

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



VOLUME LXVIII

1978

IMRAY LAURIE NORIE AND WILSON

1978

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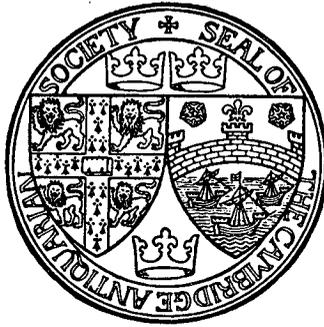
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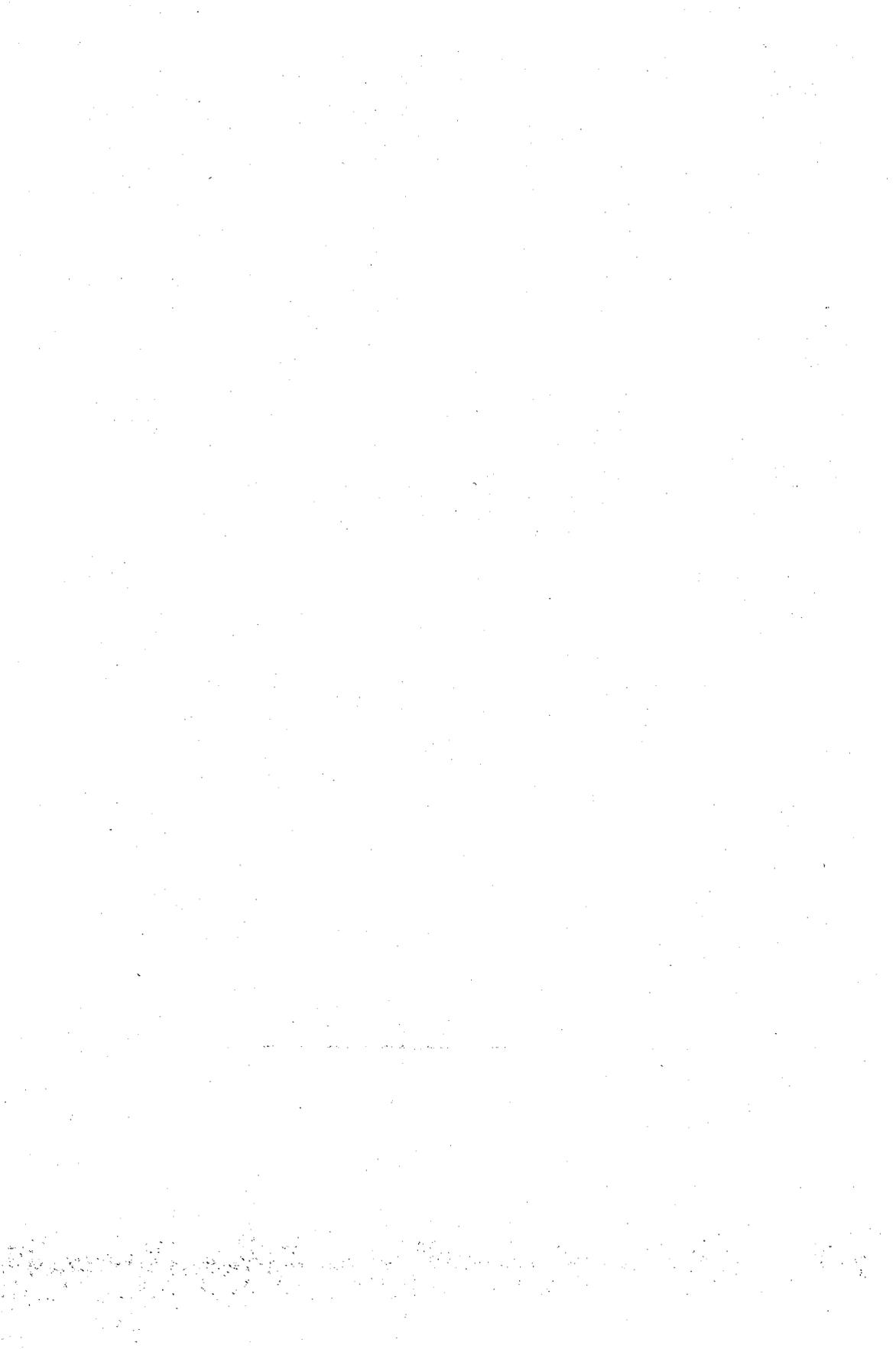
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THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S ROOM

The Society's books, MSS., photographs, etc., including a run of the Society's *Proceedings*, have now been returned to their old room, on the second floor, next door to the Haddon Library of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, adjacent to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Members are reminded that the Society's room is available to them whenever the Haddon Library is open, and that they also retain their right to read in the Haddon Library. The Hon. Librarian reminds members of the usefulness of these resources. The books include all the principle publications dealing with shire history and topography for Cambridgeshire, some material for Huntingdonshire and for neighbouring counties. Prime sources like the collection of early topographical drawings and manuscript histories are included.

THE PROCEEDINGS

1. The Editor welcomes the submission of articles on the history and archaeology of the County for publication in the *Proceedings*, but in order to avoid disappointment potential contributors are advised to write to the Editor, to enquire whether the subject is likely to be of interest to the Society, before submitting a final text. The Editor, if necessary with the advice of the editorial committee, reserves the right to refuse to publish any papers even when an earlier approval of the subject has been given.

2 Authors are reminded that the cost of printing is high and that, all other things being equal, a short and succinct paper is more likely to be published than a long one. It would also assist the Editor if contributors who know of possible sources for subventions towards the cost of printing their paper would inform the Editor of this when submitting their manuscript.

3 The copyright of both text and illustrations will normally remain with the author, and where relevant the photographer and draughtsman, but to simplify future administration contributors are invited to assign their copyright on a form that will be supplied by the Editor.

BACK NUMBERS OF THE PROCEEDINGS

Members might like to know that a considerable stock of back numbers of the *Proceedings* and other C.A.S. publications can be obtained from the publishers, Imray Laurie Norie and Wilson.

FIELD OFFICER'S REPORT, 1977-8

Excavations

A third season's work completed the excavations of an Iron Age and Romano-British settlement on the banks of the Cam at *Shelford*, TL445526, by Dr. J. Alexander, A. Legge & D. Trump. H.J.M. Green continued his long-term work in Roman *Godmanchester* and H. C. Mytum followed S. Alexander's work on the crop-marks at Colne Fen Farm, Colne near *Somersham*, TL384775. Whereas the excavation in 1976 produced an Iron Age Settlement, that in 1977, which was in the next field but one, was on an entirely Roman farmstead.

Joyce Pullinger has been watching the construction of the Cambridge Western bypass and noted a Roman kiln near *Harston*, TL446508 from which she retrieved Oxford type pottery which is unique in this area. Road works to improve the A604, Cambridge to Huntingdon, road also produced a valuable find near *Dry Drayton*, TL395630 when a JCB driver noticed a pagan Saxon glass beaker in his bucket. The site was immediately excavated, but the skeletons that were found all apparently belonged to a medieval gibbet and no other artifacts were discovered. All the above sites will appear in full in later Proceedings.

Site Recording

A. The sites and monuments record which was described in the last volume of CAS (LXVII) has continued to expand and David Hall has spent another winter carrying out field work in the Fens, thus discovering many new sites and broadening our understanding of the unusual settlement of this neglected but fascinating region. An initial paper on one small area around Elm is included in these Proceedings. Meanwhile, L. J. Bradford has organized amateur enthusiasts to walk ploughed fields in the south of Cambridgeshire and some of their results are also described here. She is arranging lectures, training sessions and other activities in connection with local field-work, and anyone interested should contact her at 4, Cavendish Avenue, Cambridge.

B. A different kind of site recording is necessary when parochial church councils are given permission to remove gravestones for easier maintenance of the churchyards. Efforts are made to persuade the church authorities to keep as much of the character of the churchyards as possible, but some clearance is often inevitable, and then it is important to record details of the gravestones. *Waresley* churchyard was recorded by Young Rescue in 1976-7, and the University Field Club led by A. Davison has started work on around 1200 stones at St. Andrews, *Chesterton*, which will preserve valuable historical evidence of the population and memorials of this part of Cambridge.

A somewhat similar problem was posed by a lead roof at All Saints church, *Conington*, near Peterborough, which was covered in graffiti dating from 1633 to 1978.

A few sections of the roof will be retained, but most had to be melted down and recast as part of the restoration works on the church and we therefore photographed the decipherable inscriptions and sketches. Initials with dates were the most common graffiti, with some surnames and occasionally the home village (eg. "T. Hough, Sawtry 1776"), but no longer messages. A few of these names were also to be found on gravestones in the churchyard. The great majority dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth century, with a steady increase throughout this period, no doubt due to the general growth in literacy. Changes in styles of handwriting were very apparent as most of the lettering was quite carefully executed up till the twentieth century when the typical hasty scratchings were fortunately very scarce. Some of the lettering had been cut with a sharp blade and some pecked out, probably by men working on repairs to the roof. A few inscriptions had a decorative border but the most common illustrations were hands and boots presumably drawn around the originals by their owners. A few boot shapes were small, but most must have belonged to adult men, and a variety of styles are discernible.

The preserved section of the roof will be kept inside the church, which is redundant but open to the public, and the photographs, which were taken by Robert Boyle of the Nene Valley Research Committee and Dean Cullum of the Cambridgeshire County Council, will be kept in the Cambridgeshire sites and monuments record.

Meetings

Apart from the regular lectures and outings of the CAS, a training weekend for the study of local archaeology, archives and architecture was held at Graffham Water by Huntingdon Local History Society, (Chairman, D. Cozens) and in Ely a day-meeting under the auspices of the Fenland Research Committee, (Chairman, Dr. J. Coles, Secretary, D. N. Hall), covered recent work on the early history of the Fens. Papers were given by Prof. H. C. Darby ("Past and future work"); D. R. Wilson ("Archaeological evidence of aerial photography"), R. Evans ("some results of the soil survey"), B. Simmons ("Recent fieldwork in Lincs."), D. N. Hall, ("Recent fieldwork in Cambs."), D. Owen ("Documentary sources for the southern fenland in the middle ages) and J. Ravensdale ("Swavesey: the discovery of a planned fortified medieval port.") Results of excavations were summarised by F. Pryor (Fengate), P. Chowne (Billingborough), A. Taylor (Newton) and E. Martin (West Row). The chairman was J. Coles and approximately 200 people attended.

During the past year an archaeology workshop has been held in the City Library, Lion Yard, on the first Saturday in each month, 9.30 — 12.00 am. People are invited to bring in archaeological objects for identification or to discuss any aspects of local archaeology in which they are interested. It is thus possible to record many new discoveries and members of the CAS are requested to encourage people to come along, and to attend themselves.

Alison Taylor
May 1978

THE CAMBRIDGE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD GROUP FIRST REPORT

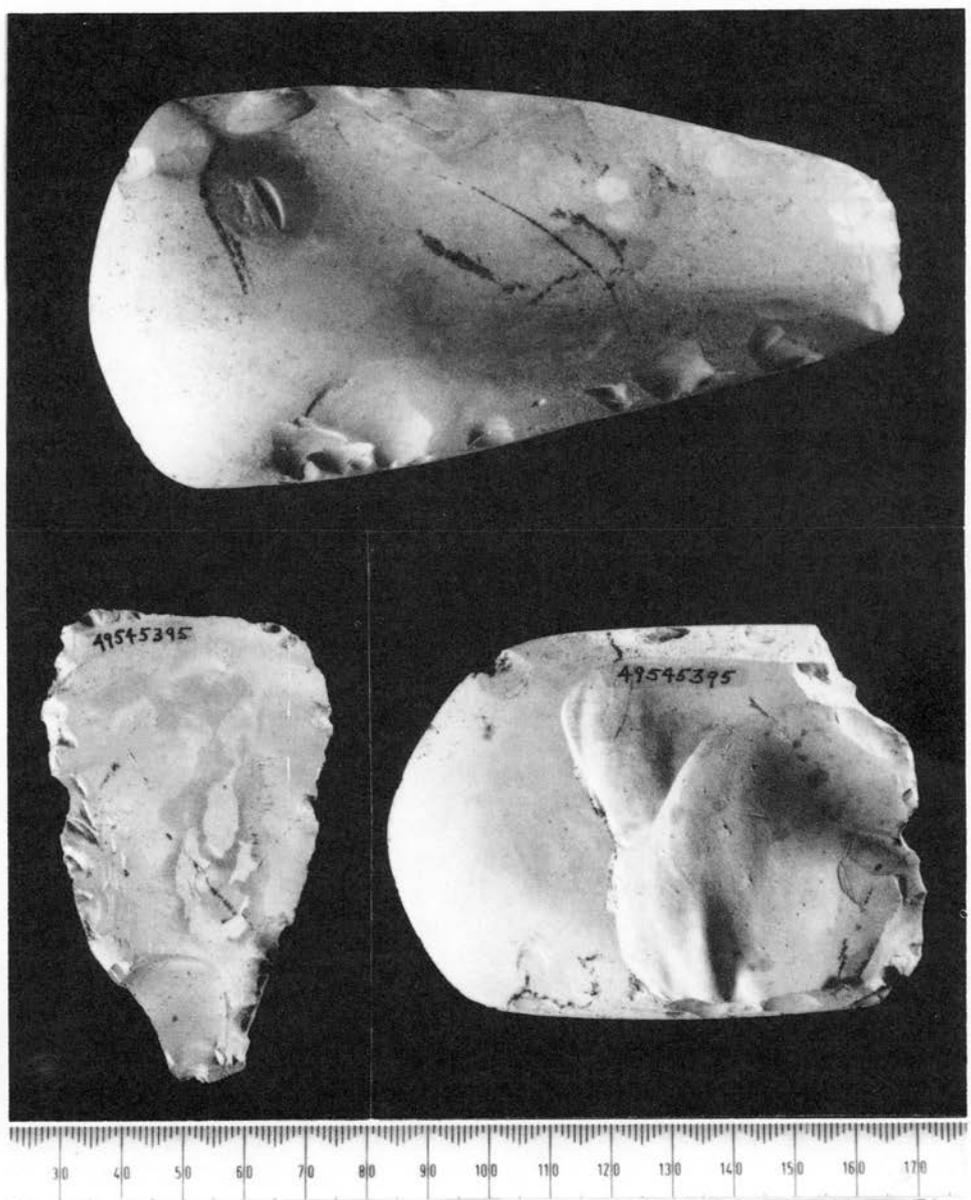
Crop-mark sites discovered mainly by the Cambridge University Aerial Photography Department have revealed the intensive nature of habitation along the Granta Valley. The patterns of most of these crop-marks suggest that they are likely to belong to the Iron Age or Roman periods, but without further evidence it is not possible to rule out earlier periods, to differentiate Iron Age from Roman communities or to assess the continuity between phases. Iron Age settlement in this area has particular interest because of the presence (and partial excavation) of forts at Wandlebury and Cherry Hinton (War Ditches) and the results of other excavations such as the emergency work on the site of New Addenbrooke's Hospital and the past three seasons' work at Shelford on one of these typical crop-mark sites. Chance finds of this period are rare, but include the fire-dogs from Lords Bridge, Barton and the rich burial from Newnham Croft, both of which are on show in the Archaeology and Ethnology Museum.

The problems posed by crop-marks and by settlement patterns in the Iron Age therefore seem to come together in the Granta Valley, and it was thought that answers to both might be obtained by systematic and intensive field-walking which ought to produce a reliable spread of dating evidence.

Many people, most already attending evening classes on archaeology, had expressed a desire to be actively involved in local archaeology, and so a programme was drawn up which would combine practical training with an increase in our knowledge regarding the problems outlined above. Forty people have already participated in the project, of whom fourteen are regular and now skilled attenders. The method adopted is to divide the fields into 100 metre squares based on the National Grid and to collect finds from each square separately. The finds are briefly examined on the field and those that are retained are washed, marked with a 6-figure grid reference by volunteers and returned to the Cambridgeshire Archaeological Centre (89 Castle Street). They are re-examined, plotted on a large-scale map of the field and the results are entered on standard sheets and sites and monuments record cards. It is hoped that this systematic procedure will produce more reliable information than the *ad hoc* field walking which is usually undertaken.

Some preliminary results that can already be noted (April 1978) are as follows:-
TL 457538 (Great Shelford: owner, Mr. D. Webster)

An aerial photograph by Cambridge University Aerial Photography Department revealed a site here that was interpreted as an Iron Age and Roman Settlement. The Roman date was confirmed, with most finds, which were concentrated on the edge of the crop-mark, belonging to the first to fourth centuries AD, but no definite Iron Age pottery. An adjacent field, TL 461536, which showed no crop-marks, had produced a



PL. I. Neolithic flint axes from field north of Wandlebury, Gogmagog Hills.

neolithic polished flint axe and this early prehistoric occupation was confirmed by the discovery of many worked and waste flints, including two round scrapers. Both these fields had been partially sown and so they could not be completely walked until the following year. Documentary evidence, which has already shown that these were part of the common fields of Great Shelford until enclosure in 1835, is being further investigated by members of the group.

TL 452 555 (Trumpington: owner, Sir Francis Pemberton)

Two fields by Long Road containing a number of irregular crop-marks. Field walking showed that the sites had been very disturbed and the marks were the result of searchlight installations during the Second World War. A few worked flints indicated some earlier activity on the field but were too few to give definite information.

TL 496 530 (Stapleford: owner, Mr. R. P. Bush)

Aerial photographs showed a series of linear marks on the field but only clusters of eighteenth and nineteenth century sherds were found, in spite of the proximity of Wandlebury hill-fort.

TL 496 536 (as above).

This field was next to Wandlebury and showed occasional linear crop-marks. Only three sherds of Iron age pottery and some worked flints were found.

TL 497 540 (as above).

There were only slight linear marks visible in this field, and the finds are all likely to belong to the neolithic period. They include one complete polished flint axe and part of a broken one, and a series of worked flints including scrapers (Pl. 1). There was also a polished hone that has not been dated.

TL 486 536 (Stapleford: owner, Mr. C. Bradford)

There were no crop-marks on this field, which produced much eighteenth and nineteenth century pottery, part of another polished axe and a scatter of worked flints.

The most exciting and interesting finds occurred in the immediate vicinity of Wandlebury, and it is felt that these alone have justified much of the effort put into the project by members of the group.

Our thanks go to all the farmers concerned for their help and co-operation in this venture, without which none of these results would be possible.

Future activities

Field-walking will begin again in the autumn, and meanwhile there will be a programme of evening meetings for talks, discussions and finds processing. Practical work in the summer includes assisting the University Field Units to record the graveyard at St Andrews, Chesterton, starting a moated sites survey and comparing documentary evidence and a species count in the hedgerows around Wandlebury.

If you are interested in joining similar activities, please contact Miss Alison Taylor at Shire Hall (Cambridge 58811) or Mrs. L. J. Bradford (Cambridge 45796) for further information.

L.J. Bradford



A ROMAN LEAD TANK FROM BURWELL, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Christopher J. Guy

At the beginning of April 1977 a lead tank was found at Burwell, Cambridgeshire. The site is ten miles northeast of Cambridge, just under halfway between Cambridge and Icklingham, Suffolk. The tank was discovered through use of a metal detector on a ploughed field which was covered with late Roman pottery. It is in very good condition and is now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge (Pl. 1). This tank is one of over twelve such objects found in Britain, in varying states of preservation, of which the majority have come from southern and eastern England. They vary in size but are of similar construction and would seem to have had a similar (if uncertain) function.

The tank is roughly circular, seventy-five centimetres in diameter and forty-five centimetres high, with a capacity of 205 litres (45 gallons). It is made from three sheets of lead, a circular piece for the base and two rectangular sheets for the sides. Strips of lead seal the junction of the base with the side and the two diametrically opposed side-seams, which contain lugs at the top. This type of join is found on the other tanks e.g. on the tank from Ireby, Cumbria (C.W.XLV, 1946, 163-171). All the joints on the Burwell tank are intact. There is a slight rim at the top of the sides (Fig. 1).

The decoration on the sides of the tank was cast with the sides, not applied afterwards. It is very worn and consists of three basic elements. A line of single cable decoration runs horizontally round the tank a few centimetres below the rim. Under this there is a zigzag of the same decoration which does not quite reach down to the junction of the base and sides. In the areas bounded by the cable decoration there are large circles, while below the horizontal cable line there is a row of regularly spaced discs. On one side of the tank, in the central triangle, there is a vertical strip of lead resembling a figure 1 with discs on either side. There are no signs of a lining ever having been attached to the tank.

These decorative elements can be paralleled on some of the other tanks. Single cable decoration is found on two tanks from Bourton-on-the-Water (B.G. LV, 1933, 377), on one from Pulborough, Sussex (Ant. J. XXIII, 1943, 155-57) and on one from the River Ouse near Huntingdon (B.G. LVI, 1934, 116). On these examples the cables cross to form saltires. On the tank from Ashton, Northamptonshire (Dur. V, 1977, 10) the single cables run diagonally within panels of double cable decoration to form triangles. Large circles are found on the tank from the River Ouse, while discs occur on the 1971 tank from Icklingham (E.A.A. III, 1976 74-79) and on another tank from the Cambridge region (B.G. LVI, 1934, 116). The capacity of the Burwell tank is very similar to that of the Ashton and Pulborough tanks. Thus this tank has affinities with several of the tanks found in the area between Ashton and Icklingham, although it is not identical to any one of them. Six complete tanks, the majority of a seventh, and

CHRISTOPHER J. GUY



Pl. I A Roman lead tank from Burwell, Cambridgeshire
Photo: D. Callum

fragments of one or possibly two more, have come from this region. This would suggest a local production centre, although this has not yet been located.

The date of this tank is probably fourth century A.D. in view of the pottery found in the same field. Such a date can also be ascribed to the other tanks. Its use is uncertain. An industrial function may be discounted since it is decorated. Several of the tanks are ornamented with the Chi-Rho monogram (P over X), indicating Christian use or ownership. Tanks bearing this symbol include those from Icklingham, Ashton, Pulborough and Walesby, Lincolnshire (L.A.A.S. IX, 1961, 13). Since in several cases tanks have been found in pairs, e.g. Icklingham, Bourton-on-the-Water and Ashton (one complete tank and fragments of another) they are unlikely to be fonts but may be connected with ritual ablutions. The fact that the Burwell tank does not bear a Chi-Rho monogram does not preclude a Christian function. The figure "1" may be an indication of the size or capacity of the tank or it may be purely decorative. The tank was perhaps an ornamental water container but there is no evidence of buildings with which it may have been associated.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ant.J.	Antiquaries Journal
B.G.	Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeology society
C.W.	Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland antiquarian and Archaeological Society
Dur.	Durobrivae
E.A.A.	East Anglian Archaeology
L.A.A.S.	Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers

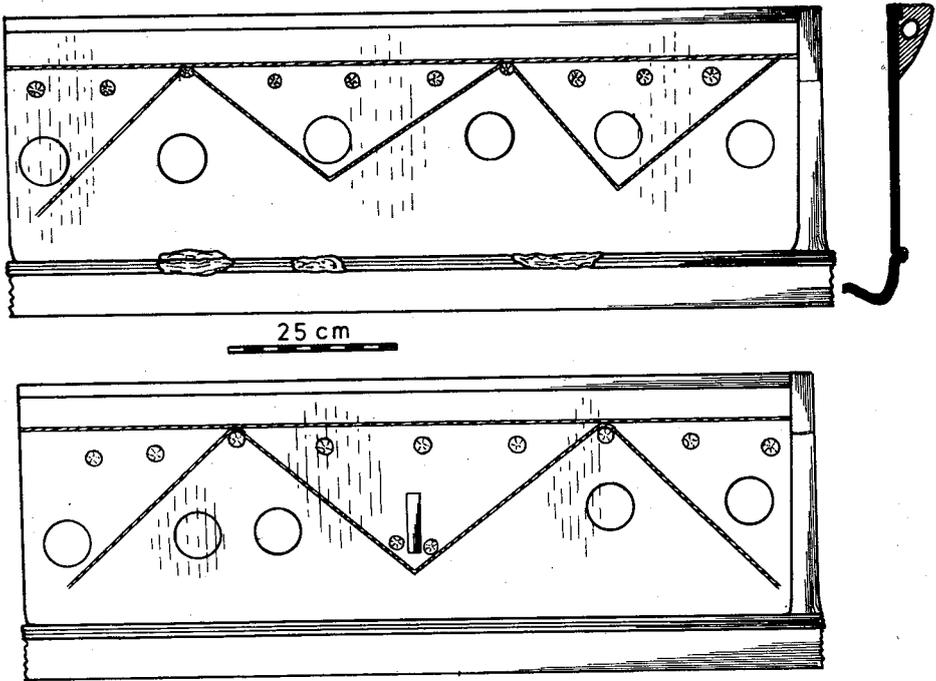


Fig. 1 The lead tank from Burwell
(Drawing by David Hall)

THE ROMAN FARM SETTLEMENT AT GODMANCHESTER II

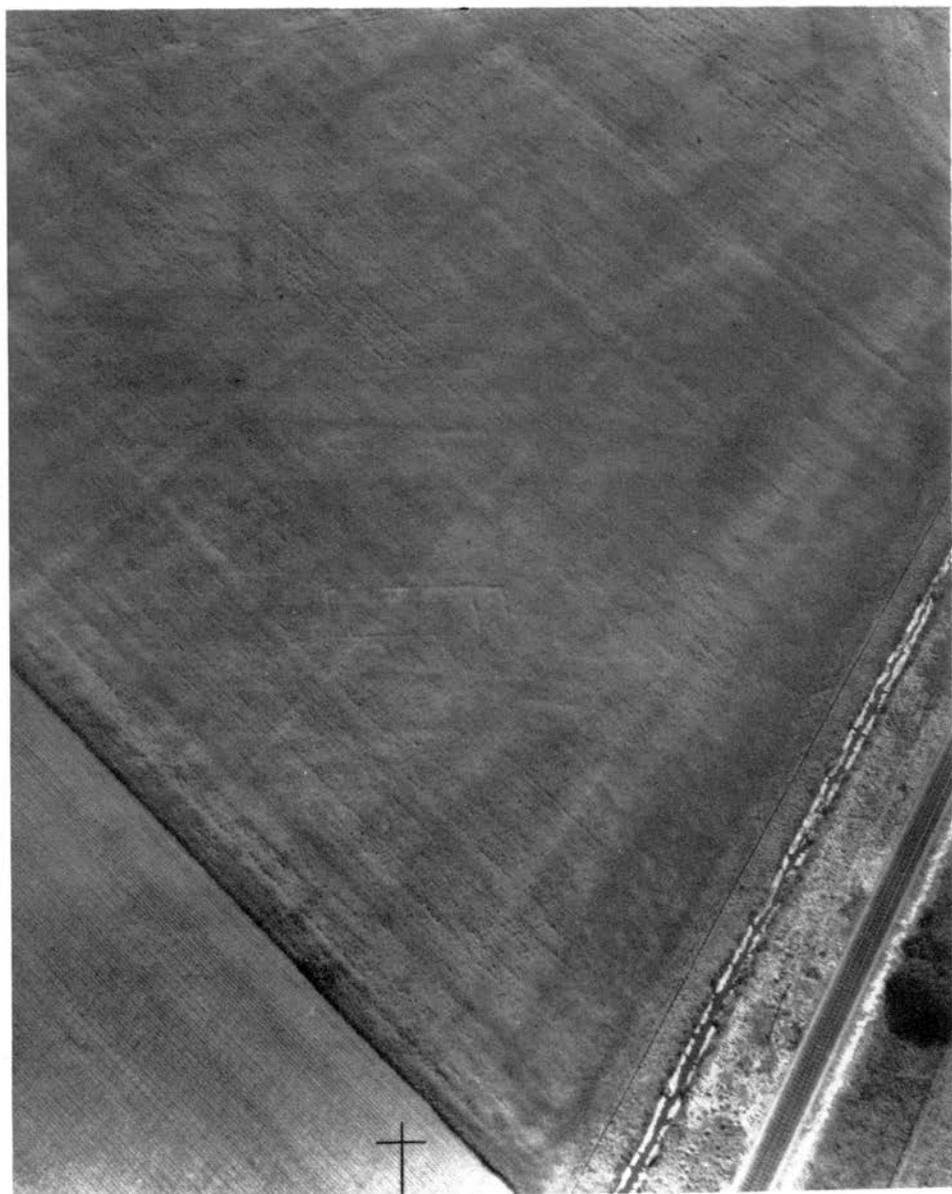
W. H. C. Frend

Work on the Rectory Field site half a mile east of Godmanchester (TL 256714) continued at weekends from the autumn of 1967 to August 1969. This resulted in the excavation on an aisled building of second-century date, which had been located from an air photograph (Plate 1, and see *Proceedings* LXI, 1968, pp 18-45). The building was found 100 ft north of Area B on the published sketch map (*loc. cit.* figure 1 facing p. 21). Its long axis faced south-west across the field and measured externally 92 ft by 33-34 ft wide (a foot wider at the east than at the west end). The foundations of the walls, which were traced throughout their length, were uniformly 2 ft 3 ins wide and were composed of a hard compact gravel mixed with lime. They had been laid in a shallow trench 8 - 9 ins deep which showed traces of a clay lining at the east end. (Plate 2b.)

Within the building, at a distance of between five and six feet from the walls of the main room had been set a range of six parallel posts spaced at approximately five foot intervals. On the south side the first four post-holes from east to west had been dug up to 2 ft 9 ins into the subsoil, packed with large stones with a flat stone at the bottom (in one, a piece of Purbeck marble). When the post, 1 ft 6 ins - 1 ft 9 ins in diameter, had been placed in position, the surrounding pit was filled with compacted gravel and pebbles. (Plate 2c.) The two westernmost posts had been packed even more securely with a bedding of clunch mixed with sandstone pebbles extending 2 ft all round the central post-hole. They had also been dug deeper (4 ft) into the subsoil. On the north side, there was a variation, in that the post corresponding to Post-hole 3 on the south had been placed on a square bed of hardened gravel and not sunk into the earth (Fig. 1).

There were two periods in the building's history, both second century A.D., with evidence for an earlier and later occupation of the site. In *Phase 1*, the building consisted of two rooms (Rooms A and B). Room A at the east end was a narrow chamber, 8 ft 6 ins wide but tapering to 7 ft 6 ins at the north end. Near the south wall was a small stone-lined post-hole 1 ft in diameter, possibly used for a tethering-stake. This room was divided from its neighbour by a partition wall 2 ft wide, made of the same hard gravel mix as the outside walls. The remainder of the building was composed of a single large rectangular room, 80 ft long and averaging 33 ft 6 ins wide, whose roof had been supported by the ranges of stout wooden pillars, already described.

On the north side, the outer wall showed no particular features, but on the south there was evidence for an entrance at the south-east corner of Room B. The corner itself had been destroyed by a later pit, but a square gravel foundation 2 ft across was



PL. 1 Rectory Field, Godmanchester
Note traces of large corridor villa (?) south of 2nd. century aisled villa.
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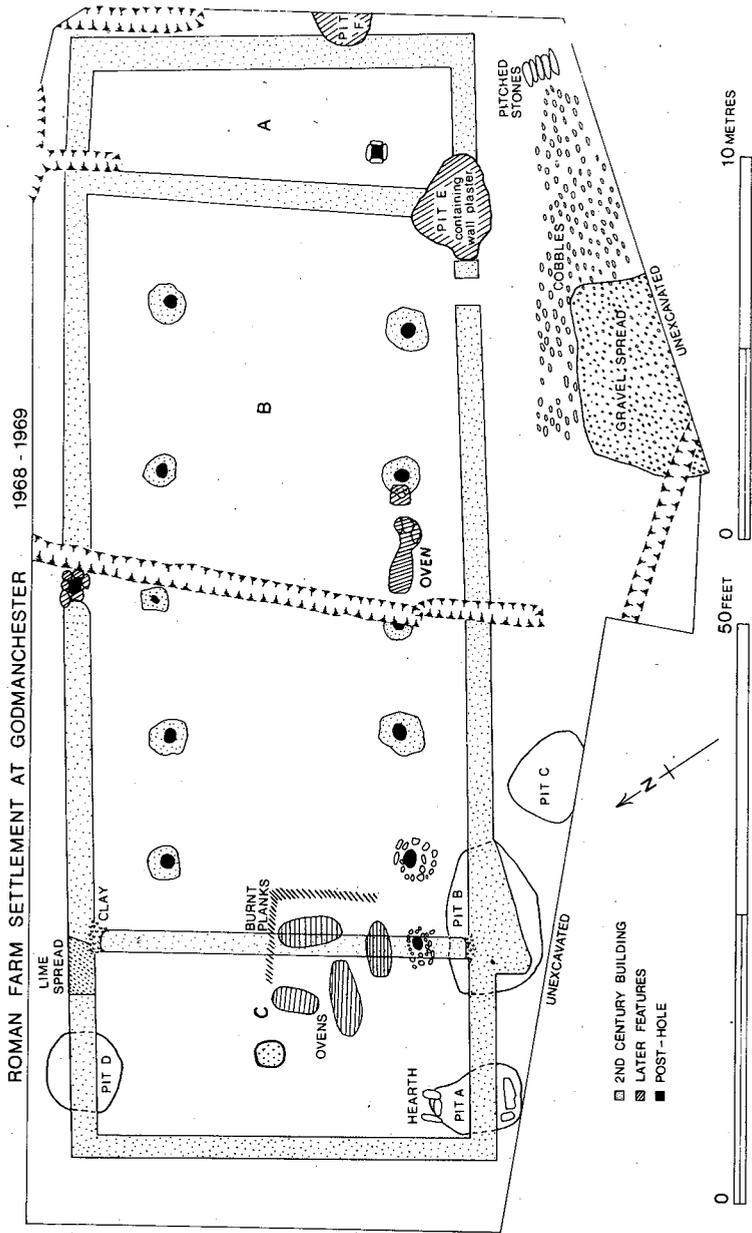


Fig.1 Plan of aisled villa, Rectory Field, Godmanchester

found, separated from the remainder of the wall by a gap of 4 ft, as though it provided the base for a post dividing a wide entrance into two smaller accesses.

The floor level of Room A had been ploughed away, but in Room B some traces of a gravel spread were found. On this level fragments of a stamped mortarium of Antonine date, fragments of the neck and body of an amphora of hard, buff coloured ware, and part of the rim of a large tazza-shaped jar with piecrust decoration were found (Pottery Report No. 3). In addition, small fragments of Samian 33 and 37 and of a hard grey second-century cooking pot were found on this level. In the foundations of the east wall of the building a fragment of Samian 18/31 was recovered.

In *Phase II*, a cross wall of the same composition as the other walls was built near the west end of Room B, providing for a rectangular room 15 ft long and 28 ft 6 ins wide (Room C). (There was no subdivision into two rooms as suggested by the air photograph.) The cross-wall was aligned on the last pair of pillars in Room B, whose post-hole on the south side it covered completely, thus preserving it intact.* It had been bonded roughly on to the exterior walls with clay packing, and an entrance (7ft wide) to the new room had been cut in the north wall. Traces of a small stone hearth consisting of a flat limestone block flanked by two stone uprights, were found near the south-west corner of the room, indicating perhaps that in this phase this room served as the living quarters of the occupants. In the middle of the room a circular pit was found 2 ft in diameter, perhaps a post-hole for a pillar supporting the roof, (excavated by H.R.H. Prince Charles during a visit to the site).

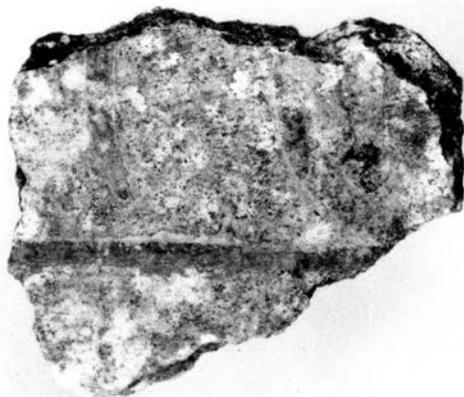
The Godmanchester building appears to belong therefore to a relatively numerous type of aisled house of late first and second century date. That at Wingham in Kent seems to be of similar date and construction, 90 x 52 feet, with an earthen floor in the main hall. (reported in *J.R.S.* LVII (1967), 202 and LVIII (1968), 206).

The excavation of the west end of Room B, and Room C provided evidence for an earlier occupation of this part of the site. It was noticeable that for a distance of 10 feet extending beyond the junction with the cross wall between Rooms B and C, the south wall of the building had been widened from 2 ft 3 ins to 4 ft 8 ins. The reason for this was that the line of the building crossed a pre-existing pit. This was a large shallow, oval, approximately 11 ft x 9 ft (Pit B). Flat pieces of sandstone found in the fill may have been thrown in by the builders, and the fill also produced meat bones, some window glass, a fragment of Samian 33 and the top of a poppy-head beaker, consistent with a date *circa* A.D. 125. A few feet to the east was another similar pit (Pit C) whose fill included some burnt clam and oyster shells, as well as a fragment of Samian 18 (Hadrianic?), and 33, and pieces of a cooking pot of hard white ware.

Below the south-west corner of the building was another pit (Pit A), also including largish flat stones in its fill. This also produced some fragments of rough exterior wall-plaster and a fragment of a hunt cup of Castor ware.

Within the building there was also evidence of earlier occupation. It was found that

*(there was unfortunately no time to look for the corresponding post-hole at north end of the cross-wall).



PL. 2 Godmanchester villa
a. Painted wall plaster with inscription.
b. South wall of house.
c. Post-hole in south aisle of house.

the cross wall between rooms B and C traversed a rectangular area 15 ft X 13 ft which contained the remains of four ovens, two oriented east-west and the others north-south (see Plan Fig 1). Three of the ovens were roughly oval in shape, 7 ft long and 2 ft 3 ins wide and 1 ft 9 ins deep with a slightly rounded bottom, the largest and most western of the group, oriented east-west, was of the same depth but 9 ft long with rounded ends. All four had been lined with clay, and had later been filled in with clay which overlaid some residual burnt material. A fragment of Samian 33 and a piece of Castor-ware pottery was found in the clay fill. Just to the east of the ovens were traces of burnt planks and daub forming the north and east outline of a rectangular structure. This had obviously been burnt down. A fragment of badly burnt Samian 33 was found in the debris. No traces of burning were discernible outside the walls of the building. This burnt structure, and probably the ovens as well as the pits on the south side of the wall foundations, pre-date the aisled building. It would seem that the latter was erected on the site of the hut not long after its destruction, probably near the end of the first quarter of the second century, or a little later.

How long the aisled building was occupied is uncertain, but it had fallen out of use by the end of the third century. At this period, a large rubbish pit 4 ft deep had been dug over the junction of Rooms A and B. This pit (Pit E) contained, apart from meat bones and oyster shells and the fragments of brick and roofing slate, a fragment of the neck of a dark-brown glazed Rhenish-type beaker and iron knife (Small finds, No 1) and a considerable quantity of interesting wall plaster (see below, p.). The pit had been covered by a layer of brownish soil, possibly a plough line, before the final phases of the occupation of the site.

During the excavation of Room B, it was noticeable that there were traces of a sterile layer of earth about 1 inch thick separating the floor-level of the barn-building from scattered late Roman debris above. This late Roman level was found all over the east end of the site both inside and outside the walls of the building.

At some time in the fourth century narrow, steep-sided and flat bottomed trenches were dug north-south across the eastern portion of the site. Trench A, 4 ft deep, cutting the north wall of the building at a point 35 ft from the NE corner, was associated with a post-hole cut into the remains of the north wall and would appear to be the trench for a sleeper beam, indicating the existence of a late building overlying the east end of the house. This trench ended abruptly six feet from the south wall of the house but was overlapped by another, similar trench (Trench B) of the same type running in the same direction. A third, similar trench (Trench C) 2 ft broad and 4 ft 6 ins deep was found 11 ft south of the wall of the building running in an east-west direction. The relation of this trench to the other two is yet to be established. At the north-east corner of the house, traces of a similar trench were found skirting the eastern wall (Trench D), and this in turn was cut by another trench aligned just outside the north wall of the house (Trench E). Traces of a shallow trench cutting across the line of the east room of the house were also found.

The fills of these trenches included exclusively mid and late fourth-century material. The pottery consisted of colour-coated and shell-gritted wares and large burnished pie-

dishes of types already found in considerable quantities in the robber trenches of Area A (see *P.C.A.S.* 1968, p 21-23 and 41). On this site also, whatever the nature of the building indicated by these trenches, it had ceased to be occupied before the end of the Roman period. Above the square cut sides of Trench A and the greasy black deposit it contained, was a drier fill consisting of dark brown earth and a scatter of building of building debris including tile, red tesserae and wall plaster. This level also produced a complete pot of calcined gritted ware (Fig. 2), colour-coated ware, some iron slag, and an abundance of meat bones including the skull of an ox. The other late trenches contained a considerable amount of building material, tesserae and fragments of wall plaster (mainly pink). Another ox head was found in the fill of Trench E. The late structure overlying the aisled house may be associated with the thin (2 in depth at maximum) spread of dark speckly earth that covered the whole of the east part of the site and overlay the wall foundations. This level contained worn coins of Tetricus and the House of Constantine (see p. 12) and worn fragments of fourth-century colour-coated and grey coarse pottery. It may also be associated with a tile-built corn-drying oven which was found placed midway between Post-holes S. 2 and 3 in the south aisle of the building. The oven, 5 ft 1 in long, 1 ft 10 ins wide, and 1 ft 7 ins, deep at its deepest part, was of a figure-of-eight shape, tapering in the middle to 1 ft 4 ins. The ash fill (mainly hawthorn) contained some fragments of fourth-century pottery. The floor of the oven, which sloped up at the east end, was made of brick and roofing slate. Its position, immediately adjacent to two of the main wooden pillars supporting the roof of the aisled building, would hardly have been possible if the latter had been still in use. Its presence may be associated perhaps with a curious rectangular stone block which was found covering much of the actual post-hole area of S.2. This block of sandstone was 1 ft 4 in by 2 ft and 1 ft 3 ins thick, into the centre of which had been cut a square socket 3 ins across and 3½ ins deep. It must have carried an upright designed to support a considerable weight, but its purpose is not otherwise known.

The structure covering the east end of the aisled building and associated trenches do not mark the end of the site in Roman times. A still later phase of occupation was represented by an irregular cobbled area which was traced over an area of 20 ft by 5 ft south of the east end of the building. It was associated with a roughly laid gravel spread on its south side. At the east end of this area the stones were pitched as though for a foundation. That it was later than the fourth-century trenches is evidenced from its encroachment over the fill of Trench C. Two worn coins of the House of Valentinian and some noticeably worn fragments of fourth-century pottery were associated with this level. What this area could have been used for remains uncertain, but it surely represents the latest phase of occupation, perhaps extending into the sub-Roman period.

In addition to the excavation of the aisled building and subsequent structures, exploration work was undertaken by Mr John Rainbird in an area some 50 ft to the north (approximately the "Occupied Area" on Fig 1 of *P.C.A.S.* 1968). There was a considerable scatter of pottery from the second to fourth century, including a late Samian 27 (Lezoux) with a stamp A11[STIVI M] circa A.D. 130-160. Animal bones

were horse, pig, sheep, ox and deer. A scapula of a horse had been chopped into five parts for eating. There was one worn *dupondius* of Domitian dating to A.D. 84 (Cos XI) and one bronze pin. Of interest, too, were the remains of what appear to have been the lowest courses of turf walls. This area showed continuous occupation from the late first to the late fourth century and deserves thorough excavation.

From the excavations in Rectory Field so far reported, there emerge two main periods of intensive occupation, in the second and fourth centuries. The second-century occupation is represented by the aisled house and the rubbish-filled ditch further to the south (Area B). This was a recognizably Celtic farming society, for the aisled house resembles nothing so much as the byres of the Highlands. (See for instance the plan of the cruck-framed byre at Stronmacnair illustrated in *Stirlingshire: Inventory of Ancient Monuments*, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Vol ii, 1963, No 377, fig 165.) The third century is less well represented but the *denarius* of Caracalla (A.D. 211-217), found on Area A in good condition, indicates continued occupation in this period. Occupation, however, was heavy in the fourth century, as is shown by substantial buildings in Area A (perhaps a villa and bath-house), and by the structure overlying the aisled building. It may well have continued into the fifth century in an attenuated form, represented by some of the latest pits and the cobbled area.

SMALL FINDS

1. Iron knife with triangular blade from pit cutting junction between Rooms A and B. 10.7cm long; handle 5.5cm with loop at end. Maximum width of blade 3cm (Compare R. E. M. Wheeler, *Segontium*, Fig 65,3 late third century).
2. Iron object, part of plane? Length 10cm, width 2cm from fourth-century level over NE corner of aisled house.
3. Bead of blue glass from fourth-century layer above Room B.
4. Fragment of bronze bracelet. Same area and level.
5. Fragment of spliced bone, length 8cm, with ring-and-dot decoration.
6. Bronze hook, perhaps part of fibula. Room B, second-century level.

COINS

1. *Dupondius* of Domitian. Very worn, but COS XI decipherable on obverse legend. Trial excavation north of house.
2. Tetricus, worn and clipped AE from fourth-century level over Room B.
3. Crispus 3AE (R.I.C. VII, 252)
obv CRISPUS NOB CAES
Rev BEATA TRANQUILLITAS
On altar inscribed VOTIS XX, a globe, above three stars.

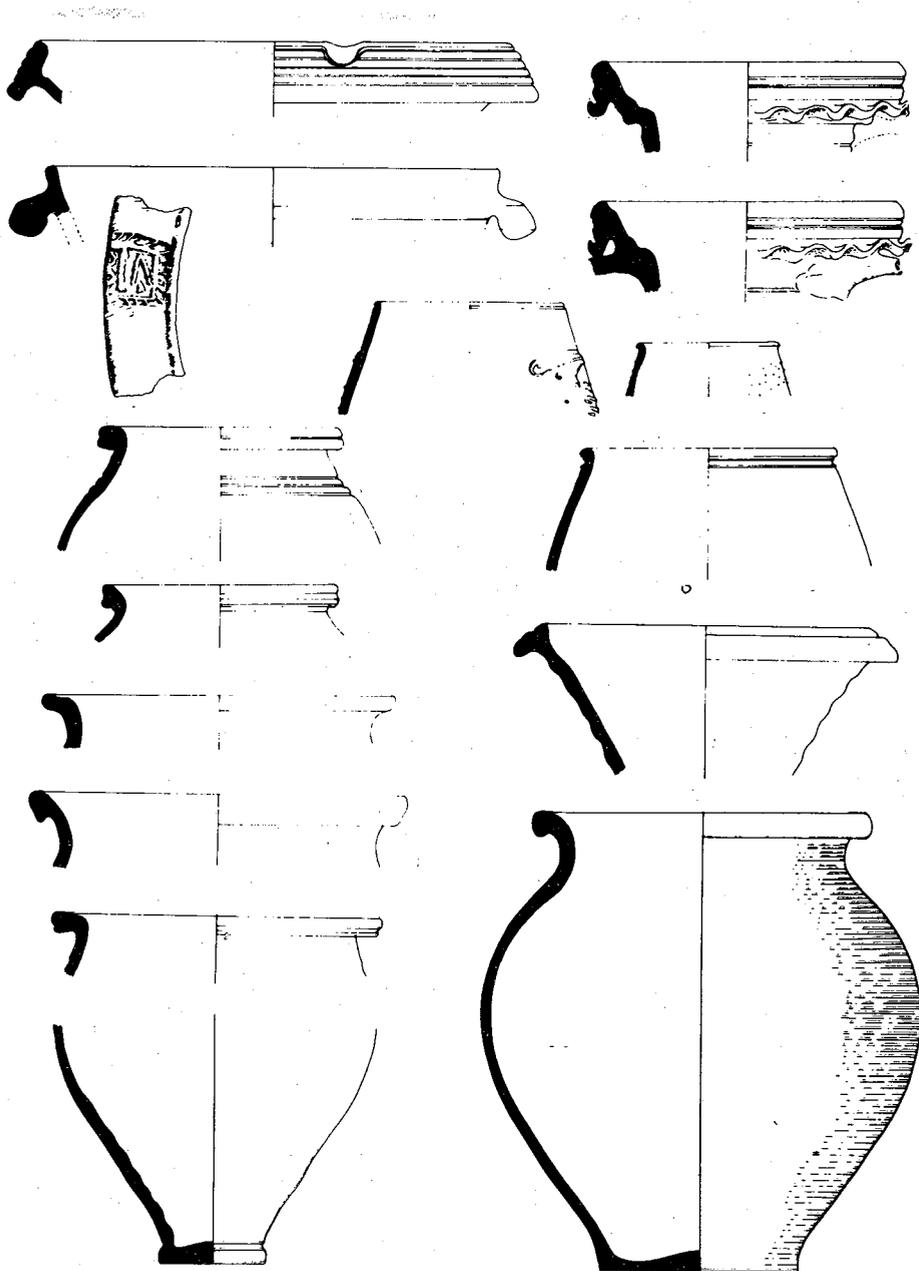


Fig. 2 Roman pottery, Godmanchester villa. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$

Mint PLON (Londinium). A.D. 320-324. Fair condition.

From fourth-century level over Room B.

4. House of Constantine: fourth-century level above Room A. Worn.

5 and 6 Two 2AE of House of Valentinian from pit fill outside south wall of house. Worn.

WALL PLASTER

No painted wall plaster was found in connection with the aisled house. Fragments of plain red and pink painted plaster came from the ditches dug across the north-east corner of the aisled building, associated with building debris. Fragments of magenta wall plaster came from the fill of Trench A cutting across its main room. The pit dug along the south wall on the junction between Rooms A and B produced an entirely different type of painted wall plaster. The pattern had been divided into linear panels in a frame of black and red lines against a white background. On one fragment, traces of letters I U, originally in black, could be discerned painted on the white background (Plate 2a.). On another the letters P or B or R and either L or I could be discerned. (Recorded in *J.R.S.*, LVIII, 1968, p 211).

POTTERY

a. *Samian Wares*. No decorated Samian ware was found, but fragments of types 18/31, 33 and 37 were found on second-century levels on the site.

b. *Mortaria* (Fig. 2)

1. Hard whitish ware. Fourth-century type, from Pit D (compare Godmanchester I, No 10 (*P.C.A.S.* LXI (1968), 42) and Little Paxton No 40 (*P.C.A.S.* LXII (1969), 43).

2. Hard whitish ware, well gritted with high bead and thickened flange. Incomplete stamp, retrograde, set in a herringbone border.

Appears to read BIV with a triangular stop within the V. From the shape of the rim and herringbone stamp it would date to the Antonine period circa A.D. 130-180. No exact parallel known asnd an "unusual type" in the view of Mrs K. F. Hartley. Found on the floor level of Room B, 2 ft below the surface.

c. *Coarse Wares*. (Fig. 2) Most of the pottery types found on the second- and fourth-century levels were similar to those already described in *P.C.A.S.* LXI, 33-43, *Godmanchester* I. Some specimen types are given below:

3. Tazza-shaped vessel of hard, pinkish fabric, with frilled decoration below rim: traces of handle below decoration. Not a usual type, but vessels of similar shape with frilled decoration with or without handle were found in an early second-century deposit at Verulamium (Wheeler, *Verulamium*, p. 190-192, Fig 32, Nos 44, 46 and 48). Found on floor level of Room B.

4. Beaker. Castor-ware with dark brown slip over pink fabric; roughcast, with small everted rim (Compare Cunliffe, *Fishbourne* II, p 229, Type 266). From fill of Pit B below south wall of house. Early to mid second-century, associated with fragments of poppy-head beaker.
5. Fragment of hunt cup, Nene Valley ware: pipeclay fabric and orange slip. Fill of Pit C (compare *Godmanchester* I, Fig 12, No 9, and Cunliffe, *Fishbourne* II, p 229. Type 269.1).
6. Castor-ware beaker with small groove below rim. Same type as found in Area B (levels 7 and 10) = *Godmanchester* I, p 40, No 4. From Room B, second-century.
7. Flanged bowl: hard white pipeclay fabric with dark lustrous brown slip; ripples down sides. Upper fill of Ditch A (post 350 AD).
8. Complete cooking pot. Hard, calcined gritted ware with rilling on body. Late fourth-century. (Compare *Godmanchester* I, Fig 13, No 1, P 42). From upper fill of Ditch A, associated with fragments of colour-coated ware.
9. Jar: hard, off-white gritted ware, with grooved rim and grooves on shoulder (compared *Leicester*, Fig 27). Top of fill of Pit A, second-century.
10. Jar: hard, off-white, gritted ware, grooved rim. Fill of Pit C. Mid second-century (compare Frere, *Verulamium* Fig 118, No 652).
11. Cooking-pot, hard grey ware with everted rim. Nene Valley type. Room B, second-century.
12. Cooking pot, hard grey ware with heavy everted rim. Lower fill of Ditch A, fourth-century (compare *Little Paxton* No 17).
13. Cooking pot, similar to 9.
14. Base of cooking pot.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As in the earlier seasons, most of the work was undertaken by the A-level class in Classics at Huntingdon Grammar School, supervised by Mr John Mills, Head of Department. I am very grateful to him, and to Miss Carolyn Hull for her pottery drawings, to Mr Roger Jacobi and Mr Paul Callow of Gonville and Caius College for their assistance, and to Mr Bryce Mailier of Rectory Farm, for permission to dig and for his unstinted co-operation.

A FRAGMENT OF PRE-CONQUEST SCULPTURE FROM BALSHAM, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.¹

Dominic Tweddle

In 1932 Fox published a pre-Conquest grave slab from Balsham.² Recently, during repairs to the upper part of the church tower, a second fragment of pre-Conquest sculpture has been discovered.³ It is now at the west end of the south aisle together with the grave slab.

The newly found fragment is triangular, and of oolitic limestone (P1.1). The faces have been trimmed except for the longest face, which is rectangular and decorated. The decoration, within a rectangular field, is incomplete, but consists of double-band ribbon interlace in relief forming an Allen knot type A⁴ facing outwards to the left.⁵ The upper band of the knot is carried across the field to form one loop of a figure-of-eight interlace, the second loop being formed by a band developing from the right. The loose end of the first loop is carried off the upper edge of the stone to the left, at the same point where the lower band of the knot is also carried off. The left-hand edge of the decorative face is rounded.

The decorated face is 46 cm long, 16 cm wide to the right, and 17 cm wide to the left. The depth of the stone at its apex is 15 cm.

The stone is unusual among the pre-Conquest sculpture of the area as it does not appear to belong to the group of monumental sculpture from the Cambridge region defined by Fox.⁶ The simplest way to reconstruct the stone is to suggest a second knot to the right, similar to that on the left. Such a reconstruction is supported by the symmetrical nature of the surviving decoration, and by the damaged, oblique ridge running across the upper right-hand corner of the decorated face, which may represent the band of a knot to the right being carried off the upper edge of the stone. A second ridge at right angles to this, and to its right, may represent the loose end of the loop of the figure-of-eight interlace which develops from the right, but the extent of the damage makes the interpretation uncertain.

The form of the surviving interlace - a narrow band - suggests that the loose ends at the upper edge of the stone to the left formed part of a similar narrow interlace zone, and a third zone of interlace could be suggested to the right. These would then have framed a field which was probably filled with further interlace, as the simplest way to reconstruct the inward trending band at the surviving end is as a diagonal.

The rounded edge to the left of the decorated face suggests that the stone was not intended to be built into a wall, and that at least one other face was originally decorated, although the rounding may be a secondary feature. In its present form the stone is the right size and shape for use in an architectural context, as an impost for

example, but the reconstruction precludes such a use, unless it were secondary. A secondary re-use of pre-Conquest sculpture has been suggested for the abaci and imposts of the chancel arch at Selham, Sussex.⁷

The suggested reconstruction could be completed by postulating that the original stone formed a panel some 60 cm square and 15 cm deep, in the manner of the panel at Bradford-on-Avon,⁸ the rosette decorated panel at Hexham,⁹ or the panel from Monkwearmouth.¹⁰ It might then have formed part of a screen with the rounded edge flanking the opening, or forming part of its upper edge.

Alternatively the fragment may have formed part of a large cross shaft. The lack of a detectable taper on the decorative face would, however, seem to contradict such a suggestion, but the face is narrow, and the damage to it may have disguised a taper.

Perhaps a more reasonable reconstruction of the fragment is as part of a cubic cross base, similar in form to that at Hexham.¹¹ This accounts for the rounded edge, a feature which is also seen on the Hexham fragment. If the faces of the base can be reconstructed as about 60 cm square, then the stone would be the right size to support a cross shaft. The largest fragment of cross shaft in the region - at Elstow, Bedfordshire - is 30 cm across its broadest face.¹² The form of the small memorial crosses in the area suggests that cross bases were known in this region. The cross at Stapleford, Cambridgeshire, has a rectangular base sculpted as a single piece with the shaft, possibly in imitation of larger monuments.¹³

The interlace does not allow the stone to be reliably dated.

NOTES

1. My thanks to the churchwardens for permission to publish the sculpture, and to Dr. D.M. Wilson for discussing this note with me.
2. C.Fox, 'Saxon grave slab: Balsham, Cambridgeshire,' *Proc. Cambs. Ant. Soc.* xxxii (1932), 51.
3. I am grateful to Rev. J. D. Hunter, formerly Rector of Balsham, for this information. In June 1976 he described the stone as found "about two years ago."
4. J.R. Allen, 'Analysis and classification of Celtic interlace ornament,' *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, N.S. v (1882-3), 243-5, fig. 83.
5. It is unclear which way up the fragment was originally; the decorated face is described as shown in plate I.
6. C. Fox, 'Anglo-Saxon monumental sculpture in the Cambridgeshire district,' *Proc. Cambs. Ant. Soc.*, xxiii (1920-21), 15-45.
7. H.M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, (Cambridge 1965), 537.
8. G.F. Browne, 'Early sculptured stone at West Camel church, Somerset,' *Proc. Somerset Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc.*, xxxvi (1890), 77-8.
9. R. Cramp, *Early Northumbrian Sculpture*, (Jarrow 1965), 3. and 'Early Northumbrian sculpture at Hexham' in D. P. Kirby (ed.) *St. Wilfrid at Hexham*, (Newcastle-on-Tyne 1974), 125-6, pl. VIIa. In the later Cramp regards the panel as Roman.

Pl. I. Pre-Conquest sculptural fragment from Balsham, Cambs.



a. Decorated face
Length overall 46 cms., width 16-17 cms.



b. From above
Max. depth 15 cms.

10. R. Cramp, *Early Northumbrian Sculpture*, (Jarrow 1965), 3, pl. 2.
11. R. Cramp, 'Early Northumbrian sculpture at Hexham,' *op. cit.* in note 9, 132, pls. XXI a-c.
12. D. Baker, 'Excavations at Elstow Abbey, Bedfordshire, 1966-9, 2nd interim report,' *Beds. Arch. Jour.*, iv. (1969) 30 - 1. pl. Ib.
13. C. Fox, *op. cit.* in note 5, 16, pl. I

ELM: A FIELD SURVEY

David Hall

with a contribution by David Wilson

This article describes part of a programme of survey initiated by the Cambridgeshire Archaeological Committee. The fens are exceptionally rich in the remains of early settlements, many of the sites being well preserved, having been first drowned by a rising water table and then protected by fen deposits. Today these sites are threatened by intensive agriculture and by wastage of the peat which formerly protected them.

The first two seasons (1976-7 and 1977-8) of archaeological survey made an assessment of the potential of the Cambridgeshire fens by selecting several regions with contrasting underlying geology. It was required to obtain as complete a picture as possible of the total settlement pattern and field systems in these regions, with the long term objectives of selecting the most important sites for preservation, or recommending excavation if any were threatened with unavoidable destruction. With the shortage of finance for excavation it is important to limit expenditure to sites that are really worthy of study and to move away from a policy of excavating as many as possible just because they are threatened. Until the regional context of a settlement is known it is difficult to assess its real significance.

The parish of Elm, near Wisbech, was chosen as an example of the area of silt fen around the Wash. The whole of the ancient parish of 11,378 acres was studied; but the 2,617 acres of Wisbech St Mary added to form the modern parish in 1934¹, were not included in the survey.

Archaeologically Elm had received some attention by Fox in 1923², and was further studied by the Fenland Research Committee during the 1930s and 1940s³. No comprehensive multi-period study has been attempted before.

The history of Elm is outlined by the various county histories, and has also been further developed by several local workers⁴.

Elm is first mentioned in A.D. 973 as Eolum, and is possibly, but not certainly, named after an elm tree.

The village is not mentioned in the Domesday Survey (1086) when it was probably grouped with Wisbech. By the 13th century it already belonged to the Bishop of Ely and the church commissioners are still the lords of the manor. The Ely muniments preserve various charters and rentals that detail the descent of properties and show a varying prosperity during the medieval period⁵. There was serious sea flooding in 1236, but property values recovered by 1251. Decline in rents can be detected in the 14th century, in common with the rest of the country.

An inquisition of 1321 describes a messuage called Bealford or Beauford holding 776 acres, which had become styled a manor in 1536 when it was held by Alexander Balam. The holding was at Friday Bridge where there was until recently an 18th century property called Beauford House on the site.

Several of the 13th century holdings developed into manors, of which one of the more important was Coldham, first mentioned in 1300. Waldersey and Needham⁶ also have a medieval origin.

Elm has had a series of well-connected vicars, one of whom, Jeremiah Jackson (1795-1857), was headmaster of Wisbech Grammar School and kept detailed diaries full of social comment.

The droves and waste lands of Elm were inclosed by an Act of 1834, but only 195 acres were involved, the remainder having in effect been inclosed by agreement much earlier.

No understanding of fenland settlement pattern is possible without an appreciation of the geology. Unlike most of the country, soils of the fenland have been deposited within the last few millenia. The water-table has varied considerably, causing deposition of peats, silts or clays. Skertchly gave the first full account of fenland geology⁷, and Godwin has published more detail subsequently⁸. Officers of the Soil Survey are currently studying various parts of the fens.

At the time of the final retreat of the ice sheet of the last glaciation (about the beginning of the 9th millenium BC) the fen basin formed an eastern extension of the Midland Clay Vale. The underlying rocks consist mainly of soft clays lying between harder layers of limestone to the north west and greensand and chalk to the south east. The vale had existed before the Ice Age and had become further worn down and then partially filled with glacial deposits of gravels and boulder clays.

Immediately after the Ice Age the sea level was much lower than now and all the fen basin remained dry and developed a deciduous forest (surviving as the familiar 'bog oaks'). Continued increase of the annual mean temperature caused the polar ice cap to thaw partially, with a consequent rise in sea level which eventually interfered with the fen-basin drainage. By the Neolithic period there was an extensive freshwater marsh which deposited the *lower peat* and was drained by meandering channels. Continued rising of the sea relative to the land caused development of a saltwater lagoon which laid down the *fen clay*. By the beginning of the Roman era the sea had retreated and much of the fen was again freshwater. However around the Wash so much silt had been deposited previously that it was exposed as dry land for the first time, and has remained so ever since. The freshwater peat fen rose to a high level during the Saxon and medieval periods, causing drowning of all earlier sites except on the silt, and deposition of the *upper peat*.

Since the drainage of the 17th century, both the upper and lower peat deposits have shrunk. The compression of the lower peat has caused the silted-up Neolithic watercourses to be exposed as light-coloured ridges (roddons). Wasting of the upper peat leaves either a mineral soil or fen clay.

The techniques of survey were as follows. The base maps used in the field were copies of the 6-inch Ordnance Survey map held by the Cambridgeshire Sites and Monuments Record. These have marked on them all known sites and object find-spots, along with the cropmarks recorded in the Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs up to June 1977. Also available were the vertical winter photographs taken for the Soil Survey, Cambridge⁹. These are particularly useful for plotting roddons and confirming medieval strip cultivation.

Every field on a given farm or area was visited, ideally in an unfrozen, weathered, ploughed state when the sun was not shining. The nature of the modern agriculture, the soil condition and the geology of each field was noted, and, if the terrain was fen, the roddons sketched on. This was necessary because not all roddons are visible from the air, especially the very large estuarine ones. The fen edge was recorded in detail. Archaeological earthwork features or soil marks were plotted if deemed important (i.e. ramparts, medieval plough headlands etc). Each field was walked in strips about 30 yards wide and any sherds, flints, briquetage etc., collected and the find spot marked on the base map. Occupation sites later than the Bronze Age (except Saxon) are usually visible as dark areas and few are likely to have been missed. Here "site" means an area yielding flints or sherds of density at least 15 finds in a square of 10 metre side searched for 10 minutes. This definition obviously does not apply to unploughed earthwork sites and features such as barrows.

The level of survey conducted would not yield many flints or Saxon pottery-scatter sites. These finds are more difficult to see and very close methodical walking has to be done in strips of about 5 yards or less, covering something in the order of 3 acres an hour. This is much too slow for broad landscape interpretation and decision was made not to use this kind of technique. It was possible to cover about 400 acres per day, depending on the weather and daylight.

The results obtained were drawn up as a fair copy on the 6-inch Ordnance map each day, and finds bags labelled. Brief notes were made on each settlement site and its grid reference determined.

Figs. 1-3 show the results for Elm. Some of the smallholdings and orchards in the Begdale and Hawsteads areas were not surveyed in detail; few would have yielded any information because the land surface is obscured. A few previously described sites were not visible because of crop coverage at the time of visiting. These are marked with a cross on the Figures and discussed in the Gazetteer. Most of them are likely to be reliable but occasionally they are not; hence the need to check them before they are finally accepted.

Pre-medieval settlement/working sites are coded with a prefix 'E' and details are given in the Gazetteer below.

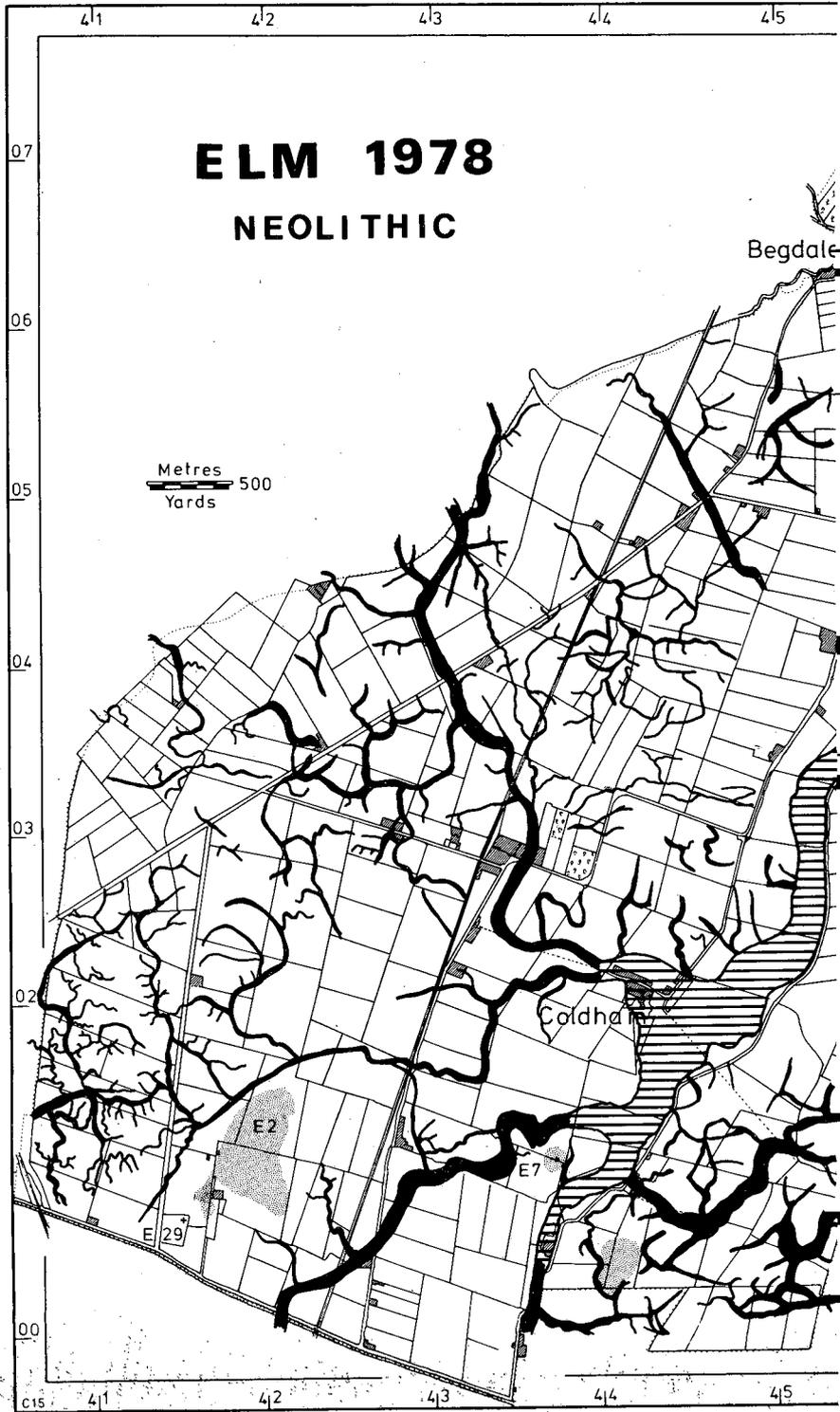
Palaeolithic

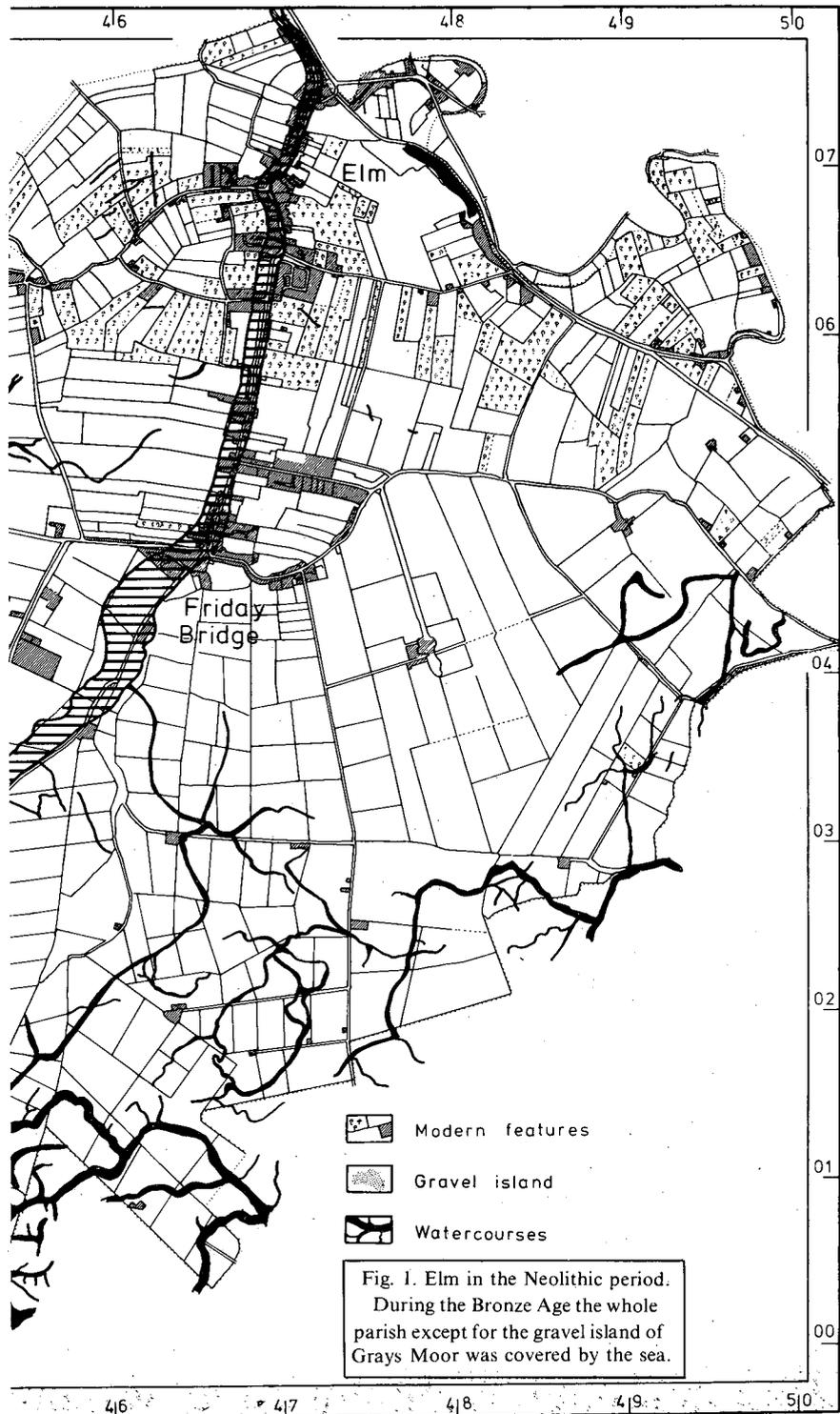
Acheulian hand-axes have been found in gravel pits at Grays Moor Road (site E29 in Gazetteer), and recently a worked flake was recovered near site E1. There is no evidence that any of the material is *in situ*.

Neolithic (Fig. 1)

By this period the whole land surface was covered with freshwater peat except for the gravel islands, at Grays (or Grease) Moor, and two (now buried) near Stags Holt (Fig. 3). The island at site E7 produced a few worked flints when cut by a modern ditch.

The peat fen was drained by a network of winding channels which united in the Coldham area to form a river 200 yards wide which ran north to Friday Bridge and Elm, and emptied itself into the Wisbech estuary. This natural drainage system is plotted on Fig. 1. The water courses now survive as silted up roddons. The details are





clear at the southern part of the parish, but only major roddons are evident towards the north and adjacent to the main stream, the smaller ones being buried by later deposits.

Bronze Age

The whole of Elm parish was a salt lagoon during this period except for the island of Grays Moor. Many worked flints were found on the island, and the cropmark site E3, not otherwise associated with any occupation debris, may date to the Bronze Age. A chance find of a bronze faceted axe has been reported from TF423001, just south of the island.

The marine inundation caused a massive build-up of deposits on the peat of the Neolithic period, so that the whole land surface underneath the water was raised several feet, but most of the watercourses retained their identity. Away from the main river running through Coldham to Elm the deposits were of fen clay, but in the channel, and about a mile either side, silt was deposited.

No Iron Age remains have been discovered at Elm: the fens as a whole remained wet and inhospitable during this time.

Romano-British (Fig. 2)

By early Romano-British times the relative levels of fen and sea had changed so that the Elm silt region was just above sea level and there was again fresh water fen behind it. The solid land and fen must have been nearly on the same level at this time or the watercourses, today preserved as roddons, could not have successfully continued to drain the fen. A multiplicity of narrow channels is evident within the silted-up river near Coldham Hall (Fig. 2).

The occupation in this period was extensive and intensive. The region is well-known for its remarkable cropmarks and several Roman sites³, but the complete picture of settlement and industry is quite surprising. The great Neolithic silted-up river split up into a network of smaller watercourses, all of them tidal, behind the silts. This arrangement was particularly suitable for saltern activity; it allowed a large number of small settlements each to have their own salt water supply, yet be far enough apart to leave land and fen available to every one. It would be important for each settlement to have sufficient fen to supply reeds and brushwood for fuel for the salterns. These are the two reasons why the salt industry was here: the ready access to salt water and a cheap plentiful supply of fuel.

Of the 38 Roman sites identified all but four yielded saltern briquetage. The sites are fairly easy to find, being dark occupation areas (no doubt made darker because of the saltern ash) yielding sherds and baked-clay briquetage. The larger salterns are co-extensive with cropmarks, but many were found where no cropmarks are known.

No details of saltmaking procedure are deducible from fieldwork alone, but air photographs show that many sites have channels, presumably artificial, leaving and re-entering the watercourses to form loops (E10, E11, E19, E22); if these were sluiced they could have been used to trap salt water at high tide, and allow particles to sediment before evaporation of the water. Most of the briquetage is amorphous, but occasionally pieces of rectangular bricks and cylindrical supports can be found. The fabric of the briquetage is characteristic; fairly soft, straw-tempered, reddish-brown

internally with a yellow surface.

The extensive series of paddocks ('field systems') and drove-ways are presumably for cattle breeding and rearing. No doubt occasional cattle minding could be easily fitted in with stoking up saltern fires and collecting reeds. In the medieval period the association of salterns and sheep has been noted by Professor Darby. Nearer to Elm the watercourses united to form several main channels within the silted up Neolithic river, thus limiting the distribution of salt water. The number of salterns rapidly decreases so that on the high, flat (roddon-free) ground from Needham Hall to Elm village there are very few.

The occurrence of early and late pottery on the sites is quite random, and does not suggest any uniform change in the water table during the Roman period as has been found in the southern fens³.

What was perhaps the most interesting Roman site in Elm, a possible shrine, has long been destroyed. A 'tumulus' is mentioned by several earlier writers as lying near the village (see Gazetteer site E44). It was most likely Roman and appears to be associated with a hoard of coins found in 1713. Later an altar stone was found and said to have been set in a masonry wall. The site, so far as it can be determined, now lies near the school playing field, and not far from the St Giles' Chapel site.

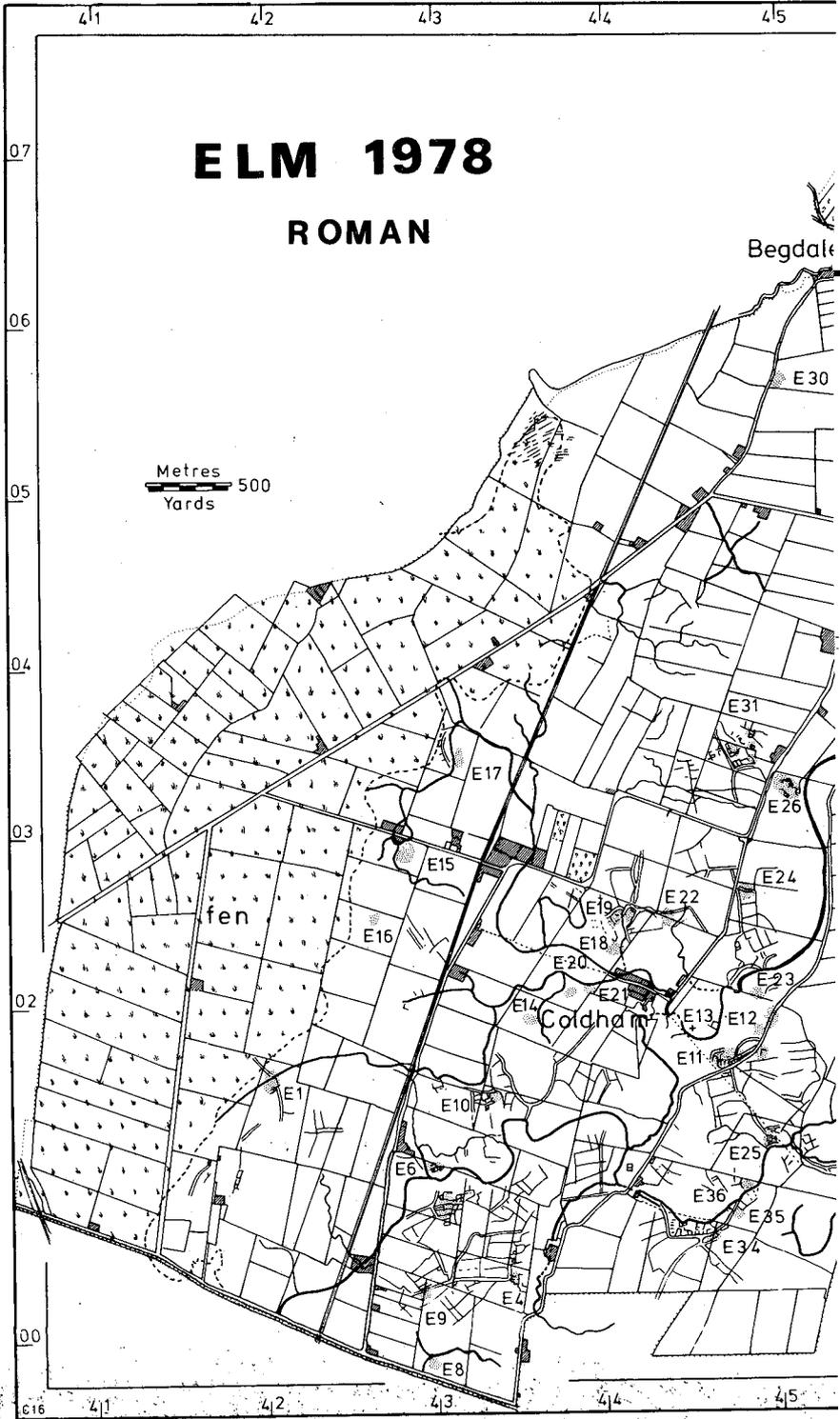
Another enigmatic feature of the siltlands is the occurrence of areas with large numbers of small circular cropmarks (e.g. site E31, Plates 1 and 2). The regional context is given in the Appendix. Two fieldwork observations were made. The first concerns dating: since these sites all lie on silt, they must be Roman or later. Many of them lie within the strips of medieval fields, so it is possible that the circles could date from this period. One of the sites lies on land dry in Roman times, but within the medieval fen; so here a Roman date is possible (provided that this part of the fen was not in fact dry in medieval times). Secondly there are likewise problems regarding the function of these circles. Unless they lie co-extensive with an occupation site (such as sites E5 and E31), there are never any surface finds or dark areas suggesting domestic or industrial occupation. Could they perhaps derive from some medieval agricultural practice — such as corn stacks? (see Appendix by D.R. Wilson for a full account of these features in the siltland around Wisbech).

The landscape of Elm in Roman times was rather different to that of either today or the medieval period. The total area of dry silt land was about 8,000 acres, the greater part of Greekgall and Laddus Fens being dry land. The Roman fen edge is easy to identify on the ground by the dark-stained peat/fen-clay soil changing to lighter coloured silt. Within the Roman fen the roddons of the Neolithic watercourses are now very plain, but they would not have been visible then since they were covered with peat. The watercourses draining the fen flowing across the dry silt into the diminished Elm river would, of course, have been visible and demonstrate that the Roman fen was almost level with the dry silt, for otherwise natural drainage would have been impossible.

There is no evidence of any artificial Roman drainage works.

Saxon and Medieval (Fig. 3)

In the Saxon and medieval periods further dramatic changes took place. The partial



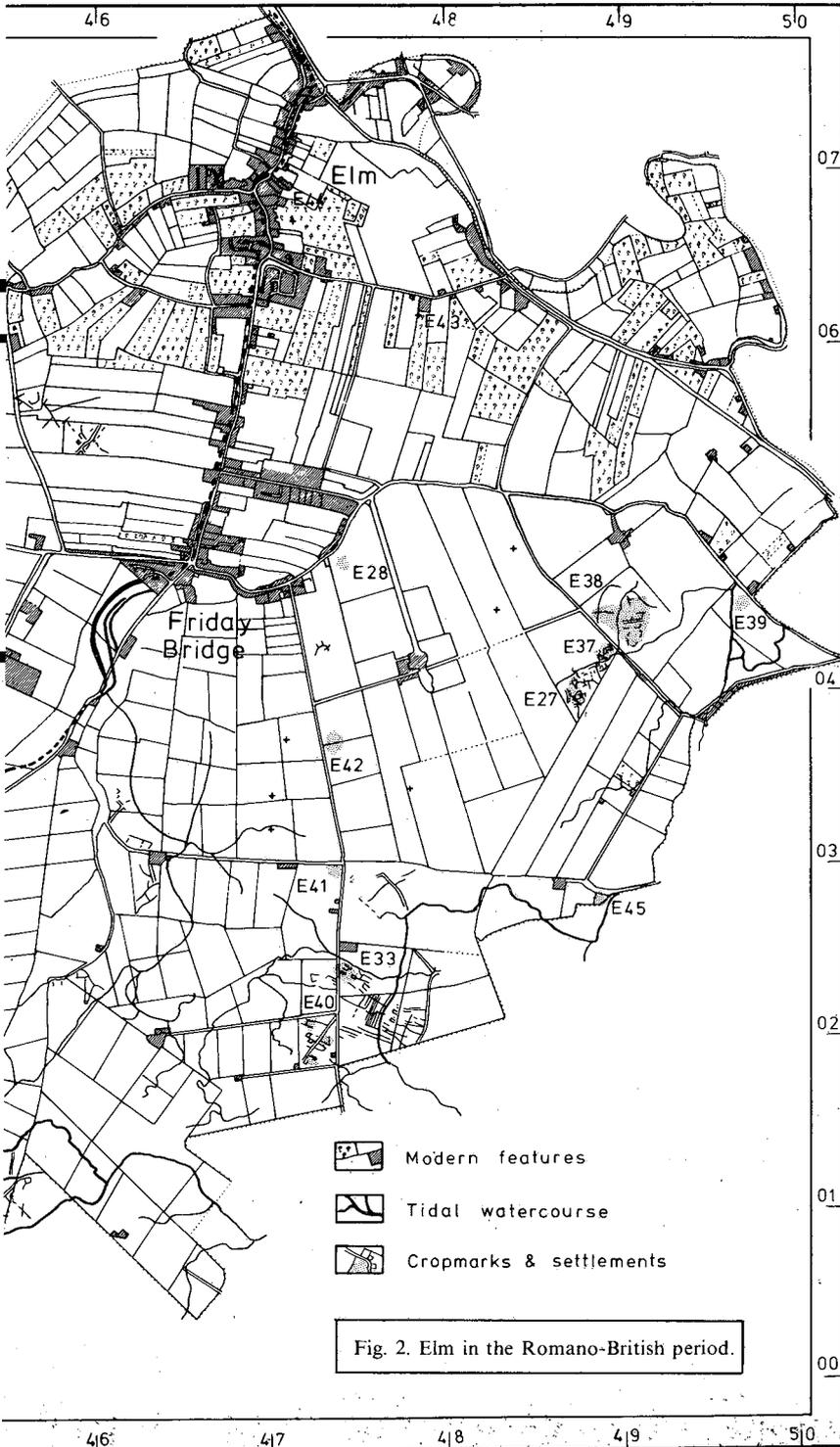


Fig. 2. Elm in the Romano-British period.

drying out of the fens in Roman times caused tremendous changes in the drainage pattern. The regions where the silt deposits had a low organic content or did not lie on peat, shrank but little and remained dry. Behind the ridge of the Wisbech silts, the land levels shrank and sea water poured back again, depositing more marine clays. The post-Roman marine flooding was proved recently by the discovery of a Roman saltern site in Wisbech St Mary parish (TF 378058) that had been buried by a marine clay layer¹⁰. The fresh water accumulating behind the silts had to force new channels into the sea. Thus the 'old course' of the Nene was formed, avoiding the newly formed silt roddon running from Coldham to Elm, where it had once flowed, and making a new channel through the deep fen and into the Wisbech Ouse at Upwell.

A similar phenomenon occurred on the north-east side of the Elm roddon. A tongue of fen lay between the roddons on which Elm and Wisbech St Mary were later sited: this was a pressure point for water to force its way to the sea. The route is more evident from maps and documentary sources than on the ground today. The western boundary of Elm, the Black Dike, seems to have run north to the Crooked Bank and then became the Old Ea (Fig. 3) and entered the Elm River (see below p. 14) opposite the church, and so to the sea.

The fen now rose to its highest level, drowning a large area of the land formerly habitable in Roman times. Thus only the areas immediately adjacent to the high ground of the Coldham — Elm roddon were dry. The village of Elm was settled around the church on the highest part of the roddon. No medieval settlement has been found away from the narrow belt stretching along the roddon from Elm High Road to Friday Bridge, i.e. much the same as now. In a parish survey of 1592 all the houses were also in precisely the same areas.

Begdale, lying to the west of Elm, may be a hamlet. The earliest form of the name recorded by Reaney is *Beckedale* in 1362 and associated with John de Bekedale mentioned in 1314. This alone would not suffice to prove a settlement had existed. However at the British Library a manuscript (Cotton; Tiberius B11 f154) describes '*brokene*, a hamlet in the parish of Elm' (1223). Presumably *Beck* and *Brok* can be equated (brook, beck=stream, river), and explained in terms of the hamlet lying by the side of the Old Ea, mentioned above.

Medieval agriculture on the Wisbech silts is quite different from that of Midland England. The soil, easily wind-blown, is not particularly suitable for ridging up: soil and seed would risk being blown away in a dry spring. It is very easily drained, and the method selected was to have ditched strips about 12 yards wide, and varying from 200 to 1,100 yards in length. The strips were not ridged up. Only two areas with some of these strips survive, just North of Waldersey Hall (TF451040) and east of Elm church (TF472068). Around Coldham and Needham they can be seen as soil marks on aerial photographs. They are shown schematically in Fig. 3, (individual strips cannot be plotted legibly on the 6 inch scale). As with ridge-and-furrow, the strips lie in parallel blocks, the orientation determined by the lie of the land to assist natural drainage. Groups of these strips, which correspond to 'furlongs' on the upland (even though the areas involved were usually much larger) were called 'fields'. Thus these were Needham Hall Field, Waldersey Fiend, Redmore Field etc, many recorded in 1391¹¹ (Fig. 3). These each have strips lying in a single direction, but Old Field and Wales Field, and others, have strips lying in several blocks, more akin to Midland fields.

The fields were approached by major tracks, called droves, some of them 130 yards wide. The present road from March to Elm follows the course of an ancient drove. Now much reduced in width, its original nature can be seen as a cropmark west of Coldham. The present road follows the eastern side of the drove; the western side survives as a soilmark with the strips shooting off at right angles and reaching down to the fen. In several parts the drove survives as a low hollow-way running parallel with the present road.

The many right-angled bends in the drove, always fitting in with the strips of the open fields, may argue for a planned laying out of the landscape at a single time. It is difficult to account for the course of the drove if the medieval fields were set out along it in a piecemeal fashion.

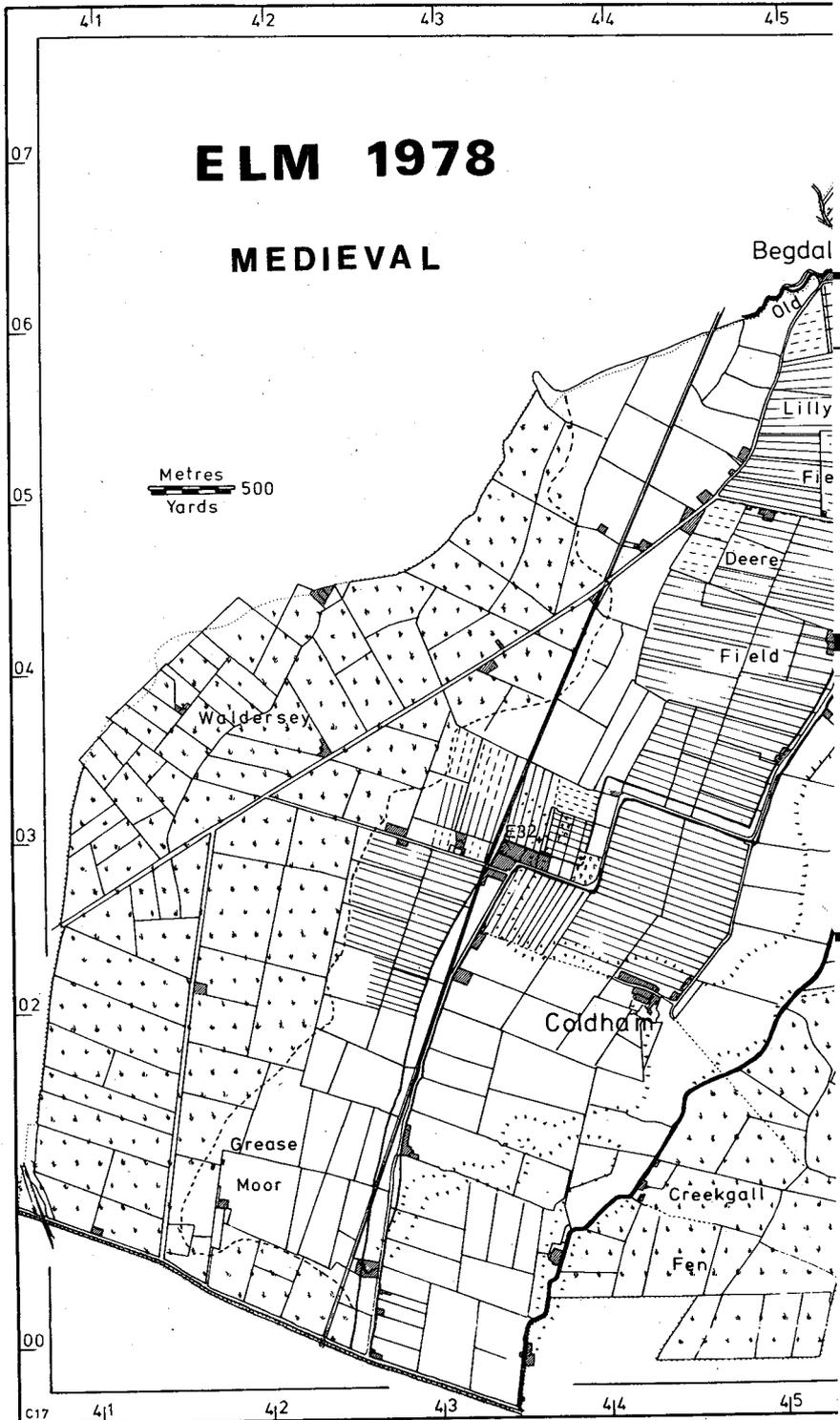
The pattern of land holding is complex. The 1592 survey names many owners and tenants with consolidated holdings varying from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 600 acres most of which can be identified on a tithe map of 1840: i.e. there had been much exchanging of strips and consolidation of plots¹². Indeed without the fieldwork evidence, it would not be obvious from the map that originally the landscape had been divided into strips. In effect there had been inclosure by agreement and so no parliamentary act was needed to improve the agriculture in later centuries. The only official inclosure was of the wide droveway in 1834, involving only 195 acres. Another probable reason for no rearrangement of the agricultural landscape was the great problem of drainage. Having established a complex but workable system of ditches and culverts over the centuries, it would prove difficult and expensive to replan the landscape completely and have to establish a new drainage network.

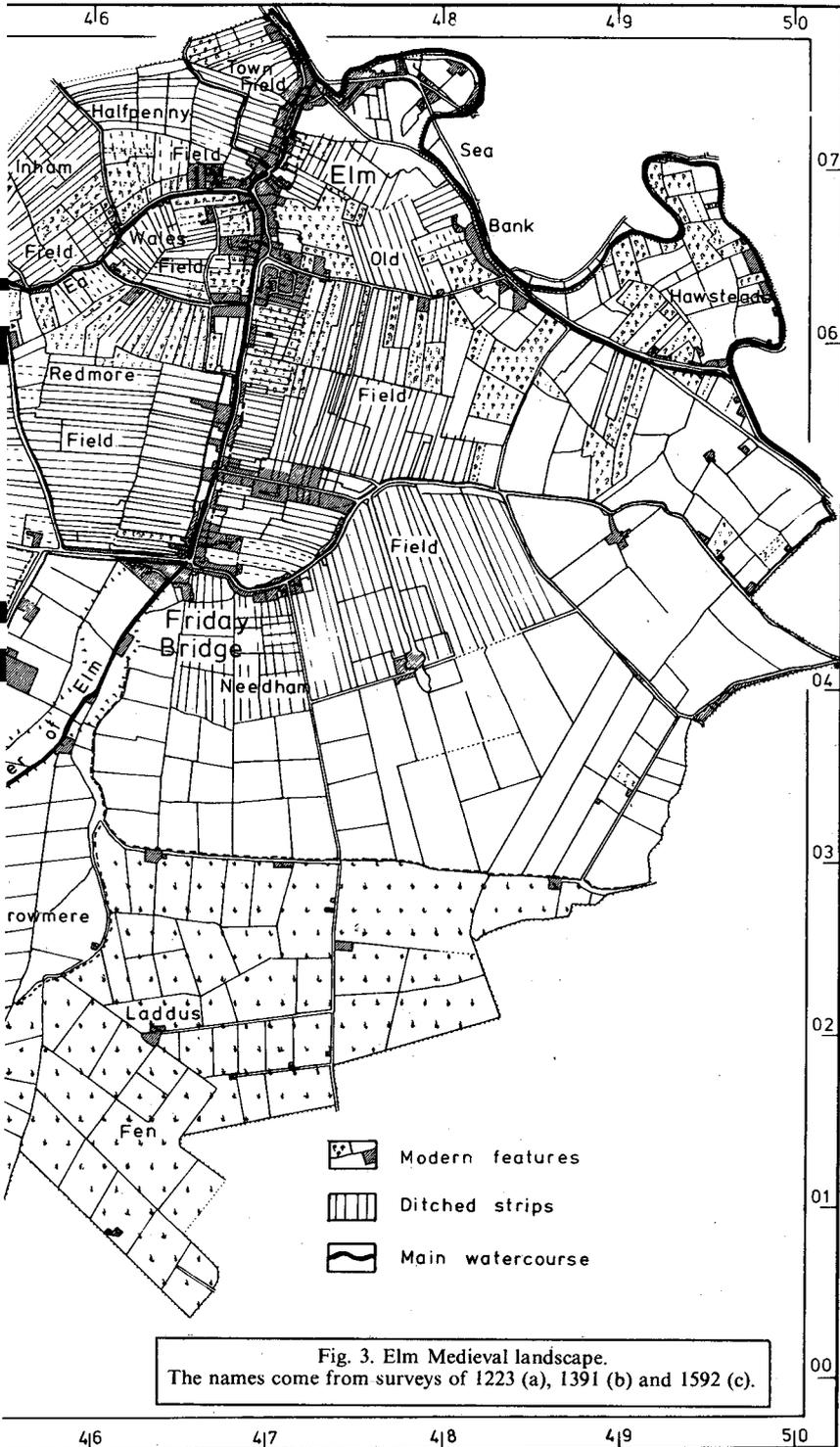
For these reasons the northern 5,000 acres of Elm parish form a remarkably unaltered piece of medieval countryside in general plan, with droves and ditches of great antiquity. The major topographical features, and orientations of the strips where known, are shown on Fig. 3. The 1592 survey does not include Deere Field or the Coldham area.

TABLE I

Elm Open Fields 1592

<i>Field</i>	<i>Stated Area</i>
Old field	1177
Neadham field	1608
Wales field	104
Redmore field	388
Inham field	144
Halfpenny field	141
Town field	77
Hawstead Lands	195
	3824





There is no evidence that a crop rotation system including fallow was ever practiced (with such fertile soil it is scarcely necessary). The stated acreages of the fields are given in Table 1. Needham Field, Old Field, and all the rest together are of similar area. This may argue for an earlier three-field system.

The remaining area of the parish was fen. This was made up of two elements: fen that was under water in Roman times is still easily seen as dark stained soil interrupted by roddons; but the area of Roman dry land that became drowned in the medieval period is more difficult to appreciate. Generally it is stained very slightly darker than the medieval dry land, and lies rather uneven because of the roddons partly buried beneath it. In the medieval landscape, these two different fen elements would have been indistinguishable.

The medieval drainage was complex. The Nene joined the Ouse at Upwell which ran into the sea at Wisbech. At Elm the water that did not fall into the Nene was channelled into a stream called the Elm Leam or Elm River. This ran on the east side of the great roddon at Coldham and then to Friday Bridge, following the road to Elm church where it crossed to the east and so into the Ouse. None of it contains water now, although it still did in about 1880s¹³, but most of the course can be traced as a hollow channel. The two bridges, at Friday Bridge and Elm church, are buried under the present road. The village bridge is referred to as 'the great bridge near the church' in 1350¹⁴.

This Leam has been claimed to be of Roman origin but this seems unlikely, since in Roman times the fen drained itself via the various natural meandering channels along the Neolithic river. It is more likely that the leam is of Saxon or medieval origin. From its course it is undoubtedly artificial. In 1391 it was ordered to be 10 feet wide and had to be dug out to a depth of 10 feet¹⁵.

Most of the water from Elm high ground found its way into the Elm River and entered the Ouse north of the village by means of floodgates which prevented salt water coming back. The Sea Bank, well known at Leverington, came right down to Upwell and so formed the eastern boundary of the parish¹⁶.

A complex system of pipes and sluices existed; these were mentioned at various courts of the sewers (drains). A 13th-century example has been recently excavated at Newton¹⁷. With the final diversion of the Ouse to Kings Lynn in 1331, the Wisbech estuary began to silt up causing a great drainage problem at Elm. Many courts attempted to solve the problem; that of 1437, quoted by Darby¹⁸ and translated by Dugdale is very detailed, e.g.

"the water from the field of Oldefeld in Elme on the east side of the river of Elme, used to have its course and empty through a pipe lying under the river of Elme called Massingham's pyppe, and there used to fall and empty in the river of Wisbech . . . and that the river of Wisbech for several years elapsed continues to be raised up and obstructed with deposits from the sea by the flow and ebb of the tide, and that the said water of Oldefeld cannot possibly fall and empty . . ."

The document then continues to define a new tortuous course to the west and north, eventually going into the sea at Leverington (Morton's Leam did not then exist). The long entries of the sewer courts give much topographical detail, especially regarding the dykes and banks.

All these complex water systems became redundant with the general fen drainage in the 17th century.

Elm does not have any earthworks, or records of dovecotes or fishponds — these are not necessary in a fen village. The medieval windmill stood at site E32, carefully placed on a roddon to give it a windy position. There was formerly a chapel of St Giles, at TF472066 and a leper chapel on the boundary with Wisbech, TF470078; a chapel of St Christopher probably stood at TF502042. In 1827 there was still an arched gateway leading to St Giles chapel¹⁹.

The occurrence of a possible medieval kiln seems likely from the recovery of two complete unbroken saggars at TF468059. The lack of readily available suitable clay is outweighed by the unlikely chance of the two saggars not being in their original context, so giving a balance of evidence in favour of a kiln.

The modern topography became possible after the 17th-century fen drainage. It is not known at what date the present field pattern was formed in the fen area, but it was completed before the Tithe Map of 1840²⁰. Two incomplete late 17th-century maps of the Coldham area show many of the 'modern' ditches already there²¹.

Apart from 'Coldham Grounds', already inclosed before 1437²², Elm remained essentially open field, but with consolidated holdings.

Few of the ancient buildings survive. Needham Hall was pulled down in 1804 and rebuilt in front of the old site. It had been a large building with two wings. Coldham Hall was pulled down in 1793 and rebuilt on the old site²³. No mud and thatch peasant homes survive, although there were still some in the 19th century²⁴.

It is hoped that this account will give some idea of the complex changes which have led to the creation of the landscape of Elm, and show how the silt fen villages differ from the remaining fen areas. More detailed work on the wealth of late medieval documents will enable a complete picture of the land tenure and topography to be compiled.

It is now possible to assess the relative importance of settlement sites and select the best ones for further intensive study if required. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the fens is the deposition of soils within the last few millennia, in such a manner that there is horizontal as well as vertical stratigraphy. The three plans of Elm parish (Figs. 1-3) demonstrate how strikingly the landscape has varied. The soil boundaries clearly limit the activities and settlement of different periods and point to areas where early sites may be buried. This type of survey applied to large areas of the fenland will lead to a better understanding of settlement patterns and land use.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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SITE GAZETTEER

ELM

The geology of all sites is silt unless stated otherwise.

Abbreviations:

CUCAP *Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs*

FRT *Fenland in Roman Times* (see note 3)

PCAS *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*

- E1 TF420014, soil: glacial gravel.
Dark occupation area co-extensive with cropmarks of small enclosures. Large quantities of Roman sherds, samian and colour-coated wares. Much saltern briquetage. Site probably extends under the fen. A palaeolithic worked flake discovered. Ref: F.R.T.317 *AP cover* RAF/1601/3052.
- E2 TF420015 area, soil: glacial gravel.
Wide scatter of worked flints, Neolithic or Bronze Age.
- E3 TF418016, soil: glacial gravel.
Cropmarks of small enclosures. Dark occupation area visible on the ground, but no sherds. Late Bronze Age or Iron Age.
- E4 TF434003
Dark greasy area with saltern briquetage. A few Romano-British sherds including samian. Possibly related to the reported site just north (at TF 435005) but not presently visible because of pasture. Cropmarks of enclosures and droveways. Ref: F.R.T. 317 *AP*: RAF/1601/3053.
- E5 TF 4305. 0080
Dark area with saltern briquetage in large quantities. Small amount of Romano-British pottery, including colour-coated ware. Cropmarks of enclosures, (hut?) circles and droveways. Samian and a skeleton reported (PCAS 58 27; 43 16). *Other ref.* F.R.T. 317. *AP*: RAF/1601/4053; 3133. CUCAP: YF 22-3, 7, 9. (1959); ACL 22-3 (1961); AIM 68-9 (1964); BLO 24-6, BLT 1-6, 15-18, K17AC 11-13 (1973), other soil marks, BRY 7-12 (1975).
- E6 TF4295. 0105
Dark area with saltern briquetage. Romano-British sherds including Samian. Not much pottery.
- E7 TF4372. 0105. Soil, buried glacial gravel.
A few Neolithic (?) worked flints cast out by ditch digging. A buried island with no lower peat on it and a thin covering of silt.
- E8 TF 429003
Dark occupation area on a mound by the edge of a roddon. Small quantity of Romano-British pottery and plenty of saltern briquetage. A cylindrical piece of baked clay.
- E9 TF 430003
Dark occupation area with saltern briquetage and a few Romano-British sherds. Cropmarks of droveways etc. *AP*: CUCAP BSS47 (1975).
- E10 TF 4334.0145
Slightly dark area with saltern briquetage. A few sherds of Romano-British pottery. Cropmarks of small enclosures. Ref: FRT318, PCAS 43 14, 58, 27. *AP*: RAF/1601/3131, 3054. CUCAP: FV53-5, ET 33-6 (1950), PS 10-11, 14-15 (1955).
- E11 TF 446017
Dark area with extensive saltern briquetage, a small quantity of Romano-British sherds. The site stretches E. over the modern ditch. Soilmarks, *AP*: CUCAP: AQD 18-20 (1966). Ref: PCAS 45 14; 58, 27; F.R.T. 319.

- E12 TF 449019
Extensive and intensive dark area with large quantities of saltern briquetage. Very large baked clay pieces ploughed out. Recently skeletons excavated from ditch digging. Late Romano-British sherds recovered.
- E13 TF 445018
Darkened area, saltern briquetage. No pottery but likely to be Romano-British. Cropmarks, *AP*: CUCAP: FV 49-58 (1951); NZ45 (1974).
- E14 TF 435018
Dark area of Romano-British salterns. Not much pottery; saltern briquetage.
- E15 TF 428028
Dark occupation area with saltern briquetage and Romano-British sherds. Several other dark patches. *AP*: CUCAP: BLT 28-9 (1973).
- E16 TF 4263.0255
Dark patch with saltern briquetage, probably Roman.
- E17 TF 431035
Black greasy area with saltern briquetage and Romano-British sherds on the edge of a large roddon that still has a dried-up central channel. *Ref*: F.R.T.318 *AP*: RAF/1601/4042; 1606/1403.
- E18 TF 4406.0232
Romano-British saltern with dark area yielding pottery briquetage.
- E19 TF 441025
Two Romano-British saltern sites with sherds and briquetage either side of a roddon. Earlier observations: small enclosures, droves and larger fields partly obliterated by later parallel strip divisions. Abundant debris, pottery found in 1933 and 1946. *Ref*: F.R.T. 319. *AP*: RAF/1601/3056. CUCAP: ET.30-2 (1950), AGE14-15 (1962).
- E20 TF 4380.0208
Romano-British saltern with briquetage and sherds.
- E21 TF 439021
Romano-British saltern with briquetage.
- E22 TF 4435.0245
Saltern with briquetage (likely to be Roman).
- E23 TF 4490.0208
Dark area with a lot of Roman occupation remains and saltern briquetage. (Continuation of E12). *Ref*: R.r.T. 320. *AP*: CUCAP: PA 3-7 (1959); RR 4-12, RS 38-46 (1956); AFQ 41 (1962).
- E24 TF 448027
Romano-British saltern with occupation and briquetage. Earlier work: small circular ditch and occupation material. Pottery range c105 — 200 AD. *Ref*: F.R.T. 320: PCAS. 58 12ff. *AP*: CUCAP: AQD 18-20 (1966).
- E25 TF 4492.0120
A large saltern area with much briquetage; Romano-British sherds. Some material appears to be spread in an old channel.
- E26 TF 450033
Large saltern area with much briquetage. Two dark occupation concentrations with Romano-British sherds and a piece of quernstone. Earlier observations: rectangular enclosures, hut circles, large quantities of samian and colour-coated wares. *Ref*: FRT 321; PCAS 58 27. *AP*: CUCAP: RR 13-16 (1976); XR 27, 32-45 (1969); ACC 27-9 (1961); AFQ 42-3 (1962); AKN 23-6 (1965).

- E27 TF 487040
Large Romano-British saltern, with much pottery and briquetage lying on a dark area. A bone needle recovered (by J King, Wisbech).
- E28 TF 474046
Dark area with Romano-British and medieval sherds.
- E29 TF 416007, soil: glacial gravel.
Two Acheulian hand axes found in gravel pit in 1942.
- E30 TF 451056
Romano-British settlement area. This presumably instead of the OS TF450055 where there is nothing. *Ref:* FRT 323.
- E31 TF 448035
Four areas with Romano-British occupation on known cropmark site, two of them having saltern remains. Samian, shelly and grey ware sherds. Area with many circular cropmarks (see Plate 1) *Ref:* FRT 320 *AP:* CUCAP: XR34, 36, 39, 41, 45. *RAF/1601/3040.*
- E32 TF 430300
A mound on a large roddon, much 13-14th century pottery, one piece of a large millstone. Windmill site.
- E33 TF 474023
Large Romano-British site with dark occupation area. Not a saltern. Samian and colour-coated sherds. Probably related to the parallel ditch cropmarks to the SE. The parallel ditches area has a few dark patches but no occupation debris. *AP:* CUCAP: UP79-81, ARA-49-50 (1967) BST 75-94, BTI 13-14 (1975).
- E34 TF 446006
Romano-British sherds and saltern briquetage on a large roddon. *Ref:* FRT 318, PCAS 43, 14; JRS 37 171. *AP:* *RAF/1601/3130.* CUCAP: XR 48, BPW 34-36 (1974); 70 HR 45-57, BMJ 89-90 (1973); RC 8, AN 109-10, 141-2 (1974).
- E35 TF 447007
Romano-British saltern site, briquetage and sherds. *Ref:* PCAS 43, 14. FRT 318. *AP:* CUCAP: 70 HR 45-7, BPW 34-6 (1974).
- E36 TF 448007
Romano-British saltern site with briquetage and sherds.
- E37 TF 489042
Romano-British saltern and settlement. Large quantities of pottery and briquetage either side of a roddon. Essentially part of sites E27 and E38.
- E38 TF 490044
Very large and complex Romano-British saltern and settlement. Almost continuous with E27. Large quantity of pottery and briquetage lying on dark occupation areas. *AP:* CUCAP: BNA 36-44, BOK 43-48 (1973).
- E39 TF 497045
Cropmarks of enclosures near a roddon. Small saltern site with Romano-British sherds and briquetage. *Ref:* FRT 322. *AP:* *RAF/1601/3034.* CUCAP: BOK 48-8; BNA 36-38, 45-8 (1973).
- E40 TF 472620
A well-known Romano-British site with a hollow-way (drove) running through the middle. At least three settlement areas with saltern briquetage. Skeletons found when first ploughed in 1934; A bronze bracelet and a brooch are preserved in Wisbech Museum. *Ref:* FRT 82; PCAS 43 15 *AP:* *RAF/1601/3126* CUCAP: BST 90-4 (1975); BTI 13-16 (1975).

- E41 TF 473029
Small area with Romano-British pottery scatter and saltern briquetage.
- E42 TF 473036
Two dark areas with large quantities of Romano-British pottery. No saltern briquetage or any obvious watercourses near.
- E43 TF 478062
Cropmark site of small circular ditches and one large oval. *Ref:* Riley, D.N., *Ant. J.* 20 (1946) 150-3, Fig. 2.
- E44 ? TF 472067
A tumulus referred to in older histories, and a possible Roman temple. A hoard of coins found in 1713 representing emperors from Gallienus to Gratian, i.e. probably buried AD 380-90. An altar 21 inches high "in a wall" in 1776. *Ref:* The Surtees Society 76 (1883) 23, letter dated 1734; PCAS 43 (1949) 14; Stukely W.M., *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1776) 13; FRT 324.
- E45 TF 489028
Romano-British saltern with briquetage and sherds.

Various sites with small (often superimposed) circles of unknown function. In addition to sites E5 and E31 they occur at TF 433020, TF 465011, TF 478034, TF 483044, TF 484048, TF 470032, TF 470034 and TF 471037. None of these latter 8 sites produced any surface finds or soilmarks.

TF 472066 St Giles' chapel site. Skeletons found in c. 1875.

Other possible sites not checked because of vegetation coverage:-

TF 460034
Romano-British pottery recovered. *Ref:* PCAS 43 15; FRT 321. *AP:* RAF/1601/3038.

TF 460055
Soilmarks visible on air photograph. *Ref:* FRT 323. *AP:* RAF/1634/4231.

TF 466045
Quantity of Romano-British pottery reported from the vicinity of Rookery Farm. *Ref:* FRT 321.

TF 469034
Romano-British site marked on OS 6-inch maps. *AP:* CUCAP BST 75-86 (1975).

TF 472042
Cropmarks visible on air photographs. *Ref:* FRT 323. *AP:* RAF/1601/3036).

The Sites and Monuments Record contains other entries not in the above Gazetteer. These appear to be extensions of known sites (all cropmarks are shown on Fig. 2), merely roddons, or actually incorrect entries. Supposed sites where no finds occur are TF 443048 and TF 501055.

Other finds

TF 4808 0513
Several sherds of medieval pottery in a former drove.

TF 4435 0213
Scatter of late medieval brick just north of Coldham Hall, possibly the site of medieval buildings?

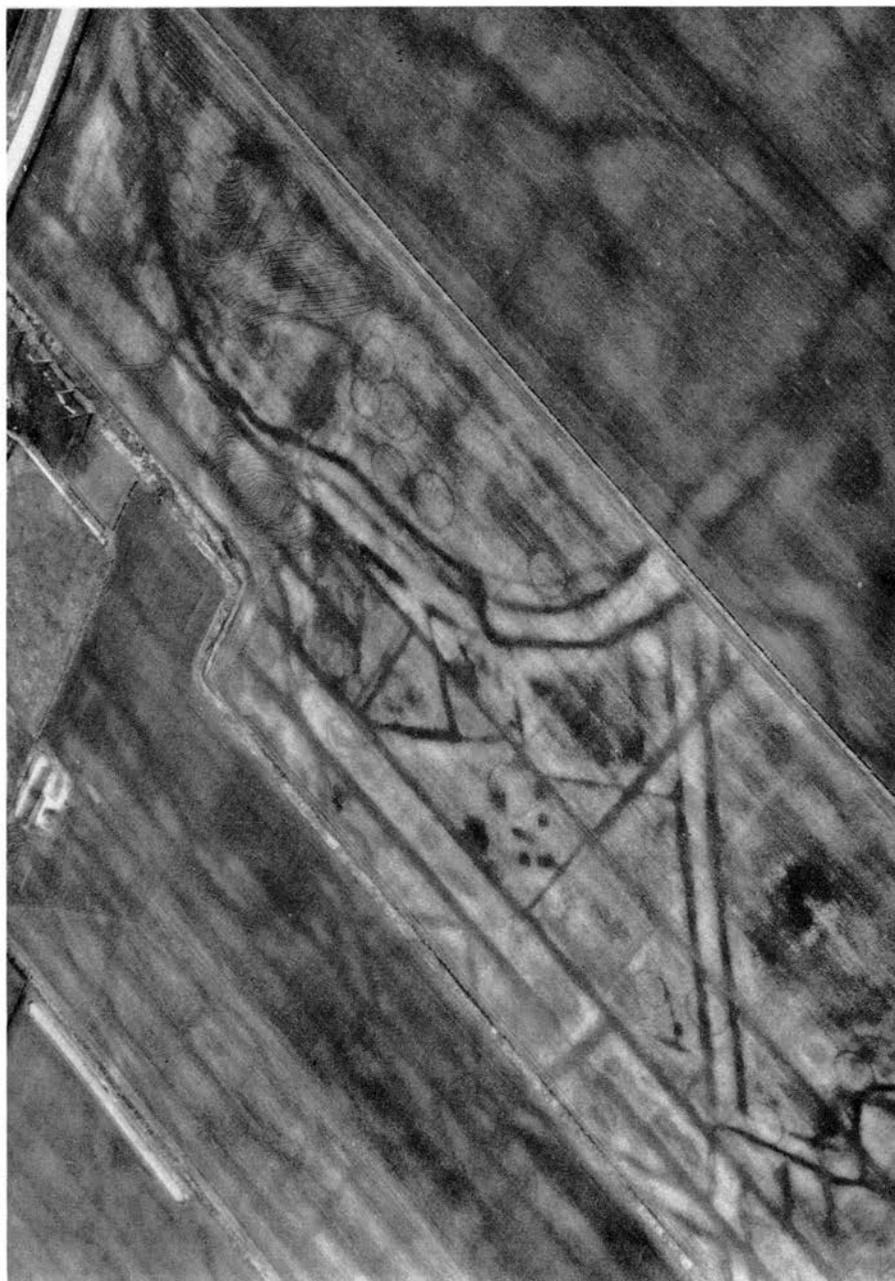


Plate 1 Elm, Waldersea Hall, Romano-British saltern and settlement
with superimposed circles (Site 31), TF 448035
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Plate 2 Elm, Needham Hall. Possible Romano-British site with
cropmarks of small circles. (TF 483044).
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APPENDIX

GROUPS OF CIRCLES IN THE SILT FENS

D.R. Wilson

Under this title D.N. Riley²⁵ drew attention in 1946 to some enigmatic archaeological sites he had observed from the air either as soil-marks or as crop-marks in the Fens. Five of his 24 examples lay in the parish of Elm. The marks showed narrow ditches or trenches 0.3 m wide describing circles of 9-17 m diameter, often occurring together in considerable numbers as groups of 30 or more. Sometimes several of the circles intersected. In addition there were occasionally concentric double circles and straight-sided ovals. The distribution of these sites was similar to that of Roman-British settlement, being mainly on the mineral soils of the 'silt' fen but extending also onto the margin of the peat fen. In the absence of surface finds, at least from the sample of sites examined on the ground, there was no clue to date or function, and Riley concluded that 'the purpose of the circles is unlikely to be settled without excavation' (Riley, 1946).

Air-photographs taken under the auspices of the University of Cambridge Committee for Aerial Photography since 1950 have recorded a further nine sites of the same kind in Elm parish. These sites are considered above (p.0) by D.N. Hall in terms of local topographical detail; here they are set in the wider context provided by the photographic evidence as a whole. Forty sites in all are plotted in Fig. 4, 22 being derived from Riley's list and 19 from the Cambridge Collection, one site being common to both. Two examples of circles occurring singly, which were noted by Riley, have been omitted.

Few of the sites have been seen on more than one occasion, since such fine detail (lines 0.3 m wide) can only be discerned in very favourable circumstances; but there are sufficient examples of repeated observation to confirm that the marks are not ephemeral effects of modern agricultural activity. The clearest photographs show the circles either in bare soil, where the dark filling of the ditches contrasts well with the light-toned fenland 'silt', or in very young growth of cereals, where seedlings over the ditches come up first and make lines of darker growth. These two effects are directly related, since it is the darker ditch-filling which warms up more quickly in the spring and encourages early germination. Crop-marks later in the season result from differences in available soil-moisture; with such slight ditches these differences will always be small and often negligible, producing marks that are usually inconspicuous and short-lived.

Close examination of the photographs shows that a good few of the marks are not truly circular but are slightly flattened on two opposite sides. This feature is not

correlated with the direction of ploughing, nor with the direction of view of the photograph, and may be accepted as being original. It seems to be a subtle expression of the same tendency that produced Riley's 'ovals', in which straight parallel sides were a bolder feature.

The general agreement in distribution between groups of circles (Fig. 4) and

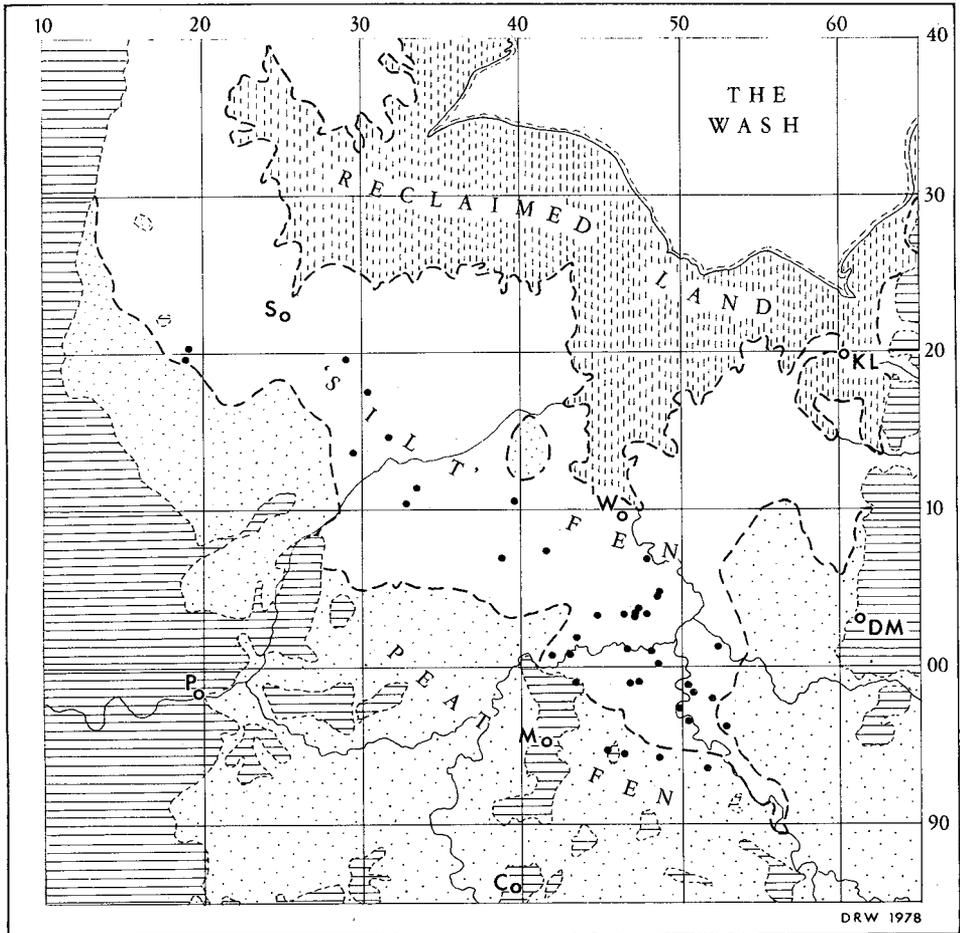


Fig. 4. Distribution of groups of circles in the Fens, recorded by D.N. Riley and by Cambridge University Department of Air Photography. Base map after Phillips (1970), General Distribution Map. Uplands and fen islands are shown by hatching. The principle modern towns are labelled as follows: C = Chatteris; DM = Downham Market; KL = Kings Lynn; M = March- P = Peterborough; S = Spalding; W = Wisbech.
Drawn by D. Wilson.

Romano-British settlement in the Fens (Phillips, 1970) has already been noted²⁶. This may, however, be illusory. In the peat fen, narrow-ditched circles are not likely to be visible from the air except where they are sited on a roddon, and in view of the scarcity of surface finds their presence in other positions will seldom be open to detection. Few groups of circles occur in the context of Romano-British settlement or fields; and when they do, their arrangement appears to take little account of the Roman features. A similar impression is given in relation to ancient watercourses, despite the conspicuous appearance of those circles that do occur on roddons. It may thus be significant that on three sites where the modern field was formerly subdivided into (medieval) strips by parallel drains, the circles fall neatly within the strips and some show flattening on the sides towards the drains. This evidence, although limited and circumstantial, is quite consistent; it strongly suggests that the circles have a post-Roman context, though doing little to explain their function.

At Waldersea Hall, Elm (Pl. 1), where circles respect a system of parallel drains in one part of the field but not the ditches of Romano-British lanes and enclosures, at least two of the circles overlap a Roman ditch. A change of tone in the crop-mark suggests that one such Roman ditch may have been deliberately filled at the time that the circle was created. Here, if anywhere, excavation could clarify the chronology, and perhaps also the function, of these circles.

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CUL Cambridge University Library

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21. Map R56/9/2 (1662) C.R.O., and undated 16th-century map of Coldham in Wisbech Museum.

22. Darby *loc. cit.* p.185.
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24. Bullard D., in *Wisbech Museum Annual Report* (1957) 11.
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AN INVESTIGATION OF ROYSTON CAVE

Sylvia P. Beamon and Lisa G. Donel

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF ROYSTON CAVE

Sylvia P. Beamon

Royston Cave is situated thirteen miles (20 km.) from Cambridge, in the County of Hertfordshire and adjacent to where the two Roman roads, known today as the Icknield Way and Ermine Street, cross in the town. The Cave, which is man-made and hollowed out of Middle outcrop chalk, lies beneath; access to it is through the 'new' passageway cut in 1790 on the East side of Melbourn Street.

Summary

Royston Cave is unique in Europe in design and decoration but shares similarities with some in Israel. There have been many theories put forward as to its origin which the writer has followed up and analysed to the best of her ability. Suggestions have been: Lady Roisia's oratory (Stukeley), hermitage (Parkin), Roman Columbarium and hermitage (Beldam), dene-hole, flint mine, marlpit, refuge, granary pit. Most of the latter types of structure are entered from the top downwards, whereas entry to the cave was by the North entrance; therefore the dome must have been deliberately cut upwards, then tiled. The main consensus of opinion is that the engravings were cut around the thirteenth century, but the actual period in which the Cave itself was constructed is open to speculation.

There is evidence that the Templars were in Royston every week and this market town is only four miles away from Wendy, eight miles from Duxford where they had preceptories, also nine miles from Baldock. They had their respective churches at Baldock, Wendy and Whittlesford (Duxford) but when not on active duty they were obliged to make their devotions regularly throughout the day and this would not have been possible in Royston. A Templar chapel probably became a necessity and from a practical point of view, a warehouse for market goods would have been an asset too. At sometime the Royston Cave was two storeyed. (See Excavation Report).

From the shape of the Cave with octagonal step, tiling in the dome, a frieze above the carvings, which are Medieval in style and include St. Katherine, St. Laurence and St. Christopher, all revered by the crusaders, the altar on the West, and cult symbols showing similarities with the Chinon graffiti, the writer puts forward the hypothesis that this was a deliberate copy of the Holy Sepulchre. There have been other examples,

for instance in Spain at the church of La Vera Cruz, Segovia, where within the central row of pillars is a model of the Sepulchre, a two storeyed building with steps going up to it, as also in the church of San Stefano at Bologna.¹

The writer feels that further investigation is needed both historically and scientifically, to give a better understanding of Royston Cave.

History

The Cave was discovered by accident in August, 1742, when a bench was being erected in the Mercat House for the women who sold their wares in the cheese and butter market held there. Those digging a hole for a necessary post, struck through the eye or central hole of a millstone, laid underground, and found a cavity which, as a plumb line showed, was approximately 16 ft. (4.80 m.) deep. They took up the millstone, and saw a well-like descent of about 2 ft. (0.60 m.) diameter with holes cut in the chalk, at equal distances and opposite to each other like the steps of a ladder for descent. This shaft (to be called the North shaft), we are informed, was quite circular and perpendicular. A boy was first let down into it, and afterwards a thin man, with a lighted candle, who ascertained that it passed through an opening about 4 ft. (1.20 m.) in height into another cavity which was filled with loose earth but not touching the wall.

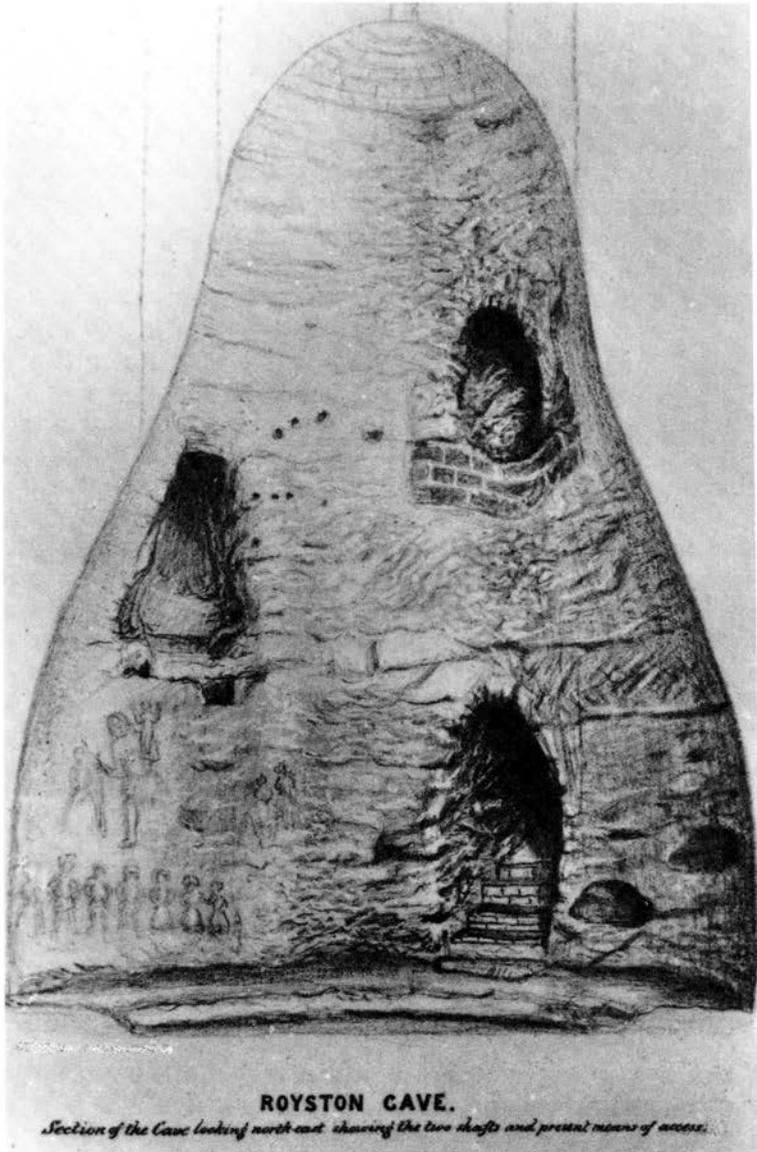
The descent was enlarged and 200 loads of earth and rubbish were removed by buckets and a well-kirb. It was then seen to be a bell or mitral-shaped chamber hewn out of natural chalk.² (Pl 1).

The only finds from the Cave reported by the Rev. G. North were a human skull, a few decayed bones, fragments of a small drinking cup of "common brown earth, marked with yellow spots", and a piece of brass without any figure or inscription on it. Shortly afterwards a small seal marked with a single fleur-de-lis came into the possession of Stukeley, one of the first visitors and writers on the Cave. He describes it as "made of white earthlike chalk or pipe-makers clay, baked."³

In different parts of the Cave, both above and below a cornice, deep cavities or recesses of various forms and sizes, some of them oblong and others oven-shaped, are irregularly cut into the wall.

The Rev. G. North, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, who made his observations before the cave was emptied, and therefore from a higher level, noticed that a portion of the dome had been either repaired or strengthened with free-stone and tiles, placed edgeways; and that almost opposite the shaft through which he entered, there appeared the top of an arch, which the workmen imagined might lead to the ancient way into it, but concluded from the narrowness of this shaft (Eastern) that it was designed only for a vent or air-hole. He also remarked, that the top or crown-work of the dome was curiously composed of tile work, and within a foot of the street above⁴.

The height of the Cave from the floor to the top of the dome, is about 25½ ft. (7.75 m.), the length of the aperture leading up to the surface about 2 ft. (0.60 m.) making, together with the thickness of the crown-work, which is now pierced to the pavement



ROYSTON CAVE.

Section of the Cave looking north-east, showing the two shafts and present means of access.

Pl. I Section through the Cave looking north-east, showing the two shafts and the present means of access.

Photograph by Robert H. Clark, circa 1900.

above and covered by a grid, approximately 29 ft. (8.83 m.). The bottom is not quite circular; the diameter from North to South is about 17 ft. (5.18 m.) and from East to West about 17ft. 6 ins. (5.33 m.), the difference being caused by the groove of the Eastern shaft, which has not been accurately worked into the circle.

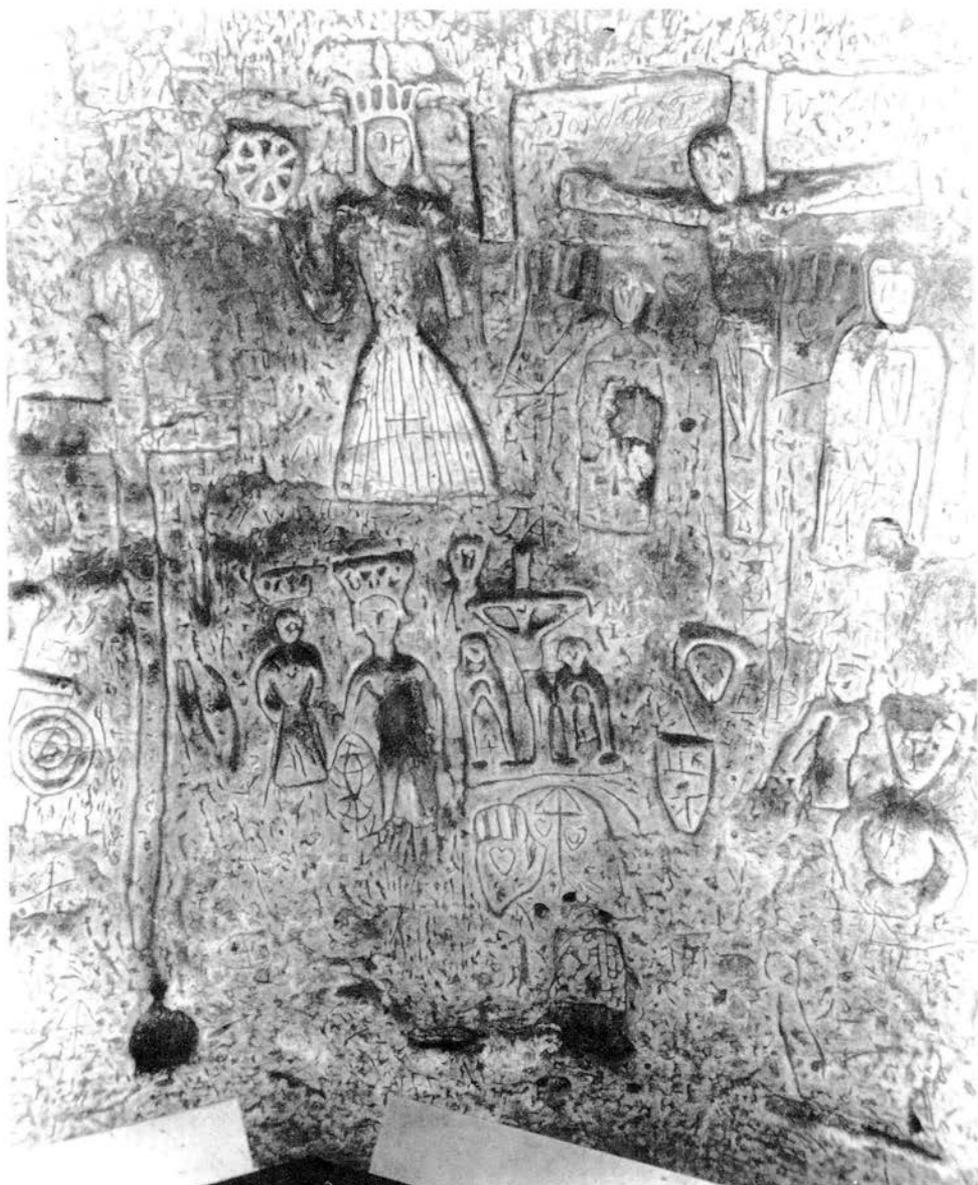
An octagonal broad step or podium surrounds the floor and is approximately 8 ins. (20 cm.) in height by 3 ft. (0.90 m.) in width, except over the area which Stukeley called the 'grave'. The writer believes this depression, claimed to have been originally about 7 ft. 6 ins. (2.40 m.) long by 3 ft. (0.90 m.) wide and 2 ft. 3 ins. (0.68 m.) deep, was used as a sump for water because under ultra-violet light it is evidenced that water seeps naturally down this wall and the surface is worn. This suggestion is considered to be a likely explanation and verified in the Geological Report from the Department of Geology, Cambridge. Immediately above the 'grave' at the height of about 17 ft. (5.18 m.) appears the masonry supposed by Stukeley and North to have concealed the original entrance. Three lower courses only of this masonry now remain, formed of blocks of chalk neatly chiselled, and coloured red, giving them the appearance of brickwork. The shaft had been partially filled with earth, which on examination was found to be mixed with small fragments of the bones of animals and a few pieces of medieval pottery, but no human bones⁵.

Approximately 8 ft. (2.40 m.) from the floor the cornice or frieze runs round the walls, cut in a reticulated pattern, approaching 2 ft. (0.60 m.) in breadth, and receding as it rises about 6 ins. (15 cm.) making the diameter of the lower part of the dome, which extends from it, about 18 ft. (5.50 m.). The cornice is not, however, continued over the 'grave', but descends with a curve on one side, leaving the space above it unornamented and in its original condition.

Almost the whole circle between the podium and the cornice has been sculptured in low relief, illustrating St. Christopher, St. Katherine, St. Laurence and Crucifixion scenes, together with unusual signs and symbols (Pl. 2). Many of the sculptures, if not all, have been coloured. Traces of red, blue and yellow were still visible in various places in 1852, and the relief of the figures had been assisted by a darker pigment, as mentioned by Joseph Beldam in his book *The Royston Cave*. In 1974 Dr. H. K. Cameron of Cambridge University took scrapings of the supposed painted areas, but information has proved inconclusive except to show that trace elements present could be contained in pigmentation; after subsequent reference to Mr. Ashok Roy of the Scientific Department of the National Gallery, this possibility has been confirmed.

Above the cornice appear faces, crude heraldic devices and indecipherable graffiti incised into the chalk, but none in relief.

Mainly because the walls of the Cave were found to be covered with carvings, interest was particularly aroused and it became the subject of published works by three antiquaries. Between 1743 — 46 Dr. William Stukeley wrote two books. He formed the opinion that the Cave was an oratory which was engraved in person by Lady Roisia De Vere, wife of Geoffrey de Mandeville, first Earl of Essex, depicting her family history⁶. The Rev. Charles Parkin wrote two books in answer to Stukeley's and concluded it was a hermit's cell and oratory; because there was a Cross at Royston, he also maintained



Pl. 2 Royston Cave, showing the branched cross or altar, with small alveolus beneath for a light to illuminate the area; St. Katharine with the wheel; the Crucifixion scenes; cult symbols, etc.

Photograph by courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art.

that a hundred court had been held there since King Alfred the Great⁷. There is no evidence of the latter theory and Royston is presumed to be post 1086, as it is not mentioned in Domesday Book.

Joseph Beldam was the third writer; his conclusions were:-

- 1) The Cave was first formed by means of shafts, either of British or Romano-British construction and at a period anterior to Christianity.
- 2) At a somewhat later period it was used as a Roman sepulchre.
- 3) It received the greater part of its present decoration at about the crusading period and was then, if not before, converted into a Christian oratory to which a hermitage was probably attached.
- 4) It remained open until the Reformation when it was finally filled up, closed and forgotten.⁸

The present writer has put forward the suggestion that the Cave has at sometime had a connection with the Knights Templar. The Templars were both a military and a religious order, set up in 1118 to protect pilgrims going to the Holy Land. They fought in the Crusading wars and became very powerful both politically and socially. Eventually heretical charges were brought against them in Europe, including this country, after which most of their land passed to the Knights Hospitaller at the instigation of the Church. In 1312 the Order was dissolved throughout Christendom.

Amongst the reasons which have led the writer to this conclusion is the fact that some of the patterns cut into the walls (the axehead, hands, hearts, circular designs) also appear on certain walls of the Tour du Coudray in the Castle of Chinon, France,⁹ known to have been used as a prison when many Templars were confined there prior to their execution, in the early years of the 14th century.

The Templars were strongly established in the neighbourhood of Royston and had many connections with leading local families; so it was clearly possible for them to have been concerned with the Cave. There were Templar houses at Baldock and Cambridge, with preceptories at Hitchin, Duxford and Shingay-cum-Wendy; all these places are only a few miles away from Royston and are close to the old N.-S. and E.-W. roads which cross in the town.

We have evidence that the Templars were regularly in Royston to attend the market, and were firmly entrenched in the district during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We find the Prior of Royston had been involved in disputes with the Abbot of Westminster and the Master of the Knights Templar, who claimed exemption from toll in all English Markets. The dispute with the Templars, who it is noted owned property in Royston attached to Shingay preceptory, began in 1199 and was still continuing in 1200. It recurred in 1247-48. These pleas concerned 'liberties', probably the exemption from toll claimed by both parties.¹⁰

In 1254 the Master of the Templars sued the prior of Royston for imprisoning and beating certain of his men who had come to the market on the Templars' business; markets and fairs were frequently disturbed during the 13th and 14th centuries.¹¹ We also have the following reference:

"September, 1234: Prohibition of a tournament to be held at Royston on Thursday before Michaelmas next in the form whereby the tournaments of Northampton and Cambridge were prohibited before.

Mandate to the Prior of Royston to go with Jn. the Templar to the said place and prohibit the tournament and show these letters."¹²

From another source we know Peter de Roucestria, who inherited Newsells, the local Manor house, became a Templar shortly before his death in 1255 and donated 100 acres of land at Rivenhall to the Templars. The properties of Newsells and Rivenhall in Essex were conjoined.¹³

Resistivity Survey

As there had never been a scientific study made of the Cave, on June 24th, 1972, with permission of Royston U.D.C., a Resistivity Test was carried out by Mr. H. A. Allerton and Mr. D. I. Sewart, from the Department of Geodesy and Geophysics in Cambridge.

The purpose of the Resistivity Survey was to indicate by remote sensing techniques whether or not there were any inhomogeneities within the floor of the Cave. The results of this survey showed anomalous resistivity areas, some of which were directly related to known features, e.g. the octagonal step and the 'grave' near the 'new' entrance. The remaining anomalous zones could not be explained by surface features, and were therefore of considerable interest. These were marked as high priority areas on the survey map.

On May 30th 1973, again with permission from the U.D.C. and the Department of Environment, as it is a Scheduled Ancient Monument, a small test was carried out on the floor of the Cave by Dr. C. Forbes from the Cambridge Department of Geology and an archaeologist, Miss S. Ames. Two areas of moderately high resistivity were investigated by striking with a small mattock. In each case, solid undisturbed white chalk was found an inch or two below the floor. Excavation was minimal owing to the chance of there being depressions containing archaeological material demanding deliberate excavation. However, the sizes of the 'lows' and their relationship to the proved solid chalk indicated that such depressions would not be more than a foot or two deep. It was thought that perhaps some resistivity features were not indications of depressions, but only of local fissures emphasised by, for instance, salt derived from seepage of road run-off. A small excavation at the foot of the peripheral step, directly opposite the usual entrance to the Cave, demonstrated that the solid chalk of the step is continuous with solid chalk close below floor surface.

Permission was, therefore obtained from the Department of the Environment and the Urban District Council for a partial archaeological investigation of the Cave Floor.

EXCAVATION REPORT - Lisa G. Donel

Excavation was undertaken at Royston Cave for five days at the end of March 1976. It was hoped that various questions might be answered archaeologically. These were:

- 1) whether any features existed below the layer of compacted dirt or whether the floor was undisturbed
- 2) whether any dating material existed
- 3) to determine the nature of the podium/step around the main part of the cave floor.

Several anomalies had been identified by a resistivity study, and so it was determined to excavate two diagonally opposed quadrants of the area in order to identify as many features as possible and to accommodate a very cramped excavation. Due to restrictions we were unable to examine the podium area.

The area to be excavated, the cave floor, was covered by a layer of compacted dirt and rubbish that had formed over time, by being washed in through the modern entrance and a street grid approximately 29 ft. above. This was removed and a layer of decayed chalk rubble and dust was exposed.

A large feature (P1.3a.) was exposed in Quadrant 1. This had been filled initially by a fine silt followed by chalk rubble. The feature itself extended into the two unexcavated quadrants but did not appear to extend into Quadrant 3. Its depth increased at the centre of the Cave (O), becoming quite shallow near the outer edge, at the juncture of the podium and floor (A,A'). 18th-century pottery was found near the surface in the chalk rubble fill. (Fig 1).

Because there are no records of the modern excavation of the 'grave' at the time of its being cleaned out in 1966, it is hard to discuss it with any real meaning. However, if it was really a sump then one must view the 'grave' as a successful cutting after the initial sump (F4) proved unsatisfactory. It has been noticed at times of flooding in the cave that the 'grave' acts as a highly successful container and method of drainage, whereas Feature 4 and the central area tend to retain water. This was further emphasized after the excavation when a return trip to the Cave showed the feature to be entirely incapable of draining, whereas the 'grave' was working quite well. The placement of Feature 4 is also questionable when one views it in association with the possible structure that may have stood in the cave. This, however, will be discussed later.

Three features were identified in Quadrant 3 (P1.3b). These were under a layer of chalk and chalk rubble but did not have the same fill as F4. In contrast, all three were filled with a reddish/brown soil, the largest feature also containing small chalk pieces. The smallest (F1) was a shallow bowl-shaped depression, showing a smoothing, apparently deliberate, that was echoed in the larger feature (F3). Feature 2, a hole of small diameter but some depth, included a cylindrical discolouration that was later identified as decayed wood. The third feature was a large deep hole, cut with precision into the chalk, showing a smoothed, flat bottom. Associated with the smoothed hole was a slightly deeper cutting that cut into the first but showed no flattening of the bottom, rather a very rough surface. This feature was filled with a layer of chalk rubble.

Pl. 3 Royston Cave: excavation, 1976.



a. Quadrant 1 showing 'sump' (F4).
Photograph, L. Donel



b. Quadrant 3 showing Features 1, 2 and 3.
Photograph R. Tibbs

It is possible that this second rougher feature was used as a hole for packing-support for F.3.

The discovery of two cardinal point tiles was also made, 'N' in Quadrant 3 and 'S' in Quadrant 1. These were shown by compass to be slightly inaccurate. There is no record of the placement of these tiles. A third tile 'W' was found to have been uncovered, unknown to the excavators, several weeks after the completion of the excavation and subsequent backfilling.

Finds ranged from modern nails and silver paper washed in by the periodic flooding of the cave, to clay pipe, pieces of brick and tile, and some small sherds of pottery. The physical size of the material as well as the small size of the sample have not been of great aid to the investigator. However, the pottery has been dated to the 18th century. As the material tended to lie below the modern compacted dirt and rubbish but did not appear in the lowest levels of the excavation, the material apparently found its way into the cave when it was discovered in the 18th century.

There was no dating material found to give a date for the initial use of the Cave. However, as the 18th-century material was found above the fill of the features in Quadrant 3 and in the upper layer of the fill in F4, the possibility that those features had already been filled and covered before the opening of the Cave in the 18th century must be considered. There was no evidence that the features in Quadrant 3 had been disturbed since they were originally filled in, whether on purpose or through natural causes. Possibly the only 'treasure hunting' done in the 18th and 19th centuries took place at the 'grave' area.

The evidence of the Features found in Quadrant 3 and the anomaly identified through resistivity and sounding tests in Quadrant 4, seem to suggest the existence in the past of some structure. On examination of the walls, one is struck by the level of the original shafts which terminate some 17 ft. above the Cave floor. Associated with this terminal point and running at the same level are a series of niches. The larger of these niches have been suggested as storage areas. The smaller appear to have been some sort of support for a floor. If the original users of the cave had been constantly using ladders both for getting down from the shafts as well as moving them around for use of the 'storage' niches then the writer feels that the chalk walls with their sculpture would have shown more damage. It seems much more appropriate that a structure existed to act as a halfway platform between the end of the shafts and the Cave below. Because of lighting difficulties, the writer would like to suggest that the structure was not a complete flooring over the cave space but possibly a walkway that ran only part of the way round the Cave. The presence of features in Quadrants 3 and 4 and the placing of the sump and the 'grave' well to either side of any supporting posts, and the apparent lack of any large features in Quadrant 2 tend to lend support to the idea of a partial structure or semi-circular walkway in the Cave. However, until the whole Cave floor is examined in conjunction with an investigation of the Cave walls, this can only remain as interesting conjecture.

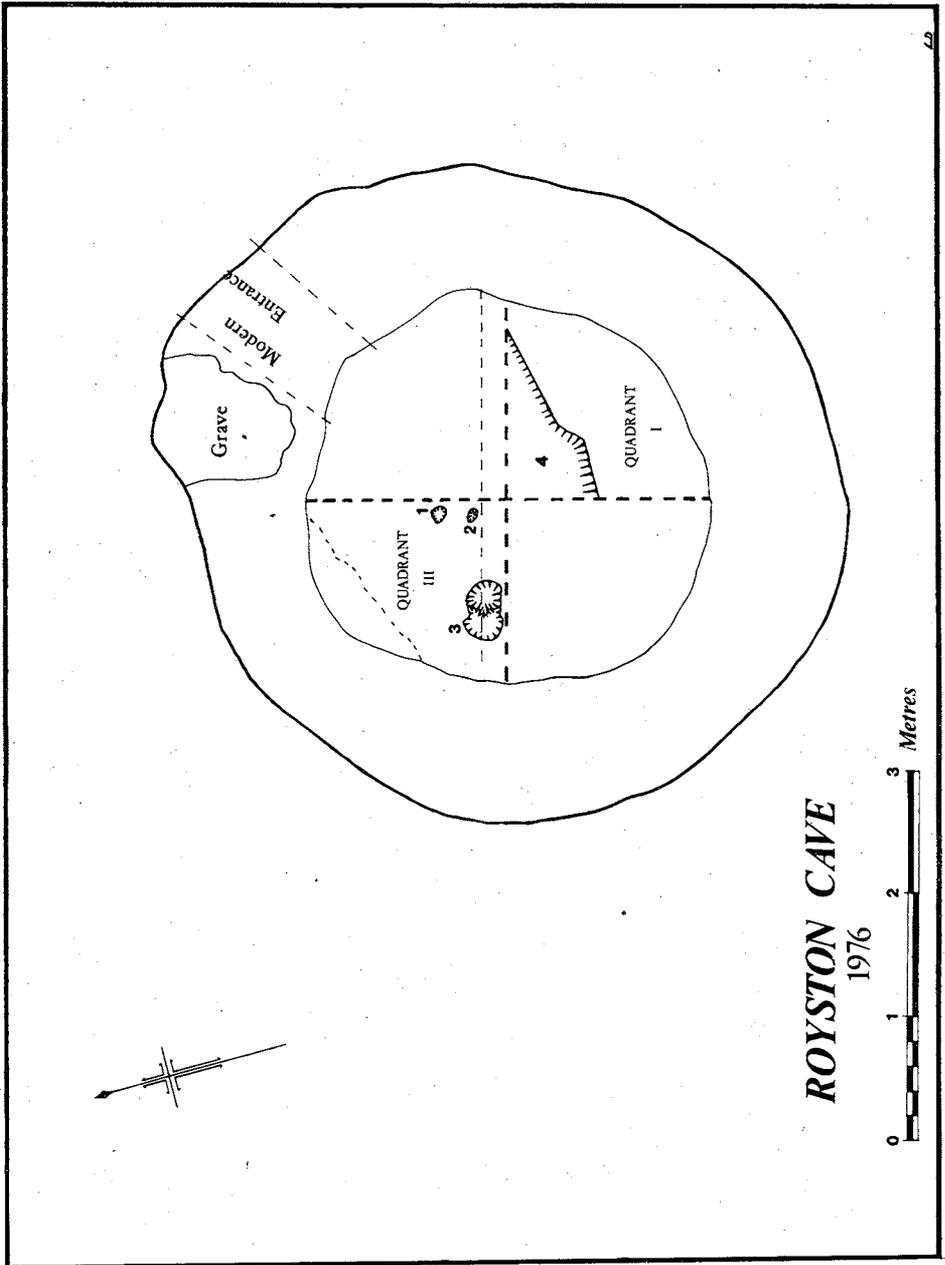


Fig. 1 Plan of the floor of Royston Cave.

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CAMBRIDGESHIRE EARTHWORK SURVEYS III

A.E. Brown and C.C. Taylor

This paper is a continuation of the two previous ones, whereby plans of extant earthworks in the county are published with brief descriptions. All but three of the plans in the present paper have been produced by students attending courses organized by Leicester University Adult Education Department. The moats at Duxford were surveyed by pupils of Duxford Church of England Primary School, under the direction of one of the authors and with the help and co-operation of Mr. P.K. Chivers, Headmaster, and Miss F. Dale, organizer of the school archaeological club. The site at Landbeach was surveyed by students attending a course run by London University Extra-Mural Department.

DESERTED VILLAGE OF COPPINGFORD (TL 165801) (Fig. 1) lies in the parish of Upton, 3 km. south of Sawtry. It is situated on the top of a broad flat clay ridge at about 50 m. above OD. The village is first mentioned in Domesday Book where it is recorded as being held by Earl Hugh with sixteen villeins and two borders. A church and a priest are also listed there¹.

The next indication of its size is in 1327 when 28 people paid the Lay Subsidy². In 1523, 18 people from Coppingford paid the Lay Subsidy³. In the 1674 Hearth Tax Returns, Coppingford is included with the neighbouring village of Upton. These show that 16 people living in one or other of the villages paid the tax⁴ but by then Coppingford was, presumably, deserted.

By 1716, (map of Coppingford, Boughton House, Northants., copy in Hunts. R.O.) there were only three dwellings in the village. Two of these lay on the east side of the present road, at the S.E. end of the original village, and their sites are occupied today by a cottage and its outbuildings.

The third building, later called Top Farm, lay a little to the N.W. The same situation existed in the early 19th century⁵ except that the farm buildings, which still stand to the S.E. of Top Farm, had been erected. By the late 19th century⁶ only the farm and one of the cottages to the S.E. of it remained, though a terrace of three cottages had been built a little to the south. Since then the farm-house itself has been demolished but three other houses have been added along the road north to Sawtry. Before its demolition Top Farm was recorded by the Royal Commission⁷. It was described as a timber-framed and plastered structure built in the first half of the 17th century. Fragments of moulded stone and part of an early 17th-century door-head noted by the Commission still remain in the paddock to the N.E.

The most prominent feature of the surviving earthworks is a somewhat battered but unusually wide hollow-way which extends across the site from N.W.-S.E. ('a'-'b' on

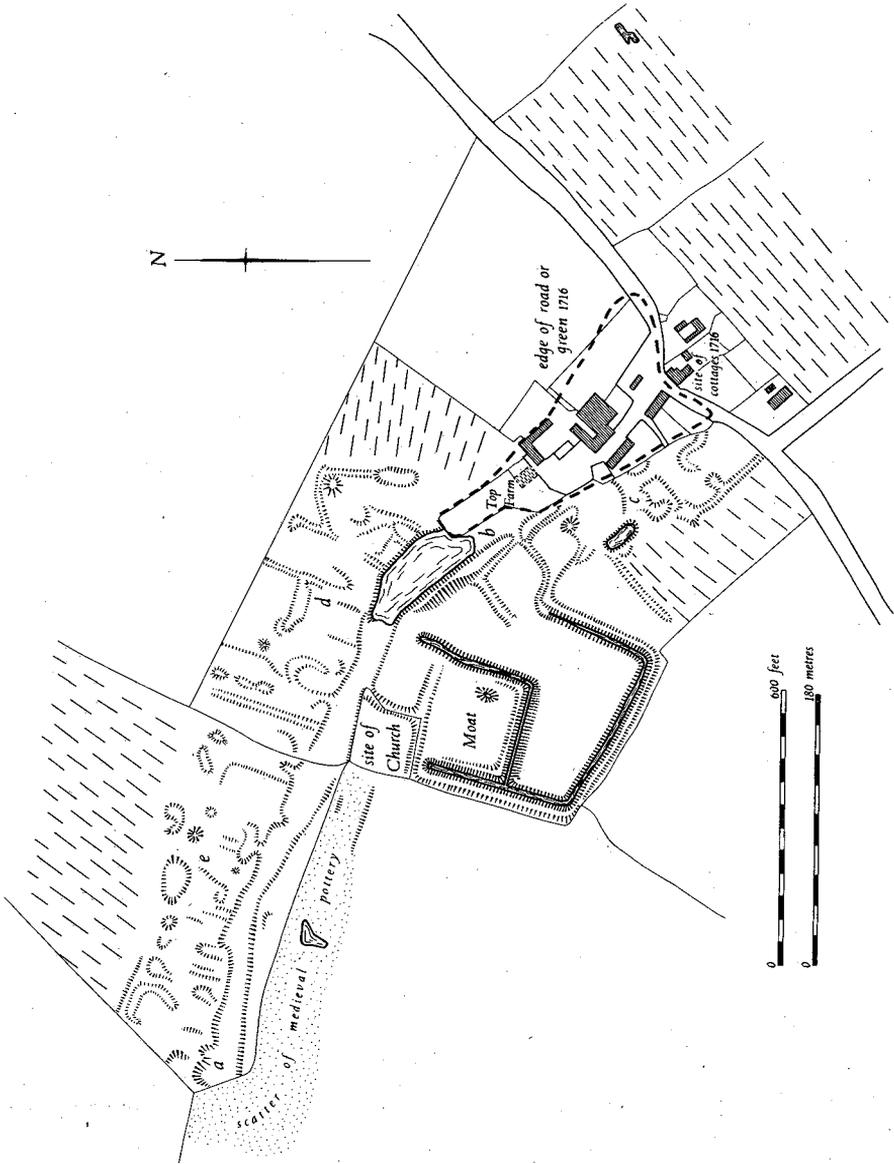


Fig. 1. Coppingford, deserted medieval village.

Fig. 1). At its S. E. end it is now occupied by a large pond and beyond to the S. E. no trace of it survives as the area is covered by modern farm buildings. However, on the 1716 map not only is the S. E. part of the hollow-way marked as a track but its continuation is shown curving further S. E. and opening out to form a wide triangular 'green' at the S. E. end of which were the two cottages. Top Farm already stood at the N. W. end of this green in 1716 and thus partly blocked the road into it from the N. W. The present road already ran along the S. E. side of the green in 1716. This hollow-way and green were the main street of the medieval village alongside which houses presumably once stood. The very fragmentary remains of these buildings still survive in three places. S. E. of the existing farm buildings ('c' on Fig. 1) are a few mutilated low scarps and banks with, beyond a shallow ditch which presumably marked the limits of the village here, the N. E. ends of a block of ridge-and-furrow. These remains, which lay in Harrison's Close in 1716, are apparently the sites of former houses and closes lining the S. W. side of the green.

Further north ('d' on Fig. 1) and on the north side of the hollow-way is another area of very disturbed earthworks which may also be the sites of houses and closes. To the west ('e' on Fig. 1) also north of the hollow-way, are other fragmentary earthworks of a similar character, with ridge-and-furrow beyond. This area was called Town Close in 1716. The land on the south side of the hollow-way at the west end of the site is now under permanent arable. Here for the whole length of the hollow-way and beyond is a wide area covered with considerable quantities of medieval pottery. Most of it is of 13th and 14th-century date, and though there is nothing that is definitely earlier than the late 12th century, there are small amounts of late medieval and post-medieval pottery.

In the centre of the site, and now the best-preserved part of it, is a double-moated enclosure. This has been much altered in antiquity, but it appears to have once consisted of a small rectangular enclosure bounded by a continuous wet ditch, with an outer L-shaped enclosure on its south and east sides, also bounded by a wet ditch on the south, west and parts of the east sides. There is no trace of any ditch on the north side of this outer enclosure, its boundary here being the edge of the main hollow-way. The general appearance of this moated site and the existence of a sharply defined outer bank along the west, south and east sides of the outer enclosure give the impression that it is not only considerably changed since its original medieval use, but that some of these changes might be connected with an attempt to turn the site into some form of post-medieval garden, perhaps of late 16th or 17th-century date. However this cannot be proved. In the N. W. corner of the moated site is a small rectangular area bounded by a shallow ditch on the east and south and by the hollow-way on the north. This is traditionally the site of the parish church of Coppingford. This church, dedicated to All Hallows, was certainly destroyed before 1707⁸.

The most interesting and unusual aspect of the remains of Coppingford is the hollow-way which is extraordinarily wide for a relatively small and insignificant village. A possible explanation for this is that it was once not merely a village street, but part of one of the main roads between London and the North. This is not the place for a full discussion of the medieval road pattern of the area but, briefly, there is evidence to

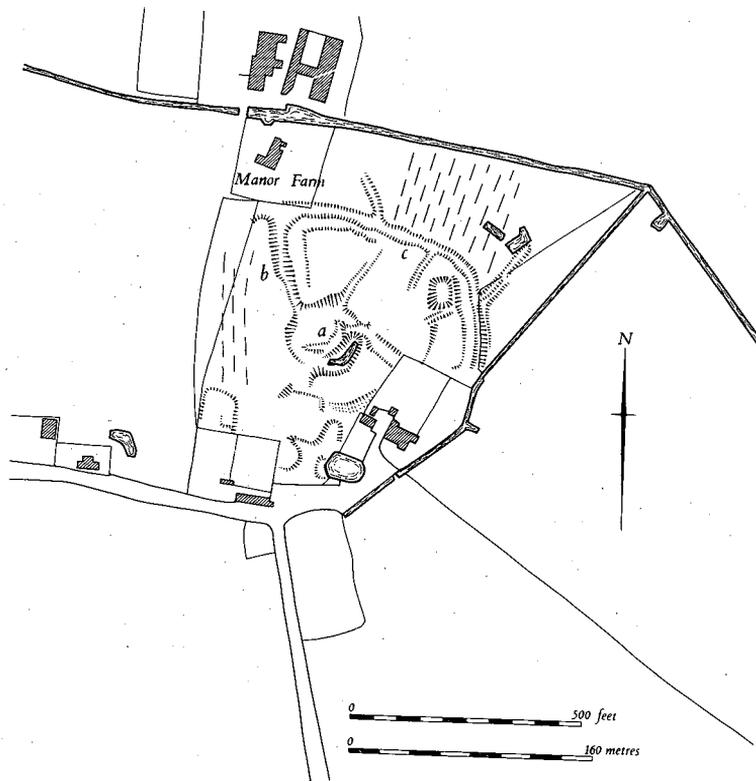


Fig. 2. Woodwalton Castle.

suggest that in the 14th century at least, as well as the present A1 route 1.5 km. to the east, an alternative route left the Great North Road at Alconbury Hill, passed through Upton and Coppingford and ran on N. W. along what are now minor lanes, driftways and footpaths to Ongutein Manor in Washingley parish and so to the crossing of the R. Nene at Wansford. If this is so, then the wide hollow-way at Coppingford can be seen to be the result of its use as a major trunk route of medieval times.

WOODWALTON CASTLE (TL 211827) (Fig. 2) lies almost 2 km. N. of Woodwalton village and 600 m. north of the isolated parish church, on clay at 7 m. above OD. It is situated on the northern tip of a promontory which projects north into Woodwalton Fen. The site though tactically strong appears to have no strategic importance. However this view may be unjustified, for Monks Lodge, an artificial fenland canal dug or recut soon after 1147 by the first monks of Sawtry but possibly Roman in origin, terminates a little to the west of the castle⁹. Though this lode was certainly used by Sawtry Abbey 1.5 km. to the west, it could have also been of use to the inhabitants of Woodwalton and the surrounding villages. Thus the castle's position protecting the fen edge of the lode may be significant.

Nothing is known of the history of the castle but it was presumably built in the late 11th or 12th century. It may have been erected by the de Bolebec family who held the manor of Woodwalton between 1086 and 1134, or by the Abbey of Ramsey which was granted Woodwalton by Walter de Bolebec in 1134. In the latter case it could have been built by the abbey during the Civil War of 1143-4 when a series of castles were constructed in the county, or by the sons of Aubrey de Sellea, who seized the manor from the abbey at the same period, though the abbey later recovered it¹⁰.

The first accurate survey of the site was made by the Ordnance Survey in the late 19th century and the resulting plan was published on successive editions of the 1:2500 county series. However, the Ordnance Survey depicted the low rounded natural hill, on which the main motte stands, with close-set hachures, giving the impression that the whole hill was the motte. This unfortunate cartographic convention was repeated by the Royal Commission¹¹, although the Commission recognized that the hill was indeed natural. One result of this was that the details of banks and ditches on the slopes of the hill were not drawn in detail by either the OS or the Commission. The present survey has omitted the hachures on the hill in order to give a better impression of the earthworks.

The main feature of the site is the motte itself, but this has been so badly damaged and altered that only a fragment remains. It appears to have once consisted of either a conical mound or a ring work on the hilltop, surrounded by a deep wide ditch. Now only the S. E. part of the motte survives ('a' on Fig. 2) as an irregular curved bank 1.5 m. high. Below it to the S. E. is one fragment of the original ditch which is 2 m. deep, but which has probably been made deeper than it once was by later quarrying. To the west and north a low curving scarp only 0.5 m. high is probably the outer side of the motte ditch there. From the N. W. corner of the motte a broad shallow ditch, now partly filled in, ('b' on Fig. 2) extends down the hill. At its north end it joins a well-marked ditch 0.5 m. deep which runs around the base of the hill on the north, N. E.,

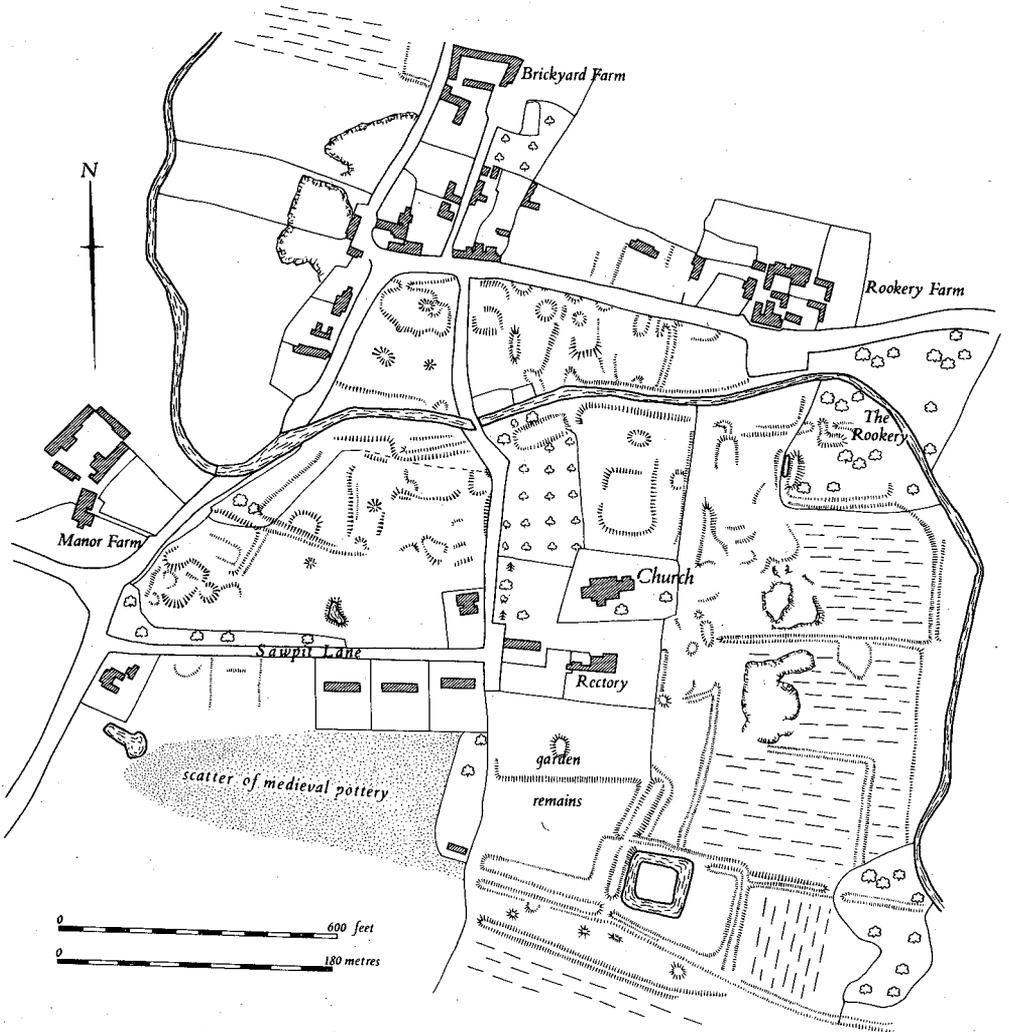


Fig. 3. Hamerton: settlement remains.

east and S. E. sides ('c' on Fig. 2). This ditch has been much altered by later drains, and it is no longer possible to trace it around the south and west sides of the hill, if indeed it ever existed there. It may be all that remains of the boundary of an outer enclosure or bailey, though it is possible that it is a later feature unconnected with the motte. Between the motte and the ditch on the north are a number of small shallow ditches, low scarps and a rectangular pond 0.5 m. deep. No purpose or date can be assigned to these. There are further indeterminate earthworks south of the motte and a rectangular platform 0.25 m. high to the S. W. The latter is probably only part of an abandoned garden of a house which once stood to the south. Slight traces of ridge-and-furrow lie to the north of the site, and on the west side of the hill below the motte.

SETTLEMENT REMAINS, HAMERTON (centred T L 135796) (Fig. 3), formerly part of the village, lie in and around Hamerton, in the valley of the Alconbury Brook on clay between 20 m. and 35 m. above OD. The first indication of the size of Hamerton is in 1086, when Domesday Book lists it as a fifteen-hide manor with a recorded population of twenty-eight¹². In 1327, 27 people paid the Lay Subsidy Tax², but thereafter there is no record of the size of the village until the late 17th century. Then in 1674, 26 people are listed in the Hearth Tax Returns for Hamerton⁴.

The earthworks in and around the village are extensive, but form little coherent pattern. In the centre of Hamerton, along both sides of the Alconbury Brook, is a continuous spread of low banks, scarps and ditches, none of which have any clear overall form though the remains of one or two former closes can be identified. It is possible that all these earthworks are the sites of former houses and gardens which once lined the brook and that subsequently the village moved both north and south on to the higher ground. If this is so, then there are parallels for this type of movement in the area. At Luddington, to the N. W., in Northants., the process is documented as occurring in the 19th century¹³. However if this happened at Hamerton it certainly took place many centuries ago. One argument against this idea, is the extensive spread of medieval pottery, mainly of the 13th and 14th centuries which, together with much stone rubble, was discovered during the survey in the arable land south of Sawpit Lane, on the S. W. side of the village. This indicates a dense occupation here in the medieval period. The material recovered from Hamerton adds to the evidence from elsewhere in indicating the complexities of change and movement in medieval villages which, at the moment, we know little about.

GARDEN REMAINS, HAMERTON (TL 137795) (Fig. 4) lie immediately S. of the church and rectory on a gentle southern slope, on clay at 30 m. above OD. The remains, though previously described as a moated site, are those of an abandoned garden, probably of late 16th or 17th-century date, though no details of its history are known. It was presumably laid out behind the old manor house which stood on the site of the present rectory, perhaps by the Bedell family who held the manor of Hamerton between 1565 and 1643. In the latter year the manor was divided between the two daughters of the last of the Bedells. One of these daughters sold her interest to her sister Elizabeth who had married Sir Francis Compton. He sold the manor house in

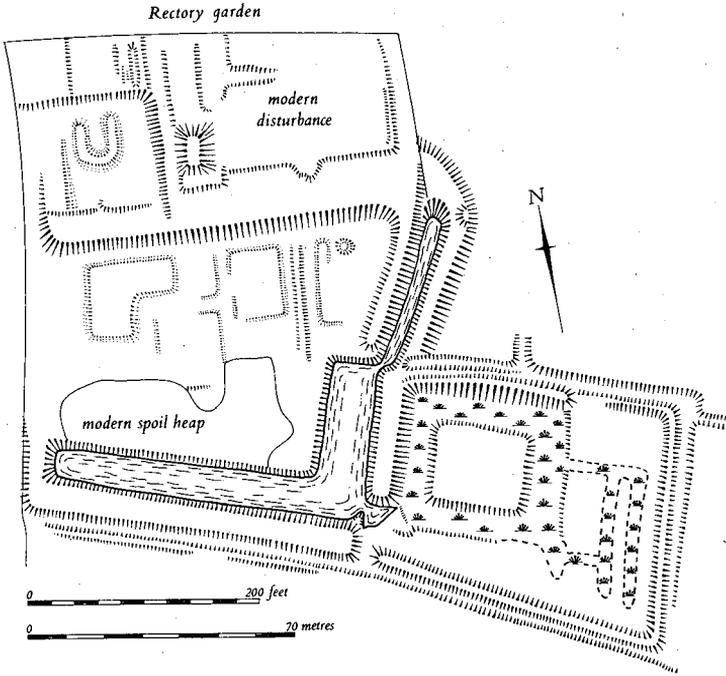


Fig. 4. Hamerton: garden remains.

1669 and the rest of the estate in 1683. The particulars for the sale of the house give some details of the garden as they then existed: 'one large mansion house ..., one faire court before it, and several yardes behind it, and ponds of water, with a great garden and other lesser gardens and faire orchards well planted with good fruit, consisting of about ten acres'¹⁴. There is no doubt that this description refers to the existing earthworks.

The earliest plan of the area is a map of 1838 (in the Huntingdon Record Office) which is probably a copy of the now lost Enclosure Map. This shows a large farm and outbuildings on the site of the rectory, with the field to the south, which now contains the large mound, called Mount Close. The S. E. part of the site lay in a very large field then known as Ram Close. The earthworks can be divided into two distinct parts, each of which presumably represents a separate section of the original gardens. Immediately south of the rectory is a broad rectangular area bounded on the south by a straight scarp 0.5 m. high. This area is much disturbed by later activity but the slight outlines of what may be the edge of walks or flowerbeds survive, especially at the west end, in the form of low scarps nowhere more than a few centimetres high. In the centre is a large rectangular mound almost 2 m. high which appears to be composed of brick and stone rubble. The bricks are of 17th-century type.

Below the scarp is another flat area. The southern part has been covered with spoil removed from the pond to the south, but on the remaining open section is again a series of rectangular features edged by scarps less than 10 cm. high. These also may be the remains of flowerbeds and walks. To the south again, bounding this section of garden, is a long rectangular pond or canal, with a wide flat-topped terrace walk on its south side. The pond extends north at its east end to bound part of the east side of the garden and terminates abruptly. From its N. E. corner a narrow ditch with a low bank on each side runs N. E.

The second section of the garden lies to the S. E. of the above. It consists of a trapezoidal area bounded by a low bank and external ditch. The west part is occupied by a low, flat, square island only 0.25 m. high surrounded by a wide shallow ditch, now marshy but presumably once filled with water. From the east and S. E. sides of this ditch run a series of other marshy depressions of generally rectangular form. This whole area is perhaps some form of elaborate water garden.

Though obviously only part of the original 17th-century garden, the extant remains are a good example of the traditional garden of this time with its rectangular compartments and geometrically laid-out paths and flowerbeds, as well as still-water canals, ponds, raised terraces and a mount. It is another interesting addition to the growing numbers of sites of this type which have been recorded in recent years.

MOATED SITE, ARCHER'S WOOD, SAWTRY (TL 175183) (Fig. 5). This site lies within and north of Archer's Wood, towards the southern end of Sawtry parish, on level clayland at 30 m. above OD. Details of its history and of a small excavation on the main moat have already been published in these proceedings¹⁵, and little can be added to what has been written there apart from a description of the earthworks themselves. The present plan indicates that the enclosures associated with the main

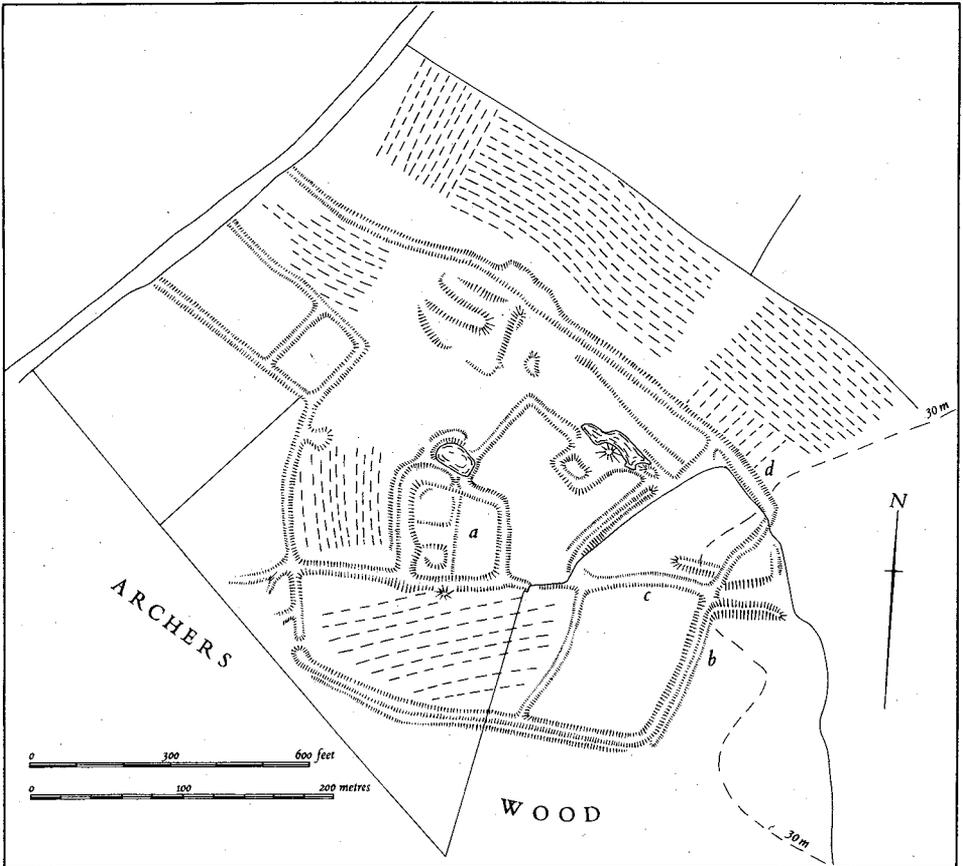


Fig. 5. Sawtry: Archer's Wood moated site.

moat ('a' on Fig. 5) are far more complex than has hitherto been appreciated and that some have ridge-and-furrow within them. In addition it is clear, from field evidence alone, that not all these enclosures are of the same date. For example the ditch which forms the east side of the main outer enclosure ('b' on Fig. 5) is later than the internal ditch to the west of it ('c' on Fig. 5) which once extended further east and has been cut by the main enclosure ditch. Further, the main enclosure ditch on the N. E. side ('d' on Fig. 5) has cut across pre-existing ridge-and-furrow.

MOATED SITE, DUXFORD (TL 481464) (Fig. 6) is situated at the N. end of Duxford village, just east of the east end of St. John's Street and close to the R. Cam, on river gravel at 24 m. above OD. Little is known of its detailed history, but something of its historical setting can be inferred. Duxford village is a good example of what has been termed a polyfocal settlement¹⁶. That is, it made up of at least three separate focal points, which have grown together to form one nucleated village. All these centres are still clearly visible in the present village. There is the present St. Peter's Street which has the parish church at its east end, and St. John's Street which has the now redundant church of St. John in its centre; between the two parallel streets is a third focus centred on a small rectangular green which was clearly once much larger. These foci are probably to be identified with three of the four separate large manors recorded under Duxford in Domesday Book, the fourth entry there being perhaps a separate settlement north of the village, now deserted, though its site was, until recent destruction, marked by another small moat. Each of the three foci which make up the present village has a moated site near its east end, though that of the central one is now reduced to two ponds S. E. of Temple Farm and even on the enclosure map of 1822 (in Cambridgeshire Record Office) was shown only as a three-sided moated enclosure much altered by that date. The three moats may be seen as the sites of the manor houses of the three parts of the village. The moat being described here is thus the site of the manor house of the north, or St. John's Street, part, the manor of which was held by the Lacey family in the 13th and 14th centuries¹⁷. Nothing is known of the later history of this moat. The earliest depiction of it is not until the 19th century when it is shown on the enclosure map as a sub-rectangular island, orientated north-south and completely surrounded by a water-filled ditch. The map also shows the ditch on the east side extending south beyond the island for a short distance and marks an entrance across the ditch or moat in the centre of the west side. This plan is at variance with the OS version of the site, apparently made in 1952 just before a housing estate was laid across the western part. The OS plan¹⁸ shows the same main rectangular enclosure, but also indicates that the ditch to the south turned west at its south end. The plan also marks an entrance in the centre of the northern side but none on the west. Only half of this moated site now remains and so the problem of the entrances on the north and west cannot be resolved. However, the surviving earthworks do suggest that the moat once consisted of two conjoined rectangular enclosures, bounded on all sides by a wide wet ditch. The surviving ditch is about 1 m. deep and still partly wet. The section of the interior that still remains is flat and featureless except for some slight scarps which appear to be of relatively recent origin.

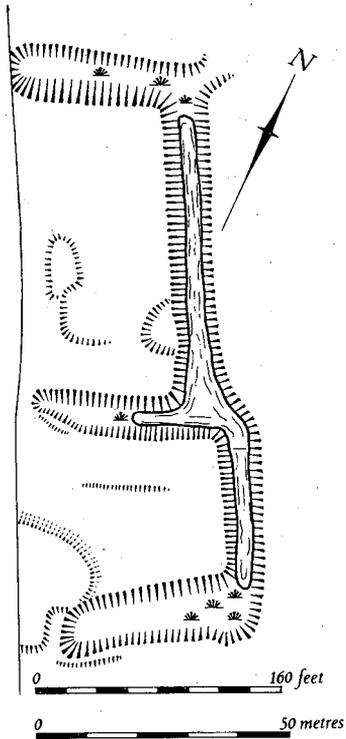


Fig. 6. Duxford: moat (Lacey's Manor).

MOATED SITE, DUXFORD (TL 482459) (Fig. 7) lies in the S. E. corner of the village, immediately S. E. of St. Peter's Church, at the east end of St. Peter's Street. It is situated adjacent to the R. Cam on gravel and alluvium at 24 m. above OD. Its general historical setting has already been discussed above, and there is no doubt that the site is that of the medieval manor house of the southern focus of Duxford village. As far as can be ascertained, this was the manor held by Hardwin de Scalers in 1086, which eventually passed to the Le Groyz family in the 12th century and remained with them until at least the late 13th century¹⁷. The moat described here was therefore almost certainly constructed by a member of the this latter family.

The site is first shown on the Enclosure Map of Duxford of 1822 with almost exactly the same overall plan that it has today, though with all the ditches and the long ditch to the south apparently filled with water. It consists of a rectangular flat-topped island with no interior features beyond a slight mound 0.25 m. high in the S. W. corner. This is entirely surrounded by a wide ditch, now dry, up to 1 m. deep. In the N. W. corner the ditch widens and runs west and is cut up to 2 m. deep into the rising ground. It then fades out and a low scarp continues its southern side as far as the modern road. On the southern side of the site is a broad V-shaped ditch, also now dry, up to 2 m. deep with a low outer bank on the south. At its east end this ditch is cut by the present course of the R. Cam. However, the river here is not on its original course which, to judge from the parish boundary between Duxford and Hinxton lay 250 m. to the west. The present river, actually the inlet channel for Duxford Mill, may not have existed in medieval times.

MANORIAL EARTHWORKS, LANDBEACH (TL 477655) (Fig. 8). These earthworks lie at the north end of the existing village, in permanent pasture, on gravel at 7 m. above OD. The present Manor Farm and the church are situated immediately to the west. The remains are only partly depicted on OS maps and they are described as a 'moat'. In addition the Ordnance Survey marks 'Site of Manor House' immediately east of the church, though on what evidence this is based is not known. The existing Manor Farm seems to be on the site of the medieval manor of Chamberlains, which was acquired in the 14th century by Corpus Christi College¹⁹. The survey published here suggests that the remains are not a moat at all but the outer part of the medieval manorial farmstead.

The main feature of the site is a set of multiple ditches which survive on the north and east of the area. These consist of two main ditches, up to 1.5 m. deep, separated by a low bank and with a slight outer bank on the north side. The ditches have been destroyed in the centre of the east side by a later farm track and the west end of the north side has recently been filled in. There is no trace of a south side to the enclosure, north of the Rectory, nor of the west side. However the fact that part of a corner of the inner ditch survives in the N. W. ('a' on Fig. 8) suggests that the enclosing ditches may have extended along the west side. The purpose of these enclosing ditches is not entirely clear. The best explanation is that, in a generally low-lying area close to the fens, they were necessary for drainage.

Within the enclosure are a number of features probably connected with the Manor

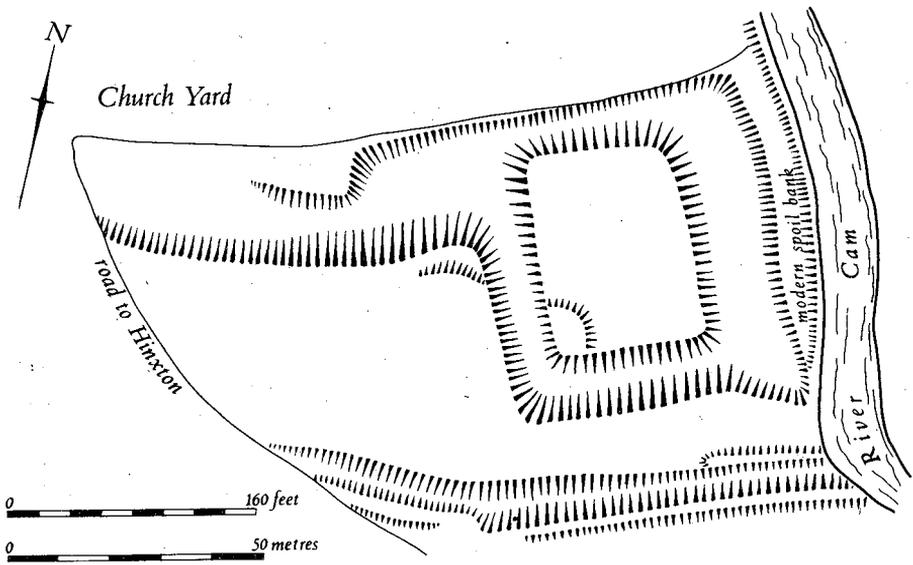


Fig. 7. Duxford: moat (St. Peter's church).

Farm. The most obvious is the large rectangular pond, now dry, 2 m. deep ('b' on Fig. 8), close to and parallel with the north side of the main enclosure. Further to the S. E. of this pond is a broad ditch which is connected to the inner ditch of the main enclosure to the north and which runs due south in a markedly sinuous curve. The southern end is largely destroyed but it appears to terminate at a modern pond within the existing farmyard.

Between this ditch and the east side of the outer enclosure is a block of well-marked ridge-and-furrow. It consists of fourteen ridges less than 0.25 m. high and only 30 m.-36 m. long. This is not only extremely short for medieval ridge-and-furrow, but placed as it is within a manorial enclosure it is an unusual feature. In the southern part of the site, immediately east of the church, is a series of other indeterminate earthworks which are difficult to interpret. They appear to be the sites of former buildings, but their general appearance suggests that they are perhaps of no great antiquity.

The recognition of these remains as part of a manorial farmstead is perhaps of limited value in purely archaeological terms. Such earthworks are extremely common and are well known from elsewhere in Cambridgeshire. However in terms of topographical history they do have additional interest. The apparent existence of a roughly rectangular enclosure belonging to the medieval manorial farm, with the church and churchyard lying in one corner, is a feature recognized in Cambridgeshire and elsewhere. At Abington Pigotts in S. W. Cambridgeshire, the parish church lies in the corner of a large rectangular paddock belonging to the manor farm²⁰, while at Grantchester the church has a similar relationship to the manor farm there²¹. The churches at Harlton and Toft are further examples²². This situation of churches apparently being within and in the corners of manorial enclosures may indicate that they were founded and set up by Saxon lords on land which belonged to these lords.

One other feature of the earthworks is perhaps quite unrelated to the manorial remains. This is a narrow ditch which passes along the east side of the enclosure and runs north beyond it ('c', 'd' and 'e' on Fig. 8). This ditch can be traced for a mile to the north where it meets the Car Dyke, an artificial canal of Roman date. The purpose of this ditch is not entirely clear. As it now exists it is no more than a drain, and where it passes along the east side of the manorial enclosure it appears to be no more than another, third ditch to that enclosure. The possibility that it was for drainage is further strengthened by the way it meets the N. E. corner of the manorial enclosure where it runs into the outer ditch on the east side as well as bending round it. On the ground, at least, it seems to be little more than a way of removing surplus water from parts of the enclosure ditch.

However there are a number of records which refer to a navigable water-course in the area²³. Such lodes or canals are common on the south side of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire fens. The best are in east Cambridgeshire where Reach, Swaffham Bulbeck and Bottisham Lodes are well documented as medieval and later canals. These have been interpreted as being of Roman origin, constructed to connect the south-western Cambridgeshire uplands with the R. Cam²⁴. In the same area, Burwell Lode was apparently a 17th-century canal cut for a similar purpose. Further west Cottenham Lode still survives, connecting Cottenham and Rampton villages to

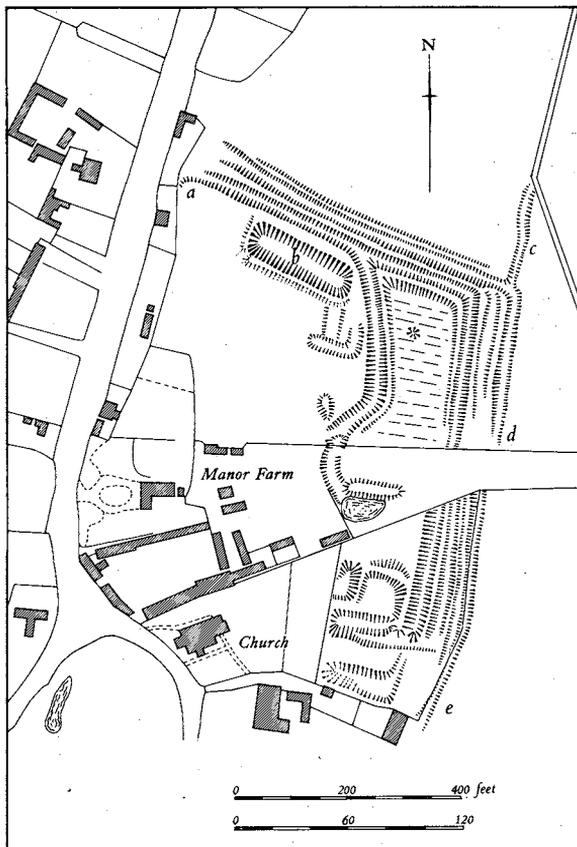


Fig. 8. Landbeach: manorial earthworks.

either the Car Dyke or the Old West River, while in Huntingdonshire Monk's Lode connects Sawtry Abbey to the R. Nene, and Holme Lode links the village of Holme to the same river.

It is therefore possible that the ditch on this side, in spite of its present form, is all that remains of a similar lode or canal, probably of medieval date, connecting Landbeach to the R. Ouse. There is in fact a branch of this ditch which runs S. W. to a point just north of the earthworks here described. Here a shallow basin has been interpreted as an old wharf²⁵. Only excavation on the line of this ditch could prove that it is in fact a canal, but the possibility should be borne in mind.

NOTES

1. VCH *Huntingdonshire* I (1926), 347
2. PRO, E179/122/4
3. PRO, E179/122/100
4. PRO, E179/249/2
5. 1st ed. 1 in. OS map, 1834
6. OS 1:2500 map, 1883
7. RCHM *Huntingdonshire* (1926), Coppingford (2)
8. VCH *Huntingdonshire* III (1936), 35
9. VCH *Huntingdonshire* III (1936), 203
10. VCH *Huntingdonshire* III (1936), 236; *Procs. Cambs. Ant. Soc.*, 67 (1977), 97
11. RCHM *Huntingdonshire* (1926), Woodwalton (2)
12. VCH *Huntingdonshire* I (1926), 348
13. RCHM *Northamptonshire* I (1975), Luddington (2)
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BENJAMIN FLOWER AND THE POLITICS OF DISSENT*

M. J. Murphy

THE impact which the French Revolution made on English life and opinion was considerable. English reaction ranged from cautious optimism on the part of politicians to the infectious enthusiasm of radicals, poets and intellectuals. In particular the Dissenters, who especially revered the constitution of 1689 and were celebrating its centenary when revolution broke out in France, moved from veneration of past events in Britain to admiration of present events in France. Richard Price, the veteran dissenting minister, thanked God publicly that the French were demanding their rights.¹ With a general election in the offing and the Dissenters once again campaigning for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, their reaction turned the French Revolution from an exciting foreign spectacle into a passionate domestic issue. Another result was the founding of Corresponding Clubs and Societies all over the country and, inspired in particular by the writings of Tom Paine, these renewed the constitutional agitation of the 1780s.² The main effect of their activities, taken together with subsequent events in France, was not the regeneration of English politics but the encouragement of government repression. By 1793 Loyalist Associations were established in every major city and town, Church-and-King mobs hounded radicals and denounced Jacobins as a tide of loyalty swept the land. After the outbreak of war with France reformers were prosecuted, *Habeas Corpus* suspended, public meetings proscribed and all manifestations of radicalism severely checked.³

One effect of the war was to encourage the development of newspapers in a society avid for information⁴ and despite the many difficulties involved in such a venture, Richard Flower, a Hertfordshire farmer and brewer, with the backing of a few liberal friends, decided to set up a newspaper in Cambridge and persuaded his elder brother Benjamin to become editor.⁵ Flower and other reformers of the 1780s had come to believe that the provincial press could play an important part in furthering their demands for civil and religious liberty. Thomas Walker claimed that there was no more formidable an enemy to political error than an impartially conducted newspaper and that the key to reform was enlightened public opinion. Opinion, once roused outside Parliament, was expected to prevail.⁶

The most advanced journalistically and politically of the provincial radical newspapers in the 1790s was the *Cambridge Intelligencer*.⁷ Flower's aggressively

* I wish to express my gratitude to Professor D. Read who first suggested the theme of this article and Professor E. P. Thompson who gave useful advice on parts of it.

radical editorials were to gain him national reputation among reformers as he strove to further the cause of religious and political liberty in this university stronghold of Toryism and the established Church. Surprisingly we have remarkably little information on Flower's own life and his career in journalism poses almost as many questions as it answers. What we do know is that he was a radical figure of national importance, one who helped to ensure that liberal ideas continued to be discussed during this critical period in English history.⁸

Benjamin Flower was born in 1755, the son of a prosperous and respectable London tradesman. He inherited a share of his father's business after his death in 1778.⁹ Possessing little of his father's commercial ability, he quickly lost his inheritance in stock-market speculations. Forced now to earn his living, he became a bank clerk and later an educational tutor. In 1785 he became a representative of Messrs. Swale and Denny of Tiverton and spent much of the late 1780s travelling abroad on their behalf. While in France he witnessed some of the earliest scenes of the French Revolution and as a result was inspired to write a rather discursive work called *The French Constitution* (1792), a major part of which described the defects of the English political system. Nevertheless it encouraged his brother Richard to offer him in 1793 the position of editor of the *Cambridge Intelligencer*.

The *Intelligencer* was a typical eighteenth-century provincial print and was similar in format to its Tory rival the *Cambridge Chronicle*. The main news continued to be taken from the major London newspapers, usually a column or two of local news was added and there was the occasional letter to brighten what would now be regarded as rather dull and stolid fare. However the *Intelligencer* had a few noticeably different features. Compared to the *Chronicle* it displayed very few advertisements and its inability to capture local advertising revenue made certain that the *Intelligencer* would never be a commercial success. A more important feature was the editorial, which Flower developed at a time when it was unknown in the provincial press.¹⁰ He used it to instruct local and national opinion, comment on political events and offer solutions for national problems. In his hands the editorial became an important journalistic means of shaping public opinion and the *Intelligencer* was the first provincial newspaper in England to introduce the editorial into journalistic practice.¹¹ Flower was no longer content to plunder the London prints for political comment. This was a vital step forward in the development of independent provincial politics and Flower's example was not only imitated by other short-lived radical newspapers in the 1790s but followed and improved upon by the greater provincial newspapers of the nineteenth century.¹²

Flower's radical sentiments explain why the newspaper failed to capture local advertising revenue. He admitted that 'his local circulation was trifling and his advertisements scarcely worth naming' but nonetheless was gratified to discover that it was 'handed about the University.'¹³ However, the paper's overall circulation continued to grow at a surprising rate for a provincial print. At a time when provincial editors counted their sales in hundreds, Flower in 1797 was selling 2,700 copies of the *Intelligencer* per week.¹⁴ His printed list of distribution agents on January 24, 1801 explains the paradox because it clearly confirms that the *Intelligencer* enjoyed a

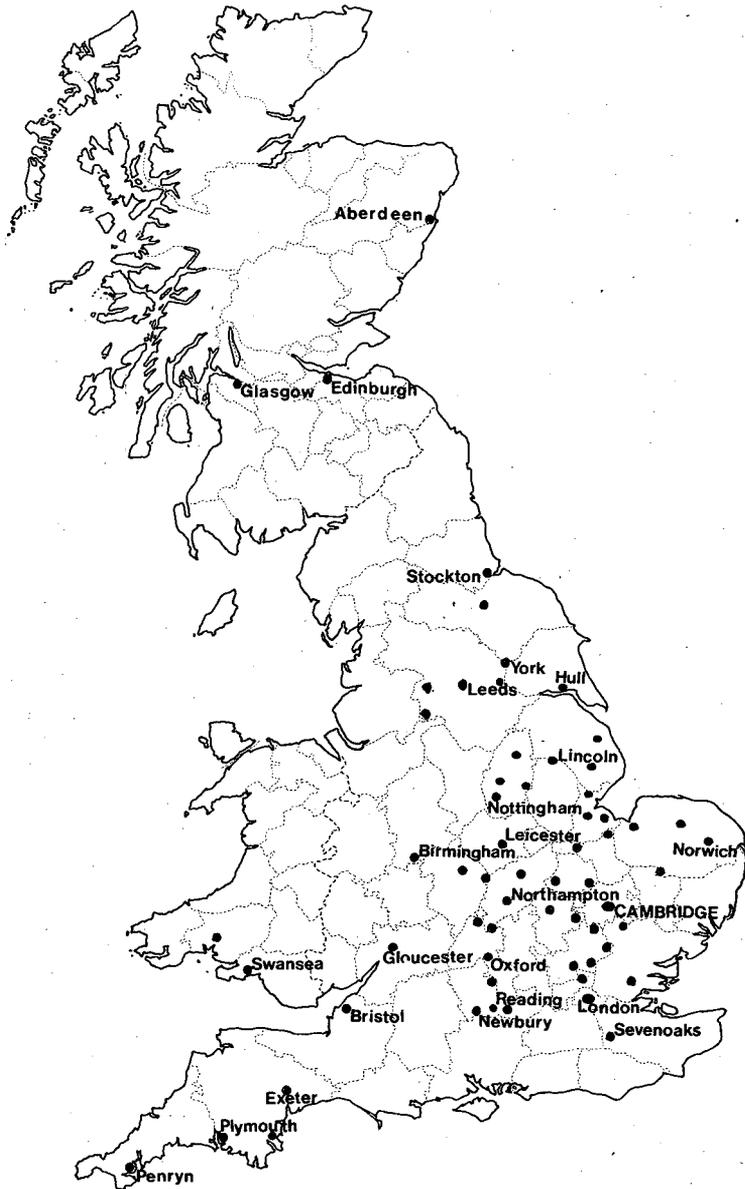


Fig. 1. Agents for the *Cambridge Intelligencer*.

national circulation (Fig. 1). It was widely read in the north of England, in Scotland, London, Middlesex and the West Country.¹⁵ John Guest, the founder of the Dowlais iron works introduced it into South Wales.¹⁶ Weston Hatfield, editor of *The Cambridge Independent Press* (1819-1934), claimed that it was 'read, admired and hated from the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed to the Land's End in Cornwall.'¹⁷ Coleridge warmly recommended it as an alternative to his ill-fated periodical *The Watchman*.¹⁸ It consoled Joseph Priestley in his American exile and even reached the unfortunate Fyche Palmer at Botany Bay.¹⁹

The major reason for Flower's national readership was the dissenting connection. His father had been a well-known nonconformist and Benjamin was greatly influenced by a home background which encouraged discussion, argument and debate on the major political and religious issues of the day.²⁰ Guided by the religious writings of the Cambridge Baptist Robert Robinson, he became an Arian, one of the less radical branches of English Unitarianism. The Unitarians everywhere comprised far more intellectual elements than any other group of Dissenters, and their academies were noted centres of social as well as religious enlightenment. The connection between newspapers and Dissent during this period, and in particular the contribution of Unitarians to the press, is well known and illustrated by the careers of Gales of *The Sheffield Register*, Taylor, Garnett and Harland of *The Manchester Guardian* and Ward of *The Sheffield Independent*.²¹ All displayed an earnestness in religion which was characteristic of their sect; it was practically impossible to be an uncommitted or casual Unitarian. Furthermore they demanded absolute freedom of thought and religion and this helped to establish a tradition in which political liberty itself flourished. They also possessed what was often referred to as 'a mentality of revolt.' Flower was typical of the group, a Rational Dissenter in the tradition of Joseph Priestley and Richard Price.²²

This special connection between religion and politics was developed by Flower and the result was that the *Intelligencer* became a sort of nation-wide congregational magazine for Rational Dissenters. It included extracts, letters and articles from George Dyer, Mrs Barbauld, Gilbert Wakefield, Henry Crabb Robinson, Christopher Wyvill and Mary Wollstonecraft.²³ It published some of the early poems of Coleridge and acted as a forum for dissenting news, opinion and misfortunes at a time when Dissenters were regarded with considerable hostility.²⁴ In Cambridge itself a number of clergymen were tried for alleged sedition, the best known being William Friend, Thomas Fyche Palmer and John Jebb.²⁵ However, there was also a tradition of political dissent in both town and university.²⁶ The Cambridge Constitutional Society distinguished itself in the 'county movement' for parliamentary reform and was also one of the first bodies to petition Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade.²⁷ In 1790 the members adopted the fundamental principles of the Revolution Society. Already the inheritors of the religious thought of Milton and Locke, they now embraced the more revolutionary ideas of Paine.²⁸

Flower's printing shop was located in Bridge Street and the first copy of the *Intelligencer* appeared on July 20, 1793, by which time majority opinion had already

rejected reform ideas. In his opening editorial he stressed the importance of an independent and impartial press, declared that he supported the British Constitution and the Glorious Revolution but was also 'anxious for the preservation of the invaluable and inalienable rights of the people.' He therefore openly professed himself 'a friend to the Reform of our Representation.'²⁹ The paper soon displayed advertisements from the Sheffield Constitutional Society, the London Society for Constitutional Information and the London Corresponding Society. Many similar societies faded rapidly after enthusiastic beginnings, and events in France, as prophesied by Burke, soon turned popular feeling against them. By 1799 every printer was also considered 'the raw material of a traitor.'³⁰

Flower was not deterred by severe government repression, accusations of Jacobinism or demonstrations of loyalty in the town.³¹ In his view the nation remained in need of drastic reform and Pitt and Burke he condemned not as mere enemies but as apostates.³² Pitt was the minister most responsible for the evils of a war which was unchristian and unjustifiable and whose economic policies were ruinous to the English people 'taking the bread out of their mouths, faster than they can earn it.'³³ The inevitable result was poverty, high prices, petty food riots and attacks on farmers. These, Flower believed, were pilloried unjustly for the consequences of a war more brazenly supported by 'the Liverpool Slave Traders . . . the Members of our Volunteer Corps . . . and the clergy.'³⁴

Flower rejected Pitt's apparent conviction that, because French political extremists abused their liberty, Englishmen had to be deprived of theirs; furthermore it was 'melancholy to think that the blood and treasure of the nation is to be squandered, and its dearest interests sacrificed, in the ridiculous attempt to bring madmen to their senses . . . But we are told this is a religious war . . . not only by those pious statesmen, Messrs Pitt and Dundas, but even by clergymen - and clergymen who would fain persuade us that their principles are more *evangelical*, and their practice more *holy* than the generality of their brethren. Oh, Shame, where is thy blush!'³⁵ After Pitt's resignation in 1801 Addington's policies proved in all essential points to be the same. Flower, by now utterly exasperated, demanded that he begin 'the work of national reform in the Senate . . . instead of fattening on the spoils of the nation and . . . heaping wealth upon his relatives.'³⁶

During this period Flower was occasionally attacked by prints such as the *Anti-Jacobin* for sentiments he expressed 'with the frankness of a Marat.' He rejected such ill-informed assaults while insisting that his principles were similar to those of the most illustrious men of every age 'no other than what were preached by Bishop Hoadly before George I . . . they are the sentiments of Locke and Newton . . . enforced from the pulpit of this University, pleaded for in the better days of Watson and Paley and are best calculated to promote peace, order and goodwill towards men.'³⁷ His sentiments were certainly not republican and, though he insisted he was not a party man, like Wyvill and many other gentlemen-reformers he continued to regard Fox with admiration.³⁸ This did not prevent him criticising the Foxite opposition, too many of them in his opinion being Whigs in name only. His relationship with the radicals was

also somewhat equivocal. Annual Parliaments and universal suffrage, he argued, should not be regarded as the only panacea for the nation's ills and he stated that he had yet to be convinced that the English people were 'fully prepared for the exercise of the enjoyment of the most abstract rights in the most unlimited degree.'⁴⁰ Nevertheless he insisted on the right of the Corresponding Societies 'to peaceably call the attention of the public to the grand business of Reform in general.'⁴¹ He soon discovered how disagreeable it was to be a moderate in a world running to extremes, denounced on the one hand as 'a Jacobin' and on the other mocked by radicals such as Major Cartwright for being too cautious and half-hearted. Reform of Parliament in Flower's opinion was the key to political change and to make this possible it was necessary to effect a change in local and national attitudes and opinions. He therefore gave full coverage to public meetings, petitions and parliamentary debates and used the editorial to inform and stimulate public opinion.

Though the borough of Cambridge was a closed Corporation exemplifying all the evils of the old unreformed system, Flower concentrated his editorial attacks primarily on the Hardwicke interest.⁴² The Duke of Rutland, who dominated the borough through his nominee John Mortlock, had, after all, played an active part in the county reform movement of the 1780s. Philip Yorke, third Earl of Hardwicke and Lord Lieutenant of the county, was soon made aware that Flower was 'the leading Dissenter' and major opponent of government policy in the area.⁴³ During the 1802 election Flower launched a trenchant attack on Charles Yorke's reputation and politics. Together with his supporters, 'the ministerial high Church junta', he was condemned for his unquestioning support of Pitt and his repressive domestic and Irish policy. He was blamed for the continuation of the French war and for his family's alleged use of corruption in local politics.⁴⁴ It was a good tactical moment to attack because it was clear that the Yorkes were temporarily losing their hold on the county representation, due in some measure to their support for the costly Eau Brink scheme to improve the navigation between Cambridge and King's Lynn. The election proved both expensive and embarrassing, Yorke admitting in a letter to his half-brother 'I think I have never been so harassed in my life.'⁴⁵ When Hardwicke learned of the possible closure of the Tory *Cambridge Chronicle* later in 1802, he expressed the utmost concern that Hodson's newspaper should 'not fall into bad hands . . . I will state the case to Addington . . . I think Hodson should be supported; but if he cannot his paper should be transferred to some loyal subjects . . . who will not only, with insistence, employ it to good purpose, but as a lash upon Mr Flower.'⁴⁶

Politics was not Flower's only preoccupation during this years; religion was also of vital importance. Disappointed at their failure to get a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Flower and other Dissenters hardened their hearts against the Church and State that had rejected them. Their opposition, however, did not arise exclusively out of their legal disabilities. Dissent always had a close affinity with reform and this is why after 1792 Unitarians in particular were singled out as special objects of attack.⁴⁷ Religious antipathies combined with political prejudice to explain the situation. Their approach to religion aroused considerable indignation.

Unitarianism, which frankly made Christ a creature, subverted the whole Christian scheme of salvation. They rejected dogma and emphasised conduct and good works rather than faith.⁴⁸ Thus the freedom they sought was a freedom not merely to think but to act - to preach, publish and exert pressure. Support for the war was seen by Flower as the true test of conduct and here the established Church, the Evangelicals, and particularly Wilberforce, stood condemned for showing their approbation of National Fasts and a war so bloody and expensive in human lives.⁴⁹ Flower accused them of the sins of 'Prevarication, Perjury and Bloodshed' and claimed that these 'proved them the utter enemies of the gospel of Christ. With unblushing effrontery these men continue, like the Pharisees of old, to wrap themselves up in their own pretended righteousness, and while stigmatising all the clergy who differ from them as blind and *carnal*, they have neither the courage to defend their own conduct, nor the honesty to confess their own sins.'⁵⁰

The abolition of the slave trade was another cause supported by Flower, who believed like his co-religionists that it was part of the nature of an individual that he was free. Abolition was a religious crusade and Flower refused to be deterred from supporting it by either government repression or popular accusations of Jacobinism: 'Any man who has the effrontery or the depravity to defend it ought to be treated in society as a wretch who would, without scruple, turn Pickpocket, Highwayman or Murderer as it might best answer the purposes of his black and polluted heart.'⁵¹ Pitt, 'This wretch . . . for a long time thought sincere in his wishes for its abolition',⁵² and Wilberforce, 'the evangelical statesmen with his bloody votes',⁵³ were continually castigated for not solving the problem. Even Cobbett was condemned because of his 'detestable principles respecting the Slave Trade.'⁵⁴ There was however some equivocation in Flower's early attitude to the slavery issue, as he opposed immediate and total emancipation, but by 1801, frustrated at Parliamentary prevarication on the matter, he urged the slaves themselves to solve the problem by breaking 'their chains over the heads of their oppressors.'⁵⁵

Another noticeable feature of Flower's paper was its editorial campaign for Catholic emancipation and political justice for Ireland. Emancipation he saw as a civil and not a religious right and the existence of an alien established Church and 'the scandalous oppression of Tythes' he regarded as 'a gross imposition on a large majority of the kingdom.'⁵⁶ These were questions in which Flower the Dissenter was passionately interested - the nature of civil rights, the place of religion in the constitution and religious toleration. Flower realised that unless some progressive and liberal solution were offered for the Anglo-Irish problem there was every possibility of a revolt in Ireland. He was determined that the English people, unsympathetic as they might appear, should be informed of Ireland's wrongs and, as well as much editorial comment, he printed extracts from the leading Irish newspapers and journals.⁵⁷ When the rebellion of 1798 broke out Flower stated that it was the direct result of English oppression and 'the consequence of such a system have often been predicted.'⁵⁸ He demanded leniency for the Irish rebels and opposed the proposed Act of Union which would deprive the Irish Protestant Parliament of its independence. After the Act had

been forced through the Irish legislature, the King refused to countenance the granting of Catholic emancipation and martial law was proposed instead. Flower was understandably irate: 'We dare not, after reading such debates, give vent to our feelings: we turn from scenes in which *Corruption, Profligacy, Torture, Cruelty, Fire and Blood* have been displayed in the most glaring colours, with equal horror and disgust, and leave the subject to the reflection of our readers!'⁵⁹

Flower's outspoken opposition to government policy is the more note-worthy when one realises the mounting government repression of the years after 1797. By this date the war had become more of a national effort and many apostatised or became disenchanted in the face of such a sustained and popular campaign. In 1799 Flower's out-spokenness finally led him into libelling Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff and Regius Professor of Divinity at the University. Flower's editorial was in defence of an earlier attack by his co-religionist Gilbert Wakefield on Llandaff's *Address to the People of Great Britain* (1798). Flower was found guilty by the House of Lords, fined one hundred pounds and sentenced to six months imprisonment in Newgate for referring to Watson as 'the Right Reverend time server and apostate.'⁶⁰ Wakefield was also imprisoned as was another Unitarian George Dyer, for coming to Flower's defence. Isolated for so long, the target for unremitting attack, Flower began to have second thoughts about continuing as editor of the *Intelligencer*.⁶¹ Shortly after his release from prison he was married to Miss Eliza Gould, an independent and self-reliant disciple of his (who had visited him in prison) and who had also suffered for her liberal beliefs.⁶²

Once released from Newgate however, Flower decided to persevere, but the editorials of the later years betray progressive disillusionment. Public apathy and political indifference were widespread, and there appeared little possibility of a speedy conclusion to the war though an uneasy peace prevailed from 1801 to 1803. When hostilities were renewed Flower decided to retire from journalism. He established himself in business at Harlow in Essex, where he printed the works of his favourite Divine, Robert Robinson.⁶³ However he was not yet ready to retire from politics and in 1807 launched a new radical journal entitled *Flower's Political Review and Monthly Register* in which he developed and expanded his political and religious beliefs. The quotation printed under the title of the *Register* indicated that it would continue to fight the good fight: 'What is morally wrong can never be politically right.' It enjoyed only limited success though Thomas Hardy stated that it was popular among London radicals and 'held very deservedly in high estimation.'⁶⁴ Flower ceased publication in 1810 soon after the death of his wife in child-birth. Though he maintained contact with former friends such as Robert Aspland, Theophilus Lindsey, Dr Southwood Smith and W. J. Fox of the *Monthly Repository*, he devoted most of his later years to educating his two highly-gifted daughters, Eliza and Sarah.⁶⁵ (Pl. 1). He settled in Dalston in 1820 where Harriet Martineau, who befriended his daughters, was a regular visitor. He died in 1829 and was interred in the country burial-ground belonging to the Protestant Dissenters at Harlow.

Flower is obviously a forgotten man in the history of English provincial journalism.



BENJAMIN Flower



Sarah Flower Adams



ELIZA Flower

From H. W. Stephenson, The Author of Nearer, My God, to Thee, Lindsay Press, (London, 1922).

Pl. 1. Benjamin Flower and his daughters.

Yet he was one of the few who ensured that popular radicalism was not entirely extinguished during the era of Pitt's repressive domestic policy.⁶⁶ He refused to see England as being only engaged in a war of national defence: England was also repressing civil liberties, crushing an Irish rebellion with ferocity, afflicted with soaring bread prices, political corruption and fear of change. Though deeply influenced by the French Revolution, Flower can best be seen as part of the English Dissenting tradition - revering men like Priestley, Price and Wyvill whom he praised for their independent principles and sincere attachment to the constitution, believing as he did that 'the true spirit of liberty is a spirit of order . . . a strict observance of the laws and a peaceable conduct.'⁶⁷ E. P. Thompson rightly refers to the *Cambridge Intelligencer* as 'the last national organ of intellectual Jacobinism.'⁶⁸ Indeed during this period Flower was the only provincial editor consistently to denounce the war with France and advocate peace, civil and religious liberty and reform of the representation. He was always keen to extend to others the ample liberty which he claimed for himself. Throughout the 1790s government repression was, however, extremely effective and the few radicals that escaped prosecution fled or disengaged from political activism. Many simply gave up. In Flower's case it was disenchantment not default. Like Thelwall he could claim that he never did desert the public - they deserted him.⁶⁹

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COACHING ROUTES OF THE CAMBRIDGE REGION, 1820-1850*

David H. Kennett

Cambridge lies at the centre of an agricultural region: rural in its concerns, placid in its outlook, temperate in its moods. Yet the city, beyond the university, had a vitality all of its own. It is true today: it was much more true in the rural world of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The rural world was remote, connected by water and by roads, but not yet by rail. For goods in Cambridge and its immediate region, water was more often used than road, but the carrier's cart was important to the local and regional economy. For passengers, there was the cart, which if they were conveyed at all would have been the mode of travel for the poor, and for the better-off there was the coach.

The coach was an essential element of the rural world, at least in its last generation. Its heyday was short, for though coaches were known in the eighteenth century, they were not common. It was only for one generation, perhaps a little more, that the stage coach held sway on the roads of England. That generation was the thirty years between 1820 and 1850. By 1850, the era of the stage coach had passed: the advent of the faster, more punctual steam train killed the stage coach in the course of the ten years after 1838. It still survived in remote areas, to which the railway had not yet penetrated, but essentially by the time the Great Exhibition was held in London in 1851, the stage coach was not a means of transport to be reckoned as an essential part of the rural economy.

However, for most of the preceding thirty years, the stage coach had been an integral part of the economy, not just of rural England but also of the towns, both large and small, which generated coaching traffic and passengers to fill them.

In this, the third of a series of papers on the coaching routes of England, the routes found in the Cambridge region between 1820 and 1850 will be examined. It relies heavily on the printed directories of the period for its information. Cambridgeshire was covered by the firm of James Pigot of Manchester (later controlled by Isaac Slater) in 1823, 1830, 1839 and 1850. The adjacent counties of Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Suffolk were covered in the same volumes. Norfolk was included in the three last and in the companion volume to the first which was issued in 1822. Hertfordshire, the other county within the Cambridge region, was covered by Pigot and Slater in 1823, 1826-7 reissued in 1828-9, and 1832-4. Northamptonshire was included in the issues of

* This paper is essentially based on directories of the period: for details not otherwise cited individually in the notes, see 'Note on the Sources'.

Pigot's directories for 1823 and 1830 and also in those for 1841 and 1850 issued by Isaac Slater. As Northamptonshire¹ and Norfolk² have been the subjects of papers within this field, every attempt has been made to concentrate on aspects which were not included within those two studies. Some duplication is inevitable, but the present paper seeks primarily to give an account of the coaching routes of the Cambridge region.

The coaching routes of the Cambridge region can, as with any other area, be divided into those which are of a long-distance nature, those which connect the region with adjacent regions, and those routes leading to the important local centre. Before turning to the detail of each of these, it is worth remarking on the general nature of the road pattern of the Cambridge region.³ To the west is the Great North Road. This is not one road, but two, one of which has a variant route. One branch of the Great North Road runs from London through Barnet, Hatfield, Welwyn, Stevenage, Baldock, Biggleswade, St Neots and Huntingdon to Stilton and beyond. The other main branch goes from London to Hoddesdon, Ware, Puckeridge, Buntingford, Royston, and Huntingdon to Stilton and beyond. A variant of this follows the same route to Royston, branches off to Cambridge and then rejoins the main route at Huntingdon. In East Anglia there are the three roads to Norwich. One goes out through Romford, Chelmsford, Colchester and Ipswich to Scole Inn and Norwich. The second follows this route to Chelmsford and then proceeds via Braintree, Halstead, Sudbury, Long Melford and Bury St Edmunds and then on via Ixworth, Botesdale, Diss and Scole to Norwich. The third of the routes from London to Norwich is the modern A 11, through Epping, Harlow, Hockerill (or Bishop's Stortford), Great Chesterford, Newmarket, Thetford, Attleborough and Wymondham to Norwich. A slight variant is to go via Bury St Edmunds between Newmarket and Thetford. (Fig. 1).

Coaching routes from London to Norwich followed each of these three main routes and the variant was chosen by one of the two Norwich *Royal Mail* coaches: the other went through Ipswich. In discussing the coaching routes of the Cambridge Region, it is important to note that though the region was affected by coaches to Norwich, no coach from London to Norwich went through Cambridge itself. In fact Cambridge had only limited direct communication by coach with much of East Anglia. Though the map of coaching routes between Cambridge and other towns and cities shows a route from Cambridge to Norwich, the *East Anglian*, this was a very late innovation, recorded only in William White's *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk, 1845*.

Even despite its lack of direct services to Norwich, Cambridge was one of the major coaching towns of England: others were as varied at Daventry and Towcester, Shrewsbury and Litchfield, Northampton and Leicester. It is perhaps significant that Cambridge is a town where the coaching inns were demolished in the late nineteenth century and F. A. Reeve's volume has no fewer than thirteen photographs showing old inns now demolished.⁴

Coaching services relied on inns, to provide horses, to permit travellers to alight, and to offer refreshment; often innkeepers were among those who invested their money in coaching services. At Hitchin, a Hertfordshire town on the fringe of the region, John Kershaw kept the now demolished Swan Inn on the old Market Place. He also ran a

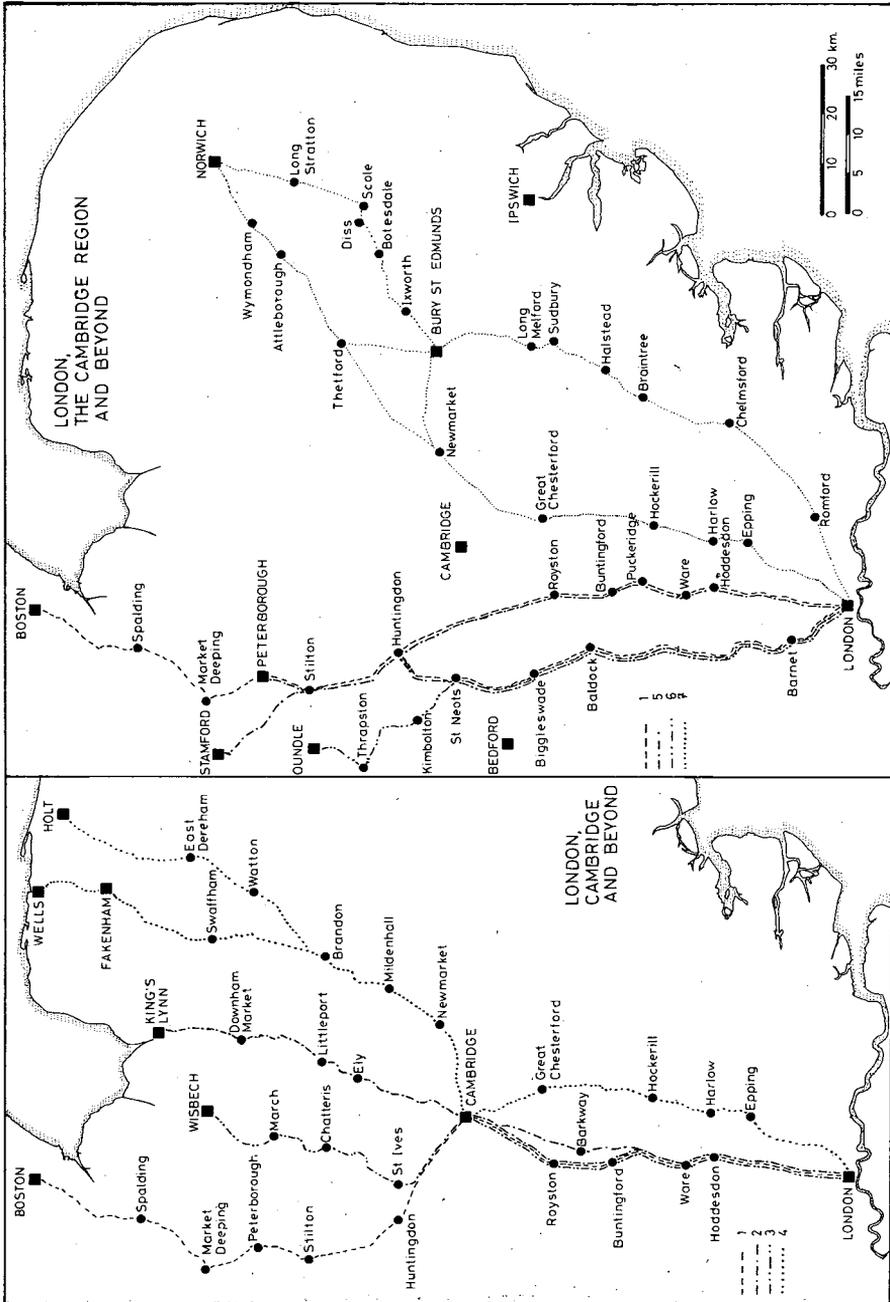


Fig. 1. Coaching routes to London from the Cambridge Region and Beyond, showing routes through and avoiding Cambridge. Key to routes:- 1. London - Boston 2. London - Kings Lynn 3. London - Wisbech 4. London - North - west Norfolk towns 5. London - Stamford and Peterborough 6. London - Oundle 7. London - Norwich Routes from London to Cambridge follow each of Routes 1 - 4.

coach from Hitchin to London and another from Baldock to London and had at least one spare vehicle, since it was hired for a few days by a Bedford coaching enterprise in 1804.⁵ John Kershaw was a single owner and other instances of a man investing in coaching are known. Thomas Finch was a grocer in Luton who organised the *Industry* omnibus to London via Wheathampstead, Hatfield and Barnet.⁶ It was often a lucrative trade. A Leighton Buzzard man, William Pyne, who is described in his will as a "Coach Proprietor", was assessed at probate in 1829 to have goods to the value under £3000. As he left monetary bequests of £1800, with a house and residue to his wife, he cannot be regarded as anything other than among the wealthiest inhabitants of the town of Leighton Buzzard.⁷ However for some men it was not a profitable investment. John Rawlins, a Bedford wine merchant, had interests both in a coach from Bedford to London via Hitchin and in another from Kettering to London through Bedford and Hitchin, but he became increasingly dissatisfied with the ventures and seems to have shed his commitments in 1814 and 1815 respectively.⁸ Among his partners were innkeepers at the Sun in Hitchin, first Elizabeth Barry and later Samuel Hill. The latter in 1814 was invited to participate in a venture from Boston to London intended to run through Peterborough and Hitchin.⁹ Though this seems never to have materialised, it is typical of the schemes by which many of the coaching services of England were organised: a group of men, often with connections with the drink trade, got together as a partnership to organise a coach to run from the most outward town to London, via each of the different towns in which they resided.

Often the successful amongst these ventures were taken over by one of the big firms in the coaching world, but not always. B. W. Horne & Co. had a large enterprise in 1836, and others were the empires of William Chaplin and Co. and Edward Sherman and Co. This concentration of power into a few hands led to intense rivalry, not always to the benefit of the passengers.

In the harsh economics of coaching in the early nineteenth century, with the intense rivalry of the larger concerns, the growing competition of the railways, and the need for close working relationships between the partners, it is surprising how many of the small concerns, often with only a single coach, survived until their services were no longer needed. Almost all the routes shown on Figure 3 are of this type and the economic organisation of that from Oundle would have been similar.

The route from Oundle to London varied little: it attracted more than one enterprise, none perhaps of any great duration. In 1836, a coach called the *Regulator* left Oundle on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays for a journey via Thrapston, Kimbolton, St Neots, Biggleswade, Baldock, Stevenage, Welwyn, Hatfield, and Barnet to London. It left at 07.00 and arrived 10 hours later, after a journey of 85 miles (133 km). The return journey began at the George and Blue Boar in Holborn at 07.00 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The route had attracted other enterprises. Two were recorded in 1823, the *Old Oundle* and the *Regulator*.

Stamford and Peterborough also attracted coaches to London. Stamford provides the perfect example of the use of more than one portion of the Great North Road by different coaches. In 1830, the *Defiance* left Huntingdon at 10.00 for Cambridge,

Royston, Buntingford, Ware and Hoddesdon on its way to London, but this coach is not recorded among those entered for Cambridge in that year. The route via Cambridge from Stamford seems only to have been temporary, for in 1836 and in 1839, the *Defiance* is recorded as going on the straight route from Huntingdon to Royston, but in both years it is noted as travelling south on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and north on the alternate days. In 1830, the *Regent* from Stamford, which in 1823 had begun in Melton Mowbray, was recorded as leaving Huntingdon at 10.00. It was then daily in both directions, but by 1836 it too ran in one direction on each day. This coach went north on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and south through Huntingdon, Biggleswade and Baldock on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The two combined to give a daily service from Stamford to London. In 1839, both left Huntingdon at 11.00, and the *Defiance* had a branch coach from Stilton to Peterborough.

The Angel Inn at Stilton was typical of the many wayside places dependent on the coaching trade. The directory writer noted "coaches call at the Angel Inn, daily" without being specific. Among the services provided were those of hospitality and repairs to wheels, shoeing of horses and extensive stabling of spare teams to be hitched to a coach within a minute.

Apart from the branch coach of the *Defiance* in 1839, Peterborough never had a service exclusively to itself, but was served by the coaches from Boston and east Lincolnshire. The so called Boston *Royal Mail* from 1830 at least went on to Alford, Louth and Grimsby, before going from Boston to Spalding, Market Deeping and Peterborough. Thereafter its route varied. In 1830, it followed the Cambridge route, with the up journey calling at the George, Huntingdon at 24.00 and the down journey going through the same inn at 02.15. The times at the Post Office in Royston were 02.00 for the journey to London and 24.00 for the journey from London. The routes from Boston to London are varied, and even the *Royal Mail* coach moved. By 1836, it is found on the route through Royston, avoiding Cambridge and in 1839, the Boston *Royal Mail* left the Red Lion in Royston at 01.30 and the George in Huntingdon at 02.30. There were other coaches from Boston to London. The *Perseverance* in 1839 went south on a route leaving Huntingdon at 11.30, Biggleswade at 14.00 and Baldock at 15.00. The *Royal Mail* and the *Perseverance* were the two most long-lived of the coaches from Boston to London, being recorded as early as 1822 and surviving until the railway drove them out of business in the 1840s. There were others at various times. A coach called the *Monarch* ran south in 1830 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and used the route via Cambridge and Royston.

Peterborough was also on the route of coaches from Barton-on-Humber (the ferry point for Hull) which came south through Lincoln. They all used the route through Biggleswade and Baldock and mostly seem to have avoided going into Huntingdon; none made the detour to Cambridge. But Cambridge was briefly, in 1830, on the route of the Edinburgh *Royal Mail*, though this is recorded only at Huntingdon. At Royston, this is stated to have gone through Huntingdon, Stamford, Grantham, Doncaster, Ferrybridge, Boroughbridge, Durham, Newcastle and Berwick, while a Glasgow *Royal Mail* left St Neots at 24.00 for Stilton, Stamford, Grantham, Newark,

Doncaster, Ferrybridge, Leeds, Harrogate, Appleby, Carlisle, Eccleshaw, Bentock Bridge, Moffat and Glasgow.¹⁰ Both still survived in 1836 and in 1839.

For the Cambridge region, however, these very long-distance connections are few. Royston in 1830 was on the route of a coach called the *Wellington* to Newcastle, and Baldock retained two coaches to Leeds and one to York as late as 1839. Most towns though were on routes to no further than 120 miles (192 km) from London. The geography of East Anglia alone dictates that. Cambridge, for instance, had coach services from London to Wisbech, King's Lynn and the north Norfolk towns of Wells, Fakenham and Holt. Not each service ran every day.

There was for long a *Royal Mail* service through Cambridge. When that to Edinburgh and that to Boston stopped using Cambridge, but went instead on the direct route from Royston to Huntingdon, a *Royal Mail* service to King's Lynn was instituted. This left London at 19.30, arrived at the Red Lion in Royston at 01.45, reached the George in Cambridge at 02.00 and went on to the Bell at Ely at 03.45 and the Swan at Downham Market at 05.30, and presumably reached King's Lynn at 06.30. The return journey left the Crown at King's Lynn at 19.15, arrived in Downham Market at 20.15, reached Ely at 22.15 and Cambridge at 24.00. In 1839, there was also a *Branch Royal Mail* coach, leaving Cambridge at 02.00, St Ives at 03.30, Chatteris at 05.00, March at 06.00, Wisbech at 07.30 and going on to Holbeach. The return journey left Holbeach at 16.30, Wisbech at 18.30, March at 20.00, Chatteris at 21.00, and St Ives at 22.00 for Cambridge where it awaited the Lynn *Royal Mail*.

King's Lynn was never a great coaching centre: its prosperity was based on water, both the sea and the river. However, in 1839, as in 1830, a coach called the *Union* left King's Lynn at 07.00 for London. It reached Cambridge at 13.00 and then proceeded via Barkway to Ware, Hoddesdon and London. This route was also used by one coach from Cambridge to London, the *Telegraph* of 1830, which left the Sun Inn, Cambridge, at 10.00 and the Golden Cross at Charing Cross at 09.00 daily. The other coaches from Cambridge used other routes. The *Star* left the Sun Inn on Trinity Street and afterwards called at the Hoop on Sidney Street at 06.00 but on Mondays left at 05.00. Like the *Defiance* which left the Black Bear at 07.00 it followed the usual route through Melbourn, Royston, Buntingford, Puckeridge, Ware and Hoddesdon. Coaches from Wisbech, the *Day* going south on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and the *Defiance* on the alternate days, used this route also. These left Wisbech at 07.00, March at 08.00, Chatteris at 09.00, St Ives at 10.00 and Cambridge at 12.00. Royston was reached at 13.30 and Buntingford at 14.00. The last recorded timing is Ware at 15.30; thereafter these, like so many coaches, become subsumed in the general entry for Hoddesdon, through which plied coaches for many towns. Hoddesdon, like Daventry and Towcester, was a coaching town.

There is another, distinct, route from Cambridge to London, through Great Chesterford, Hockerill, Harlow and Epping. The Cambridge *Fly* plied this road, leaving the Red Lion at Cambridge at 10.00. Along it also went the various coaches from north Norfolk. The *Hero* began in Fakenham in 1830, but the *Norfolk Hero* of 1839 began in Wells. This ran south on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, leaving

the Hoop Inn in Cambridge at 14.15. On the other days, the *Regulator* from Holt left the same inn at the same hour. In 1830, this had been the *Norfolk Regulator*. They provided both a service to London and one to Cambridge. For such towns there was little point in by-passing Cambridge. For Norwich, there were seemingly few passengers who wished to go to Cambridge.

Cambridge was well served for coaches to other towns in East Anglia and the Midlands (Fig. 2). Not everything shown on the map is strictly contemporary: the *East Anglian* to Norwich has been mentioned as recorded only in 1845, and the coach to Upwell is recorded only in 1830, though one to Ely is found in 1839. The variety of routes from Cambridge to Birmingham illustrates this perfectly. In 1823, one is recorded leaving the George, Cambridge, on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays at 06.00, but this may have been short-lived. At Huntingdon, a coach called the *Rising Sun* is noted as leaving the George at 08.00, and this coach may be found at Northampton at 13.45 and Daventry at 16.00. Best recorded in 1830, the *Rising Sun* left the Sun Inn, Cambridge at 06.00, the George at Huntingdon at 08.00, and reached Thrapston at 10.00, Wellingborough at 11.00 and was probably in Northampton about 13.00. There does then seem to have been a break for lunch, before resuming the journey at 14.00 for Daventry, Coventry and Birmingham. The return journey also left Northampton at 14.00 and as with modern country bus crews, the drivers may have changed coaches to enable them to get home the same night. The *Rising Sun* reached Wellingborough at 15.30, Thrapston at 17.00 and Huntingdon at 19.00. Cambridge would have been reached about 20.30 or 21.00. Timekeeping was quite good by coaching services, barring severe weather or accidents, so a regular arrival time, advertised by the Sun Inn but not recorded by the directories, would have been known. From 1839, the *Rising Sun* changed its route to go via Southam, Leamington, Warwick and Solihull after Daventry. The railway had come, but unlike the Birmingham to Great Yarmouth *Royal Mail*, the coach did not stop short of its ultimate destination: the quoted example in 1839 only went to Leicester. In 1839 also the *Rising Sun* had moved inns in Cambridge and now began at the Hoop Inn in Sidney Street. A different, alternate days service between Cambridge and Birmingham is also found in 1839. The *Eagle* left the Eagle Inn on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at 07.30 for St Neots, Bedford, Turvey, Yardley Hastings, Northampton, Weedon, Daventry, Southam, Leamington, Warwick and Birmingham. Timed at 09.30 at St Neots and 10.45 at Bedford, this seems to have been a short-lived enterprise. It did not survive into the railway era. The *Rising Sun* on the other hand seems to have enjoyed a new lease of life in an attenuated form, for in 1850 it is recorded as the *Old Rising Sun* leaving the Hoop Inn at 07.15 for Huntingdon at 09.00 and going on to Thrapston. The return journey left Thrapston at 14.00 and Huntingdon at 16.00.

If the *Rising Sun* to Birmingham was able to live on into the railway age, beyond the demise of much of the coaching era, the various coaches from Cambridge to the East Midlands died fairly quickly once the railway came. These seem all to have been run by one company, William Ekin and Co. They had names of the various allied commanders at Waterloo. The only recorded coach in 1823 was the *Blucher* from the

King's Head in Cambridge at 13.00, and the George in Huntingdon at 10.00. There was a service between Cambridge and Leicester, called simply the *Leicester*. By 1830 this had become the *Wellington*, leaving the Sun and Blue Boar inns at 07.00, for a journey from Cambridge via Huntingdon, Stilton and Stamford each day, and thence via Uppingham on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and via Oakham and Melton Mowbray on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. This dual arrangement, though not named, still persisted in 1836. In 1839, the coach had been renamed the *Alexander* and ran daily from the Hoop Inn, Cambridge at 07.00. Its journey was now exclusively via Uppingham and the coach went on from Leicester to Nottingham. Part of the same enterprise was the *Blucher*, which was still a coach from Cambridge to Huntingdon in both 1830 and 1836, but in 1839 had become a coach to Stamford from the Hoop Inn, Cambridge on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays only, leaving at 10.00. It also boasted a branch coach to Peterborough. For a time in 1836, William Ekin and Co. also ran a coach from Cambridge to Northampton, but no details of this were recorded by any of the directories.

Local routes as well as more long-distance cross-country ones are shown on Fig. 2. One of these was the coach to Upwell of 1830, leaving the Sun Inn, Cambridge at 16.00 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. It went via Ely and Littleport. The inward journey, called the *Telegraph*, left Upwell for Cambridge on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 05.30. This was a short-lived enterprise, but in 1836 two separate coaches ran between Cambridge and Ely on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and one is recorded in 1839, leaving at 18.00 on those days for Ely from the George in Cambridge.

This paper has already noted that the *East Anglian* from Cambridge to Norwich is not recorded before 1845. It seems very much like the *Victoria* from King's Lynn to Northampton, which in 1839 was described as "a coach to meet the trains". In contrast, a coach from Cambridge to Great Yarmouth via Bury St Edmunds seems to have been running for most of the coaching years. In 1830, the *Accommodation* left the General Coach Office on the Quay at Great Yarmouth at 06.40, reached Beccles at 08.30 and Bungay at 09.30; Harleston was reached at 11.00, Botesdale at 13.00 and Ixworth at 14.00. The *Accommodation* arrived at Bury St Edmunds at about 15.00 and then went on to Newmarket and Cambridge. The return journey was made on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, leaving Bury St Edmunds at 13.30. No times were recorded for Cambridge either in that year or in 1836 or 1839, but various towns record the destination as Cambridge rather than Bury St Edmunds. It was run by D. Hogarth, a Yarmouth man, who also organised coaches between Norwich and Yarmouth and provided one of the two coaches on the Birmingham to Yarmouth *Royal Mail* service.

Bury St Edmunds and Newmarket, as well as being on the Cambridge to Great Yarmouth route, had individual coaches to and from Cambridge. In 1830 coaches called the *Times* left Cambridge from the Sun Inn at 16.00 and another left the Blue Boar at 09.30 for Bury St Edmunds. In the same year, the *Times* left the Bell, Bury St Edmunds, at 11.00. In 1839, the timings of the *Times* were 15.00 from the Hoop Inn, Cambridge, and 10.45 from the Bell at Bury St Edmunds. Another coach left the Angel

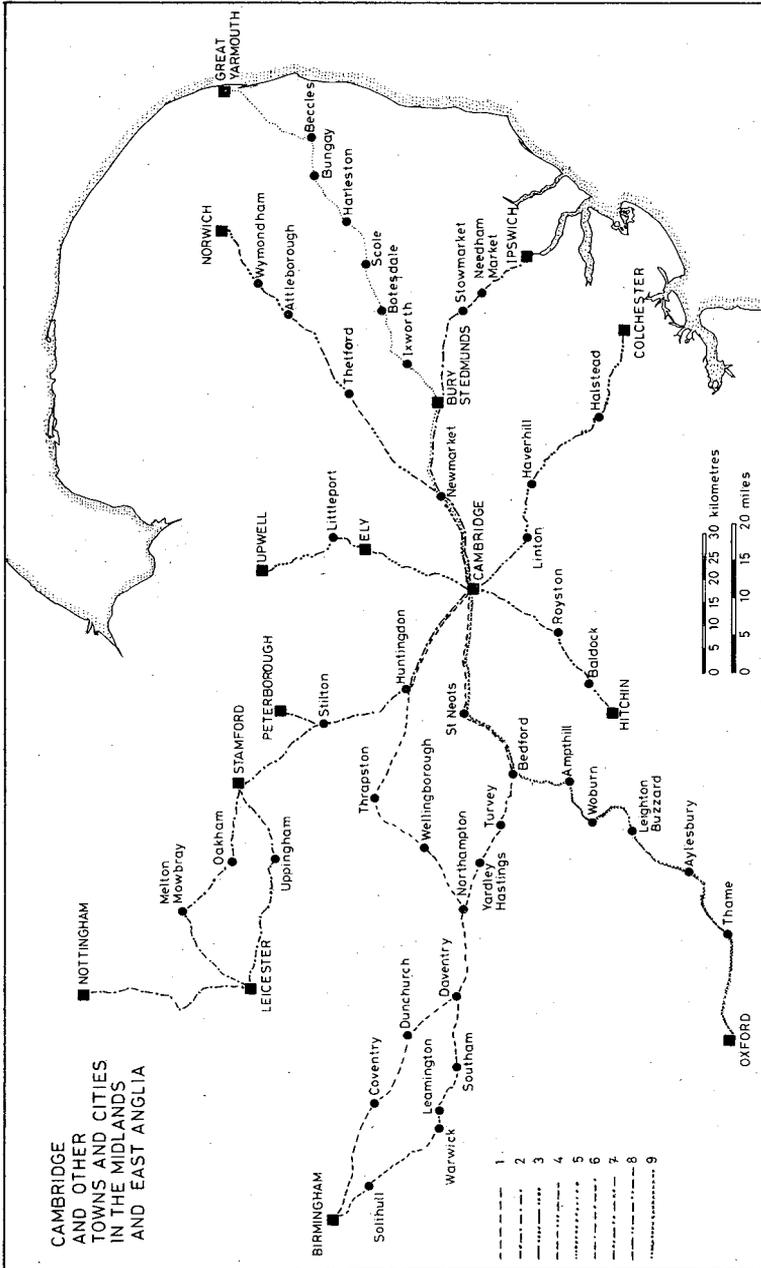


Fig. 2. Coaching routes from Cambridge to the Midlands and East Anglia. Key to routes:- 1. Cambridge - Birmingham 2. Cambridge - E. Midlands 3. Cambridge - Ely, Cambridge - Upwell 4. Cambridge - Norwich 5. Cambridge - Bury St. Edmunds and Gi. Yarmouth 6. Cambridge - Bury St. Edmunds and Ipswich 7. Cambridge - Colchester 8. Cambridge - Hitchin 9. Cambridge - Oxford

Inn, Bury St Edmunds, at 14.00 for Cambridge but this seems to have been the same as the coach which plied between Cambridge and Ipswich in that year. The *Accommodation* left the Hoop Inn, Cambridge, at 10.00 and a coach for Ipswich left the Angel, Bury St Edmunds at 14.00, on a journey via Stowmarket and Needham Market; the return journey left Ipswich at 10.00. This appears to have been fairly late in the period. No direct coach is recorded in 1836 or in 1830 between Cambridge and Ipswich, but in 1823 a coach called the *Comet* is found going from Cambridge to Ipswich and Colchester, via Linton, Haverhill and Hadleigh. The journey from Cambridge left at 09.00 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and that from Ipswich on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 09.30. Short-lived though this enterprise seems to have been, another coach from Cambridge to Colchester is found using the same Cambridge inn, the Red Lion, in 1830 and in 1839, leaving Cambridge on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 09.00 in 1830 and 09.30 in 1839. The route to Colchester from Cambridge remained the same: Linton, Haverhill and Halstead were the towns visited.

The *Wonder* coach from Cambridge to Hitchin is found only in 1839, leaving the Hoop Inn Cambridge at 15.00 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays in winter and an hour later in summer. Like the service to Ely, it was a purely local coach. The service to Oxford, however, was of longer distance and complex history. More than one enterprise tried its luck on this route. In 1839, a coach left the Eagle Inn, Cambridge, at 07.30 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays for St Neots, Bedford, Ampthill, Woburn, Hockliffe, Leighton Buzzard, Aylesbury, Thame and Oxford. In view of the use of the same hostelry, the coach may have had some connection with the service to Birmingham via Bedford. The two together gave a daily service from Cambridge to Bedford. The same coach is found in 1830 and the *Lark* of 1823 on the same route used the same inn and is an obvious predecessor. It left at 05.00 on Mondays, but at 06.00 on other days. Briefly also in 1823, it had a rival. The *Rocket* had also gone south-west on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, returning on the alternate days, but the *Lark* then ran daily in both directions. Perhaps there was insufficient traffic for two coaches and ultimately the owners found only enough for a single journey each day.

The history of the Oxford to Cambridge service is difficult to reconstruct. The spectrum of coaches from the small towns of the Cambridge region to London is equally complex and changing (Fig. 3). The towns in a broad swathe between Bedford and Ipswich provide a fair cross-section of communities in rural England in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. They range from the suddenly thrusting, almost arrogant, Luton to the more placid Clare, from the solid virtues of Hitchin, built on a thriving corn trade, to the declining former cloth towns of Essex like Halstead and Hadleigh. Yet each town, however small, contrived to maintain its own coach to London. The metropolis was sufficiently close to be reached in a day and for the return journey to be made the same day. Some even managed two coaches to London.

Luton was one such town.¹¹ From 1828 onwards, the tenant of the Cock Inn, William Clarke, ran a daily coach to London, leaving at 06.00. This like the *Favourite* of 1839 ran via Harpenden, St Albans, South Mimms and Barnet to London, but the *Industry* Omnibus of Thomas Finch of 1836 and 1839 used a route via Wheathampstead,

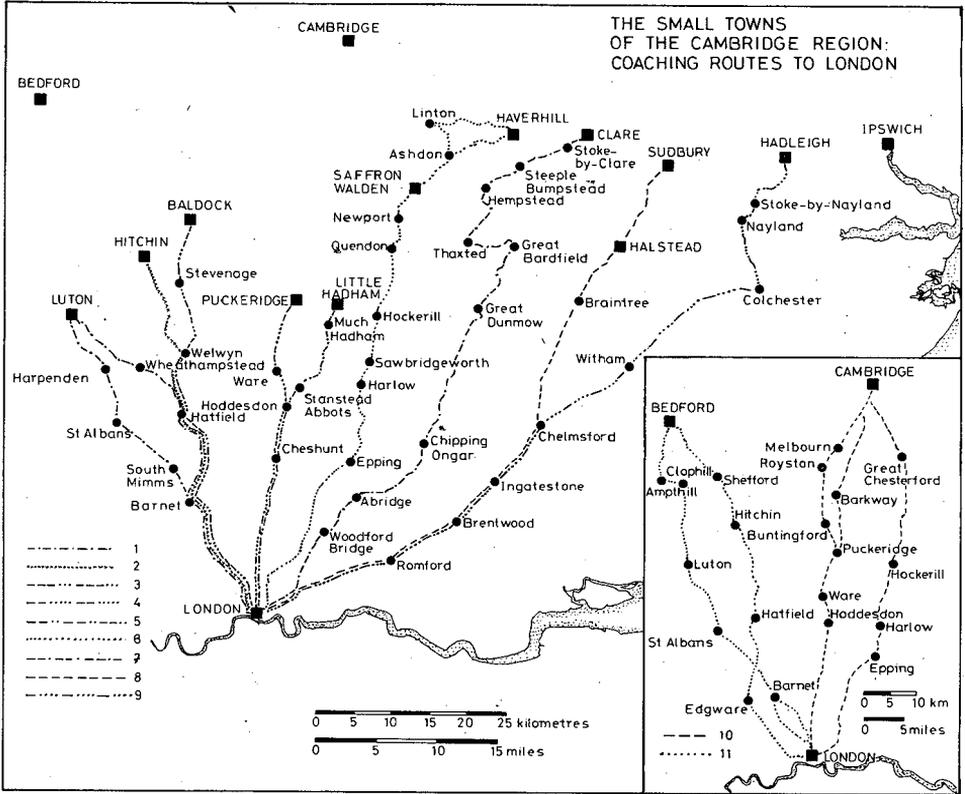


Fig. 3. The small towns of the Cambridge Region: coaching routes to London.

Inset: Routes between Cambridge and London, and Bedford and London.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Luton - London | 7. Clare - London |
| 2. Hitchin - London | 8. Sudbury and Halstead - London |
| 3. Baldock - London | 9. Hadleigh - London |
| 4. Puckeridge - London | 10. Cambridge - London |
| 5. Little Hadham - London | 11. Bedford - London |
| 6. Haverhill and Saffron Walden - London | |

Hatfield and Barnet to get to London. Because it was late in acquiring a railway, Luton retained its coaching services until well into the 1850s. Even just before the railway's opening in 1858, there was a service to Watford, for London, though this was cut back to St Albans in 1855.¹²

From Hitchin, there seems never to have been more than the one local enterprise, run by J.J. Kershaw of the Swan Inn.¹³ In 1823, it left at 08.00, but in 1828 it was timed to leave at 06.00 daily with additional journeys on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays at 08.00. By 1836, the coach, now called *Kershaw's Safety Coach*, left at 06.00 on Mondays and Fridays and at 09.00 on other days. Each day the return journey began from the White Bear, Piccadilly, at 13.45 and the Three Cups, Aldersgate Street, at 14.30. The same timings are found in 1839 on the unvaried route via Welwyn, Hatfield and Barnet. Kershaw seems to have been an ambitious man. In 1823, coaches through Baldock are listed in detail, without a local one being noted, and in 1828 the directory writer wrote of coaches "to London from this place; and others pass through nearly every hour". A similar statement was made about Stevenage, but in 1839, *Kershaw's Coach* left the Rose and Crown Inn, Baldock at 05.30 on Mondays and Fridays and 08.30 on other days, and returned through Stevenage each day at 19.30. This spread of a coaching owner from one town to another is found elsewhere, for in 1836, A. Bryan of St Albans is also found running a coach from Luton quite separately from his St Albans to London coach.

Even quite small places could boast their own coach to London. The *Alert* left the Bell at Puckeridge at 06.30 on Mondays and Fridays in 1839 and at 07.00 on other days for a journey via Ware, Hoddesdon and Cheshunt to London. It returned through Ware at 18.45. In the same area, the *Times* left Little Hadham at 07.00, but not every day, for a journey through Stanstead Abbots, where it called at the Pied Bull at 08.00, and Hoddesdon, where the coach patronised the Bull Inn at 08.30. On the return journey the coach reached Hoddesdon at 18.00, Stanstead Abbots at 18.30 and presumably arrived at Little Hadham at about 19.30. A similar timetable was followed by *Guiver's Fly* from Roydon which called at the Pied Bull, Stanstead Abbots at 07.30 and the Bull, Hoddesdon, at 08.00. In 1836, Thomas Guiver had run a coach from Hoddesdon to London, but local needs were served by no fewer than three of the four coaches between Hertford and London.

The small towns of north-west Essex and the portions of Cambridgeshire and Suffolk just beyond also supported a vigorous coaching life. Haverhill had more than than one enterprise at various times, though their individual lives do not seem to have overlapped. In 1823, a coach leaving the Bell Inn at 07.00 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays is noted; and in 1830, this coach has become the *Telegraph* via Saffron Walden and Bishop's Stortford, actually going into the town, rather than by-passing it through Hockerill. But in 1830 another coach from Haverhill is also noted. Under Linton, the directory writers record a *Royal Regulator* from Haverhill leaving the Crown Inn at 09.00 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays for Ashdon, Saffron Walden, Newport, Quendon, Hockerill, Sawbridgeworth and London. The return journey called at the Crown, Haverhill at 21.00 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

This dual provision seems to have been short-lived. In 1839, there is merely the *Telegraph* via Saffron Walden at 08.00 from the Bell at Haverhill. Saffron Walden also had its own coach: the *Walden* in 1839 left at 04.15 on Mondays and at 06.00 on other days. Earlier, in 1828, there had been a wider choice. The *Independent* left the Rose and Crown at 07.00 and returned from the Saracen's Head, Aldersgate at 19.30. It seems to have been a daily service. Other coaches ran alternate days. The *Defiance* left the Rose and Crown, Saffron Walden, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 10.00 and a coach left the Sun Inn at 07.00 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. Both returned from London on the alternate days.

Both Clare and Hadleigh had their own coaches to London. In 1823, a coach left the Half Moon in Clare at 09.00 on Saturdays and at 11.00 on Tuesdays and Thursdays. By 1830, this had become the *Times* leaving at 08.00; it left an hour later in 1839, but appears in both years to have run each day except Sundays. The route did not vary, from Clare to Stoke-by-Clare and Steeple Bumpstead to Hempstead and on to Thaxted and Great Bardfield and thence by Great Dunmow, Chipping Ongar, Abridge and Woodford Bridge to London. The route of the Hadleigh coach did not vary either, through Stoke-by-Nayland and Nayland to Colchester and along the main route to London. In 1823, it left the George, Hadleigh at 06.00 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. By 1830 it had acquired a name, the *Wellington*, and in 1839 it is noted as running daily except Sundays.

Like many small towns on main through routes (in their case from Bury St Edmunds and Norwich) Halstead and Sudbury were well-served by coaches passing through. Yet both had their own coach. In 1830 Sudbury had two. The *Old Sudbury* left the Rose and Crown at 09.00 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays: it became the *Sudbury* of 1839 leaving the same inn at 10.00. The rival in 1830, the *New Sudbury*, left the Swan Inn at 10.00 on Sundays and at 09.00 on Tuesdays and Thursdays. From Halstead in the same year there was the *Halstead* leaving the Royal Oak at 04.00 on Mondays and 06.00 on other weekdays. It went through Braintree at 07.00 on Tuesdays to Saturdays and 05.00 on Mondays. The *Sudbury* in 1839, passed through Halstead at 11.00 and Braintree at 12.00. After Chelmsford, like their fellows from Bury St Edmunds and Norwich, these coaches joined the busy road into London, along which plied coaches from Harwich, Great Yarmouth, Saxmundham, Wickham Market and Norwich.

The road to East Anglia via Romford, Brentwood, Ingatestone and Chelmsford was a busy one, but no less busy than that via Epping, Harlow, Hockerill, and Great Chesterford. From there this road branched: one section went on to Newmarket, Bury St Edmunds or Thetford, Attleborough, Wymondham and Norwich; the other went into Cambridge. Cambridge was also reached from London via Hoddesdon, Ware, Puckeridge, Buntingford, Royston and Melbourn.

Coaching was a gradually changing pattern: no route was constant, and the maps (Figs. 1 - 3) capture as a static picture an ever changing scene. A whole industry was built around coaching, and towns like Hoddesdon lived on the profits of their position on a through route. Future research could well be directed to the examination of that industry; an equally vital area of enquiry might also be its demise and the human

consequences. The routes delineated in the text and plotted on the maps provide only the beginnings of an enquiry into an aspect of early nineteenth-century England, which was short-lived, but caught the popular imagination. Beyond the imagination of Charles Dickens, and others, lies the hard core of reliable historical fact, noted by contemporaries, recorded in timetables, and which it is possible to place on maps.¹⁴ These maps and the text seek to place coaching routes in their proper historical context: the economic setting of early nineteenth-century England.¹⁵

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A paper such as this, based on printed sources, might be thought to have no particular thanks, yet it is fitting that I should record my thanks to those libraries who have co-operated with me in my search for information. It is therefore my great pleasure to thank the staff of the Department of History and Local Studies of Bedfordshire County Library, Bedford, and to record my especial thanks to Luton Museum's staff also, not least for the stimulating discussion provided by Mrs M. Nicholls, Mrs. C. Heck and Mr. R.K. Hagen.

NOTE ON THE SOURCES

Most of the information given in this paper has been assembled from various early nineteenth-century directories, and also the modern compilation of Alan Bates for 1836. These have not been listed individually in the footnotes, so as to save space. As a guide to further study, and incidentally providing also a record of printed sources for early Victorian Cambridge and its region, they have been given here in order of publication date.

1822-23 Pigot & Co., *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory for 1822-23*, (1822), for Norfolk, Lincolnshire and Leicester.

1823-24 Pigot & Co., *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory for 1823-24*, for Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Suffolk

1828-29 Pigot & Co., *London and Provincial Commercial Directory and Topography for 1828-9* (1828), for Essex and Hertfordshire.

1830 Pigot & Co., *London and Provincial Commercial Directory and Topography for 1830*, (1830), for Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire and Suffolk.

- 1836 A. Bates, *Directory of Stage Coach Services, 1836* (Newton Abbot, 1969)
- 1839 Pigot & Co., *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography*, (1839), for Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk and Suffolk.
- 1844 W.White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Suffolk . . . , 1844*, (Newton Abbot, 1969 reprint as *White's 1844 Suffolk*).
- 1845 W.White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk . . . , 1845* (Newton Abbot, 1969, reprint as *White's 1845 Norfolk*).
- 1850 Slater's (late Pigot & Co.), *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography for 1850* (1850), for Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Rutland and Suffolk.

NOTES

1. D.H. Kennett, 'The Geography of Coaching in Early Nineteenth-Century Northamptonshire', *Northants. Past & Present* 5 (1974), 107-120.
2. D.H. Kennett, 'The Pattern of Coaching in Early Nineteenth-Century Norfolk', *Norfolk Arch.* forthcoming.
3. W. Albert, *The Turnpike Road System in England, 1663-1840*, (Cambridge, 1972), *passim*, is valuable for the roads of Cambridge and its region.
4. F.A. Reeve, *Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge from old photographs*, (London, 1971), has illustrations of many of the coaching inns of Cambridge mentioned in this paper, and gives details of their demolition dates.
5. Bedfordshire County Record Office, Rawlins papers, account book of the Bedford Coach, 1803-1808; document X 37/4.
6. Details compiled from Pigot, 1839, and Bates for 1836; the details for Kershaw are similarly derived.
7. Beds. C.R.O. document BS 1945.
8. Beds. C.R.O. Rawlins papers, documents catalogued as X 37, *passim*; for details see D.H. Kennett, 'The Kettering Coach, 1808-1815', forthcoming.
9. S. Hill to J. Rawlins, 6 April 1814; Rawlins papers, Beds. C.R.O. document X 37/9/5.
10. These are mapped Kennett, 1974, fig 3.
11. W. Austin, *A History of Luton and Its Hamlets*, (Newport, 1928), ii, 122; further details of the coaching history of Luton are given *ibid.* 93, 109 and 139.
12. The remoteness of Luton may be gauged by a sale catalogue of 1857, when to arrive by 12.00 it was necessary to leave Euston at 07.30 for a train to Leighton Buzzard,

change for a train to Dunstable and then take a horse omnibus; Luton Museum, sale catalogue A/5/5/40.

13. R.L. Hine, *History of Hitchin*

14 The reader who requires a general introduction to coaching is best directed first to R.C. and J.M. Anderson, *Quicksilver*, (Newton Abbot, 1973); S. Margetson, *Journey By Stages* (London, 1967); and R. Copeland, *Roads and Their Traffic, 1750-1850*, (Newton Abbot, 1968). Older works requiring much caution in their use are W. Outram Tristram, *Coaching Days and Coaching Ways*, (London, 1893, reprinted Wakefield, 1973), and G.C. Harper, *Stage Coach and Mail in Days of Yore*, (1903). In addition to the works of Kennett, recent county surveys are C. Noall, *A History of Cornish Mail and Stage Coaches*, (Truro, 1963); S.A.H. Burne, 'The Coaching Age in Staffordshire', *Trans. North Staffs. Field Club* 56 (1921-22), 49-74; and K.M. Spencer, 'Railways and Turnpikes in Preston, 1830-1850', *Transport History* 7 (1974), 124-133. The two last employ a rather different approach to that used here.

15. Paper completed 19 May 1975.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

J.G. Pollard

*(A revised version of a paper given before the Society, 14 March 1977)*¹

The Society has not, before this occasion, ever regarded itself. It was certainly aware of an impending centenary, but 1940 was not a proper time, and a projected publication for the birthday was postponed. We were content to invite Ellis Minns to address the 100th Annual General Meeting on 'The Illuminated books of Lindisfarne and Kells', and to attend a tea party for 140 guests given by Louis Clarke at his home. He spoke briefly on the history of the Society, and was presented by Minns with a letter from the Society's Council expressing their gratitude for all that Louis Clarke had done both for the Society and for the University Museum.

Today is no special anniversary, but we do deserve credit, and now is an opportunity to consider our history more fully than was done in 1940. Before looking at the genesis of the Society, I shall look at the sparse indications of a continuing interest in the University in antiquarian matters. The first and last King's Antiquary, John Leland, was appointed in 1533, and was a Christ's man. Both Universities amused themselves with the childish game of asserting primacy of foundation, and the Orator at Cambridge, inspired by John Caius, made such an assertion before Queen Elizabeth in 1564. The first serious antiquarianism here was however produced by the political process of justifying Tudor state and church through the discovery of precedents in pre-conquest England. Matthew Parker of Corpus, as Archbishop of Canterbury, led a team of historians and linguists who worked on pre-conquest history, religion, institutions, and law, and publications were made with a special Saxon type-face. Michael Henneage, Fellow of St John's College, should be mentioned, because he was one of the Assembly of Antiquaries that met in 1591. In the seventeenth century Cambridge has Martin Lister, also of St John's College, who was a medical man with a remarkable reputation as an antiquarian. Laurence Echard produced not only a reputable history of the middle ages, but also contributed the section on Cambridge-shire to Edmund Gibson's splendid edition of Camden's *Britannia* of 1695.

In the eighteenth century we have William Stukeley (1687-1765), a professional medical man and cleric, but who was also the most remarkable field archaeologist of the period. When an undergraduate here, Stukeley began to take a particular interest in antiquities, and he wrote "I frequently took a walk to sigh over the ruins of Barnwell Abbey, and made a draught of it, and used to cut pieces of the Ew trees into tobacco stoppers, lamenting the destruction of so noble a monument of the Piety and Magnificence of our Ancestors".²

The second half of the century has the Rev. William Cole and Thomas Gray the poet as serious students of medieval monuments. Cole has left to us, in the British Museum, the largest accumulation of miscellaneous antiquarian papers of any antiquary. Horace Walpole should be mentioned, for his enthusiastic medievalism was most important in the history of style, and he had serious antiquarian pretensions. It is amusing to find that Walpole resigned from the Society of Antiquaries because Robert Master, Fellow of Benet (Corpus Christi) College, read to the Society a devastating review of Walpole's book on Richard III.

These are small enough indications of a continuing concern from Cambridge men in antiquarian and archaeological matters. The only forum for such interests would have been the Society of Antiquaries in London³. There appear to have been very few Cambridge dons who were Fellows of the London Society, and there would have been little purpose in their being in such company, for by the end of the Napoleonic wars the Society of Antiquaries was practically moribund. This condition caused such complaint amongst antiquarians in general that a new national Society, the Archaeological Association, was formed in London in 1843. The ancient universities themselves were also generally somnolent. In Cambridge the professors seldom lectured, and were frequently absentees⁴. The low level of activity in the sciences caused the foundation of the Cambridge Philosophical Society⁵ in 1819, to provide a proper forum for scientific discussion, and to house an appropriate library. For students of antiquarianism or of archaeology there was no such forum, and the foundation of our society represents a university response to such a need. The response is gratifyingly early, for such a need was felt widely in England, as is shown by the spate of such societies founded in the 1840's⁶, but we are amongst the earliest. The Spalding Gentlemen's Society was founded in 1710, the London Antiquaries in 1717, the Edinburgh Antiquaries in 1780 and the Newcastle upon Tyne Antiquaries in 1813. The Yorkshire Philosophical Society⁷ was founded in 1822, out of the excitement generated by a discovery of fossil bones. Although the Society was scientific in origin, it almost immediately founded a museum for antiquities. The prospectus says "The Museum will be open to every subject of scientific curiosity, but it is chiefly designed to be a Repository of Antiquities in which the vicinity of the city abounds, and of geological specimens . . .". A few architectural societies preceded us. The Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Society for promoting the study of Gothic Architecture are both of 1839, and the Warwickshire Architectural and Natural History Society began in 1836. A spate of societies followed us — Norfolk and St Albans, both in 1845, Sussex, 1846, Bedfordshire, 1847, Buckinghamshire and the Lancashire and Cheshire, 1848, and the Somerset Society in 1849. I have already mentioned that a local excitement prompted the founding of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. Similarly, the Sussex Society was founded from the excitement caused by archaeological discoveries made at Lewes during the building of the railway. The Cambridge Society had no such external event to prompt its foundation, for it seems to have been first proposed by a remarkable young man of 19 named J.O. Halliwell in 1839⁸, then an undergraduate at Jesus College. He had already published literary material in London

and was to mature into a remarkable lexicographer, editor, and Shakespearean scholar. The Society's letter books go back to 1840, but there is nothing in them concerning the genesis of the Society. The *Dictionary of National Biography* credits Halliwell with first proposing the society, and the idea was repeated by Arthur Gray in his Presidential Address to the Society in 1903. It can therefore be accepted as part of our folk wisdom. Halliwell went down in 1841 without taking a degree, but he continued to act as Secretary until May 1843. He married a daughter of Sir Thomas Phillipps, against the father's wishes, and this marriage doubtless explains the publication in our *Proceedings* of a paper on Ely Cathedral by Phillipps.⁹

Our first President was Dr Tatham, Master of St John's College and vice-Chancellor at the time, and there was a committee of seven. Halliwell was secretary, and there were also the Rev. H. W. Cookson, fellow and tutor of Peterhouse, Rev. G.E. Corrie, Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Sir Henry Dryden, the Rev. James Hildyard, fellow and tutor of Christ's College, the Rev. John Lodge, university librarian, the Rev. J. J. Smith of Caius, and the Rev. C. Hartshorne. Only one member of the committee was also a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Hartshorne, and he was to be one of the five dissident FSA's who formed the rival national society, the British Archaeological Association, in 1843.

The only members of the committee who had published, at that time, anything antiquarian, were Halliwell and the Rev. J.J. Smith. Smith had been editor of an excellent two-volume topographical work on Cambridge, published in 1840, and he contributed the second of our quarto series on a medieval chronicle, 1840, and a fascicule on College Plate in 1845.

The laws of the Society said that it existed for the study of the history and antiquities of the university, county, and town of Cambridge. The Report of the first Annual General Meeting shows that the Society's interests were principally historical, for the Report surveys the previous publications that existed on Cambridge, and then lists the various collections of manuscript materials concerning Cambridge which ought to be studied and published, such as Baker in the British Museum and the University Library, Cole in the British Museum, Hare in the Registry, and Bowtell at Downing College. This would suggest that the Society was formed out of an antiquarianism based on archival material, but there was, I think, another reason for our foundation and success — we were a temperate haven from the controversies centred on the Cambridge Camden Society¹⁰. The Camden had as objectives the study of gothic architecture and ecclesiastical antiquities. It was founded by Trinity undergraduates J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb — 'vehement, tactless and arrogant young men, full of architectural rectitude and a hideous consciousness of their liturgical superiority'. Distinguished people in the Camden quickly resigned, to become Council members of the Antiquarian Society. For example, both Whewell and Robert Willis were vice-Presidents of the Camden Society, and both resigned in 1842. Willis was invited to be President of the Antiquarians in 1844, Whewell joined the Society in 1845 and served on Council from 1852 to 1854. Both Whewell and Willis were leading professionals in the study of medieval architecture, and Whewell had published an essay titled

“Architectural notes on German Churches” in 1830. He had stimulated Willis’s interest in the subject, and the election of Willis as President of the Antiquarians coincided with, and was probably prompted by, his having published in that year his pioneer work on “The Nomenclature of the Architecture of the Middle Ages”. Both Whewell and Willis had read papers on medieval architectural topics to the Cambridge Philosophical Society, so that, needing a platform, they could avoid with the Antiquarians the ecclesiological controversies of the Camden. An amusing example of controversy and a plain statement of the innocence of the Antiquarians in matters ecclesiological is afforded by the reaction to a lecture given to us by Willis in December 1848 on the excavations at Ickleton. The *Literary Gazette* of 1849 made the following attack on Willis’s opinions,

“We are informed that the Cambridge Antiquarian Society have joined in the opinion that the remains at Ickleton (which we have never viewed in any other possible light than Roman) are Saxon or maybe Norman! They had surely better stick to their church architecture and symbols than venture thus to expose themselves in the field of primeval antiquities”.

Churchill Babington replied to this criticism

“As the Society has always most carefully avoided symbolism, as church architecture is certainly not its primary object, and as primeval antiquities have received its special attention, the (latter part of the) attack falls to the ground”.¹¹

The Antiquarians were here quick to disassociate themselves from the activities of the Camden, which had moved to London in 1846. The Cambridge dissidents from the Camden formed in November 1846 the Cambridge Architectural Society, which lasted until 1870 when it formally amalgamated with the Antiquarians on equal terms. Law I of the Antiquarian Society had been modified in 1845 to read “Study of the history, architecture, and antiquities of the university, county and town of Cambridge”. These studies have remained our interests ever since.

Membership

Having dealt with the origins and aims of the Society, I wish now to look at our membership. The first group of subscribers, those who joined in 1840, numbered 19. By the end of 1841 there were 29, and in 1842 there were 40 paid-up members, with a total of 60 on the Treasurer’s books. The Society enjoyed a period of remarkable growth due to the energy of S.S. Lewis, Secretary from 1874 to 1891. We passed the 100 mark in 1879, 200 in 1881. The highest recorded membership in the last century was 333 in 1886. During the last fifteen years of the century there was a gradual decline in membership which alarmed Council. Between 1894 and 1900 subscribers fell from 196 to 165, the income falling by one third. In 1900 there were however 246 members, the difference in these figures representing compounded subscriptions. This meant that there was insufficient revenue for publications, and in 1909 our Auditors complained very sharply that with six publications in the press, Council had overcommitted the Society. Matters improved under F.G. Walker, Secretary from 1909 to 1914: in 1911 there were

456 members. The period between the wars, one of great activity, seems to have had a roughly regular membership of about 350, but there were many resignations in 1939, and in 1942 only 283 subscribers. We did not recover from these losses until 1952, and we have now 420 members. Such a figure is about one quarter of the number of private subscribers to such a national organisation as the Royal Archaeological Institute. It is an indication of post-war difficulties that we abolished Life Subscription in 1948, and that the Cambs. and Hunts. Archaeological Society, founded in 1900, amalgamated with us in 1952. The title page of our *Proceedings* continues to record this amalgamation. Most of the Society's income is spent on our publications. Not since 1846 has Council complained that the surplus was excessive, with two thirds of the revenue unused.

The rules for membership have been modified, but from the foundation the Society has been a mixture of Town and Gown. The admission of women was first proposed at the Annual General Meeting in 1880, and at a subsequent special meeting of the Society it was decided that wives and daughters could become associate members for a small subscription. A Presidential Address specially mentions the welcome given to women after the laws were modified to admit them as full members in 1894¹². Undergraduates were admitted as associates from 1908, and our present arrangements were first placed in our Laws in 1931. A.C. Haddon made an interesting proposal to Council in 1907. He offered to resign from the Council so that a citizen of Cambridge who was not a member of the University could take his place. Haddon argued that the Society was nominally as much a non-university as a university Society, and his purpose was to stimulate interest both in the Society and in the appeal for the new museum building. W.B. Redfern was duly elected to the vacancy. The first woman to serve on the Council was Miss Mary Bateson in 1906. She was a distinguished historian, having edited the University Grace Book B for the Society's Luard Series on university documents, and collaborated with Maitland to publish the town charters of Cambridge in a volume published jointly by the Society and the Town. Miss Bateson died within a year of her election to the Council.

Publications

The Society, having determined to publish materials, set about the task with admirable address. An energetic publication programme was a sign of life, and the runaway success of the Camden Society's myriad pamphlets a local stimulus. The Antiquarian Society was perhaps aware of the position of the Newcastle Antiquarians, who despite their relative wealth had published nothing between their foundation in 1813, and their commencement of *Archaeologia Aeliana* in 1822. Despite our small membership we produced from the foundation a series of slim quarto monographs, the first, by Prof. Corrie, being an account of the early library of St Catherine's College, in 1840. Between 1840 and 1853, eighteen such monographs and ten *Reports and*

Communications appeared. Between 1860 and 1880 there were only thirteen monographs, but between 1890 and 1893 no less than fifteen monographs were published. The subsequent 20 years, to 1914, saw twenty-one monographs, Mayor's *Cambridge under Queen Anne*, three Luard volumes, and the regular annual volume of *Proceedings*. Between the wars there were seven monographs, seventeen volumes of *Proceedings* and an index volume. Palmer's monograph on the monumental inscriptions and coats of arms of Cambridgeshire, 1932, published by Macmillan and Bowes, had almost one half of the cost paid by the Society, so that the rights in the book reverted to us. Since 1947 we have maintained an annual volume of *Proceedings*, and we produced in 1971 the third of our Indices¹³.

The close connection between the Society and the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology is reflected in the extraordinary range of materials in the *Communications* and *Proceedings* and in papers presented as public lectures. Before 1914 the range was world-wide, concerned with both archaeology and anthropology. It is not for me to say how much of the early materials has survived in usefulness. I cannot believe that Professor Daniel has derived much profit from the article by our Secretary Bonney, 1866, which concluded that the megaliths of Brittany and Britain were possibly not post-Roman. It is at least clear, however, that the non-speculative publications, records of sites, coin finds, excavations, have survived. The importance of McKenny Hughes's work on shire archaeology was recently acknowledged by our dedicating 'The Cambridge Archaeological Gazetteer' to his memory. The topographical articles and the publications of historical documents are indispensable. Peter Gathercole tells me that the ethnographical and anthropological materials continue to be respected as pioneer field work. A.C. Haddon, in his address on retirement from the Presidency in 1906, said explicitly that he had regarded his election as a recognition of the special relationship here between archaeology and ethnology, and he made a charming observation concerning the photographic survey of the shire then being conducted by Dr F. J. Allen. Haddon admonished them to 'photograph everything of human interest that was photographable'.

There was an undercurrent of resentment against the breadth of our interests, however. The Presidential Address in 1908 examined the pattern shown in the papers of the previous year. Of twenty-four papers nine were on Cambridge, eleven on East Anglia, and only four dealt with materials outside Britain. A.H. Lloyd was quite clear on the matter. His Inaugural Address as President, 1931, suggested that the existence in the university of the teaching of Ethnology had removed from the Society any responsibility in that field. Lloyd mentioned, as a more proper concern, the prospective centenary of the Society, and he said that we should plan to complete the county history which we had once proposed. We were criticised outside Cambridge also, for the centenary volume of the Sussex Archaeological Society includes a complaint that we had once even listened to a paper on oriental magic. Surely our breadth of interests has been entirely laudable, for antiquarians would need to be told by an anthropologist, as by Haddon in 1906, that they should photograph, for example, the Cambridge May Day Ceremony of 1910, before the ceremony ceased for ever.

Venues

It may be of interest to record where the Society held its meetings. Initially both the general and the Council meetings took place in the college Lodge of the President. This arrangement lasted until the Philosophical Society provided a meeting room in its house, the building long known as the Hawks Club in All Saints Passage. The Philosophical society proved to have made a great mistake in building its own headquarters, for they proved too expensive to run and were first let, then sold at a substantial loss. The dispossessed Antiquarians took refuge in the rooms of the then Secretary in St John's College, 1866-7, and rooms were then hired in The Albert Institute in 1867 at £5 p.a. In 1870 the Optical and Astronomical lecture room on the New Museums site, north of Downing Street, was lent to the Society on the same terms as enjoyed by the Philosophical Society. The Museum of Classical Archaeology was built in 1883, and the regular meetings of the Society were held there in the lecture theatre for fifty years, until the University agreed to the use of the new Literary Lecture Rooms, Mill Lane, from 15 October 1934, where we still meet. Our Council had strong attachment to the lecture theatre in Little St Mary's Lane, for the Minute notes that the change of venue was 'carefully deliberated'.

Evening meetings were introduced in 1910, and are recorded as having doubled attendances. Special lectures needed a ticket system for admission, such as Vaughan Williams on East Anglian folk music with sung illustrations, or J.M. Dent on English music drama of the seventeenth century with chorus and orchestra, in 1915. A lecture on ancient Egypt by Flinders Petrie drew nearly 400 people. For one term lectures were held weekly, and Council noted a great increase in average attendances. A.C. Haddon was the first person to show cine film to the Society, in 1905, for a paper on the native dances of the Torres Straits. The most prolific contributor to our lecture list, as to our publications, was Professor McKenny Hughes, and justly he occupies more space in our indices of *Proceedings* than any other figure.

The regular programmes of public lectures, and the Society's summer excursions have been a most effective means for the recruitment of members. The Excursions have been a regular activity since 1879 when they were begun by Professor Bendall. The excursions even continued during the last war. The series of visits to Cambridge colleges began in 1886, and have also remained a regular part of our programme. The Society has occasionally acted as host to visiting societies, including both the Archaeological Association and the Archaeological Institute. In 1932 the International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-historic Studies made a three-day visit from London, being guided by members and enjoying the hospitality of Louis Clarke.

Activities

The Society has accomplished a great deal of work through special committees of activists. The first such committee was formed in 1900 to prepare a monumental history of the shire, to be ordered parish by parish, and intended to cover archaeology,

history, and topography. A large working group was formed, chaired by the Bishop of Ely, and two of the parish surveys were completed. After two years of work the Society was asked to participate in the Victoria County History, and Council agreed, after interviewing the editor, to abandon our own project and to collaborate. The publication of historical documents I have already mentioned as the concern of our first Annual Report. This interest was reinforced by our having the university librarian, and the Registrary, J.W. Clark on the Council. In 1899 Clark proposed the formation of a committee to obtain copies of the university wills then at Peterborough, and he offered £50 p.a. for five years to pay for the work. In 1902 the university member of parliament was asked to help, but nothing more was done, and Clark withdrew his offer. Eventually he interested the Royal Historical Society in the matter. I have already mentioned the publication by the Society of the University Grace Books and of the town charters. In 1886 the Council noted a circular from the Antiquaries of London appealing for the preservation of manorial records. Council said 'it was resolved to call the attention of members to this point as many of them have a large number of such records'. The Society does not appear to have done anything itself, however, until 1929 when Dr W. M. Palmer formed a committee for the preservation of court rolls. In 1933 he reported that he and Bullock had inspected Wimpole, and found little, but had managed to arrange the immensely valuable collection at Sawston Hall. This responsibility was taken over by the County Council, and in 1934 we were invited to send representatives to the newly formed Records Committee.

A survey of the parish churches of Cambridgeshire was proposed in 1933, for members had discovered that many of the churches had never been systematically photographed nor had ground plans been prepared. Two committees were formed, one to deal with the documentation and one to perform the field work. Fortunately this labour has been taken from the Society by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, the Commission's publications on the shire making full use of the Society's extensive topographical accumulations. Other committees which deal with a photographic survey of the county and with the collecting of portraits will be mentioned in dealing with our collections.

The most remarkable of the activities in which the Society was involved was the Fenland Research Committee. The problem which the Committee set itself to solve had been once mentioned to the Society by McKenny Hughes in a Presidential Address of 1891, when he deplored the opportunities then being lost for recording stratified finds in the county. Cyril Fox had published his *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* in 1923, in which the distribution maps indicated that there had been favourable conditions for human occupation in the fens during the neolithic and bronze ages. Dr J.G.D. Clarke had just published his survey of mesolithic Britain and he saw in the fens the opportunity to set the British cultures into an environmental time scale, as had already been done in mesolithic studies in Scandinavia. The Committee was formed in 1932, jointly with the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, with Dr Clarke as secretary. There were several members of the Society on the Committee. Major Gordon Fowler of Ely, who knew more about the fenland sites than any other person,

was vice-Chairman, and Miles Burkitt, T.C. Lethbridge, and C.W. Phillips also served. It was in fact a Quaternary Committee, and what it achieved was to show the importance of stratigraphy to archaeology in giving evidence both of date and of the environmental circumstances under which materials were deposited. The excavation at Peacock's Farm, Shippea Hill, produced a stratification of early bronze age, neolithic A and late mesolithic materials at levels ranging from 5¼ to 17 feet below sea level. It was the first such section in England, and the results were published in the *Antiquaries Journal* in 1935.

A secondary activity of the Committee was the survey and investigation of Romano-British farmsteads in the fenland. Gordon Fowler had lectured to the Society in May 1932 on the lost fenland waterways that he had discovered, and air survey work had revealed a far more extensive Romano-British settlement than had ever been suspected. An effective account of the Committee's work was published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society* in 1938.

Excavations

Rescue-digs and properly conducted larger excavations had interested the Society from its foundation. The earliest publication of such work is Sir Henry Dryden's fascicule on Roman and Romano-British materials from Shefford, published in 1844. I believe that the first occasion of our funding an excavation was for that conducted by Baron von Hügel at St Johns' playing field in 1888. From 1893 the Society made annual grants of £25 each for local excavation work and for the purchase of antiquities for the Museum. A formal excavation committee was formed in 1901, of Gray, McKenny Hughes, Professor Ridgeway, and Haddon, 'to draw up a scheme for conducting systematic excavations', and £50 was voted to the Committee for work at Horningsea and Cherry Hinton. There are several other sums recorded in the Minutes as grants for excavation, and at last in 1909-10 a formal public appeal was made to create an excavation fund. The appeal document makes an interesting point in stating that the public interest was so great in the excavations at Barton and Lords Bridge conducted by the Society, that one hundred new members had joined. Our Secretary Walker must share some of the credit for this. The Appeal sets out a list of sites to be explored and the archaeological expectations from them. Much was still accomplished by individual gifts. Cyril Fox acknowledges in the preface to *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* that the field work for the book was largely paid for by Dr Palmer. The excavation at Snailwell, 1940, was paid for by J.M. de Navarro. Little wonder that the Director of Excavations from 1925 to 1957, T.C. Lethbridge, asked in 1937 for a new committee to be formed both to raise funds and guide policy. The air survey work on Romano-British farmsteads was continued by Mr John Bromwich in 1951, aided by a small grant from the Society. Lethbridge was succeeded as Director of Excavations from 1958 to 1965 by C.F. Tebbutt, and after a gap of nine years the office was filled by Dr John Alexander, in 1974.

Collections

My last remarks concern the Society's collections¹⁴. As early as 1844 the collection of antiquities and books was such that Council received permission from the vice-Chancellor to store the materials in the room at the Pitt Press building then used for the Mesman Bequest. The collections were offered as the Society's property. With the opening of the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1848 the Society asked if the collections could be housed there. Instead, it was agreed that everything should go to the rooms of the Philosophical Society, arranged in October that year at a cost of five guineas p.a. In 1875 our Secretary wrote to the Council of the Senate to suggest that if proper accommodation could be provided the Society might well present everything it owned to the University. The Minutes show that the collections were then scattered between the Fitzwilliam Museum, the University Library, and the rooms of the Secretary. The offer was repeated in 1879 with the suggestion that a Syndicate be formed concerned with ing the collections. This was done, and in 1881 the Archaeological Collections Syndicate reported that everything had been transferred to the main hall of the new museum building used by the Philosophical Society, arranged by Lionel Cust. Finally, in 1883, the collections were accepted by the University as a gift and placed in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, to be joined by ethnographical collections. Baron von Hügel was appointed Curator, at a salary of £150 p.a. of which one third was paid by the Society and continued so to be paid until 1893. The allotted space quickly filled, and Professor Ridgeway in his Presidential Address of 1897, adds an amusing comment on the consequences of crowding. He said that because of inadequate space and funding too many local antiquities "wandered off to the British Museum or to Sir John Evans". In 1899 a part of the Downing site was designated by the University for a new Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology and committee was formed to plan and cost the work. Progress was slow, through lack of money. The University provided £1000 and the Society a token £100. Most of the money was raised by von Hügel, building began in 1910 and the first block was finished in 1912. The general development of museum and Faculty are beyond my brief, but have been recently summarised by Professor Daniel in his Inaugural Lecture¹⁵. Mention should be made of some special collections. The Society has made several attempts to collect photographs of distinguished persons conneced with Cambridge, and we have accumulated a fascinating collection of portrait photographs. We organised three exhibitions of portraits in the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1884, 1885 and 1908, with catalogues by members of the Society. We also arranged an exhibition of college plate in the Fitzwilliam in 1895, and in 1911 a loan exhibition of Stuart and Cromwellian relics mounted in the Guildhall with a catalogue by the Secretary. The exhiition drew large numbers, but as it lasted only for five days the Society lost £60 in costs.

Several attempts were made by the Society to conduct systematic photographic surveys of the shire. The most productive Committee for this work was formed in 1925 and run jointly with the Cambridge Photographic Society. The product was housed in

the Museum, and the collection of shire photographs now numbers more than 8,000. The Committee remained active until 1939.

The Society has formed a celebrated collection of brass rubbings from a first gift made to us in 1847. A Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors was formed in 1887, and became the national Monumental Brass Society¹⁶.

We have now surveyed, I believe, the growth and the principal activities of this Society since its foundation. I might re-emphasise the importance of our collections in the University, for the collections preceded teaching, teaching preceded a museum, and the Museum preceded the Faculty. We were wise to disencumber ourselves of collections by presenting everything to the University, for the Society could not possibly have built and maintained a museum, and could see warnings in the difficulties of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, and in the experience of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. The Yorkshire Society built a beautiful museum and meeting place in the grounds of St Mary's Abbey, York in 1830. The next Annual Report said

"The Society is not insolvent but it is deeply embarrassed, for it labours under a weight of debt which is sufficient to depress its energy, and to stifle its exertions".

Our Society however has debts only to a remarkable succession of executive Officers. The University continues to provide us with a room and with facilities for meetings. Recently the value to the University of the one hundred journals that we receive by exchange for our *Proceedings* and which we present to the Haddon Library, has been acknowledged by a grant from the University towards our printing costs.

This address is neither valedictory nor exhortatory. It is not for me to divine our future, but I would offer a recent experience to give perhaps an indication of where we shall have to labour. A schoolboy in a radio programme was asked what are the Elgin marbles. He replied 'a sort of Scottish Stonehenge'.

NOTES

- 1 Past and present Officers of the Society have been most patient with my questioning during the preparation of this paper. I would also thank Peter Gathercole for conversations and Sir Harry Godwin for his kindness in lending me the manuscript in advance of publication of his *Fenland: its ancient past and uncertain future*, CUP 1978. My material on the Fenland Research Committee derives from his chapters five and six. The sources for this paper are the full series of General and Council Minute Books, the printed reports of the Society, and the Cambridge collections in the University Library. I have not dwelt on personalities as this might have appeared impertinent to the living. Past members of the Society are often graciously recorded by an obituary notice, easily located through the indices to our *Proceedings*.
- 2 Stuart Piggott, *William Stukeley: an eighteenth century antiquary*, Oxford 1950, p.25.

- 3 Joan Evans, *A history of the Society of Antiquaries*, Oxford 1956.
- 4 As at Oxford. Jowett's predecessor Thomas Gaisford (d. 1854) occupied the chair for forty-four years. "Dr Gaisford never lectured or took classes or demeaned himself to the level of a teacher" — G. Faber, *Jowett*, London 1957 p.222.
- 5 A.R. Hall, *The Cambridge Philosophical Society. A History, 1819-1969*, Cambridge 1969.
- 6 Stuart Piggott, "The origins of the English County Archaeological Societies", in *Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society Transactions*, 86, 1974, pp. 1-15; reprinted in *Ruins in a Landscape: Essays in Antiquarianism*, Edinburgh 1976, pp. 171-195.
- 7 A.D. Orange, *Philosophers and Provincials. The Yorkshire Philosophical Society from 1822 to 1844*, York 1973.
- 8 (1820-1889). The name was later changed to Halliwell-Phillipps. *Dictionary of National Biography* 24, 1890, pp. 115-120; Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, part two, 3, 1947, p.208. During 1840-1 Halliwell had twenty three works in the press. The National Portrait Gallery has an anonymous silhouette of Halliwell dated 1839 (no. 3859), and there is a portrait of ca. 1845 reproduced in A. N. Munby, *Phillipps Studies*, 2, Cambridge 1952, Plate III. *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 94, 1889, p. 36, has a brief obituary notice with portrait.
- 9 For the relationship of Phillipps at this time with both Halliwell and Sir Henry Dryden see Munby *op.cit.* cap. IV.
- 10 J.F. White, *The Cambridge Movement*, CUP. 1962.
- 11 University Library, T477 b 9 l. Report of the AGM for 1848, in Annual Report 1849, p.7. Babington's reply quotes the comments made by Willis to the Society meeting of 5 December 1848.
- 12 Piggott, *Ruins* . . . pp. 188-190 comments on the social importance of allowing women membership of local archaeological societies. The formal teaching of women began at Cambridge in 1870.
- 13 The Society's publishers have produced a useful *List of Publications 1850-1971* which is both a stock-list and a convenient guide to the contents of our publications.
- 14 Some account of the collections is given by Louis Clarke, "The University Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge" in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1925, pp. 415-420.
- 15 *Cambridge and the Back-Looking Curiosity*, CUP 1976.
- 16 G.A.E. Ruck, "An account of the University collection of brass rubbings in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology", in *Proceedings* 44, 1950, pp. 33-46.

BOOK REVIEWS

Godwin, H. Sir 1978. *Fenland: its ancient past and uncertain future*. Cambridge University Press, 196pp, £7.95.

This is a well produced, readable book illustrated by many line diagrams and photos; it is good value for money. The book is an account of the work done in the southern Fenland by Sir Harry Godwin and his collaborators, and his reminiscences relating to that work.

The early chapters deal with the ecology of the former peat fen and the importance of pollen analysis in these studies. Then the work of the Fenland Research Committee (1932-1940) is described, especially relating to the stratigraphy of the Fenland. The loss of peat by wastage and cutting since the draining of the Fens and the subsequent changing pattern of crops are discussed. The last chapter deals with animal and plant species which have disappeared or are in danger of extinction, and the problems of conservation.

The Fenland vegetational and stratigraphic successions and their dating are described especially well, with useful references to other sites in the British Isles and Europe to make points more clear.

The book is mainly about the Peat Fenland and the "Silt Fen" is only briefly dealt with. That the term "Silt Fen" is now in common usage is unfortunate, as much of the Cambridgeshire and Norfolk "siltland" is clayey, on former upper tidal marsh deposits. It is mainly in the former Ouse estuary that coarser deposits of tidal flats and channels are found. There are two other small points to note. The first is that it is implied that the sandy drift of the eastern Fenland and Breckland was deposited by ice in the last glaciation: a point of view I am sympathetic with, but it is disputable. And, secondly, perhaps the soil map and memoir referred to in the book should be credited to R.S. Seale as well as to the Soil Survey of England and Wales. Apart from these trifling points, I enjoyed the book.

R.Evans

A series of introductory booklets on the archaeology of Cambridgeshire published by the Oleander Press. £1.30 each.

Prehistoric Cambridgeshire. Alison Taylor. 1977

A careful and accurate introduction to the prehistory of the new Cambridgeshire (which includes Huntingdonshire and parts of the Soke of Peterborough).

It is to be hoped that the quality of some of the photographs can be improved, or replaced by line drawings, in the reprintings which can confidently be predicted.

John Alexander

Roman Cambridgeshire. David M. Browne. 1977

The extended limits of the modern county of Cambridgeshire enable David Browne in *Roman Cambridgeshire* greatly to widen the scope of his survey compared with earlier studies of the Cambridge region. Thus the scanty information available for the movements of the army can now be augmented by a description of the recently excavated vexillation fortress at Longthorpe, and in addition to Cambridge, evidence from the towns of Godmanchester and Water Newton can be included. Up to date information about the occupation of the fens, and about the ironworking and pottery industries found during recent research in the Nene Valley also make a considerable contribution.

A few points might be queried. The Willingham club for instance seems more likely to be connected with a cult of Hercules, a local favourite, than with Diana; and the Lord's Bridge barrow is in the parish of Barton rather than Hauxton. But *Roman Cambridgeshire* provides a very interesting summary brought to a fine conclusion by the notable discovery of the Water Newton silver treasure, probably the earliest Christian plate known in the Empire.

Joan Liversidge

Anglo-Saxon Cambridgeshire. Alison Taylor. 1978

The account of Anglo-Saxon Cambridgeshire is a good up-to-date introduction to the subject. Although intended for the general public, it may also be useful to some students, as there is no other survey of this type more recent than Cyril Fox's *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, and some of the information contained in this booklet is as yet unpublished elsewhere. A good starting point for anyone interested in this phase of Cambridgeshire history.

Catherine Hills

Medieval Cambridgeshire. H.C. Darby. 1977

This, the 15th in the series of booklets on aspects of Cambridgeshire history, covers the period between 1066 and 1500. As one would expect from Professor Darby, it is written with considerable authority and great insight and understanding. The work is not, nor is it intended to be, a detailed academic history, but rather a general introduction into the period. As such it succeeds in its aim. It is clearly and succinctly written, and Professor Darby never hesitates to point out what is unknown in addition to explaining what is well understood. An admirable booklet to be recommended to all who desire to learn about our county.

C.C. Taylor

Note: the above four booklets can now also be obtained bound together, in hard covers, for £4.95.

H.J. M. Green, *Godmanchester*. The Oleander Press of Cambridge, 1977. £1.30.

This well-illustrated and authoritative booklet covers the history of Godmanchester and its site in 48 pages, from the Middle Pleistocene to the present day. The author has himself made a notable contribution to that history in his exploration, over more than 25 years, of the borough's Roman past. His results are presented here in terms that are genuinely intelligible to the lay public, and it is a mark of his integrity and judgment that in simplifying the archaeological story for the general reader Mr Green is a shade more cautious in his conclusions than when he is writing for specialists. For the medieval and recent periods historical documents, archaeological data and the evidence of surviving remains are skilfully combined. This booklet is not aimed at the informed student, but he can read it with enjoyment and with profit; and a select bibliography will guide him to the evidence so far published on which the account is based.

D.R. Wilson

Some recent publications in Cambridgeshire local history.

The Victoria History of the County of Cambridge, vol. vi, ed A.P.M. Wright, University of London, £35.

This volume continues the history of the historic county of Cambridge after that reviewed in volume lxvi of these Proceedings, and maintains the high standards of its predecessors. It deals with the hundreds of Chilford, Radfield and Whittlesford (the Abingtons, Babraham, Bartlow, the Camps, Hildersham, Horseheath, Linton, Pampisford, West Wickham, Balsham, Brinkley, Burrough Green, Carlton, Dullingham, Stetchworth, Westley Waterless, West Colville, West Wrattling; Duxford, Hinxton, Ickleton, Sawston, Whittlesford. The illustrations are admirable, particularly those of architecture, and some of the maps, showing features from early village maps, are especially worthy of note.

The estates of Thorney and Crowland, by Sandra Raban, University of Cambridge, Department of Land Economy, 1977, £1.80.

Mrs. Raban's study of the monastic land market is very good value, and should be bought and read by anyone concerned with the medieval social scene.

Cambridge Newspapers and Opinion 1780-1850, by Michael Murphy, Oleander Press, Cambridge and New York, 1977, £4.50.

This is a study drawn from Mr. Murphy's research work in the University of Kent, which uses the surviving copies of various local newspapers to assess the influence they exerted on political opinion. Much of the circulation of these papers was outside the town and county of Cambridge, but Mr. Murphy demonstrates that some local issues, such as the Eau Brink cut, were as important as national political matters in the papers' editorials. There are a number of illustrations, unfortunately not attributed to any sources, and an elaborate bibliography which may well be of use to others interested in the same field.

Dorothy Owen



NOTE ON FOUR ANGLO-SAXON POTS IN LUTON MUSEUM

Teresa Briscoe

See article by D.H. Kennett, P.C.A.S. 66 (1976), 119-21

On reading the article by Mr. Kennett on the four Anglo-Saxon pots recently left to the Luton Museum in Vol LXVI of these Proceedings and noting that Mr. Kennett suggested that they came either from Icklingham or Lackford, the writer went over to Luton to examine them, with the kind permission of Mr. Hagen. As the discoverer of the Lackford Cemetery in 1945, and having been associated with the cemetery during the excavations, it seemed likely that a definite identification of these pots was possible.

On examination the pots appeared to fall into the context of the Lackford material, as Mr. Kennett had suggested, so the writer approached Mr. Sam Marston of Icklingham. Mr. Marston was also very closely associated with the excavations and was responsible for arranging the infilling of the site. In a letter of reply, he was able to identify the four pots as some recovered by him during the infilling period and given to Owen Williamson, whom he knew well.

As stated and illustrated by Mr Kennett, two of the pots bear stamped decoration. One has an "S"-stamp, (6x10mm) (Fig 1a) consisting of a right-facing "S" with a raised centre: this type does not fall into the types of stamp associated by the late T.C. Lethbridge as the work of the Icklingham "S"-Potter. The nearest stamp from Lackford is that of Pot 50. 165A (Museum of Arch. and Anth., Cambridge), where it is associated with two other stamps: one of two concentric circles with a central dot and the other a rectangular textile stamp (5x7mm) (publication forthcoming.) The small round cruciform stamp (7x7mm) (Fig 1 b) is unique and the writer can find no parallel in her collection of some 2,300 stamps nor in the Corpus of J.N.L. Myres. It is unusual in that the lower part of the cross extends into the main body of the pot. As this is the case in each use of the stamp it must be due to the stamp itself and not to the potter.



Fig 1 — Stamps on Lackford pots in Luton Museum. Actual size.
a) Pot 1 — Fig 1. (PCAS LXVI p. 122)
b) Pot 3 — *ibid*

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