brook and, having crossed it, brushed aside a thin screen of British light troops. On Sherbrooke's orders the French were allowed to approach to within 50 yards. Then the British regiments delivered a single shattering volley and charged. The French were thrown back across the Portiña. Cameron, very sensibly, halted the 61st and 2/83rd but on either of his flanks the pursuit was reckless, with the result that might have been expected. A heavy French counter-attack pushed the whole of Sherbrooke's division back over the Portiña and, in that part of the field, the day was barely saved by Mackenzie's infantry brigade of the Third Division and Sir Stapleton Cotton's brigade of light cavalry, which had been in reserve. Both the 2/83rd, which had to be sent back to Lisbon after the battle, and the 61st suffered heavy casualties. Samuel Favell escaped without a wound, but his battalion lost in killed three officers (including its much loved C.O. Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Barlow) and 46 other ranks, in wounded 10 officers and 193 o.r. and in missing 16 o.r. After Bussaco (27 September 1810) the 61st was transferred to the Fourth Division as part of Sir Edward Pakenham's brigade, and six weeks later (17 November 1810) to Hulse's brigade of the Sixth Division, newly formed under the command of Archibald Campbell. Hulse had the brigade till after Salamanca, when it was taken over by Hinde, who was succeeded by John Lambert on 2 July 1813. With the Sixth, under various divisional commanders, the 61st served till the end of the Peninsular War.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Grenadier Company, which contained the tallest and best built, and the Light Company, which included the most active men, called flank companies because they took respectively the right and left of the battalion in line.

Wellington's divisions were given nicknames, some complimentary, as the Fighting Division (Sir Thomas Picton's Third), some the reverse, as the Mongrels, applied to the latest formed Seventh Division which had a preponderance of foreign battalions. The Sixth was known as the Marching Division, most probably, as Sir Charles Oman argued, because between Talavera (1809) and Salamanca (1812) it accompanied all Wellington's movements from north to south and from south to north, yet was never seriously engaged. It missed the battles of Bussaco (27 September 1810) and Fuentes de Oñoro (5 May 1811), and the bloody but successful assaults on Ciudad Rodrigo (19 January 1812) and Badajoz (6 April 1812), for none of which did it gain battle honours. At Salamanca (22 July 1812) however the battalion was in the thick of it. After the Fourth Division had lost the Arapiles the 1/11th and the 61st of Hulse's brigade marched steadily up a steep slope under heavy fire. When they were within striking distance they halted, fired a volley, and charged with the bayonet. The French were driven from the heights and a counter-attack was shattered, but the 61st lost close on two-thirds of its effectives: 5 officers and 39 other ranks were killed, 19 officers and 303 o.r. wounded. Captain Samuel Favell was mortally wounded while leading his company to the charge. On 29 July the list of officer casualties in the battle was drawn up and Captain Faville [*sic*] of the 1/61st Regiment was reported 'severely wounded (since dead)'.

*Uno avulso non deficit alter* 'One torn away, a second fills the gap', or, if you prefer it, the more literal 'fails not a second'. For in the same issue of *The London Gazette* in which Lieutenant George Maclean is promoted Captain of a Company *vice* Favell (dead of his wounds)—Favell, Gent., is commissioned Ensign in his brother's regiment (24 November 1812). This was the youngest of the Favell brothers, baptized William on 28 October 1788 but usually styled William Anthony. How soon he joined the 1st Battalion in Spain or Southern France is difficult to determine. Between Salamanca and Toulouse the 61st gained four battle honours, the Pyrenees, Nivelles (10 November 1813), Nive (9 December 1813), and Orthez (20 March 1814), but only in the two battles of Sorrauren (28 and 30 July 1813), in which Soult's counter-offensive in the Pyrenees was defeated, was it heavily engaged. Before the end of the 1814 campaign Wellington had pressed deep into France, and Toulouse was his last battle before Waterloo. A battle is a confused and confusing affair, as anyone who has taken a part, however insignificant, in one does not need to be reminded. I will try to make this clear, emphasizing the role of the 61st on 10 April. The battle of Toulouse was not one of movement but, as Sir Charles Oman remarked in the last volume of his *History of the Peninsular War*, the storming of an entrenched position. Wellington's forces had enveloped the city on all but its southern side. East of Toulouse is Mont Rave (Montrabe on the modern map), a high ridge which overlooked the Royal Canal and the city walls beyond. In the hands of a besieger it commanded the city, and Soult had constructed a series of strong-points connected by trenches. These were, in order from north to south, the Great Redoubt (held by Villatte's division), the Colombette and the Mas des Augustins (that is, the

House of the Austin Friars), which are sometimes lumped together as the Calvinet Redoubt, an unnamed redoubt lying south of the road to Lavaur, and the Sypière Redoubt; all these last four were held by Harispe's division of thirteen battalions. Soult's precautions added considerably to the strength of the position. Wellington ordered holding attacks west of the city, one of which was pressed needlessly hard by Picton's Third Division and resulted in heavier losses than those suffered by the Fourth Division which shared in the main assault. This was entrusted to Sir William Beresford who had Clinton's Fourth Division and Cole's Sixth Division under his command. An attempt by Freire's two Galician divisions to outflank the ridge from the north failed with heavy loss, and Beresford could count on no effective support from them. An hour or so later the Sixth and Fourth Divisions deployed in three lines, on the right Pack's brigade of the Sixth supported by Lambert's and by Douglas's Portuguese, on the left William Anson's brigade of the Fourth Division with Ross's and with Vasconcellos's Portuguese in support. Soult, who took charge in person at the threatened point and had posted Taupin's division in column on the western slopes of the ridge, now brought it up for a counter-attack, Rey's brigade on the left and Gasquet's on the right. As the British troops were struggling up the steep and muddy slope, Taupin led Rey's brigade down in close column enfiladed to some extent by Anson and masking the fire of the French battery near the Sypière Redoubt. Taupin then gave orders to halt and deploy. At that moment a few Congreve rockets fell among the French and, like all new weapons, were more damaging to morale than their effectiveness warranted. The leading brigades of the Sixth and Fourth Divisions opened fire. Taupin fell mortally wounded, and Rey's brigade ran. The 61st occupied the Sypière Redoubt virtually without resistance and Gasquet's brigade, which had scarcely been engaged, retreated down the western slope of the ridge. The French line when re-established showed a broad salient, roughly oblong in shape, and Wellington determined to assault it at the angles. The Spaniards made a second and more determined attack from the north, but were again repulsed from the Great Redoubt. Further south Pack's brigade delivered the assault, the 42nd on the Mas des Augustins, the 79th on the Colombette. The 42nd were badly handled by their C.O., a pedantic Highlander, and suffered heavily in needless manœuvres, but carried the Mas at the first rush. At the same time the 79th took the Colombette. A fierce French counter-attack drove the 42nd from the Mas and the 79th had to abandon the Colombette. The 91st (Pack's reserve battalion) and the 12th Portuguese from Douglas's brigade recovered both the strong-points, but were soon thrown out again and Lambert's brigade (1/11th, 1/36th and the 61st) had to be brought up to restore the situation, suffering heavily in the process. At 4 p.m. Beresford's guns had been dragged up the muddy slopes and had opened fire. The Great Redoubt was now untenable. Late in the afternoon it was abandoned by the French, who fell back to the line of the Royal Canal, holding however a bridgehead on the eastern bank. By that time Beresford's batteries had fired their last round; but once sufficient supplies of ammunition could be brought round across the River Garonne the city was at their mercy. This took the whole of the

11th, and on the 12th Soult marched out of Toulouse, to the immense relief of the inhabitants. The British cavalry had almost reached the bridge of Baziège by which he meant to retreat to Carcassonne, there to join forces with Suchet whose army had occupied north-eastern Spain. All the bloodshed at Toulouse had been to no purpose, for on the very day of Soult's retreat messengers from Paris reached Wellington's headquarters with the news that Napoleon had abdicated.

All the battalions in Lambert's brigade had suffered heavily outside Toulouse. The 61st lost rather more than the 1/11th and the 1/36th and came out of the action commanded by a subaltern, Lieut. Bace the Adjutant. Their C.O., Lieut.-Colonel Robert John Coghlan, was killed and 18 officers wounded—Lieut. Henry Arden and Ensign W. A. Favell mortally. Of other ranks 16 were killed and 136 wounded, many of them seriously, for after the battle the scarlet coats of dead and wounded strewed the field in such numbers that they gained for the 61st the nickname of 'the Flowers of Toulouse'. Actually their losses had been heavier both at Talavera and at Salamanca, but Toulouse struck the imagination deeper and was remembered above all others in the history of the 61st, which was linked up with the 28th, or North Gloucestershire, Regiment in 1881. The Gloucesters, unlike the Devons and the Dorsets, the Berkshires and the Wiltshires, retain a separate existence as a battalion of the Wessex Brigade.

Of the fourth son, James Favell, I only know that he was baptized on 23 November 1781, that he was an Admiralty Clerk, and that he lost his life while taking part in what Christopher Lloyd has justly described as 'one of the supreme achievements of the Navy in the nineteenth century'. This was Captain W. F. W. Owen's survey (1822-6) of the coasts of East Africa, Southern Arabia and West Africa, which covered in all some 30,000 miles of virtually unknown coastline in 300 large charts delivered in duplicate. For much of the commission the climate was deadly, and the naval surgeons, who might have been reasonably deft at whipping off an arm or leg (sometimes not even at that), knew little how to treat cases of tropical disease. They tried copious bleeding and frequent doses of calomel, and it is not surprising that Owen lost two-thirds of his officers and half of his crew, among whom was James Favell. He had embarked in Owen's ship, the 28-gun frigate *Leven*, which left Cowes Roads on 13 February 1822, and died from the effects of the East African climate on 11 April 1823. He is not mentioned in either of the published narratives of the voyage, that compiled from Captain Owen's papers (1833) or that written by Thomas Boteler, one of the best of Owen's officers (1835). The Favell slab states that James died at Delagoa Bay on 13 April 1823, but *Leven* was already in harbour at Simon's Bay near Capetown when Owen wrote his letter of 7 April to the Admiralty, and a week later he includes in his list of casualties James Favell as having died on the 11th. It is pleasant to note that Captain Owen, who was promoted Rear-Admiral in 1847 and Vice-Admiral in 1857, the year of his death, is not forgotten in the Navy, for H.M.S. *Owen* returned from a survey of the Indian Ocean only a few months ago.

The fifth son, Thomas Favell, was baptized on 12 May 1783 and died a Commander, R.N. Most of his service was in little ships, brigs, sloops and cutters, in which there was less 'spit and polish' than in big ships. There was less comfort too, for when the famous Lord Cochrane, a tall man, commanded the ironically named *Speedy* brig and wanted to shave, he had to open the skylight above his cabin and use the sacred quarterdeck as a toilet-table. Thomas Favell served in no great action which might have brought him promotion—or an early death—and he did not get far forward in his profession. Yet it may not be unprofitable to describe his career in some detail; it shows how much can be learned from Admiralty papers (now in the P.R.O.) of an obscure sea-officer of humble birth to whom Marshall gives only a few lines and who died too soon to be included by O'Byrne.

Once again it is not easy to equate the information on the Favell slab with official records. The slab notes that Thomas Favell served for 39 years in the Royal Navy, which would suggest that he went to sea for the first time not later than 1796, whereas in a Memorandum of his services chiefly in his own hand (Adm. 9/11, Folio 3713) the first entry tells that he served as a Volunteer, 1st Class, as an A.B. and as a Midshipman in *Achille*, a unit of the Channel Fleet, from July 1798 till November 1799. *L' Achille* 74 was one of the six prizes taken in Howe's victory of 1 June 1794, glorious indeed but failing in the object of the exercise, the interception of a consignment of American grain that was sorely needed by the French. *L' Achille* was brought safely into Plymouth, but she had been badly knocked about in the action and was for years in Cleverley's shipyard at Gravesend. She was eventually commissioned as a Third Rate in the Royal Navy. Thomas Favell had joined her as a Volunteer, 1st Class, that is as a 'Young Gentleman' who might reasonably expect to become a lieutenant in due course. This suggests that he could command some slight influence in naval circles. Captain Henry Edwyn Stanhope (1754–1814), by whom *Achille* was commissioned, was a sea-officer of considerable experience who had been a Post Captain since 16 June 1781; he was to reach flag-rank on 1 January 1801 and to die as Admiral of the Blue. Thomas Favell was generally fortunate in the captains under whom he served, for though Stanhope was only a few months in *Achille* his successor, Captain George Murray, was almost equally experienced. In the battle of Cape St Vincent (14 February 1797) Murray had commanded *Colossus* 74, which was wrecked on Scilly while bringing from Naples a large part of Sir William Hamilton's valuable collection. The antiques went to the bottom, but no lives were lost and no blame attached to Captain Murray who was at once appointed to *Achille*. He was not long in that ship, being transferred to the command of *Edgar*, which led the way in at Copenhagen (2 April 1801). Murray, like Stanhope, died an admiral. Thomas Favell had left *Achille* in November 1799 and does not appear to have gone to sea again till five years had elapsed, when he joined as Midshipman the 10-gun sloop *Zephyr* (Commander A. Abdy) in the Downs (November 1804–September 1805).

The longest spell he had in any ship was as Master's Mate in *Minorca*, a new 18-gun brig commissioned at Chatham on 21 August 1805 by Commander the Hon.

Henry Duncan, a younger son of the victor of Camperdown, and ordered to the Mediterranean Station. In *Minorca* Thomas Favell served in the Western Mediterranean and off Cadiz from October 1805 till February 1809, under Duncan, the Hon. G. G. Waldegrave and Phipps Hornby, all officers of some note. Hornby, who got command of *Minorca* early in 1807, 'came into frequent contact with the enemy's [that is Spanish] gunboats and batteries, both in the vicinity of Cadiz and while employed in the blockade of Ceuta', the Spanish port on the Moroccan coast just opposite Gibraltar. Between February and May 1809 Favell was Supernumerary in the 32-gun frigate *Ambuscade*, the 18-gun sloop *Elwin* and the 16-gun sloop *Orestes*, and in the latter month passed for Lieutenant. That did not necessarily mean that he would receive an immediate appointment in the rank, and in fact from May to July 1809 he had another spell off Lisbon as Master's Mate in the 18-gun brig *Nautilus* and again, off Lisbon and Ferrol, in *Barfleur* 98, wearing the flag of Vice-Admiral the Hon. G. Berkeley and commanded by Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy—Nelson's Hardy—till 14 October 1809.

On that day Favell obtained acting rank as Lieutenant in *Triumph* 74 (Captain S. H. Linzee), and from that time we can check his own record of service by the Full Pay Register (Adm. 24/28, no. 47), which tells us that his quarterly pay as Lieutenant was £25. 4s., less deductions. His appointment was confirmed on 9 December 1809 and he served in *Triumph* till 9 August 1810 when he was transferred to *Armada* 74 (Captain A. Mackenzie), cruising in the Channel, off the Basque Roads and in the North Sea till September 1811. Favell was on half-pay from October 1811 till 3 June 1812 when he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant in the 16-gun brig *Sparrow* (Commander Joseph Needham Tayler); he appears as such in the Navy List from 1 June 1812 till 1 February 1813, but he was only in *Sparrow* from 3 June till 30 September 1812. *Sparrow* operated on the north coast of Spain and in the Bay of Biscay, looking into the ports, French as well as Spanish, harassing the enemy's movements along the coast, and destroying his shore works—services that have not been sufficiently recognized in histories of the Peninsular War. Needham (1785–1864) was, like Cochrane, a most enterprising and scientific officer who twice forced his way into the harbour of Santander and, though dreadfully wounded while directing naval co-operation at the siege of San Sebastian (24 July 1813), lived to become an authority on naval gunnery, to reach the rank of Rear-Admiral, and to invent in 1846 the floating breakwater proposed to be constructed at Brighton. This sounds like a precursor of Mulberry.

By this time the Navy had on its hands the American War as well as the French, and, after another spell on half-pay, Thomas Favell was appointed 1st Lieutenant of the 16-gun brig *Épervier* (Commander Richard Walter Wales). In her he served in West Indian and North American waters from 5 February 1813 till 7 January 1814, when he was relieved by Lieutenant John Harris. This was luckier for Favell than for Harris, since *Épervier* was neither well found nor well manned. After returning to Halifax, Nova Scotia, with an American prize, the privateer *Alfred* which had been taken without resistance (23 February 1814), Wales reported that his

crew was not to be trusted, and on his next cruise *Épervier* was forced to strike to the more powerful and better manned U.S. sloop *Peacock*; Lieutenant Harris was badly wounded in the action (29 April 1814). By then Thomas Favell was in the 32-gun frigate *Success* (Captain Thomas Barclay), in which he served from 16 January till 9 July 1814. He returned to England from Halifax in *Goliath* 56 (Captain Frederick L. Maitland) and went again on half-pay on 11 October 1814, when it was thought that Napoleon was safely out of the way on the Isle of Elba.

On 1 March 1815, however, Napoleon landed on the Riviera and the Hundred Days had begun. Half-pay officers could hope for employment. After the landing of British troops at Ostend, which began before March was out, Commander Edmund Denman of the 10-gun sloop *Redpole* surveyed the anchorages outside the port and a little later commanded a light squadron in the Scheldt which co-operated with the Dutch for the protection of Cadzand from surprise attack. Thomas Favell was appointed 2nd Lieutenant of *Redpole* on 27 April, but he received full pay only from 2 June and it appears unlikely that he took part in more than the operations in the Scheldt. Waterloo was fought on 18 June, and Napoleon's attempt to escape to the United States was foiled by the naval blockade. After his surrender to Captain Maitland of *Bellerophon*, a favourite subject for historical painters, *Redpole* joined the squadron that escorted him to Saint Helena and returned to England with the dispatch in which Sir George Cockburn reported Napoleon's safe delivery to his island prison. *Redpole* was then laid up at Plymouth, and Thomas Favell was on half-pay again from 28 December 1815, this time for a few weeks only.

On 15 February 1816 he was appointed 1st Lieutenant of the 10-gun sloop *Jasper* (Commander Thomas Barclay) and paid as such from 17 February to 15 September 1816, when he was relieved. *Jasper* had just returned from Gibraltar bringing the dispatch of 14 August in which Lord Exmouth reported that his squadron had set sail for Algiers, where it was to bombard the pirate stronghold and force its ruler (the Dey) to hand over the many hundreds of Christian captives held in slavery. Once again this was lucky for Thomas Favell, for on 19 January 1817 a furious storm drove *Jasper* from her moorings in Plymouth Sound and piled her up on the Bear's Head at Mount Batten; all but two of the 67 persons on board lost their lives in the wreck. After another period on half-pay Thomas Favell commanded the 10-gun cutter *Pioneer*, on Particular Service (whatever that may have been) at Sheerness, from 12 February to 25 September 1822. His final appointment was as Lieutenant and Commander of *Bramble*, a 10-gun cutter completed in 1822. Based on Plymouth, then on Falmouth and again on Plymouth, he held the command, presumably on coastguard duties, from 21 June 1824 till 1827, his successor having been appointed on 10 August of that year. After this he never went to sea again. He was promoted Commander on 27 September 1827 and for his few remaining years lived on the half-pay of his rank—8s. 6d. a day, which was sufficient at that time to keep a middle-aged bachelor in modest comfort. He died in London on 31 July 1835, after a lingering illness borne with great fortitude and resignation (*Cambridge Chronicle* for 7 August 1835).

Apart from the eldest son George, who had died in 1798, none of the Favell brothers made his home in Cambridge but Edward the sixth son (baptized 5 April 1787). He carried on the family business, appearing in the Cambridge directories from 1839 onwards as plumber and glazier in St Andrew's Street.<sup>1</sup> After his death on 5 June 1854, his firm carried on for a good many years as Favell and Ellis, first at 2 St Andrew's Street and later at 2 Petty Cury, where John Favell had set up shop about 1780. The firm, by that time styled Favell, Ellis and Kirkman, of 5 St Andrew's Street, was still in existence in the early 'twenties; it last appears in the Cambridge directory for 1924-5.

Two of the Favell girls had lived to grow up—Elizabeth (baptized 14 September 1778), who died in Petty Cury and was buried on 16 February 1834, aged 55, and Mary (baptized 5 July 1785), who died also in Petty Cury, and was buried on 18 November 1843. There is no evidence that any but Edward of the nine brothers and sisters ever married and he left no children by his wife Elizabeth Ayrton.

In conclusion, none of the Favell brothers reached high rank, nor particularly distinguished themselves in the Services, but their careers show that commissions in the Navy and Army were not wholly the preserve of the nobility and gentry, though to get one's foot on to the ladder needed in general the support of some influential person, and it was always useful to have 'interest' at the Admiralty or the Horse Guards.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Once the enthusiasm for the reformed Corporation had evaporated, he was elected Councillor for St Andrew's Ward on 1 November 1843, becoming an Alderman in 1844; on 4 June, H. R. Wiseman was elected in his place as Councillor.

<sup>2</sup> For access to the manuscript material on which this paper is largely based, I am indebted to the Vicars of St Bene't and of St Andrew the Great, to the authorities of the Cambridge City Hall, and to Commander M. Godfrey of the Public Record Office.

## DRAINAGE BY WINDMILLS IN THE WATERBEACH LEVEL

R. L. HILLS

STRETCHING southwards from the low levels of the Isle of Ely, a long finger of fenland follows the valley of the River Cam almost into Cambridge itself. To the west of the Cam and bounded on the north by the old course of the Ouse, now called the Old West, it forms the Waterbeach Level. The highland, with the village of Waterbeach, and the turnpike road (now the main Cambridge to Ely road, which left the highlands and crossed the marshes to Stretham Ferry), formed the western boundary of the Level. Towards the northern end of this area was Stretham Mere—one of the large sheets of open water which once existed in the fens—but most of the land was low-lying peat and marsh, based on a bed of clay with a few outcrops of gravel and limestone.

Although this fen area was embanked before 1620, and 'no sewer or ditch passes throw it, yet many yeres it is long drowned'.<sup>1</sup> The Bedford Level Corporation took over the responsibility of repairing the banks, but the condition of the Level did not improve. Therefore, after the passing of the Haddenham Level Act in 1727, Whittlesea and Waterbeach areas both applied for drainage acts, for the purpose of installing windmills. The Whittlesea Bill was thrown out at the Committee stage while that for the Waterbeach Level was presented but never read.<sup>2</sup> Nothing further was done until 1741 when an Act was passed for the Waterbeach Level 'to drain and keep the same drained for the future',<sup>3</sup> this being the third such act within the South Level of the Fens. The land which it was proposed to make into the Waterbeach Level extended for about 4500 acres, of which 2500 acres were in the parish of Waterbeach and the rest in the three other parishes of Wicken, Stretham and Thetford. It was stated that the 'Fens and low grounds were in their own nature very rich and fertile'<sup>4</sup> and that great benefit would accrue by drainage 'not only to the said owners and occupiers but to the Public in general'.<sup>5</sup>

To supervise the working of the Act, a board of Commissioners was established, which had to meet twice a year. They appointed a collector or Receiver to gather the tax, which was assessed at two shillings per acre for the years 1741 and 1742 and for each subsequent year at one shilling. On the security of these taxes, the Commissioners were allowed to raise loans at a maximum interest of five per cent in order to make such 'cuts, drains, dams, and outlets through the said level and erect

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MS. British Museum 5011, vol. 2, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. 21, pp. 229 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 1741, 14 George II, Public, ch. 24.

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

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



Fig. 1. Waterbeach Level, 'North Fen', from R. G. Baker, 'Map of the County of Cambridgeshire, 1821'. On the south side of the West Water, the four mills can be seen, their names, moving east from Stretham Ferry, are Upper Mill, Mere Mill, and the double-lift Dollard Mills. Cambridge University Library (maps aa. 53 (1) 82.2).

such Works and Engines thereupon for draining and conveying the waters from the same'.<sup>1</sup>

The engines to which the Act refers were probably windmills, fitted with large waterwheels or 'scoop-wheels' to raise the water out of the drains. These machines were usually called engines at this period, but later, and when the first surviving Minute Book begins in 1775, the term 'mill' is applied. The drainage of the fens by these engines aroused great hostility among the poorer inhabitants, who lost their fishing and wild-fowling. In the Waterbeach Level, a penalty of one hundred pounds was laid on any person cutting down and destroying the works or engines, or obstructing and laying open any of the cuts, drains or other works. Anyone burning or setting fire to one of the engines might be imprisoned for three years and the crime would be considered as a felony without benefit of clergy.

The first Minute Book shows that three mills were working by 1775. It is possible that all three were erected soon after the passing of the Act. Certainly the Mere Mill and the Dowload Mill were put up then, but the Upper Mill may not have been built until 1766, when another Act of Parliament was passed. The Preamble of this Act complains about the bad state of a 'considerable part of Stretham Common near a Bridge that has lately been built [Stretham Ferry Bridge] which is frequently overflowed and yields but little profit'.<sup>2</sup> The Upper Mill is situated near here, but it is difficult to see where the necessary capital was found. This Act did not raise the current working revenue of the Level, but permitted an extra tax of one shilling per acre per year, which was allowed to be used only for the purpose of repaying debts now amounting to £1800. These debts had been incurred when the Commissioners 'carried the works of drainage into execution'<sup>3</sup> according to the instructions in the former Act. This extra rate continued until 1779, when it was hoped 'that, if the arrears can be collected, they may be sufficient for answering the purposes of the said Act'.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of this vast expenditure of money and labour, there was not much improvement in the drainage, if the complaints of which the Reverend William Cole wrote in his letters to Horace Walpole may be taken as typical. Cole, who owned an estate in the neighbourhood, was Curate at Waterbeach from the end of 1767 to the beginning of 1770, when he sold his land and retired to Milton because he refused to live like a water-rat. Perhaps he struck a series of very bad years, for on 21 June 1769 he writes, 'My spirits have been much depressed by fears and apprehensions of inundations over my estate, great part of which has been drowned these two years and is now getting dry again'.<sup>5</sup> He goes on to describe one of the floods which laid waste the parish.

On Monday night, the bank of the river blew up, and has overflowed a vast tract of country in this neighbourhood. I was all day yesterday on the water to see their operations; but they will hardly be able to stop it in three or four days. Longer rains I often remember, but never any so violent

<sup>1</sup> 1741, 14 George II, Public, ch. 24.

<sup>2</sup> 1766, 6 George III, Private, ch. 93.

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

<sup>4</sup> Minute Book of the Commissioners of the Waterbeach Level.

<sup>5</sup> E. Warburton, *Life of Horace Walpole* (1851).

for the time it lasted, which was from Saturday night at ten o'clock till Sunday afternoon about three or four. All this part of the country is now covered with water, and the poor people of this parish utterly ruined. I am determined to sell my estate in this country. Every shower puts me on the rack, and I have suffered exceedingly for these last four or five years, besides the continual uneasiness it occasions.<sup>1</sup>

This was not the end of his troubles, for November of the following year saw his estate drowned for the third time within six years, and this time 'worse than ever from such incessant rain and bad weather'.<sup>2</sup> Cole was determined to leave and moved to Milton. The land was still drowned in the next April, but by then Cole had sold his estate and was rid of 'this plague and anxiety'.<sup>3</sup> Even so he made a loss, for, in consequence of these calamities, one of his tenants went broke, losing him four hundred pounds.

These inundations were not always so calamitous and they even served a useful purpose. Peat soil alone, when ploughed, does not produce very good crops. The land was enriched by these floods and, when it had dried again, brought forth abundantly, but the uncertainties were greater than most people were prepared to risk. The other method of cultivating the Fenlands was by 'paring and burning'. A special plough was used to break up the land and then the surface burnt. Care had to be taken to see that the fire did not burn too deeply into the peat, but a very fertile tilth resulted. The banks were built of peat so that a special clause had to be inserted in the next Act of Parliament, passed in 1797, imposing penalties because 'it frequently happens by the negligence and carelessness of servants or other persons employed in burning the Fenlands in order to their being ploughed and broke up into tillage that the banks adjoining such lands are burnt and destroyed by the fire being suffered to remain too long on such lands'.<sup>4</sup> However, this method was essential. One of the Waterbeach farmers, Mr Hemington, told Arthur Young when he visited the Level in the opening years of the nineteenth century that it was impossible to manage without it and it was absolutely necessary for good management. The area of the fen under casual cultivation was only about five hundred acres in 1794, which had fallen to one hundred acres when Young made his inspection, because the rest of the Level was not drained sufficiently to be ploughed.

Nearly two thousand acres of the Fen remained Common Land until 1813 when the Level was enclosed. Each of the 119 holders of Common Rights was allowed to graze twelve cows and eight sheep, or eight cows and four horses and eight sheep in the fen. Sometimes the herd of cows numbered six hundred, being kept 'for the purpose of making cheese, which was here brought to very great perfection',<sup>5</sup> while Cambridge was close at hand where butter always fetched a good price. About a thousand sheep were also kept on the Common Land and the area round the edge of the fen was ideal for market-gardening, supplying Cambridge with asparagus, cauliflower, cabbages, beans and other produce.

<sup>1</sup> E. Warburton, *Life of Horace Walpole* (1851).

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

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

<sup>4</sup> 1797, 37 George III, Public, ch. 88.

<sup>5</sup> W. K. Clay, *History of the Parish of Waterbeach* (1859).

The Level itself remained in a chronic state of debt. By 1795 the mills were falling down and the banks nearly washed away, and it was realized that the shilling tax was quite inadequate. Once again an appeal had to be made to Parliament. An Act was passed two years later granting an additional tax of one shilling per year to pay off the debts now amounting to £2000 and permission was given to levy tolls on those using the 'Haling Way' on the banks. The tolls were auctioned in 1801 for £83 per annum for three years, and thirty years later this sum had reached £234 per annum. At last the Commissioners had some money to spend on much-needed repairs to their mills.

The following details of repairs to the various mills are taken from the Minute Books of the Waterbeach Level Commissioners. They have been grouped together here to show what upkeep was necessary until the mills were finally taken down after the installation of the steam-engine. It is not always certain that the repairs were in fact carried out, although the orders had been given by the Commissioners. There is no record of any maintenance being carried out between the years 1775 and 1794.

In 1791 the Receiver of Taxes, Mr Brown, was ordered to ask Mr Sam Throssel of Haddenham to inspect the Mere Mill and to give two estimates, one for 'repairing the mill on the construction of the White Mill in Haddenham and the other for repairing the aforesaid mill on the same construction as it now is'.<sup>1</sup> It was decided to keep to the original construction and an estimate was received from Mr Throssel for £239 11s. 9d. This work was not put in hand, for three years later other millwrights were called in to give estimates for 'the repairs necessary to make the Mere Mill capable of working the draining'<sup>2</sup> who agreed on a cost of about £200. This money was to be raised on the security of the taxes, so Mr William Wilkinson was ordered to set about repairing the Mere Mill immediately in June 1794. The necessary timber for the repairs was to be brought as near the mill as possible and worked up there, 'our officer to see he does the work by the day'.<sup>3</sup> The repairs cost more than had been anticipated and a further £100 had to be raised. A new back was fitted in 1802, and a new waterwheel, with ladles not exceeding three feet, was ordered two years later. However, this was not built until 1809, when Mr Robert Wilkinson was employed on this and other necessary work. Further major repairs do not seem to have been needed until 1820 when an advertisement was put in the Cambridge newspaper for contracts for altering and improving this mill. A survey of the work was made by Mr Hunt who received a guinea, and the repairs were carried out by Mr Warwick. He received £173 for the balance of his account, and a little later put in an estimate for boarding and dressing the mill for £83. No more repairs were carried out before the mill was taken down. In August 1835, three years after the steam-engine was running, the mill was assessed against fire damage with the Norwich Union for £1000. It was not finally removed until 1840 when the bricks were needed to build a house for the steam-engine stoker.

Perhaps in anticipation of the additional revenue which their new Act would

<sup>1</sup> Minute Book of the Commissioners of the Waterbeach Level.

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

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



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Etching of John Favell, died 1804.

bring, the Commissioners ordered that 'the waterway and brickwork of the underpinning be repaired immediately as far as the masoner or bricklayer work is necessary'<sup>1</sup> on the Dowload Mill. This was in the summer of 1796, and in the next January it was resolved that 'the mill should be put into thorough repairs, the following works to be done, lead cistern and pitwheel, and a waterway and trundle head'.<sup>2</sup> This work was carried out that summer, for the carcass and head of the mill were to be repaired with the old boards. Two years later, a new axle-tree was fitted, and also two backs, so over a period of three years, the mill underwent a thorough restoration. Little else was done to this mill until 1814, when a second mill was erected nearby and this one repaired. A few minor repairs were needed eight years later, when the name is found to be corrupted to 'Dollard', the form in use today. An order was made for the disposal of this mill in September 1832, soon after the steam-engine had been completed.

The third of the original mills was the Upper or Top Mill. It seems to have needed little attention over the years. It was to be boarded and properly dressed in 1802, and twenty years later timber was purchased and further repairs done. In 1829 Mr Warwick was paid £1 for his expenses in attending a meeting to see whether it would be advisable to move this mill to a more suitable position, where it could drain more effectively. The decision was deferred because there were plans for a steam-engine, and this mill was ordered to be taken out in 1832.

Although the mills had been put into good condition, the state of the drainage was still not satisfactory. Hearing plans for enclosing Waterbeach Level, Arthur Young made a visit and published an account of the state of the Level in the *Annals of Agriculture* for 1805. It was doubted whether it would be profitable to enclose the open fen because the banks were so poor. He walked along the banks by the Cam from Clayhithe, and 'found them in a very bad state; and in general for want of the usual and obvious precaution of leaving a foreland between the bank and the river which washes the foundation, and wears it incessantly, by which means whatever breeches happen are in these places. At present the floods in winter damage these fens greatly, being sometimes a foot under water'.<sup>3</sup>

The drainage did not improve and the debts slowly mounted. The rates and tolls were found insufficient for the payment of interest on the money borrowed, and also maintaining and keeping in repair the several drainage works. This is hardly surprising, for in 1805 the Commissioners asked for a comparison of several former rates to ascertain the true amount of a shilling tax on the said Level of Waterbeach. A special committee was formed in 1809 to examine the state of the Level. They reported that an additional Mill would be of essential service to drain the level, but they conceived that the finances of the Level are not sufficient to defray the expense to be thereby incurred without first going to Parliament for power to lay fresh taxes. They further reported that, in their opinion, the Commissioners ought to consider

<sup>1</sup> Minute Book of the Commissioners of the Waterbeach Level.

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

<sup>3</sup> A. Young, *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. 43 (1805).

the repair and improvement of the banks the first objects of their attention.<sup>1</sup> So recourse was made once more to Parliament, where a large increase in taxes was permitted by an Act passed in 1813. The tolls were raised, and the ordinary tax could be increased to as much as five shillings per acre. In addition, another five shillings could be added to pay off outstanding debts, incurred then and in the future. Such high taxes necessitated the enclosure of the Common Land, and in the same year another Act was passed apportioning the Commons.

In order to carry into effect the purposes of the first of these two Acts 'in a manner the most advantageous for the general benefit'<sup>2</sup> it was proposed that 'an engineer of respectability'<sup>3</sup> be called in to advise. The choice fell on John Rennie who had just completed a survey of the South Level for the Bedford Corporation. He recommended installing a steam-engine, but as he estimated that, with the necessary drainwork, it would cost about £15,000<sup>4</sup> the Commissioners decided against it and determined to erect an 'inner' mill instead. The object of this inner mill was to raise the water into a basin from where it could be pumped by a second higher mill into the river. In Holland where the lifts were greater, three or even four mills could be seen 'playing to each other', but in England there were never more than 'double-lift' mills. On the Waterbeach Level, this inner mill was to be sited near the Dowload Mill, which then would form the higher half of a double-lift mill. Four people sent in estimates for repairing the old mill and building the new one. The contract with Mr John Willis was ingrossed on 12 August 1814, the cost being over £1300.<sup>4</sup> Five years later, Mr Willis appeared at a meeting of the Commissioners to make a claim for 'interest due on his erecting the New Mill'.<sup>5</sup> This mill was assessed against fire with the Norwich Union in 1835, but it was probably partly demolished at this time for it is valued at £100 only, compared with the Mere Mill at £1000.

Each mill would need a person to look after it, but no records have been found to show how they were engaged or what they were paid. They probably lived in the mills, for no other buildings, trees, or any stack of hay, fodder, or reeds were allowed within fifty yards of any mill. Heathcote describes the interior of a windmill which he visited elsewhere, but the Waterbeach ones were probably similar. 'A massive wooden spindle stands in the centre of the mill, and terminates in a large set of cogs at the top which communicate with the arms of the sails. In one dark corner is a bed and a wooden chest. There is a fireplace, but no egress for the smoke.' Such was the dwelling in which a family permanently lived.<sup>6</sup> In such conditions, it is no wonder that the millers sometimes neglected their work. Apparently in 1775 they had been negligent through their attachment to fishing, and it was ordered that 'no one concerned in that business shall for the future fish during their continuance in

<sup>1</sup> Minute Book of the Commissioners of the Waterbeach Level.

<sup>2</sup> 1813, 53 George III, Local and Personal, ch. 81, ch. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Minute Book of the Commissioners of the Waterbeach Level.

<sup>4</sup> Letter books of John Rennie, at the Institution of Civil Engineers, vol. 8, 5 March 1814.

<sup>5</sup> Minute Book of the Commissioners of the Waterbeach Level.

<sup>6</sup> J. M. Heathcote, *Reminiscences of Fen and Mere* (1876).

our service'.<sup>1</sup> Obviously the temptation was too strong, so this order had to be revived in 1793 and the Commissioners called on the Receiver to enforce it again. No more complaints against the millers were made until 1830, when it was ordered that 'one shilling per week be retained from the wages of the millers until the mills are set down and that, if information be then given that the mills have not been properly worked, the said sum shall, upon proof before the Commissioners of neglect on the part of the millers, be forfeited'.<sup>2</sup> In June 1831 it was ordered that 'the millwrights employed about the several mills be discharged and given a week's notice'.<sup>3</sup> The contract for building the steam-engine house was signed that July, but the actual date when the steam-engine began to work is not known. The mills probably continued in use during the next winter, but in September of the following year, the disposal of the double-lift mills and the Top Mill was ordered.

Today few traces remain of any of these mills. On one side of the bank, the drain leads up to the mound where the Mere Mill stood, and on the other side a reed-grown dyke cuts across the washes where once water flowed out of the Level. At the Upper Mill, the channel is now used to let water into the Fen through a sluice and tunnel, and a few bricks of the base of the mill may still be found. The position of the inner Dollard Mill has long been known for there is a patch of brick and rubble in a ploughed field and remains of wood and nails were also found here. The site of the Old Dollard Mill was always assumed to be on the bank at the end of a nearby drain, but no traces were ever discovered. This winter the farm lands have changed hands, and the field on the far side of the drain has been ploughed for the first time for fifty years at least. Modern deep ploughing has revealed the original basin made of clay which used to connect the two mills. Diagonally across the field, at the end of the basin, more bricks and other remains were found beside the bank. Removal of a hedge brought to light some of the wooden piles supporting the whole structure of the old mill. The basin is fifteen yards wide and about fifty yards long, and was made to stop the water soaking back through the peat after it had been pumped to the middle level, and before it was sent into the river by the higher mill. Further ploughing will obliterate these traces, and when the crops have grown this summer, only the memory will remain of this scene of man's endeavour to battle against the floods.

Acknowledgement and thanks are due to Messrs Archer and Archer of Ely, Solicitors and Clerks to the Commissioners who kindly made the records available, and to Mr C. O. Clarke the Fen Superintendent and his wife who have provided generous hospitality and much help in the preparation of this article.

<sup>1</sup> Minute Book of the Commissioners of the Waterbeach Level.

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

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

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

GRACE BRISCOE, TIMOTHY POTTER,  
PATRICIA HUTCHINSON, MARTIN BIDDLE,  
AND G. H. FINDLAY AND HOWARD HART

### ICENIAN COIN FINDS IN LAKENHEATH, SUFFOLK

Two finds of Icenian coins have been made in recent years in Lakenheath. As the circumstances were different, it seems advisable to describe them before detailed publication takes place. Lakenheath parish is lozenge-shaped, 9 miles wide, and the eastern third lies in the Breckland, with sandy soil on chalk, the western third is in the Fen with black peaty soil. The centre holds the village and the cultivated land.

The first discovery, in November 1959, was in the 'Roman Field' on the outskirts of a fourth-century settlement, a mile to the east of the village, on the edge of the Breckland (TL 728833). A deeper ploughing than usual brought up a butt beaker with hundreds of coins, 67 Roman silver denarii and 415 ancient British coins, including three gold staters, one of great rarity. This is the largest hoard of Icenian coins found hitherto in this country.

The hoard was subject to Coroner's Inquest, declared Treasure Trove, and acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum.

A Foreword has been published in the *British Numismatic Journal*.<sup>1</sup> Mr Derek Allen has undertaken the detailed description.

The second discovery was made in April 1960 (see p. 1). It was reported to me that pottery sherds and worked flints had been picked up, after deeper ploughing, in Joist Fen, a mile to the west of the village, on a string of small sand islands surrounded by black peat (TL 693855). A few days later a workman picked up three coins, two Icenian and one Republican. It then transpired that workmen had been finding stray coins on the islands for the past two years or so, after ploughing. Inquiries among these men produced a number of coins, but clearly all could not be traced, as some had been given away or sold. The total number traced and acquired in 1960 was 55—Icenian 32 and Roman 23. They were sent to Mr Graham Pollard at the Fitzwilliam Museum for identification.

In 1961 an effort was made to trace further coins on the same site by a mine-detector. A ploughman indicated a spot where he had found several coins. Mr Graham Connor and Mr David Clarke examined this area and found nine more coins. Subsequent searches by Mr Connor produced four more, bringing the total to 68: Icenian 33, and Early Roman 35.

<sup>1</sup> G. Briscoe, R. A. G. Carson and R. H. M. Dolley, *British Numismatic Journ.* xxix, p. 215.



(a) Boy Bishop token, Bury St Edmunds. Scale  $\frac{3}{4}$ .



(b) Cruciform brooch, Fleam Dyke. Scale  $\frac{7}{8}$ .

This Joist Fen collection is important because it includes three coins of a unique type, with legends SVBIDASTO on obverse and ESICO on reverse. Mr Derek Allen is dealing with the implications of these new coins in his detailed report. The Icenian coins from both sites have been listed by Mr Allen in *Problems of the Iron Age in South Britain*.

It is not improbable that most of these coins were deposited together in a hoard, but there is no evidence that they were. It is not even certain that all the coins have been found on the same island. The plough had turned up the bones of a human skeleton in the black peat a few yards to the west of the island. Mr D. R. Brothwell considered they represented a single male about twenty-five years of age. The coins may have been in his possession when he was drowned or killed.

In 1960 after a number of coins had been traced I reported the finds to the Coroner and, with his approval, arranged to describe them as a 'collection of strays'.

In comparing the two collections it will be noted that they cover, approximately, the same historical period, but the proportion of Icenian coins to Roman is different. In the 'Roman Field' the site was examined within an hour of its discovery and many coins were still in the base of the pot. All the coins recovered were within a yard of the hiding place, a hole in the chalk. In Joist Fen the coins were scattered and the smaller discoloured Icenian coins were difficult to find. The mine detector only secured a single one and that was stuck to a Roman coin of larger weight.

There are indications that an Iron Age C type of people made their habitation at Lakenheath. Albinia Gell<sup>1</sup> reported on a site close to the 'Roman Field', where black pits yielded pottery showing Belgic influence. The well-known Lakenheath dragonesque brooch in the Ashmolean Museum was found 300 yards to the south of the hoard site in the 'Roman Field'. It is illustrated by Rainbird Clarke in *The Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk* (fig. 10), with two other brooches from Undley, an outlying hamlet of Lakenheath (*ibid.* fig. 11). The excavation of a mixed settlement, Early Iron Age and Romano-British, at Wangford, 2 miles to the east of the 'Roman Field', gave one pit with rim sherds of four vessels of Belgic type.<sup>2</sup> G. B.

#### A THIRD-CENTURY COIN HOARD FROM COLDHAM, MARCH

Dragline operations in November 1962 on the Co-operative Wholesale Society farm at Coldham, near March, brought to light a small pot containing coins. The find was reported to the writer by the foreman of the farm, Mr Ling. Unfortunately, the exact point where the find was made could not be located (approximate National Grid Ref. TL 452022), but the general area was covered with traces of salterns,<sup>3</sup> presumably associated with the large Romano-British settlement in an adjoining field.

The pot, which was found intact, is made of a hard, dark grey fabric. It is 2½ in.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. R. Gell, *Proc. C.A.S.* XLII, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> G. Briscoe, *Proc. C.A.S.* LI, p. 19, fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Salt-works, for the extraction of salt by evaporation.

in height, but the rim appears to have been broken off and the rough edge partly smoothed down, possibly to widen the aperture. A small hole has also been drilled through the side of the pot, just below the rim. Inside the pot were eight coins, and underneath these some leaves, still in a good state of preservation; these were probably the remains of some purse or wrapping.

The coins, which have been very kindly cleaned by Mr Rayner and identified by Mr Pollard, of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, date the concealment of the hoard to the late third century.

1. Tetricus I; rev.: HILARITAS AVGG; as M. & S.,<sup>1</sup> p. 408, no. 79; wt. 4.082 g.
2. Tetricus I; rev.: PAX AVG; as M. & S., p. 409, nos. 100-2; wt. 1.409 g.
3. Tetricus I; wt. 2.495 g.
4. Tetricus I; wt. 2.105 g.
5. ? Tetricus I; wt. 2.966 g.
6. ? Tetricus I or Postumus; rev.: SOL INVICTUS; wt. 2.221 g.
7. Victorinus; rev.: female figure standing left: ? PIETAS AVG; as M. & S., p. 392, no. 57; wt. 2.793 g.
8. Claudius II; Rev.: SPES PUBLICA; wt. 2.808 g.; there is a high lead content in this coin. The reverse of this piece was the only silvered surface in the whole group of *antoniniani*.

The coins and pot have been returned to the manager of the farm.

T. P.

#### FINDS FROM THE FLEAM DYKE, FEN DITTON

In 1957 a group of skeletons with Anglo-Saxon grave goods was discovered on the Fleam Dyke at the junction of the Fen Ditton and Newmarket roads, where improvements were being carried out (Grid Ref. TL 505595). Some of these objects, which are in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, have already been discussed by Mr Lethbridge in these *Proceedings*.<sup>2</sup> Two more spearheads and a bronze cruciform brooch have come into the possession of Mr J. W. Clarke of Burwell.

Both spearheads have the split socket typical of the Anglo-Saxon period, the smaller one still containing the end of the wooden shaft (Fig. 1).

The cruciform brooch exhibits several features showing it to be an advanced example of its type (Pl. VII *b*). The hollow knobs of the head-plate have stamped excrescences, the lappets below the bow are in the shape of animals' heads and the animal's head which forms the foot has a cleft forehead, scroll nostrils and a flat, triangular snout. On the back, the hinge-plate is broken and the catch-plate surrounded by stains from the missing iron pin. Stylistically the brooch belongs to Åberg's Group IV,<sup>3</sup> which developed during the sixth century and whose centre of distribution seems to have been the Cambridge region.<sup>4</sup>

A further find was made on the Dyke in the same place in 1963 by Miss M. D.

<sup>1</sup> M. & S.: Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. v, part II (by P. H. Webb).

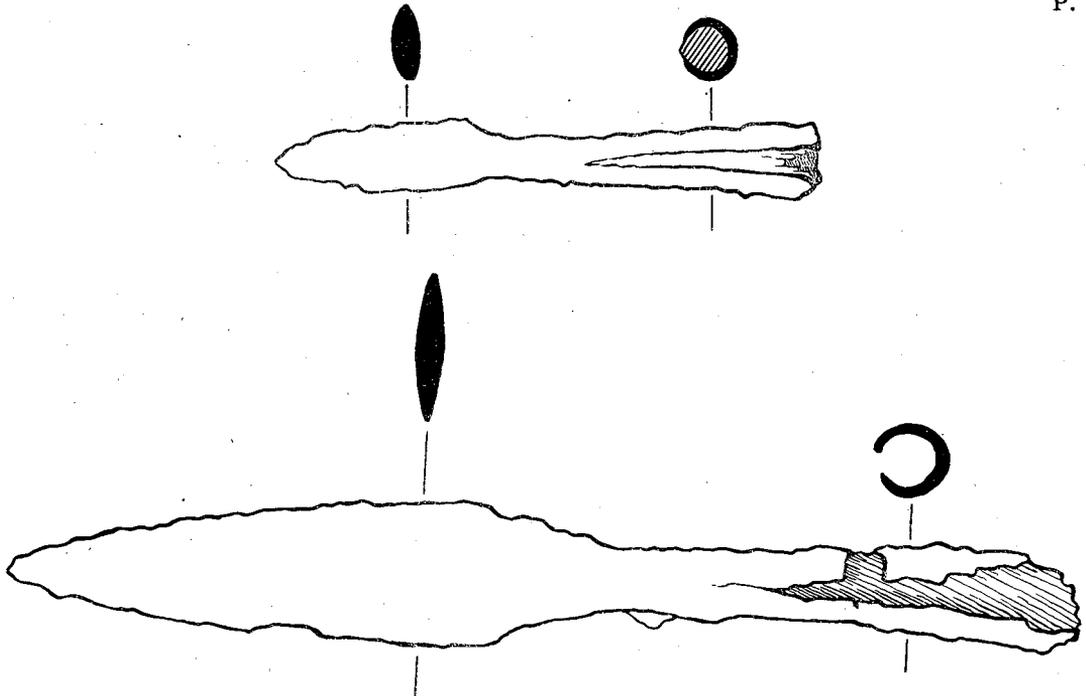
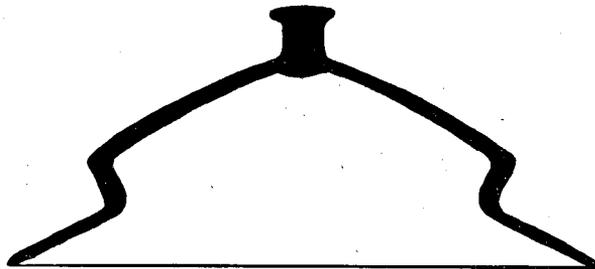
<sup>2</sup> T. C. Lethbridge, 'The Riddle of the Dykes', *Proc. C.A.S.* LI (1957), p. 2, pls. I and II.

<sup>3</sup> Nils Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (Uppsala, 1926), p. 47, especially figs. 77, 78, 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 188, table I, Group IV.

Cra'ster in a ditch about 2 ft. deep which was being dug by a mechanical excavator (Fig. 2). This is a shield-boss of the low, slightly convex cone type, carinated, with a crowning stud now almost disintegrated and the remains of disc studs around the rim.<sup>1</sup>

P. H.

Fig. 1. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .Fig. 2. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

#### A BOY BISHOP TOKEN FROM BURY ST EDMUNDS ABBEY

In November 1962 the construction of a new sewer west of the River Lark cut across the site of Bradfield Hall, the easternmost of the buildings attached to Bury St Edmunds Abbey and probably the Infirmarer's lodging.<sup>2</sup> The outline plan of the Hall had been recorded in 1849, but an excavation undertaken by the Ministry of

<sup>1</sup> See the recent article by Vera Evison, 'Sugar Loaf Shield Bosses', *Ant. J.* XLIII (1963), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Whittingham, 'Bury St Edmunds Abbey', *Arch. J.* CVIII (1951), p. 182.

Public Building and Works before the completion of the new sewer added further details of the plan and sequence of construction.<sup>1</sup> During the course of this work a medieval lead token was found in the rubble from the final demolition of the Hall, presumably at the time of the Dissolution.

The token (Pl. VII *a*) may be described as follows:

*Obverse:* Mitre, legend around ·S·A·N·C·T·V· H·I·C·O·L·A

*Reverse:* Cross and pellets .A·V·E· | :R·E·X· | :G·E·H· | :T·I·S·

*Weight:* 1.77 g.

Tokens of this type are known as Boy Bishop tokens, and were probably issued in connection with ceremonies during the annual term of office of the Boy Bishop from 6 to 28 December. Only those bishops and abbots who had the right to operate a mint seem to have issued them, and with one exception<sup>2</sup> they appear to have been found in England only at Bury St Edmunds, whose abbot exercised this privilege until the middle of the fourteenth century. A hundred Boy Bishop tokens were found at Bury in 1838<sup>3</sup> and these formed the basis for Caldecott's study of the class.<sup>4</sup> The earliest seem by their lettering to be of the reign of Henry VI, and their issue, imitating both pennies and groats, probably continued with gradual deterioration up to the time of the Dissolution.

The present token is of Caldecott's Series III, which are of small size and struck in imitation of pennies, and it can be closely compared with no. 12 in his list.<sup>5</sup>

M. B.

#### INDEX OF ROOD SCREENS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

*Compiled by the Reverend Howard Hart, and presented by him to the  
C.A.S. Library in June, 1963*

#### I

Mr Hart has compiled a descriptive index of the rood screens to be found in the churches of England and Wales.

This work is the outcome of his labours over many years, from the time of his first curacy at Exmouth until his recent retirement from the vicarage of Stapleford in Cambridgeshire.

The index, so far as is possible, is complete for the screens in the English churches, but in regard to the Welsh screens there are, he says, gaps which he hopes to fill in presently.

Mr Hart has himself visited all the screen churches in Devonshire, most of those

<sup>1</sup> Full records with the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, by whose permission this note is published. Brief report in 'Medieval Britain in 1962-63' in *Med. Arch.* vii/viii (1963-64), forthcoming.

<sup>2</sup> From St Neots: C. F. Tebbutt, *Folklore*, LXXI (June 1960), pp. 104-5, with further references to the literature on Boy Bishop ceremonies.

<sup>3</sup> *Num. Chron.* vi (1843-4), pp. 82ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Trans. Intern. Num. Congress*, 1936, pp. 366-71.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 371. I am most grateful to Mr R. H. M. Dolley for providing these references and for help with this note.

in the West country and East Anglia, and all in the Northern counties. His knowledge of them comes from personal inspection and observation.

The introductory note which he has written includes a comprehensive bibliography, and the index itself will be a valuable guide to the study of rood screens, both for their craft and ornamentation and also because of their close connection with the liturgy and with the development of ecclesiastical architecture.

Mr Hart has presented this index to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, of which he has long been a member, in the hope, as he says, that it will be available generally to all who may be interested in the subject. The Society is most grateful for this gift, which is now accessible in the C.A.S. room at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

G. H. F.

## II

My interest in rood screens was first aroused years ago during visits to and, for a time, residence in Devonshire.

Those who are familiar with the churches of that county will know that the chief feature in most Devonshire churches is the screen between the nave and the chancel. In most churches elsewhere there is a marked division between the two. In Devon churches for the most part, there is no architectural division. In a minority of these churches, unfortunately, the screen has been removed.

Aymer Vallance in his book *English Church Screens* points out that the construction of the typical Devon screens is inferior to that of East Anglian screens. He is an expert, and no doubt he is correct in his view. I am not an expert and cannot dispute his contentions.

I think that the screens of the West Country, that is, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, are magnificent examples of sixteenth-century woodwork, as this was a period when working in wood was at a very high level, especially in the West and East of England.

'At Midsummer, 1559, a visitation of the whole country was decreed. The visitors were armed with Injunctions which rendered the rood with its attendant images illegal, ordered them to be removed from the churches, and to be defaced or destroyed.' This order was carried out only too thoroughly. In some churches the rood has been restored in modern times. The figures were those of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the beloved disciple, St John, in accordance with the Holy Scripture. Many of the rood lofts were destroyed at the same time.

During the eighteenth century, when churches were often neglected, and the early part of the nineteenth century, screens were taken, or fell down, and were used for firewood.

Even in modern times screens were destroyed. There was a certain archdeacon—he was also a suffragan bishop—who in my lifetime ordered the destruction of several screens. An archdeacon's duty is to preserve, not to destroy.

We must be thankful for what has been preserved, and also for the beautiful screens which have been erected within recent years.

H. H.

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*For Welsh screens*

- CROSBY, F. H., F.S.A., and RIDGEWAY, REVEREND MAURICE, *Archaeologia Cambrensis, Journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Association*, reprints from screens, lofts, and stalls situated in Wales and Monmouthshire (not yet complete).

NOTE. The further north the fewer the screens. But Astbury in Cheshire, Aysgarth in the North Riding, Hamborough in the East Riding and Hubberholm, West Division of West Riding, are all fine screens, to mention but a few; also St John's, Leeds.



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