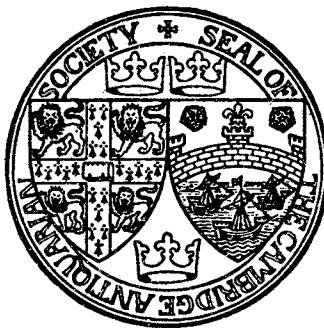


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OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS
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VOLUME LXX

1980



IMRAY LAURIE NORIE AND WILSON

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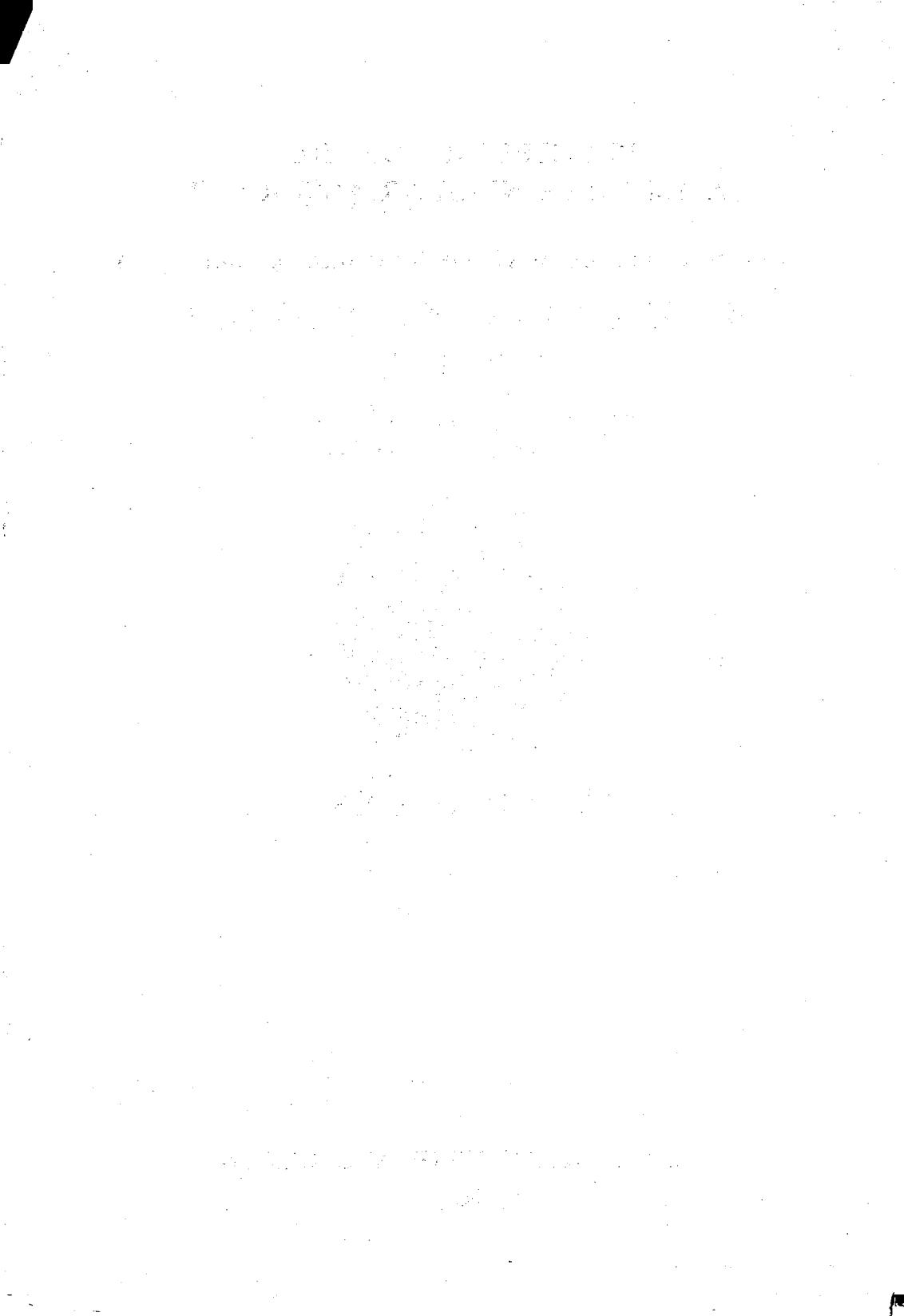
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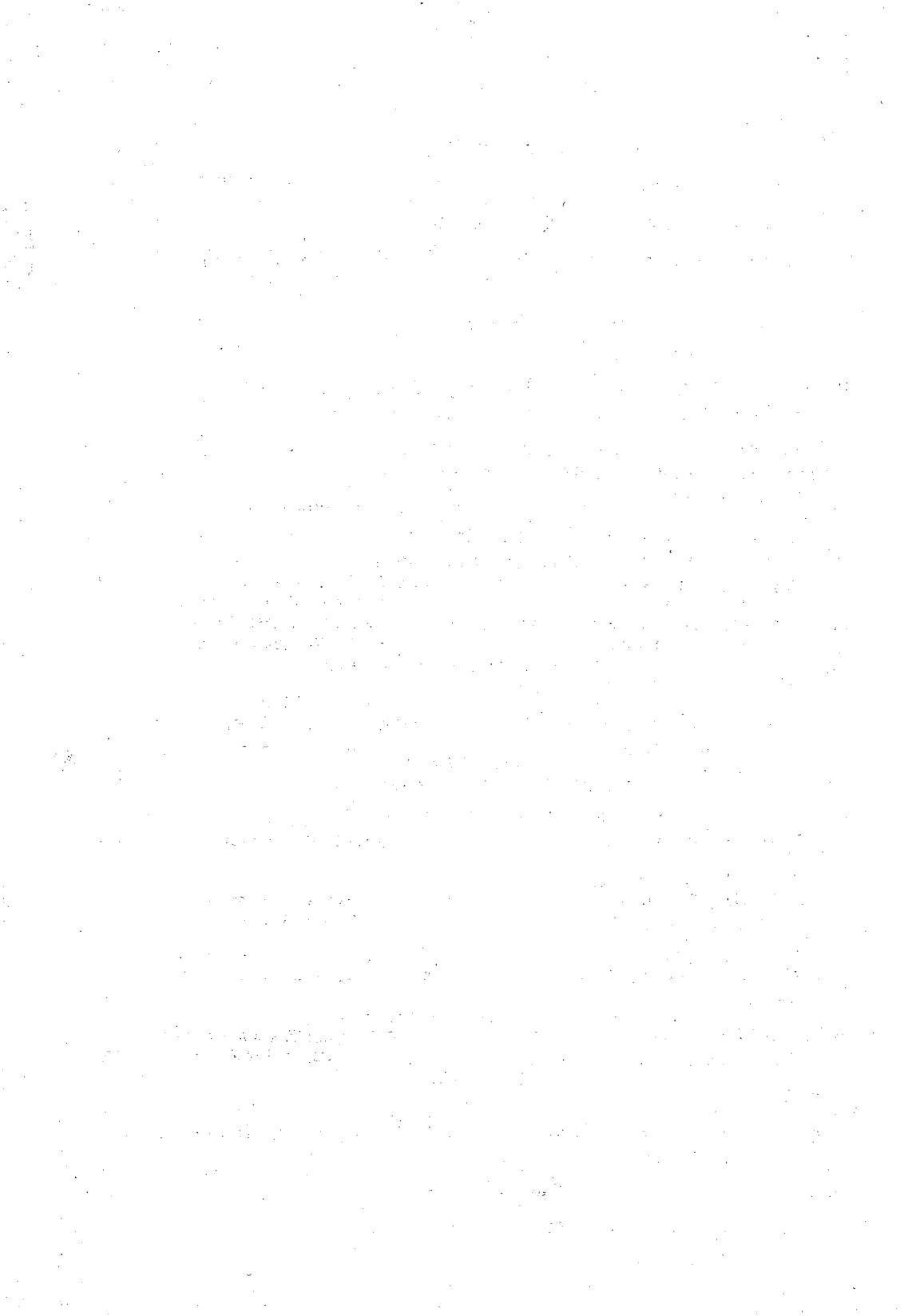
Published for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (incorporating the Cambs and
Hunts Archaeological Society) by Imray Laurie Norie and Wilson Ltd, Wych House,
Saint Ives, Huntingdon

ISSN 0309-3603

Printed in Great Britain at the University Library, Cambridge.

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FIELD OFFICERS' REPORTS, 1979-80

The following excavations took place in 1980:-

Orton Longueville (TL 163970). D. Mackreth and F. O'Neill excavated two round barrows, one of which proved to be an unique Neolithic circular mortuary enclosure, and the other a Bronze Age burial mound. (Nene Valley Research Committee).

Maxey (TF 128078). F. Pryor excavated part of a Neolithic henge and an Iron Age/Roman farming settlement. See below (Cambridge Archaeological Committee).

Stonea (TL 449937). T. Potter excavated a Roman villa and a section of the Iron Age fort. (British Museum).

Godmanchester. H. J. M. Green excavated on the northern edge of the Roman town, and revealed early Saxon occupation associated with buildings. (Voluntary).

Cambridge. Rex Cinema (TL 446594). M. Woudhuysen cut a trench in the hope of finding the Roman defences but they had been destroyed by the Cromwellian ditch, which was partially visible. (Cambridge & London Extra-Mural Departments).

Shelford (TL 435524). J. Alexander, A. Legge and M. Woudhuysen excavated cropmarks in the flood-plain of the Cam. There were six phases, two of them pre-Roman and four ranging between the first and fourth centuries AD. Some ditches were for drainage and others for enclosures, possibly connected with the settlement that was excavated one kilometre to the west, 1976-9. The final phase was a packed gravel surface, probably for stock, in which were found several late Roman coins. (Cambridge and London Extra-Mural Departments).

Sawtry (TL 175812). Sawtry Archaeological Group excavated a moated grange at Sawtry Judith. Two fifteenth century buildings with stone foundations and associated features were uncovered. (Voluntary).

Huntingdon, St Benet's (TL 239718). A. Taylor and D. Cozens excavated within the church-site and uncovered part of the plan, the tower and indications of three phases of the medieval church that was mostly demolished in the seventeenth century. (Cambridgeshire Archaeological Committee & Huntingdon Local History Society).

The following sites have also produced finds of interest:-

Cottenham (TL 486691). A quarry destroyed a Roman fen-edge settlement. The principle crop-mark was a double rectangular enclosure that may have been a temple-site. This enclosure produced over a hundred coins, mostly small change of fourth century date and a miniature "votive" axe, but pottery was very scarce and worn, as if by water-rolling. Another part of this field contained pits and ditches, not shown on aerial photographs because of approximately a metre of overburden, and produced quantities of Roman pottery, including two almost complete vessels, molten bronze and iron slag. The sole of a leather shoe was recovered from a waterlogged pit.

Godmanchester (TL 249700). Redevelopment along London Road affected Ermine Street, a Roman cemetery and Roman buildings.

Shingay cum Wendy. Drainage trenches through a Roman site next to Ermine Street, possibly a posting-station, were watched by J. Pullinger in September 1980. Much building material, including stones, tiles and daub, and a floor of rammed chalk and earth were noted in one trench, and in another there were three ditches, a thick layer of wood ash and a peaty deposit that was possibly a pond. Quantities of pottery, including Samian, red-polished, colour-coated, buff, coarse grey, black and shell tempered wares, and mortaria, plus two tesserae and a third century barbarous radiate, were recovered. The farmer reported that many Roman vessels and a cobbled surface were found when the new farmhouse was built, and Roman rubbish pits were found when the nearby road, leading off Ermine Street, was widened in 1970.

Wilbraham. A fragment of a Roman lead vat, decorated with chevrons and a circle, with one lug and part of the rim, was found lying horizontally about 10 cms above a good cobbled floor, in woodland next to a villa site, and has been donated to the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. The fragment is very like the complete vat recently found nearby at Burwell (C. J. Guy, in *PCAS* 1978) (Found by A. J. Rank).

A quantity of Early Saxon loom-weights that were almost certainly in a hut that was connected with an important Saxon cemetery were found at Wilbraham Temple.

Finds Recording

The Archaeology Workshop has continued to be held in the City Library on the first Saturday morning of each month and many interesting objects have been identified and recorded.

Members are reminded that they are very welcome to come to this Workshop, either to bring artefacts to be recorded or with archaeological enquiries. Access can also be given to the Cambridgeshire Sites and Monuments record if an appointment is made.

Other Work

Unfortunately the Special Temporary Employment Programme, described in the last

Proceedings, had to be terminated early due to government cuts, and therefore we lost the six assistants who were working on archaeological projects last year. However, we were able to start a review of all sites in Cambridgeshire which is leading to the scheduling of the most important ones as Ancient Monuments and to the preparation of surveys and gazetteers of particular classes of monument. The first of these is the Barrow Survey, which will be published in 1981 in *East Anglian Archaeology*, together with similar surveys for Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. This publication, "The Barrows of East Anglia", is available from the Centre for East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich.

Alison Taylor
January 1981

Fenland Survey

The Cambridgeshire Fenland Survey continues at a slightly increased rate, so that now, having completed 100,000 acres, about half of the total area has been interpreted in four years.

From a careful analysis of the soils it is possible to assess the whereabouts of the fen at a given period: it is now clear that the Cambridgeshire fenland was always a very complex array of islands, peninsulae, lagoons and raised bogs. An article discussing the evidence for an acid-peat raised bog over most of the southern area will be included in a forthcoming volume of this journal.

The main finding of the 1979-80 fieldwork season was the discovery of an extensive barrow-field in the parishes of Over and Haddenham. The admixture of alluvium with peat has given them a thick protective cover. So far twenty-three barrows have been identified, one of them elongated (a long barrow?), and all apparently associated with a 'causewayed enclosure'. The cleaning of a modern field-ditch which bisects one of the mounds revealed two cremations, one with an Early Bronze Age arrowhead (Hall and Pryor *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* forthcoming).

Little Downham parish yielded many early prehistoric sites on pockets of gravel. The location of a medieval port was found at Downham Hythe where there was a mass of pottery, querns and whetstones. The extensive Roman saltern-industry, already described in this journal for Elm, was extended into Upwell. The main landscape feature in this parish is the Fen Causeway, now appearing as a bank 2 metres high and 40 metres wide. It seems to have begun as a Roman canal cut through peat with a road placed on the bank. Later it was widened by peat cuttings and became silted up.

Swavesey was investigated as an example of a north-western fen-edge area: it proved singularly barren, which eventually will require explanation.

Work continues on the archives of Wicken Museum each summer, through the kindness of the Curator and Trustees, and the diligent voluntary work of Ann Krayenbuhl. In the first instance all that is being undertaken is a list of the contents to identify early material.

North of Wisbech John Pearce and Angela Summerhayes continue their detailed survey and contouring of the Sea Bank and its breakwaters. The results will be published in a future volume of this journal.

Dr T. Potter, of the British Museum, excavated a building at Stonea, discovered in the fieldwork season of 1978. This proved to be a large and rich structure, and is interpreted as the probable site of a proconsular palace.

A more detailed account of the fenland fieldwork will appear during 1981 in R. T. Rowley (ed.), *Marshland Landscapes*, being the proceedings of an Oxford conference in December 1980.

David Hall

Welland Valley

The summer was spent at Maxey, during which time we successfully completed the excavation of a Late Iron Age and Romano-British settlement occupying some 6½ acres (at TF 128 077). Preservation was outstanding and the extensive use of fine-mesh water sieves has lead to the recovery of a most important assemblage of animal bone. There is evidence that the inhabitants of this settlement primarily subsisted on livestock farming and that grain was brought in from outside, ready threshed, to be ground in querns on site. The latter part of the summer saw us move to the west where we excavated considerable lengths (over 100m) of cursus ditch, together with some 50m of henge ditch. The latter was marked by an external bank (since ploughed-out) and had a single, east-facing entrance way which was the location of an oval mortuary structure, built of stout, squared-off, uprights set in a steep-sided trench some 10m by 15m in plan. A crouched inhumation was placed at the centre of the structure which was, in turn, buried beneath a barrow sometime after its abandonment. The site has also produced further evidence for Iron Age settlement (ca 300 BC?) and for a small Middle/Late Bronze Age house and associated field boundary ditch highly reminiscent of Newark Road Fengate.

Work is currently in progress on the valley-wide field survey and preparatory site research is taking place at a second rescue site near Barnack, slightly further west of Maxey.

Francis Pryor

THE CAMBRIDGE ARCHAEOLOGY FIELD GROUP THIRD ANNUAL REPORT

The group has been involved in a range of activities in the past year, mostly continuations of existing projects referred to in the previous annual reports of the group. These activities are dealt with under individual headings below.

Fieldwalking. In the winter of 1979/80 walking continued in the Stapleford parish area. A stage was reached where most of the readily available land in the area had been covered and it was decided that this would be a useful point at which to review the methods and aims of the exercise.

The technique used was to mark out with poles a 100m grid on the field, corresponding to the National Grid. Each square was then walked at an approximate 2.5m spacing, all finds from a square being collected and placed in a bag marked with the six-figure grid reference for that square. The bags were then taken by 'volunteers' who washed and marked the finds, returning them to a central point where members of the group meet weekly to sort and record the finds on cards for each 100m square. The intention is that these records can be plotted on large scale maps and correlated with other information including the extensive documentary survey carried out by Mrs D. Berrios and the hedgerow survey organised by Mrs P. South, both members of the group.

This technique gives a very detailed picture of an area, but has many disadvantages for a routine survey. The main problems are that it is very slow and time-consuming, requiring a great deal of effort in marking out fields and in recording finds or the lack of them at a very high intensity. In fact, surprisingly few artefacts, other than the inevitable large quantities of 'Victoriana' and 'Woolworth ware', and very few significant sites were found in this area.

For the future it has been decided that for the general survey type of work normally being undertaken by the group, it would be better to use a more normal strip-walking system, collecting only significant finds which are taken directly to a central meeting place for processing and recording. This is less time consuming than the method previously used, means that a much greater area can be effectively covered in the very limited time made available by modern agricultural techniques and also reduces the chances of material being lost when not returned promptly.

With most of the readily available land in Stapleford having been covered, work in the winter 1980/81 has shifted, initially to land adjacent to the site on Newmarket Road (TL 311687) previously reported (*PCAS LXIX* 1979 xv) and subsequently to an area at Cottenham which is likely to show evidence of Romano-British occupation.

Earthwork survey. The survey of the moated site at Stapleford was completed and a survey of further earthworks in fields adjacent to those already examined at River

Farm, Haslingfield (around TL 412518) was also carried out. In conjunction with the trial excavation carried out by Mr Michael Sekulla at the manor house site at Dry Drayton, a survey of the earthworks at this site was carried out this summer. In view of the apparently slow progress with survey work, it should be pointed out that the surveys undertaken are not of the "fill in a record card and do a quick sketch-plan" type, but aim at producing a detailed large scale plan of each site examined.

Excavation. The group does not itself undertake any excavations but is usually able to provide a limited number of volunteers to help with excavations in the area when required. This year members of the group assisted with the Sawtry Archaeology and Conservation Group's excavations at the important Sawtry Judith site, with a rescue excavation undertaken by the County Archaeology Officer at the site of St Bene's church, Huntingdon, and with Mr H. J. M. Green's excavation at Godmanchester. The group also received an offer for members to take part in the Extra-Mural Board's Training Excavation, but unfortunately the majority of the active members of the group were already heavily committed at the time of this excavation and we were unable to take real advantage of this generous offer.

In addition to these practical activities the group has continued to hold a series of monthly meetings and lectures which have proved very successful and the group seems to have established a useful role for itself in the area.

R. J. Flood

A HANDLIST OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF W. M. PALMER, M.D., F.S.A. PART ONE

J. D. Pickles

No scholar of recent times has commanded so extensive a knowledge of the local and national sources for the history of Cambridgeshire as Dr W. M. Palmer. Unlike his own hero, William Cole, Palmer published the results of his work in abundance for more than forty years. Though some of his writing was light-weight, his editing of records and an emphasis on primary materials as the basis of research continue to be of great value to historians. His capacity for sustained work – and, it must be said, for plain archival drudgery – is the more remarkable when one recalls that Palmer was self-taught and ran a busy medical practice until 1925.

Palmer died in October 1939 at the age of seventy-three. There are obituaries of him by Louis Cobbett in our *Proceedings XXXIX*, (1938-39) 1-4, and by Miss C. E. Parsons (*Trans. Cambs. & Hunts. Arch. Soc.* VI, part 3, 1940, 99-101) who also published a fuller memoir in 1946 entitled *A Cambridgeshire Doctor. William Mortlock Palmer of Linton*. Of a projected bibliography by his friend and collaborator, J. H. Bullock, nothing appeared. The present list will be printed in three parts as follows:

- a. contributions to *The East Anglian*, 1894-1910;
- b. books, pamphlets and articles in journals;
- c. contributions to newspapers.

The East Anglian: or notes and queries on subjects connected with the counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, and Norfolk was founded in 1858 and revived in 1885 under the editorship of C. H. Evelyn White, later Rector of Rampton, who established a high standard. Palmer began to subscribe in 1892, contributed largely thereafter, and helped to support the journal before it failed for want of finance in 1910.

Information in square brackets below has been supplied to amplify the titles of Palmer's contributions.

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- A list of the Cambridgeshire subsidy rolls, 1250-1695 (continued): 24-26, 44-47, 91-93, 140-142, 155-157, 186-190 (Appendix 1), 234-235 (Apps 2 & 3), 259-262 (App. 4), 286-287* (Apps 5 & 6), 295-298 (Apps 7 & 8), 315-317, 332-334 (App. 9), 341-343, 364-366 [continued] *misnumbered IX for XI
- A list of Cambridgeshire fines (continued): 62-64, 74-76, 95, 126-127, 150-152, 201-203, 216-218, 231-233, 249-52, 268-270, 276-278, 350-351, 355-357

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- A list of Cambridgeshire subsidy rolls (continued): 30-32, 62-63, 111-114, 120-123, 139-142, 162-164, 170-174, 205-208, 224-226, 269-273, 283-285, 299-301 [continued]
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PREHISTORIC FINDS FROM THE CENTRAL FENLAND*

Gillian Wilson

Flints from Grandford, March

During a programme of excavation between 1958 and 1964 upon the Romano-British village of Grandford, March (TL 393996) a number of flints were found in Roman contexts. They are published in this note as they demonstrate prehistoric occupation on the north-west tip of the gravel and clay island of March. The Roman site is described in Potter, (below, pp. 75-111).

The flints are all from residual contexts. The assemblage contains one ?palaeolithic flake as well as flints of a more general neolithic-bronze age character. The small size of the flints overall - max. L. 65mm, max. B. 30mm¹ (the ?palaeolithic flake excepted) together with the different colours of the flints, two greys, brown and red, suggest that local gravels were the source of the raw material.

There are no cores in the assemblage. Amongst the unretouched component (17 flakes) platform butts predominate, but two dihedral and one corticated butt are also present. Only four flakes exhibit any cortex and this where found is minimal.

The worked flints are described below:

Fig. 1.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| ?Palaeolithic: | 1. Flake with distal truncation, battered edges, mottled brown. L 87mm, B 50mm, Th 19mm. |
| Neolithic/Bronze Age: | 2. Light awl on truncated blade, grey. L 48mm, B 16mm, Th 6mm.
3. Light awl, faceted butt, brown. L 23mm, B 17mm, Th 5mm.
4. Extended end-scraper, 85°, punctiform butt, mottled brown. L 65mm, B 25mm, Th 7mm.
5. Corticated disc scraper, 65°, platform butt, grey. L 28mm, B 28mm, Th 10mm.
6. Notched flake: edge damaged, punctiform butt, brown. L 49mm, B 20mm, Th 6mm.
7. Edge-retouched flake, punctiform butt, grey. L 23mm, B 14mm, Th 5mm. |

* The material has been deposited in Wisbech Museum.

¹ L. is the maximum length parallel with the bulbar axis; B. the maximum breadth at right angles to the bulbar axis; Th. the maximum thickness of the piece. The mean scraper angle is given to the nearest 5°. The flints are illustrated with the striking platform to the bottom of the page.

8. Flake with some distal and lateral invasive retouch, punctiform butt, grey. L 44mm, B 16mm, Th 7mm.

(*Not illustrated*) Utilised flake: faceted butt, red. L 36mm, B 18mm, Th 5mm.

Utilised flake with bilateral edge wear, punctiform butt, distal end snapped off, grey. L 18mm, B 14mm, Th 5mm.

All the implements in the neolithic/bronze age group, except the disc scraper, either have punctiform (5) or faceted (2) butts in contradistinction to the waste flakes which have platform butts. This may be an indication of the purposeful production of specialised flakes.

The assemblage is too small for any further conclusions to be drawn.

A Polished Stone Axe from Flaggrass, March

In 1956 a polished stone axe fragment (Fig. 2:1) was picked up on the site of the Romano-British village at Flaggrass, on the outskirts of March (TL 434985).

It is a heavily cannibalised butt fragment of a Group VI axe (Alan Woolley: pers. comm. Feb., 1980), 75mm in length and 49mm wide. It weighs 74.7g. The axe is too fragmentary to assign to a definite type but appears to have had a slightly tapering rounded butt and rounded oval section.

The find-spot is consistent with the concentration of Group VI axes along the eastern fen edge and on higher ground in the fens proper as defined by McK. Clough and Green (1972, 119, Fig. 4).

Stonea Barrow, Cambs.

When the excavation report on the Stonea barrow (TL 451931) was published (Potter, 1976) some flints from the old ground surface (Fig. 3, unit 6) were inadvertently left out of the flint report. These are as follows:

Fig. 2. 2. Corticated horse-shoe scraper, mottled grey. L 27mm, B 30mm, Th 9mm.

3. Corticated edge-retouched flake, dark grey. L 47mm, B 35mm, Th 10mm.

(*Not illustrated*) Utilised corticated flake, brown. L 42mm, B 20mm, Th 5mm. 17 waste flakes, 2 grey, 15 beige/brown. Max. L 45mm, max. B 38mm.

Although a few grey flakes occur the majority of the flints are brown/beige in colour. The maximum dimensions recorded are similar for both types of flint, viz. max. L 47mm, max. B 38mm. The relatively small size, together with the predominance of corticated flakes in the assemblage (13 out of 20) suggests that the raw material consisted of local pebbles not less than 50-60mm in length. This is corroborated by the fact that the retouched artefacts, for which the most serviceable flakes were presumably used, are on corticated flakes. The assemblage does not contain any cores, but the prevalence of platform butts (over 90%) is evidence of the preparation of a striking platform. The presumed size of the flint suggests that only a

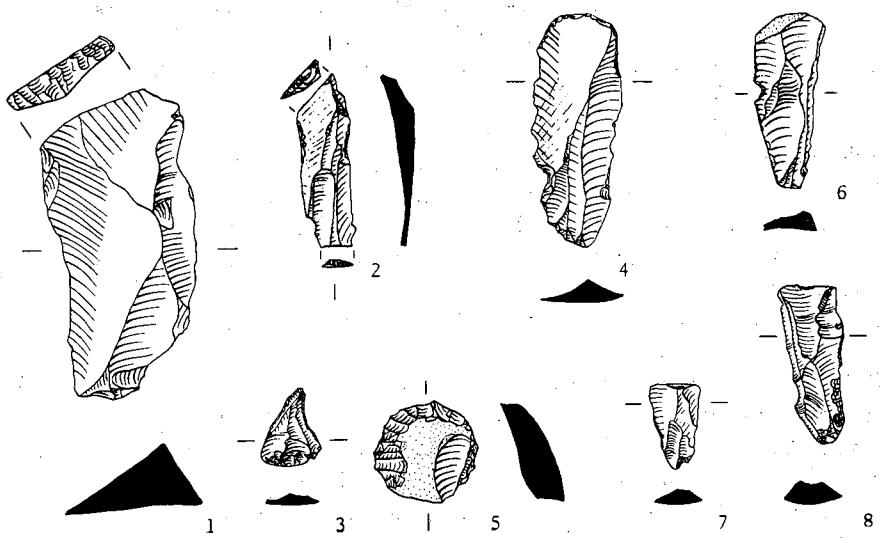


Fig. 1. Grandford. ?Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age flints.

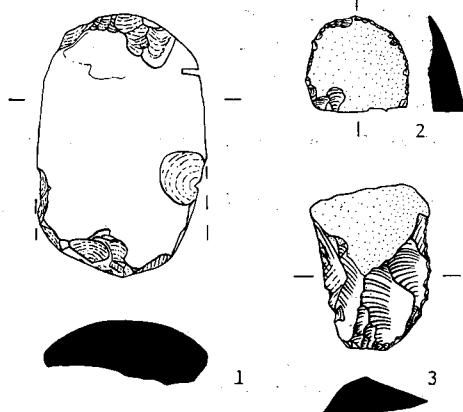
Scale: $\frac{1}{2}$ 

Fig. 2. 1. Flaggrass. Stone axe (petrological county no. CAM. 139).

2-3. Stonea Barrow. Neolithic flints.

Scale: $\frac{1}{2}$

single platform would have been practical. The context indicates that the assemblage is of neolithic, probably late neolithic, date.

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EXCAVATIONS AT DRY DRAYTON, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

M. F. Sekulla

Introduction

The site of Drayton Park is adjacent to the church on the southern edge of the village of Dry Drayton. It is at the base of a slope on its western end and occupies one of the flattest pieces of land in the present day village area. Reduced to ten from over fifteen acres originally by a recent road, the cut for this road revealed a series of foundations for otherwise unidentified previous buildings. The Park is covered by a series of earthworks, from which a rectangular moated site, a hollow way and a ridge and furrow system can be traced. There are two ponds of standing water in the field; at least one is of recent date. The Park has been used as grazing land since the last century.

Historical Background¹

Before the Dissolution the Park was part of the estates of Crowland Abbey, though little direct evidence of this ownership survives. An exception to this is provided by an episode during the Barons' War in 1266, when an attempt to ravage Drayton and burn the Crowland manor was made.² That this succeeded is indicated by an entry in the estate account rolls³ which records the rebuilding of a new hall, mill and carthouse in the following year. By 1291 the rateable value of this manor was £26-1-6 for the purposes of an ecclesiastical tax,⁴ the highest value of the three Cambridgeshire estates held by the abbey. An undated charter of an Abbot Thomas, probably of the mid-13th Century, granted to one Ralph Gifford 'a certain way under the wall of our manor at Drayton'⁵ which implies the existence of a manor building at this time.

By the later 15th Century the main Crowland estate in Drayton was leased to the Hutton family who bought it after the Dissolution for £546. The estate passed through this family until John Hutton, dying in 1596, gave the manor to Elizabeth, his wife. On her death in 1625 it was left to her kinsman Robert Lawrence. By 1652 his heirs had sold out to the Cutts family for £4,900. They in turn leased it out to a distant relation, Humphrey Weld, for an annual peppercorn rent. In 1655 it was described as 'all the Manor, Capital Messuage and farm of Dry Drayton, Crowlands'.⁶ The house was sublet to Joshua Sedgwick who paid the tax on 18 hearths in 1665. Weld inherited the property in 1670 and was taxed on 18 hearths in 1674. A fine raised in 1678 mentions 'that great Capital Messuage or lordship house lately erected and now built by the said Humph. Weld' and indicates that between 1670 and 1678 the house had been rebuilt. At the same time the new parsonage had been pulled down because it interfered with Weld's prospect from his restored house.⁸ The estate passed from Weld to John

DRAYTON PARK

SOIL PHOSPHATE ANALYSIS

Amount of Phosphate

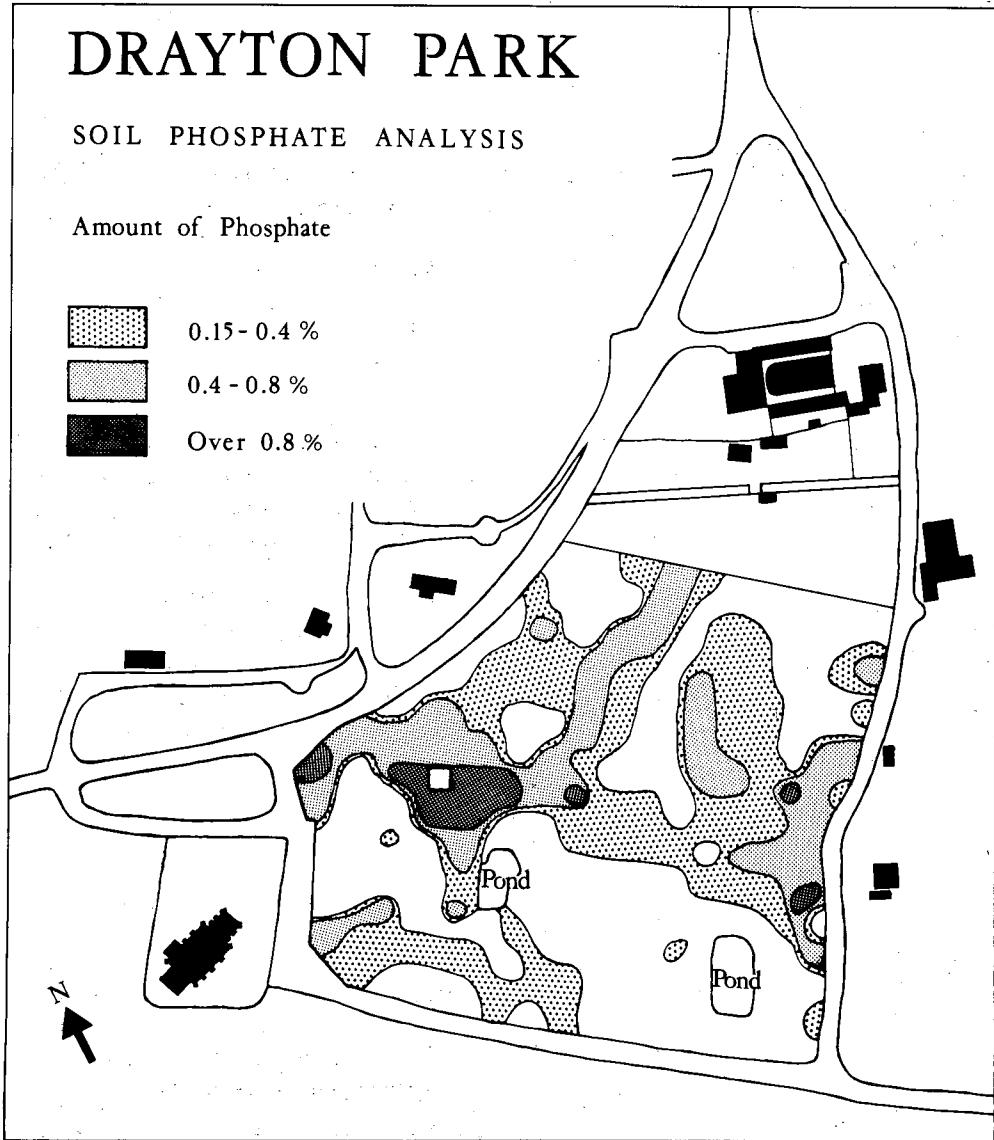
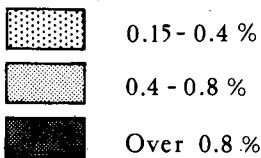


Fig. 1. Scale in 50 Metre units.
The white square indicates the excavated area.

Howland in 1685, and through his family to the Dukes of Bedford in the early 18th Century. Account books relating to the House and estate survive for the period 1709 to 1734⁹ and document the maintenance of the structures during this time. Being infrequently used by the Duke, the house had been let out to tenant farmers in the mid-18th Century, a state of affairs which continued until it was demolished, together with the surrounding farm buildings, in 1817. A sketch of the rear of the house made by Relhan in 1809¹⁰ gives some idea of its final appearance. A description of the house¹¹ indicates that it was a 'Gothic building' with very dark rooms which comprised several parlours, a large kitchen and six or seven bedrooms. It was built of red brick, was three storeys in height and had a front door facing the church, with sundry barns and outbuildings adjoining. By the 1870's only an icehouse and stables survived, these had disappeared by the early part of this century and the Park has remained empty of buildings ever since.

Soil Phosphate Analysis

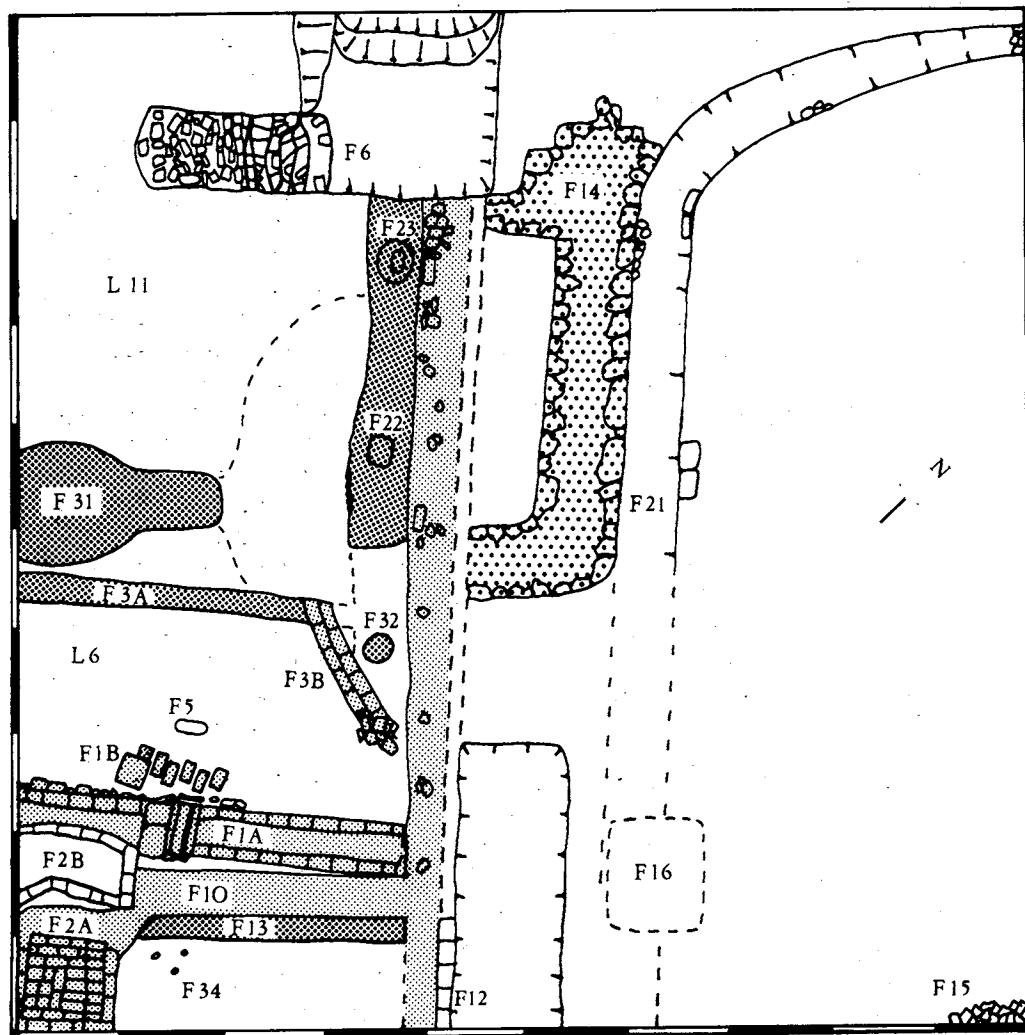
In an attempt to locate possible core areas of occupation in the Park, beyond those shown on the Enclosure map of 1812,¹² measurements of the levels of phosphates in the soil, which accumulate as a result of the prolonged deposit of organic materials derived from human activity, were made, using the cheaply available test detailed by Schwarz¹³ and Eidl.¹⁴

The test was carried out using samples drawn from a depth of 30cm at the intersections of a ten metre grid laid out over the Park during Easter 1978. The results are shown on Fig. 1. High levels of phosphates are visible around the Manor house north of the most westerly pond. Lesser areas, possibly of earlier occupation, can also be seen on the Park, though their exact significance is difficult to assess at present. As a result of this test and the documentary evidence, a trial excavation was conducted in 1979 in the core area of presumed post-medieval occupation.

The Excavation (See Fig. 2)

A trench of 100 square metres was selected for excavation on the north side of the demolished Manor house. The area was turf covered and below this was an associated sterile humus layer some six to eight centimetres thick. When this was removed the trench resolved itself into two distinct areas. In the south-west, a well-packed area of clay and pebbles was divided by several clunch and brick features. This was bounded to the north-east by a dark-grey, loose packed soil producing quantities of rubble and post-medieval material. These two areas are described separately below.

I. South-western area; An area of well-packed dirty yellow-grey clay was clearly evidenced in the south-eastern quadrant of the trench and had numerous features intruding into it. The most recent insertions were large fragments of brick and tile which pressed into the clay and are probably some of the rubble resulting from demolition. Three main features cut this area. The first was a shallow scoop, F5, 25 x



15th Century?



Early 17th C



Later 16th C



Late 17th C

Fig. 2. Scale in Metres.
Main Features in the 1979 Excavated Area.

46 x 10 cm, completely filled with broken diamond shaped quarries of window glass, some lead came and pieces of an early 19th Century wine bottle. The second feature cutting the clay was a substantial brick and mortar drain running SW - NE, F1A. It was partially capped by two reused worked fragments of oolitic limestone. A sequence of building was clear; the bottom of the drain had first been laid in a wide foundation trench then the side walls had been added. The structure had been made water-tight by a cement filling in the gap between the walls and foundation trench sides. At a later period the drain had been sealed with mortar at its northern end. At its southern end the eastern wall and part of its floor had been removed and the west wall of F2B erected in its place. Clearly by this time the drain had gone out of use. It terminated at its northern end where it met the outside wall of the house.

To the south-east of the drain and also cutting the clay area, a length of unmortared half bricks seems to have provided a base for a wall, F10, which ran almost parallel to the drain, F1A. Bonded into its southern end was the base of a large brick pier, F2A, which cut through a clunch based wall, F13. The wall of F10 had been built up against this clunch base. Both walls had been robbed out almost to foundation level, though not necessarily at the same period. The south end of F10 had then been built over by an inferior structure of poor quality bricks and reused roof tiles, filling the space between the pier, F2A, and the drain, F1A. Inside this a fill of fine sand had accumulated and produced many fragments of mid-18th Century pottery and a large quantity of iron nails. Enclosed by the brick pier, F2A, and wall, F10, was a further area of successive dirty yellow and grey clay packings probably indicating the accumulation of several floor levels. At the very base of these was a series of three small stake holes arranged in a triangular formation, F34; their purpose is uncertain. Immediately below, in a layer of grey-green clay, which extended over the whole site, L31, a fragment of a lava quernstone and a large lump of iron slag were found.

The entire yellow-grey area, L6, west of the drain, served as a floor but at a later period had been built up to provide a bedding for stone and brick tiles. Most of these had been robbed out, but an isolated patch, F1B, survived to the west of the drain. On the surface of these were two parallel lines of mortar about ten centimetres apart. The western edge of the clay area was bounded by a narrow clunch wall running SW to NE, F3A. Pushed beneath it on its western side were a series of large pieces of later 16th Century pottery and a metal ornament. The wall itself was too thin to have been structural in itself and probably served as the base for a timber framed dividing wall. This had later been slightly truncated at its northern end by a short curving structure of double mortared bricks, F3B. Accumulated between the wall of F3A and cut by the drain of F1A were a series of distinct clay layers of differing character. The uppermost, L6, was up to eight centimetres thick and almost totally devoid of finds. Extending below this was an orange-yellow sandy clay spread, L21, which varied from between about 10cm thick at the south to less than one at its northern extent. This covered a grey clay layering on top of which a deposit of wood ash had accumulated and spread out. There were also several large sections of wall plaster of a plain white colour which had been buried almost immediately by L21. Included in the grey clay, L23, were large

fragments of later 16th Century pottery and pieces of a glazed roof tile. Below this was a light orange-grey clay mix with several skims of plaster and mortar lying on its surface. The wall of F3A had been built directly on top of this layer, L27. To the north of, and intruding into, L27, was a packing of gravel in sand, L29; this probably formed the entrance area. L27 and L29 rested directly on top of L31.

The character of the floor area changed to the west of wall F3A where a large pack of firmly bedded small cobbles and pebbles in orange-yellow sand extended for 420 x 320cm, and was up to 5cm in thickness. Incorporated in this were large quantities of small animal bones, oyster and mussel shells and some 16th Century pottery. These floors, L11A-C, seem to have been built up successively with further gravel and sand skims being laid on accumulated refuse on old floors. Directly below this overall layer was an area of grey-yellow clay into which a keyhole shaped depression had been cut, F31. Large quantities of wood ash containing many carbonised seeds were found in it, though its clay base bore few signs of any great heat. During the time that it was in use the ash had been raked out through the narrow neck at its northern end and spread to a large extent over the clay floor behind producing a very dark stain. This feature had been completely sealed and levelled by a layer of partially fire-reddened orange clay, which probably formed part of its superstructure, cf. Wintringham.¹⁵ The floors in this area were bounded on their north-eastern edge by a line of three post-holes F22, 23, 32, varying from 13 to 22cm in depth and all about 35cm wide. The timbers that they held had been removed and stones and broken tiles placed in the resulting cavities. The western-most produced a penny of Elizabeth I. The gaps between these timbers had been infilled with cob walling, which survived only as a weathered yellow-orange spread.

The latest feature in the north-western area of the trench cut through the cobble and pebble flooring, L11, and consisted of a laid surface of half bricks, measuring 76 x 170cm in extent, which led down to a series of well robbed brick steps, F6. These turned north-west into a large depression visible only in section. This had been filled with brick rubble and sealed to the turf line by a layer of heavy black clay which contained some very abraded fragments of Roman pottery.

II. North-eastern area; A grey-black humus-rich soil containing post-medieval pottery covered this part of the trench in an almost uniform spread, L2. Some slight differences were visible, however, especially in the area parallel to the edges of the floors of Area I. This was more disturbed and consistently produced quantities of clay pipes. Two lines of disturbance were evidenced and can be equated with an original foundation trench and a later robber trench along the line of the exterior wall of the house. Only at the south-eastern end of these cuts did part of the original brick wall, F12, survive. In front, to the north-east, of this wall, a large mortar standing 280 x 97cm, possibly for a water tank, had been filled up with soil and rubbish during the robbing activity. A secondary robber trench ran parallel to the wall and was found to follow the line of a drain, F21, which towards the west of the trench swung sharply towards the northern corner. The mortar base and sides of the drain remained to show

its line which had been backfilled with unuseable brick rubble. One side of the drain remained in situ and consisted of a substantial clunch and limestone structure, F14. This ran for 443cm parallel to the outside wall of the house and turned at both its ends to disappear beneath the later house area. No trace of any extension to these inturns was located beneath the house however. A narrow foundation trench was located on the south-western side of this structure. The wall had been built directly on the gravel bedrock nearly a metre below, and its size and construction suggest that it had a structural purpose. No exact dating or use could be determined. It should be noted that this wall had, in part, provided the base of the foundation trench for the later outside wall of the Manor house.

In the south-east of this area an intrusion cut into the grey-black soil of L2 consisted of a rectangular pit 61 x 105 x 85cm, which contained many broken clunch blocks, F16. Below L2, and over much of the northern sector of the trench, was an area of broken clunch, shaped cobbles and brick fragments, L10, probably representing a phase of construction in connection with the house. Just below this in the eastern corner of the excavation, part of a dump of limestone roof tiles, F15, was located, directly beneath which lay fragments of painted window glass. The dump dated to the primary phase of the construction of the manor house.

Following the removal of the layers noted above, a grey clay with an overall greenish hue, L31, was met with and found to extend over the whole trench. One pit was traced in this in the area of F16, the primary layer of which was a small accumulation of wood ash and seeds, F36. It had been filled at some period before the rebuilding of the house in the 17th Century. No other features were evidenced in this clay layer, apart from a series of very discontinuous patches of black ash, L35, and organic spreads such as L20. Much pottery and fragmentary animal bones were recovered from these deposits. L31 continued, with no change in colour or consistency, to an overall depth of 120cm, at which depth both water level and natural gravel were met with. The surface of the gravel was very pockmarked and undulating where traced. One intrusion into this was found: a small rectangular hole 112 x 84mm, F35, which bore evidence of having contained a post driven in to a depth of at least 20cm.

The Finds

The Clay Pipes – R. J. Flood¹⁶

The clay tobacco pipes from the excavation consisted of sixty bowls, either complete or large identifiable fragments, six stem fragments with maker's marks, five bowl bases with spurs bearing marks and a large number of plain stem sherds and small unidentifiable pieces of bowl. The bowls and stem fragments with marks are illustrated in Fig. 3 and are described below. Where no identifiable mark is present they have been dated typologically.¹⁷

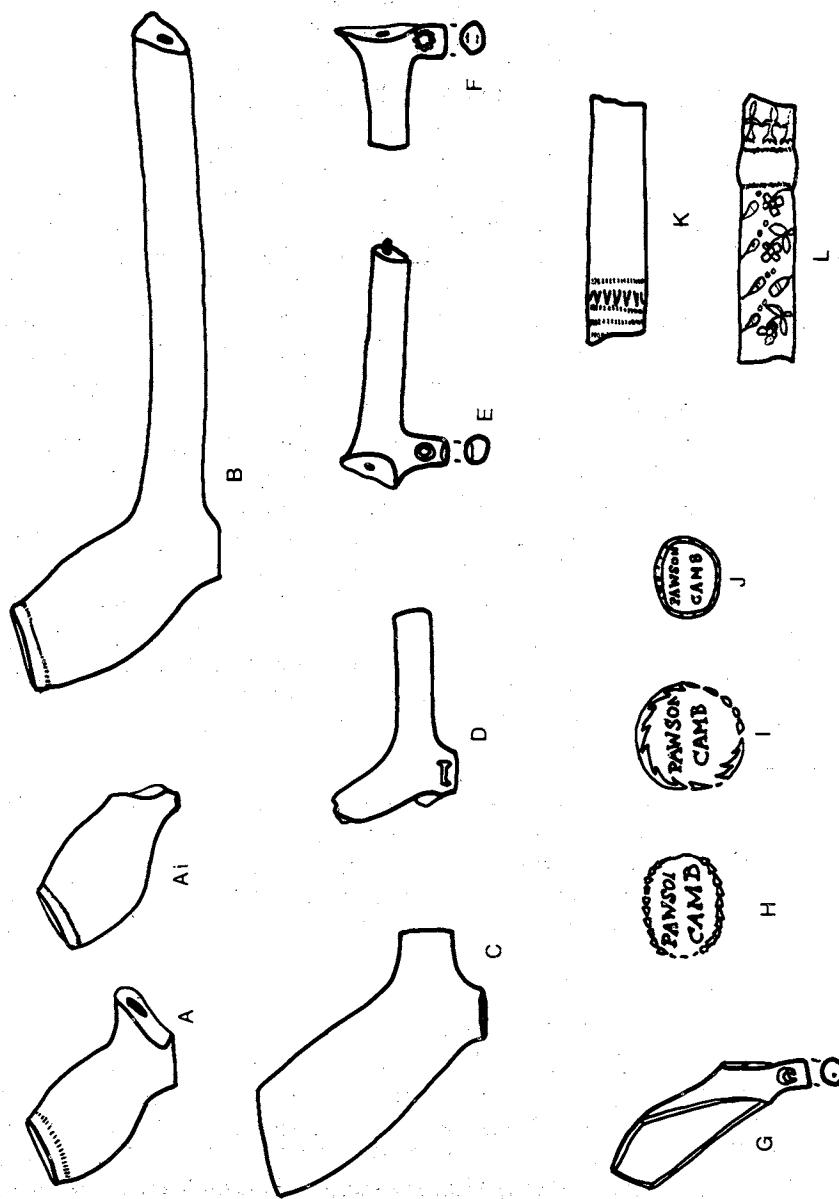


Fig. 3. The Clay Pipes. Scale $1/2$

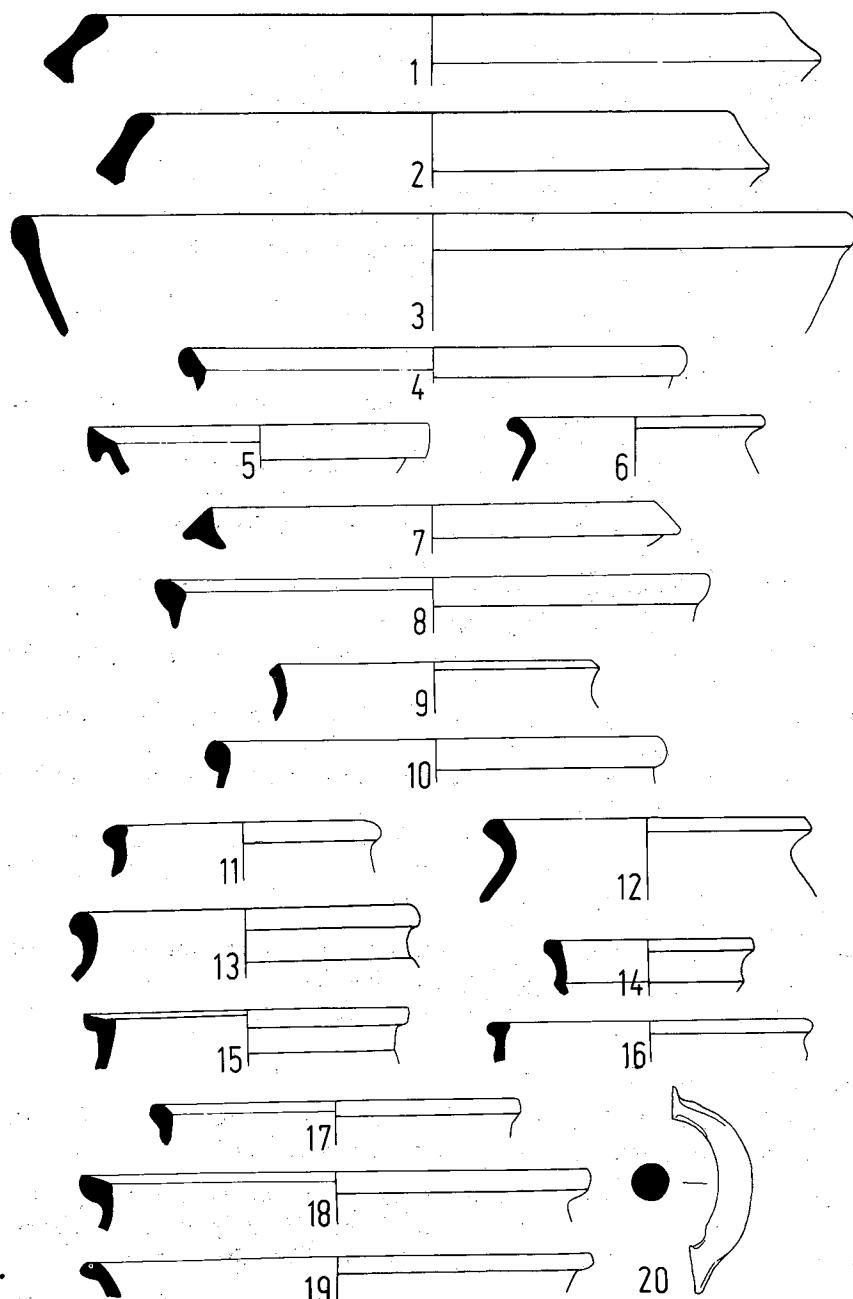
Fig. 3:

- A. One bowl only of type G5, probably dating to 1640-50.
- Ai. One bowl only of type G17, dating to 1640-70.
- B. Forty-nine bowls or large bowl fragments of type G6, belonging to the period 1660-80.
- C. Nine bowls or fragments intermediate in type between G9 and G10, dating to c. 1690-1720.
- D. One stem fragment with the base of the bowl and a narrow flat based foot typologically dated to c. 1760. The foot bears on its sides the initials I(K), the second initial being somewhat blurred. This might be the Cambridge pipemaker James Knight or Kuquit, who died in 1752,¹⁸ although this would provide a rather early date for this style of pipe.
- E, F, G. Four stem fragments with bowl bases and spurs, all bearing marks on the spur; E has a ring, F a nine-petalled flower, and G (two specimens) a double crescent. These marks are not uncommon. The pipes are referable to type G13 and date to 1800-20.
- H, I, J. Marks of James Pawson found on six stem fragments. Pawson died in 1813 but his wife Ann continued to make pipes at Sidney Street, Cambridge until c. 1825,¹⁹ and probably used the same marks. Three different designs of mark are represented, H with large italic letters (3 specimens), I with large roman letters (2 specimens), and J with small roman letters (1 specimen).
- K. One stem fragment with a rouletted design. This type of decoration occurs on English and Dutch pipes of the first half of the 18th Century, usually on polished stems. This stem however seems rather large and coarse which, together with the wide stem bore of an eighth of an inch, might suggest a late 17th Century date.
- L. One stem fragment with a floral design in relief, probably dating to the first half of the 18th Century.

There were a total of 71 closely dateable pipe fragments present and of these 59 (84%) approximately coincide in date with either a major rebuilding in the late 17th, or with the final demolition in the early 19th Century. It seems possible that the majority of the pipes present were discarded during these events and that other periods are not well represented as the household rubbish was deposited elsewhere during the occupancy of the building.

The Pottery

The excavation produced a sequence of pottery ranging in date from the late Norman period to the early 19th Century. Most of the post-medieval sherds illustrated were found in well stratified occupation levels. Those of earlier date are from accumulated rubbish deposits and are included to allow comparison with other pottery groups from the area, notably Wintringham,²⁰ Ellington,²¹ and St Neots,²² for which there is a lack of published material from the immediate area of Cambridge.

Fig. 4. Medieval Shelly and Sandy Wares. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$

Romano-British Pottery;

Eight small and very abraded sherds were found and included fragments of Samian and Castor wares. They were noted solely in the fill of the 17th Century cellar. (Not illustrated)

Medieval Pottery;

St Neots Shelly wares; Containing abundant finely ground shell tempering. Smooth soapy surface which varied from dark brown/purple to light orange/pink. Generally bluish-grey core. (Fig. 4)

1. Bowl with thickened inturned rim and moulded shoulder. Light pink interior, exterior smoke blackened below shoulder. L31.
2. Bowl similar to 1. L40B.
3. Large straight-sided bowl with thickened rim. Interior dark brown/purple, exterior heavily smoke blackened. L28.
4. Large bowl, thickened rim with sharply turned down edge. Orange. L31.
5. Bowl, everted rim with turned down lip. Pink/red. L31.
6. Bowl, thickened rim made by folding clay outwards. Markedly soft soapy fabric. Light purple/pink. L14.
7. Shallow dish, triangular sectioned rim, slightly inturned, with marked external shoulder/bevel. Light purple. L17.
8. Large cooking pot, thickened and everted rim. Light orange interior, exterior smoke blackened especially on rim. L31.
9. Cooking pot, thickened and everted rim with top ridge. Dark pink/brown interior, heavily smoke blackened exterior. L40.
10. Cooking pot, square sectioned thickened and everted rim formed by folding clay outwards. Orange. L31.
11. Cooking pot, everted rim with hollow interior moulding. Light Orange. L9.
12. Large cooking pot, everted, slightly thickened rim with slight top ridge. Harder fabric than previous examples. Blue/grey. L31.

St Neots Shelly wares II; Less shell than previous group, more coarsely crushed, with some quartz inclusions. Generally well fired. (Fig. 4)

13. Large cooking pot, rim slightly splayed, finger impressions on rim exterior. Light grey. L31.
14. Jug rim, externally pink/buff with grey core. L7.

Stamford wares; 3 body sherds, buff to off-white with patchy yellow glaze. One sherd has an applied finger impressed strip. (Not illustrated)

Sandy wares; These sherds can be divided into several sub-groups distinguished by a difference in fabric which seems to have no chronological significance. A broad date range from the 13th to 14th Century may be applied to these wares.

Group I; Grey cored fabric with orange/red exterior surfaces. Coarse sand tempering with some limestone inclusions. (Fig. 4)

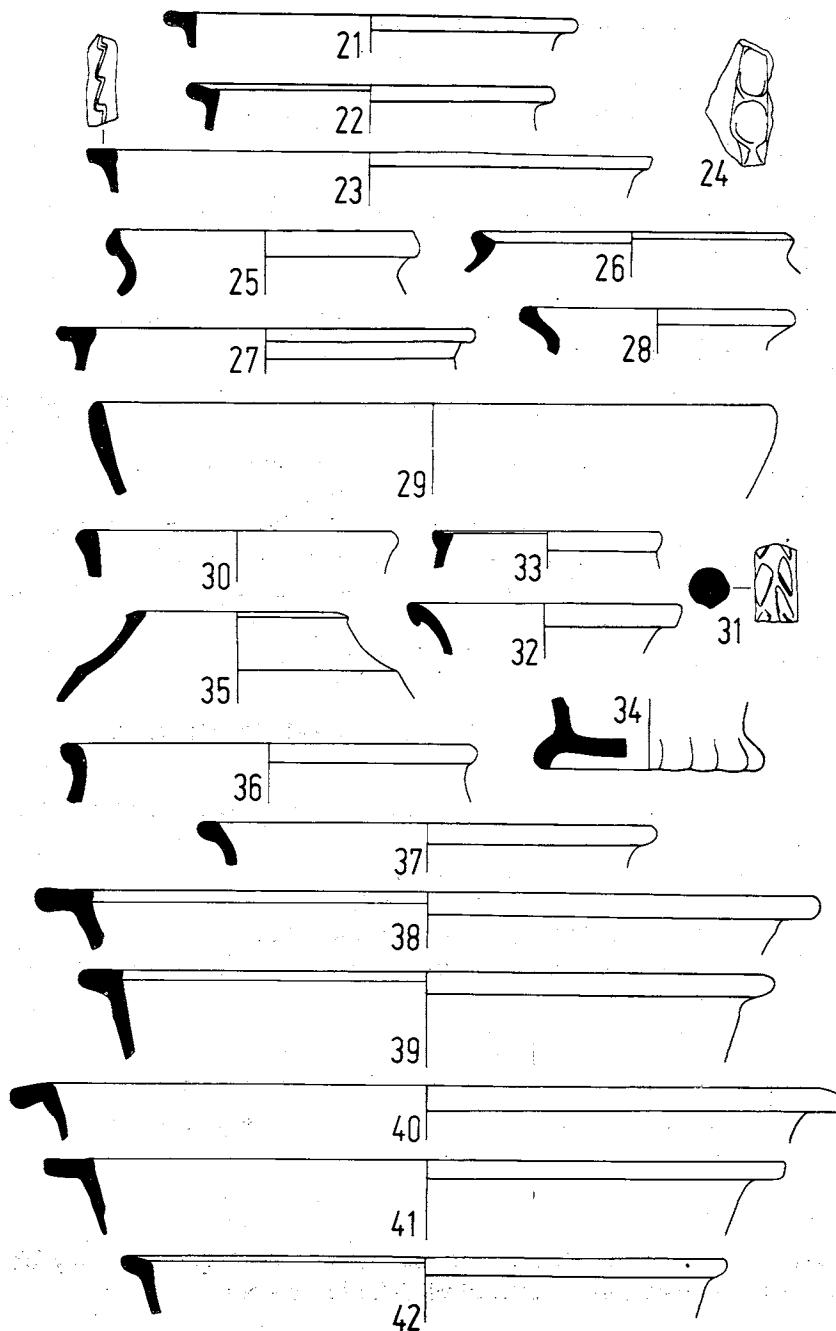


Fig. 5. Medieval and Post-Medieval Sandy Wares. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$

15. Cooking jar, partial dark olive green exterior glaze. L31.
16. Small cooking pot. L31.
17. Cooking pot, grey colour throughout. L38.
18. Cooking pot, everted thickened rim with internal bevel. L31.
19. Cooking pot, thumb impressions below rim. Heavily smoke blackened exterior. L32.
20. Rod handle for small jug. Fixed on to body by lap of clay over lower joint. Partial olive green glaze. L31.

Group II; Much finer hard sandy ware than Group I without limestone inclusions. Without exception a uniform grey fabric throughout. (Fig. 5)

21. Cooking pot, square flanged rim. Smoke blackened exterior. Micaceous fabric. L31.
22. Cooking pot, simple everted rim with lid setting. Micaceous. L31.
23. Cooking pot, combed zig-zag on upper rim surface. L14.
24. Body sherd of large cooking pot with vertical applied thumbed strip. L40.
25. Cooking jar, thin everted rim with small ridge on rim top. L31.
26. Small cooking pot with interior lid setting. Smoke blackened exterior. Micaceous. L31.
27. Small cooking pot, flanged rim, smoke blackened exterior. L31.

Group III; Similar fabric to Group II, but grey core with red exterior surfaces. (Fig. 5)

28. Cooking pot, everted rim with hollowed interior and rounded exterior moulding. L14.
29. Large cooking pot, smoke blackened exterior. L31.
30. Small cooking pot, slightly thickened rim. L31.
31. Part of a slashed rod handle. Patchy clear glaze. L31.
32. Small cooking pot, rim undercut externally with fingertip impressions around the shoulder. L2.

Group IV; A very fine sandy ware, light orange colour throughout. (Fig. 5)

33. Small jar, slightly everted rim with interior lid setting. Partial clear external glaze. L31.

Post-Medieval Pottery:

Cistercian wares; Two small fragments, one rim and one body sherd. Grey fabric with heavy mid-brown glaze. Unstratified. (Not illustrated)

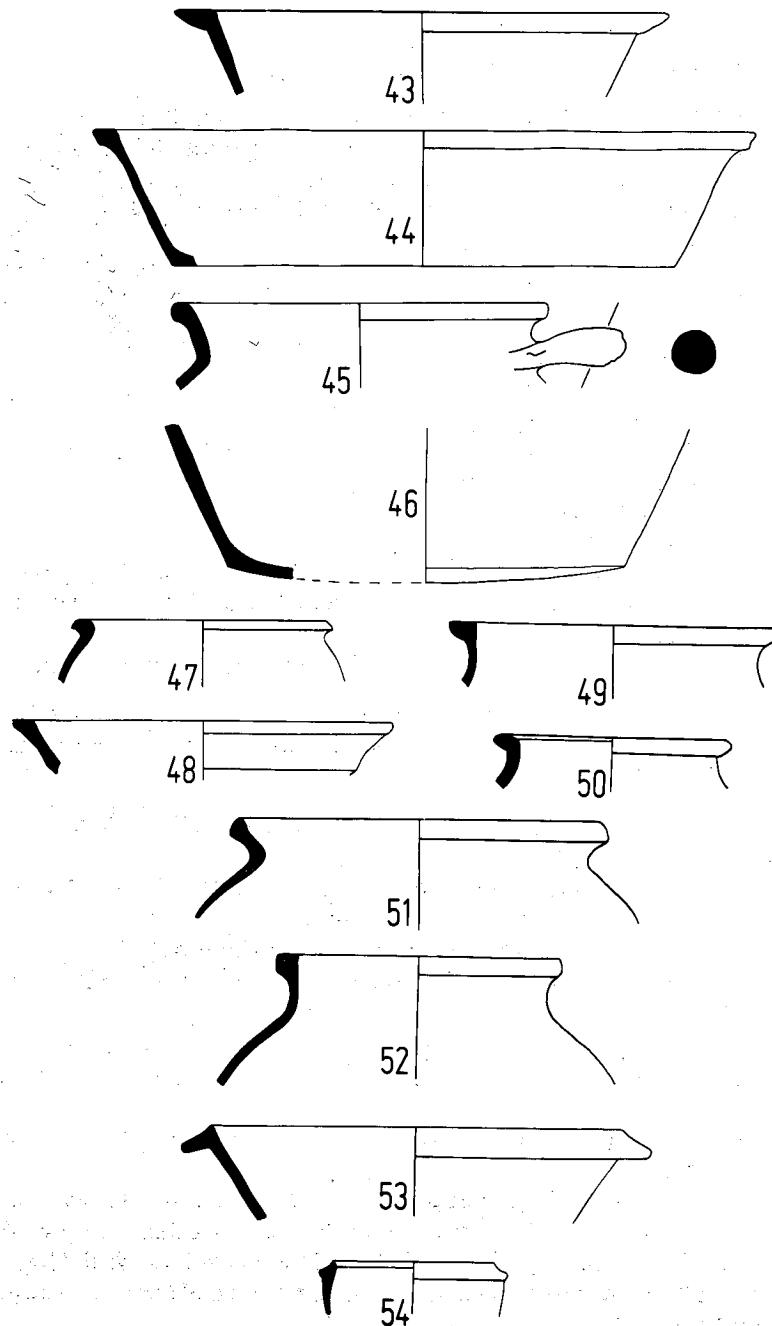


Fig. 6. Post-Medieval Sandy Wares. Scale 1/4

Raeren stoneware; (Fig. 5)

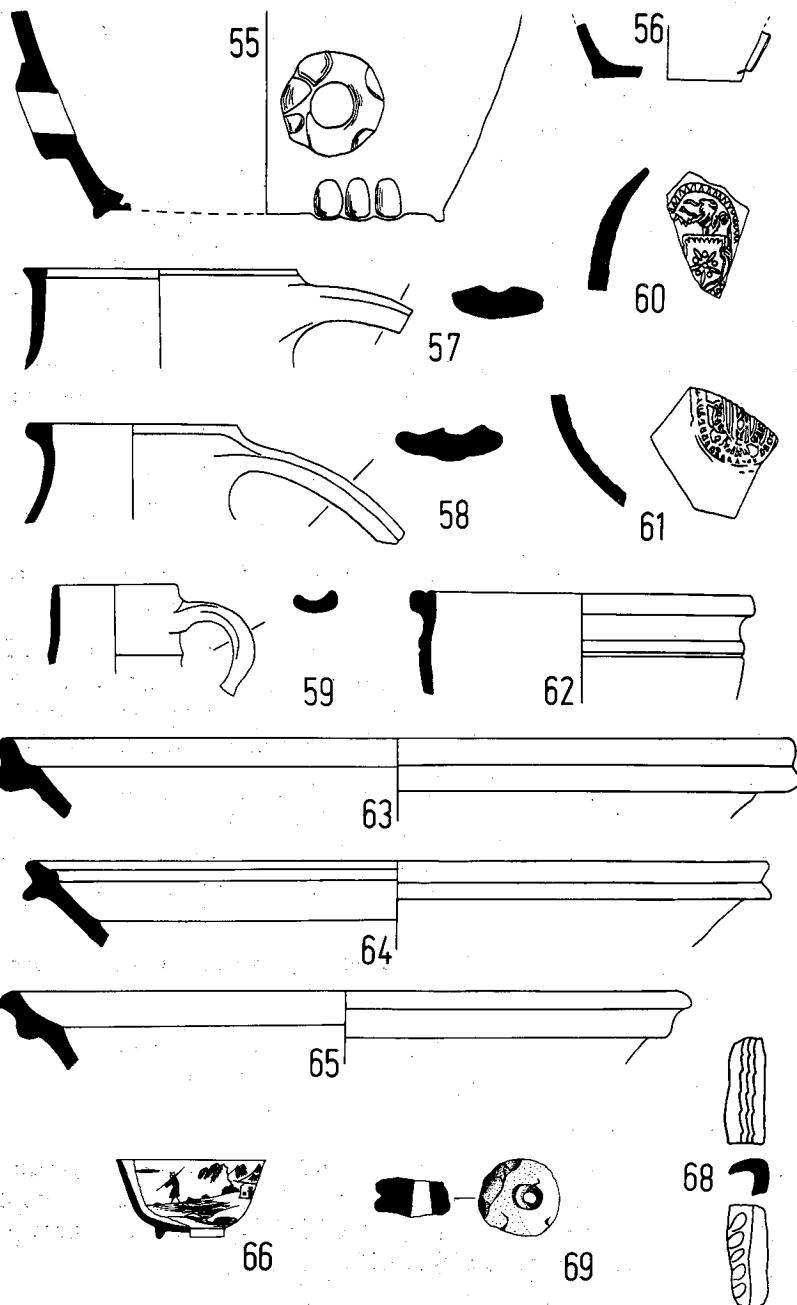
34. Base of a large jug with thumbed foot. Bluish-grey fabric. L14.

Grey Sandy wares; A large quantity of unglazed grey sand-tempered ware with an overall pimply texture was recovered, a sample of which is catalogued. They are mainly cooking bowls and pots recovered from the primary phases of the Manor house and can be paralleled in mid to late 16th Century contexts in Cambridge²³ and St Neots.²⁴ (Figs. 5 and 6)

35. Cooking pot, with moulded shoulder and slightly everted rim. L23.
 36. Cooking pot with moulded rim. L23.
 37. Cooking pot as 36. L2.
 38. Large cooking bowl, flanged rim with internal bevel. L23.
 39. Large cooking bowl as 38. L15.
 40. Large cooking bowl, flanged rim. Heavily smoke blackened externally. L24.
 41. Large cooking bowl, flanged rim with bevel on top of rim. L24.
 42. Cooking bowl, simple everted rim. L7.
 43. Cooking bowl, simple moulded rim. L2.
 44. Large cooking dish, simple externally bevelled rim. Internal cream slip. L22.
 45. Large cooking pot, simple rounded and everted rim, with the upper part of a plain rod handle. L22.
 46. Sagging base of large jug. Grey fabric with external pinkish slip. L22.

Red Sandy wares; Found in the same contexts as 35-46 above and of similar date. Unglazed red fabric with a finer sand tempering and without the pimply appearance. (Figs. 6 and 7)

47. Small cooking jar, partial clear external glaze and some traces of smoke blackening externally. Larger stone inclusions. L22.
 48. Jar, high everted rim with grey core. Partial clear internal glaze. L11B.
 49. Small cooking jar, clear external glaze around rim top. L14.
 50. Small cooking pot, slight trace of clear glaze on rim top. L17.
 51. Storage pot, everted and slightly thickened rim with top ridge. Parallel striations on external surface of pot body. L14.
 52. Large jar, clear brown glaze below rim. The pot was fired upside down. L24.
 53. Bowl with smoke blackened rim, large flint inclusions and partial internal glaze. L16.
 54. Jug rim?. Cream slip both inside and out, clear internal glaze. The pot was fired upside down. L11A.
 55. Base of a pitcher with simple bung hole formed by piercing through an applied external clay pad and body of the pitcher. Feet to a sagging base provided by groups of triple thumbings. Spots of clear glaze below base. L24.
 56. Base of small pitcher with bung hole of an applied external collar. Traces of clear glaze on base. L22.

Fig. 7. Post-Medieval Wares. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$

57. Jug rim and upper part of grooved strap handle. Flat rim with slight internal bevel. External cream slip with small spots of clear glaze. L30.
58. Jug rim and upper part of grooved and pinched strap handle. Traces of cream slip and clear glaze. Micaceous. L16.

Stonewares; Fine bluish-grey fabric. Early to mid 17th Century. (Fig. 7)

59. Neck and finger grooved handle of small drinking mug. L2.
60. Oval medallion with arms of a lion rampant above a shield with a central flower. The background of this medallion has been picked out in a light red pigment. L2.
61. Bottom part of an oval medallion. External surface mottled brown. L2.

Coarse glazed red wares; A few representative samples of mid to late 17th Century wares which consist of a heavily light-brown-glazed, orange to red/brown fabric. Frequently this has many larger stone inclusions. (Fig. 7)

62. Jar with elaborately moulded rim. Glazed both inside and out. L14.
63. Large bowl with flanged rim. One of the inclusions is a snail shell. Internal glaze. L14.
64. Large bowl with flanged rim. Glazed internally, fired upside down. L2.
65. Large bowl or pan, internally glazed. Burnt since breakage. L14.

Eighteenth Century fabrics; Many fragments, mainly body sherds, of 18th Century ceramics were found, notably combed slipware dishes, Chinese porcelain and blue and white plates and dishes. Many of these were of poor quality and most were found in unstratified contexts. Two of the finer pieces are described below; (Fig. 7)

66. Delft teabowl, tin glazed with painted blue design probably copied from a Chinese proto-type. Possibly Bristol, c. 1740-60. L5.
67. Grey stoneware jug of Westerwald type. Incised floral design overall, picked out and coloured in blue. Applied medallion inscribed GR below lip. c. 1730 (not illustrated).

One fragment does not readily fall into any of the groupings above. It possibly dates to the 16th Century.

68. Rim of large ?rectangular handmade dish. Rim top is zig-zag-combed and the underside is finger pinched. Light brown sandy ware with black core. L12.

Other Ceramic Material; (Fig. 7)

69. Spindle-Whorl. The fabric type corresponds to Sandy wares Group II. It is handmade and has a tapering off-centre hole through it. There is a continuous central indent around the outside edge. The top surface is heavily finger impressed, the base is iron stained. L11C.

Roof Tiles (not illustrated):

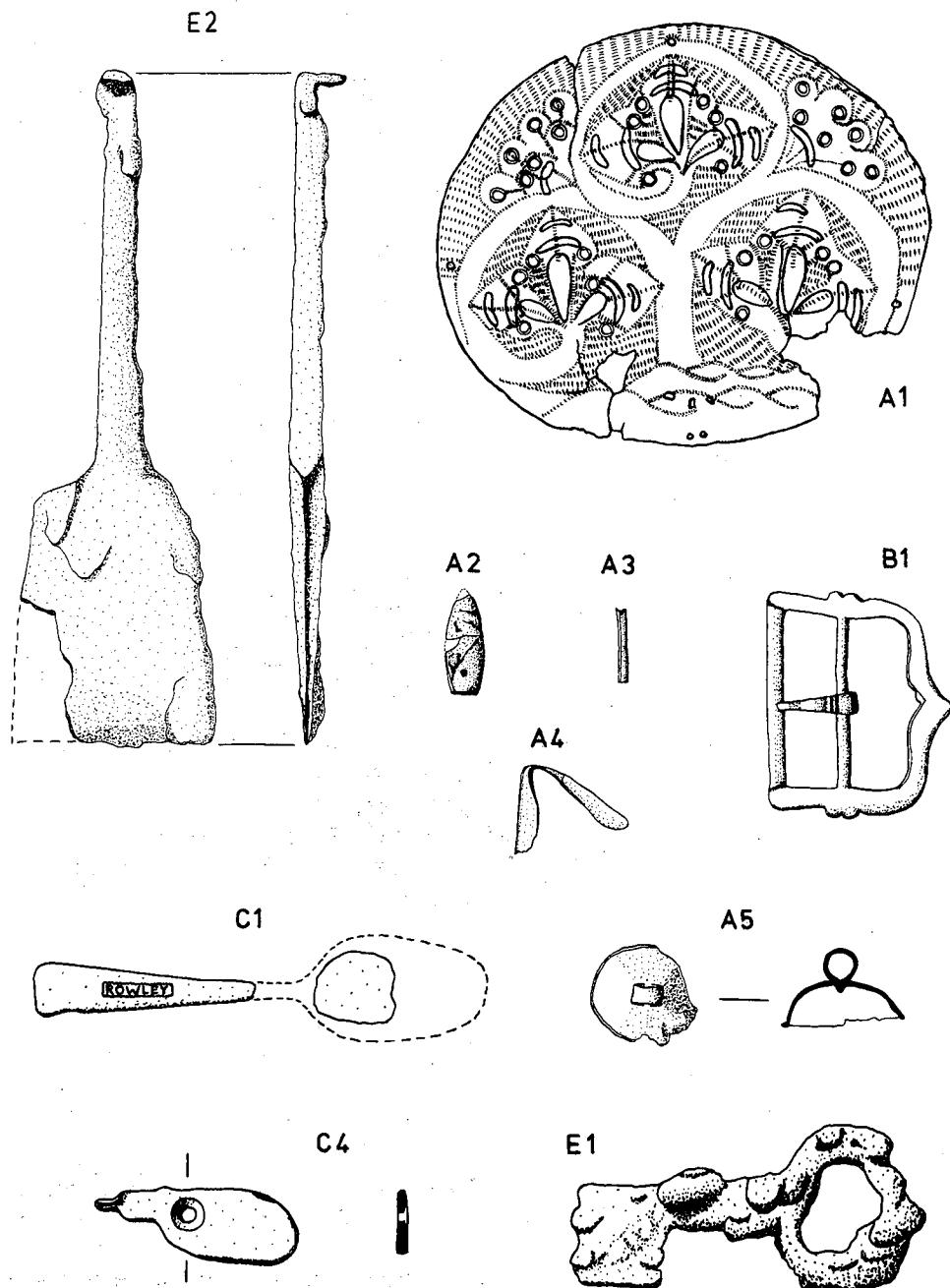


Fig. 8. Metal Objects. Scale $1/2$

70. Fragments of a ridge tile of unknown dimensions. The ridge is surmounted by a series of rectangular finials of which only one broken fragment survives. The external surface has a partial clear glaze covering a light yellow paint with darker red-brown streaks. The fabric is light red on either side of a grey centre. ?16th Century. L23.
71. Fragment of a ridge tile of unknown dimensions of similar fabric to 70. The crest has broken off but seems to have been continuous with a pierced fretwork design. The external surface is painted dark olive green and glazed. ?16th Century. F9.
72. Small fragment of ridge tile similar to 71. Unstratified.

In addition to these, many fragments of red clay roof tiles were found. Each had two holes, one in each of the top corners. All were from contexts which suggested they derived from the demolished Manor house roof, and are therefore presumably of 17th or 18th Century date.

Metal Objects; (Fig. 8)

A. Bronze;

1. Ornamental ?furniture fitting. Regular oval shape with three major flower motifs emanating from a central stem. Embossed and embellished with rocked engraving. The plate is pierced by eight holes, three on cardinal points and five at the base, probably caused by tacking the fitting to a wooden backing. Late 16th to early 17th Century. L11.
2. Strap end. One flat end tapering to a rounded point. Pierced by a central rivet for attachment. Badly broken and corroded. Late 16th Century. L23.
3. Hollow lace tag with single rivet for attachment. L23.
4. Concave length of bronze, rounded and smoothed at one end. L23.
5. Upper half of a horse bell. The hanging loop is soldered on to the body and protudes through to the interior. Undated. L2.

B. Brass;

1. Cast buckle with a central pin swivelling on a straight unornamented bar. L2.

C. Pewter;

1. Fragmentary spoon about 102mm in length. Plain flat handle decorated on the back edges with 1mm wide hatching. The word ROWLEY is stamped on the handle front. The bowl seems to be a wide oval type. 17th Century. F10.

D. Lead;

1. Centrally pierced weight, 87mm high. Tapering from a basal diameter of 34mm to 24mm at the top. Countersunk around the central hole at the base. 17th Century. L11 (not illustrated).
2. Over 100 fragments of H-sectioned window came. Many pieces had been screwed into balls; all were badly broken. From post-medieval contexts (not illustrated).

3. Two droplets of metal, 21 and 15mm long. Possibly the remnants of window repairs. L6 (not illustrated).
4. Irregular fragment. Narrowest end has been twisted off and broken. Centrally pierced and countersunk on one side. L6.

E. Iron;

1. Key, heavily corroded. Eighteenth Century. L10.
2. Chisel-like tool, heavily corroded. The top is bent over and the shank broadens out to a shaped cutting blade. L2.
3. Over 350 nails, of square or rectangular section, ranging from 40 to 130mm in length. About 45% were bent, the rest straight. Mainly from 19th Century demolition contexts (not illustrated).

F. Iron Slag;

1. A conglomerate nodule c. 80 x 100mm. With the exception of this fragment no evidence of iron working was encountered on site. L31 (not illustrated).

G. Coins; A total of six coins were recovered which are as follows,

1. Obv. E:D:G:ROS·SINE·SPINA

Rev. CIVI – TAS – LON – DON

Silver penny (North type 2017) dating to 1591/2 – 1594, in worn condition. F23.

2. Obv. CARO:D:G:MAG:BRI

Rev. FRA:ET:HIB:REX

Royal Farthing Token (North type 2277) dating from 1625 – 1634, in unworn condition. F10.

3. As 2. Unstratified.

4. Halfpenny. Probably of 18th Century date, corroded and illegible. Unstratified.

5. Halfpenny. Dating to 1901, in slightly worn condition. Unstratified.

6. Obv. HANNSKRAVWINCKELINN

Rev. GOTESREICH ... VRIETEWICK

Nuremberg Jetton, later 16th Century. Corroded and bent. Unstratified.

H. Glass;

Post-Medieval (not illustrated):

1. Bottle seal inscribed W. CHAMBERS. 1742. 4cm diameter.

2. Over 400 fragments of diamond shaped quarries of light green window glass. 17th or 18th Century.

3. About 230 fragments of 18th Century glassware ranging from dark green wine bottles to small scent- and medicine-jars.

Medieval Glass – H. G. Wayment

The twenty or so pieces of glass found at Dry Drayton are greenish and vary in thickness from 1.5 to 1.75mm; they are all split laterally into two coherent layers, which indicates that they are crown and not muff glass. They are painted on one surface with reddish-brown paint, and the iridescence on the other surface probably

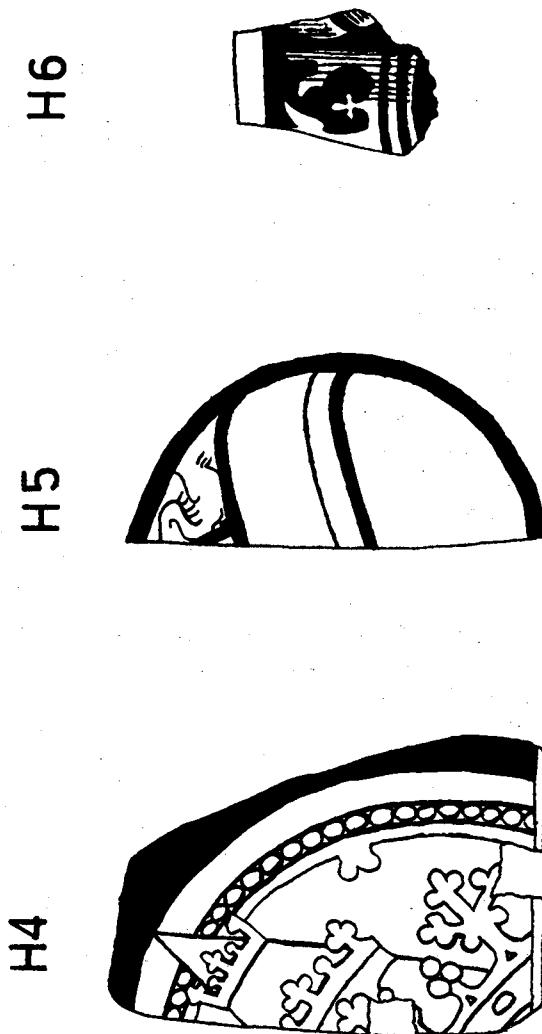


Fig. 9. Medieval Glass. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$

represents yellow stain. From these fragments three groups can be reconstructed as follows (see Fig. 9):

4. Five fragments covering an area roughly 57 x 28mm, delimited on two sides by straight splits and on the third by a grozed curve. Within the curve is painted in line a beaded orle, which is pierced by a cone; round the cone run three circlets from which foliated crosses rise. The fragment is no doubt, part of a nimbed triple crown such as the Virgin Mary wears in an Assumption or a Coronation.
5. Four fragments covering a rough semi-circle 54 x 26mm, split across the diameter and grozed around the edge. It is crossed by three painted lines curved so as to suggest a spherical object, and no doubt represents a globe or orb, such as God the Father carries, eg. in a Coronation of the Virgin.
6. A rough pentagon 25 x 17mm, with painting partly in line and partly picked out in sgraffito; it seems to form part of a circular nimbus from which floriations rise, similar to those on Group 4, but picked out of matt paint instead of being outlined with the brush.

The three groups might form part of a Coronation of the Virgin by God the Father. Group 4 can be paralleled, though in slightly more sophisticated glass, in a figure of the Virgin Mary which is preserved in a vestry window of the church at Barnack, Cambs. The date is probably about the second quarter of the 15th Century.

There are, in addition, eight separate fragments of glass (not illustrated) all crossed by straight or slightly curving lines of paint; one also has a band of cross-hatching, and another a short hatched band. The largest is 3.7 x 2.8mm.

I. Stone (not illustrated):

1. Fragment of Niedermendig lava quern of uncertain dimensions. L31 (not illustrated).
2. Seven small fragments of post-medieval schist hones (not illustrated).
3. Over 50 Collyweston limestone slates, mostly fragmentary and all with one drilled hole at top. Size differed from the smallest 175 x 109mm to the largest at 263 x 180mm (not illustrated).
4. Trefoil-sectioned block of oolitic limestone, 200 x 190 x 140mm. Part of a window mullion. Possibly of 14th Century date. L10.
5. Large block of oolitic limestone, 440 x 220 x 150mm, with moulded face. A chamfered top recesses down 50mm to a trough running the length of the block, this steps up to a platform which in turn rises to a chamfered edge. Possibly part of a string course. ?Of similar date to 4. Reused in F1A.

J. The Seeds - R. J. Flood

Seed and/or soil samples for examination were taken from five separate layers during the course of the excavation. Where possible the samples were composed of a number of subsamples taken from varying positions and depths in each layer sampled.²⁵ The soil samples were allowed to dry then poured into water and stirred to break up any lumps. The slurry thus formed was then washed through perforated plate

sieves of 2.5, 1.5, 1 and 0.5mm hole diameter. An examination of the residue on each sieve was then carried out using a stereo microscope. Identification was checked, where necessary, with the reference collection at the Official Seed Testing Station, Cambridge.²⁶

Layer 24; This was a layer consisting of fire reddened clay and immediately overlying the ash and charcoal deposit of Layer 8, which it effectively sealed. The soil examined contained no seed material whatsoever, suggesting that there was no later contamination of Layer 8 below.

Layer 8; This provided the largest quantity of material examined (See Table 1). The seeds were completely carbonised and the deposit also contained other carbonised material including fragments of twigs of *Prunus spinosa* L. (sloe or blackthorn), charcoal fragments of various sizes, stem of Umbelliferae, cereal straw, grass and pieces of pea pod (*Pisum sativum* L.). There was also some uncarbonised material, discussed below. It was not possible to identify three species which produced a total of 16 seeds, and one species each belonging to the Compositae, Labiate and Gramineae could only be identified to the family level. The majority of other seeds could be identified to the species level although in some cases it was only possible to identify the genus.²⁷

The main species represented are the crops, wheat (*Triticum aestivum* L.) and pea (*Pisum sativum*) and it is to be assumed that this area was being used to process or prepare them. Barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L.) and oats (*Avena sativa* L.) were present in small numbers. The field bean (*Vicia faba* L.) is likely to have been a contaminant of the pea. The oats present showed no awn base on the lemma's where present and no trace of a pressure groove on the caryopses and therefore belonged to an unawned cultivated variety.

Most of the other species found are common cornfield weeds and almost certainly impurities present in the field crops. Of some interest is the presence of some species, including *Echium vulgare* L. and *Lolium temulentum* L. which are not now known in the area. The absence of certain species which are now common weeds is of equal interest. These include such species as *Agropyron repens* (L.) Beauv. (couch), *Galium aparine* L. (cleavers, goosegrass) and *Raphanus raphanistrum* L. (wild radish). There was also only one seed of *Avena fatua* L. (spring wild oat) present in the sample; this is now a very common arable weed in the area.

Some of the species present are not typical of arable land however, and it is possible that three other habitats are represented. There is some overlap as several species could occur in any one of several plant communities. Two species present, *Carex* sp. and *Apium noisflorum* (L.) Lag. are typical of wetlands, possibly ditches or shallow ponds but very few seeds are involved and these may be of chance occurrence only. Another group seems to represent a woodland or hedgerow habitat. This includes not only the *Prunus* sp. – a tree or shrub and the scrambling *Rubus* sp. (blackberry) but also a number of herbs typical of this type of habitat – *Alliaria petiolata* L., *Silene alba* (Mill.) Krause, *Stellaria graminea* L. with possibly *Lapsana communis* L. and *Potentilla* sp.. The *Bromus sterilis* L. may also belong here, although it is becoming a

serious weed of arable land at the present time and may have been so in the past. These may have represented material used for fuel in the kiln; not only was coppice wood, etc., burnt but even twigs and hedge trimmings were faggoted up and used.²⁸ In these circumstances a certain amount of herbaceous material is likely to have been collected up with the wood and this would account for the seeds of such species being present. Much of the non-seed material probably also comes from this source. The third non-arable habitat represented is grassland. Some of the grass species may represent weeds present in the cereal crop but the majority are almost certainly from grassland as are several other species. Included could be *Leucanthemum vulgare* Lam., *Medicago lupulina* L. (trefoil), *Medicago sativa* L. (lucerne), *Potentilla* sp., *Stellaria graminea*, *Trifolium fragiferum* L. (strawberry clover), *Trifolium pratense* L. (red clover) and possibly *Echium vulgare*. The species of *Medicago* and *Trifolium* are of particular interest. These do occur to some extent in natural grassland but are typically species used in improving pasture. Their use was perhaps known as early as the mid-16th Century but is very unusual before 1620 and did not become common until the second half of the 18th Century. They may thus represent an early attempt to improve grazing in the area.

As the main grain present is wheat it is probably correct to assume that it was intended for human consumption rather than for animal feed or malting. It might be suggested, from the high levels of impurities present and the fact that intact grains were being dealt with, that the area was being used for processing, such as cleaning and drying, rather than preparation for immediate use as food.

As referred to above the layer also contained some uncarbonised plant material. This included pieces of stem and roots with immature fruit and seeds of *Aphanes arvensis* L., *Atriplex patula* L., *Chenopodium album* L., *Solanum nigrum* L., *Taraxacum officinale* Weber and *Veronica arvensis* L. These were all in a very fragmentary and fragile state; it was not possible to determine with any accuracy the numbers present. It seems unlikely that this delicate material could have been introduced while the kiln was still in use as it would have been easily destroyed or carbonised by heat. Layer 24 above, completely sealing this layer, contained no seed material and suggests that there was no later contamination. The majority of these species do not grow at present in the immediate vicinity of the excavation; this together with the fragmentary nature and appearance of this uncarbonised material means that contamination during excavation and sampling is also very unlikely. The suggestion must be therefore that this material found its way into the deposit after the kiln went out of use but before the deposition of Layer 24. Seeds of *Taraxacum officinale* are wind borne and may have come in from a distance; the other species are typically what might be called weeds of abandonment. These are plants which spring up on demolition sites, land which has recently gone out of cultivation or waste places with open soil. They often have very short life cycles, flowering and seeding soon after establishing, and may relatively quickly be replaced by more permanent vegetation. One possibility is that these fruits and seeds derived from plants which grew on the remains following the demolition of the kiln and had sufficient time to flower before

they were covered by the material of Layer 24. As no mature seeds or fruits were present this might involve only a very short period of time. The growth of plants in this situation would indicate that the site was exposed to the open air at the time; either the kiln was not in a building, or part of the building containing it was largely dismantled during a period of reconstruction. There may be alternative explanations for the presence of these uncarbonised remains in this deposit however.

Layer 20; This was a dark layer of organic material in the clay of L31. The species present are listed in table 2 and parallel those found in Layer 8, although no peas were present. Here again the main species was wheat, though oats and barley were present; the majority of the other species are cereal weeds. Woodland or hedgerow species are represented by *Crataegus monogyna* Jacq. (hawthorn) and *Anthriscus sylvestris* (L.) Hoffm. whilst *Lotus corniculata* L. and *Medicago lupulina* are typical grassland species; *Picris echioides* L. might come from either association.

Layer 34; This was a dark organic layer at the base of pit F36 of earlier date than Layer 8, but later than Layer 20. It was only possible to retrieve a small sample of 82g soil, and examination in the laboratory showed the presence of 39 grains of wheat, 1 grain of oat and 2 seeds of *Atriplex patula*.

Layer 35; This represents an area of charcoal and ash in Layer 31 and probably of similar date to Layer 20. As with the other layers examined, the principle component is wheat with the other species present being typical impurities found in wheat (See table 3).

Conclusions; The evidence from the various layers suggests a consistent use of the area for processing or preparing grain. The principle component is wheat, with peas also important in Layer 8, and likely to have been intended for human consumption rather than for animal feed or malting. There are some components from a woodland or hedgerow environment which may represent the gathering of material for fuel. Also present are some grassland species with some suggestion of attempts at pasture improvement using fodder legume species. The presence of seeds of grassland species might suggest an agricultural use for the area excavated or they might have been introduced, in the same way as the hedgerow or woodland species, by accidental inclusion with fuel.

Table 1: Seeds from kiln material Layer 8

Species	Number of seeds found:-		
	Extracted on site	Extracted from soil in laboratory	Total
Wheat (<i>Triticum aestivum</i> L. emend. Fiori & Paol.)	274	113	387
Oat (<i>Avena sativa</i> L.)	48	32	80

Barley (<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> L. sens. lat.)	59	33	92
Pea (<i>Pisum sativum</i> L. sens. lat.)	107	53	160
Field bean (<i>Vicia faba</i> L.)	-	5	5
Alliaria petiolata (M.Bieb.) Cavara			
& Grande	-	1	1
Anagallis arvensis L.	1	1	2
Anthemis cotula L.	32	16	48
Apium nodiflorum (L.) Lag.	-	1	1
Atriplex patula L.	7	15	22
Avena fatua L.	1	-	1
Brassica/Sinapis sp.	15	11	26
Carex sp.	7	1	8
Chenopodium album L.	5	1	6
Cirsium arvense (L.) Scop.	3	3	6
Compositae	8	3	11
Convolvulus arvensis L.	1	-	1
Cruciferae	-	6	6
Echium vulgare L.	1	-	1
Bromus sterilis L.	1	-	1
Lolium sp, probably	2	-	2
L. perenne L.	Gramineae		
Poa sp.		1	1
Other Gramineae		13	11
Labiatae	3	-	3
Lapsana communis L.	-	4	4
Leucanthemum vulgare Lam.	-	1	1
Lithospermum arvense L.	13	10	23
Lolium temulentum L.	2	-	2
Matricaria perforata Merat syn <i>M.inodora</i> L. nom. illegit.	1	1	2
Medicago lupulina L.	8	4	12
Medicago sativa L.	7	2	9
Polygonum aviculare L.	2	1	3
Polygonum convolvulus L.	-	1	1
Potentilla sp.	1	-	1
Prunus sp.	3	5	8
Ranunculus sp.	2	-	2
Rubus sp.	1	-	1
Rumex crispus L.	25	31	56
Sherardia arvensis L.	-	1	1
Silene alba (Mill.) Krause	1	1	2
Solanum nigrum L.	2	-	2
Sonchus asper (L.) Hill	1	1	2

<i>Stellaria graminea</i> L.	1	—	1
<i>Trifolium fragiferum</i> L.	3	—	3
<i>Trifolium pratense</i> L.	7	1	8
<i>Urtica urens</i> L.	3	—	3
<i>Viola</i> sp.	1	—	1
Unidentified	12	4	16

1222 g soil examined.

Table 2: Seeds from Layer 20

Species	Number of seeds:-		
	Extracted on site	Extracted from soil in laboratory	Total
Wheat (<i>Triticum aestivum</i> L.)	135	120	255
Oat (<i>Avena sativa</i> L.)	—	2	2
Barley (<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> L.)	—	2	2
<i>Anthemis cotula</i> L.	—	5	5
<i>Anthriscus sylvestris</i> (L.) Hoffm.	1	—	1
<i>Atriplex patula</i> L.	19	37	56
<i>Brassica/Sinapis</i> sp.	—	1	1
<i>Bromus sterilis</i> L.	1	—	1
Other Gramineae } Gramineae {	—	1	1
<i>Carex</i> sp.	—	1	1
<i>Chenopodium album</i> L.	4	—	4
<i>Crataegus monogyna</i> Jacq.	1	—	1
Labiate	—	1	1
<i>Lithospermum arvense</i> L.	—	2	2
<i>Lotus corniculatus</i> L.	—	2	2
<i>Medicago lupulina</i> L.	—	1	1
<i>Picris echioides</i> L.	1	—	1
<i>Rumex crispus</i> L.	2	—	2
<i>Vicia</i> sp.	—	3	3
Unidentified	—	2	2

361 g soil examined.

Table 3: Seeds from Layer 35

Species	Number of seeds:-			Total
	Extracted on site	Extracted from soil in laboratory		
Wheat (<i>Triticum aestivum</i> L.)	20	70		91
Oat (<i>Avena sativa</i> L.)	-	6		6
Barley (<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> L.)	-	1		1
Rye (<i>Secale cereale</i> L.)	-	1		1
<i>Anthemis cotula</i> L.	1	3		4
<i>Atriplex patula</i> L.	-	5		5
<i>Brassica/Sinapis</i> sp.	-	2		2
<i>Chenopodium album</i> L.	-	1		1
<i>Cirsium arvense</i> (L.) Scop.	-	1		1
<i>Echium vulgare</i> L.	-	2		2
<i>Lithospermum arvense</i> L.	-	27		27
<i>Lolium</i> sp. } Gramineae }	-	1		1
Other Gramineae }	-	3		3
<i>Matricaria perforata</i> Merat	-	1		1
<i>Rumex acetosella</i> L.	-	1		1
<i>Rumex crispus</i> L.	-	11		11
<i>Vicia</i> sp.	6	2		8

207 g soil examined.

K. The Mollusca:

Oyster shells were the most abundant mollusca finds. They ranged in size from 4 to 12cm in length, but clustered around 5-6cm. The figures in Table 4 show a rise in oyster finds after the mid-17th Century, probably the result of selective excavation of pre-17th Century levels, rather than their increased popularity as a dish. The distinction between shell finds inside and outside the house is probably due to the white oysters being more easily recovered inside the house and thus removed as rubbish whilst the darker mussels were more likely to be lost in the darker conditions prevailing inside the house. The lack of snail shells in the pre-Manor house phase is surprising if this is to be interpreted as an area of rubbish dumping, but could be explained by the small area datable to this period that was sampled.

Table 4

	Ostrea Edulis (Oyster)	Mytilius Edulis (Mussel)	Cardium Edule (Cockle)	Buccinum Undatum (Whelk)	Helix Aspersa (Snail)
<i>Contexts</i>					
Pre-16th Century	36	23	—	—	1
Manor House Interior					
Pre-mid 17th Century	30	40	1	—	4
Manor House Exterior					
Mid-late 17th Century	167	202	14	2	1
Outside House Area					
16-18th Century	330	43	21	1	25
	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	563	308	36	3	31

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions that may be drawn from this excavation are necessarily limited by the size of the area selected for sampling.

The earliest material is represented by a few fragments of Roman pottery. Since these were in an unstratified context however, their source cannot be deduced with any certainty.

The primary use of the site is indicated by pottery of St Neots and Stamford types, recovered from a deposit of material immediately above the basal gravel. This deposit is on an otherwise sterile gravel surface with no earlier ground levels represented. The gravel undulates and has a pockmarked surface and seems most likely to be the remains of the extraction of gravel for local use, digging having stopped when the water-table was reached. The extent of this particular gravel working was not discovered and it is possible that the permanent pond to the south of the excavation represents an unfilled gravel pit. On top of this the deposited debris was composed of many fragments of pottery and some animal bones, whilst the clay in this area had a greenish hue which perhaps indicates the rotting of organic matter. In addition, the relative discontinuity of the stratigraphy points to an accumulation of rubbish rather than direct occupation. Within the debris some difference in the overall pottery sequence was noted from its base to surface, but this varied in the individual areas sampled. The pottery in this area ranged from the 12th Century (St Neots and Stamford), to early 14th (in the finer sandy ware tradition). The rubbish debris presumably emanated from the village itself, though another source may have been the moated site on the eastern side of the Park.

Almost no use seems to have been made of this site between the end of this phase and the beginning of the building that became the Manor house. The only exception is provided by a large clunch wall, F14, which runs parallel to the outside wall of the later house. This was clearly constructed at some point after the rubbish had finished accumulating, since its foundation trench, one only on its south-western side, cuts through all the rubbish layers. A *terminus post quem* is provided by the construction of the main house over it. On purely stratigraphic grounds a date in the 15th Century might be applied. It appears to serve no useful purpose and no other structures were associated with it.

Representing the 15th and early 16th Century is a small amount of pottery and painted window glass, but hardly enough to suggest direct occupation of the immediate area at this time.

The initial phase of building on this site seems to have been the erection of a post-built structure, the small size of whose post-holes would suggest that it was no more than one storey high. It may have served as an outbuilding or an adjunct to a main Manor house. Dating is provided by pottery of the mid to late 16th Century which, with the documentary evidence, seems to place this activity as the result of the acquisition of the land by secular owners after the Dissolution, in 1543. The main posts of this building (F22, 23 and 32) were founded in holes aligned south-east to north-west. Their total number is unknown; several may have been destroyed by later building activity. The walls were provided by a cob infilling, the very degraded remains of which survived as a thin skim. A pink plaster may have lined the inside wall. The interior was divided by two thin clunch bases which probably supported timber framed walls. An entrance area is suggested by an area of trampled gravel to the south-east of post-hole F32. The structure may have been in use for some fifty to eighty years. The floor was a thick spread, 8 to 9cm, of grey-yellow clay. Sunk into this was a large key-shaped kiln, F31, its stoking hole pointing north-east. The dating of this feature is uncertain, though it is previous to the demolition of the main structure in Phase 2.

The second phase of occupation saw some rebuilding after partial demolition of the structure. The earthfast posts were removed and this was probably when the Elizabeth I penny was lost. This short period of relative openness of the inside of the building is supported by the uncarbonised remains of *Taraxacum officinale* which arrived in the kiln after it went out of use but before it was demolished. A short time afterwards the kiln superstructure was laid flat to level out the ground surface. Phase 2 saw the incorporation of this area into the main body of the house with the building of the brick pier or buttress, F2A, and associated wall of F10. The pier cuts through the previous clunch base of F13 which had been demolished, and the clay floors that were inside the building of Phase 1. The new brick wall probably extended north-west to south-east along the rear of the house and was later refaced, a few isolated bricks of Phase 2 survived to indicate its presence. A *terminus ante quem* for Phase 2 is provided by a Charles I farthing token found in the associated brick rubble. This approximately coincides with the arrival of a new owner in 1625, and could represent works initiated by him. The clunch base of F3A seems to have survived as an internal divide – a new

floor of gravel and sand being laid to its west, whilst another of clay was put down on its east.

Some small alterations were made to this structure subsequently. The drain of F1A was inserted, the bricks being unlike any of those used in Phase 2 or 3, and the drain itself is of superior construction. A curious curved structure of one course of double set bricks to the north end of the clunch base F3A also occurred at the same time, although its precise nature is in doubt. A floor of brick and stone tiles seems to have been laid between drain F1A and the clunch base F3A, only a small patch of which survived as F1B. The almost sterile clay layer of F6 probably provided a levelling for them.

A period of great activity is evidenced in the third quarter of the 17th Century and represents Phase 3. At this time a further reconstruction took place. The entire house seems to have been encased in a red brick wall which served as a refacing to the brick house of Phase 2. The wall F12, was built in a narrow foundation trench and rested on an earth base; it was of poor construction and used bricks of local manufacture. As a result of this reconstruction – further details of which could not be traced in this sample area – the large wall and brick pier, F10 and F2A, served no further structural purpose and were carefully demolished to foundation level at this time. Evidence of the date was provided by a large number of clay pipes in the foundation trench for the new wall and by documentary references to a rebuilding c. 1670-80. A new outside drain, F21, was also inserted, one side of which was the old clunch wall of F14. Improvements were also made to the interior walls in this area. A floor of wooden planks on joists probably covered the uneven stubs of the demolished walls. Possible evidence for one of the joists is provided by two parallel lines of mortar 10cm apart running along the top of the floor tiles of F1B, at right angles to the outside wall of the house. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the absence of any artefacts inside the house, with the exception of those inside F2B, which can be dated to after this reconstruction. Also belonging to Phase 3 is a cellar which was inserted and cut through all previous deposits. It was approached along a short platform of half bricks and down brick steps, most of which were removed in the later demolition.

No major alterations seem to have taken place between the 1670's and the demolition of the house. Minor changes were made, however, of which some record survives in the estate account books. The drain F1A was blocked, possibly due to the placing of a mortar standing for a cistern at its northern end. Slightly later the east wall of the drain at its southern end was removed and a brick and tile structure with a sharply dipping floor was inserted. This may have been a soakaway; its complete extent was not determined. A *terminus post quem* for its use was suggested by the pottery of after 1740 contained in it. The large quantity of final period finds from the excavation were all probably derived from the demolition and indicate that the household rubbish was being deposited elsewhere.

After a period of occupation by tenant farmers throughout most of the later 18th Century, the house was demolished in 1817. All the material that could be used, with the exception of some clunch blocks that were buried, was removed and utilised in the

village. All the resulting debris, consisting of broken bricks and tiles, many nails, much broken glass and some contemporary clay pipes, were left on the site. The foundations were systematically robbed and the whole area of the house levelled out, though the site of the house remained in evidence until well into this century. In the 1830's the main drains were destroyed to provide bricks for the Rectory Wall,²⁹ and evidence of this is indicated in the curving drain, F21, which seems to have been robbed at a later date than the house: the brick linings were removed and the rubble backfilled into the resulting trench.

Since that time the house area has been gradually buried under several centimetres of worm-sorted debris which has ensured its preservation to the present day.³⁰

NOTES

1. This is a shortened version of: Sekulla, M. F. (1979) 'History of Drayton Park, Dry Drayton', *Bulletin of the Cambs. Local History Council*, XXXIV, 26-30.
2. Page, F. M. (1934) *The Estates of Crowland Abbey*. Cambridge 64.
3. I owe this information to J. Ravensdale.
4. Astle, W. et al. (1802) *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae ... Circa AD 1291*, London.
5. Cartulary of Crowland Abbey, Spalding Gentlemen's Society.
6. Ms. 1.554.E2, Bedford County Record Office.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Walker, F. A. (1877) Addenda to a *History of Dry Drayton*, London 4.
9. Ms. R5.4496.7, Bedford County Record Office.
10. Collection of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
11. Walker, F. A. (1877) *op. cit.* 5.
12. Ms. Q.RD c.15, Cambs. County Record Office.
13. Schwartz, G. T. (1967) 'A Simplified Chemical Test for Archaeological Fieldwork', *Archaeometry*, X, 57-63.
14. Eidt, R. C. (1972) 'A Rapid Test for Archaeological Site Surveying' *American Antiquity*, XXXVIII, 206-210.
15. Beresford, G. (1977) 'Excavation of the Moated House at Wintringham, Hunts', *Arch.J.*, MXXXIV, 194-286.
16. R. J. Flood would like to thank Adrian Oswald for his helpful comments on some of the material.
17. Oswald, A. (1975) *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist*. BAR 14, Oxford.
18. Flood, R. J. (1976) *Clay Pipes in Cambridgeshire*. Oleander, Cambridge.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Beresford, G. (1977) *op. cit.* 194-286.
21. Tebbutt, C. F. et al. (1971) 'Excavation of a Moated Site at Ellington, Hunts', *PCAS*, LXIII, 31-74.
22. Tebbutt, C. F. (1966) 'St Neots Priory' *PCAS*, LIX, 33-74.
23. Addyman, P. V. and Biddle, M. (1965) 'Medieval Cambridge, Recent Finds and Excavations', *PCAS*, LVIII, 74-137.
24. Addyman, P. V. and Marjoram, J. (1972) 'An 18th Century Mansion, Fishpond and Post-Medieval Finds from St Neots, Hunts', *Post-Med. Arch.*, VI, 69-106.
25. I.S.T.A. (1976) 'International Rules for Seed Testing, 1976', *Seed Sci. and Technol.* IV, 1-177.
26. Nomenclature follows, as far as possible, the Stabilised List of Plant Names produced by the International Seed Testing Association, for species not included in this source the nomenclature in Flora Europaea (Tutin, T. G. et al, 1964 - date, Cambridge) has been used. The word seed has been used for the normal dispersal unit of a species regardless of whether it is a true seed in the botanical sense, a fruit or some other structure: this is for simplicity and follows normal seed testing practice.
27. It is not possible to distinguish in routine analysis between seeds of the various cultivated brassicas as there is considerable overlap in characters such as size and shape. In modern seeds the cultivated species (*Brassica rapa* L. - turnip, turnip rape and wild turnip, *Brassica napus* L. - swede and swede rape and *Brassica oleracea* L., cabbage, brussel sprout, cauliflower, kales etc) can be distinguished by microscopical

examination of seed coat characters but these are destroyed or obscured in carbonisation or burial in soil. These processes also obscure the characters used to distinguish *Sinapis arvensis* L. (Charlock), *S.alba* L. (white mustard), *Brassica nigra* (L.) Koch (black mustard) and *B.juncea* (L.) Coss. and Czern. (brown mustard). Any attempt to distinguish between the various species of *Brassica* and *Sinapis* in archaeological material must be regarded as unreliable. The seeds found in this material would most logically be expected to be *Sinapis arvensis*, a common cereal weed, but in some ways resembled *Brassica rapa*. It is not usual to distinguish between seeds of *Lolium perenne* L. (perennial ryegrass) and *L.multiflorum* Lam. (Italian ryegrass) but those present in this sample were almost certainly *L.perenne*. Similarly there can be difficulty in distinguishing the stones of various *Prunus* sp. the most likely identification of those present is *P.spinosa* (sloe, blackthorn) although there is a possibility that they are *P.domestica* L. ssp *insititia* (L.) C. Schneid (bullace).

28. Rackham, O. (1976) *Trees and Woodlands in the British Landscape*. London.
29. Walker, F. A. (1880) Addenda to a *History of Dry Drayton* (Vol 3) London 27.
30. The excavation could not have taken place without the co-operation of H. D. Sills and his tenants. I am also very grateful to the Cambs. Archaeological Field Group who provided the bulk of the labour force, the Cambs. Archaeological Committee for the loan of equipment, to K. McBarron for the pottery drawings, and to R. J. Flood and H. G. Wayment for their specialist reports. Personal thanks are due to Derek Phillips and M. Edwards. It was a great pleasure to work in Dry Drayton and the kindness shown by the community and many individuals will be remembered by all who helped on the excavation.



A RE-INTERPRETATION OF CHIPHENHAM BARROW 5, WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE BEAKER-ASSOCIATED POTTERY

Alex M. Gibson

I. THE BARROW

Barrow 5 was one of a number of barrows to be excavated in the 1930's by C. S. Leaf, and reported in *P.C.A.S.* (Leaf 1936, 1940), all of which produced evidence for pre-barrow occupation by way of sherds and flints from the old ground surface. Barrow 5, however, yielded rather more concrete evidence, and it is this barrow that forms the subject of this report.

The barrow is recorded by Leaf as being 147ft. (c. 45m.) in diameter with an outer bank but no visible mound, although there was a thin capping of sand covering a small natural knoll. The barrow seems to have been a sand mound, therefore, and not reinforced by turves etc. The surrounding bank was of gravel.

During the excavation of the central area a double ring of stake-holes was found just inside the gravel bank for stakes about 4 ins. (10 cms) in diameter and 3 ins. (7.3 cm.) deep. Eight feet (2.5 m.) within the bank was another ring of larger posts 9 ins. (22 cm.) in diameter and 6 ins. (14.7 cm.) deep. As noted by the excavator, these posts, filled with charcoal, may have been deeper, as subsequent ploughing has destroyed much of the top of the layer. Mr Leaf's interpretation was that 'the outer double ring would form a low palisade while the inner would form a circle of large posts, some of which were apparently arranged in pairs'. He then observes that similar stake circles beneath barrows have been found in the Netherlands.

This is, of course, true and stake and postholes are common beneath round barrows not only in Holland but in Britain too (Ashbee 1960). In most cases, however, the circles are rather more regular than at Chippenham. For example in Barrow 5 only some of the inner circle of posts are double, and the outer stake hole circle disappears beneath the surrounding bank on the east and north-east side (fig. 1). Especially unusual are the two large postholes to the north east, numbered hearths I and VII in Mr Leaf's plan. The fact that they were at first thought to be hearths suggests that they were filled with charcoal, but they proved to be large postholes forming an entrance. Dimensions for these postholes are not given in the report but from the plan it is possible that they were about 3 ft. (c. 1m.) across, very out of character with the 4 in. (10 cm.) diameter stakes of the outer ring. Seven large hearths were found within the central area, two of which, hearths III and IX, cross the line of the outer stake circle; but it is not clear from either the plan or the description whether the hearths are stratigraphically earlier or later than the stakeholes. It may be assumed that these

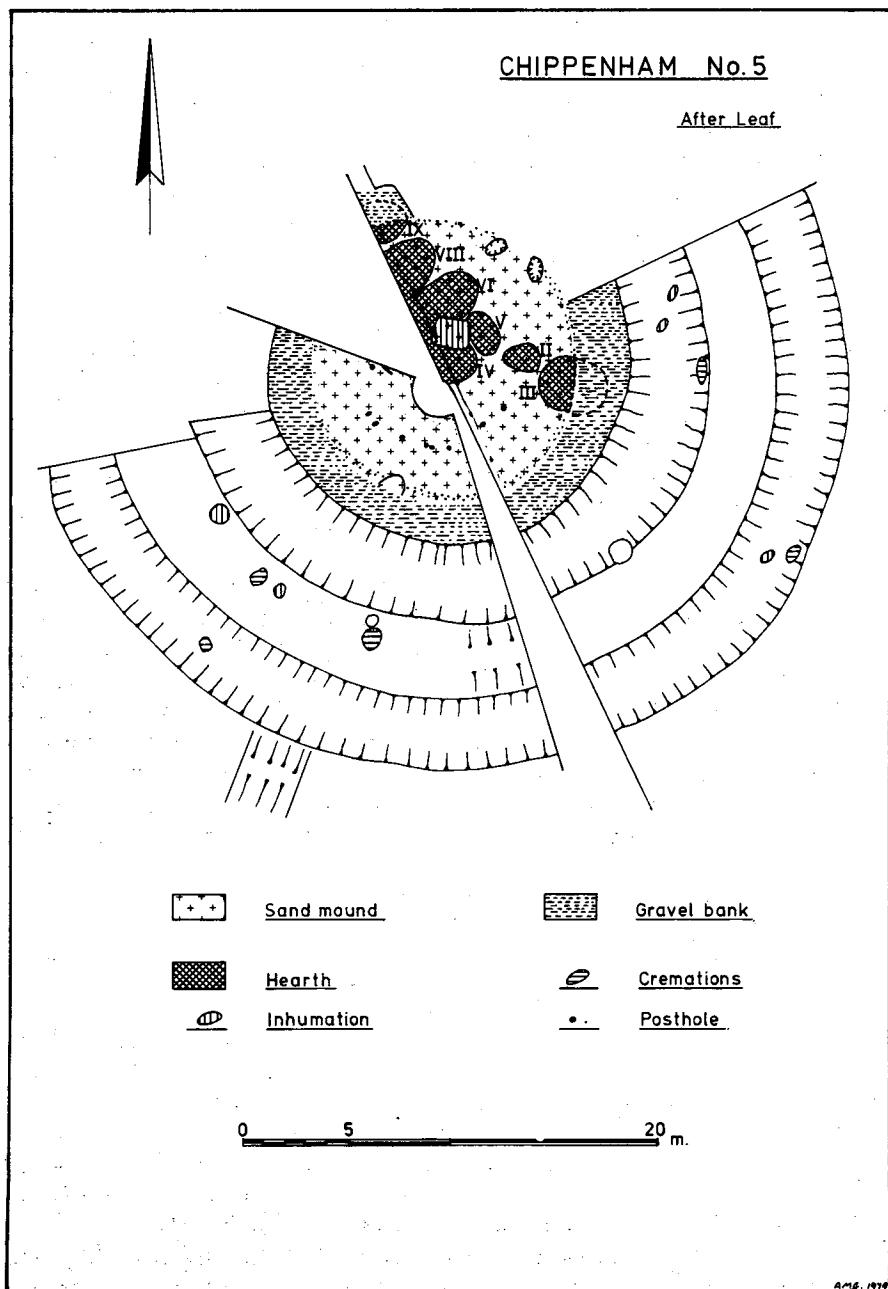


Fig. 1. Chippenham, Barrow 5 (after Leaf).

hearths are earlier for the following reasons:

- 1) there is no sterile layer mentioned between the hearth and the old ground surface as might be expected if the hearth were later, and it was clearly found beneath the mound which Mr Leaf saw as contemporary with the stake circles;
- 2) if this was a thin hearth above the posts then it would have been destroyed by the modern ploughing which was reported to have done so much damage to the post and stake holes;
- 3) there is no mention of a large spread of charcoal over the site around the area of the hearth as would be expected if the hearth was a later deep one of which only the lowest part had escaped plough damage;
- 4) the sherds from these hearths are said to have been few and abraded while those from the hearths nearer the centre and within the stake circle are comparatively fresh;
- 5) these hearths, as well as the stake holes, are certainly pre-bank as they both underlie that feature, but they cannot be contemporary with each other.

A mesolithic working floor was found beneath hearths VIII and IX on the northern part of the site.

The sequence of activity on the site, then, is seen by the writer to be as follows. Firstly, Mesolithic occupation as attested by the floor just mentioned; secondly, Neolithic occupation of a rather scanty nature represented by a carinated western Neolithic bowl and a late Neolithic incised hammer rim found in a depression near the outer ditch on the east side, and from beneath the inner bank on the east-north-east respectively. At least hearths III and IX may be associated with the second sherd mentioned, but cannot, at any rate, be far removed in date. We then would have the construction of the stake and posthole circles, associated with, possibly, hearth IV or VIII, then the primary unaccompanied inhumation and the erection of the first phase of the two-period barrow.

RE-INTERPRETATION

The writer sees the structure beneath barrow 5 at Chippenham not as representing wooden circles of a ritual nature, but a round hut about 40 ft. in diameter (c. 3.35m.), (fig. 2). The outer wall is of paired stakes which supported a wattle and daub wall, fragments of daub having been found on the site, and the posthole circle represents larger freestanding posts which formed roof supports. The fact that some are double suggests re-cutting and the replacement of decayed timber. The two large postholes on the outer circle represent an entrance, and their large size is not unparalleled. The hearths, pottery, flint and domestic animal bones all reinforce the theory that there was domestic activity on the site before the erection of the barrow.

There is a problem, however, and that is that all the hearths could not be contemporary, but all except hearths V and IX have produced Beaker pottery and so cannot be too far separated chronologically. Even hearths V and IX had some Beaker

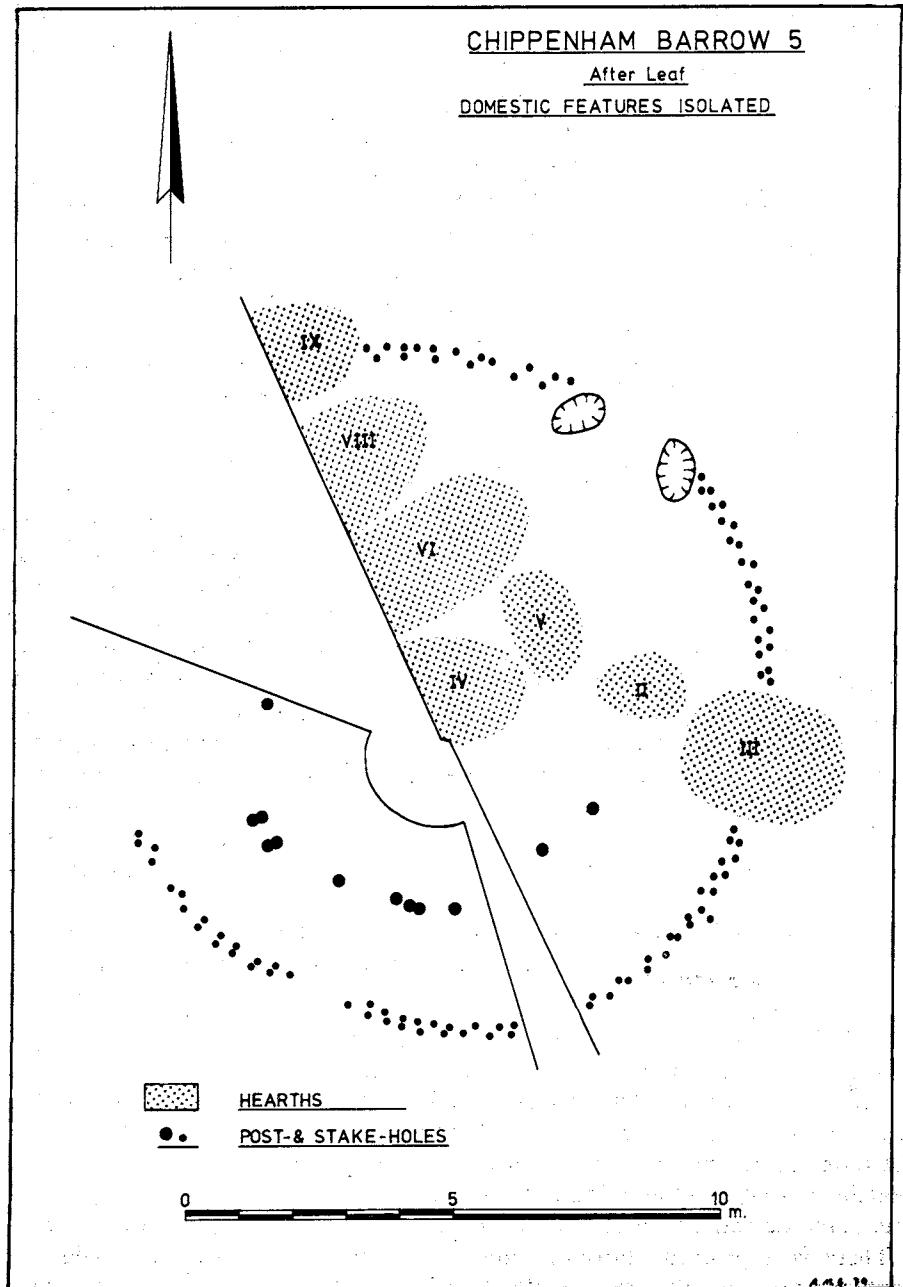


Fig. 2. Chippenham, Barrow 5 (after Leaf). Domestic features isolated.

sherds associated with them, but these fitted sherds from other hearths. Only hearths IV, V, and VII could be contemporary with the hut, assuming that the ring of postholes is, in fact, a true circle.

Daub was found at Chippenham, though in exactly what quantity it is difficult to say; but the outer stakeholes could have supported a wattle and daub wall of considerable strength as the stakes themselves were quite broad, as already mentioned, and they do not appear to have been replaced as do some of the posts of the inner ring, perhaps due to protection afforded by the daub. If this is the case, then the outer wall despite its flimsiness on the ground, may have been in actual fact quite strong, as the posts are about 1 ft. (c. 30cm.) apart according to Mr Leaf's plan. Consequently, the large size does not render the interpretation of the monument as a hut unacceptable. West Brandon houses A and B (Jobey 1962) Little Woodbury houses I and II (Musson 1970), High Knowes A (Jobey and Tait 1966) are all similar in size to, if not larger than, the Chippenham site where the wattle and daub wall would give the same kind of support as offered by the ring groove of some of the other examples quoted. The internal postholes would be sufficient to hold a roof of some light material such as skins and, in any case, Musson has shown (*op. cit.*) that internal posts need not be present in a house, as a light roof could be entirely supported by ring or tie beams. The two may have been combined at Chippenham with the internal supports giving added strength, and need not have even been a complete circle. The large door posts are also paralleled at some of the sites mentioned above, and in the Bronze Age houses at Itford Hill (Burstow and Hollyman 1957). Admittedly, these examples are from later contexts than the Chippenham barrow, but our knowledge of huts of this period is very slight and so the lack of contemporary parallels only represents the state of present knowledge. Also, despite the difference in date, round huts are round huts the world over, as shown by numerous ethnographic parallels, and carpentry in the Early Bronze Age would be similar to that of later prehistory; tools may have changed but there is no evidence to suggest that nails were used in the later huts, so the basic techniques may have been the same.

The hearths present the only problems of interpretation; III and IX are probably earlier than the hut, and II and VII cannot be contemporary with the hut if the circle of roof supports is a complete one. All the pottery is similar and closely dateable so what we must envisage is that some hearths were in existence, and fell into disuse and were used by the same people who built the hut. Certainly, the amount of pottery from barrow 5 and the other barrows in the group suggests that occupation in this area was extensive.

II. THE POTTERY

The pottery discussed here is, in the main, non-Beaker rusticated ware which Mr Leaf intended to publish later when his excavation was complete but which never did see print (Leaf. 1940 p. 60). True Beaker has been omitted from this discussion as adequate drawings, though not of all the material, were published in the 1940 report.

Nos. 30 and 86 are probably true Beaker, but have been included here as No. 30 is semi-rusticated, and the decoration of No. 86 is unusual.

The majority of the pottery is coarse rusticated sherds, very different to the Beaker material in character. Finger pinched cordons are most commonly found as in sherds Nos. 44-49 inclusive, usually only horizontal, but vertical and horizontal ribs may sometimes be combined (Nos. 8, 17, 35). In the case of sherds No. 2 and No. 4, a large horizontal cordon has been applied and covered with finger tip impressions, in such a way that a collar has been formed. The body of No. 2 is probably truncated like urn or Fengate ware, while that of No. 4 is probably hemispherical. These cordons are really quite common on Grooved Ware (Wainwright and Longworth, 1971), and this is also true of the applied knobs on Nos. 39 and 42, which are common to the rinyo style of Grooved Ware. The finger impressed decoration is commonly formed by the whole tip being impressed into the clay as in Nos. 27 and 72 and so a tear-shaped ridge of dislodged clay is often formed on one side of the depression.

Finger nail decoration is also quite common but not quite so frequent as finger tip (Nos. 30-34, 80, 82-3). The fabric of these vessels is also finer and harder than that of the other sherds, so they are probably more nearly related to Beaker ware than the vessels described above. Incision is found on only three sherds, the Beaker ware mentioned above, and the later Neolithic rim sherd No. 77, found beneath the gravel bank of Barrow 5. Cord decoration is present in only one case, No. 85, possibly from a collared urn as the fabric is thick and coarse.

III. CATALOGUE OF THE POTTERY

Barrow 5 Hearth II. (Fig. 3, 1)

- 1) 2 sherds. Finger tip decor. Brown ext. Pink-brown int. Medium grit. Hard.

Barrow 5 Hearth IV. (Fig. 3, 2-16)

- 2) 3 sherds. Finger tip decor. Brown ext. Pink int. Med. grit. Hard.
- 3) 3 sherds. Finger tip decor. Grey throughout. Medium grit. Hard.
- 4) Five sherds. Finger tip and cordoned decoration. Brown fabric. Med. grit. Crumbly.
- 5) Finger pinched cordon decor. Grey fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 6) Two sherds. Finger tip decor. Brown fabric. Med. grit. Hard.
- 7) Four sherds. Finger raised ribs. Reddish ext. Grey-red int. Med. protuding grit. Crumbly fabric.
- 8) Finger raised horizontal and vertical ribs. Red-brown ext. Black int. Med. grit. Crumbly fabric.
- 9) Finger nail decor. Light brown ext. Grey int. Med. grit. Hard fabric.
- 10) Paired Finger nail impressions. Grey fabric. Fine-med. grit. Hard.
- 11) Fingernail impressions. Dark brown ext. Blank int. Fine grit. Hard.
- 12) Finger raised ribs. Brown ext. Grey int. Med. grit. Hard.

- 13) Two sherds. Fingernail decor. Brown fabric. Med. grit. Hard.
- 14) Horizontal finger nail decor. Brown ext. Grey int. Fine grit. Hard.
- 15) Finger tip decor. Light brown fabric. Med. grit. Hard.
- 16) Finger tip decor. Grey-brown ext. Brown int. Med. grit. Hard.

Barrow 5 Hearth VI (Fig. 3, 17-33)

- 17) Finger raised vertical and horizontal ribs. Light brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 18) Finger tip and Nail decor. Grey ext. Brown int. Fine-Med. Grit. Hard.
- 19) Finger tip decor. Brown fabric. Med. grit. Hard-crumbly fabric.
- 20) Finger nail decor. Grey ext. Black int. Fine-med. grit. Hard.
- 21) Horizontal finger nail imps. Grey ext. Brown int. Fine-med. grit. Hard.
- 22) Finger nail decor. Grey fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 23) Finger nail decor. Brown ext. Grey int. Fine grit. Hard.
- 24) Three sherds. Finger nail decor. Brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 25) Finger nail decor. Grey-brown fabric. Med. grit. Hard.
- 26) Finger tip and nail decor. Brown-light brown fabric. Med. grit. Hard.
- 27) Five sherds. Finger tip decor. Brown Fabric. Med. grit. Hard.
- 28) Three sherds. Finger nail decor. Grey fabric. Fine-med. grit. Hard.
- 29) Three sherds. Fingernail decoration. Grey-brown ext. Black int. Med. grit. Hard.
- 30) Finger nail and incised decor. Pink ext. Grey int. Fine grit. Hard.
- 31) Finger nail decor. Grey-brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 32) Finger nail and cordon decor. Pink fabric. Med. grit. Hard.
- 33) Finger nail decor. Brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.

Barrow 5 Hearth VIII (Fig. 4, 34-69)

- 34) Finger nail decor. Light brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 35) Finger nail and cordon decor. Grey ext. Light brown int. Fine grit. Med. hard.
- 36) Finger nail and cordon decor. Dark brown fabric. Fine grit. Med. hard.
- 37) As above.
- 38) Finger tip decor. Brown-orange surfaces. Med.-coarse grit. Crumbly-hard.
- 39) Finger raised cordon and applied knobs. Dark brown fabric. Med. grit. Med. hard.
- 40) Finger raised cordons. Brown ext. Grey int. Fine-med. grit. Hard.
- 41) Finger tip decor. Light brown ext. Int. missing. Med.-coarse grit. Hard-crumbly.
- 42) Finger raised cordons and applied knobs. Dark brown surfaces. Med. grit. Hard.
- 43) Finger raised vertical and horizontal cordons. Dark brown surfaces. Fine grit. Hard.
- 44) Finger raised cordons. Light brown ext. Dark grey int. Fine grit. Med. hard.
- 45) Finger raised cordons. Brown ext. Dark grey int. Fine-med. grit. Hard.
- 46) Finger raised cordons. Brown ext. Dark grey int. Fine-med. grit. Hard.
- 47) As above.
- 48) Finger raised cordons. Light brown surfaces. Fine grit. Hard.

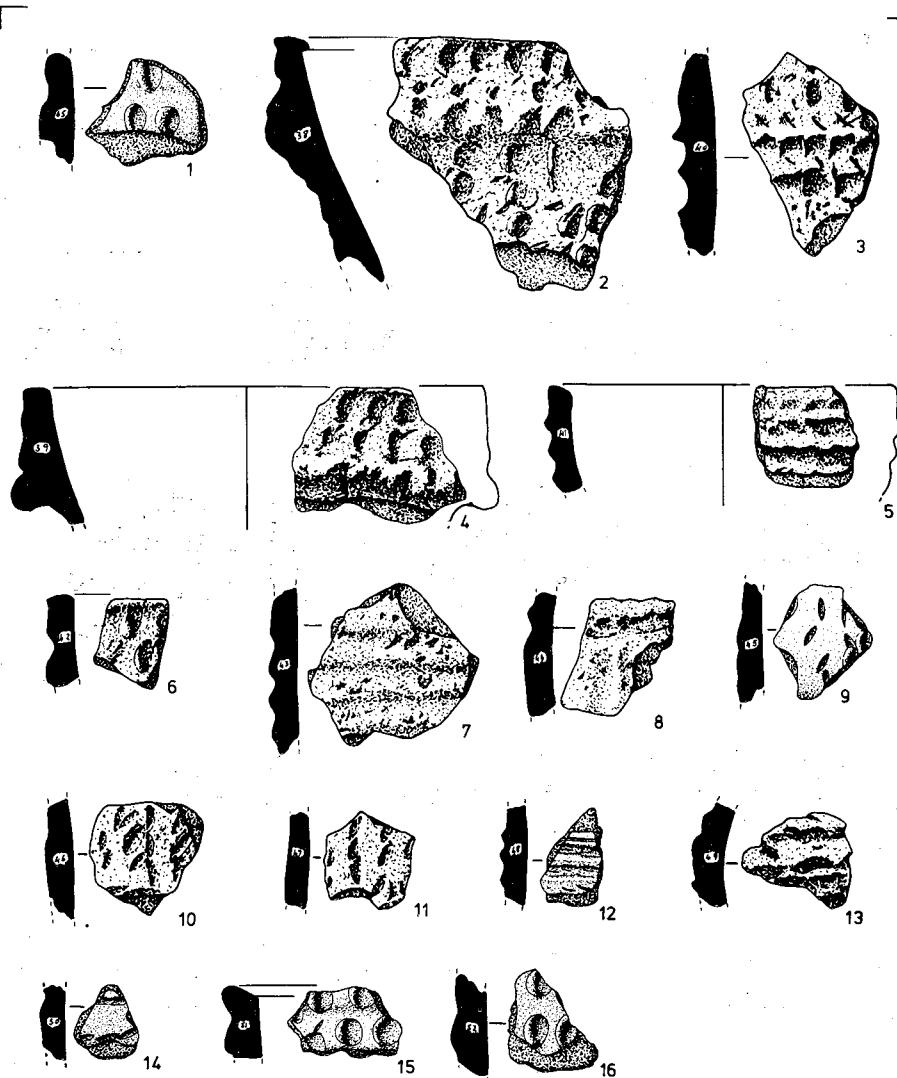


Fig. 3. Pottery from Chippenham, Barrow 5

1 Hearth II

2-16. Hearth IV

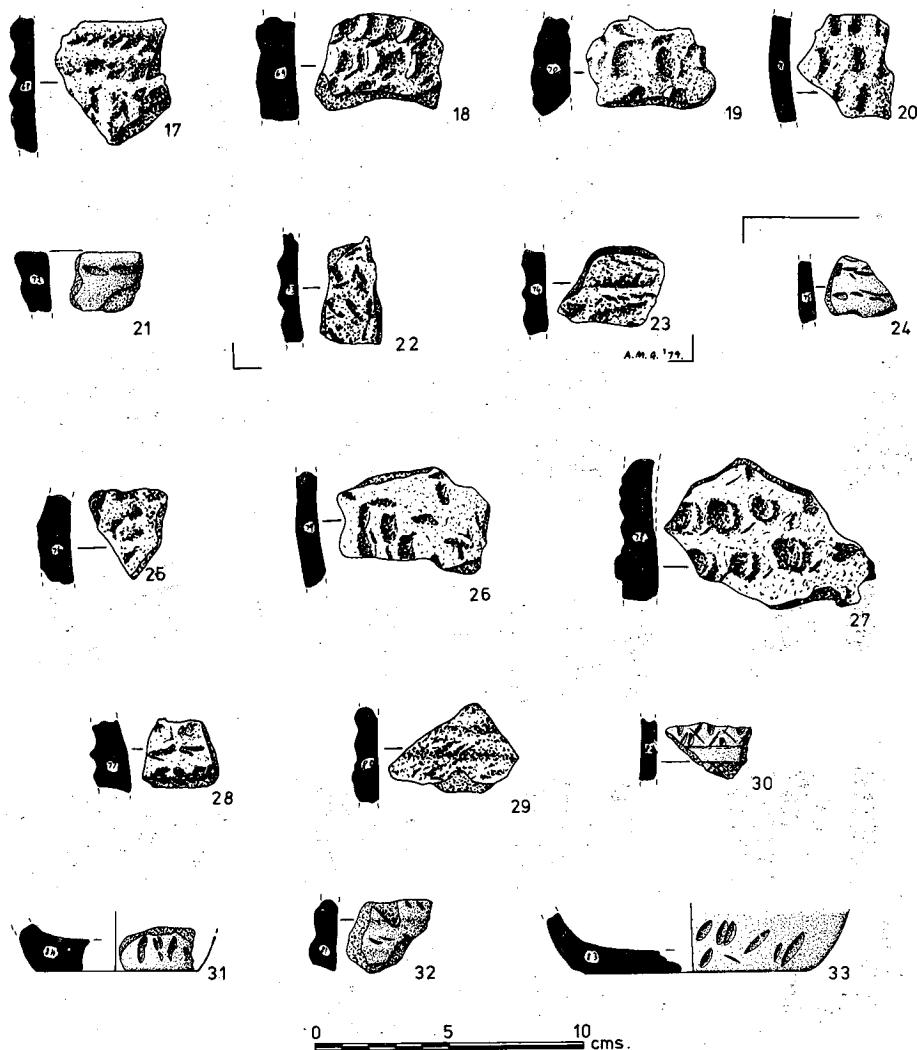


Fig. 3. (continued)
17-33 Hearth VI

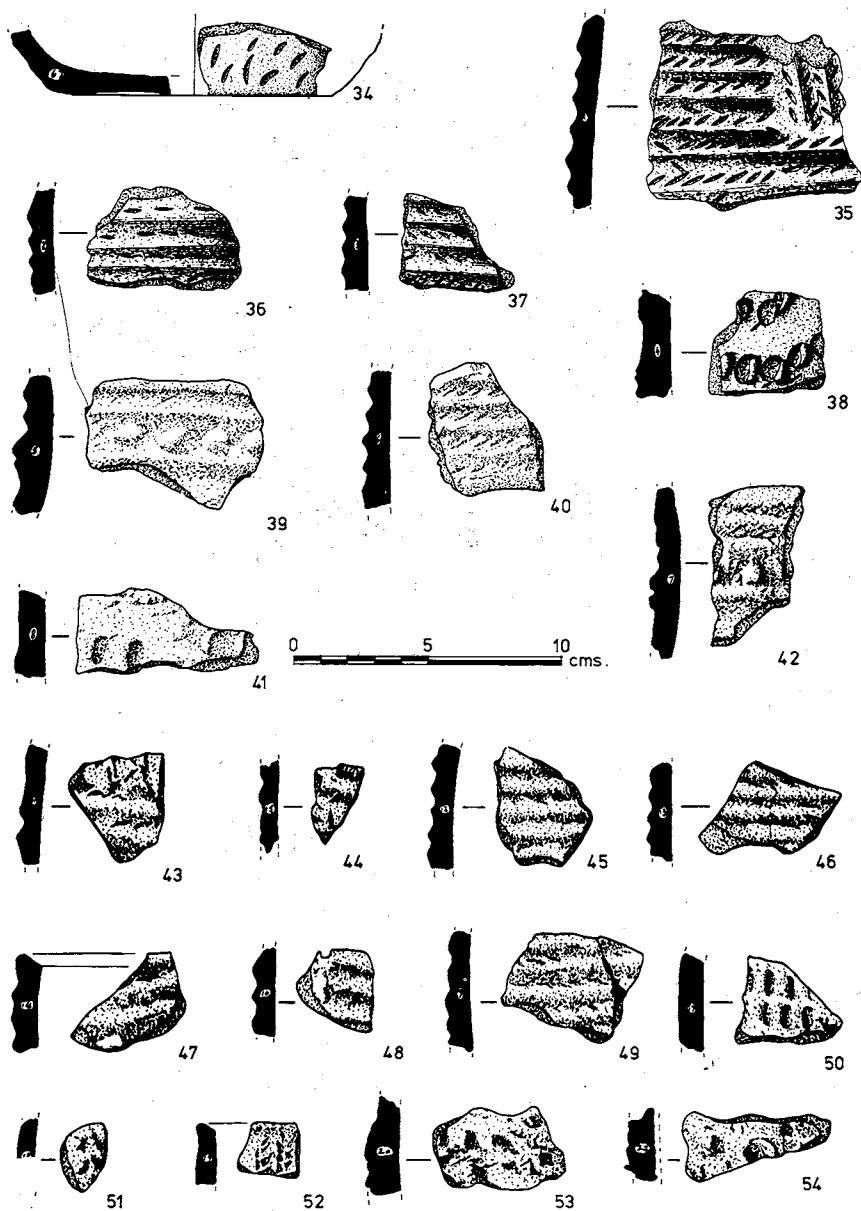


Fig. 4. Pottery from Chippingham, Barrow 5, Hearth VIII

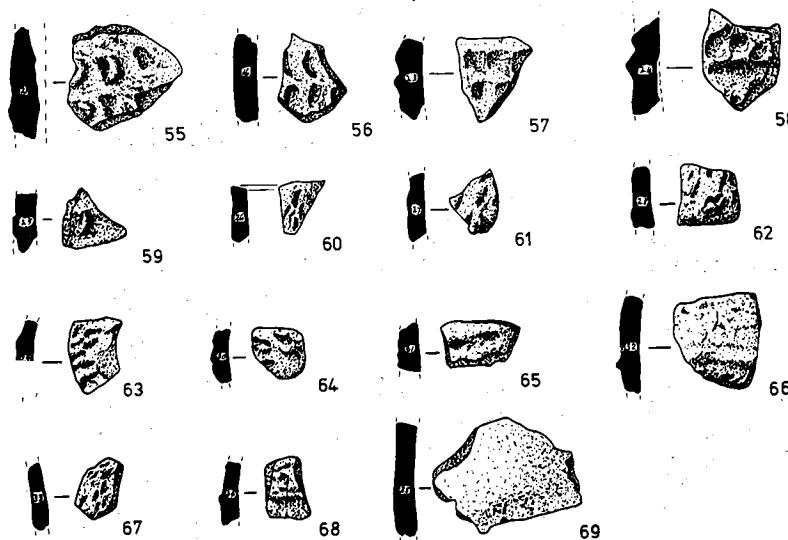


Fig. 4. (*continued*)
Hearth VIII continued.

- 49) Finger raised cordons. Brown ext. Grey int. Fine-med. grit. Hard.
- 50) Finger nail imps. Orange-brown ext. Dark grey int. Fine grit. Hard.
- 51) Paired finger nail imps. Light brown ext. Brown-grey int. Fine grit. Hard.
- 52) Paired finger nail imps. Dark brown fabric. Fine-med. grit. Hard.
- 53) Finger tip imps. Light brown ext. Orange-light brown int. Fine-med. grit. Med. hard.
- 54) As above.
- 55) As above. Int. missing.
- 56) Finger nail imps. Brown ext. Dark grey int. Fine grit. Hard.
- 57) Finger tip decor. Brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 58) Finger raised cordons. Orange-brown ext. Brown-grey int. Med. grit. Hard.
- 59) As above. Int. missing.
- 60) Finger nail imps. Brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 61) Finger nail imps. Light brown ext. Grey int. Fine grit. Hard.
- 62) Finger nail imps. Grey fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 63) Finger nail imps. Dark Brown ext. Brown-dark grey int. Fine grit. Hard.
- 64) Finger nail imps. Brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 65) Finger nail imps. Light brown ext. Dark grey int. Fine-med. grit. Med. hard.
- 66) Finger nail imps. very abraded. Light brown ext. Dark grey-black int. Fine grit. Med-hard.
- 67) Finger nail decor. Brown surfaces. Fine grit. Hard.
- 68) Finger nail decor. Red-brown ext. Brown int. Fine grit. Hard.
- 69) Plain, but possibly faint finger nail imp. towards bottom of sherd. Light brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.

Barrow 5 Hearth IX (Fig. 5, 70-76)

- 70) Finger nail and cordon. Brown fabric. Hard but laminated fabric.
- 71) Finger nail and cordon. Brown ext. Black int. Fine grit. Hard but laminated.
- 72) Finger tip and cordon. Grey-brown ext. Pink-grey int. Coarse grit. Crumbly.
- 73) Two sherds. Paired finger nail and cordon. Grey-brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 74) Random finger nail decor. Light brown ext. Grey int. Med. grit. Hard.
- 75) Finger nail and cordon. Brown ext. Black int. Fine grit. Laminated but hard.
- 76) Finger nail imps. Brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.

Barrow 5 below gravel bank (Fig. 5, 77)

- 77) Incised decoration. Light brown fabric. Med. grit. Crumbly.

Barrow 1 (Fig. 5, 78-82)

- 78) Paired Finger nail decor. Slight moulding below rim. Light brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 79) As above but from smaller vessel. Grey fabric.
- 80) Finger nail imps. Light brown ext. Grey int. Fine grit. Hard.

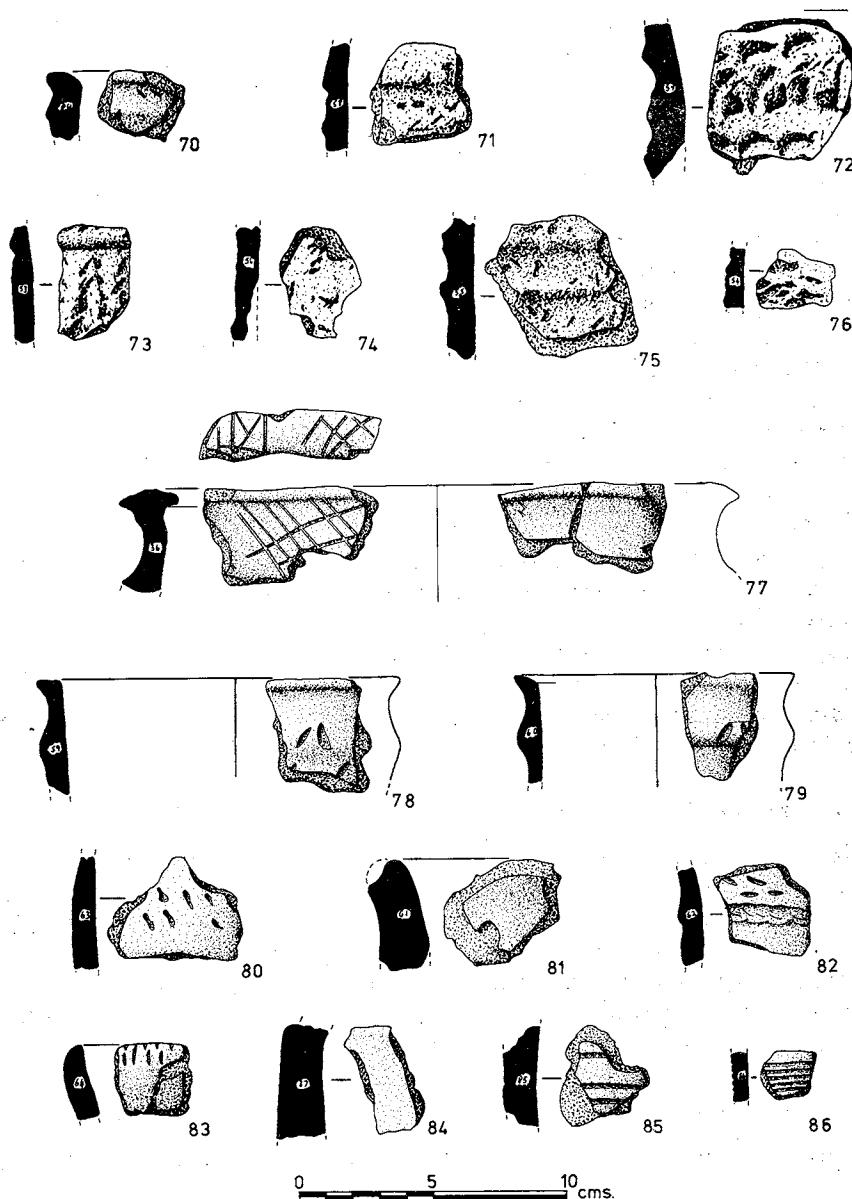


Fig. 5. Pottery from Chippenham Barrows

70-76 Barrow 5, Hearth IX
 77 Barrow 5, below gravel bank
 78-82 Barrow 1
 83-84 Barrow 2
 85 Barrow 4
 86 Topsoil

- 81) Plain rim sherd. Light brown fabric. Med. grit. Fairly hard. ?Urn.
- 82) Finger nail and slight cordon. Light brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.

Barrow 2 (Fig. 5, 83-84)

- 83) Finger nail imp. on externally rounded rim. Brown fabric. Fine grit. Hard.
- 84) From topsoil over the skeleton. Plain. Brown ext. Grey int. Med. grit. Sandy.

Barrow 4 (Fig. 5, 85)

- 85) Horizontal twisted cord decor. Grey fabric. Fine-med. grit. Soft.

Topsoil (Fig. 5, 86)

- 86) Beaker fabric with horizontal incision. Grey fabric. Fine grit. Hard.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The material from the excavations at Chippenham is in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, and I should like to thank Miss M. D. Cra'ster for allowing me access to the material and for her help while I was at the museum.

AN IRON AGE SWORD AND SCABBARD FROM ISLEHAM

I. M. Stead, A. P. Hartwell, J. R. S. Lang, S. C. La Niece and N. D. Meeks

An iron sword, in its decorated bronze scabbard, was found in the course of harrowing a field at Isleham, Cambridgeshire, on the 4th March, 1976. It seemed very likely to have been recently re-deposited, for spoil had been distributed there following a ditching operation the previous winter. As the field had been ploughed no deeper than usual, and the scabbard could not have been in the plough-soil for any length of time, its likely provenance was the neighbouring ditch. The find-spot, TL 65407555, is 1.5km north-east of Isleham church and only 60m south of the River Lark which here forms the county boundary between Cambridgeshire and Suffolk.

The farmer, Mr P. J. Flatt, of Church Farm, Isleham, took his find to Cambridge and had it identified at the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, where he offered to sell it. But it proved impossible to raise the funds at Cambridge so it was offered to the British Museum, whose trustees sanctioned its purchase in July, 1976. (Fig. 1).

Soon after the discovery the site was closely examined by Dr J. A. Alexander, who surveyed the field and examined the sides of the ditch, but to no avail. A metal-detector located objects up to 0.25m deep, but found nothing of any antiquity. He concluded that the scabbard was a stray find which might conceivably have been buried in a former course of the River Lark.

When discovered the two bronze plates of the scabbard had become detached at the bottom, with the back plate bent outwards. The ends of the two plates were 40 or 50mm apart and between them could be seen the tip of the iron sword. There was a deep gash on the right side of the back-plate, about the middle, but otherwise the scabbard seemed quite solid and in very good condition. It was covered with a layer of encrusted dirt, but where this had broken away the bronze shone in almost pristine condition and there were clear traces of decoration. What little could be seen of the sword suggested that it was not in good condition: it was considerably corroded and had lost its tang. After photography and radiography it was decided to remove the sword from its scabbard to allow a thorough study of both the scabbard plates and the sword and to facilitate conservation by separating the bronze from the iron.

This paper is published with the aid of a grant from the Council for British Archaeology.

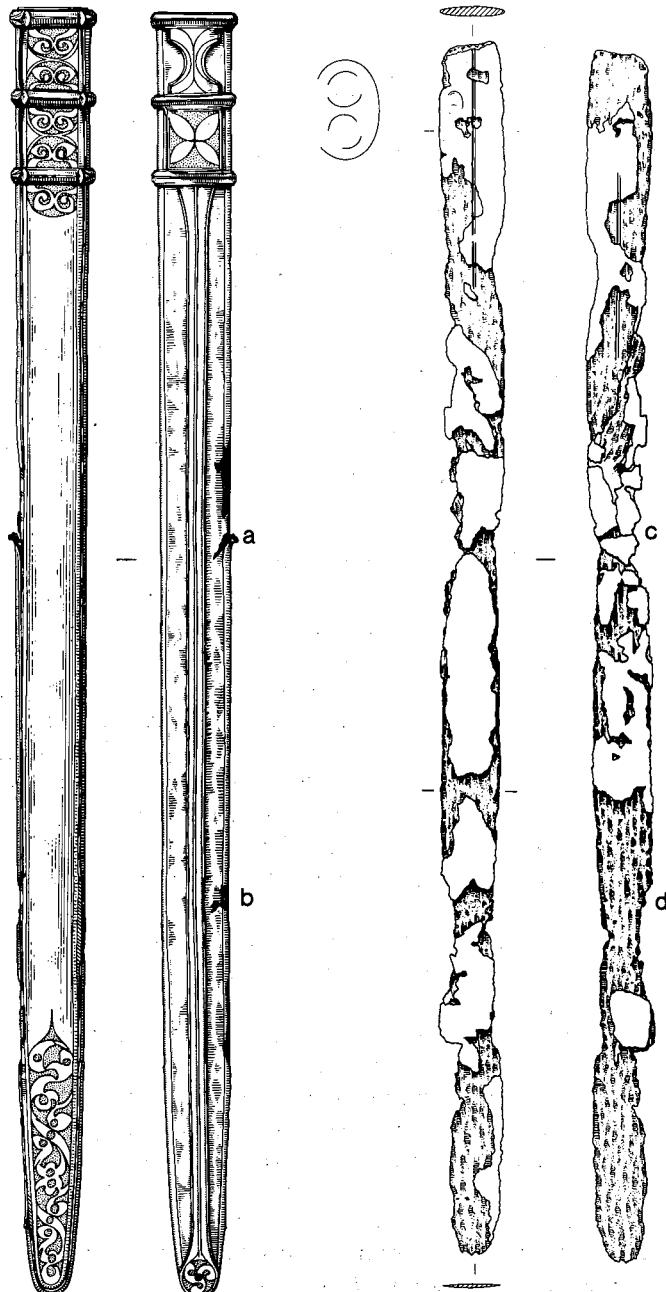


Fig. 1. Both sides of the Isleham scabbard and sword (scale $\frac{1}{4}$) and a detail of the stamp on the sword (scale full size). Figs. 1 to 4 have been drawn by Robert Pengelly.

THE SCABBARD

The scabbard is composed of four pieces of bronze: the two main plates; a long decorative strip on the back; and a separately-cast piece comprising the suspension-loop, upper loop-plate, mouth-guard and two reinforce bands.¹ The front plate is 767mm long and 43mm wide. Straight at the top, slightly tapered and rounded at the bottom, it is convex across its width with the centre of the underside raised up to 4.5mm above the level of the edges. Except at the top, which turns slightly outwards, all edges are inturned and bordered on the outer face by a broad groove and narrow ridge. The outer surface is highly polished, with panels of decoration at the top and the bottom: the upper panel extends for 111mm, starting about 10mm from the top, whilst the lower panel is 164mm deep and there is an undecorated length of 450mm between the two. This plate is in excellent condition, with a very little corrosion in the fillings of the decorated areas, but it has been damaged at two points on the left edge. At 320mm from the top the edge has been buckled outwards, and at 516mm there is a jagged cut some 5mm long.

The back-plate is wider, because its edges have been wrapped round those of the front-plate. It too is 767mm long, and its width is 44.5mm at the top, tapering only slightly to about 38mm at 650mm from the top and then more sharply to 25mm at 750mm and so to a rounded end. The overlapping edge, on average 3mm wide, is bordered by a slight groove and the back of the scabbard has a similar bordering groove some 3 to 4mm from the edge. There is no chape, and the overlap of the back-plate continues round the tip. Like the front-plate, the outer surface has been highly polished, but tool marks are clearly visible on the reverse. On the inner surface there is a transverse crack about 22mm long some 30mm from the top, and a rather similar but vertical crack about 43mm long whose lower end is 210mm from the bottom. The back-plate is not as well-preserved as the front. Its outer surface is pitted with corrosion which in places has eaten through the entire thickness. There is one particularly badly-preserved patch some 150mm long in the upper part on the right side, while centred some 230mm from the bottom a band of corrosion crosses the sword diagonally and coincides with the point where the back-plate was bent slightly away from the front-plate. The top right of the diagonal band of corrosion (Fig. 1, b) coincides with the gash cut into the edge of the front-plate. The second piece of damage to the front-plate, the buckled edge, also corresponds to damage at the back – for here is a deep diagonal cut some 30mm deep with curled, but uncorroded and sharp edges (Fig. 1, a). Whilst this deep cut is not obviously ancient, it did not stand out sharply and cleanly when the scabbard was first inspected, and there is a correspondence with the damage to the iron sword. Unfortunately there is no objective way of establishing whether the scabbard was damaged in antiquity or more recently either in the ditch or on the surface of the field. One can be more positive about its wear, for the decoration is so sharply defined that the scabbard can have seen very little use.

The suspension-loop is a separate casting comprising not only the reinforces above and below, but also an upper loop-plate in the form of a decorative plaque and a

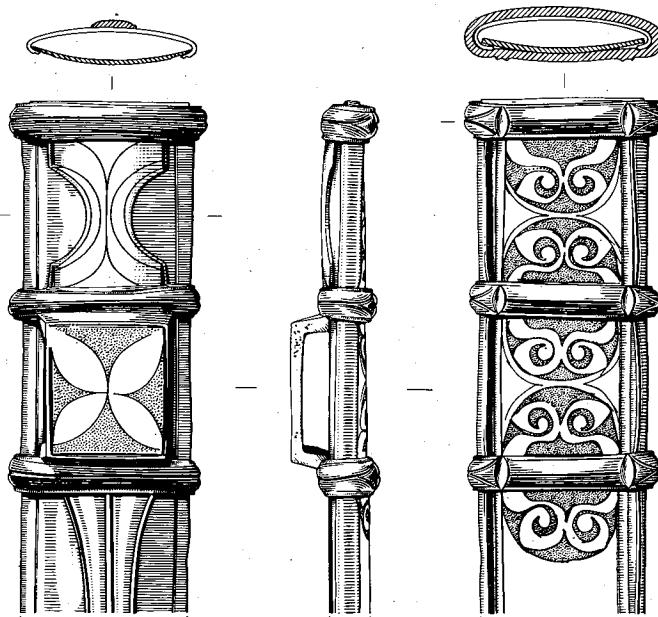


Fig. 2. The upper part of the Isleham scabbard (scale $\frac{2}{3}$).

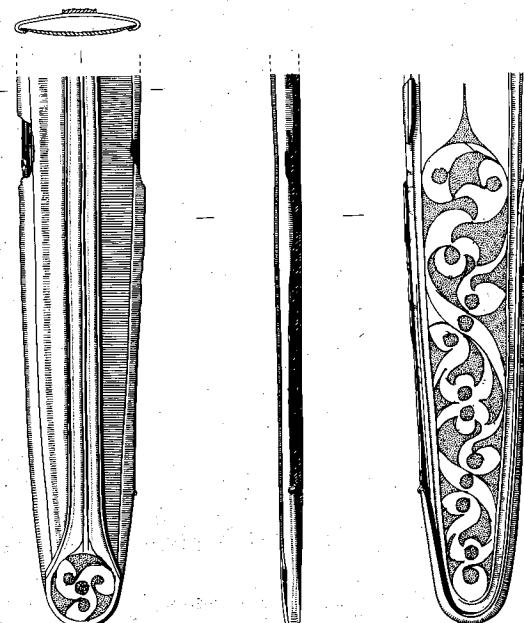


Fig. 3. The lower part of the Isleham scabbard (scale $\frac{2}{3}$).



Plate 1. Detail of the decoration at the bottom of the front-plate of the Isleham scabbard. (Photograph by courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum).

mouth-guard in the same form as the reinforces. The whole is 102mm long; the reinforces are 50mm and the mouth-guard 51.4mm wide; the suspension-loop is 31.5mm deep and raised 7.5mm above the scabbard. The reinforces are grooved on the back and have transverse lip-mouldings on the front; the plaque has simple linear ornament in the form of two facing arcs; and the suspension-loop itself is decorated with four symmetrical petals with a stippled background. The original casting was not a success, and faults at the junction of the bottom reinforce and the suspension-loop on the left side had to be rectified by casting-on more metal. The repair shows as a bulge on the inside of the suspension-loop and as lines between the two metals on the side and at the bottom. The reinforce was still extremely weak, however, and the crack opened when the scabbard was being dismantled in the course of conservation.

The fourth piece of bronze in the scabbard is a strip attached to the back-plate, from the suspension-loop to the bottom, on the back. Typologically it is derived from a lower loop-plate, but it plays no part in securing the suspension-loop and is purely decorative. At the top, where it is clasped by the lower reinforce, it is 23.5mm wide but it rapidly tapers to 12mm and then very slightly to a minimum of 10.5mm before expanding at the bottom to the full shape of the scabbard-tip. For its entire length the strip has been soldered to the scabbard (p. 66); at the bottom there seems to be a hole in the centre, as if intended for a rivet, but if so it was not used. There is a ridge and grooves along the centre and others along each edge, and the strip terminates in a circular panel decorated with a triskele against a stippled background.

There are four panels of ornament on the scabbard, two on the front-plate, one on the suspension-loop and one at the bottom of the lower loop-plate. The engraved or inscribed outlines (p. 67) have punched infilling, and all might well have been executed by the same craftsman. Close examination shows that the even flow of the design has been executed by a surprisingly jerky hand – some of the circles at the bottom of the front-plate, for instance, have irregular outlines gouged out in a very ham-fisted way (Pl. 1). In several places outlines stray from the intended course and are repeated, as in a sketch, whilst some of the punched stippling runs into and even beyond the outlines. In comparable linear designs it has often been possible to detect the faint sketch-lines of a scribe,² but there are no such marks here, and given the careless workmanship they would almost certainly have survived. It seems that the design was transferred to the metal by some other means. From this point of view it is interesting to note that the design on the lower part of the front-plate seems trimmed – as if it had been intended for a slightly broader field (cf. the sketches, Fig. 4).

The designs on the back-plate are quite simple – a four-petaled device on the suspension-loop and a triskele at the bottom of the lower loop-plate. On the front-plate, the upper design comprises five semi-circular panels set alternately inverted and upright and arranged to take account of the mouth-guard and the two reinforces (Fig. 2). In each semi-circular panel is a pair of ‘heads’ set heraldically back to back in a way which may have drawn inspiration from dragon- and bird-pair ornaments.³ The lower design on the front-plate is more complex (Fig. 3), and is composed of three elements, curved-sided triangles, circles and ‘heads’. The description may be clarified if the piece

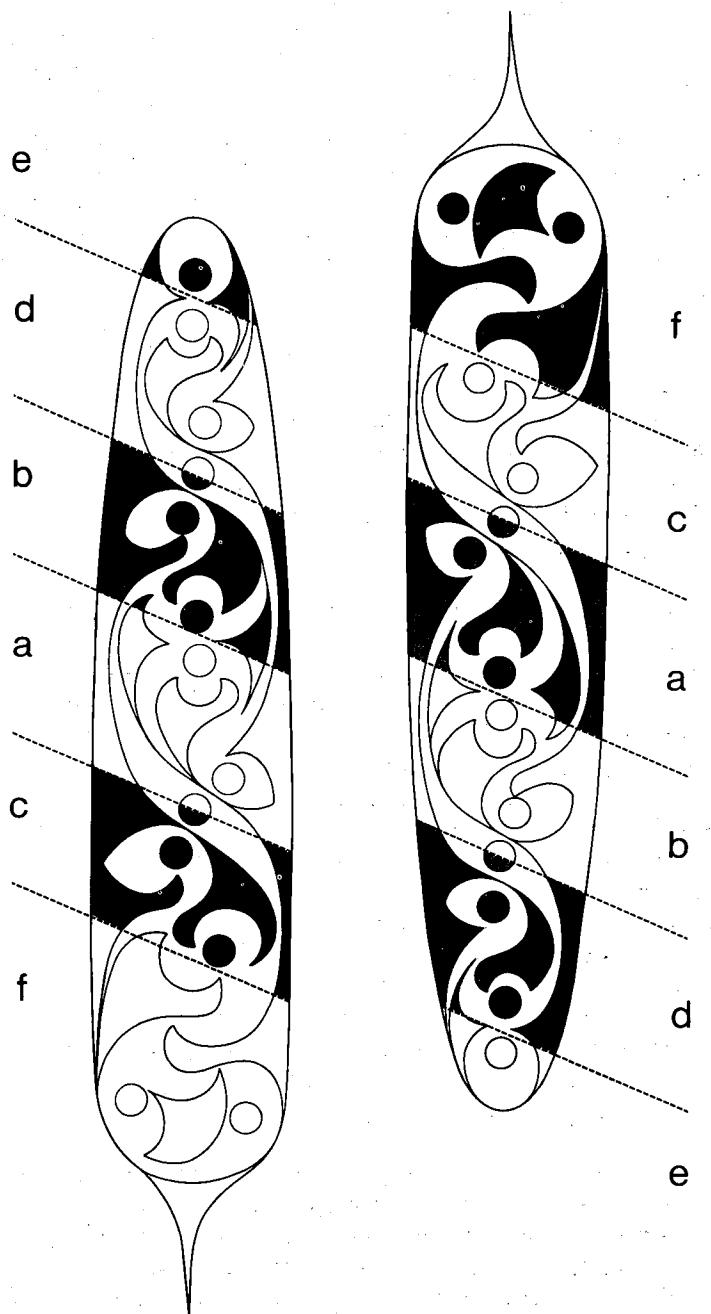


Fig. 4. Sketches to illustrate the composition of the design at the bottom of the front-plate of the Isleham scabbard (scale $\frac{2}{3}$).

is considered in six parts, lettered *a* to *f* on Fig. 4. The central parts, *a* and *b*, have the same motif, *a* being an inversion of *b*; very similar is the motif shared by *c* and *d*, again with *c* being an inversion of *d*. The design is rounded off simply at the bottom by *e*, and more elaborately capped by *f*, which introduces a large comma-motif filled with a pelta and two circles. Although the design includes inverted repeats, it has not been re-traced exactly but drawn free-hand and tapered.

The scabbard was examined in the British Museum Research Laboratory in order to clarify details of manufacture, decoration and damage:

a. Manufacture and Working

The composition of the sheet bronze was determined by atomic absorption spectrometry before conservation.⁴ The precision of the method is $\pm 1\%$ for major elements and $\pm 30\%$ for trace elements. All elements mentioned could be determined down to at least 0.005% of the metal: copper 87%, tin 10.3%, lead 1.9%, iron 0.9%, antimony 0.2%, zinc 0.1%, silver 0.07%, nickel 0.06%, arsenic 0.05%, bismuth 0.003%, total 100.6%. The bronze is a pale yellowish colour as a result of the tin content.

The two sides of the scabbard are of sheet metal. Examination of a small piece under scanning electron microscope showed by the fine grain of the matrix metal that the scabbard had been well worked, and there is evidence of some working after the final annealing. Tool marks can be seen on the inner face of the scabbard, which was finished less carefully than the outside. Hammer impressions are still visible and also a series of marks made up of roughly parallel lines. These marks seem to show a repetition of the same configuration of lines and possible explanation is that a tool with a scratched surface was used to hammer the bronze. There are also a number of scrape marks at the tip of the scabbard and scratches down the length of it which were probably made by the sword itself. The edges of one half of the scabbard have been filed so that it would fit when the edges of the other side were folded over it. This filing has left rough parallel grooves. The top edge of the scabbard has been hammered down, presumably to ensure that it was flush with the mouth-guard.

Between the "lower loop-plate" and the scabbard is a distinct layer of metallic grey brittle material and at the bottom there is a hole in the middle of a decorative motif (triskele) which contains a similar grey material. Spectrographic analysis of the grey material from both areas showed that both have a far greater proportion of tin than was found in the surrounding bronze of the scabbard. Both contain some copper and the material from under the length of the "lower loop-plate" contained a trace of lead and silver. The high tin content in both samples indicates that both are soft solder. It is probable that the traces of copper, lead and silver are contamination from the corroding bronze around the solder.

b. Decoration

The linear decoration on the scabbard shows some variation. The design on the upper loop-plate is of broad grooves with V-shaped profiles of uneven width and line

(Fig. 2, left). There are marks in the grooves which could be explained as uneven tracing. However, if these lines were traced, the metal displaced to the edge of the grooves must have been polished away as the edges are now perfectly smooth. The line decoration on the suspension-loop is very similar to that on the upper loop-plate, except that on the suspension-loop the lines are more regular. However, the frame around the four-petalled motif is of deep straight lines, different in appearance from the other decoration. This frame may have been part of the original casting, but the curved lines of the four-petalled device have the characteristics expected of either tracing or engraving.

In contrast, the curvilinear designs on the rest of the scabbard are of very different appearance (Fig. 2, right, and Fig. 3). The grooves are about half the width of those described above; they are shallow and have a very smooth U-shaped profile. On both sides there is a sharp ridge of raised metal. There are no traces of individual tool imprints and the line and smoothness of the grooves give the appearance of being cut in continuous movements. The appearance of the grooves most resembles the effect produced by a scribe. They are unlikely to have been traced or engraved. Lowery *et al.*, *op. cit.*, apparently consider that a scribe is only suited for the preliminary sketching of a design on to metal. The Isleham scabbard has no such preliminary lines but we see no reason why a scribe could not have been used for the finished result, which is, after all, rather sketchy. On an experimental example of scribing, lines of similar dimensions and appearance were produced with no great difficulty.⁵

There is a series of deep parallel grooves on the "lower loop-plate". These show no signs of tool marks, but only fine parallel scratches running along the length of the piece. There is thus no concrete evidence for identifying the techniques used. The decoration is unlikely to have been cast since it would have been unnecessarily difficult to have cast such a long thin strip. Since the two central lines are so perfectly parallel to each other (i.e. when one bends to the right, so does the other) they must have been made by a single tool. Something like two nails protruding from a block of wood and scraped down the length of the piece could have been used. The grooves are deep and would have required repeated scraping. Whatever method was used to make the grooves, the scratches imply thorough polishing up and down with an abrasive material and this has certainly removed any clues that might have existed as to the tools used. The top end of the "lower loop-plate" is tucked under the suspension-loop but its decoration stops just before the lower reinforce, which would imply that the decoration was added after the scabbard was assembled.

The stippled decoration has been done with a tool of D-shaped cross-section, and the same tool was probably used for all of it. The stippled decoration on the rounded tip of the "lower loop-plate" has been done relatively neatly, from a consistent direction and angle. An experimental attempt to reproduce the effect shows that it is possible to make the holes of comparable depth with a free-hand stabbing action but that it is difficult to control their position. The decoration on the tip of the "lower loop-plate" was therefore probably done by steadying the tool at a slight angle with one hand while tapping with a hammer. However the stippled decoration on the front of

scabbard is so haphazard that it could have been done free-hand without the use of a hammer.

c. *Damage*

The scabbard was badly bent when found, with some corroded areas and tears, some of which are free from corrosion. It is worth noting that two lines of damage seem to run parallel and diagonal across the back. There is much less damage on the front. It is therefore possible that the diagonal cuts were made by a plough or harrow while the scabbard was lying face downwards.

As well as corrosion damage and gashes there are two straight cracks, best seen on the inside of the back-plate. Both cracks are largely covered and protected on the outside by applied metal decoration, in one case by the "lower loop-plate" and in the other by the upper loop-plate. As neither of the loop-plates show evidence of damage it is very likely that the cracks developed during the original hammering down of the metal although it is not possible to prove this conclusively. However, the break in one of the reinforces is certainly a casting defect with a repair cast-in but forming a bad join.

THE SWORD

The iron sword is in very poor condition. The hilt and the very top of the blade are missing, and the blade now terminates at the top end in a slightly sloping line whose upper part was 28mm below the level of the scabbard-mouth. This breakage and loss probably occurred in antiquity, for there was no sign of recent damage. The sword is now in two parts, of which the upper comprises a complete piece 230mm long extended by small fragments and flakes to 300mm; the bottom of this part (Fig. 1, c) coincides with the damage *a* to the scabbard. The lower part of the sword is 437mm long, and its tip was 30mm from the bottom of the scabbard: again there is damage coinciding with the ripping of the scabbard (Fig. 1, d, compare with *b* on the scabbard). The two parts of the blade do not now join, but when complete in the scabbard the surviving length of the blade was 709mm. Only a little of the original surface can now be seen, particularly for about 135mm from the top of the blade (Fig. 1, left) and again on the same side for about 80mm along the bottom right. Elsewhere along the blade, unshaded on Fig. 1, there is a smooth surface where corrosion products have taken the shape of the inside of the scabbard. The blade is 39mm wide at the top and 5.8mm thick at the centre. A shallow groove down the centre can be distinguished for 180mm on the one face and 145mm on the other, whilst the slight remains of the blade's surface preserve another more interesting mark. Between 26mm and 40mm from the top (Fig. 1, left, and detail) there are faint traces of a punched impression, whose remains show clearly on a radiograph. It comprises two circles, one above the other, in an oval or possibly pelta-shaped field - the left side is too badly damaged to be certain of the shape. The sword's surface has flaked dangerously near to the mark, so an electroform has been taken to make absolutely sure that it is recorded

in its present state. Armourer's marks are well known on continental swords,⁶ but this seems to be only the second to be recorded from Britain – the first being on a sword from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey, noticed some years after its original publication.⁷

The blade of the sword was examined in the British Museum Research Laboratory as part of a programme of technical examination of Celtic iron swords from Western Europe.

a. *Examination*

A wedge-shaped sample was removed from the blade at a distance of 90mm from the hilt. It was mounted in cold setting resin, polished and examined in both transverse and longitudinal section.

The sample was first examined in the unetched condition and then re-examined after etching, using both optical and scanning electron microscopes (SEM). A series of hardness measurements was made across the surface and then the sample was cut at right-angles to enable a similar examination to be made in a longitudinal direction parallel to the cutting edge of the sword. Detailed examination of the inclusions and matrix were made in three areas using the SEM.

b. *Discussion*

There are three fairly distinct zones which run along the blade, parallel to the surfaces and from the cutting edge towards the central rib. The carbon content and grain size and shape changes as the sample is traversed from surface to surface across these zones, and these changes are approximately delineated by two bands of inclusions.

The laminated form of the blade and the orientation of the slag inclusion plates suggests that this sword was fabricated from metal strips (probably three in number) of different carbon contents. The gradual changes in carbon content across the inclusion lines indicate that the sword has been held at an elevated temperature for an appreciable time allowing some macroscopic carbon diffusion to occur. No estimate of the carbon content is given since this is not an equilibrium structure. The central section contained a higher proportion of pearlite than the outer section and some areas near one of the defect lines were almost completely pearlitic. The pearlite was generally very fine showing some areas of very low inter-lamellar spacing.

The variations in hardness coincide with the observed microstructural changes, the lower values being recorded in the areas containing most ferrite. Taken as a whole, the values recorded were higher than expected for these types of structure. The cutting edge, although hard (415 HV on the Vickers microhardness scale), was not harder than much of the central strip (370 HV – 450 HV), while the metal close to the surface appeared to be generally somewhat softer (320 HV). The quality of the steel used to make the sword was good. The inclusion concentration was low except along the alignments, and although some phosphorus was present, no sulphur was detected.

Atomic Absorption analyses of a drilling from the specimen showed the presence in

very small quantities of the elements nickel (0.03%), cobalt (0.01%) and chromium (0.01%) which are similar to results obtained for other Celtic iron swords. Phosphorus, determined colorimetrically, was 0.01%, which is within the range of phosphorus contents found in similar swords.

No signs of cold working were visible so the finishing treatment must have been in the austenite region ($> 750^{\circ}\text{C}$). Very little porosity was observed suggesting that a large amount of hot working had been carried out. The acicular morphology of the pearlite and ferrite indicate that the sword was cooled fairly quickly from the austenite transformation temperature, probably in the air.

c. Summary

This sword was fabricated from three steel strips which were forged together in a laminar arrangement. Extensive hot working was performed and the sword was finally air cooled from about $750\text{--}800^{\circ}\text{C}$.

DISCUSSION

The Isleham scabbard may be compared with two other English pieces found to the north and south of it, in the Rivers Witham and Thames. Sword-scabbards with straight mouths, long almost parallel sides and rounded ends are distinctive of La Tène III, and indeed Déchelette thus classified and illustrated both the Witham and Thames scabbards.⁸ The three examples under discussion have characteristic British features, especially the full-length "lower loop-plate", and the fact that they are made entirely of bronze. Furthermore, the decoration on the Isleham scabbard is quite distinctively British. There can be no doubt that the three scabbards were native products.

The Thames scabbard, found at Battersea in 1858,⁹ is longer (771mm) and wider (47mm, excluding the mouth-guard) than that from Isleham. Its suspension-loop and loop-plates are cast in one piece with the two reinforces, the whole seeming slightly too wide for the scabbard, and the reinforces obscuring some of the decoration on the front plate. The upper loop-plate was riveted to the back-plate of the scabbard, although the rivet had worked loose and when discovered the suspension-loop had slipped down the scabbard. The mouth-guard is a separate casting with a central rivet-hole which has no matching hole in the scabbard-plate. The original lower loop-plate is broken, and now overlaps a long "loop-plate" soldered throughout (like Isleham) and riveted at the bottom. The upper part of the front plate is decorated with simple circles and punched dots. Unlike Isleham the Battersea scabbard has been repaired and seen very considerable wear. It does not have a sword in it.

The Witham scabbard is still longer (803mm) and broader (52.5mm, excluding the mouth-guard). It was found in 1787 with another bronze scabbard in the River Witham near Bardney Abbey.¹⁰ The suspension-loop and upper loop-plate are in one piece, the two reinforces and the mouth-guard being separate castings. These pieces seem to have been slotted into position and held by the mouth-guard clasping the top of the upper-loop-plate; no rivets were used, and there is no trace of solder. The "lower

"loop-plate" is a separate strip of bronze riveted in position and perhaps also soldered. The Witham scabbard is damaged at the bottom, and unlike the others it may at some time have had a short cast chape. As on the Isleham scabbard the front plate is decorated above, between and below the reinforces, but the decoration here is simpler. The motif below the lower reinforce is a reversed version of the design at the bottom of the front plate of the Isleham scabbard, a simple motif but in contrast with Isleham it is neatly executed and has well-spaced punched infilling. This Witham scabbard still holds its iron sword.

There is no other scabbard of this type, although one is tempted to see the decorative metal strip from St Mawgan-in-Pyder, Cornwall, as part of a "lower loop-plate".¹¹ It was regarded originally as the decoration of the spine of a shield, but as the strip is flat and not curved in section it is perhaps more likely to have decorated a scabbard. If so it would have been too long for a 'Brigantian' scabbard, but might have belonged to one of the type under discussion.¹²

The three scabbards of this type were all unassociated finds, although the decorated strip from St Mawgan-in-Pyder was found with a hinged brooch – a Hod Hill variety dating around the middle of the first century A.D.¹³ The motifs in the decoration at the bottom of the front plate of the Isleham scabbard may be compared with those of the Hunsbury and Bugthorpe scabbards¹⁴ as well as the designs on the backs of some mirrors.¹⁵ Simple punched infilling, a feature of the scabbards from Isleham and the River Witham, is also found on the strip from St Mawgan-in-Pyder, but otherwise it is not often associated with engraved or traced decoration. Whilst a general context for the Isleham scabbard is easily defined, it is impossible to suggest a date closer than the century before the Roman conquest.

Interestingly the two comparable scabbards had been lost or deposited in rivers, and it may well be that the Isleham find was originally in the River Lark. This is by no means an unusual context for La Tène metalwork, and indeed since the discovery at Isleham in 1976 at least three other Iron Age scabbards have been found in old river courses in eastern England. River beds seem to produce more good quality La Tène metalwork than can be explained by casual loss, and it is very tempting to think in terms of ritual practices. Jacobsthal put the case strongly: "People would not have been such fools as to throw the bodies of slain foes, together with their stately arms, into the rivers: it is much more likely that these masterpieces of craftsmanship were votive offerings to river gods".¹⁶

NOTES

1. Terminology follows J. M. de Navarro, *The finds from the site of La Tène*, vol. 1, *Scabbards and the swords found in them*, part 1 (1972) 21-33.
2. e.g. P. R. Lowery, R. D. A. Savage & R. L. Wilkins, *Archaeologia* 105 (1976) 99-126, pl. xviii, c, the Great Chesterford mirror. It is suggested that a scribe was used for the final execution of the Isleham design (p. 67), but that is another matter.
3. e.g. de Navarro, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxiv, no. 1.
4. Dr P. T. Craddock's assistance in providing the analytical data is gratefully acknowledged.

5. The assistance of Ian McIntyre (Metals Section, British Museum Conservation Department) in undertaking the experimental scribing is gratefully acknowledged.
6. e.g. P. Vouga, *La Tène* (1923) 35-6, fig. 6.
7. H. N. Savory, *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies* 21 (1965) 374-6.
8. J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, ii, 3me partie, 'Second âge du fer ou époque de La Tène' (1914) fig. 465, nos. 2 and 3.
9. B.M. 58.11 - 13.1. J. M. Kemble, *Horae Ferale*s (1863) 193 and pl. xviii, nos. 4 and 4b; see also S. Piggott, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 16 (1950) fig. 10, nos. 6a and b, and the same illustration is used by Sir Cyril Fox, *Pattern and Purpose* (1958) fig. 73, 6a and b.
10. Lincoln Museum no. 9711.06. Andrew White kindly provided facilities to study this scabbard, and provided conclusive evidence that it was one of a pair of near-identical bronze scabbards found together. The second scabbard was destroyed in experiments carried out by George Pearson in the eighteenth century (*Philosophical Trans.* 86, 1796, 395-451, pl. xi, fig. 3). Pearson illustrates a scabbard which seems virtually identical to the survivor, and it is hard to believe in the existence of another (cf. S. Piggott, *Antiq. Journ.* 39, 1959, 20). The key reference for settling this issue is *Lincs. Notes & Queries* 3 (1892-3) 199-200: "This brass scabbard resembles exactly (the one destroyed by Pearson), only that the loops which hold it together are still more elegant, especially in the filing". See also a very useful pamphlet by White, *Antiquities from the River Witham*, part 1, Prehistoric and Roman (Lincolnshire Museums, Information Sheet, Archaeology Series no. 12, 1979).
11. *Arch.J.*, 113 (1956) 80-81 (where the recorded width has mistakenly been doubled, 5.8cm, 2½ins, instead of 2.9cm, 1⅓ins); Fox, *op. cit.*, 115 and pl. 67b.
12. *Arch.J.*, 113 (1956) 72, fig. 34, no. 17.
13. Piggott, *op. cit.*, fig. 3, no. 1a and fig. 2, no. 5.
14. e.g. the Mayer mirror, Fox, *op. cit.*, pl. 55.
15. P. Jacobsthal, *The Burlington Magazine* (75) 1939 (no. 436, July 1939) 28.

A ROMANO-BRITISH VILLAGE AT GRANDFORD, MARCH

T. W. Potter and C. F. Potter

Between 1958 and 1964 the writers conducted a series of excavations on the unploughed part of the very large Romano-British settlement near Grandford House,¹ on the north-west edge of the gravel and clay 'island' of March. The work was carried out with a schoolboy team during vacations, and by 1964 some 5000 sq. ft. of the central part of the site had been investigated. At the same time, substantial sections of a final report were brought into draft form. Unfortunately, the work had to be brought prematurely to a halt and in 1967 it was learnt that the unploughed part of the site (a field 16 acres in extent) had been bulldozed and turned over to cultivation, destroying much of the stratigraphy of the last major undamaged Romano-British settlement in the central Fenland.²

This agricultural devastation of one of the more crucial Fenland sites lends special significance to the results of our small-scale, amateur, investigations.³ All the late Roman levels, which were covered by only a few inches of humus, must now have disappeared and the early deposits are annually under erosion by deep ploughing. Consequently detailed publication of our excavations would seem to be of special importance. Unfortunately, in the interim between concluding the excavations and preparing this report, the finds and records have twice been moved and, in the process, some have lost their identification and others are now missing. The report has therefore some lacunae. However, these do not vitiate the overall usefulness of the results, which are presented here with the hope that they may encourage further excavation in this neglected region.

Topography (TL 393 997)

The Grandford settlement is situated at the tip of a north-western spur of the boulder clay and gravels which make up the island of March (Fig. 1). Grandford House lies at a height of about 11 ft. above Ordnance Datum and from here the ground shelves gradually down into the peat fen on all sides except for the east (Fig. 2), where there are clays and gravels.

In antiquity, the major topographical feature was the West Water, an important river that formed part of the original course of the Ouse. It rose in the high ground to the south-west of the Fens, and drained in a general northerly direction, skirting the island of March and then joining the Wellstream near Upwell.⁴ All of the reaches between Botany Bay (two miles west of March) and Upwell are now dry, however, resulting from the diversion of the river across the island of March, through the centre

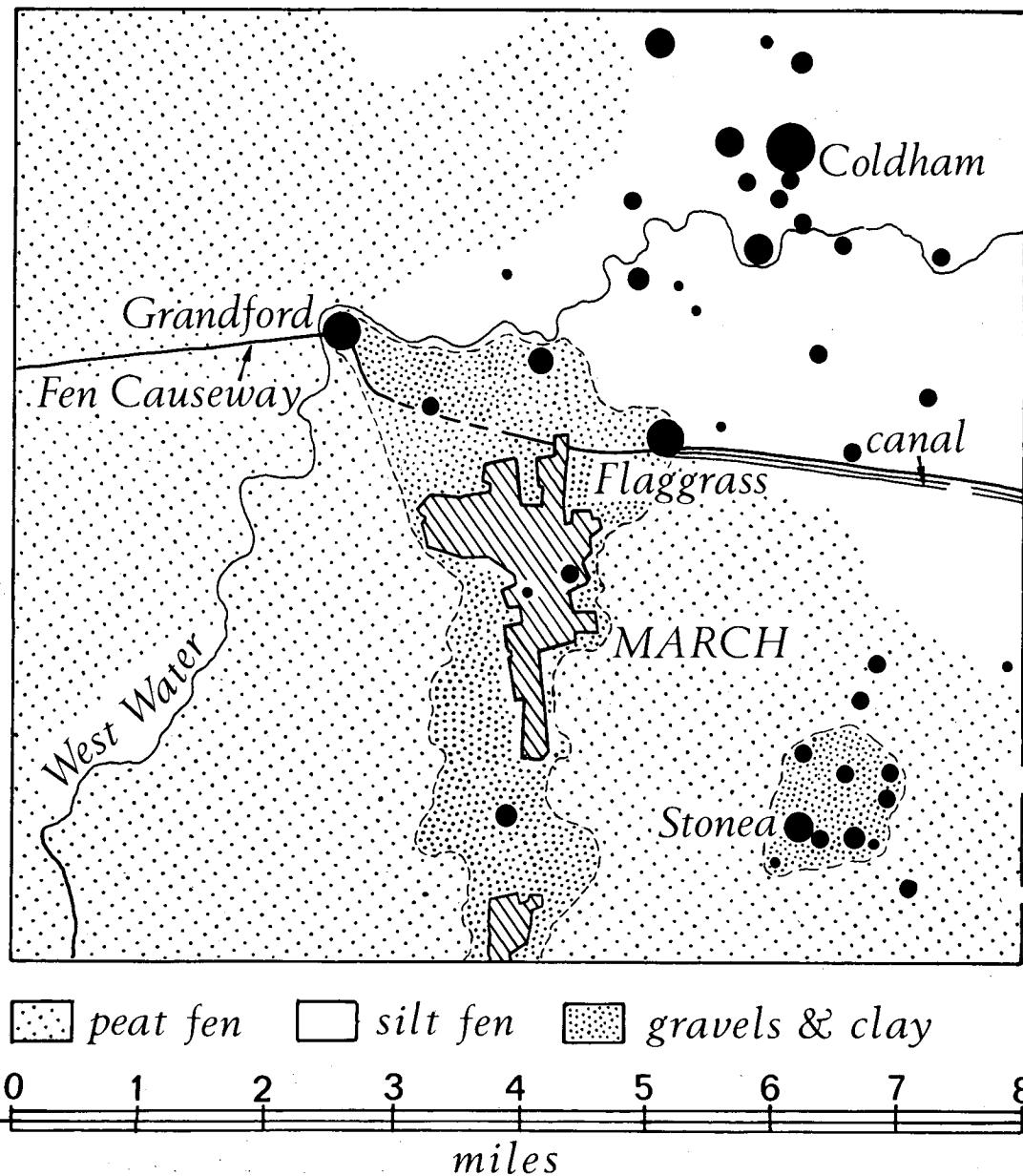


Fig. 1. Map showing the location of Grandford and other major and minor Romano-British sites in the March area.

of the town.⁵ This stretch of the West Water survives as a prominent silt roddon which takes a sinuous course across the peat fen and round the tip of the March island. Only along the western edge of the Grandford settlement is the river bed especially straight, raising the possibility that it may have been canalised at this point. Excavations, which are discussed below, were carried out in 1964, on the west bank of the West Water; they indicated that the river still flowed during Roman times and there was evidence for flooding in the later Roman period.

The settlement at Grandford was one of the larger and more important Romano-British sites of this region. The sherd-scatter covers more than 30 acres and the Fen Causeway, the principal east-west route of communication across the Fenland,⁶ makes a right-angled turn through the settlement and appears at one point to pass through a broad gravelled area (Fig. 2). Like Flaggrass, another major settlement on the north edge of the March island,⁷ Grandford was situated so as to exploit three main soils – the silt fen, peat fen and the pasture-bearing clays and gravels of the higher ground. But its exceptional size⁸ and evident prosperity from early in the Roman period, documented below, must also have been directly related to its position on a network of communications and it is likely to have prospered considerably as a trading entrepôt. Indeed, as the concluding section will make clear, there is reason to believe that the initial phase of occupation may have been military, in the form of a briefly held fort, built after the Boudiccan Revolt. Grandford, then, is likely to have originated as a settlement of *vicani*, established in the 60's A.D.

Until 1967, over 16 acres of the site remained under old-established pasture, which preserved in strong relief something of the street and enclosure pattern. The prominent *agger* of the Fen Causeway was clearly discernible, running north-east along the eastern side of the field. At least three streets ran westwards from this road, dividing the central part of the field into large enclosures. There were also a series of regular ditched areas on the east side of the Fen Causeway; here, however, the surface pottery scatter is much thinner and it is possible that these constitute field-bondaries or stock-enclosures. There was a more complex pattern of ditches on the west side of the grass field, where the situation is additionally complicated by an overlay of more recent earthworks: but a series of small enclosures seems likely. The northern part of the field is much flatter and without surface undulations, with the exception of a minor watercourse of post-Roman date. Survey work after ploughing showed that the pottery scatter was not noticeably thinner in this area and it seems likely that it fell within the nucleus of the settlement. There is reason to think, however, that this part of the site may have been subject to flooding and the matter is discussed in detail below (1964 excavations).

In addition, there are pottery scatters and crop-marks in the fields to the north and west of the former pasture field and it can therefore be assumed that both saw some occupation during the Roman period. Indeed, there still survives the low *agger* of a small drove-road which crosses the West Water north of the Grandford settlement (Fig. 2) and heads towards Guyhirn: while there is no direct dating evidence, its construction in the Roman period seems likely. There are also traces of a similar

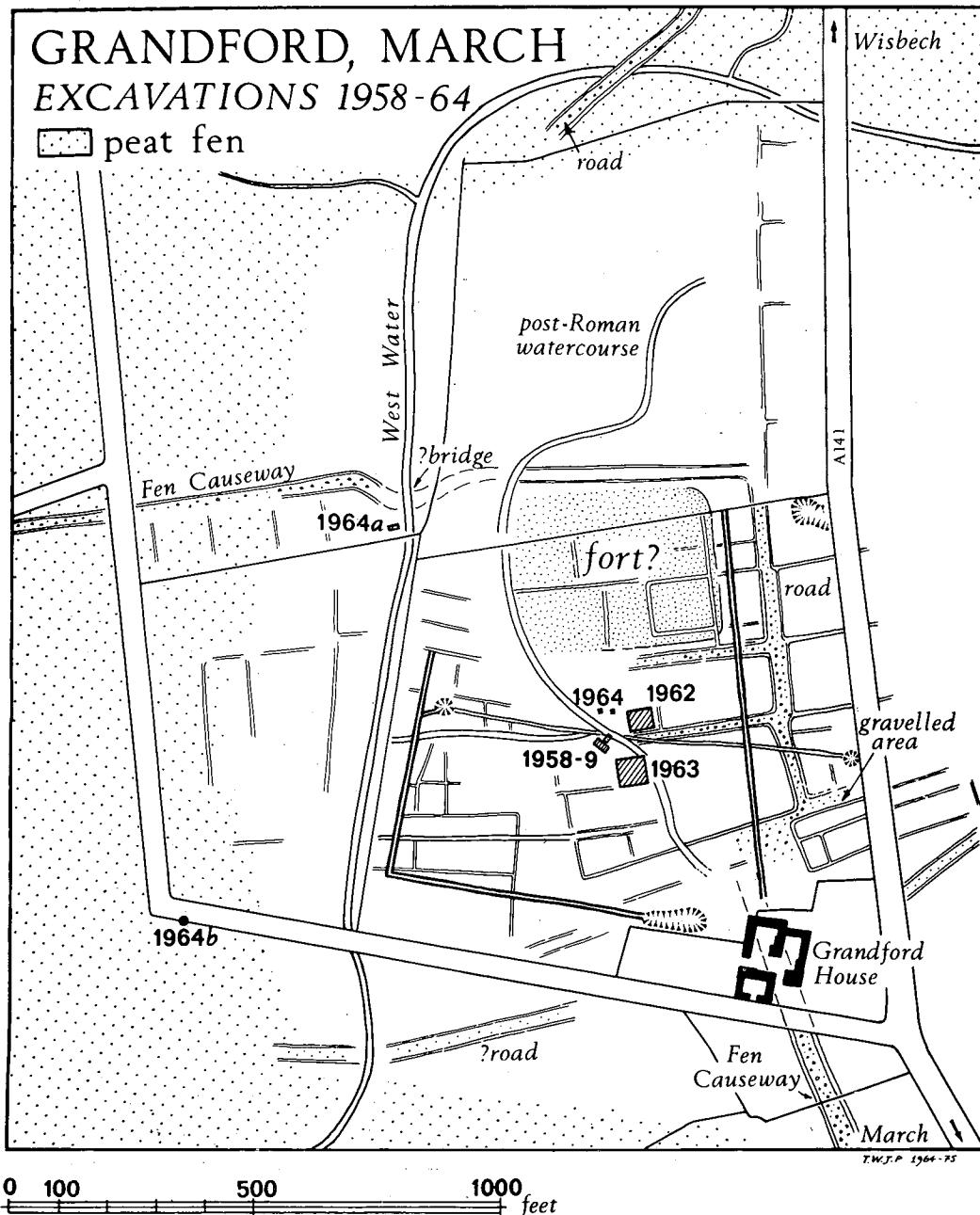


Fig. 2. The Grandford site, showing the location of the excavated areas and other features. The 16-acre field immediately north-west of Grandford House was bulldozed and ploughed in 1967.

drove-road immediately to the south of the pasture field, heading west into the peat fen (Fig. 2).

THE EXCAVATIONS

As we consisted of a youthful and amateur team, we consciously chose to excavate what seemed to be the less crucial parts of the site. The main excavations took place in the central part of the pasture field, on both sides of one of the internal streets (Fig. 2). The results are discussed below in the chronological order in which the sites were excavated, and there is a summary on pp. 104-5.

THE 1958 SEASON (Fig. 3)

During the summer of 1958, a number of trial sondages were dug in the central part of the pasture field. The largest group of trenches (Fig. 2) encountered an extensive dump of Northamptonshire ragstone, lying immediately under the spread of gravel and small pebbles found everywhere beneath the topsoil on the Grandford site. A date in the fourth century or later is certain on stratigraphical grounds. The dump (which may represent debris piled up by stone-robbers) can be paralleled in the 1963 site and consisted of small stones, together with some large flat slabs. None of the stones appeared to be dressed. Ragstone was found in nearly every site excavated and demonstrates a widespread use of stone at Grandford in the later Roman period. Nearby there was also a spread of burnt clay, which resembles the deposit found in 1963, discussed below, and was on that site associated with a series of small ovens or kilns.

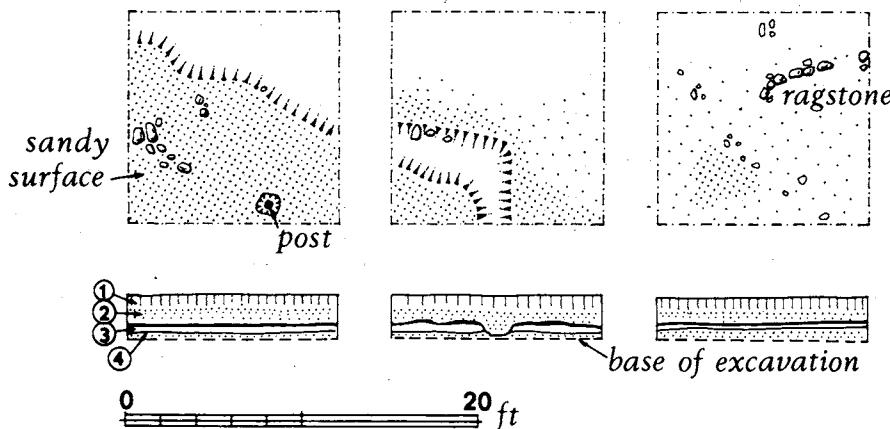
A cremation in an urn was also found in the lower deposits. Typologically, the pot belongs to the late first or early second century. It is curious that an interment should have been made in the centre of the settlement but there is no doubt that this area was inhabited at that time. Meanwhile, it remains the only evidence for a formal burial that is known from Grandford.

THE 1959 SITE (Fig. 3)

During Easter 1959, three 12-foot squares were excavated close to the 1958 sondages, down to the water-table, which lay at a depth of 29 ins. below ground level. Although the trenches intersected the line of one of the internal streets (Fig. 2), there was no trace of any road metalling. Below the topsoil lay a dark layer with a large quantity of finds, including pottery which ranged in date from the late-first to mid-fourth centuries. The most westerly trench yielded six coins at this level, including issues of Trajan, Julia Domna, Claudius II and Constantine I. This deposit rested on an area of hard sandy tread, associated with a gully, one posthole, a scatter of burnt clay and a number of fragments of ragstone. The building-stone, when taken in conjunction with pieces of window-glass and the corner of a rendered box-tile, clearly

GRANDFORD 1959

FOURTH CENTURY LEVELS



GRANDFORD 1958

LATE ROMAN

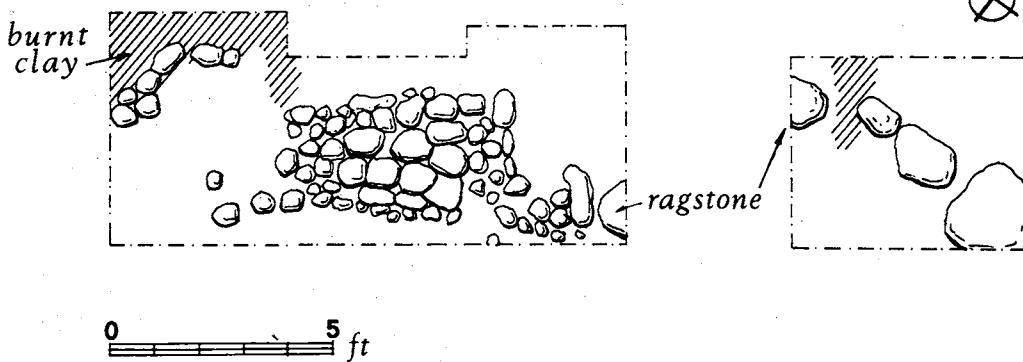


Fig. 3. a. The 1959 excavations.

Key to units: 1. Topsoil. 2. Peaty layer with many pebbles and much fourth-century and earlier material. 3. Sandy tread over sand and lenses of silt. There is burnt clay and ragstone lumps on top of the layer.
4. Dark occupation deposit, not fully explored.

Fig. 3. b. The 1958 excavations.

implies the presence of a substantial building in this area. The pottery and coins indicate a fourth-century date for this level. Beneath this surface lay further occupation deposits but these were not explored in detail. It is however worth noting that there were lenses of yellow silt immediately beneath these fourth-century occupation deposits (Fig. 3, section, unit 3), suggesting some flood activity; the matter is discussed more fully below.

THE 1962 SITE

In 1962, the investigation was concentrated on an area immediately to the north of a prominent street, which joins the main north-south road, the Fen Causeway, on the east side of the site (Fig. 2). There were no obvious undulations in the pasture at this point, with the exception of a small north-south ditch immediately to the east of the excavation. Initially a grid of nine 10-feet squares was laid down over this area but later the trenches were extended to include further ground on both the north-west and north-east parts of the site. The features are treated in chronological sequence.

PERIOD I (Fig. 4)

The excavation was taken down to an average depth of about three feet at which level there were sterile Pleistocene gravels and, in places, beds of sand. These were sealed beneath a layer of clean, yellow, unlaminated silt, varying in thickness between four ins. and a foot. Clearly formed under flood conditions, this layer was represented in all excavated areas of the site, and belongs to the general phase of silt deposition that took place over large parts of the northern Fenland during the later first millennium B.C. and early first century A.D.⁹ However, at Grandford it is clear that flooding also occurred intermittently during the earliest phases of Roman-period occupation. This is attested stratigraphically in a section cut in 1963 across a post-Roman watercourse (Fig. 11; discussed in detail below), where ditches, clogged with silt, had been cut to deal with this flooding. More dramatically, the 1962 area disclosed the remains of the skeleton of an elderly man, 50-60 years old, who may have been drowned (Fig. 4). The man (part of whose skeleton had been disturbed by a later ditch), lay on his face, and was embedded in the flood-silts.¹⁰ There was no sign of a trench for an inhumation and deliberate burial can be ruled out; in any case, cremation would have been the normal method of interment at this time. A brooch was found just above the left shoulder of the man, and can safely be assumed to be *in situ*; it is a Dolphin type, current between c. 50 and 150 A.D. Otherwise the only finds from this context were a few sherds of undiagnostic grey ware.

PERIOD II (Fig. 4)

The first building-period on the site involved the stripping of much of the silt over the southern part of the site to create a low platform in the northern area. The platform was only a foot in height and its makeup levels rested directly on the natural silts,

without any intervening turf line: presumably the grass and humus were removed as a preliminary to building-work. The mound itself retained no very obvious traces of a floor, but there were a number of construction-trenches for a timber-framed house. Trench XIII (Figs. 4, 6) was comparatively shallow but the others (III, VII, XVIII) were deeper – mostly just over a foot – and were cut with straight or slightly angled sides. They were filled with a dark, gravelly soil, but no traces of wooden uprights were noted, except for five stake-holes lining the edges of trench VII. Whether a sleeper-beam technique of construction (perhaps buttressed in places by side-posts) was employed, or whether the signs of the uprights were missed during the excavation, is a matter that cannot now be decisively resolved; on the other hand, it is worth pointing out that the evidence from the 1963 area suggests the use of sleeper-beams in buildings of this period, and this seems the likeliest technique for the 1962 structure.

The plan of the building is not however easy to interpret, if only because it was incompletely exposed. Reduced to essentials, the remains are those of a rectangular structure, measuring some 36 feet across, with a short corridor along the southern side. There may have been an entrance at the south-west corner where, instead of the wall-trench, there was only a gradual slope from the platform; and there are other breaks in the wall-lines both of the west wall (III) and of the east wall (XVIII). The gap in the east wall is especially wide and we can only suppose that the south wall (XIII), which continued outside the excavated area, must have turned northwards to form a short projecting wing; but this remains conjectural. Similarly, we know nothing of the northern part of the structure, except for the traces of an internal partition, leading westwards from the east wall-trench, XVIII. All that can be surmised is that we are dealing with a substantial timber-built house, rectangular in plan, with a number of rooms.

No evidence survives to show either how the walls were rendered or the type of roofing material: there were no obvious signs of collapsed daub nor of any tiles. Internal features were confined to a small clay hearth and a nearby pit (XV). The pit was oval in shape and measured nearly seven feet in length, 2ft. 6ins. in width, and a foot in depth. Apart from a thin layer of dark soil at the bottom, it was filled with charcoal and domestic refuse and was presumably used as a rubbish-tip for cooking activity around the hearth.

To the east and south of the building-platform, the natural ground surface was disturbed by a number of small roughly circular depressions, some 6-12ins. in diameter, as well as by several shallow pits. None of the pits was more than 1ft. 6ins. deep and they all had an irregular shape: we can conclude that they are the result of quarrying to provide the material for the house-platform. This uneven ground was subsequently levelled out with a dump of rubbish, sealed by a layer of sandy silt. The small depressions, on the other hand, had in some places a curiously linear arrangement, as if deliberately laid out; if this impression is not illusory, it is hard to see what their purpose may have been, however. Perhaps the likeliest explanation is that they were formed by the roots of plants or bushes – rather similar marks were located in one area of the 1963 site – but the point remains to be settled. Otherwise, the

GRANDFORD 1962

PERIODS I-II

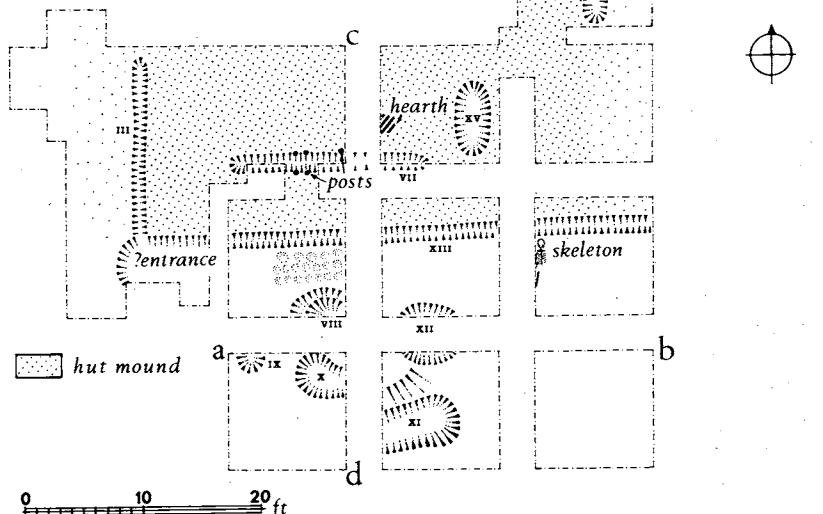


Fig. 4. Plan of the 1962 excavations. Period I: c. A.D. 65-75,
Period II: c. 90-200±. a-b, c-d, e-f mark section-lines (cf. Fig. 6).

GRANDFORD 1962

PERIOD III

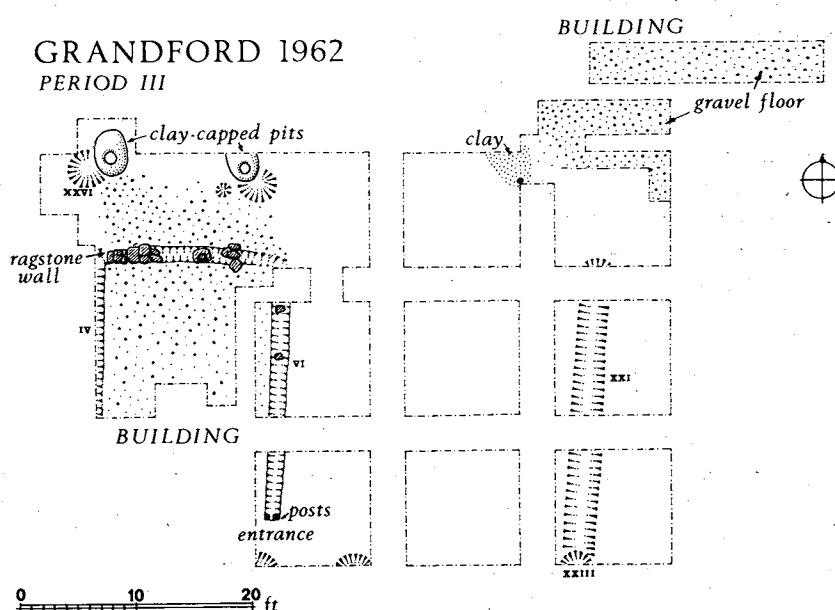


Fig. 5. Plan of the 1962 excavations. Period III: third-early fourth centuries.

only other feature of this period was a ditch (XX), running north-south down the eastern side of the excavated area. V-shaped in profile and 17ins. in depth, the ditch was presumably intended as a drainage gutter along one side of the house-platform. There was a tip with domestic refuse and charcoal in the bottom, sealed by a deliberate fill of sand and silt (Fig. 6).

Dating evidence

The comparatively large quantities of Flavian samian (as well as a few pre-Flavian pieces) and the high proportion of first-century coins (six out of ten found on this site) show that there was activity on this part of the settlement from as early as the principate of Vespasian or perhaps that of Nero. The period II building does not appear to be quite as early as this, however. Whilst we lack a proper sample of material from the house-platform (little of the makeup was excavated), the rubbish from the quarry-pits to the south of the building appears to consist mainly of late Flavian – Hadrianic material. It is difficult therefore to envisage the construction of the building much before c. A.D. 90. This impression is supported by the recovery of a moderately worn coin of Nero from wall-trench III and by the finds from pit XV, on the house-platform. This pit-group included a worn coin of Vespasian, two sherds of Flavian samian and coarse-ware of the late first-early second centuries.

The terminal date for the building is less easily established. The quarry-pits contained a little Nene-Valley pottery, including a sherd of colour-coat, which should take this period of rubbish-accumulation into the early Antonine period. Above this was a layer of sandy soil (Fig. 6, unit 4) with a little Antonine samian and some Nene-Valley wares, including forms probably as late as the third century. A closure date for the layer of ±A.D. 200 seems to be indicated, although it would be more conclusive were there larger quantities of Antonine and late Antonine samian (otherwise common on the site) in these deposits.

PERIOD III (Fig. 5)

During the third century, the site was reoccupied and two buildings were constructed. The event is marked stratigraphically by the formation of a hard layer of tread, made up of a silty sand (Fig. 6, unit 3), which sealed the earlier deposits over the whole of the site. Of the two buildings identified in the 1962 season, that in the western part of the site was the more substantial. The best-preserved section of wall lay at the north end, where a shallow construction-trench, averaging 1ft. 6ins. in width, was found. It held a wall made of rough slabs of Barnack ragstone, none measuring much more than a foot square. In one short section the wall still stood to a height of three courses, but over much of its course the masonry had been completely robbed out. Similarly, the western return wall was totally devoid of stone, while the eastern wall retained only two small fragments *in situ*. However, there are indications that the walls were not built solely in stone. There were some possible post-sockets in the middle of the east wall and two certain timber uprights at the end of the stretch: these seem to

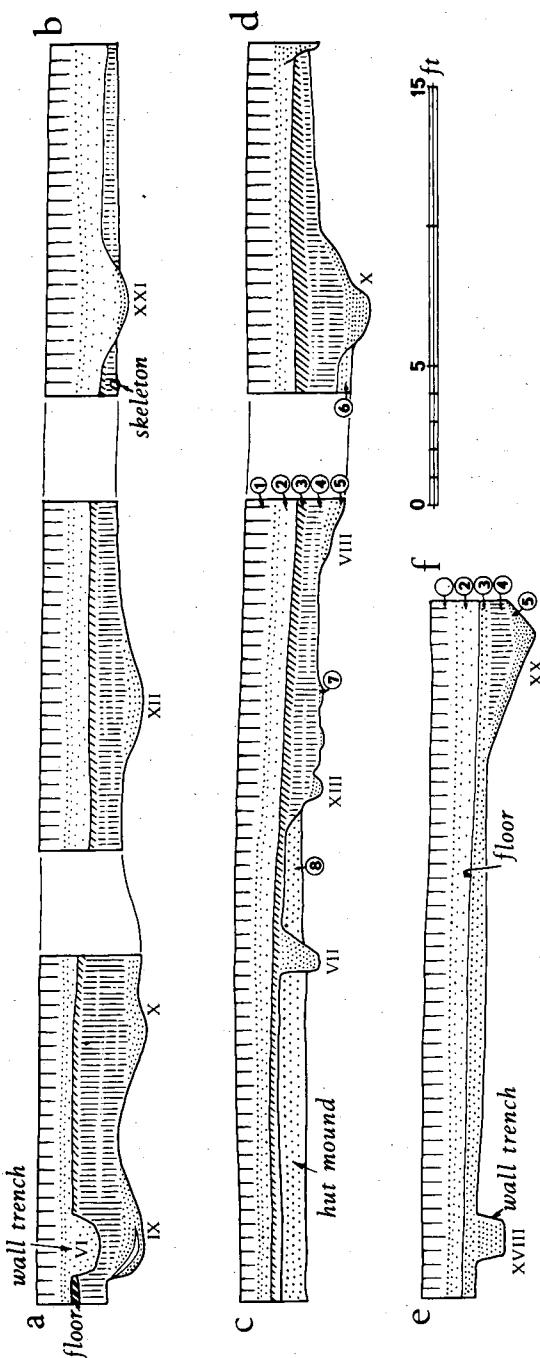


Fig. 6. Sections through the 1962 excavations: cf. Fig. 4 for their position. The sequences for a-b and c-d are identical.

mound of sand, gravel and silt, probably deriving from the pits and the south end of the site. Period II.

(2) Section e-f

1. Topsoil. 2. Peaty layer with numerous small pebbles and a thin scatter of burnt daub, especially from the west end of the section.
 3. Hard-packed floor with gravel and chips of flint and stone.
 4. Sand-silt fill. 5. Black occupation tip with much charcoal.
 6. Dark brown silt. 7. One of a number of small circular depressions, set in a roughly linear arrangement in the natural silt (cf. Fig. 4). 8. Low
 - comparatively few finds. 5. Dark occupation debris filling a series of shallow pits on the lower (southern) part of the site. Period II.

mark the position of a door in the east wall. Moreover, in the vicinity of the walls, there were also a number of wads of grey clay, which may derive from rough plastering. We can probably envisage, therefore, a half-timbered structure, perhaps with only a low stone socle. This is a reconstruction which is entirely in accord with what we know about Roman buildings in the Fenland: an absence of any local building stone and an abundance of timber and clays encouraged a style of architecture with few pretensions. Masonry must have been expensive to import and there are very few instances of its use in Fenland settlements. Systematic stone-robbing and a dearth of excavation may partly account for this, but the fact that Grandford has now yielded a good deal of evidence for the importation of ragstone in the later Roman period¹¹ is one indication of its rather special status in the context of Fenland settlements.

Otherwise, we do not know a great deal about the building. Just one room was identified and only its east-west internal dimensions, 14ft. 6ins., were established. It had a gravel floor, which was 2-3ins. thick at the northern end but thinned out towards the south. No internal features were recorded but the floor-levels were close to the modern ground-surface, and had in places suffered some plough damage. There was, however, what appears to have been a wide verandah or portico, attached to the north side of the building. The structure was supported by two timber uprights, 7-8ins. in diameter. They were held in two large oval post-pits (Fig. 7), measuring 4 x 3ft. at the top and set 3ft. into the subsoil. The pits narrowed rapidly as they became deeper and the bottom part consisted only of the post-socket. The posts themselves rested on a bed of clay and cobbles, and the socket was clearly marked by a vertical column of dark soil and in the more easterly post-pit, by a small void in the upper section (Fig. 7). The lower packing consisted of beds of clay and sand, laid horizontally. At the top, however, both post-pits were capped with a thick and carefully laid layer of grey clay, supported on nodules of flint and lumps of ragstone. The clay was precisely finished so as to form a neat oval cover with a smoothed surface. At the time of excavation, the pits were interpreted as storage silos,¹² but their sections leave no doubt as to their true purpose as post-pits; on the other hand, the clay capping is an unusual feature and cannot be readily explained, although it could be seen as an attempt to conserve the timber uprights. Both clay-capped post-pits in fact succeeded earlier, though shallower, pits, suggesting a replacement of the timber uprights. The most westerly pit (XXVI) contained a good deal of pottery, amongst which were large parts of the third-century mortaria and pieces of storage jars; these vessels were possibly used as packing, although no traces of a post-socket were observed.

The gravel floor located within the building continued up to these post-pits. But there was no evidence for any intermediary post- or stake-holes and it may be that the portico or lean-to was open-sided. There was, however, a large number of iron nails over the floor. The base of a storage jar was set into the gravel floor just beyond the wall of the building and may have been used to hold water or other commodities. Otherwise, there were no indications of the purpose of this covered area.

The second building, as preserved, was much less substantial. It lay in the north-east part of the excavated area, where there was an area of hard-packed floor, made up of

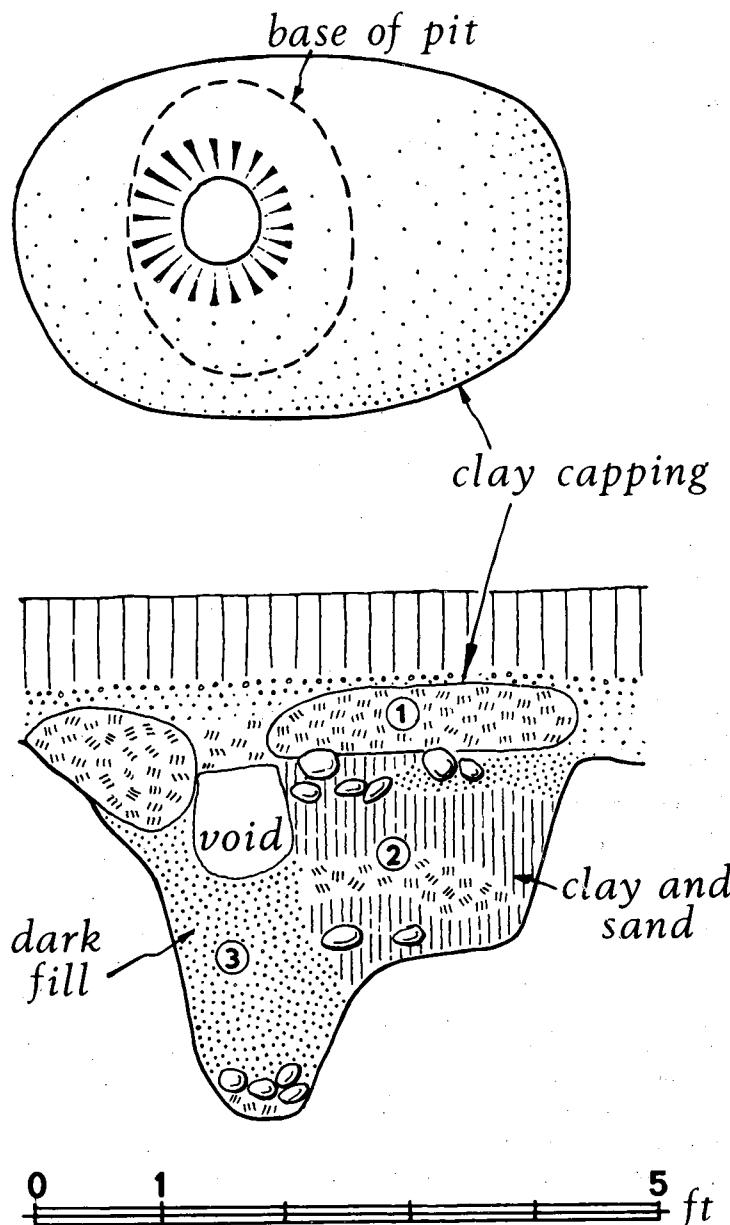


Fig. 7. Section and plan of the north-west clay-capped pit,
Grandford 1962 (cf. Fig. 5).

1. Grey clay, resting upon flint nodules and fragments of ragstone.
2. Horizontally bedded layers of dark soil, sand and clay.
3. 'Post-pipe' of dark fill, resting at the base of the pit upon cobbles and clay.

humus, clay, gravel and white specks of what, at the time of excavation, was thought to be chalk (ragstone is more likely). No trace of any wall was found but the southern edge of the floor terminated in so definite a line (which turned through a right angle: Fig. 5) that a wall-footing without any proper foundation can be supposed. A wooden superstructure is not in doubt since, apart from a number of nails, there was a considerable spread of clay daub, decorated with lozenges, to the south of the floor. This type of daub is familiar from sites such as Verulamium, Colchester and Brampton in Norfolk¹³ and is generally assumed to represent keying for plaster; in this case, however, it appears to have been rendered with a thin white wash. There was also a number of fragments of window-glass, including the corner of a moulded pane and other pieces from cylinder-blown panes. We can envisage, therefore, a quite comfortably appointed cottage with rendered walls and glass windows, an inference which reminds us how ephemeral the traces of such buildings may be in the Fenland: we may legitimately wonder whether any hints of such structures will have survived the deep-ploughing that has now taken place at most known sites in the central part of the Fens. It seems likely that all *in situ* evidence of the later buildings will have been totally destroyed.

One other feature requires mention: it is a small platform of clay (Fig. 5), at the south-west corner of the house. Set nine inches into earlier deposits, it had a solid base of sand and clay, surfaced with a layer of clay, four ins. thick. A post-hole, 12ins. wide and 9ins. deep, was identified on one side of the platform and may mark the position of a porch to the building: the clay surface was hard and worn, as if it had seen constant use.

The area beyond the buildings showed no evidence of activity, save for a layer of hard tread, sealing the earlier deposits. A shallow drainage ditch (Figs. 5, 6, XII) was set into this surface and was probably designed to carry storm-water down to the ditches flanking the east-west street, immediately to the south of the excavated area. Very little silt was found in the ditch and it is clear that it must have been regularly cleaned out.

Dating evidence

Although there was securely stratified pottery from the western building, it is not easy to provide any close date for its construction. Pit XXVI, which preceded the west clay-topped post-pit, included pottery of the first half of the third century in its fill, but it is not clear whether this pottery is residual in this context. An indented beaker from wall-trench VI is probably third century in date but other forms from the construction-layers cannot be very precisely assigned. On balance, a third-century date for the building seems likely, probably in the second half (there are unstratified coins of Postumus, A.D. 259-267 and Victorinus, A.D. 265-270): but we cannot be certain. Fourth-century pottery was not, however, particularly common. The latest material from the drainage gulley (XXI) does not seem to extend past the early fourth century and the ditch was cut by a peat-filled pit (Fig. 5, XXIII), which yielded a vessel

probably of mid or late fourth-century date; it is difficult on these grounds, therefore, to envisage a particularly extended period of occupation in the fourth century. On the other hand, two coins of Valentinian I (A.D. 364-375) were found, both in the gravel layer covering the site, and provide a solid argument for some activity at this time. Thus we might tentatively suggest an abandonment of the buildings at some point in the first half of the fourth century, but nearby occupation well into later decades.

THE LAST PHASE

The structures of period III were covered by a thin layer of dark gravelly soil, rich in pottery of all periods, and also in bone and small metal objects. It is a layer found everywhere on the Grandford site and underlies some 6-9ins. of humus. Two small pits were cut into the layer; one (XXIII) was referred to above, while the other (Fig. 5) lay at the edge of the excavated area, close to the entrance of the western building. Pit XXIII, as noted above, yielded a sherd probably of mid- to late fourth-century pottery, and both pits were filled with a peat soil, which had formed *in situ*. There is no evidence, however, to suppose that the site was abandoned because of extensive water-logging, for the deterioration in conditions which became widespread in the Fenland in post-Roman times is not represented by any significant stratigraphical accumulation in this area.¹⁴

THE 1963 SITE

In 1963, an area that lay some 40 feet beyond the road flanking the southern end of the 1962 site was selected for excavation. The trenches were designed partly to determine the date and function of the watercourse that winds across the Grandford site (Fig. 2), and partly to provide a stratigraphical sequence to compare with the 1962 results. In the event, the deposits proved to be much deeper and richer than those encountered in the previous year: four distinct periods of occupation were identified, represented in many areas by four feet or more of stratified layers. They are considered in chronological sequence below.

Surface traces of features in this area were on the whole slight. Apart from the watercourse, the only obvious feature was a large ditch to the south-west of the excavated areas (Fig. 2). This ditch was sectioned at one point and the material recovered shows that its lower fill, an ashy tip, contained second-century pottery and the upper fill a big third- to early fourth-century group. The upper fill, a very peaty deposit, also yielded nine coins, now unfortunately lost. If this was a boundary ditch, as its large dimensions and its alignment parallel with the street-system suggest, it must then have been laid out early in the history of the settlement, quite possibly in the first century. Thereafter, even though it was partially filled with rubbish, it will always have been an obvious landmark and can reasonably be interpreted as the southern boundary of this area. This gives a measurement of about 60ft. between the road and the ditch, forming a substantial building plot. Unfortunately its east-west extent was apparent neither on the surface of the field nor in the results of the excavations.

PERIOD I

The earliest features on the site were identified in two small trenches, M and S, cut across the channel of the watercourse bordering the east part of the 1963 site. The stratigraphic details are shown in Fig. 11. Preceding all the features was a layer, 12ins. thick, of stained, discoloured silt, resting on clean yellow silt. If the discolouration is not the result of root penetration (and this type of layer was not noted anywhere else on the Grandford site), then it might plausibly be interpreted as a ploughsoil, relating to the initial clearance and cultivation of the area; however, it is worth stressing that no plough-marks were noted and the layer is rather deep for the type of coulter available at this time.¹⁵

This layer was cut by a small ditch, four ft. wide and two ft. deep. It had a rounded profile. The deposits in the bottom of the ditch consisted of a wash of sandy-grey silt and fine gravel, but this was sealed by a tip of ash and, above that, by a fill of silts and gravel that almost certainly had been water-laid. The same ditch was also located in a cutting (S), ten feet to the south. Here, however, the original ditch had rapidly silted up with water-laid silts and had been recut. The later ditch contained flood-deposits in the bottom, but both it and its predecessor were sealed by a layer of ash, thrown in from the west, and comparable with the tip in the more northerly section of the ditch. Water-laid silt again covered part of this tip.

Dating evidence for this activity is slight. However, there was a substantial part of a samian form 24, stamped ER T IV (= ERTIVS), from the ash layer in the more southerly cutting; the sherd is datable to c. A.D. 50-65. In combination with other dating evidence from the deposits of this period, it suggests a Neronian-early Flavian context for these features, probably within the bracket c. A.D. 65-75. We can assume that at this time the site was suffering intermittent flooding and that the ditches were designed to cope with this problem. Moreover, they recall the evidence from the 1962 site, where the skeleton of what may have been a drowned man was found in flood-silts of about the same period. Clearly, the earliest phases of settlement – probably shortly after the Boudiccan revolt – were attended by considerable environmental difficulties which only lessened as conditions improved and steps were taken to cope with flooding problems.¹⁶

These ditches and the occupation debris that covered them were in turn sealed by a thick layer of gravel. This deposit was identified in both cuttings across the watercourse and in the main excavation area to the north-west. Whilst no very tangible plan emerged from the cuttings, the gravel layer was much more precisely defined elsewhere: it took the form of a cambered strip, some ten feet wide, that ran west-east across the site. At least two qualities of gravel were used in its construction and the surface varied from a quite loose spread of pebbles to a hard rammed layer. Some of these differences may indicate repairs. Given its width, length, cambering and orientation, there seems no difficulty in identifying it as a small street. Whether it turned southwards at the eastern edge of the excavated area or whether the surface in cuttings M and S represents the floor of a building flanking the road is a matter that

cannot now be decided. Nevertheless, it is interesting that one of the first actions by the early settlers was to construct internal roads, arguing for a degree of planning in the layout of the site. Curiously, no road-ditches were identified, a baffling feature (side-ditches are a *sine qua non* of Fenland roads) that is not easily explained: perhaps the street was of very local significance and never properly finished. Otherwise there were no definite structural features of this period except for a pit, only 14ins. in diameter, with the neck of a jar placed upside down in the bottom.

Dating evidence

We have already summarised above the reasons for suggesting a date between c. A.D. 65-75 for the early drainage ditches. To this conclusion we can add the ceramic evidence from the deposits that accumulated over some areas on either side of the road – a grey silty soil varying in thickness from 3-7ins. Apart from some coarse-ware the layer yielded six well stratified pieces of samian; three are pre-Flavian and the other three are Flavian, the latest being dated by Hartley to c. A.D. 85-105. A Flavian date for the layer seems reasonably secure, therefore. One coin, now lost, was also found in this deposit.

PERIOD II (Figs. 8, 10)

The first building was a timber structure, laid out over the street of period I. On the east part of the site a very thin layer of silt separated the surface of the road and the sandy floor of the later building: to the west, however, the silt was absent and, instead, the road surface had been incorporated as part of the floor: we can conclude therefore that little or no interval of time elapsed between the abandonment of the street and the construction of the building.

The structure itself had a number of curious features. Only two external walls were located, those on the north and east sides. They were formed of narrow wall-trenches, 9ins. in width and between 5 and 12ins. in depth (a variation which may be explained by changes in the level of the ground). No individual post-settings were observed and a sleeper-beam technique of construction is thus quite possible. There were, however, two puzzling features. One is the apparent absence of any end-wall to the west, where a number of contemporary pits must mark an area beyond the building: either the building was open-ended or, more plausibly, the wall-trench did not penetrate the floor-level at this point. The other is the sharp divergence from the right-angle at the north-east corner, a discrepancy that is so marked as to suggest a degree of deliberation in its layout. It would thus appear that the intention was to construct a building that was markedly wider at one end than at the other.

Internally, there were traces of one major wall, running east-west, at right angles to the east end-wall. The feature was first observed as a series of rectangular dark soil-marks, showing clearly in the yellow silt underlying the occupation deposits. But study of the sections showed that these post-marks had been cut from the period II floor-level and had an average depth of 9-12ins.; it may be therefore that they were set in a

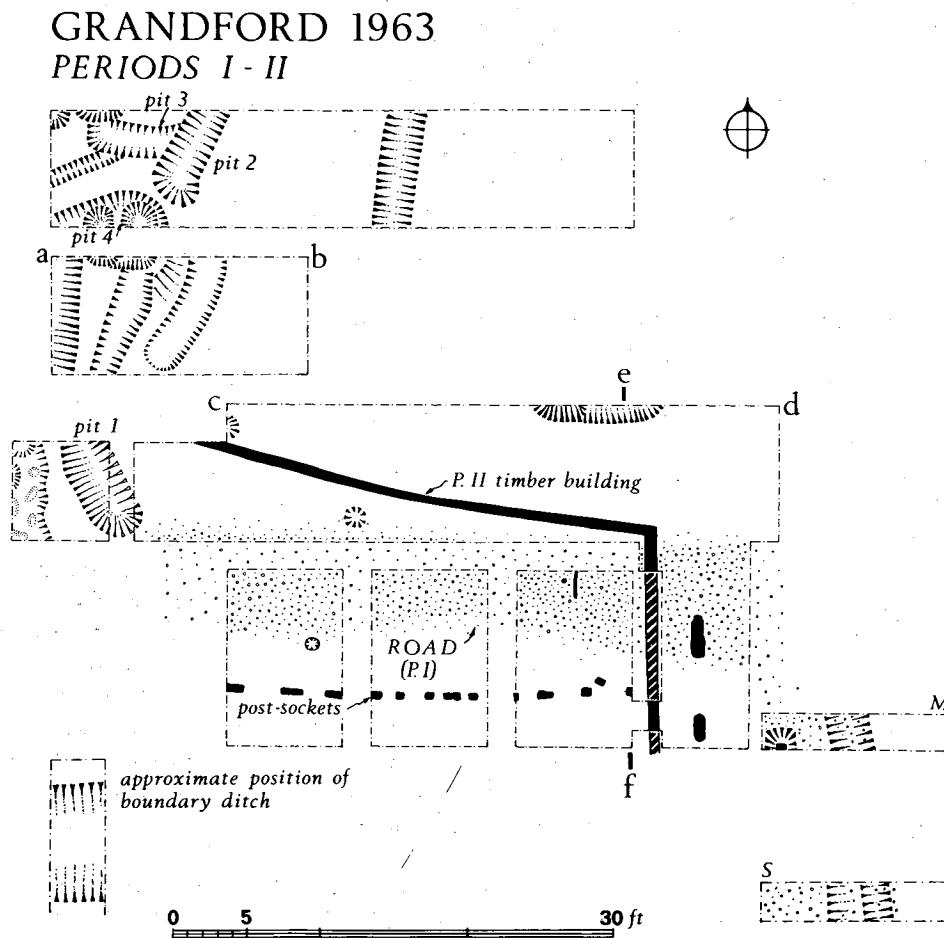


Fig. 8. 1963 excavations: plans of periods I (Flavian) and II (c. 90-150).

continuous trench, although no evidence for this was observed. The individual posts averaged 7 x 9ins. and in many cases occurred as double settings, suggesting that most had been replaced at a later period. One certain secondary post, offset from the main series, was found in the eastern section of the line and may have been intended as a buttress; but the rest were carefully aligned, and show that the replacement posts were designed to maintain exactly the same wall-line.

The sandy floor of the building (Fig. 10, e-f, unit 6) thinned out rapidly to the south, beyond the internal wall; we may therefore assume that the southern end-wall lay a short distance beyond the excavated area. This is corroborated by the presence of a boundary ditch, described above, which demarcates the building-plot to the south. The building, then, must have been a long, approximately rectangular, structure, conforming with the general plan of a simple strip-house. However, apart from the wall of separate uprights, there were few other indications of the internal arrangement of rooms. One short stretch of a north-south wall-slot was noted five feet from the east end-wall, and there was one stakehole and one posthole in the floor; but these constitute the only surviving traces of such walls (although they could have been obscured by baulks). Even given that partitions may have left little trace in the archaeological record, we cannot assume that the building was without other internal divisions. Certainly the quantity of refuse, much of it contained in pits to the north (discussed below), is sufficient to indicate its function as a domestic structure.

Amongst this material was a great profusion of animal bones and the debris from the manufacture of bone pins and awls; abundant potsherds with a large number of broken but fairly complete vessels; and many small objects, including bronze brooches, pins, toiletry items, beads and four coins. The coins are especially interesting since they, together with large number of first and second century issues in later contexts, imply a much higher standard of living than is usual on early Roman Fenland sites.¹⁷ Normally, coins are very rare or absent and metal objects occur only sporadically. Clearly Grandford was a settlement of special importance, even in this early period, and the apparently modest timber building the residence of a well-to-do family.

One other structural feature requires mention: this is a group of three post-sockets, parallel with, and three feet from, the east wall of the building. They probably represent a narrow portico, perhaps over the entrance to the house. Another post, set in a large pit, was also located in a narrow trench to the east of the main excavated area and may indicate a subsidiary room or perhaps another building. It is evident then that this was a house of some size and not entirely without architectural pretensions. Indeed, the second-century fill of the nearby boundary ditch yielded both *tegulae* and *imbrices*, in the standard hard red fabric. These may have been imported into the region but, whatever their origin, they are very unusual in a Fenland context, especially at such an early date.

North and west of the house, the excavations revealed an extensive complex of gullies and pits. Many were waterlogged at the time at which they were studied and no real picture either of the relative sequences or of their function emerged. Nevertheless,

the large quantity of domestic rubbish contained in the fills shows that, whatever their original purpose, they were eventually used as a dump for the refuse of this building area. Most of the pits were long and rectangular in form, as though designed for some special reason: on the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the water-table is high, especially during the winter months and that deeper rubbish pits may not have been feasible. Indeed, some of the narrower gullies may well have been dug to drain away surplus water from this area. Pit 1 (Fig. 8) may be taken as typical of the larger features. Cut into the yellow silt that underlies the site, it had a maximum depth of just over two feet and a U-shaped profile. Its fill consisted of lenses of silt, washed in from the sides of the pit, together with tips of charcoal and black soil, rich in animal bone and pottery. To the west, the natural silt had been cut away by some ten inches, leaving a narrow ridge between the pit and this area. Here the silt was pitted with small depressions, measuring c. 8 x 12ins., of exactly the same appearance as those encountered in the 1962 site, discussed above. Whether they represent root-disturbance or some other activity is a matter that cannot now be resolved: but we tend to favour an explanation that they were caused by plants or bushes.

The other deep pits are shown upon Fig. 8 (pits 2, 3, 4). The largest was pit 2 which had very straight sides, as though it had been lined, and extended to a depth of c. 2ft. 6ins. into the subsoil and over five feet beneath present-day ground level. Pit 3 was shallower – its depth was just over two feet – and again had very straight sides and a U-shaped profile; there was a deposit of ash, 3ins. thick, on the bottom, sealed by a layer of yellow silt and then by a deposit of refuse. Pit 4 was of similar depth and stratigraphy, but the features to the south (Fig. 10, a-b) were mostly much less substantial. They ranged from small gullies, probably intended for drainage (e.g. Fig. 10, a-b, unit 6), to deeper but narrower cuttings. Tips of charcoal and refuse filled all the features and there had been some recutting (e.g. Fig. 10, a-b, unit 7). One distinctive aspect of many of the smaller gullies is the emphasis upon straight sides and a flat bottom: normally we would tend to interpret them as construction trenches for a building. Here, however, this explanation must be ruled out, although the possibility that such trenches held wooden or brushwood gutters cannot be excluded.

To sum up the evidence for period II, we have a timber-framed house, measuring some 30ft in length and expanding in width towards the west. One prominent internal wall-line of large rectangular posts was found, together with evidence for a portico. Outside the building was an area of pits and drainage gullies, filled with hearth sweepings and rubbish, indicating a fairly long period of occupation.

Dating evidence

The best guide to the chronology of period II is provided by the large quantity of samian found in this context. There were two main groups directly associated with the building. One (layer 4.5) came from the dark refuse layer that accumulated while the building was in occupation; the other (layer 4: Fig. 10, e-f, unit 5) covered the floor and may therefore represent a period of abandonment or a makeup deposit for the period

GRANDFORD 1963

PERIODS III-IV

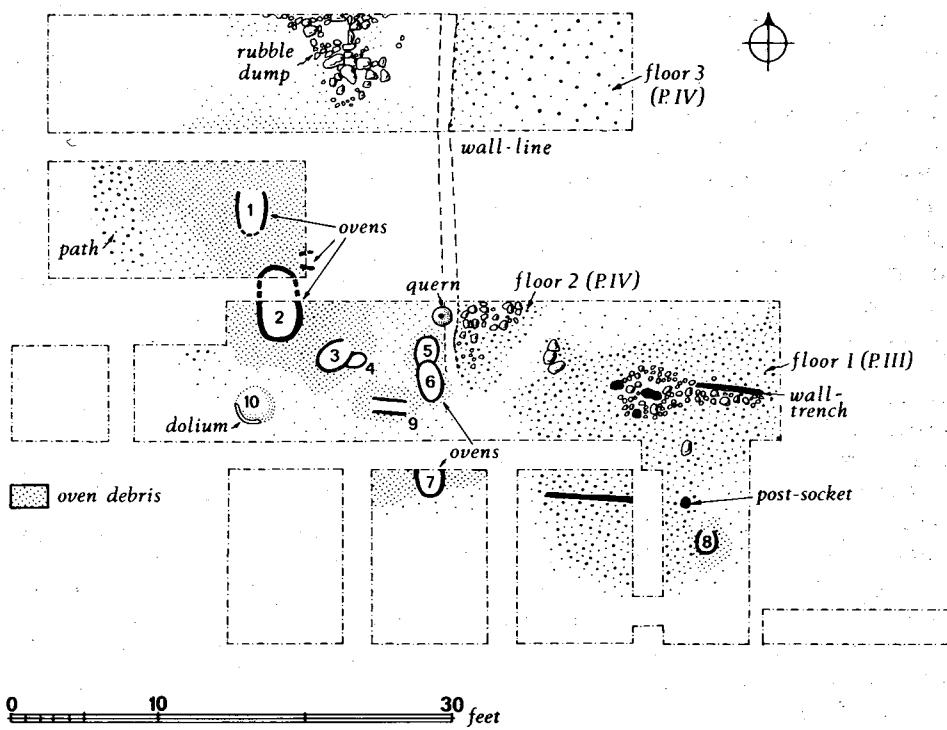


Fig. 9. 1963 excavations: plan of periods III (c. 150-early-mid third century) and IV (third early-mid fourth century).

III floor. The group of samian from the occupation deposit amounted to 34 sherds, ranging from pre-Flavian types to forms typical of the reign of Antoninus Pius. Given that a Flavian date is established for period I, a range of c. 90-150 looks likely for this deposit. Layer 4 yielded a smaller group – only 7 sherds – terminating chronologically with Hadrianic – Antonine forms; this distribution supports an early Antonine closure for this period, there being only three certain Antonine sherds in the two groups, on a site where Antonine samian is very common.

The contents of pit 1 (*cf.* Fig. 8) support this conclusion: of the eight sherds of samian from the lower fill, three are Hadrianic and the rest Trajanic or Flavian. A Hadrianic or early Antonine *terminus ante quem* therefore looks likely. The upper fill, on the other hand, has Antonine samian, as well as much colour-coat, and it would thus appear that the pit was not levelled until late in the second century or early in the third (i.e. during the next period, III).

The evidence from the other pits is more difficult to evaluate because of difficulties in interpreting the stratigraphic sequence. One group certainly terminates c. 140-150 as the large collection of samian contains several Hadrianic-Antonine pieces but little that is purely Antonine. We can conclude that some of the pits were certainly still in use c. A.D. 150 but that many had been closed. It is however worth noting that they were sealed by a black fill of refuse with much Antonine material, indicating that this area continued as a rubbish dump until at least the early third century.

PERIOD III (Fig. 9)

A layer some six inches deep separated the floors of periods II and III (Fig. 10, e-f, unit 5) and, as noted above, may represent either a rubbish accumulation or, more probably, a makeup level. The new floor consisted of a fairly thick spread of gravel, laid over the south-eastern part of the site (Fig. 9, floor 1). It had fairly well-defined limits and clearly marked the position of a house-platform, with north-south dimensions of c. 18ft, and an east-west extent of at least 20 feet (the east edge of the floor lay beyond the excavation area). The building itself, however, was poorly preserved. Traces were found of a north wall-trench, a few inches deep, and of several rectangular post-holes, one of which was 14ins. deep. Eight feet to the south was a short parallel stretch of wall-trench, set two ins. into the floor, and a single post-emplacement. Evidently, therefore, the remains are those of a small rectangular timber-framed structure, possibly built with a combination of sleeper-beam footings and uprights, set in post-holes. To the south of the building was a spread of grey clay, perhaps derived from wall-cladding, while the north wall-trench was partially covered with a mass of cobbles and fragments of ragstone; these too may have formed part of the wall superstructure.

A short distance to the west of this building was an area of tread into which were inserted three small hearths or ovens (Fig. 9, ovens 4, 5, 6). These ovens are especially characteristic of the 1963 site in periods III and IV. The details are set out below and the period IV ovens are discussed in the appropriate section. We may note here that

most consist of oval rings of fired clay, with a flat base; they average some 3 x 1½ ft. in size. In almost every case, they were filled with charcoal, and covered by unburnt grey clay, probably from a domed roof. Presumably they were simple domestic baking ovens, although their concentration in this part of the Grandford site may indicate some more specific purpose.

Elsewhere within the excavation area, there are no structural features that can be assigned to this period. To the south of the building and ovens, the occupation deposits of this phase faded out, while to the north some of the pits and gullies, discussed above under period II, were being filled at this time; eventually, a layer of dark black soil accumulated over this part of the site.

Dating evidence

The pottery from the layer immediately beneath the floor, has a closure date in the early Antonine period, suggesting a date around A.D. 150 for the construction of the period III building. The duration of the period is less easy to define. As we have shown, the upper fill of pit I is likely to belong to this period, as is the black fill over the pits on the north side of the site. The pottery, now dominated by early Nene-Valley wares, extends into the third century, although certainly no later than A.D. 250. This is confirmed by material from the layer, (discussed in the next section), dividing periods III and IV, a unit with some colour-coat and Nene-Valley types. An early-mid third century *terminus* seems likely, therefore, for this period.

PERIOD IV (Fig. 9)

Sealing the features of period III over almost the whole site was a layer of yellow sand-silt, that varied in thickness from a few inches to nearly two feet (Fig. 10, a-b, unit 9; c-d, unit 5; e-f, unit 3). Only in the far north-west of the site did the layer peter out. In places there was a fairly clear stratification within the deposit, but elsewhere it consisted of a single homogeneous layer, containing pottery of second- and third-century type. There were also some fragments of saddle quern in Niedermendig lava, several pieces of *tegula* and, curiously, the skeletons of several very young babies. That this distinctive layer in part represents a deliberate makeup for the buildings of period IV is clear from the nature of the stratification beneath the floors: here there were a series of tips. However, not all of the deposit seems to have been formed in this way for, over quite large parts of the site, the appearance was of a natural accumulation, with lenses of sand and silt. Significantly, a similar layer (Fig. 6, unit 3) sealed the period II building on the 1962 site and seems to have formed at about the same time. A comparable layer was also located on the 1959 site (Fig. 3, unit 3), underlying the fourth-century features, while the two sondages dug in 1964 (Fig. 12) showed a thick accumulation of sands, silts and gravel, dividing the second and fourth century levels. The matter is discussed in detail in a subsequent section (*cf.* 1964 site) but, without anticipating those conclusions, it is clear that there was a major hiatus in the mid-third century, caused by flooding.

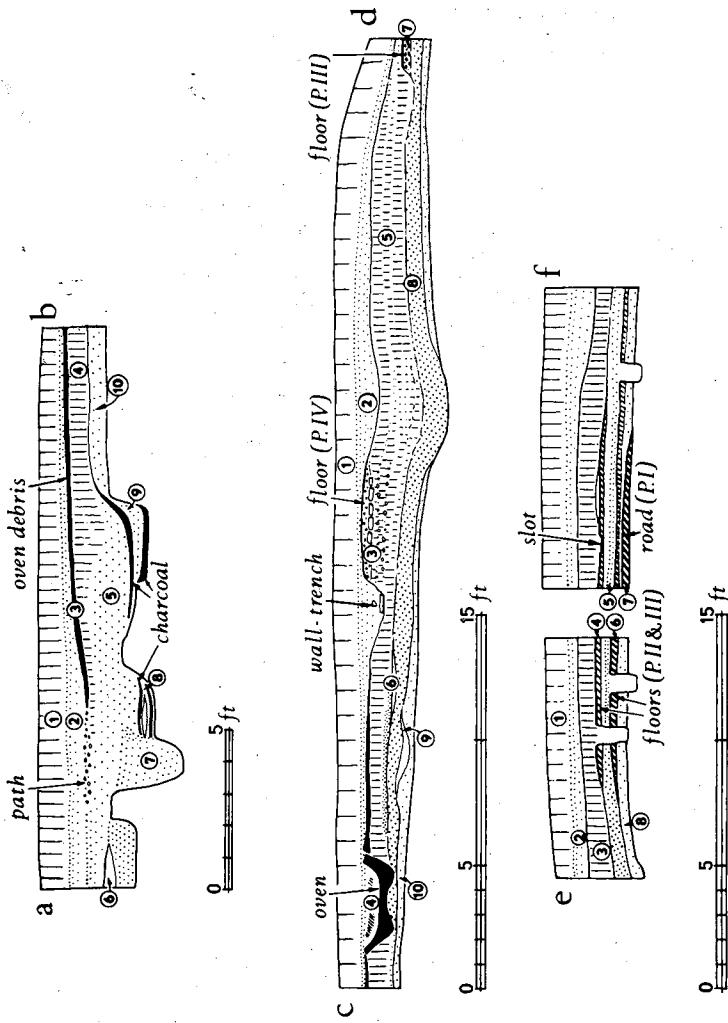


Fig. 10. Sections through the 1963 site. For the section-lines, cf. Fig. 8. Key to the units:

Fig. 10 (*continued*)(i) *Section a-b.*

1. Topsoil.
 2. Peat deposit with many pebbles and much material.
 3. Thin layer of burnt and unburnt clay, terminating to the west in a gravel lens, probably a path. Period IV.
 4. Pale yellow sand-silt layer.
 - Period IV.
 5. Sandy brown-black fill. Period III.
 6. Lens of sand, covering a black fill of occupation material.
 7. Pit, filled with black silt.
 - Period II.
 8. Fill comprising alternate lenses of yellow silt and black ash.
 - Period II.
 9. Flat-bottomed pit or ditch, filled with grey silt, interleaved with layers of charcoal. Period II.
 10. Grey silt.
- 'Natural' soil consists of a yellow silt.

(ii) *Section c-d*

1. Topsoil.
2. Peaty layer with many pebbles and much material.
3. Period IV floor, made up of a thick deposit of yellow gravel laid on a bed of ragstone fragments.
4. Oven with a diameter of 3ft. 4ins. and thickly built walls and a floor of clay. Some of the oven-lining has collapsed into the bowl of the oven and there is a spread of oven debris, trampled into a rough surface, both to east and west. Period IV.
5. An extensive deposit represented over most of the site by several layers of yellow sand and silt; ?flood deposit.
6. Unburnt clay and charcoal, associated with some of the period III ovens.
7. Part of the gravel floor (Fig. 9, no. 1) belonging to the period III building.
8. An extensive layer of occupation debris, including a number of thin lenses of wood ash. Period II.
9. Yellow clay lens, possibly the base of an oven. Period II.
10. A thin spread of grey silt, resting upon 'natural' yellow silt. Period I.

(iii) *Section e-f*

1. Topsoil.
2. Pebble layer with numerous fragments of pottery. At the base of the layer is a hard tread, relating to the period IV building.
3. Spread of sand-silt. Period IV.
4. Period III floor, made up of yellow gravel. A posthole, a foot deep, marks the northern wall line, while to the south is the impression of a timber sill. Beyond the sill is a thin lens of clay, probably deriving from the walls.
5. Immediately beneath the period III floor are traces of sand make-up layers. These peter out both to north and south, giving way to period II occupation layers.
6. Period II floor, made up of a thin layer of silt-sand. A wall slot (cf. Fig. 8), 12ins. deep, is set into the floor, as are post-sockets from an internal row of timbers.
7. A thick layer of gravel with a cambered cross-section, laid directly on 'natural' silt. There are traces of some repairs to this surface, which most probably is to be interpreted as a road. Period I.
8. Grey silt. Period I.

The buildings of period IV were disappointingly preserved and excavation revealed little of their layout. There were two areas of gravel floor (Fig. 9, floors 2 and 3) of which floor 2 was the more solid. Its upper surface, apparently the latest of three layers of gravel, rested on small lumps of Barnack ragstone and other larger fragments of stone were incorporated in the surface. Immediately to the west of the floor were traces of a trench (Fig. 10, c-d), which lined up with the west end of floor 3: it may be that a completely robbed stone-footing followed this alignment. There is some support for this conjecture in the presence of a large dump of ragstone to one side of floor 3; stratigraphically very late in the sequence, this dump (which is paralleled by a similar spread of rubble, found in 1958: Fig. 3) is very probably derived from the demolition of a stone building in late- or post-Roman times.

The western and southern periphery of these areas of floor contained a number of small cooking-ovens, mainly of the oval type already referred to under period III. At least six belong to period IV and their long use is attested by a widespread layer of ash and burnt clay around the ovens. Similar deposits of burnt clay, which was fired to a distinctive red-orange colour, were found in both the 1958 and 1959 sites in an equivalent stratigraphic position, suggesting a very big concentration over this part of site. There was also one hearth formed of two parallel walls of clay, 10ins. apart (Fig. 9, no. 9), and a circular, flat-topped clay feature, 2ft. 9ins. in diameter, partially revetted with rim fragments of a hand-made dolium: indeed, it is possible that this crudely fashioned vessel was being manufactured around a clay mould.

Beyond the ovens and spread of burnt clay, there were traces of a gravel path and then a dark fill. To the west, the fill gave the impression of cultivated ground, while to the south there was the distinct dip (Fig. 10, e-f) of a shallow ditch, draining surface water off to the east. The building area was thus carefully defined with limits that do not differ significantly from those of earlier periods.

Dating evidence

Whilst no rubbish pits of this period were found (apart from the tip of refuse in the boundary ditch, discussed in the introduction to this section) there was a considerable spread of material around and over the buildings. Apart from very large quantities of residual pottery, there were abundant third- and early fourth-century forms, ranging from barbotine colour-coat to indented beakers, bowls and dishes. Mid- and late fourth-century pottery was, on the other hand, curiously sparse, especially in view of the late-Roman coin series for the site. It seems clear then that the period IV buildings were constructed during the third century, probably in the second half, and continued in occupation until at least A.D. 340, and possibly beyond.

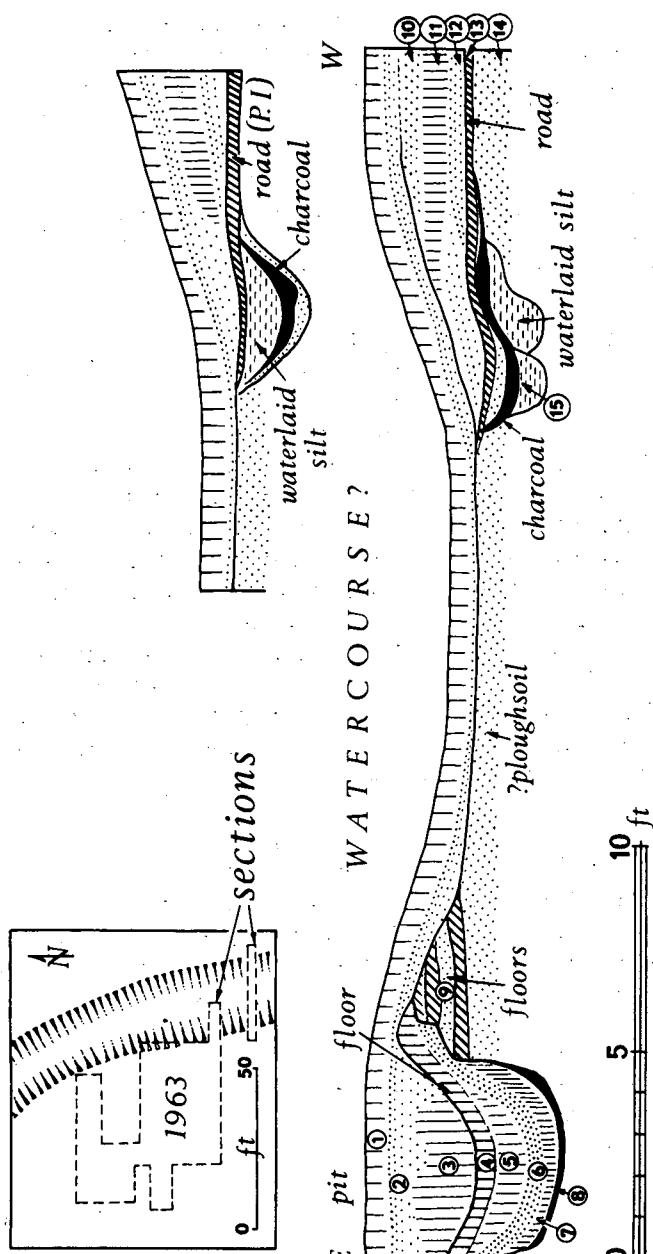


Fig. 11. Section across the watercourse, 1963.

1. Topsoil.

Fill of a large pit at the east end of the trench:
3-5. Layers of sand-silt, probably tipped into the pit deliberately in period IV. 4 is probably a stumped floor. 6. Dark charcoal-flecked rubbish deposit. Period II. 7. Sandy layer with many pebbles. 8. Thin layer of charcoal.

Layers cut both by the pit and the 'watercourse' at the east end of the trench:
9. Three layers of hard-packed gravel, interleaved by thin layers of occupation debris.

Sequence at the west end of the site:
10. Dark gravelly layer flecked with charcoal and chalk. 11. Layer made

up of sand and gravel. Little charcoal. 12. Grey occupation deposit with abundant traces of charcoal. 13. Thin gravel floor; as the other section shows (Trench M, the SE part of the 1963 site), this floor relates stratigraphically to the period I levels. 14. Dark silt, flecked with charcoal. Possibly a plough soil. 15. Two ditches, one cutting the other.

Both are filled with water-laid silt suggesting flooding early in the history of the site. The upper fill of the ditches comprises a tip of black occupation debris, sealed beneath a lens of grey silt. The gravel floor (13) is laid over these deposits. The sequence is mirrored in Trench M except that here there is only a single ditch and the tip of occupation refuse is sealed by water-laid silt.

Grandford 1963: the ovens

Note: the measurements are internal.

<i>Number (Fig. 9)</i>	<i>Orientation</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Measurements</i>	<i>Surviving Depth</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	N-S	IV	3'4" x 1'9"	3"	
2	N-S	IV	4'6" x 2'3"	10"	
3	NE-SW	IV	2'11" x 1'10"	6"	
4	E-W	III	1'10" x 1'2"	6"	Cut by oven 3; 'dished' form
5	N-S	III	2' x 1'1"	8"	Cut by oven 6; 'dished' form
6	N-S	III	2'10" x 1'5"	9"	'Dished' form
7	N-S	IV	1'8" x ?2'	5"	
8	N-S	IV	2' x 1'4"	4"	
9	E-W	IV	3' x 1'	4"	Rectangular hearth
10	-	IV	2'9" diam.		Circular base with a dolium rim as revetment.

TRENCH S (Fig. 11)

We have already commented upon the ditches cut to deal with flooding in period I and the road that succeeded them. The evidence for this was uncovered in a small trench (S), situated to the south-east of the main 1963 site and cutting across the extinct watercourse that, until its bulldozing in 1967, formed a prominent gulley, winding across the Grandford site (Fig. 2). The trench showed that the watercourse was, as might be anticipated, a late feature in the history of the site. Its channel cut through all the archaeological deposits down to the earliest Roman surface, the gravel road or floor (Fig. 11, unit 13).

Only one other feature requires comment, a pit at the east end of the trench. Cut through the 'road' and one earlier floor, its lower fill consisted of domestic refuse, including samian and coarse-ware of first to second-century date: the pit belongs therefore to the period of the second building phase. It was sealed by a sand-gravel layer (unit 4), perhaps a floor that had slumped into the pit-fill; this was in turn covered by further levelling material, containing third- and fourth-century refuse.

THE 1964 SITES

In the final season of excavation, small sondages were cut in two areas: (1) on the rather higher, flat ground north and west of the other sites and (2) on the west bank of the West Water, close to the point where the Fen Causeway crossed the river (Fig. 2). The first sondages - two small trenches, 40ft. apart (Fig. 12) - were intended to explain

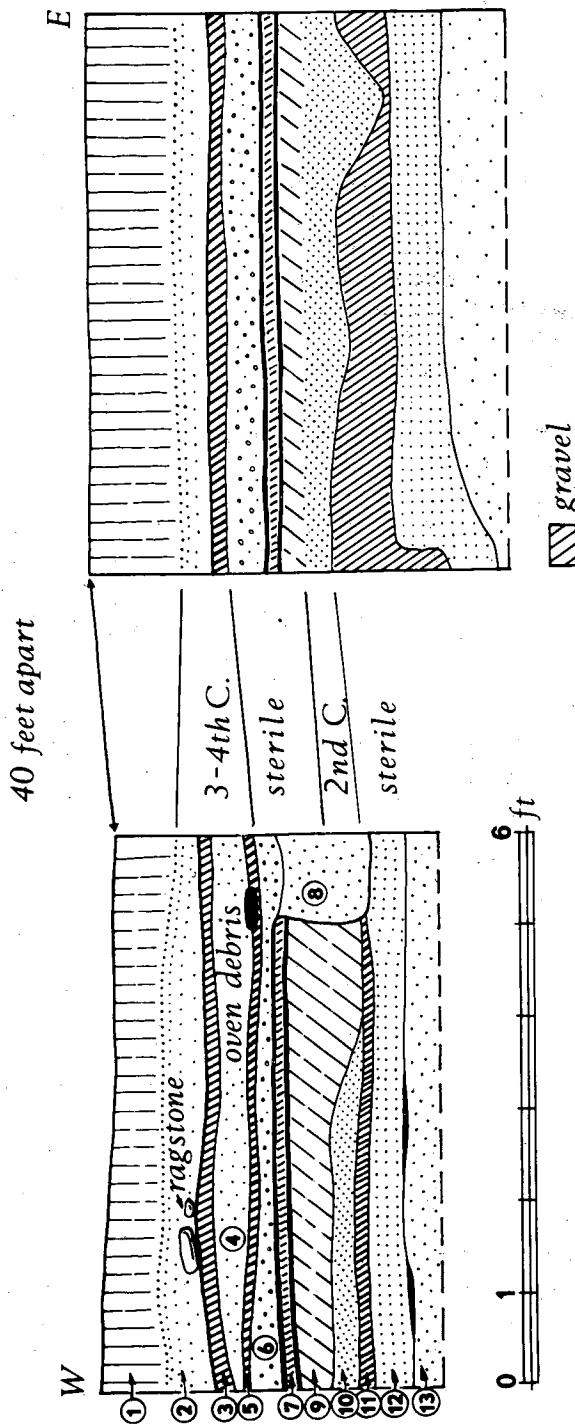


Fig. 12. Grandford 1964: sections of two small trenches to the north-west of the 1962-63 excavation:

1. Topsoil.
2. Peaty layer with numerous pebbles and third-fourth century pottery. There were also lumps of ragstone.
3. Gravel layer, possibly a floor.
4. Dark layer with a few sherd s and numerous fragments of burnt clay.
5. Compacted gravel layer, probably a floor.
6. Dark silt with gravel, ?water-laid.
7. Sterile.
8. Pit or trench filled of dark soil (?humus) above and below.
9. Iron-stained gravel and numerous brown silt. This layer yielded a piece of Flavian samian.
10. Compact gravel and sand; a few shell fragments.
11. Sterile grey silt with the occasional tiny pebble.
12. Sterile grey silt with lenses of humic soil.
13. Clean yellow silt.

the curious lack of features in the surface of the field, and also its height of some 2-3ft. above the average ground-level to the south.¹⁸ In the event both trenches yielded a very similar sequence. Sterile gravels and silts (Fig. 12, units 11-13) were encountered at a depth of c. 2ft. 6ins. below ground surface. Readily identifiable as flood-deposits, they also included patches of humus, especially at the base of unit 12. Covering these layers was a grey-brown silt (unit 10), which yielded a number of sherds including a samian base of Flavian date: a first- to second-century date for this unit is reasonably certain. This deposit was sealed by a further series of gravels and silts, sterile in finds. The thickest layer was unit 9, an iron-stained mixture of gravel and sand. Above this was a thin band of gravel (unit 7) with humic lenses above and below (possibly turf-lines), and then another band of gravel, mixed with dark silt (unit 6). There were no finds from any of layers 6-9. There was, however, what appeared to be a pit (unit 8), cut from the humic interface between units 6 and 7; it was filled with dark silt and gravel, but was barren of archaeological material.

The interpretation of this group of layers sealing the thin second-century occupation level would seem to be clear-cut: that they represent wash-material, laid down under intermittent flood conditions. Chronologically they probably coincide with the third-century flood-deposits already widely noted on Fenland sites and, within the local context, may best be equated with the stratigraphic breaks already discussed for the 1959, 1962 and 1963 sites.¹⁹ However, the type of deposit represented in these 1964 sondages does differ from those in the area to the south, where there were no properly bedded gravels and silts. This cannot be explained by a difference of level, since the flood-type deposits of this period vary from c. 6-8ft. A.O.D. and the 1964 layers are, if anything, rather higher than those to the south. One possible answer is that they are closer to *moving* water but, without further work, it is impossible to be certain about this.

These flood-deposits were covered by two successive occupation deposits, both sealing compacted gravel floors. The lower floor (unit 5) was associated with a good deal of burnt oven-debris, of the type encountered in the 1963 and 1958 sites. The later floor contained fragments of ragstone, suggesting that here, as elsewhere on the site, there were nearby stone buildings. Dating evidence was sparse but there is Castor colour-coat of the third and fourth centuries from these levels and a coin of Valentinian I (A.D. 364-367) from the top unit, 2; a late-Roman date for these deposits is therefore assured.

The other sondages were sited on the west bank of the roddon of the West Water, close to the point where the Fen Causeway crossed the river (Fig. 2, 1964a; site reference 54IJ). Only a small area was cleared but, in one of the two adjacent trenches, the opportunity was taken to go down to the March gravels, at a depth of 13ft. below the present-day ground level (Fig. 13). Covering the gravels was a blue clay and then some five feet of unlaminated roddon silt, quite heavily oxidised towards the top. Above this was nearly a foot of quite different silt: prominently laminated, it combined both very thin horizontal bands and undulating lenses. A similar sequence was also observed in a dyke-section on the south-west part of the site (Fig. 2, 1964b). Here there

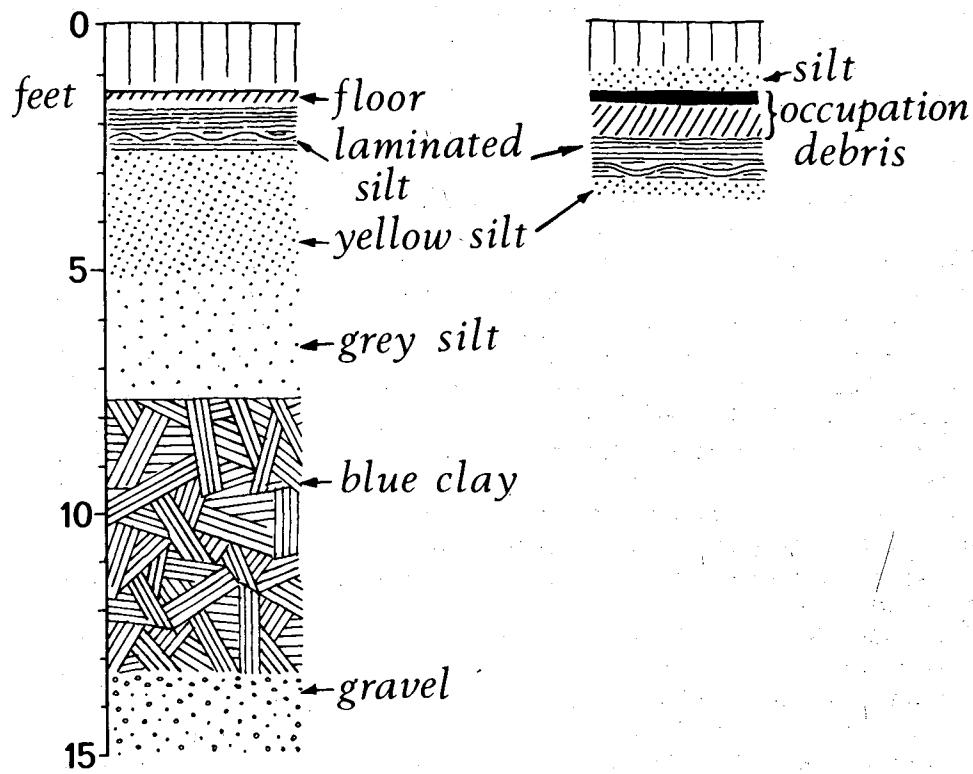


Fig. 13. Section through the west bank of the West Water at the north-west part of the site (Grandford 1964a, Fig. 2). The occupation debris dates mainly to the second century.

was 1ft. 6ins. of plough-soil, over first undulating and then laminated silt; these silts extended to a depth of 2ft. 2ins. and below them was a further three feet of unlaminated silts.

The important feature of the 1964a site was that the laminated deposits were sealed by occupation debris. One section was covered by what appeared to be a gravel floor (although, in retrospect, it could be interpreted as a waterlaid gravel layer), while the other yielded a spread of refuse. This included a large quantity of bone, much charcoal, some fragments of daub and a number of sherds of late first- and second-century type. Clearly, there had been a building on the bank of the river. This occupation material was in turn sealed by a band of unlaminated yellow silt, still surviving to a depth of six ins. beneath the plough-soil (which itself yielded much samian). Just as at Welney, therefore, the river flooded in the mid-Roman period, sealing the first phase of occupation.²⁰

No full interpretation of this sequence can be given without a complete section across the watercourse. On the present evidence, however, we can envisage a long history for the river, with constant silt deposition. Later (presumably when the Fens were drying up in the early Roman period), the deposition of silt became seasonal rather than continuous, resulting in the pattern of *laminae*. By the time that there was occupation on the bank, no flooding was occurring, until the inundation of the third century, represented by the band of unlaminated silt sealing the occupation debris. It is interesting to note, moreover, that virtually no sherds of the third or fourth centuries were recovered from this area, suggesting that this part of the site was abandoned when the extensive later Roman rebuilding took place elsewhere at Grandford.

SUMMARY

1958	Fourth-century stone building and ovens, overlying earlier deposits.		
1959	(i) Late third-/fourth-century building, probably with stone footings. (ii) Silt and sand with flood-silt of third-century date. (iii) Earlier occupation-deposits.		
1962	I:	Flood-silts with (?) drowned body	c. 65-75
	II:	Substantial timber-framed house on platform.	c. 90-200 ±
	Nearby pits.		
	III:	(i) House with stone footings, timber superstructure and portico, and a gravel floor. (ii) House with decorated daub walls, window glass, and a gravel floor.	third- early fourth centuries
1963	I:	Ditches cut to deal with flood-silt; gravel road.	Flavian
	II:	Large timber building, with portico and tiled roof; series of rubbish-pits and gutters.	c. 90-150
	III:	Small timber-framed building; ovens; rubbish-pits.	c. 150-early/mid third century

	IIIa: Flooding.	mid third century
	IV: Building with stone footings; ovens and hearths.	late third- early/ mid-fourth century
1964	Two periods of occupation divided by flood-deposits of third-century date. (?) Stone footings in the later Roman period.	
1964a	Late first- and second-century occupation on the bank of the West Water river; flood-silt above the occupation-layers.	

THE FINDS

Given the very large bulk of material, necessitating a series of specialist reports upon the pottery, small objects, coins and animal and human bones, this section of the report is not published here. However, the full report is available as a British Museum Occasional Paper, under the same title as this article.

DISCUSSION

Whilst the excavations at Grandford were not on a large scale, they represent the most extensive work hitherto undertaken on a Central Fenland Romano-British site. Moreover, they were conducted at a time when the site still remained under long-standing pasture. Now, as a consequence of the deep-ploughing in 1967, the upper stratigraphy has been irreparably damaged and the once-prominent earthworks levelled. Since Grandford appears to have been the last surviving well-preserved grass site in this part of the Fens, it is therefore fortunate that some investigation has taken place, since it is to be doubted that any comparable opportunity now exists in this region.

It is not the intention, however, in this concluding section to comment in any detail about the general settlement trends in the Roman Fenland. A paper which attempts this sort of synthesis is to appear elsewhere (*Britannia*, forthcoming), and is based upon the results not only of the excavations at Grandford but also of five other sites in the vicinity of March. Nevertheless, Grandford with its exceptional size, status and length of occupation (in the context of Fenland settlement) does provide the main point of reference and the principal conclusions may usefully be summarised here.

1. Initial occupation seems to have begun c. A.D. 65-75, and probably in Nero's reign. This is exceptionally early in a Fenland context – few sites can be shown to pre-date the late Flavian period – but the date is firmly established by pre-Flavian samian; by coins of Augustus (1), Nero (6), Otho (1), and Vespasian (1), out of a total of 34 identified issues; and by other early pottery forms, including a stamped Gallic import. The exceptional wealth of pre-Flavian material is very surprising in a context such as

the Grandford settlement and, given its position on the main east-west route between the east Midlands and Norfolk, it is plausible to see the original occupation as military. This might explain the curious right-angle traced by the Fen Causeway on the north-east side of the site and the faint suggestion of military-type ditches parallel with the road, visible on aerial photographs of the former earthwork-field after ploughing (Fig. 2). Indeed, the aftermath of the Boudiccan Revolt would provide a very appropriate historical context for the construction of a fort, designed to protect a road that gave direct access into Iceni territory from large bases such as Longthorpe.

If this interpretation is correct (and it urgently needs testing by further excavation), then we need not suppose military occupation to have been very long-lived. The suppression of the Iceni was severe and there do not appear to have been any further difficulties in the area. By A.D. 67, the province was sufficiently quiet to permit the withdrawal of the XIVth Legion and, before long, a programme of conquest was under way in the north of Britain, by which time the forts of East Anglia must certainly have been evacuated.

2. Whilst the excavated areas appear to lie outside the presumed fort, a *vicus*-type settlement must have grown up very rapidly. Early occupation is attested on both the 1962 and 1963 sites, together with a stretch of gravelled street, and ditches filled with flood-silt. Conditions cannot have been easy at this time, as the skeleton of an elderly man who probably met his death through drowning suggests; but the land was gradually drying out, and no first-century flood-deposits later than the early Flavian period were identified.

3. Towards the end of the Flavian period, c. A.D. 90, substantial timber-framed houses were laid out on both the 1962 and 1963 sites. They lay within building-plots surrounded by ditches, and tiles were used on the roofs. Nearby were areas of rubbish-pits, whose contents make it clear that the occupants of these buildings were by no means impoverished. If they were *coloni* on Imperial land, as from the Hadrianic period appears likely, then they shared in a money-using economy and were able to afford quite large quantities of imported pottery and other goods. Moreover, the scatter of surface finds suggests that the late first and early second centuries saw a considerable expansion in the size of the settlement. Finds of this period are spread over more than twenty acres and the indications are of an irregular network of narrow gravelled streets, dividing up the house properties.

4. The economic basis of the settlement remains to be worked out in detail, but there are already a number of useful pointers. Whilst there may have been some small-scale industry, such as the production of hand-made pottery and the carving of objects in bone, there is little doubt that the agriculture formed the main activity. Cultivation is only indirectly attested by grain-impressions on clay objects and by querns (seeds were not collected), and it is therefore difficult to assess its contribution. It is unlikely, however, to have been negligible, given the large size of the settlement (although the cattle-bones have no physical signs to show that they were used for traction). Stock-raising, on the other hand, was quite certainly of major importance, in view of the enormous number of bones that were found. Analysis of the greater part of this sample

has shown that the collection is dominated, as in other Fenland sites for which we have detailed studies, by the bones of sheep. Moreover, most of the sheep were not slaughtered until they were comparatively old, suggesting that they were being kept primarily for their wool rather than for their meat. This question is explored more fully elsewhere (*Britannia*, forthcoming), but it is useful here to note that the high proportion of sheep bones from the Fens as a whole is matched by a concentration of loom-weights from the region, suggesting that weaving was also an important industry (as do the possible bobbins, discussed in the faunal report). This is an activity which, as the *Notitia* (9,60) makes clear from its reference to a state weaving-mill at *Venta*, is likely to have been carried out under government licence – an appropriate industry, therefore, for *coloni* of an Imperial Estate.

The production of wool was supported by the raising of cattle for meat, milk and cheese, and by maintaining a small number of pigs. The diet was varied by fish, water-birds, fowl and oysters, and there are indications that horse- and dog-meat was also eaten. It was, therefore, an economy of some diversity, which exploited the natural resources of the local environment but, from late Flavian times onwards, made its major investment in sheep farming. No doubt the small ditched yards and enclosures which form the periphery of virtually every Fenland site, were used to quarter the livestock over the winter, just as the peat-lands would have provided adequate summer grazing. It is a landscape, therefore, which must have appeared quite strikingly different from the unending vista of cultivated ground that dominates the Fenland today.

5. Every site that was investigated at Grandford yielded evidence for a stratigraphical break, in contexts which, where well dated, belonged to about the middle of the third century. Although the deposits that formed this discontinuity in the archaeological sequence varied quite widely in character, they all appear to share a common origin: their deposition by water-action. The clearest sequence came from the trench on the bank of the West Water, where yellow silt covered a floor and occupation debris; but other layers of alluvial silt and/or gravel had spread elsewhere across the site, sealing structures and floors at a height of c. 6-8ft. above Ordnance Datum. Evidently, then, Grandford suffered a widespread and disastrous flood which must have resulted in an evacuation of much of the settlement. The causes and origin of this flood – whether fresh-water or marine – cannot be conclusively settled, but it is probably significant that it appears to coincide chronologically with a well attested episode of flooding in the southern Fenland (the sites including Stonea, Hockwold, Welney, Earith and many along the Fen edge north of Cambridge), perhaps the result of a period of climatic deterioration. How long it was before the flooding was brought under control is difficult to assess at this stage of research: it may have been prevalent over a period of many years or have been concentrated into a short period. Only further work will tell.

6. While many low-lying sites were permanently abandoned after the floods of the mid-third century, Grandford was soon reoccupied. Characteristic of this late-Roman phase is the widespread use of masonry for the footings of the buildings, the stone

probably being imported from the east Midlands. The superstructure, however, was mostly made of timber, clad in some cases with lozenge-decorated daub, covered with a white lime wash. Window-glass is attested, as is tile for the roofs. One piece of box-tile was also found. The overall impression, then, is of a comparatively well-to-do series of houses which, if they lacked the mosaics and painted wall-plaster of contemporary villas and town-houses, nevertheless were far from the squalid daub-and-thatch hovels sometimes regarded as typical of Fenland settlements. Indeed, when taken in conjunction with the indications of stone-built structures at Stonea, Flaggrass and Honey Hill, together with the conspicuous number of coin-hoards from the region around March, it would seem that this area of the Fenland shared to a considerable degree in the fourth-century prosperity of south-east England as a whole. Only heavy stone-robbing (inevitable in a region with no local sources), combined with ubiquitous deep-ploughing, has until now disguised the relatively affluent nature of many late-Roman sites within the Central Fenland.

7. Although diagnostic pottery-forms of the second half of the fourth century are not well represented at Grandford, coins of Valens (364-78), Valentinian I (3 issues, 364-75), Theodosius (375-95) and Arcadius (383-7), show that occupation persisted until 390 or later. However, no Saxon-type pottery has been recognised, despite a specific search in the collections, and the processes of abandonment remain obscure. Post-Roman deposits are confined to peaty fills in the top of pits and ditches, a thin spread of gravel and a layer of humus; there is no evidence for a flood-deposit, although the lower ground may in places have become slightly water-logged. In the northern Fenland, a widespread marine incursion is clearly attested by the deposition of a thick layer of silt; but the factors behind the large-scale abandonment of the 'islands' in central Cambridgeshire in the early fifth century continue to elude us.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our thanks are due first to Mr J. Martin who generously allowed us to excavate over a period of six years, and who provided both fencing and backfilling facilities. Our attention was drawn to the site by the late Mr Tegerdine of March and we were constantly encouraged and advised by Miss Joan Liversidge, Miss Mary Cra'ster, Dr Peter Salway and Mr Brian Hartley. We are particularly grateful to the specialists and would like to make special mention of Brian Hartley's very large samian report (for which see the British Museum Occasional Paper), and of those who have discussed material but not necessarily reported on it, amongst them Catherine Johns, Valery Rigby, Rob Perrin and Don Mackreth. The labour-force came from March Grammar School (now the Neale-Wade School, March), and successive Curators of Wisbech Museum helped us to organise storage and post-excavation work. Finally, we would like to acknowledge the great support of our parents who did everything they could to facilitate a successful outcome to the work.

NOTE: With the exception of some of the figured sherds (now in the collections of the British Museum), the finds have been deposited in Wisbech Museum.

NOTES

For the abbreviated references, see below.

1. Phillips 1970, 196-7; *JRS* 54 (1964), 166-7. For the place name, cf. P. H. Reaney, *The place names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely* (Cambridge 1943), 256; the earliest known reference is to *Granford* in 1350, but the exact meaning (?great ford) is disputed.
2. Other earthwork sites do exist; e.g. *RGS Memoir* (Phillips 1970) sites 4298, 4494; but we know of no other site comparable to Grandford before it was ploughed.
3. For other work in the March area, cf. Phillips 1970, 216-222, 317-321; Potter 1965, 1975-76; T. W. Potter, Roman settlement in the Central Fenland, *Britannia*, forthcoming.
4. G. Fowler, Fenland Waterways past and present. Map in *A Guide to Wicken Fen* (1947), National Trust. For the possibility that this section may have been canalised, cf. A. Pryor, *Durobrivae* 6 (1978), 24.
5. This stretch is definitely artificial as it cuts through the clays and gravels; but its date is unknown.
6. I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (3rd edition, 1973), 230-2; Phillips 1970, 182, 185-6, 216-18. Beloe, *PCAS* vii (1889-90), cut sections across the road near Grandford.
7. Phillips 1970, 221-2.
8. S. J. Hallam, Villages in Roman Britain: some evidence. *Ant.J.* 44, 19-32.
9. Cf. Churchill in Phillips 1970, 132-43; H. Godwin, *Fenland: its ancient past and uncertain future* (C.U.P., 1978), 79f, 107f.
10. For an uninterred body sealed by flood-silt at Hockwold, cf. P. Salway, *PCAS* 60 (1967), 55.
11. Architecture in the Fens is discussed by Salway in Phillips 1970, 3-7, although his remarks are based on an extremely small body of evidence.
12. Phillips 1970, 197.
13. S. S. Frere, *Verulamium Excavation I* (1972), 160f; P. Crummy, *Britannia* 8 (1977), 79; C. Green, Excavations in the Roman Kiln field at Brampton, 1973-4, *East Anglian Archaeology* 5 (1977), 86.
14. Now conveniently summarised by H. Godwin, *Fenland: its ancient past and uncertain future* (1978).
15. Ploughs are fully discussed by W. H. Manning, *JRS* 54 (1964) 54-65.
16. Salway in Phillips 1970, 8f.
17. E.g. Salway 1967, 57, 68f; Potter 1975-76.
18. Ground-level of the more easterly trench was at 11ft. above Ordnance Datum. The 1962 site averages 8-9ft. A.O.D.
19. Phillips 1970, 114f, 131, 135f.; T. W. Potter 1976, 214f.
20. Churchill in Phillips 1970, 135-8.

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CAMBRIDGESHIRE EARTHWORK SURVEYS: IV

A. E. Brown and C. C. Taylor

This paper consists of descriptions and plans of another five archaeological sites recorded by students attending field survey courses organized by the University of Leicester, Department of Adult Education, over the last few years.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SCONCE, MARCH (TL 420957; Fig. 1), lies to the S.E. of the centre of March and N.E. of the parish church, on clay at 3 m. above OD. It is situated close to the fen edge in a position of no apparent tactical or strategic importance. Nothing is known of its date or history but it is certainly a small battery or sconce, presumably erected in the 1640's, during the Civil War. It is doubtful whether it was ever garrisoned or used. The site has subsequently been damaged and altered, but it remains a fine example of a relatively rare form of military work.

The battery appears to have consisted of a rectangular area, raised only 1 m. above the surrounding land and encompassed by a shallow ditch. Most of the N.W. part has been damaged and altered. The remaining E. half of the interior is slightly depressed, forming a rectangular sunken area only 0.25 m. deep. At the S.E. and N.E. corners are two bastions, both flat-topped with no trace of a rampart, though there is a low raised area in the centre of the N.E. bastion. At the S.W. corner there appears once to have been another bastion, though it was either never completed or has been partly flattened since its construction. It now consists of a low spread bank 0.5 m. high with slight traces of a surrounding ditch. There is no indication of a N.W. bastion. At the west end of the site are footings of a brick building, possibly a barn. The general rectangular outline of this structure (as well as fragments of 18th century brick) lies to the north of the S.W. bastion with a large mound of rubble to its east. A later ditch 1 m. deep extends from the north end of this mound and turns west and then south-west before returning sharply back south-east to pass south of the S.W. bastion. This ditch is not part of the sconce and indeed must be later than the battery, as it cuts through the ditch of the S.W. bastion. Though the N.E. end of this ditch lies across the area where the N.W. bastion should have been, no trace of this bastion exists on either side of it and as the main sconce ditch to the east fades out well before it reaches the later ditch it seems likely that the N.W. bastion was never constructed. To the west of the site a broad ditch, recut in recent times for drainage, marks the S.E. edge of a block of low ridge-and-furrow.

On a number of grounds it is likely that the sconce is a training work built by unskilled part-time soldiers who knew little of the complexities of 17th-century military engineering. The general siting of the work, facing what in the mid 17th

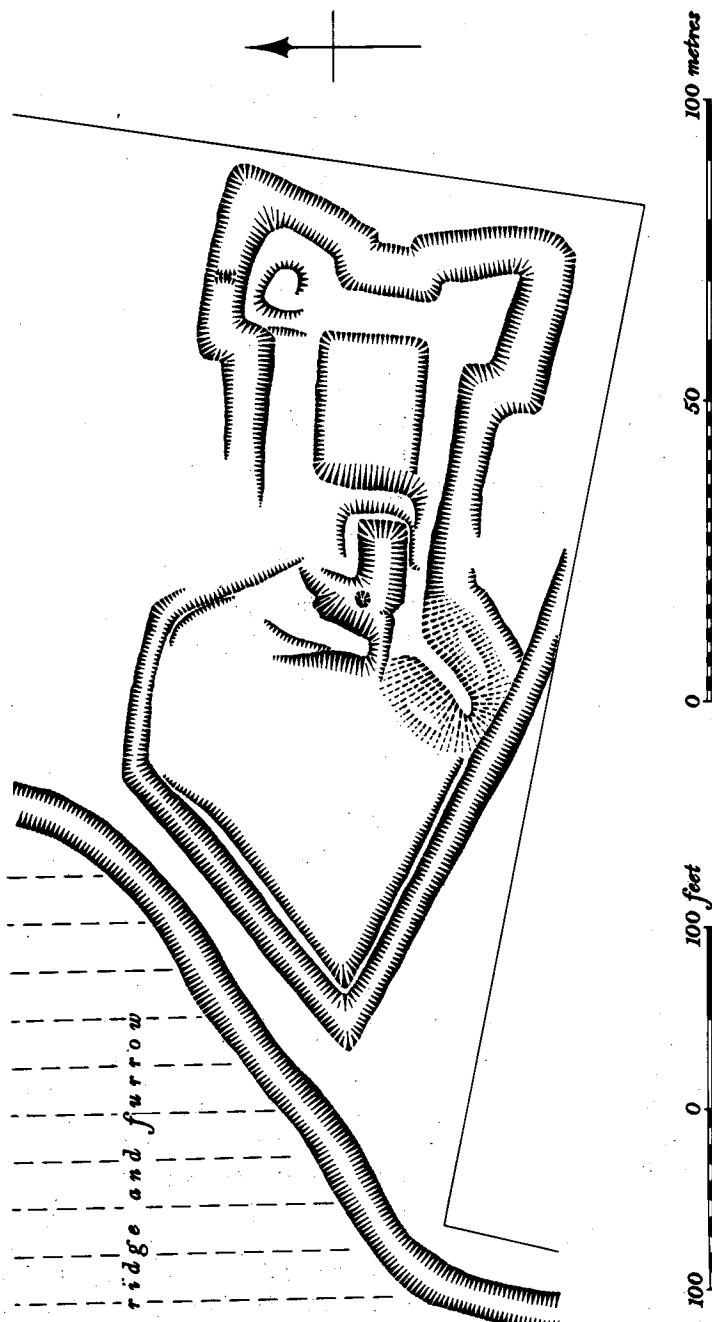


Fig. 1. March: seventeenth-century sconce.

century was undrained fenland, suggests that it had no military function. The lack of ramparts or parapets along the sides of the sconce or around the bastions makes it largely unusable. The N.E. bastion is of curious form, hardly a true bastion at all. Finally the fact that there appears never to have been a N.W. bastion also makes it unusable and might imply that it was never completed.

DESERTED VILLAGE OF SAWTRY JUDITH (TL 194823; Fig. 2), lay on the south edge of Sawtry Fen on clay at 5 m. above OD, immediately to the south-west of the site of Sawtry Abbey. The village was once a settlement with its own parish which occupied the southern part of the present parish of Sawtry. Until recently the site of the Sawtry Judith village was always thought to be at Archer's Wood (TL 175813), where there are extensive earthworks, 2.5 km. south-east of the area under discussion here, and west of the A1. However it is now recognized that the Archer's Wood earthworks are the remains of a single moated medieval farmstead and its associated enclosures;¹ thus the position of the village must be looked for elsewhere. The reasons for suggesting that it lay on the site described here will become clear if the history of the village is summarized briefly and the results of archaeological work detailed.

Sawtry Judith is first definitely mentioned in Domesday Book when it is listed as a 10 hide manor held by Countess Judith niece of William the Conqueror with a recorded population of 28, including a priest.² The manor passed to her daughter Maud and then to her grandson Simon de St Liz, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon. In 1147 the Earl founded the Cistercian Abbey of Sawtry on this site and endowed it with the manor of Sawtry Judith.

The rules of the Cistercians laid down that houses of the Order had to be as far away as possible from the influence of the lay world. As a result, when Cistercian Abbeys were set up at or near existing villages, the latter were often cleared, not only to make way for the monastic buildings but also to achieve the necessary isolation. It is possible that when Sawtry Abbey was founded, the village of Sawtry was deliberately removed. That the village was once on the site of the abbey or at least to the S.W. of it is indicated by two important facts. Firstly, the parish church of Sawtry Judith, which was mentioned in Domesday Book, is known to have remained outside the main gate of the abbey and stood there until the 16th century when the abbey was dissolved. Secondly, detailed fieldwork over the arable land immediately to the south-west of the site of the abbey has revealed large areas of rubble and quantities of pottery. Much of the pottery is of Roman date and thus, together with at least two Roman coins found here in the 1930's, indicates the existence of a settlement of this date in the area. In addition there is a small quantity of early to mid-Saxon sherds suggesting that the site was occupied at least in the 5th and 6th centuries. Sherds of Stamford and St Neots ware show that some form of habitation existed here in the 11th and 12th centuries. However pottery of a later date has also been found on the site, much of it dating to the 13th and 14th centuries, though some is perhaps later. What this pottery and the stone rubble represents is not clear. Some of it may be rubbish from the abbey itself, but it is more likely to indicate continued occupation of the area outside the abbey gate. Even if

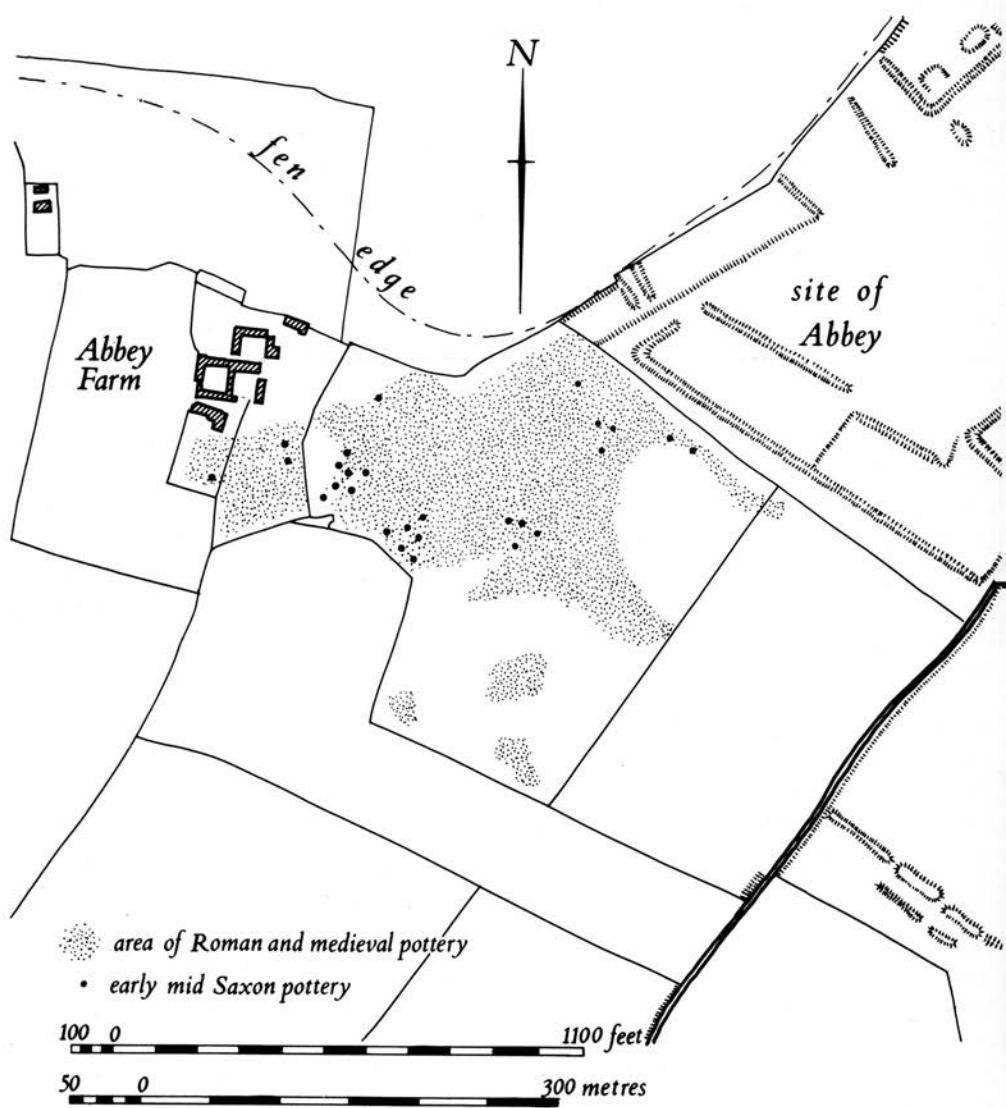


Fig. 2. Sawtry Abbey: deserted village of Sawtry Judith

Sawtry village was cleared when the abbey was founded there must have been some later settlement in the area to provide labour for the varied activities of the abbey, particularly when the strict rules of the Cistercian Order were relaxed.

Nevertheless when the abbey was dissolved in the 16th century and its church and other buildings destroyed, settlement outside it, of whatever form, also disappeared, probably because it no longer had a purpose. The land reverted to agricultural use, and only the present Abbey Farm remains, a little distance away to the west. The farm, now derelict, is of mid- or late 16th-century date though with many later additions and alterations. It contained in its structure considerable quantities of high quality building stone, no doubt taken from the abbey itself.

The village of Sawtry Judith was thus probably abandoned finally in the 16th century, but it is probable that the inhabitants moved away to the present village of Sawtry, 2.5 km. to the N.W. This village was originally two separate settlements called Sawtry St Andrew and Sawtry All Saints, so called after the dedication of their respective churches. In medieval times these two places grew together to form one single settlement. However, the south end of Sawtry village today occupies land which was part of Sawtry Judith parish until the 19th century, and thus the houses there are, strictly speaking, Sawtry Judith village. That there was a settlement here of some form by the 16th century is clear from the present Manor Farm which, although much altered, still contains part of a building of that date. In addition other houses in the same area are of 17th-century and early 18th-century date.³ It may be that these buildings represent the resettlement of Sawtry Judith village, either in the 12th century when the abbey was founded, or in the 16th century when the abbey was dissolved.

The surviving records in the Public Record Office do not indicate the size of medieval Sawtry Judith. It appears to have been included with the other two Sawtry villages in such taxation returns that exist, for example the 1327 Lay Subsidy.⁴ The 1524 Lay Subsidy does list Sawtry Judith as a separate place with twenty-six taxpayers⁵ and in 1674 sixteen people paid the Hearth Tax.⁶ However some of these at least must have occupied outlying farms in the parish.

SAWTRY ABBEY (TL 198826; Figs. 3 and 4). The remains of the Cistercian Abbey lie on the edge of Sawtry Fen on clay at 5 m. above OD. The abbey was founded by Simon de St Liz, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, in 1147. Little is known of the history of the house, though it was clearly a place of some importance and its position close to the Great North Road resulted in a number of Royal visitors staying there on journeys to and from the North. The abbey was dissolved in 1536 and in 1537 its site and lands were granted to Sir Richard Williams alias Cromwell. Soon afterwards the church, conventional buildings, gate-house, bell tower and even the old parish church of Sawtry Judith village were demolished.⁷ The stone from the building was removed over the succeeding centuries, the process continuing even into the 19th century. In the early part of the present century some excavations or digging were carried out when the main outlines of the church, guest-house and other buildings were recovered.

Four plans of the site have been published. One is the OS 1:2500 map of the area

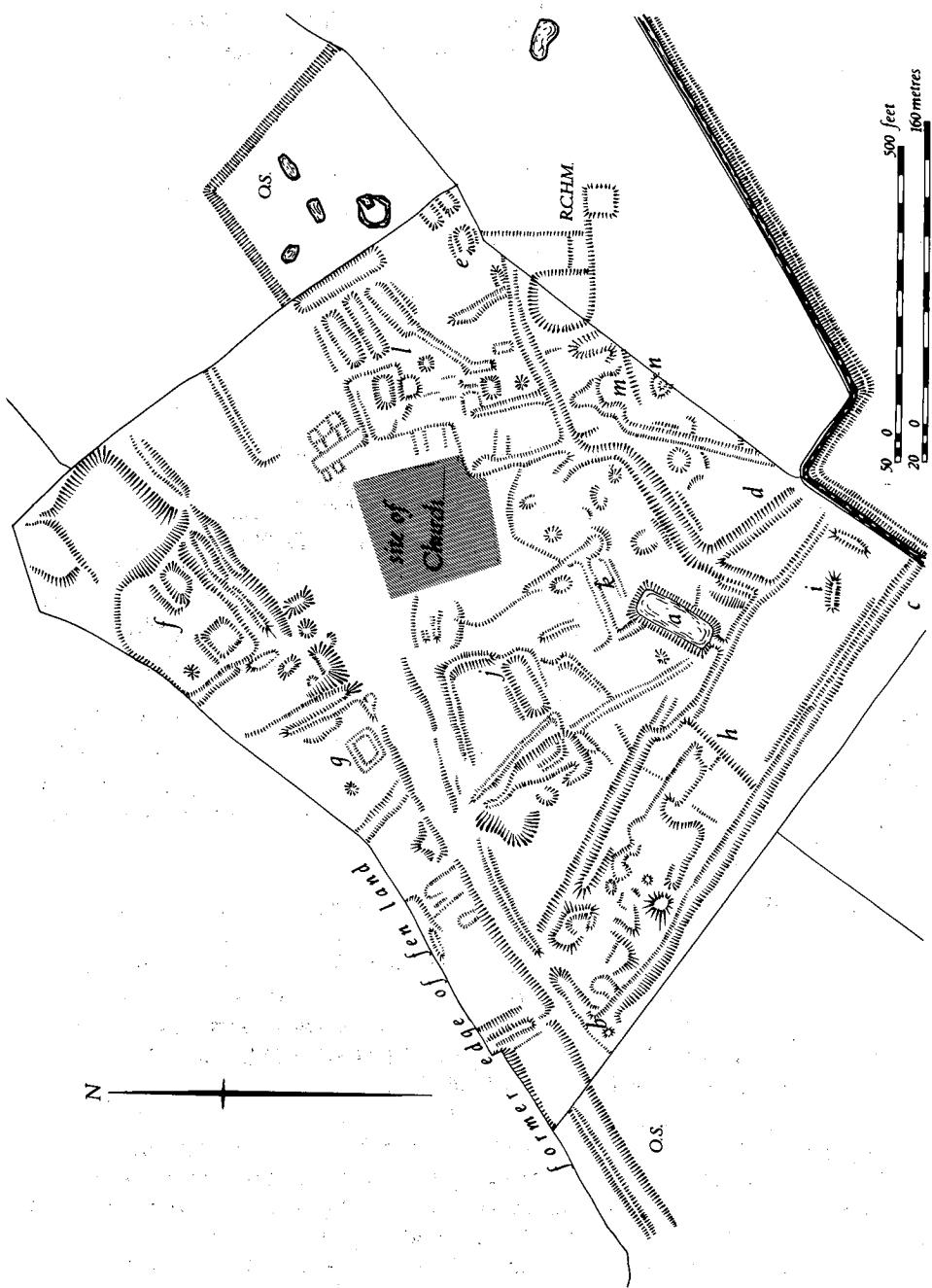


Fig. 3 Country Abbreviations

surveyed in 1887 and not altered since. Another is a large scale plan of the church and other buildings published in 1914 following the excavations a few years earlier.⁸ This plan, though of impressive appearance, appears to be based on the ideal plan of a Cistercian House rather than on the result of the excavation. The third plan was of the earthworks published at the same time as the second. The last plan was produced by the Royal Commission in 1926.⁹ This was little more than the Ordnance Survey plan with the details of the excavated buildings added. However the Commission did plan a small area of earthworks in the S.E. which have now been destroyed. All these plans are substantially correct in outline though many minor earthworks have been omitted. The general site plan published here (Fig. 3) allows a more detailed interpretation of the remains while the plan of the site of the church and cloisters (Fig. 4) gives a better indication of the structures there. Of the previous descriptions of the site, the first, accompanying the 1913 excavation plans, gave a detailed account of the earthworks, though the interpretation of them is perhaps uncritical. The Royal Commission merely listed 'enclosures, ponds, banks and quays' as visible.

The main part of the site is now under permanent pasture and the earthworks well-preserved. The only alterations since 1926 appear to have been the enlargement of a pond ('a' on Fig. 3). However outside this area, all the land which in 1926 was pasture has now been ploughed up. This has resulted in the destruction of the small ditched enclosure at the east end and a scarp and a bank at the west (both marked OS on Fig. 3) and some scarps on the S.E. side (marked RCHM on Fig. 3).

It is possible to suggest part of the original boundaries of the monastic precinct with some degree of confidence. On the north-west the boundary was presumably the edge of the fenland, though no artificial demarcation survives except for a low scarp at the south-west end. The south-east side was probably marked by the deep ditch ('b'-c' on Fig. 3) which is up to 2 m. deep in places. At its south end ('c') this ditch is cut by a modern drainage dyke, but the original boundary probably turned north-east here along the line of the dyke until the latter turns south-east. Here the precinct ditch reappears and runs north-west again before turning north-east and, after a double bend, continues north-east into the modern arable land ('d'-e'). No trace of any north-east side is visible.

The present entrance to the site is in the west corner ('b') where a modern track runs past the inturned boundary ditch above a scarp 1 m. high. This is likely to be the original entrance to the monastic precinct, though the site of the gate-house which undoubtedly stood there cannot be recognized. Along the north-west side of the track, between it and the fen edge, are a number of shallow ditches extending down the slope with, at the north-east end, a ditched enclosure ('f') with two small ponds within it and a large rectangular depression cut back nearly 2 m. deep in the rising ground but opening out on the north-west towards the fenland. The latter is termed 'Reservoir' on the OS plan, though the evidence for this attribution is unknown. This depression and the ditches are described as 'quays or docks' in the 1913 account though this is most unlikely for they are well above the level of the adjacent fen and, even allowing for the inevitable shrinkage of peat in recent times, they could never have been level with the

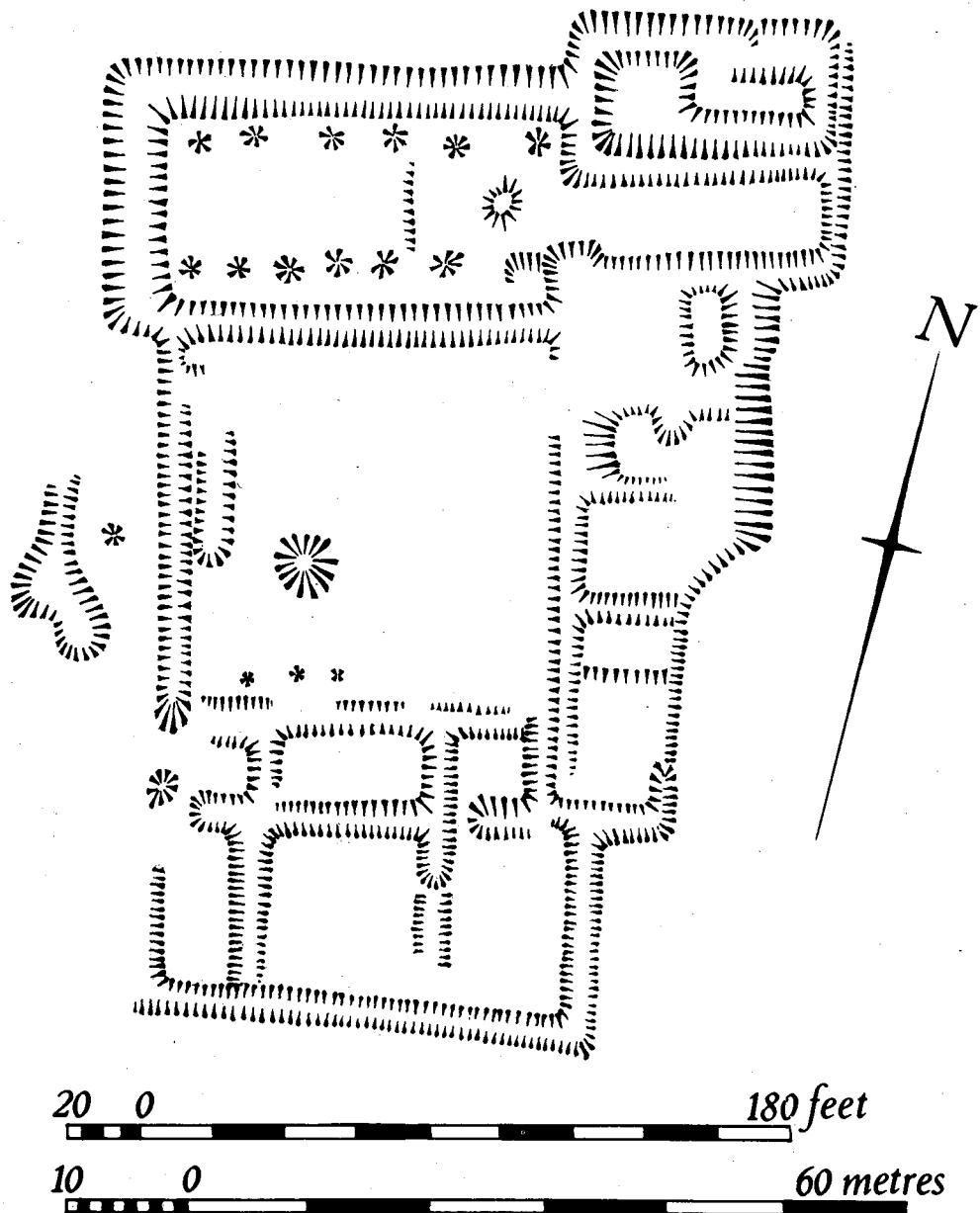


Fig. 4. Sawtry Abbey: site of church and cloister.

fen itself. Nor is there any evidence for a water course leading from them. No function can be assigned to these earthworks. The only clearly recognizable feature in this area is a small ditched enclosure ('g') termed 'Store House' by the OS. It is certainly the site of a building, the ditches being the robbed out foundation trenches. The Royal Commission's plan shows it as being divided internally into three parts by a cross-wall and by three pier bases, but these are no longer visible.

Along the south-west side of the area is a long narrow strip of land, bounded on the south-west by the precinct ditch and on the north-east by a more sinuous and shallow ditch only 0.5 m.-1 m. deep ('h'). This area is divided into two parts by a low scarp. The north-west half is covered by a complex of scarps, banks, mounds and hollows of no coherent form and certainly in part the result of quarrying. The south-east half is devoid of features except for a rectangular flat-topped mound only 0.25 m. high, probably classifiable as a pillow mound ('i') near the south-east end, with a more irregular mound to the south-east again. To the north-east of this strip ('h') is a large area of shallow ditches, low banks and hollows, including at least two ponds. One of these ('a') has been enlarged recently but the other ('j') is in its original form. No other features can be interpreted except for two parallel shallow ditches on the south side ('k'). These are the robbed-out wall footings of a building which was identified as the monastic guest-house and the excavations of 1907-13 are said to have found an aisled building 130ft. by 47ft. However the alterations to the pond to the south-west have destroyed the west end of this building site and the depression left by the two rows of piers cannot be seen clearly.

At the extreme north-east of this site the rectangular ditched enclosure shown by the OS (OS on plan) no longer exists. It is traditionally said to be the monks' garden though there is no proof of this. On the south-west side of this area ('l' on plan) is a complex series of earthworks including four rectangular ponds up to 1.5 m. deep with other slighter and smaller ponds to the south-west and a group of raised platforms and rectangular scarps to the west and north-west. The latter are mainly foundation walls and trenches of former buildings while the ponds are a good example of fishponds and breeding tanks usual at monastic sites. These are probably the 'fishery in the ditches enclosing the abbey' which are mentioned in the Hundred Rolls of 1279.

On the south-east side of the site, and outside the assumed precinct boundary ditch ('m'), is an area of earthworks which, except for a long ditch which is perhaps relatively recent, form no coherent plan. Some at least are quarry pits, and a low mound with a hole in its centre, ('n'), partly cut by the modern hedge, appears to be the remains of a post-medieval brick kiln. Within and around it are quantities of brick of 17th or early 18th century type, including many wasters, and more bricks lie in the arable land to the S.E. The whole area may be the site of a fen-edge brickworks which had no direct connection with the abbey itself.

In the centre of the site are the remains of the church, cloisters and other conventional buildings. As a result of the extensive excavations of 1907-13 what remains on the ground is little more than the trenches cut along wall footings at that time or the holes dug to ascertain the positions of piers. Thus it is not possible to be sure whether the

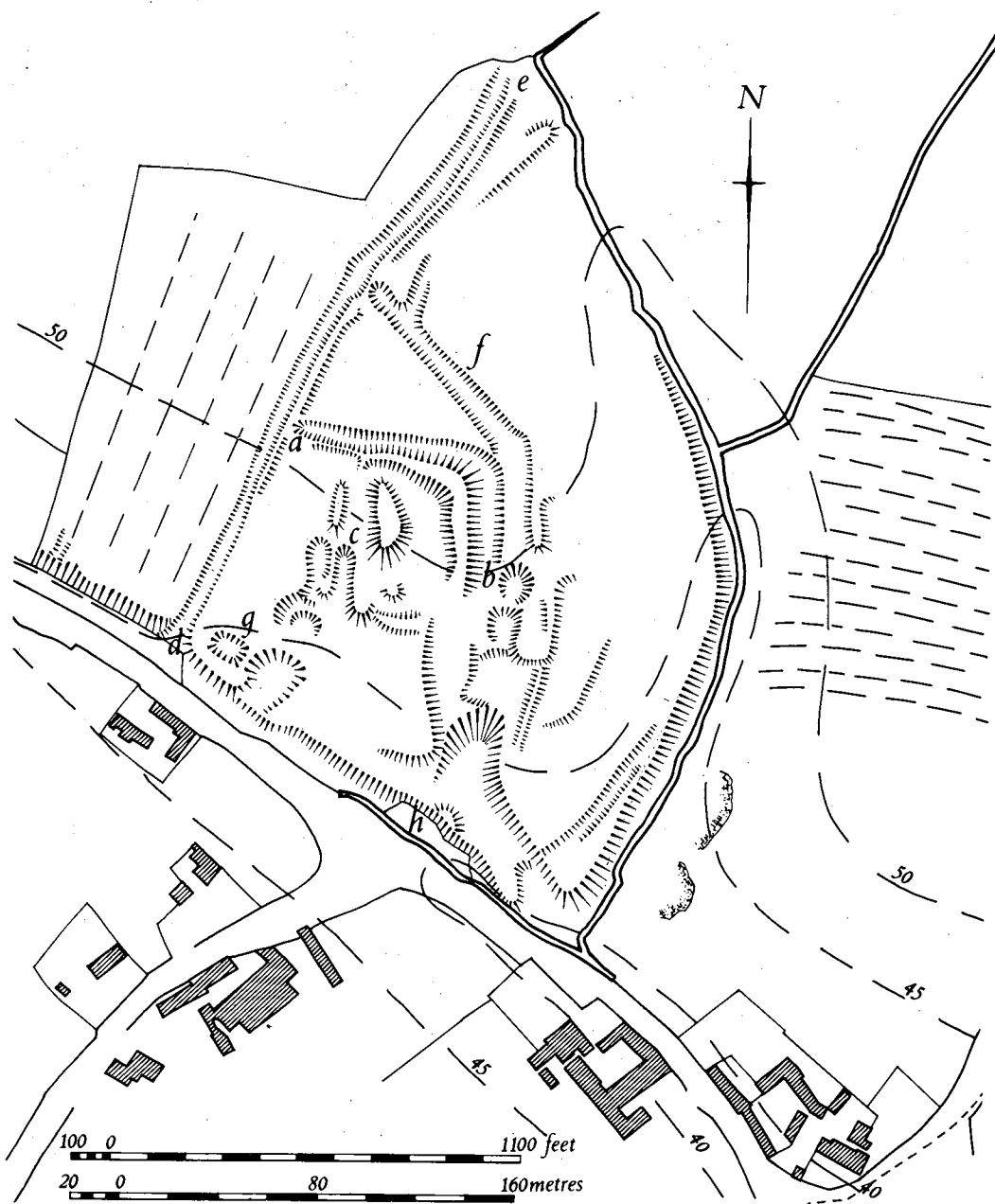


Fig. 5. Molesworth: manor house.

present survey (Fig. 4) is a plan of the church and claustral range or a plan of where the excavator hoped to find them. Certainly the overall dimensions of the surviving earthworks match the excavation plan. The excavation plan indicates that the nave of the church was of seven bays but on the ground there are seven depressions on the south and only six on the north. Nevertheless, the plan does suggest a simple aisled church with transepts, though there is no real indication of the projection east of the choir. The cloisters are clearly visible with a large depression in the south-west corner which the excavator noted, as well as three small depressions, presumably marking the places where pier bases were found. The site of the chapter house on the east side of the cloister is clearly visible, though the sacristy – between the S. transept and the chapter house – is not. To the south of the chapter house is a rectangular area subdivided into two unequal parts matching the structure shown on the excavator's plan. On that plan the north part is called 'passage to the Abbot's House' in accordance with normal Cistercian plans, but the south part is described as The Frater, though more usually the dorter would have been in this position. There is no evidence on the ground for the southern extension of this building shown on the plan and there termed 'extension of the Frater'. On the south side of the cloister the excavators claim to have found three structures. The warming house at the east end, the refectory in the centre and the kitchen at the west. Three rectangular areas bounded by trenches can be identified on the ground but these are different in shape and size from those on the excavator's plan. Assuming the latter is correct the existing trenches must represent attempts to follow assumed walls which did not in fact exist. No trace remains on the ground of the elaborate west range which the excavator discovered, except for the east wall. Disturbed ground with no recognisable features indicates its site.

MANOR HOUSE SITE, MOLESWORTH (TL 072761; Fig. 5), lies at the north end of Molesworth village, on the summit and sides of a S.E. projecting spur, on clay at between 40 m. and 52 m. above OD. Nothing is known of the history of the site beyond the fact that the field in which it lies was called Hall Yard Close on the Enclosure Map of 1799.¹⁰

The remains are not easy to interpret as at least part of them have been ploughed over and the earthworks much reduced and spread. The main feature is an L-shaped ditch ('a'-‘b' on plan) only 0.5 m.-1 m. deep which is perhaps the north and east boundary of the manor house itself. On the east there is a low inner bank, much spread, and to the south there are low banks and scarps on the presumed house site ('c').

To the west of the site, a shallow ditch or hollow-way runs up the hillside from the modern road, crosses the spur and extends into the adjacent valley before fading out ('d'-‘e'). Beyond it to the west are faint traces of ridge-and-furrow. Another ditch or hollow-way ('f') only 0.25 m. deep, runs from the north east corner of the assumed house site, north-west towards the first ditch or hollow-way. On the south-west of the site are numerous low scarps and banks which form no coherent pattern, partly because of spring-line sapping which occurs in this area. There is one small rectangular

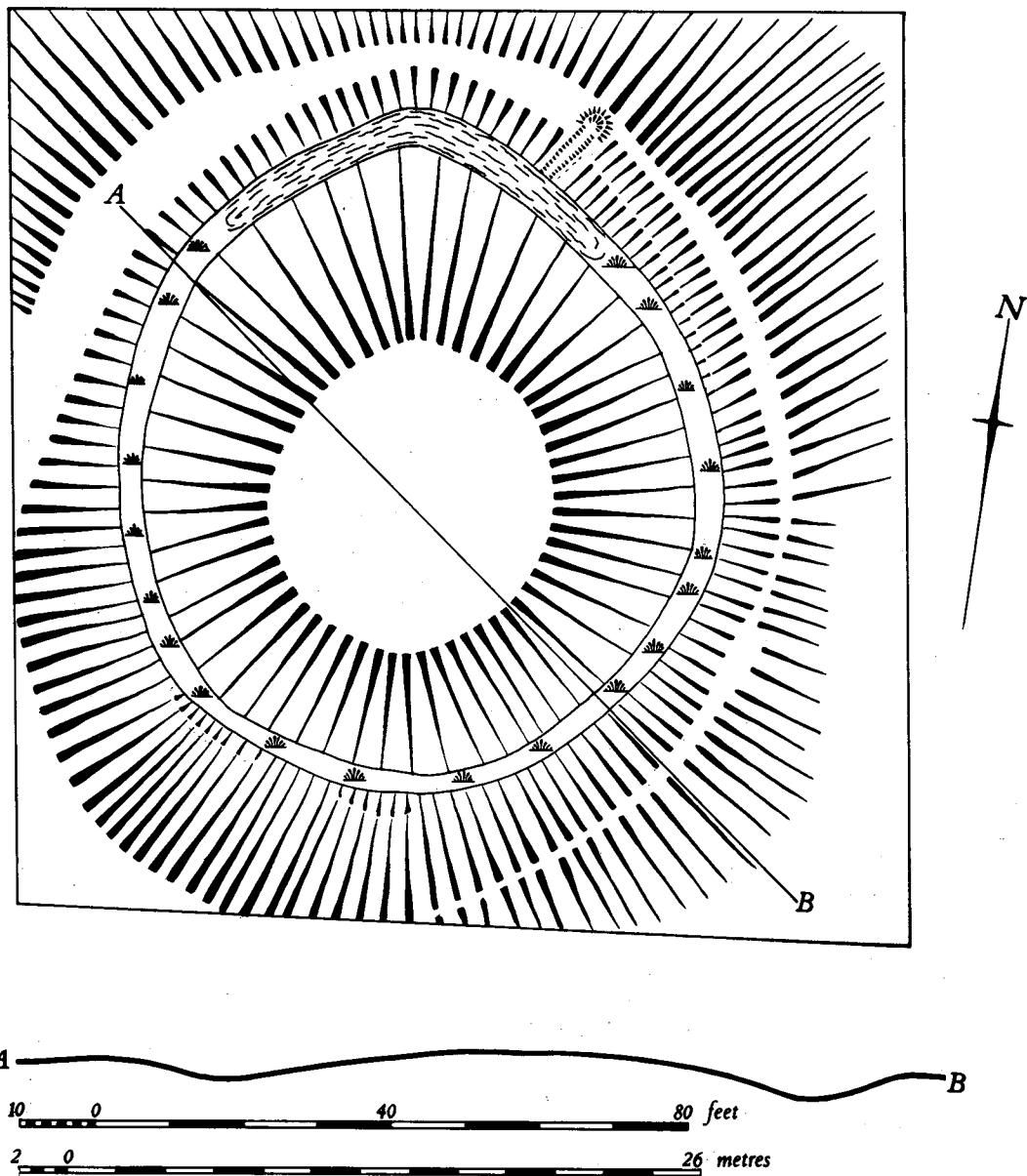


Fig. 6. Kimbolton: castle mound.

pond ('g') 1.5 m. deep in the corner of the site. The small hedged paddock on the south side ('h') is where a building, probably a house, is depicted on the Enclosure Map.

MOUND, KIMBOLTON (TL 094673; Fig. 6), possibly a motte, lies in the park of Kimbolton Castle, south-west of Kimbolton village, on clay at 45 m. above OD. It stands in a small area of woodland, with all the surrounding land under arable and consists of a slightly oval mound 23 m. in diam., 1.7 m. high with a flat top 11 m. across and surrounded by a ditch 1.5 m. deep. Beyond the ditch is a slight outer bank, much spread. It is traditionally known as Castle Hill¹¹ and it is given that name on a map of Kimbolton Park of 1673.¹⁰ There the mound is shown as a circular feature. The woodland to the west is shown with numerous intersecting rides through it; the main ride is aligned on the mound. A later map of 1763¹⁰ shows the mound in more detail, but does not name it. The site is carefully drawn as a raised circular area surrounded by a water-filled ditch on all but the west side. At this point the ditch is shown as blocked and a ramp extends from the edge of the mound to the west. This ramp is aligned exactly on the main ride through the adjacent woodland. No trace of the ramp survives on the ground, but the cartographic evidence cannot be ignored. It would appear that the mound is a small motte that was altered and incorporated into the landscaped park in the late 17th or mid 18th century to form the terminal point of a view along a woodland ride. Subsequently it must have been restored to its original form, perhaps in the 19th century. Additional proof that it was a motte is given by Leland who described the site as 'a plott now clene desolatid ... caallid "Castle Hylle", where appere ditches and tokens of old buildings'.¹²

NOTES

1. *PCAS.*, 68 (1978), 67-9.
2. *VCH Hunts.*, I (1926), 351.
3. RCHM *Hunts.*, (1926), Sawtry Judith (4), (5), (6) and (7).
4. PRO, E179/122/4.
5. PRO, E179/122/190.
6. PRO, E179/249/2.
7. *VCH Hunts.*, III (1936), 208-9.
8. *Trans. Cambs. and Hunts. Arch. Soc.*, III (1914), 307-74.
9. RCHM *Hunts.*, (1926), Sawtry Judith (1).
10. Huntingdonshire Record Office.
11. RCHM *Hunts.*, (1926), Kimbolton (3).
12. *VCH Hunts.*, I (1926), 287.

A REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS IN THE COUNTY OF CAMBRIDGE, 1574-1700

Elizabeth Key

Introduction

This register of schools and school-masters is restricted in scope to the period 1574 to 1700 and in area to the [old] county of Cambridge. I have excluded the town and the Isle of Ely.

By far the most important manuscript source of information is the Ely Diocesan Records. From 1577 onwards they contain consistent references to schools and schoolmasters until the Civil War period. In the records for the period from 1638 to 1662, now kept at Lambeth, I have been able to trace only a single reference to a Cambridgeshire school.¹ From 1662 to the end of the century, however, a variety of sources enables some check to be made on the reliability of the episcopal records. Until Bishop Matthew Wren's visitation of 1638, there had been noticeable laxity as regards visitations and very little importance can be given to the fact that a school or schoolmaster does *not* appear. One should consider, therefore, that the episcopal records form a minimal account of village education and there may well have been educational facilities at times or in places not mentioned in the diocesan records.

Fortunately other sources supplement the Ely records: the few admissions registers² to Cambridge colleges which have been printed give details, during parts of this period, of the schools their entrants had attended. In describing the Cambridgeshire churches, William Cole, the antiquary, often includes the tables of benefactors and other records of charitable bequests relating to education.³ Further information on charitable bequests can be found in the various Parliamentary reports on education and charities that were published in the early nineteenth century.⁴

The earliest episcopal references to schoolmasters⁵ are found in the registers of licences⁶ which cover the period 1574 to 1618. These registers contain a series of official acts including exemptions from certain requirements of the canon law, grants of administration and licences to individuals to teach schools, act as surgeons or midwives, absent themselves from their benefices, etc. Licensing of schoolmasters by the Bishop had been common throughout the Middle Ages but was used more intensively after it had been enjoined in an Act of 1581. Many of those licensed combined the office of curate or vicar with that of schoolmaster.⁷ This tendency was given renewed force under the Canons of 1604 by which the curate was given first refusal of the post.⁸ The degree, if any, of the master is almost invariably recorded after his name in the registers which were, in this, unlike the visitation records which seldom

mention any qualifications. The registers, therefore, provide valuable information on the standard of teaching that could be expected.

But the most important feature of the registers is that, up to 1604, they give details of *what* the master was licensed to teach. The variety of wording suggests that the clerk was not merely following his formulary book but actually writing about the person whose licence he was recording. The variant forms can be divided into two main categories: those indicating (Latin) grammar teaching and those indicating English reading and writing. Examples of the former are 'to instruct boys in grammar', 'to teach the rudiments of grammar' and 'to teach grammar and the rudiments of the Christian faith'. (This latter was not, as might be assumed, limited solely to those acting as clerics as well as schoolmasters.) These forms are almost invariably written in Latin whereas the licences to 'teach young children to read English to write and cast accompt' are given both in English and Latin. At first sight, it seems that these two basic categories correspond identically with the 'grammar' and 'petty' schools which Professor Stone suggests.⁹ There is, however, a startling lack of consistency in the types of licences issued to a single school, or at least to masters in the same village. From the following register¹⁰ it will be seen that a number of schools have licences for a variety of curricula throughout the period. This factor supports the theory that individual schoolmasters had more influence than the tradition of the school. It may mean, however, merely that the clerk at diocesan headquarters is not to be trusted.

In Histon, for example, John Ivat was licensed to 'teache yonge children' in 1580, two years later William Wyckes had a licence to 'instruct boys in their native tongue'. Yet in 1587 Roger Clegg's licence was 'to teach grammar'. Further confusion is created by the same master taking different licences: in September 1579 Edward Brumhead was licensed to teach grammar (no place specified) yet in November he was licensed to teach young children in Linton. This may be a case of the school influencing the (presumably newly-appointed) master: Linton is one of the few schools where masters were licensed specifically to teach English after 1604 and therefore was probably a genuine petty rather than a grammar school.

Few schools, however, have an unambiguous claim to be considered grammar schools. Vincent used college entrants as his major criterion¹¹ but this alone is insufficient evidence.¹² The most convincing evidence of a grammar school's existence is a succession of masters, preferably graduates, all of whom are licensed to teach grammar over a period of years, combined with at least one college entrant. Out of all the Cambridgeshire villages only Bassingbourn and Cheveley fulfil these requirements, despite the fact that, in all, eleven villages sent boys directly or indirectly to college before 1605.¹³ The other nine villages sending boys up to college have either masters licensed to teach English or no masters at all in the Ely Records. Of course, some of these boys may have had private tutors: occasionally in the registers a master is licensed to teach in a private house:¹⁴ for example, Robert Christian of Wimpole was licensed in 1584 to teach in the house of Thomas Chicheley though he, unlike most, could also teach 'elsewhere in the village'.

Unfortunately the overlap between the period when the wording of the registers is

informative and when the college registers start is too short to draw many firm conclusions about the status of the schools. Between 1574 and 1604, of the 23 college entrants from Cambridgeshire villages, one was educated at home,¹⁴ six started their education in the village school (or possibly with a private tutor) but finished it elsewhere, usually at Ely or Saffron Walden, and nine were educated solely away from their home villages.

The unreliability of the Ely Records is shown by the fact that several villages which sent boys to college have no mention of a school in the appropriate period. In a number of cases college entrants provide the only indication that there might have been a school in existence: for example at Shepreth masters are mentioned in 1599 and 1604 but by 1638 the answer to Wren's Inquisition¹⁵ is 'we have no schoolmaster nor nothing is given to the use of a school'. However, by 1671 the son of a dissenting clerk of Abington was sent up to college after being at school under Mr Bankes, the vicar of Shepreth. Even more surprisingly, the only evidence of any school at Hauxton is a college entrant from the village in 1589.

Although they provide less detailed information than the registers of licences, the visitation records of the Ely Diocese¹⁶ cover most of the period under discussion. The only break occurs during the Civil War and Commonwealth period, due partly to the fact that Matthew Wren, the bishop of Ely, was imprisoned in the Tower of London. From the Restoration to the end of the century far less attention seems to have been paid to masters at the visitations, and, apart from scattered references, most information is taken from a 'list of county schoolmasters exhibiting in 1665'.¹⁷

The visitation records¹⁸ can be divided into a number of different types, the most important being the *libri cleri*: lists of people called to the visitation, principally the incumbents, the curates, schoolmasters and churchwardens; the *comperta*: lists of things discovered at the visitation; and the *corrigenda*: records of corrections made as a result of the Consistory Court rulings where cases proceeding from the *comperta* were tried. In compiling the register of schools I have used principally the first of these, and have only referred to the *comperta*, *corrigenda* and proceedings where they have been printed.¹⁹ In the diocese of Norwich it has been found that the schoolmasters tended to be presented for not having a licence only along with some other offence: not being licensed was apparently an insufficiently severe offence to come before the Bishop's Court on its own account.²⁰

From the *libri cleri* can be found the name of the master (if any is entered: more usually there is an entry of 'none' or more often still no entry at all) beside the word 'schoolmaster'. These *libri cleri* were made up by the clerk at Ely in preparation for a visitation on the basis of the previous book. Additions, confirmations, deletions and corrections were thus made *en route* round the diocese. This explains why, at some visitations, the name of a schoolmaster is crossed out; he had been present at the last visitation, usually three years earlier, but by the time of the next one had disappeared.²¹ In this way a terminal date for his activities in the village can be fixed. Occasionally one name is replaced by another, often rendering both illegible. From these books it is possible to see which schoolmasters held another office, usually that

of curate in the same parish. A note is also made of the licence fee due and whether or not the master was licensed. If he failed to present himself at the visitation (usually because of being unlicensed) then this information is added. His degree is sometimes noted too.

The Ely Subscription Books²² cover only the period after 1662,²³ although subscription by schoolmasters was compulsory by law from 1581. They provide the names of the masters, but only one gives any additional information about the curricula. By the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the clergy were compelled to subscribe to the Declaration against taking arms against the King and against the compulsory character of the Solemn League and Covenant, as well as to the Thirty-Nine Articles. But this was by no means strictly enforced among schoolmasters, though the general paucity of information in the Ely records for the late seventeenth century makes this difficult to estimate.

Of the fourteen villages with definite records of endowments before 1700, three²⁴ appear in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as having schoolmasters, but during the Civil War and Commonwealth periods they died away until re-established by an endowment towards the end of the seventeenth century. In the case of another five²⁵ villages there seems to have been some provision for teaching before the endowment, which then ensured its continuance. In both these categories there is a tendency for early grammar schools to be refounded as charity schools teaching the children of the poor, thus foreshadowing the early eighteenth century movement, which affected Cambridgeshire as much as elsewhere.²⁶ The remaining six schools²⁷ do not appear in the episcopal records often enough for the effect of endowment, if any, to be determined. 'Endowment' has, perhaps, the wrong connotation nowadays, as it suggests the establishing of a school, whereas in actual fact what usually seems to have happened is that a small sum of money or land was left in the charge of the incumbent, the revenue from which was to be used to pay a schoolmaster for the education of a number of poor children. The utilitarian approach of the benefactors is aptly illustrated by the will of one of them, William Austin of Trumpington, whose bequest in 1679 was noted by Cole in the church at Trumpington.²⁸ He gave, for ever, 'fourteen acres of Arable land ... to put four of the poorest children to school ... until they can read a chapter in the Holy Bible perfectly and then a Bible to be given to them and they dismiss and others of the said Town to succeed as aforesaid'. A similar bequest was made by Grace Clarke of Waterbeach in 1687.²⁹ The history of Dr Cage's endowment at Borough Green,³⁰ which shows how a bequest was administered by the parish to pay a schooldame, often a widow, to teach poor children, endorses the idea of purely practical donations aimed at combating basic illiteracy rather than education in the true sense of the word.

From all the villages with a graduate or a clerical master or both, nearly half³¹ had at least one graduate master³² during the period covered by the register and there were another nine villages whose non-graduate clerics acted as schoolmaster on occasion. This presumably implies that they were able to provide a competent standard of teaching, when it is taken into account that at this time two-thirds of the beneficed

clergy were graduates.³³

Out of these forty-three schools, nineteen had more than one teacher who was a graduate, or a cleric, or both. Because of the lack of college registers which provide adequate detail, this is a minimal rather than an exhaustive list and other men educated at university level may well have been teaching in these and other villages where there were schools during the period. There is little correlation between those schools with graduate or clerical masters and those which sent boys directly up to university or have otherwise been identified as probably providing a grammar education. The fact that several university entrants are known to have been prepared exclusively at home by private tutors makes it erroneous to assume, as Vincent did,³⁴ that any village from which a boy went up to university must have had a grammar school.

A large proportion of the graduate masters in this register are known to have become clerics eventually.³⁵ Of the 83 who embarked on a clerical career, 23 held the post of schoolmaster concurrently with that of curate while a further eight graduates were vicars at the same time as being licensed to teach. Of course the latter group tend to be men firmly established in their careers, who taught more as a sideline or perhaps as an additional source of income, whereas for the curates teaching provided the money essential to augment their stipends. Incumbents such as Mr Aaron Browne of Steeple Morden who taught for 11 years, Mr John Jackson who taught at Gamlingay for 12 years and Mr Geoffrey Thorowgood, schoolmaster and vicar of Eltisley for 13 years, represent almost the total educational opportunities for their respective villages during this period. In such cases it seems that there was no school as such, merely an enterprising incumbent.

For most graduates, however, the post of schoolmaster was merely a stepping stone to higher things. Only a fifth³⁶ cannot be traced as subsequently following a clerical career. Within four years of starting to teach, the large majority³⁷ were either beneficed or ordained: all except nine of them outside the county. Consequently their period as schoolmaster in any given place must have been relatively brief and this rapid turnover would have had a detrimental effect on the standard of teaching. Surprisingly, only three teachers have been traced as moving on to another school in the county: Thomas Marryt was schoolmaster at Dullingham in 1579 but had moved to Grantchester by 1582. He subsequently acted as cleric and schoolmaster in Daventry, Northamptonshire, where he died in 1616. Robert Barber, master of Linton in 1615, was licensed to teach in the diocese of Norwich in November, 1584, immediately after gaining his B.A. from Christ's College. Francis Edwards, who matriculated at Queens' College in 1583, was licensed to teach grammar in Bottisham the same year. He subsequently moved to Cambridge where among his pupils was his nephew, Raphael Edwards, whom he sent up to Caius College in 1604.

The ages of twelve graduate, and later clerical, schoolmasters are known:³⁸ the average is 26.6 years, which fits in with the picture of a recent graduate teaching before embarking on a clerical career.³⁹ The increasing numbers of graduates, first in the 1580's and then, after a lull, from about 1604 onwards, suggests that without influence,

it became increasingly difficult to gain a benefice immediately after ordination. In any case many graduates were younger than the canonical age of 23. Consequently teaching was looked upon as a suitable interim measure.⁴⁰

It seems probable, therefore, that the typical progression was to teach for a short time after graduating and before ordination, and then to hope for clerical employment as soon as possible.⁴¹ The career of Francis Hancocke is a well documented example of this. He was born and educated in Fulbourn, the son of a husbandman, and then went to school in Saffron Walden for four years before entering Caius College as a pensioner in 1577. After obtaining his B.A. he was licensed to teach 'the Christian faith and the rudiments of grammar in Fulbourn at the age of 25. But when he got his M.A. only a year later he became vicar of Mattishall in Norfolk where he stayed until 1603. He then moved to Reymerstone in the same county where he died that year. Andrew Marvell, the father of the Puritan poet, followed a similar path. He was born in Meldreth and gained his B.A. at Emmanuel College in March 1604. Three years later, at the age of 21, he was licensed as schoolmaster in Melbourn but cannot have stayed there long, as in 1609 he was ordained priest in York and went on to become minister at Flamborough. Then, in 1614, he moved to the vicarage of Winestead where his son was born. Later he became master of the Charterhouse, Hull, and a lecturer at Holy Trinity. He was drowned in 1641 while crossing the Humber.⁴²

The distribution of the village schools⁴³ in this register for the period 1574 to about 1635 makes it clear that there was fairly consistent educational provision for the children of Cambridgeshire. Schools were established in the larger villages, along the fen edges to the north-east and north-west of Cambridge, in or near the Cam valley and in the upper Rhee valley. The twenty-two villages with no schoolmaster at all were generally little more than hamlets. Only along the line of villages from Balsham to Borough Green and from west of Cambridge towards Bourn would a child be isolated from any schooling. Those villages with consistent educational facilities were generally the more prosperous and presumably, therefore, those where a family could best afford to dispense with their children's labour. During the remainder of the seventeenth century the general lack of information makes it difficult to assess the educational opportunities available. The increased numbers of endowments point to a growing awareness of the need for basic education, a factor which culminated in the growth of the charity schools in the early decades of the next century.

In addition to the village schools, though outside the scope of this register, are the Cambridge town schools, notably the Perse, founded in 1615 by Dr Stephen Perse. These schools undoubtedly drew children who might otherwise have attended their local schools⁴⁴ and a number of Cambridgeshire boys were educated solely in Cambridge before going up to college. They came from villages as far away as Castle Camps, Hatley and Chippenham. This was of course in addition to the boys going to schools outside the county before entering one of the colleges, especially Saffron Walden, Bury St Edmunds and Ely.

The total evidence between 1575 and 1700 shows that at almost any time a child had a reasonable chance of being within walking distance of a school. The geographical

distribution of these schools, combined with the high qualifications of many of the masters, indicates that the opportunities for basic education were there, if only the child could take advantage of them.

NOTES

1. Bassingbourne - Lambeth Palace COMM. A. IX.
2. *Admissions to Gonville and Caius I and II*. ed. J. Venn and S. C. Venn, 1887. *Admissions to the College of St John ...* ed. J. E. B. Mayor, 1893. *The Admissions to Peterhouse*. ed. T. A. Walker, 1912. *Biographical Register of Christ's College*. I ed. J. Peile, 1910.
3. British Museum ADD.MSS. 5802-4, 5809-10 and 5820.
4. Charitable Donations: I. Abstract of Returns 1786-8 (1) Printed in 1816.
- Education: Digest of Parochial Returns, I.1819.
- Digest of Schools and Charities for Education 1843.
5. Throughout the diocesan records the bishop was concerned with the schoolmaster not the school. One must not, therefore, infer the existence of a school from the appearance of a master who may have taught only a few pupils privately, even if he did bring them to university entrance standard.
6. Ely Diocesan Records G2/18-21.
7. See below p. 131.
8. 'in what parish or chapel there is a curate which is a master of arts or bachelor of arts, or otherwise well able to teach youth and will willingly do so, for the better increase of his living, and training up of children in principles of true religion: we will and ordain that a licence to teach the youth of the parish where he serveth be granted to none by the ordinary of the place but only to said curate'. The effect of this can be seen in the fact that of the 35 men who held the posts of curate and schoolmaster concurrently, 26 are recorded as doing so in or after 1604.
9. Prof. Lawrence Stone 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640' *Past and Present*, 28, (1964), pp. 42-44.
10. See below pp. 136-189.
11. W. A. L. Vincent *The State and School Education 1640-1660* (1950) p. 120.
12. See below p. 129.
13. These entries are not included in the register of schools.
14. Despite the fact that this was at Dullingham where there was a well established school.
15. Ed. W. M. Palmer and H. W. Saunders *Documents relating to Cambridgeshire Villages* no. III Part I (1926) p. 51.
16. Ely Diocesan Records B2/various.
17. E.D.R. B2/58 f.29v.
18. See D. M. Owen 'Short Guides to Records No. 8: Episcopal Visitation Books', *History*, no. 166, June 1965, and W. P. M. Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration*, Alcuin Club Collections vol. 25, 1924, pp. cxl-cxliii. I should like to thank Mrs Owen for her valuable comments on this article while in typescript.
19. W. M. Palmer, *Episcopal Visitation Returns for Cambridgeshire*, 1930. Palmer and Saunders, *op. cit.* no. IV, part II, 1926. H. Bradshaw, 'Notes on the Episcopal Visitation ... 1685, P.C.A.S. III, 1875. C. A. Parsons, 'Notes on Horsheath and other village schools' *P.C.A.S.*, N.S. 16, 1920.
20. I am indebted to Dr David Cressy of Clare College for this information and for all the manuscript references to the deanery of Fordham in this register.
21. These crossed out entries are shown in the tables in italics.
22. Ely Diocesan Records A5/1-5 and Bodleian Rawlinson D.340.
23. Unlike those of Norwich and Leicester. See E. H. Carter *The Norwich Subscription Books*, 1937, and Brian Simon, ed., *Education in Leicestershire 1540-1940*, 1968, part 1, c.l. 'Town Estates and Schools' Joan Simon.
24. Elsworth 1581-1635, endowed 1698, Melbourn 1581-1619, endowed 1691 and Waterbeach 1579-1628, endowed 1687 and 1688.
25. Balsham, Dullingham, Duxford, Haslingfield, and Willingham. For the history of Willingham school see Dr Margaret Spufford 'The Schooling of the Peasantry 1575-1700', *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 18, 1970.

26. See *V.C.H. Cambridgeshire*, II, 1948, pp. 339-345.
27. Borough Green, Little Gransden, Harlton, Milton, Soham and Trumpington.
28. B.M. ADD.MSS. 5809 f.59.
29. B.M. ADD.MSS. 5809 f.40.
30. W. M. Palmer *The History ... of Borough Green*, 1939.
31. 44 out of 98.
32. Degrees and colleges are often specified after the name of the master in the Ely records, but where this is not the case graduate status has been inferred through tracing the master's name in J. and J. A. Venn *Alumni Cantabrigienses* part I, to 1751, 1922-27.
33. R. G. Usher *The Reconstruction of the English Church*, 1910, i, p. 242.
34. Vincent, *op. cit.* p. 120.
35. 83 out of 108.
36. 22 out of 108.
37. 42 out of 52.
38. Excluding Adiell Baynard, aged 59, who had previously been a cleric in Essex and Wiltshire before moving to Cambridgeshire.
39. See *op. cit.* ed. Brian Simon, p. 20.
40. Lawrence Stone, *op. cit.* p.50 ff.
41. A fairly large proportion of men in orders were never more than curates, a feature which persisted until almost the end of the nineteenth century.
42. See L. N. Wall 'Andrew Marvell of Meldreth', *Notes and Queries*, September 1958, pp. 399-400. Andrew Marvell, the schoolmaster's father and grandfather of the poet, refused to pay the £2 assessment for Charles I's forced loan of 1626-7 and decamped to Hull to join his son, dying a year later.
43. I am indebted to Dr Margaret Spufford of Lucy Cavendish College for this information which is drawn from her article 'The Schooling of the Peasantry 1575-1700' in *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 18, 1970, and also for her valuable help and constant encouragement in the preparation of this register.
44. By his bequest Dr Perse limited the free education at the Perse to one hundred boys from Cambridge, Barnwell, Chesterton and Trumpington 'and no more nor any other'. J. M. Grey *History of the Perse School*, 1921.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unless otherwise stated all manuscript references are to the Ely Diocesan Records in the Cambridge University Library. Other manuscript references are as follows:

1. Bodleian Library, Rawlinson collection (Bod. Rawl.)
2. Norwich Diocesan Records (Norwich D.R.)
3. The William Cole Collections, British Museum Additional Manuscripts (B.M.ADD.MSS)
4. Lambeth Palace (Lam. Pal.)
5. Public Record Office (P.R.O.)
6. Cambridge Record Office (C.R.O.)

References to printed sources are abbreviated as follows:

1. Victoria County History for Cambridgeshire (V.C.H. Cambs)
2. Ed. W. M. Palmer and H. W. Saunders *Documents relating to Cambridgeshire Villages* no. III part I (1926) (Palmer Docs)
3. W. M. Palmer *Episcopal Visitation Returns for Cambridgeshire* (1930) (Palmer Epis. Vis.)

Entries followed by 'college entrant' refer to the printed college registers detailed in note 2.

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

1600

1601-1610

1611-1620

ARRINGTON

1614: Robert
Dunwell, M.A.,
lic. to instruct boys
and be curate
(G 2/21).¹
*1619: Robert
Dunwell curate and
schoolmaster*²
(B 2/32).

BABRAHAM

1606: John Carle,
B.A., 'to teach and
instruct boys'
(G 2/20).
1607: John Carle,
B.A.,
(B 2/23).
1613 (May): William
Sampson 'curate and
schoolmaster'
(B 2/31).
1613: William
Sampson
(B 2/30).

BALSHAM

*1599: Mr John
Blanke, curate and
schoolmaster*
(B 2/17)
1610: Mr Edmund
Barton, curate and
schoolmaster, lic. to
teach, paid 4d.
(B 2/30, 30a and 31).

BARRINGTON

1579: Robert Frye
lic. 'to teach young
children ... grammar
and to wryghte'
(G 2/18).
1582: William Batte
lic. 'to teach
grammar'
(G 2/18).
1587: Isaac Horne
lic. 'to teach
grammar'
(G 2/19).
1599: John Bowlin
lic. 'to teach
grammar'
(G 2/19).
1599: Mr Bowlin
lic. schoolmaster
(B 2/17).
1604: William
Barnard, B.A.,
lic. curate and
schoolmaster
(G 2/20).
1604: and 1607
William Barnard,
curate and
schoolmaster
(B 2/23).
1609: George Wright,
B.A., lic. 'to instruct
and teach boys'
(G 2/20).
1610: George Wright
schoolmaster
(B 2/30).
*1610: George Wright
schoolmaster*
(B 2/30a).

BARTLOW

¹ Catalogue numbers in brackets refer to Ely Diocesan Records.

² Names in italics are crossed out in the original (see Introduction, p. 129).

1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

1628: John Wickes,
schoolmaster, absent
(B 2/40a).

1635: Mr John Wickes
schoolmaster
(B 2/47a).

1669: D. Appleyard 1685: 'One good
left by will money Scool-Dame at
'for teaching three church. Another a
poor children' Fanatick never
(P.P. 1843). comes'
(Bradshaw p. 334).

1635: Mr John Wilke
schoolmaster
(B 2/47a).

1665: Dr Adiell
Baynard, unlicensed
master
(B 2/58).
1678: Ediell
Humphrey lic. 'to
teache schoole and to
teache to write'
(Bod. Rawl. D.340).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
BASSINGBOURNE	1574: Leonard Wright at school at B, preparatory to Walkern, Herts., college entrant. 1581: John Richard, B.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/18).	1604, 1607, 1610: Mr Stephan Wilson lic. schoolmaster (B 2/23, 30a and 31). 1610: Daniel Piggote, B.A., lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).	1615: Mr Robert Gunill curate and schoolmaster (B 2/33). 1616: Mr Stephan Wilson curate and schoolmaster (B 2/30). <i>1619: Henry Ward schoolmaster</i> (B 2/37).
BOROUGH GREEN	1538: John Loveday left 8d 'to those who be learnyd or who go to school' (Palmer. Hist. of BG p. 98)		1619-1630: Central portion of the school-house assigned to these dates. Palmer. Hist. of BG p. 105)

1621-1660	1661-1680	1681-1700
1628: Mr John Lawson unlicensed schoolmaster (B 2/40a).	1662 and 1676: William Dodworth schoolmaster (A 5/3a and B 2/64). (Bradshaw p. 338).	1685: Mr Tingay unlicensed school- master; 'noe free school'
1634: William Curtis born at Litlington, at school at B. preparatory to the Perse; college entrant.	(A 5/3).	1692: Henry Abbey 'licensed to teach a school'
1635: Mr Henry Ward schoolmaster (B 2/47a).		
1639: Mr Henry Ward lic. schoolmaster (B 2/52).		
1657: Yearly augmentation of £9 approved (Lam. Pal. COMM.A.IX).		
1630: Antony Cage, D.D., clerk and rector of BG, left by will money 'for apprenticing some poor child one half and the other for teaching poor children' (P.P. 1788).	1666: Church- wardens' Accounts: 28s 3d paid to Widow Mingay school-dame. (Hist. of BG p. 118).	
1630: Church- wardens' Accounts 'to the Widdowe Daye the School Dame for teaching the poor children for 2 years ... £9' (Hist. of BG p. 116).	1673: Church- wardens' Accounts: Widow Mingay replaced by Goody Wood 'to teach the school' (Hist. of BG p. 118)	
	1674: Church- wardens' Accounts: £3 paid to Goody Wood. (Hist. of BG p. 118).	
	1675: Mrs Wood died.	
	1680, Jan.: Church- wardens' Accounts: 30s paid to Richard Clark's wife, the schooldame. (Hist. of BG p. 119).	
	1680, Sept.: Church- wardens' Accounts: £1.8s.6d. paid to Sarah Smith 'for teaching the school' (Hist. of BG p. 119).	

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
BOTTISHAM	<p>1581: Christopher Levyte lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1583: Francis Edward lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).</p> <p>1585: John Chattris lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).</p> <p>1587: Thomas Ramstall lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).</p> <p>1590: Mr Grame schoolmaster (B 2/11).</p> <p>1596: William Hurste lic. 'to teach boys or youths to wrighte, reade and caste an accompte' (B 2/11).</p>	<p>1608: William Hurste lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).</p> <p>1610: <i>William Hurste</i> (B 2/30 and 30a).</p>	<p>1612: William Fenn lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/21).</p> <p>1613: William Fenn schoolmaster (B 2/30 and 31).</p> <p>1618: William Fenn lic. schoolmaster (B 2/32).</p>
BOURNE	<p>1584: Robert D'yssher schoolmaster (G 2/19).</p> <p>1590: 'no master but there wilbe one verie shortly' (B 2/11).</p>	<p>1604: John Morley lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).</p> <p>1607: <i>John Morley</i> schoolmaster (B 2/23).</p> <p>1608: Richard Disher lic. schoolmaster (B 2/30a and 31).</p>	<p>1612: Thomas Larye lic. schoolmaster (G 2/21).</p> <p>1613: Thomas Larye lic. schoolmaster (B 2/30 and 31).</p> <p>1616: Richard Disher unlicensed schoolmaster (B 2/30).</p> <p>1618: Mr Thomas Larye and Mr Richard Disher lic. schoolmasters (B 2/32).</p> <p>1619: <i>Richard Disher and Thomas Larye</i> (B 2/32).</p>

1621-1660

1635: Mr Gee curate
and schoolmaster
(B 2/47a).
1639: John Salisbury
left £10 by will 'for
teaching three poor
children'
(P.P. 1788).

1661-1680

1665: Mr Shelbary
schoolmaster
(B 2/58).
1668: Robert Cooke,
born at B., at school
at B under
Mr Tucker;
college entrant.

1681-1700

*1635: Mr John
Robinson
Mr Jurine inserted
on top
(B 2/47a).*

1671: Thomas Hitche
of Cambridge at
school in B.,
college entrant.

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
BRINKLEY	1599: Mr John Harmer curate and schoolmaster (B 2/17).	1610: John Brame, B.A., lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).	
BOXWORTH	1579: Henry Abbot lic. 'to teache yonge children to read englisshe, to wryghte, to caste accompte and also to teach them the Grammar Rules' (G 2/18). 1590: Mr Binhorn schoolmaster (B 2/11).	1604: Thomas Goddard lic. master (B 2/23). 1607: Thomas Biddall master (B 2/23). 1608: John Witton lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1610: John Witton, B.A., lic. master (B 2/30A). 1610, May: John Witton lic. master (B 2/31).	1616: Henry Merril of Swavesey unlicensed master (B 2/31a). 1616: Henry Merril lic. 'to teache boys, viz. to read englisshe and the Accidence and to caste Accompte and read the written hand' (G 2/21). 1618: William Walker, M.A., lic. 'to teache boys' (G 2/21). 1619: William Walker master (B 2/37).
CALDECOTT		1588: William Kelham lic. to teach boys (G 2/19).	
CARLTON cum WILLINGHAM	1581: Mr Tomson lic. 'to teach boys, viz. to read englisshe and the grammar rules' (G 2/18). 1582: Edward Brachier, B.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/18). 1590: Mr Disborowe master (B 2/11).		

1621-1660	1661-1680	1681-1700
1623: Thomas Ellis, son of the minister of B., at school in B. under Mr Ashwell; college entrant.		
1628 <i>William Walker</i> master (B 2/40a).		
1635: Mr Matthew Hanstomle schoolmaster (B 2/47a).		

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
CASTLE CAMPS			
		1610: illegible entry for schoolmaster (B 2/30). <i>1613: Mr John Norman master</i> (B 2/31). 1613: William Sampson master (B 2/30).	
CAXTON			1615: Robert Crosse lic. 'to instruct boys, viz. to reade, wryghte and caste accompte' (G 2/21). 1616: Robert Crosse schoolmaster (B 2/31a).
CHESTERTON	1578: Andrew Cockeley of Essex at school in C. 3 years; college entrant 1587: William Harrison lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1588: Philologus Bradley lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1590: <i>Mr Royton</i> schoolmaster (B 2/11). 1592: Thomas Fryers lic. 'to teach the vulgar tongue ... to write, read and cast an accompte' (G 2/19). 1599: John Reade lic. 'to teach' (G 2/19).	1607: Clement Parker and John Reade unlicensed schoolmasters (B 2/23). 1607: Clement Parker lic. 'to teach instruct boys' (G 2/20). <i>1610: John Reade and Clement Parker</i> (B 2/30, 30a and 31).	1611: William Rooke, B.A., lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1612: John Lawson lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/21). 1616: John Reade lic. 'to teach boys to read, wryghte and cast accomppte' (G 2/21). 1616: John Reade master (B 2/31 and 31a). 1618: William Mitchell lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/21). <i>1619: Mr John Lawson schoolmaster</i> (B 2/32). 1619: William Mitchell and John Reade schoolmasters (B 2/37).

1621-1660	1661-1680	1681-1700
<p>1640: George Bray, son of Thomas B., armiger, educated at CC under Mr Goodson; college entrant.</p> <p>1644: Rector ejected: 'one witness complained his children thus lost the benefit of free school' (Calamy Revised p. 80).</p>		<p>1685: 'Noe school here' (Bradshaw, p. 333)</p>
		<p>1684: William Readman schoolmaster (A 5/3a).</p>

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
CHEVELEY	<p>1568: Rayes School founded 'for the education of boys and youths, as well in good morals as in grammar' (V.C.H. Cambs. ii. p. 331).</p> <p>1583: Robert Badgeman, M.A., lic. 'to teache grammar' (Norwich D.R. SUN/2).</p> <p>1593: Roger Wood of Ashley, college entrant.</p>	<p>1603: John Auchersson at school with Mr Sherman, college entrant.</p> <p>1606: Ralph Sherman's licence to teach school questioned (Norwich D.R.VIS/4).</p>	
COMBERTON	<p>1583: James Mason lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).</p> <p>1589: George Dier lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).</p> <p>1590: Mr Dyer unlicensed school-master (B 2/11).</p> <p>1596: William Collins unlicensed school-master (B 2/11).</p>		<p>1611: John Johnson lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/21).</p> <p>1613: <i>John Johnson master</i> (B 2/31).</p>

1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

1662: Samuel
Pitchers lic. 'to teach
grammar'
(Norwich
D.R.VSC/3).
1673: Richard
Bedingfield, son of a
brewer of
Newmarket, at
school in C. after
three years at
Bradley;
college entrant.

1635: Thomas
Kempster school-
master
(B 2/47a).

1665: Mr Paniell
schoolmaster
(B 2/58).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
CONINGTON	1590: <i>Mr Hardinge master</i> (B 2/11)		1613: John Halstead, B.A., curate and schoolmaster (B 2/30 and 31).
COTON			
COTTENHAM	1579: Thomas Halden lic. 'to teach young children' (G 2/18). 1585: John Hutchinson lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1585: Richard Herbert lic. 'to instruct boys in grammar rules' (G 2/19). 1590: William Harrison lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1596: Mr Joanes lic. schoolmaster (B 2/17). 1599: Mr Robinson schoolmaster (B 2/17).	1601: Mr Robinson master (B 2/18). 1604: Thomas Cleybrooke, M.A., curate and schoolmaster lic. 'to teach' (G 2/20). 1604: Thomas Cleybrooke schoolmaster (B 2/23). 1607: Thomas Cleybrooke curate and schoolmaster (B 2/23). 1610: Philip Hatley lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).	1616: John Pamplin lic. schoolmaster (B 2/31). 1614: Thomas Bankes lic. 'to teach boys, viz. to read write and caste accompte' (G 2/21). 1615: Thomas Bankes lic. schoolmaster (B 2/23). 1616: John Pamplin, M.A., lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/21). 1616: John Pamplin lic. schoolmaster (B 2/30 and 31a). 1616 and 1619: Thomas Bankes lic. schoolmaster (B 2/31a and 32). 1617: Schoolhouse demolished by fall of church steeple (White's Hist. p. 89).

1621-1660	1661-1680	1681-1700
1638: William Moulton presented for keeping a school ... 'and he alleges that one Mr William Pratt in Arts Master and licentiate for the teaching of children did teach in his house but is now gone' (Palmer. Docs. p. 60).	1665: Mr Fullwood schoolmaster (B 2/58).	
1628: Mr Tailor lic. schoolmaster (B 2/40a).	1679: Richard Coe 'being licensed to to keepe a school' (A 5/3a).	1685: 'Goody Purvell a Whigg Unlicensed Scool-Dame' (Bradshaw p. 345). 1691: Dr Fitzwilliams left, by will, 'a commonable house' for 'a poor widow, two poor house-keepers and books for children' (P.P. 1788). 1697: Schoolhouse rebuilt by Mrs Katherin Pepys 'who also gave a commonable house and £100 in money for the teaching of poor children' (White's Hist. p. 89).

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
CROXTON	1593: Mr Ganill master (B 2/13). 1594: Alexander Bryars lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1596: Thomas Carter, B.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).	1610: Henry Park, B.A., lic. curate and schoolmaster (G 2/20).	1613: Randolph Eaton lic. 'to instruct boys' and be curate (G 2/21). 1613 and 1618: Randolph Eaton curate and schoolmaster (B 2/30, 31 and 32).
CROYDON cum CLOPTON			
DRY DRAYTON	1577: John Spencer, M.A., lic. 'to teach boys' (G 2/18). 1579: William Helsbye lic. 'to instruct boys in grammar' (G 2/19). 1585: John Bradley, M.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1599: Mr Mellyr master (B 2/17).	1601: Mr Mellyr unlicensed schoolmaster (B 2/18). 1605: Robert Coppyn lic. 'to teach boys viz. to read write and caste accompte' (G 2/20). 1607: Robert Coppyn unlicensed master. 1610, May: Robert Coppyn unlicensed master (B 2/31). 1610: <i>Mr Robert Coppin unlicensed schoolmaster</i> (B 2/30a).	1613: <i>Robert Coppin master</i> (B 2/30).
DULLINGHAM	1579: Thomas Marrette lic. 'to teach young children to read wryghte and caste accompte' (G 2/18). 1581: Edward Barton, son of gent. of D., at school at D. preparatory to Ely and Hitchin; college entrant		1616: Mr John Dunch vicar and schoolmaster (B 2/30 and 31). 1616: Edward Catherall lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/21). 1618: Richard Melworth, B.A., lic. 'to teach boys' (G 2/21).

1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

1635: Mr Brooke
schoolmaster
(B 2/47a).

1665: Mr Harvey
schoolmaster
(B 2/58).

1662: 'No school-
master; nothing for
maintenance of
school'
(Palmer Epis. Vis.
p. 95)

1678: Borradill
Millicent left £5 p.a.
to a schoolmaster
'for the careful
instruction of five
boys in grammar-
learning, poor
children born or
inhabiting the parish'
(V.C.H. Cambs. II
p. 332).
1679: Thomas Brand
lic. 'to teach and
instruct boys in
writing and
calculating'
(A 5/3).

1692: William
Huxley 'clericus'
lic. 'to instruct boys
and hold a school'
(A 5/3).

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
DUXFORD			
	1581: Thomas Eldred, B.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/18).		
	1584: Thomas Adams, B.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).		
	1588: Richard Richmond, B.A., lic. 'to instruct boys or youths in the rudiments of grammar' (G 2/19).		
	1596: Mr Wolsle lic. schoolmaster (B 2/16).		
	1599: Mr Fenman master (B 2/17).		
EAST HATLEY			
ELSWORTH			
	1581: Oliver Green of Trumpington at school at E.; college entrant	1604: Thomas Browne lic. master (B 2/23).	1616: John James unlicensed master (B 2/30, 31 and 31a).
	1583?: Cravey, B.A., of E. lic. 'to teach grammar'.	1607: <i>Thomas</i> <i>Browne schoolmaster</i> (B 2/23).	1616: John James lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/21).
	1588: Brian Hardinge of E. lic. 'for writing and reading the vulgar tongue' (G 2/19).		
	1590: Brian Harding lic. master (B 2/11).		
	1599: Thomas Papworth lic. 'to instruct boys and youths, viz. to reade write and caste accomp'.		
	(G 2/19).		
	1600: Sidrach Mote, son of a merchant of Norwich, at school at E. under Dr Paman; college entrant.		

1621-1660	1661-1680	1681-1700
1646: Richard King left by will £300 'for instructing young children' (P.P. 1843).	1665: Mr Simons unlicensed master (B 2/58). 1679: Henry Wastell master (A 5/3 and 4; Bod. Rawl. D340). 1679: John Stallan presented for 'neglecting to teach children according to the gift of the donor of the free school' (B 2/66). 1680: John Stallan presented for 'teaching school without licence after warning given to the contrary' also for 'incontinency with his daughter-in-law' (B 2/65)	
1629 and 1635: Thomas Martin schoolmaster (B 2/40a and 47a).	1665: Mr Barker master (B 2/58)	1698: Rose Desbrow left by will £50 ... to be put out for poor children's schooling' (P.P. 1788).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
ELTISLEY			
		1606: Geoffrey Thorowgoode lic. 'to instruct and teach boys' (G 2/20).	1611-1616: Geoffrey Thorowgoode licensed vicar and schoolmaster (B 2/30, 31, 31a and 33).
EVERSDEN (GREAT)	1592: William Fallowfield lic. 'to teach boys and youths the rudiments of grammar' (G 2/19).	1607-1610: Geoffrey Thorowgoode lic. vicar and schoolmaster (B 2/23, 30a and 31).	
EVERSDEN (LITTLE)	1599: Mr Pearne curate and schoolmaster (B 2/17).	1601: John Pearne master (B 2/18). 1607: <i>Mr Knowles</i> master (B 2/23).	1616: Mr Anthony Braisher curate and schoolmaster (B 2/30 and 31).
FEN DITTON	1579: Godfrey Pendleton, B.A., lic. 'to instruct boys in grammar' (G 2/18). 1582: Anthony Johnson, B.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/18). 1587: Francis Reinolds from Lt. Eversden at school in F.D. preparatory to Cambridge; college entrant.	1604: Gabriel Tamars master (B 2/23). 1608: Anthony Haughton lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1610: Anthony Haughton curate and schoolmaster (B 2/31). 1610: Edmund White, B.A., lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).	1613: <i>Edmund White</i> curate and schoolmaster (B 2/30). 1616: Mr Macarnesse (?) curate and schoolmaster (B 2/30). 1616: Mr Parysh schoolmaster (B 2/30).
FEN DRAYTON	1590: Hammond Nicholls schoolmaster (B 2/11).	1604: Matthew Gaye lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1607: Mr Robert Malham lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1607-1610: Mr Robert Malham licensed curate and master (B 2/23, 30a and 31).	

1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

1639: Mr George
Greene licensed vicar
and master
(B 2/52).

*1745: Cole observed
that the school was
kept at the bottom of
the aisle, divided off
by a curtain.*

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

1600

1601-1610

1611-1620

FORDHAM

FOWLMERE

1592: Reginald Smith,
 B.A., lic. 'to teach
 boys and youths the
 rudiments of
 grammar'
 (G 2/19).

1618: Hugo Flunt lic.
 'to instruct boys'
 (G 2/21).
*1618: Mr Reade
 master*
 (B 2/32).

FOXTON

1596: Richard
 Marthat lic. 'to
 teach grammar'
 (G 2/19).
 1596: (name illegible)
 schoolmaster
 (B 2/16).
 1599: John Gibson
 unlicensed curate
 and schoolmaster
 (B 2/17).

1601-1604: John
 Gibson lic. curate
 and master
 (B 2/18 and 23).
 1606: William Eager,
 B.A., curate and
 master, lic. 'to teach
 and instruct boys'
 (G 2/20).
 1607: William Eager,
 B.A., lic. curate
 and master
 (B 2/23).
 1607: ? Moston, B.A.,
 unlicensed master
 (B 2/23).
 1610: John Gibson
 lic. curate and master
 (B 2/30).

1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

1690: John
Casborne, born at
F., at school there
under Mr Taylor;
college entrant.

1663: 'We have a
schoolmaster; his
name is William
Fowle - he is
licensed by the
bishop'
(Palmer Epis. Vis.
p. 109).

1665: Dr Potter
schoolmaster
(B 2/58).

1676: Mr Fowle
schoolmaster
(B 2/64).

1665: (no name
given) unlicensed
master
(B 2/53).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

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	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
FULBOURN	<p>1573: George Cooper, son of gent. of Hinton, at school at F. for three years; college entrant.</p> <p>1577: Francis Hancocke, son of husbandman, at school in F. preparatory to Walden; college entrant.</p> <p>1579: George Lee unlicensed schoolmaster aged 14 or 15 (V.C.H. Cambs. II p. 338).</p> <p>1584: Francis Hancocke lic. 'to teach the Christian faith and rudiments of grammar' (G 2/19).</p> <p>1593: Robert Smythe of F. at school at F. under Mr Streatley and Mr Catlin; college entrant.</p>	<p>1601: Mr Pratt curate and schoolmaster (B 2/18).</p> <p>1604: Mr Swann, B.A., lic. 'to instruct' (G 2/20).</p> <p>1604: Philip Swann, B.A., curate and master (B 2/23).</p> <p>1607: <i>Philip Swann master</i> (B 2/23).</p> <p>1610: Thomas Townley, lic. 'to instruct and teach boys' (G 2/20).</p> <p>1610: Mr Thomas Townley, B.A., licensed schoolmaster (B 2/30a and 31)</p>	<p>1613-16: Thomas Townley, B.A., unlicensed schoolmaster (B 2/30 and 31).</p> <p>1614: John Threkeld, lic. 'to instruct boys' and be curate. (G 2/21).</p> <p>1615-1619: Mr John Threkeld lic. curate and master (B 2/32 and 33).</p> <p>1616: Mr Reginald ?, unlicensed curate and schoolmaster (B 2/31a).</p> <p>1618: <i>Thomas Townley, B.A., schoolmaster</i> (B 2/32).</p>
GAMLINGAY	<p>1599: Mr Braban schoolmaster (B 2/17).</p> <p>1599: Nathaniel Braban, B.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).</p>	<p>1601: Mr Braban lic. curate and master (B 2/18).</p> <p>1607-1610: Mr John Jackson lic. vicar and schoolmaster (B 2/23, 30a and 31).</p>	<p>1611-1619: Mr John Jackson lic. vicar and master (B 2/30, 31a, 32 and 33).</p>

1621-1660	1661-1680	1681-1700
1628: Mr Higgs lic. rector and school- master (B 2/40a).	1688: Richard Thorne, B.A., schoolmaster (A 5/3a). 1669: 'Mr Samuel Smith, School- master' - a dissenter (Turner vol. I p. 36).	1685: 'the school- master teaches without a licence and is excommunicate' (Bradshaw p. 348).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
GIRTON	<p>1579: Peter Baynes, B.A., lic. 'to instruct boys in grammar' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1577: 'The Quire or Chauncell serveth for a schoolhouse' and has entailed the erection of a partition. (V.C.H. Cambs. II p. 338).</p>	<p>1605: Thomas Wootton lic. 'to instruct boys, viz. to read write and caste accompte' (G 2/20).</p> <p>1607: Thomas Wootton unlicensed schoolmaster (B 2/23).</p> <p>1610: <i>Thomas Wootton lic. schoolmaster</i> (B 2/30a).</p>	<p>1616: Robert Gifford lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/21).</p> <p>1619: <i>Mr Averye Partridge curate and schoolmaster</i> (B 2/32).</p> <p>1619: <i>Thomas Crispe master.</i> (B 2/37).</p>
GRANTCHESTER	<p>1582: Christopher Lowcocke (curate of St Peter's, Cambridge) lic. 'to teach English' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1582: Thomas Marryt lic. 'to teach young children to read English to write and caste accompt according to the English rules' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1582: George Hulisse lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/18).</p>		<p>1618: Timothy Maude, M.A., lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/21).</p>
LITTLE GRANSDEN	c. 1582: Henry Resters, gent., 'went to school in his youth in the Chancel of Little Gransden' (P.R.O. E. 134, 1649 East I).		
GULDEN MORDEN	1583: Henry Cook lic. 'to teach English' (G 2/19).	<p>1604: Mr Kydd unlicensed schoolmaster (B 2/23).</p> <p>1607: John Kydd lic. schoolmaster (B 2/23).</p> <p>1610: <i>John Kydd master</i> (B 2/31).</p>	
HARLTON			

1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

- 1631: *H. Fryer left money by will for education (P.P. 1843).*
- 1635: *Samuel Wrighte master (B 2/52).*

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
HARSTON	1585: Thomas Willowes lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1585: Richard Robinson lic. 'to teach boys to read their mother tongue' (G 2/19).		
HASLINGFIELD	1494: W. Skelman left money for education (P.P. 1843). 1584: John Rogerson lic. curate and schoolmaster (G 2/19).	1605: William Griffin lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1607: William Griffin unlicensed master (B 2/23).	
HAUXTON	1589: William Kilborn of H. at school in H.; college entrant		
HILDERSHAM		1601: Philip Sharpe schoolmaster (B 2/18).	1616: Dr Nathaniel Hawkston curate and schoolmaster (B 2/31a).
HINTON	1598: Robert Blackinge, B.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).	1604: William Moore lic. schoolmaster (B 2/23). 1604: William Moore, B.A., lic. 'to teach' (G 2/20).	
HINXTON	1580: Thomas Greaves, curate, lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/18).		

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1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

1665: Mr Wallis
schoolmaster
(B 2/58).

1658: Simon Ertman
left by will £400 in
money 'to teach poor
children'
(P.P. 1788).

1662: Robert
Watkins, M.A.,
schoolmaster
(A 5/2).
1663: James Barry
master
(A 5/3a).
1674: Robert Leedes
master
(A 5/3a).

1682: James Barber
schoolmaster
(A 5/3 and 4).
1698: Mr Griffith
schoolmaster
(B 2/71).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
HISTON	<p>1580: John Ivat lic. 'in the school, to teach young children' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1582: William Wyckes lic. 'to instruct boys in their mother tongue' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1587: Roger Clegg lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).</p> <p>1590: John Ivat master (B 2/11)</p> <p>1593: Mr Wryghte unlicensed school- master (B 2/13).</p> <p>1596: Mr Whyn lic. schoolmaster (B 2/17).</p>	<p>1604: Richard Homes licensed schoolmaster (B 2/23).</p> <p>1607: Francis Warrell lic. 'to instruct and teach boys' (G 2/20).</p> <p>1607: Francis Warrell licensed schoolmaster (B 2/17).</p> <p>1610: <i>Francis Warrell master</i> (B 2/30).</p> <p>1610: Thomas Haggas master (B 2/30a and 31).</p>	
HORNINGSEA	<p>1579: Thomas Skynner lic. 'to teach young children' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1582: Edward Nixon lic. 'to teach young children to read write and cast accompt' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1590: Thomas Skynner master (B 2/11).</p> <p>1594: Hugh Wilkinson lic. 'to teach boys the rudiments of grammar' (G 2/19).</p>	<p>1607: Thomas Murdon lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/20).</p>	
HORSEHEATH		<p>1607: John Chapman, M.A., lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/20).</p> <p>1609: John Mynott, Public Notary of Norfolk, lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).</p> <p>1610: Mr Chapman master (B 2/30).</p>	<p>1613-1616: John Chapman school- master (B 2/30, 31, 31a, 32 and 33).</p>

1621-1660

1628: Roger Hart
lic. schoolmaster
(B 2/40a).

1661-1680

1662: 'We have no
schoolmaster in our
parish but one that
teaches children to
read and write in
his own house and
hath done so many
years. His name is.
Thomas Gibbon.
He is careful to
instruct his scholars
in there Catecisme,
is of honest
conversation and
hath a licence'
(Palmer Epis. Vis.
p. 96).

1681-1700

1701: William Fuller,
born in Cambridge,
son of pewterer,
and Thomas Phipps,
born Cambridge, son
of cutler, 'bread at H.
under Mr Scarfe';
college entrant.
1710: Joshua
Howlett, born at
King's Lynn, son of a
surgeon, at school at
H. under Mr Scarfe;
college entrant.

1665: Mr Woolsey
curate and
schoolmaster
(B 2/58).

1665: Mr Wakefield
schoolmaster
(B 2/58).

1705: Charity School
founded
(P.P. 1788).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

1600

1601-1610

1611-1620

HUNGRY
HATLEY

1589: Henry Beth
lic. 'to teach grammar'
(G 2/19).

ICKLETON

1599: Mr Walker
unlicensed master
(B 2/17).

1601: Mr Walker
schoolmaster
(B 2/18)

1621-1660	1661-1680	1681-1700
1638: Thomas Egledon schoolmaster (Palmer Docs. p. 65).	1662: Thomas Engledew (aged at least 60 and parish clerk) 'doth teach school in his private school ... he bringeth his scholars to church and instructeth them in the Catecism ... He never was any Graduate but is diligent according to his ability' (Palmer Epis. Vis. p. 90).	
1638: Two men presented before the bishop for 'entering violently into the schoolhouse part of the church and arresting John Harrison, schoolmaster' (B 2/52).	1678: 'The wall in the schoolhouse to be plastered and whited' (B 2/59a).	

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

1600

1601-1610

1611-1620

IMPINGTON**KNAPWELL****LANDBEACH**

1581: John Cobbe,
B.A., lic. 'to teach
grammar'
(G 2/18).

1584: Randolph
Serme, B.A., lic.
'to teach'.

1590: Mr Browne
schoolmaster
(B 2/11).

1593: Mr Bridgman
schoolmaster
(B 2/13).

1610: John Gotobed
lic. schoolmaster
(B 2/30, 30a and 31).

1613-1616: John
Gotobed lic. school-
master
(B 2/30, 31, 31a
and 33).

1618: Robert Pull,
M.A., lic. 'to teach
boys'
(G 2/21).

1619: John Gotobed
lic. schoolmaster
(B 2/32 and 37).

1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

1666: private school taught by the minister in his house, licensed by the bishop
 (Palmer Epis. Vis. p. 113).

1667: William Knights, son of gent. of Denny Abbey, at school in I.; college entrant.
 Up to 1689: Thomas Wilbrowe, M.A., vicar and 'master of a private school'
 (Cook's Hist. p. 8).

1684: John Bird, M.A., schoolmaster (A 5/3a).

1628-1635: John Gotobed lic. school-master
 (B 2/40a and 47a).

1639: Church-wardens' Accounts:
 1s 10d paid for mending the school-house and 6d for making it clean
 (Clay's Hist. p. 95).

1650: Church-wardens' Accounts:
 Paid 3s for flooring the schoolhouse
 (Clay's Hist. p. 95).

1662: Church-wardens' Accounts:
 6d paid for making clean the school-house land
 (Clay's Hist. p. 97).
 1678: 'the schoolhouse on the North Side of the Chancel to be made clean'
 (B 2/59a).

1685: 'that part of the church, where the school is kept, to be repaired'
 (B 2/69).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
LINTON	<p>1579: Edward Brumhead lic. 'to teach young children to read write and cast accompte' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1581: Michael Crudd lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1582: John Temple, M.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1587: Mr Burton, M.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/18).</p> <p>1590: Mr Miles Burton schoolmaster (B 2/11).</p>	<p>1604: John Newman, B.A., lic. 'to teach' (G 2/20).</p> <p>1604: John Newman, B.A., lic. school-master (B 2/23).</p> <p>1606: Nathaniel Clarkson lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).</p> <p>1607: <i>Mr John Newman master</i> (B 2/23).</p> <p>1608: Richard Humphries, B.A., lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).</p> <p>1610: Nathaniel Clarkson master (B 2/30).</p> <p>1610: Nathaniel Clarkson, master in the house of Mr Wright, licensed (B 2/30a).</p>	<p>1613: Richard Humphries school-master (B 2/30).</p> <p>1613: John Sandy and Robert Barber lic. 'to teach to read and write' (G 2/21).</p> <p>1613: John Sandys master (B 2/31).</p> <p>1614: Nathaniel Clarkson, M.A., lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/21).</p> <p>1615: Mr Nathaniel Clarkson and Mr Robert Barber schoolmasters (B 2/23).</p> <p>1616: Mr Nathaniel Clarkson lic. school-master (B 2/31a).</p> <p>1618: William Clement lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/21).</p>
LITLINGTON	1585: Thomas Foster lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).		
LOLWORTH	<p>1587: Henry Hallam lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).</p> <p>1590 and 1593: Mr Hallam lic. school-master (B 2/11 and 13).</p> <p>1596: Mr Branham unlicensed master (B 2/16).</p> <p>1596: Hugh Branham lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).</p>		

IN THE DIOCESE OF ELY 1574-1700

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1621-1660

1628: Mr Randolph
Roundieay lic.
schoolmaster
(B 2/40a).

1661-1680

1678: Ediell
Humphrey lic. 'to
teach school and to
teach to write in
Linton and Bartlow'
(Bod. Rawl. D.340).

1681-1700

1665: Mr Pippin
master
(B 2/58).

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
LONGSTANTON			
MADINGLEY	1585: Robert Naze lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).	1610: William Norton lic. master (B 2/30a). 1610: William Norton lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).	1615: William Franklyn unlicensed master (B 2/31).
MELBOURN	1581-3: William Raye curate lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/18 and 19). 1581: Michael Wilkinson, curate, lic. 'to teach English' (G 2/18). 1585: William Potterton lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1585: Thomas Clarke unlicensed master (B 2/16) 1590: Thomas Carrier lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1596: Thomas Carrier master (B 2/16). 1598: Francis Harrison unlicensed master (B 2/16).	1601: Mr Harrison master (B 2/18). 1604: Mr Christopher Riddinge lic. 'to instruct and teach boys' (G 2/20). 1607: Mr Christopher Riddinge curate and master (B 2/23). 1607: Andrew Marvell lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). <i>1610: Mr Andrew Marvell curate and schoolmaster</i> (B 2/30a).	1616: Thomas Barnes lic. 'to teach boys' and be curate. (G 2/21). <i>1619: Thomas Barnes curate and master</i> (B 2/37).
MELDRETH	1579: Henry Savadge lic. 'to instruct boys in grammar' (G 2/18). 1584: Randolph Ley lic. as curate and 'to teach the rudiments of grammar' (G 2/19). 1587: Thomas Clark lic. 'to teach the vulgar tongue' (G 2/19).		

1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

1662: 'a sufficient
parish clerk but no
schoolmaster'
(Palmer Eps. Vis.
p. 114).

1691: William
Ayloffe founded a
school in his will
(BM ADD MSS
5803)
'for many years [it
was] kept in the
parvoise above the
south part of the
church'
(Palmer and
McNeice p. 6).

1665: Mr Hancock
curate and
schoolmaster
(B 2/58).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
MILTON			1616: Mr Fellram lic. schoolmaster (B 2/31a).
NEWTON	1582: Roger Pinchbecke curate lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).		
OAKINGTON	1583: Christopher Shute at school in O. with Mr Longworth; college entrant. 1596: Thomas Freville lic. 'to teach and instruct boys and youths in the vulgar tongue, viz. to read write and caste accomppte' (G 2/19).		1619: Mr Fludd schoolmaster (B 2/37).
ORWELL	1587: Robert Clarke lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1590: Mr Clarke lic. schoolmaster (B 2/11). 1596: Mr Walls schoolmaster (B 2/17)		
OVER	1583: (name illegible) lic. 'to teach young children to read write and cast accomppte' (G 2/19).	1604: Ezra Parkes lic. schoolmaster (B 2/23). 1607: Ezra Parkes unlicensed master (B 2/23). 1610: Ezra Parkes master (B 2/31)	1616 and 1619: Mr John Leyveley vicar and schoolmaster (B 2/31a and 32).
PAMPISFORD	1588: John Francis lic. 'to teach boys and youths, viz. to read write and caste accomppte' (G 2/19).		

1621-1660	1661-1680	1681-1700
	1664: Lyonell Ellis schoolmaster (A 5/3a).	1682: Dr Benjamin Whichcote left money, by will, 'for instructing children' (P.P. 1788).
1635: Mr Newborne schoolmaster (B 2/47a).	1662: 'Mr Sharples ... a graduate of Christ's College ... he has continued among us these two years but whether he is licensed we cannot say' (Palmer Epis. Vis. p. 117). 1666: Samuel and William Fortrey (brothers) at school in O. with Mr Shafto; college entrants.	1685: 'A Fanatick Schoolmaster, Robert Richardson (Bradshaw p. 357).
	1661: John Butler of O. at <i>scholapublica</i> under Mr Griffith; college entrant. 1665: Mr Wright schoolmaster (B 2/58).	1689: John Law, schoolmaster, was buried (Orwell Parish Register).
	1662: Edward Howlett school- master (A 5/3a).	
	1665: Mr Wakefield schoolmaster (B 2/58).	

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
PAPWORTH			<p>1616: Mr Wryghte lic. 'to teach boys' and be curate (G 2/21).</p> <p>1613,15 and 16: John Wright lic. curate and master (B 2/30, 31 and 33).</p> <p>1617: John West lic. 'to teach boys' and be curate (G 2/21).</p> <p>1618: Mr John Wright curate and school- master (B 2/32).</p>
RAMPTON		<p>1607: Robert Whilkins lic. curate and schoolmaster (B 2/23).</p> <p>1610: Robert Whilkins curate and schoolmaster (B 2/30 and 31).</p>	<p><i>1619: Robert Whilkins curate and schoolmaster (B 2/32).</i></p>
REACH		<p>1584: John Forsett lic. 'to teach grammar' (and at Swaffham Bulbecke) (G 2/19).</p>	
SAWSTON	<p>1589: William Warren lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).</p> <p>1591: Thomas Horne lic. 'to teach the vulgar tongue, English' (G 2/19).</p> <p>1599: Mr John Watson schoolmaster (B 2/17).</p>	<p>1601: Mr John Watson lic. school- master (B 2/18).</p> <p>1604, 07 and 10: John Watson lic. school- master (B 2/23, 30, 30a and 31).</p>	<p>1615: Gervasius Lockey lic. 'to teach boys' (G 2/21).</p> <p>1616: Gervasius Lockey schoolmaster (B 2/30, 31 and 31a).</p>

1621-1660

1628: Mr George
Greene replaced Mr
Samuel Lyle as curate
and schoolmaster
(B 2/40a).
1635: Mr Sheffield
curate and
schoolmaster
(B 2/47a)

1661-1680

1665: Mr Henry Bury
schoolmaster
(B 2/58).

1681-1700

1685: Goodwife
Smith 'a Whigg
School-Dame'
(Bradshaw p. 345).

1662: William Fowle
schoolmaster (cf.
Histon) since at
least 1655
(Teversham p. 128).

1696: Francis Aymes
'now to be licensed
to keepe a school
and instruct youth'
(A 5/3).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
SHELFORD (GREAT)	1584: Mr Brinkley lic. 'to teach the rudiments of grammar' (G 2/19). 1594: Edward Matthew lic. 'to teach boys and youths in the English language' (G 2/19).	1605: Michael Cowle lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1607: Michael Cowle unlicensed school- master (B 2/23).	1615: William Gill lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/21). 1616: Dr Gill schoolmaster (B 2/30, 31 and 31a).
SHEPRETH	1599: Nathaniel Jackson lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).	1604: Edward Henery lic. schoolmaster (B 2/23).	
SHUDY Camps	1587: George Paine lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1599: William Fen schoolmaster (B 2/17).		
SOHAM			

1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

1665: Mr Pattison,
schoolmaster
(B 2/58).

1671: Samuel King,
son of a dissenting
clerk of Abingdon,
at school under Mr
Bankes, vicar of
Shepreth;
college entrant.

John Wignald *als*
Martin 'continued
here all the trouble-
som times, having
been curate to his
Predecessor several
years before his
death ... (he) kept a
school while he was
Vicar and there is a
man in the parish
alive now who went
to school with him.
He died and was
buried here on
October 15th 1685'.
(BM ADD MSS
5803 f. 131)

1658: 116 acres set
apart by the lord of
the manor and the
tenants 'to be a town-
stock' for, *inter alia*,
'raising a revenue to a
schoolmaster'. A
school was founded,
free to all the children
of the parish.
(P.P. 1819).

1699: Schoolhouse
erected
(V.C.H. Cambs. II
p. 332).
1699: Mr Morley
schoolmaster
(NOR. D.R.
VIS/96).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
STANTON (All Saints and St Michael)	1585: Robert Hargrave lic. 'to teach boys the English language (G 2/19). 1590: Robert Hargrave school- master (B 2/11). 1593: Roger Clegg schoolmaster (B 2/13).	1604: Mr Bowman unlicensed master (B 2/23). 1610: William Norton schoolmaster (B 2/30 and 31).	
STEEPLE MORDEN	1599: Mr Whitson schoolmaster (B 2/17).	1601: Mr Whitson master (B 2/18). 1607: Mr Whitson unlicensed master (B 2/23). 1608: Aaron Browne lic. 'to instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1610: Mr Aaron Browne lic. vicar and master (B 2/30a and 31).	1613-1619: Mr Aaron Browne lic. vicar and master (B 2/30, 31, 31a, 33 and 37).
STOW CUM QUY	1584: Henry Cowper lic. 'to teach the Christian faith and rudiments of grammar' (G 2/19).		
SWAFFHAM BULBECK	1584: Richard Ballard lic. 'to teach young children to read, write and caste accompote' (and at Waterbeach) (G 2/19). 1584: John Grange lic. 'to teach grammar and instruct boys in the Christian faith' (G 2/19). 1585: John Forsett lic. 'to teach grammar' (and at Reach) (G 2/19). 1592: Richard Thornhill lic. 'to teach boys and youths the rudiments of grammar' (G 2/19).	1604: William Hurst lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1607: William Hurst curate and school- master (B 2/23).	1613-18: William Hurst lic. school- master (B 2/30, 31, 31a and 32).

IN THE DIOCESE OF ELY 1574-1700

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1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
SWAFFHAM PRIOR		<i>1610: Mr Roger Thomson unlicensed master (B 2/31).</i>	
SWAVESEY	1579: John Shereston, B.A., lic. 'to instruct boys in grammar' (G 2/18). 1583: John Jacksonne, B.A., lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1585: Arthur Hopwood lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1585: Peter Johnson lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1588: Henry Cooper, B.A., of S. lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).	<i>1610: Mr Matthew Gaye curate licensed to teach (B 2/30a).</i>	1613: Edward Fisser lic. curate and schoolmaster (B 2/30 and 31). 1618: Edward Fisser lic. curate and schoolmaster (B 2/32).
THRIPLAW			1609: William Jobson lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1610: William Jobson schoolmaster (B 2/30).
TOFT	1593 and 1597: Mr Hutton schoolmaster (B 2/13).	1610: John Johannes lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1610: Mr William Jobson lic. school- master (B 2/30a).	

1621-1660

1661-1680

1681-1700

1641 and 1642: Roger
and John Rant at
school under Mr
Jephcott at S.P.;
college entrants.
1658: John Marshall
at school at S.P.
under Mr Jephcott
two years and Mr
Burrell three years;
college entrant.

1628: Mr Henry
Merrile unlicensed
master
(B 2/40a).

1665: Mr Pattison
unlicensed master
(B 2/58).

1628: Mr Hide
curate and master
(B 2/40a).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

1600

1601-1610

1611-1620

TRUMPINGTON

WATERBEACH

- 1579: Anthony Wade
lic. 'to teach
grammar'
(G 2/18).
1584: Richard
Ballard lic. 'to teach
young children to
read write and cast
accompete'
(G 2/19).
1593: Mr Fryars
unlicensed master
(B 2/13).
1596: Thomas Paine
vicar and school-
master
(B 2/17).

- 1605: William Cooper
lic. 'to teach and
instruct boys'
(G 2/20).
*1607: Robert Cowper
master*
(B 2/23).
1610: Robert Cowper
lic. schoolmaster
(B 2/30 and 31).

WESTON
COLVILLE

- 1606: Francis Gatley
lic. 'to teach and
instruct boys'
(G 2/20).
1607: Francis Gatley
curate and school-
master
(B 2/23).
*1610: Francis Gatley
curate and school-
master*
(B 2/30).

WEST
WICKHAM

1621-1660	1661-1680	1681-1700
1639: Mr Francis Halfhead schoolmaster (B 2/52).	1665: Mr Copperger schoolmaster (B 2/58). 1679: Mr William Austin gave fourteen acres of arable land to put 'four of the poorest children to School' until they can read a chapter of the Bible', then to be succeeded by four more. (BM ADD MSS 5809 f. 59).	1691: Abel Hawkins schoolmaster (A 5/3a).
1628: Christopher Bank schoolmaster (B 2/40a).		1687: Grace Clarke left £100 by will 'to put out six poor children to school, as their friends are not able to pay for their schooling, until they can read well in the Bible and then to remove them and put in others' (BM ADD MSS 5809 f. 40).
1643: Robert Sherbourne, son of a shepherd, at school in W.W. four years under Mr Richard Britton; college entrant.		

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
WEST WRATTING	1581: David Nase lic. 'to teach boys in the school, viz. to read English and the Grammar Rules' (G 2/20).		
WHADDON		1610: Mr Henry Faircloughe vicar and schoolmaster (B 2/30).	1616-1618: Henry Fairclough vicar and schoolmaster (B 2/31a and 32).
WHITTLESFORD	1591: John Woode lic. 'to teach the vulgar tongue' (G 2/19). 1594: William Andrey lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1595: Anthony Keane lic. 'to teach boys and youths the rudiments of grammar' (G 2/19). 1599: Mr Anthony Keene schoolmaster (B 2/17).	1601 and 1604: Mr Keene curate and schoolmaster (B 2/18 and 23). 1604: Richard Johannes lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).	1614: John Gill lic. to be curate and 'to instruct boys' (G 2/21). 1615: John Gill <i>curate and schoolmaster</i> (B 2/33).
WILBRAHAM (GREAT)		1610: Henry Beaumont lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20).	

1621-1660.

1661-1680

1681-1700

1651: Higham Perne,
at school in W.W.;
college entrant.

1662: Anthony
Hutton schoolmaster
(A 5/2).
1666: Martin Turner,
son of a Suffolk
yeoman, at school in
W.W. under Mr
Tucker;
college entrant.
1668: Christopher
Poulter of Ashley at
school in W.W.
under Mr Tucker for
six years;
college entrant.

1665: Mr Brideork
master
(B 2/58)

1665: Mr Jonathan
Lindsey
schoolmaster
(A 5/3a).

1665: Mr Williams
schoolmaster
(B 2/58).

REGISTER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

	1600	1601-1610	1611-1620
WILBRAHAM (LITTLE)	1584: Robert Bollam lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1585: Henry Barnwell lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19). 1589: William Martin lic. 'to teach' (G 2/19). 1590 and 1596: Mr Martin schoolmaster (B 2/11 and 16). 1599: Lawrence Wilson, son of the rector of W.L., at school under Mr Cockman; college entrant.		
WILLINGHAM	1580: Lawrence Melford lic. 'to teach young children' (G 2/18). 1593: School endowed by public subscription of £150 (CRO P. 177/25/1). 1596: William Norton lic. 'to teach grammar' (G 2/19).	1604: Mr Norton lic. schoolmaster (B 2/23). 1607: William Norton unlicensed master (B 2/23). 1608: John Nixon lic. as curate and 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1610: Mr John Nixon, B.A., lic. curate and schoolmaster (B 2/30, 30a and 31).	1615: John Williams, M.A., lic. 'to teach boys' (G 2/21). 1616: John Williams lic. curate and schoolmaster (B 2/31a). 1617: Thomas Kings, B.A., lic. 'to teach boys' (G 2/21).
WIMPOLE	1584: Robert Christian lic. 'to teach' (G 2/19). 1590: Robert Parker unlicensed master (B 2/11). 1596: Mr Fryer schoolmaster (B 2/17).	1605: Robert Sorrell lic. 'to teach and instruct boys' (G 2/20). 1607: Robert Sorrell schoolmaster (B 2/23). 1610: <i>Robert Sorrell</i> <i>master</i> (B 2/30, 30a and 31).	1616: William Brand lic. 'to instruct boys viz. to write and read Englishe' (G 2/21).

1621-1660	1661-1680	1681-1700
1635: Mr John Munday rector and schoolmaster (B 2/47a).		
1644: Mr John Murray ejected (<i>Calamy Revised</i> p. 85).		
1627: Henry Crispe of W. at school in W. under Mr Frisnie; college entrant.	1665: Thomas Wilking unlicensed master (B 2/58).	1685: James Drake, son of an attorney of Cambridge, at school in W; college entrant.
	1666: John Haslegreave schoolmaster (A 5/3a).	1685: 'Mr Southwold, an unlicensed schoolmaster, the School worth £9 p.a.'
	1675: William Love at school in W.; college entrant.	(Bradshaw p. 345).
1625: Mr Franklin curate and schoolmaster (B 2/47a).		
1649: Henry Chicheley of W. and William Howell of Norfolk at school in W. four years; college entrant.		

After the first few days of the new year, the weather turned cold again. The snow was still falling, and the ground was covered with a thick layer of white. The trees were bare, and the sky was overcast. It was a quiet day, with no sound except for the occasional crackle of snow underfoot. I sat by the fire, trying to stay warm, and thought about the year that had passed. It had been a difficult year, filled with challenges and setbacks. But I had also learned a lot, and I was grateful for the experiences I had gained. As the day wore on, I began to feel more relaxed. The warmth of the fire and the comfort of my surroundings helped to soothe my mind. I closed my eyes and tried to let go of the stress and worry of the past year. Instead, I focused on the present moment, appreciating the simple beauty of the snow-covered landscape around me.

As the sun began to set, casting long shadows across the snow, I decided to take a walk. I bundled up in my coat and hat, and stepped outside into the cold air. The snow crunching under my boots was the only sound I could hear. I walked along a path that led through a grove of trees. The branches were bare, reaching out like skeletal fingers against the darkening sky. The snow on the ground was undisturbed, except for the tracks of small animals. I stopped to look at a large, perfectly formed snowdrift, its surface smooth and glistening in the fading light. I took a deep breath, savoring the crisp, clean air. The world seemed to be held in a delicate balance, a moment of stillness before the night would fall. I knew that tomorrow would bring new challenges, but for now, I was content to simply be in the moment, surrounded by the quiet beauty of the winter landscape.

As the days went by, the snow continued to fall, creating a blanket of white that covered everything. The world became a silent, peaceful place. The sound of the snow falling was the only noise, a soft, rhythmic patter that filled the air. I spent many hours sitting by the fire, reading books or simply lost in thought. The warmth of the fire was a welcome respite from the cold. I also took walks, exploring the paths through the snow-covered woods. The trees stood tall and silent, their branches heavy with snow. The world was a quiet, hushed place, a moment of stillness before the bustle of spring would return.

As the weeks passed, the snow began to melt. The ground became soft and mushy, and the trees' branches drooped under the weight of the melting snow. The world was a mix of silence and sound, as the snow melted and the world began to wake up. I spent time outdoors, walking through the melting snow and watching the world come back to life. The world was a mix of stillness and movement, a moment of transition before the full bloom of spring would arrive.

As the year came to a close, I reflected on the lessons I had learned. The challenges I faced had taught me resilience and strength. The quiet moments had given me time to think and appreciate the beauty of the world around me. And the moments of transition had shown me the

ADVENTURES OF A SCREEN* INIGO JONES IN WINCHESTER AND CAMBRIDGE

† J. M. G. Blakiston, F.S.A.

I

The foundation stone of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, as we learn from a plaque beside the main entrance, was laid on 14 May 1910. There is nothing in the inscription to disclose that one of the interior walls of the museum started life in the early 17th century as an important feature of a distant cathedral. Yet such is the surprising fact. For there, on the second floor, stands the central section of that classical screen by Inigo Jones which formerly separated nave from quire at Winchester (Plate I). What is known about the history of this monument and its strange migration to Cambridge?

II

Inigo Jones's screen marked the climax of various works undertaken in Winchester Cathedral during the 1630's in the spirit of the current Laudian reform. An earlier operation was the construction of the tower vaulting in 1634/5. Proof is lacking that the Crown was financially involved, but the ingenious chronogram in the centre of the vault has suggested the hand of Jones. Such conceits seem, however, to have been equally characteristic of the then Dean of Winchester, John Young.

The first step towards the realisation of the screen was taken in 1635. Laud's Vicar General, Sir Nathaniel Brent, on his visitation of Winchester in June, spoke of the general obligation to care for "God's House" and later reported to the Archbishop that the Cathedral was "very much in decay". Whether or not Brent had particularly in mind the state of the *pulpitum*¹ which the screen was soon to replace, we do know that Charles I, visiting Winchester in September 1636, explicitly disapproved of this feature. The circumstances are illuminated by a draft letter from Bishop Matthew Wren of Norwich (a former prebendary of Winchester) to Archbishop Laud, dated 20 October from Newmarket, where Wren had been seeing the King. This is the essential passage:

* This essay is an adaption of a series of articles which appeared in the *Winchester Cathedral Record* in 1976, 1977 and 1978 and is published in its present form with the kind permission of the Friends of Winchester Cathedral.

† The Editor regrets to report the death of the author, shortly after correcting the proofs of this article in April 1981.

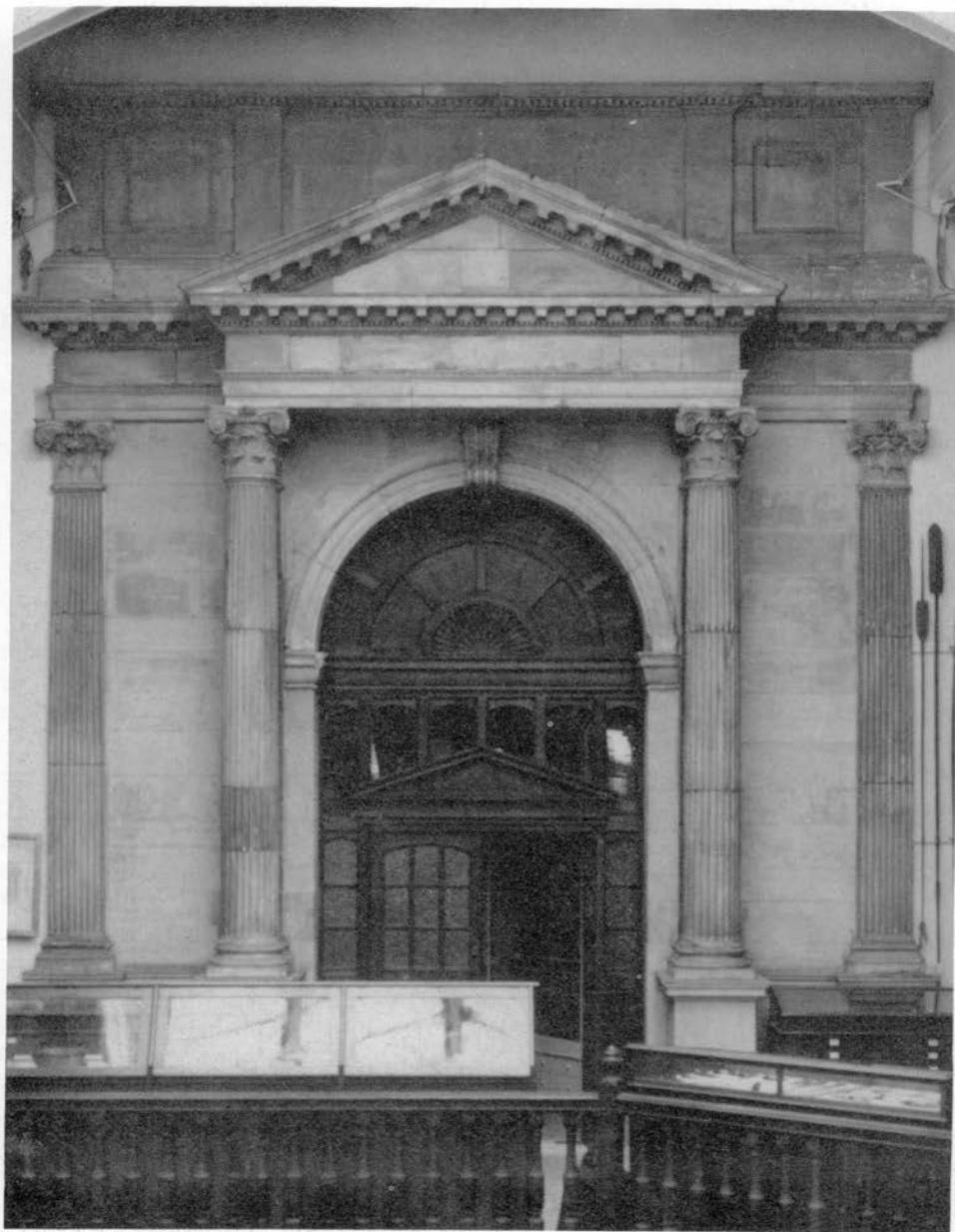


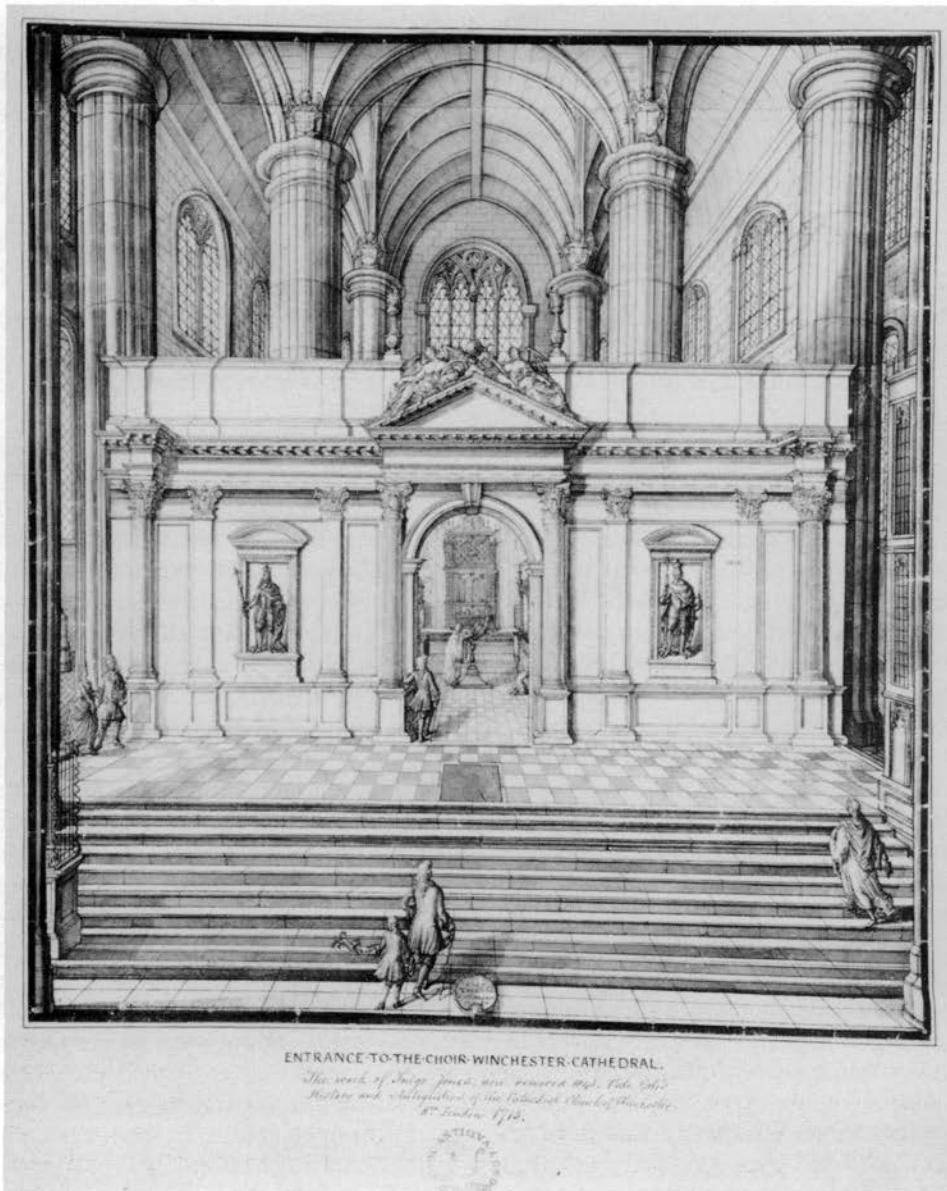
Plate I. The central component of the screen as installed by Jackson
in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology
and Anthropology
(By courtesy of the Museum)

"Upon occasion of a lett^r written by m^r Deane of Winton to m^r Elphinston [perhaps William Elphinstone, King's cupbearer] his ma^{tie} was pleased to tell me that when he was last at Winton, he much disliked the placing of the Chapter house, w^{ch} stands cross the Navis Ecclesiae, before the West dore of the Quier at such distance, that a good space of the church is therby lost & the prospect much hindred, in somuch that he - [?] willed the Deane to take it down. But the Deane now by his lett^r proposes that he hath confered with workmen, and finds, that they can remove the whole structure, and set it close up to the West end of the Quier, instead of the partition between the Quier & the Body of the church, w^{ch} he conceives would not be amiss, it being good ancient work, & standing upon marble pillars".

The King seeming inclined to change his mind accordingly, Wren had persuaded him to submit the matter to the Bishop of Winchester (Walter Curle) who was then to report to Laud, the latter finally advising the King as to how he should instruct the Dean.

We have no means of tracing the stages by which Wren's plan may have been put into effect; but at some point Inigo Jones must have been entrusted with the preparation of a design for the new screen and an entry in Dean Young's *Diary* for 10 April 1637 seems to be recording a final move in the whole transaction. Young had that day been visiting Bishop Curle at Waltham, having sent in advance a letter he had received from the Archbishop. We may guess that this letter either decided in favour of the Jones screen or (more probably, in view of the dates) reinforced a decision already taken, for "His L. promised at his retourne to set about the taking doune of the Chapter house and new building a front to the Queer". Clearly then no work had yet started on the screen by early April 1637.

Young has nothing to say in the *Diary* about his own views and aims. It is possible that his counter-proposal was actuated by considerations of thrift, by a fear that the Crown might ultimately not be prepared to bear the cost of a new screen. There are indeed no documents to show that it was, while an entry in the Cathedral accounts reveals that in 1638 the not inconsiderable sum of £234-4-0 was "Laid out for part of the charge w^{ch} the church hath bin at this yeare in pulling down the old chapter house² & erecting the new building before the Quire ... ", which implies at least some sharing of the burden. The same year sees (17 June) the sculptor Le Sueur's engagement with the King "to cast in brasse two statues" representing James I and Charles I to be "delivered to the surveyor of his Ma^{ties} workes in March ensuing". The surveyor was of course Inigo Jones, who witnessed the agreement, and the figures were to fill the niches in his design. In the event the final payment to Le Sueur for his statues and for their transport to Winchester was only made on 5 November 1639. It was specifically intended to cover the "erecting" as well as the "carrying" of the figures. Yet the Cathedral accounts show a payment of £18-0-0 by the Dean and Chapter "to the king's workemen for setting up the statuses sent by his Ma^{tie}" and of a further £2-1-6 "to other workemen for helping about the same".³



ENTRANCE TO THE CHOIR-WINCHESTER-CATHEDRAL.

The work of Sir George James was engraved by Mr. C. Gale
Historie and Antiquities of the famous Church of Winchester.
London 1714.

Plate II. Charles Woodfield's drawing (1714) for the engraving in Gale's
guide book
(By courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries)

The whole work must have been completed by early in 1640. If it may certainly be regarded as an "exercise in royal piety, comparable on a lesser scale to the building of St Paul's portico" (Summerson), there can be no doubt that in all these cases the capitular body, and the diocese as a whole, were frequently called upon to supplement the royal largesse. Their efforts (including subscriptions to St Paul's) had already been favourably commented upon by the Vicar General in 1635.

III

What remains of the screen to-day is divided between the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and the north triforium of the Cathedral: in Cambridge a coherent but only partial reconstruction, in Winchester a hoard of impressive fragments. To determine what it looked like as a whole it is therefore easier to start with the available representations of its appearance. The most familiar and the earliest to be published is the engraving contained in the *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Winchester* by the Earl of Clarendon and Samuel Gale (1715). The drawing by Charles Woodfield from which it was taken (Plate II) is dated 1714. Michael Van der Gucht has made a faithful reproduction, his only appreciable deviations being to excise the small conch bearing the date and somewhat to enlarge the pavement area.

Van der Gucht need never have seen the Cathedral. Woodfield must to some extent have worked on the spot. The glimpse of the Edington Chantry, for example, is rightly noted by Atkinson as proof of the fact, while Mr Simon Jervis in discussing the Cathedral woodwork accepts Woodfield's representation of the lectern and the Presbytery altar-rail as serious evidence. But of the pair of winged angels reclining on the central pediment and of the pedestalled ball at the apex Atkinson is of opinion that they "obviously proceed from the brain of Mr Woodfield and not from that of Inigo Jones".

These features are indeed missing from extant representations of the screen made a century later (Ackermann, Britton). Yet the figures did "proceed from the brain ... of Inigo Jones", as is proved by an undated drawing in the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects inscribed by Jones's pupil John Webb "of Inigo for the Skreen of Winchester Ch", in which figures similar to Woodfield's adorn the pediment (Plate III). Though this drawing differs in various particulars from Woodfield's, here is the authority of Jones for the angels.

Can they have existed in Woodfield's day? The lack of physical evidence from either Winchester or Cambridge and of the least documentary indication from any source argue strongly against the possibility. But if the figures never materialised, it must be conjectured that Woodfield had access to a Jones drawing – not necessarily the one mentioned – and saw fit, or was directed, to represent not simply what was before his eyes in the Cathedral but also what he – or Gale – knew to have been in the master's mind. Jones's drawings passed on his death in 1652 to John Webb, but by 1714 they were mostly in the hands of John Talman, son of the architect of Chatsworth. There is nothing to suggest that the obscure Woodfield was on borrowing terms with him. But

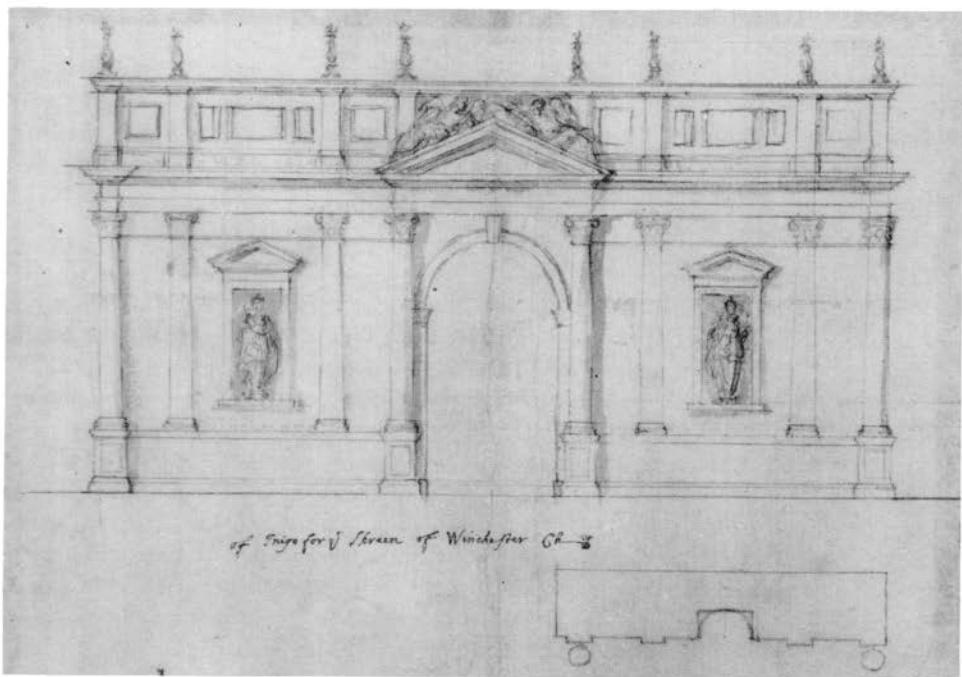


Plate III. Inigo Jones's undated design for the screen
*(By courtesy of the Royal Institute
 of British Architects)*



Plate IV. T. G. Jackson at Winchester Cathedral, 1910
*(From Recollections of
 Thomas Graham Jackson, Q.U.P., 1950)*

his employer, Samuel Gale, could have been; for both he and his elder brother Roger were closely associated with Talman as founding officers of the reconstituted Society of Antiquaries. If Woodfield was able to use a Jones or Webb drawing, this would seem to be the channel through which it reached him.

A further comparison between Jones's surviving sketch and Woodfield's drawing shows that 1) the panelling systems in attic and dado are almost exactly reversed, 2) the straight-sided pediments of the aedicules are now curved, 3) the columns (but not the pilasters) have acquired fluting, 4) the eight pinnacles on the parapet are reduced to two. Some of these features certainly became fact; but the impression remains that Woodfield was working at least as much from a Jones (or Webb) drawing as from the screen itself.

In the early 19th century engravings already mentioned the screen has to take its place in the setting of the whole interior. Consequently the detail is hard to pick out. But these views agree in excluding the pediment figures, the ball between them and all the Jonesian pinnacles. In general they are perhaps more reliable than most of the iconography of this subject. Yet Britton is prepared to publish one plate which eliminates the screen altogether! A century later again we find artists restoring the angels to their reconstructions, among them G. H. Kitchin (*Country Life*, 22 May 1909) and the architect of the Cambridge museum, T. G. Jackson, whose drawing (12 April 1910) hangs beside the screen.

IV

At this point the stones themselves must give their evidence (Plates I, V and VI). In circumstances which will be described later Jackson removed the centre portion of the screen to Cambridge and embodied it in the new building in Downing Street; while the rest of the surviving masonry must still be examined in Winchester Cathedral. Together they show on the positive side:

- 1) that the pediments of the niches are indeed curved as in the Woodfield drawing;
- 2) that the pilasters as well as the columns are fluted;
- 3) that there were panels in the attic storey after the pattern of the R.I.B.A. drawing (Framed with the elevation drawn by Jackson for the museum is a "Sketch from an old Print" clearly derived from Van der Gucht's engraving of Woodfield in which the panelling is *not* shown: knowing better, Jackson thought proper to insert it.);
- 4) that as in Woodfield the cornice and the pediment are ornamented with dentils.

On the other hand an inspection of the central pediment undertaken by Mr (now Dr) David Howarth gave no ground for believing that the angels or the pedestalled ball ever existed; nor has any material evidence come to hand for Woodfield's twin pinnacles. The frames of the niches are lost. In the case of the dados, Jackson's



Plates V *a.* and *b.* Some of the sculptured fragments now stored in the triforium of the North Transept of Winchester Cathedral
(Photograph by Murray Davison)



Plates VI *a.* and *b.* Some of the sculptured fragments now stored in the triforium of the North Transept of Winchester Cathedral
(Photograph by Murray Davison)

elevation assumes panelling in the same sequence as shown by Woodfield; but, as he himself notes on the drawing, "All this part is missing". It may be remarked that Jackson has been content with solid blocks in his reconstruction.

The material used for the cornice and all the delicate sculptural work on the screen is Chilmark stone. For other parts of the masonry Jackson discovered that the old *pulpitum* had been laid under contribution, and fragments may still be seen in the triforium with Gothic tracery on the back. This is all Devonshire Beer stone. Neither material is ideally suited for external use; hence the ultimate rejection of proposals to set up the screen outdoors in the 1880s, in 1909 and again in 1964.

The use of existing masonry was no doubt primarily a matter of convenience for Jones. But it is conceivable that he welcomed the resultant colour contrast, in view of the effect which, as Mr Lees-Milne shows, he deliberately planned in the Banqueting House, Whitehall, by the use of three different stones.

V

Though some uncertainty may yet remain about the details of the completed screen, there can be none about its status as a particularly fine example of Jones's architectural thought. This means that it is a learned work whose origins must be sought in the great Italians whose books and drawings he had collected on his second Italian journey (1613-14): Serlio, Scamozzi and Palladio; and behind them, in the Ancients. Some of the components of the screen were already present in the early design for the façade of St Paul's, now dated c. 1621;⁴ and these included not only the niches containing statues but also a central doorway with figures reclining on the pediment. (Though often associated with Michelangelo's figures in the Medici Chapel in Florence, there are various other possible exemplars such as Veronese's frescoes in the Villa Barbaro, now Volpi, at Maser, which Jones is known to have visited). The pedimental figures had also been foreshadowed in Jones's design of about the same date for the Banqueting House.⁵ It could be argued that this Mannerist feature, had it been realised, would have positively impaired the timeless classicism of the Winchester screen. May that "implacable perfectionist", as Sir John Summerson calls the mature Inigo Jones, perhaps have come to some such conclusion himself and at a late stage withdrawn it from his design?

The art of Inigo Jones was that of a Renaissance intellectual under the patronage of a court steeped in neo-Platonic doctrine acquired in the course of wide continental travel; an art which, generally, was neither understood nor approved in England. The court was alienated from the country. The country gentry, as Professor Lawrence Stone has demonstrated, "associated Inigo Jones with the popery, tyranny and vice which they believed to be the predominant characteristics of the Caroline Court. They would have none of them ... The architectural innovations of an advanced court circle were rejected by the country at large". Wintonians would be no exception and it is not impossible that Dean Young's proposals for an adaptation of the *pulpitum* in 1636 were made in full knowledge of the likely alternative and represented among other

things a revolt of *taste*. He does not talk about such matters in the *Diary*. Lieutenant Hammond, who does refer to the new tower vaulting, unfortunately visited the Cathedral just too early (1635) to have any comment to make on the screen.

VI

Evidence of subsequent opinion until the moment when it actually licensed the dismantlement of the screen is unfortunately scanty. John Evelyn on the occasion of his visit to Winchester in 1642 has nothing to say about a monument which one would have judged to be very much to his taste. In 1660, preaching in the nave to celebrate the return of the Chapter after the late disorders, Prebendary Edward Stanley missed the opportunity of making a dramatic reference to the screen behind him which was still waiting for the restoration of the royal statues. Celia Fiennes (c. 1697) mentions the "ascent of 20 steps up to the quire" but not the portal through which she then passed. For Samuel Gale it is indeed a "beautiful Frontispiece of Stone" and he credits it to Jones, on his plate, though not in the text. Daniel Defoe a few years later sees only the steps and the statues.

We are now in the age of the 3rd Earl of Burlington, who was chiefly responsible for establishing the immense reputation of Inigo Jones in the 18th century. No Burlingtonian seems to have visited the Cathedral, unless Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, may be accounted one, who in 1758 speaks of "the present beautiful skreen". But he is probably only echoing Gale's guide book. For Horace Walpole Jones was of course a great hero, but in 1755 Walpole had apparently been in Gothic mood and confined his attention to the tombs. The screen was familiar to him none the less and in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762), after referring to Jones's addition to St Paul's of a "Roman portico, magnificent and beautiful indeed, but which has no affinity with the ancient parts...", he observes: "He committed the same error at Winchester, thrusting a screen in the Roman or Grecian taste into the middle of the cathedral". Walpole is perhaps the first so to discriminate on grounds of aesthetic propriety.

Lowth's brief testimonial is the source for Thomas Warton's *Description ...* (1760) and its derivatives and very likely also for W. C. Oulton who as late as 1805 is writing; "The screen (designed by Inigo Jones) is a fine piece of architecture, of the composite order". John Milner, while (like Walpole) considering it to be "injurious to the general style of the building", still regards "the elegant skreen" as an object "highly beautiful in itself" which "we cannot fail of admiring". One critic could and did so fail - the uncompromising John Britton. His disapprobation was total: "The Screen ... said to have been designed by Inigo Jones" is not merely discordant, it is "a bad and an unsightly object...". For him it is purely and simply "this offensive screen". The extreme opinions of Britton may have been shared wholeheartedly by few. But their forthright expression was a powerful factor in preparing minds for the next step.

VII

Of the far-reaching re-arrangements within the Cathedral associated with the names of Dean Rennell, Prebendary Nott and the architect William Garbett, the most radical measure was the removal of the Inigo Jones screen in 1820. The attitude of the Chapter is summed up in the temperate account of things given by Garbett's son Edward William in 1834. "...The attention was next directed to the stone screen dividing the choir and nave which was unconnected with any portion of the original edifice, and from the earliest recollection of the oldest person, had been considered as a misplaced design of its justly celebrated Architect Inigo Jones; even the admirers of this eminent man's work, regretted the existence of this screen in such a situation, and by the perseverance and good taste of several members of the Chapter, its removal was accomplished..." (*Winchester Cathedral Chronicle 1800-65*, pp. 10-11).

It is to be noted that the screen was dismantled, not destroyed; thus allowing for the possibility of its being re-erected somewhere else some time. We have no evidence that the Dean or his colleagues entertained any more positive views than this. They certainly made no attempt to follow up the advice given by the architect William Porden in a Report dated 23 November 1813 to the effect that the screen "would probably be disposed of to advantage for a Church or other Building to which its style would be no objection". (Porden offered to design a new screen but the commission had perhaps already been pre-empted by Garbett). In the mean time the remains were placed for safekeeping in the triforium of the South Transept and there they lay for the rest of the 19th century. Not quite undisturbed however, for, as Jackson was to discover in 1908, they proved too much of a temptation to the cathedral masons and, over the years, substantial parts were used for current repairs.

Otherwise they can have attracted small attention. Robert Willis in his important lecture on *The Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral* (1845) refers briefly to the "classical screen" as now "replaced by one more in accordance with the style of the building, the work of the late Mr Garbett", but does not speak of the remains or breathe the name of Inigo Jones. Not that Jones was totally neglected in the age of the Gothic Revival. Allan Cunningham devoted a sympathetic chapter to him in his *Lives of the most eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, vol. IV (1831), where Jones immediately succeeds William of Wykeham! In 1853 Cunningham's son Peter published a more extended *Life* which is still held in some respect. H. P. Horne's *DNB* article appeared in 1892. But none mentioned the Winchester screen or, I imagine, directed enquiries to the cathedral authorities about it. Reginald Blomfield in his *History of Renaissance Architecture in England 1500-1800* (1897) has only this to say: "In 1637-8 he [Inigo Jones] designed the choir screen of Winchester cathedral *since destroyed* [my italics]". Dean Kitchin's proposal that the stones should be reassembled to form an entrance gateway at the north west corner of the churchyard was presumably made during his decanate (1883-94). It was rejected on the grounds that the stone would not weather, a view which was to be the subject of further debate on later occasions.

VIII

In the early years of the 20th century the condition of Winchester Cathedral began to give cause for alarm; and the special appointment of T. G. Jackson in 1905 "to deal with the subsidence" was one of the first moves in the long process of rescuing the church from collapse. In the course of 1908, finding the fragments of the screen in the way of the ties which he was proposing to insert in the South Transept, Jackson had them removed and "in order to recover the design" caused them to be "laid out in the churchyard". This operation may be fairly precisely dated from two of the monthly reports made to the architect by his Clerk of the Works, Mr E. Long:

"Oct 24th. I have seen the Dean about the removal of the screen in S.T. and he has consented for it to be put on the grass as proposed. This will be done shortly".

"Nov 14th. The Lab[ourers] are removing the masonry from the Triforium floor of the S. Transept to the plot of grass at S. end".

The second of these notes, corroborated from other sources, indicates that the "plot" was the site of the original Chapter House.

But what was next to become of the stones? An entertaining, if none too charitable, account of the following stage may be read in a contribution to *Country Life* (22 May 1909) by H. Avray Tipping, a strong Laudian who deplored the removal of the screen in the first place. His article is the fourth in a series entitled *Tampering with Ancient Buildings*. He relates how the screen spent the winter of 1908-9 in the open under a covering of straw; how it was then decided by the Dean and Chapter to present this "horrid nuisance" outright to the municipality of Winchester (it was of course only offered); with how little enthusiasm the Recreation Grounds Committee (being the body which handled the business) undertook the "burden of ownership". On 23 March a councillor proposed that "they might shunt it on to someone else, as the Dean and Chapter had on to them". Some church undergoing restoration perhaps? "But this faint ray of light was at once extinguished by an alderman who evidently is the authority on these high matters. 'It must not be forgotten', quoth he, 'that the screen was turned out of the Cathedral because it was unsuitable'." And so on.

Tipping's article, it may be noted, is illustrated by an interesting elevation and plan by the architect G. H. Kitchin, nephew of the former Dean, dated (?) March 1909, and no doubt executed while the stones were laid out on the "plot". They do not correspond in every particular with Jackson's drawing in the Cambridge museum.

It is only fair to say that, as reported by *The Hampshire Observer* (3 April 1909), the whole episode appears much less ridiculous. The main problem for the city fathers, quite apart from the likely cost of restoration, was that there was no building in Winchester (other than the Cathedral) capable of accommodating the whole screen. They therefore gave careful consideration to the question of how well it might be expected to stand the open air. The Abbey Gardens adjoining the Guildhall were suggested as a possible site and this appears to have been the solution envisaged at the

time of the *Observer's* report. "It now lies on the green floor of the ancient ruined chapter house, awaiting its new career as an adorning feature of a public garden". In the circumstances therefore it was not inappropriate that the matter should have fallen into the hands of a Recreation Grounds Committee.

On the balance of advice received the open-air project was, however, to be rejected and not long afterwards the City asked to be relieved of responsibility for the screen; whereupon the Dean and Chapter resolved (27 July) – an alternative already in their minds – to offer it to "The Royal Albert and Victoria [sic] Museum". It is unfortunate that, though the "Winchester Dean and Chapter" file at the V & A goes back to 1897, no correspondence on this issue has survived; but we have Jackson's word for it that the screen was considered too imperfect to justify acceptance.

IX

A remarkable if only partial solution to this frustrating problem was now found. It so happened that Jackson (Plate IV) was at that moment building the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (as it was called until 1978) for the University of Cambridge. An idea occurred to him to which the baffled authorities must have been easily converted. "I asked ... the Dean and Chapter", he writes, "to let me offer to the University, on their behalf, the middle part, for which there was room in the new ... Museum"; and in due course, at the Chapter meeting of 28 February 1910, "a letter was read from Cambridge University accepting Inigo Jones' screen for their new museum of archelogy [sic]". (The archaeological functions of the museum no doubt helped to justify the transfer in the eyes of both Jackson and the Dean and Chapter). Rumours must have been abroad already, for Tipping had written in *Country Life* on 5 January deplored the fate of the screen and predicting that it would now only "lie about in fragments in some museum corner" in Cambridge. Evidently unaware that the offer had six months earlier been made and declined, Tipping suggested the Victoria and Albert as the proper recipient, that museum being so badly in need of "imposing specimens of native work".

Later in his account of things Jackson states summarily that the material "was sent off to Cambridge in time to be built into the construction". Several questions arise here. In the first place what happened to the stones after their winter on the "green floor"? It may, I think, be presumed that after the City authorities had had the opportunity of examining them on the grass, they were brought under cover again and perhaps stored temporarily in the Crypt. One reason for believing that they did not stay in the open throughout the Summer of 1909 is Long's entry for 14 August: "I will have the screen laid out on Monday as far as is possible". This suggests that it *had* been brought in and was now being laid out again (under difficulties because Jackson was not there to supervise), perhaps for the benefit of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

"In time to be built..." The author of an anonymous article in *The Builder* XCVIII (probably Jackson himself) speaks of the project as still in the future in June 1910. The *28th Annual Report ... to the Senate ... (1914/15)* mentions, in the course of an

account of progress on the new building, the "gift of a screen ... which has added a striking architectural feature to the new exhibition hall", implying that it was in this academic year that the installation was carried through. It would therefore at first sight appear possible that the stones remained in Winchester till late in 1911. But the evidence of Long's notebooks indicates that the truth was somewhat otherwise. On 4 June 1910 he writes: "I have had the stone took out for Cambridge which will be sent off shortly"; and on 2 July: "sent 2 pieces of pilaster to Cambridge". So we may conclude that the selected pieces were sent off in instalments, Jackson (who would not want any superfluous masonry in Cambridge) picking and choosing carefully over a considerable period of time.

"Built into..." This is an exact description of what happened. So contrived as to form a structural wall on the second floor of the museum (Plate I) Jones's screen now leads not from nave to quire but from New Guinea into the Pacific! The masonry is joined by the extremely hard cement to which Jackson was so partial – a fact which has its significance in a later context. The portion of the screen thus erected embodies the pedimental unit in the centre and the two fluted pilasters on either side, but extends no farther laterally. In order to make up this feature it is clear that Jackson selected the soundest of the available stones and used them as best he might without undue regard for their original position.

The substantial residue was left in the Crypt at Winchester.

X

If the recognition of Inigo Jones had been somewhat tentative in the 19th century, it was by now firmly established and the movements of the Winchester screen had been followed with interest in the national press as well as in specialist journals. In 1923 appeared the standard life of the artist by J. A. Gotch; since when he has received increasing attention from both scholars and the wider public. In the circumstances it would have been surprising if during the last half-century the possibility of reconstituting the screen had not from time to time been canvassed by Jones's admirers.

One of these was Mr James Lees-Milne who in the course of writing his book *The Age of Inigo Jones* (1953) enquired of Dean Selwyn whether the condition and extent of the surviving masonry would authorize an attempt at reinstatement. Although in the event the Chapter was opposed to any such measure, Mr Lees-Milne did have the opportunity of learning for the first time that the remains were stored in the Crypt and there suffered from seasonal inundations; and this was a matter he was to take up again some ten years later.

In the mean time, on 30 September 1958, Mr Alec Clifton-Taylor, fresh from a visit to the Crypt, wrote to Mr (now Sir) Trenchard Cox, Director of the Victoria and Albert, to suggest that he might care to apply to the Dean and Chapter for the loan of "these finely carved fragments" to display in the galleries of the Museum. The proposal was accordingly made to Dean Sykes who, after consulting his colleagues, wrote on 30 October that they would be willing to lend the fragments provided the cost of

transportation was borne by the V & A. "They could remain with you on loan", he continues, "unless and until (at some unforeseeable date) local opinion here desired to reinstate the screen in the Cathedral"; adding a hope that at the same time the Cambridge museum might be persuaded to part with the centre portion and thus facilitate the total reintegration of the screen. (Dean Sykes suggests further that the V. & A. might like "to have casts made of the two statues originally in the choir screen which are still here, in order to give the screen its former appearance *in toto*". The Chapter was understandably unwilling to let the Le Sueur originals go.) Advice from the appropriate department in the V. & A. was on various grounds discouraging to both proposals mentioned above, and by the end of November the negotiations were wound up, with a final plea to the Dean and Chapter to protect the stones from further deterioration by moving them to a dry place.

The most recent period of active concern started in 1963 when Mr Lees-Milne visited both the Winchester and the Cambridge remains and may have been the first to put into Dean Gibbs-Smith's mind the idea of reassembling the screen in Winchester. Whose-ever the initiative, it was reported at a meeting of the Cathedral Advisory Committee on 16 January 1964 "that the Dean and Chapter were considering the possibility of re-erecting the Inigo Jones screen ... somewhere in the Close or precincts" - a project immediately rejected by the C.A.C. for the same reasons as in the past⁶ - and that Dr Ralegh Radford and Mr Dufty had already visited Winchester and "explored the possibility of an alternative site within the Cathedral, it being the desire of the Dean and Chapter that the present screen by Sir Gilbert Scott [which had supplanted Garbett's screen in 1874] should not be displaced". A site towards the west end of the nave, forming a kind of narthex, was considered but, whether the screen faced east or west, there would in either case be the problem of somehow making up the reverse side which had formerly backed on to the quire stalls. The late Mr Marshall Sisson, who was next consulted, opposed this solution in any case and it was also unacceptable to the Chapter (minutes of C.A.C. meeting, 7 February 1964). At the latter meeting it was also suggested by Mr [Dr Arnold] Taylor that, if it was desirable that the screen should return to Winchester, the Hampshire County Council might be willing to incorporate it in the new Assize Courts then under construction. The conclusions reached at these two meetings were conveyed to the Dean on 27 February in a report drafted by Miss Judith Scott, secretary to the C.A.C.

It may be mentioned that, at the instance of Mr Lees-Milne, the Winchester stones were now displayed on the floor of the North Transept and the C.A.C. urged that, whatever happened, they should not be returned to the Crypt (Plate V and VI). The suggestion "that the connection with Winchester might be preserved by incorporating the screen into the new civic buildings" was welcomed by the Dean (Minutes of C.A.C. meeting, 12 March 1964) who made approaches accordingly; but a Chapter minute of 28 July records that their offer (from which as in 1958 the Le Sueur figures were withheld) had been declined by the County Council. It was then resolved to place the stones for the time being in the triforium of the North Transept and that is where they are still kept.

Three years later, in March 1967, Miss Judith Scott visited the Cathedral and in conversation with the Dean proposed that he should tell the Cambridge museum of the Chapter's continued interest in reacquisition at a suitable moment. She thought it might be possible to raise the issue again when the museum became due for reconstruction ("demolition" as she thought) in about ten years' time.

That interval has elapsed and the reorganisation of the Museum is now (1977) being undertaken. Can the question of the screen be seriously reopened? The auguries are not favourable. For the intractable features of the problem remain. In the first place neither the Dean and Chapter nor Cambridge University can be expected to pay for the transfer – a job rendered peculiarly awkward and costly by Jackson's cement – and it could only be realised by means of a public appeal. And in the second place where are the two parts to be re-assembled? No fresh interior site in Winchester has presented itself as a possibility. Dr Strong confirms that the Victoria and Albert has not changed its mind since 1958. Furthermore, the expense of the operation can only increase with the years.

Perhaps all that need be said here is that, if the permanent dismemberment of the screen may have to be accepted, the centre-piece is at any rate splendidly shown and cared for in the Cambridge museum; while there are strong hopes that the Winchester fragments will in due time be more effectively and more instructively exhibited than at present.

XI

One of the most lamentable casualties of the Great Fire of London in 1666 was the superb west portico built by Inigo Jones for Old St Paul's. Allan Cunningham relates how, many years later, Lord Burlington, for whom "Inigo was indeed the god of his idolatry", "looked on [Wren's] St Paul's, when the last stone was laid, and thinking of the fallen portico of his master, exclaimed, 'When the Jews saw the Second Temple, they reflected upon the beauty of the first and wept'." Practically speaking, the Winchester screen is now the only surviving testimony to the devout spirit which actuated royal patronage in the late 1630s. It springs from the same pious impulse and, though it is now in two places and many pieces, it deserves to be cherished on that account alone. It is also an architectural monument of rare beauty.

NOTES

1. Canon A. W. Goodman wrote in *Winchester Cathedral Record* No. 12 (1943), on 'Our Three Chapter Houses'. There appear now to be four claimants to the designation in this period: 1) The ancient chapter house in the cloister adjoining the south transept; 2) As here, the *pulpitum*, which must be supposed for a time to have fulfilled the functions of a chapter house; 3) An upper chapter house in use during Young's decanate. (In the *Diary* he habitually speaks of going from the quire "up to the chapter house": it may, as conjectured by Mrs Goodman (in her edition of Dean Young's *Diary*, p. 50), have been identical with the west room of the present library.) 4) The present Chapter Room. Thomas Warton in his anonymous *Description ... of Winchester* [1760], pp. 78-79, states that "The present Chapter-House, being the Western Isle of the South Transept was appropriated to that Purpose, A.D. 1621". (The corroborative inscription

J.Y.D., that is John Young Decanus, "over the chimney" is no longer visible.) Young does indeed speak once (18 June 1636) of passing from the quire "to the chapter house *below*" (my italics); and in the phrase "in domo capitulari *superiori*" (my italics) further suggests the contemporaneous use of an upper and a lower room (23 June 1630).

References at this time to the demolition of the "old chapter house", particularly when they are found in the immediate context of the new screen, would seem to make better sense if understood to mean the *pulpitum* rather than the building in the cloister. It may be added that Lowth's description of the *pulpitum* as a "vestry" (*Life of Wykeham*, 3rd ed., 1777, p. 198), though scorned by Milner, is compatible with its simultaneous use as a chapter house.

2. See Note 1. Canon Goodman, defending Bishop Horne against the charge of destroying the cloister chapter house, writes in *Record No. 10* (1941): "The chapter house appears in the Treasurer's accounts for 1637-8 as pulled down then and not till then". Without prejudice to the general case for Horne, I believe the reference to be to the *pulpitum*.

3. A study of the Le Sueur figures, for which Jones made the original drawings, will appear in the *Winchester Cathedral Record No. 50* (1981). Since the installation of Scott's screen they have stood at the west end of the Cathedral nave.

4. *King's Arcadia*, p. 142.

5. At Chatsworth. Reproduced in *K.A.*, p. 118.

6. The late Mr Geoffrey Bushnell, then Curator of the Cambridge museum as well as a member of the C.A.C., assured me that he would never have allowed the centre portion to leave the museum for an external site.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For generous help and advice of various kinds I am indebted to Professor Gerald Aylmer; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the late Mr Geoffrey Bushnell; Canon Frederick Bussby; Mr Wilfrid Carpenter Turner; Mr H. M. Colvin; Mr Murray Davison; Mr F. G. Dimes; Mr Peter Gathercole; Mr Peter Gwyn; Major General R. F. K. Goldsmith; Mr John Harris; Dr David Howarth; Mr Simon Jervis; Mr James Lees-Milne; Mr Desmond Mandeville; Mr Timothy Rogers; the late Dr R. A. Sayce; Sir John Summerson; Dr Jeremy Taylor; Mr Kenneth Timings; Mr Austin Whitaker; Mr David Williams and Miss Corinne Wilson (Mrs Bennett).

THE INHERITORS OF BARNWELL PRIORY

P. V. Danckwerts*

Barnwell Priory (1112-1538)

The first Augustinian priory in Cambridge was founded in 1092 by Picot, Norman sheriff of Cambridge, as a thank-offering for the recovery of his wife Hugoline from illness. It was probably on the site of Magdalene College and was dedicated, with its church, to St Giles. Picot was involved in a plot against Henry I and his estates were forfeited and given to an Englishman, Pain Peverel, who had been on the Crusade and had brought back sacred relics from Antioch. Peverel wished to increase the size of the monastery and obtained from Henry I a grant of land at Barnwell, where he re-founded the monastery in 1112. The site lay somewhere between the Newmarket Road and the river, and River Lane and Elizabeth Way. A chronicle of the Priory up to about 1296 exists in manuscript and an edited version in Latin (*Liber Memorandum Ecclesiae de Bernewelle*) was published by J. W. Clark in 1907.¹ Translations of parts of the MS, paraphrases, a conjectural ground-plan, etc. may be found in various publications.^{1,2,3,4,5,6}

The Dissolution

The penultimate Prior, Nicholas Smith, was obliged to resign in 1534.² No blood was spilled and he received a pension of £20 which was reasonable but not over-generous for the head of such a large House.¹⁰ He was succeeded by John Badcock (appointed by Royal Warrant to supervise the Dissolution), who received a pension of £6. The Commissioners for the Dissolution, the notorious Dr Legh and William Cavendish, arrived in November 1538 and received a deed of surrender signed by the Prior and six canons. They took an inventory of movable and removable objects and some cattle.³ A number of "roffes" (tiles or lead?) were included so that many of the buildings must have been left roofless. Dr Legh bought some lots, but most were bought by a farmer called John Lacy who leased the Priory lands and tithes for some years.² The lease was subsequently taken over by the last Prior, John Badcock, who retained it until shortly before his death in 1551. Nichols² describes him as "being then the incumbent of Barnwell". However, he does not seem to have been the incumbent in the sense of being the Parish Priest (see below).

In 1550 the Priory and its lands were granted to Sir Anthony Browne (it is perhaps

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surprising that there had been no attempt to realise their capital value, by sale or by way of patronage, before then), and passed through various hands including those of Lord Clinton and Saye who sold them in 1553 for 800 marks to Thomas Wendy of Haslingfield.¹¹

The Wendys (1553-1655)

Members of the Wendy family owned the site of the Priory and associated buildings and other landholdings for a century. I am not sure of the amount of land involved. The Prior of Barnwell is said to have had 391 acres in 1279¹² and this corresponds roughly with the amount of land enclosed by the Act of 1807 which was allotted to Thomas Panton II (*q.v.*), so perhaps this area represents the core of the estate, although at the time of the Dissolution the Priory held lands in Chesterton and Cambridge. These are listed in the will of Thomas Wendy I.¹³

Thomas Wendy I (c. 1500-1560), son of Thomas of Clare, was a man of many parts.¹³ He took his M.A. at Cambridge (Gonville Hall) in 1523, his M.D. (incorporated from Ferrara) in 1527 and in 1519 became a Fellow and was subsequently President of Gonville Hall. He was a friend of his fellow-physician, Dr Keys, who re-founded the College. He was Royal Physician successively to Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth (on Mary's death he bought a pardon from Elizabeth for his allegiance to Mary for 26s.8d, i.e. 2 marks).

Both Henry VIII and Edward VI granted him estates. He bought Haslingfield in 1541 and built the Manor House (25 hearths. It was uninhabited after 1714, and was finally dismantled in 1814-19 for the restoration of Bourn Hall. Now only a fragment of wall remains). Barnwell was only one among his several estates and I know nothing of what happened there during his lifetime.

In 1553 he was put on a Commission for effecting the "Great Pillage" of the Town of Cambridge – an inventory of all the valuables of the churches and guilds.¹³ He was a member of the Royal Commissions appointed to visit the University in 1546 and 1559. He was M.P. for St Albans in 1554 and for Cambs in 1555. No doubt he was feared as much as respected in Cambridge, both by Town and Gown. He is described as "a wily courtier and trusted physician of the Tudor Sovereigns", and it is said that by his adroitness he once saved the life of Katherine Parr from the King's anger.¹³

He was married twice, first to Margaret Butler, who was alive until 1550 at least, and then in 1552 to the widow Margaret Atkins who had a son and three daughters by her first husband (she married again after T.W.'s death).

Thomas I died without issue and is buried next to his first wife in Haslingfield church. His will expressed the wish that his heir Thomas II (the son of his brother John) should marry one of the Atkins girls "if any of them can so like and fancy". In fact he had married Elizabeth in 1559. The Barnwell estate did not pass to Thomas II until the death of Margaret (now Worthington) in 1570.

Thomas II (1535-1612) was another substantial man, who became High Sheriff three times. He was a zealous puritan and the chief financial supporter of the preacher

William Perkins who drew great crowds to hear him at St Andrew the Great. In 1588 he provided timber for the puritan foundation of Emmanuel. He made a dramatic impact on Barnwell in 1578, when he gave most of the stones of the Priory to build the Chapel of Corpus Christi (Bene't) College – 182 loads, together with what the tenants of the college could take away with their teams in two days.⁴ He was reproved for this in 1837 by Marmaduke Prickett: "Our own Protestant forefathers succeeded in demolishing error while they failed in building up the truth. If the present ecclesiastical wants of Barnwell Parish could have been foreseen by the destroyers of the Priory Church they were no true sons of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of England, or they would have spared it to be dedicated to her reformed ritual".⁸ This seems a ridiculous proposition as the population of Barnwell was about 200-250 until after the Enclosure Act of 1807, and could have been collectively crammed into the surviving "Abbey Church"; while the Abbey itself was probably roofless in 1578 and had no supporting income, the Tithes having been alienated. If Thomas II had not given the stones away the most we should have had today would have been one of England's ruined Abbeys at the bottom of our garden.

A possible date for the building of the first part of the Abbey House is thus about 1578; it might have housed a bailiff and the Cellarer's Chequer and any other surviving buildings might have been used as barns. However, the house seems to have been too elegant for a bailiff and the Cellarer's Chequer by itself too small for the storage of crops. In 1601 Barnwell was part of the settlement¹⁴ made on the marriage of Thomas II's son and heir William to Blanche, daughter of Sir Henry Coningsby of Herts., and conceivably the house was built for them to live in until the death of Thomas II. However, this is pure speculation.

William (1558-1623) erected an elaborate monument to his parents, to be seen in Haslingfield church. He was made K.B. in 1618 and was High Sheriff three times. He died without issue and his heir was Thomas III (1613-73) the son of his brother Francis. Francis had married in 1610 Elizabeth Wentworth, the daughter of an enormously wealthy coal merchant of Lillingston Lovell, Oxon., where Thomas III was born. Thomas III, unlike the previous Wendys, went to Oxford – in fact to Balliol College where a Wentworth cousin was a scholar. He spent less than two years (1631-3) at Balliol, and did not graduate. As in many colleges, earlier in this century, low academic entry standards which admitted wealthy undergraduates who did not graduate bore fruit in benefactions and influence. Thomas III gave the College some books on his matriculation, in 1667 he contributed £50 towards the College's debts and on his death the College received his library of 2,000 books. His portrait hangs in the College hall.

Thomas III was Sheriff; a Commissioner for disarming Popish recusants; an M.P. in the Convention Parliament in 1660; and in 1661 he was made K.B. by Charles II at his coronation and elected M.P. in the Long Parliament. He presumably moved into Haslingfield manor at some time as he and his wife Lettice Willoughby are buried in the church, along with many other Wendys. They left no issue.

Thomas III had sold the Barnwell Priory estate in 1655/6 to Messrs Knight and

Browne,¹⁵ and in 1656 Sir Thomas Chicheley (who was a neighbour of Wendy's at Wimpole) sold it to Nevile Alexander Butler and his son.

The Butlers (1656-1759)

The main source of the history of the Butlers in Barnwell is "Squire Butler's Hexateuch", six stone tablets erected in the Abbey Church by Jacob, the last of the Butlers, some years before his death in 1765 (two years after Boswell met Johnson). A transcript is given by Nichols.² The first three tablets gave a detailed family history and the second three were an *apologia pro vita sua* by Jacob Butler (*q.v.*).

According to the Hexateuch Nevile Alexander Butler (d. 1674) exchanged his estates at Orwell for those of Sir Thomas Chicheley at Barnwell; the documents, however, show that the Barnwell estates were sold in 1656 for £5400 to Nevile and Thomas (his eldest son).¹⁶ According to the Hexateuch, again, Nevile was the first owner to live there since the Dissolution. Sir James Gray¹⁷ states (without citing evidence) that Nevile went to live at the Abbey House. Others have said that he built the house, but if its dating to the late 16th century is correct they acquired the house with the estate and presumably lived in it. The property passed from Nevile to his second son, Ambrose (1637-85), who added a large extension to the house, bearing the date 1678 which can be seen on the "Dutch gable". A glimpse of life at the Abbey House in 1669 is given by Alderman Newton, describing the "Barnwell Collation" which appears to have been a customary accompaniment to the opening of Stourbridge Fair. On 16 June a visit was paid by the Mayor, Alderman and City officials. They were met by Mr and Mrs Butler who served them with "Gammon of Bacon, creame and stued prunes, beere and cake, and the Town sent wine and sugar (nothing given to servants by Mayor or anyone els)".¹⁸

On the death of Ambrose the estate passed briefly to his daughter who died in 1688, and was succeeded by her uncle the Rev. Dr John Butler (1645-1714), Rector of Wallington in Herts., who "enjoyed that living 44 years". He had 11 sons and 5 daughters, most of them buried at Barnwell like himself. Four of his children, aged from 2 to 10 years, died of smallpox and were buried on the same day in one grave "under the family seat" in 1696. Altogether there are some 24 Butlers buried in and around the abbey church, but not a legible memorial remains.

Dr John's eldest son and heir Jacob (1681-1765), generally known as "Squire Butler", who outlived all the others, has been the subject of innumerable articles because of his eccentricities. The material for these is based on his Hexateuch or on the following passage in Hone's *Everyday Book*¹⁹ which itself quotes from the Hexateuch and gives a crude reproduction of a portrait etching by the Rev. Michael Tyson of Bene't College; the original is reproduced by Nichols.²

"Jacob Butler, Esq., who died on the 28th of May, 1765, stoutly maintained the charter of Stourbridge fair: he was of Bene't-college, Cambridge, and a barrister-at-law. In stature he was six feet four inches high, of determined character, and deemed "a great eccentric" because, among other reasons, he usually invited the

giants and dwarfs, who came for exhibitions, to dine with him. He was so rigid in seeing the charter literally complied with, that if the ground was not cleared by one o'clock on the day appointed, and he found any of the booths standing, he had them pulled down, and the materials taken away. On one occasion when the wares were not removed by the time mentioned in the charter, he drove his carriage among the crockery and destroyed a great quantity.

"The rev. John Butler, LL.D. rector of Wallington, in Hertfordshire, father of Mr Butler, who was his eldest son, endeavoured in the year 1705, to get Stourbridge fair rated to the poor. This occasioned a partial and oppressive assessment on himself that involved him in great difficulties. Dr Butler died in 1714, and Jacob Butler succeeded to his difficulties and estates in the parish of Barnwell. As a trustee under an act for the turnpike road from Cambridge to London, Mr Butler was impeached of abuses in common with his co-trustees. Being obnoxious, he was singled out to make good the abuse, and summoned to the county sessions, where he appeared in his barrister's gown, was convicted and fined ten pounds, which he refused to pay, and was committed. He excepted to the jurisdiction, wherein he was supported by the opinion of Sir Joseph Yorke, then attorney-general, and to save an estreat applied to the under-sheriff, who refused his application, and afterwards went to the clerk of the peace at Newmarket, from whom he met the like treatment; this forced him to the quarter-sessions, where he obtained his discharge, after telling the chairman he felt it hard to be compelled to the trouble and expense of teaching him and his brethren law. He appears to have been a lawyer of that school, which admitted no law but the old common law of the land, and statute law. In 1754, "to stem the venality and corruption of the times, he offered himself a candidate to represent the county in parliament, unsupported by the influence of the great, the largess of the wealthy, or any interest, but that which his single character could establish in the esteem of all honest men and lovers of their country. But when he found the struggles for freedom faint and ineffectual, and his spirits too weak to resist the efforts of his enemies, he contented himself with the testimony of those few friends who dare to be free, and of his own unbiassed conscience, which, upon this, as well as every other occasion, voted in his favour; and upon these accounts he was justly entitled to the name of *the old Briton*". He bore this appellation to the day of his death. The loss of a favourite dog is supposed to have accelerated his end; upon its being announced to him, he said "I shall not live long now my dog is dead". He shortly afterwards became ill, and, lingering about two months, died.

"His coffin, which was made from a large oak by his express order, some months before his death, became an object of public curiosity; it was of sufficient dimensions to contain several persons, and wine was copiously quaffed therein by many of those who went to see it. To a person, who was one of the legatees, the singular trust was delegated of driving him to the grave, on the carriage of a waggon, divested of the body: seated in the front, he was to drive his two

favourite horses, Brag and Dragon, to Barnwell church, and should they refuse to receive his body there, he was to return and bury him in the middle of the grass-plat in his own garden. Part only of his request was complied with, for the body being put into a leaden coffin, and the leaden one into a shell, was conveyed in a hearse, and the coffin made before his death was put upon the carriage of his wagon, and driven before the hearse by the gentleman above mentioned; when arrived at the church door, it was taken from the carriage by four men, who received half-a-guinea each; it was then put into the vault, and the corpse being taken from the hearse was carried to the vault, there put into the coffin, and then screwed down".

It is recorded that he left £5000 in legacies of £100 to his relatives, and a similar amount on the death of his wife (Rose Butler, his first cousin, who outlived him by 13 years).

Squire Butler's autobiographical epitaph reads in part as follows:

"As his sentiments were founded in principle, so his conduct in private life, wherein it would be hard to decide whether his conjugal affection, his firmness in friendship, or benevolence in charity, truly christian, shone the brightest; for he was conspicuous in all..."

Now reader

Behold the hardships and ill usage of his life. ..."

When he succeeded his father in 1714 the yearly value of the estate was £355, never let for more; but owing to his father's ill-advised attempt to get the Fair rated to the poor, taxes amounted to £635. Squire Butler managed to get this reduced to £420, but he had a mortgage of £4000,²⁰ seven brothers and sisters to pay, four annuities of £240 p.a., and suffered two disastrous fires in 1717 and 1731. Only after legal proceedings did he get partial compensation, and that from a court in which one of the justices was the son of his father's horsekeeper.

To support himself he had to farm the estate himself, although as a barrister he was quite unqualified to do so. Litigation occupied much of his attention. Apart from the turnpike affair mentioned above (here too the Chairman of the quarter sessions was the horsekeeper's son) he was at various times involved in cases concerning a dog-kennel erected on his land by an Alderman without his authority; a brace of greyhounds; a farmer who ploughed-up common land; and his own high-handed pounding of other peoples' horses and cows.

He concludes:

"He feared his God; He honoured the King;
And despised his foes; And valued his friends".

In addition to his civil litigation he had a brush with Canon Law. In 1733 he declared the Abbey Church to be a *libera capella* (free chapel) and refused to receive any visits or citations from the Archdeacon or the Bishop of Ely, or to render any records to the Diocese (they were kept in the Church Book, which has disappeared). He was cited by

the Bishop (Butler) but his case was upheld by the Chancellor. This situation continued at least until 1811.⁷

Another characteristic vignette of Jacob Butler comes from a letter written in 1802: "I have often heard him say, a God, a God I know all the land on ye fields of Barnwell and no one else Does; for I have got a Terrier [i.e. catalogue of fields], which belonged to the first purchaser of ye estates after the Priory was Broke up (I wish I should live to see all *the Monks* of ye Present Day Driven from their Cells in ye Colleges, I would be Master of Jesus for that Belongs to my Estate)".²¹ Of course, it did not.

William Cole of Milton gives a sad impression of him in his dotage "...on quitting the Priory House he came and lived at an house ... at the corner of Emmanuel Lane. He was bred up in Christ's College [the Everyday Book says Bene't, but as he is not listed in Venn he presumably neither matriculated nor graduated], but within these last few years has put his name upon the boards of Emmanuel College to qualify himself to vote in the Senate, which was disputed before ... He is ... looked upon as cracked in his intellects ... the Cambridge Newspapers had constantly some articles about him, wrote by himself and styling himself Old Briton. In the last Cambridge Chronicle (17 Nov. 1764) is this article about him: 'It is said that a Professorship of the Laws of England will shortly be founded here by the oldest Barrister at Law in the Kingdom, who ... lives in the Town of Cambridge'."²²

As to his quitting the Abbey House, although this is not mentioned in the Hexateuch of the *Everyday Book*, it is borne out by the Abstract of Title (1723-1808)²³ which shows that the Squire had a mortgage of £4,000 on the estate and that he contracted in 1756 to sell it to Alderman George Riste for 9,999 gns. Riste tried to back out on the grounds that the title was not good. In Squire Butler's last case the Court of Chancery found for him and specific performance was required of Riste; so that in 1759 the Squire paid off his mortgage and had some £6,500 in hand, but unless he rented it back he cannot have passed his last days in the Abbey House as is usually assumed.

His three children died in infancy.

The Pantons and the Gwydrys (1763-1813)

Ald. Geo. Riste died in 1762 and the estate passed to his sister and heiress who lost no time in selling it, in 1763, to Thomas Panton I of Newmarket, who paid £8,700.²⁰ Comparison with the 9,999 guineas which Riste was forced to pay Squire Butler in 1759, may account for his reluctance to honour the contract.

I know little of Thomas Panton I (1697-1782) except that his father was a general²³ and that although he became Master of the King's Running Horses to George II he was described by Horace Walpole²⁴ as a "disreputable horse-jockey of Newmarket". He bred some fine horses including "Blaze", "Whitenose" and "Spectator". He evidently prospered, as he bought Fen Ditton in 1749²³ and probably much else besides. He had two children who both married well and are among the Inheritors. Mary, to whom I shall revert, became the Duchess of Ancaster and Kesteven; she was described by

Walpole²⁴ as Panton's "natural daughter" although her putative parents were legally married at some stage. His son, Thomas II (1731-1808) was one of the greatest Turfites of his time.^{25,26,27} He was a Fellow Commoner of Emmanuel, but never graduated. His life was devoted to the race-course (although he was said to have kept hounds and became High Sheriff). He won the seventh Derby in 1786 with Noble (a 30-1 outsider which never achieved much else). He married in 1767 Elizabeth Byrd of Roehampton who was said to have "brought him a fortune of upwards of £100,000".^{23,28}

A late obituary describes his life thus:

"The year 1809 (*sic*) saw the last of two of the oldest among English sportsmen – men whose names are handed-down to posterity in the Stud-Book and the Calendar. Mr Wentworth and Mr Panton were among the oldest members of the Jockey Club. These venerable gentlemen were 87 and 88 (*sic*) years of age respectively at the time of their deaths. Mr Panton had known intimately all the great Turf men of his time and had rarely in his life been absent from an interesting or important race".³⁵

He became one of the early members of the Jockey Club, and was a Steward at the time of the great "Escape" scandal of 1791. The Prince of Wales ran Escape in a race one day; although it started as favourite it came in last. The next day it started in a race at 5-1 against and won easily. It was discovered that the jockey, Chifney (the champion jockey of his day) had bet on Escape to win in the second race but not the first. The Stewards took a strong line and told the Prince that "no gentleman would be found to make book or to run horses in any race in which this jockey might ride". H.R.H. said he would never set foot in Newmarket again – and never did. He gave Chifney, with whom he was on over-familiar terms, an annuity.²⁵

Thomas Panton II was widely-known as "Polite Tommy Panton" because of his "address" which must have been a great asset to the Club in such vicissitudes. He is assumed in Fen Ditton to have lived in the Hall. If he did so this would have been after his marriage in 1767 until his father's death in 1782, but Cole, while mentioning the marriage, says nothing of him living at Fen Ditton.²³ His only interest in Barnwell was to get it enclosed and in this he was helped by his association with the Peerage at Newmarket (a plan dated 1787²⁹ shows, apart from the Panton stables, those of the Prince of Wales, H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland and several other peers including Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton, the subsequent Chancellor of the University and owner of the "Kite" area.). The University was against the Enclosure Bill and had got Lord Onslow to speak against it in the Lords. When he got up to oppose the Bill someone called out "This is your friend Tommy Panton's Bill", whereupon the noble lord sat down and never uttered another word.⁵ The Act was granted Royal Assent in 1807.

The tenants of "Barnwell Abbey Farm" (including the Abbey House and the Priory site) during the latter part of the 18th century and up to 1809 at least, and probably up to 1813, were successively John and George Bullen, members of a well-known Cambridge family. They evidently took some pride in the house. During their tenancy a squared freestone pavement was dug up on the Priory site and laid on the ground

floor of the house⁷ (it has worn badly during the last 200 years); and some early 17th century oak panelling was brought in to line one of the rooms. I have been told this "came from Jesus about 1800". It might have come from Rhadegund Manor which was leased by Jesus to an unsatisfactory tenant, John Bullen, or it might have come from Fen Ditton Hall which contains similar panelling and was subject to modification and partial demolition.

Tommy Panton's marriage had been the occasion of a settlement of amazing complexity.²⁰ Suffice it to say that he died without issue (although he had married a second time to a Miss Gubbins³⁰) and that, while he held a life interest in Barnwell and other estates, the vested remainder resided with Tommy's brother-in-law Peregrine Bertie, 3rd Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, who died in 1778 and left his interest to his son and heir Robert (4th Duke) who died in 1779, aged 22, of a "scarlet fever brought on by rioting and drink".²⁴ The Barnwell property was not entailed on Brownlow, Peregrine's brother and the 5th Duke, but was bequeathed by Robert in tail to his sister Priscilla Barbara Elizabeth and her son Peter Burrell.²⁰ She had married Peter Burrell (according to Walpole "she fell in love with him and would marry him, not at all at his desire"²⁴) who became successively Knight, 2nd Baronet and 1st Earl Gwydir (cr. 1796). She, by some complex turn of events became Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby in her own right, a title which carried with it the status of Lord Great-Chamberlain of England (her husband deputised for her). The comments of Horace Walpole on the Burrells and the Ancasters are scurilous and amusing, although not accurate in detail.²⁴

Tommy Panton was entitled to sell part of the Barnwell estate to pay the expenses of the Enclosure. A small part was put up for sale in 1808 and some of it bought by Downing College. Tommy died on the day of the sale³⁰ and the eventual vendors were Lady Gwydir and Peter Burrell her son and his wife.^{20,31}

As they wished to bar the entail on the rest of Barnwell and the other Panton estates it was necessary to go through an elaborate legal charade, namely a feigned conveyance to a nominee, who was thereby enabled to sell on their behalf with a clear title.³¹ In 1809 they put up for auction estates at Barnwell, Fen Ditton, Horningsea and Waterbeach (all of which, I imagine, had come to them via the Pantons).³² The first lot was Barnwell Abbey Farm (about 340 acres, including the Priory Site and Abbey House, together with rights of common and sheepwalk for 500 sheep on Coldham's Common, "Stirbitch" Fair Green, Christ's Pieces, Parker's Piece and Cow Fen Leys). According to a pencilled note on the back of the catalogue, this was bought in at £25,000, last bid £21,900. On the day of the sale the Rev. Dr James Geldart bought part of the lot east of River Lane including "Stirbitch" Fair Green and some property on the other side of the Newmarket Road.³³ In 1813 he bought the Priory site itself.^{34,51}

The Geldarts (1813-86)

Dr Geldart, who owned the advowson of Kirk Deighton in Yorkshire, and was the Rector at his own presentation, described himself as "Lord of the Manor" of Barnwell,

but as a matter of fact it does not seem that there was ever a manor in the legal sense (e.g. it is not mentioned in the Enclosure Act).³⁵ He leased the Abbey House to George Pryme, who became the first Professor of Political Economy in the University.³⁶ Mrs Pryme affected to call her daughter "Miss de la Pryme". A visitor said "that's a very pretty name you have given your daughter. I think I shall christen my baby Della".³⁷

George Pryme lived in the house until 1847 and this was perhaps the latest date at which the whole house served as a single residence. Thereafter it seems to have been divided into three "tenements"; the Cambridge street directories from 1867 on suggest that the usual pattern was one middle-class family occupying the "grand" 16th century rooms and others, and two artisans in the rest. However, the pattern was variable. From about 1900 the situation is complicated by the suggestion that the house was divided into four parts, but in fact a new house (No. 4 Abbey Road) had been built between the Abbey House and Newmarket Road.

Dr James Geldart had three sons: James William (1785-1876) who, while enjoying the hereditary Rectorship of Kirk Deighton, became Tutor and Vice-Master at Trinity Hall and Regius Professor of Civil Law (1814-1847); Richard John (1786-1871) who seems not to have been distinguished; and Thomas Charles (1797-1877) who was Master of Trinity Hall (1852-1877).

The only vivid picture of one of the Geldarts which I have discovered is by Noel Annan:

"...Dr Geldart, the Master of Trinity Hall, an ancient megatherium, who liked his bottle in the evening and asked only to be left in peace. But now he resembled a barnacled dreadnought, straddled by salvoes from port and starboard, his young radical colleagues on the one hand and on the other his wife, a formidable Mrs Proudie of the Evangelical persuasion. One day she sent her husband into a College meeting with strict instructions not to grant the Chaplaincy of St Edward's, in the gift of the College, to F. D. Maurice on the grounds that he held lax views on the subject of Eternal Punishment. Stephen and Fawcett guessed what had happened and innocently enquired the exact nature of the allegedly heretical passages. The Master, unable to make a signal to base, foundered with all hands, and to their delight Maurice was appointed. Far from disliking him the rebels regarded Dr Geldart with unassailable affection; and when he lay on his death-bed Fawcett visited him and so invigorated the old gentleman that he called for a bottle of port and his fishing tackle to the infinite scandal of Mrs Geldart who forbade a repetition of the visit ... Mrs Geldart found it most difficult to get her husband into a seemly frame of mind. "I don't know why it is", she complained, "but I can't get poor dear Charles to take any interest in the arrangements for his funeral". As a good Evangelical she waited anxiously for her husband's last words which would indicate that his thoughts were fixed on higher things, but Dr Geldart remained lamentably mixed with the dross of this world. Feeling the death pangs hard upon him, the flame lit up for the last time. "You will let the undergraduates have some of the old sherry", he gasped, and

thereupon expired. Mrs Geldart, writes Thomas Henry Thornely, was so appalled that she called for an autopsy and joyfully exclaimed, when the surgeons proclaimed that there was evidence that the Master's mind had become unhinged at the end, "Clearly not responsible! Clearly not responsible!" ".³⁸

I do not know what plans the speculative Dr James Geldart originally had for the Priory site. After his death his estates seem to have been held as joint family property and in 1879, after the death of the last of his sons, four of his grandsons (all clergymen, one of them Rector of Kirk Deighton) were appointed trustees to sell the site (and other property) and divide the proceeds into fourteen parts for various members of the family.³⁹ Before then only 7 acres of the 26-acre site had been sold, notably the Newmarket Road frontage east of the church.

The University Statutes had been amended in 1878 to allow Fellows of Colleges to retain their Fellowships despite marriage; it may have seemed to the Trustees that there would be a market for ample building sites to accommodate married Fellows and their families. An auction catalogue of the site, dated 1879, survives; the plots offered were typically about 2 acres, with 200ft street frontages.⁴⁰ The area was described as "accommodation land and brickyards". The sale was abortive. The part of Barnwell lying across the Newmarket Road was by that time an atrocious slum and the neighbourhood would probably not have been attractive to prosperous householders.

In 1884 a prospectus for the "Abbey Estate Freehold Land Society" was issued.⁴¹ The intention was that the members should purchase building land at 3s 3d per sq. yd., and appoint Trustees and a Committee. The land was marked out in lots of, typically, 1/5 acre. The Abbey House was allocated a lot of 0.6 acres and the house would have been thrown in with the price of the land. The tenant of the house at that time was Rev. H. R. B. Streeten (Secretary to the Missions to Seamen), with two sub-tenants. This project, too, was abortive.

Finally, in 1886, the major part of the Priory site (19 acres) was sold to the property speculator Joseph Sturton for £7,750.³⁹ Sturton sold the Abbey House (less a large slice of its garden bordering the Newmarket Road – boundaries as now) to Streeten for £800 and gave the "Cellarer's Chequer" to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. In the same year the Western part of the site was put up for auction in lots with 18ft. frontages, suitable for terrace artisan houses.⁴² Most of the site was eventually sold in this way by Sturton; Godesdone Road, Abbey Road, Beche Road, Priory Road and Saxon Road being laid-out in addition to the existing Walnut Tree Lane (up-graded to Avenue), River Lane and the Haling Way (re-named Riverside). The lots were not snapped up and some were sold, for instance, as late as 1902.⁴³ Many of the houses which now fill the site were built by Mr Clark (a speculative builder) to a standard ground-plan; he built himself a house at the corner of Godesdone Road and Beche Road. Mr Clark was an energetic builder; for instance he bought a plot of land on Riverside from Sturton for £365 in June 1902, and re-sold the plot with 10 terrace houses on it for £1000 in November 1902. Two of the ten houses were sold back to Clark in 1917 for £1200. Clark's houses have mostly lasted well, but many of those on

Riverside suffer from settlement because they stand on made-up ground over alluvial silt. A number of shops were built on the Newmarket Road frontage, and "The Old Abbey" pub (no longer serving) in Beche Road.

Today the Priory site is a General Improvement Area, and will be protected from the fate of the Kite. The Magnet Joinery warehouse (formerly an engineering works run by several generations of the Lister family) has been an anomaly, but it is shortly to move, and it is to be hoped that the site, which belongs to the Council, will be used for decent small houses. The outline of the Priory site in the 12th century as conjectured by Clark³ remains very much as it was, except that Elizabeth Way has destroyed Walnut Tree Avenue. A lay-by alongside the Elizabeth Bridge has, however, retained the name.

The Abbey House

The Rev. Streeten sold the house in 1899 to Thomas Askham for £1,120³⁹ (a reasonable profit at a time when house prices in general were falling). Thomas Askham was from 1874 onwards the landlord of the "Woodman's Arms", almost next door to the still-existent "Bird in Hand" near the Cambridge Evening News building. For a time this was also the address of "Askham and Son, Carriage Works". He did not move into the Abbey House. Thomas Askham seems to have been hardworking and enterprising, and to have made a good deal of money. His son, Arthur Askham, moved into the house about 1922, and lived mainly in the part known as No. 2. He was a great character, still remembered by many. According to recent letters to the Cambridge Evening News⁴⁴ he was fond of drinking with his friends and had an eye for the ladies, and did as little work as possible, although he owned the Hippodrome in Auckland Road. He kept the garden in beautiful condition, and used to have children's parties with country dancing on the lawn. In his later years, however, the grass grew tall and he kept goats, and was supposed to live on goats' milk and bottled stout. He was asking £3000 for the house in 1932, but eventually sold it (in very bad condition) in 1945 for £3,675 to Lord Fairhaven of Anglesey Abbey. Arthur Askham died in a Red Cross home in Chaucer Road some years later.

Huttleston Broughton, Lord Fairhaven, was the first Baron, although his mother had borne the title of Baroness Fairhaven because her husband died after the offer of a peerage and before its conferment. His parents were enormously wealthy; his father made a fortune from mining and railways in the U.S.A. and his mother, Cara Rogers, was a New York heiress. Lord Fairhaven used to accompany his mother regularly on her sumptuous yacht Sapphire (with a crew of 60). She gave Runnymede to the nation. Lord Fairhaven and his brother bought the remains of Anglesey Abbey (the eastern neighbour of Barnwell Priory) and he renovated it and filled it with a miscellany of *objets d'art*. The flat Cambridgeshire fields surrounding it were converted (as though in the days of Capability Brown) into a landscape garden of note. The house and grounds were left to the National Trust on his death in 1966.^{45,46}

In 1946 Lord Fairhaven made over the Abbey House to the people of Cambridge, in

the form of the Folk Museum, "in recognition of V.E. Day and thank-offering for deliverance from the perils of war". The plan was that the Museum should move into the house but although a good deal of money (borrowed, I think, from the Council) was spent on essential repairs the move never took place. The factors involved may have included lack of money, sitting tenants and an unsuitable location. The house remained as three residences until my wife and I took a long lease in 1964 on Nos. 1 and 2, which were easily thrown into one. In 1973 the Folk Museum presented the freehold of the house to the City Council and in 1977 our lease was extended to include the whole house, which remains two dwellings.

Not until the date of writing has the Council been able to take in hand essential repairs to the house, but it appears that most of these will be done in 1980. The future of the Abbey House, which has been in continuous use as a dwelling for some 400 years, is uncertain. The Council has no certainty of gaining vacant possession until A.D. 2027.

The architectural features of the house are described at length in the City of Cambridge Survey of the R.C.H.M.⁴⁷ The part attributed to the late 16th century is curiously unsymmetrical, leading to speculation as to whether it was all built at one time. Some 25 years after the building of Ambrose Butler's extension in 1678 the house was "modernised" by brick-facing and making-flush the exterior and panelling the interior walls of the 16th century part. Behind some of the panels can be found timber and plaster walls with early 17th century painted decorations. Two curious features not mentioned in the survey are the outhouses at the eastern extremity of the building. One is a bakehouse which contains instead of an oven an enormous hot-plate such as might be used for cooking drop-scones or hamburgers. The other is a communal five-holer W.C. with automatic flushing, probably of 19th century origin.

There is the usual story of an underground tunnel, running either to St Rhadegund's or to Anglesey Abbey. Either of these destinations would take the tunnel below the water-table and involve sophisticated civil engineering. There is a structure in the cellar which looks like the entrance to a tunnel but now, at any rate, there is earth behind it. I have been told that there used to be a tunnel and that one of the Askhams sent a dog down it, which did not return and then a pig, which did. Such anecdotes must regrettably be dismissed, along with some of those of the Haunting. The tunnel is also discussed by Gauld.⁴⁸

The Haunting

An authoritative and critical account of the Haunting of the Abbey House was published in 1972 by Alan Gauld.⁴⁸ The principal evidence comes from signed statements from Mr and Mrs J. C. Lawson, who lived in the house with their family from 1903 to 1911. "Jock" Lawson was a Fellow of Pembroke College and a distinguished classical scholar and served as Senior Proctor. People who knew him did not regard him as credulous or fanciful.

The very first night they spent in the house the maids and children were disturbed by

bangs on their doors and spent the night in terror. The next morning the maids declared they could not spend another night in the house, but Mrs Lawson persuaded them that it had been the Labrador dog (but there were no scratches on the doors) and there was no recurrence of this kind of "haunting".

There were however two durable apparitions, 'The Animal' and 'The Nun'. The animal was seen by both parents as well as the children, and looked like a hare with cropped ears, pattering audibly about, upright on its hind legs. The children called it 'Wolfie'. The connection with Squire Butler's favourite dog seems tenuous.

The 'nun' appeared in the first-floor room at the S. (16 C.) end of the house which was the Lawsons' bedroom. It came in through the (closed) door, paused at the foot of the bed and then disappeared through a curtained window. It would wake Mr Lawson up with its heavy tread but Mrs Lawson heard nothing (a later resident has told me that the 'heavy tread' emanated from operations at the gas-works). The figure was dressed in nun-like robes; on one occasion it prodded Mr Lawson on the foot. It was exorcised by Mrs Lawson who found its nightly visits tiresome (not frightening) after a long spell of being laid up in bed. At last one night she sat up in bed and making the sign of the cross towards it said "In the Name of the Holy Trinity, poor soul, rest in peace". It was not seen again.

In 1972 none of the Lawson children remembered anything about the haunting. Gauld makes the point that too much weight should not be put on the evidence of children or of people who have been told that a house is haunted (the Lawsons were not told of the existing tradition of haunting before their experiences began). This perhaps rules out the less substantial records of haunting since the Lawsons left.⁴⁹ In 1955 Professor F. J. M. Stratton, President of the Society for Psychical Research, obtained possession of No. 1 Abbey House for a week and senior and undergraduate members of the University made up a rota of watches. Nothing happened and nothing significant has happened since.

The "Abbey Church"

This early 13th century church, now the mother church of the parish of St Andrew the Less, was no doubt built by the Prior of Barnwell as a chapel to serve the lay community. An architectural description may be found in the Cambridge Survey of the R.C.H.M.⁴⁷

For some decades after the dissolution there was no incumbent; in 1561 the episcopal return reported the windows in decay and the pavement in the church lacking.⁵⁰ The earliest surviving Bishop's transcripts of the parish register date from 1599 (C.R.O.) in which year a marriage took place in the church. After the Civil War, in 1649, St Andrew the Less was the only Anglican church in Cambridge with a minister serving the cure.⁵¹

The parish was originally vast, stretching from Coldham's Brook to Parker's Piece and from the river south to Hobson's Brook (Trumpington Road).⁵² It also contained enclaves and salients of other parishes. Nowadays the parish does not run south of

Mill Road and a number of daughter churches have been built.

At the time of the Barnwell Enclosure Act in 1807³⁵ the population of the parish was less than 250 but 35 years later it had risen to nearly 10,000 (greater than the entire population of Cambridge before 1807).⁹ Much of the newly-urbanised area consisted of slums, the haunt of murderers, thieves and prostitutes. The income of the church was £50 p.a.⁸ and the building was in a very bad condition. In these circumstances the Rev. Charles Perry decided in 1835 to forego the comforts of a College fellowship and to devote himself to the provision of an adequate place of worship and a spiritual centre for the 'profligate poor' of the parish. He purchased the advowson, and an appeal for a new church was launched, backed by a small book written by Marmaduke Prickett, Chaplain of Trinity College.⁸ This book contains some interesting historical information and opinion about Barnwell Priory. Prickett's tone is evangelical. Apart from his comments on the gift by Thomas Wendy II of the stones of the Priory to Bene't College (noted above) he says: "Founded by zealous patrons of a corrupt church the monastic institutions may be regarded as the fruits of a sincere though mistaken piety, anxious to secure those delusive privileges which the church of the Middle Ages held out to its devoted followers. Yet if freedom from an imaginary purgatory, procured by masses for the departed soul, could lead so many to impoverish their heirs and vainly seek to buy admission into heaven by splendid endowments, what shall be said for the professors of the reformed faith if higher motives and purer hopes have been unproductive of self-denying exertions in the cause of Christ".

In a less austere passage he notes that a place and portion had been laid for Pain Peverel at the Priory table through the ages and compares this custom unfavourably with the current practice of holding an annual Founder's Feast.

A subscription was raised to build Christchurch, on the other side of the Newmarket Road and nearer Cambridge. The church was consecrated in 1839.⁵¹ Perry was the first incumbent; later he became Bishop of Melbourne (Australia).

The Abbey Church was at that time unfit for divine service and was closed from 1846 to 1854, during which time it was 'restored' by the Cambridge Architectural Society. In view of the sentiments prevailing at Christchurch, it is piquant to find that the design of the organ front is attributed to Pugin (the co-architect of the present Palace of Westminster). A Roman Catholic convert who described the Anglican Communion as a "blasphemous charade" and wrote a vitriolic attack on the subscription fund for the Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford, he and his sponsors can have had little meeting of hearts and minds with the clergy and congregation at Christchurch.

The restorers made a clean sweep of the church. No Butler memorials remain. The Hexateuch was removed and set up against the West wall of the churchyard. At this date the six slabs are almost featureless, but faint traces of the lettering in protected corners show that they were set up in the wrong order.

The Abbey Church became a vigorous organisation, perhaps in rivalry with Christchurch, and well into the 20th century had a good congregation, a choir,

outings, etc. As late as 1955 an addition was made to the building. Now it is locked against vandals and used for Evensong once a month.

The Cellarer's Chequer was given by the C.A.S. to the City Council. It is now locked, empty and unused. The only extant part of Barnwell Priory which can be said to serve an everyday purpose is the badly-eroded 'precinct wall' which is now the north wall of the Abbey House garden and has roses trained upon it.

I have used here the sources which lay most readily to hand and which I could read. No doubt a professional historian and archaeologist could find out a good deal more than I have done about the history of Barnwell and the Abbey House. However, I have traced the line of ownership of the Priory site, which has been garbled in most previous accounts.

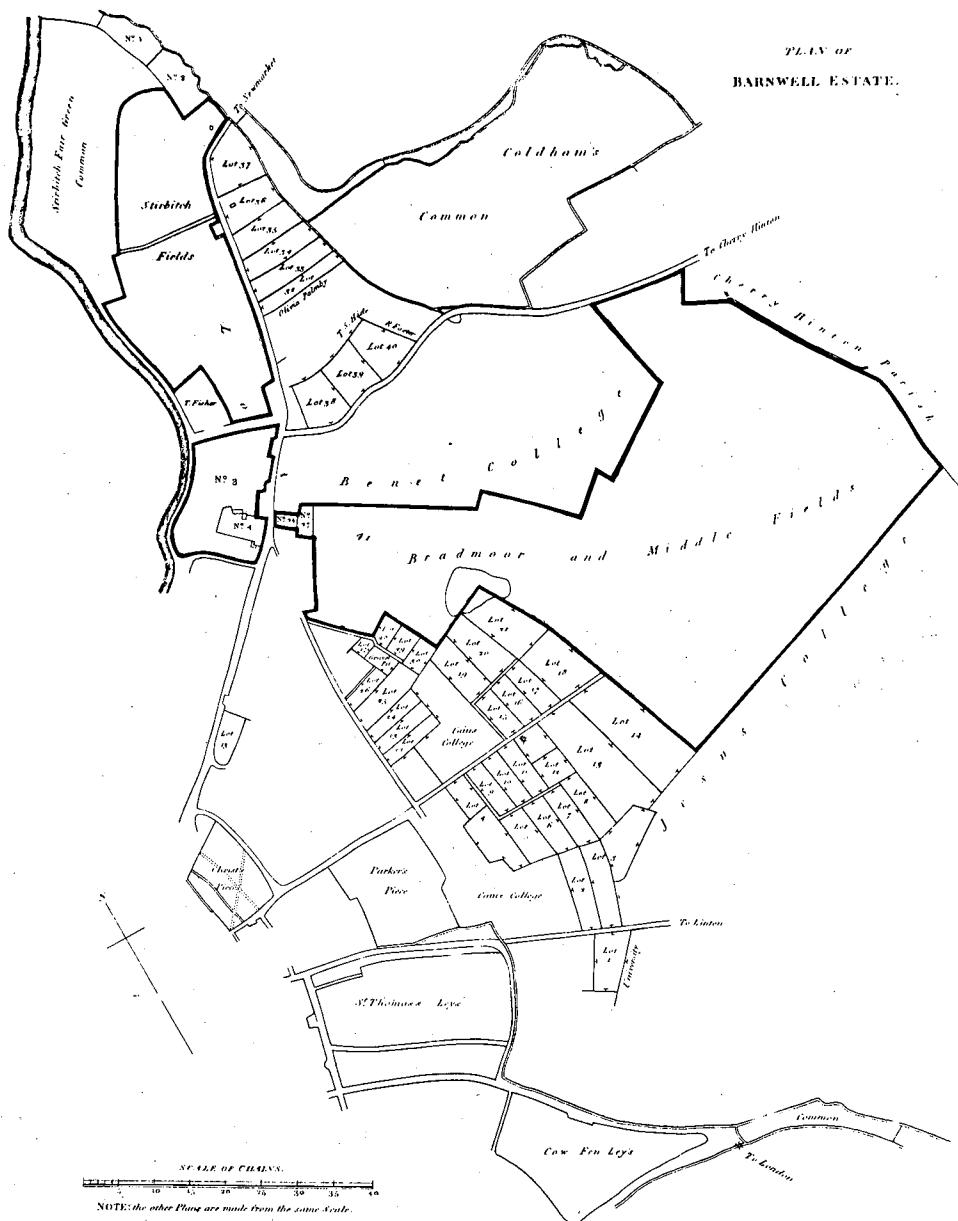
I am indebted to the following who have provided information or led me to sources: Mr A. P. Baggs, Mrs C. P. Hall, Mr S. C. Humphrey, Mrs F. Jones, Mrs I. Lister, Mrs D. M. Owen, Mr V. Quinn, Mr D. C. H.-C.-Borgnis.

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C.U.L.	Cambridge University Library.
C.R.O.	Cambridgeshire County Record Office.

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**Fig. 1. Auction catalogue plan 1809. Barnwell Abbey Farm outlined.
(Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)**



Fig. 2. Detail from Cooper's map of Cambridge, 1830. (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. Ref: Maps BB 53.83.1)

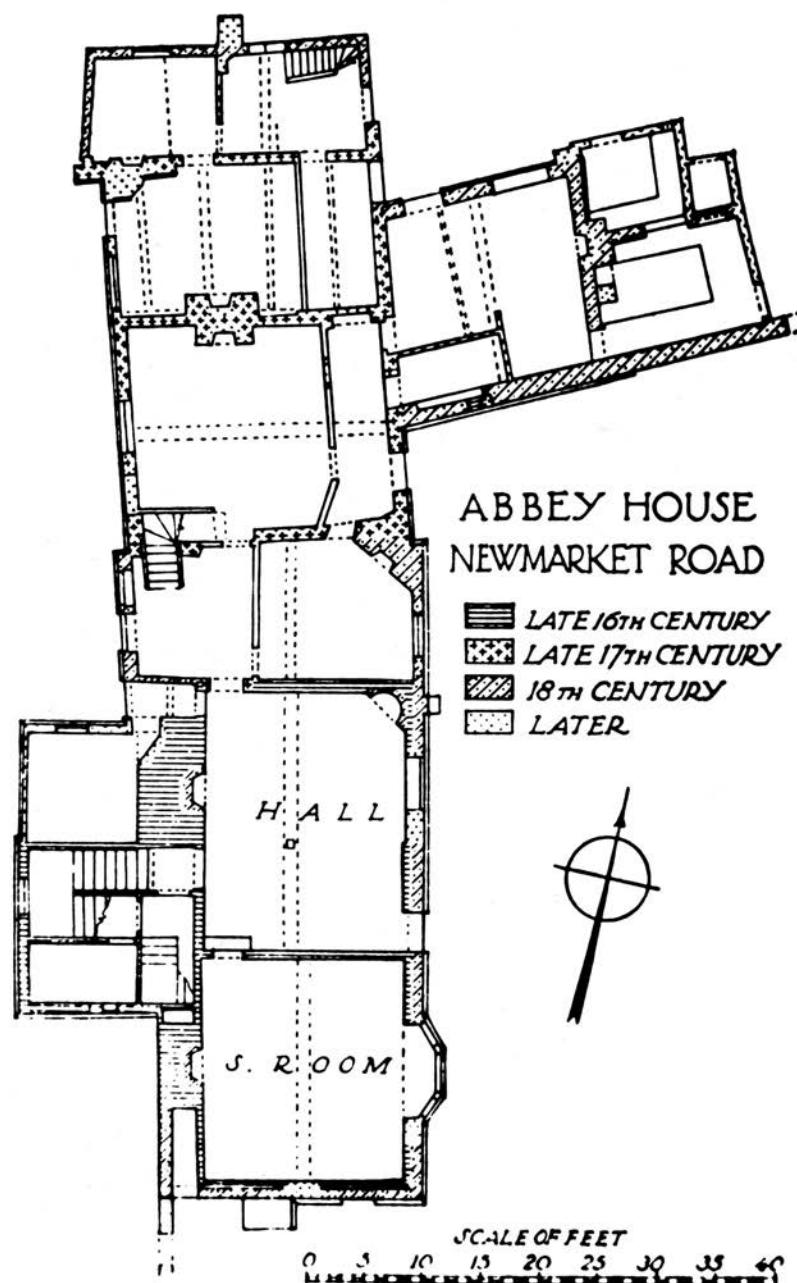


Fig. 3. Ground plan of Abbey House. (Plan by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). Crown copyright.)

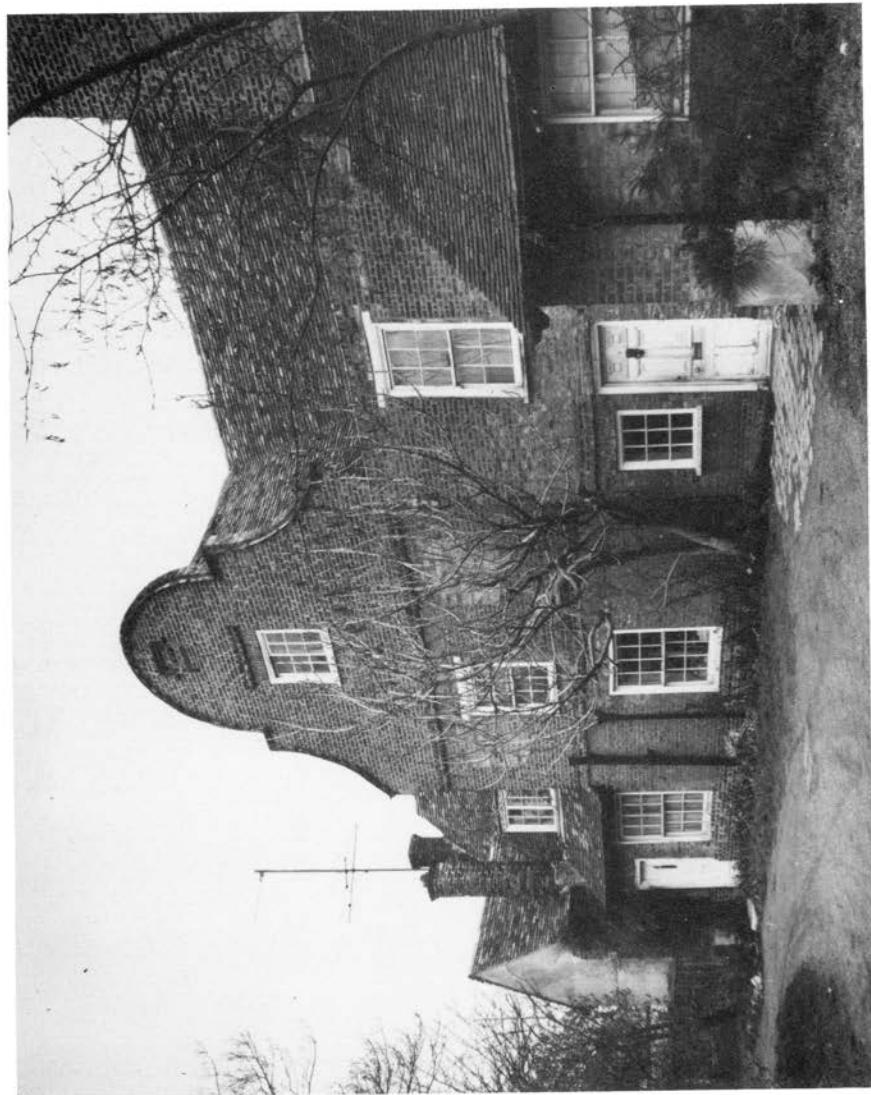


Fig. 4. The Abbey House, W. front. (Reproduced by permission of the City Architect and Planning Officer, Cambridge City Council.)



Fig. 5. The Abbey House – wall decorations behind panelling.



SQUIRE BUTLER, from an etching by Michael Tyson, reproduced from Nichols' *Bibl. Top. Brit.* Vol. V.



Fig. 6. Thomas Wendy III (1613-73). (Courtesy of Thomas Photos and Balliol College, Oxford.)

Fig. 7. Jacob Butler (1681-1765).



Fig. 8. Thomas Panton I (1697-1782). (By permission of the Earl of Ancaster; photograph courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art.)

Fig. 9. Arthur Askham, the last owner-occupier (about 1945). (Courtesy of Mr D. Mackay and the Cambridge Evening News.)



BARBED SPEARHEAD FROM BARWAY, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

David Coombs

In 1980, Mr Philip Randall of Barway found a barbed bronze spearhead on his land at New Fordey Farm (TL 539752).

The spearhead, which is bent and has its socket missing, is of maximum surviving length of 234mm. and width 65mm. The missing socket would have been short in relation to the length of the spearhead.

It is an example of a Type II barbed spearhead of the later Bronze Age (Burgess, Coombs and Davies, 1971) and formed the characteristic weapon of the Broadward Complex of the 8th century B.C. This is the first example of a single find of a Type II barbed spearhead from East Anglia, although fragments are known in three hoards: Green End Road, Cambridge (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *City of Cambridge I*, xxxiv, pl. 1); Carleton Rode, Norfolk (Norwich Castle Museum, *Bronze Age Metalwork 1966*, pl. VI) and Aylsham, Norfolk (McK. Clough, 1971). The main concentration of Type II barbed spearheads is in the Thames Valley, South-east England and the Welsh Marches; they are often found in rivers or boggy areas.

The spearhead remains in the possession of the finder.

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A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BELL AT GUYHIRN

C. M. G. Ockelton

Guyhirn chapel has the distinction, unusual amongst the old churches of pre-1974 Cambridgeshire, that its bell is not described in J. J. Raven's *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*.¹ The reason, no doubt, is that its position over the West end of the building makes both inspection from the ground and access rather difficult. However, in 1975, scaffolding was erected to enable the wooden bell-cote to be repaired and repainted, and the writer took advantage of this circumstance to inspect and photograph the bell. The results are presented below.

Dimensions

Diameter at lip	18½ ins
Diameter at shoulder	10½ ins
Diagonal height from lip to shoulder	16¼ ins
Thickness of soundbow	1¼ ins
Approximate weight	150 lbs

External features

The inscription reads:

(a) W (a) W (a) 1637

Each of the 'W's consists of two contiguous 'V's; the symbols '(a)' represent portions of the cable ornament visible on the photograph. A band of a different ornament is found on the crown. There are three moulding-wires above, and two below, the inscription-band, three above the soundbow, and one near the lip. The bell hangs from two canons, which are in line with the central loop, or argent; the latter is strengthened by two small brackets. The original crown-staple has been replaced, the replacement being threaded through two holes drilled in the crown, and fixed by nuts, one of which can be seen at the top of the inset illustration.

Conclusions

On the evidence of the ornamentation,² the Guyhirn bell would appear to be an early work of Henry Bagley I, who was working from 1631 to 1679, and was the first of a line of bell-founders operating a successful business for about 150 years at Chacombe (Northants) and elsewhere. Their bells are spread over the Midlands and down the West of England from Lancashire to Wiltshire and Hampshire.³

The chapel was built during the last years of the Commonwealth and had no

immediate predecessor,⁴ so the bell must have been supplied second-hand. This may be the reason why it is now so far from its founder's other work;⁵ indeed, it is apparently the easternmost representative of the Chacombe foundry.

Because of the uncertainty about the bell's origin, no interpretation of the letters 'W W' can be offered.

NOTES

1. C.A.S. *Octavo Pubns*, XVIII-XIX, p. 148.
2. The cable ornament is not that of the Leicester foundry, but that ascribed to the Bagleys by F. Sharpe, *Church Bells of Oxfordshire* (1952), fig. F(11).
3. A. H. Cocks, *The Church Bells of Buckinghamshire* (1897), pp. 212-219; H. T. Tilley & H. B. Walters, *The Church Bells of Warwickshire* (1910), pp. 63-72.
4. V.C.H. *Cambridgeshire*, vol. iv, p. 235.
5. There are 192 Bagley bells in Northamptonshire, but only three others in Cambridgeshire, of which that at Thorney Abbey is also a second-hand bell. See Tilley & Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 66; T. M. N. Owen, *The Church Bells of Huntingdonshire* (1899), p. 37; Raven, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 171.



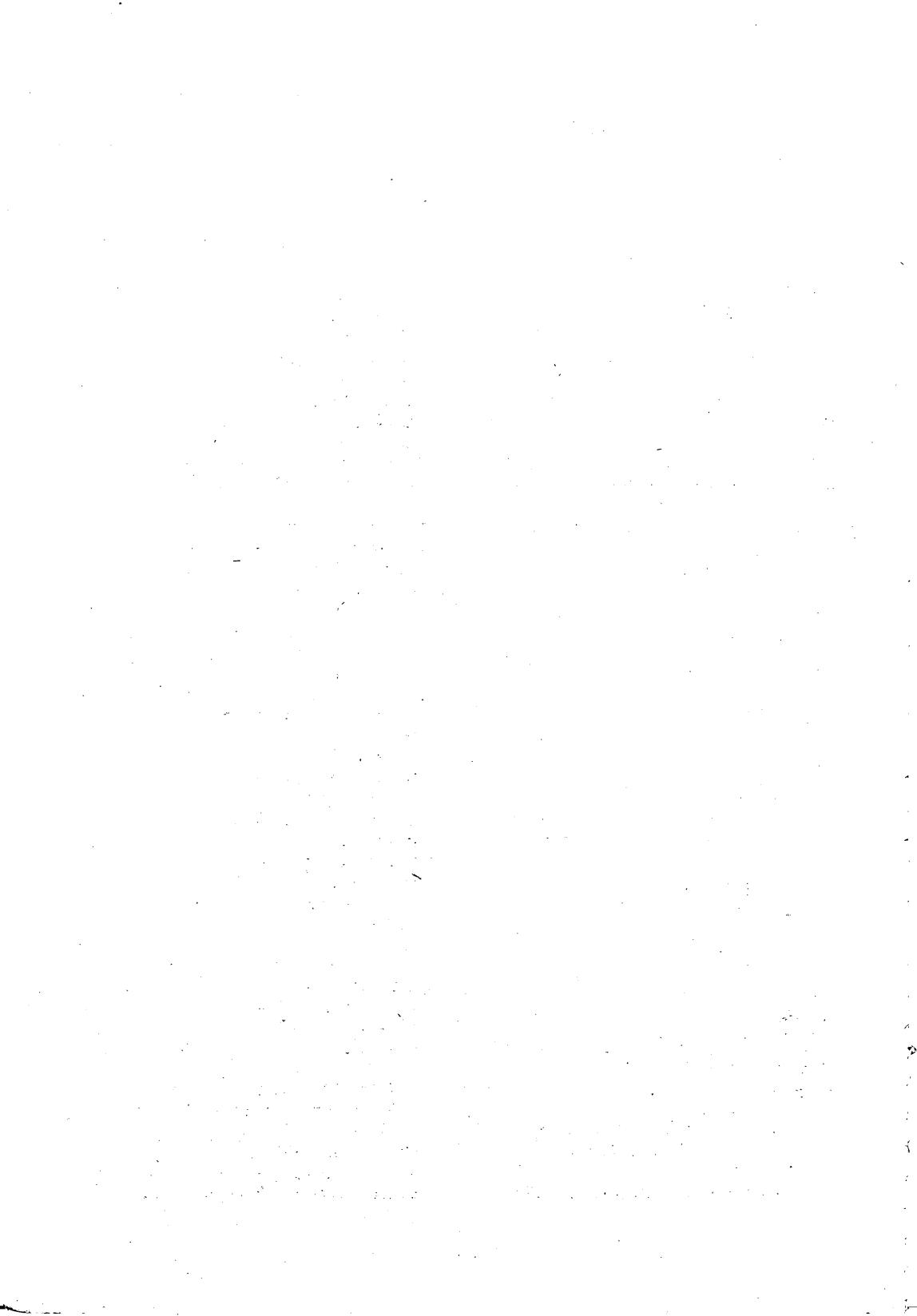
REVIEW

The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough Abbey, by Janet D. Martin (Northampton Record Society, 1978).

The survival of abundant records for a medieval religious house has often proved as much a challenge as a benefit to historians. When the sheer bulk of material defies publication in full, scholars are inclined to explore the richer seams of information unsystematically, finding much of value but overlooking still more, and by partial publication discouraging more thorough transcription or calendaring when funds are limited and no overall plan exists. A remarkably large number of cartularies and registers of Peterborough abbey survived the upheavals of the sixteenth century, in which so much of the library was lost or destroyed. It is therefore particularly fortunate that the establishment of a substantial trust fund by the late Mr W. T. Mellows has made possible the publication of many of these records as Anthony Mellows Memorial volumes by the Northampton Record Society; and the decision to ask Mrs Janet Martin to prepare a hand list of the surviving administrative documents as a first step towards fuller publication of the best records was a wise one.

Mrs Martin has provided an admirably clear and detailed analysis of the twelve cartularies and seven abbots' registers that survive, and has in addition reconstructed from earlier extracts and references a lost register of Abbot Kirkton (not mentioned in G. R. C. Davis's *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain*) and a lost cartulary (Davis 772). She includes notes of earlier descriptions, extracts and partial publications; describes volumes that contain material ranging from orderly collections of charters, surveys, extracts of proceedings in royal courts and fragments of chronicle to rag-bags of miscellaneous materials; and contributes a readable short introduction on the history of the archives and the medieval administrators who compiled the registers. Publication of several of the volumes described has already been undertaken for the Northampton Record Society; Mrs Martin herself is preparing the sacrist's register of c. 1400 (Davis 764-5, Martin 12); Dr Edmund King has undertaken the Black Book (Davis 754, Martin 1), and Dr Sandra Raban the registers of Abbots William of Woodford and Geoffrey of Crowland (Davis 766, Martin 14); while work is proceeding on a number of other account rolls and charters not included among the registers. The handlist is, however, more than a useful guide to future editors and students consulting the archives of the abbey; it is a chapter in the history of medieval monastic libraries and the historical and administrative interests of the obedientiaries who kept the records.

Marjorie Chibnall



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PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

VOLUME LXX

1980

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