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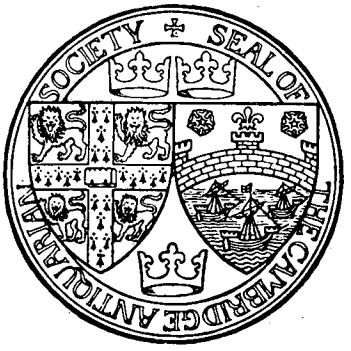

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QUAKERISM IN CAMBRIDGE FROM THE ACT OF TOLERATION TO THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1689–1900)

LAUREL PHILLIPSON

INTRODUCTION

An attempt was made in a previous paper (Phillipson 1988) to convey a sense of the radical and dynamic character of seventeenth-century Quakerism both in Cambridge and nationally. By the closing decades of that century the almost millenary enthusiasm, the ardour to convert the whole world, the conviction that Friends were sole appointed heralds of a righteous cause had cooled. By the middle of the eighteenth century it had largely given way to a sober and introspective respectability.

The course of eighteenth-century Quakerism in England has been puzzled over by a number of students and various factors are mentioned to account for the very marked change in the character of the Quaker movement. Demography, economics, politics, internal dissensions, and the opposition of centrifugal and centripetal forces within the Society have all been invoked (Bauman 1983; Hill 1984; Jones 1921; Spufford 1974).

We can assure ourselves that the eighteenth-century decline in enthusiastic Quakerism was not exclusively a Cambridge phenomenon, even though, like its previous rapid increase, it was perhaps more marked here than in many other parts of the country. In this article I propose to examine the period from the Act of Toleration of 1689 to the opening years of the present century, to try to uncover some of the national and parochial factors which may have affected the local character of Quakerism. We must at times take a somewhat broader view than we did for the earlier period. When considered historically, the administrative organization of Friends' meetings and business affairs is fluid, a somewhat viscid fluid it must be admitted, but certainly not static. At times Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely constituted a Quarterly Meeting to themselves, with Cambridgeshire being a separate constituent Monthly Meeting. At other times the Quarterly Meeting also included Huntingdon and, by 1850, Cambridgeshire, the Isle and Huntingdonshire were parts of a Quarterly Meeting which also encompassed Norwich and Norfolk Monthly Meetings. These administrative changes were more a reflection than a determinant of the local situation and as such will be noted. They are summarized in the accompanying Table 1.

For the period with which we are concerned, there is an abundance of documentary material, most notably contained in the very numerous minute and account books, birth marriage and burial registers, lists of tithe distraints, and some letters housed in the Cambridgeshire County Records Office. The handlist of these documents (available from the County Records Office) itself runs to more than twenty typed pages. Almost all of this material has been at least glanced at by me and that pertinent to Cambridge and the Jesus Lane Meeting read in detail as it constitutes the most important evidence for preparing this history. It gives a most detailed record of local Quaker affairs; and, with its carefully repeated phrases, a sense of a community that was perhaps sometimes trying too self-consciously to grasp at its ideals. In places, for instance, a clerk will have written 'St. Ives' and then neatly crossed out the 'St.' since for many years Friends did not like to use that designation. Where no other attribution is given for quotations or information cited here, the source is minute books and archives belonging to the Society of Friends and held in the Cambridgeshire County Records Office, in the care of its most helpful and obliging staff. Records held in the Jesus Lane

Table 1. Chronological summary of events affecting Friends in Cambridge before the twentieth century.

1653	First recorded visit of travelling Friends to Cambridge.
1655	Cambridge Friends meet in a private house; James Docwra gives Fulbourn estate to Cambrige Friends.
1659	Friends meeting in a hired house near Sidney Sussex College.
1662	Cambridge Monthly Meeting constituted.
1667/8	Cambridgeshire, Isle of Ely & Huntingdonshire Quarterly Meeting established with 21 constituent meetings; regular minutes kept from 1670.
1673	Quarterly Meeting split in two; Cambs & Isle of Ely Quarterly Meeting met in Haddenham.
1689	The Act of Toleration; Jesus Lane Meeting House built before 1700.
1700 & 1710	Ann Docwra's gifts to Cambridge Friends.
1728	Meetings for worship held only once a month in Cambridge.
1756	Cambs. and Hunts. Quarterly Meetings reunited; Cambs. & Ely Monthly Meeting held at Chatteris, but once a year in Cambridge.
1758	Cambs. & Ely Monthly Meeting divided; both parts languishing by 1782.
1776–7	Cambridge Jesus Lane Meeting House rebuilt entirely.
1795	Annual public meeting for worship in Cambridge discontinued.
1804	Quarterly Meeting moved from St. Ives to Earith.
1850	Cambs., Hunts., Norfolk & Norwich united into a single Quarterly Meeting.
1879	Lynn added to Cambs. & Hunts. Monthly Meeting.
1884	Regular weekly meetings for worship resumed in Cambridge.
1894–5	Jesus Lane meeting house renovated and caretaker's house replaced.

Meeting House pertain to the present century, largely post 1950, and so do not come within the scope of this paper.

There is also the most important Wisbech Quakers' Roll of 1723, which will be discussed below, as well as Episcopal Visitation Records and other relevant documents included in the Ely Diocesan Records housed in the Cambridge University Library (Gibbons 1891; Owen 1971). Some further material is, of course, contained in the records and documents housed in the Friends House Library in London. Less abundant than in the late seventeenth century, however, are contemporary published references to Cambridge Quakerism, as during part of the period with which we are concerned the movement had become very small and private, waning almost to the point of public invisibility.

Interestingly, just as the University was the magnet which had first drawn visiting Quaker preachers to Cambridge and thus, as least indirectly, been partly responsible for its original development, it was Quaker students newly admitted to the University along with other Dissenters from 1871 who were responsible for its revival. It was stated in the earlier paper that Quakerism as it first appeared in Cambridge was a dynamic and youthful faith. As in the seventeenth century, so in the nineteenth, a major share of the leadership and innovation was assumed by young Friends. During the intervening years few youths are visible. An argument might be made that in Cambridge Quakerism flourished in inverse proportion to the age of its adherents. While it would be possible to find some evidence to support such a thesis, other factors were probably at least as important.

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries many of the most active Cambridgeshire Friends had been independent farmers and fenmen, people who supported themselves in part or wholly by the produce of land they owned or rented and whose time and loyalties were not controlled by others. Some others lived and traded in the Town and in surrounding villages. During the next hundred years, changing patterns of land use and ownership in the County combined with other economic forces to reduce the number of socially and economically independent farmers (Spufford 1974, 46–54). Accompanying this decline in agriculture and the rural economy was no marked local development of commerce and industry in which those forced off the land might participate. In addition to the general economic factors which affected the entire rural population, Quakers alone suffered severe economic penalties for their refusal to pay church tithes and to accept military service, these disabilities falling most heavily on landowning and farming Friends, ultimately forcing many of them or their children off the land and thus, most probably, out of the County. When we add to this the eighteenth-century Quaker insistence on disowning any Friend who married a non-Friend we can understand how the local Quaker community could be much diminished in a few gener-

ations. Those who wished to remain as local farmers or to take up any business in the Town which would have required University patronage to flourish, would have been under considerable economic and social pressure to turn from Quakerism to the less stringent demands of the established church or to one of the other dissenting bodies which had also been legalized by the Act of Toleration in 1689. Those who wished to retain their Quakerism would have found better opportunities of earning a livelihood by moving to towns and cities with greater commercial and economic development and, presumably, by emigrating. Friends' children must often have faced a similar choice: to marry a non-Quaker neighbour and be disowned by Friends or to move out of the County in order to marry a Friend (Raistrick 1950; Spufford 1974).

Although we must move to the neighbouring town of Thetford to make use of the example, the early years of the radical, Thomas Paine, provide instances of the ways in which Friends' children left the Society in the early eighteenth century and of how Friends' principles diffused into wider circles. He was born in Thetford, Norfolk in 1737 and brought up, at least nominally, as an Anglican although his father was a Quaker. He attended until the age of thirteen the local grammar school, where he obtained a basic education but did not learn Latin or any foreign language. Three years later:

> raw and adventurous and heated with the false heroism of a master who had served in a man of war, I . . . entered on board the terrible privateer, Capt. Death. From this adventure I was happily prevented by the affectionate and moral remonstrance of a good father, who, from his own habits of life, being of the Quaker profession, must begin to look upon me as lost. But the impression, much as it effected at the time, begun to wear away, and I entered afterwards in the King of Prussia privateer, Capt. Mendez [Paine 1791, 240–1].

At the age of twenty he went to London as an apprentice staymaker, his father's trade, and developed his scientific and rationalist interests.

In 1768 he moved to Lewes, Sussex where he was an exciseman and lodged for six years with a Quaker tobacconist, Samuel Ollive, who may have been responsible for fostering his interest in civic affairs. Thereafter, in 1774, Thomas Paine left England for America and took up the political career for which he is well known. In his writings, with their plain style of language, insistence on human equality and rejection of political, religious and social hierarchies a strong Quaker influence is readily observed. His utopian ideals and practical economic concerns for lower taxes, encouragement of unhindered trade and support for the poor are in the tradition of Quaker philanthropy. A detailed comparison can be made, for example, between the final chapter of the second part of the *Rights of Man*, written in 1795, and several of the writings of the Quaker reformer, John Bellers, who had been active in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Accompanying a decline in the numbers of birthright Friends was a near absence of converts. This second factor was primarily a national one. Relatively few Friends travelled as enthusiastic or effective ministers or preachers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and so few converts were made. In Cambridgeshire, as Friends lost their rural basis they seem also to have lost their contact with popular and radical issues and, thus, an important element of their popular appeal. Food prices, wages, land enclosures and economics were prime concerns in eighteenth-century Cambridgeshire (Lindley 1982). In 1756 and again in 1795 there were food riots in the Town (Muskett 1984, 10 & 33). None of this is reflected in Quaker minute books and records of the period. In contradistinction to their earlier close identity with the popular struggle for intellectual emancipation, there seems to have been little recognition of and no identity with the later struggle for economic emancipation. While there is no evidence that Cambridge Friends were concerned with the most urgent economic issues which surrounded them, they were careful to note that none of them were involved in smuggling or had any connections with piracy or the slave trade, when these less immediately pertinent questions were asked of all Friends nationally by the Meeting for Sufferings, the executive body of the Friends Yearly Meeting.

While Friends' practices were becoming tradition-bound and too inward looking to

appeal to the sorts of people who had been its enthusiastic adherents a few generations earlier, the Quaker faith was gradually becoming intellectually more acceptable both within and without the University. From being the self-proclaimed herald of a major religious renewal, Cambridge Quakerism declined almost to non-existence before reappearing as a dissenting sect whose members were noted for their sober respectability, tolerance and practical benevolence, characteristics more appreciated in the nineteenth than in the eighteenth century. To a certain extent, it may be suggested that without having been able permanently to convert large numbers of individuals Friends had succeeded in influencing the national sense of morality, eventually gaining acceptance for themselves as several of their once-distinctive testimonies became widely adopted.

Lest the reader assume too harsh a picture of the eighteenth-century decline in local Quakerism, it may be pointed out that there was another side to the coin. The relatively few individuals who maintained the Quaker witness were for the most part careful and constant in conducting their meetings for worship and for business and in preserving the records of these meetings. They were undeterred by their fewness of numbers, wide geographical dispersion and the poorness of roads and communications. At about its nadir in 1851 the entire Quarterly Meeting, encompassing Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, the Isle of Ely and Norfolk had 21 constituent local meetings for worship with an average of 13 Friends and attenders present at each on a Sunday morning. At this time were was no Meeting in Cambridge; and the nearest, in Earith, was attended by just 23 persons. The faithfulness of those few individuals clearly provided the roots and foundation on which the subsequent resurgence of Quakerism in Cambridge was based, a faithfulness for which those who later came to attend the Lancastrian school in the Friends Meeting House, or were pupils in the Sunday School, or used the public library when it was located there, and all who now worship with Cambridge Friends or who use their several premises for a variety of meetings, lectures and other purposes must feel more than a little grateful. By 1851 there were perhaps 400 Friends in the entire Quarterly Meeting. Today, the three meetings in the city of Cambridge comprise a fluctuating population of about 400 to 500 Friends and attenders.

FOR THE PUBLIC USE OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS

In many respects both the physical presence of Cambridge Quakerism and the characteristic forms of Friends' meetings were established in the last decades of the seventeenth century. Loggan's 1688 plan of Cambridge shows on the site of the present Jesus Lane Meeting House a conglomeration of small houses and a courtyard which together exhibit a ground plan not totally unlike that of the present structure (Phillipson 1988, plate 1). These buildings were apparently already in use by Friends when, in 1700, Ann Docwra bought them from Peter Lightfoot, a Cambridge fishmonger, for £91, as described in a mid-nineteenth-century report on 'Peter Lightfoot's trust' to the Charity Commissioners:

> By Indenture dated the 20th of May 1700 Peter Lightfoot of Cambridge in the County of Cambridge Fishmonger in consideration of £91 demised to Richard Webb of Westwickham in the said County Yeoman Thomas Pinnock of Drydrayton in the said County Yeoman Benjamin Stevens of Over in the County of Cambridge Benjamin Ayres of Swavesey in the said County of Cambridge Yeoman Robert Boyce of Cambridge aforesaid Grocer and Fishmonger and Thomas Wootton of Cambridge aforesaid Baker for the term of 1000 years all that apartment of Houses in Jesus Lane in the Parish of All Saints in Cambridge aforesaid in the tenure or occupation of Ann Docwra Widow Susan Wansell Spinster and Edward Warner glover . . . with the late built houses commonly called the Quakers Meeting House and the garden adjoining to the said Meeting House commonly called the Quakers Burying Ground . . . subject to the payment of 46/8d to the poor inhabitants of the Parish. . . . By Deed Poll dated the 24th day of June 1700 under the hands and seal of said Richard Webb Thomas Pinnock Benjamin Stevens Benjamin Ayres

Robert Boyce and Thomas Wootton they declared that said Indenture of 27th May was made in their names upon trust to and for the use that Ann Docwra should enjoy the House occupied by her and Susan Wansell for her life . . . and at her decease then for the use and benefit of the poor people called Quakers in the town of Cambridge aforesaid and also for the enlarging of the Meeting House if need required and further that the part occupied by Edward Warner commonly called the Quakers Meeting House should be for the Public use of the People called Quakers to meet in during the term of the said lease granted by the said Peter Lightfoot and also to let and dispose of such parts as had been used to be let for the benefit of the said People called Quakers [Cambridgeshire Record Office R59/25/17/2: 154–5].

According to a 1722 minute of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdon Quarterly Meeting, Thomas Wright, Mark Clarke, Robert Handscombe, Vincent Wayman, Joseph Chapman, Thomas Langhorn, John Brazier, Thomas Pinnuck Junior, John Beesley and John Morlin were in that year chosen as trustees of the Meeting House. In 1767 the trusteeship was conveyed from Thomas Langhorn to Robert Ding, James Wright Junior, John Anderson, Thomas Bleckley, Thomas Wright, Robert Tubbs, Thomas Luff Senior, Thomas Luff Junior, Ellington Wright, William Wright Junior, Henry Bass and John Abbott. These names do not all indicate Friends living in Cambridge, but those who lived near enough to take some interest in the Jesus Lane Meeting House and who were active in Friends' affairs generally. Joseph Chapman lived in the meeting house, probably acting as a warden and caretaker. The minutes of the London Meeting for Sufferings of 1704 contain an interesting reference to William Wright, presumably the father or uncle of William Wright mentioned above.

Thos Hawks of Cambridgeshr being present acquaints ye meet: that his Bro. in Law Wm. Wright who has been a Prisonr in Cambridge Castle upwards of 3 years upon an Attachmt. for Tythes for non appearance at ye suit of Miles Musgrove tyth farmer.

The Friend is advised to enter his appearance if free and pay off ye cash and may be discharged [Sufferings XVII: 1st of 10th month 1704].

These William and other Wrights were members of the same family as that of Edward Wright who, in 1656, had been imprisoned in irons in Cambridge Castle for six months for non-payment of tithes; the family was clearly dedicated to its Quaker principles (Besse 1753, 86). Members of the Wright family living and owning land in Sutton remained active Friends and frequently had goods or property distrained for their non payment of tithes throughout the eighteenth century (see Table 2); and a direct descendant of this family is an active member of one of the present-day Cambridge Meetings.

The Docwra gift and bequests provided for the corporate presence of Quakerism at the time and have continued to do so. Until the inception of the second Friends Meeting in Cambridge, the Oast House Meeting, in 1966, the Jesus Lane meeting house was the sole place of worship regularly used by Friends in the Town. The question as to whether the site is that of the first Friends public meeting house in Cambridge or whether it is that of William Brazier's house, at which meetings were held from an early date, cannot be answered conclusively. However, the probabilities are that it is neither. The earliest contemporary accounts speak of a hired meeting house close to the gates of Sidney Sussex College and so, presumably, on the west side of Sidney Street or perhaps a little further north on Bridge Street. (The College's main gate is on Sidney Street, a side-gate on Jesus Lane.) None of the reports to Meeting for Sufferings, letters or other contemporary evidence I have encountered allow the names of any individual Friends to be associated with the meeting house, wherever it was located, before about 1700. In 1687 two Friends were married in the Friends Meeting House in Cambridge, which may by then have been on the Jesus Lane site.

Financial support for the Cambridge Meeting was assisted by a gift from James Docwra, confirmed in Ann Docwra's will:

Ann Docwra late of Cambridge in the County of Cambridge Widow by her will dated 3rd May 1710 gave and devised unto

Samuel Waldingfield Richard Webb Thomas Pinnuck and John Tidd and to the survivors of them . . . a close of pasture and divers parcels of arable land lying dispersedly in the Common Field and Bounds of Fulbourn and Hilton in the said County of Cambridge or elsewhere which said Premises were amongst other Land and Premises in and by an Indenture of Lease dated 1st of March 1655 settled and conveyed by James Docwra deceased late Husband of said Ann Docwra upon and to Thomas Docwra and Edward Peach for the term of 500 years in Trust for said Ann Docwra. . . . To the intent that they should out of the rents and profits yearly pay unto the poor people called Quakers residing in the town of Clare in the County of Suffolk the sum of 40/0d And also that they should pay unto Katherine Thimble then servant to said Ann Docwra 1/0d weekly so long as she continued unmarried and no longer and the further sum of £10 at the time of the said Katherine Thimble's Marriage and further should yearly pay the sum of £3 towards the charge of travelling preachers' Horses at Cambridge and lastly should pay Jane Warner a weekly allowance of 4/0d during life with an additional allowance to her in case of her husband's sickness. . . .

By Indenture dated 20th January 1718 said Thomas Pinnock and Richard Webb (the then surviving trustees of said will) conveyed said Estate for the residue of said term of 500 years to Mark Clarke, John Webb, Richard Emmerson and Sterne Pinnock upon the same trusts of the monies &c and in said Indenture it is stated that the weekly allowance given unto Jane Warner and her husband had then ceased by their deaths and that said Ann Docwra had not given any particular directions how that money should be disposed of nor of the money given to Katherine Thimble when they should happen to cease. It was therefore agreed and covenanted that the overplus rents after payment of the specific Charities should be disposed paid and distributed unto such of the poor people called Quakers as did then or thereafter should reside in the town of Cambridge and not otherwise. Covenant by said Mark Clarke, John Webb, Richard Emmerson, and Sterne Pinnock to make out the 1/2 yearly accounts of rents and profits and disbursements at the Meeting House at Cambridge to be at all times resorted to by any of the people called Quakers belonging to the said Meeting House. . . . [Cambridgeshire Records Office R59/25/17/2: 156–7].

This land, about 60 acres in Fulbourn, was sold by the Monthly Meeting in April 1949 for £4200.

An interesting sidelight is provided by the inventory of Ann Docwra's possessions made a week after her death, when her estate was being settled. The whole of her goods and chattels were valued at £35.17.0, of which £10.0.0 was in the form of cash and wearing apparel; two silver mugs and four spoons were valued at £5.15.0 and a balance clock at £1.5.0. Except for five shillings' worth of old books and a brass watch, all the items listed were household furnishings for the front and back chambers, maid's room, garret and kitchen which comprised her house (plates 1, 2, 3). In the front room were nine leather and two rush-bottomed chairs, two stools, two tables, two beds, five brass candlesticks, bedding, table cloths, a looking glass, the books and the clock. The back room was similarly furnished, though with only three chairs, one table and one bed. Apparently, the position in which she had been left after the payment of her husband's debts thirty-eight years earlier was one of moderate comfort, but no more.

An old Monthly Meeting account book has a summary, dated 1720, of the Docwra bequests in which it is stated that:

> from the decease of Ann Docwra the management of the estate did fall in the hands of the trustees aforesaid, who by reason that Thomas Pennock lived in town and also was a trustee for this as well as the Fulbourn estate did permit the aforesaid Thomas Pennock to manage the same. . . . As for the meeting house in Cambridge we think it has not been well managed by reason that country friends have been brought to live in it contrary to the will of the Donor.

There follow accounts of the trust fund dated from 1718 to 1724, including small sums given to various named individuals, a

Plate 1. The Jesus Lane meeting house in 1888, looking west from the corner of Park Street and Jesus Lane. On the extreme right is the meeting house built in 1776/7; in the foreground is the house formerly occupied by Ann Docwra. On the extreme left, number eleven Jesus Lane, acquired by Friends in 1922, is being raised two storeys.

Plate 2. Ann Docwra's house in 1894, shortly before it was demolished.

payment of twelve shillings and six pence to Elizabeth Prate for sweeping and looking after the meeting house, and six pence 'for a cock for the door by the [King's] Ditch in the meeting house yard'. In 1720, one shilling and six pence was paid for mending the meeting house forms. Later entries in the same book cover the period 1742 to 1765 and are concerned with collections taken up for Friends in other parts of the country and briefs or donations in favour of individual named Friends, to most of whom a shilling or one-and-sixpence was contributed.

It was necessary to consider the above extracts at length as in a very material sense they explain the ability of Friends to have kept a permanent presence in Cambridge. Having laid these foundations, we can now refer to particular individuals and events of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Few who had been the more prominent leaders of the earlier years

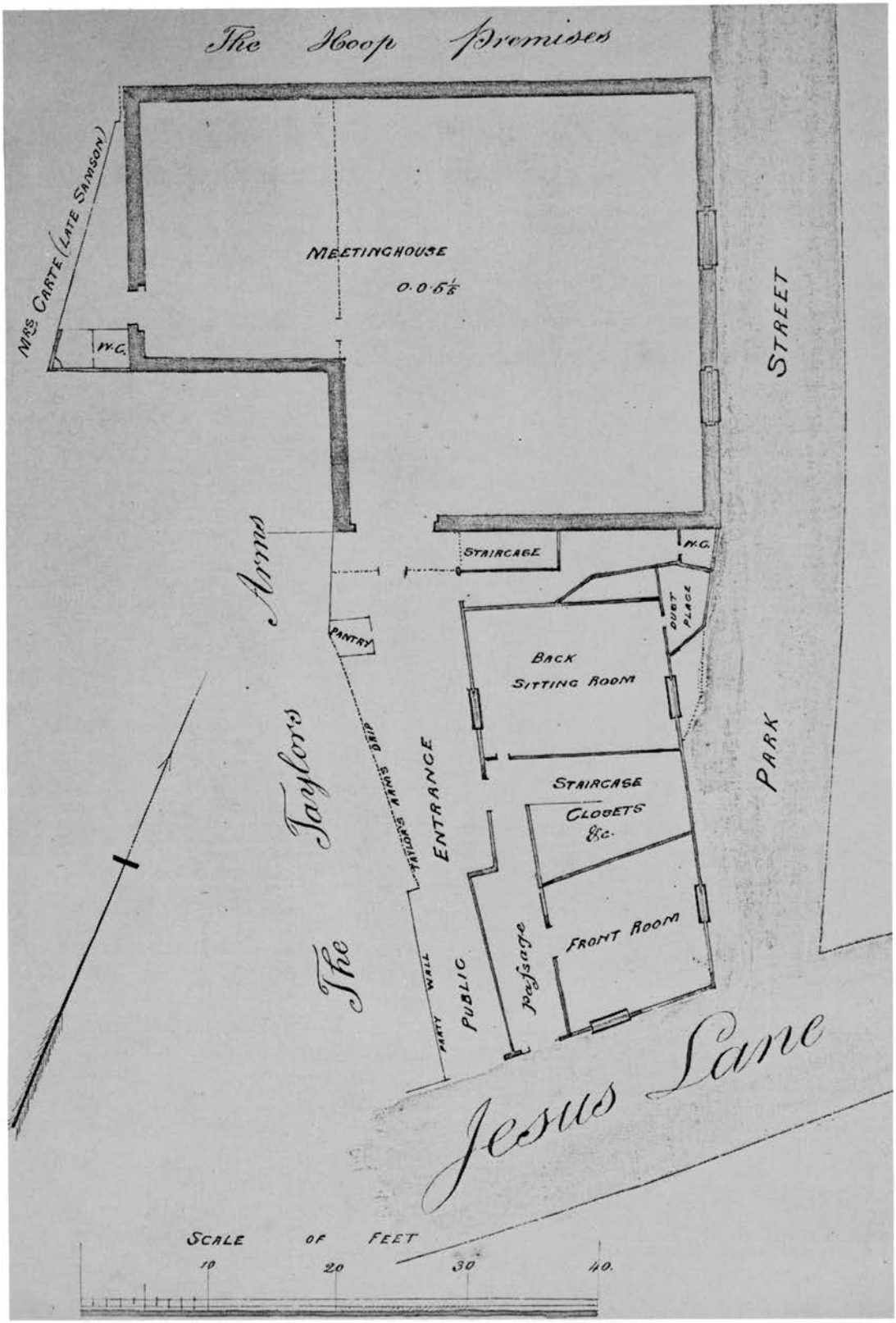

Plate 3. Plan of the meeting house and cottage ground floor in about 1870. A staircase led to galleries along the south and east sides of the meeting room.

remained to influence developments at this turn of the century. Some died or were worn out in prison; some may have declined as Quaker leaders for other reasons.

An interesting example is provided by Mathew Blackley, son of the former mayor, James Blackley, who had been so instrumental in the first local establishment of Quakerism. In 1660 Mathew, together with both of his parents, was among those imprisoned for attending Friends meetings. He must have been released fairly promptly, for in 1669 he and Thomas Nicholson were chosen as Town Treasurers. Mathew Blackley, identified as a baker, refused to serve, probably to avoid taking the oaths required of office-holders, and was fined a statutory forty shillings (J.M. Gray 1921, 42–3). Years later, on the 10th of September 1687, King James the Second sent a mandamus commanding the Town Corporation to elect Alderman Mathew Blackley, who was by then a reputed Papist, to the office of Mayor for the year ensuing. The letter to the Corporation says in part:

> Wee being graciously pleased to dispense as wee do accordingly hereby dispense with his taking any oath or oathes whatsoever [Cooper 1842–1908, 3, 635].

There was some delay in carrying out this order and it was followed by another, dated the 18th of April 1688, for removing the existing mayor and twelve councillors and appointing others in their places. Mathew was accordingly elected mayor in September of that year (Newton 1890, 43–93). Just one month later the King by proclamation restored to the borough its ancient charter, whereupon Blackley vacated his office.

There is little evidence either to substantiate or to refute Mathew Blackley's reputed Papism. The charge was not infrequently levelled against Quakers, although I am unaware of any instances in which it was proved. However, there is no certain mention of the family name Blackley in the voluminous Monthly Meeting and other records of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, so we may assume that Mathew did not follow his father's example in becoming a leader of the local Friends community. Some further light is perhaps thrown on this point by James Blackley's will, dated 2nd September 1666. In it his property is divided between his sons James and John and his daughters Elizabeth and Mary. In an undated and unsigned footnote, presumably in his own hand, he says 'Whereas I have not mentioned my Sonn Mathew I do give unto him five shillings to be p'd by my executor within 6 months after my deceis', possibly indicating by the smallness of the bequest an estrangement between them.

Another who ceased to be a Friend was Ann Docwra's nephew, Francis Bugg. Convinced by Thomas Symonds' preaching on 'the Light within every man' at Lakenheath in about 1657, when he was a young man of seventeen, Bugg was an active and even a leading Isle of Ely Quaker for approximately twenty-five years. However, he became embroiled in various quarrels, was disowned by Friends and published numerous anti-Quaker tracts and books between 1690 and 1712. It is difficult to unravel the arguments he and Friends used against one another, but his personal and family finances seem to have been one of several factors. The level of debate is well indicated by mentioning that in published works he referred to his aunt as, among other things, a 'crack-brained old woman', and she accused him of forging letters.

An immediate effect of the 1689 Act of Toleration was, apparently, an increase in the frequency of Friends meetings and in the number attending them and, paralleling this, the development of settled procedures for conducting business, recording marriages, and caring for poor Friends so that they would not be chargeable against parish rates, which Friends refused to pay. All this increased business was recorded in detailed minutes and records, many of which were carefully preserved as a boon to present and future historians, a mine of social and demographic information at whose surface the present work makes only a small dent. While we have no early census figures for Cambridge and Cambridgeshire Friends, estimates for Norwich and Norfolk show a pattern of increase which was probably paralleled in our county (Vann 1969, 162):

year	*1662*	*1678*	*1689*	*1720*	*1740*
Norwich Friends	41	166	254	412	428
Norfolk Friends	217	645	831	1,186	984

Among those who joined Cambridge Friends at the end of the seventeenth century, Roger Kelsall attracts a special mention. He entered Jesus College in May 1698. The following February his recantation of support for Quakers is entered in his College's register, but the next entry, dated 4th March, records that he had secretly withdrawn from College, publicly professed Quaker doctrines and was accordingly expelled by the unanimous consent of the President and Fellows (Gray & Brittain 1960, 101). As his name does not appear on any Cambridge Meeting documents or records, it seems likely that he was brought home by parents who may not have been pleased with their son's actions. In any case we can have nothing but sympathy for this young man and the considerable pressures he must have faced.

Another facet to relations between Friends and the University is hinted at by a conversation reported by the Quaker botanist, schoolmaster and former Cambridge University scholar, Thomas Lawson. Writing to Sir John Rodes in 1691 he mentioned a proposal of George Fox, William Penn and others, unfortunately never carried out, to purchase land and found a school and botanical garden near London, with a descriptive handbook in Latin so the pupils could learn that language and practical botany simultaneously, which project 'the master of Christ's College in Cambridge [Ralph Cudworth] hearing of told me was a noble and honourable undertaking and would fill the nation with philosophers . . .' (Raistrick 1950, 245). From this it would seem that although Friends were unacceptable as members of the University, they had gained considerable intellectual and social respectability as compared with their situation just a few decades previously.

The increasing size and openness of Friends meetings is reflected in the contemporary marriage records (Public Record Office RG6–1219):

> Upon ye 14th day of ye fifth month 1667 Thomas Loudon & Mary Wood both of Cambridge were joyned together in Marriage in a Publick Meeting of Gods people at Oakington alias Hoginton in Cambridge Shire.

The above was a retrospective record in which no witnesses' names were listed. Twenty-one years later Thomas Pinnuck of Dry Drayton, yeoman, and Margaret Well of Balsham were married in the Cambridge Meeting House with Edward Cook, Richard Webb and Jacob Barlow signing as witnesses. With time, the marriage documents became longer, more carefully written and signed by many more witnesses. That of Samewell Webb, yeoman, of Dry Drayton and Dinah Arghant of Cambridge at the Cambridge Meeting House in 1709 was signed by Richard Webb, John Wooton, John Tydd, Joseph Chapman, Thomas Dent, Ann Cusant, Elizabeth Pinnuck, Elizabeth Cooke, Elizabeth Tydd, Elizabeth Langran, Blanch Sutton, Jane Warner, Eliz Wallacine, Deb Dent and Audrey Thorney. A Friends' marriage in Cottenham in 1710 was attested by 34 witnesses and one in Swavesey in 1748 by 60.

Similarly, before the mid 1680s Friends death records are scant, retrospective and probably very incomplete. For Cambridge itself there are only two early entries in the death register: Joan Edmonson in 1672 and Thomas Cook in 1677. For the years 1655 to 1685 Besse (1753, 85–99) records the death in prison or as an immediate result of imprisonment of eleven Friends in the County, men and women, not more than five of whom may have belonged to the Cambridge Meeting. His record is not necessarily complete and there must have been other Friends who died of natural causes, both within and without the Town. By 1685 the burial certificates are concurrent and are thus likely to be more reliable. Whether or not they are fully complete, a tabulation of Friends buried at the Cambridge Meeting House site probably gives a fair idea of the changing size of the Meeting.

years	*1692 –1699*	*1700 –1709*	*1710 –1719*	*1720 –1729*	*1730 –1739*	*1746 –1765*
number of burials	12	12	22	9	5	4

These seem to indicate a peak in membership in the decades immediately before and after 1700.

THE MEETING ITSELF IS SMALL

By the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century, attendance at the Cam-

bridge Meeting had begun to decline. Our best account of meetings at this time is provided by Thomas Story, who visited Cambridge on four occasions and whose horse must have been provided for by Ann Docwra's bequest. Joseph Chapman, with whom he lodged in 1722, was then residing in part of the Jesus Lane Meeting House or its adjacent cottage. Chapman was active in Friends' affairs until 1743 or 44 and died in 1764. His son, John, also mentioned below, died in 1739. On the 8th day of the 5th month of 1717, on the second day of the week Thomas Story made his second visit to Cambridge in company with Robert Izard of Royston 'and some other Friends'.

> The Meeting itself is small; but what some person or other had said to the Scholars of me I know not, but many of them came, so as Friends had never seen the like and filled the House above Stairs and below, and many crowded without. They were generally wild and wanton, their countenances airy, talking, whispering and laughing among themselves and rude with the women. Which observing soon after I went in, and finding my spirit over them, I said to them, 'Ye look like Gentlemen; and if ye are, then behave accordingly:'. . . . And though at some times a Fit of Laughter would pass as through their whole Company, being a Thing of course among them, yet I perceived some of them very solid, and truly affected with Truth; which silenced and quieted most of them before the Meeting ended; and in the main I was well satisfied with the Meeting and so also were Friends, who did not look too much at their Behaviour; which they rather do waggishly and wantonly, and as what some of them think they ought to do of course at a Quakers Meeting, than in Malice or Wickedness [Story 1742, 579–80].

He next visited Cambridge on a Wednesday, the 13th of June 1722.

> That afternoon had an appointed Meeting there; which the Scholars of the University hearing of, many of them came, and I had a good suitable Matter for them: But, alas! they were so wild, so airy, wanton and foolish, many of them could not be touched; and yet several of them, in some Time, grew much more solid and attentive, till some, to scare the rest, and divert themselves, suddenly reported that the Proctor was coming; upon which they all flounced away like wild colts that had never been haltered. . . . I lodged at Joseph Chapman's. . . . The 14th being their Meeting Day, I staid the Meeting; which, consisting only of a very few Friends, who live there, and two or three of the Neighbourhood who came in, was sober and comfortable [*ibid.*, 636].

His final visit was on a Saturday in December, 1725.

> I went to Cambridge to John Chapman's; and that Day was at a Meeting in Town; which was small: but several of the Scholars being there, and more sober than ever I observed them before, I had a very open Time among them: and one of the Inhabitants, a light airy Person, coming to that Meeting, with Intent to make himself and others Diversion, was much disappointed . . . and went off solid and serious [*ibid.*, 663].

Another edition of the Journal of Thomas Story recounts the same incidents and details as just quoted above, but gives the years of his third and fourth visits as 1721 and 1727 (Story 1846, 48, 273, 304, 317).

One other Cambridge Friend prominent in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries may be singled out for mention. William Brazier, a shoemaker, frequently represented the Cambridge Meeting at Quarterly Meetings and other gatherings from 1690 to about 1711. In 1704 he was appointed to bring in the account of Sufferings for Cambridge Friends, that is an annual list submitted to London Yearly Meeting of the money and goods distrained from Friends for their refusals to pay tithes and church rates and imprisonments suffered by them as a result of their maintenance of Quaker testimonies. He had been active in local Friends' affairs since about 1670, when he was one of several fined for holding meetings in their homes, and himself suffered from frequent fines and distraints and a period of two years' imprisonment in Cambridge Castle. There is a tradition that his home provided the first Friends meeting house in

Cambridge, on the site of the present Jesus Lane meeting house, but the only evidence to substantiate this is a statement that leather scraps presumed to have been part of a shoemaker's stock were found in the attic of the old house demolished in 1776 (Fox 1895, 4). There is certainly no indication that he was living in the house when Peter Lightfoot sold it to Ann Docwra in 1700; and the leather scraps may have been part of a riding saddle mentioned in the inventory of Ann Docwra's possessions.

From 1673 to 1756 the Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely Quarterly Meeting, with constituent meetings in about 1710 at Cambridge, Haddenham, Cottenham, Swavesey, Dry Drayton, Oakington, Linton, Chatteris, Littleport, Wilbridge [presumably written in error for Wilburton], Soham, Sutton, and Coates, was based in Haddenham, where there were a Friends meeting house and a burial ground. Remains, probably rebuilt, of part of one wall of the meeting house with some inscribed names are yet to be seen there, incorporated into an out-house or shed at Stone Cross Farm (Bester: per. comm. 1987). Other representatives from Cambridge to the Quarterly Meeting were, in addition to William Brazier, John Wootton, John Richard, Joseph Chapman and Thomas Wooton. However, there was no representative noted from Cambridge in the years 1726–37, although the Quarterly Meeting was adjourned to Cambridge once each year to 'make up the accounts for Yearly Meeting', that is the record of tithe distraints and other impositions or penalities suffered by Friends within the Quarterly Meeting. Also during these years Joseph Chapman was active in Friends' affairs as a representative to Yearly Meeting; and he attended Quarterly Meetings occasionally from 1738 to 1743. Thereafter, John Webb attended Quarterly Meetings as the Cambridge representative once in each year from 1747 to 1756.

Business conducted at the Quarterly Meeting was recorded only briefly, with a report from each constituent meeting mostly being 'none here', 'things well', 'things pretty well', or 'not known'. Intentions of marriage are recorded, as are collections for the relief of named poor Friends and for other Quaker purposes both locally and nationally, the latter being included under the heading 'for the service of truth', and for the purchase of Friends books for distribution. There are also a few instances of admonishing individuals for disorderly conduct (drunkenness and 'keeping company' with non-Friends were the most frequently mentioned faults) and rather more of finding places and apprenticeships for orphaned or poor Friends' children; and each year named representatives were appointed to attend the Yearly Meeting in London. By 1756 the local meetings expected to send representatives to the Quarterly Meeting included, in addition to those listed above, Over and Wisbech Meetings, while those at Cottenham, Dry Drayton, 'Wilbridge', Soham and Coates had been discontinued.

Although the Cambridge Meeting continued sending representatives to the Quarterly Meeting until 1743 or 4, Thomas Story's impression of it as small and few in numbers is confirmed by the Ely Episcopal visitation record of 1728 (EDR B.8.1). This notes the presence of two families of Quakers and 'A Quaker Meeting House meet once a month' in the parish of All Saints, with an additional three Quaker families or households in the parish of St. Peter's and one in the parish of Great St. Mary's. By way of contrast, Wisbech was then noted to have twenty Quaker families and a Quaker teacher, Christopher Granger, as well as three dissenters' meeting houses, one of which would have belonged to Friends. At this time, Friends were more numerous in the Isle of Ely than in the southern part of the County.

Our best evidence as to who were Quakers, at least in the Isle of Ely, in the early eighteenth century is contained in a remarkable and apparently unique document, the Wisbech Quakers' Roll, part of the Ely Diocesan Records housed in the Cambridge University Library. This is a series of large parchment sheets dated 1723, the first of which has on one face the oaths of loyalty and abjuration as used at that time and, on the reverse, an alternative form of affirmation as permitted for the use of Quakers by a 1721 act of Parliament. The other sheets contain almost three thousand signatures or names plus marks of men and women who subscribed to the document, for most of them listing also their place of residence. Work is presently in hand to transcribe and tabulate

this list, and preliminary findings are that a very high proportion of the names are in fact those of identifiable Quakers. For our present purposes we may note that religious dissent remained strong in those same fenland communities which had apparently provided much of the earliest local support of Quakerism three or four generations previously.

Although there is no mention of oaths, affirmations, or any similar civil matters in Cambridge Friends' records, the issue was an important one at the national as well as the local level (Braithwaite 1919, 180–205). Working in London, George Whitehead was much concerned with negotiating through Parliament an acceptable form of affirmation; and from time to time the Meeting for Sufferings advised Friends that they might safely and 'with all modesty' sign such an affirmation if they felt able to do so. Assent to the oath or, once it was made legally acceptable, the affirmation could be required of any person appearing before a magistrate for any reason and was also required of all eligible persons wishing to vote in Parliamentary elections. In addition persons signing a form of affirmation, as did Ann Docwra and a number of other local Friends in 1680, were then exempted by the magistrates from prosecution for non-attendance at the established church (Phillipson 1988).

However, even with the generally more tolerant temper of the mid-eighteenth century and the legal relief provided by the variously worded forms of affirmation, Friends were by no means relieved of all the disabilities under which they suffered. Fines and imprisonments for the non-payment of tithes were a major burden which fell unevenly, affecting mainly but not exclusively those who were farmers of moderate substance. These continued throughout the century and will be summarized below.

The remainder of the first half of the eighteenth century seems to have been of little moment for the Society in Cambridge, with, for the most part, meetings for worship and for business taking their uneventful courses elsewhere in the County. Considerable effort was on occasion exerted to maintain the quiet deportment and good repute of Friends, as is attested by a minute of an adjourned Quarterly Meeting held at Cambridge on the 12th of the fifth month, 1752, disowning Benjamin Wright of Swavesey, who:

> hath made it his Business to sow Discord amongst our Friends in Norfolk and has behaved very Disorderly in several Places. He has likewise greatly Disturbed several of our Friends meetings in divers parts of the Nation. As it is well known that the said Benj Wright hath Behaved thus Badly and Refused to be Reclaimed we Hereby Testify and Declare that we Disown him until such Time as he be reformed. . . .

This minute was signed by Joseph Chapman, Thomas Langrass, Robert Tubbs, James Wright, John Luff, John Tubbs and Edward Fuller.

Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge* notes that in 1735 'about October, Mrs Drummond, a young Scotch lady who had turned Quaker preached to the whole university of Cambridge on the Castlehill', an event which was unnoticed and unmentioned in Meeting records (Cooper 1842–1908, 4, 219). In the mid eighteenth century the Town was visited from time to time by travelling Friends, some of whom have left written accounts of their visits. Such Friends included Ruth Fellows and Elizabeth Fletcher in about 1748, John Griffith on several occasions between 1751 and 1761, John Churchman in about 1753, Catherine Phillips in 1783 and John Pemberton in 1788. Mary Neale said of her visit in 1750:

> I saw and was made to believe that there would be a people raised up in that place; who should stand for the honour of His name, and be valient for Truth on earth. This I was led to declare to the few present, though at this time in a place noted for contrary fruits [Neale 1843, 91].

In the same year, Daniel Stanton had much the same to say of

> Cambridgeshire, in which were several solid meetings, though that at Cambridge was small, and the darkness of that dark place much depressed my spirit [Stanton 1848, 162].

Two of John Griffith's visits were in 1758 and 1761. On the latter occasion he was a

member of a small committee appointed by London Yearly Meeting to visit the local meetings and advise on the problems they faced.

> I set out the 16th of the sixth month, 1758, and by appointment, met Joseph Taylor at Cambridge, who was to be my companion as far as York. It being first day, we went to their meeting in the morning, which was very small, and things exceedingly low as to the life of religion. We went in the afternoon about ten miles to a general meeting at a place called Over [Griffith 1841, 395].
>
> On the 14th of the fourth month [1761], we visited the Quarterly Meeting at Ives, for Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely; where, having drawn up the state of their Monthly Meetings, as the same appeared to us in our late visit, with some remarks thereon, we laid the same before them, with earnest labour to awaken the active members to a lively sense of the sorrowful declension found within their borders [*ibid.*, 411].

In 1738 the University published an edict against 'schismatical congregations' at Sturbridge Fair. Was this intended to stop the Quaker meeting in Cambridge at the time of the Fair, or was it directed against other congregations which met actually on the fairground? In any case an annual public meeting continued to be held at the Jesus Lane meeting house until 1795. It was an occasion for Friends who had travelled to Cambridge for the Fair, reputedly the largest in Europe and proto-type of Bunyan's Vanity Fair, to meet together and was open to and largely attended by members of the public.

FREQUENTLY ATTENDED BY SEVERAL OF THE MEMBERS

After a period of doldrums and declining numbers, the Isle of Ely and Cambridgeshire and the Huntingdon Quarterly Meetings were reunited in 1756. A separate women's quarterly meeting was instituted at the same time. The Isle of Ely and Cambridgeshire thus became a Monthly Meeting with constituent local or particular meetings in Cambridge, Linton, Over, Oakington, Swavesey, Wisbech, Chatteris, Littleport, Sutton and Haddenham. The Quarterly Metings were in the future to be held at the meeting house in St. Ives and 'the monthly Meeting for the Isle of Ely and Cambridge to be held once in the year at Cambridge on the first fourth day in the ninth month and the other eleven months to be held at Chatteris'. In the following year a more complicated system was adopted, with the Monthly Meeting held occasionally at Haddenham, Sutton or Swavesey, generally at Chatteris, and once a year at Cambridge as previously agreed. In 1765 it was noted that the business of Chatteris Monthly Meeting was generally conducted in Wisbech; and the meeting was accordingly renamed. Then in 1784, after a period of separation, the Wisbech and Sutton Monthly Meetings were reunited, with their place of meeting rotating between Sutton, Chatteris and Wisbech. In the following year the meeting houses at Over, Oakington, Haddenham, and Linton were to be examined and repaired or disposed of, all by then having fallen out of use. In 1789 the Sutton and Wisbech Monthly Meeting was again renamed Chatteris Monthly Meeting.

At the first Monthly Meeting after the 1756 reorganization only four representatives were noted as present: James Wright from Swavesey and Robert Tubbs, Richard Street and John Fuller from Haddenham. Occasionally in 1757 and subsequent years Henry Bass, John Webb and Joseph Chapman attended as representatives from Cambridge. Business conducted was very similar to what had previously been conducted by Cambridgeshire and the Isle acting as a Quarterly Meeting. Friends whose behaviour was considered disreputable or who had used the services of a priest to marry a non-Friend were admonished and on a few occasions disowned. Funds were collected for charitable purposes and for the national stocks, the central Yearly Meeting fund. In 1758 contributions for the latter purpose were from:

	£	*s*	*d*
Haddenham and Sutton	1	6	0
Cambridge	1	0	0
Littleport	0	16	0
Swavesey	0	12	6
Chatteris	0	7	6
Wisbech	3	0	0

The three other meetings seem not to have contributed. The above figures make clear the extent to which the centre of Friends' wealth and activity had shifted northwards within the County. A detailed look at the occupations of Friends would probably show a parallel shift from agriculture to trade and merchandizing. Also at the Monthly Meetings, deliberations and advice from the Quarterly Meeting were reported and, presumably, acted upon; and births, marriages and burials were reported and recorded.

In 1758 John Poulter signed a report from the Quarterly Meeting to Meeting for Sufferings:

> We have in the compass of our said Quarterly Meeting only two schools taught by Friends one at Godmanchester where are some few borders, the other at Ramsey by a Woman for small children. In Cambridgeshire no friends school. Also that in Cambridgeshire we have nine and in Huntingdonshire five particular Meetings. . . .
>
> For the convenience of Friends in Cambridgeshire this Quarterly Meeting hath agreed to divide into two Monthly Meetings that in Cambridgeshire which before was only one.

These were Chatteris Monthly Meeting and Sutton Monthly Meeting, with Cambridge subsumed in that for Chatteris, which meeting later moved to Wisbech. The thirteen particular meetings, each with its own meeting house, were, in addition to that in Cambridge, those in Swavesey, Linton, Oakington, Littleport, Sutton, Chatteris, Wisbech, Haddenham, St. Ives, Huntingdon, Ramsey and March. There were also Friends burial grounds separate from the meeting house yards at Kings Ripton, Brampton, Earith, St. Ives, Huntingdon and Ramsey. (In the mid nineteenth century Friends were buried in St. Ives, Godmanchester, Over, Earith, Huntingdon, Littleport, Bluntisham, Colne and Wisbech.) In 1775, money from the sale of an old meeting house in Bluntisham was applied towards building a new one on the burial ground at Earith.

The Quarterly Meeting made annual reports to Yearly Meeting concerning the state of Friends meetings within its compass and Friends faithfulness to the distinctive Quaker testimonies.

> We mostly are faithful in our testimony against Tithes, priests Demands and those called church rates. . . . As to bearing of Arms and paying Trophy Money it hath not been required of us in these parts [1753].
>
> Our First Day Meetings are for the most part well attended and we have no particular Meeting without a weekday Meeting for divine worship which are constantly kept up and frequently attended by several of the members . . . our Neighbours in some places resort to our Meetings behaving with Sobriety and solid attention . . . [1755].
>
> As to the state of our meetings, we have with sorrow to observe the want of an ardent hunger after durable riches and righteousness is too obvious in many. Nevertheless we humbly trust there yet remains a remnant amongst us [1768].
>
> Lukewarmnes and an Indifrency of mind is too prevalent in many. Nevertheless there is still a Remnant amongst us who diligently Labour for divine help whereby they witness a growth in the Truth [1776].

Finally, in 1784, the report was able to mention 'One Friend admitted in membership since last year', the first in about twenty years. Another new member was recorded in 1789. While the places of residence of these two Friends is unrecorded, it is most unlikely to have been Cambridge, as by this time Friends public activity in the town was confined to the single meeting for worship held annually in their meeting house on Jesus Lane. In the absence of any indication as to how the buildings were used during the rest of the year, it seems most probable that they were rented out as a private residence or residences.

An important duty of the Quarterly Meeting in the second half of the eighteenth century was the appointment of a committee of men Friends to attend the annual meeting at Cambridge at the time of the Sturbridge, or Stirbick, Fair. This coincided with the annual occasion when the Monthly Meeting

was held in Cambridge and was advertised to Friends in neighbouring counties so that a large attendance was usually said to have been obtained, although no attendance records were kept. In 1765, nineteen Friends were appointed to attend the Sturbridge Fair Meeting which, it was subsequently reported, 'Was kept quiet and ended to general satisfaction'. Similar reports were made in most years until 1771, when: 'the number of Friends was but small, but the neighbourhood that attended was more numerous; and behaved in general well'. While the building of a new meeting house on the Jesus Lane site was in progress in 1776, the 'Meeting at Cambridge in the time of Stirbick Fair [was] held at the Red Lion, which was a very large and satisfactory Meeting'. Attendance was noted as 'very large and satisfactory' in 1784 and 1785, but 'some benefit seemed to arise from the appointment of Doorkeepers'. This annual meeting was kept up until the end of 1795, at which time the Quarterly Meeting recorded a minute that 'The Committee having solidly considered the Matter referred to them respecting the holding the Meeting at this place in future at the usual time, are of the Judgement, that it will be safe that the same be discontinued'.

The problems of an ageing and declining membership were faced throughout the Quarterly Meeting area. In 1797 the Yearly Meeting again appointed a committee to visit the local and monthly meetings and make what recommendations it could. Their letter was received by the Quarterly Meeting on the 22nd of the 3rd month 1798.

> Whilst among you we had cause to believe, although weakness might prevail and Discouragement, from a sense of that weakness, might possess many of your minds; yet that there were those Gifts and Talents bestowed upon you, which if rightly occupied, would render many of you useful, in strengthening the things which remain. . . . We think no small advantage may be derived to you from an interchange of visits at your respective Monthly Meetings – the company of a concerned Brother or Sister from a neighbouring Meeting on such occasions, is encouraging; . . . In your appointments to service be weighty in your Minds; not always looking to those who have for a Series of Years been principally nominated; but rather, as way rightly opens, unite with those acustomed to serve, others that are less so.

Two groups that met regularly in the second half of the eighteenth century were the Quarterly Meeting of Women Friends and the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders. The former generally had little business to do other than the collection and disbursement of small sums of money to assist individual Friends to attend quarterly, monthly and local, or preparative, meetings. In 1787 copies of the scriptures and Friends books were purchased and given to poor Friends; and copies of epistles from the London and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings were regularly read out. Such action as was taken by the Women's Quarterly Meeting seems always to have been in response to promptings from the (men's) Quarterly Meeting or from Yearly Meeting, never a result of the women's own initiative.

More active was the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, a group which generally included among its members a few women, Those who were appointed as elders or recognized as effective ministers included the more able and dedicated Friends. To a very large extent the direction, guidance and leadership of Quakerism both as an organized society and as a religious movement rested on the members of this committee in the continued absence of any professional clergy or full-time church workers, a situation which has remained unchanged except very briefly and to a limited extent in the late nineteenth century. It was particularly to members of this committee that the Yearly Meeting report of 1798, quoted above, would have been directed.

Ministers and elders from Cambridgeshire present at a meeting in St. Ives 1757 were Robert Tubbs, James Wright, Ann Wright, Selner Goddard, Henry Bass, James Wright Junior, Richard Street and John Luff. Six years later William Wright Senior and John Bateman were added to their number. 'Persuant to the direction of the Yearly Meeting' a new list was set out in 1787. This included, ministers: Mary Phipps, Thomas Bleekly, Henry Bass, Elizabeth Bass, John Abbott,

Ann Abbott, Benjamin Evans; and elders: Christopher Johnson, John Bateman, Henry Gray, John Brown, William Wright, Sarah Poulter, Hannah Poulter, Ellington Wright and John King Junior. The same family names occur over and over again on Friends' records in this century. We find them also in the list of those from whom goods were distrained, primarily for non-payment of tithes and militia charges, in the years 1756 to 1792 (Table 2).

These 'sufferings' as first recorded by local Friends and as finally reported to the Yearly Meeting have some minor discrepancies, but on the whole present a consistent picture. No Friends living in Cambridge were affected in any year. Hardest hit were a few land-owning families; less frequently a grocer's or a craftsman's goods were seized and occasionally a householder's furniture. In 1758 Ann Bass of Dry Drayton was charged by the priest, Richard Bullock, with owing £12 as a composition fee in lieu of tithes. In settlement of this claim there were taken from her by justice's warrant crops and livestock worth more than fifty pounds: 45 sheep, 8 todd of wool, 6 acres of wheat, 1½ acres of barley, 8½ acres of peas and oats, and 2 loads of hay. Most often the goods taken from Friends were wheat, oats, barley, peas, beans, hay, wool, sheep and other livestock. Merchants and tradesmen were occasionally fined for their refusal to pay for militia substitutes to serve in their place. In 1778 'Joseph Brown Allen of Ely in Cambridgeshire being ballotted for a Militiaman for Earith in Huntingdonshire and afterwards removed to Ely when a Warrant of distress was granted at Huntingdon'. To satisfy a demand for £4 a total of 49 yards of Irish cloth valued at £5.18.2 was taken from him. Four years later and for a similar cause, Thomas Bleekley of Sutton had taken from him goods worth £8.6.0: 'a copper and bed as it stood, a copper, new sacks, 5½ yards plain cloth, 4 gals train oil, 16 lbs pitch 1 gal tar, 3 yards wrappering, 2¾ yards hunters cloth, 1 doz buttons'. These itemized accounts contain fascinating details of local economic history which we cannot digress to consider here, but it must be noted that the impositions and distraints were for the most part legally sanctioned and correctly carried out.

A list of Cambridgeshire Friends from whom goods were distrained is given in Table 2, with the values of the goods taken as estimated by those affected and entered in the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Quarterly Meeting Book of Sufferings (R 59.25.3.2, County Records Office). From this table we may see that the effect of tithe distraints fell very unevenly, presumably depending upon the zeal and greed of those, usually tithe farmers, but sometimes priests, who were in a position to enforce the collections. Of the twenty-four individuals listed, seven were effected on five or more occasions; and many of the most frequently fined persons lived in Swavesey. John Finch of Swavesey had more than £134 worth of produce taken from him in just four years; and James Wright, also of Swavesey, had distraints made on his property every year for sixteen years from 1756. In contradistinction, six Friends living in Wisbech and March were affected only in the years 1768 and 1775, at which times relatively small amounts of their property were taken. It is also worth noting that the list includes just sixteen family names. Even if we allow for some inflation in the value of the goods taken, it being difficult to estimate a fair price for a sheep, a standing crop, or a copper saucepan if not sold on the open market, a stark picture remains. In a supposedly enlightened era a few individuals and families were fined very heavily indeed for their refusal to give financial support to a church they did not attend and with whose tenets they did not agree.

When possible, Meeting for Sufferings, the executive body of the Yearly Meeting, carried out its original function in attempting to alleviate this situation. A letter from that body to Henry Poulter of Ramsey, Huntingdonshire, dated the 5th of the 11th month 1773 is probably not untypical.

> Esteemed Friend. We were desired by the Meeting for Sufferings to acquaint thee that John Fothergill had Intercourse with Palmer the Duke of Bedford's Steward, and that he express'd his Dissatisfaction with the Tythe Farmer and said he would write to prevent the Prosecution intended & persuade them to take the Tythes in ye most easy manner – which we hope will have the desired effect.

Table 2. Friends in Cambridgeshire from whom goods were distrained for non-payment of tithes, etc. in the later part of the eighteenth century (value of goods taken is listed in pounds-shilling-pence) – transcribed from Huntingdon & Cambs Book of Sufferings (R.59.25.3.2).

		1756	*1757*	*1758*	*1759*	*1760*	*1761*	*1762*	*1763*	*1764*	*1765*
Joseph Brown Allen	*Ely*										
John Anderson	*Swavesey*										
John Anderson Junr	*Swavesey*										
Susanna Anderson	*Swavesey*										
Ann Bass, widow	*Dry Drayton*			52 12. 6							
John Bateman	*Chatteris*										
John Bateman Junr	*Chatteris*										
Thomas Bleekley	*Sutton*										
John Ding	*Swavesey*										
Robert Ding	*Swavesey*							4. 0. 0			
John Finch	*Swavesey*										
Dinah Galloway	*Wisbech*										
Selner Goddard	*Wisbech*										
Ann Johnson	*Wisbech*										
Chris Johnson	*Wisbech*										
Thomas Jones	*Wisbech*										
John Luff	*Littleport*										
Francis Dent Mair	*Leverington*										
Henry Phipps	*March*										
Mary Tubbs, widow	*Haddenham*			17. 6. 0	17.13. 0	18.18. 6	20.14. 0				
Robert Tubbs	*Haddenham*	17.11. 0	37.11. 6					25. 4. 0	23.10. 0	26.18. 0	28. 8. 0
James Wright	*Swavesey*	6.15. 0	9. 0. 0	6. 2. 6	4. 3. 0	7.15. 0	3.18. 0	7. 0. 0	4.10. 0	7. 6. 0	7.13. 0
Thomas Wright	*Sutton*							2. 0. 0	18. 0. 0	14. 9. 0	9. 5. 0
William Wright	*Sutton*										

		1766	*1767*	*1768*	*1769*	*1770*	*1771*	*1772*	*1773*	*1774*	*1775*
Joseph Brown Allen	*Ely*										
John Anderson	*Swavesey*				1.16. 0		9.12. 0		44.17.4½	66. 4. 0	49.17. 6
John Anderson Junr	*Swavesey*										
Susanna Anderson	*Swavesey*										
Ann Bass, widow	*Dry Drayton*										
John Bateman	*Chatteris*										
John Bateman Junr	*Chatteris*										
Thomas Bleekley	*Sutton*						0.10. 0				
John Ding	*Swavesey*										
Robert Ding	*Swavesey*								20. 0. 0	17.19. 0	12. 0. 6
John Finch	*Swavesey*								19.13. 3	38.19. 7	31. 7. 0
Dinah Galloway	*Wisbech*			0.13. 0							1. 3. 0
Selner Goddard	*Wisbech*										2.18. 8
Ann Johnson	*Wisbech*			0.13. 6							
Chris Johnson	*Wisbech*			0. 9. 0							
Thomas Jones	*Wisbech*			0.15.10							1.10. 4
John Luff	*Littleport*										
Francis Dent Mair	*Leverington*										
Henry Phipps	*March*										4.10. 0
Mary Tubbs, widow	*Haddenham*										
Robert Tubbs	*Haddenham*	36. 8. 0	38. 8. 0	24.19. 0	31.12. 0	33.10. 0		30.18. 0	29. 5. 0	35. 0. 0	33. 4. 0
James Wright	*Swavesey*	13. 9. 4	9.17. 0	6. 3. 6	11.12. 0	10. 0. 0	7. 0. 0				
Thomas Wright	*Sutton*		20. 1. 0								
William Wright	*Sutton*										

Table 2, continued.

		1776	*1777*	*1778*	*1779*	*1780*	*1781*	*1782*	*1783*	*1784*	*1785*
Joseph Brown Allen	*Ely*			5.18. 2							
John Anderson	*Swavesey*		49.15. 0	44. 7. 6							
John Anderson Junr	*Swavesey*	37.15. 0						46. 9. 6			
Susanna Anderson	*Swavesey*										
Ann Bass, widow	*Dry Drayton*										
John Bateman	*Chatteris*							2.17. 0			
John Bateman Junr	*Chatteris*										
Thomas Bleekley	*Sutton*							8. 6. 0			1. 0. 0
John Ding	*Swavesey*										
Robert Ding	*Swavesey*	9. 2. 0	11.10. 0	10. 4. 0	10. 8. 0	12. 7. 0	20. 5. 0	15. 7. 3		15. 0. 0	
John Finch	*Swavesey*	16. 6. 6				31. 6. 0	28. 7. 6			26. 0. 0	
Dinah Galloway	*Wisbech*										
Selner Goddard	*Wisbech*										
Ann Johnson	*Wisbech*										
Chris Johnson	*Wisbech*										
Thomas Jones	*Wisbech*										
John Luff	*Littleport*								9. 9. 0		
Francis Dent Mair	*Leverington*	11. 8. 0	16. 0. 0		38.13. 2	15. 0. 0					
Henry Phipps	*March*										
Mary Tubbs, widow	*Haddenham*										
Robert Tubbs	*Haddenham*	20.10. 0	20.10. 0	27. 0. 0	15. 0. 0						
James Wright	*Swavesey*										
Thomas Wright	*Sutton*										2.15. 0
William Wright	*Sutton*										

		1786	*1787*	*1788*	*1789*	*1790*	*1791*	*1792*
Joseph Brown Allen	*Ely*							
John Anderson	*Swavesey*							
John Anderson Junr	*Swavesey*							
Susanna Anderson	*Swavesey*							
Ann Bass, widow	*Dry Drayton*							
John Bateman	*Chatteris*							36. 1. 9
John Bateman Junr	*Chatteris*						3. 1. 4	
Thomas Bleekley	*Sutton*					9. 0. 0	27.16. 0	13.15. 0
John Ding	*Swavesey*	0.15. 0		1. 0. 0	0.16. 0		0.10. 0	
Robert Ding	*Swavesey*			8. 0. 0				
John Finch	*Swavesey*	6. 4. 0	9.10. 0	10. 1. 7½				
Dinah Galloway	*Wisbech*		26. 0. 0	15.16. 0	22.10. 0			
Selner Goddard	*Wisbech*							
Ann Johnson	*Wisbech*							
Chris Johnson	*Wisbech*							
Thomas Jones	*Wisbech*							
John Luff	*Littleport*							
Francis Dent Mair	*Leverington*							
Henry Phipps	*March*							
Mary Tubbs, widow	*Haddenham*							
Robert Tubbs	*Haddenham*							
James Wright	*Swavesey*							
Thomas Wright	*Sutton*	5. 5. 6						
William Wright	*Sutton*					7. 2. 6	6. 1. 3	1.10. 0

A PROPOSITION FOR REBUILDING

The idea of rebuilding the late-seventeenth-century Cambridge meeting house was first considered in about 1768. It was proposed to the Quarterly Meeting and a committee appointed in 1769 to consider it further. Towards the end of the following year a new committee of fifteen named men Friends 'with any other Friends that are free' was appointed to meet on a Thursday morning at the White Bear to view the premises, make what enquiries it thought necessary and report back, which it duly did on the 20th of the 12th month of the same year. We may note in passing that the assumption that so many individuals would be able to attend to Quaker affairs on a weekday morning would seem to indicate that most were self-employed or perhaps worked for Quaker employers.

As a result of this committee's report, it was decided that estimates for a new building should be obtained and subscriptions sought, first within the area of the Quarterly Meeting and 'then to acquaint the Friends at Norwich Essex or any other place'. The campaign for subscriptions evidently made a slow and discouraging start, for in 1771 Edmund Gurney of Norwich wrote to William Gurney at Saffron Walden:

> I had lately a letter from frds in Huntingdonshire relating the meeting house at Cambridge, which informs me the builders Estimate is £400 – & their subscription only £51 & a few shillings. Thou may suppose I was surprised at the pitiful subscription.

On account of the difficulty with fund raising, the Quarterly Meeting also looked into the possibility of repairing rather than replacing the old meeting house; and they investigated whether any money could be raised for this purpose from the Fulbourn estate.

Nothing more is mentioned in the Quarterly Meeting minutes on this subject for several years, until the following was issued in 1776:

> A Proposition for Rebuilding & Enlarging the Meeting House at Cambridge
> The Annual Meeting at Cambridge has for several years past been held there much to the satisfaction of both Friends & others the inhabitants of that place Manifesting a desire & willingness to sitt down with us in those our Religious meeting whose Behaviour & Deportment is Commendably solid, but the present Meeting House being small & much out of Repair that it is neither safe nor reputable to Meet in, For which reason the Friends from the adjacent Counties as well as those of this Quarterly Meeting think it Necessary to Repair & Enlarge the same for which purpose the Counties of Cambridge & Huntingdon have subscribed about one hundred pounds and the Calculation amounts to upwards of three hundred pounds.
>
> Signed by order of our adjourned Quarterly Meeting held at Ives for the Counties of Cambridge & Huntingdon on the 7th day of 5th mo. 1776 by Wm. Wright Clerk

On the 20th of the 6th month it was recorded in the minutes that the proposition for rebuilding had been taken to the Yearly Meeting where it had been well received and £203 and 14 shillings subscribed, with 'a probability of something being yet added'.

Thereafter the work proceeded quite rapidly. Another committee was appointed to draw up plans and hire workmen. The new building was completed early in 1777, by which time Friends within the Quarterly Meeting had contributed just over £96 bringing the total raised up to the revised estimate of £300. For this sum Friends had the old building razed and a new meeting house constructed in its place and extending over the old burial ground. As there were by then few or no Quakers living in the town, the loss of the burial ground did not imply any compromise or willingness to make use of a consecrated graveyard elsewhere, but simply the absence of need for such a facility.

Neither detailed contemporary plans nor drawings exist to give us a picture of this meeting house when it was new, though we may assume, in keeping with Friends meeting houses elsewhere of the period, that it was a simple plain room with a high ceiling and upstairs windows so placed as to give light without providing distracting external views. Frequently, meeting houses had wood-panelled internal walls and, across the end of the room facing the entrance, a raised platform on which were a bench or benches for

Plate 4. Earith Meeting in 1837; *back row:* Jane Laundy, Hannah Wilson, Elizabeth Brown, Sarah Grubb, William Foster (standing), William Lucas of Hitchin, Joseph Marriage of Chelmsford, James Burgess; *centre row:* Thomas Christy's grandchildren and their governess, John Brown Junior, ? Thomas Maco or Thomas Seekings, John Brown; *front row:* Thomas Luff, Robert Ruston, William Brown, William Wright.

the meeting elders, such as still exists in the Friends meeting house in Wisbech and is shown in Plate 4. William Custance's *Survey of Cambridge*, dated May 1798, shows several small buildings, apparently amalgamated into one of irregular plan shape, with a small internal yard, next to the Hoop Inn. While it is not clear from the plan which part of the buildings constituted the actual Friends Meeting House, the site itself is clearly indicated, and we know that the shell of the building has been retained in subsequent alterations so that most of the external walls of our present meeting house are those of the 1776/7 construction (Plate 3).

In 1883 J.W. Graham found the meeting house to be a 'square room with its brass railed platform' and a fireplace in the corner (Graham 1895). The door from outside must have opened directly into the meeting room without any intervening hall or passage, as one of the first purchases made on resumption of the meeting for worship in that year was a screen to keep out the draught. He mentions, also, that an attendance of 155 filled every seat upstairs and downstairs and that some people were left standing, thus giving us at once the information that there was an internal gallery to the room and an indication of the maximum size of the large and well-attended Sturbridge Fair meetings which the building had been designed to accommodate. As this new meeting house was larger than that which it replaced, we may not be too far off if we estimate that the large meetings of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had probably involved not many more than 100 or so Friends and attenders – large in relation to the then population of the town, but not so when compared with present attendance figures. The meeting house built in 1776/7 remained

largely unaltered and in use, although not always as a place of worship, until its renovation in 1894/5.

INTERLUDE

During the closing years of the eighteenth century and most of the nineteenth, Friends' activity in Cambridge was minimal. In 1786, for example, William Crowe made a religious visit to Friends in our area, stopping at Godmanchester, Huntingdon, Ramsey, St. Ives, Swavesey, Warboys, Earith, Littleport, Ely, Sutton, Chatteris, Wisbech and Lynn. He mentions that at Littleport there was a large evening meeting attended by many of the neighbours. Most conspicuously, he did not stop at and does not even mention having passed through Cambridge (Crowe 1805, 38–40). Thomas Scattergood, a better known public Friend, visited Cambridge in 1796:

> Went to Cambridge with James Wright, where I met with George Gibson and wife. When we went to the meeting, a multitude were gathered in the street and passage near, and after the doors were opened they soon filled the house, and it proved a solid time. Dined at the inn with nearly forty Friends, and had an opportunity with this large company, wherein I endeavoured to persuade them to hold up their light before the people [Scattergood 1844, 106].

After about that time the Jesus Lane meeting house continued to be used for social purposes, but no longer for other than occasional Friends meetings. J.W. Graham records 'faint memories in an old man's mind of a memorable meeting held by Elizabeth Fry', who died in 1845 (Graham 1895, 31); and, writing in 1859 concerning a Sunday School for poor children which had been founded in 1827, William Leeke mentions his understanding that Friends then seldom used their meeting house in Jesus Lane (Jones 1864).

In 1808 the building was put to a new use when it became the home of one of the twenty-two innovative Lancastrian Schools established outside of London. Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, was an ardent advocate of secular schooling for the mass education of poor boys.

> On his return from Lynn, the author delivered a lecture (by permission) in the Town Hall of Cambridge. As proof of the liberality of the University, the far greater proportion were students and clergy. After hearing the details of the plan with an attention highly honourable to themselves for two hours, . . . The establishing of a school was then proposed, a committee named, and a subscription immediately begun which amounted to about 100 Guineas in a few minutes after the lecture was over, and was nearly doubled the next day [Lancaster 1808, vii–viii].

Some initial opposition to the proposed school on account of its association with Quaker and with secular values was mollified when the Reverend J. Plumptree preached a sermon in which he praised Quakers and also pointed out that the schoolboys would be taught the Church of England catechism (Plumptree 1809). Plumptree himself had first become acquainted with Quakerism not in Cambridge, but while on a walking tour in Wales in 1799. 'I supposed Quakers to be a good sort of people and not particularly knowing their ways . . .' (Kerkham 1977).

The great virtue of the Lancastrian system was its mass approach to education. A single teacher, paid £60 per annum, directed older boys who served as monitors teaching up to 250 boys divided into eight classes. Since most of the learning was by rote, only one large-type book was required for the entire school. According to the annual report of 1809, just under £51 had been spent on carpenters' and bricklayers' bills for fitting out the school; and already the room was felt to be inadequate.

> Though it would be desirable to educate a much greater number (which might be done by the same master), the school room is already found too small; and is also inconvenient in other respects. Even this accommodation is uncertain and temporary, as it was only let by the Society of Friends till the Governors could provide another [Anon., 1809, 8].

Other uses were found for the building. From 1827 to 1833 it housed an established church Sunday school in which more than 200 children aged between seven and fourteen

years were taught Bible texts, hymns and their letters under the care of twenty or thirty volunteer teachers, mainly University undergraduates (Jones 1864). The next important use of the building, from 1855 to 1862, was as Cambridge's first Free Library. Entrance to this was by way of a passage from Jesus Lane into the courtyard. The main floor of the meeting house served as the reading room; and the gallery as the library proper. Later in the same century, the building accommodated at different times a Sunday school for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and a Unitarian church or Sunday school (Jones 1864, 2; Graham 1895, 31).

On his return from visiting the French prisoners of war in the prison camp at Norman Cross, near Stilton, Stephen Grellet stopped to hold Friends meetings in Cambridge and in Saffron Walden late in the year 1812.

> I came to Cambridge, under a great exercise and depression of mind, so that during the night sleep departed from me; yet I felt it to be the Lord's requiring that I should have a meeting there, and that collegians should be particularly invited to it. There are no Friends residing in that place, and some of the meetings that Friends have had here lately, have been much disturbed by some of the rude young men; . . . I went to meeting accompanied by several dear friends. Many of the collegians gave their attendance together with the inhabitants. The house was crowded, and for a short space there was a disturbance towards the door, but soon all this subsided, and a total silence prevailed: the Lord's power came over us, in a very precious manner. . . . The ground and source of true spiritual knowledge were unfolded, a knowledge not to be obtained by coming to colleges or universities, but by coming to Christ and learning of him. . . . Several of the collegians spoke to us after the meeting. . . . Two of them came to our inn, in the evening. . . . [at] Saffron Walden . . . I had appointed a meeting. Soon after it had settled in silence, I was not a little surprised to see the two young collegians come in. . . . They had felt so much after hearing that I was to have a meeting there, that they came sixteen miles on foot to attend it [Grellet 1860, I, 211–13].

In 1815 and again in 1836, committees of the Quarterly Meeting confirmed that money from the Docwra legacies should be applied to meeting the costs of Friends travelling to conduct meetings in Cambridge and also the expenses of Friends who accompanied and assisted those travelling for this purpose. The finance committee at this time was referred to in good plain speech as 'the money committee'. Finances and accounts of the Fulbourn and Cambridge properties were handled by William Wright during most of the first half of the nineteenth century. For each of the eight years that it was used as a library, Cambridge Corporation paid £20 per annum for the use of the meeting house. The rent of the Fulbourn estate brought in rather more: £60 per annum in 1857, £80 per annum from then until 1880, and £65 per annum for the last two decades of the century, with the costs of repairs and maintenance being deducted from these sums. The Cambridge meeting house and its adjacent cottage were leased to H. Chapman and J. Pleasance, the cottage for £16 per annum and the meeting house for between £8 and £15 per annum during the years 1869 to 1885. There was some concern in 1832 when work at the Hoop Inn or Hotel premises did some unspecified damage to the meeting house; and the matter of necessary repairs to the building was carried over in the minutes until 1837. Other business of the Quarterly Meeting included its agreement to a recommendation of the 1848 Yearly Meeting that it and the Norfolk and Norwich Quarterly Meeting should be amalgamated, which was accomplished in 1850, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdon then becoming a Monthly Meeting.

In March 1851 was taken a national census of attendance at places of worship. David Butler has suggested, not unreasonably, that attendance at meetings for worship may have been unusually high on the day and that an estimated seventy-five per cent of Friends and regular attenders may have been counted in the census (Butler 1986, 25–34). The tabulated total of 13,361 persons present at Friends' morning meetings would thus suggest an estimated actual total of about 17,800 Friends and adherents and about 375 within our enlarged Quarterly Meeting. A comparison of the returns from some neighbouring Quarterly Meetings demonstrates clearly the unusual pattern of numerous, small dispersed

meetings which prevailed in this area (Table 3). Norwich, with 93 people present in the morning and 41 in the afternoon was the largest particular meeting. Earith with 23 in the morning and 11 in the afternoon was the second largest; and the average morning attendance at particular meetings in the Quarterly Meeting was 13. This compares with an average morning meeting attendance of 38 in Suffolk and 92 in London and Middlesex.

Table 3. The 1851 Census of Attendance at Places of Worship, for six Friends Quarterly Meetings and for particular meetings in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdon.

Quarterly Meeting	*number of particular meetings*	*number of Friends present in the*	
		morning	*afternoon*
Beds. & Herts.	8	313	245
Essex	15	523	291
Suffolk	7	263	166
Lincolnshire	5	93	20
London & Mddx.	19	1751	891
Norfolk, Cambs. & Hunts.	21	281	102
(*Chatteris*		22	18)
(*Sutton*		6	0)
(*Wisbech*		16	12)
(*Earith*		23	11)
(*Huntingdon*		4	0)
(*St. Ives*		5	0)
(*Downham*		3	0)

A rare picture of a mid-nineteenth-century Cambridgeshire Friends meeting is provided by a print based on a painting of Earith Meeting as it was in 1837, on the occasion of the visit of a committee appointed by London Yearly Meeting (Plate 4). Standing to speak is William Foster, one of the visiting committee members. On his left is William Lucas, another visitor and father of the artist, Samuel Lucas. At the end of the back row sits James Burgess, the local mole catcher. The names of the Earith Friends, listed in the caption to the plate, can be compared with those mentioned elsewhere in this paper and listed in Table 2. Friends families tended to remain as such over a number of generations and were frequently closely inter-connected. Elizabeth Brown, second on the right of William Foster, was a daughter of William Wright, who is shown sitting on the end of the front row and facing sideways. This William Wright was the great grandson of the William Wright who was imprisoned in Cambridge Castle with his son from 1701 to 1709 for non-payment of tithes. He had five sons and five daughters, who were photographed when Elizabeth Brown was 81 years old (Plate 5). In 1799 William Wright married Sarah Theaker at Spalding meeting house. Her father, Isaac Theaker, was known as 'The Quaker, the baker, the great muffin maker'.

TO START A FRIENDS MEETING IS A SIMPLE MATTER

The admission of nonconformists to the universities was the initial significant factor in the revival of a regular Quaker meeting for worship in Cambridge. Such a reform in the statutes governing university admissions was first proposed by a fellow of Jesus College as early as 1771. However, it was not until the mid nineteenth century that degrees and scholarships (but not fellowships, voting rights and other privileges) were opened to nonconformists, who were no longer required to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles, but were still obliged to attend college chapels. Finally, in 1871, Parliament passed a bill which removed most of the remaining university religious restrictions. By 1883 there were enough nonconformist students at Cambridge to form a University Nonconformist Union (Nutter 1912, 149–55). Among these pioneering students were John William Graham and Clement Ord, both Friends, whose arrival in Cambridge is first noted in the Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Lynn Monthly Meeting minutes for the eleventh month of 1881. Another student is mentioned in the minutes two years later:

> A certificate on behalf of J.H. Stone removed to Cambridge has been received from Handshaw West Monthly Meeting. The clerk is requested to write to the clerk of that meeting stating that as we have no meeting at Cambridge & no control or oversight in regard to members of our society who may be resident there, we do not feel justified in taking the responsibility of accepting the certificate [11th 1st month 1883].

Plate 5. The five Wright sisters, from left to right: Ann Brown (aged 74 years), Louisa Binyon (67 years), Elizabeth Brown (81 years), Mary Pearman (69 years), Maria Wright (72 years). (Photograph courtesy of Margaret Deakin.)

The next entry in the minutes to concern Jesus Lane is dated the 28th of the second month 1884.

> The following letter has been received from John W. Graham on behalf of the students, Members of our Society, residing at Cambridge asking that the Meeting House there may be re-opened for their use on first day mornings. It is decided to grant the request for the term. Future arrangements are left over for the consideration of our next meeting.
> 'Dear Friends,
> Some of us have decided to ask leave of you to re-open the Meeting House at Cambridge for Meeting for Worship on the old lines on First Day mornings at 11 o' clock; & we desire your co-operation in any way that may seem in right order for the successful holding of them. On behalf of my friends Frank Morley, Clement Ord, J. Henry Stone, Francis W. Oliver and myself.
>
> I remain your Friend,
> John W. Graham'

A month later the Quarterly Meeting was informed by the Monthly Meeting that meetings for worship had been started and were now being held regularly both in St. Ives and in Cambridge. During that year eight Friends, all University students, transferred their memberships in the Society of Friends

to the Cambridge meeting: Francis Wall Oliver, Joseph Henry Stone, John Francis Prase, John Pease Fry, Clement Ord, Frank Morley, Mabel Watson and Henrietta Bishop. Willmot Taylor joined the Society in Cambridge. Eight others, not all students, joined Cambridge meeting in the following year and more in 1886. From the first, the re-established Cambridge meeting was well supported despite the initial doubts of some older Friends as to the wisdom of students establishing and taking responsibility for the conduct of a Quaker meeting on a regular basis. During the first long vacation Friends from Saffron Walden attended the Jesus Lane Meeting so that it could be kept throughout the year without a break. By the next summer there were enough local Friends to keep the meeting open out of term time as well as in. Symbolic of the intended permanency of the re-established meeting was the removal, in November 1884, of the sign over the entrance reading 'Public Hall' and its replacement by one which said 'Friends Meeting House'.

By the eleventh month of 1885, Cambridge, which was still an allowed meeting (a sort of probationary status which it retained until the fifth month of 1886), was the largest of the five in Cambridgeshire.

	Cambridge	*Chatteris*	*Earith*	*St. Ives*	*Wisbech*
members	25	7	14	17	18
attenders not in membership	50	0	3	40	1

The estimated average attendance at Cambridge was 30 adults and 6 children on Sunday mornings, 40 persons on Sunday evenings. There were also a bible study session on Wednesday evenings, a discussion group on Fridays, and a well-used library.

John W. Graham published in 1895 a lively account of the re-establishment of the Cambridge Meeting, in which he had played an active part.

> From my friend John Brown, of Earith, at whose house Clement Ord and I were kindly entertained on receipt of our certificates to Cambridge in 1881, I heard that by diligent search in Jesus Lane, and careful examination of every narrow passage, an old Friends' Meeting-house, not actually sold, might be discovered. . . . passing by, I saw bright lights up the entry. . . . I soon after called on Pleasaunce, the lessee, and found that this was called a dancing class, and that if I wished to hold a mesmeric entertainment, or a smoking concert, or a developed Punch and Judy show, I could hire the room, except that the Unitarians used it on Sunday mornings. . . . J.B. Braithwaite, hearing my story of the state of Jesus Lane, and learning the names of such Friend undergraduates as I could discover, put two and two together promptly, came up with W. Dilwyn Sims and John Brown, and we held early in 1883 the first meeting there had been in that house for I do not know how many years. . . . We sat round the fireplace in the corner, nine of us, and the room was cold. The women's side was represented by Miss Richardson, of Bessbrook, from Newnham, and a friend of hers. . . .
>
> But it was at the beginning of 1884 that Cambridge Meeting was really born. It was on this wise. Some one knocked one forenoon at the door of my room, and I recognized William Hobson, a worker at St. Ives under the late Home Mission Committee. . . . He came on most definite business – nothing less than to propose that we fellows at Cambridge should begin and run a continuous Friends' Meeting straight on end. . . . A few days after William Hobson's visit, there came to Cambridge another Friend to advise caution, and to dwell on the future responsibility that would rest on local Friends. . . . It became clear that I should have to make up my own mind. I went a walk to the top of the Gogs and back to meditate upon it. About half way back, I made up my mind that it must be – and that not to do it was a more serious responsibility than to do it. . . .
>
> A little committee of us got together . . . and wrote a note to the Monthly Meeting applying for the use of the Meeting-house. In the lease they had reserved this right. John Pease Fry joined us on a second committee, and we fixed on 2nd month 23rd, 1884, as the date to begin. We issued notices on neat little sheets of note paper, in neat little envelopes, in the most highly respectable manner, under Oliver's printing supervision, to all the Friends, ex-

> Friends, semi-Friends, we knew of, and to any who exhibited Quaker leanings. We advertised in the Cambridge Review and in the town papers, put up a notice at the Meeting-house, and to our surprise no fewer than 40 people turned up . . . .
>
> Our most enthusiastic support came from Newnham. Mabel Spence Watson, Edith Priestman, and Henrietta Bishop were unflinchingly regular attenders, and used to bring a good many of their friends with them. Indeed the Meeting was quite the rage at Newnham for a time. . . . Miss Gladstone, the Principal of North Hall, Newnham, had in the interests of propriety, stipulated that some grown-up-person should be present, not only we undergraduates.
>
> So, if we were to have visitors, it was thought they might as well be ministers; and there was no difficulty in getting them at all. We held joint Preparative Meetings without any Clerk or minute book except the back of an envelope, and decided in the calmest manner which of the lights of the Society to invite. There were never any refusals. Everybody was interested in the new Meeting. . . .
>
> To start a Friends' Meeting is a simple matter, when you once have faith. You get a warmed clean room, you advertise in the paper, give out handbills, and tell your friends; then you go and sit down with a prepared heart, and take the consequences. That is all [Graham 1895].

From the start, the Cambridge meeting flourished, assisted for several years by a Yearly Meeting Cambridge Committee which saw to the provision of visiting ministers, elders and speakers acceptable to the students. As might be expected, passing difficulties are hinted at in occasional minutes of the Monthly Meeting committee on ministry and oversight. 'S.N. Holmden mentioned that the Meeting at Cambridge still experienced the need of a resident Friend in the capacity of Minister or Elder and that recent circumstances had emphasized this necessity' (7th eleventh month 1889).

Despite whatever the initial difficulties had been, by 1890 the Meeting was well enough established to take over from the Monthly Meeting responsibility for its own conduct and business affairs. Present at a business meeting on the 20th of the third month 1891 were W. Brown, C.H. Piper, W. Stanley, C. Stanley, A. Holmden and S.W. Holmden. Items of business for that year included an interview with the Superintendent of Police to abate 'the nuisance arising from boys crying newspapers on Sundays during the hours of worship', a collection of £1.15.4 for Addenbrookes Hospital and £1.12.6 for the national stock, Friends' central fund. In 1891, a report of the state of the Cambridge Meeting listed as members 15 men, 16 women and 9 children plus an additional 8 men, 5 women and 7 children who were regular attenders but not members of the Society of Friends. A varied programme of meetings for worship, bible study, children's classes, and discussion and study groups is listed. A number of Friends were involved in conducting an adult school on Nelson Street on Sunday mornings. This was attended by about 80 men (120 men in 1894) who were also encouraged to participate in a savings fund, a sick club, social teas and short meetings for worship.

Despite the expenditure of almost £100 on repairs and fixtures in 1884 and the first quarter of 1885, it was recognized by 1887 that the older parts of the Jesus Lane premises were in such poor repair as to need almost entire rebuilding, optimistically estimated to cost between £350 and £500. An order from the Borough Surveyor in 1894 made attention to the buildings more urgent, when it was required that an unsafe chimney stack on the cottage be demolished. Soon after a gale of wind blew down a dormer window and made it necessary that weak portions of the walls be shored up (Plate 2). An appeal, to which about 150 replies exist, was sent out in July 1894.

> The Town Surveyor on having given notice of the dangerous condition of our Meeting House premises in consequence of their great age, it has become necessary to rebuild them, & at the same time make some alterations & repairs to the Meeting House itself. Friends of this meeting and district have subscribed liberally in proportion to their numbers & means, & rather more than half the estimated cost of £800 is promised. Can you assist us to make up the deficiency?

Once work began, the cause of the meeting house's damp unpleasantness was identified

Plate 6. The meeting house in 1966, showing the caretaker's residence and additional rooms built in 1895.

Plate 7. Renovations carried out in 1967 resulted in a virtual replacement of the residence and committee rooms.

as due to a combination of its inadequate foundations and its situation on top of the old Quaker burial ground and adjacent to the King's Ditch. Large amounts of lime and cement were laid down to rectify this fault. In addition to the laying of a new floor, gas lighting and cloak-rooms were added to the meeting house, part of the old gallery was removed and part partitioned to make an upstairs children's room; and a complete system of ventilation was installed to remove 'the former closeness, which often inconvenienced attenders'. The plan of the meeting house was altered from that of a square room, about 33 feet on a side, with extensive galleries, to a rectangle, 33 by 19 feet, with an entrance foyer.

The bulk of the expense, however, was for demolishing and replacing the caretaker's cottage (Ann Docwra's house) and the addition of a committee room on the first floor between the new cottage and the meeting house (Plates 6 and 7). Mr. Edwin Boys of St. Andrews Street was the architect and Mr. Scales the builder. His initial estimate was £932.10.0; and the final cost was £1306.16.19, of which £67.7.4 was for new forms and furniture, and just under £6 for postage and expenses connected with the appeal. Building work occupied most of 1895, during which time Friends hired a meeting room at the Y.M.C.A. In excavating the foundations for the new caretaker's house, the remains of a medieval stone bridge over a former course of the King's Ditch were uncovered.

These improvements to the meeting house do seem to have made it more attractive to attenders and may have been in part responsible for increasing student interest in the Meeting, as reflected in two reports from the Ministry and Oversight Committee to the Monthly Meeting.

> In most of our meetings there appears an increase of life and we rejoice in the interest taken in Cambridge Meeting by some of the young Friends attending it [23rd second month 1899].

> Cambridge Meeting has been more largely attended by students, who seem to feel an increased interest in the Meeting [22nd third month 1900].

Average attendance figures for four successive Sundays in October 1904 well illustrate the increased importance of Cambridge relative to meetings elsewhere in the County (Table 4). Some meetings, such as those at Chatteris and Earith were by this time maintained only by a very few elderly Friends. Others, the mission meetings, were largely a result of evangelical initiatives supported by the Friends Home Mission Committee, a committee of the Yearly Meeting (Wilson 1986, 145–62). These meetings followed a very different format from the usual pattern of Quaker worship, having one or several regular leaders and a content of pre-arranged preaching and hymn singing. The full list of meetings comprising the Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Lynn Monthly Meeting in that year was: Swavesey (mission), Downham Market, Chatteris, Cambridge, Hunstanton, Hunstanton (mission), Lynn, Lynn (mission), St. Ives, St. Ives (mission), Wells, Wells (mission), Wisbech, Wisbech (mission), Downham (mission), and Earith. Only the regular meetings in Lynn and Wisbech approached that in Cambridge in size.

Table 4. Average attendance at Friends meetings in Cambridgeshire over four Sundays in October 1904.

particular meeting	*number of Friends present*		
	men	*women*	*children*
Cambridge,			
morning	21	13	6
evening	5	8	0
Chatteris	3	0	0
Downham,			
evening mission	4	6	6
Earith	1	1	0
St. Ives,			
morning	5	6	1
evening mission	7	13	5
Swavesey,			
mission	7	11	5
Wisbech,			
morning	14	12	3
afternoon	2	9	1
evening mission	15	35	22

The final demise of several of the older Cambridgeshire meetings is referred to in a letter from Albert Crossfield to a Mr. Green. Albert and his wife, Gulielma, arrived in Cambridge in 1905 and soon became leading

and much-loved members of the Cambridge Friends community.

> There are not I think 20 Frds anywhere in Huntingdonshire. . . . I do not know what to think about Ramsey. The ground is no credit to Friends as it is. It is used as a hen run. . . . The real question is who is at all likely to look after these & other properties in the future. To all appearance St. Ives, Huntingdon & Chatteris meetings will soon be closed. Earith is already closed. We have also closed Mtg houses at Sutton, Linton, & Holt in this Mo. Mtg. [22nd ninth month 1912].

Accounts for the Jesus Lane Meeting for the year 1900 show a total expenditure of £39.13.8½, rates, coal and oil being among the chief expenses. In addition, the sum of 13 shillings 4½ pence was spent on the expenses of Friends travelling in the ministry, that is, Quaker leaders especially invited to Cambridge to give talks and to conduct meetings, thereby adding much vitality and breadth of outlook to the expanding community. Thus, more than two hundred years after the first Docwra bequest was made it was still fulfilling its intended purpose.

In addition to the Crossfields, leading Cambridge Friends at the turn of the century included J. Higston Fox, J. Rendel and Helen Harris, Caroline Stephen (an aunt of the writer Virginia Woolf) who opened her house in Newnham to undergraduate Friends, Samuel and Helen Holmden, and William Brown. Caroline Stephen purchased the freehold to number eleven Jesus Lane, the Royston Arms public house, and left a provision in her will dated 1909 that Cambridge Friends were to have the option of buying the property when its lease expired in 1922. Rendel Harris was a popular speaker and attracted many undergraduates to hear his ministry. It was then customary that few Friends spoke in meetings for worship, but that those who did, if recognized ministers, might sometimes speak at considerable length. A supply of capable ministers was thus essential if a meeting was to flourish, and in this the Jesus Lane Meeting seems to have been well provided. These Friends just mentioned and others who worshipped at Jesus Lane in the early years of the twentieth century helped to shape the Meeting and give it much of the character which it still retains.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN THE LETCHWORTH AREA, 1958–1974

Blackhorse Road, Letchworth; Norton Road, Baldock; Wilbury Hill, Letchworth

JOHN MOSS-ECCARDT

with contributions by M. Birley, D.F. Cutler, J.A. Davies, C. Johnson, M.J. Kerney, A.J. Legge, I.H. Longworth, G. Moss, J. Williams, P. Williams, J.J. Wymer

SUMMARY

The sites investigated lay on the Middle Chalk ridge north of Icknield Way between Hitchin and Baldock. The evidence showed human activity from Neolithic to modern times.

At Blackhorse Road, Late Neolithic pottery and flints were recovered from pits and ditches. Wild and domestic cattle bones, and land molluscs at Norton Road, Baldock, showed that farming was carried out on land that had been cleared of woodland and scrub. Ring-ditches at Baldock and Wilbury Hill, Letchworth produced Late Neolithic and Late Bronze Age pottery but no signs of settlement.

At Blackhorse Road the earliest Iron Age feature was a palisaded D-shaped enclosure accompanied by pits with seventh/sixth century BC pottery. A second enclosure with two ditches of different phases dated from the second/first centuries BC. The inner ditch contained the iron upper part of a La Tène II/III cauldron. Groups of pits contained material from the fourth/first centuries BC; human skeletal remains were recovered from three. Two further enclosures could have contained round houses of the Middle Iron Age.

Sections across Icknield Way showed the site had been defended by a bank and ditch on the south side during the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman period. Further ditches lay on the eastern sides of the site, part of which was Middle Iron Age with a Romano-British ditch cut into it. Finds from the latter extended from the first century BC to the fourth century AD.

A Pagan Saxon cemetery contained eight graves with iron objects dating from the seventh/eighth centuries AD; one individual had been stabbed with a spear.

A scatter of medieval pottery of a wide dating range, and metalwork occurred near the Romano-British area to the east.

The land was continuously cultivated from prehistoric times and is now occupied by a factory site.

INTRODUCTION

This report covers three sites in North Hertfordshire (Figure 1) examined between 1958 and 1974 by the writer on behalf of the Letchworth Museum and the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Works, and its successors. Financial restraints have caused some specialist contributions to be relegated to the archive. Copies will be supplied on application to the Curator of Letchworth Museum which houses the archive and finds. The report is arranged by period, and groups of related features in sub-sites. Structures are referred to by their context numbers.

The building of Blackhorse Road (Figure 2), an industrial site east of Letchworth, brought to light prehistoric and Roman features (Plate I). Its investigation occupied the years 1958–1973. In 1963 excavations

Plate III. Norton Road, Baldock, location of ring-ditch. a = D (see Fig. 2). Photograph courtesy of Cambridge University Aerial Photography Collection.

were carried out in the vicinity of Norton Road, Baldock, (Plans 1 & 2), to the south-west of Nortonbury Farm, (GLV), and adjacent to the Baldock Refuse Tip (GLVI). The area was threatened by the construction of the A1(M). Three ditched circular features were visible from the air, together with the site of the excavation (Plate III). The re-routing of Norton Road proper also threatened an area to the west which, according to aerial photographs, and resistivity survey by Dr Tony Clark showed prehistoric structures, but nothing was discovered.

The making of tennis courts for Fearnhill School on the southern slope below the Wilbury hillfort (TL213326) posed a threat to a ring-ditch long known from aerial photographs (Plate IV) and a previous exploration in 1929. An excavation was arranged at short notice and carried out in May 1974 on behalf of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Department of the Environment. The 1929 investigation had been carried out by W.H. Lane who sectioned the ditch finding it to be 60ft in diameter with the ditch 9ft wide and 3ft deep; from it came three indeterminate potsherds (Appelbaum 1949, 12).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the period of fourteen years a number of people took part in the work and a list of names is given in the Appendix. The contributions by specialists to this report are very gratefully acknowledged. A number of people deserve special mention for their help. Firstly, Dr John Alexander for help and encouragement when resources and expertise were scarce. For Wilbury, the cooperation of Mr G.I. Donaldson of the County Architect's Department is gratefully acknowledged. Valerie Rigby kindly commented on the later pottery from that site. Dick Moss gave his professional services as site surveyor at Blackhorse Road. Thanks are due to Professor Martin Aitken, Dr Tony Clark, and members of the Engineering Test Branch, Cardington, for geophysical site surveys. The predecessor to the Letchworth Garden City Corporation gave permission for excavation on its land. The contractors, Messrs Taylor Woodrow, gave the utmost help and cooperation on

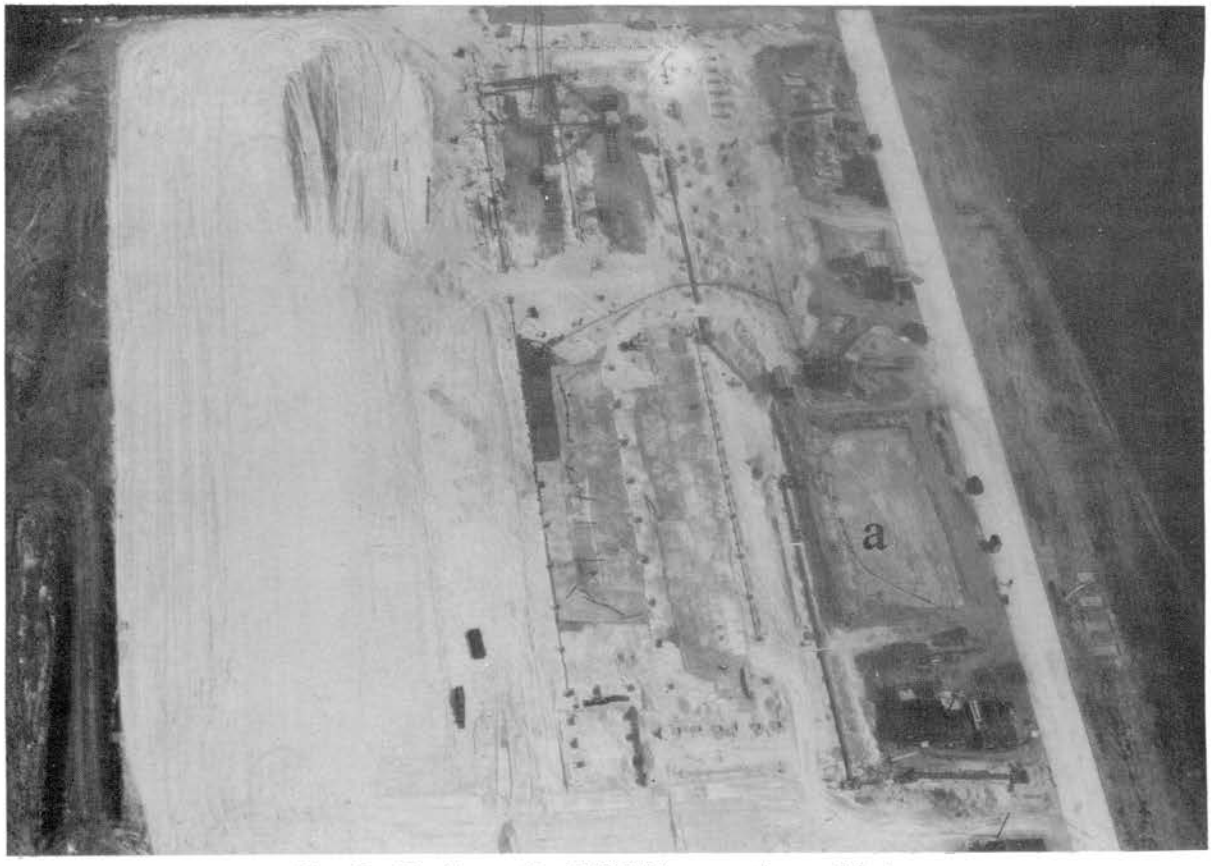

Plate I. Blackhorse Road 1959/60, excavations and factory.
a = North half of Enclosure One, Area V (see Figs. 4 and 26)

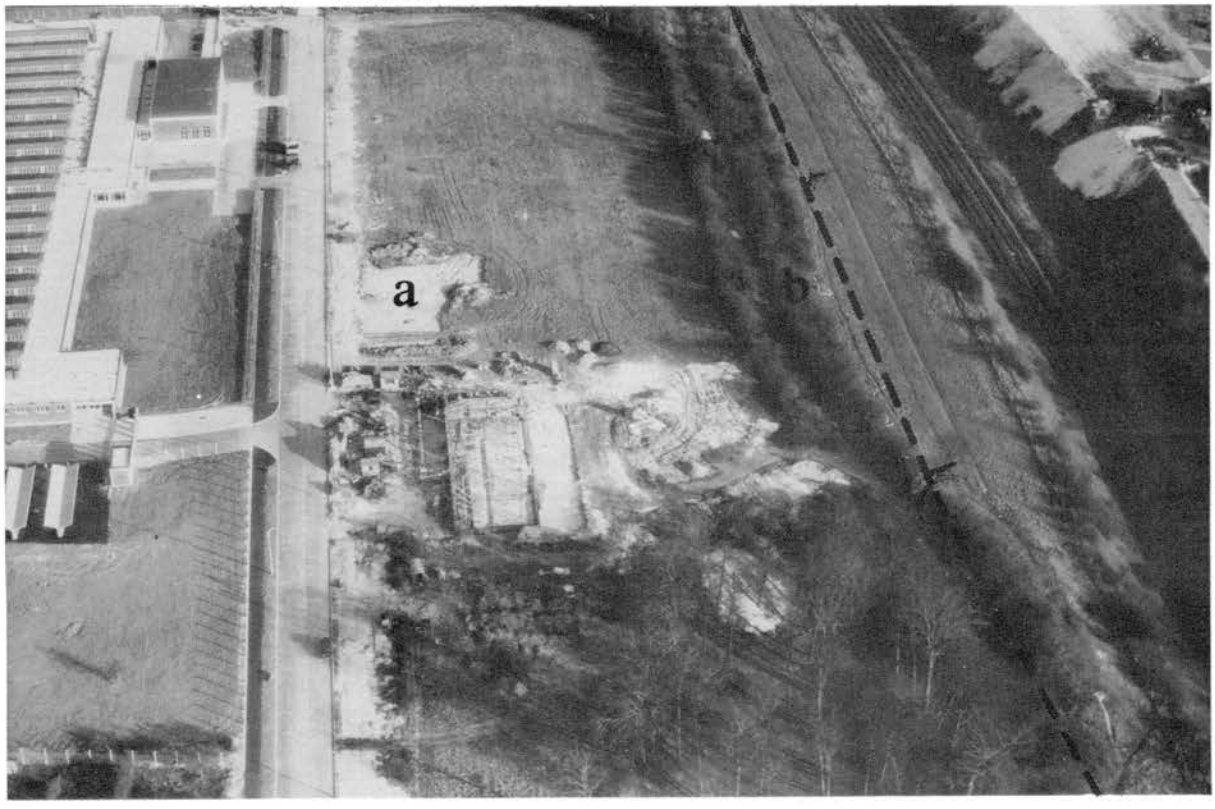

Plate II. Blackhorse Road 1960, site and Icknield Way.
a = South half of Enclosure One, Area V (see Fig. 3).
b = Icknield Way (see Figs. 4 and 26).

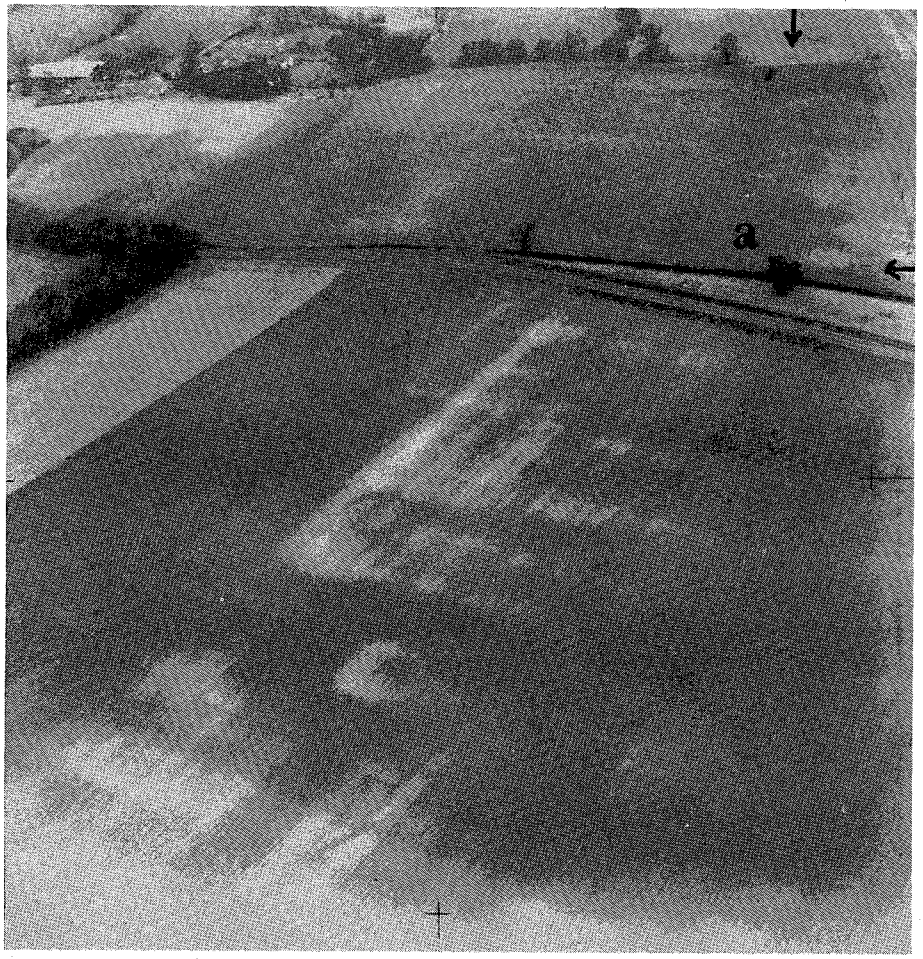

Plate III. Norton Road, Baldock, location of ring-ditch. a = D (see Fig. 2). Photograph courtesy of Cambridge University Aerial Photography Collection.

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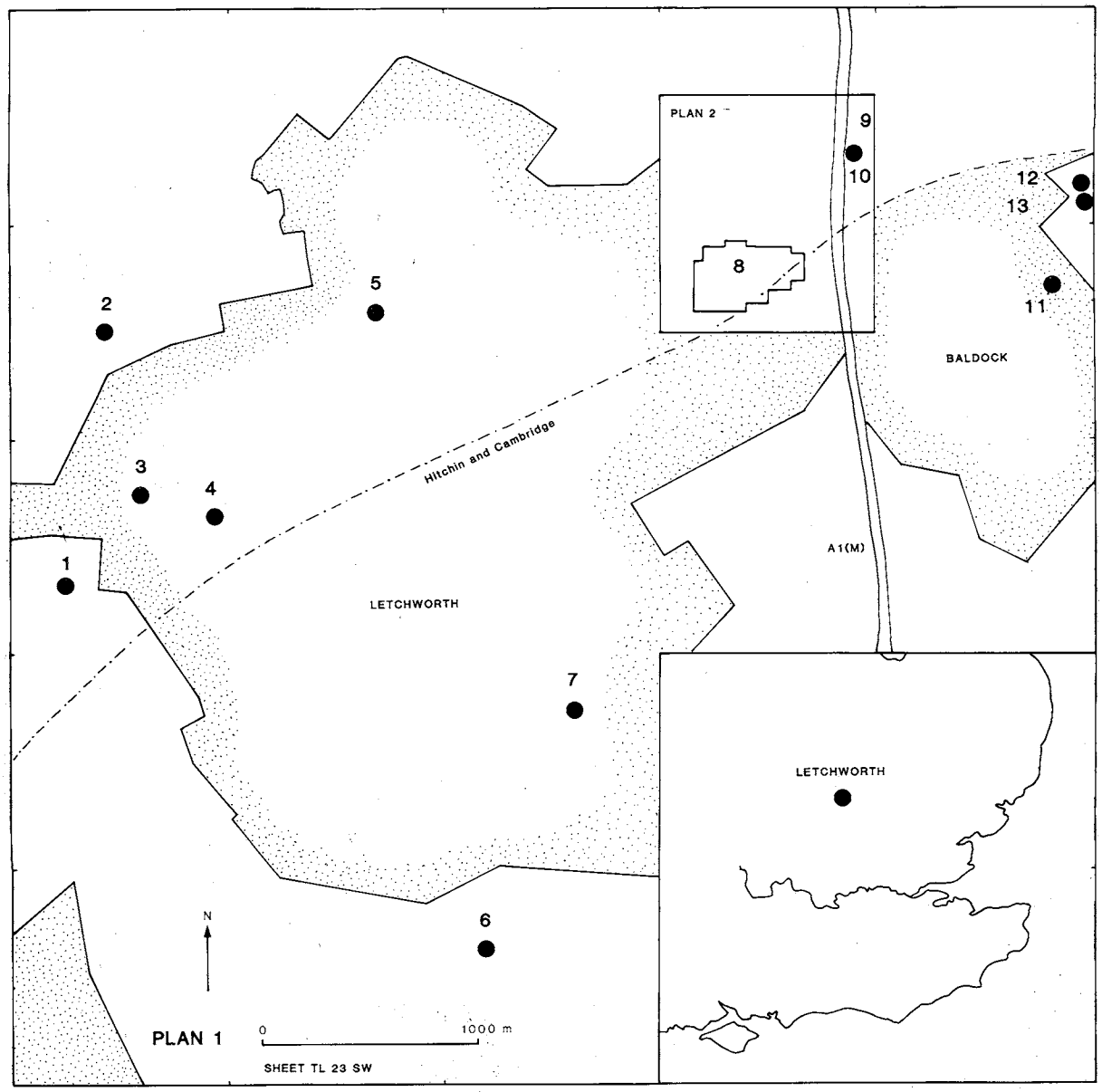

Figure 1. Location plan 1.

1. Wilbury Iron Age hillfort and Neolithic ring-ditch.
2. Two Chimneys mid/late Iron Age pottery.
3. Monklands bronze knife.
4. Archers Way pedestal urn burial.
5. Hawthorn Hill mid/late Iron Age settlement.
6. Willian bucket urn cremations.
7. Lordship Lane Late Bronze Age pottery, tanged chisel.
8. Blackhorse Road Neolithic and Iron Age settlement.
9. Norton Road, Baldock Neolithic ring-ditch.
10. Norton Road, Baldock ditches.
11. The Tene, Baldock Pre-Roman Iron Age/Roman burials.
12. Clothall Common, Baldock Pre-Roman Iron Age burials.
13. Walls Field, Baldock Neolithic finds.

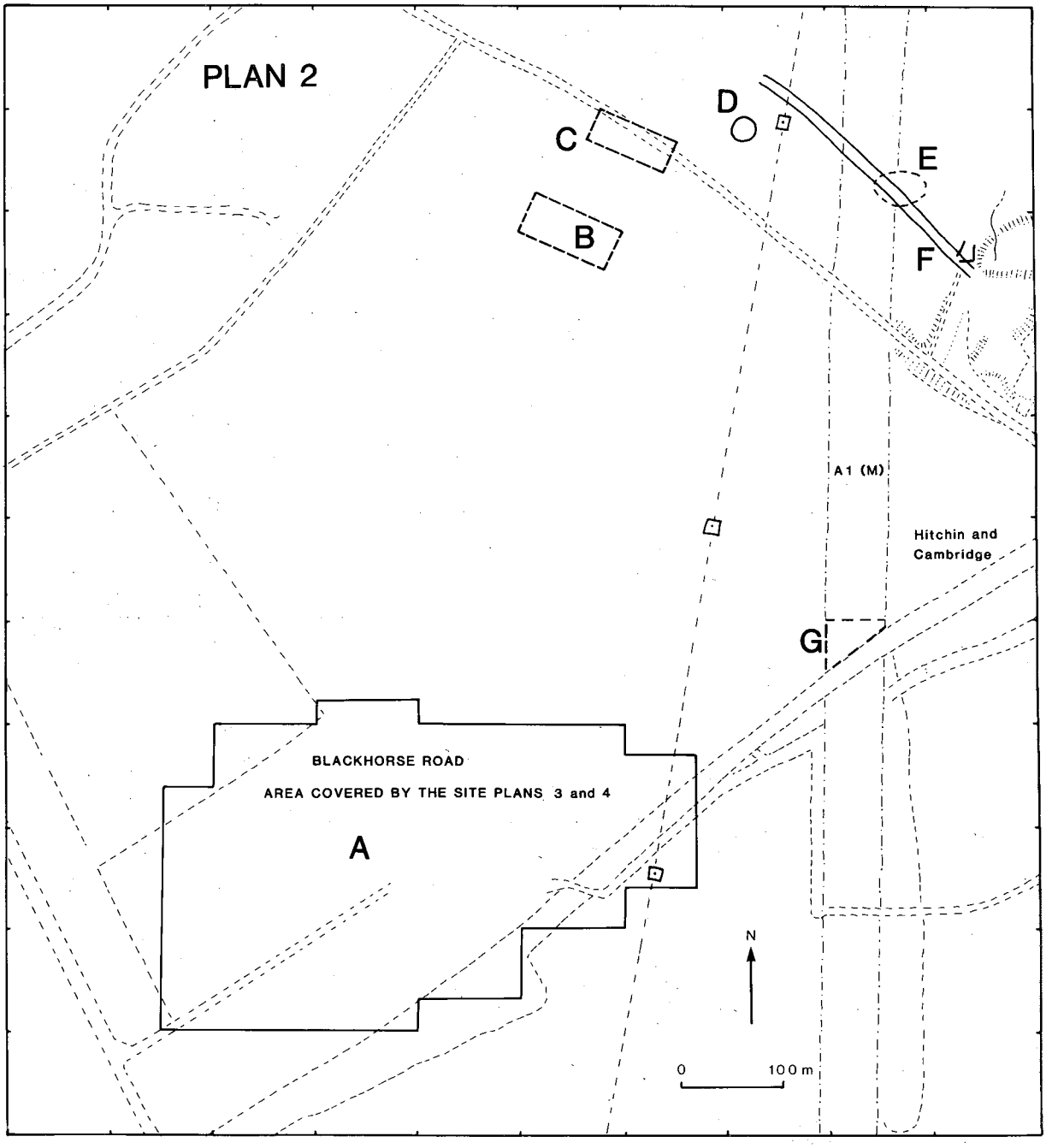

Figure 2. Sites plan 2.

A Blackhorse Road
B, C Sites of resistivity surveys 1963
D Ring-ditch 1963
E Postglacial deposit 1963
F Ditches 1963
G Site of resistivity survey

Plate IV. Wilbury Hill from south, ring-ditch bottom right.
a = 1 (see Fig. 1). Photograph Courtesy of Cambridge University Aerial Photography Collection.

Plate V. Wilbury 1974, general view of excavation of ring-ditch.
a = Section A of Neolithic ring-ditch (see Fig. 12).
b = Section C of Neolithic ring-ditch (see Fig. 12).
c = F2 Iron Age ditch (see Fig. 12).

the site, and Mr Rupert Gurney of Charles Ball Ltd provided help with equipment whenever possible. Mr A.T. Clarke, Curator of the Letchworth Museum bore the excavator's absences from the museum with fortitude while successive Chairmen of the Letchworth Museum Committee gave unstinting support for the enterprise. Thanks are especially due to Mr T. Morton in this connection, as well as to various officers of Letchworth UDC, particularly to the late Mr Horace Plinston and Mr Michael Kelly, former Town Clerks, to members of the Surveyor's Department and to the Treasurer, Mr R. Young. Dr Michael Thompson and R. Robertson-Mackay of the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate, Ministry of Works, ensured financial support of the work. The assistance of the publications section of English Heritage is acknowledged, with special thanks to Miss Ann Clark and Robin Taylor. Garth Denning and Dermot Bond were responsible for many of the initial drawings. Casper Johnson was of great assistance in the illustration and preparation of this report and laboured greatly in sorting out the bewildering collection of drawings, as well as providing a report on the Roman pottery.

The CAS acknowledges with thanks a grant towards publication costs from English Heritage.

THE SITES

Blackhorse Road (Figures 3 & 4) comprises *c.* 41 hectare some 1.6km east of Letchworth (TL233336); *c.* 1km to the east is the town of Baldock. To the north lies Norton village, to the south factories cover the line of Icknield Way. The highest point lies at 87m above OD, from which the ground slopes rapidly down to east,west and south, with the Norton ridge to the north. The ploughsoil was seldom deeper than 300mm and gave way at once to the lower part of the Middle Chalk on which the site stands. The land has been cultivated for centuries and there is now little land left free of industrial structures. The existence of the Blackhorse Road site was unknown until its discovery in 1958.

Norton Road, Baldock (TL236341), runs from modern Icknield Way in Baldock to the outskirts of Norton. The sub-sites lie east and west of it at TL242343 (Figures 1 & 2), one at a height of 75m OD on a chalk ridge covered with a thin layer of boulder clay. To the east it falls away to the valley of the River Ivel which flows from a spring at the bottom of a gently sloping hill to the south at a height of 55m, just above the Cambridge to Hitchin railway line. Beyond the Ivel valley on the east is the A1, occupying the line of the former Roman road to Braughing. An electricity pylon now stands a few metres from the location of GLV while the motorway runs several metres below the site of GLVI, which was totally destroyed.

The *Wilbury* site is on the western edge of Letchworth (TL205324), overlooking the valley of the river Hiz whose source rises at a spring *c.* 1000m to the west. To the north of the ring-ditch are the defences of the hill-fort with allotments to the north and east. It is on the southern slope which continues for nearly 1km down to the Hitchin–Cambridge railway line. The glacial drift gives way to Middle Chalk almost immediately and the ploughsoil is little more than 300mm deep. Until the excavation, the land was in agricultural use. A note on samples of soil by B.W. Avery is in the archive.

The seasons at Blackhorse Road of 1958/9 and 1960 were carried out using a 15ft grid based on the construction plan for the ICL factory. After that all features were planned on individual surveys with an Ordnance Survey base, the whole being worked up to a reduced plan at 1:500. The majority of working plans and sections were recorded at scales of 1:12, 1:10 or 1:20. Notes and general observations on features are in notebooks and rolled drawings. For the purpose of this publication the record has been converted to metric and the site divided by a master grid of 10m squares. Each context has a unique number of four digits, the first two of which refer to the year of excavation.

Prefixes refer to:

P pit
PH posthole
F feature
Tr trench
D ditch
PD palisade ditch or trench
STr. slot trench
FP feature based on posts
PF pit-like feature

Norton Road, Baldock sub-sites (GLV and GLVI) were treated separately, the ditch sections were given the same numbers as the trial trenches but are prefixed by two digits denoting the year. Part of the photographic record was stolen from the site caravan and could not be replaced. The Wilbury contexts are designated as (F)eature irrespective of their nature. The site was planned on the scale of 1:50 and 1:10 for the sections. The excavation notebooks have not been found.

The primary sites archive consists of notebooks, section drawings, plans, photographs, and colour transparencies. A computer database has been placed on 5-inch floppy disks together with a hardcopy for consultation by students. All these, with the finds, are held in Letchworth Museum.

THE EXCAVATIONS (Figures 3 & 4, pages 42 & 43)

The excavations were carried out with local resources and financed by the Letchworth

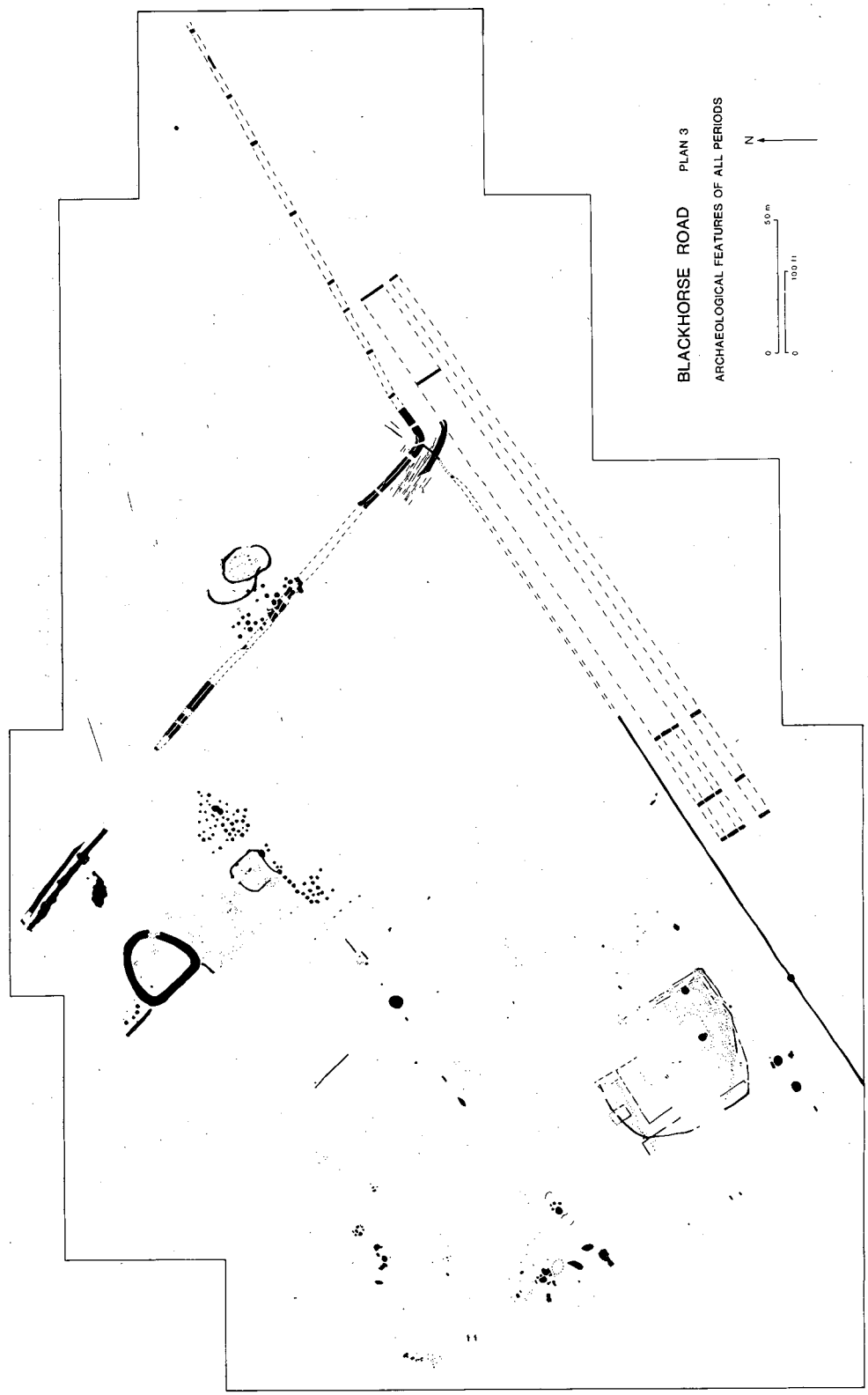

Figure 3. Blackhorse Road archaeological features: Area A.

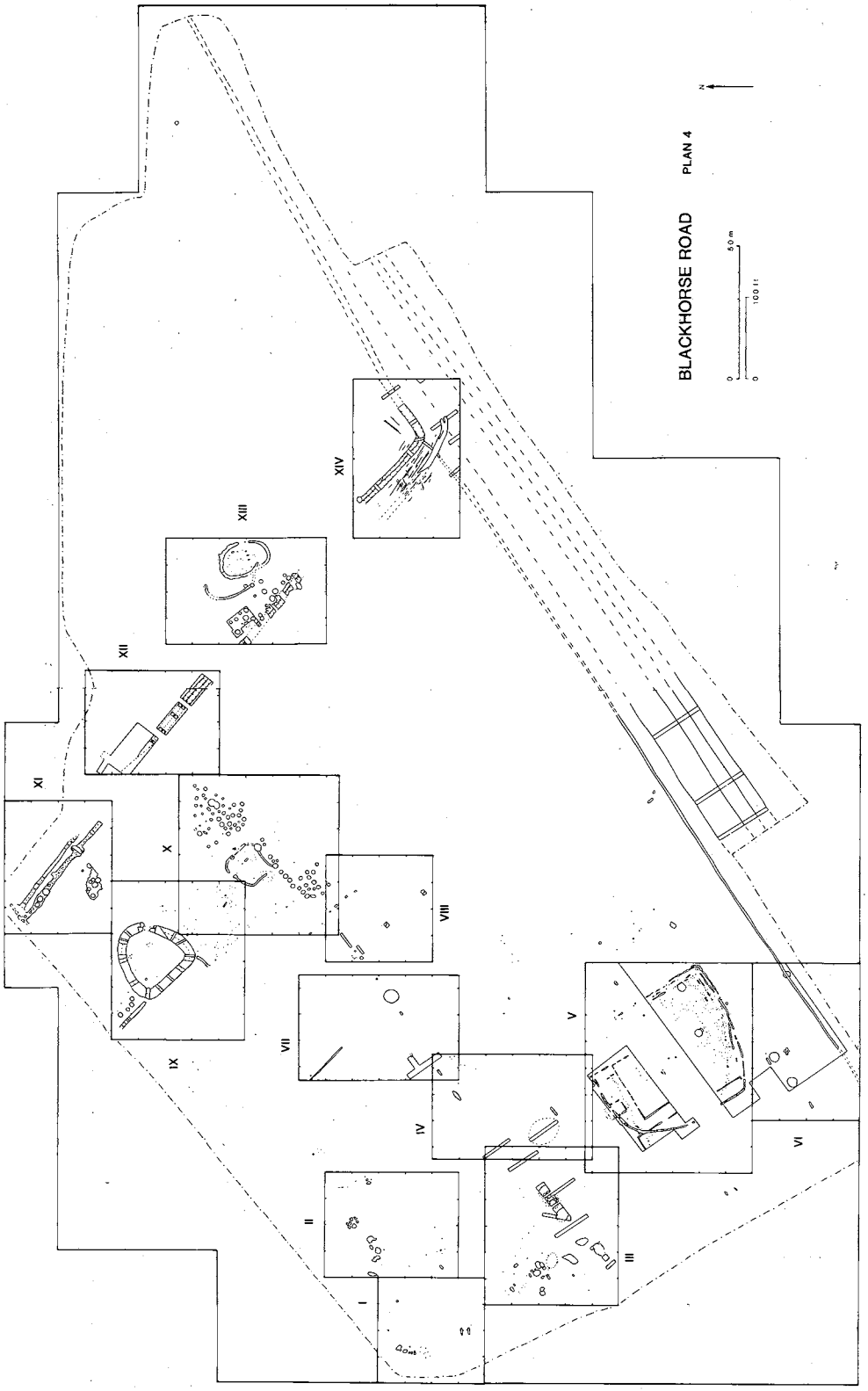

Figure 4. Blackhorse Road archaeological features: Area A.

Urban District Council and the, then, Ancient Monuments Inspectorate of the Ministry of Works, and, subsequently, the Department of the Environment. An account of the successive seasons is contained in the archive.

In 1958–59, the greater part of the D-shaped enclosure at *Blackhorse Road* was excavated by hand while the area to the north was recorded and investigated ahead of, and during grading by machine. Digging was carried out by a team of never more than four people. In 1960, excavation of the southern part of the D-shaped enclosure, accompanying pits,and three sections cut across 'Icknield Way' was carried out with the help of four Cambridge students who acted as supervisors of the amateur labour force. These were led by P. Ozanne who was Deputy Director for the season. For the first time topsoil was removed by a JCB tractor shovel, the area cleaned up with hand tools and all the features sectioned and emptied. From 1961 onwards, labour was employed on a modest payment basis, mostly from local schools. Volunteers were provided by the newly formed North Herts Archaeological Society. In 1972 work was supervised by P.C. Ozanne and in 1973, by Adrian Havercroft, then on the staff of Letchworth Museum.

At *Norton Road, Baldock,* trial trenching was carried out on the basis of infomation suggested by aerial photographs. The unexpected appearance of the ring-ditch (GLV) caused difficulties with the layout of trenches. The feature was dug in quadrants, the central area being cleared entirely at the end of the excavation. Selected ditch segments were dug, the whole being done without mechanical aid. Sites GLV and GLVI were treated separately.

The investigation of the ring-ditch at the *Wilbury Hill* site (Plate IV) was supervised by Howard Davies and Dermot Bond with assistance from Alan Fleck. Valuable help was provided by members of the Lockleys and East Herts Archaeological Societies. The area was cleared by machine, cleaned with hand tools and sections cut and cleared by hand. The ditch was sectioned in four places and cleared out to the bottom as shown on the plan. Six slots with stakeholes and pits and postholes were investigated.

PRE-IRON AGE OCCUPATION: THE NEOLITHIC

Blackhorse Road

P6631, P6070, 6072, P6078, PH6080, P6601, P6612 were Neolithic. All but two were located on slopes of the highest part of the site (Fig. 6); pits were similar in form and dimension, funnel-shaped with slightly rounded bases (Fig. 5). P6070 was unfinished, of several scoops picked out of the chalk. On the eastern side of the site (Fig. 20, page 59) were pits, a ditch system, and Enclosure Four (Fig. 25, page 66) producing fragments of Neolithic pottery and flints. There was other occupation debris of animal bones, charcoal and stones, some burnt. Over 90 sherds of Ebbsfleet and Grooved wares and 189 flints came from area GL I–III. PH 6080 produced a Grooved Ware sherd and a flint backed knife (Fig. 40:5, page 96). Shallow P6612 contained Grooved Ware sherds, an antler pick, and the shoulder blade of an ox. The antler had been prepared and used as a pick (Fig. 39 page 92, & page 91) and was placed with the non-artifactual scapula at the same level as if deliberately laid out. Such objects are frequently associated with flint mining and the building of ceremonial structures; they were in close proximity to the ditch (6638) which contained a bear (*Ursus arctos*).

The pits are like those recorded at Grime's Graves, and described by Sievieking (in Crawford 1979, 13). The dimensions are within the range he mentions, even to the extent of P6601 being as deep as it is broad. Knapping floors could not be identified due to considerable later disturbance. Wymer comments (page 00) on the restricted size of the nodules used for knapping found on the site but notes that the flint was fresh Chalk flint. Very few nodules were seen in the sides of the excavated features suggesting that the most obvious had already been extracted. That such nodules could once have existed is suggested by the study of an exposure at the same level in the Morden Grange chalk-pit (TL296401) which lies to the northeast, near Ashwell Station. Nodules from there were knapped by Tim Reynolds who produced artifacts similar to those found at Letchworth and of a quality comparable with those made from Brandon flint. It is possible that the five pits were dug for the purpose of mining flint. At the same time, however, Legge's remarks (page 92) on the nature of the selected mammal bones found in these features and the possibility of their forming ritual deposits should be borne in mind. A ritual use would help to explain the rapid refilling of the pits shortly after they were dug.

Dating is based partly on radiocarbon determination and partly on the six Rusticated Beakers, one Necked Beaker, one Grooved Ware vessel, one vessel of Fengate style, one of Mortlake style, and several of Ebbsfleet style. This group forms one of only two in Hertfordshire, the other being from Baldock (Stead and Rigby, 1986). The S4 beaker was associated with charcoal which produced a radiocarbon date of 3590±130 BP (uncalibrated) BM-284. A further date of 3830±140 BP (uncalibrated) BM-283 was provided for Ebbsfleet Ware and associated pottery from P6072, a pit lying some 320m west of the Beaker pit. 307 Late Neolithic flints

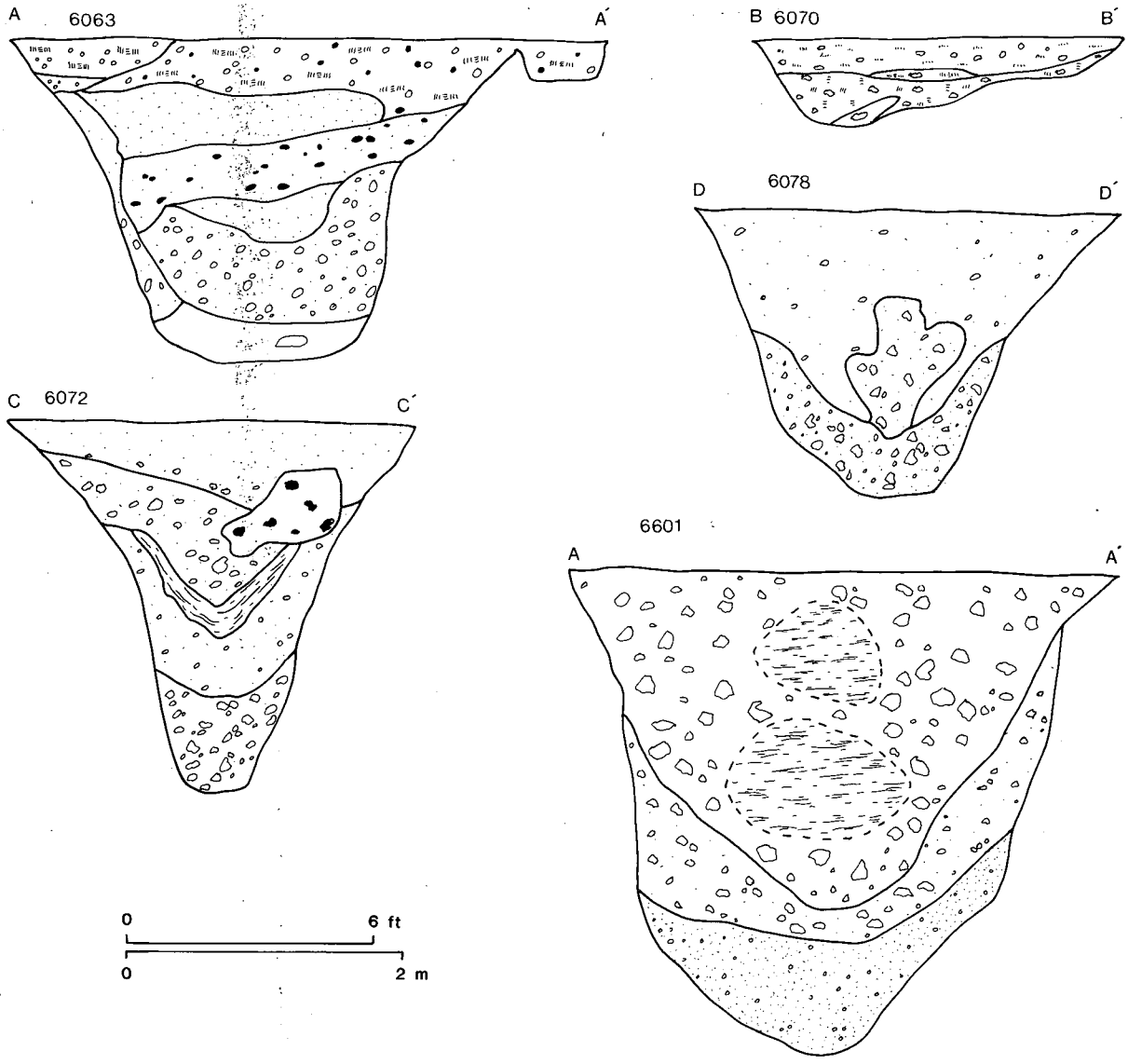

Figure 5. Neolithic pit sections.

came from the pits and ditches to the NE of the site. Pits 7007, 7260–7266, 7274 and pits 7250, 7259 (Fig. 17, page 56) produced four Ebbsfleet and one Mortlake sherd from the eastern pit group as well as fragments of Grooved Ware, Bucket Urn, and 65 flints. Some Grooved Ware sherds contained crushed shell, including freshwater mussel. Shells of these creatures appeared in pit fills, especially P7212, and must have been brought deliberately from the river Ivel which lies some 1.5km to the east of the site.

The Neolithic evidence for the pre-Iron Age pits in the western ditch with their shaft-like profiles, is the occurrence of flints which, on other parts of the site, are associated with Late Neolithic pottery. Unfortunately the digging of the Iron Age ditch has destroyed evidence for any stratigraphic argument. The flints and pottery are of the same types as those from Area V, but some of the pits in the eastern group are entirely different from the shaft structures; perhaps parts of the site were dedicated to different activities, such as flint knapping or the storage of grain. In subsites XIII and XI (Figs. 25, p.66 & 17, p. 56) sandstone nodules occur in practically every feature that produced flintwork. Wymer (page 99) remarks on the absence of hammerstones but this could be because they were overlooked, as the stones mentioned in Dr Forbes's report (in the archive) were discarded at the museum before examination by a flint specialist. In P7212, flint nodules had been assembled deliberately. These and the groups of sandstones suggest lithic fabrication on the site.

The ditch fill (Fig. 30, 6304) was divisible into an

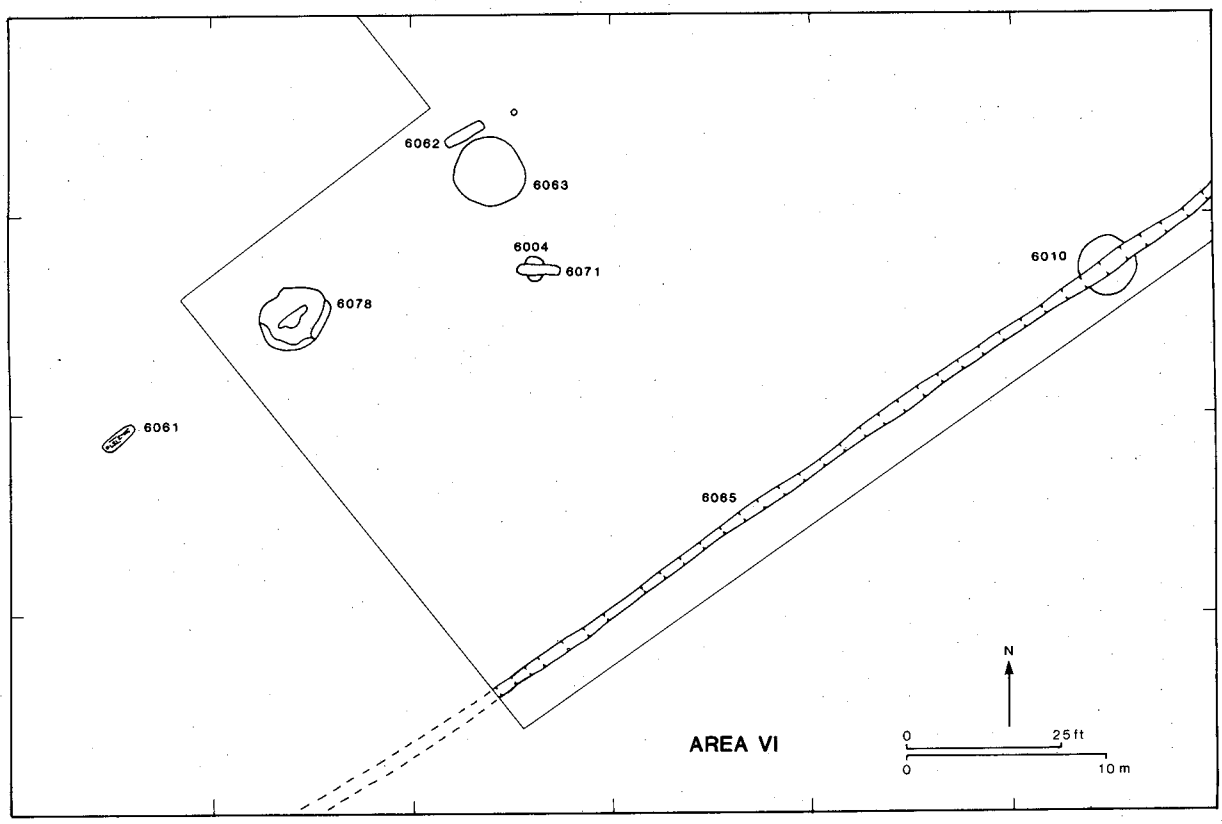

Figure 6. Area VI with Neolithic pits.

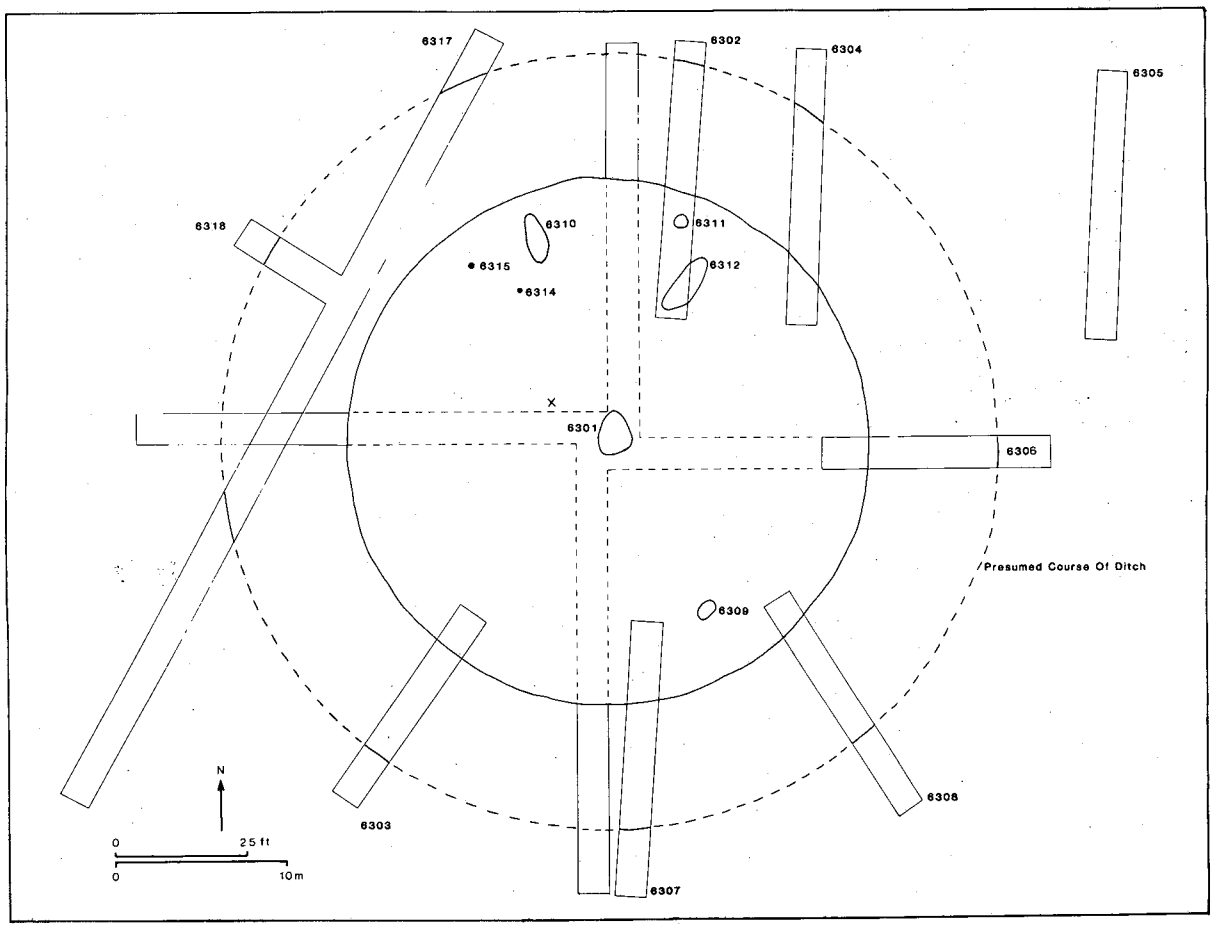

Figure 7. Norton Road, Baldock, plan of ring-ditch, (D) on plan 2.

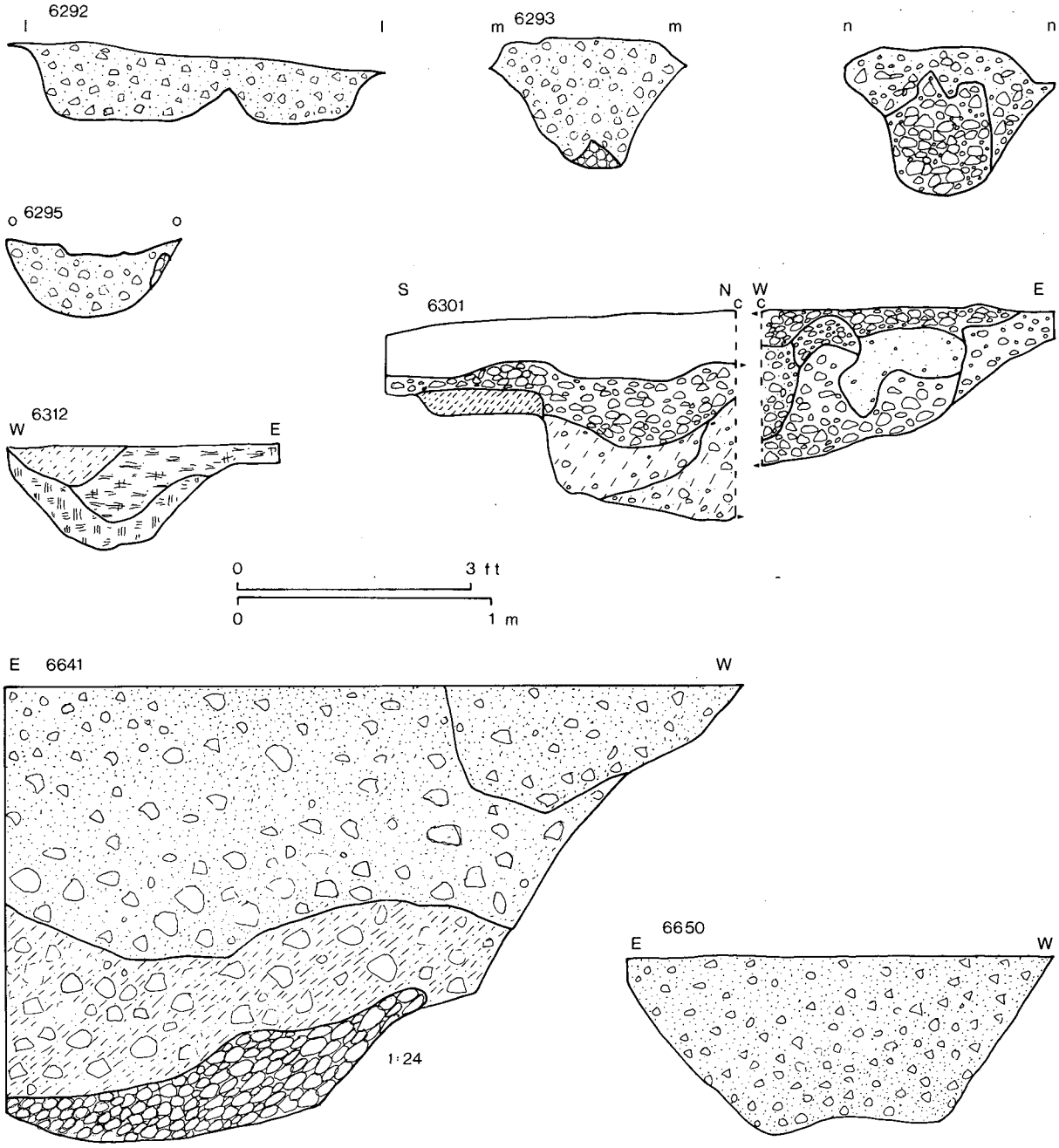

Figure 8. Norton Road and Blackhorse Road sections.

Late Neolithic pottery and flints were found at Walls Field, Baldock (Stead 1986), and a further shallow pit with flints and some debitage was located in the same area (Burleigh, pers. comm.). The finds at Blackhorse Road and Baldock have cultural affinities and, in view of their proximity, may be part of extensive Late Neolithic activity in the area. The sites are two useful additions to those with Neolithic storage pits (Matthews 1976), as well as providing assemblages comparable with others found in East Anglia.

Norton Road, Baldock (Fig. 7)

The Ring Ditch (GLV) was covered by a shallow topsoil and hill-wash of a mere 400mm: it had a diameter of 30.5m. In section the ditch showed sloping sides with a flat bottom: it had a mean width of 4.5m and a depth of 1.5–2m.

The ditch fill (Fig. 30, 6304) was divisible into an

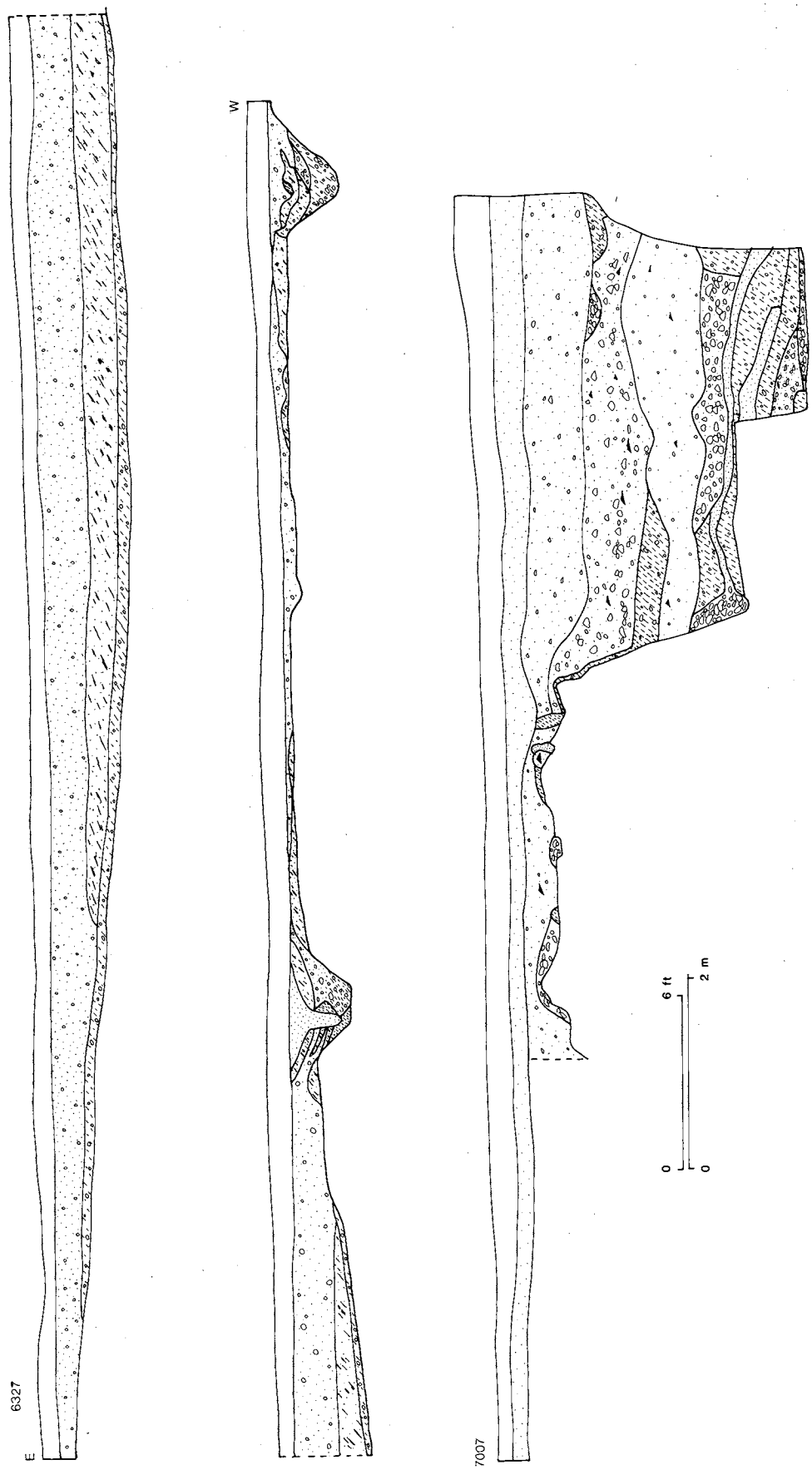

Figure 9. Norton Road and Blackhorse Road sections.

upper dark moist loam with little chalk content, through increased chalk, to chalk rubble at the base, the lower level contained occasional pockets of organic material. The inner edge of the ditch was more heavily weathered than the outside. In the fill was Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery which came from contexts 6304, 6306, 6307, 6308, 6317, 6318 with flints from 6307, 6308, mainly from layers (3) and (4) with the sherds of the Collared Vessel being higher up than the Peterborough Wares; the sherds of rim and plain wall from 6307 were similarly placed. The majority of the Beaker and Collared Vessel sherds were in the NW area, Peterborough Ware to the NE and SE, and a plain sherd accompanying the rim sherd with decorated applied band, flint flakes and scraper in the southernmost cutting. At the true centre of the circle was a small pit, 6301 (Fig. 7); three irregular pits and two postholes occupied the northern half while one further pit lay in the southeastern quadrant. The central pit had a slightly rounded bottom, was 1.14m in diameter, 0.71m deep and filled with predominately fine grey material in the N–S quadrant, with a greater quantity of brown loam in the E–W section. There appeared to have been disturbance, particularly in the N–S section where there could have been an early disturbance and refilling of the pit. There was a general distribution of grey burnt soil throughout with potsherds in the penultimate layer.

P6312 was an elongated oval, slightly rounded at the bottom, 2.56m long, 0.9m wide and 0.4m deep. It was filled with grey, burnt soil but had a clay layer in the bottom. P6310 had a canted V-section, was also elongated, 2m long, 0.82m wide and 0.38m deep. It contained a layer of grey soil overlying a chalky brown one which appeared to be a natural accumulation.

No sign of a mound was found within the ditch but would have been destroyed by modern ploughing and roots of a former hedgerow. The grey fill was like that found in pits containing cremated human remains. The pottery from the ditch indicates at least two periods for the feature, one producing the Late Neolithic pottery, the other the sherds of the Bronze Age Collared Vessel. A possible third is indicated by the rim sherd with applied decorated band, probably of the Earliest Iron Age.

A sherd of Grooved Ware and flints came from GLVI, 6335, layer 3 (Figs. 10 & 30, page 72), a section which was included in the post-Glacial deposit described below (page 50). The plain wall sherd and the flints lay in ash-grey humic chalk silt and rubble which overlaid much larger rubble and chalk lumps. The course of two ditches running parallel to each other from south to north up the hill slope was plotted by sectioning and probing over a distance of 244m; the farthest extent in either direction was not located.

The ditches were generally 7m apart, V-section with rounded bottoms, 1.2m wide at the top, 0.3m at the

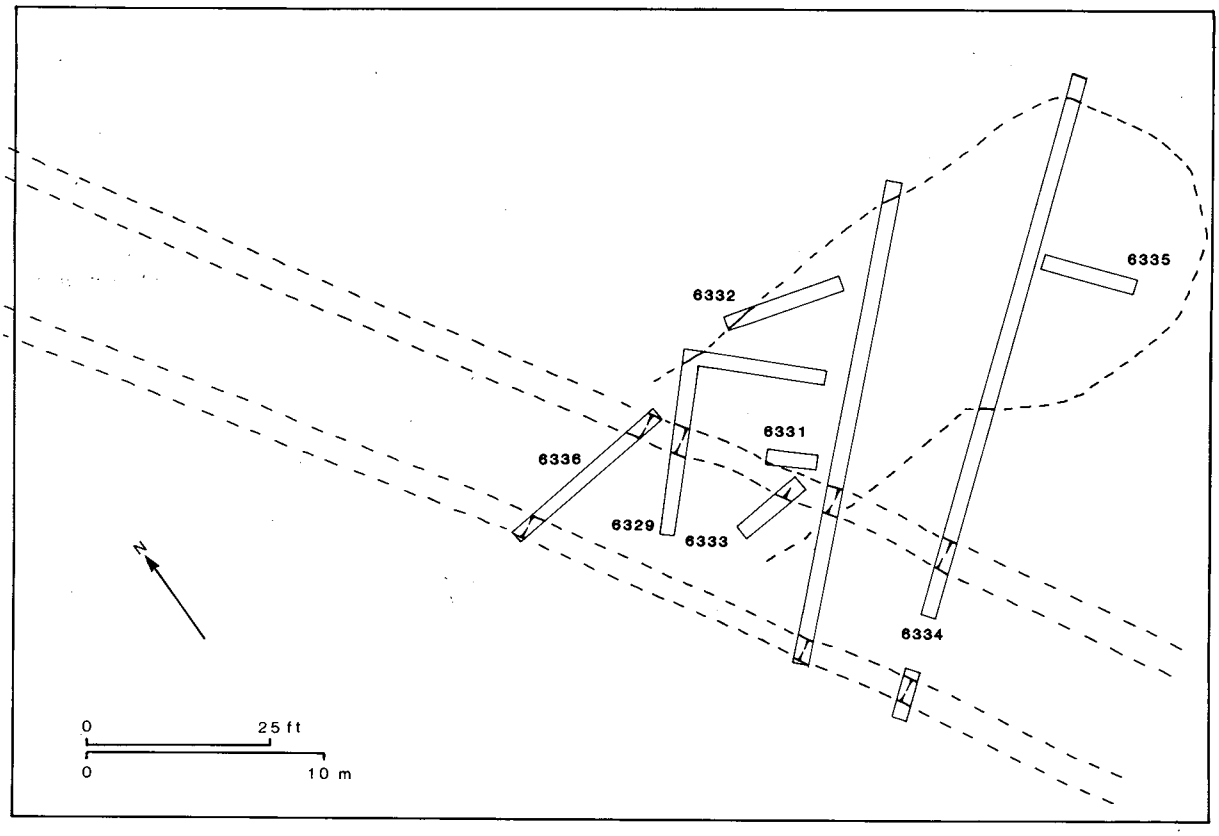

Figure 10. Norton Road, Baldock, plan of GLVI, E on plan 2.

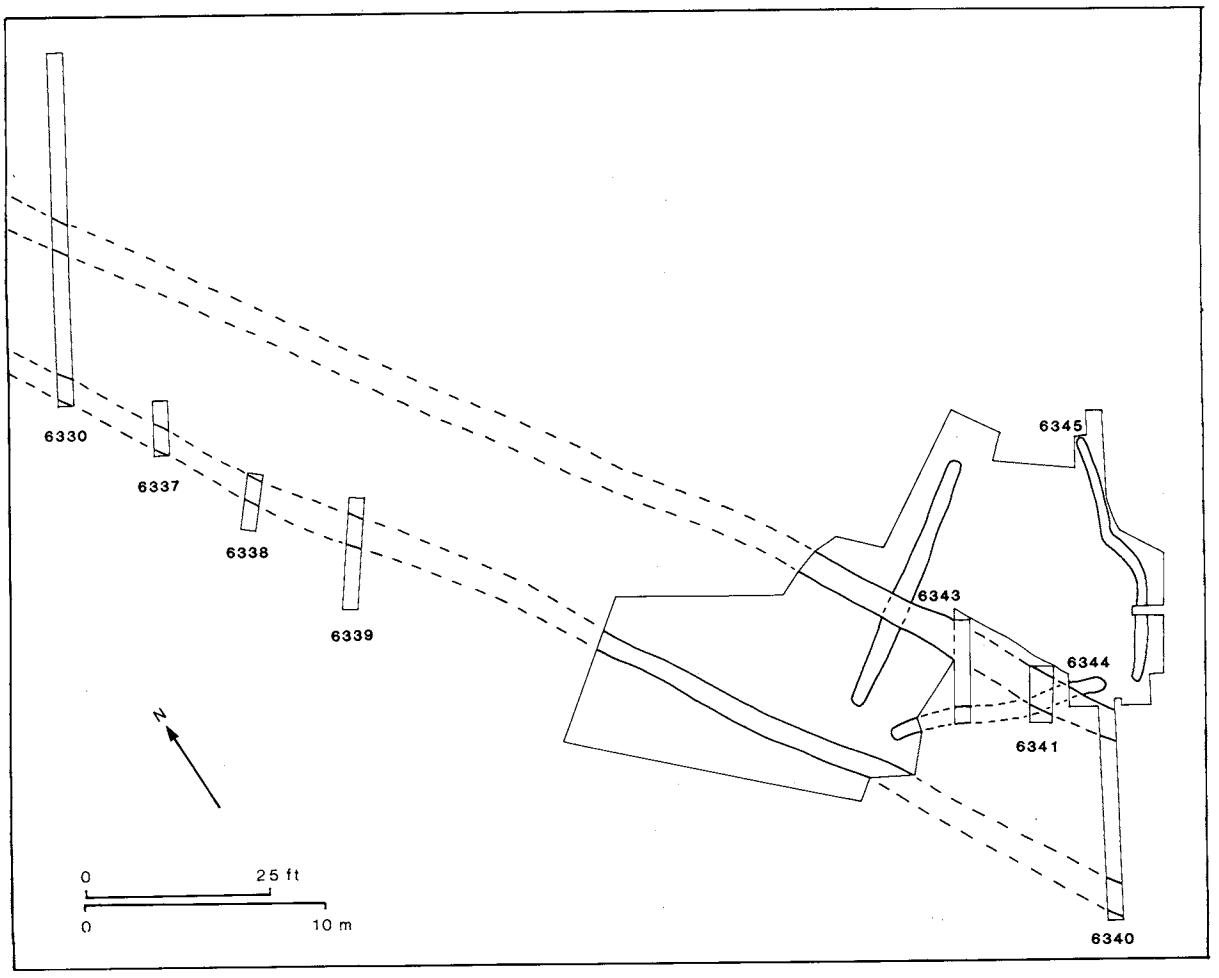

Figure 11. Norton Road, Baldock, plan of GLVI, (E) on plan 2.

bottom, and 0.9m deep. In both sections of 6327 (Fig. 9, page 48) were signs of postholes. In the western ditch was a post-like cavity filled by material rich in decayed organic matter; the eastern ditch had similar traces but without the clear lineaments of a post. In 6327 possible ploughmarks appeared between the ditches 300–350mm below the surface. The eastern ditch sections of 6329, 6331, 6332, 6333 cut into the colluvium of the post-Glacial scar.

Wilbury Hill

At Wilbury Hill there was a further ring-ditch (Fig. 12) which stood on the 83–85m contours above OD, was 17m in diameter, its ditch 2.8m wide, and 0.94m deep; in section a wide trough with a flat bottom (Fig. 13).

The dimensions of the sections were: A–A 4.1m wide, 0.91m deep; B–B 3.84m wide, 0.84m deep; C–C 3.49m wide, 0.85m deep; D–D 4.90m wide, 0.92m deep. The fill consisted of (1) clay with chalk and/or flints, (2) chalk rubble, in varying quantities. In C–C five substantial layers of chalk rubble alone occurred, in B–B were three, while similar layers occurred in the bottom of the other sections as well. The upper layers were made up of variants of clay or loam containing small quantities of chalk, sand and flint. The slot F5 passed through Section B–B (Fig. 13).

Six narrow slots cut across the northern and southern sections of the ditch at right-angles to each other; F4 and F7 may have intersected. F3, F4 and F5 entered the area inside the ditch: F3 and F7 were aligned WNW, F4, F5, and F6 ESE.

The slots were: F3 8.2m long × 0.50m wide × 0.44m deep; F4 12.0m × 0.50m × 0.44m (incomplete); F5 7.2m × 0.50m × 0.44m; F6 14m × 0.50m × 0.44m (incomplete); F7 8.2m × 0.50m × 0.44m (incomplete); F8 21m × 0.50m × 0.44m (incomplete). They were filled with chalk, rubble topped by chalky loam which continued into the postholes in F5 and F6 whose dimensions averaged 0.40m in diameter × 0.31m in depth. F3 contained sherds of Grooved Ware.

A circular pit, F9 (Figs. 12 and 13), occurred in the northern segment of the ditch.

It was 1.51m in diameter, 0.51m deep with a fill of (1)

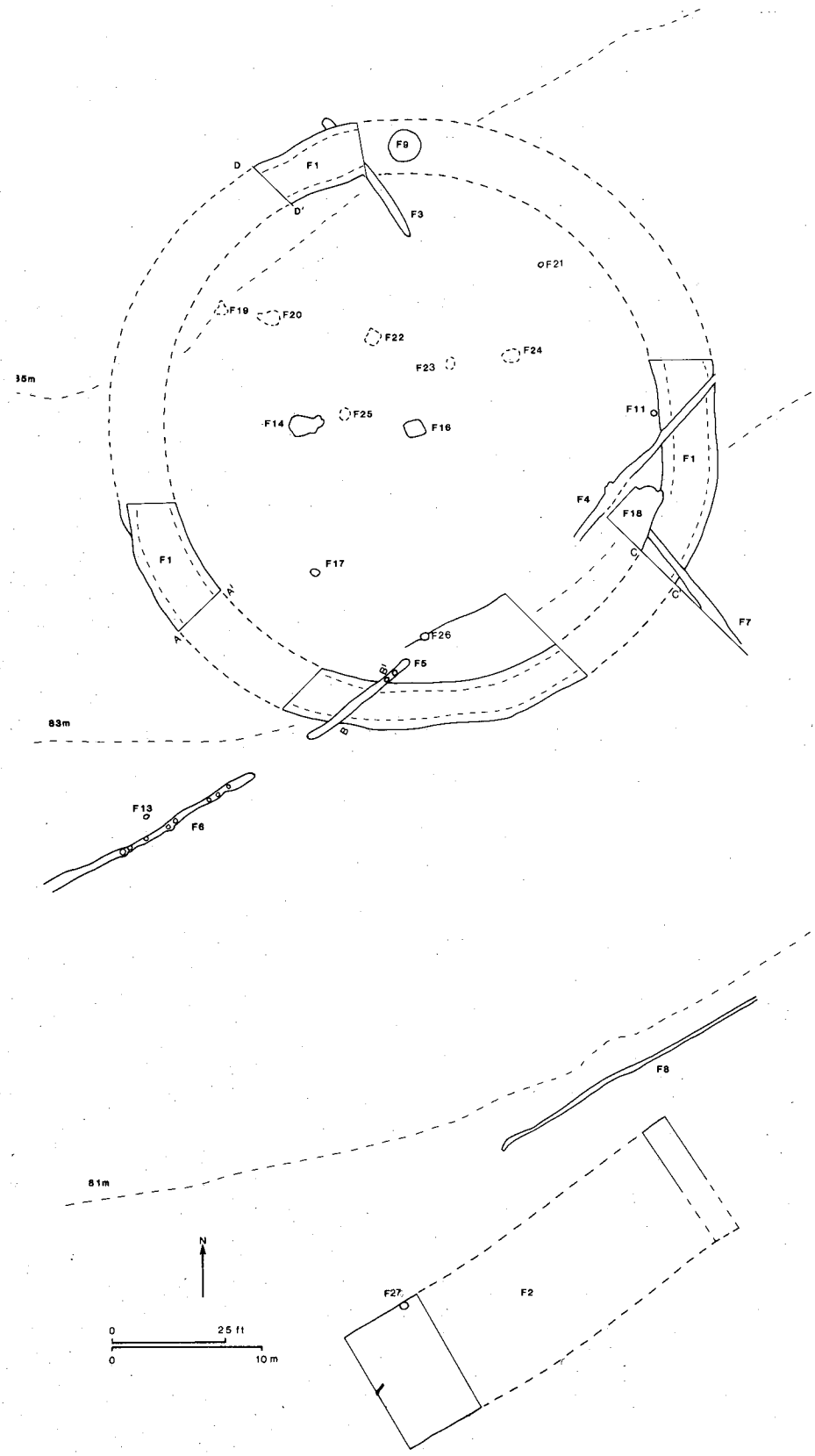

Figure 12. Wilbury ring-ditch, plan.

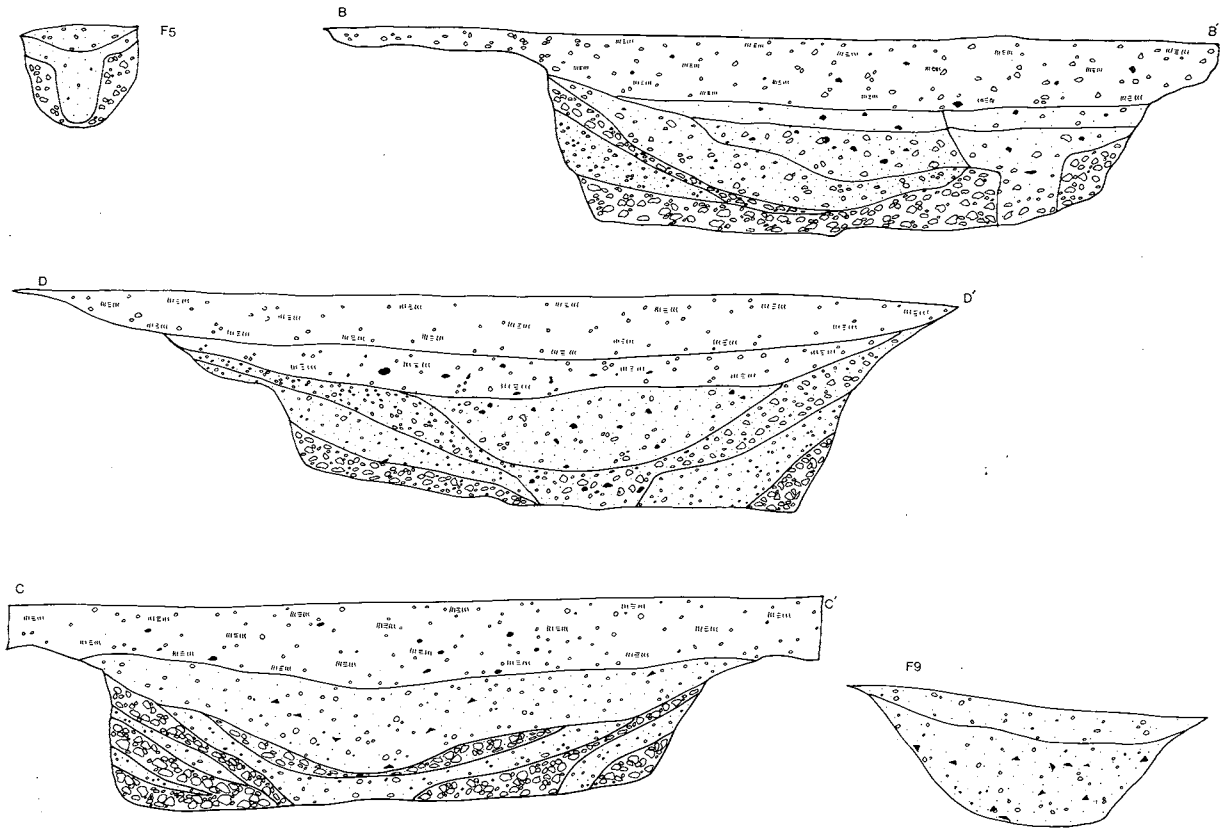

Figure 13. Wilbury ring-ditch, section.

brown loam with chalk specks, (2) dark brown loam with chalk specks and flints. Less well-defined cavities (F14, F16, F18, F19, F20, F22, F23, F24, F25) existed in the area inside the ditch. F14 was an irregular pit 2m long, 1.2m wide, 0.30m deep. It contained some Neolithic, and numerous Bucket-Urn sherds. 16 postholes occurred, 12 of which formed part of the palisade slots, the remainder were aligned on them, with the exception of F10 and F27: the majority had a diameter of 0.40m and a depth of 0.30 m.

A disturbance (F26) was found in the the interior of the southern segment to the north of the ditch, running for some 16m to the east. It appeared to be earlier than the ditch which was not damaged. To the south lay a ditch (F2) with V-section and narrow flat bottom: it was 7.5m wide by 1.8m deep. Its orientation was the same as that of the slots and postholes.

The ring-ditch was Late Neolithic in date. Like the similar structure at Norton Road, Baldock, it produced no flint work or signs of habitation, apart from Late Neolithic and fragmentary Bronze Age pottery. This represents phase 1a on the site. The Bucket Urn and its accompanying pottery belongs to phase 1b when they were deposited in F14 under a hypothetical mound. The remaining features belong to the late prehistoric and Roman periods. To phase 2 belong the rectangular areas delimited by the slots with their chalk rubble fills for packing posts that may have been used in conjunction with daub, a piece of which occurred in F1 near slot F4: F9 belongs to this phase. The material appears to have come from the pre-Roman Iron Age hill-fort situated a few meters up the slope immediately to the north. The ditch to the south produced Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman pottery exclusively and may be assigned to Appelbaum's Belgic/Roman phase of the hill-fort (Appelbaum 1949). The same may be said of F3 which belongs to the slot system and produced pottery of the latest phase. Thus, together with the large ditch to the south, the slots suggest activity outside the hill-fort during the late first century BC/second century AD. Such a model backs up the finds of Appelbaum and others of Roman material all over the area of the site which was, by this time, open and unrestricted by its ramparts.

THE IRON AGE

Blackhorse Road

A number of ditches delimited the site, the most prominent being the line of Icknield Way to the south. Three sections, 21.336m × 0.914m, (6076, 6079, 6081) (Figures 3, page

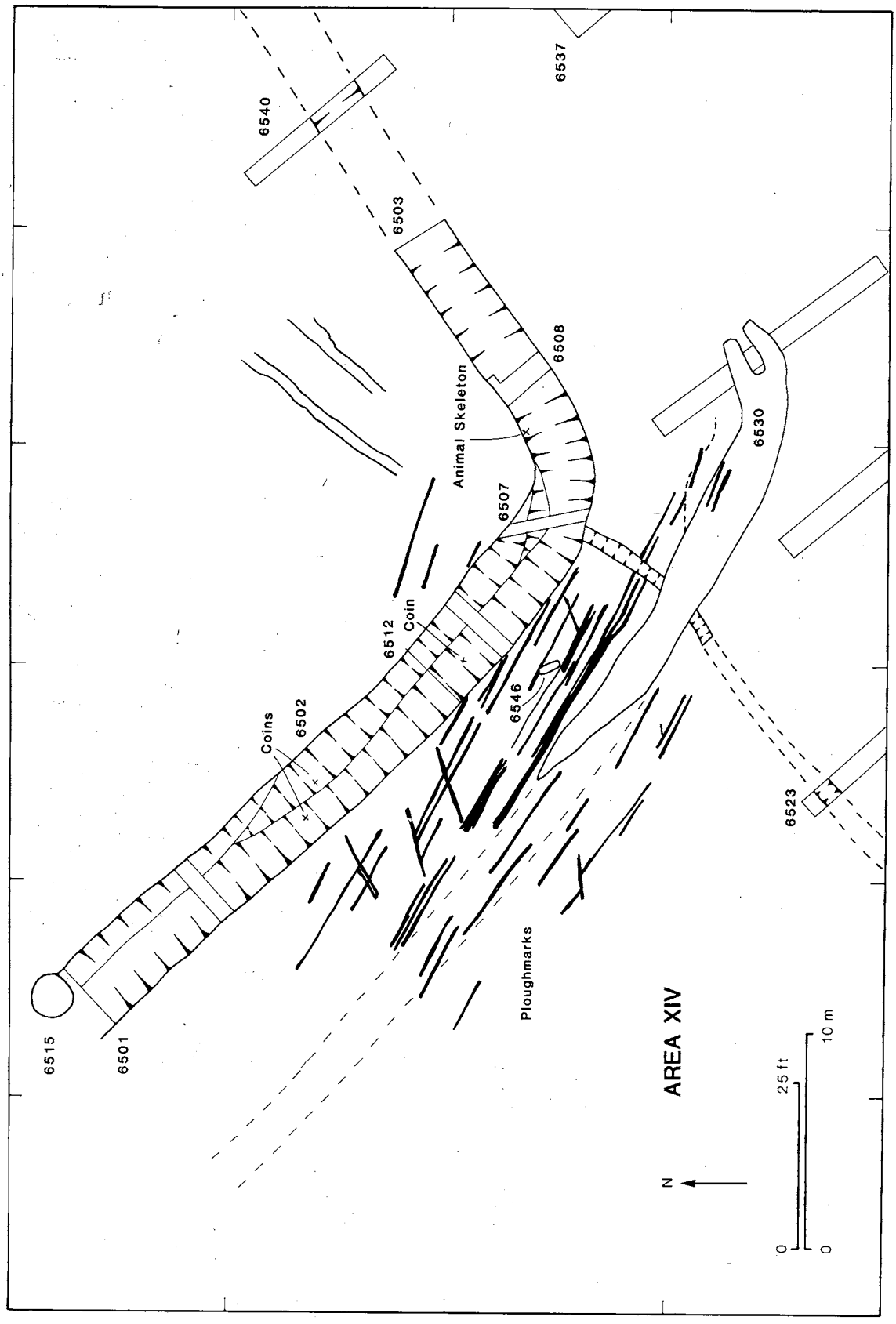

Figure 14. Area XIV, Roman ditches and prehistoric ploughmarks.

42; 4, page 43; 16) were were cut by machine across the hedge-line and cleaned by hand. At the southern limit of the cuttings was a V-section ditch 2.438m wide and between 1.727m and 3.149m deep; its steepest side was to the north where there was a bank of the upcast. There were four recognisable layers in the ditch (2) red-brown loam, (3a) brown with powdery chalk, (3b) dirty brown with chalk lumps, (4) chalky fill with wash.

Sherds of Pre-Roman Iron Age pottery were found in the ditch silt of all three cuttings. On the other side of the bank i.e. to the north, was a sunken trackway at a depth of 1.473m containing wheelruts. These were arranged in pairs some 1.371m apart and were 0.152–0.228m deep; there was no prepared surface but in one area rammed chalk with some faint traces of ruts was seen. A fragment of mid-first-century AD pottery was found in a rut together with some iron nails. The line taken by the ditches respected that of the boundary ditch D6065 (Fig. 6), a section of 6078 which was located to the north of the section and taken to be earlier in date. The trackway had undoubted Roman associations but there was no evidence that it was 'Romanised'. Further sections were cut to the east, including one in 1970 on the Letchworth side of the A1(M1), but there was no indication of a break in the system to provide access to the settlement. All the potsherds found there were of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age with small fragments of Samian ware. It is

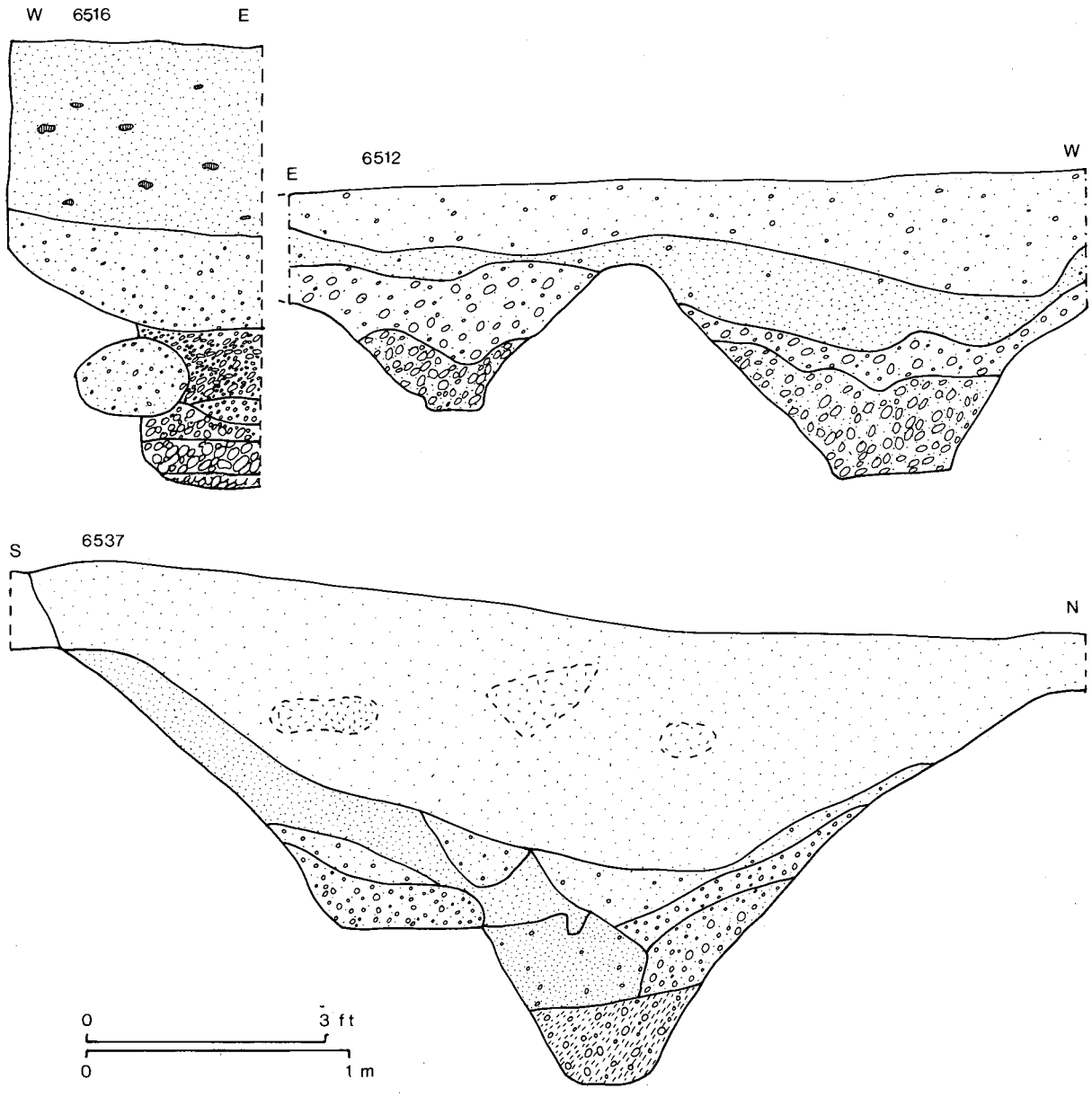

Figure 15. Sections of Roman ditches.

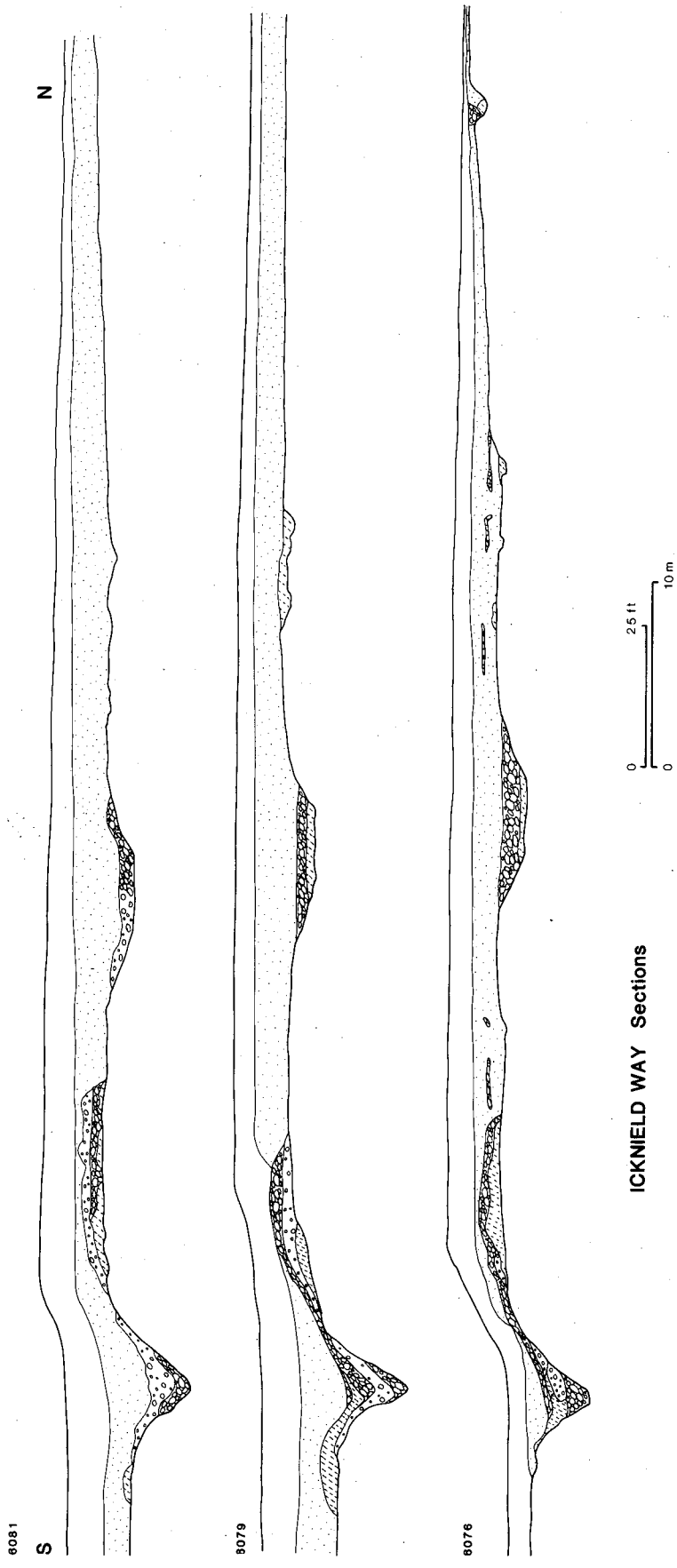

Figure 16. Icknield Way sections.

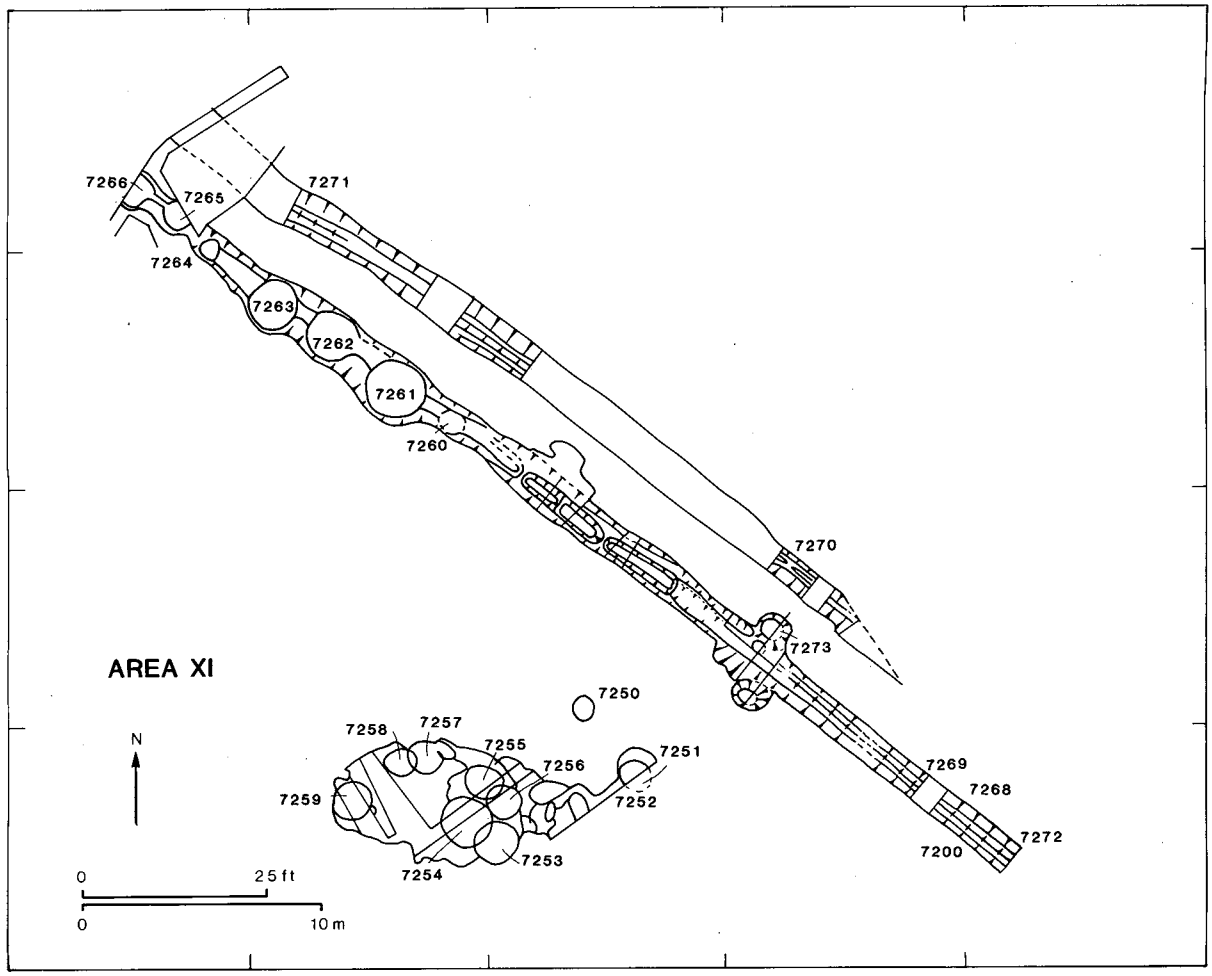

Figure 17. Area XI, eastern ditches.

possible that a complex of ditches continued on this line along the northern border of Roman Baldock to which it might have been related. The sections show that in the late Pre-Roman Iron Age and the Roman period a defensive bank and ditch occupied the southern limit of the site. They also demonstrate some basis for the tradition which positioned Icknield Way on the Ordnance Survey map as it is shown today.

Other ditches may have formed boundaries (Figs. 6, page 46; 14, page 53; 17, page 56; 18, page 57; 25, page 66). D6065 ran parallel to 'Icknield Way' and formed the southern limit of the site (Figs. 6 & 14). It passed through P6010 which it postdated. Its western limit is unknown but at its eastern extent it turned and continued northwards and was destroyed by the subsequent ditch D6501 which shared its course as a single feature for 12.5m, then disappeared, re-emerging as 7200 and ran off the northwest edge of the site. At the northern end 7200 (DW) contained several pits and slots (Fig. 17) which antedated it and were damaged by it; the perpendicular section (Fig. 9,7274) showed up the way in which the lower parts of the pits were detectable below the ditch bottom. This was parallelled at the southern end of Flint Road where two pits could be recognised in the ditch D6609 and 6633. It was in this section that slots occurred in the bottom of the west ditch interspersed with chalk causeways.

The human and animal disturbances make interpretation difficult and the only possible explanation seems to be the former existence of wooden uprights of the size of fencing posts within the ditch. During the prehistoric period, the area to the east could have been 'outside' the settlement which would have been fenced against animals. At the point where it entered the site, it had a V-section (Fig. 4, page 43) with two distinguishable layers of fill, the upper of loam containing a few small, chalk lumps, the lower stony with larger

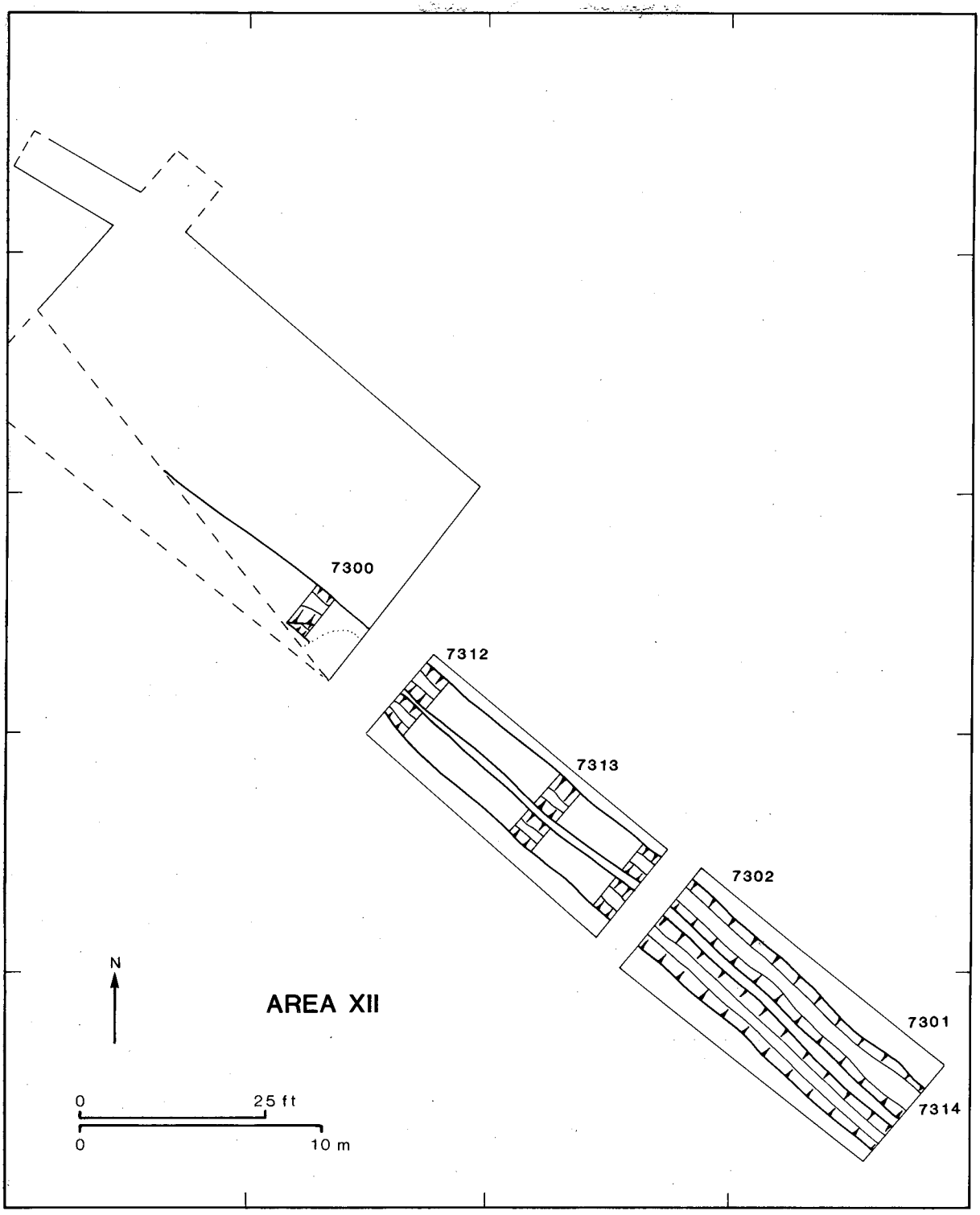

Figure 18. Area XII, eastern ditches.

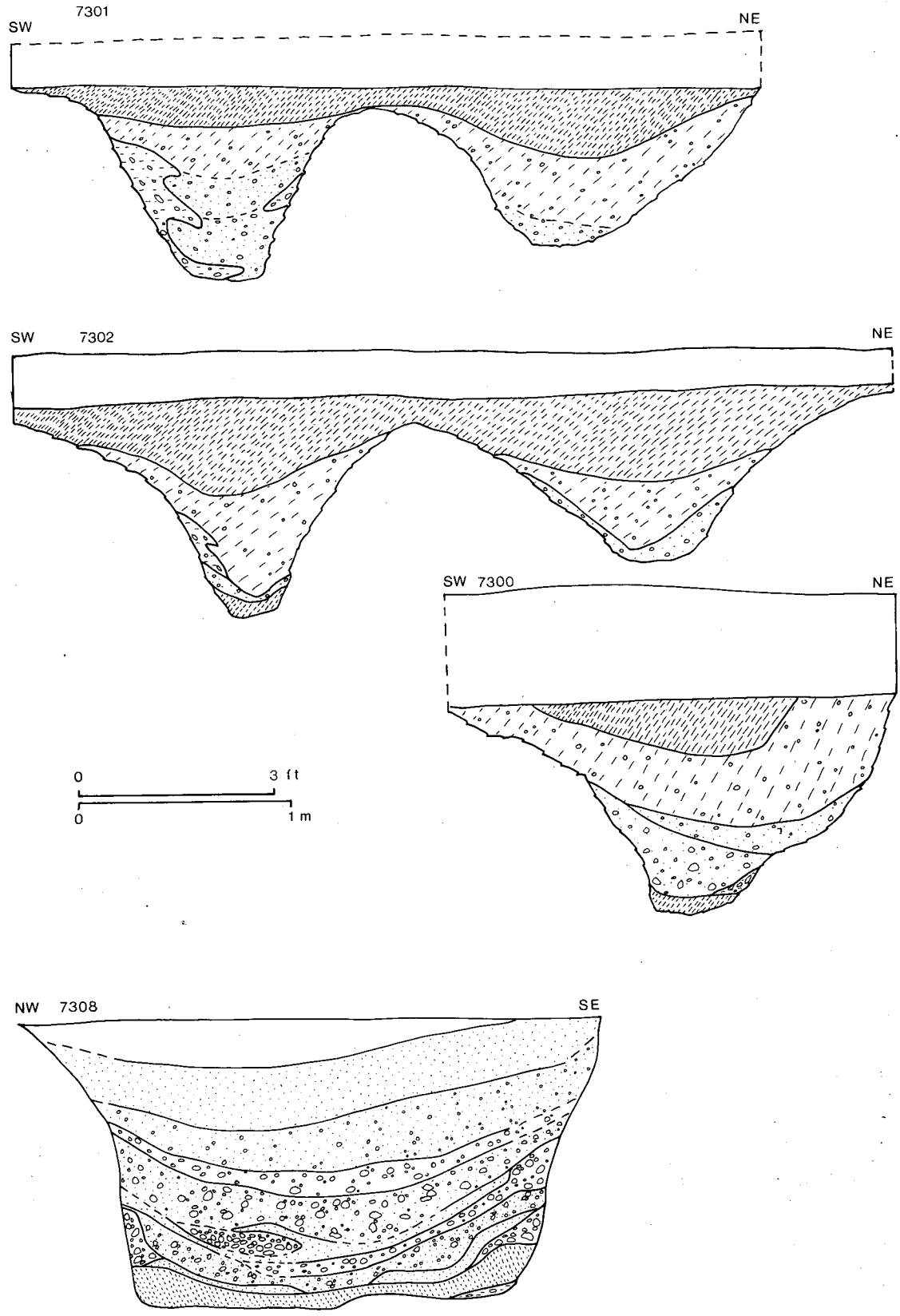

Figure 19. Areas XI/XIII, ditch sections.

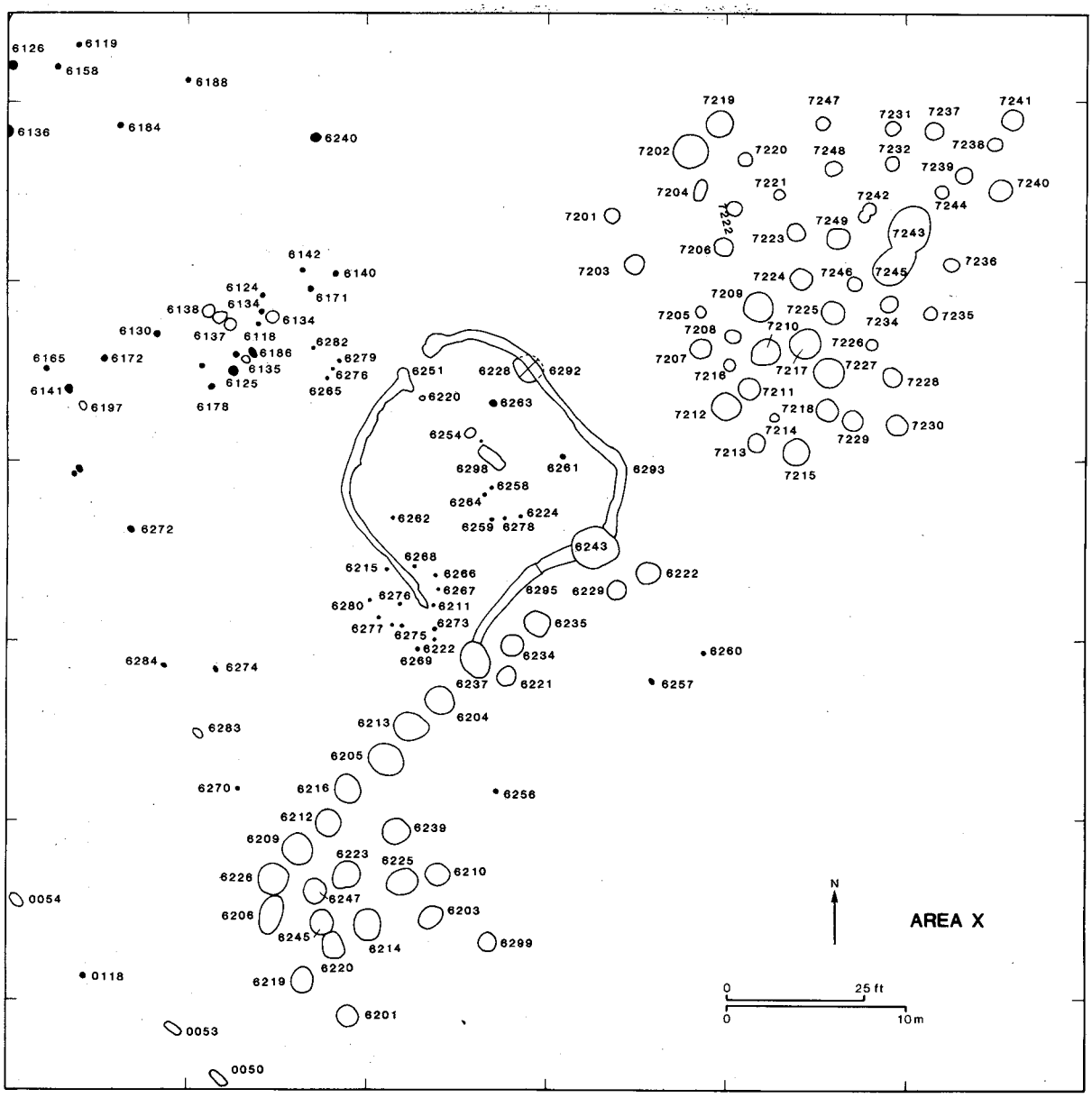

Figure 20. Area X, Enclosure Three and pits.

chalk lumps. Both layers contained small fragments of indeterminate pottery, a flint scraper with slight secondary working, flint flakes and seeds. The source of the fill appears to have been a slight bank on either side; there is no indication that this part of the ditch contained a palisade. The seven potsherds from the southern length of the ditch, including the decorated example (Fig. 33, page 80), belong to the later pre-Roman Iron Age. Part of the eastern ditch (Figs. 14, page 53 & 25, page 66) produced sufficient evidence to suggest Romano-British occupation as early as the Conquest when a number of Iron Age pits were disturbed.

Within this outer framework of ditches were indications that there were some other divisions. The antennae ditches (Fig. 27, page 69) associated with Enclosure Two appear to have formed two sides of a rectangle, while a line of small V-section lengths of ditch ran from the west end of the pit group of Enclosure Three, ending up to the north of Enclosure One. The features included here are 0074, 0075, 0077, 0038. On the site axis, from the north, ran another small ditch which would have formed an intersection at approx. 90 degrees with the previous one. This can be seen in the line of features passing through sub-sites X, VIII, VII, IV, III on Fig. 4, page 43.

It may be assumed that the boundary ditches on the site were two sides of a large rectilinear enclosure and that the missing sides are still in existence under the allotments to the north and, the gardens of the Green Lane houses. There was little to connect the southern ditches in the Icknield Way area directly with the site. Certainly the large ditch and at least one other existed as far as the motorway on the outskirts of Baldock, making it a rather large earthwork.

Two groups of interconnecting pits (Figs. 17 & 21) were located on the site. To the north of the D-shaped enclosure lay one of cylindrical pits so close together that they impinged on each other. They included P0023, 0037, 0039, 0041, 0060, 0064, 0191, 0195, with P0044, to the west. Between them were some deep areas which appeared to belong to the general layout. Their contents included burnt and smoothed stones, lava imported from the Rhineland (see below), iron slag produced by an inefficient process, iron nails, a whetstone, Iron Age pottery, and animal bones. A solitary piece of carbonised grain was found at the bottom of P0041. The pottery found in all these belonged to Group 1a, the earliest phase with one containing an iron ring-headed pin (Fig. 38: 10). Another similar group of ten lay close to the eastern ditch D7200(DW), 7250–59(P1E–P10E) which overlapped each other in an area of disturbed and badly damaged chalk (Figs. 17, page 56, & 22, page 61). Interpretation was impossible because of its condition but it did produce Late Neolithic pottery. In addition to the more ancient disturbance, an earlier trench (Trench III of 1970) had been dug into the feature which was later used as a play area by children, causing collapse and stratigraphic chaos. (Fig. 22, 7254). The groups may have formed 'working hollows' sites, such as those at

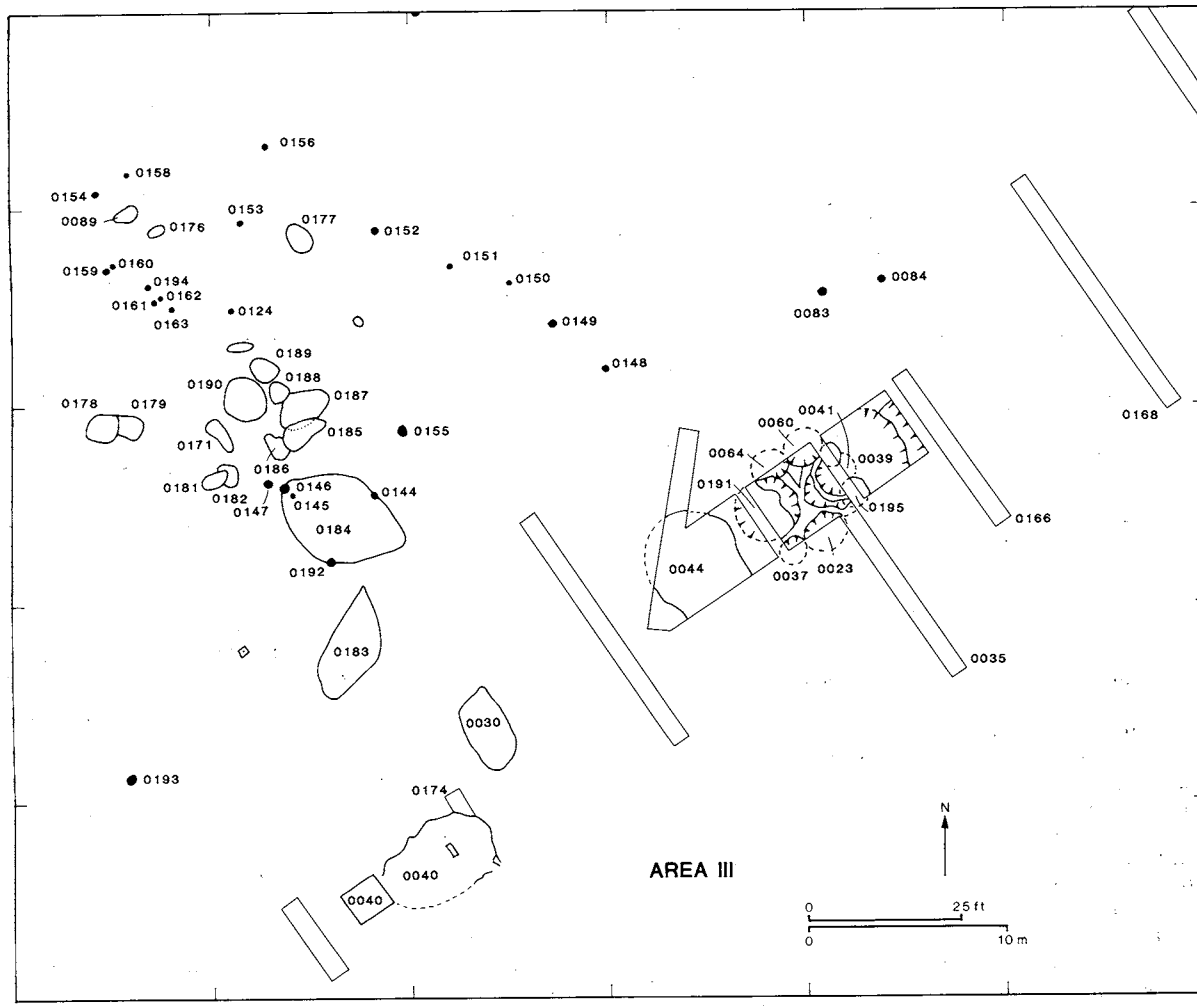

Figure 21. Area III, 'working hollows'.

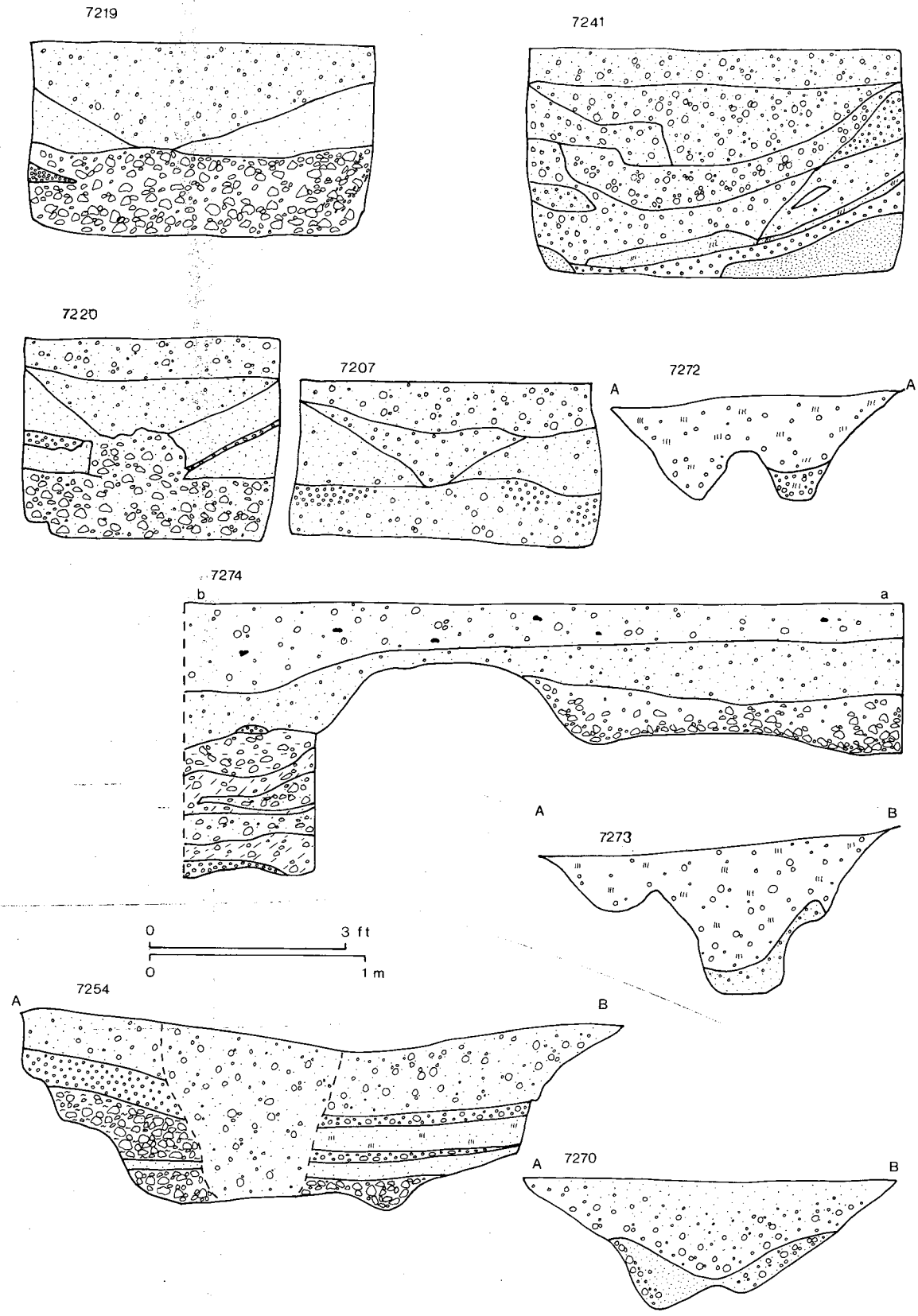

Figure 22. Sections of 'working hollows'.

Hunstanton, Norfolk (Wymer, pers. comm.) and at the fourth/third-century BC site of Chinnor, Oxfordshire (Richardson and Young 1951, 132–48). The latter produced iron ring-headed pins like the Letchworth example.

There were other hollows in which various activities took place. They were too large and irregular to be described as pits. One group (Fig. 21, page 60) lay near the first interconnected pit group 0035, and consisted of 0040, 0030, 0183, 0184; the latter having a peripheral triangle of postholes which may have supported a covering of some sort. The pottery finds placed these in the first phase of the Iron Age.

Four groups of *four-posthole* arrangements were found. Three lay to the northwest (Fig. 24), and one within the D-shaped Enclosure One. FP2(0102) consisted of four postholes, 0102, 0106, 0108, 0109 spaced equidistantly at 2m intervals lying within 2.5m of first phase pits, P0092–0097. The voids had diameters of 300mm and depths of 101mm, containing a fill where medium chalk lumps were concentrated towards their middles. There were no finds from this. At a slight angle to it was FP3(0105), one of whose postholes, PH0108, infringed on its line. The sides of the figure were not regular being 2.30m on two non-opposing sides and 2.10m on the others. This may have been due to the prior existence of FP2. The postholes were 300mm in diameter and between 50mm and 25mm deep. Like FP2 the postholes contained chalk lump concentrations at their centres and produced no finds.

FP4(0045) consisted of two trenches, 2m long by 300mm wide and 260mm deep, lying parallel to each other with an opposing pair of postholes lying about three-quarters of the way along them. There was a distance of 2.60m between them, as well as between the centres of the middle postholes. The diameters of all six postholes were approximately 300mm, four having a depth of 24mm. The ends of the trenches were rounded, the bottoms flat with regular vertical sides; the eastern postholes were stepped up to be 130mm above the trench bottom. The fill was homogeneous, brown and organic with chalk lumps, but no finds. A parallel at Danebury (Cunliffe 1984, Figs. 69, 70; pp. 109, 110) has trenches which could have held wattle walls. An alternative function would be a gateway through a brushwood fence or a similar shallow feature.

Although FP2–4 failed to yield any finds, these features do seem to be restricted to the earliest part of the site i.e. Areas I/III and V. They belong to the class of structure which offers numerous possibilities of interpretation of function from dwelling to excarnation platform (Guilbert 1981, 104–10). There is no evidence at Blackhorse Road that these arrangements constituted the foundations of granaries. Analysis of the postholes has failed to provide the right combinations of dimensions to make them the porches of post-ring round-houses. In size they are well within the range of similar structures on sites like Danebury (Cunliffe 1984, 87–110) and Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979, 18). Stanford has made a strong case for the interpretation of such structures as rectangular houses (Stanford 1974) but, so far, most of his examples come from hillforts. At Letchworth other groups of postholes featured in close proximity to, or inside enclosures and may have formed part of houses or buildings for storage.

Pits occurred in all parts of the site. They can be initially divided into 31 shallow scoops and 112 deeper cylindical forms of the type known as 'storage pits'. A discussion and classification of them with their plans and sections are to be found in the archive. In general the distribution of these structures on the site was very localised, three major groups to the northwest, and two main groups to the northeast.

The group (Figs. 21, page 60, & 24, page 64) NW of the working hollow consisted of some 18 shallow excavations 0089, 0171–179, 0180–0190), of irregular shape and depth. It is plain that they were not intended for grain storage, while the finds indicate that they were probably hearths and activity areas. The 98 potsherds contained in 0058 were of Group 1a, the same as those found in the nearby working hollow pits, 0037, 0041. P0037 contained animal bones, ash, and Romano-British pottery in its upmost layer; on the other side of the hollow 0060 contained sherds of Group 1b type. The remainder produced nothing. On the western boundary of the excavated Area I (Fig. 24) was a line of six small closely packed scoops of irregular shape (0092–0097). They were so shallow and badly disturbed by the earth-moving machinery that nothing was found. The third group was farthest north (Fig. 23) in this earliest part of the site. They were larger than those of the other group, two being subdivided into basins of varying shapes and depths. 0043 was 3.657m in length and 500mm deep; 0197 was 2.561 m by the

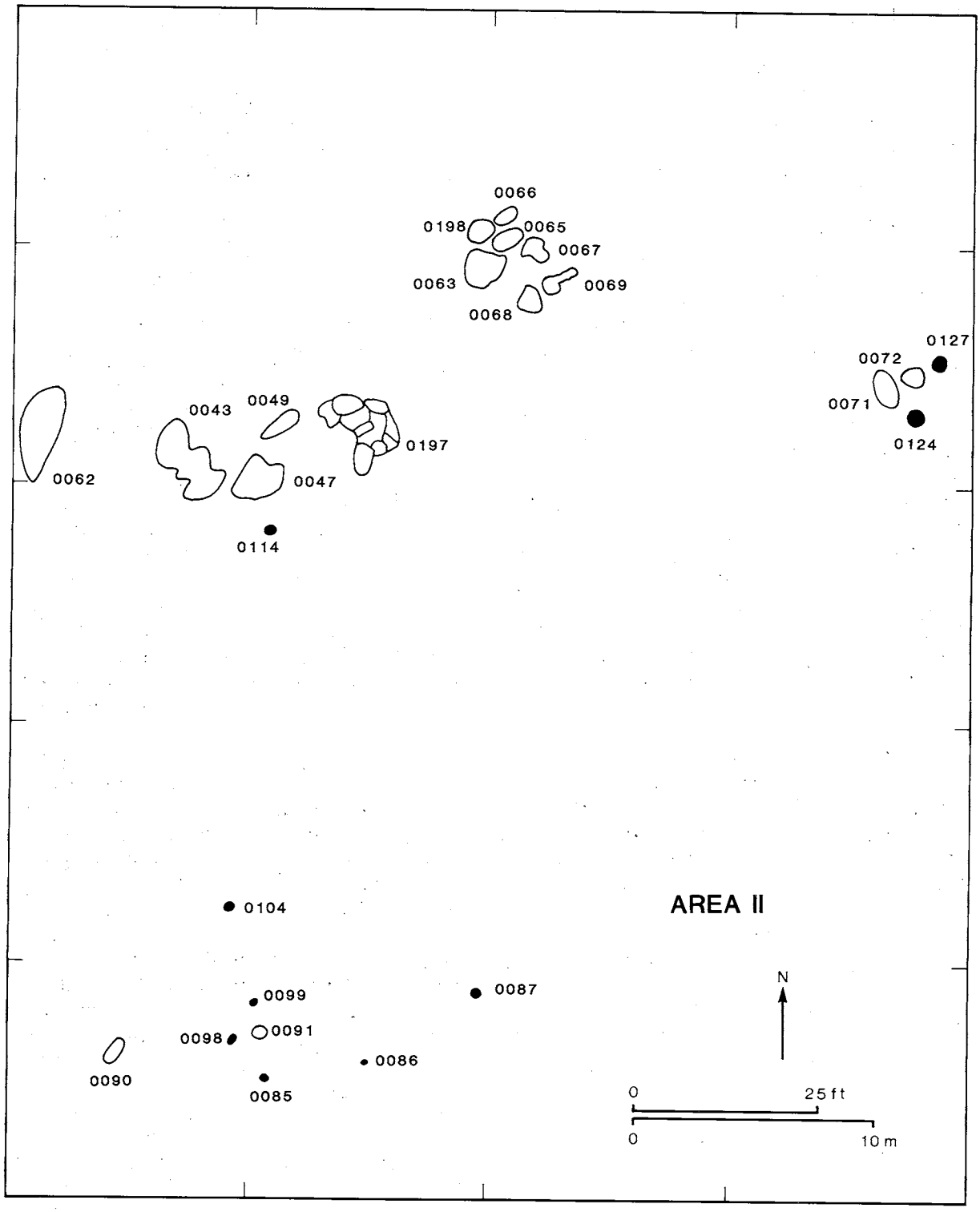

Figure 23. Area II.

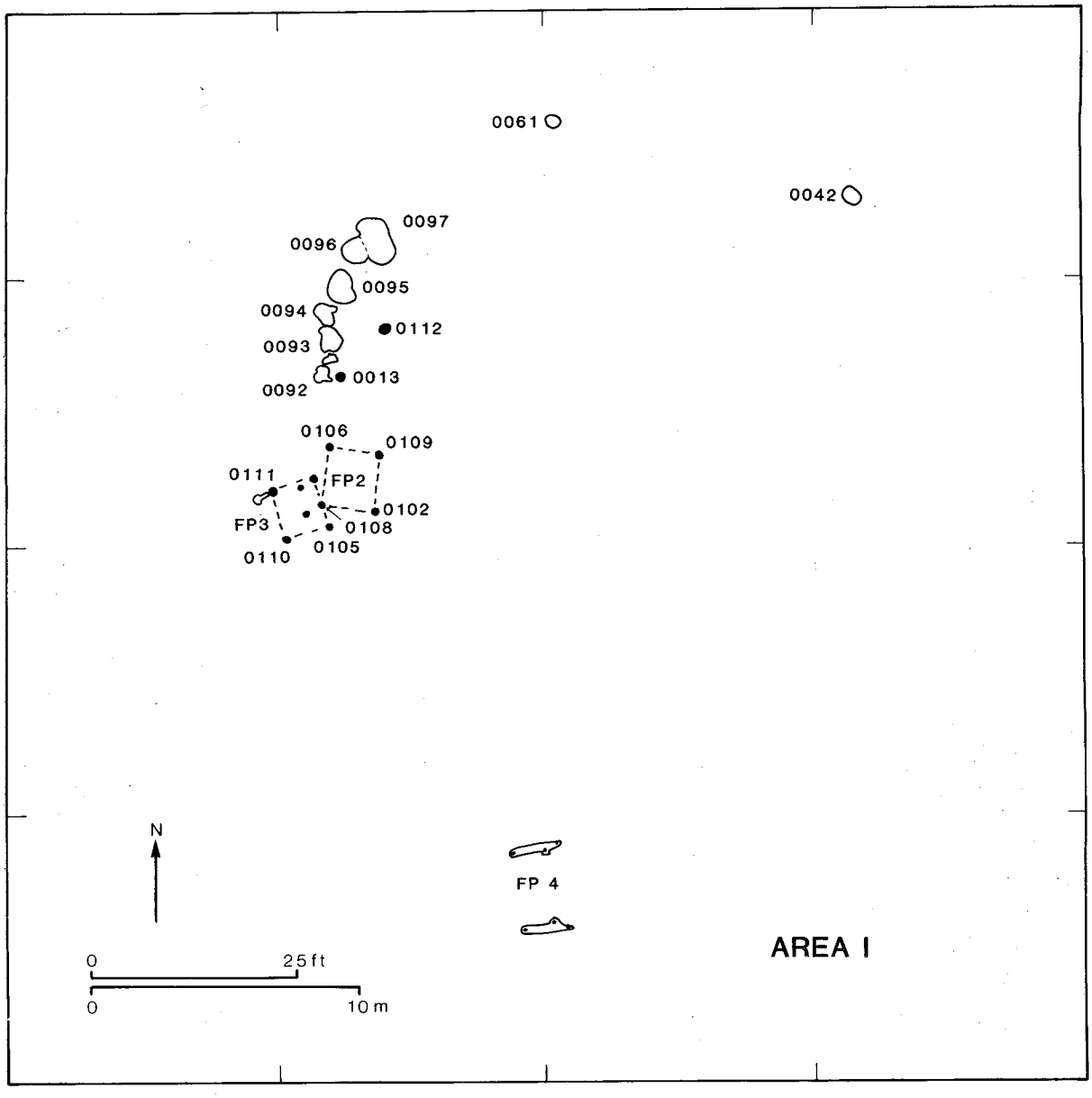

Figure 24. Area I, 'four-posters'.

same depth. There were really two sub-groups, 0043, 0047, 0049, 0197 and 0063–0069, 0198 separated by a distance of 4.628m. The first sub-group produced evidence of use as hearths and contained numerous burnt stones, charcoal and ash; all the pottery belonged to Group 1b. Unfortunately, the other sub-group was subject to damage by the machines and produced no useful finds.

Miscellaneous and unrelated pits occurred on the extreme north- east of the site, forming a hollow (see page 62 above). In the same area (Fig. 17, page 56), seven pits, 7260–7266 had been partly destroyed by the ditch 7200. Three of them were large when compared with the average for the site, having a mean volume of 4.36cu.m while their width/depth ratio of 1.75:1 was nearer to the 1.34:1 of the Neolithic pits than the Iron Age examples at 6:1 or 2.5·1 Residual Neolithic material came from these features, as well as from the ditch.

83 deeper pits formed a group between Enclosure Three and Ditch 7200 on the eastern edge of the site (Figs. 17, page 56, & 20, page 59). More detailed treatment is in the

archive by simple analysis of form, distribution and possible function.

Human skeletal remains were recovered from three of these, P7215, 7239, 7243, and two shallow scoops, P6548, and 6546. Unfortunately the smallness of this sample makes it useless for any evaluation of the population, either socially or physically.

In 6546, a female of 40–45 years of age lay just outside ditch 6501 in a hollow scoop. The skeleton was much disturbed but appears to have been in a flexed position, lying on the right side, the head to the north and facing east; there were no associated finds. A male of 20–30 years of age was discovered at 6548 in a builder's trench but there was no sign of a grave. The individual lay on his right side, head to the north, and facing east. There were no grave goods.

Pit 7215 contained a female skeleton aged 10–12 years of age at a depth of 355mm below the chalk level, on the right side, with head to he north facing east. The arms were bent upwards with the hands towards the face, the knees raised and bent so that the lower legs were at 90 degrees to the normal axis of the vertebral column i.e. the 'moderate crouching' attitude. Beneath the skeleton lay the jaw of a horse and a flint knife. A damaged human cranium of a 20–25 year old female was discovered in P7239. It lay on its left side facing north in the western section of the pit. The damage had occurred before excavation and the sutures were open and roots had grown through them in several places. It was found in very dry grey fine soil with chalk lumps of medium size. A piece of ?iron slag lay beneath it.

P7243 the rib of a child, approx. 6 years, was found with Early Iron Age pottery, animal bones, flints, and sandstone in clay with medium chalk lumps. These three individuals come from Middle Iron Age contexts associated with domestic rubbish. A report on the remains by C.B. Denston has been placed in the archive.

A great deal of chalk featured in all the pit fills, often mixed with soil, and this could only have come either from the digging of pits for the provision of chalk, the digging of storage pits, or from cleaning up floor areas on the site.

The line of the pits ran ENE by WSW from 6226 to 6237 and followed the overall orientation of the features on the site. Dating material came from nine pits only, seven of which belonged to the first phase of the Middle Iron Age, two to the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age. P7233 of phase 1 is part of a double pit which bears little resemblance to its neighbours. P6243, which belongs to phase 2, had been dug into the ditch of that enclosure which it obviously postdated and may reasonably be associated with the early pits. Pits 7204, 7205 contained pottery of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and could be seen as being contemporary with Enclosure Two. Thus these 83 pits possibly spread over a period of some two hundred and fifty years.

20 cylindrical pits between the ditch 6635 and Enclosure Four (Fig. 25) were on a NNE by SSW axis, like many other features of the site. Their dimensions are to be found in the archive. These are exclusively Iron Age features. The dating material is restricted to that found in 1966/67 as that from 1973 is missing. but from the site notebook it has been possible to learn that pits 7303, 7304, 7305, 7306, 7307, 7308 (Fig. 25, page 66) contained material from phase 2 of the Middle Iron Age, probably towards its end as fingertip impressions on the upper surface of the rim occur (170, 179). Such a chronology is not surprising in view of the activity in the ditch area during the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman periods. Similar pottery came from the second-phase ditch of Enclosure Four.

Finally, there were small groups or single pits distributed about the site like that associated with Enclosure Two (Fig. 27, page 69) which consisted of four examples, 6101–4, set in a line to the east of one of the antenna ditches. Their fills included domestic rubbish with weathered material. Finds included potsherds of the Middle Iron Age phase 2/3 of first century BC, daub, and sandstone pebbles. They were storage pits with only a short period of use. Within the same sub-site there were five smaller pits, too small for storage but functioning as utility pits of some sort. 6137 and 6138 contained sixteen large sandstone pebbles distributed throughout; the largest was 380mm × 150mm, probably the debris of a quernary. A number of assorted pits were found to the east of Enclosure One, containing pottery, animal bones, and burnt material including stones. In the bottom of Pit 0020 lay a large piece of millstone grit, while in 6020 lay a piece of quern. In all these pits there were numerous animal bones.

A circumstance of the pit distribution is that the highest proportion of the deeper examples were to the east of the modern field boundary which ran from 2326 in the north to 2344 in the south and shared the same orientation as the prehistoric linear features of the site; no substantial Iron Age pits occurred to the west of this, except for a few stray examples. The main groups of these features appear to be associated with the Pre-Roman Iron Age enclosures. The shallow hearth-like scoops and pits are East Anglian features especially in the Lakenheath area of Suffolk (Briscoe 1957, 19–29) and at Hunstanton (Wymer forthcoming). On the other hand, the cylindrical pits, are of the type most commonly associated with Bersu's farmsteads of the Little Woodbury type (Bersu 1940), as exemplified by the Hertfordshire site at Barley (Cra'ster 1961). At Blackhorse Road the pits, like the pottery, seem to show two traditions. In the first phase the shallow scoops show strong pottery connections with East

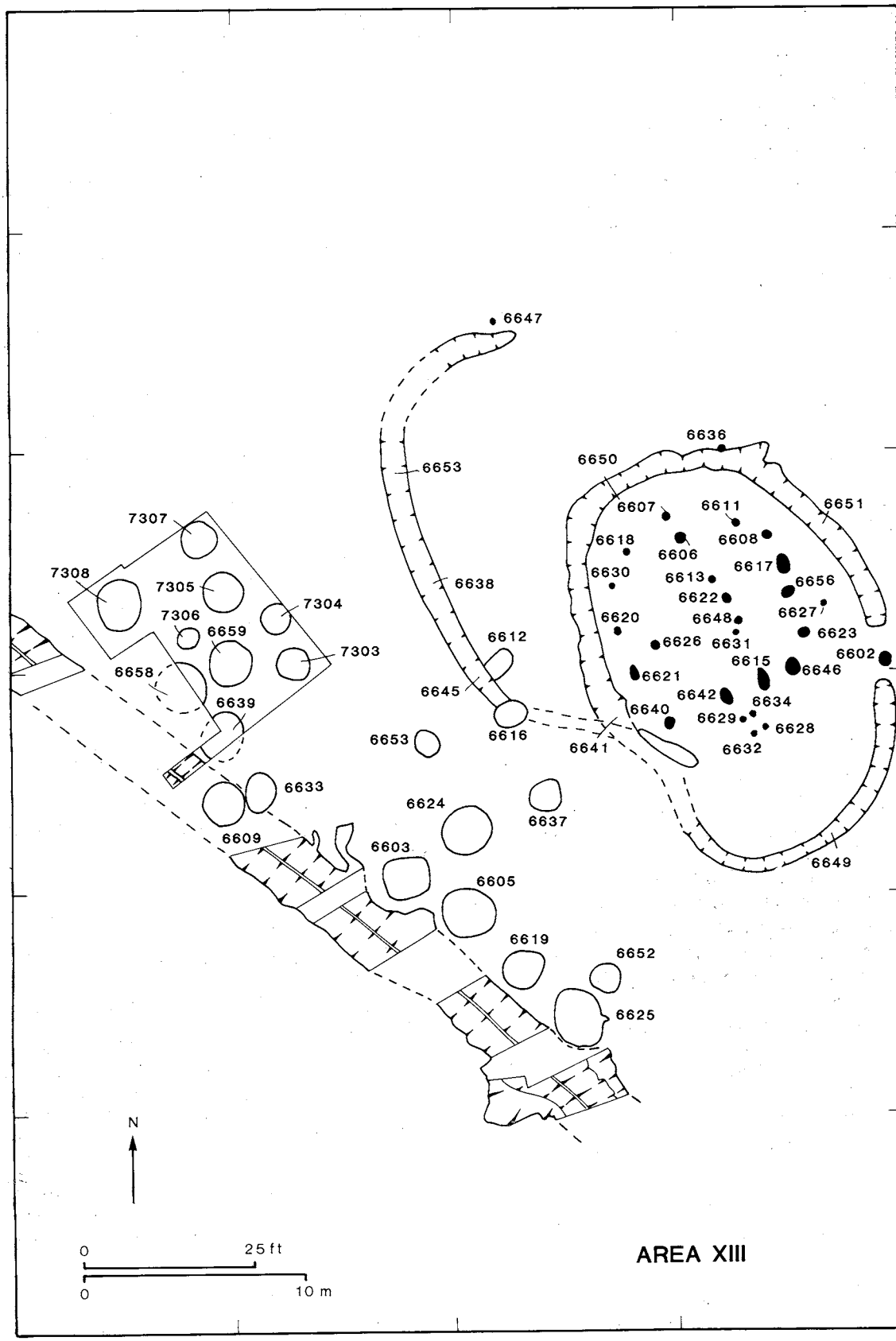

Figure 25. Area XIII, Enclosure Four and pits.

Anglia, while in the Middle and Late pre-Roman Iron Age influences from the direction of the Thames Valley show themselves.

There were four enclosures on the site.

Enclosure One (Fig. 26) existed as a palisade of D-form where traces of the timber uprights still showed up in its trench. Its interior was 58m at its greatest length and 51.8m across. Within it were postholes and small pits; two large pits belonged to the Late Neolithic. An arrangement of narrow shallow trenches made up three rectangles which formed timber-based structures. Two of these were associated with postholes. In the northeast corner were four postholes of a rectangular structure. To the east the palisade trench showed signs of renewal.

The three rectangular features (Fig. 26) appear to have pre-dated the palisade trenches (below). They were generally some 150–160mm deep and of similar width. The sides were vertical and cleanly cut but the probable insertion of timber had destroyed the sharp angles at the bottom and lip, producing a narrow U-profile. The brown fill was fine and relatively dry, containing moderate quantities of small chalk fragments. In any assessment of structural efficiency it must be remembered here that this part of the site had been subject to a great loss of soil; a reasonable estimate would be around 300–400mm. The westerly trench arrangement (RS1) measured 6m by 16.75m with a possible continuation to the south of 12.2m, making a total of 28.95m. There was no sign of the return of the other side to the west. It was unlikely to have been the continuation of the same structure as no sign of it was seen during the stripping of topsoil for the modern roadway. A gap of 1.8m occurs at 10m on the east side while postholes 32 and 52, together with 31 and one now missing, could have formed an entrance. The line of postholes, beginning at 31, was aligned and shared the same axis as the trench. It is possible that they formed an internal wall or screen. No. 10 is deeper than the larger hole which cut into it and provided another indication of phasing.

The second part-rectangle (RS2) lay to the east across a gap of some 4m, perhaps an alley. Its dimensions were 23.5m by 10.6m with small interruptions near the northeast corner and down the east side. The fourth side may have lain under the verge which was not available for excavation, giving the whole an area of 1807sq.m. To the north, was a third rectangle whose area could be calculated as portions of all four sides were represented. It measured 5.9 × 7m, providing an area of 41.3sq.m which is within the size-range of structures which have been identified as houses (Harding 1973, 43–62). A break of 1.2m occurred on the east side, a positioning which all these features had in common. The trenches could have held walls of timber, or wattle and daub for buildings. Their plans are consistent with those of houses reported in Holland (Harsema 1982, 199–222) and those illustrated by Dixon (1982, 280–81). In the northeast corner was another pair of slots spaced some 3m apart, and 1.5m north of the second rectangle. Another succeeded the most easterly of these after a break of 1.2m, then in the corner lay a short length at right angles. Less than two dozen potsherds came from these features, all of the Early Iron Age Group 1, with a probable date of the seventh/sixth centuries BC. In view of the strong West Harling complexion of this phase of the Blackhorse Road pottery it is interesting that the Norfolk site also contained Early Iron Age rectangular structures (Clark and Fell 1953, 12–14). At the same time, however, certain aspects of the rim decoration of the Letchworth pottery appear to have affinities in the Thames Valley where further rectangular structures of similar date have been discovered (Harding 1971, 32–5).

The *palisade trenches* were dug into the chalk and contained substantial postholes at roughly regular intervals on the northern side of Blackhorse Road, the whole system being orientated on an axis of some 45 degrees W of Grid North. The U-shaped trenches were 300–600mm wide, generally regular,with vertical sides and flat bottoms. They were generally 460–600mm below the modern surface. In the NW quadrant the outlines of substantial timbers could be seen.

The fine red-brown loam fill contained chalk pebbles, flints amd minute fragments of pottery in (2); concentrations of medium-sized chalk lumps occurred in the posthole areas. The large posts seemed to be restricted to the northern section of the enclosure. To the south a number of oval holes ran parallel to the alignment of the east–west trench.

There were two major breaks in the circuit of the enclosure, one on the east, the other on the west.

There was what seemed to be a deliberate gap of 2m on the eastern side near P6016 and P6017 which gave direct access into the interior without obstruction. All the other gaps were either very insubstantial or masked from inside by other lengths of trench There was a remarkable concentration of postholes in the southern area of the enclosure with little indication as to their function. Four posts in rectangular plan, FP1(0031) occupied the northeast corner of the enclosure with average dimensions 280 × 250 mm, equidistantly 1.9m apart. All had vertical sides, a uniform brown fill enriched by organic material in the centre and contained unfeatured potsherds of Iron Age appearance. PH6000 contained a hard encasement cast with a soft centre of loose filling. None of these had undergone replacement.

The animal remains from the pre-enclosure phase showed a high percentage of cattle (64.8%) as opposed to sheep (22.2%) but the contexts were widely scattered and many features had been lost through the building operations. The ditch of the enclosure showed a different picture, with cattle at 46.9%, a figure equalled by sheep but it changed dramatically in the Middle Iron Age in favour of cattle.

Enclosure Two was sub-triangular, double-ditched (Fig. 27), with a single southeastern

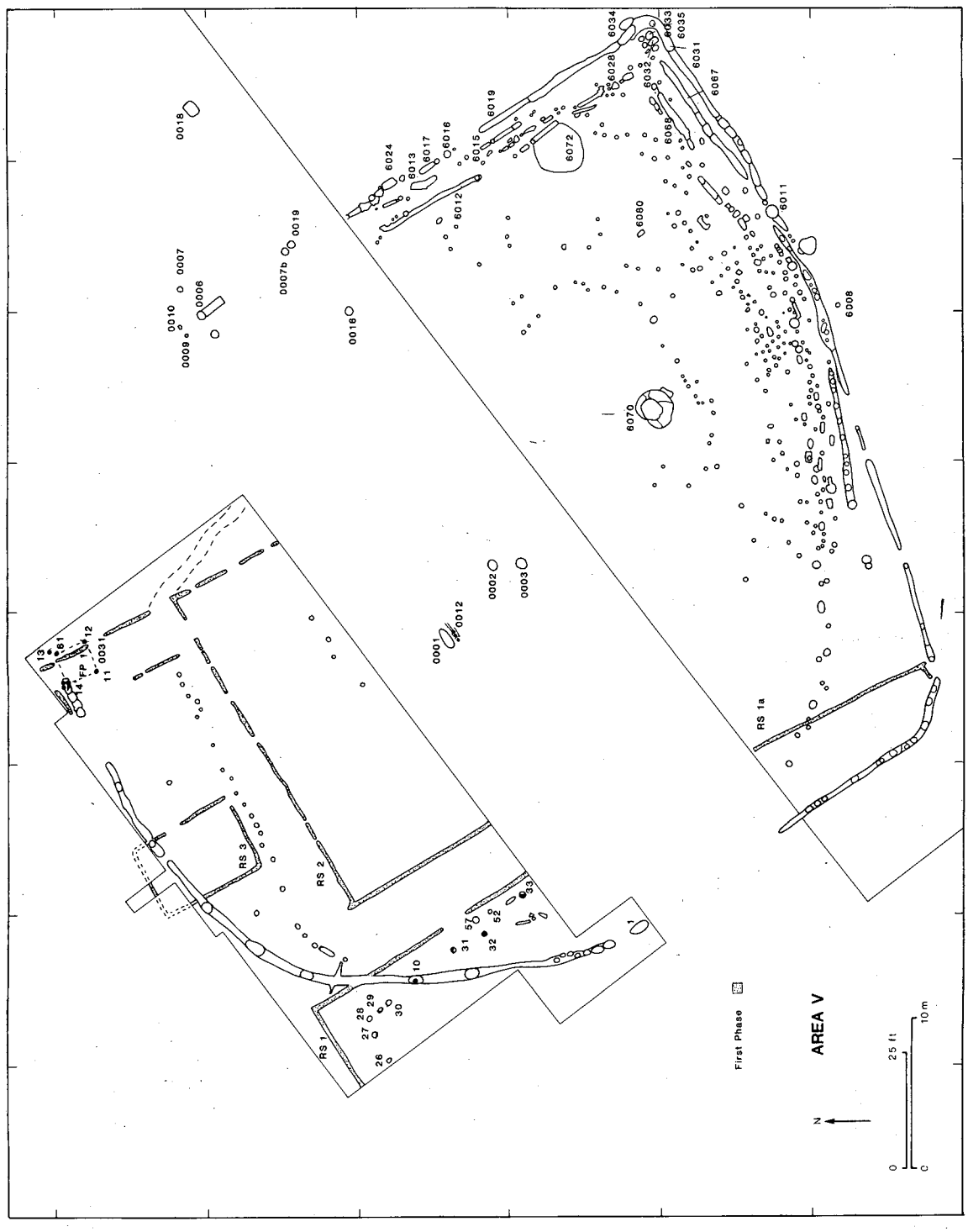

Figure 26. Area V, Enclosure One.

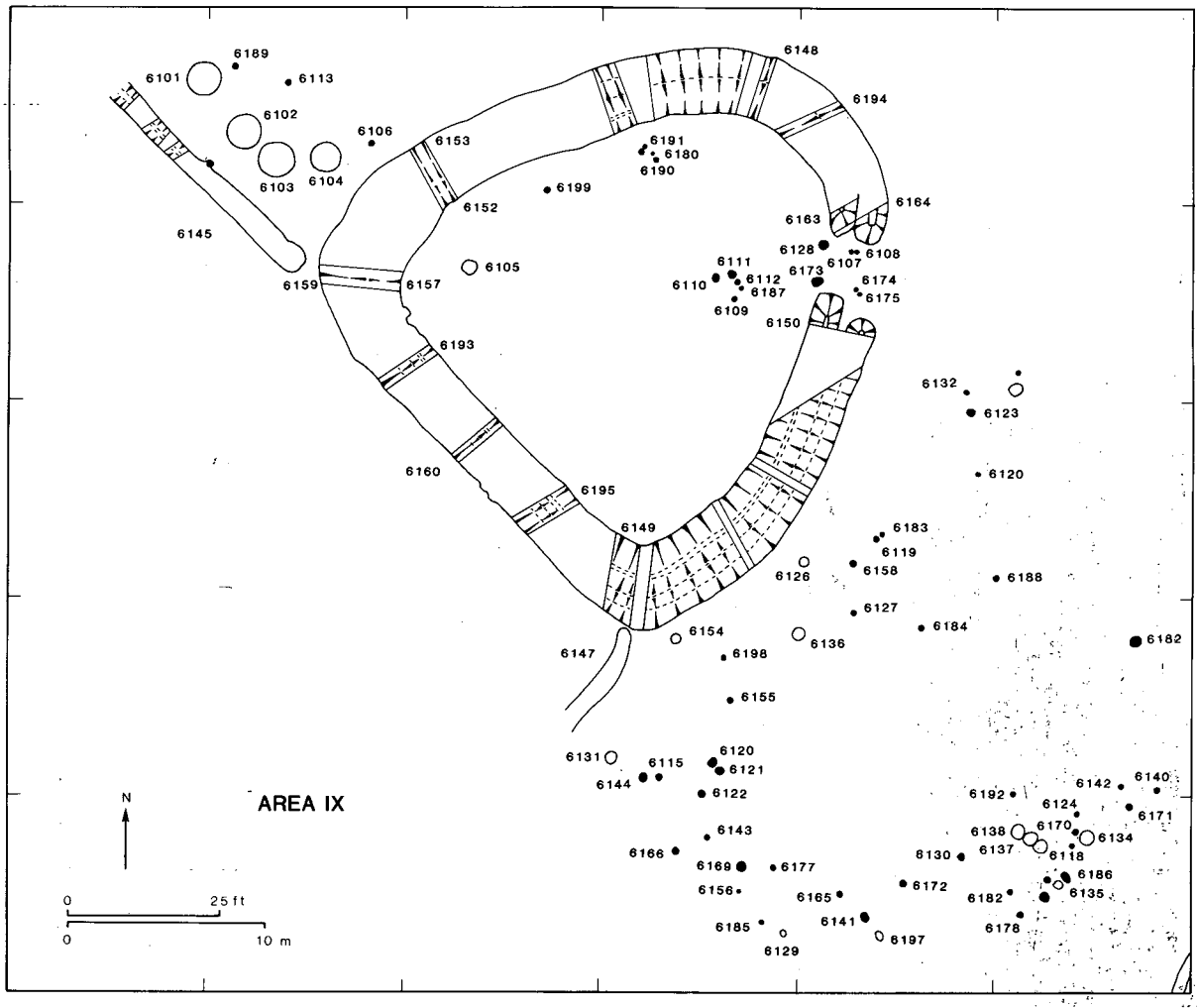

Figure 27. Area IX, Enclosure Two.

entrance, two antenna ditches and five associated pits. The ditch was W-section, the outer part being relatively shallow when compared with the inner. The chalk ridge between them did not vary much in position; the outer and inner ditches took parallel courses. So closely did they resemble each other in plan, that they can be regarded as representing two phases of the enclosure.

Near the entrance, the outer ditch was 865mm deep, 2m wide, and V-shaped with a rounded bottom. Its fill was of chalk wash and brown loam with chalk lumps which it shared with the top layer of the inner ditch (Fig. 28, 6163 & 6164). The latter (Fig. 29, 6150) was 3m wide from the chalk ridge and nearly 2m deep with a steep-sided V-section and a very narrow flat bottom. Its fill consisted of quantities of chalk wash and silt coming from the outside edge. This had accumulated rapidly, followed by dumping of soil and chalk rubble derived from the outer ditch which was probably covered by a bank during phase two. The antennae ditches (Fig. 28, 6145 and 6147) must have belonged to phase one with the outer ditch. They abutted on to the outer ditch until erosion removed the connection. The sections of all three were similar and contained pottery from Group 2, being 1.168m wide by 0.66m deep and 1.117m wide by 0.58m deep respectively. They must have formed part of another enclosure like that hinted at on the Milton Keynes 3 site (Knight 1984, 230). The external ditches are aligned on that of the main enclosure ditch, sharing axes in common with other linear features on the site. The area of the enclosure during the first phase must have been greater than in the second by the width of the inner ditch. The inner area of phase two was 20m across at its greatest width and was entered by means of a causewayed entrance whose postholes testify to the existence of a gate. Within, a few postholes failed to indicate any significant structure there. Such a building would have had a diameter of some 16m, a size well in the range of such structures in this region (Rodwell 1976). Only the postholes at the entrance could be applied to the phasing of the feature. PH6108 replaced 6107 as one of a corresponding pair on the other side, 6174 and 6175. The arrangement mirroring the pair placed just inside the inner ditch, 6128 and 6173; these last must have belonged to the inner ditch phase.

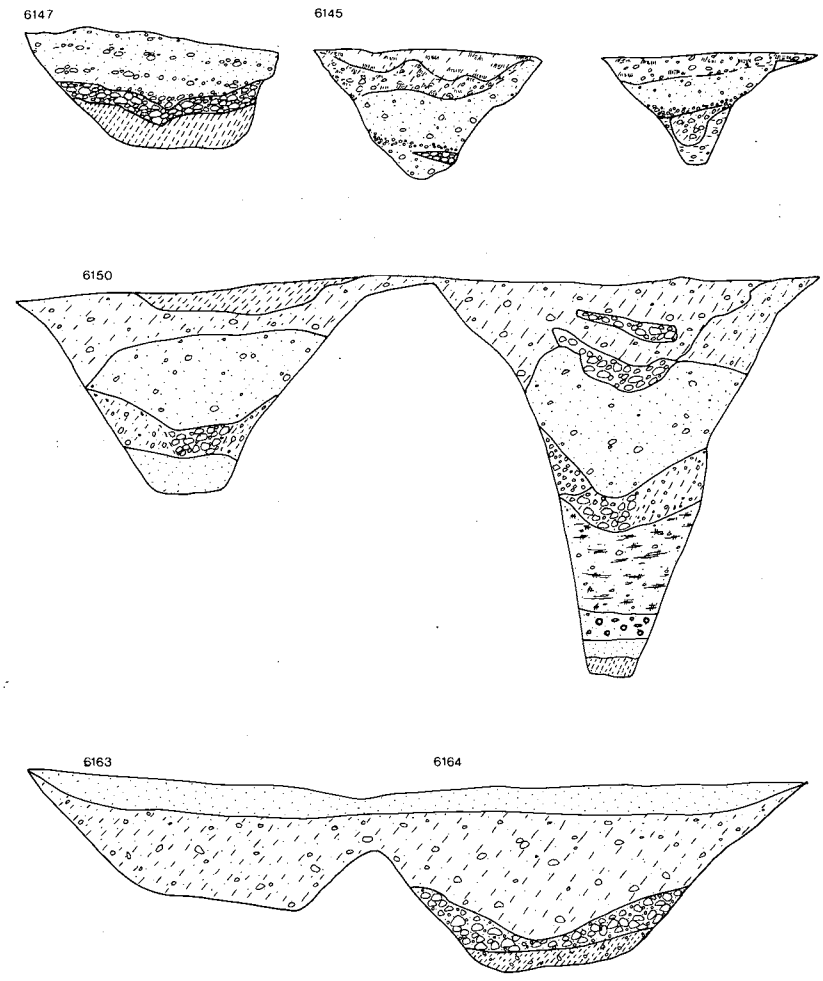

Figure 28. Area IX, Enclosure Two sections.

The pottery from the ditches came mainly from the inner ditch and dates from a period between the second and late first centuries BC. The two phases cannot be separated by use of the pottery, because some of it originated from the outer ditch and became part of the fill of the inner. There is evidence of disturbance in the ditch fill as seen in section 6159 where a small kink in the ditch occurs at 6157 (Fig. 29, page 71). That the ditch remained open for some of its life is shown by the finding of an iron cauldron collar and rim (see below, page 88) in 6149 of the inner ditch (Fig. 29). When found, it was on its side with one ring-handle hanging down, the other folded, resting on the wall of its iron collar. This indicated that its descent was into a ditch that was still open, with a fill sufficiently soft to receive the handle without deflecting it from the vertical. It remained in that position as the ditch gradually filled up.

The enclosure occupied a prominent position on the site. On the continent bronze cauldrons of the Letchworth type were used in cemeteries as containers for cremated human remains, for ritual, or status. A similar vessel was discovered in a La Tène III cremation burial at Baldock (Stead & Rigby 1986, 51–61). The inclusion of a Dressel 1A amphora there makes a date of the early first century BC likely. Many similar enclosures have been discovered in the South Midlands area, from the single version at Totternhoe, Beds (Matthews 1976, 153) to double forms at Twywell, Northants (Jackson 1975, 31–93) and Geddington, Northants (Jackson 1979, 10–16). The contents of the ditch and the interior indicate domestic activities. Pieces of lava and sandstone (?)querns came from the area inside, and numerous animal bones and the cauldron top, from the ditch. There were also in the ditch a number of potsherds which had been carefully sawn through in a way associated with vessels which some say contained salt. The latter could be used in an economy based on the large number of cattle (57.5%)

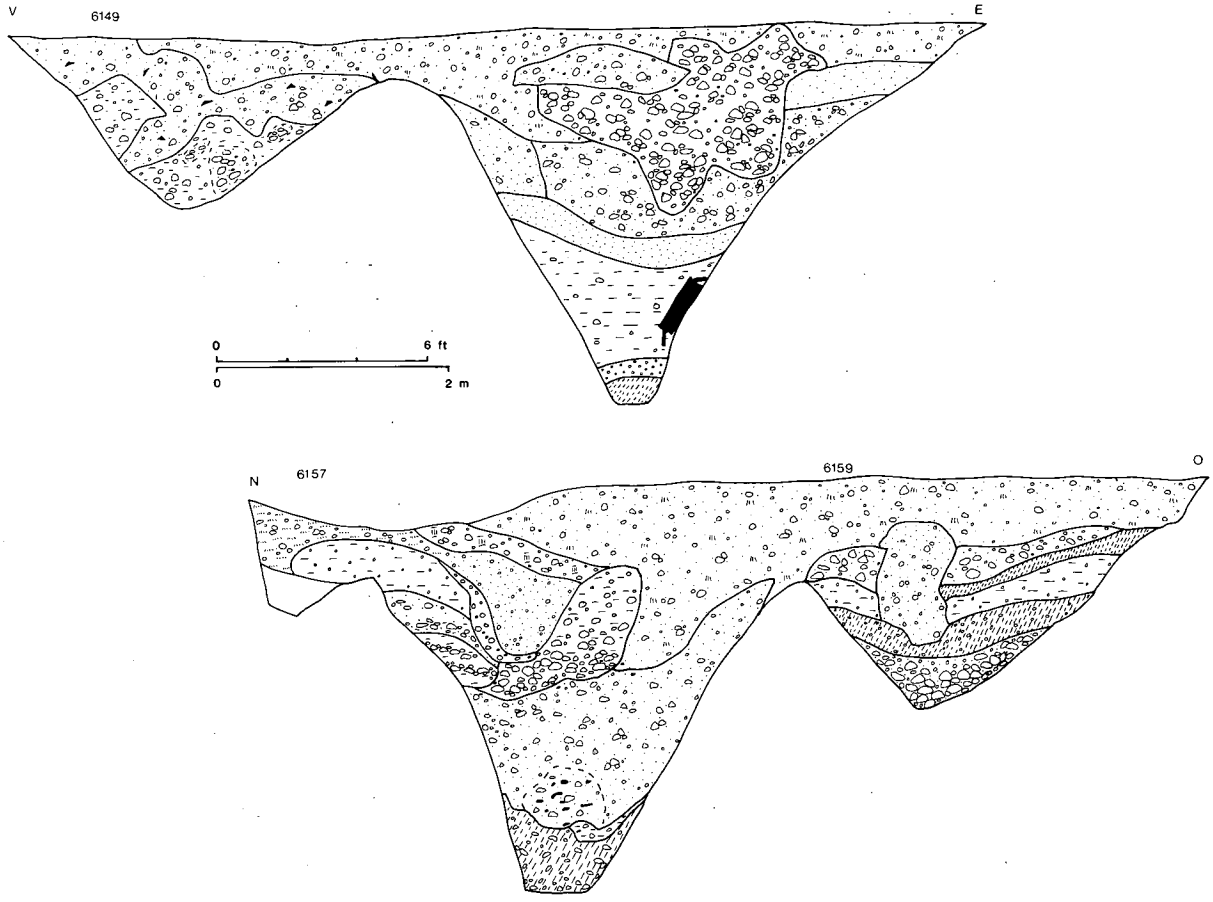

Figure 29. Area IX, Enclosure Two sections.

whose remains were found. Here may be seen the beginning of a tendency to maximise exploitation of the largest domestic animal in a 'store' economy as evidenced by the numerous pits nearby. Bone toggles were produced on site as evidenced by two (?)sheep tibia from the ditch (see page 94). Normally such a feature would be expected to include the evidence of a dwelling.

Enclosure Three, a sub-rectangular arrangement of U-section ditches (Fig. 20, page 59; 6293, 6295) with an entrance to the north and a gap in the southwest corner, lay south of Enclosure Two (Fig. 27). The interior measured 10.5m × 10.5m, the enclosing ditch had a maximum width of 600mm and an average depth of 390mm. At the entrance were two sump-like features which with the ditch served as drainage. The interior postholes and pit features were not enough for reconstruction. Near the centre was a possible hearth (6288) which stood in line with the entrance. Before it was a large pit feature (6254) with a diameter of 500mm that may have served as a posthole in the structure which the gully drained. Two other holes, (6220) and (6263) were of the same order and may have formed the forward part, or porch, of a house. The general form and dimensions of the structure were well within models of similar house buildings on many sites of the period.

The remains of circular structures at Danebury (Cunliffe 1984, 54–81) show how great a variety of these existed and demonstrates the need for caution in assigning functions to them. Pits 6292 (Fig. 8, page 47), 6243, 6237 of later date intruded into the gully on the east and south sides. These would seem to have belonged to the pit group to the south and west.

Enclosure Four was within an oval ditch on the eastern boundary of the site (Fig. 25, page 66). It had a V-section with rounded-off bottom, a maximum width of 1.219m and depth of 760mm (Fig. 8, 6650). It had a south-eastern entrance and overlaid part of the earlier ditch 6635 (Figs. 25, page 66, 6641). The interior was 11.25m wide by 17.35m long and within it were 25 postholes, which occupied over 75% of the space, and

one centrally in the entrance. The most southerly four postholes (6628, 6629, 6632, 6634) stood clear from the rest and formed a group 914mm by 609 mm.

Their alignment and position made it unlikely that they were part of a porch or similar structure in sub-site phase two, but could have belonged to the phase of Ditch 1 (6635) which had a width of 914mm and a depth of 304mm. Had it formed an ellipse it would have had a greatest interior length of 21.3m. At its northern end it flanked an entrance, the other side of which was lost. It overlaid the Late Neolithic pit 6612 (see page 00 above) and by pit 6616 which held no dating material. The enclosure alignment fitted the rest of the site. The entrance faced north, at right angles to that of the enclosure of phase two, but the same as Enclosure Three; perhaps they were contemporary. Middle Iron Age pottery occurred in the pits, sherds coming also from the phase 2 ditch, 6649. They had both fingernail and fingertip decoration with vertical scoring. Such features suggested a placing in the phase 2/3 period, contemporary with the cylindrical pits and part, at least, of the life of Enclosure Two.

Norton Road, Baldock (Figs. 11 and 30)

At sub-site GLVI a triangular arrangement of ditches lay to the southeast, two of which passed through the eastern part of the parallel ditches. The northern ditch, 6346, was straight, V-sectioned, flat-bottomed, 15.5m long, 1m wide, and 1.21m deep. The western ditch, 6347, was of the same section, slightly 'kinked' towards an 'S' in plan, 12.8m long, 1m wide, and 1.21m deep. 6345 was 14.94m long, 1.21m wide and 1.21 m deep. 6346 and 6347 formed two sides of an incomplete triangle but did not converge, remaining 2.13m apart. 6345 did not form the base but was set on a converging course with 6346, stopping when they were 6.7m apart; at the western end of 6345, the gap between it and 6347 was 1.5m. The interior was completely free of any features. 6346 and 6347 crossed the eastern parallel ditch in two places which they partly destroyed. The fill of the ditches was distinctive due to the existence of pockets and bands of fine gravel in it. In 6343 there was a dipping of a pocket as if it had formed the border of a posthole; it continued to a level below that of the previous ditch. The area was almost continuously wet or waterlogged and the source of the River Ivel rises a short distance away. Finds were restricted to the Middle Iron Age.

It is difficult to find a function for this arrangement of ditches whose fill could be the result of constantly

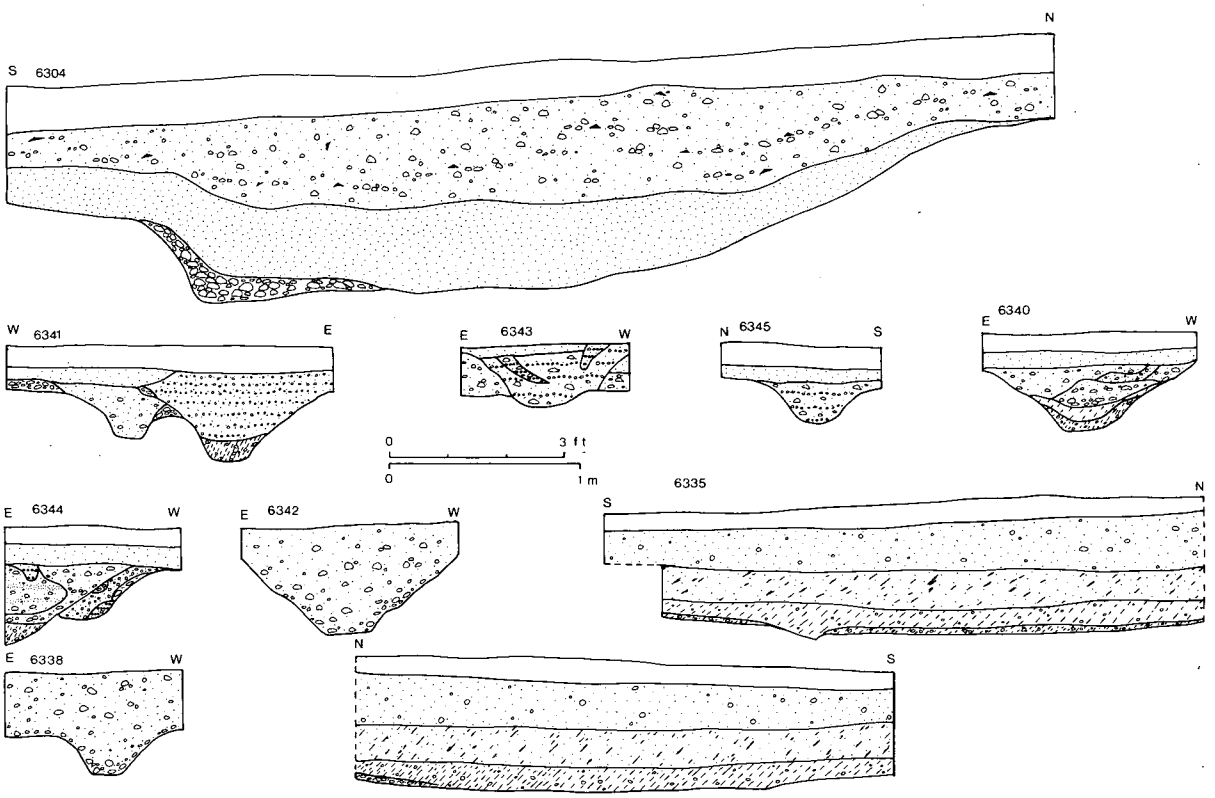

Figure 30. Norton Road, Baldock, sections.

changing levels of water depositing differentiated layers of silts. The position of chalk springs is known to change frequently over the years and perhaps the spring which once supplied Blackhorse Road was contained within these ditches. The parallel ditches may have marked a droveway rather than a ceremonial feature. There are ring-ditches on the ridge to the north but, no connection has been established.

The evidence of the land molluscs provides environmental information where there is nothing else. The indications of phases of woodland clearance, and late prehistoric arable are consistent with the dating material from the Late Neolithic for the former, and the pre-Roman Iron Age for the latter. The parallel ditches, thus, appear to antedate the Iron Age phase and it was from these that the Neolithic material came. The area in the vicinity of the spring was not used for cultivation and there the soil is completely free of hill-wash or ploughsoil. A glance at the map will show that the southern boundary of the site is only 1200m from the Walls Field, Baldock site which produced both Late Neolithic and Iron Age material.

The only Iron Age feature at *Wilbury* was the ditch to the south of the ring-ditch (see above, page 52).

LATE PRE-ROMAN AND ROMAN PERIOD

The few features and finds of this period were concentrated in the most easterly part of the Norton Road site. This included the Icknield Way sections and the second phase of the eastern ditch 7200. Only pits P0040 and 0040a contained Late Pre-Roman Iron Age/ Roman material exclusively. These consisted of a large hollow joined to a deep ash pit (Fig. 21, page 60), both being filled with burnt stones, ash, charcoal and late first/early second centuries AD pottery from the top layer. Some other features on the sub-site also produced similar pottery, especially in the working hollow upper layer. P0039 yielded a few Late Pre-Roman Iron Age sherds, P0166 some from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age to the mid first century AD. This was intrusive and the features may be attributed the earliest Iron Age.

The second phase of the ditch on the eastern boundary of the site most certainly belonged to the Roman period (Figs. 14, page 53; 15, page 54; 18, page 57; 25, page 66). At its southern end it turned east and continued towards Baldock, disappearing into the railway embankment. It also destroyed the earlier boundary ditch and eradicated the remainder of the prehistoric ploughmarks which occurred immediately to the west of it. The ditch, with a W-section and a solid chalk division between the two parts, 6512 (Fig. 17), was 3.35m wide by 1m deep. As it moved north, its two sections amalgamated between 6502 and 6515, forming a single V-sectioned feature which continued to the edge of the site. They were flat-bottomed with identical fills and sections which had well-cut, very sharp profiles. The angles of rest suggested that the material was initially natural silting and weathering, followed by a deliberate back-filling of the top layer. The section 6512 clearly represented the replacement of the smaller ditch, on the east, by a larger western one which was of the same profile, but without any destruction having taken place. The finds bore this out, with the denarius of Domitian occurring in the eastern section, those of Constantius II and Valens in the western. The 'Colchester' type brooch (Fig. 38: 43, page 89) was found on the chalk division between the sections.

Beyond the Blackhorse Road carriageway, and east of Flint Road (Fig. 25, page 66) was a more clearly marked 'takeover'. In each successive section of the re-emergent ditch, (Fig. 19, page 58; sections 7300, 7301, 7302) its eastern section gradually moved over and, by the time it reached 7300, destroyed the upper part of the western section. At this point, layers (1) and (2) of the west section had been removed and succeeded by (1a), and (3c) of the eastern section which included some sherds of early Iron Age pottery in (2a). After this the two ditches diverged and ran parallel to each other, the eastern retaining its Roman character, the western its prehistoric.

The pottery, though not produced by good stratigraphic provenance, was able to indicate the chronological sequence of the area. The pit, 6516 (Fig. 15, page 54; section 6512, 6516), showed Late Pre-Roman Iron Age in its lower levels giving way to destruction and replacement by the ditch, 6501. This contained, first of all pre-Flavian and early Flavian Samian with coarse wares of the late first/early second centuries AD, followed by material from the mid-second/early-third, and late-third/early-fourth centuries; included in the latter was 'Romano-Saxon' ware. The ditch section on the east side produced 15 Late Pre-Roman Iron Age sherds from layers 3/4 and 12 late first/early second century from layer 2, while that on the west contained mid-second/early-third/third-century sherds in layers 3/4 and 'Romano-Saxon' in layer 2. A similar series occurred in 6507 with Claudian Samian occurring with Late Pre-Roman Iron Age in layers 2 & 3 in the east section, and coarse wares from the late-first/early-second/mid-second centuries with Romano-Saxon in layer 3 in the western section. In 6508 where evidence of only one ditch existed, the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age pottery

cames from layer 3, while layer 2 contained sherds from the late first and early second centuries AD.

To the south, was a ditch (Fig. 15, 6537) which had had a wide U-shaped profile later re-cut to a V-section profile; the same profile as 6076. It was 7.315m wide by 1.981m deep; a bank of its upcast had collapsed into it. The first phase ditch produced potsherds of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age while the second contained Flavian Samian and coarse ware of the late first/early second and second centuries in the silt at the bottom. A further section (6547) produced similar results, although no Samian was present.

The extreme eastern distribution of Roman features and the turning east of the southern end of the ditch indicates that whatever was being delimited lay in that direction and not within the prehistoric area at all. The way in which the prehistoric pits had been split off with Enclosure Four by the ditch (Fig. 25, page 66) showed that these structures were not respected. A full-scale settlement on this site would hardly be expected at this time, in view of the proximity of the thriving town of Baldock. It probably had an agricultural function in which cattle and horses played a part. There is some suggestion of contact with literacy in the Samian sherd bearing the graffito (Fig. 35:3, page 85). The ditches on the line of the Icknield Way which have been traced as far as the motorway, are also late in date and appear to fall within the Roman period.

POST-ROMAN

A Pagan Saxon cemetery of inhumations was uncovered, mostly by the building contractors, during the period ending 1969. This was published in 1971 (Moss-Eccardt, 1971, 27–32). Since then a growing body of information concerning Iron Age burials has made it possible to place 6548 (formerly SkVIII) and 6546 (formerly SkIX) in the Iron Age on the grounds of mode of disposal, lack of grave, no grave goods, and position on the site. This makes a fresh presentation of the data necessary (Table 1). All were orientated ENE × WSW.

These formed a cemetery at the western end of the site. The method of disposal was entirely different from the two Iron Age interments.

A number of small finds from the medieval and post-medieval period were made, mostly in the area which produced Roman material. They were not stratified and have the character of intrusive stray finds.

THE FINDS: POTTERY

Neolithic and Bronze Age
by I.H. Longworth

In 1960 a total of 92 Neolithic sherds was recovered, of which 56 came from P6072, 34 from P6070, and 2 from P6063. The majority of these were from vessels of the Ebbsfleet style of Peterborough Ware, but at least two from P6072 and fragments from PH6080 were Grooved Ware. While the Ebbsfleet sherds were found throughout the filling of P6072, in P6070 and P6063 they were confined to the upper two levels. In 6070 and 6072, level 2 contained isolated small sherds of Early Iron Age fabric. Below this level no extraneous later material was evident.

The illustrated material is as follows, the remainder is described in the archive. Unless stated otherwise, sherds come from *Blackhorse Road.*

Fig. 31
Ebbsfleet

1 One decorated rim and 30 undecorated body sherds probably from the same same vessel, of soft laminated, flakey paste tempered profusely with shell and a little chalk, reddish brown externally, generally darker internally with black core. Both surfaces have been smoothed. Decoration: a single row of diagonal whipped cord maggots running over the rim and external rim bevel. Diam. of mouth: *c.* 13.0 ins. P6070 levels 1 & 2.

2–5 Twenty-one sherds from the upper part of a single vessel of hard, compact paste, tempered with some shell and chalk, patchy reddish brown externally, darker internally, with a dark brown core. Both faces have been smoothed. Decoration: on the external rim bevel, a row of diagonal whipped cord maggots. On the internal surface, short lengths of whipped cord applied rather haphazardly both vertically and diagonally to a depth of something over 1.5 ins. One rim sherd shows a double row of fingernail impressions just

Table 1. Saxon cemetery, Norton Road, Baldock.

skeleton		*grave*	*facing*	*sex*	*age(yrs)*	*finds*
0001	I	X	W	M	middle	iron pin
0012	II	X	W	?	12	iron knife
0019	III	X	W	M	*c.*50	
0021	IV	X	W	?	5–6	
6061	V	X	W	F	45–50	IA/PS pot
6062	VI	X	W	M	20–25	iron spearhead
6071	VII	X		M	30–35	iron knife

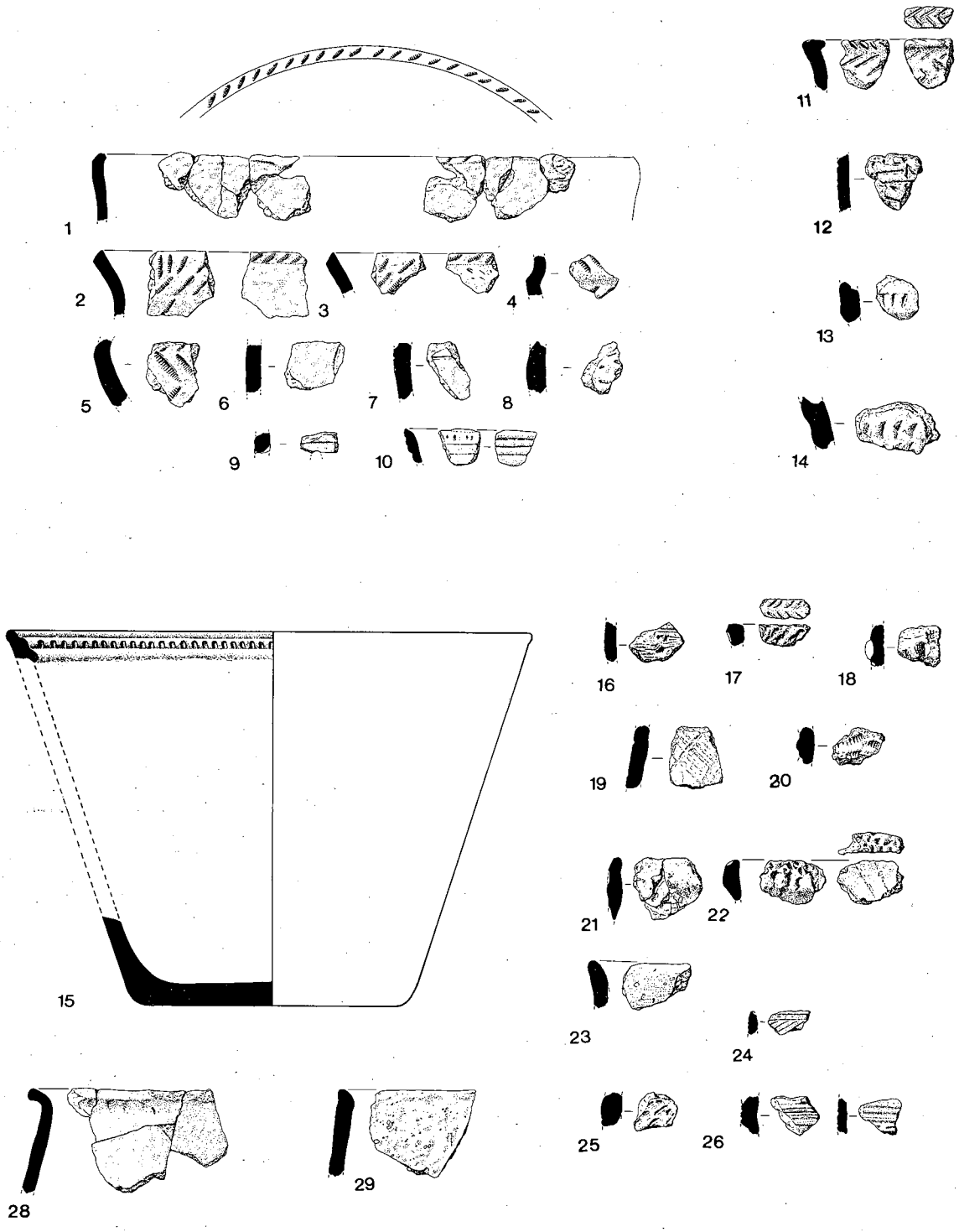

Figure 31. Neolithic pottery.

below the rim. On the remaining sherds the upper part of the neck is plain but a whipped cord herring-bone design appears to begin just above and continues over the shoulder on to the body of the vessel. P6072 levels 3, 4, & 5.

6–8 Thirty body sherds of paste similar to 4, though the external surface is consistently light brown, while the internal surface varies from dark to greyish brown. The core is always dark. Many of these are likely to be body sherds from the bowl just described, and one fragment carries the remains of whipped cord decoration. Three other sherds are decorated; two with incised lines, the third with a series of imprecise impressions made with a blunt instrument (Fig. 31,7). All three sherds are small and it is impossible to be certain as to the type of scheme to which they might belong or whether they come from a vessel or vessels distinct from bowl 4. P6072 levels 2, 3, & 4.

Grooved Ware

9 Small sherd of hard, sandy paste, brown in colour carrying a shallow groove and remains of perforations through the wall of the pot. P6072 level 4.

10 Small rim sherd of hard, sandy texture and yellow throughout. Decoration: four grooves on the external surface (the sherd having broken at the fourth). On the internal surface, three incised horizontal lines, the space between the upper two carrying short vertical impressions. P6072 level 3.

Ebbsfleet

11 Rim sherd of fairly compact paste tempered with a quantity of shell grit, brown throughout. Decoration: on top of rim, externally and internally, incised herring-bone. 7253 Area E.

Grooved Ware

12 Wall sherd of compact, soft paste, tempered with a little grit, brown externally, dark grey internally. Decoration: grooved lines, possibly part of filled triangle pattern. Tr15 6335 layer 3 Norton Road Baldock.

13 Wall sherd of compact paste, light brown externally, brown internally with dark grey core. Weathered. Decoration: a row of wedge-shaped impressions. 6151 D2 C–D, E–F.

Rusticated Beaker

14 Wall sherd of compact paste tempered with a large quantity of crushed calcined flint, brown externally, grey internally. Decoration: rows of deep, diagonally placed fingernail impressions. Tr12 6332 layer 2 Norton Road Baldock.

Grooved Ware

15 20 sherds from the base, wall and rim of a Grooved Ware vessel of coarse, flakey, paste tempered with a large quantity of chalk and ? crushed freshwater mussel shell, light reddish brown externally, dark grey internally. The surface is heavily weathered. The only surviving decoration is on the internal bevel of the rim, comprising short vertical impressions set between two circumferential grooves. P6601.

16 Wall sherd of soft compact paste, grey throughout, weathered. Decoration: remains of incised lines. On chalk surface A 00.

17 Rim sherd of rather soft paste tempered with shell grit, brown externally, grey internally. Decoration: on top of the rim, fingernail herringbone. Externally remains of diagonal twisted cord line. 7253 Area E.

Bucket Urn

18 Wall sherd of fairly compact paste tempered with a little grit, reddish brown externally, grey internally. Decoration: remains of finger-tipped cordon. 7254 Area E.

19 Wall sherd of soft flakey paste tempered with shell, brown externally, grey internally. Decoration: grooved ladder pattern. 6164 GLIV D2Z level 2.

Peterborough Ware

20 Wall sherd of coarse paste, tempered with crushed flint, reddish brown externally, grey internally. Decoration: opposed whipped cord lines.Tr12 6332 layer 2 Norton Road Baldock.

21 Plain rim sherd of soft flakey paste tempered with a large quantity of shell, brown externally, grey internally with dark grey core. 6133 PXVII.

Mortlake

22 Rim sherd of flakey paste tempered with flint grit, light brown throughout. Decoration: on the rim, rows of impressions, some perhaps made with a corner of a broken flint flake. 7251 Area E.

23 Undecorated rim sherd of hard paste tempered with coarse flint grits, patchy brown to grey both faces. F17 (137). Wilbury.

Grooved Ware

24 Small fragment of rim of compact paste, grey throughout. Decoration: two horizontal, above diagonal, incised lines. F1 14 (135). Wilbury.

Rusticated Beaker

25 Wall sherd of compact paste tempered with crushed calcined flint, reddish brown externally, brown internally with dark grey core. Decoration: impressions ? made with a spatula. 6157 D2 N level 2.

26 Two wall sherds of rather flakey paste, grey throughout. Decoration: grooved lines. F3 19. Wilbury.

27 Not described.

28 Four joining sherds from rim of undecorated Neolithic bowl of hard compact paste tempered with fine flint grit, patchy brown to black both faces. F14 (4), (46), (47), (61). Wilbury.

29 Undecorated rim sherd of hard, compact

paste tempered with fine coarse flint grits, brown externally, patchy brown to grey internally. F14 (42). Wilbury

Fig. 32

1 19 sherds from a Rusticated Beaker of coarse paste, tempered with grit including both grog and flint, reddish brown both faces, darker internally with dark grey core. Surface smoothed. Decoration: finger-nail impressions set vertically in roughly horizontal rows, giving place at one stage to vertical lines of continuous fingernail impressions. 6601.

2 16 sherds from the lower two-thirds of an S4 Beaker, of fairly hard, slighly sandy, paste tempered with grog, light brown on boh faces with dark grey core. Decoration: on the neck, a zone comprising two rows of incised lozenges filled with incised lattice above a row of discontinuous incised horizontal strokes. On the body, a zone comprising incised lozenges again filled with incised lattice with at least part of the background filled with jabbed impressions. The basal zone consists of a further band of discontinuous horizontal strokes. 6601.

Peterborough Ware

3 26 fragments from the collar and neck of a Fengate Ware vessel, of a hard, compact and rather sandy fabric tempered with a little grit including chalk, reddish brown externally to dark grey internally. Much of the external surface has been eroded. Decoration: on the collar, a complex scheme including hurdle pattern, herring-bone and partially filled triangles combining both twisted cord and incised techniques. At the base of the neck, two rows of incised herring-bone. 6601.

4 Six sherds from a Rusticated Beaker of hard compact paste tempered with small grit, reddish brown externally, grey internally. Surface smoothed. Decoration: above and below the shoulder consists of light, widely spaced, vertical finger pinching. 6601.

5 Large fragment of rim and neck from a Rusticated Beaker of coarse flakey paste tempered with a considerable quantity of coarse grog, light brown to grey externally to grey internally. Decoration: vertical rows of light finger pinching. 6601.

6 33 sherds from a large Rusticated Beaker of coarse paste tempered with grog, chalk and a little flint. Decoration: horizontal grooves and ridges, the majority of the grooves being enhanced by diagonal fingernail impressions. The pattern is broken at the greatest diameter by a wider plain zone and a series pinched-up lugs. 6601.

7 17 sherds from a Rusticated Beaker of somewhat flakey paste tempered with a little sand and some grog, light reddish brown to grey externally, light brown internally with grey core. Surface in parts eroded. Decoration: vertical impressions made by a blunt instrument. 6601.

8 Small fragments, including rim, of a small Grooved Ware vessel, of compact, sandy paste, reddish brown both faces. Surface rather weethered, incised lines beneath the rim above a series of jabs. On the internal surface of the rim a row of short vertical incised lines. PH6080.

9 Not described.

10 Three small fragments of a Peterborough bowl, of fairly hard coarse paste tempered with large fragments of burnt flint, reddish brown externally, dark grey internally. Surface smoothed. Decoration: diagonal twisted lines. P6601.

11 Small fragment of base angle of a fairly coarse paste tempered with grit. Reddish brown externally to brown internally. Undecorated. 6601.

12 Small fragment of base angle of fairly coarse paste tempered with some grog. Reddish brown externally, grey brown internally with dark grey core. Surface smoothed. Undecorated. 6601.

13 Two fragments, including rim, of a Rusticated Beaker of compact sandy paste, reddish brown both faces. Surface smoothed. Decoration: vertical fingernail impressions set in horizontal rows. 6601.

Uncertain

14 Small fragment of undecorated rim of compact sandy paste. Light reddish brown both faces with dark grey core. Surface smoothed. 6601.

15 Small shoulder fragment of compact, very sandy paste with some grit. Red externally, brown internally. Decoration: above the shoulder remains of diagonal lines. Weathered. 6601.

16 Small fragment of undecorated rim of hard, slightly porous, paste. Brown externally, grey internally. Surface smoothed. 6601.

From Wilbury: not illustrated

Bucket Urn

17 134 undecorated sherds of bucket urn including 9 base angle of soft paste tempered with grit including flint; surfaces light brown to brown with dark grey core. 14 (72) – (74), (76) – (117), (119) – (134).

The sherds below are all flint-tempered which places them in the Late Bronze Age pottery tradition rather than the Early Iron Age, i.e. before 8th century BC.

Late Bronze Age pottery

18 Rim and body sherd from the same rather shapeless jar, with narrow, out-turned rim decorated with sloping slashes. Well shaped and well finished inside and out. Similar to Runnymede Bridge 1976 (Surrey Arch. Research Vol. no. 6 (1980); Fig. 44, type 14C. 14 (28).

19 Two rims and body sherds from the same rimless jar. Insufficient to determine whether it is a Deverel Rimbury bucket urn or a rather later rimless, non-spill jar. 14 (51) + (56).

20 Small upright rim of thin cup-like bowl in red/brown handmade ware. 14 (51).

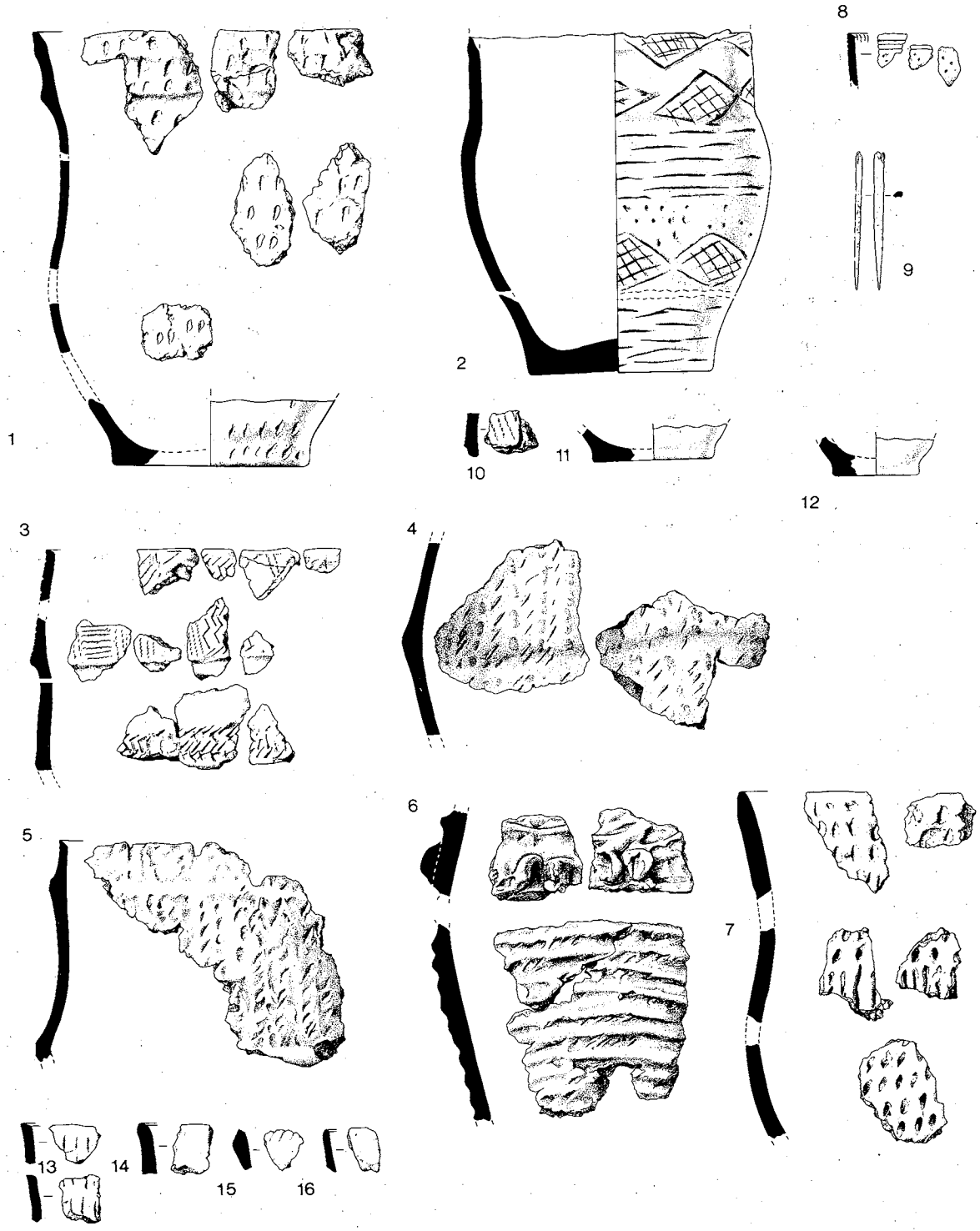

Figure 32. Neolithic pottery.

Iron Age
by Mark Birley

The excavations on the Blackhorse Road site produced some 2250 sherds of certain or probable Iron Age pottery. The majority came from pits so that it is impossible to group material by stratigraphic phase. The catalogue and illustrations are, therefore, arranged by sub-site and by individual feature within the sub-site. The only exception is that Areas I/II/III/IV/V have been conflated because so few features produced Iron Age pottery, and, in any case, the pottery from these sub-sites can be distinguished from that found in the remainder; Areas I/II/III/IV/V producing Early Iron pottery, the other Middle Iron Age pottery. Initially, some quantitative analysis of the main tempering ingredients was attempted but abandoned because very few contexts produced sufficient material. However, it was demonstrated that the main tempering used in the Early Iron Age was flint and quartz (almost 50%), while in the Middle Iron Age vegetable tempering predominates, (*c.* 60%). It will be seen from the catalogue, however, that tempering materials were frequently combined. This is particularly true of fabric B which contains both quartz and flint. It proved difficult to distinguish between the two, particularly if finely crushed, because they invariably occurred together.

Group 1: Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age
All the pottery from this group was recovered from Areas I/II/III/IV/V although very little came from the palisaded enclosure. In fact most came from pits north of this enclosure and it is this material which provides the most useful groups for discussion and against which we can assess the remainder. Virtually all the Group 1 pottery can be accommodated within the West Harling –Staple Howe style zone defined by Cunliffe (1968, 36–7). The West Harling site itself proves a ready source for comparanda. The fingertip decoration on the shoulder of our (1) is represented at West Harling (Clarke & Fell 1953, nos. 10, 11, 22, 80 and Apling 1933, Fig. 7, 114) which also share an angular shoulder. Our (15), a fine bipartite bowl, is paralleled at the same site (Clarke & Fell 1953, Fig. 97). A particular feature of the carinated bowls from Blackhorse Road is the external beading on the rims, viz. (16), a feature shared with West Harling (Clarke & Fell 1953, Fig. 67, 91). There are, however, distinctive differences. West Harling produced a range of vessels profusely decorated with finger printing which are absent from Blackhorse Road. Here the finger nail decoration around the inside of the rim (3, 10, 19, 20, 25) cannot be paralleled at the former site, but finds comparison with similar pottery from the Lower Thames Valley (Barrett 1980, Fig. 5, 4, 1; Barrett 1978, Fig. 39, 15; Fig. 40, 25; Longley 1980, Fig. 21, 51; Fig. 35, 359, 360).

Cunliffe's West Harling–Staple Howe group has a very wide distribution, from Yorkshire, East Anglia, the Lower Thames Valley, and even Minnis Bay, Kent (Cunliffe 1978, Fig. 3:2). This wide geographical distribution raises questions concerning the validity of this stylistic grouping as a whole, quite apart from problems of chronology. On the one hand, while the range of forms can be accommodated within the style, none in itself is confined to discrete geographical areas, unlike later styles, such as the Chinnor–Wandlebury group, with its distinctive fine bowls and characteristic decoration (Cunliffe 1978, 41). If any geographical integrity of this style-zone is to be maintained, then there must be some subdivision into allied traditions or facies, occupying their own discrete distributions. Thus we may tentatively suggest a West Harling style characterised by the profuse finger-printing of the type-site in East Anglia. The Yorkshire sites of Cunliffe's group seem to lack this characteristic and so, although related, have some stylistic independence. A third group might be that from the Thames Valley which has as a feature of impressions inside the rim and may be be related to the Blackhorse Road material. These groupings are very tentative and are offered as a testable hypothesis rather than a new orthodoxy.

Chronology, the subject of much debate recently has effectively demonstrated that our traditional Early Iron Age styles developed, and are indeed, present well within the Later Bronze Age (Barrett 1980 with Refs). This has undermined the validity of the geographical style zones by extending their chronological range and opening up the possibility that a style which once occupied a discrete point in time and space, a single century for example, may in fact be an amalgam of developments over a period of 500 years. Blackhorse Road illustrates this point. The Group 1 pottery can be subdivided into spatially discrete sub-groups. The first group 1A comprises the material from features in the area of Pits 0058, 0037, 0041; Group 1b comprises the cluster of Pits 0047, 0043, 0049, north of the Group 1a features, and can be further distinguished stylistically by the tripartite angular forms of the ceramic assemblage (e.g. (1), (16), (14)). As we have seen, both sub-groups can be easily accommodated within a single style zone (above), but within the context of an individual site, the stylistic differences are most striking. It seems that two phases of occupation are represented (see below) but the decoration inside the rim of (3) from P0047 and its affinity with similar examples from P0058, 0020, 0060, suggests a development within a single broader tradition.

Since our Group 1 is related to a tradition in the Thames Valley, it is appropriate to assess its dating within Barrett's sequence for the Thames region (Barrett 1980). Here, fingertip decoration, particularly on the shoulder, becomes most frequent from the eighth century (Barrett 1980; Bradley *et al.* 1980), providing us with a useful *terminus post quem* for Group 1. The other features also seem important. Firstly, the finger decoration around the rim seems to be an earlier feature within a sequence from the eighth to the fourth centuries BC (Barrett 1978, 277). At Orsett, only two vessels (15, 25) have this feature. These were associated with a radiocarbon date of 564±81 b.c. (BM-1979) and were part of a stratigraphically earlier group (Barrett 1978, 277). At Blackhorse Road, Pits 0058 and 0049 produced the assemblages most similar in quantity, 98 sherds and 71 sherds respectively. If the decrease from three internally decorated rims in P0058 to one in P0049 is significant, then the latter should be the later. Secondly, frequent beading of the rim seems to be a slightly later feature within the earlier part of the eighth to fourth century sequence. Longley notes that, although it is present in eighth-century contexts at Runnymede

Bridge, it occurs more frequently at a slightly later site near by, Petters Sports Field (Longley 1980, 73). This is a prominent feature of the Group 1a assemblage from Pit 0058. Taken together, this evidence suggests that the occupation with which our Group 1 pottery is associated occurred during the seventh and sixth centuries b.c., perhaps extending even a little later. Although the angularity of Group 1b seems to reflect a chronological difference, I have avoided stressing it overmuch. On the one hand the debate over the 'Angular Horizon' (Harding 1974) has focussed on much later material, on the other, Barrett has shown that such forms are present well within the Late Bronze Age (1978). Group 1b from Blackhorse Road certainly supports this latter view. The most relevant material to this argument, however, consists of fine decorated pottery, such as Cunliffe's Chinnor–Wandlebury group (Cunliffe 1978, 41). Such a description is difficult to apply to our Group 1b since it notably lacks well-finished surfaces. As it has not been possible to identify a comparable sequence elsewhere, it seems possible that the significance of our angular group is entirely local. The foregoing discussion has undoubtedly raised more questions than it is possible to answer. While we can see two possible phases represented, and suggest that Group 1b succeeds Group 1a, we can also observe that the characteristics of each are but facies of a long-lived tradition. That tradition may, in turn, have defineable regional and local variants, each of which is capable of its own, perhaps independent, development throughout a long currency. Obviously it requires a much larger site and assemblage to define these in a particular area through time.

The amount of pottery from the palisaded enclosure is very small; only two sherds carry incised decoration, which could belong anywhere within the general period discussed above. If either of the two groups of pits were contemporary and reflected the disposal of refuse from the enclosure, we might expect the incised decoration to be present in one other group. It does not seem likely that either group could be contemporary with it if they represent actual occupation sites, since either one may have been too close for comfort. The problem cannot be clarified by the enclosure's meagre pottery assemblage, and is compounded by its presumably lengthly occupation suggested by the modifications and rebuilding of the palisade.

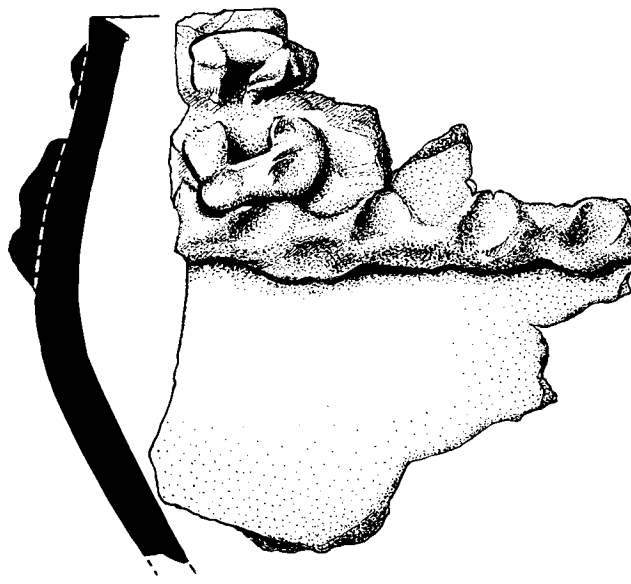

Figure 33. LBA/EIA sherd, Norton Road.

Group 2 – Middle Iron Age

This group came from the Areas IX, X, XI, XII, XIII. Unlike Group 1, little spatial grouping of distinctive styles of pottery was readily apparent. As a result it is necessary to look for quite detailed differences in groups of features. The grouping of features by pottery alone is suspect at the best of times, particularly when only a very limited number of contexts produce assemblages with useful traits, and the size of individual assemblages varies considerably. Moreover, the results of such analysis cannot be independently checked by stratigraphy, or other means. Although this weakens our analysis, it should not be considered an insurmountable problem as even very tentative conclusions may acquire greater credibility when compared with other sites, or in the light of future research.

The range of forms is restricted; bowls, vessels whose height is less than their maximum diameter, appear to dominate this group to the exclusion of any other. These have weak, often low, shoulders and short necks and rims, which suggest a weak globular profile (43), (162). Any variation seems a matter of degree as might be expected with handmade pottery. Unfortunately the dearth of complete profiles makes further discussion of this topic inadvisable. At first glance, the range of decoration, while showing a little more variation, is also restricted. This is more striking when ones notices that extreme variations, such as the curvilinear tooled decoration of (52)–(54), are isolated examples, exceptions rather than rules. The only recurrent types of decoration are fingertip or nail decoration on the rim, and scoring on the body. Even so, decoration is comparatively rare, only 42 sherds of the 143 illustrated from the 1000 sherds of certain Middle Iron Age context i.e. those providing illustrated sherds. On closer examination, however, there are subtle differences in the rim and body decoration. Fingertip impressions on top of the rim are almost exclusive to the Enclosure Two ditch, (76), only one sherd of this kind being found elsewhere. Fingernail impressions on top of the rim, e.g. (99), are entirely absent from Enclosure Two and in three instances are associated with scored pottery. In two instances, rims decorated like this occurred with a rim whose top had been slashed with a sharp point, (115), and a carefully cabled rim, (162). The third type of rim decoration is fingernail, in one case fingertip (155), impressions around the outside of the rim, e.g. (99), (134). This is never associated with any other form of decoration.

The scored decoration on the body also shows some variation and three types may be described. Firstly, it can be executed very precisely, often quite deep and vertical, e.g. (162). The second type is lighter but of consistent depth, appox. 1mm, yet quite random, e.g. (96). The third is very light and uneven, and is, perhaps, better described as brushed rather than scored, (50). The lightly combed sherd, (70), can be attributed to this group. The first type of scoring is absent from the Enclosure Two but the third is unique

to it. While this chain of associations is encouraging, it should be borne in mind that only seven features over the whole site produced scored pottery, and only 14 produced pottery with any of the above characteristics. Nevertheless, the contact between Enclosure Two and the rest of the site does seem to be significant. The enclosure produced an iron cauldron rim low down in the ditch which can be dated to the first century BC (Moss-Eccardt 1965, 173–7; cf. p. 00 below). The pottery is, for the most part, stratified above but there are no real distinctions to be made between the layers. In the absence of Late Iron Age wheel-made pottery, it seems that the material from the enclosure is the latest from the Iron Age. Thus the fingernail decoration on top and outside the rim, which is absent from the enclosure, must be earlier. In addition to the dating evidence for Enclosure Two, there is also a single piece of stratigraphy which might assist in elucidating the relationship between externally decorated rims and those with decoration on top. The gully in Enclosure Three is cut by P6243. While neither produced substantial quantities of pottery, the gully at the entrance contained an externally decorated rim, (134), while P6243 produced two rims with fingernail decoration on top, (131).

The analysis would suggest, but not conclusively, that there may be as many as three chronological groups of pottery. The earliest may be an essentially plain group whose sole decorative feature is fingernail decoration outside the rim. In the second, this is replaced by similar impressions on the upper surface of the rim but there is also the isolated occurrence of cabling and slashing of the rim, with the introduction of evenly executed scoring. In the third and latest group, fingertip impressions replace the fingernail decoration on the upper rim surface accompanied by lighter and less even scoring. This decorative form occurs only in the ditch of Enclosure Two where it is placed in the first century BC by its association with the cauldron rim. It is not possible to suggest similarly close dating for the majority of the other Middle Iron Age features by using this method because no more than fourteeen features produced relevant decorated pottery.

The predominance of bowl forms links the Blackhorse Road Middle Iron Age pottery to Cunliffe's bowl continuum of the Midlands (1978, 50–51) but the material in general is difficult to date with any precision. The one element of the Blackhorse Road material which can be parallelled quite widely in Eastern England is the scoring. It is most common and forms a much more substantial part of assemblages in the Lower Nene, Ouse and Trent valleys (Kenyon 1950; 1952; Pryor 1984). The excavator argues a *terminus post quem* of 350 + 46 b.c. (GaK-4198) for such pottery at Fengate and suggests it has its origins in the fifth century BC (Pryor 1984, 154). This seems far too early for the Blackhorse Road examples and, possibly, the Eastern Chilterns as a whole. At a number of sites in our area scored handmade pottery occurred in association with wheeelmade pottery, notably at Wilbury Hill (Applebaum 1950), Puddlehill Group 6 (Matthews 1976, Fig. 84, 127) and, further west, at Cholesbury (Kimble 1933). It was the latter site which prompted Hawkes to suggest that the pottery associated with the Egginton inhumation might just be as late as the first century BC (Gurney & Hawkes 1940). Even in the 'core area' this type of pottery persists until the Roman Conquest (Pryor 1984) but on the fringe of its distribution, even in Northamptonshire, it seems to diminish in qauntity (Jackson 1979, 15) and is possibly not associated with the earliest groups nearer the Wash. If this were to be the case, then the pottery of Matthews' Group 5 at Puddlehill may antedate his earlier Group 4, especially as there is no stratigraphic evidence for the Puddlehill succession of pottery groups (Matthews 1976): scored pottery is absent in Group 5 and present in the Group 4.

The evidence is still rather tenuous and there are no sites which indisputably support the suggestions outlined above. Perhaps clearer patterns would emerge if more sites were subject to analysis similar to that used here. This cannot be attempted from published sources unless all the diagnostic sherds have been illustrated. Some of the traits described here may be very localised. To take an example concerning the sequence of rim decoration, at Barley, a site only 15 miles distant, the two pits fully illustrated, Pits 5 and 36, produced both fingernail and fingertip decorated rims in association (Cra'ster 1961, Figs. 7 & 8). In a western direction, at Puddlehill, fingertip-decorated rims are almost entirely absent from any of the illustrated Middle and Late Iron Age pottery groups (Matthews 1976).

In conclusion, it is only possible to say that despite some evidence for development within Blackhorse Road Group 2, it is difficult to compare it with other sites unless they have been subjected to the same type of rigorous analysis which does not have to be of the same traits used here. The only real point of comparison is that of scoring but any chronological significance read into the practice depends on a currently hypothetical model which places it on the fringe of a 'core area' around the Wash at a much later date, and in small quantities. On this basis, the practice may not have reached the Eastern Chilterns until the second century BC. That it is virtually absent in the Western Chilterns may support this model (Saunders 1972), but it might equally reflect no more than the direction of contact between regions. With our Group 1 pottery there appears to be such contact in the direction of the Thames Valley, rather than following the Icknield Way. At least by the first century BC, the direction of contact is northwards. The restrained exploitation of the Icknield Way in this context is intriguing since, despite claims both for its antiquity and as a focus for settlement (Fox 1923; Saunders 1972), it clearly cannot have conditioned the nature of settlement or culture in the way that is often assumed (ibid).

The Catalogue of Iron Age Pottery is kept in the archive. Selected diagnostic sherds referred to in the text above are illustrated (Fig. 34).

Area I/II/III/IV/V

Pit 0047

1 Diameter at shoulder 38cm. Sharp-shouldered, tripartite jar with fairly thick wall. Exterior red, smooth; interior red, rough and gritty. Fingertip decoration just above shoulder.

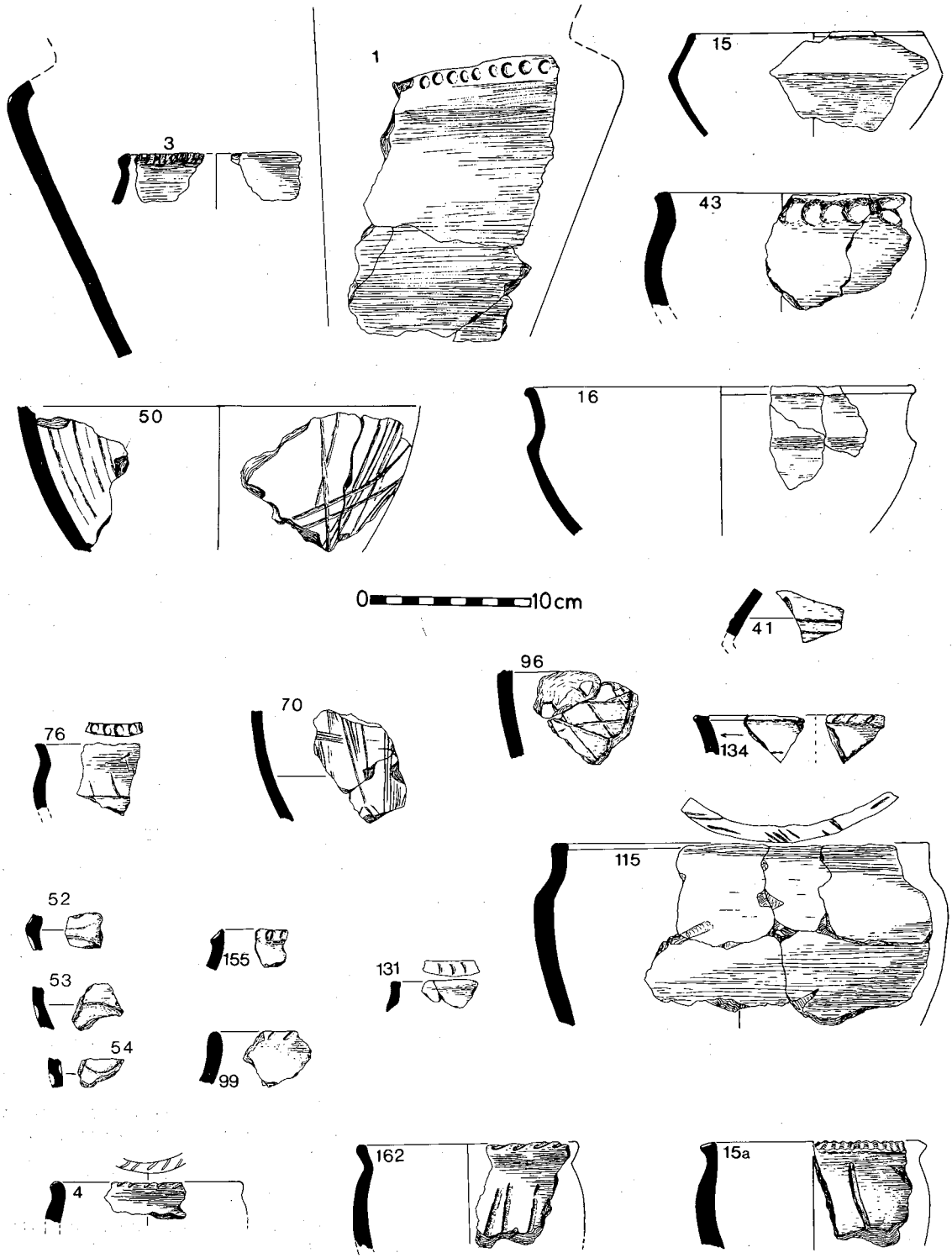

Figure 34. Iron Age pottery.

3 Diameter uncertain; upper part of thin-walled vessel similar to 2, but with pronounced internal lip, decorated with deep fingernail impressions. Surfaces orange, smooth.

Pit 0058

15 Diameter of rim 14cm; smooth, thin-walled bipartite bowl with shallow collar beneath rim. Outside black, burnished; inside reddish-buff, smoothed.

16 Diameter 24cm; smooth, thin-walled bowl with low sharp shoulder and outward curved neck and externally beaded rim. Outside black to brown, smooth; inside reddish-brown, less smooth.

Trench 6082

41 Decorated sherd; two even grooves at lower edge. Form uncertain.

Area IX Enclosure Two

6148 Ditch section I–J (3)

43 Diameter 16cm; medium-sized bowl with flat rim and weak rounded shoulder. Thumb print impressions around the neck, surfaces smooth, slightly sandy. Red to brown.

50 Large decorated lower body sherd from large bowl. Exterior orange, vertical scoring radiating from base, and some diagonal scoring. Interior black to grey-buff with drag lines of fingers to smooth surface. Overlapping coil construction.

52–4 Decorated sherds from the same vessel. Deep fingertip curved scoring. Surfaces: exterior dark brown, interior black, sandy.

70 Decorated body sherd; fine vertical and horizontal scoring with comb. Exterior soapy, dark pink/buff. Interior black.

76 Diameter uncertain; flat rim with fingertip impressions of low round-shouldered bowl. Faint vertical and horizontal scoring on body. Surfaces rather deteriorated, pink to dark brown.

Pit 6201

96 Decorated sherd; diagonal and horizontal scoring. Coarse texture; red to brown exterior, dark brown interior.

Pit 6203

99 Decorated rim, fingernail incisions on outside of rounded rim; profile probably as (63). Exterior dark brown, interior black. Smooth but with speckled appearance because of temper density.

Pit 6239

115 Diameter 23cm; high round-shouldered coarse bowl. Surfaces roughly smoothed. Grey-brown to black. Slashing on flat rim surface. Fabric C2; some flint and chalk grits.

Pit 6243

131 Diameter uncertain; flattened rim with fingernail decoration. Slight thickening of rim as a result of flattening. Sandy texture, red exterior, grey-brown interior.

Ditch of Enclosure Three entrance

134 Rim sherd with internal and external lip. Fingernail incisions on outer lip. Slight grooving inside. Soapy texture, exterior buff to dark grey. Interior dark grey.

Pit 6217

155 Diameter uncertain; flat rim of probably S-profile bowl. Surfaces smooth, black.

Pit 7227

162 Diameter 18cm; fairly large bowl with high round shoulder and flat decorated rim, with external lip. Fingernail impressions. Surfaces sandy, exterior brown, interior red.

From *Norton Road, Baldock*

The material itself matches that from the Blackhorse Road Group 2, and the discussion of that material seems applicable here. The fingernail impressions on the upper surface of the rim of (4), and the broad, deep scoring of (15) suggest that this pottery pre-dates that from Enclosure Two and, if the more refined sequence proposed for Blackhorse Road is accepted, equates with the second phase of Group 2. A date in the second century BC seems possible.

Tr 20 (3) 6340

4 Diameter 12cm; small, low-shouldered bowl with regular fingernail decoration on rim. Surfaces coarse, burnished, black.

Ditch CIII2 6343

15a Diameter 14cm; low-shouldered bowl with flat 'currugated' rim and vertical scoring on body. Surfaces sandy, exterior dark brown to black, interior pink-brown.

Dr Ian Cornwall examined a thin-section of a red-brown burnished sherd and found that it contained a quantity of burnt pond weed, suggesting a use of local clay.

Iron Age pottery from Wilbury Hill, Letchworth
with the assistance of Valerie Rigby

A numbered of unfeatured sherds were found. This was highly gritted with flint and shell; most surfaces were badly eroded. It varied in thickness from a 'chunky' 4.7mm to a very thin 1.2mm. The colour was predominately red to brown with a few examples in grey to black. In character it was very different from all the Blackhorse Road wares but like those from Hawthorn Hill. In view of the soils prevalent at both Wilbury and Hawthorn Hill, there is every reason for believing that the clay used for potting was derived from the sites themselves. Its distribution indicated its probable derivation from the hill-fort higher up the slope. The majority of this material may be placed in the late pre-Roman Iron Age.

1 Lug handle, with round section, which appears to have been applied vertically to the

maximum girth of a large, shapeless, hand-made jar. Shell-tempered ware. 14 (28).

A date somewhere between tenth century BC and first century AD is possible for the lugged jar form. Such vessels have a long, if intermittent, history in the North Herts/Beds/Bucks/Cambs region, e.g. Harrold (Eagles & Evison, *Beds Arch.* 1970, 26–7), Puddlehill (Matthews 1976, 53, 69, 80, 85), Oakley (*Beds Arch.* 1973, 9), Linton (Fell, *PCAS* 1952, 36–7). In addition there are published examples found farther afield at Queen Mary Hospital, Carshalton (Lowther, *SAC* 1986, 23–4), and Allen's Pit, Oxon. (Bradford 1942), thought to be Late Bronze Age rather than Early Iron Age. In the later Iron Age and Roman periods two main production areas emerged – the Northeast, Yorks–North Lincs, and the BB1 industry of the South-west, Dorset–Somerset. The shelly fabric suggests production from the seventh century BC into the Roman period, with a likely source of origin lying north of Wilbury on the shelly clays or the Jurassic outcrop beyond the chalk, between the Thames and the Humber.

2 Everted rim with body sherds of black flint-gritted bowl with burnished outside surface.
3 Two rim sherds from a lugged bucket in shell-tempered ware. Late first century BC–late first century AD.
4 Two body sherds from a combed storage jar. Grog-tempered ware. First century BC–late first century AD.

Roman pottery from Wilbury Hill, Letchworth

This was largely of native ware which was indistinguishable from earlier material, apart from the outside surface finish and reduction in the amount of inclusions. The early pre-Roman Iron Age pottery was not burnished but so few featured sherds were available, that some doubt must exist over the assignment of this to one period or the other. There is an indication of continuity from the late first century BC to the second century AD in several of the wares but the quality is noticeably inferior to that from Blackhorse Road and Baldock.

1 Small fragment of plain Samian ware. 22 (4).
2 Rim and rim/handle sherds of thick colour-coated ware. 2 (24).
3 Bead rim with body sherds of flint-gritted globular bowl with a single channel below the neck. Inside surface red, outside black with burnishing. 9 (26).
4. Sherd of splayed base fragment with wall junction of hard grey ware, probably of bowl.

Late Iron Age and Roman Age
by Casper Johnson

Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and post-Conquest pottery came from two main areas of the Blackhorse Road site, the eastern ditch (7271) of the double-ditch on the eastern edge of the site (Fig. 17, page 56), and the pits and scoops on the west (Fig. 21). Most of the pottery from the latter was locally made and may be described as of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age. One sherd is from Verulamium, and two pieces, (17) and (23), are imports from Gaul, dating from the first century AD. Though it was poorly stratified, these finds do indicate continuity from Iron Age to Roman for this part of the site. The working hollow at (Fig. 21) which consisted of pits and scoops produced Late Pre-Roman Iron Age pottery but no stratified post-Conquest material. The western ditch 7200 produced no Late Pre-Roman Iron Age or post-Conquest pottery. The considerable amount of Late Pre-Roman Iron Age pottery would make a pre-, rather than a post-Conquest date for the digging of the ditch likely.

Area XIV (Fig. 14) produced a similar range to that from X and XI which was dateable from Late Pre-Roman Iron Age to the fourth century AD. The considerable amount of fabrics dated to the third and fourth centuries AD is interesting,and it is possible that some unrecognised Anglo-Saxon pottery has been included in the locally made Late Pre-Roman Iron Age wares. The range of fabrics is typical of the neighbouring Roman occupation of Baldock. Much is locally made, tempered with chalk and shell. Verulamium and Much Hadham supplied most of the local wares, whilst each context produced one or two Gaulish imports, either flagons or Samian vessels. Five groups of sherds possibly representing complete pots were recovered from the site but most of these, because of their provenance in the ditch fill, were small, abraded and had lost their surfaces. The lack of forms has meant that only a general date range can be provided on the basis of the fabrics. This can do little more than indicate the continuity in the ceramic traditions, from the Iron Age through until the late Roman period. The brooch (Fig. 38: 43, page 89) and the coins confirm the broad range of dates indicated by the pottery.

Only diagnostic sherds illustrated on Figs. 35 & 36 are included here. Numbers in brackets (1) denote illustrations. The full catalogue is in the archive; its numbering is retained here.

Samian Ware (Fig. 35)

5 Rim, Drag.30, South Gaulish, Flavian. (2). 6537 Ditch layer 2.
6 Rim, Drag.18, Pre-Flavian. (1). 6515 P15 in ditch.
7 Base, Drag.15/17 or 18, Early Flavian. (5).
8 Base of large dish, South Gaulish, Flavian. (6). 6523 Icknield Way.
9 Base with grafitto, Drag.15/17 R or 18 R, Early Flavian. (3).
10 Two decorated sherds, ?bowl Drag.37. Style of ALBVCIVS, AD 150–180. Lezoux, Central Gaulish. (4).

Coarse pottery (Figs. 35 & 36)

Descriptions of fabric types as per those from Baldock in Letchworth Museum as classified by Valerie Rigby (Stead & Rigby, 1986).

11 Flagon base, cream F.20, Verulamium. 2nd century AD. 7271 bottom. (7).
12 Storage jar, rim, crude F.4. 7217. (8).
15 Rim, F.2A, LPRIA. 0183. (9).
16 Lid-seated jar, rim, F.2A, LPRIA. 0166 layer 2. (10). 1st century AD. 0166 layer 2.
20 Jar, rim, F.8. 0040. (11).
21 Jar, rim, F.8. Shell, quartz and grog tempered. 0040. (12).

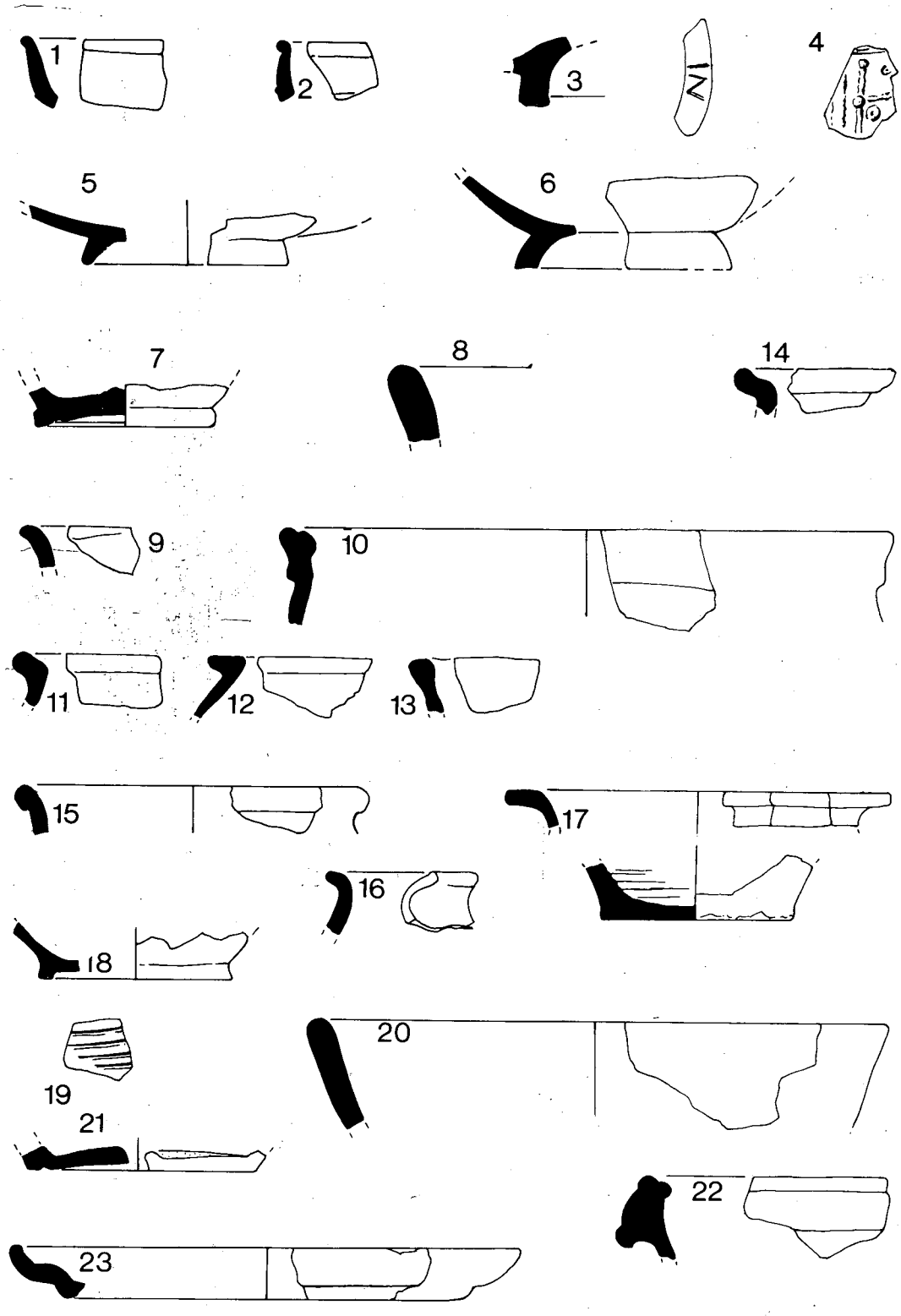

Figure 35. Roman pottery.

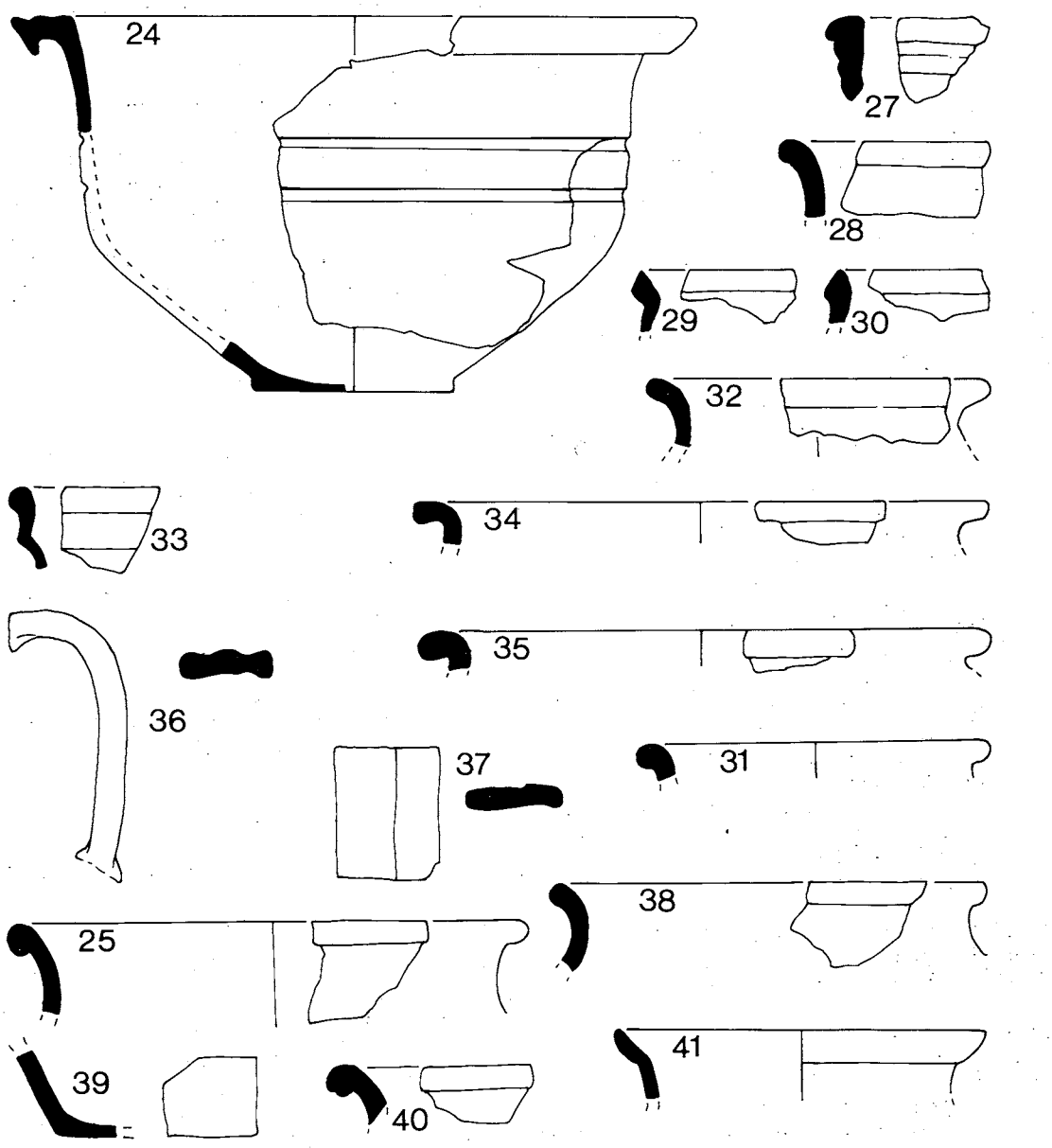

Figure 36. Roman pottery.

22 Coarse sandy piece, F.4. Locally made. 0040. (13).

25 Dish, flanged rim, quartz tempered. Late 2nd–3rd century AD. 0119. (14).

27 Rim undercut, eleven sherds, three with rilled surfaces, F.8. Early 2nd century AD. 7273 layer (15).

28 Rim, F.2A, LPRIA. F.1, LPRIA. 7204 top layer. (16).

31 Rim and base of same vessel, F.8. Diameter 7.5cm. Also twenty small sherds of the same fabric. Late 1st century AD. 7204 top layer. (17).

33 Foot-base, F.2A, LPRIA. 7205. (18).

34 Two sherds with combed decoration, F.2A, LPRIA. 7205. (19).

35 Dog-dish type, F.4, wheelmade. Mid–late 2nd century AD. Top of 7271.(20).

38 Base, crude F.7, diameter 9 cm. Seven sherds of early 2nd century AD. 7270. (21).

42 Wall sided mortarium sherd, F.9. Verulamium. 1st century AD. 7270. (22).

43 Platter sherd, F.7. Late 1st–early 2nd century AD. 7270. (23).

44 Flagon handle, coarse-gritted, white slip. Verulamium. Late 1st–early 2nd century AD. 7270. (36).

45 Handle, white pipeclay, Gaulish, F.43.

Tibero-Claudian. 7270. (37).
46 Storage jar, F.2A, diameter 30cm, LPRIA. 7270.
47 Rim, red-brown type F.8. Early 2nd century AD. 7270. (25).
49 Poppy-headed Beaker, rim, two sherds, F.7. Late 2nd century AD. 7270. (41).
50 Base, soft F.27. Mid–late 2nd century AD. 7270. (39).
55 Rim, F.1 wheel finished, LPRIA. 7270. (38).
57 Jar, black slip F.27. 7270. (40).
58 Complete vessel, F.15A, white slip, sooted exterior. 2nd century AD. 7270. (24).
66 Flagon rim, F.20, pink/grey grits. Late 2nd–early 3rd century AD. Above 6515 (27).
67 Cooking pot, rim, black slip F.13 or F.15. Mid 2nd century AD. Above 6515. (28).
68 Bowl, F.27, hard and sandy. 2nd and 3rd century AD. Above 6515. (29).
69 Bowl, F.27 without surface, cream and sandy. Above 6515. (30).
70 Rim, orange, F.42. Much Hadham, 'Romano-Saxon'. Late 3rd and 4th century AD. Above 6515. (31).
71 Jar with upstanding rim, forty sherds, black F.8, wheel-thrown. Late 1st–early 2nd century AD. Above 6515. (32).
75 Bowl, high carination, F.4. Late 1st–2nd century AD. 6537 recut. (33).
76 Small storage jar, rim, F.15, grog tempered. 2nd century AD. 6537 recut. (34).
77 Coarse pot, rim, F.13, used for cooking. Also 30 small sherds. 2nd century AD. 6547 layer 3. (35).
99. Base, three rim sherds and forty-one body sherds, F.27, B.B.1 type. 6512 layers 3/4 (40)

I would like to thank H. Pengelly for notes on the Samian, and Charmian Woodfield, Helen Ashworth, and Siobham Emery for notes on the coarse pottery.

Medieval and later
by Geoffry Moss

Unfortunately a high proportion of the sherds submitted for examination are too small to be dated with any accuracy; indeed several connot even be ascribed to a chronological period with any degree of certainty. Notwithstanding this setback there a few emergent facts.

The medieval group is, in the main part, typically well-fired, hard and sandy. The few rims that are present are mostly of thirteenth-century date. One is of a form that also occurs in the late twelfth century, but the texture and hardness would suggest that it ought to be attributed to the early thirteenth century, rather than the twelfth. One rim of developed St Neots ware occurs; also from its form, to belong to the early thirteenth century. Two typically evolved, angular rims of late thirteenth-century date occur. Also included in this group are a few fragments of late-thirteenth- or possibly early-fourteenth-century green glazed wares.

The post-medieval group consists mainly of yellow-brown and brown glazed red wares, all of which are of late-seventeenth-century date. Two sherds of black-glazed red ware occur, perhaps of similar date to the last but more probably of the eighteenth century. A single sherd of *c.* nineteenth century stoneware is the most modern item noticed.

Objects of clay from Blackhorse Road
1 Triangular loomweight with two holes passing through it at an angle of 45 degrees. Burnt, chalk tempered with small amounts of flint. Greatest width at base 160mm, greatest width at top 50cm, height 108mm. The two holes with diameters of 140mm, funnelling out at surface to 210mm and 160mm respectively. Bottom of 6237. (Fig. 37.)
2 Fragment of triangular loomweight.

Coins
by John A. Davies

Three coins were found during the excavation of the ditch (6512 and 6514).

1 Domitian, denarius.
IMP. CAES. DIVI. VESP. F. DOMITIAN AVG.
TR. POT. COS. VIII. P.P. Minerva, l.
Rome AD 82.
2 Constantius II, AE3.
DN CONSTANTIVS PF AVG.
FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Fallen horseman.
Lyons AD 355–60.
3 Valens, AE 3.
RIC vol. 9, 21(a).
Lyons AD 367–75.

The three coins span the Roman occupation of Britain. Coin 1 is from the Flavian period when a high volumn of coinage, including denarii, were being injected into the developing province. This is the first period of high coin-loss recorded on many British sites. Coins 2 and 3, both bronzes of the mid and late fourth century, are from similar phases in he coinage. All three coins represent some of the most prolific periods of coin-use and coin-loss in the province. This small sample, therefore, reflects the normal pattern on Romano-British sites.

Metal objects

Norton Road, Baldock – Bronze Age context

Fig. 38
1 Copper alloy ? button: 15mm diameter, 4mm thick; chalk surface GLV 2.74m west × 1.2m north of centre; (Fig. 38: 16).

Blackhorse Road – Iron Age contexts

Fig. 38
1 Copper alloy pin of fibula: 60mm long; 6603 (Fig. 38: 1).
2 Copper alloy ring: 17mm external diameter, 10mm internal diameter; 0039 layer 2 (Fig. 38: 2).
3 Copper alloy ? ferrule: 18mm external dia-

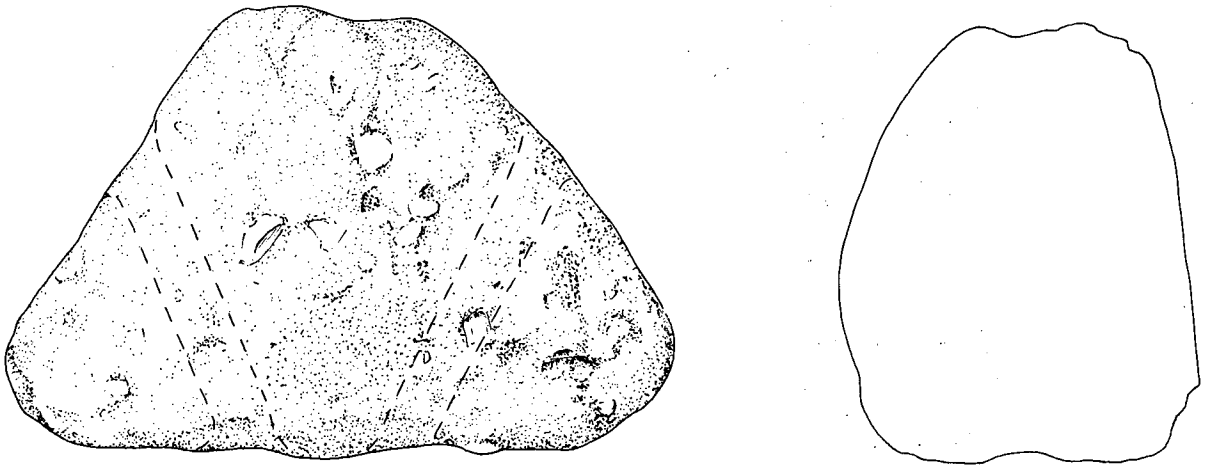

Figure 37. Loomweight, Blackhorse Road.

meter, 6mm internal diameter; 0039 layer 2 (Fig. 38: 3).

4 Iron nail with square section: 60mm long, 5mm maximum section; 0029 (Fig. 38: 4).

5 Iron lump: 35mm long, 15mm wide; 0039 layer 2 (Fig. 38: 5).

6 Copper alloy fragment of ribbed object: 41mm long, 9mm maximum width; 0017 layer 2 (Fig. 38: 6).

7 Iron tanged blade: 22mm long, 12mm maximum width, 4mm thick; 0002 layer 2 (Fig. 38: 8).

8 Iron peg: 27mm long, 3mm shaft width, 17mm head width; 0040 layer 2 (Fig. 38: 9).

9 Iron ring-headed pin: 103mm long, 4mm diameter; 0041 layer 4 (Fig. 38: 10).

10 Short iron nail: 26mm long, 10mm head width, 0029 layer 2 (Fig. 38: 11).

11 Iron joiner's dog: 40mm long, 5mm thick; 0029 (Fig. 38: 12).

12 Large nail head: 25mm high, 56 width of head; (Fig. 38: 18).

13 Copper alloy disc with hole: 25mm diam 4mm; (Fig. 38: 25).

14 Iron nail: 116mm length, 9mm width, 13mm maximum thickness, 2 minimum thickness; 6603 (Fig. 38: 26).

15 Iron knife, curved with rivetted handle: 109mm long, 28mm wide, 1mm thick, 15mm thick at rivet; 6629 layer 2 (Fig. 38: 27).

16 Iron blade, tanged: 115mm long, 48mm wide, 12mm tang; 6650 (Fig. 38: 34).

17 Iron bolt with domed head: 60mm high, 22mm diameter of head, 10 diameter of shaft; 7222 (Fig. 38: 35).

18 Iron peg: 25mm high, 5mm diameter of shaft; 13mm width of head; 0035 (Fig. 38: 38).

19 Iron ? handle: 104mm apart, 5mm thick; 6602 (Fig. 38: 42).

The iron upper part of a bipartite cauldron came from section E–V of the inner ditch, 6149 (Fig. 29, page 71). Its dimensions were as follows: greatest internal diameter at mouth 508mm; greatest internal diameter at bottom of collar 513mm; height of fragment 76mm; thickness of rim 21mm; thickness of body wall 4mm. The ring handles were of wrought-iron and of round section, with a diameter of 102mm and a thickness of 15mm. The handles were secured to the collar by iron staples held in place by two large rivets, 25mm in diameter. The iron staples are decorated by two deep incisions on each and they hang below the rim and not above it. Around the bottom of the collar were rivet holes spaced evenly at 15mm intervals. These holes formerly held the rivets which joined the collar and the cauldron basin which would normally have been of bronze. A possible bronze cauldron patch came from 6520 (Fig. 38: 40) which may have been part of this vessel.

This object was published (Moss-Eccardt 1965) soon after its discovery but needs further discussion here. The pottery which lay below and above it places it somewhere between the middle of the second and first centuries BC. The recent publication of the La Tène III burials from Baldock (Stead 1968, 51–61), only 1.5km distant, provides a near similar example which the excavator would place early in the first half of the first century BC, ante-dating the classic Welwyn-type burials. Reference may be made to parallels other than La Tène now that many more recent finds of similar vessels on the continent have been made. The form of the Blackhorse Road vessel corresponds to Eggers' Type 5 (Eggers 1951, Taf 2) except for the handles. In the German examples the staple rings are plain, while at Letchworth these are more elegantly executed with only the heads of two large rivets showing proud of the collar wall. The positioning and treatment of these suggests a descent from cauldrons of the Brå type.

Since Eggers' work appeared, there have been numerous discoveries in Germany, in the area between the rivers Elbe and Weser, of Type 4 and 5 cauldrons. A number were also found at the oppidum of Manching where they are dated to Middle/Late La Tène (Jacobi and Kramer 1974, 142–50). Many of the same type are already known from Scandinavian sites where, like those in NW Germany, they frequently contain crema-

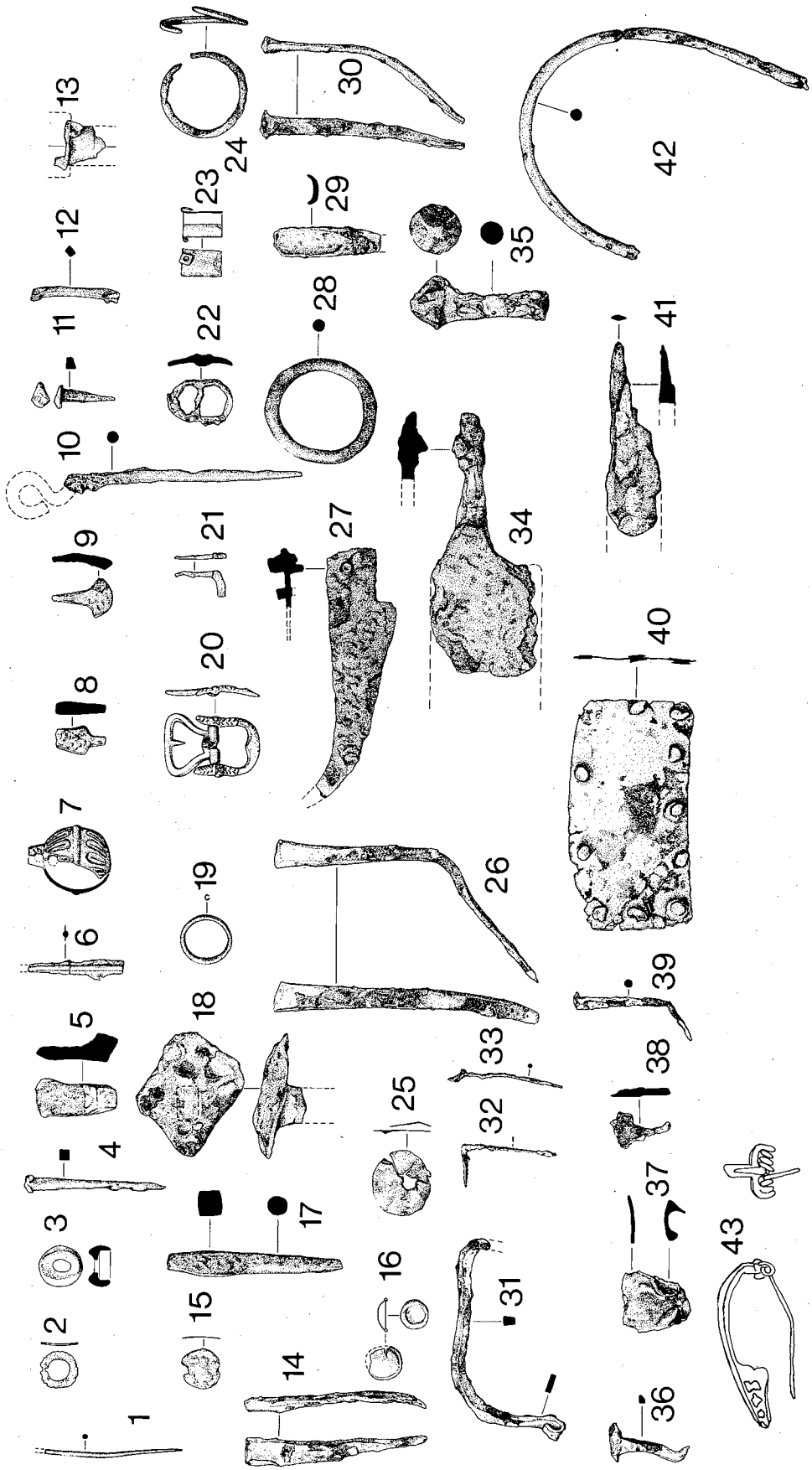

Figure 38. Metal objects.

tions. In the case of the latter, they occur as common cremation vessels in urnfields, such as Klein-Wesenberg, Kreis Stormarn (Tromnau 1975, 77–92) and Putensen, Kreis Harburg (Wegewitz 1961/2, 91–118). A feature of these finds is the deliberate damaging of the cauldrons, which is not the case at Letchworth. It is true that the vessel is without its bronze basin but the pieces had been carefully separated, as the surviving rivet holes and complete handles attest. At Baldock the cauldron was in a state of disintegration, and stains on the ground showed the position of the handles, one on either side, a position unlikely to be due to deliberate damage. Thus in spite of certain continental tendencies these Hertfordshire fragments are not straightforward parallels of that burial rite. What function the Letchworth example performed is quite unknown. Further research into these artifacts is necessary to place them in the wider context of late British prehistory.

Blackhorse Road.– Roman contexts

Fig. 38

1 Copper alloy 'Colchester' fibula: 76mm long, 22mm max of bow, 25mm across spiral; from layer 3 of 6519. First half of 1st century AD. (Fig. 38: 43)
2 Iron object, possible pot-holder; from layer 2 of 6514.
3 Copper alloy sheet fragment: 17mm high, maximum diameter 21mm; surface of chalk. (Fig. 38: 13).
4 Iron fitting: 55mm long, 8mm wide, 4mm thick; 6506 (Fig. 38: 14).
5 Copper alloy disc: 17mm diameter, 0.79mm thick; 6506 (Fig. 38: 15).
6 Iron ? punch: 77mm long, 9mm square section, 6mm cylindrical section; 6523 (Fig. 38: 17).
7 Copper alloy finger-ring: 22mm diameter, 1mm thick; 6519 (Fig. 38: 19).
8 Small bent iron fragment: 22mm long, 2mm thick; 6504 (Fig. 38: 21).
9 Copper alloy fragment: 17mm high, 11mm wide, 4mm thick; 6549 (Fig. 38: 23).
10 Copper alloy spiral ring: 38mm external diameter, 3mm thick; 6539 (Fig. 38: 24).
11 Copper alloy round-section ring: 47mm maximum diameter, 5mm thick; 6513 (Fig. 38: 28).
12 Iron ring fragment: 46mm, 13mm wide; 6513 (Fig. 38: 29).
13 Iron nail: 90mm l, 7mm wide, 2mm thick; 6513 (Fig. 38: 30).
14 Iron binding: 88mm long, 48mm high, 8mm thick (Fig. 38: 31).
15 Iron fragment bent at right-angles: 42mm high, 19mm long, 2mm thick; (Fig. 38: 32).
16 Iron fragment bent but broken: 50mm high, 2mm thick; (Fig. 38: 33).
17 Short iron nail: 21mm long, 6mm diameter of shaft, 8mm diameter of head; 6519 (Fig. 38: 36).
18 Iron fragment: 27mm long, 27mm wide, 2mm thick; 6519 (Fig. 38: 37).
19 Iron nail: 61mm long, 10mm head width; 6519 (Fig. 38: 39).
20 Copper alloy plaque with 10 holes: 102mm long, 53mm high; 6520. Probable repair patch for cauldron or bucket (Fig. 38: 40).
21 Iron blade fragment with diamond section tang: 86mm long, 24mm wide, tang length 16mm; (Fig. 38: 41).

Blackhorse Road – probable Post-Roman.

1 Copper token.
Obverse. In the field R H.
Legend IN. FINCH.L.
Reverse. ? Coat of arms. AT. D.
From top of ditch in 6509.
2 Copper alloy decorated buckle: 42mm × 26mm × 3mm; 6501 (Fig. 38: 20).
3 Copper alloy plain belt buckle: 27mm × 4mm × 2mm; 3549 (Fig. 38: 22).
4 Copper alloy harness bell: 24mm diameter; 6650 (Fig. 38: 7).

Human remains

A report on the human remains from Blackhorse Road was provided by C.B. Denston, formerly of the Department of Physical Anthropology, University of Cambridge, which is lodged in the archive. The finds are in Cambridge Department of Physical Anthropology. They were of individuals from contexts 6548, 6546, 7215, 7239, 7243.

Animal remains from Blackhorse Road, Letchworth by Anthony Legge, John Williams and Phoebe Williams, of Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of London.

During excavations at Blackhorse Road, animal bones were recovered from several sub-sites ranging from the Late Neolithic to the Romano-British periods. It should be noted that this material was excavated before the time that sieving was shown to have a marked effect upon the efficiency of recovery, and in consequence the proportions of identified bones and the species that they represent will inevitably show some bias towards the larger species and the more intact specimens. The sites are considered in chronological order.

Five Neolithic pits containing sherds of Beaker, Grooved Ware, flints and animal bones were discovered. Although all of the animal remains from Blackhorse Road have recently been examined, it is unfortunate that the bones from these Neolithic pits cannot now be found among them. However, the bones from the pits were originally examined in the Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, as a teaching exercise. An unsigned list of identifications for the bones found in two pits (pits 1 and 7) was made at that time, and the original list is in the archive at Letchworth Museum. The only bones surviving from Neolithic contexts are two specimens displayed in Letchworth Museum, an antler pick, and the scapula of domestic Bos.

Species from Neolithic pits at Blackhorse Road, are shown as originally listed. This list seldom records whether the bones were from the right or left side, or,

often, whether the proximal or distal end of a bone is represented. The numbering of the teeth does not follow the modern convention. These have been renumbered to conform to the system commonly used now (i.e. P2, P3, P4, M1, M2 and M3 for the lower permanent premolars and molars of animals such as cattle or sheep; pigs have one more premolar). The identifications are listed and suggested revisions are noted.

Contents of Pit 6063

Wild cattle: metacarpal; navicular-cuboid; cuneiform; medial phalanx (2) lower milk molars 1 and 2; P2; P2; M2; M3.

Domestic cattle: unfused metatarsal; proximal metacarpal; distal unfused metapodial; M1, M2, M1, M3, (not separated upper/lower);incisor.

Pig: unfused distal epiphysis of tibia; scapula; phalanx 1; phalanx 2 (3 specimens); M3; and one each of Incisor, Molar, (not separated upper/lower). Besides these bones, there was most of the skeleton of a piglet, noted as 'extremely young'.

Sheep: proximal phalanx; pelvis.

Dog: 1 molar, 2 incisors, 1 phalanx.

Red deer: phalanx 3 (2); femur fragment; (two further specimens of phalanx 1 are attributed to fallow deer; as this species is not know to be present in Britain during the Neolithic period it is more likely that these are also from red deer; it is suggested that the number of red deer phalanges should be regarded as 4).

Human: humerus.

Pit 6072

Wild cattle: distal metapodial (2); navicular-cuboid; phalanx 2 (3); phalanx 3; (distal?) epiphysis of femur; patella; sacrum; 3 molar teeth (2 recorded as upper right); 1 incisor.

Domestic cattle: phalanx 1; phalanx 2; distal epiphysis of tibia; sesamoid; 5 milk molars (2 recorded as lower and 2 as upper); 2 permanent molars (1 upper, 1 lower) 2 third permanent molars (not distinguished upper/lower)

Pig: distal humerus; phalanx 1; phalanx 2; ulna; lateral metapodial; maxilla with M2 and M3 (worn), 4 molar teeth (1 recorded lower, 1 upper); 1 incisor.

Sheep: calcaneum; proximal phalanx; maxilla with M2 and M3; mandible with milk dentition; 4 molars. There was also the skeleton of a lamb, described only as 'young'.

Pit 6612

The antler pick (Fig. 39) is made in the typical form. The base shows that it had been shed, and the burr does not show the battering characteristic of many (but not all) antler picks from flint-mining sites (Legge 1981a). It had a double brow tine (or brow and bez tines), the lower of which is broken off. The remaining tine has a considerable degree of tip wear. Above the brow tines, the third or trez tine had also been snapped from the beam, and the broken end at the beam shows evidence of deliberate smoothing. The beam had been snapped through above this, possibly following from ring-cutting through the hard surface of the antler before it was broken, and the broken end was smoothed, typically again for antler picks, by charring. The specimen has all of the attributes of a typical antler pick (see Legge 1981a, Fig. 57), and the wear on the brow tine indicates that it had been used for that purpose. It was placed, or discarded, in the pit when still capable of effective use.

The second specimen is part of a large left scapula, probably from a domestic bull. Much of the blade is broken, and the spine is also broken off. The preservation of the specimen is not very good; it has been displayed as a possible scapula shovel, of the type found in the flint mines at Harrow Hill and Cissbury (Curwen 1937). However, the glenoid is not pierced, nor are there indications of use or wear on the broken margins. The specimen was seen by one of us (AJL), whose opinion is that it is not an artifact, and was not utilised in any way. The type of damage is characteristic for this bone, with the more fragile parts being lost; only the more robust glenoid and neck region survive well.

A significant proportion of the bones listed above are identified as wild cattle (*Bos primigenius*). It is possible that some of these are domestic bulls, as it is known that the bones of these and wild cows overlapped in size (Degerbol and Fredskild 1970, Legge 1981b). In some cases this diagnosis is undoubtedly correct; from pit 60631 a Bos metacarpal, in which the measurement points that were used can be reasonably predicted, falls within the range of male *Bos primigenius*; other measurements listed are less certain, or were made on juvenile specimens.

Pits 6063 and 6072 show quite similar proportions of species, and in both pits cattle (those identified as wild and domestic together) are the most common species. The contents of the two pits are therefore combined in the tabulation below. The relative abundance of species is calculated by counting all bones, and jaws with teeth. Loose teeth and the skeletons of very young animals are not counted. If the identifications are taken as given, proportions:

	wild cattle	*domestic cattle*	*pig*	*sheep*	*red deer*
bones & teeth	14	8	13	6	5
percent	30.4	17.4	28.2	13.0	10.8

If the bones attributed to wild and domestic cattle are combined, the 22 specimens of cattle amount to 47% of the sample. For the purpose of comparison, the animal bones from Neolithic pits known from sites elsewhere are treated in the same way (by counting only identified bones and jaws, and ignoring loose teeth and bone fragments).

Puddlehill (Bedfordshire), pit 6 (Grigson 1976)

	wild cattle	*domestic cattle*	*pig*	*sheep/ goat*	*red deer*
all specimens	26	26	7	4	2
percent	40.0	40.0	10.8	6.1	3.0

While the bones of cattle and pigs are about equally well represented in pit 6, this does not appear to be the case in other pits at the same site. The animal remains from pits 1, 2 and 3 found at Puddlehill are less easy to compare in this way, as mandibles and loose teeth appear to be counted together (Ewbank 1964). It is evident, however, that pigs are the most common

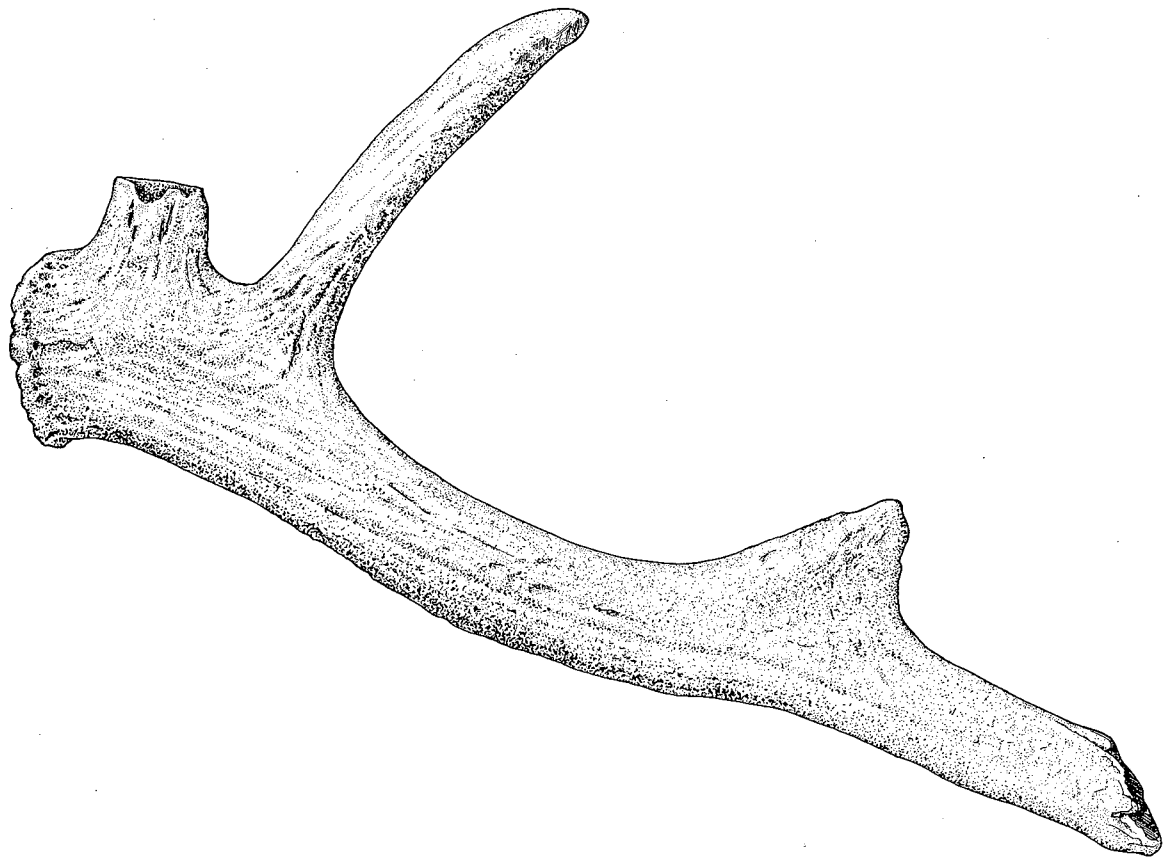

Figure 39. Neolithic antler pick.

species in these pits; in pits 1 and 3 the bones of pigs greatly outnumber those of cattle.

Among a recent sample of 14 pits of Neolithic date at Down Farm in Wiltshire, the proportions of species were again found to vary from one pit to another (Legge, forthcoming). The proportions of species found were:

Down Farm, Wilts: proportions of main species; all Neolithic pits:

	cattle	*pig*	*sheep/ goat*	*red/roe deer*	*others*
all pits combined	47.9%	41.7%	4.9%	4.9%	0.7%
Pit 11A	64.8%	9.3%	7.4%	13.0%	1.9%
Pit 29	40.9%	59.1%	0	0	0

From this, it can be seen that the predominant mammalian species found in such late Neolithic pits may be cattle in some cases and pig in others. The Blackhorse Road pits share with Puddlehill pit 6 (Grigson 1976) and Down Farm pit 11A assemblages of bones where cattle bones (both wild and domestic) are common. On the other hand, pits 1 and 3 at Puddlehill (Ewbank 1964) show a marked preponderance of pig bones, as does pit 29 at Down Farm. While the proportions of the most common species are found to vary in this way, there are other features which such pit groups do have in common. The proportion of wild mammals is usually (for British Neolithic sites) quite high; red and roe deer often make up 5–10% of the identified bones, and Bos primigenius remains are common among those of cattle. However, the variable proportion of species found in such pits, even in different pits at the same site, suggests that care should be taken in the interpretation of such assemblages in environmental terms.

Elsewhere (Legge, forthcoming) I have argued that the contents of the pits at Down Farm are not simply domestic refuse. The number of identifiable bones that such pits contain is usually modest; there are quite commonly whole skulls and antlers or antler picks included, and there are relatively few unidentifiable fragments in relation to the identified bones. The position of objects within the pits, and the association of sherds and other artefacts with the bones, is indicative of arranged or specially deposited assemblages of objects. At the same time the bones which are most often found are also those which have a high density, and are resistant to destruction by dogs and other agents (Binford and Bertram 1977; Binford 1981). These are bones such as the metapodials, phalanges, astragalus, distal humerus and distal tibia. Although occasional vertebrae may be found (Puddlehill pit 6 is unusual in that vertebrae are rather common), it is usually the more robust limb extremities and mandibles which are found. The bones also commonly show the

effects of dog-gnawing. If this interpretation is correct (and it is set out in detail in the forthcoming report on the animal bones from Down Farm), then other pits such as those at Puddlehill and Blackhorse Road which exhibit many similar characteristics among the animal bones that were deposited may also have a marked 'ritual' character.

At Blackhorse Road, the pits show a concentration of head and foot parts, and the other bones which survive are usually those of high density. There is also at least one antler pick of typical form from the site. It is unfortunate that other studies of Neolithic pit groups, for example at Ratfyn (Jackson 1935) and Rudston and Boynton (Bramwell 1974), either do not list the bones that were identified, or present the proportions of species in such a manner as not to allow the data to be examined in other ways.

The animal bones from Blackhorse Road which were examined by the writers of this report are described below. As with the Neolithic contexts above, excavation took place at a time when the necessity of sieving for the recovery of bones was not appreciated. In consequence, the proportions of the species found and even the age classes of the animals as determined by the mandibles can only be taken as an indication of the former faunal composition in the various phases and features. However, in this case the bones survive in Letchworth Museum. The tables below are based on all identified fragments of bone, and on jaws which retain teeth. Where loose lower third milk and permanent molars were found which, from their wear states were unlikely to come from jaw-fragments which had been counted, these were added to the totals. For other loose teeth – of which there is a considerable number – counts only are given, without percentages.

Possibly attributable to the Late Neolithic are 126 bones and 29 jaws from the fill of a ditch in the vicinity of Enclosure Four but suffering the intrusion of Middle Iron Age pits and a Roman ditch. The proportions are:

	cattle	*pig*	*sheep/ goat*	*horse*	*total*
bones	60	8	42	16	126
percent	47.6	6.3	33.3	12.7	
jaws	17	2	10	0	29
percent	58.0	6.9	34.5	0	

It is probable that most of the horses were derived from the later phases that are represented in the pits, as the horse, while possibly present in the Neolithic period of Britain, is always found to be rare at that time (Grigson 1966).

From 6638, Ditch 2 (2) which contained Late Neolithic Grooved Ware pottery came an important find in the form of the left mandible of the brown bear, *Ursus arctos*. The mandible is broken immediately in front of the alveolus of M1, and the mandibular hinge and ascending ramus are also broken away. M2 is also lost, with only the posterior root remaining in the alveolus. M3 is present in the jaw, and is worn flat. The remains of bears are especially rare in the later prehistory of southern Britain, and only two other specimens are known to us. One of these was found at the Neolithic site of Ratfyn in Wiltshire (Jackson 1935), and a left ulna was recently found in a Neolithic pit associated with Grooved Ware at Down Farm, also in Wiltshire (Legge, forthcoming).

From Iron Age contexts

GLI/II, Enclosure One, Early Iron Age, provided bones from

a a pre-enclosure phase;
b ditch of Enclosure One;
c pits and features within Enclosure One.

From the pre-enclosure phase, the following species have been identified:

	cattle	*pig*	*sheep/ goat*	*horse*
bones	35	4	12	3
percent	64.8	7.4	22.2	3.7

From the ditch of Enclosure One, the following bones of large mammals were identified:

	cattle	*pig*	*sheep/ goat*	*horse*
bones	31	2	31	2
percent	46.9	3.0	46.9	3.0
jaws	6	2	3	2

Small mammals and birds:

1 dog (*Canis familiaris*), most of skeleton;
2 chicken (*Gallus gallus*), left tibio-metatarsus.

From within Enclosure One came additional bones and jaws:

	cattle	*pig*	*sheep/ goat*	*horse*
bones	26	1	1	2
jaws	4	2	1	0

Small animals from features within interior of Enclosure One:

1 chicken (*Gallus gallus*), right tibio-metatarsus;
2 toad (*Bufo bufo*), several bones;
3 fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), atlas vertebra, left astragalus and calcaneum, 2 phalanges.

From Enclosure Two, Middle Iron Age

	cattle	*pig*	*sheep/ goat*	*horse*	*total*
bones	115	7	63	15	200
percent	57.5	3.5	31.5	7.5	
jaws	10	6	16	0	34
percent	31.2	18.8	50.0	0	

Loose teeth

	cattle		*pig*		*sheep/ goat*		*horse*	
	R	*L*	*R*	*L*	*R*	*L*	*R*	*L*
mandibular	11	4	2	0	2	1	3	6
maxillary	4	4	0	0	2	1	0	0

Small mammals

Hare (*Lepus europaeus*), part skeletons, 2 animals;
Water vole (*Arvicola terrestris*), mandible and limb bones;
Small bird, metacarpal, blackbird size.

Bone implements

1 From ditch section 6195 at depth of 1.22 m. The shaft of a left tibia, sheep size. The proximal and distal epiphyses are broken off by the usual form of percussive butchery breaks. The spiral form of fracture on the distal shaft has been worked to a short slender point.

2 From ditch section 6150 layer 3. The distal tibia shaft, probably of a sheep. The specimen shows two carefully made circular grooves cut round the circumference of the bone. At one end, the bone has been snapped at one of these grooves; the other end shows a natural break. The second cut circles the centre of the shaft fragment. The shaft between the two circular cuts has been pierced on one face by rotary drilling, using a small tapered drill bit. The bone has been used for the manufacture of one or more small, hollow toggles, one of which is unfinished.

From Middle Iron Age pits in Area XIII

	cattle	*pig*	*sheep/ goat*	*horse*	*total*
bones	45	6	18	4	73
percent	61.6	8.2	24.6	5.5	
jaws	6	1	1	1	9

Other finds with the middle Iron Age material were two bones of the hare, *Lepus europaeus*. These were a distal left humerus, and a left tibia. These showed no sign of cutting or burning, but their position in the pit suggests that they do represent food remains.

From the Middle Iron Age pits of Area X

It is possible that a small amount of Neolithic bone is incorporated in this assemblage, due to ancient admixture. The species found were:

	cattle	*pig*	*sheep/ goat*	*horse*	*total*
bones	134	8	23	38	203
percent	66.0	3.9	15.3	18.7	
jaws	20	3	9	0	32
percent	62.5	9.4	28.1		

Among the bones from these features was a very broken skull of a small cow. It was impracticable to attempt reconstruction of this specimen, though some of its characteristics can be described. The skull shows some evidence of bone damage and inflammation on the frontal bone between the horn cores. The horn cores are very small, and curve forwards and slightly upwards. The intact horn core has a maximum anterior–posterior thickness at the base (measurement 45 in Von den Dreisch 1976) of 35.3mm, and a minimal measurement (measurement 46) of 31.3mm. The length on the outside curve (measurement 47) is 111.2mm.

From Romano-British double-ditch in Area XIV

	cattle	*pig*	*sheep/ goat*	*horse*	*total*
bones	42	8	31	22	103
percent	40.8	7.8	30.1	21.4	
jaws	9	2	6	4	21
percent	42.9	9.5	28.6	19.0	

Other species:

1 Right humerus shaft of human, broken mid-shaft and with the distal epiphysis broken off.

2 Right femur shaft of human, broken mid-shaft and with the proximal articulation broken off. The linear aspera is very strongly developed in this specimen, indicating a male.

3 Skull fragment of human; probably parietal. The sutures at one margin are not closed.

4 Corvus sp.; raven? left proximal tibio-metatarsus.

5 Fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), distal right humerus and 1 lumbar vertebra.

Conclusions

In the tables above, sheep bones are given as 'sheep/goat' as it is always impossible to distinguish every fragment into one or other of these species. Of those bones which could be potentially separated using existing criteria (Boessneck *et al.* 1964, Prummel and Frisch 1986), all proved to be sheep. In the discussion, the group is collectively identified as sheep, as there is no doubt that these made up the greater part of the sheep/goat bones in all phases of the site.

A detailed discussion concerning the form of the Iron Age economy is limited by the nature of the samples. While the total number of bones from Blackhorse Road is moderately large, it is divided among several sub-sites so that each site has only a few hundred identified bones and jaws. However the Tables show that the faunas from all of the sites show certain common features. Cattle are the most common domestic mammal, and are equalled in importance by sheep only in a small sample from the Iron Age palisade trench. Pigs are rather infrequent in all of the later sites. Sheep vary somewhat between 22.2% and 46.9% but, bearing in mind the note of caution above, the proportion of this species will certainly be the most influenced by methods of recovery.

Small mammal and bird bones are not very abundant at any of the sites. Fox bones are occasionally encountered, but it is at least as probable that these are intrusive as that they were contemporary with the settlement. Hare bones were found in the middle Iron Age pits, and in the ditch fill of Enclosure Two. These finds, combined with the virtual absence of deer from any of the Iron Age sites, supports the interpretation that the Iron Age landscape was very open. The finds of bird bones were largely restricted to those of a member of the crow family, probably the raven. These are (and other members of the same family) are likely to be found as scavengers.

Age at death in cattle and sheep

The age classes at death have been determined using the method of Payne (1973); as the dentition and pattern of eruption is very similar between sheep and

cattle, the method has been used for the latter species as well as the sheep for which the it was originally designed. The system is based upon the observation of a number of tooth eruption events:

A lower milk molar 3 unworn.
B milk molar 3 in wear, M1 unworn.
C M1 in wear, M2 unworn.
D M2 in wear, M3 unworn.
E M3 in wear, posterior cusp unworn.
F posterior cusp of M3 in wear, infundibulae still open.
G infundibulae of M2 and M3 closed.
H infundibulae of M2 reduced in size.
I infundibulae of M3 reduced in size.

(Note: the infundibulum is described as 'closed' when wear has extended to the point where the enamel surround of the infundibulum is no longer continuous with the enamel of the outer surface of the tooth, and the infundibulum is isolated by exposed dentine. For stages G–I, this can be seen in Payne 1973, Figs. 6 and 8.)

Sheep: age classes from mandibles

Tooth eruption stage	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*	*I*
Enclosure Two	0	0	7	2	3	2	4	0	0
Middle Iron Age pits	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	3	0
Romano-British ditch	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0

No site has a sufficient number of jaws to allow a consideration of the age profiles in relation to husbandry. Overall, the Iron Age sheep mandibles show a concentration on killing in age classes C, D and E of Payne (1973), which suggests that a substantial proportion died at an age of 1–2 years; stage E represents rather older animals in the 2–3 year age class.

Cattle: age classes from mandibles

Tooth eruption stage	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*	*I*
Enclosure One trench	0	0	1	0	4	3	2	3	7
Enclosure Two	0	0	2	4	4	1	2	3	1
Middle Iron Age pits	0	0	4	2	1	1	3	3	2
Romano-British ditch	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	4

Cattle also show a peak of killing at about the same tooth eruption stages as the sheep (that is, stages C, D and E), though in this larger, slower maturing species this represents more advanced ages. Stage E, in which the first wear appears on the third permanent molar, represents a wear stage which according to Simonds (1854) was attained in mid-nineteenth-century cattle at between 2 and 3 years of age. It appears from this that this initial cull was of cattle at or near their maximum body size, representing the most efficient point of killing for meat. Some cattle were killed in at intermediate states of mature age, represented by age classes F and G, though a substantial proportion lived on to relatively advanced ages marked by classes H and I.

As far as this reflects the original culling policies it is as would be anticipated; both sheep and cattle appear to show peaks of killing at the time when the surplus animals had attained most of their adult body size. The evidence points to a generalised form of economy in which the species were no doubt exploited for a variety of outputs.

Body size

Cattle

A small number of bones can be used to establish some aspects of body size in the cattle and sheep. For the cattle, Fig. 3 (Legge 1980) shows two dimensions of the distal humerus plotted for all measurable specimens from the Iron Age sites, and one of Late Neolithic age. The specimens show a considerable variation in size. Some of the cattle are relatively large, and overlap with populations of known Neolithic date (Legge 1981b, Fig. 5). This may well represent the later incorporation of earlier Neolithic or Bronze Age specimens into Iron Age deposits at Blackhorse Road. On the other hand even the three smallest specimens, from the Middle Iron Age, are only as small as the lower end of the size range for Bronze Age cattle from Grimes Graves (Fig. 4, Legge 1980). It would therefore seem that the cattle from the Iron Age contexts at Blackhorse Road had shown no size reduction from the time of the Bronze Age; this is contrary to the findings of Jewell (1963, Fig. 20). However, as the sample from Blackhorse Road is few, and earlier material might be incorporated into the sample, too much weight cannot be given to these conclusions.

Sheep

Very few sheep bones could be measured; no measurement is sufficiently numerous for the size of the sheep to be considered.

Horse

Three Iron Age horse metacarpals could be measured, and their lengths (202.7, 204.0 and 221.4mm) indicate the small pony known from other British Iron Age sites (Wilson *et al.* 1978).

Measurements

The site from which the specimen comes is listed. The appropriate code following von den Dreisch (1976) is given in brackets. The measurement TT is not given in von den Dreisch; it represents the maximum thickness of the medial border of the humerus condyle (see Legge 1981a, Fig. 58B).

Pit 6063: Bos metacarpal, complete: (GL) 268mm; (Bp) 84.5mm; (Bd) 84mm; (SD) 50.5mm.

Bos, distal humerus:

		BT	*TT*
1	*Late Neolithic*	65.6	40.6
2	*Enclosure Two*	61.9	37.1
3	*Enclosure Two*	69.1	39.6
4	*Enclosure Two*	76.0	38.6
5	*Middle Iron Age*	61.0	36.0
5	*Romano-British*	74.0	38.2
6	*Romano-British*	64.7	36.5
7	*Romano-British*	64.0	38.1
8	*No context*	62.7	37.7

Horse, metacarpal:

Middle Iron Age, GL = 202.7, Bp = 47.7, SD = 31.4, Bd=36.4;

Middle Iron Age, GL = 204.0, Bp = 45.6, SD = 31.1,;

Enclosure Two, GL = 221.4, Bp = 45.0, SD = 28.4, Bd = 43.4.

OBJECTS OF STONE

Flint artifacts
by J.J. Wymer

The flints submitted for this report come from various contexts and, in the absence of other dating evidence, an assessment as to whether they constitute one or more industries, or are spread over a long or short period of time, can only be made from their typology and condition.

Finished tool forms of diagnostic types are rare, the most informative being a few petit tranchet or petit tranchet derivative arrowheads. The technology of flake removal varies from the very crude to reasonably skilled blade production. With rare exceptions, the flints are uniformly patinated a smooth white.

The numbers of flint artifacts are given in the list below, separated into their site contexts. It will be seen that they are few in number. Those found in 1972 came from various segments of a pair of parallel ditches and some associated pits, and were amalgamated by the excavator. They produce a more sizable assemblage and it seems very likely that they do belong to one flint industry or, at least, the great majority do. This is a subjective assessment, based on the similarity of their condition, their discovery in apparently contemporary features and the absence of anything to denote the contrary. They have, therefore, been treated as such for the purpose of this report and, as can be seen below, an analysis of flakes supports this assumption. There is also no reason to consider the finds made from other contexts as any different.

Associated finds with the flints were Ebbsfleet sherds in pits 7007, layer (6), and sherds of Rusticated Beaker, Grooved Ware, Peterborough vessels, and a bone pin in the pit 6601 layers (3) and (4), charcoal from which produced a radiocarbon date of 3590±130 BP (uncalibrated) (BM284). These are described below followed by an analysis of the industry represented by the 1972 collection. This pit contained 32 flakes, a p.t.d. arrowhead, a scraper (fire-damaged), 4 flakes with secondary working or signs of use and a fire-crackled natural flint (Fig. 40, 1). The association of Grooved Ware sherds with p.t.d. arrowheads is well-attested, and the radiocarbon date is of the right order. A few other associations are known, especially in feature 6072 which contained Beaker sherds. These include four scrapers (Fig. 40, nos. 7–9), a small serrated blade (no. 5), a backed blade with a serrated opposite edge (no. 4) and a broken, probably unfinished arrowhead (no. 2).

The petit tranchet and p.t.d. arrowheads alone give a Late Neolithic date. It is useful to have this additional site to corroborate the association between them and Grooved Ware, but there are few sites in southern England that have yielded a flint industry that can be attributed to this period. One of the first was that under a round barrow on Arreton Down on the Isle of Wight. This is a considerable distance from Hertfordshire, but now there is the well-documented complex of sites at Fengate, which is much closer and offers a better parallel to Blackhorse Road. For this reason, in the analysis of the flints below, they are described in the same manner as those from the Fengate Storey's Bar Road subsite, published in the second and third Fengate reports (Pryor 1978, 1980). Although the numbers of artifacts is small in comparison, it will be seen that Blackhorse Road has produced a similar industry.

The flint artifacts found in 1972 consisted of 306 flakes, the majority uniformally patinated white, 12

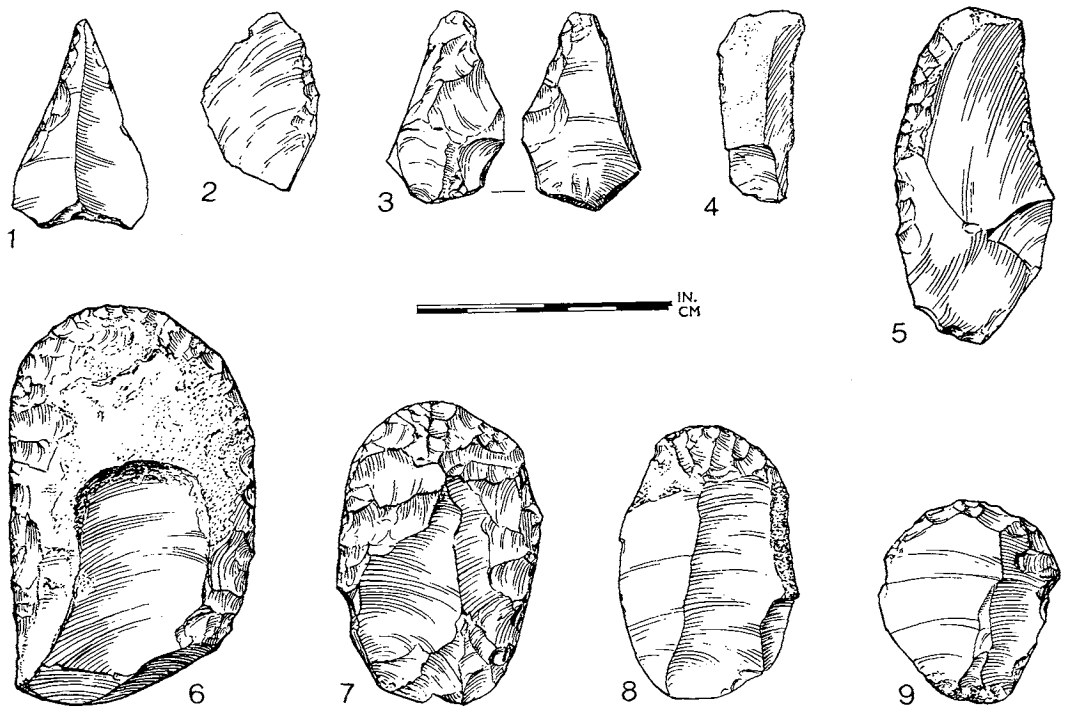

Figure 40. Neolithic flints.

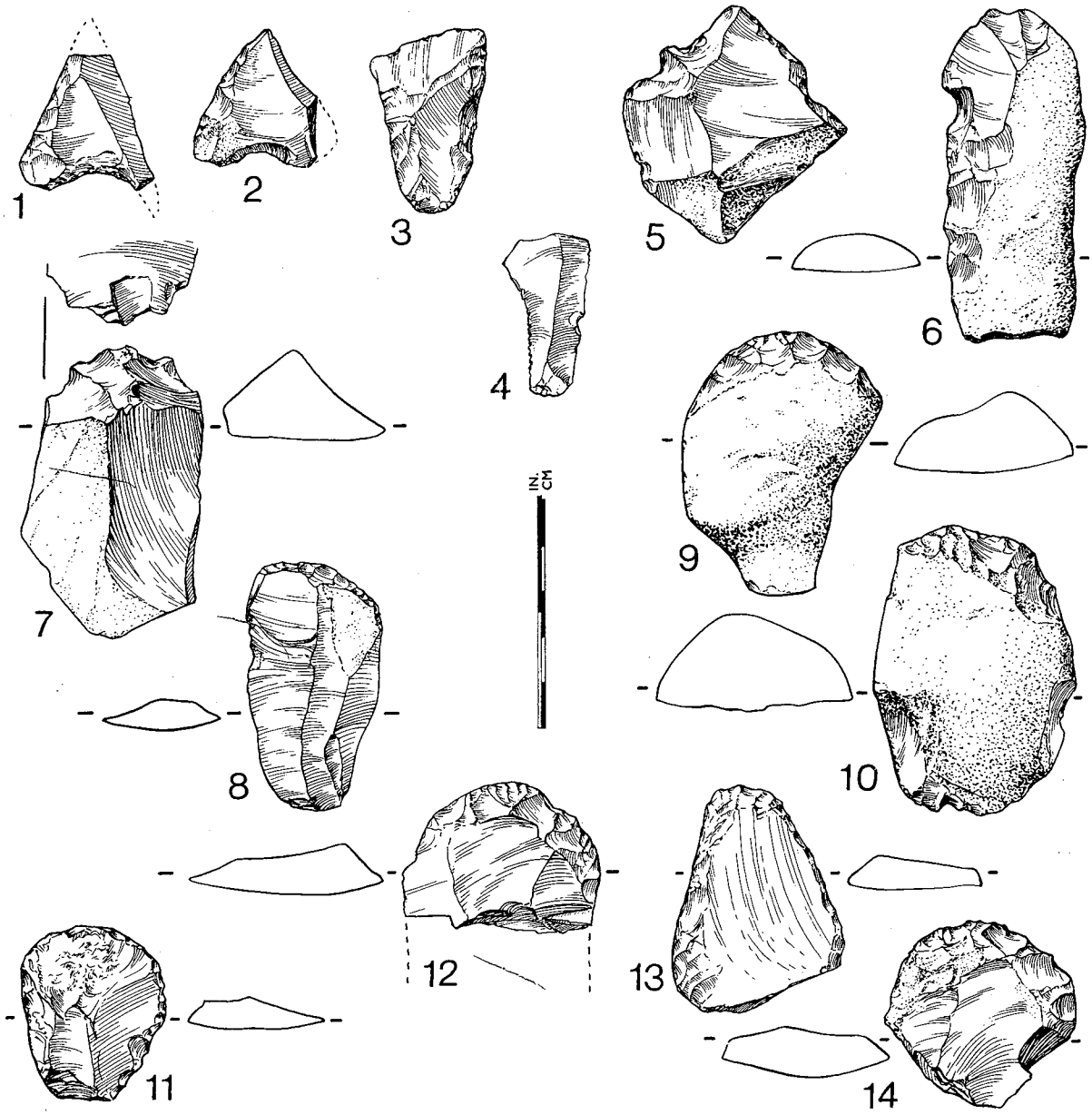

Figure 41. Neolithic flints.

scrapers, 4 serrated flakes, 10 flakes with unspecialised secondary working, 1 petit tranchet arrowhead, 1 petit tranchet derivative arrowhead, 2 cores. Of these 306 flakes, 29 were excluded on account of their being broken, recently damaged or of doubtful provenance. The total number of flints considered was, therefore, 307, made up as follows:

277 flakes	90.2% of the total
12 scrapers	3.9%
14 utilised flakes	4.6%
2 arrowheads	0.7%
2 cores	0.7%
IMPLEMENTS	9.12% of the total

Scrapers (Fig. 41, nos. 7–14)
The 12 scrapers are all complete except one and can be classified as per Clark *et al.* (1960)

Class A	(i) long end	3 (incl. 1 broken)
	(ii) short end	6
Class B	(ii) short double end	1 Class D
	(i) short side	2

Three of the short end and the double end scrapers are made on thick, totally cortical flakes, and only three of all the scrapers are made on flakes totally devoid of cortex. It is noted that many of the artifacts, scrapers

included, have patches of a limey deposition ('race') which is, of course, secondary to their manufacture but could be mistaken for cortex. The three long end scrapers are end scrapers in the sense that their worked edge is restricted to the end of the flake and does not intrude along the edges. The sides of the flakes are broadly parallel and , in this respect, they resemble their mesolithic counterparts. The broken example (Fig. 41, no. 12) is accepted as such because of the nature of the fracture, which still retains a jagged protrusion which would almost certainly have been flaked away if the tool had been made on a broken flake. It is 12mm thick and 34mm of length remains of what was probably about 60mm. It may have, when complete, been set into a handle and broken in use at the point of insertion, but this would have demanded considerable pressure on a flake of such thickness and there is no corresponding sign of heavy use at the working end. One of the other long end scrapers is unusual in being both denticulate and partly bifacial (Fig. 41, no. 7). Another of the short end scrapers is also partly bifacial, but not denticulate.

The short double end scraper is a crude example, made on a thermal flake. One of the side scrapers (Fig. 41, no. 13) is more accurately a convergent scraper. The secondary working is relatively steep and bears a different light blue patina to the white patina of the parent flake. This is the only clear example seen of two periods of workmanship.

Typologically, the Blackhorse Road scrapers are far less regular and discoidal than those from the Fengate subsite as published (Pryor 1978, Fig. 47) but, with such a small sample, this is perhaps not very significant. It could well be the result of their being made on mainly thick, cortical flakes, which seem to have been the only ones available of suitable dimensions for using as blanks.

Lengths of complete scrapers:

mm	*10–20*	*20–30*	*30–40*	*40–50*	*50–60*	*60–70*
number	–	–	1	2	5	3
percent		9.1	18.2	45.5	27.2	

Widths of 11 complete scrapers:

mm	*10–20*	*20–30*	*30–40*	*40–50*	*50–60*	*60–70*
number	–	2	3	4	2	–
percent	–	18.2	27.2	36.4	18.2	–

Thicknesses of 12 scrapers:

mm	*3–5*	*5–7*	*7–9*	*9–11*	*11–13*	*13–15*
number	1	–	2	3	1	1
percent	8.3	–	16.6	25.0	8.3	8.3

mm	*15–17*	*17–19*	*19–21*	*21–23*	*23–25*
number	2	–	–	1	1
percent	16.6			8.3	8.3

Working edge retouch angles of 12 scrapers (to nearest 5 degrees)

angle	*30–35*	*35–40*	*40–45*	*45–50*	*50–55*	*55–60*	*60–65*
number	–	1	1	1	–	6	3
percent	–	8.3	8.3	8.3	–	50	50

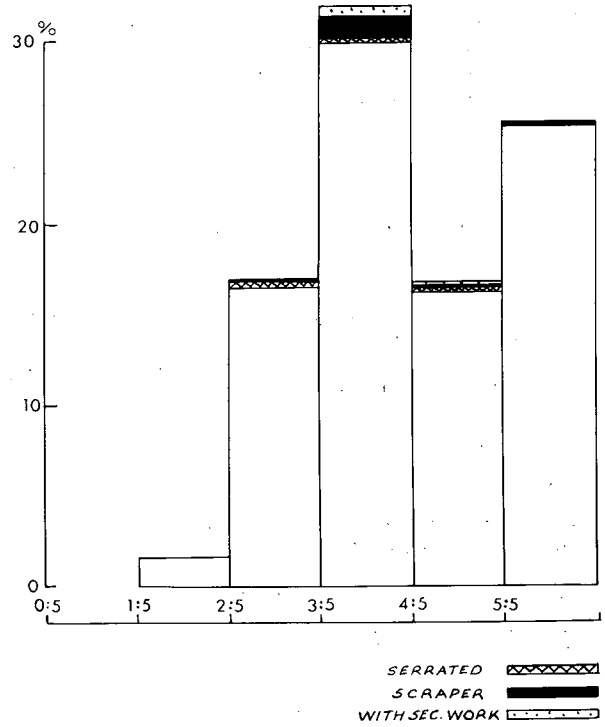

Figure 42. Frequency histogram: scrapers.

There is good agreement in these figures with those from the Fengate subsite: the same highest values for thicknesses and a very slightly lower angle on the working edge at Blackhorse Road.

Arrowheads (Fig. 41, nos. 1–3)
Two examples can be classified as per Clark (1934):
Type C1 Transverse, chisel-ended arrowhead. Finely made with bifacial working mainly intrusive on to the dorsal face of the flake (Fig. 41, no. 3).
Type H Petit tranchet derivative arrowhead with a single barb (broken) and a sharp tip. (Fig. 41, no. 1).

Utilised flakes (Fig. 41, nos. 4–6)

With irregular flaking at one end, possibly rough scrapers	2
Denticulate	1 (Fig. 41, no. 5)
Knife with shallow flaking and a notch, made on a cortical flake	1 (Fig. 41, no. 6)
Bifacial working along one edge on thick cortical flake	1
With steep secondary working on part of dorsal end (unpatinated)	1
With shallow secondary working on part of dorsal end	1
With small notch, made on a completely non-cortical discoidal flake	1
With slight secondary working or damage on proximal ends of small flakes (cf. outils ecailles)	2

Serrated flakes 4 (Fig. 41, no. 4)
Similar serrated flakes are from Mesolithic contexts,

but also occur in Late Neolithic ones, such as at the Fengate subsite. This list of utilised flakes does not take into account the various flakes with minute chippings which could be from use or natural damage. Microwear studies on suitable material would probably show that a very high proportion of flakes had actually been utilised.

BY-PRODUCTS (90.8% of the total)

Cores

Of the only two cores, only one can be classified as per Clark *et al.* (1960): Class B 3 Two platforms at right angles. The other is a small (greatest diameter 42mm) bi-conical discoidal core. The proportion of cores to flakes (0.7%) is even lower than that at Fengate (Storey's Bar Road sub-site 1.9%).

Flakes

A very high proportion of the flakes were either with cortex entirely or on their dorsal faces.

entirely cortex	35	12.6% of all flakes
partly cortex	120	43.3% of all flakes
no cortex	122	44.0% of all flakes

Lengths of 277 complete flakes:

mm	0–10	10–20	20–30	30–40	40–50	50–60	60–70	70–80
number	1	29	102	80	43	16	5	1
percent	0.4	10.5	36.8	28.9	15.5	5.8	1.8	0.4

Breadths of 277 complete flakes:

mm	0–10	10–20	20–30	30–40	40–50	50–60
number	1	60	124	63	22	7
percent	0.4	2.1	44.8	22.7	7.9	2.5

Breadth/length ratios of 277 complete flakes:

	0–1:5	1:5–2:5	2:5–3:5	3:5–4:5	4:5–5:5
number	–	8	53	89	51	76
percent	–	2.9	19.1	32.1	18.4	27.4

(This table is expressed as a histogram, Fig. 42.)

CONCLUSIONS

Of the flint artifacts from Blackhorse Road, Letchworth, at least the majority belong to one flint industry of Late Neolithic date. This is based on three grounds: (i) the association of a few with Grooved Ware and Beaker sherds, (ii) the typology of the artifacts, (iii) a comparison with a Late Neolithic industry at the Fengate Storey's Bar Road subsite.

The petit tranchet and derivative arrowheads are characteristic of Late Neolithic industries at several sites, especially in East Anglia, and there are no finished forms which are at variance with what is known of their other products. The style of flaking, with a tendency towards squat flakes but the presence of occasional blades, is in agreement.

The metrical tables which have been given above, for comparison with similarly constructed tables at the Fengate subsite (Pryor 1980, 122), show marked similarities, but should not be pressed too far. The size 'preference' for the flakes is the same (20–40mm long) but just slightly broader (20–30mm wide as opposed to 15–20mm at Fengate). There is also the same bi-modal pattern in the breadth/length ratios of the flakes. However, there are several ways of presenting the data for breadth/length ratios and misleading interpretations are easily made, cf. Windmill Hill and Durrington Walls (Farley 1979, 322–3). There is also concern among several archaeologists that known and unknown variables find no expression in such tables. Scattergrams have more to recommend them for visual presentation of selected criteria and it would be a useful exercise to prepare these for the few known Late Neolithic industries in reliable contexts and compare them, but this cannot be attempted here. Nor would Blackhorse Road qualify for such treatment in view of the small sample. Perhaps the most important factor that eludes such metrical tables is the size and quality of the flint available. The large number of cortical and partly cortical flakes from Blackhorse Road, and the lack of any flakes greater than 80mm long, suggests that only small nodules were available for knapping. Yet, the chalk was fresh Chalk flint. Perhaps only small nodules were brought to the site because of the ease of conveyance from the source.

The heavy patina prevents any visual assessment of the quality of the flint that was used, but a few recent chips or breaks show an original colour. Very few of the flints are burnt, but the presence of scrapers, serrated flakes and some retouched pieces attest to domestic activities of some kind, although, apparently, not very intensive. Most surprising, with so many flakes, is the very small number of cores from which they might have been struck. Also, no hammerstones have been recorded, so it would seem that virtually all the knapping took place somewhere else. There is also a total absence of any axe element or any other complete or broken tools that had been ground and polished. The high proportion of cortical flakes in the Blackhorse Road assemblage is somewhat at variance with the lack of much evidence for knapping on the site. However, the smaller proportion of cortical flakes at Fengate can be explained by the use there of gravel flint as opposed to nodules from the Chalk. Most of the flint at Fengate was derived from local gravels and probably not much larger, but this could explain the smaller proportion of cortical flakes.

As for the bi-modal pattern of the breadth/length ratios, this could well be the result of the chance inclusion of numerous small, side-struck flakes produced in secondary working. A similar pattern is to be seen in an earlier collection of flakes found beneath the South Street Barrow in Wiltshire (Ashbee *et al.* 1979, 271).

The flints give little clue to the activities of the contemporary inhabitants in the vicinity , but the small proportion of arrowheads and the fair number of scrapers and utilised flakes (8.5%) attest to domestic rather than hunting or military activity.

Stone specimens modified by human agency

These were identified by Dr C.L. Forbes, then of the Sedgwick Museum, University of Cambridge. A report on these is in the archive.

A number of sandstone specimens came from Neolithic contexts, many of them crazed, and discoloured by fire. Some had one of their surfaces flattened by human

agency. Several specimens of Millstone Grit had received artificial smoothing. Specimens of Kottenheim lava were recovered from 0035 and from the interior of Enclosure Two, both Iron Age contexts. All the rock types apart from the German specimens could be expected to occur naturally in local boulder clays and river gravels. Some specimens of clinker and slag occurred in 0024, and 0035. Some notes on these by Dr C.E. Turner and Professor R.F. Tylecote, University of London, are in the archive. In the latter's opinion if iron smelting had been carried out on the site, it was done on a very small scale.

ENVIRONMENTAL

Charcoal specimens from Blackhorse Road

The following specimens were submitted to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and kindly identified by Dr D.F. Cutler.

From Neolithic contexts:

Feature	*layer*	*charcoal*
6063	3	*Acer campestre*, 'Field Maple'
	9	*Sorbus* sp.; *Alnus glutinosa*; 'Hawthorn'
	7	*Salix* or *Populus*, 'Willow' or 'Poplar'; a member of Rosaceae, probably *Prunus* sp
	4	*Alnus glutinosa*.
6072	3	probably *Sorbus* sp.; *Alnus glutinosa*
*	4	*Prunus* sp., probably *P. avium*, 'Bird Cherry'; *Crataegus* sp., 'Hawthorn'

* A charcoal sample from this produced a result of 3830±140 yrs BP (uncalibrated), BM-283.

From Iron Age contexts:

Feature	*reference*	*charcoal*
0035	N12: 5′ 4″	*Ulmus* sp.; 'Elm'; *Prunus* sp.; cereal grain probably *Triticum* sp.
	N12S 4′	*Corylus avellana*; 'Hazel'
0022	PD1 4–5	*Quercus* sp. of *robur* type; 'Oak'.
0020	P20 (3)	probably *Crataegus* sp., *Malus* or *Crataegus* sp.; 'Crab Apple'or Hawthorn'
0030	P30	*Acer campestre* and *Dicotyledonous* root
0058	P82	*Quercus* sp.of *robur* type
0021	SkIV	*Quercus* sp.of *robur* type
0048	D14 PTr1	*raxinus excelsior*, 'Ash'; *Salix* or *Populus* sp.
D15	PTr1	probably *Prunus* sp.
D17	PTr1	*Prunus* sp. of *spinosa* type
0176	STrAN	*Ulmus* sp.
0037	P21	*Prunus* sp. of *spinosa* type; 'Blackthorn'
0040a	P29a	probably *Alnus glutinosa*
0043	P41	probably *Crataegus* sp.
0034	TrII	*Quercus* sp. of *robur* type
6037	P37	*Quercus* sp. of *robur* type

The species represented in the charcoal are not unusual in any way for Iron Age vegetation. The plants could all have been found growing in slightly damp or dry scrub or woodland. The cereal grain is probably Triticum sp., but is poorly preserved and not suitable for closer identification.

Radiocarbon dates from Neolithic contexts

Four charcoal samples from Neolithic pits were submitted to the British Museum Research Laboratory with the following with the following results, given as uncalibrated determinations Before Present:

BM-186	3520±150 BP	P6072 layer 3
BM-187	3310±150 BP	P6072 layer 4
BM-283	3830±140 BP	P6072 layer 4
BM-284	3590±130 BP	P6601 layer 4

Non-marine Mollusca

by Michael Kerney

The area lies within a shallow, isolated depression in the hillside, almost certainly of natural origin. The surface of the solid chalk was overlain by up to 1.25m of soil and colluvium. The stratigraphy was everywhere straightforward. The following section was measured in trench:

0–20cm	modern soil
20–63cm	greyish-brown (Munsell 2.5Y 5/2) rubbly chalk silt (colluvium).
63–90cm	very dark greyish-brown (2.5Y 3/2) strongly humic chalk silt, virtually stoneless (A-horizon of buried soil). Grading down into –
90–115cm	ash-grey (N 6/) humic chalk silt and rubble, slightly cemented (Ca-horizon of buried soil). Grading down into –
115 cm+	rubbly broken chalk, essentially *in situ*.

The buried rendsina (63–115cm) is unusually thick in comparison with most chalk rendsinas. It is likely that it was to some extent built up by gentle colluviation from the flanks of the hollow. The A-horizon was extensively penetrated by vertical earthworm holes filled with paler material.

Three samples were taken from the section (40–50cm, 70–80cm, 95–115cm). The Mollusca are listed below. All examples of the burrowing species *Cecilioides acicicula* have a fresh appearance and are probably modern; they have been excluded from the calculation of percentages. In addition to molluscs the lowermost sample yielded a cheek tooth of *Microtus agrestis* (L.) (field vole) and the two upper samples a very small pottery fragment each.

List of Mollusca

depth	*95–105*	*70–80*	*40–50*
dry weight of sample (g.)	1080	1280	1500
Pomatias elegans (Müller)	20	44	16
Carychium tridentatum (Risso)	4	73	1
Cochlicopa spp.	6	22	30
Truncatellina cylindrica (Ferussac)	–	–	2
Vertigo pygmaea (Draparnaud)	1	5	5
Abida secale (Draparnaud)	5	–	–
Pupilla muscorum (L.)	5	89	202
Vallonia costata (Müller)	19	130	64
Vallonia excentrica (Sterki)	3	54	71

Vallonia cf. *excentrica* (juveniles)	9	68	147
Acanthinula aculeata (Müller)	1	8	1
Ena montana (Draparnaud)	1	3	–
Punctum pygmaeum (Draparnaud)	4	11	7
Discus rotundatus (Müller)	9	30	1
Vitrina pellucida (Müller)	1	–	2
Vitrea crystallina (Müller)	1	1	–
Vitrea contracta (Westerlund)	–	4	–
Nesovitrea hammonis (Strom)	–	4	–
Aegopinella pura (Alder)	3	4	–
Aegopinella nitidula (Draparnaud)	6	10	–
Oxychilus cellarius (Müller)	1	3	3
Limax/Deroceras spp.	9	12	12
Cecilioides acicula (Müller)	10	59	123
Cochlodina laminata (Montagu)	2	8	–
Clausilia bidentata (Strom)	21	30	11
Helicella itala (L.)	11	30	59
Trichia cf. plebeia (Draparnaud)	12	63	88
Arianta arbustorum (L.)	x	x	–
Helicigona lapicida (L.)	x	x	x
Cepaea nemoralis (L.)	–	x	x
Cepaea hortensis (Müller)	x	–	–
Cepaea/Arianta spp.	20	19	5

x = non-apical fragments only

The uppermost sample reflects the environment with least ambiguity: the assemblage is that of rather dry calcareous grassland, bare of trees or appreciable scrub. Significant in this respect are the high percentages of *Vallonia* and *Pupilla muscorum*, accounting together for nearly 70% of the total fauna. The rare species *Truncatellina cylindrica* was found only in this sample; its score or so of recorded sites in Britain are mainly dry hillsides where the vegetation cover is sparse and bare rock is locally at the surface.

In general the assemblage is in keeping with conditions widely produced on the chalklands of southern England by late prehistoric arable farming. The material is a ploughwash, which filled the pre-existing hollow fairly rapidly once cultivation had begun on adjacent slopes, burying the soil below.

The assemblages from the buried soil present some difficulties of interpretation. The fauna is more diverse than that of the colluvium and is of ecologically mixed character. The assemblage in the upper part of the soil (70–80cm) mainly reflects grassland. The percentage of *Vallonia* (40.5%) is almost identical to that in the overlying colluvium (39%). But *Pupilla muscorum* is halved in abundance (14.5% as against 28%), suggesting that the grassland was stable and that here were fewer areas of broken ground.

This is of course independently suggested by the excellent development of a stoneless A-horizon, implying a stable and continuous vegetational cover. We may deduce that although forest clearance had been effected, arable cultivation had not yet begun. This supposition is to some extent strengthened by the presence in significant numbers of species which require a certain amount of shade and cover and are intolerant of cultivation (*Carychium tridentatum*, *Acanthinula aculeata*, *Ena montana*, *Discus rotundatus*, *Cochlodina laminata*, *Clausilia bidentata*, *Aegopinella* spp.). *Ena montana* is the most important of these: it is a continental species formerly quite widespread but now very local in southern Britain, its decline having apparently been brought about by the combined effects of human interference and the cooler summers of the later part of the Postglacial period.

It is possible that some of these shells may not be contemporary with the grassland element but may be relicts in the soil from an earlier period. On the other hand their preservation is on the whole good, differing in no way from that of the other shells. *Ena montana*, a rather fragile species, is represented by a complete undamaged adult 14.5mm in height. Alternatively it might therefore be suggested that a closer sampling of the A-horizon in thinner slices might have revealed a clear-cut succession from a woodland to a grassland phase. In 1963 the preservation of a stratigraphical record within certain chalk soils was not fully appreciated and the sampling was therefore coarse by modern standards.

The lowermost sample (96–105cm) yielded a rather sparse and ill-preserved assemblage, which in this case is almost certainly a mixture of different dates. It is noteworthy that the scrub and woodland element is proportionately higher than in the A-horizon of the soil, suggesting wooded conditions. The presence of fragments of the locally extinct open-country species *Abida secale* suggests that elements may also survive from an unwooded period in the Late-glacial or very early in the Postglacial.

Soil samples

A report on the soil samples from Wilbury ring-ditch by B.W. Avery, Soil Survey of England and Wales, Rothamsted Experimental Station, Herts, is in the archive.

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APPENDIX
List of participants in the excavations

Those prefixed by an asterisk * made either a skilled or a long-term contribution to the work.

J. Adams, A. Amess, Fiona Anderson, W. Armitage, Elizabeth Bankhead, M. Bartlett, B. Bennet, *Judy Birmingham, N.M. Blair, Mary Blackburn, H. Bland, *D. Blythin, R. Boughton, A. Bourne, *E. Bowry, Frances Bracey, A. Briers, A H. Briggs, M. Browne, *Doreen Cadwallader, Gavin Campbell, Marianne Cardale, *R.J. Castledine, Robin Clarke, S. Clark, *T. Coleby, *Desmond Collins, M. Collins, Alison Coombe, R. Cooper, M. Crawford, Susan Darlington, W. Davis, Sister/Tutor Duncan, *V.G. Fenton, Marion Fitzgerald, G.J. Foley, R. Fordham, M. Fry, *J. Fossey, Dorothy Gallagher, D. Giddings, Charles Green, D. Gregory, M. Hall, Christine Hart, C. Hart, Vivienne Hailey, H. Hammond, B. Hay, Margery Hester, Pamela Hester, I. Higgins, Cathy Jackson, Hilary Jenkins, J. Johnson, J. Jordan, Zigrida Kambuts, R. Kendall, M. Keen, David Kennet, A. Lambert, Miss Linnell, *C. Marsh, W. Makepeace, Maureen McIllmurray, Elizabeth Michaels, N. Middleton, Mary Middleton, Karen Moore, P. Moore, D. Morgans, Helen Morgans, B. Needham, M. Nieman, G. Newman-Turner, N. Oughton, Audrey Ozanne, Martin Page, *P. Palmer, V. Parr, John Perceval, C. Platt, G. Plinston, N. Pritchard, Francis M.M. Pryor, Klaus Richter, B. Ripley, Cherry-Ann Robertson, Gillian Robertson, Ann Roden, E. Rogers, I. Ross, J. Rothwell, Miss Shaw, G. Slaughter, Jean Stewart, Lorna Storer, M. Treverton, H. Watts, Miss Warne, *Kath. Welch, R. Welch, *Kit Westaway, E. Wheatly, E. Whitfield, A. Whiteman, J. Williams, Jesmary Wilson, *K.G. Wilson, J. Witty, J. Wood, S. Wray, I. Wright.

THE WANDLEBURY LEGEND AND WELSH ROMANCE

GLENYS GOETINCK

Wandlebury hillfort, as an important and interesting site, has attracted its share of scholarly attention, as have the legends connected with it. The most famous of these, recounted by Gervase of Tilbury *c.* 1211, runs as follows:

> A powerful baron and redoubtable knight, one Osbert son of Hugh, was staying with friends in Cambridge. One evening whilst listening to tales being told for the entertainment of the company, he heard that if a warrior were to enter Wandlebury fort alone, at dead of night and cry, 'Knight to knight, come forth,' an opponent would appear to answer the challenge. He did this and, indeed, an opponent appeared before him. They charged, but neither horseman unseated the other. However, Osbert parried his adversary's spear thrust and struck him to the ground with a powerful blow. He sprang instantly to his feet, to see Osbert leading his horse away by the bridle and so he hurled his lance at the baron, pierced his thigh, and disappeared. Osbert was unaware of the wound until later when he was removing his armour. The victory was loudly applauded and the magnificent, fiery, black horse with its black trappings was a source of wonder and admiration to all. At cockcrow the animal broke free, vanished, and was never found again. Although Osbert's wound healed, it opened every year on the anniversary of the combat.[1]

Arthur Gray, in a study of the legend, concluded that 'it is apparently drawn from a Celtic source.'[2] He further observes, 'Gervase does not say that the demonic antagonist was a Vandal, but I think that that is his suggestion. This too gives a hint that the legend is Celtic not English. Had it sprung from an English source the conquered warrior would certainly have been a Briton.'[3] It is interesting, in this context, that the Norman knight is not said to have defeated a Saxon adversary. Gervase may imply that the warrior was a Vandal, or he may avoid any mention of race, sensing the uncertainty of the figure's origin and preferring to leave the decision to his readers. Mr Gray further notes that, 'The common feature of the tales to which the Wandlebury legend is related is the victory of the civilised invader over the representatives of a vanished, inhuman race, primitive inhabitants of the land, and the scene is some monumental work of prehistoric man.'[4] The victory of Osbert fitz Hugh over his mysterious opponent is more apparent than real. The horse remains captive for only a few hours and then vanishes, presumably to return whence it came, whilst the wound which Osbert sustained from his opponent's lance opens every year on the anniversary of the combat.

The Arthurian scholar R.S. Loomis also took an interest in the Wandlebury legend and noted its resemblance to an incident in the twelfth-century *Lai de l'Espine*.[5] Here the encounter takes place at a ford, the hero does not voice a challenge, he simply has to be present and waiting at a particular spot on St John's Eve. He unhorses his adversary, but the captured horse escapes when the hero's wife removes the bridle. Loomis' enthusiasm for Breton influences in Arthurian romance led him to the opinion that Gervase's version of the legend was '. . . a Breton conte which somehow came to be localized at the haunted

1 A more detailed account is given by Arthur Gray 'On The Wandlebury Legend', *PCAS* 15 (1911), 53–62.
2 Art. cit., 53.
3 Ibid., 56.
4 Ibid., 56.
5 'Vandeberes, Wandlebury, and the Lai de l'Espine', *Romance Philology* 9 (1955), 162–7.

hill-fort on the Gog Magog hills.'[6] However, as we shall see, there is no need to involve Breton *conteurs* with Wandlebury.

Pierre Lambrechts, in his study of Celtic divinities, sees a link between the Wandlebury legend and Celtic religion. By associating the figures of the Willingham Fen* sceptre, where Jupiter Taranis stands with one foot on the head of a chthonic figure, a giant hill-figure in the Gog Magog hills, and the Wandlebury legend, Lambrechts suggests a connection with the mythology of the jupiter Giant groups: *'Il est possible, comme M. Heichelheim l'a suggéré, que les pétroglyphes des Gog Magog Hills, le sceptre de Willingham Fen et la légende médiévale ont tous traité d'une histoire mythologique préromaine dans laquelle un cavalier, un géant et un cheval, c'est-à-dire les éléments du groupe du chevalier au géant jouaient un rôle.'*[7]

There is little indication at Wandlebury of what the religious beliefs and practices of the British and Belgic Celts who inhabited the stronghold may have been,[8] but comparison with Welsh literature will show that the origin of the legend is to be found in Celtic tradition, in those tales which tell of the encounter of a hero with the Otherworld power, the male chthonic divinity of Celtic mythology. There is a challenge, sometimes a combat, followed by the hero's entry into the Other World, there to be invested with power through instruction, the gift of weapons or knowledge, or the acquisition of a wife, the territorial goddess of mythology. There is no need to assume Breton origins, the legend survives as part of the folklore of the area where it originated in the religious beliefs of the Celtic inhabitants.

There is an episode in the Welsh romance *Peredur vab Efrawc* which clearly illustrates the indigenous, Celtic beginnings of the Wandlebury story. The earliest complete version of *Peredur* is found in the thirteenth-century collection known as *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, the *White Book of Rhydderch*. However, it is clear from orthographical evidence that there was a written version in the twelfth century, and the material upon which the romance is based is of far earlier provenance.[9] As in other mediaeval Welsh tales, many episodes and characters in *Peredur* are but thinly disguised vestiges of Celtic mythology. The episode in question occurs toward the end of the romance and the hero, by following the horseman who had stolen his mount, is led to the place he had long sought, the court of the Otherworld ruler, his uncle. There he is given an explanation for all the strange experiences which have befallen him and, his training complete, he defeats those responsible for the death of his father and regains the power and the domain which had been lost to his family.

Peredur is told,

> 'Go to the top of the mountain and there thou wilt see a bush. And at the foot of the bush there is a slab. Ask three times for a man to come and joust with thee. . . .' Peredur went on his way and came alongside the bush and asked for a man to joust with him. And a black man rose from under the slab with a bony horse under him and huge rusty armour on him and his horse. They fought, and as Peredur would throw the black man to the ground, he would leap back into his saddle. And Peredur dismounted and drew his sword and at that moment the black man disappeared

6 Art. cit., 166. See also p. 167.

* [The Willingham hoard is indeed a significant collection of Romano-Celtic votive offerings. However, neither in location, miles away and down in the Fens, nor in date is it likely to have any connection with the pre-Roman hillfort at Wandlebury – *Ed.*]

7 'Contributions à l'étude des divinités Celtiques', (Brugge, 1942), 89.

8 The possible significance of the burials is mentioned by B.R. Hartley, 'The Wandlebury Iron-Age Hillfort; Excavations of 1955–56', *PCAS* 50 (1957), 14–15; Barry Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (London, 1974), 292, 298; Miranda Green, *The Gods of the Celts* (Gloucester, 1987), 126–7. Bruce Galloway, *A History of Cambridgeshire* (Chichester, 1983), 20-21, mentions the Wandlebury legend and the attempts of T.C. Lethbridge to establish the religious beliefs of the inhabitants by relating them to the hill figures he claimed to have discovered.

9 G. Goetinck, *Peredur: A Study of Welsh Tradition in the Grail Legends* (Cardiff, 1975), 317; G. Goetinck, *Historia Peredur vab Efrawc* (Cardiff, 1976), x–xi.

with Peredur's horse and his own, so that he did not see them again.'[10]

The story in *Peredur* is not so mysterious and spine-tingling as the Wandlebury legend, in fact the author seems to be introducing an element of humour in the rusty armour, the bony horse, and the man repeatedly unseated and leaping back into the saddle, but the similarities are evident. Both combats take place on a hill, with only the two combattants present. The opponent is not of this world, he is remarkably quick on his feet, he is able to disappear and, in the Welsh episode, he is black. In the Cambridgeshire legend his horse is black, whilst in the Welsh romance this may be inferred. In *Peredur* the mysterious opponent is victorious, whilst in the Wandlebury legend Osbert's victory is short-lived.

The Welsh story portrays a classical Celtic *locus sanctus*, situated on top of a hill with a stone slab at the foot of a bush. Later romancers assumed that the warrior had leaped out of a tomb, but it is more likely that the slab in question covers a well or sacred spring, which would better explain the mention of rusty armour.[11] The man's huge size, the colours black and red, and his likely connection with water,are all clearly indicative of a chthonic being. Further light may be shed on the probable origins of the Wandlebury legend and the *Peredur* episode by a remark quoted by Pierre Lambrechts and an episode in the Welsh romance *Owein neu Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn*, *Owein or the Tale of the Lady of the Fountain*. In an article on the connection of the Jupiter Giant columns with water cults, Lambrechts quotes Adolphe Reinach on the subject of the horse which figures in the groups. *'Enfin, il faut peut-être tenir compte – surtout pour expliquer que le cheval semble s'élancer de terre – d'un autre élément. En Gaule comme en Grèce, les sources jaillissantes, comme les flots bondissants, paraissent avoir évoqué l'idée de coursiers écumants.'*[12] The Welsh romance, more conveniently known as *Owein*, like *Peredur*, contains material of clearly mythological origin and an episode similar to those already discussed.[13] Listening to tales of adventure at Arthur's court, the hero learns of a particularly interesting challenge, and so he slips away, alone, to submit to the test. He is directed to the place by a huge, uncouth figure whose relationship to the Lord of the Beasts is manifest. He is told to go to the top of a hill and from there he will see a river valley with a huge tree in the middle of it. Under the tree is a spring with a marble slab beside it and attached to the slab is a silver bowl. He must fill the bowl with water and pour it on the slab. Owein does exactly as he is told and immediately a violent hailstorm breaks over the valley. Finally calm is restored and a knight, clad in black armour and riding a black horse, comes galloping toward Owein. They fight and Owein deals the Black Knight a mortal blow, whereupon he turns and rides desperately away, with Owein in pursuit. He follows the Black Knight into the domain of the Lady of the Fountain, the territorial goddess in mediaeval garb, whom he later marries.

The connection of horse and horseman with water is very clear in this episode; the colour of horse and armour is the same as in *Peredur* and the Wandlebury legend; the slab is present, although here it is made of marble and does not cover the spring. The Black Knight is defeated by the hero just as is the Wandlebury warrior, and by following him Owein enters the other World, as does Peredur. An earlier encounter between the Black Knight and Cynon, another of Arthur's knights, had Cynon in exactly the same position as Peredur, unhorsed and forced to make his way on foot. The hill appears also, although in *Owein* the actual sacred place is a plain, with a spring at the foot of a huge tree.[14]

The challenge, the dark Otherworld figure, the powerful black horse, the combat and the hilltop, figure in all three episodes. The pres-

10 *Historia Peredur*, 69.

11 *Peredur: A Study*, 120-22. Joseph Loth, *Les Mabinogion* (Paris, 1913), ii, 117 n.l, suggests that the *llech* (slab) was originally *'cromlech qui signifie dolmen, tombeau mégalithique'*, but this interpretation is unnecessary.

12 'La colonne du dieu-cavalier au géant et le culte des sources en Gaule,' *Latomus* 8 (1949), 149.

13 See *The Mabinogion*, trans. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones (London, 1949), 159–61, 163–4.

14 Anne Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (London, 1967), 34, discusses the sacred tree situated in a clearing or on a plain.

ence of water may be inferred in *Peredur*, but it is not mentioned in the Wandlebury legend.* It is clear, however, that the origin of the Cambridgeshire story lies in the Celtic heritage of the area, in tales about the encounter of a mortal hero with a male chthonic divinity. The legend may not have been attached to the hillfort to begin with, but as part of the mythology of the Celts who lived in the region, it may have been located at another sacred spot on another hilltop. As time passed, as the old beliefs lost their clarity and the fort became a representative of ancient times, a place of mystery and dread, the story of the dark warrior was attached to the place most naturally associated with such a figure, Wandlebury hillfort.

* [Wandlebury, on a chalk hill-top, is naturally water-less – *Ed.*]

EXCAVATIONS IN GREAT CHESTERFORD CHURCHYARD, ESSEX, 1986

T.E. MILLER

Great Chesterford Church stands 125m outside the southern corner of the fourth century AD Romano-British walled town in an area that was certainly part of the larger area of settlement during the Romano-British period. During the present century the churchyard has twice been extended westwards, bringing it even closer to the area of the walled town (Grid ref. TL505428). As grave-digging is steadily destroying any archaeological remains and recent tree-planting had revealed Romano-British potsherds in the so far unused part of the graveyard extension, the vicar and the Parochial Church Council kindly granted permission for the Great Chesterford Archaeology Group to investigate the area during the summer of 1986.

During the nineteenth century the graveyard extension had been part of the rectory grounds (now the Great Chesterford Country Club). It was known that the Honorable Richard Cornwallis Neville, later the fourth Baron Braybrooke, of Audley End, had carried out excavations in the rectory grounds to the west of the original churchyard (R.C. Neville, *Archaeological Journal* 12, 1855). Although a fairly detailed account of the artifacts discovered during his excavations in the winter of 1853–4 was published, no plan, and hence no exact location of his excavation, was given. He claimed to have discovered, by trenching, 17 shafts in an area of less than half an acre. One of these shafts, said to have been located close to the churchyard wall, contained a hoard of 96 iron objects, including the large scythes which are now in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (R.C. Neville, *Archaeological Journal* 13, 1856).

In the 1986 excavations, several small trial trenches were dug in the unused south-western part of the graveyard extension; these mostly showed signs of earlier disturbance, presumably the result of Neville's excavations. However, two areas did yield some undisturbed features: the first, a narrow strip approximately mid-way along and almost at right angles to the western boundary; the second in the angle of the south-west corner, an area which in the nineteenth century was beneath a driveway to the rectory and therefore presumably inaccessible to Neville.

Both areas contained a series of pits and gullies, of which details are given below. The pits all contained potsherds, animal-bone fragments, oyster, mussel and snail shells, and a few nails and tile fragments.

AREA 1 (Fig. 1)

Immediately below the turf was a 30–40cm deep layer of loose black soil with numerous Romano-British potsherds. Below this the soil was brown with fewer artifacts and in general no clear stratigraphy was discernable above the major features or the natural gravel, which lay 50–70cm below the surface.

Pit 1 was 1m square and dug 1.2m into the natural gravel. The fill was a dark silty loam becoming khaki-coloured towards the bottom and containing Romano-British pottery of the mid second century AD.

Pit 2 was a 1m diameter circular pit also dug 1.2m into the gravel. The pit cut Gully 2 but was cut by Gully 1. Its fill was a brown loam becoming silty with more stones towards the bottom. It contained first-, second- and fourth-century AD pottery including a profile of a Dragendorf form 30 Samian ware vessel.

Pit 3 was also circular, about 1.1m in diameter and again dug 1.2m into the gravel. The dark loamy fill which became greenish and silty towards the bottom contained mid-

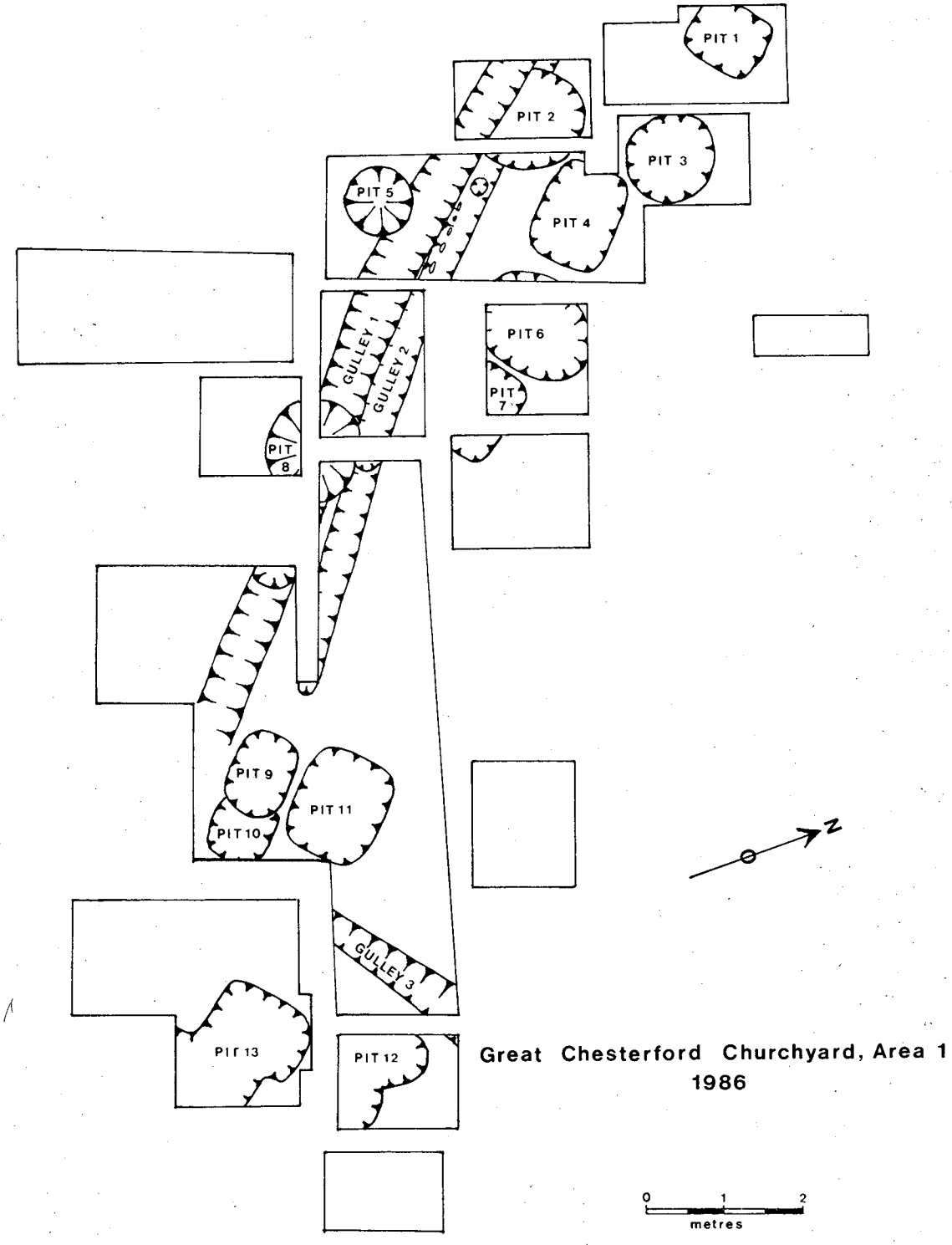

Figure 1. Great Chesterford churchyard, 1986, area 1.

second-century AD pottery including a profile of a Dragendorf form 37 Samian ware vessel.

Pit 4 was rectangular measuring 95cm × 1.4m and dug 1.85m into the gravel with a flat bottom. The fill was a brownish sandy soil with large stones and some silty areas. A very large fragment of a first-century AD Spanish amphora was found near the top of the fill. The amphora had had the neck and handles cut off, presumably to convert it to a storage jar. The rest of the fill contained second-century AD potsherds. Near the bottom there were the articulated limb bones of a large sheep, the bones of a horse foetus, and many frog and toad bones. The pit had probably been previously excavated. The large size of the articulated sheep bones suggests a date not earlier than the eighteenth century. The pit was therefore probably one of those excavated by Neville.

Pit 5 was a shallow bowl-shaped pit 80cm in diameter and 25cm deep, completely filled with gravel and containing no artifacts. Its proximity to the surface suggested a fairly recent origin.

Pit 6 was an oval pit 1.2m × 1.6m, dug 70cm into the gravel, containing yellowish soil with only a few, undateable, potsherds. This was probably another of the pits excavated by Neville. The layer above was disturbed and contained pottery from the first to the fourth century AD.

Pit 7 was a 1.2m square pit dug 80cm into the gravel, containing a loamy fill with almost no artifacts; probably excavated by Neville.

Pit 8 was a shallow circular pit dug 35cm into Gully 1 and the gravel, with a blackish fill containing fourth-century AD potsherds.

Pit 9 was rectangular, 75cm × 1.05m, with rounded corners, dug 50cm into the gravel. It cut Pit 10 and may just have cut Pit 11 at its lip. The fill was a loamy soil with some large stones and a few centimetres of sandy grit at the bottom. The pottery was from the late second century and the third century AD. The pit was sealed by a thin compact layer containing fourth-century potsherds, oyster shells, and animal-bone fragments.

Pit 10 was another rectangular pit with rounded corners, 80cm × 90cm. It was cut by Pit 9 and continued below it to a depth of 90cm into the gravel. It was filled with brown soil containing many large stones and potsherds from the late first and early second century AD. It also contained part of an adult human skull and several fragments of the skull of a very young human infant.

Pit 11 was almost square, 1.2m × 1.4m and dug with a slight taper 2.4m into the gravel. It had a brown loamy fill becoming orange with greenish areas towards the bottom and containing potsherds of the late second and third centuries AD. The area immediately above the pit and the top of the fill had been disturbed and contained fourth-century as well as third-century potsherds, probably from the same layer that sealed the adjacent Pit 9.

Pit 12 was probably originally two circular pits one cutting the other; however they had been much disturbed and contained a mixed fill with Romano-British and nineteenth-century pottery. As this was almost certainly the result of Neville's excavations, the pit was only re-excavated to a depth of 40cm into the gravel.

Pit 13 was originally two rectangular pits, one cutting the other. The northernmost one, 1.1m × 1.4m, was only excavated 1.1m into the gravel and the bottom was not reached by auger at a depth of 2.3m into the gravel. The length and breadth of the southern portion was not determined and it was also only excavated 1.1m into the gravel. The bottom was, however, detected by auger at a depth of 1.6m. The fill of the two parts of the pit were indistinguishable, consisting of a light brown sandy soil with occasional dark loamy areas. There were Romano-British and a few eighteenth- or nineteenth-century potsherds.

Gully 1 was a shallow U-shaped gully, approximately 25cm deep and between 60cm and 75cm wide with a more or less northeast–southwest alignment. The gully contained black soil with fourth-century AD and a few Belgic potsherds. It cut the top of Pit 2 but was cut by Pit 8. It also partly overlay and cut Gully 2 (Fig. 2).

Gully 2, with almost the same alignment as and cut by the later Gully 1, was also cut by Pit 2. It was U-shaped or square in section and much narrower than Gully 1, being dug only 25cm wide and between 30cm and 35cm deep into the gravel (Fig. 2). The fill was a yellow sandy soil with large stones and early-second-century AD potsherds. There was some evidence of post and stake holes along this gully, suggesting that it held a vertical structure such as a fence or building wall.

Gully 3 was similar in shape and size to Gully 2 but at right angles to the alignment of it and Gully 1. The area above was disturbed. The fill was similar to that of Gully 2 but contained just a few pieces of late pre-Roman Iron Age pottery. Like Gully 2 this may also have been a foundation trench. The southern side had been cut vertically into the gravel, whereas the opposite was sloped. The position of the large stones in the fill suggested that they may have been packing to hold an upright structure against the vertical southern side.

AREA 2 (Figs. 3 and 4)

This area had, below the turf, a much thinner layer of loose black soil above the remains of the Victorian gravel drive, which survived to a depth of 10cm in places. Below the drive, as in Area 1, there was a layer of brown soil above the major features, again with no clear stratigraphy other than a slight suggestion of a fourth-century AD surface.

Pit 14 was rectangular, 45cm × 55cm, with rounded corners. It had been dug to a depth of 80cm below the surface into Pit 15. The fill was a loose grey soil with no artifacts, and was probably of relatively recent origin.

Pit 15 was a 1m diameter circular pit tapering to a 60cm diameter flat bottom. It had been cut through Gully 8 to a depth of 70cm into the gravel. The fill was yellowish grey soil containing Belgic and a few second-century AD potsherds.

Pit 16, also circular with a diameter of 1.1m, had been dug 80cm into the gravel and had a khaki-coloured sandy fill containing Belgic and first-century AD pottery fragments. The pit was sealed by a layer of gravel below Gully 8.

Pit 17, a 70cm × 1.1m oval pit, was dug 35cm into the gravel between and cutting Pits 16 and 18. The fill was brown gravelly soil with a few sherds of early Romano-British pottery.

Pit 18, also oval, 1.1m × 1.4m, was dug through Gully 8 to a depth of 1.5m into the gravel and filled with dark loamy soil containing frequent pieces of charcoal. The fill was greenish in colour towards the bottom. The pottery inclusions were from the mid-second-century AD and the Belgic period.

Pit 19, a shallow 1.2m diameter circular bowl-shaped pit, was dug 50cm into the gravel with a shallow, 30cm deep, extension to the south. The fill was black loamy soil with fourth-century AD potsherds.

Pit 20. This almost circular, about 1.2m diameter, pit had been dug through Gully 6 to more than 2m into the gravel (it was not fully excavated) and was cut near the top by Gully 4. The brownish soil fill contained many large stones. There were sherds of the second and third century AD and a few of Belgic pottery. There was also a large number of animal bones, mainly dog but also of pig, cattle and a small horse.

Pit 21, another circular pit, 1.2m in diameter, was dug to an undetermined depth. The fill was a hard yellowish mixture, possibly with a smaller pit with a darker fill dug into the centre, but more probably the result of irregular back filling after a previous excavation.

Pit 22. This 1.1m × 1.6m rectangular pit had been dug 70cm into the gravel and into Pit 23; it also cut Pit 24. The fill was dark loamy soil containing fourth-century and a few sherds of second-century AD pottery, a quantity of stone tesserae and a human skull containing 85 snail shells.

Pit 23, a 1.6m diameter circular pit, was cut by Pit 22 and sunk 1.1m into the gravel. It was filled by hard brown gravelly soil containing Belgic and possibly second-century AD potsherds.

Pit 24 was a shallow bowl-shaped depression, 70cm in diameter, 45cm deep, cut by pit 22 and filled with dark soil containing fourth-century AD potsherds.

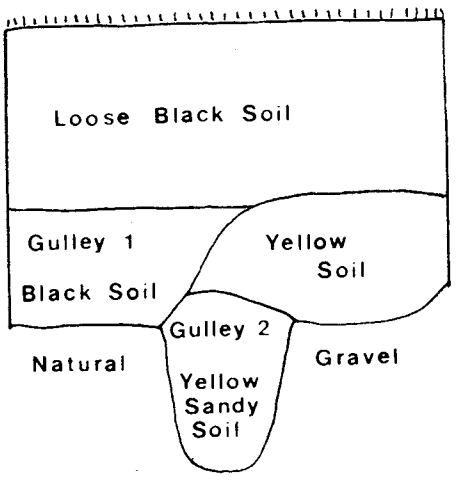

Figure 2. Section showing relationship of gullies 1 and 2

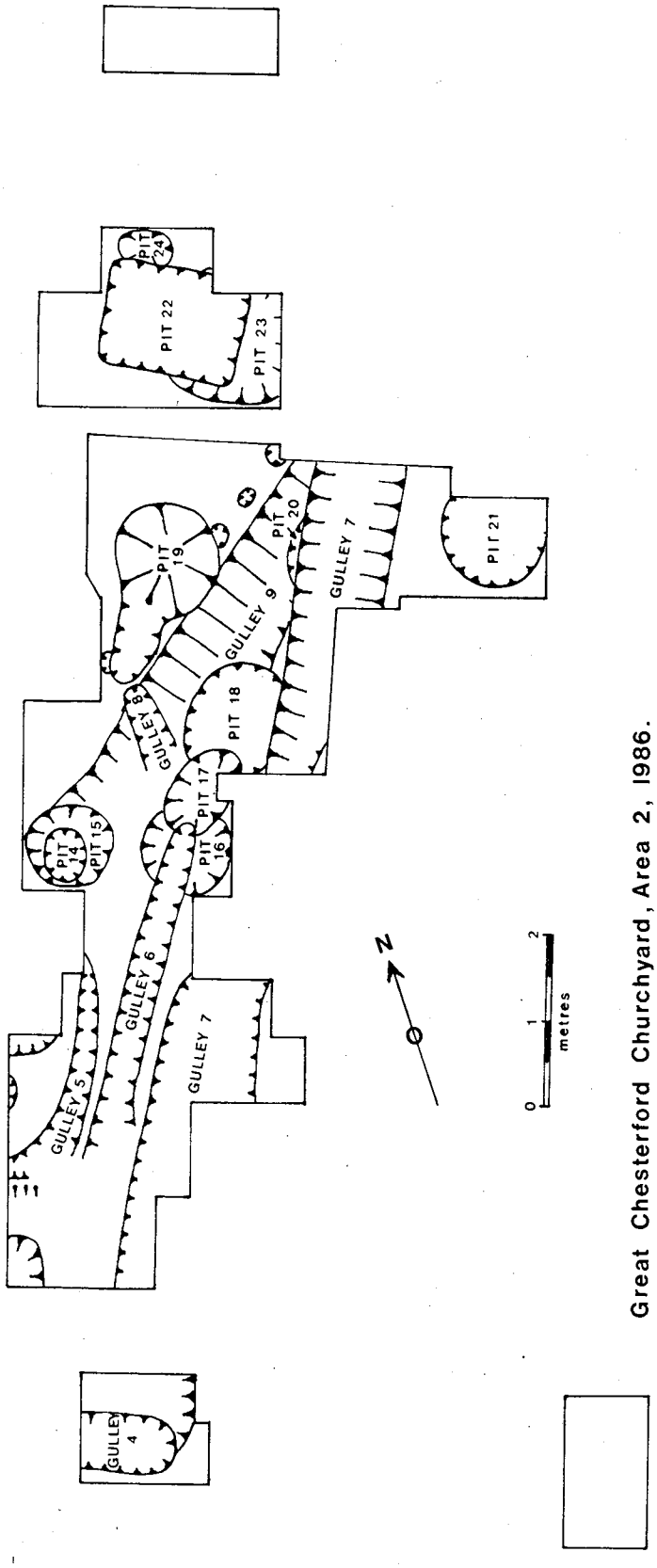

Figure 3. Great Chesterford churchyard.

Gully 4 ran in a western direction from a 65cm wide butt end dug 70cm into the gravel with a vertical southern and a sloping northern side. The greyish soil fill contained a few pieces of third-century AD pottery.

Gully 5 was a narrow (about 35cm), shallow (about 20cm), almost right-angled curved trench in the gravel with a brown soil fill; possibly a trench for a sleeper beam. Unfortunately there were no dateable inclusions.

Gully 6 was a shallow roughly north–south gully, 30cm deep, with a 30cm wide northern butt end above Pits 16 and 17. The gully widened to the south where it was obliterated by the slope of the land and later activity. It was filled with dark ashy soil with Belgic, second- and fourth-century AD potsherds.

Gully 7 was a north–south gully, parallel to Gully 6, apparently leading to Gully 5, and varying in width from 55cm to 1.2m. It had been dug about 30cm into the gravel. It just cut Pit 18 and ran completely across the top of Pit 20. It was filled with brown stony soil above a flat bottom covered with a layer of large stones.

Gully 8 was a short butt-ended length of U-shaped gully containing dark soil with no dateable inclusions.

Gully 9, 40cm deep, ran northeast–southwest, widening towards the southwest and filled with brownish soil containing late pre-Roman Iron Age (first-century AD Belgic) potsherds. In the area around Pit 15 and Pit 16 there was a substantial quantity of potsherds in a layer at the bottom of the gully. A row of shallow post holes beside and parallel to the north-western edge were probably contemporary with the gully.

The excavations of Area 1 and 2, although limited in size, both produced evidence of occupation from the first to the fourth century AD.

Gully 9 in Area 2 was certainly a feature from no later than the middle of the first century AD. It was probably a boundary ditch with a fence on the northwestern side and may indicate the presence of occupation prior to the Roman invasion. Support for pre-Roman Iron Age occupation comes from the Iron Age coin (coin 1) found in the fill of Pit 18. However, Pit 16 – which may have been contemporary – contained Belgic and first-century AD Romano-British pottery, pointing to a post-conquest date. Gully 3 in Area 1 may also have been contemporary with these features and the presence of Belgic pottery in many of the features supports occupation during this period.

Pits 1, 3, 9, 10, 15, 18 and 23 all date from around the middle of the second century AD. They were probably storage pits rather than rubbish pits as they contained fairly uniform fills with a low percentage of inclusions, suggesting that each pit was filled in its entirety at one time. Gully 2 was probably also from this period. Pits 9, 11 and 20 again were probably storage pits but date from the third century AD.

The rectangular pits 1, 9, 10 and 11 in Area 1, despite their difference in date, have the same orientation as Gully 2. Pits 4, 7 and 13, although undateable as they had already been excavated, also have a similar orientation. This seems to indicate that property divisions remained fairly constant during the second and third centuries AD; and as the fourth-century Gully 1 also had the same alignment they probably remained so into the fourth century.

In Area 2, Gullies 6 and 7 (fourth and third centuries AD, respectively) run at right

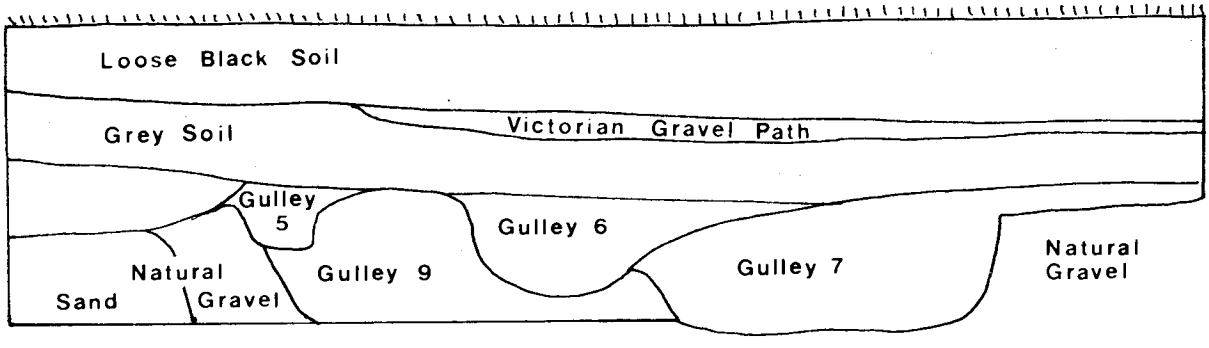

Figure 4. West to east section – area 2.

angles to the Area 1 alignment. The fourth-century Pit 22 is close to the same alignment, but Gully 8, which was probably also of this period, does not fit the pattern of orientation.

Pits 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 13 and 21 all showed evidence of disturbance and were probably some of those previously excavated by Neville.

The presence of human skeletal remains in the fill of Pit 10 and Pit 22 has little significance and probably results from soil for filling being brought from an area containing burials of an earlier period. Burials have been reported to the south, west and north of the fourth-century town. Even during the time of the present excavation, building work on the Mill House just 80m southwest of the churchyard unearthed an interment. This was probably from the Romano-British period but had been partly disturbed in antiquity.

The smallness of the undisturbed area available for excavation made it difficult to draw conclusions about the type of occupation of this part of Great Chesterford during the Romano-British period. The presence of storage pits and possible boundary fence trenches and the rarity of building materials in this area close to where the land begins to slope to the river suggests possible yards at the rear of buildings to the north of the excavated area. The excavation did, however, remove concern that the grave digging might be destroying vital archaeological material. Also the determination of the major features of the area, i.e. the pits, allows a better understanding of the nineteenth-century excavations of the Hon. Richard Neville.

Apart from a few sherds of eighteenth-century pottery and a coin of AD 1775 (coin 21) in the upper layers of the western end of Area 1 and the nineteenth-century material in the pits previously excavated by Neville, no evidence of post-Roman occupation of the site was discovered.

Ironically, the Romano-British potsherds brought to light by the recent tree-planting, which drew attention to the site, were almost certainly from topsoil brought from elsewhere to level the site when it became part of the churchyard.

The finds are to be deposited in Saffron Walden museum.

THE POTTERY

The majority of the pottery was small sherds of coarse ware typical of Romano-British domestic sites. Only one complete vessel was found; this was a fourth-century Hadham ware storage jar in Pit 22. Pit 16 contained a mortarium rim with potter's stamp (see small find 52).

Samian ware

The following examples of samian ware were identified.

Decorated forms	
Dragendorf 29	1 lower profile, 1 rim.
Dragendorf 30	1 profile, 3 rims, 6 fragments.
Dragendorf 37	1 profile without base, 1 lower profile, 7 rims, 18 fragments.
Plain forms	
Dragendorf 18	6 rims, 2 fragments, 1 base.
Dragendorf 18/31	2 profiles without base, 5 rims, 1 base, 3 fragments
Dragendorf 18/31R	1 profile without base.
Dragendorf 31	22 rims, 1 base, 1 fragment.
Dragendorf 31R	1 fragment.
Dragendorf 27	2 profiles without base, 11 rims, 1 fragment.
Dragendorf 27g	1 foot rim.
Dragendorf 33	2 profiles, 2 lower profiles (one with Lezoux potters stamp ȣŦ OPPIC), 1 upper profile, 8 rims, 1 base, 1 foot ring, 6 fragments.
Dragendorf 35	1 profile, 2 rims.
Dragendorf 36	1 rim.
Dragendorf 42	2 rims, 1 base.
Ritterling 8	1 profile without rim.
0 & P Pl..LV13	1 rim.
Curle 11	6 flanges.

COINS

All coins, other than 1 and 13, were found in the upper or disturbed layers of the excavation.

1 Iron Age, 50BC–AD50. Potin (*c.* 15mm). Obv. crude hd. r.? Rev. Lines representing bull. Pit 18.

2 Gallienus, AD253–268. Base silver Antoninianus (*c.* 19mm). Obv. GALLIENVS AVG. rad. hd. r. Rev. very worn, indecipherable, figure stg., VI in field r.

3 Constantine I, The Great, AD307–327. Æ 3/4 (*c.* 17mm). Obv. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG laur. dr. and cuir. bust r. Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS, two soldiers holding spears standing either side of two standards, in ex. TR.P.

4 Constantine I, The Great, AD307–327. Æ 3/4 (*c.* 17mm). Obv. CONSTANTINVS IMP NOB C laur. bust r. Rev. legend illegible, two soldiers

holding spears on either side of two standards, in ex.PLN.

5 Constantine I, The Great, AD307–327. Commemorative issue AD330–346. Æ 3/4 (*c.* 17mm). Obv. VRBS ROMA. Helmeted bust of Roma l. Rev. No legend, she wolf standing l. suckling Romulus and Remus, stars in field above, in ex. SMTG.

6 Constantine I, The Great, AD307–327. Æ 3/4 (*c.* 17mm). Obv. VRBS ROMA. Helmeted bust of Roma l. Rev. No legend, she wolf stg. l. suckling Romulus and Remus, two stars in field above, in ex. RB[.

7 Constantine II, AD337–340. Æ 4 (*c.* 15mm). Obv. CONTSTANTINVS.IVN.NC laur. cuir. bust r. Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS, two soldiers holding spears stg. either side of a standard, in ex. TRS.

8 Valens? AD364–378. ℞ Half siliqua (*c.* 13mm, 0.97g). Obv.]S.PF.AVG diad. dr. bust r. Rev. No legend, Roma seated l. holding victory and spear, in ex. TRP.

9 Honorius, AD393–423. Æ 4 (*c.* 11mm) very worn. Obv. D.N.HON[diad. dr. bust r. Rev. indecipherable.

10 Constans, AD408–411. Æ 3/4 (*c.* 17mm). Obv. CONSTANS PF AVG laur. dr. bust r. Rx. VICTORIA AAVGGG two victories holding wreaths.

11 Base silver (*c.* 15mm). Obv. indecipherable. Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Victory standing l. holding wreath.

12 Base silver (*c.* 18mm), indecipherable.

13 Æ 4 (*c.* 15mm). Very corroded, indecipherable. Top of Pit 2?

14 Æ 4 (*c.* 14mm). Very worn, indecipherable.

15 Æ 4 (*c.* 12mm). Very corroded, indecipherable.

16 Æ 4 (*c.* 11mm). Very corroded, indecipherable.

17 Æ 4 (*c.* 11mm). Very worn, indecipherable.

18 Æ 4 (*c.* 11mm). Very worn, indecipherable.

19 Æ 4 (*c.* 10mm). Very corroded. Obv. diad. and dr. bust r., otherwise indecipherable.

20 Æ 4 (*c.* 10mm). Very corroded, indecipherable.

21 George III Copper halfpenny Obv. GEORGIUS III REX laur. and cuir bust r. Rev. BRITANNIA. Britannia seated l. holding olive branch and trident in ex. 1775.

22 Trade token, Nuremburg counter type. Æ. Obv. ΠMOERMΠOBM◊O[ ]M. Floral device with crowns and fleur-de-lys. Rev. Shield with Reichsapfel device, OΠIRη.DEO◊IBMMBIΠOM.▼

SMALL FINDS

Objects where no location is given were found in unstratified undateable layers.

Objects of copper alloy

1 Colchester type 11 Nauheim derivative bow brooch; length 40mm. (Gully 2.)

2 Colchester type 10 or 11 Nauheim derivative bow brooch spring and pin only; length 32mm. (Pit 5.)

3 Lozenge brooch Hull's type 227. Lozenge plate with enamel missing, long moulded finials above and below; length 45mm. (Pit 1.)

4 Colchester type 5 hair pin fragment, 77mm long. Flattened round head with two grooves beneath; point missing. (Pit 2.)

5 Round headed pin; 56mm long. (Pit 11.)

6 Headless pin fragment; 82 mm long. (Pit 2.)

7 Headless pin fragment; 84mm long. (Gully 1.)

8 Round-headed dressmaker's pin; 26mm long. (Gully 1.)

9 Round-headed dressmaker's pin; 26mm long.

10 Round-headed dressmaker's pin; 26mm long.

11 Round-headed dressmaker's pin; 26mm long.

12 Headless dressmaker's pin fragment; 11mm long.

13 Toilet spoon with flat round scoop. Bent into hook; 141mm long. (Pit 2.)

14 Toilet spoon with small flat oval scoop; 79mm long, point missing. (Pit 11.)

15 Toilet spoon with small flat oval scoop; 103mm long, point missing. (Pit 3.)

16 Colchester type 1 needle broken at eye; 94mm long. (Pit 18.)

17 Tweezers, flared blades with groove down each edge and diagonal grooves on the face. Maximun width 5.0mm, length 38mm.

18 Plain finger? ring; 2mm thick, 18mm diameter.

19 Armlet of two tightly twisted strands.

20 Buckle fragment; double back-to-back D shape with slight point at ends. Length 34mm?, width 24mm. (Top of Pit 22.)

21 Left lower leg (30mm) and foot (17mm long.) of mounted figure. (Pit 13.)

22 Thimble, floral pattern around edge, remainder covered with small dimples; length 24mm, 20mm diameter.

Objects of lead

23 Bullet, spherical, 13mm diameter.

Objects of iron

24 Shears; length 115mm, tapered blades, 50mm long, 19mm wide.

25 Three links of chain, each link 70mm long, with sides pressed together leaving a loop at each end.

26 Stylus fragment, 65mm long. (Pit 20.)

27 Blade with taper and curved sides, point missing; length 48mm, width 10mm. (Pit 20.)

28 Blade similar to above; length 67mm, width 15mm.

Objects of bone

29 Colchester type 2 pin with two horizontal grooves beneath a conical head. Stained green; length 82mm. (Pit 6.)

30 Colchester type 5 pin with two horizontal grooves, head missing; length 57mm. (Pit 1.).

31 Pin, head missing, stained green; length 72mm. (Pit 18.)

32 Pin, head missing; length 64mm. (Pit 20.)

33 Pin, lower half only: length 51mm. (Pit 24.)

34 Colchester type 1 needle, broken at eye with point missing; length 46mm. (Pit 18.)
35 Toilet spoon with small round flat scoop, with point missing; length 68mm. (Pit 24.)
36 Knife handle with three iron pins and enlarged asymmetrical end. (Top of Pit 22.)
37 4cm square with slightly rounded corners and a 3mm diameter hole at each corner. (Pit 22.)

Objects of glass

38 Plain annular bead of white translucent glass; length 4mm, lcm diameter. (Pit 3.)
39 Fragment of glass vessel of thin pale green glass with raised and partly impressed horizontal 2mm wide, pale yellow glass ridges. (Pit 11.)
40 Fragment of glass vessel of thin pale green glass with raised and partly impressed horizontal 2mm wide, pale yellow glass ridges. (Pit 9.)

Objects of pottery

Pottery gaming counters? (41–47)
41 Pot base, brown colour coat; diameter 47mm.
42 Pot base, brown metallic colour coat; diameter 45mm. (Pit 20.)
43 Coarse-ware fragment, crudely rounded; diameter 45–50mm. (Gully 8.)
44 Coarse-ware fragment, crudely rounded; diameter 40mm. (Gully 2.)
45 Coarse-ware fragment, crudely rounded; diameter 30–40mm.
46 Pot base fragment, coarse ware; diameter 85mm. (Pit 9.)
47 Tile fragment, crudely rounded; diameter 55–60mm. (Pit 22.)

Spindle whorls (48–51)
48 Coarse-ware fragment; diameter 31–39mm, with 5mm diameter hole. (Pit 18.)
49 Coarse ware fragment; 45mm diameter, with 12mm diameter hole. (Gully 8.)
50 Fine grey ware fragment; 50–58mm diameter, with 8mm diameter hole.
51 Black burnished pot hase fragment with graffito fragment TD? (Gully 1.)

52 Mortarium rim, fragment buff ware with cream coat and potter's mark, RVL. (Pit 16.)

Objects of flint

53 Non-tranchet axe; length 92mm, width 31mm. (Pit 22.)
54 Pot boiler. (Gully 6.)
55 Flint blades. (Various.)

EXCAVATIONS ON THE PADDOCK, ELY, CAMBS.

ANNE HOLTON-KRAYENBUHL

INTRODUCTION

The Paddock (TL 542801) lies on sloping ground to the east of Ely cathedral. The ground surface is noticeably irregular, but aerial photographs do not reveal any cropmarks.

In 1985, the site was due to be covered by a housing development and when investigated by machine-dug trenches yielded evidence for late Saxon activity (A. Taylor, *pers. comm.*). The purpose of the present excavations, which took place from 10th to 18th May 1986, was to investigate further some of the features that had been observed.

Twenty-one volunteers participated in the excavations which were organised by the Ely and District Archaeological Society.

THE EXCAVATIONS

Three trenches were dug at the lower, SE end of the Paddock within an area of *c.* 100m^2. In two of the trenches (A and B), segments of ditch observed in 1985 were located and further examined. The third trench (C) was dug with the aim of establishing the relationship between the ditch segments found in trenches A and B (Fig. 1).

Trench A

This trench contained part of a ditch that had been recut. The infilled ditch and associated ground surface were covered by a clay layer over which lay cultivated soil. Six phases were observed:

Phase 1: A flat-bottomed ditch had been cut into the natural Greensand. It was at least 0.4m wide at its base and about 0.6m deep. The SW edge was not defined and the NE edge had probably been cut by the later ditch (Fig. 2). A 1m long stretch of base was excavated.

Phase 2: The ditch infilled with silty clay relatively slowly and probably under waterlogged conditions. The clay contained much charcoal and sherds of St. Neots and Thetford ware of pre-Conquest date, most of which were barely abraded. Two fragments of animal bone were also found.

The duration of this phase may be deduced from the rate at which the ditch silted up, and the pottery evidence suggests that this took place some time in the century preceding the Conquest.

Phase 3: The flat-bottomed ditch had partially silted up when a narrower V-profile ditch was cut, on roughly the same alignment. It was *c.* 1.20m wide and *c.* 0.4m deep at its apex. A two metre long stretch was defined, running in a NW–SE direction.

Phase 4: The V-profile ditch infilled with silt loam which was slightly organic and contained much domestic refuse. The maximum depth of the filling was 0.35m. A few pre-Conquest sherds were found at the bottom of the filling, together with some oyster and mussel shell. The upper part of the filling contained sherds of post-Conquest C11–C12 St. Neots and Thetford ware. A decorated spindle whorl of fired clay was also found (Fig. 4). There were many fragments of domestic animal bone: traces of butchery were observed on some of the bone and two had been gnawed. Other finds included fragments of oyster and mussel shell, two lumps of burnt daub, a small fragment of lava millstone, and pieces of limestone roof tile, one of which had a perforation for a peg. Many of the finds were charred.

The domestic nature of the secondary filling suggests the presence of a settlement nearby whose inhabitants dumped their refuse in the ditch, and pottery evidence suggests that this occurred in the latter part of C11, and possibly early C12.

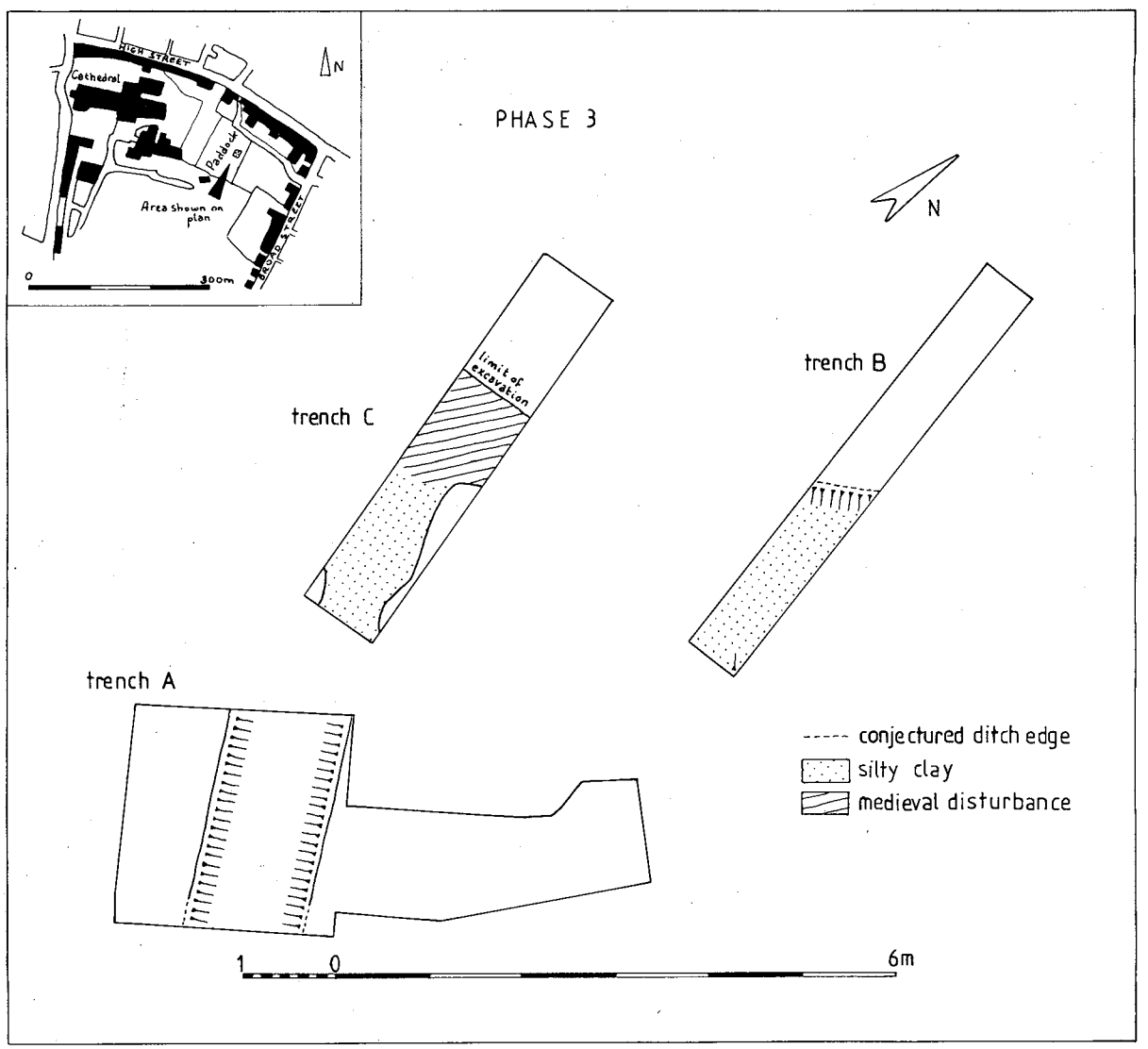

Figure 1. The Paddock, Ely, site plan.

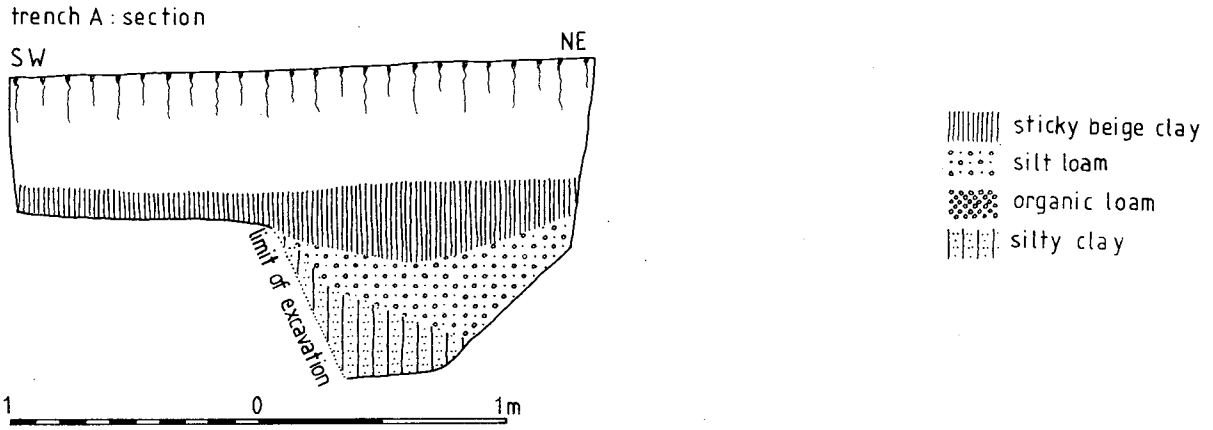

Figure 2. Trench A: NW section.

Phase 5: A layer of sticky yellow-beige clay, 0.1–0.3m thick, was deposited over the whole area. It contained pockets of sand and pebbles. There were a few sherds of C13–C14 pottery and a few very small fragments of pottery of an earlier date, including a small fragment of Samian ware. Some animal bone was also found, as well as a few pieces of limestone roof tile.
This layer was probably deposited over a short period, and the limited amount of pottery evidence would point to a date in C14. Since clay would not have been transported to improve either soil or drainage, this layer probably represents soil containing some occupational debris which was brought here from another site.

Phase 6: The top *c.* 0.5m layer of soil was of medium brown colour and typical of cultivated garden soil. Finds included pottery and tile, mainly of C17–C20 date, clay pipe fragments and lumps of C17–C18 coal.
The excavation of features in this trench was carried out under satisfactory conditions and it was possible to determine phases in the evolution of these features. When dealing with the findings from trenches B and C, reference will be made to the phases noted in trench A.

Trench B

The outline of a U-profile ditch was defined in the sections (Fig. 3).

The ditch which had been cut into the natural Greensand was *c.* 2.45m wide and *c.* 0.6m deep. It ran in an approximately NE–SW direction. The ditch initially infilled with silty clay containing occasional flecks of charcoal. Overlying this primary filling was a secondary filling of organic loam, *c.* 0.1m. deep. One small fragment of Thetford ware rim was found in this layer, and a few small fragments of charred bone. No other finds were recovered from this trench.

Lentils of sticky yellow-beige clay were deposited over the edges of the almost completely infilled ditch. The upper horizon (0.5–0.7m deep) consisted of medium brown garden soil.

In view of the lack of dating evidence, it is only possible to suggest, by analogy with the findings from trench A, that the ditch located in trench B may be contemporary with the phase 1 ditch, and that the primary and secondary fillings may be contemporary with phases 2 and 4 respectively. The clay lentils were probably deposited at the same time as the clay layer of phase 5, while the upper horizon may be ascribed to phase 6.

Trench C

A segment of possible ditch was found, truncated at its N end by a later disturbance. Lack of time prevented excavation of the earlier phases and poor light hampered the detailed observation of features.

The top 0.1m of ditch filling was excavated: it also partly overlay the ditch edges at the S end of the trench and consisted of silty clay which may have been waterlogged.

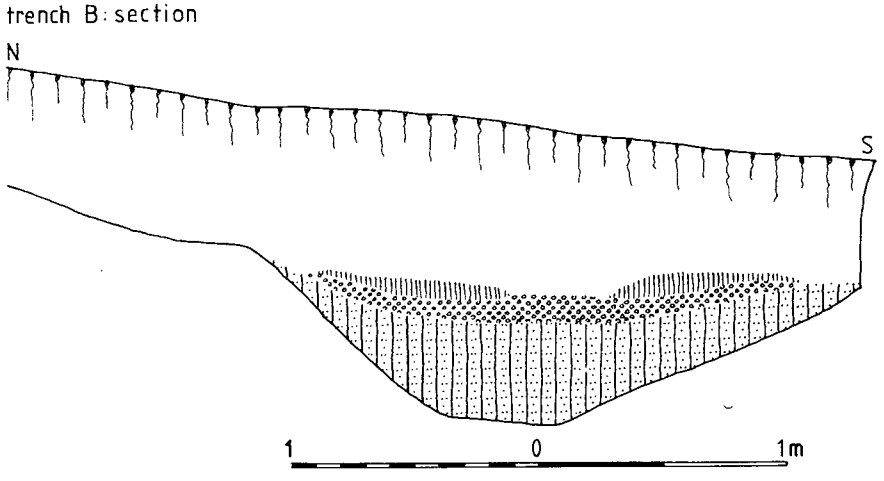

Figure 3. Trench B: E section.

Some sherds of pre-Conquest St. Neots and Thetford ware were found in the silty clay, as well as fragments of bone, some of which were charred. Silty loam then accumulated over the infilled ditch. This layer contained a few small sherds of C11–C13 pottery.

The N end of the ditch had been intersected by a feature, possibly a pit. It had been filled with silt loam and sticky yellow-beige clay containing pockets of sand. The sticky clay deposit which extended over the S edge of the pit contained a few C11–C14 sherds and many small fragments of animal bone.

Soil then accumulated over the whole area (0.5–0.7m deep). It had been much cultivated, and pottery and other finds of late Saxon to C20 date were found intermixed.

The findings from this trench were inconclusive. The segment of ditch was not an obvious continuation of the ditch in trench A. The excavated ditch filling yielded material similar to that found in the primary filling of the ditch in trench A, and analysis of the silty clay deposit suggested the possibility that this was ditch upcast. It is therefore suggested that the excavated ditch fill in trench C consisted of material derived from the redigging of ditches, deposited within a short time-span, and possibly contemporary with phase 3. Consequently, the ditch in trench C would belong to an earlier phase in the ditch system.

The sticky clay infill from the pit was of a similar nature to the clay deposit described in trench A, phase 5, and probably contemporary with it. The upper horizon accumulated in phase 6.

DISCUSSION

The limitations of the excavation must be borne in mind when considering the interpretation of the site.

The evidence suggests two periods and types of land-use:

I. Represented by phases 1–4, in C11, when ditches and associated domestic refuse suggest the presence of a settlement in the vicinity.

II. Represented by phases 5 and 6, from C12 to the present day when the site was open ground and had been cultivated, for part of this time at least.

The trenches dug by machine in 1985 had also yielded evidence for ditches and other features in the upper, W part of the Paddock, and some C11–C12 pottery had been found.

Since the Paddock lies in the vicinity of the cathedral and claustral buildings, the archaeological evidence must be considered within the context of the history of the monastery at Ely.

The monastery was refounded in AD 970 and, in the course of the following century, acquired an extensive estate, part of which was lost after the Norman Conquest and Hereward's revolt. The Normans showed a more positive interest in Ely from 1080 when an attempt was made to restore to the Abbey lands confiscated after the Conquest and the rebuilding of the cathedral was begun.

In 1109, the diocese of Ely was created, and over half of the monastic estate was eventually made over to the bishop. In the middle years of C12, Ely was again the centre of a revolt, and the process of division of the monastic estate was probably completed towards the end of C12 (Miller 1953; *Victoria County History, Cambs.* ii).

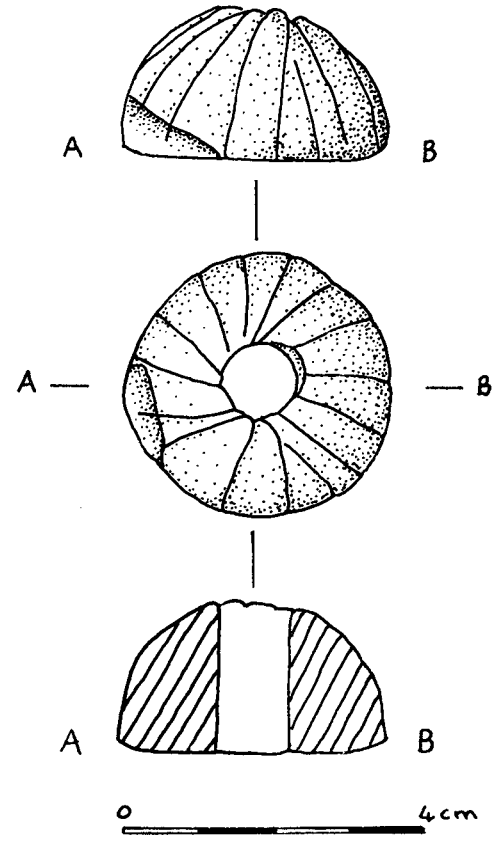

Figure 4. Fired clay spindle whorl from trench A, phase 4.

Documentary evidence shows that by the latter part of C13, the monastic enclosure included a garden that was adjacent to some of the tenements lining the S side of Forehill, i.e. on or around the Paddock (Liber M, passim). A reference to gardens and orchards laid out around the monastery at the time of the C10 refoundation does not indicate precise location (Liber Eliensis II, 54).

There was renewed building activity in C14 when the octagon and the Lady Chapel were built.

From this historical survey, it may be seen that the ditches on the Paddock were dug some time after the refoundation of the monastery. Both the pottery evidence in the primary ditch filling and the historical background suggest that the ditch in trench A was recut before Ely suffered the consequences of the Norman Conquest. The duration of the period between the two phases of ditch digging may be deduced from the rate at which the original ditch silted up. The secondary ditch filling accumulated in the latter half of C11 and possibly early C12.

It is likely that the ditches served to drain the land, as well as marking some sort of boundary. These boundaries do not seem to correspond with later ones. The presence of ditches implies a community active enough to undertake the work, possibly under the control of the monastery. The finds suggest domestic rather than monastic activity.

The change in land-use probably occurred *c.* 1100. The Norman involvement in Ely and the creation of the see must have led to considerable changes in property holding. Expansion of monastic and cathedral precincts was taking place elsewhere at about this time (e.g. Canterbury, Gloucester) and it is suggested that the site of the Paddock became part of the monastic enclosure in C12, although the earliest documentary evidence for this dates from C13.

The uneven deposit of sticky clay must have been dumped on the site and the limited pottery evidence suggests a date in C14. It is suggested that this deposit of clay may be upcast from the foundations for buildings erected in the monastic precincts in C14, and that the irregularity in the modern ground surface may have originated at that time.

The upper horizon consisted of a depth of cultivated soil which is consistent with the documentary evidence.

CONCLUSION

The excavations have yielded evidence for late Saxon occupation in the neighbourhood of a Saxon monastery. As the features excavated lay under a depth of cultivated soil, it is possible that a part of the late Saxon landscape may have survived on the Paddock. The site has now been preserved from development for 99 years. It would therefore be possible to seek further information regarding the ditch plan through geophysical methods.

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank those who took part in the excavation or contributed to the post-excavation work, and in particular Mr. D.N. Hall and Dr. C.A.I. French. Thanks are also due to Miss A. Taylor for providing information about the 1985 findings, and to the Dean and Chapter of Ely Cathedral for permitting the excavations on the Paddock.

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CHARLEMAGNE AND TWO DEMI-VIRTUES AT MADINGLEY

HILARY WAYMENT

In a south window of the nave of Madingley Church (s.VI) are two small figures in paint and stain, each on what were originally two quarries nearly square, and standing about 15 inches high (Figs. 1 & 2).[1] The right-hand figure, towards the west, represents a bearded man with closed crown, sceptre and sword; these attributes, together with the rich ermine cloak and august beard, point clearly to the Emperor Charlemagne. The two halves of the left-hand figure prove on closer inspection to come from two different female figures; the upper, carrying a pelican in her piety and a heart, represents Charity, and the lower, with sword and scales, Justice. The glass must date from the early sixteenth century.[2] It was probably set up here about the middle of the nineteenth, and, together with the rest of the ancient glass in the church has recently (1988) been restored by Chapel Studio; mending leads have been removed and replaced by adhesive, so that Charlemagne's features, for instance, are open to view, probably for the first time in the last century or more.

At Warwick Castle, before its sale in 1978 to Madame Tussaud's Ltd, there was a group of fragments most of which are clearly related to the Madingley figures. A number of these consist of decorative pieces in a grotesque style characteristic of the early northern Renaissance,[3] with rich and complicated colonnettes, volutes and leaf-scrolls supporting winged putti, fauns, dolphins, couched cat-like animals, goat-heads, cornucopias, leaf-masks, parrots, and profile medallions. It is difficult, if not impossible, to see how these fragments could be amalgamated into any coherent combinations, a fact which suggests that they are the remnants of a much larger collection. Two groups of these decorative pieces have been made up into frames for mid-sixteenth-century scenes which do not belong to them: an oval of *Lot and his daughters leaving Sodom* (Fig. 3), and a small rectangular panel of *Venus telling Cupid to fire an arrow at Phaethon* (Fig. 4). A third group has been fitted together from at least four different sets so as to frame two square quarries which appear at first sight to show a complete figure in full armour and in profile to the right, from whose dragon-crested helmet long flowing locks escape, and whose left arm supports a broken column (Fig. 5).[4] A second look shows that this figure is also made up of two unrelated halves. The lower quarry is reversed, so that what was originally the right leg faces towards the spectator's right (Fig. 6). Parts of a scabbard and the shaft of a spear or halberd have no counterpart in the upper quarry, and separate tassets appear in both halves. Above the head of the helmeted half-figure is a fragment consisting of a massive crown between two capitals supporting an architrave on which is inscribed the word FORTITUDO. In style this fragment is less delicate than the others, and it may well have been imported from elsewhere, though it gives a correct description of the half-figure below, and explains the female *chevelure* and the broken column which, in allusion to Samson, distinguishes the virtue of Fortitude.

What of the lower quarry? The un-nimbed,

1 The male figure, which is 380mm high by 215 wide, proved on dismantlement to have been painted on a single piece of glass and apparently split in two before being leaded up. The composite figure measures 385 × 210mm.

2 Cf. A.H. Lloyd in *PCAS* 31 (1926), 122–3; RCHM, *West Cambridgeshire* (London 1968), 178.

3 Parallels are to be found in the engravings of the Monogrammatist IG/GI and Lucas van Leyden, largely from the 1520s.

4 The capital, on an intruded fragment, probably originated in the lost lower quarry.

Figure 1. Madingley Church, composite figure of Charity/Justice, here attributed to Dierick Vellert. Photo, author.

Figure 2. Madingley Church: *Charlemagne*, here attributed to Dierick Vellert. Photo, author.

Figure 3. Warwick Castle (formerly): decorative framework in grotesque style enclosing a mid-sixteenth-century oval of *Lot and his daughters leaving Sodom*. Photo, G. King & Son.

Figure 4. Warwick Castle (formerly): decorative framework in grotesque style enclosing a mid-sixteenth-century panel of *Venus telling Cupid to fire an arrow at Phaethon*. Photo, G. King & Son.

standing figure of Charlemagne at Madingley provides a clue. Must they not both, the complete figure at Madingley and the half-figure from Warwick, be all that is now known to remain from a series of the Nine Worthies? When first celebrated as a group early in the fourteenth century by Jacques de Longuyon the Worthies appeared as champions of Chivalry and were usually riding on horseback; but they were often shown as standing figures, especially on their adoption as symbols of excellence by burgher cities such as Cologne and Lüneburg.[5] In the glass screen north-west of the organ-loft in King's College Chapel there are four examples from a set of Worthies and Valiant Women, deriving apparently from Rouen or Antwerp about 1510; these are head and shoulders only, shown in profile.[6] That of Charlemagne bears the two-headed eagle of the Empire, only half of which is visible; this, impaled by a fleur-de-lis of France (dimidiated, like the eagle) is his normal attribute as a Worthy. He was, however, shown as a rule without these, but with imperial and martial attributes such as he wears at Madingley.

If the Worthies (les Preux) have female counterparts, as they not infrequently do, these are usually Valiant Women (Preuses); and so they appear to have been in the King's

5 R.L. Wyss, 'Die neun Helden', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 17 (1957), 73–106.

6 Wayment, *King's College Chapel, Cambridge: the Side-Chapel Glass* (Cambridge 1988), under window 48; the medallions are there attributed to Arnold of Nijmegen and an assistant.

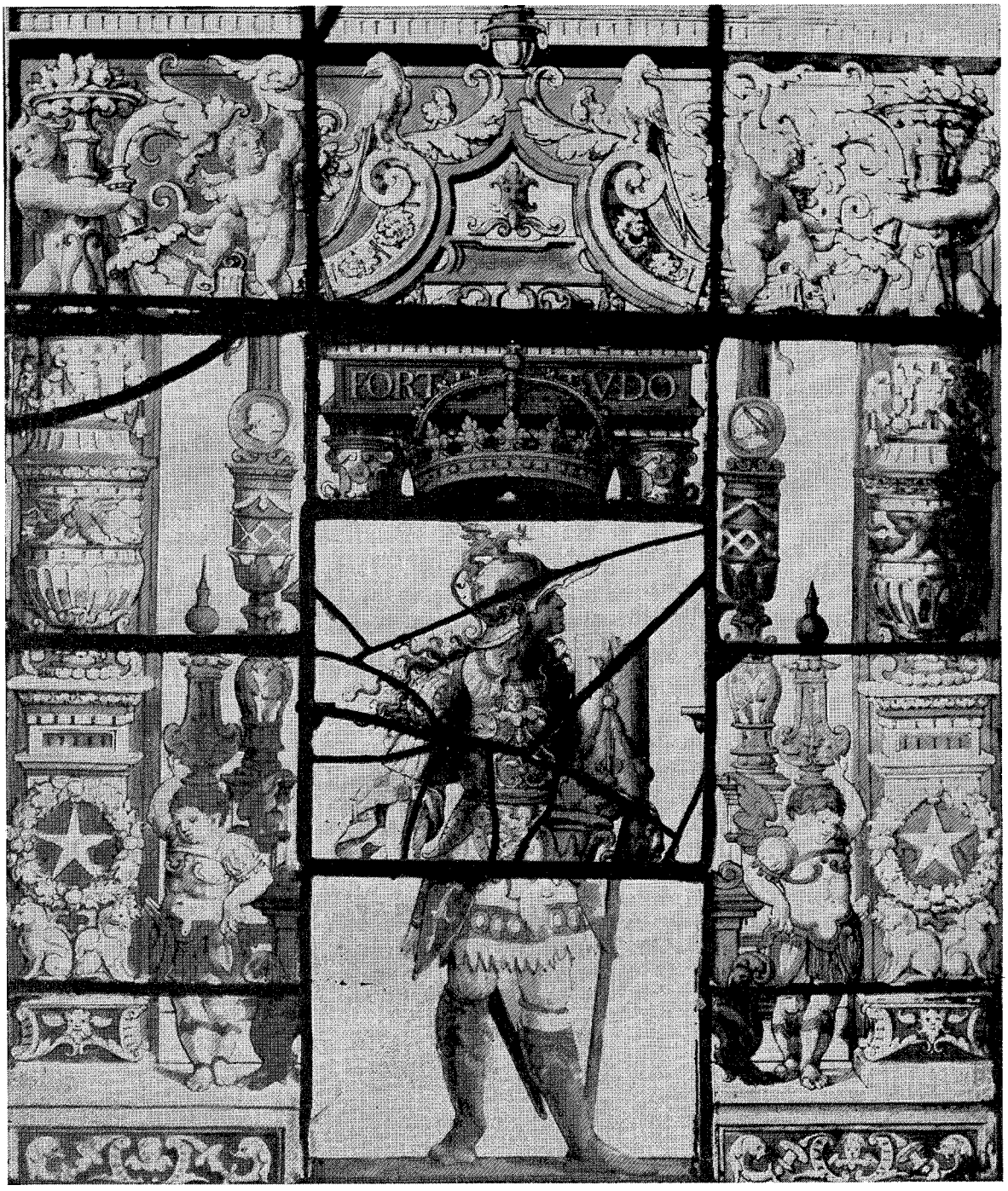


Figure 5. Warwick Castle (formerly): decorative framework enclosing composite panel of *Fortitudo*; by Dierick Vellert. Photo, John Knight Photography.

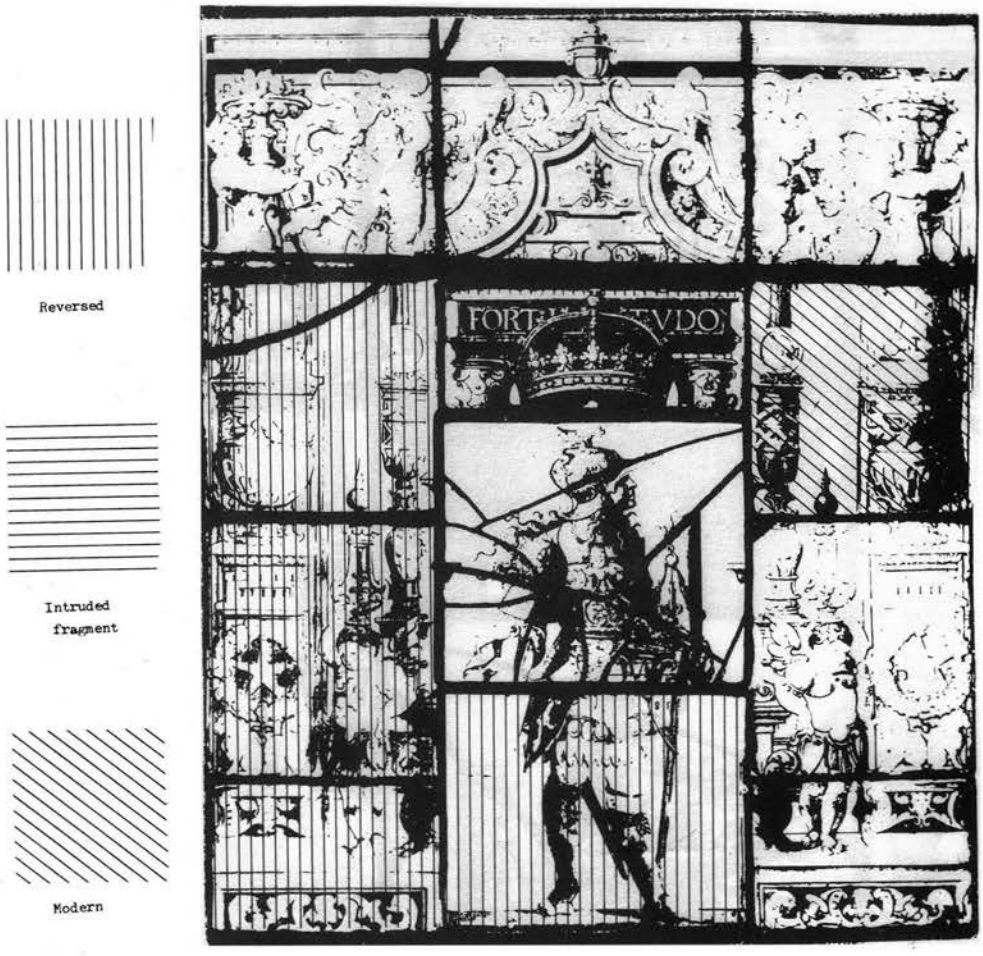


Figure 6. Restoration chart of Figure 5, as drafted by Dennis King.

Chapel set. The Worthies consisted of three Jews (Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus), three Pagans (Hector, Alexander, and Caesar), and three Christians (Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon). The group of women at first paired with the men was composed exclusively of heroines from the classical world, many of them little known. The nine Worthies who met Henry VI on his triumphal entry into Paris in 1431, for instance, were accompanied by nine Amazons or other martial women, few of whom are known to fame.[7] Those engraved by Burgkmair in 1519–20, however, corresponded closely with the men:[8] there were three Jewesses, three Pagans, and three Christians. Both groups of heroines are trying to rival the men at their own game, whereas the seven Virtues belonged to an altogether different order. The four cardinal virtues, Justice, Fortitude, Prudence, and Temperance, had been personified by the Greeks, and St Paul had suggested the three so-called theological virtues who completed the group of seven. They had appeared, for instance, with the seven Mortal Sins in the cavalcade accompanying Charles VII when he in his turn made a triumphal entry into Paris in 1437.[9] It would be entirely appropriate for the Worthies and the Virtues they embodied to be linked in a single group. Both sets had been variable during the fifteenth century, and the Virtues often appeared in smaller or larger groups. Only four of the Warwick/Madingley series are identifiable, and it is of course only possible to guess at the composition of the original company. However, they seem likely to have

7 B. Guenée and F. Lehoux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris 1968), 64.

8 M. Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut 1500-1550* I–IV (New York 1974), nos 469–74.

9 Guenée and Lehoux (see n. 7), 76.

Figure 7. Lübeck, Marienkirche: two angels from the *Coronation of the Virgin* (1521, destroyed 1942); attributed to Dierick Vellert. Photo, Castelli.

formed a set of sixteen or eighteen figures such as would have appeared most appropriately in a public building like a town hall or a court of justice.

There can be no doubt that the glass was designed and painted in Antwerp. In the made-up panel from Warwick there are two examples (one inside out) of a monogram consisting of a five-pointed star between the capitals D V, all set within a wreath. This was recognised by Gustav Glück in 1901 as being the device of Dierick Vellert, who is generally agreed, on the basis of a suggestion by Max Friedländer, to have been the designer of the later windows of King's Chapel.[10] Although the decorative fragments

10 M.J. Friedlander, exh. cat. *Ausstellung von Kunstwerken der Mittelalters und der Renaissance aus Berliner Privatbesitz veranstaltet von der Kunstgeschichlichen Gesellschaft* (Berlin 1899), 18; A.E. Popham, 'The Engravings and Woodcuts of Dirick Popham, 'The Engravings and Woodcuts of Dirick Vellert', *Print Collector's Quarterly* 12 (1925), 343; N. Beets, 'Dirick Jacobsz Vellert, Schilder van Antwerpen: V. Gebrande Glazen', *Onze Kunst* 40 (1922), 85.

remaining cannot now be fitted into a coherent frame for the figures, of which only one is complete, there are clear indications of a common source. Just below shoulder level at the edges of the square panels containing the torsos of Charlemagne, Charity, and Fortitude are small projections which represent the extremities of *abaci* or entablatures. The figures were evidently set in an architectural framework, and even if this did not belong to the series of which the decorative fragments at Warwick formed part, it must have been very closely related. There are, moreover, significant similarities between the composite figure at Warwick and the winged putti which flank it: the puffed shoulder-pieces, for example, and the right legs (remembering that the left-hand putto is reversed).

Comparison with full-size figures already attributed to Vellert serves to strengthen the connection. In St Mary's, Lübeck, until 1942, a *Coronation of the Virgin* which is known to have been commissioned from Antwerp about the middle of the second decade of the sixteenth century carried, on either side of an arch in the background, two examples of the five-pointed star within a circle.[11] The absence of the initials D V is quite natural in an ecclesiastical context, and there is no need to question the reliability of this symbol as an indication of Vellert's authorship. Before the dismantlement of the Lübeck window during the last war the late Professor Hans Wentzel had arranged for one panel, showing two attendant angels, to be photographed (Fig. 7); I used this, in my *Corpus Vitrearum* volume on the King's windows, to show that Vellert must have painted two male heads in the scene of the Fall of the Idols (VI, 2, Fig. 8), and went on to trace his autograph work in several later windows, including the axial window in the east.[12] The Warwick/Madingley figures can only serve to confirm this hypothesis. To compare them first of all with Vellert's signed engravings, the head and hair of Fortitude and the hands of the Madingley figures are closely paralleled in *A Woman with a Coat of Arms* (B.19, 1525) and *St Luke painting the Virgin* (B.9, 1526, Fig. 9), and the Worthy's legs she has been fitted with are not dissimilar from those of Christ in B.6, *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (1526). Compare, on the other hand, Charity's half-open mouth, not showing the teeth, with that of Aphrodosius' companion in the King's College *Fall of the Idols* (1517, Fig. 8), and, most striking of all, Charlemagne's bearded head with that of the majestic Pilate in the east window (*c.* 1541, Fig. 10). There can be no doubt that the Warwick/Madingley glass provides valuable and reliable clues for the tracing of Vellert's hand in all the periods of glazing in King's Chapel, from the 1515–17 campaign to the celebration of Henry VIII's marriage with Catherine Howard in 1540–42. Moreover, they have one great advantage over the King's windows. Full-scale work was almost always carried out by a team of glass-painters. The master-glazier might paint the head of a key figure, but assistants would often be responsible for the rest of it, and for the background; whereas these small figures can only be the work of a single hand. Here we can admire not only in the heads, but in the shimmering delicacy of the drapery, the skill and vigour and grace of one of the

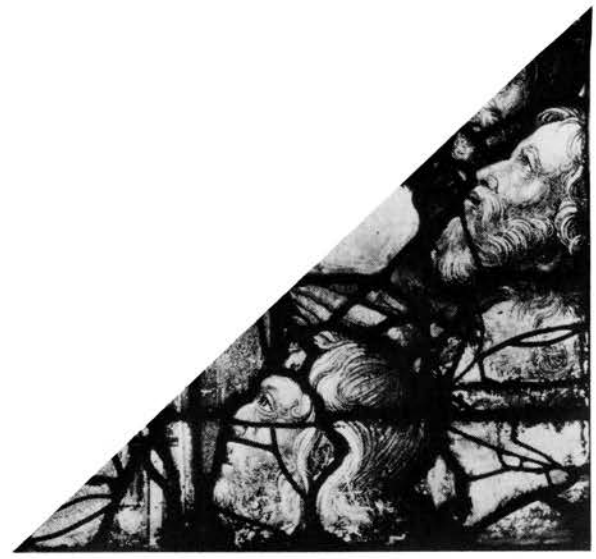


Figure 8. King's College Chapel. window VI, 2 (1517): two male heads attributed to Dierck Vellert. Photo, P.A.L. Brunney.

11 *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck* II (Lübeck 1906), Pl. opp. 176.

12 Wayment, *The Windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain Suppl. Vol. I (London 1972), 21; see also Wayment, *King's College Chapel, Cambridge, The Great Windows, Introduction and Guide* (Cambridge 1982), 12.

Figure 9. Dierick Vellert, *St Luke painting the Virgin* (B.9, 1526).

Figure 10. King's College Chapel, east window: Pilate, from the *Christ before Pilate*, here attributed to Dierick Vellert. Photo, P.A.L. Brunney.

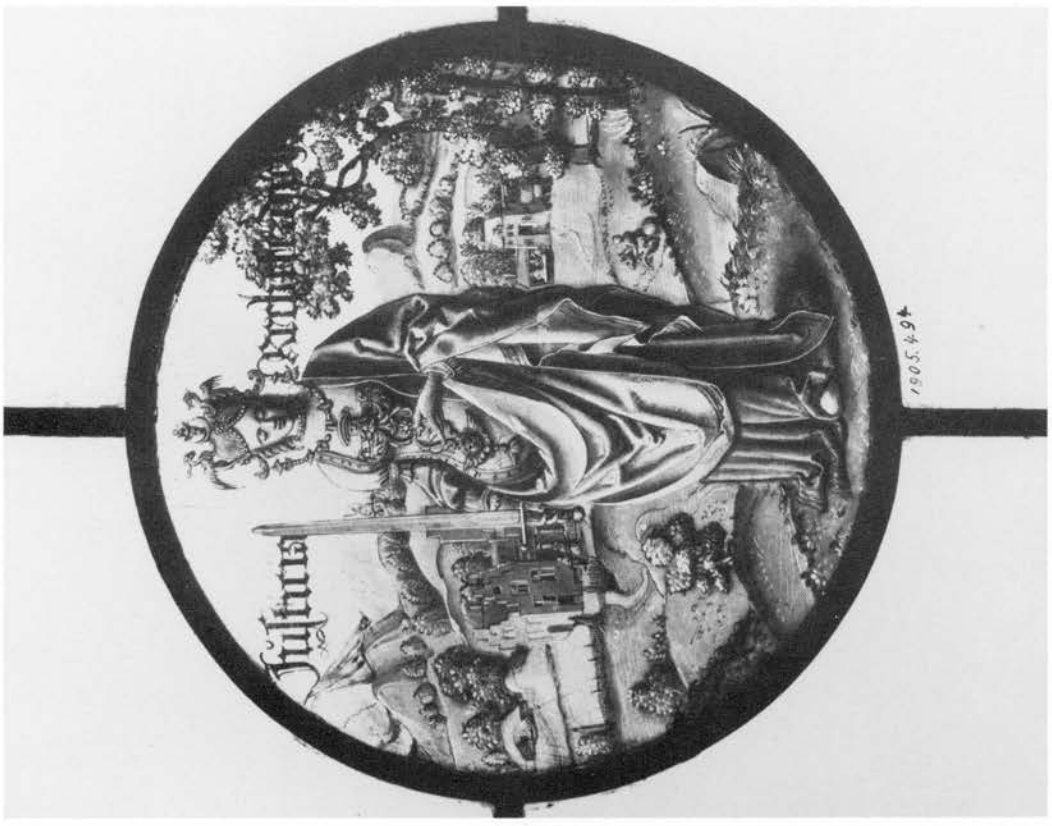


Figure 12. Basle, Historical Museum: *Justice*, roundel attributed to David Joris.

Figure 11. Basle, Historical Museum: *Charity*, roundel attributed to David Joris.

outstanding glass-painters of the Renaissance.

Vellert was probably born in Amsterdam about the middle of the 1480s, and died after 1547. After leaving his home town *c.* 1508 he seems to have worked at Mechlin in the atelier of Adrian van den Houte (*c.* 1469–1521) before joining the Guild of St Luke at Antwerp in 1511.[13] The Warwick/Madingley figures probably date from between 1517, when Vellert must have painted the profile head in King's Chapel with the open Italianate mouth, and 1526, the date inscribed on the engraving of *St Luke painting the Virgin*. There is in fact reason to believe that they were done in the first half of this decade. The flat area on the right thigh of Justice, defined by looping folds, repeats a common feature of Adrian van den Houte's style, and suggests a date not too long after Vellert's presumed stay in Mechlin.[14] Moreover, the designs of *Justice* and *Charity*, truncated as they are, can be seen in all probability to have formed the basis of two roundels with the same subjects which are preserved in the Historical Museum at Basle (Figs. 11 & 12).[15] These date from about 1550 and are attributed to David Joris, the Anabaptist glazier (*c.* 1501–56), who before the early spring of 1522 had been attached for a year or more to an unnamed glazier's workshop in Antwerp;[16] Joris was highly eclectic in his borrowings, and is known late in his life to have used designs culled from other artists much earlier on. If he borrowed from Vellert, then the designs he used must date from before 1522.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Dennis King, who put his photographs of the Warwick glass at my disposal, to Alfred Fisher, of Chapel Studio, who allowed me to inspect and photograph the Madingley pieces in his workshop, and to Karel Boon, who lent photographs of the two *Virtues* at Basle.

13 Wayment (1972, see previous note), 18–22.

14 Wayment, *The Stained Glass of the Church of St Mary, Fairford, Gloucestershire* (London 1984), 87–9 and 91–2.

15 K.G. Boon, 'De Glasschilder David Joris, een exponent van het doperse geloof. Zijn kunst en zijn invloed op Dirck Crabeth', *Academiae Analecta*, Academie van Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België XLIX (1988), 117–37, esp. 127–8.

16 G. Arnold, *Unparteyische Kirchen und Ketzer Historie* (Frankfurt-am-Main 1699), IV.

ALMA MATER CANTABRIGIA: A DEVICE IN PRINT AND PLASTER

SUZANNE M. EWARD

The writing of this article has been prompted by the reprinting in 1986 of the Rev. H.P. Stokes's booklet *The Emblem, the Arms, & the Motto of the University of Cambridge*, which first appeared in 1928 for private circulation only.[1] In his booklet Stokes describes the different variations of a basic emblem and its accompanying motto which were used by the University printers as their device from *c.* 1600 to our own century.[2] It seems however that Stokes was unaware (because surely he would have mentioned it if he had known) of a rather unusual connection between the printer's device and an old house in the Cathedral Close at Gloucester. It is to be hoped that some reader of this article may be able to produce a reasonable explanation as to why this connection came about.

THE DEVICE

On 2 November 1588, John Legate, who was 'reported to be skilful in the art of printing books',[3] was appointed Printer to the University of Cambridge in succession to Thomas Thomas. About 1609 he left Cambridge in order to live in London, and died in 1620. During his time as University Printer, Legate adopted his own personal device, to be displayed on the titlepages of books he printed. This was a common-enough convention. For example, William Caxton had used a trade-mark flanked by the letters *W* and *C*; the Estienne family, a philosopher standing under the Tree of Knowledge; Geofroy Tory, a broken vessel on a clasped book; Aldus Manutius, a dolphin and anchor; and Christopher Plantin, a compass on a book. Some, but not all, of these printers incorporated a motto with their pictorial device. Exactly when John Legate first used his own chosen device is not known, but as the earliest example so far found is in the popular theological writer William Perkins's *A*

Figure 1. Earliest known example of *Alma Mater*, in William Perkins, *A Golden Chaine*, 1600.

1 Edited by Dr J.D. Pickles, Librarian of the CAS, who has a number of copies left.

2 Stokes illustrates the different variations, but does not give dates to all the examples he has discovered, which makes his booklet less useful than it might be. He is also perhaps too ready to differentiate between the emblem itself, and the motto which accompanies it, when it seems more likely that the two were intended to be mutually complementary in order to make up the complete device.

3 *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Golden Chaine (Fig. 1), printed in 1600, that may well be the first instance of its use. Perkins was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, from 1584 to 1594. He must have been personally known to Legate, who printed a large number of his books, and indeed contributed a preface to his edition of Perkins's *Collected Works* of 1616–1618.

Legate used several variations of his chosen device, as did successive University printers after him, but the basic form is as follows. Within an ornamental oval frame is a square pedestal on which are printed the words 'Alma Mater Cantabrigia' (Cambridge our nursing mother). Arising from the pedestal is a three-quarter length nude female figure, with long flowing hair, and milk coming from her breasts. On her head is a wreath surmounted by a mural crown (the traditional symbol for personifying cities). She holds a sun in one hand, and in the other a cup or chalice into which drops are falling from a cloud. The figure is flanked on either side by a small tree, representing perhaps the tree of life and the tree of knowledge.[4] On the oval frame are printed the words 'Hinc Lucem et Pocula Sacra' (Hence light and sacred draughts). The origin of these words has so far not been discovered. For a long time they were thought to be a quotation from some unidentified classical or renaissance Latin poet, a belief which led to a question being asked about their origin in the first number of *Notes and Queries* in 1849,[5] and again in a later number in 1876.[6] Stokes gives examples of the subsequent use of this 'motto' by such writers as Robert Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow (1611–1684), but its origin has never been discovered, and it seems more than likely that it was composed specifically as part of the printer's device.[7]

The key to our interpretation of this particular design lies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' fascination with 'emblems', in the sense of an allegory or moral lesson being depicted by mutually interdependent words and pictures. This is evidenced by the fashionable emblem-books which reached the height of their vogue in about 1580. The device is intended as an emblematic representation of Cambridge depicting the University as the source of intellectual and spiritual enlightenment and sustenance. But the fact that Cambridge was thus symbolically represented as a nursing mother for the first time in 1600 may be not entirely unconnected with the fact that that was the year in which Legate's eldest son John (who was to succeed him as a printer) was born.[8] The conceit of Cambridge as a fertile woman must soon have become well known, as is evidenced by Michael Drayton's long poem *Poly-Olbion*, which was first published in its complete form in 1622. In this, Drayton addresses his 'most beloved Towne' of Cambridge thus:

> The woman's perfect shape, still be thy embleme right,
> Whose one hand holds a Cup, the other bears a Light.

On the map of Cambridge which accompanies this section of the poem, the personification of Cambridge is portrayed pictorially, not on her pedestal, but striding along beside the river Granta, bearing her cup and sun, wearing her wreath and mural crown, and with flowing breasts (Fig. 2).

THE HOUSE

Further evidence that the device became well-known after its inception is shown by the

4 I am grateful to Dr Frank Stubbings of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, for this idea and for other suggestions about the device.

5 On 1 December 1849 J.J. Smith asked, 'From what author, "chapter and verse", comes the Motto of the University of Cambridge, *Hinc Lucem et Pocula Sacra*? It is used as a quotation in Leighton on St Peter's Epistle; but in the last edition the learned editor does not give a reference' (Stokes, p. 46).

6 On 14 October 1876 Professor J.E.B. Mayor asked, 'May I repeat the question often put, never answered – From what mediaeval poem does the Motto *Hinc lucem et pocula sacra* come?' (Stokes, p. 48).

7 Dr Frank Stubbings writes, 'it is fair enough to ask whether it is a quotation, and if so from where. But it could just as well be composed *ad hoc* as a concise statement of the theme; and since diligent search has never found a source, I myself take that view.'

8 John Legate, the University Printer, married Alice Sheirs on 4 February 1589. Between 1590 and 1609 the couple had nine daughters and three sons (*D.N.B.*).

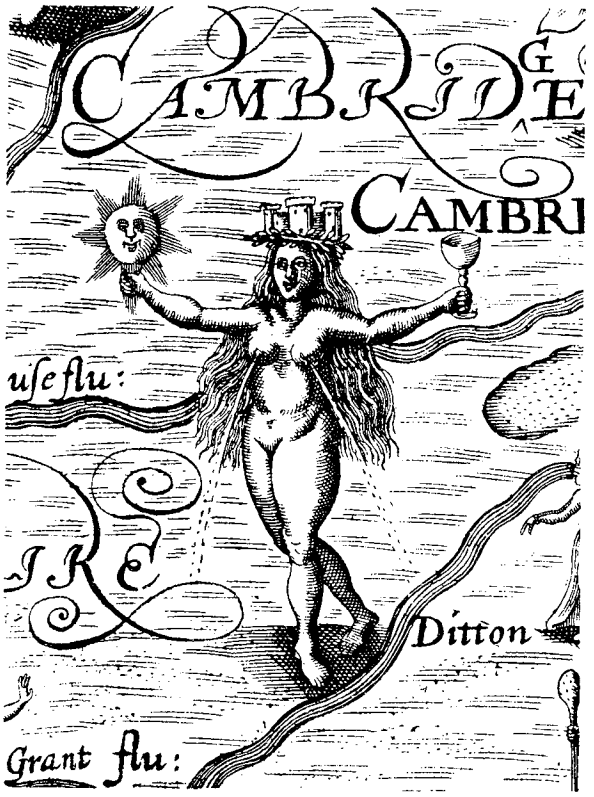


Figure 2. *Alma Mater* on the banks of the Granta, map in Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, 1622.

fact that it is depicted on an early-seventeenth-century plaster ceiling in a house in the Cathedral Close at Gloucester. The house is ancient and has an interesting history. It served originally as the monastic kitchen of the former Benedictine Abbey of St Peter, being situated on the north side of the monks' refectory, into which a door led from the north-west corner of the cloisters. Following the dissolution of the Abbey in 1540 King Henry VIII created a new diocese of Gloucester from what had been the large diocese of Worcester. The former Abbey Church became the Cathedral Church of the new diocese, and a Bishop, Dean, and Chapter were established there in 1541. Inevitably, the use of the former monastic kitchen changed. In the Henrician Statutes which were drawn up in 1544 special obligations and duties were laid on the Dean and Chapter, their ministers and other officers. Although the Dean and prebendaries were allowed to 'live apart with their several families' and to dine at their own houses, the Statutes specifically enjoined that the minor canons, schoolmasters, master of the choristers, lay-clerks, choristers, and the 'inferior officers' (such as the janitors and sextons) were to feed together in the 'Common-Hall'. Therefore what had been the Monks' Refectory now became the Common Hall of the new community.

Among the statutory office-holders of the new foundation were a cook, an under-cook, and a butler. Meals for serving in the Common Hall were prepared by these people (or more likely by their deputies) in what had been the monastic kitchen, but which now became known as the 'Common Kitchen'. This arrangement does not seem to have lasted long, for the bachelor state of the minor canons and lay-clerks changed, and as the years went by it became the norm for them to be married men who preferred to dine at home with their families. The result of this was that through lack of use the Common Hall fell into disrepair, as is apparent by a question asked about its condition by Bishop Thomas Ravis at his Visitation of the Cathedral in 1605. By the year 1612 at the latest the Common Hall had either fallen or been pulled down; and so, because the Cathedral officers no longer dined there, meals were no longer prepared in the Common Kitchen which now became redundant. The Dean and Chapter therefore decided to let it.

On 27 April 1612, the first lease of the Common Kitchen ('Communis Culina', or the 'old kitchin', as it was variously referred to in the Chapter records), was granted to 'Symeon Wrenche the sonne of Elias Wrenche one of the Prebends of the Cathedral Church' for an annual rent of two shillings. Now this was curious, for Simeon Wrench was then only four years old, and was obviously too young to be able to undertake the responsibilities of a leaseholder or even to pay the rent by himself. However, Elias Wrench his father (a staunch supporter of William Laud) was Prebendary of the Second Stall, and the house allotted to successive prebendaries of the second stall was that adjoining the Common Kitchen on its east side.[9] In the event of Elias's death the family would have had to vacate the preben-

9 Now known as Little Cloister House.

Plate 1. Jacobean carved overmantel in Elias Wrench's house, 3 Millers Green, in Gloucester Cathedral Close.

dal house, and so might have been in real want. The acquisition of the Common Kitchen in his son's name therefore provided some measure of security. The additional accommodation next door must also have been very welcome, for the young growing family of Elias Wrench and Mary his wife was to consist finally of seven sons and two daughters.

Having acquired the lease in his son's name, it must have been Elias Wrench who converted the building from a kitchen into a dwelling-house.[10] He did this by having floors and ceilings put in, with the result that the finished house contained cellars, ground floor, first floor, and attics. On the outside it is half-timbered with two gables on each of the north and south elevations.[11] One room on the first floor must today look very similar to what it did when Elias's renovations were first completed. It contains oak panelling of the period; a magnificent Jacobean carved overmantel (Plate 1), remarkably similar to the one carved by John Abel at Hellens, the manor house at Much Marcle in Herefordshire; and a plaster ceiling (Plate 2), decorated as were so many in fashionable houses of the period. On this ceiling are embossed flowers, thistles, a swan, a crane, a cartouche, and – John Legate's printer's device. There, in a plaster composed of lime, hair, and sand, is depicted, not a square pedestal, but a round one. Rising above it is a half-length nude female figure bearing her cup and sun, with drops descending from the clouds above into the cup, and with a tree on either side of the figure. The pedestal bears the words 'Alma Mater Cantabrigia', but the words of the motto, 'Hinc Lucem et Pocula Sacra', are not depicted. The image (Plate 3) measures eighteen inches from the top of the crown to the bottom of the pedestal, and eleven inches from the end of one outstretched hand to the end of the other.[12] Also

10 He also turned the site of the Common Hall on the south side of his prebendal house and the Common Kitchen into a garden.

11 Recent extensive repairs to the house have revealed that part of the exterior walls and some of the interior walls are stone behind their panelled or plaster façades.

12 The question might well be asked whether it was unusual for a device in plaster to be copied from a printed source. Dr Frank Stubbings points out that Henry Peacham the younger's *Minerva Britanna*, 1612, an emblem-book, was used as a source for twenty-one emblems which were reproduced in plaster at Blickling Hall.

Plate 2. Early seventeenth-century plaster ceiling in Elias Wrench's house.

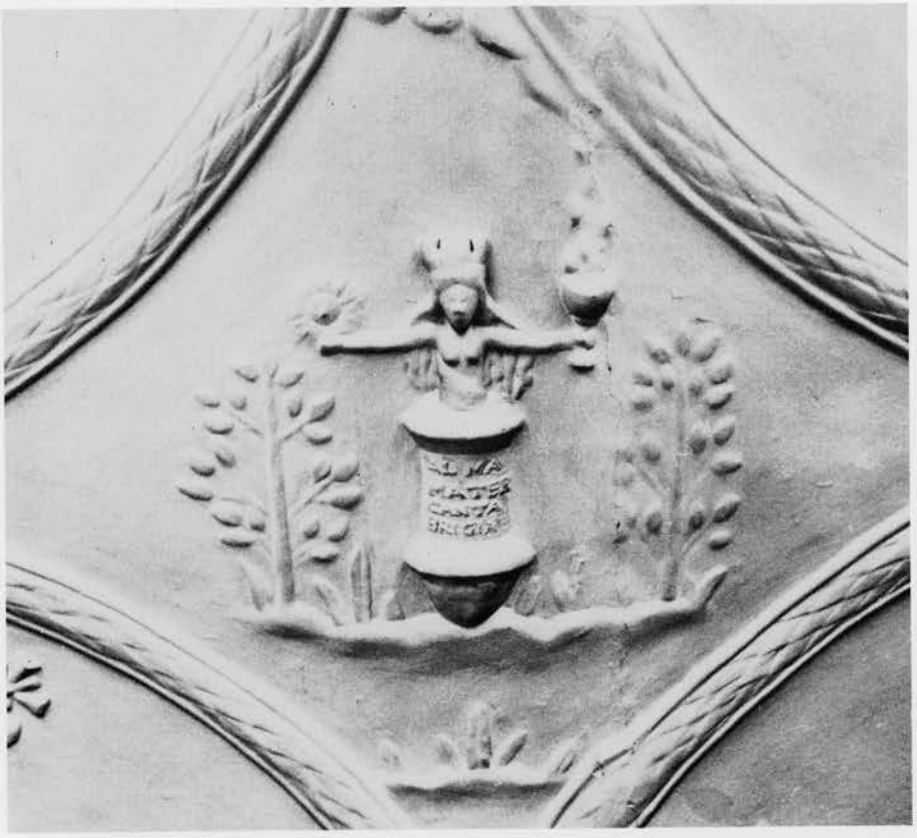


Plate 3. *Alma Mater Cantabrigia* on the ceiling of 3 Millers Green, Gloucester.

on the ceiling are the heads and shoulders of three small figures. From their clothing it seems that these are meant to represent a cleric (wearing a skull-cap and clerical bands), a boy or young man (wearing an ordinary doublet), and a chorister (for the third figure has a ruff around its neck). Perhaps it is not too fanciful to suppose that these are depictions of Elias Wrench himself, and two of his sons, Simeon who had the first lease of the house, and Barkeley, who was a Cathedral chorister from 1621 to 1629 (which may perhaps date the ceiling more specifically).

As with the source of the University Press's motto, the presence of the device on this ceiling provokes another question which is continually asked and never yet answered. Why should this depiction of Cambridge appear on a ceiling in Gloucester? Elias Wrench had been a sizar of Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1578 to 1582, but his subsequent career shows no connection with, or interest in, Cambridge.[13] Whether, having graduated, he ever became acquainted with John Legate is not known. He may of course have been familiar with the device from seeing it on the titlepages of books. But why he should be so loyal to Cambridge that he incorporated such a blatantly Cantabrigian device into his ceiling is a mystery.

None of his sons were undergraduates at Cambridge, although four of them, Elias, Simeon, Henry, and John, became undergraduates at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. However, there may have been some kind of family connection with Corpus, for when a Richard Wrenche matriculated there in 1576, he was described as 'famulus Praesidis' (of the President's household). The President at that time was William Cole, but in the years 1614 to 1629, when two of the Wrench sons were at Corpus, the President was Thomas Anyan, who happened at the same time to be

13 Elias Wrench was Master of the College School, Gloucester, from 1588 (the year of John Legate's appointment as University Printer) to 1599 when he resigned on being appointed a prebendary of the Cathedral. Here he continued for thirty-four years until his death in 1633.

a Prebendary of Gloucester Cathedral.[14]

Enquiries in the Cambridge University archives have revealed nothing which might explain why the device should have been placed on the ceiling. Whether anything will ever come to light now seems doubtful. But it is to be hoped that the link thus forged so long ago between Cambridge University and the old house in the Cathedral Close at Gloucester will not in future years become forgotten.[15]

14 Thomas Anyan was Prebendary of the Fourth Stall from 1612 to 1633. During these years he was, thanks to the abused system of pluralism of the time, remarkably conspicuous by his absence from Gloucester.

15 From 1731 the name of the 'Common Kitchen' was no longer used in any lease of the house, and so for well over two hundred years its origins were forgotten. Today it is known by the more prosaic address of 'no. 3, Millers Green'.

GEORGE LOOSEMORE AT TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, 1660–1682

IAN PAYNE

George Loosemore, brother of John the famous Exeter organ-builder, and of Henry, organist of King's College, Cambridge (1627–70),[1] is often referred to briefly in connection with post-Restoration Trinity College and, to a lesser degree, with pre- and post-Restoration Jesus College.[2] This short article embodies the results of a thorough examination of the Trinity College archives for the period 1660–83 in search of information about the running of the Chapel choir in general and Loosemore's career in particular.

The Elizabethan statutes, which had governed the College since 1560,[3] were still in operation at the Restoration, and continued to provide for ten choristers, six lay clerks and one man who was both organist and master of the choristers.[4] Ten choristers (most of them probably 'dry')[5] and five clerks – [Thomas] Mace, Pomfrett, Millecent, [Roger] Nightingale, and Bull – constituted the choir in 1659/60.[6]

The first payment to 'Mr Leusmore as Organist & Master of the Quire' was made in 1660/1, when he received four quarterly instalments of £6 6s 8d 'for Commons and Wages',[7] making his annual stipend (£27 6s 8d) over £17 more than that received by his predecessors, who were paid £10 per annum. No such payment is recorded for the previous year (1659/60); but the following entries prove his involvement in College music and strongly suggest that he was already acting in this capacity, even to the extent of loaning to the College his own organ (see below, page 146), as the Chapel organ had been dismantled in 1643:[8]

For removeing, setting upp and tuneing the Little Organ, £1 10s
To Peere and Lovett their bill for worke, nailes and wood about the Organ, £2 9s 10d
To Peere for deale boardes & more worke in the Organ-loft, by Mr Loosemore's direccions [sic] 18s
[Senior Bursar's Audit Book, 1660, *Chappell*, f.19]

The choir's music books, which seem to have been hidden away for safe keeping before the Civil War, were promptly rescued from oblivion under Loosemore's supervision:

To Pomfrett [one of the lay clerks] uppon his delivering the Chappell Quire bookes, £3
[*Ibid.* f.19v]

1 See John Morehen's article on these composers in *The New Grove;* much new biographical information will be found in the pedigree appended to the present article.

2 On Loosemore at Jesus, see Ian Payne, 'Music at Jesus College, Cambridge, *c.* 1557-1679' *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, LXXVI (1987), pp. 97–103.

3 Ian Payne, The Musical Establishment at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1546–1644', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, LXXIV (1985), pp. 53–69. David Mateer, in 'Further light on Preston and Whyte', *Musical Times*, cxv (1974), pp. 1074–7, has mistaken these statutes for a set given by Henry VIII: in fact the College had no statutes, and therefore no statutory provision for a musical establishment, prior to the Marian draft statutes of 1554 (Payne, 'The Musical Establishment').

4 The full text of this statute is quoted by Mateer, *op. cit.*, 1074.

5 See below, p. 147; for a fuller discussion of 'dry' choristers see Payne, 'The Musical Establishment', and G.F. Cobb, *A Brief History of the Organ .. . of Trinity College, Cambridge*, ed. Alan Gray (Cambridge, [1913]). Cobb prints some of the archival extracts presented in the present article.

6 Trinity College Archives (TCA), Senior Bursar's Audit Book 1660, *Stipendium Choristarum* f.12v, and *Stipendia Clericorum* f.13v.

7 *Ibid.*, 1661, *Extraordinaries*, f.39.

8 Cobb, *op. cit.*, p. 4; George's brother, Henry, lent his own organ to King's College shortly after the Restoration (see Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music*, (Oxford, 1969), p. 177).

General renovation work continued in 1661, with the purchase of service books and the erection of hangings in the Chapel, and 10s was paid

To Mr Leusmore for mending the Organs
[*Ibid.* 1661, *Chappell*, f.36v]

On 9 June 1662, however, the master and seniors agreed 'that sixscore pounds be layd out upon a Chaire-Organ';[9] and though payments to organ-blowers this year (1661/2) show that Loosemore's own small instrument was still in use, by Michaelmas 1663 work on the new organ was well under way:

To Mr Thamar towards the makeing of the Organ £15
[*Ibid.*, 1663, *Chappell*, f.70v]

To Mr Thamar more . . . for the Organ, £85
To Mr Leusemore for removeing his owne Organ £1
For work about the Organ for more then [*sic*] was bargained for, £4 2s 6d
For worke about covering the Organ bellowes, 10s 4d
[*Ibid.*, f.71]

Once built, at a total cost of £114 18s 0d,[10] the organ was regularly maintained and tuned, and occasionally repaired and cleaned, under an annual agreement between [Thomas] Thamar of Peterborough and the College, the former receiving £1 or £1 10s per annum for these services, from 1664 until at least 1683, the last annual account examined by the author.[11] The only deviation from this was in 1674/5, when he was paid £3

for tuneing the Organ twice, and mending it when eaten with Ratts
[*Ibid.*, 1675, *Chappell*, f.13v]

Loosemore played a large part in providing music books for the College, as is shown by the following entries spanning the period of his tenure:

To Mr Loosemore for writing & pricking 16 Service bookes and Anthems, £5
[*Ibid.*, 1663, *Gratuita Magistri et Sociorum*, f.72]

To Mr Loosemore by order of the Master & Seniors for singing bookes for the Chappell, £5
[*Ibid.*, 1665, *Gratuita* . . . , f.103v]

To Mr Loosemore for a booke of Anthems for the Master, £1 10s
[*Ibid.*, 1665, *Extraordinaries*, f.105]

To Tillet for mending three Musick bookes, 3s
[*Ibid.*, 1670, *Chappell*, f.176v]

Paid [to] Denson for an Organ Booke, 7s 6d
[*Ibid.*, 1683, *Chappell*, f.140]

Unfortunately, nothing specific about the contents of any of these books or sets can be gleaned from the above. For example, the '16 Service bookes and Anthems', for which payment was authorized by the master and seniors on 9 June 1662,[12] might have contained two complete sets of services and anthems for a four-part choir consisting of soprano, alto, tenor and bass voices, each set having four part-books for each side of the choir; but the fact that the word 'Anthems' appears after, rather than before, the word 'bookes' could indicate that an unspecified number of 'Anthems' was copied which did not necessarily fit into the sixteen-book sequence. And while it is possible that the 'booke of Anthems for the Master' of the next entry but one may loosely refer to the set of grace books of which one only is extant in the College Library,[13] this is pure speculation, as the entry seems to indicate a single book (perhaps in score) rather than a set. It is tempting, however, to speculate on the origins and identity of the so-called 'George Loosemore Organ Book', apparently copied by him and preserved at the British Library.[14] There is nothing to suggest that Denson's 'Organ Boooke' was copied by Loosemore, though it is of course possible; while the following College order, dated 20 December 1682, at least fourteen weeks after Loosemore's death,[15] seems to refer to a book of figured bass or other continuo accompaniments, rather than of organ scores of anthems:

9 TCA, Trinity College Conclusion Book, 1646–1811, p. 63.

10 This figure is the sum of the relevant items in the above list, plus a further £10 paid to Thamar and a 5s gratuity paid to his workmen (TCA, Senior Bursar's Audit Book, 1663, ff.73v and 71v, respectively).

11 These annual payments will be found in the Senior Bursar's Audit Books, under the head *Chappell*. Cobb (p. 10) states that Thamar's annual agreement ceased in 1685.

12 TCA, Trinity College Conclusion Book, 1646–1811, p. 76.

Order'd that five pound be payd to Mrs Loosemore for the Through Base Organ-Book made & pricked by her husband our late Organist deceased, as also that five pound more be payd to her as a Gratuity from the College for the [good *interlined*] service of . . . her husband
[TCA, Trinity College Conclusion Book, 1646–1811, p. 162]

Another organ book was a produce of Loosemore's associations with Jesus College which, though it did not have even a semi-professional choir,[16] clearly commissioned some sacred music, presumably of a simple nature, and scored for soprano, alto, tenor and bass voices, Decani and Cantoris, from the composer:

Paid [to] Mr Leusmore for pricking the Organbooke, & the 8 bookes [for the choir], 13s 6d
[Jesus College Archives, CH.2.1, *An Account of the Offerings from Mich, 1665 to Mich, 1666*. This payment may have been made on 5 October 1665]

There can, however, be little doubt that BL Add. 34203 was compiled for use in the Trinity College organ loft, partly because its large collection of cathedral-type music would have required a sizeable professional choir to do it justice, and partly because it containes music by [John] Cutts, a Trinity lay clerk, and by John Thamar, a chorister there.

Let us now consider the choir of which Loosemore had charge at Trinity. By 1661/2 the full complement of six lay clerks had been achieved,[17] and continued throughout the period under discussion. These were paid the pre-Civil War statutory annual stipend of £8 each, while Loosemore received a very much larger wage than his predecessors, as mentioned above. The Master and seniors were at pains to keep up this number of singers, and were quick to find substitutes and replacements when the need arose. For example, in 1664/5, Hutchins and Ingram between them took the place of John Cutts, who had died around Christmas 1664:

To Hutchins for singing in the Quire . . . [total of £6],
To Ingram for assisting in one of the clerkes places in the Chappell . . . £2
[TCA, Senior Bursar's Audit Book, 1665, *Chappell*, f.103]

(Ingram may be identical with John Ingram who became a sizar of Trinity in 1666, and proceeded B.A. in 1670 and M.A. in 1673.[18] If he was a member of the College prior to his matriculation, then he was following not only earlier practice at Trinity but also Loosemore's example at Jesus in the 1630s.[19]) Many of the choristers, on the other hand, had long been 'dry' – that is, they were undergraduates with broken voices, some of whom were given the profits of a choristership simply as a sinecure, to help them out financially.[20] It is impossible to attach numbers to this practice, but some examples may briefly be considered here. On 2 October 1662 the Master and seniors decided that two youths, Herbert and Finch, should be 'allowed one Chorister's commons between them': these were probably 'dry' and never actually sang in the choir. Loosemore's son, on the other hand, and one Morton, were to be 'admitted to whole Chorister's places', the word 'whole' being added as if to point out that these were *de facto* choristers.[21] The former held on to his choristership until 1676/7, when he was styled 'Mr', indicating that he had proceeded M.A. There is no doubt that his voice had long since broken.[22] On 16 December 1662 it was decided that

13 Trinity College Library, R.2.58.
14 Add. MS 34203. See Thurston Dart, 'Henry Loosemore's Organ-Book', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, III (1960), p. 148. A list of contents is in Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, i (London, 1964), pp. 38–9, 402.
15 On 11 September 1682 one 'Mr Wilbore [was] chosen Organist in Mr Loosemore's place lately deceased' (TCA, Trinity College Conclusion Book, 1646–1811, p. 161).
16 Payne, 'Music at Jesus College'.
17 TCA, Senior Bursar's Audit Book, 1662, *Stipendia Clericorum*, f.49.
18 *Admissions to Trinity College, ii (1546–1700)*, ed. W.W. Rouse-Ball and J.A. Venn (London, 1913) p. 475.
19 See Payne, 'The Musical Establishment' (many musicians in the foundation prior to 1555 were in that year all elected to scholarships, including the organist [Thomas] Preston and the composer [Robert] White); Payne, 'Music at Jesus College'.
20 See above, note 5.
21 TCA, Trinity College Conclusion Book, 1646–1811, p. 67.
22 TCA, Senior Bursar's Audit Book, 1677, *Stipendium Choristarum*, f.37.

Young Thamar son of the Organ-maker be admitted into the next Chorister's place which shall be void [TCA, Trinity College Conclusion Book, 1646–1811, p. 71]

At first sight this looks like a blatant piece of jobbery, the organ-builder's son being admitted in part-payment for his father's services *apropos* the organ; but the fact that Thamar's son did not proceed B.A. until 1670 (from Peterhouse)[23] may mean that he was previously under the age of fourteen and that he may therefore have had an unbroken voice. This boy held his choristership only until Michaelmas 1666, and such a short tenure (compared with many Trinity 'dry' choristers, who held them up to the time they proceeded B.A. or even M.A.) further suggests that he was a genuine choir-boy. That some of the choristers were certainly required to sing, however, is shown by the order of 25 April 1664, that Augustine Walbanck 'be made Chorister . . . & that he shall learne to sing.'[24] The average number of choristers during this period was ten or eleven, though occasionally twelve, but it is impossible to discern how many of these had unbroken voices.

Finally, something may be said about Loosemore's contribution to the College's domestic musical life. Between about 1594 and 1615 Trinity maintained at least one viol consort, but this is not mentioned in the annual accounts after the latter date, suggesting that privately-owned instruments were used instead.[25] However, the following unique entry shows not only that the College was again maintaining these instruments by this date, but also that they were certainly used for domestic music-making:

To Mr Loosemore, for strings & stringing of viols in the Common Chamber, £1 10s
[TCA, Junior Bursar's Account, 1672, *Extraordinaryes*]

It is hardly surprising that Loosemore should have been charged with this duty, as he must have known John Jenkins personally through the North family at Kirtling,[26] and he certainly composed[27] and copied[28] viol consorts, though sadly none of these survives complete.

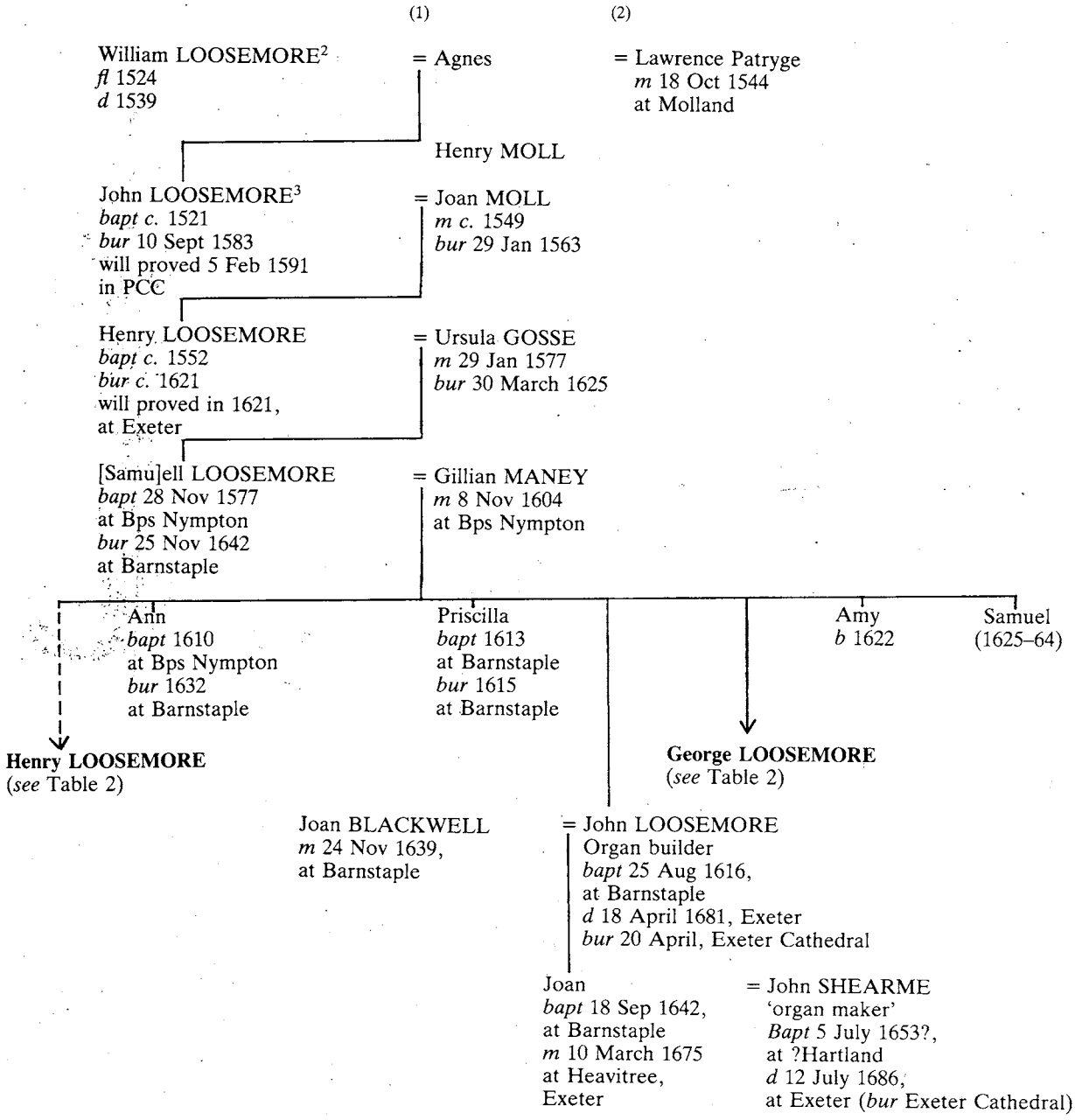
Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the master and fellows of Trinity College, and to Mr E. Mills, fellow and archivist of Jesus College, for their kind permission to publish extracts from the archives of the respective colleges.

23 *Admissions*, p. 475.
24 TCA, Trinity College Conclusion Book, 1646–1811, p. 83.
25 See Ian Payne, 'Instrumental Music at Trinity College, Cambridge, *c.* 1594–*c.* 1615' for a full discussion of this tradition.
26 *Roger North on Music*, ed. John Wilson (London, 1959), pp. 4–5.
27 *Ibid*, Plate 1.
28 Andrew Ashbee and Richard Nicolson, eds., *John Jenkins: Consort Music for Vils in Six Parts* (London, 1976), p. xii.

APPENDIX
PEDIGREE OF GEORGE LOOSEMORE[1]

Table 1. Loosemore of Bishop's Nympton, Devon.

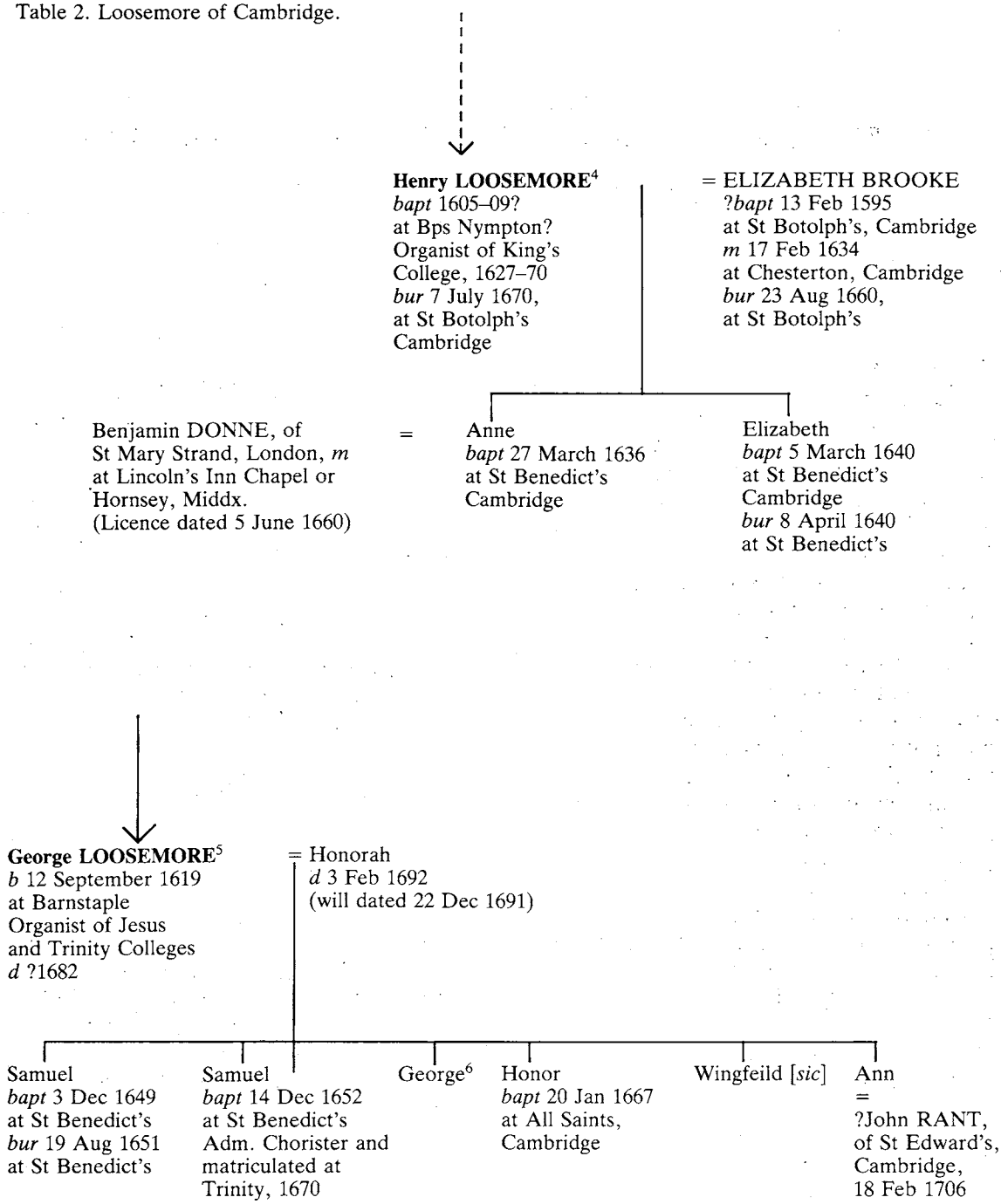


1 I have compiled this pedigree from materials kindly supplied by Mr W.R. Loosemore, to whom I am indebted for generously placing the results of his private genealogical researches at my disposal. The pedigree shows the complete issue only for Samuel, and for Henry and George of Cambridge.

2 William 'Lowesmore', a prosperous yeoman farmer, farmed 133 acres at Kerys Cott (present-day Kerscot) in Bishop's Nympton parish, as a tenant of the manor of Knowstone Beaupel. A survey of 1525 states that 60 a. were arable and 65 a. were pasture. amd that the annual rent was 45s.

3 In seven assessments made between 1544 and 1582, John's taxable goods were valued consistently at £11 12s, and he remained one of the larger freehold tenant farmers in his parish for some 40 years.

Table 2. Loosemore of Cambridge.



4 Henry was probably born at Bishop's Nympton sometime between 1604 and 1609, for in October 1610 Ann, Samuel's first recorded child (not shown) was baptized there. This gap, however, is not due to any obvious deficiency in the parish register, which seems to have been properly kept at this time. Nothing is known of Samuel's whereabouts prior to Ann's baptism. Henry lived in St Benedict's parish, *c.* 1625–40, and in St Botolph's after the Restoration.

5 No trace of George's marriage has been found in the surviving Cambridge parish registers or in 132 others for the county. Shortly after 1652 he moved to All Saints parish (in which Trinity College was situated) where, in the Hearth Tax return of 1662, he was assessed as a householder, on four hearths. Prior to 1652, he may have resided with Henry.

6 This George occurs only in the Cambs Militia list of January 679, where he is described as 'ensign'.

A LETTER RELATING TO THOMAS BAKER'S CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY COLLECTIONS

JAMES ALSOP

The Sunderland Manuscripts in the British Library contain an original letter with an enclosure which relates to Thomas Baker's research into the history of Cambridge University.[1] The letter was written by John Moore, Bishop of Ely, on 4 July 1709 to Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sutherland. Sutherland was then the senior Secretary of State, and the subject of the communication was Baker's desire to have access to the State Paper Office, under the Secretary of State's control, in order to transcribe material relevant to the University or individual colleges. Moore, who was a great collector of books and manuscripts and a patron of scholarship, supported Baker's proposal and enclosed in his letter a note written and signed by Baker wherein this historian outlined his requirements and promised to allow either Sutherland or Moore to inspect and censor his transcripts. Baker's application was apparently successful since his manuscript collections contain a number of documents copied from originals in the State Paper Office.[2]

Moore's letter and Baker's proposal are here transcribed in full.

For the right honorable
the Earl of Sunderland
Principal Secretary of State
at Althrop
Northampton shire

My Lord

I desired you, that M[r] Baker, who is writing the history of Cambridge, might have access to the Paper office; your Lord[p] was very ready to comply w[th] my desire if no ill use was to be made of the papers; I now inclose his proposal & engage to your Lord[p], that he shall strictly observe it. if you would be pleased to send your order w[th] the first opportunity it would would [sic] much encrease your Lord [ps] favor, he being come to town on purpose to make use of these papers. I am My Lord w[th] the deepest sincerity.

Your most obedient
& most faithful ser[t]
4 Jul. 1709 J. Ely

What I beg to see in the paper office is, Any thing relating to the History of the University of Cambridge or of any particular College therein, mandats for Prefermentes, orders of Councell, proceedings at ye Councell Table upon complaints, or other items of like nature.

I do promise, that whatever shall be transcribed out of that office, I shall submit to ye perusall or censure of my Ld: Sunderland or my Lord: of Ely ['Ely' is added later above the line] or their order, & whatever shall not be allowed by them, shall be cancelled & suppres't.

Tho: Baker

1 These documents form part of the Blenheim Papers (Sunderland) recently acquired by the British Library. They were in C 1/40, unfoliated, but have now been removed as part of the systematic reorganization of this archival collection.

2 J.J. Smith, *et al.* (eds.), *Index to the Baker Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1848), p. 134.

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THE PROCEEDINGS

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

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