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Cambridge Archaeology Field Group: *Three Earthwork Surveys*
(Vol. LXXXI, pp. 39-49)

Paul E. Firman was the author of the drawings for the report.
The Field Group wishes to thank him, and also the late Kenneth Kenham
for his contribution to the documentary research.

Cambridgeshire Earthwork Surveys VI

A.E. Brown & C.C. Taylor

This paper is another in the series in which archaeological earthwork sites in the county are described. The plans of both Croxton and Madingley have been produced by students attending extra-mural courses organised jointly by the Department of Adult Education of Leicester University and the Board of Continuing Education at Cambridge.

Croxton: Settlement Remains (TL253592; Figs 1 and 2)

The medieval and later settlement remains within Croxton Park were first described by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.¹ The incomplete nature of the Commission's description, together with the lack of a suitable plan of what is one of the best groups of medieval earthworks in the county, encouraged the writers to re-examine the remains. The existence of a recent parish history by the Victoria County History,² which was not available to the Commission, also meant that the details of the development and decline of Croxton can now be better understood.

The settlement at Croxton is first mentioned in Domesday Book in 1086, when it was divided into two estates. An attempt to trace the descent of these manors has been made by the Victoria County History, though this is not entirely satisfactory and some revision may be possible. The larger of the two holdings in Domesday Book can

indeed be traced from 1086 to the nineteenth century and eventually became known as Croxton manor. A smaller holding is also traceable until 1279, after which it is lost, perhaps being merged with the larger holding. At the same time the 1279 Hundred Rolls³ list two other holdings that appear to have come into existence after 1086. One was a very small manor, held by the Priory of Huntingdon, and which was already in the priory's hands in 1124-9. This is likely to have been sub-infeudated from the larger of the two Domesday manors by the founder of the priory, Eustace de Lovetot, who held the manor in 1086. The larger of the 1279 holdings was in the hands of the Charles family. This holding was not recorded until 1274 though it might originally have been part of the major Domesday estate. This holding can be traced as the manor of Westbury down to 1806 when it was bought by the Leeds family, who had owned Croxton manor since 1571. The Westbury manor also included the former priory land which had been sold to the owners of Westbury in 1669-73. After 1806, therefore, the whole parish, with the exception of the glebe land, was in the hands of the Leeds family. Between 1573 and 1589, the family appears to have rebuilt the Croxton manor house which was later, in 1761, largely encased in brick by Edward Leeds.⁴

The last member of the Leeds family at Croxton, Sir George, succeeded to the estate in 1808. Perhaps partly to improve the agricultural value of the parish which was

1 Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (hereafter R.C.H.M.E.), *West Cambridgeshire* (London 1968) Croxton (16).

2 Victoria County History (hereafter V.C.H.), *Cambridgeshire Vol.5* (London 1973) pp.36-42.

3 *Rotuli Hundredorum* (London 1812) pp.508-10.

4 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Croxton (2).

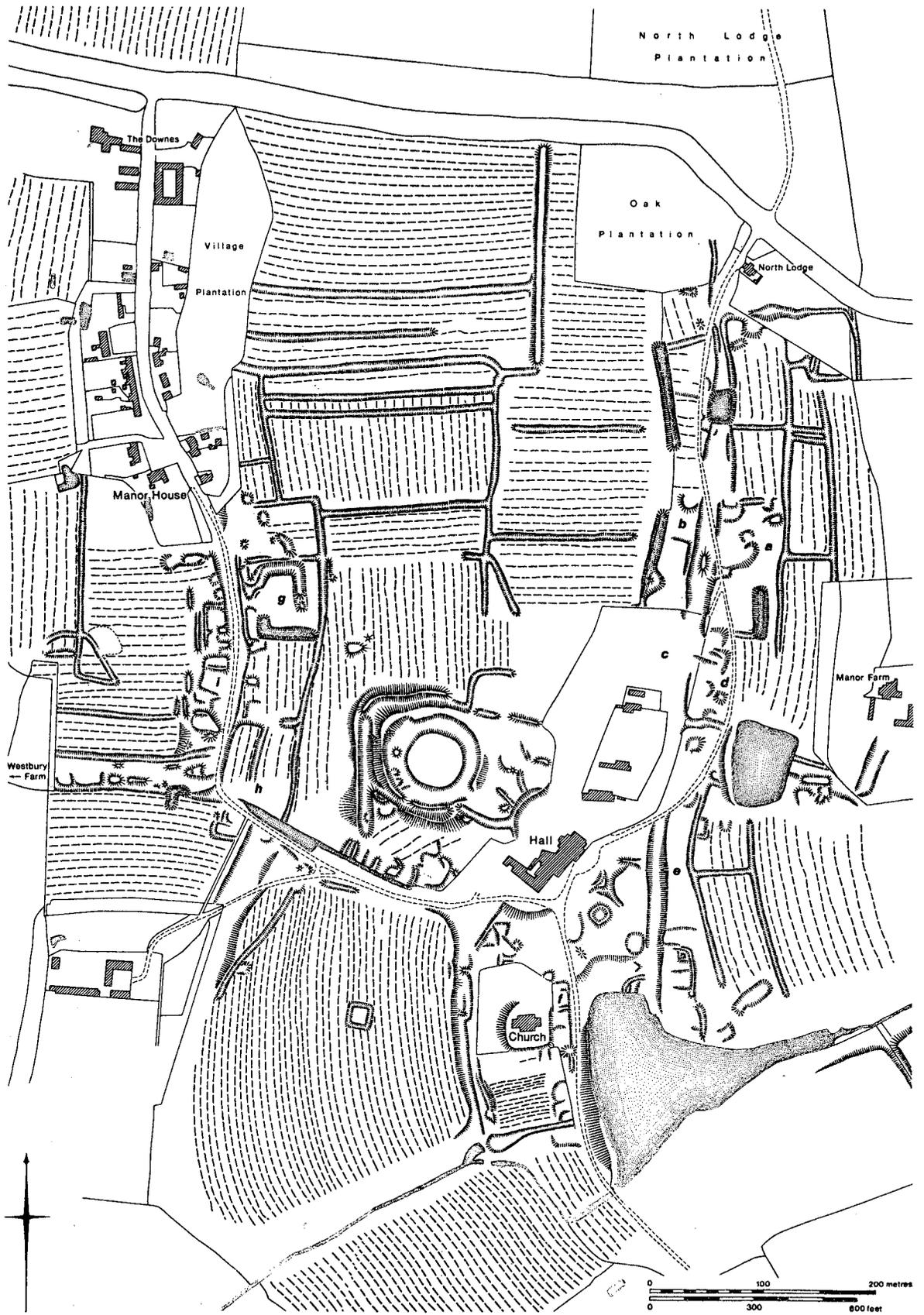


Figure 1. Settlement and garden remains, Croxton.

then poor, and possibly to take advantage of the general war-time agricultural prosperity, Sir George obtained an Act of Enclosure in 1811. The Award was not made until 1818, by when the estate was apparently in a poor condition as a result of the post-war depression. Sir George conveyed Croxton to trustees in 1818 and they sold it in 1825 to the Newton family. The Newtons were descended from an early eighteenth-century Liverpool merchant, Samuel Newton, who had purchased a landed estate at Bangor (Flintshire) in 1730–40 and it was either Samuel's grandson, another Samuel, or great-grandson, George Newton, who purchased Croxton. Either or both of these created the extensive landscape parkland around Croxton Hall almost immediately afterwards. The Newtons remained at Croxton until 1942 when Lady Myra Fox, the only daughter of George Newton, first and last Baron Eltisle, succeeded.

The population of Croxton has varied considerably over the centuries. In 1086 there was a recorded population of 23. Of these, 16 belonged to the estate which was to become the Croxton manor and seven to the smaller holding. By 1279 there were 65 landholders in Croxton, indicating a considerable increase in population, perhaps in part either the result of or the basis for the development of the Westbury manor. By the early fourteenth century, in common with neighbouring parishes, at least 100 acres of land in Croxton had gone out of cultivation. This was perhaps a reflection of a contemporary drop in population, for in 1327 only 44 people paid the Lay Subsidy. The population of Croxton remained at this low level, and perhaps even continued to fall, until the later sixteenth century, when there were 25 households there. Numbers rose slightly in the later seventeenth century, levelled off in the eighteenth century to some 50 families and then declined slowly until 1811, when there were only 33 families there. Thereafter population levels rose again until 1871.⁵

This brief summary of the history of the tenure and of the population of Croxton has to be related to the earthwork remains of settlement on the ground as well as to the wider landscape of Croxton. The surviving village, the earthworks and indeed the Enclosure Map of 1811 indicate clearly that Croxton village was formerly made up of two quite distinct parts. That is, it was a polyfocal

settlement.⁶ The problem is to try and fit the tenurial holdings into this polyfocal village. The location of the parish church, the holders of its advowson, together with the position of the Hall and the tenurial succession of Croxton manor all suggest that the western part of the village at least was Croxton, perhaps from before the late eleventh century. The existence of a second major holding, later to be called Westbury, from at least 1274, might be equated with the western half of the village if the name of Westbury Farm is of any significance. Thus the duality of form can be tentatively matched to some degree with the late medieval tenurial pattern, though the whereabouts of the two smaller holdings, also in existence in 1279, is unknown. A more serious difficulty is in explaining how the duality of form came into being. Did all or part of the presumed Westbury section of the village come into existence after the eleventh century with the establishment or development of the Charles holding, or was it already there by that time, subsumed within one of the two Domesday holdings?

Croxton

Certainly since the 1820s, the Hall, usually known as Croxton Park, has stood almost alone near the centre of its landscaped park. To the south stands the medieval parish church. To the north, within a shrubbery, are a few garden buildings, while some distance to the northeast is Manor Farm. Until the land to its east was converted to arable in the 1940s, Manor Farm actually stood within a well-treed 'island' in the Park. The farmhouse itself is a sixteenth-century timber-framed structure originally of some pretension, though massively altered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷

To the south of the Hall is a triangular lake, set at the junction of two minor valleys and with a massive dam up to four metres high on its western, downstream, side. This dam was created in the 1820s as part of the emparking, as apparently was a small rectangular pond further north and perhaps also a long narrow pond further north. The Hall is approached by a carriage drive, which leaves the main Cambridge to St Neots road

5 V.C.H., *op. cit.* pp.36–7.

6 Christopher Taylor, 'Polyfocal settlement and the English village', *Medieval Archaeology* 21 (1977) pp.89–93.

7 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Croxton (3).

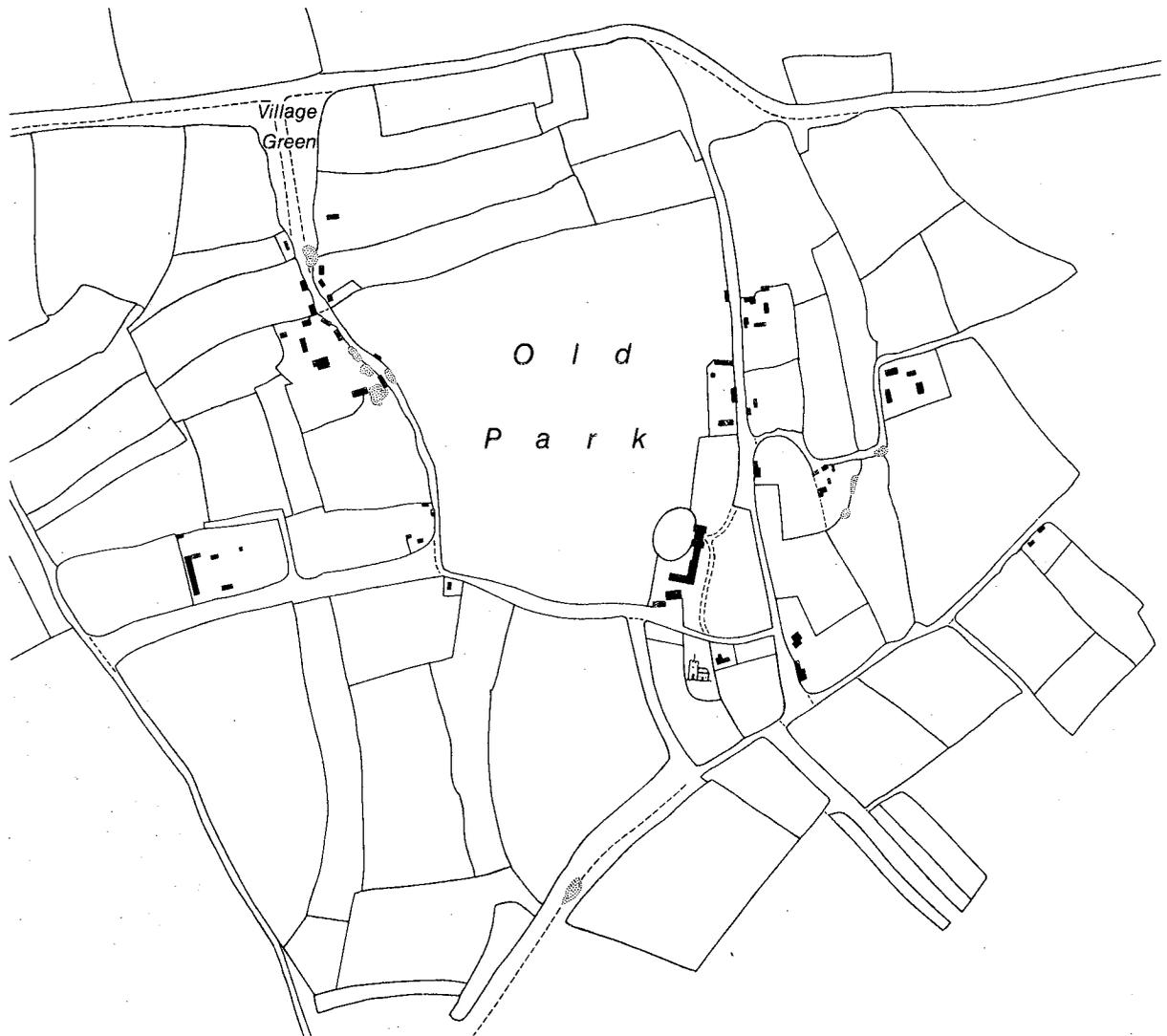


Figure 2. Detail from Croxton enclosure map 1811.

on the northern side of the Park. At the park gate stands a small mid-nineteenth-century bungalow, the North Lodge. The drive swings southwest past the Hall and then divides. One branch runs south past the western end of the lake and once extended through late nineteenth-century plantations to a southern lodge on the Eltisley to Waresley road. The other branch turns northwest, passing another long pond of nineteenth-century date, and then turns sharply north and runs into the Westbury part of the village.

In 1811, before the park was laid out, the situation was very different (Fig.2).⁸ The

North Lodge area was a large triangular open space, with the Cambridge to St Neots road forming its northeastern side. From its southern corner, a road ran south towards the Hall. To the west lay a large area of old pasture called the Old Park. To the east were closes and paddocks. At least four major properties, three with yards and outbuildings, lay along this road. Halfway along it, a curving branch lane to the east served two other farm complexes, one being the existing Manor Farm, before opening into the then still open Mill Field.

The main road continued south past the Hall, then set back within a garden, and then, in the bottom of the valley now occupied by the lake, widened to form a long triangular green. On the east of the green stood another farmstead, allegedly the old

⁸ Cambridgeshire Record Office, Enclosure Map of Croxton 1811.

Parsonage.⁹ At the southern end of the green, a staggered crossroad gave access into the open fields. At the northern end of the green a side road struck off west, passing a single building in a small paddock, the churchyard and a broad droveway running south, all on its southern side; and with the outbuildings of the Hall and the southern side of the Old Park to the north.

The appearance of Croxton, therefore, in 1811 is one not of a village but what may be termed a hamlet of no more than eight and perhaps only five scattered farmsteads, two or perhaps four other dwellings, the Hall and the church. Further, though the pattern of associated property boundaries, as well as the road arrangement, suggests that there might once have been another four to six dwellings, it is also clear that at least in the immediately preceding years, Croxton was neither large nor nucleated. It was also highly irregular.

The surviving earthworks (Fig. 1) support this early nineteenth-century picture, despite the fact that they have been severely damaged by later activities. Nowhere do they indicate any former nucleation or regularity. They, too, suggest that Croxton was never very different from its arrangement in 1811, beyond perhaps having had a few more dwellings in large closes.

The former road from the north is visible as a broad hollow-way south of North Lodge, passing between a number of paddocks or closes, all with ridge-and-furrow within them. It is possible that some of these closes, especially the two rectangular ones to the east of the road, might once have had farmsteads within them similar to those further south, but no trace now remains. To the west of the hollow-way only ridge-and-furrow, apparently earlier than the large area of ridge-and-furrow further west, exists.

To the south again, the site of the major courtyard farmstead on the east of the road, set within a rectangular close, is still clear ((a) on Fig. 1). The position of the former buildings is indicated by a disturbed area of scarps with a later pond cut into the southeastern corner of the well-marked ditched close. Opposite, across the hollow-way to the west, a low curved scarp (b) seems to mark the site of a single building shown there in 1811, while an L-shaped platform to the south,

set in an open area between the hollow-way and a later pond to the west, might mark the site of another building. Further south again, the large farmstead complex shown west of the street on the Enclosure Map of 1811 (c) has no remains. Its site lies within the nineteenth-century shrubbery of the Hall. Across the street to the east, however, the remains of another farmstead and close survive (d). The area of earthworks that indicates former buildings is larger than the two buildings shown in 1811. The rear of the close has ridge-and-furrow within it.

The southern edge of this last close (d) is bounded by a shallow narrow hollow-way running off the main street. This hollow-way which, after a few metres, is cut and destroyed by the nineteenth-century rectangular pond, is the western end of a curving side lane shown leading to Manor Farm and beyond in 1811. The pond has obliterated its curved form but the hollow-way reappears east of the pond and can be traced, much damaged, turning sharply north towards Manor Farm as it did in 1811. The site of the farmstead on the way's southern side now lies beneath the pond; the location of the large building shown in the adjacent close, lying along the main street to the west, is partly recognisable as a sub-rectangular scoop. Part of the boundaries of the associated closes of both this building and of the farmstead survive as ditches, but at least at one point they are clearly cut through earlier ridge-and-furrow.

Immediately to the south the pattern of the 1811 property boundaries suggests the possibility of another, and perhaps two, former dwellings but nothing is visible on the ground (e). Here the adjacent hollow-way deepens considerably as it descends the valley side and there are slight indications of it widening to form the 'green' of 1811 before it disappears beneath the lake. Immediately north of the lake and on the eastern side of the hollow-way are the well-marked remains of the northernmost of two buildings shown here in 1811, together with an outer embanked boundary. A large former pond to the east looks ancient but is not shown in 1811.

The line of the former road running west towards Westbury is hardly visible, though the position of the buildings shown east of the church in 1811 may be tentatively identified (f). The church itself stands on a low mound, while to the west of the now-enlarged churchyard a well-preserved hollow-way running from north to south has exactly the form shown by the road there on the Enclosure

⁹ N. Simons, 'Croxton Church, Cambridgeshire', *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society* 4 (1930) pp.279-80.

Map. At its northern end, the hollow-way joins the road to Westbury, while on the south it meets a broad droveway, also shown as existing in 1811.

Westbury

The western part of Croxton, Westbury, is now confined to a single street running north-south, lined with dwellings on both sides. At its southern end, the street enters the park and continues south and then south-east towards the Hall as a drive. At the extreme northern end of the street, there is a large mid-nineteenth-century farmhouse called The Downes, whose associated buildings spread over both sides of the road. Further south are some late nineteenth-century dwellings, four seventeenth- to eighteenth-century cottages, a terrace of nineteenth-century cottages, a seventeenth-century house remodelled to form a lodge to the park in the 1820s and the Manor House, a remarkable late medieval structure remodelled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁰ Well to the southwest, west of the Park and now quite isolated, lies Westbury Farm. This is another late medieval building, which was once surrounded by a moat.¹¹

The Enclosure Map of 1811 again shows a very different picture. At the northern end of the street in the area now occupied by The Downes farmstead is a broad triangular area named as Village Green, but with no buildings around it beyond two at its extreme southern end and sited at the ends of long curving plots. To the south, five other buildings are shown, three to the east and two to the west of the street, all lying at the street ends of other curving plots. Immediately to the south of the western side of the street a very large close is shown containing what is the present Manor House and ranges of buildings to its north and southeast. The house, which became the later lodge, is shown without property boundaries on the edge of the Old Park.

Further south again the road running south forms a T-junction with the road running west from Croxton church and continuing west as a broad droveway past Westbury Farm. In the northwestern angle of this junction a large close contains four buildings, two confined within an inner boundary. Almost opposite on the southern side of the junc-

tion was a single building, also within a small plot. To the west, Westbury Farm and its outbuildings are depicted.

The earthworks associated with Westbury are very different from those at Croxton. The existing drive south from the village which lies almost entirely within a hollow-way, marks the continuation of the line of the former street. On its eastern side, and entirely within the area known as the Old Park, are the remains of four apparent rectangular closes, bounded on their east by a continuous ditch, and all seemingly laid out over former ridge-and-furrow. The northernmost close has slight traces of ridge-and-furrow in its eastern half but the remains of any former buildings at its western end have been destroyed. The next close to the south (g) is almost entirely taken up with what may be two-and-a-half sides of a former moated site, though the two L-shaped ponds are curiously arranged, the 'interior' is featureless and there are scarps and banks, perhaps of former dwellings on the western, roadside, edge. The next close is almost entirely covered by ridge-and-furrow, which appears to be earlier than the close boundary to the east but which, at the same time, overlies slight scarps on the western edge that appear to be the remains of former buildings. To the south again the last close is also occupied by ridge-and-furrow, which again overlies a large rectangular raised platform in the southwest (h). It is possible that these four closes are in fact an optical illusion in that the continuous eastern boundary is a late feature cutting across the earlier ridge-and-furrow. If this is so, then there are indeed traces of former occupation along the eastern side of the road, but all have been overploughed at a later date.

To the west of the hollow-way is a continuous line of house platforms and scooped depressions (i). Those at the southern end are very disturbed and mark the position of the buildings shown there in 1811. Except for the southernmost one, these house sites have no rear tofts or closes and normal ridge-and-furrow terminates within a few metres of their western edges. Considerable quantities of pottery, none earlier than the twelfth century or later than the sixteenth century, were picked up during the survey from disturbances at the front ends of these house sites, caused by recent widening of the drive.

At the point where the modern drive turns southeast towards the Hall, the hollow-way meets a broad lane or droveway, bounded by scarps and a ditch, running west towards

10 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Croxton (5-7), (12-15).

11 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Croxton (4).

Westbury Farm. This is exactly on the line of the equally broad way shown there in 1811. The site of the single building at the road junction is marked by a small rectangular ditched area, while the broad curving enclosed field to its east and southeast, shown in 1811, appears on the ground to have once been an even wider green lane or driveway running south into the valley and clearly abandoned before 1811.

These earthworks are significant in a number of ways. First they extend the former area of occupation well to the south of the existing village and bring it much closer to the now isolated Westbury Farm. The farm thus may be seen as having been much more integrated with the admittedly rather attenuated and irregular main settlement than appears today. Second, the remains of the apparently medieval house sites have no crofts behind them as would normally be expected. This odd feature is emphasised by the way the Enclosure Map depicts the then existing houses in Croxton village to the north. That is, they too lie not at the ends of normal closes but within extremely long, wide and curving fields, that would normally be interpreted as having been enclosed from former open-field furlongs. Thus, at least the greater part of this section of Croxton may be seen as having been laid over former arable land. Taking this somewhat further, it is just possible to suggest that the same feature may be seen at the extreme northern end of the Croxton part of the settlement. A further point of significance is that some at least of the medieval house sites are in turn overploughed with ridge-and-furrow. That such a situation may be of some antiquity is shown in a document of 1557 not quoted by the Victoria County History,¹² which describes a messuage at Croxton lying in a close that stretched from 'West End Lane' to the east on the 'Way to Gorgesgrene'.

Conclusions

As is so often the case, what appears as a relatively simple picture when viewed from maps or superficially on the ground, inevitably takes on a highly complex appearance, perhaps impossible to interpret, when treated to analytical field survey. Here at Croxton perhaps only a tentative suggestion as to the process of development and change can be made. There were, as has already been

shown, two main tenurial units in Croxton in 1279, Croxton and Westbury, as well as at least two or three smaller ones. Where these were actually located is unclear, but Croxton might have lain near the church and the southern green while Westbury might have been near or more likely just east of Westbury Farm. Both settlements clearly expanded, possibly both northwards towards the main Cambridge to St Neots road, which was then presumably increasing in importance as a major routeway especially after the foundation of St Neots as a 'new' town between 1113 and 1122.¹³ This expansion of the settlements at Croxton appears to have been unplanned, over earlier arable, and thus is unlike the many instances of planned, perhaps seignorial, expansion during this period that have been noted at Cottenham¹⁴ and at Caxton.¹⁵ The subsequent reduction of population in the fourteenth century might have led to the abandonment of the southern end of Westbury, thus isolating Westbury Farm and also perhaps therefore providing the reason for, as the Victoria County History suggests, the transfer of the centre of the Westbury manor to the Manor House in the village. It might also have caused the thinning out of the settlement around the church at Croxton. Thereafter, steady engrossment in Croxton led to a diminishing number of large farmsteads. Certainly by the early sixteenth century, there appears to have been a large number of, probably landless, smallholders and a smaller group of wealthy yeomen, a situation that developed further in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and continued into the later eighteenth century.¹⁶ By 1806, almost the whole parish belonged to the Leeds family, a position that enabled enclosure to be undertaken easily, and the emparking and final clearance of most of both settlements by the Newtons to be completed successfully in the 1820s.

In a wider context, the pattern of unplanned twelfth- and thirteenth-century expansion at Croxton is worth noting, especially as scholars have in recent years concentrated on the impact of settlement planning. The growing body of evidence for such planning, even in Cambridgeshire, is now impressive.

12 British Library, Harl. 45D41.

13 M.W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London 1967) p.456.

14 J.R. Ravensdale, *Liable to Flood* (Cambridge 1974) pp.121-4.

15 Christopher Taylor, *Village and Farmstead* (London 1983) pp.158-60.

16 V.C.H., *op. cit.* pp.40-1.

Caxton and Cottenham have already been noted, while at Spaldwick, too, the process seems clear.¹⁷ Yet steady, unplanned, expansion clearly took place. At Whittlesford, growth both planned and unplanned has been recognised,¹⁸ while close to Croxton at Wintringham, across the old county boundary in Huntingdonshire, both the form of the earthworks and the excavation results indicate that the settlement expanded in a fairly haphazard way.¹⁹ The complexities of medieval settlement change are obvious yet again.

Croxton: Garden Remains (TL251594; Fig.1)

Immediately northwest of the Hall at Croxton and clearly overlying ridge-and-furrow is a large circular feature consisting of a broad round flat-bottomed ditch or depression, bounded on the north, west and south by a large outer bank. Beyond the outer bank to the west is a long narrow former pond, embanked on its western edge. Shallow ditches and low banks extend from the northeastern and southeastern corners towards the present Hall grounds. This feature is not marked on any Ordnance Survey maps, nor on the Enclosure Map. It is described correctly and in detail by R.C.H.M.E.²⁰ and is there identified as the remains of a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century garden. There can be no doubt that, in general terms, this attribution is correct though, despite numerous former garden sites having been identified all over the country in the last 20 years,²¹ no parallel has been noted nor can its original form be suggested. It remains an enigma of garden history. Other slight earthworks immediately southeast of the Hall at Croxton might also be part of a former garden. Alternatively, they might be connected with the settlement remains in the adjacent park.

Madingley: Settlement Remains (TL395603; Fig.3)

The medieval and later settlement remains within the park at Madingley Hall were not recorded by the Royal Commission during their survey of West Cambridgeshire, apart from a hollow-way west of the parish church.²²

The Commission's introduction to the parish of Madingley and the description of the Hall and Park²³ suggest rather than state that much of the village was removed during emparking in the mid-eighteenth century. The present survey confirms this and refines somewhat the details of the earlier village as well as the process of emparking.

The history of Madingley has been well summarised by the Victoria County History.²⁴ For the purposes of this paper only the later details of the manorial descent are relevant. In the 1520s John Hinde, a Sergeant-at-Law and later King's Sergeant and a Justice of the Common Pleas, began buying land at Madingley. By 1543 he owned almost the whole parish and had started building the present Hall. He was knighted in 1545. The Hinde family remained at Madingley until 1647, when the estate passed by marriage to the Cotton family, who also resided at Madingley until 1863, when the estate was broken up. The population figures for Madingley present no unusual features and certainly throughout the period of the emparking and clearance show no fall. The 27 households there in 1563 remained almost exactly the same for 230 years and there were still 28 families in 1794.

The process of emparking at Madingley is by no means clear. A 'way' running west clearly existed across the site of the new Hall prior to 1543, for in 1546 Sir John Hinde had leave to close it.²⁵ The exact location of this 'way' is not known, but a possibility is noted below. The first clear topographical picture is that by Knyff and Kip in about 1705.²⁶ This engraving shows Madingley Hall from the north surrounded on the east, south and north by formal walled gardens, orchards and ponds, and with detached farm buildings or stable ranges to the west. Beyond

- 17 Christopher Taylor, 'Spaldwick', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 78 (1989) pp.71-5.
- 18 Christopher Taylor, 'Whittlesford, the study of a river-edge village', in M. Aston, D. Austin and C. Dyer (eds), *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (London 1989) pp.207-27.
- 19 Guy Beresford, 'Excavations of a moated house at Wintringham in Huntingdonshire', *Archaeological Journal* 134 (1977) pp.194-247.
- 20 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Croxton (18).
- 21 A.E. Brown and C.C. Taylor, 'Cambridgeshire earthwork surveys II', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 67 (1977) pp.58-102; Christopher Taylor, *The Archaeology of Gardens* (Princes Risborough 1983); P.E. Everson, 'Field survey and garden earthworks', in A.E. Brown (ed.) *Garden*

Archaeology, Council for British Archaeology Research Report No. 78 (London 1991) pp.6-19.

- 22 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* Madingley (10).
- 23 R.C.H.M.E., *op. cit.* p.176, Madingley (2).
- 24 V.C.H., *Cambridgeshire Vol.9* (London 1989) pp.165-77.
- 25 *Ibid.* p.169.
- 26 F. Knyff and J. Kip, *Britannia Illustrata* (London 1708) plate 57; V.C.H., *op. cit.* Vol.9 p.107.

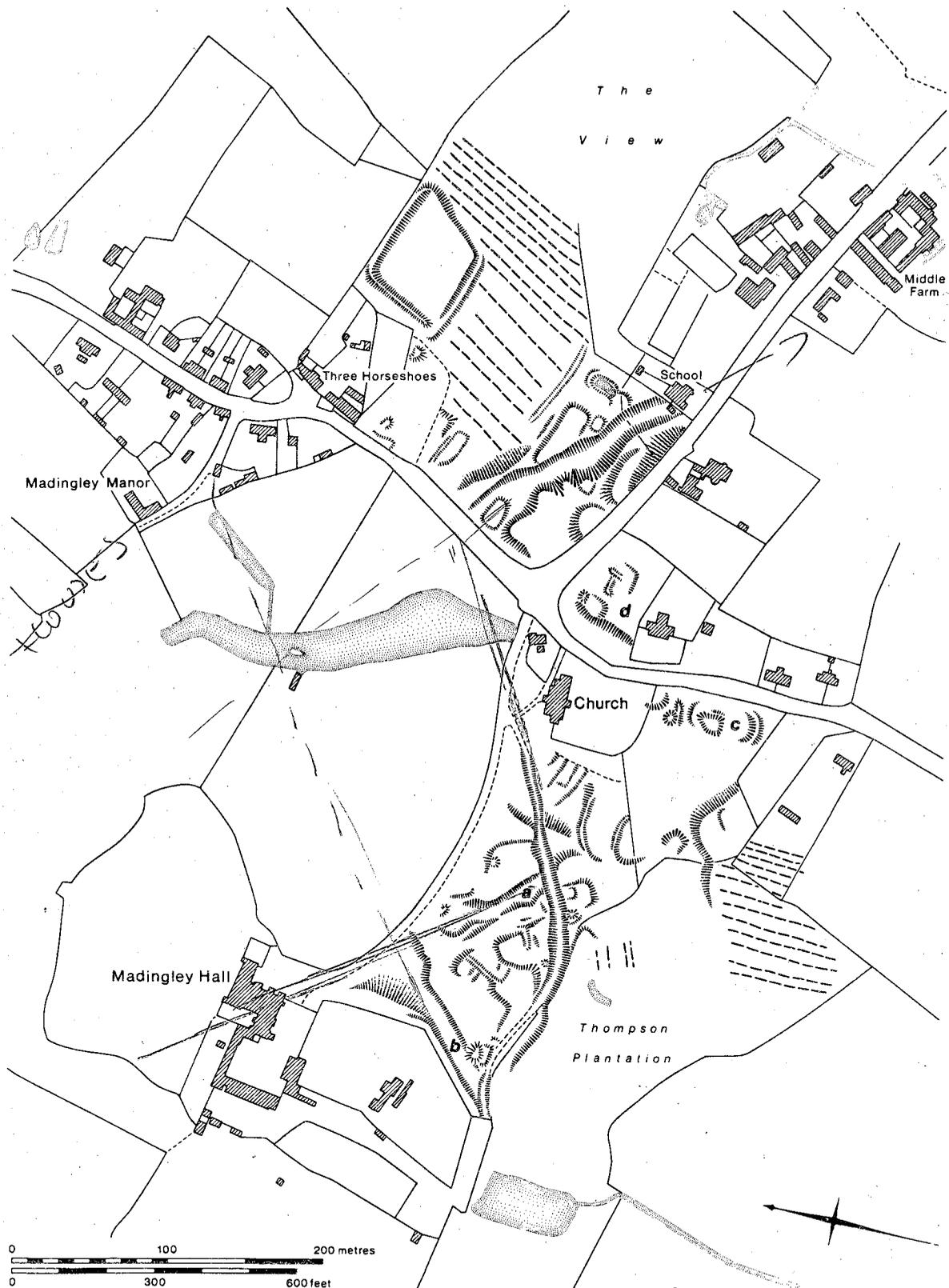


Figure 3. Settlement remains, Madingley.

the Hall on the rising ground to the south and partly hidden by trees, a line of houses can be seen with, at their eastern end, the spire of the parish church. Between the Hall and the trees hiding these houses is a strip of open ground with scattered bushes beyond, and another area of orchards and enclosed formal planting to the west. The main approach to the Hall is shown from the east as a drive running across open parkland with, beyond, a group of trees again partly hiding at least two buildings which thus appear to stand northeast of the church and therefore approximately on the line of the existing road running north to south. If this engraving is close to the actuality, then the parkland would have occupied the lower slopes below the house around and southwest of the present lake, and would perhaps have extended as far as the present drive to the Hall.

In 1756 Sir John Hinde Cotton employed Capability Brown to remodel the grounds at Madingley. The formal gardens were swept away, the parkland was extended to the south, west and north as well as right up to the walls of the Hall, and a serpentine lake, which still exists, was created within the parkland below the Hall to its east. At that time, as far as can be ascertained from the 1705 engraving, the park was bounded by buildings along the existing road. Brown appears to have demolished these buildings, lowered the road so that it lay in the bottom of a large ha-ha, and landscaped the area beyond. The last, still called 'The View', gave viewers from the Hall an uninterrupted vista across apparently continuous parkland, with the towers and spires of the City of Cambridge in the far distance.²⁷ The result of this emparking was to divide the village into the two parts that exist today.

The earthworks

The surviving earthworks confirm this story, but give extra information which both explains the documents and makes Brown's work clearer. Perhaps more importantly, it allows the earlier layout of Madingley to be understood. Nowhere are the earthworks in good condition. As is often the case with late clearance of settlement for emparking, the process of destruction as opposed to slow decay produces rather rounded earthwork

remains whose details are usually far from clear. This is certainly the case at Madingley, though the general outlines are understandable.

The earthworks fall into two distinct groups. The most extensive are those to the west of the church on the rising ground southeast of the Hall. The main feature is a deep, but surprisingly narrow, hollow-way which extends from the main drive just northwest of the church in a broad curve, eventually running alongside Thompson Plantation. After some 260 m. it fades out where the slope flattens. On both sides of this hollow-way, except within Thompson Plantation itself where there are slight traces of ridge-and-furrow, are well-marked terraces and platforms. Quantities of bricks, tiles and seventeenth- to eighteenth-century pottery indicate that these are likely to be the sites of the houses shown hereabouts on the 1705 engraving. However, there are also two other features of note. Halfway along the main hollow-way, on its northern side, and clearly cut by it, is a much broader but shallower hollow-way extending northwest for some 70 m. ((a) on Fig.3). Just northwest of the point at which it fades out another, slighter, hollow-way (b) appears, running southwest for some 110 m. until it, too, is cut by the western end of the main hollow-way. The first of these secondary hollow-ways if projected northwest would have passed through the southern part of the Hall, and the other secondary hollow-way presumably joined it southeast of the Hall. It seems possible that these secondary hollow-ways could well be part of the 'way' across the site of the Hall, closed up by Sir John Hinde in 1546. The main hollow-way is perhaps in origin contemporary with them, but later use after the eighteenth century has led to it being cut through the earlier ones. It is still shown as a drive leading west around the southern side of the kitchen gardens on an estate map of 1811.²⁸

Related to these earthworks might be some very slight irregular and ploughed-over earthworks to the south of the church (c). These could also be the sites of former properties though in 1811 a sinuous shelter belt, presumably laid out by Brown, occupied this area and the earthworks might merely be the result of the removal of the former trees here. Opposite, immediately east of the church, are some rectangular scarps (d). A single

27 Dorothy Stroud, *Capability Brown* (London 1975) pp.79-80; V.C.H. *op. cit.* Vol.9 p.70.

28 Cambridge University Library, Ms Plan 588.

building is still shown here on the second edition Ordnance Survey 25-inch map of 1905, but is not depicted on the Ordnance Survey six-inch map of 1924. In 1811, however, a major farmstead complex occupied the whole paddock.

The second major group of earthworks lies east of the village street and northwest of the school. These again are very rounded and irregular but their main component is a broad hollow-way up to 1.5 m. deep, which springs from the western side of the school yard and runs northwest towards the village street. Just before it reaches that street it bifurcates, and perhaps once formed a small 'green'. On the southern side of the hollow-way up against the modern road to the south are large irregular mounds, formed by dumping spoil taken from the adjacent road. The road is here cut down into the hillside to a depth of 2.5 m. On the northern side of the hollow-way are further low platforms, hollows and scarps. One platform towards the eastern end of the hollow-way is certainly the site of a building, while the slight earthworks along the street, northeast of the 'green', might be the sites of two further properties.

These earthworks must also be the result of Brown's emparking. The hollow-way is presumably the pre-1756 line of the road from Cambridge. It had certainly been abandoned by 1811 and the school, dated 1844, overlies its line. The present road was placed in a deep cutting to the south partly to take it out of the line of 'The View' and partly to hide it from the Hall. The resulting spoil dumped on the northern side of the road helped to achieve this second aim and possibly also covered the sites of former buildings.

The other properties north of the hollow-way, perhaps those just visible north of the church on the 1705 engraving, were presumably moved at the same time. The new road must have returned to the original alignment just east of the school. Its angle of approach suggests this, as do the facts that the existing road thereafter is not in a cutting and that Middle Farm has eighteenth-

century buildings in its yard, indicating that the farm was on an older site. To the east of the Three Horseshoes Inn is a small sub-rectangular ditched and embanked enclosure. No date or function can be assigned to this. It lay within a shelter belt, presumably of the Brown period, in 1811.

Conclusions

The slight remains of the former village are of interest as an example of the results of an emparking scheme by Capability Brown, but they also help to produce a tentative picture of Madingley village before the emparking took place. Today, and since the 1750s, Madingley has consisted of two quite separate parts, in effect a polyfocal village, albeit of very late date. The earthworks, the 1705 engraving and some architectural information suggest a much more complicated earlier arrangement. Before the sixteenth century, Madingley must have comprised the following elements: a main street, lined with dwellings, which extended from south of the church up to the northern end of the present village; a green or crossroads, which lay in the centre with a road lined with dwellings running southeast towards Cambridge and a road extending southwest up the hillside, also with buildings on either side of it; from the latter road, two others ran generally northeast and northwest, joining and then extending northwest across the site of the present Hall; another road, which left the main village just northwest of the Three Horseshoes and ran northwest. This road still remains as a cul-de-sac leading to a house known as Madingley Manor, a remarkable survival of a medieval timber-framed hall house.²⁹ The 1705 engraving, however, shows not only that this road continued west, along the boundaries of the Hall gardens, but also that there were inhabited dwellings along it well to the west of the present manor. All of this indicates a far larger and more complex village plan than now and one that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to recover without detailed field analysis.

29 R.C.H.M.E. *op. cit.* Madingley (3).

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