
Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

Volume XCIV
for 2005



Recent Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

Proceedings XCI, 2002: Price £12.50 for members, £14.50 for non-members

Joshua Pollard: *The Ring-Ditch and the Hollow: excavations of a Bronze Age 'shrine'*

Christopher Evans and Mark Knight: *A Great Circle: Investigations at Arbury Camp*

Susan Oostuizen: *Unravelling the morphology of Litlington, Cambridgeshire*

Philip Dixon: *'Gateways to Heaven': the approaches to the Lady Chapel, Ely*

Peter Bryan and Nick Wise: *A Reconstruction of the Medieval Cambridge Market Place*

Andrew Hall: *A late Sixteenth Century Pit Group from Pembroke College, Cambridge*

Christopher Taylor: *The Seventeenth Century Water-Meadows at Babraham*

Harold King: *Jane Griffin's Journal of a Visit to Cambridge June-July 1811*

Helen Lewis: *Field-Work in Cambridgeshire*

Summaries of papers presented at the Spring Conference

9 March 2002, Lady Mitchell Hall, Cambridge: *Ely – archaeology, architecture, and historical perspectives*

THE CONDUIT: *local history and archaeology organisations and events*

Proceedings XCII, 2003: Price £12.50 for members, £14.50 for non-members

Rob Atkins and Andy Mudd: *An Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Prickwillow Road, Ely, Cambridgeshire: Excavations 1999–2000*

Holly Duncan, Corinne Duhig and Mark Phillips: *A Late Migration/Final Phase cemetery at Water Lane, Melbourn*

Mary Alexander: *A medieval and post-medieval street frontage: Investigations at Forehill, Ely*

Michael Chisholm: *Conservators of the River Cam, 1702–2002*

Christopher Taylor: *Sir Robert Cotton and the Round Hill, Conington*

Field-Work in Cambridgeshire 2002

Summaries of papers presented at the Spring Conference

8 March 2003, Lady Mitchell Hall, Cambridge: *Cambridgeshire, a land of plenty*

THE CONDUIT: *local history and archaeology organisations and events*

Proceedings XCIII, 2004: Price £12.50 for members, £14.50 for non-members

Steve Boreham: *The Structure and Formation of the Wandlebury area*

Jon Murray: *Prehistoric Lithics from Station Road, Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire*

Charles French: *Evaluation survey and excavation at Wandlebury ringwork, Cambridgeshire, 1994–7*

Mary Alexander, Natasha Dodwell and Christopher Evans: *A Roman Cemetery in Jesus Lane, Cambridge*

Natasha Dodwell, Sam Lucy and Jess Tipper: *Anglo-Saxons on the Cambridge Backs: the Criminology site settlement and King's Garden Hostel cemetery*

Craig Cessford with Alison Dickens: *The Origins and Early Development of Chesterton, Cambridge*

Christopher Taylor: *A late seventeenth-century garden at Babraham, Cambridgeshire*

Tony Baggs: *The Hearth Tax and the Country House in 'Old' Cambridgeshire*

Gill Rushworth and John Pickles: *The Cambridgeshire Local History Society Photographic Project 1992–2000*

Stephen Upex: *Surface scatters, rates of destruction and problems of ploughing and weathering in Cambridgeshire*

Field-Work in Cambridgeshire 2003

Summaries of papers presented at the Spring Conference

13 March 2004, Lady Mitchell Hall, Cambridge: *Recovering Cambridgeshire's Past*

THE CONDUIT: *local history and archaeology organisations and events*

**Proceedings of the
Cambridge Antiquarian Society**

(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

**Volume XCIV
for 2005**

Editor Alison Taylor

Published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 2005

ISSN 0309-3606

Officers & Council, 2004–2005

President

Nicholas James DipEA, MA, PhD

Vice-Presidents

Tony Kirby MA

Tim Malim BA, MIFA, FSA

Honor Ridout MA

Disney Professor of Archaeology

Professor Graeme Barker MA, PhD, FBA, FSA, MIFA

Curator of the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

Professor David Phillipson MA, PhD, FSA, FRGS, FBA

County Archaeologist

Adrian Tindall MA, MIFA

Ordinary Members of Council

Liz Allan BA, MA

Martin Allen PhD, FSA

Alison Dickens BA, MIFA

Douglas de Lacey PhD

Mark Hinman BA

Anne Holton-Krayenbuhl BA

Chris Jakes MCLIP

Victor Lucas BA, CEng

Susan Oosthuizen BA, MA, PhD, PGCE

Philip Saunders BA, DPhil

(Hunts Loc Hist Soc)

Graham Winton MEd, PhD

Secretary

Janet Morris BA

21 High Street, West Wickham, Cambridge CB1 6RY

Tel: 01223 290863;

email: jmmorriss@jmmorris.plus.com

Treasurer

Cyril Pritchett MA

66 Gough Way

Cambridge CB3 9LN

Editor

Alison Taylor BA, MIFA, FSA

40 Hertford Street

Cambridge CB4 3AG

Tel: 01223 500431

email: alison.taylor@archaeologists.net

Registrar

Valory Hurst

43 South End, Bassingbourn

Royston, Hertfordshire SG8 5NL

email: registrar.cas@btinternet.com

Hon. Librarian and Assistant Editor

John Pickles MA, PhD, FSA

c/o Haddon Library

Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology

Downing Street, Cambridge CB2 3DZ

Conference Secretary

Derek Booth PhD, MIBiol

Fen End Cottage, 30 Fen Road, Milton, Cambridge CB4 6AD

email: booth@fenend581.freeserve.co.uk

Representative of the Cambridgeshire Local History Society

Michael Farrar MA

Hon. Auditor

R E Seaton CIPFA, IIA

Contents

Neolithic and Beaker pits and a Bronze Age landscape at Fenstanton, Cambridgeshire Andy Chapman, Simon Carlyle and David Leigh	5
A Romano-British rural site at Eaton Socon, Cambridgeshire Catriona Gibson	21
Evaluation, survey and excavation at Wandlebury Ringwork, Cambridgeshire, 1994–7: Part II, The Iron Age Pottery Leo Webley	39
Quy Water, Little Wilbraham River and the Fleam Dyke William Potts	47
The Manor of Hintona: the origins and development of Church End, Cherry Hinton Craig Cessford with Alison Dickens	51
Cambridge Castle Hill: excavation of Saxon, medieval and post-medieval deposits, Saxon execution site and a medieval coinhoard Craig Cessford with Alison Dickens	73
Medieval deposits and a cockpit at St Ives, Cambridgeshire Kate Nicholson	103
Excavation of medieval burials associated with St Neots Priory Mary Alexander and Elizabeth Shepherd Popescu	117
Chrishall Grange, Fowlmere: a settlement in eight landscapes Christopher Taylor	127
Letters from Mary Yorke, the wife of the Bishop of Ely 1781–1808 Anthea Jones	147
The Enclosure of Cambridge St Giles: Cambridge University and the Parliamentary Act of 1802 Philomena Guillebaud	185
Cambridge New Town – A Victorian Microcosm Peter Bryan and Nick Wise	199
Fieldwork in Cambridgeshire 2004 Sarah Poppy	217
Reviews Alison Taylor and Tony Kirby	225
<i>Index</i>	227
Abbreviations	233
Recent Accessions to the Cambridgeshire Collection Chris Jakes	235
Spring Conference, 12 March 2005: <i>Garden History and Archaeology in East Anglia</i>	241
THE CONDUIT: local history and archaeology organisations, societies and events Andrew Westwood-Bate	245

Editorial

These Proceedings take us on the usual chronological tour of Cambridgeshire's past, from scant traces of Neolithic occupation at Fenstanton to the impact of 19th century entrepreneurship and 20th century planning on Cambridge's Victorian New Town. As ever, we aim to bring you the most significant results of the latest archaeological excavations, together with the Society's parallel interest in historical and landscape studies. Residents of Cambridge should feel especially well served by the painstaking work represented both in Philomena Guillebaud's reconstruction of the events and effects of enclosure of the West Fields, and Bryan and Wise's analysis of one area of post-enclosure development — as they say, a microcosm of development quite typical of Cambridge in an exceptionally dynamic age. Anthea Jones literally lets the past speak for itself, through the letters of the wife of an Ely bishop, whose domestic concerns were little affected by her husband's daunting ecclesiastical responsibilities.

Outside the normal running of an active local society, CAS has been involved in a peripheral but deeply concerned way with the heritage service (including archaeology, archives and museums) of the County Council. Regular readers will be aware of the concerns we have expressed over the years at what we have seen as a general failure to support excellent staff by providing the right resources. This spring, financial matters became significantly worse, and CAS joined a substantial body of protest which at least postponed for one year one tranche of cuts (worth £100,000). This cut will however go ahead in 2006, leaving Heritage Services to face a 30% budget reduction from £927,000 to £650,000, even though Cambridgeshire is already well below neighbouring counties in funding these services. A consultants' (Kentwood Associates) discussion paper notes among other things that one decision that has caused most damage to the Council's reputation is the abolition of the post of the County Museums Officer, and CAS knows how much John Goldsmith, a vastly effective supporter of local museums since 1975, would be missed (August 2005). They note too that proposed cuts will require far-reaching policy decisions to withdraw from non-statutory services which would have 'a major impact, both for the public directly and on the ability of those services to lever additional — and often substantial — funding from external sources'.

The consultants are particularly flattering about archaeology. 'We believe this to be an outstanding example of a County Council Archaeology Service. Its archaeology and countryside advice services are held in high regard by planners, developers, other local authorities, and regional and national organisations. The service has an enviable track record in obtaining external funding... The outreach programme — particularly work with schools — is exemplary.' The report is concerned that such work is not put at risk, and it is critical of the current short opening hours of the County Record Office, of the County's failure to provide public access to historic buildings information since 2002, and the loss (August 2005) of a valued mentor for small museums. It is also worried that, if a proposed new Historical Resource & Cultural Centre is built with PFI money, there would not be funding to staff it adequately for the hours the public would reasonably expect.

There are clearly frightening times ahead, not least for our small, mostly voluntary, museums. This is very sad at a time when there is so much public enthusiasm for the past and so many new sources that can be tapped if the right support and advice are available. CAS has already filled some gaps, for example by taking responsibility for *Conduit* and publishing 'Recent Fieldwork' without grant support, and we are hoping to reinstate some financial support for local archaeological groups. We will continue of course to co-operate with the County Council through advice, by offering joint working and by fruitful liaison with their over-worked staff. We hope this coming year will see some solutions rather than additional problems, and a better atmosphere of hope and confidence. CAS is certainly willing to give all the support it can.

Just as these *Proceedings* were going to press, we heard the sad news that Rev Prof William Frend had died, at the age of 89. His had been a long and distinguished career (or perhaps series of careers, as theologian, soldier, priest and archaeologist), and he did outstanding work on early Christianity. In his later years in Cambridgeshire he impressed and worried us in turn with his continuing excavations, which were fruitful to the last. He has already submitted the results of this work to CAS for publication, and I am guilty in not having yet edited them for publication. The next *Proceedings* (2006) will include a full obituary for William, with his excavations at Great Wilbraham and accounts of Christian artefacts from Roman Cambridgeshire.

Alison Taylor
Editor

Chrishall Grange, Fowlmere: a Settlement in Eight Landscapes

Christopher Taylor

This paper recounts the history of the hamlet and farmstead of Chrishall Grange. Although superficially part of a post-enclosure landscape, closer examination reveals it to have been in existence in Anglo-Saxon times. The method chosen to present the research is that of retrospective analysis.

Introduction (Figs 1, 2 and 3; Plates 6 and 7)

The isolated hamlet and farmstead of Chrishall Grange (TL443428) lies in the extreme south-eastern corner of Fowlmere parish on Middle Chalk on land sloping gently north at around 60m OD. A little to the south the land rises sharply across the degraded scarp face formed by the Chalk Rock outcrop to the summit of the Upper Chalk dip slope, here around 90m to 95m OD (Geological Survey 1964; Fig 2). There is no surface drainage and the nearest stream, fed by springs, is a kilometre to the south. As a result the hamlet has always relied on wells for its water supply (CRO 296/SP1150).

Chrishall Grange now comprises a principal dwelling house, a lodge, extensive former farm buildings and estate cottages. The surrounding landscape has large fields of geometric shape and most of the adjacent roads and tracks are on straight alignments and have verges of standard width. The farmstead itself lies within a group of rectangular paddocks. Shelter belts, formerly of Scots Pine but now also of mixed deciduous trees, protect the farmstead on the north, south, west and north-east, while to the immediate north-east are other larger closes and fields also edged by shelter belts. Further east again is a triangular wood, Chrishall Grange Plantation.

Beyond, in the wider landscape, are similar farmsteads also set within geometrical-shaped fields, often edged by shelter belts and accessed by straight roads. These include Duxford Grange, College Farm and Barker's Farm in Duxford parish, Heath Farm in Thriplow parish, Dottrell Hall in Fowlmere and Rectory and Val

ance Farms in Ickleton. All date from the early to mid-19th century when their respective parishes were enclosed. Only one farmstead, Ickleton Grange, is anomalous, said to have been built between 1618 and 1685 (VCH 1978, 234). Chrishall Grange and its landscape can thus, seemingly, be matched almost anywhere in the chalklands of England from Wessex to the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire Wolds. It appears to be a classic example of the work of Parliamentary Enclosure Commissioners.

However, closer examination reveals some curious features. Perhaps the most remarkable is the way in which the Grange and its land relate to the adjacent parish and county boundaries (Fig 4). Although now in Fowlmere in Cambridgeshire, until 1964 the farmstead lay in Chrishall parish in Essex. It is situated where, within 250m, no less than five parishes, Chrishall, Heydon, Duxford, Thriplow and Fowlmere meet and the western end of Ickleton parish is less than 1km away. And, until the late 19th century, the situation was even more complicated (OS 1886). The Grange itself lay within a sub-rectangular projection at the extreme northern end of Chrishall parish. Immediately to the east lay Duxford and to the west a narrow southward projection of Fowlmere parish. Beyond the Fowlmere land was a rectangular area that was extra-parochial (CRO P90/26/1) and that was called 'No Shire' in 1894 (CRO L70/49). Only 200m to the north of the Grange lay Thriplow parish, while 400m south-west was Heydon, then in Essex. Ickleton lay to the south-east. This arrangement was simplified in 1895 when Heydon was transferred to Cambridgeshire and the extra-parochial area was made part of that parish. The result of this extraordinary arrangement was that until the end of the 20th century the land that was farmed from the Grange lay in Chrishall, Duxford, Fowlmere and in the formerly extra-parochial area, now in Heydon.

Another feature that makes Chrishall Grange different from at least some of its apparently contemporary neighbours is the way in which it relates to the surrounding road system. Although it now appears to be situated on relatively new roads, created on en-

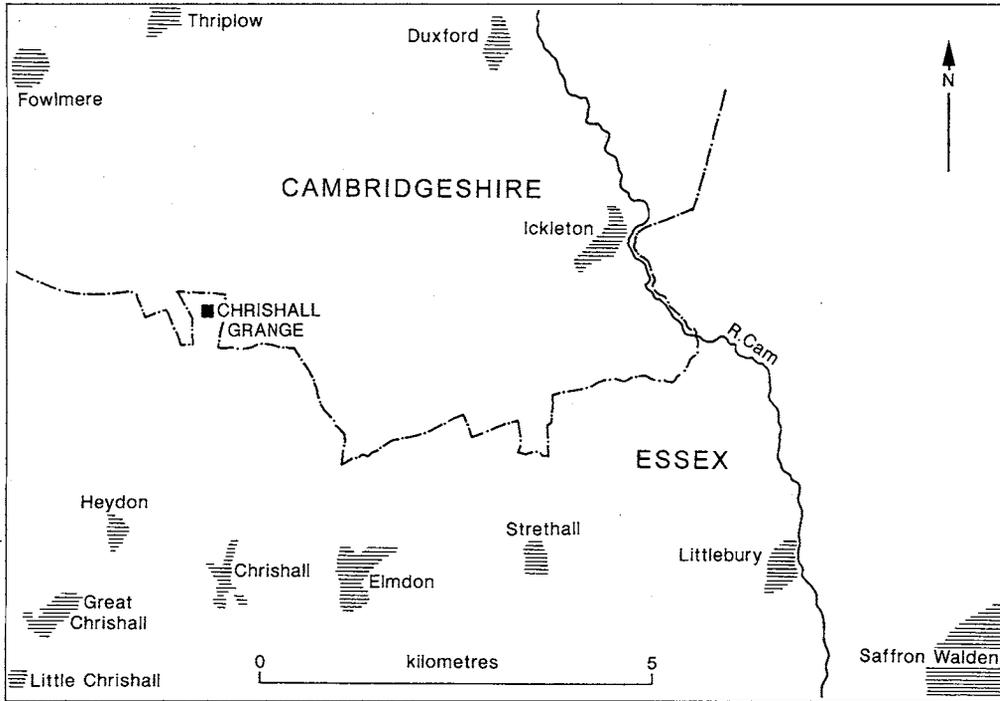


Figure 1. Chishall Grange: location.

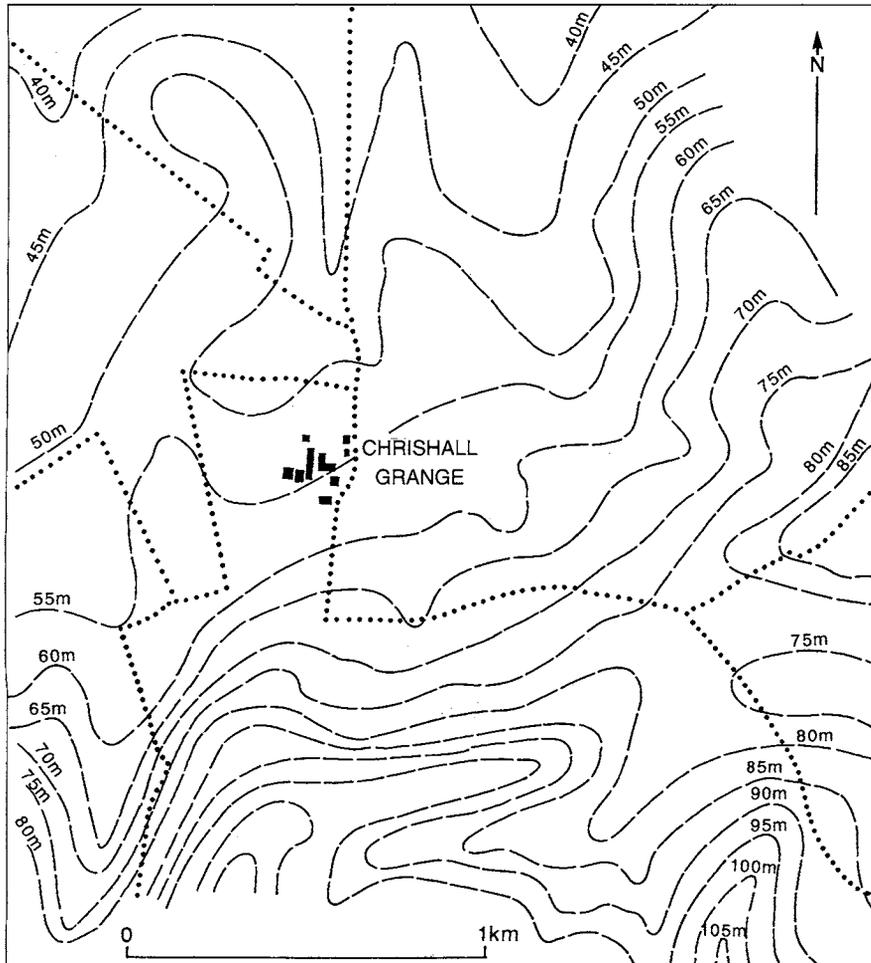


Figure 2. Chishall Grange: setting.

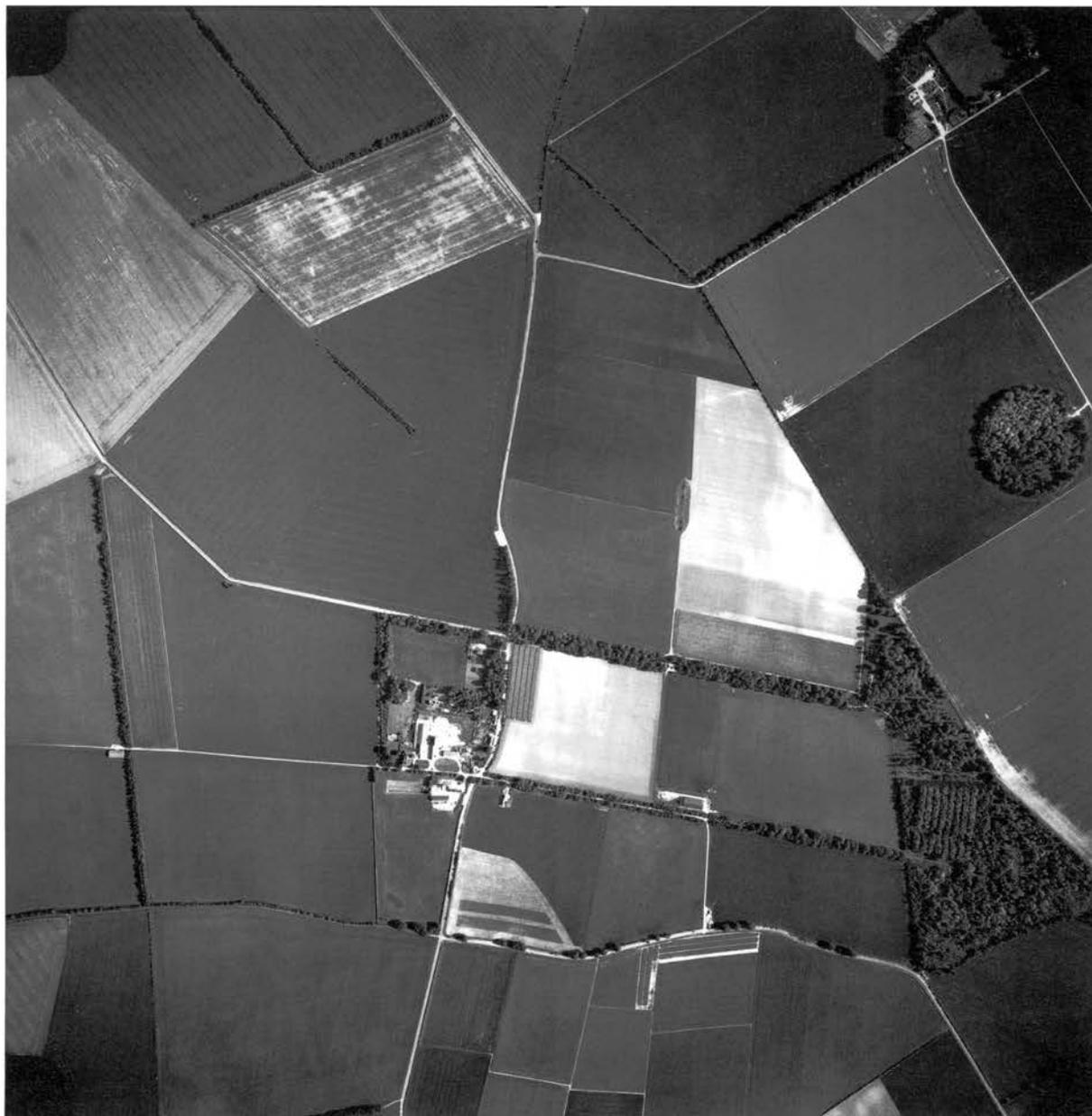


Figure 3. Chrishall Grange from the air, July 1987, taken at 1:10,000. Copyright reserved Cambridge University Collection of Air Photos.

closure, this was not always so. Until enclosure there was open grassland to the north of the Grange that was crossed by trackways, many of them forming alternatives to the present main east to west roads from Royston to Newmarket (A505) and between Royston and Saffron Walden (B1039). Other tracks passed through the fields there. Most are shown on various 19th-century maps (eg CRO Q/RDc/70; OS 1839; Baker 1824; VCH 1978, 201, 231; 1982, 155, 238). Thus, until the recent past, the Grange lay close to well travelled routes and was not the remote place that its present position would suggest. Even so neither the complex boundary situation nor the former arrangement of roads and tracks would necessarily

change the initial view that Chrishall Grange is part of an archetypal and largely unaltered enclosure landscape.

The landscape of the twenty-first century (Plates 6 and 7)

This picture of a hardly changed 18th or 19th-century enclosure landscape begins to fade when it is examined more closely. For in fact Chrishall Grange today is a superb example of a 21st-century landscape showing well the social, political and agricultural pressures of the last thirty or forty years. The landscape

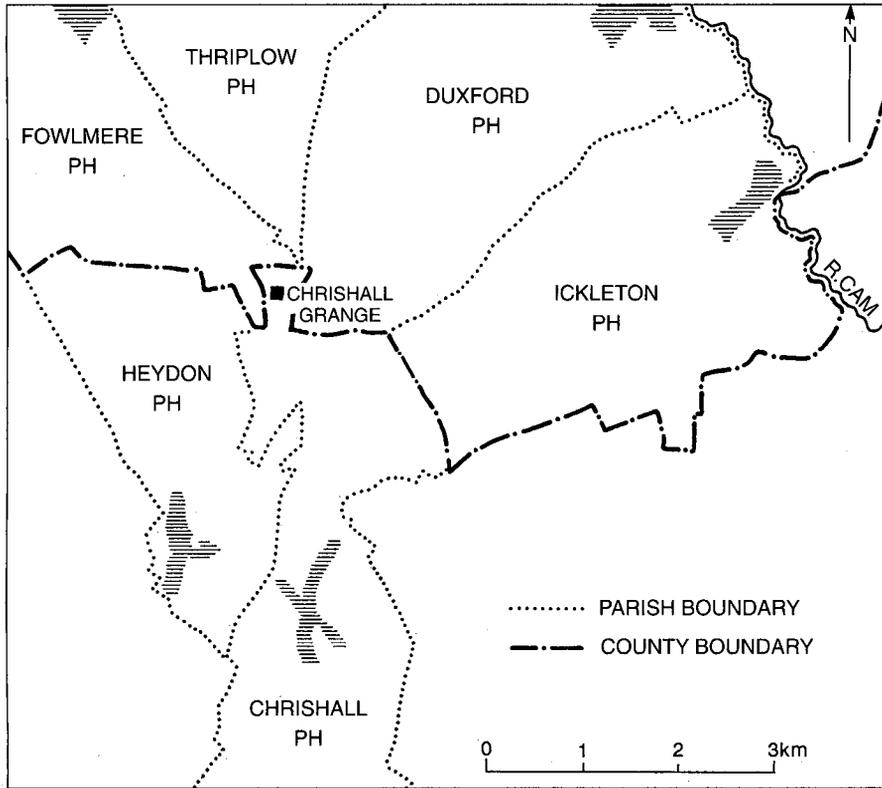


Figure 4. Chrishall Grange: parish and county boundaries before 1895.

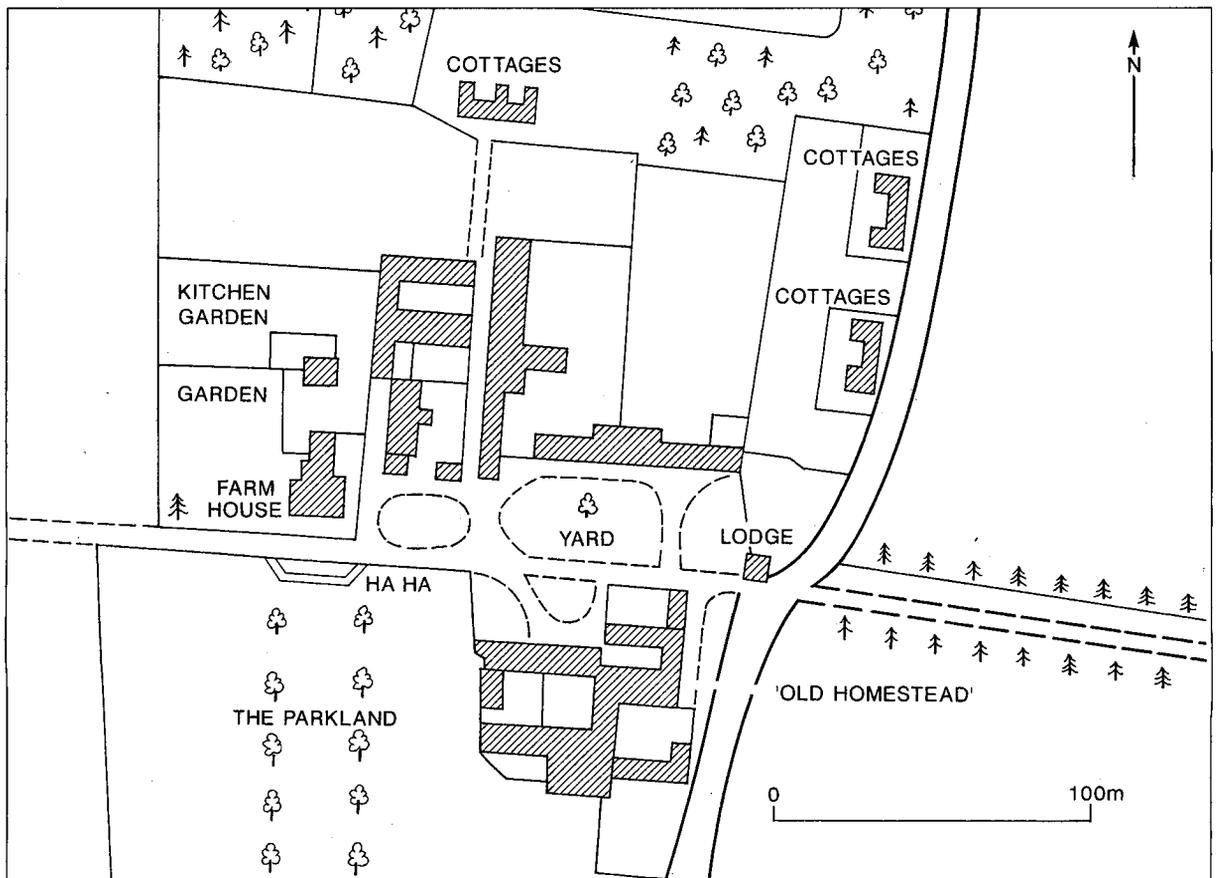


Figure 5. Chrishall Grange: plan of late 19th-century farmstead.

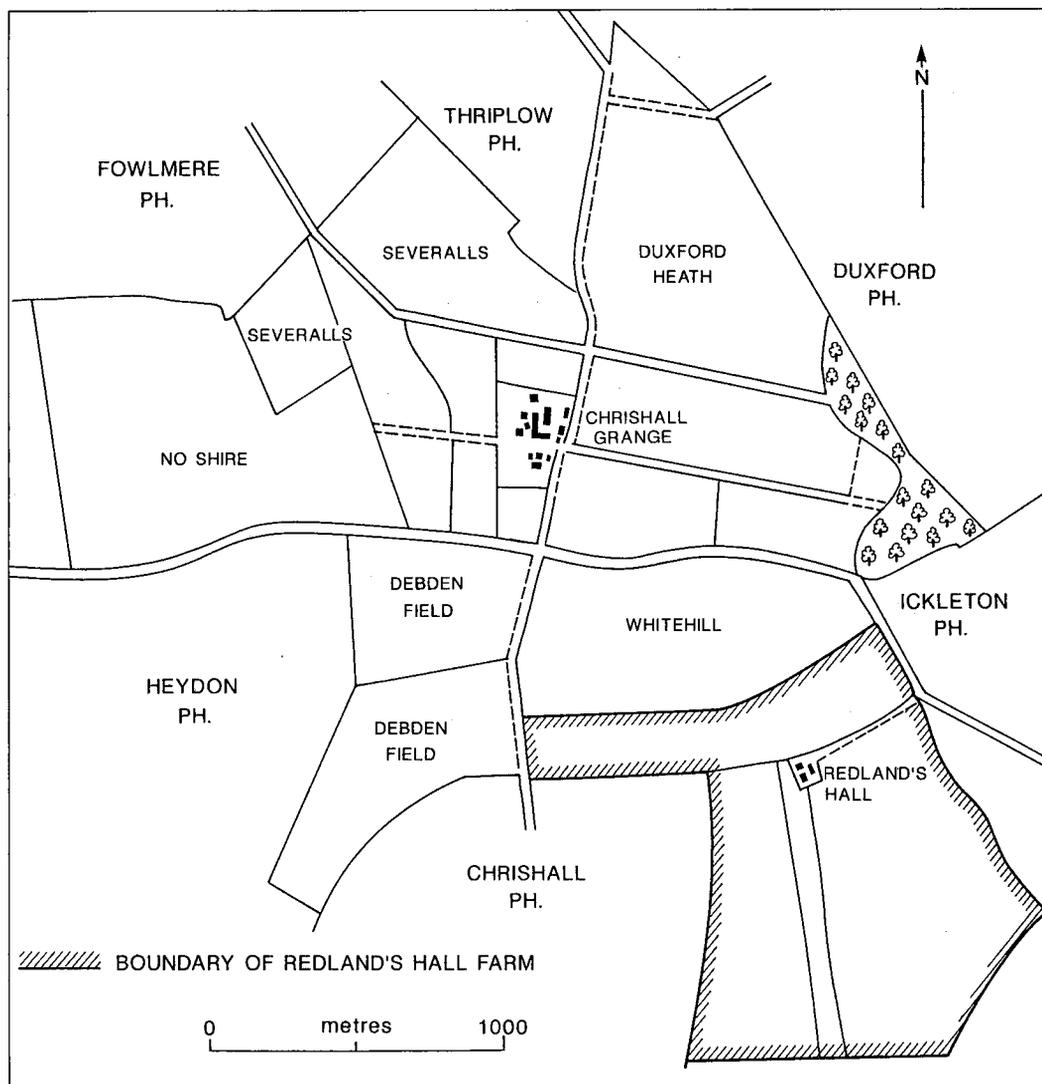


Figure 6. Chrishall Grange: farm in 1895 and 1925.

around the Grange is more open and empty than it has ever been. The fields are larger than those created immediately after enclosure and there are far fewer people. Even at times of maximum agricultural activity one can rarely see more than two or three people on tractors or combine-harvesters. Animals are few and, although some sheep are kept, there is nothing to compare with the huge flocks documented in earlier times and cattle are non-existent. The landscape surrounding Chrishall Grange is now one created for and by large-scale late 20th-century arable farming.

Yet this is only the beginning. The farmstead itself, its houses, cottages, barns, stables and paddocks, even its modern feeding sheds and yards of the 1970s and 1980s, is completely distinct both functionally and socially from the surrounding farmland. The latter is now leased to a multi-farm agricultural organisation and has no connection with the farmstead itself. And this, although retaining many of the buildings of a farm, is far from being one. The last farming owner of Chrishall Grange sold everything for hous-

ing development in the 1990s (inf. Miss B Litchfield). As a result the unitary plan of the earlier farmstead, arranged around a large rectangular open yard or 'green', has been destroyed and a series of individual dwellings and groups of dwellings with their own drives and boundaries has been created out of the older buildings and paddocks. The principal farmhouse has retained some of the former stable yards and other structures and has become a private dwelling, the owners of which use the stables and paddocks to keep horses and ponies and to house cars. Another former barn has been turned into a house while piggeries and other stables have been converted into two rows of private houses, the adjacent cart sheds being rebuilt as garages. Three sets of estate cottages have been altered to provide increased accommodation. The large modern farm buildings erected in the 1970s and 1980s that included a Dutch barn and a feeding yard have been abandoned. Chrishall Grange in 2005 is a hamlet of nearly fifty people and has been designed for 21st-century middle class aspirations

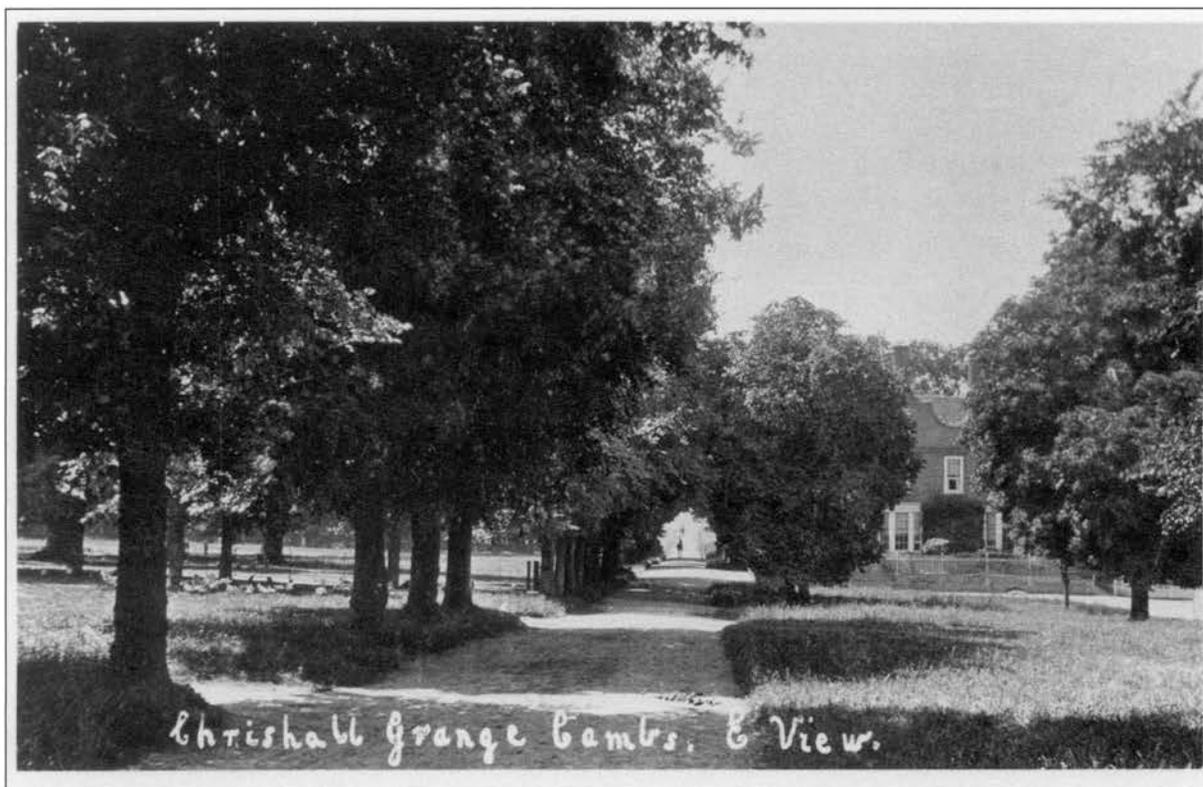


Figure 7. The view west through Chrishall Grange farm yard green and past the farm house in the early 20th century, as shown in Fig 5. Courtesy of the Cambridgeshire Collection.

(Electoral Roll, 2004). Beautiful and peaceful homes in the country with easy access to town, motorway and trains to London have been created. Even so, visually it is the product of high Victorian and early 20th-century farming.

The landscape 1850–1970 (Figs 6 and 7)

Although much altered, especially in the last twenty years or so, most of the surviving buildings at Chrishall Grange reveal the former existence of a highly efficient Victorian and later mixed farming regime, that grew from 932 acres in 1894 to 1163 acres by 1925 (CRO 296/SP 1150; L70/49). And for much of the period this farm was often one of a group of farms run by the same family, albeit tenants. Such an organisation required a large labour force and a variety of specialised buildings for animals, crops and machines. But what survives, or can be reconstructed from maps and sale catalogues is not so much a collection of agricultural buildings, but a planned farmstead with later accretions (OS 1886).

The whole enterprise was based on east to west farm access tracks on both sides of the farmstead (Fig 5). These were of 19th-century date but replaced earlier ones. They were linked by a straight road, or lane, that passed through the farmstead. The farmstead itself was arranged around a large sub-rectangular yard or 'green' aligned along the lane that passed

across it. At the west end of this yard lay the principal farmhouse, set in a neat lawned garden surrounded by yew hedges and iron fences. The later 19th-century extensions to the farmhouse that still survive include a brick conservatory next to the garden and another brick building with a clap-board front elevation with large windows overlooking the yard. The latter appears to have been a general office or foreman's room designed to ensure that all activity in the yard could be overseen. To the north lay a kitchen garden with a greenhouse that remains and a vinery that does not. In front of the house, across the lane, lay a lawn, separated from the adjacent paddock by a ha-ha that survived until after 1946 (RAF, 1946). The seven-acre paddock, situated on ground rising gently southwards, was planted with trees that included a short avenue some 150m long. It was called The Parkland in 1894 (CRO L70/49).

In the north-western corner of the yard were pigsties, stables, barns and cattle sheds of red brick with slate roofs arranged around stock pens, not all of the same date. Only those close to the yard still exist, the northern part having been replaced by late 20th-century cattle-feeding sheds. Along the north side of the yard lay a barn, only one side of which survives. To its east is a long single-storey red brick range comprising some cart sheds and the former carpenters' shop and mess room, recorded as such in 1925 (CRO 296/SP 1150) but now converted to a private dwelling. In the south-eastern corner of the yard was what

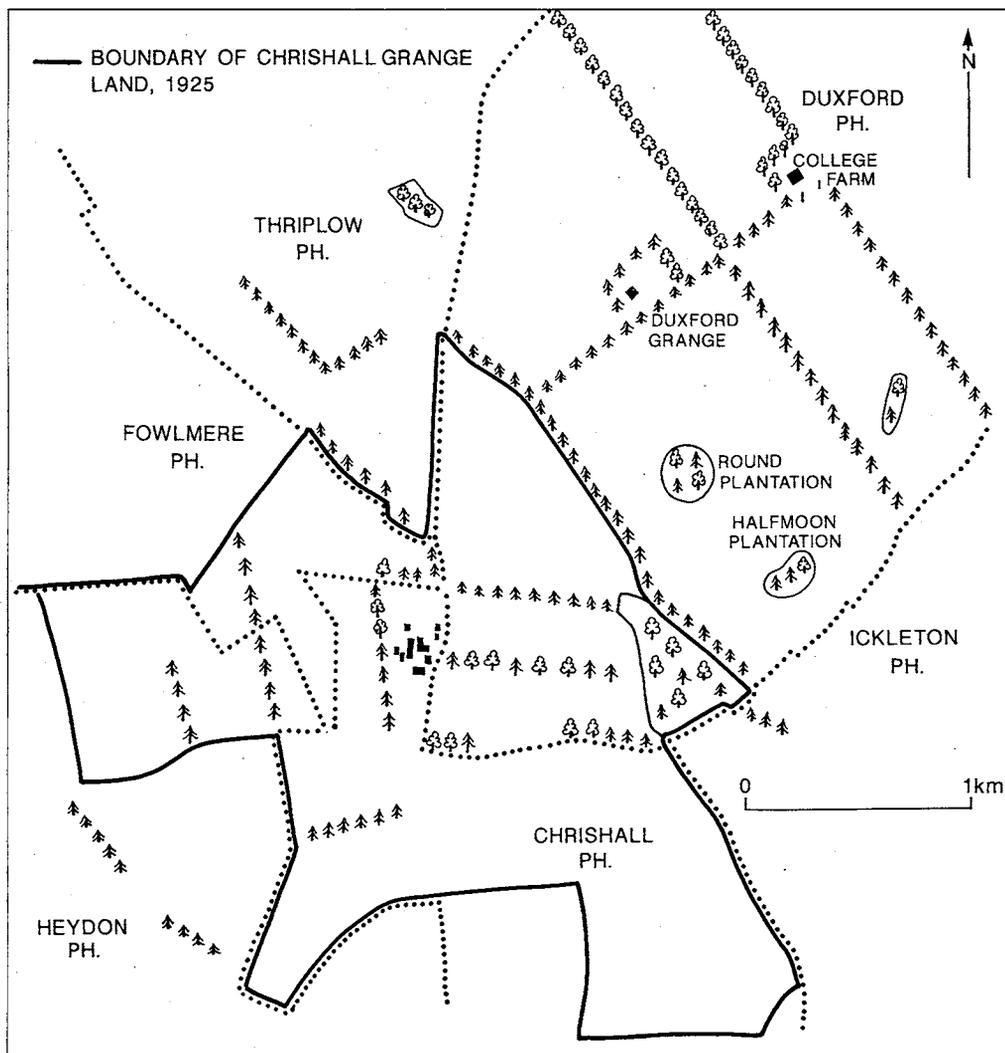


Figure 8. Chrishall Grange: 19th and 20th-century shooting estate.

was described as an 'old homestead' and two cottages in 1894, surrounded by various stables, pigsties and cart sheds. On the east, formerly the main entrance to the yard and farmstead, was and still is a small 19th-century gatehouse or lodge. To the north of the farmstead was a white brick and flint terrace comprising three cottages, now a single dwelling, while to the east set within a narrow strip of land along the existing public road were, and again are, two white brick terraces. Each of the latter originally comprised three cottages. The divisions between the cottages are marked by flat pilasters that support a plain pediment containing stone shields each with a gothic D. All of the buildings described above, apart from the main farmhouse, seem to date from the second half of the 19th century. The unified plan, the estate cottages, the extensive farm buildings and in particular the lodge and the 'parkland' with its avenue and ha-ha, all point to a prosperous Victorian and later agricultural regime and farmers with both wealth and social aspirations.

The land that belonged to Chrishall Grange from

the later 19th century lay immediately adjacent to it, mostly accessible from the axial cross-lanes that extended from both ends of the central yard (Fig 6). This land was located in four different parishes. To the east and north-east were some 270 acres of land in Duxford parish, to the south and west were another 270 acres in Chrishall parish, to the north-west were 146 acres in Fowlmere and 171 acres in the former extra-parochial land, later part of Heydon parish. There was also some woodland and shelter belts and paddocks around the farmstead.

Later, post-1894, changes to the farmstead included the demolition of the 'old homestead' and the rebuilding of most of its surrounding structures. The homestead was replaced by a range of cottages that are probably 1905 to 1910 in date. At perhaps the same period, but certainly before 1925, the farmland was extended by the incorporation of 160 acres to the south-west in Chrishall parish that was worked from the separate late 19th-century Redland's Hall and two cottages (Fig 6).

The documentary record of this period confirms

and expands the evidence from the landscape of a prosperous and go-ahead farm at Chrishall Grange between 1850 and 1970. The Grange was actually owned throughout this period, indeed from just after 1768, by the Brand family of The Hoo, in Hertfordshire. From the 1770s the Brands were the Lords Dacre, hence the gothic D on the cottages, and then from 1890 the Viscounts Hampden (Cockayne 1916, 1–18; 1926, 287–8; 1998, 364). However, the farm was always, apparently, leased. The earliest recorded tenant was a David Ellis in 1848 (White 1849), but in the 1850s the lease was taken by a Samuel Jonas who, with his son Frederick, was to run Chrishall Grange for over forty years and during whose tenure the farm was transformed from a modest agricultural establishment into the well planned place that still largely survives today. Samuel Jonas was already the tenant of Rectory Farm, Ickleton (VCH 1978, 237) and was far from being an ordinary farmer even before he took over Chrishall Grange. He had written a prize essay on Cambridgeshire farming that had been published by the Royal Agricultural Society (Jonas 1847; see also Kain and Mead 1977) and his wide interests and powers of observation are illustrated by events in 1848. He noticed what were, in effect, cropmarks in a field on his Ickleton farm. He instructed his son to make a plan of them and it was this plan that was the basis for the excavation of the Roman villa there, carried out by Lord Braybrook (Roach Smith 1849, 357; Bristow nd, 4).

Samuel and then Frederick Jonas farmed at Chrishall Grange until 1895. Incidentally, scratched on the glass of the front door at the Grange farmhouse even now is 'F Jonas 1858'. Another of Samuel's sons, George, took over his father's lease of Rectory Farm in Ickleton. By 1876 it was said that, together with other land they rented in Chrishall, Heydon, and elsewhere, the family worked over four thousand acres of land that required one hundred men and seventy six horses to run (Kelly, Cambridgeshire 1858–1902; Kelly, Essex 1890; Wormel 2002, 108).

In 1895 at the end of Frederick Jonas's tenancy and after the death of the first Viscount Hampden (1814–1892) an attempt was made to sell Chrishall Grange (CRO L70/49). This apparently failed and a new tenant, Matthew Gray, took over the farm and ran it until his death in 1925. It was during his tenancy that the 'old homestead' that lay in the south-eastern corner of the farmstead was rebuilt, other alterations made and Redland's Hall Farm was purchased. The latter was farmed and leased separately by Gray's son Matthew junior. The farm continued to be a successful enterprise and in 1916 won the distinction of being the best cultivated one in the Saffron Walden district (CRO 296/SP1150). On Gray's death the Hampdens again tried to sell Chrishall Grange but it failed to reach its reserve and was again leased, this time to a J Butterworth, who farmed it until the Second World War when the Harding family took over (Kelly, Essex 1932–37; *Saffron Walden Year Book* 1933–9; inf Miss B Litchfield).

Alongside this prosperous 19th and 20th-cen-

tury agricultural landscape there was, at Chrishall Grange, another landscape that seems to have originated slightly earlier. This was a landscape for pleasure.

The landscape for pleasure, 1830–1970 (Fig 8)

While the owners of Chrishall Grange leased the farm, they also made use of it for their own sporting interests, principally shooting, or leased the shooting to others. The whole of south Cambridgeshire was well known in the 19th century for its partridge and pheasant shooting and by 1900 the land around and south-east of Royston was regarded as amongst the finest partridge grounds in England. In particular the land owned by Viscount Hampden, presumably at Chrishall Grange, was excellent partridge country, and the game also included pheasant, hare and pigeons (VCH 1973, 201, 220; ERO B2706).

The principal additions to the landscape for shooting partridges were tree belts and coverts as well as areas of rough pasture and furze. These were both for rearing birds and also to give the maximum number of high, fast-flying birds under all conditions. The land at Chrishall Grange certainly met these requirements. Not only was the land of the Grange adapted for shooting, but so was the land of adjacent farmsteads that were also part of the same organisation. Planting of belts and coverts seems to have begun in the 1830s with the Round and Half Moon Plantations to the north-east of the grange, just outside its land, in Duxford parish. Belts were also placed around the Grange farmstead itself, although these may have been intended principally as windbreaks on the exposed site. Further shelter belts were planted along the sides of the fields immediately to the east of the farmstead, together with a larger area of woodland on the boundary of the land of the Grange. The latter, Chrishall Grove Plantation, has a sinuous western edge that enclosed an area of rough vegetation called 'Furze' by 1894 (OS 1839; VCH 1978, 201; CRO L70/49). All this planting was presumably carried out for either Thomas 20th Baron Dacre (1774–1851) or his nephew Thomas 21st Baron Dacre (1808–1890) (Cockayne 1916, 3–15). Later additions included planting other belts to the west and south-west of the Grange in Fowlmere parish and further south in Chrishall. These were certainly established after 1849 but before 1885 (CRO Q/RDc/70; OS 1886; CRO L70/49). After 1894 and perhaps in the early 20th century Chrishall Grange Plantation was enlarged.

Most of the belts were originally of Scots Pine and many of these trees, now in poor condition, survive. It is also possible to see on the ground today that Scots Pine were also planted along many of the ordinary field boundaries, to produce sheltered undergrowth for game. These are not shown on early or modern maps. The whole of the eastern boundary of the land of the Grange, a distance of over 1km has Scots Pine along it as does part of the Thriplow-Fowlmere parish boundary. Other shelter belts beyond the Chrishall

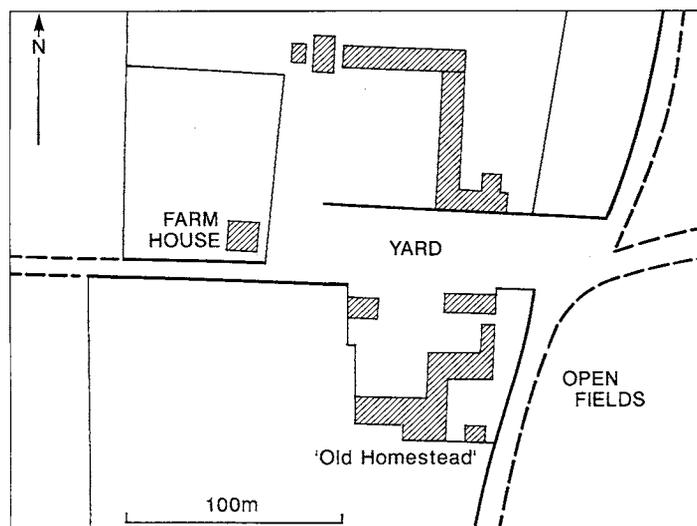


Figure 9. Chrishall Grange: plan of early 19th-century farmstead.

estate were also created in the mid to late 19th century. They include one over 2km long north-east of the Grange in Duxford parish and another one 1.5km long at Duxford Grange. These date from between 1823 and 1839 (CRO Q/RDc/41; OS 1839). Other belts to the north of Chrishall Grange, in Thriplow parish, were established between 1846 and 1886 (CRO Q/RDc/65; OS 1886). These were all on land never owned by the Lords Dacre but may have been planted by them to extend the shooting estate. In 1858 a thousand Scots Pine were offered for sale at the Grange, presumably being surplus to requirements (ERO B2735). The later 19th-century planting may have been the work of Henry Brand, brother of the 22nd Baron Dacre (1814–1892). He was MP for Cambridgeshire from 1868 to 1874 and then Speaker of the House of Commons. He was created Viscount Hampden in 1884. He too lived at the family house in Hertfordshire but may have used Chrishall Grange shooting to entertain his Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire social and political contacts (Cockayne 1916, 4–5).

The farmstead of Chrishall Grange itself also retains features of this era. A single-storey brick range, at the rear of the former pigsties in the north-western corner of the farmyard, has two parts. One, with a wooden bay window and fireplace, has a hatch that allows a view into the adjacent part. The latter has hatches leading into a former fenced yard and was clearly used as kennels, the living space next to it being presumably for a gamekeeper.

The value and importance of the land at Chrishall for shooting continued into the 20th century. It was described as a 'splendid sporting estate' in the particulars of the failed 1894 sale (CRO L90/69) and in 1905 'game rearing utensils', presumably surplus to requirements, were sold off (ERO B2706). When the estate was again put up for sale in 1925 it was described as 'The finest sporting property' and 'one of the best partridge shoots in Cambridgeshire' (CRO 296/SP1150). Figures in the sale particulars for 1925 give the bags for the previous three years shooting. These averaged out at over 500 brace of partridges,

82 of pheasant and 185 hares per annum as well as rabbits and pigeons. At this time the shooting was leased out. In 1920–1 the lessee Sir W Rachael claimed to have shot 525 brace of partridge there.

The landscape of Enclosure, 1808–1850 (Figs 6, 9 and 10)

The Victorian agricultural establishment and the sporting estate were created from a slightly earlier landscape that had been laid out following various Parliamentary Acts of Enclosure of the open fields and grassland heaths belonging to the adjacent parishes. These acts had swept away the complex arrangement of arable strips, access ways and common rights and replaced them by individually owned hedged fields and new or realigned and widened roads. The various new allotments made to the Barons Dacre, as owners of Chrishall Grange, show that prior to the various enclosures the Grange had common-field land and common rights of pasture in Chrishall and Duxford as well as old enclosed ground in Fowlmere and other land in the extra-parochial area now in Heydon.

On enclosure, no doubt in part as a result of pressure from the Dacres or their agents, the newly allotted blocks of land were, for convenience, located adjacent to the farmstead. Thus, on the earliest enclosure of 1808, in Chrishall parish, although Trevor, 18th Baron Dacre (1745–1808), was one of the largest landowners there and most of his land had been scattered throughout the open fields, his new allotments were concentrated in two places. One was in the south of the parish, around another farmstead that he owned, the other, some 130 acres, lay in one piece immediately south of the Grange (CRO L70/49; ERO T/M 144/1).

When Duxford parish was enclosed in 1830 Thomas, 20th Baron Dacre (1774–51), was given a compact block of land of some 230 acres immediately east and north-east of the Grange in return for the land and common rights in the former open

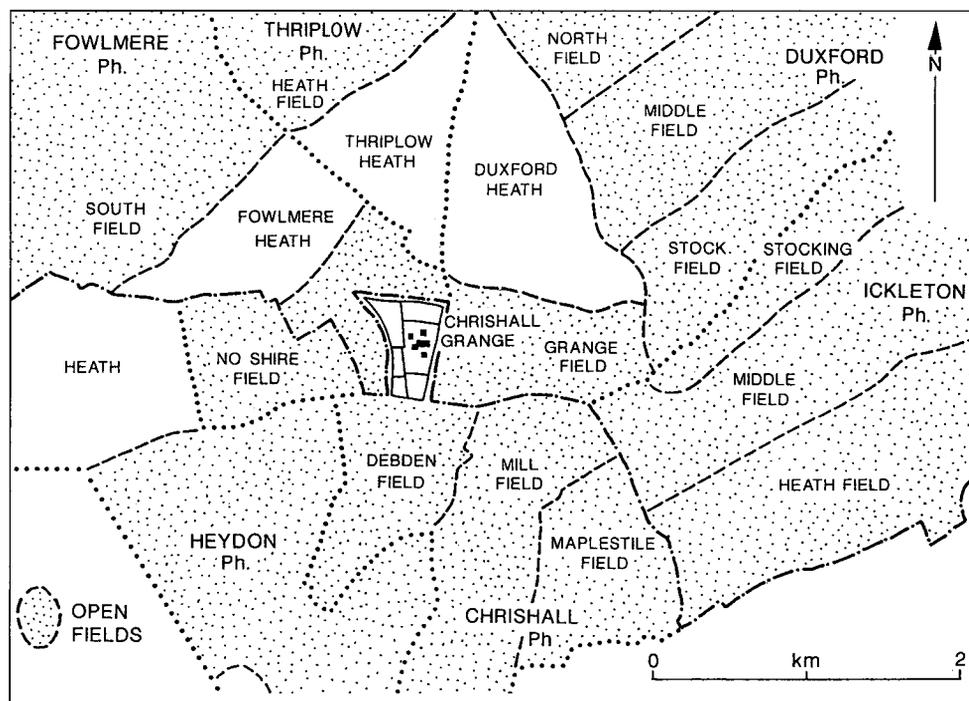


Figure 10. Chrishall Grange: possible arrangement of open fields in the late-medieval and early post-medieval periods.

fields of Duxford, and an adjacent block of 74 acres that was in lieu of land formerly in the possession of Chrishall Rectory that he had purchased and that lay in Duxford parish (VCH 1978, 210; CRO Q/RDc/44). In the early 19th century Chrishall Grange also included 170 acres of land lying in a roughly L-shaped area to the west of the grange itself, bounded on the north and east by Fowlmere parish and on the south and east by Heydon parish. This land is now in Heydon, but on the Heydon Enclosure Map of 1831 (CRO P90/26/1) it is marked as 'extra-parochial' and the single arable field that it was in 1894 (CRO L70/49) is called 'No Shire'. There is no direct record of its enclosure although there is evidence that it may have been an open field at an earlier date (see below).

Fowlmere parish was enclosed in 1848 (CRO Q/RDc/70). As usual the enclosure map shows the new allotments that replaced the former open fields and the extensive areas of downland. The map also shows that the roughly Y-shaped area of land in the extreme south-east of the parish that bounded the Chrishall Grange farmstead on the north and west and that covered just under 150 acres was divided into 'old enclosures' called Severalls. These fields are described as belonging to Lord Dacre, a fact confirmed by the later maps of the farm (CRO L70/49; 296/SP1150; VCH 1982, 159–60). The 1894 map also shows two of the four fields as Severalls. This name, and the fact that the fields were already old enclosures in 1848, suggests that this area was indeed enclosed before the early 19th century. However, the boundaries of the fields shown on the 1848 map are curiously straight and the fields themselves are very geometric. This in turn would suggest that the fields here, if not early

19th-century in origin, were not old and were perhaps the result of either 18th-century enclosure or at least a radical revision in the fairly recent past (see below).

How far the Chrishall Grange farmstead itself was altered in the 19th century consequent upon the adjacent enclosures is not clear, any pre-19th century structures of the farm having been swept away by the massive Victorian rebuilding already described. But one thing is clear, the farmstead was already there. Not only is the surviving principal farmhouse much older than the early 19th century but there is evidence that a large extension was added to it at some time in the 1820s and 1830s (RCHME 1916, Chrishall (5); VCH 1982, 158). This addition may have been to house living-in farm workers or servants that were required for the new agricultural regime consequent upon the enclosure. The overall layout of the farmstead can be seen on the 1808 Enclosure Map of Chrishall (CRO 296/P47; ERO T/M 144/1; Fig 9). The large 'green' or yard is shown and the farmhouse is depicted with a range of buildings along the north side of the green. On the south-eastern side is what must be the 'old homestead' of 1894, together with other buildings and some paddocks. The conclusion to be reached from this is that the outlines of what later became the great Victorian farmstead were already there in 1808 with buildings arranged around a rectangular open space.

This conclusion reinforces the hypothesis of the continuity of the landscape of Chrishall Grange. For, just as the layout of the later 19th-century farm was based in part on the arrangement of the earlier farmsteads, so the pattern partly imposed by the Enclosure

Commissioners in two of the adjacent parishes was, to some extent, the result of what had existed there before.

The landscape of 1544–1808 (Fig 10)

For some 270 years before the Enclosure Acts transformed its landscape, Chrishall Grange was a working farm, roughly the same size as it was after enclosure. During this period it had a series of owners and tenants, although while the former are well documented the latter are virtually unknown.

In 1544 Chrishall Grange belonged to the Crown. In that year it was sold to two land speculators Edward Elvington and Humphrey Medcalf (*LFPD* 1903, 279, no 442, 1b). Two years later they sold it to Edward Meade (d 1570) who settled it on his son, another Edward (Morant 1768, 605). The Meades were part of an extensive family of farmers and minor gentry who are recorded as buying and selling land, again as speculators, in various south Cambridgeshire parishes. The Meades apparently did not farm the Grange, for John Thake was a tenant there in 1547 and a former tenant, John Lee, is documented in 1586 (*Cal Pat* 1924, 202; *Cal Pat* 2002, no 310). In 1594 Edward Meade sold the Grange and all its land to a Robert Taylor, probably the Robert Taylor (d 1596) formerly of Babraham, or his son, another Robert. In 1601 the latter sold the Grange, except for the land that lay in the principal open fields of Duxford, back to a relative of Edward Meade, Sir Thomas Meade of Guilden Morden. Taylor had apparently sold the Duxford open field land, together with the Manor of Lacys that he also owned, the year before. Chrishall Grange remained with the Meade family until the 1670s (*VCH* 1973, 255; 1978 5, 7, 21, 23, 206, 208). Though ill-documented, in a period when the Lacy manor passed through a number of owners and mortgagees, the Duxford land of the Grange appears to have been reunited with the rest some time after 1654.

By 1717 the Grange belonged to John Hanchett (d 1737) and either he or another John, possibly his grandson, (d c.1756), lived there and worked the farm. They were probably the first owner/occupiers since the mid-16th century. The Hanchetts were members of a Hertfordshire farming family with extensive properties in that county and with more land in Heydon and Ickleton (Morant 1768, 604; *VCH* 1978, 208, 236–7). As owner/occupiers it is likely that it was the Hanchetts that built the principal farmhouse that survives today in the north-western corner of the farmyard or 'green'. Their family wealth would certainly account for the splendid building that would have been a very suitable dwelling for prosperous early 18th-century farmers. The house probably dates from a little after 1700. It is built of red brick on a double-pile plan of two storeys, with attics and cellars. Its main front is of five bays, the centre one projecting slightly. The side elevations are of three bays with curved ornamental 'Dutch' gables (RCHME 1916, Chrishall (5); *VCH* 1982, 158).

Soon after 1768 the Chrishall Grange estate was purchased by Thomas Brand (d 1770) of The Hoo in Hertfordshire. The Brand family owned land in Essex and Hertfordshire and were already the major landowners in Chrishall parish. The purchase was probably part of the Brand family's somewhat erratic rise into the aristocracy (Stone and Stone 1984, 160). Brand's son, another Thomas (d 1794) married Gertrude Baroness Dacre (1750–1819), sister and heir of Thomas Lord Dacre, 18th Baron (1745–1808). The Dacres were an ancient family with extensive lands in Essex, Norfolk and Ireland (Cockayne 1916, 1–18; *VCH* 1978, 150) and the marriage to the Brands meant that the latter became Barons Dacre. Chrishall Grange remained part of the family estate until 1970 although it was apparently always leased. It was almost certainly the farm described in 1794 as on a twenty-one year lease at a rent of £130 per annum (Vancouver 1794, 73).

Throughout all the later 16th, 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries Chrishall Grange stood alone on the chalk downland. No plan before the 1808 enclosure map survives to indicate what it looked like, but the positioning of the new early 18th-century farmhouse away from the probably older 'homestead' with its farm buildings, together with the fact that it is aligned along the western side of the 'green' or yard and thus at right angles to its northern side, suggests that the 'green' was already there in the early 18th century, perhaps on an older east to west trackway. Whether there were other houses or cottages around the green is not known although there may well have been. These would have been inhabited by the labourers who worked the surrounding fields. Five of these labourers are recorded in 1654 although the location of their homes is not specified (CRO R58/7/1 p90).

However, if the farmstead itself had the same general appearance as it did in the early 19th century, its fields did not. For, although the land of Chrishall Grange lay in the same three parishes and in the extraparochial area that it did later, its form was quite different (Fig 10). It comprised open fields together with common rights of grazing. It was most of this open field land that the Enclosure Commissioners swept away in the early 19th century. Before enclosure the land of Chrishall Grange that lay to the south in Chrishall parish was scattered throughout the three open fields there (ERO T/M 144/1). Although the exact location of its strips is not known, slight traces of the fields survive in a few places. Faint indications of former strip lynchets are visible in the long 'pan handle' of Chrishall parish that projected south-west into Heydon, in the former Debden Field. These were comparable with, and probably interlocked with, other strip lynchets that remain in slightly better condition in Heydon parish on the east side of Heydon Valley. Further north, also in the old Debden Field and within the area allotted to Chrishall Grange in 1808, traces of ridge-and-furrow are visible on aerial photographs (RAF 1946). Further east two parallel former headlands between end-on furlongs some 110m apart can still be seen on the ground. These lay

at the north end of the Mill Field prior to 1808.

The land that lay in Duxford and that was allotted on enclosure to Lord Dacre, as owner of Chrishall Grange, had a more complex history (CRO Q/RDc/44). Most of it was scattered throughout the three open fields of Duxford that stretched west from the village. Again its exact location is not known, but when in the hands of the Lacy Manor in the mid-17th century it was in all three fields (CRO R58/7/1). The well-marked remains of former headlands of these fields are visible all over the centre of the parish and are particularly clear along Hunts Road. However, a proportion of the land of Chrishall Grange in Duxford was in a small single open field that lay in the extreme west of the parish, adjoining the Grange itself and separate from the main open fields. Though no trace of this field remains, its location, size and arrangement is recorded in a survey of 1654 (CRO R58/7/1 p90). This describes the 106 acres of 'Chrishall Grange land' abutting 'north upon the Grange Gate'. This places it immediately east and north-east of the Grange and east of the present Fowlmere/Thriplow to Chrishall road. This is precisely where, unusually, the additions to a copy of the Chrishall enclosure map of 1808 (CRO 296/P47) show by means of pecked lines, four long curving strips together with some small square areas. These clearly represent the five strips totalling 17 acres belonging to Chrishall church that are listed in the 1654 survey. The survey also lists twelve other strips of between 1 and 12 acres, totalling 83 acres belonging to Chrishall Grange and six other strips held by five different named people, who perhaps actually lived at the Grange itself. It was this 83 acres, the 17 acres of church land that the Dacre family purchased in the late 18th century, the nearly 200 acres of land in the main open fields of Duxford as well as land in lieu of common rights, that formed part of the 300-odd acre allotment to Lord Dacre next to the Grange in 1830.

In addition to these open fields, the Grange also had land to the north-west in Fowlmere parish. As was the case with Duxford this was separate from the open fields of Fowlmere. However, unlike Duxford, this land was at least by the late 18th century enclosed and farmed from the Grange alone. As already noted the form of these fields by 1848 suggest that possibly they had been laid out recently, perhaps as part of the enclosure process, although the name *Severalls* indicates a longer period of enclosed land here. But there is a difficulty with the area of these fields. In 1848, 1894 and 1925 the Fowlmere land of the Grange comprised 150 acres (CRO Q/RDc/70; L70/49; 296/SP1150). But in 1794 only 60 acres of enclosed ground existed here (Vancouver 1794, 71; VCH 1982, 159–60), exactly the same amount as was recorded in the late 11th century (Rumble 1981, 21.2; see below). It is impossible to be sure what changes took place here but it may be that a 60 acre area of old enclosures was enlarged to 150 acres and given new boundaries between the 1790s and 1848.

What is much more important is the possibility that the enclosures, of whatever date, actually replaced an-

other open field. The evidence for this is of two types. The first is the form of the parish boundary between Fowlmere and Thriplow, immediately north of the Grange. There the boundary, which otherwise follows a slightly undulating course across what was certainly open pasture before enclosure, suddenly turns through two right angles and, shortly afterwards, curves sharply to end on the Thriplow to Chrishall road. Normally such an indented boundary would be interpreted as following the edge of pre-existing open field strips (Taylor 1975, 75, 76). Yet there is no evidence that the Thriplow side of the boundary was ever cultivated until the 20th century, let alone farmed in strips (VCH 1982, 242–4; Baker 1824; CRO Q/RDc 65). The open field system must therefore have been on the Fowlmere side. The second piece of evidence is in the 1654 survey of the Duxford open fields (CRO R58/7/1/p90). Although allegedly in Duxford parish, 12 acres of the open field at the Grange are described as lying to the north-west and south-west of the Grange. They end on 'a way leading from Fowlmere to Chrishall'. While it is not possible to locate this land precisely, it presumably lay in Fowlmere parish. This open field must have covered a very small area, probably of 60 acres. It may therefore have occupied little more than the two arms of the Y of Fowlmere land that bounded the Grange, an area incidentally of some 60 acres. In this location this open field would have abutted the Duxford open field on the east and on its west side marched with the extra-parochial land that also belonged to Chrishall Grange.

The history of this latter land is virtually unknown, the only certain fact being that 170-odd acres here was regarded as extra-parochial in the early 19th century (CRO P90/26/1). However, there are just two pieces of evidence that indicate that it too might have had open field strips within it at some time before then. First, the present Heydon-Fowlmere boundary in the north-eastern corner of the area has three sharp bends in it, one certainly suggesting a former strip existing within the extra-parochial area and the other two indicating that another strip lay at right angles to it, either in Fowlmere parish or within the extra-parochial area. As that part of Fowlmere lies beyond the maximum extent of the open fields there it seems likely that this strip too lay in the extra-parochial land. The second piece of evidence comes from the copy of the 1808 Enclosure Map of Chrishall that, in addition to showing the Duxford open field strips, also shows a single strip again marked by pecked lines running north-west to south-east, some 170m to 180m long and 30m to 40m wide. It is situated on the south side of the extra-parochial land, its southern end abutting on the green lane or 'Walden Way' (CRO 296/P47). These presumed three small open fields, one each in Duxford, Fowlmere and in the extra-parochial land, were not of course completely open by the 18th century. The evidence of the 1808 map suggests that there had been much piecemeal enclosure in the Duxford field while the single surviving strip in the extra-parochial area would seem to mean that the area was virtually completely enclosed by that date.

More convincing is the 1654 terrier for the Duxford field that also lists six acres of Grange land as 'within an area of hedges' (CRO R58/7/1 p90).

This curious arrangement of open fields lying in four parishes and set around a farmstead on chalk downland in the late 16th, 17th and 18th centuries is, of course, partly explained by the fact that Chrishall Grange had not been established in the mid-16th century but already existed in the medieval period.

The medieval landscape (Figs 10 and 11)

The reason why Chrishall Grange was in the hands of the Crown in 1544 was that it had been seized in 1536, previously having been monastic property. From the 12th century until this date Chrishall Grange had belonged to the Cistercian Abbey of Tilty, in Essex. The abbey lay half way between Thaxted and Great Dunmow where fragments of its buildings survive. It was founded, probably in 1153, as a daughter house of Warden Abbey in Bedfordshire, its first benefactors being Robert Ferrers whose family had held Tilty since 1086 and Maurice FitzGeoffrey, the Ferrers's tenant (Rumble 1983, 29.1; VCH 1907, 134; RCHME 1916 Tilty (2); Morant 1768, 603; Hall and Strachan 2001).

Within a very short time of its foundation the abbey began to acquire land by grant, predominantly in Essex but also in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk. Many of these grants were of relatively small pieces of land that were usually leased, or were quickly sold off as being uneconomic to farm (Morant 1768, 604; VCH 1982, 72, 89; 1989, 273-4, 276, 282, 284, 333). The abbey soon had a considerable, if dispersed, estate on the Essex-Cambridgeshire border in the parishes of Chrishall, Elmdon, Heydon, Littlebury, Duxford, Fowlmere and Ickleton. Particularly where the land was an existing compact holding, it was leased and worked in an identical way to that of the rest of the parish land. Thus at Ickleton Robert Hovel gave 140 acres of land to Tilty between 1221 and 1251 and this had increased to 190 acres by 1279. But as it had its

own message in Ickleton village, it remained a separate agricultural unit, known as Hovells Manor and was always leased (VCH 1978, 233-4). However, some of the land in Chrishall, Duxford, Fowlmere and probably in the extra-parochial area, was all worked directly from Chrishall Grange or through tenants under the Grange administration.

Chrishall Grange itself was an early gift to Tilty for, described as a Grange, it is in a list of grants confirmed to the abbey in 1199 (VCH 1907, 134). Its land seems to have been acquired at various times and in various ways (Fig 10). The open field land in Chrishall parish as well as that in the small open field adjacent to the Grange in Duxford parish also seems to have been amongst the early grants to Tilty. Indeed they were probably already part of the Grange estate (see below). But more land in both parishes was acquired later. Some of this lay in the open fields of Chrishall but more was in Duxford parish. All of it is recorded in a 1251 confirmation charter, as is land in Heydon. The latter might be the extra-parochial land although this is by no means certain (*Cal Charter Rolls* 1903, 358-9). Also confirmed in this charter was the presumed open field land in Fowlmere apparently granted in 1228. The land that Tilty acquired in the open fields of Duxford parish, separate from that in the small open field, came in a series of late 12th and early 13th-century grants that ranged from a few strips to estates of up to 137 acres, as well as extensive rights of pasture (VCH 1978, 207-8; *Curia Regis Rolls* 1961, 144-5). By 1251 no fewer than nine grantors of land in Duxford are recorded (*Cal Charter Rolls* 1903, 358-9). By 1279 over 300 acres of arable land in Duxford, belonging to Tilty, seem to have been scattered through the three principal open fields of the parish, in addition to that in the separate small open field (*Rotuli Hundredorum* 1818, 580-4). As none of this land apparently had any associated messuages, it was presumably all farmed from the Grange as part of a consolidated estate. It is not without significance that, as with Hovells Manor in Ickleton, the one gift of land to Tilty in Duxford that did have a tenement attached

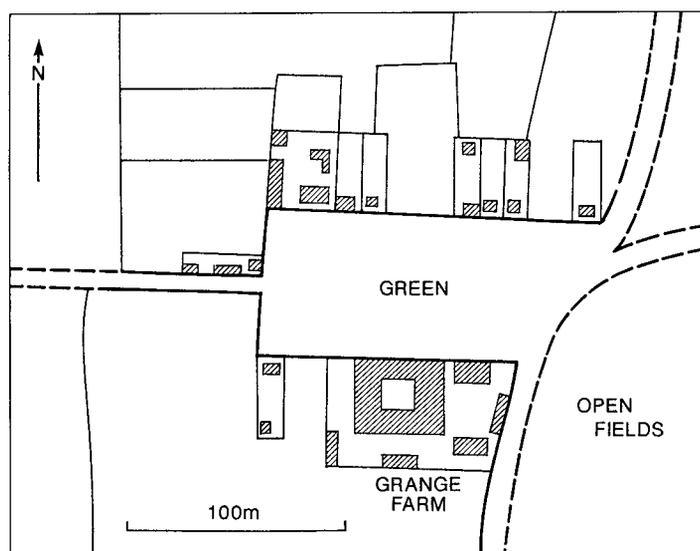


Figure 11. Chrishall Grange: possible layout of Cistercian grange.

to it, 42 acres of land later called Mangers, was leased and farmed quite separately from the Grange (VCH 1978, 208). As far as it is possible to ascertain, the total amount of arable open-field land held by Tilty and worked directly from the Grange in the later 13th century was about 750 acres located in the fields of the villages of Chrishall and Duxford and in separate small open fields in Duxford, Fowlmere and in the extra-parochial land. In addition the Grange had extensive grazing rights on the adjacent downland and on the arable. In 1279 it had pasture for 600 sheep in Duxford alone (*Rotuli Hundredorum* 1818, 580, 583).

The extra-parochial land at Chrishall is worth further examination. As already noted, there is some evidence that it was once worked as an open field made up of arable strips. Being extra-parochial meant that it was exempt from tithes, a situation that dated back to the early years of the Cistercian Order, in the 12th century. However, the Lateran Council of 1215 limited this exemption to land already acquired and to lands that might be brought into cultivation. As the land and the fields in Duxford, Fowlmere and Chrishall were ancient arable, only the Heydon land may have been downland pasture then. This might suggest that the extra-parochial 'No Shire' land at Heydon was brought into cultivation in the early to mid-13th century. Indeed it is possible that it is actually recorded in 1251 as the land in Heydon, given to Tilty Abbey by six named people (*Cal Charter Rolls* 1903, 358).

What the Grange itself looked like in medieval times is unknown. The 'green', aligned on an east to west trackway, may have already existed with farm buildings around it. But the most likely position for the actual Grange would have been on the site of the 'old homestead' in the south-eastern corner. This would place it at the junction between the east to west route and the principal north to south road (Fig 11).

Not enough is known about Cistercian granges that were primarily arable farms, as opposed to those of the north and west of Britain that were largely pastoral, to be able to ascertain whether such a postulated plan would have been usual. Certainly there is both documentary and archaeological evidence for 'courts' or large enclosures at Cistercian granges and indeed at granges belonging to other orders (Platt 1969, 31, 44; Everson *et al* 1991, Barlings (3); Legsby (4), North Carlton (3) and Thoresway (2)).

Being an arable farm it would seem likely that Chrishall Grange would have required staff, perhaps peasants, to work the land there. Again, by analogy with other Cistercian granges elsewhere, and not withstanding the alleged Cistercian habit of clearing pre-existing settlements from the site of new granges (Platt 1969, 92), there is good evidence that some Cistercian granges did retain existing peasant families. At the largely arable grange of Fountains Abbey at Thorpe Underwood, near York, although an existing settlement was moved, the original gift included seven peasant families. 'It can scarcely be supposed that the abbey accepted [these families] only to drive them away' (Platt 1969, 83–4). Likewise the sites of a number of granges have evidence of peasant

dwellings that appeared to be contemporary with the granges (Platt 1969, 88–9). At the Gilbertine Grange at North Kelsey in Lincolnshire there is both archaeological and documentary evidence of the deliberate construction of peasant tofts in the early 13th century, presumably to provide agricultural labour (Everson *et al* 1991, North Kelsey (2)).

It is not clear whether this estate at Chrishall Grange was always farmed by the abbey or was leased. Generally the leasing of Cistercian granges began in the 13th century and was widespread by the 15th century (Platt 1969, 41, 94–117). Chrishall Grange was certainly leased in 1430 and at the dissolution of Tilty Abbey in 1544 a John Thake was the tenant there (*Cal Pat Rolls* 1907, 515; 1925, 173). Whatever the situation, the Grange was a valuable property for Tilty. In 1291, although the details are split between the different parishes, it is recorded as being worth over £23, far more than any other land the abbey held in Cambridgeshire and North Essex (*Taxatio Ecclesiastica* 1808, 286). Although worth less at the Dissolution, the Grange still retained its relative importance compared with nearby Tilty lands (Dugdale 1825, 624).

One important fact emerges from these details of the Grange in medieval times. Tilty Abbey did not establish the Grange and its estate but merely acquired it and then extended and developed it. The Grange was already in existence when it was given to Tilty soon after 1153.

The late Saxon landscape (Figs 12 and 13)

If most of the landscape of Chrishall Grange was already in existence in the mid-12th century how much earlier can it be traced? This is perhaps the most difficult part of the history of that landscape where facts are few and speculation, inevitably, rife. There are two distinct elements of the early medieval landscape of the Grange and each requires separate examination in this context. These are, first, the Grange itself with its associated open field land in Chrishall parish, and then the land in the apparently two other small open fields in Duxford and Fowlmere. The land that Tilty held in the larger open fields of Duxford can be ignored for it had belonged to other people before Tilty was founded. These arable strips and common rights were merely acquired by the abbey by gift in the late 12th and early 13th century and, as such, did not play any part in the early history of the Grange. What later became the extra-parochial land was, apparently, also an early 13th-century gift to the abbey.

The late Saxon history of the Grange is not easy to unravel. It is certainly not recorded by name before 1199. The key to its pre-12th century existence lies in the confirmation charter of Tilty lands of 1251 (*Cal Charter Rolls* 1903, 358) where Chrishall Grange is recorded as being held of Robert de Lucy, then overlord of the manor of Chrishall.

The history of the de Lucy family before this date is far from clear (Foss 1848, 264–7; Round 1899; Round 1900, 144; Cockayne 1932, 247). Morant (1768,

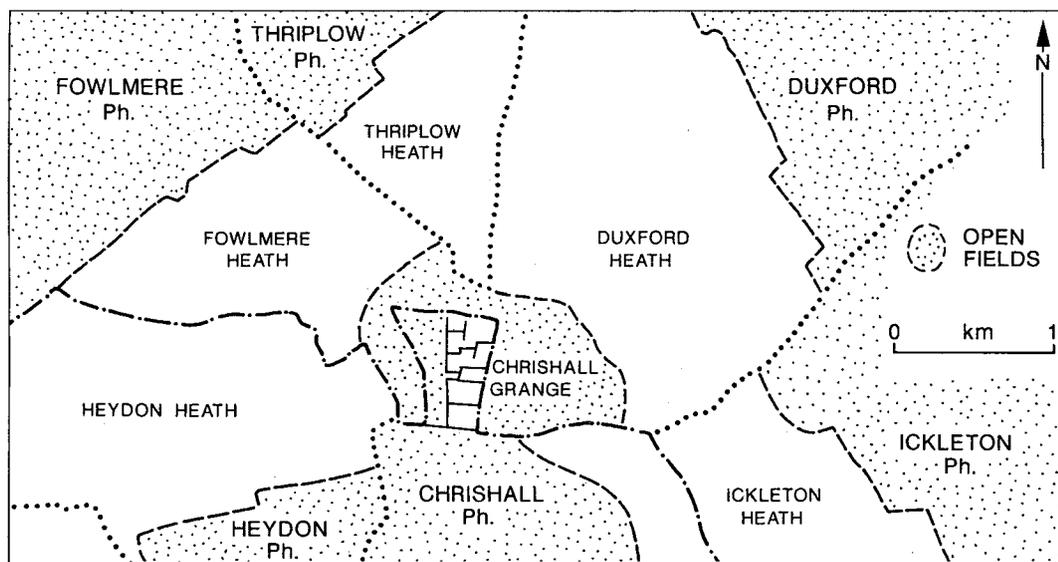


Figure 12. Chrishall Grange: possible arrangement of open fields in the 10th to 11th centuries.

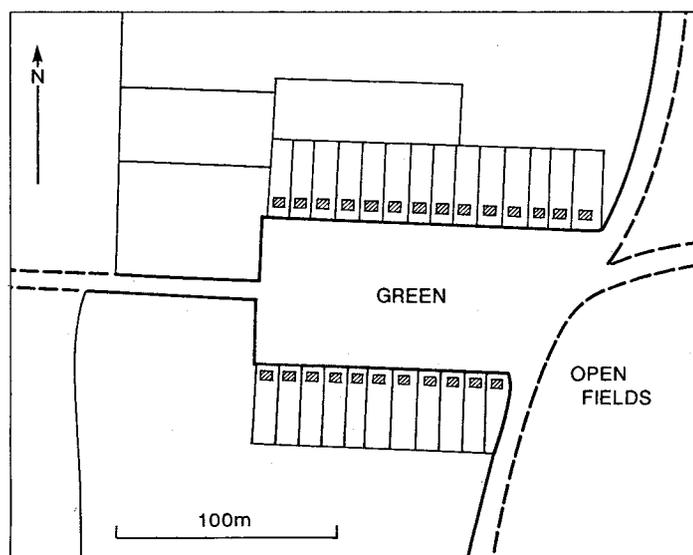


Figure 13. Chrishall Grange: possible layout of late Saxon settlement.

604) records that another Richard Lucy (d 1179) had also held land in Chrishall. Further, in around 1183 a Roger de Lucy held land in Ickleton and a Richard Lucy, presumably a relative, held it in 1200. This latter Richard was a relative of another Richard Lucy who was Henry II's Justiciar from 1154 until 1178/9. But de Lucy probably held the same emerging royal office under King Stephen, perhaps from 1139 when his predecessor Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, was removed from the post (Fryde *et al* 1997, 70–1). Richard de Lucy, the Justiciar, was granted extensive lands in Essex and elsewhere by Stephen. These were part of the honor of Boulogne that Stephen had acquired through his marriage in 1125 to Maud, daughter and heiress of Eustace III, count of Boulogne. As Maud died in 1152 the grant to Richard de Lucy was made, presumably, between 1139 and 1152. It was probably this Richard de Lucy, holder of all of this land by 1152, who gave

Chrishall Grange to Tilty Abbey. Maud's inheritance had been created when William I gave the land to her grandfather Count Eustace II after the reconciliation between him and the King following his treason in 1067 (Stenton 1955, 591). Most of this land, some 80 estates, lay in Essex and the adjoining counties and amongst the Essex lands was Chrishall (Rumble 1983, 20. 71, 76).

From this it follows that Chrishall Grange, if it existed in 1086, should be included within the Domesday Book entry for Chrishall. But the description of Chrishall there is complicated. Two small holdings are listed, one Crawleybury of only 30 acres was held by a sub-tenant under Count Eustace and can be identified as lying in the north-eastern part of the present village. The other, Chiswick, now Chiswick Hall in the south-east of the parish was a one and a half hide estate held by Robert de Tosne. The principal

holding at Chrishall, however, was a six hide manor held by Count Eustace himself and with, for its size, a large recorded population of 32 villeins, 13 bordars and six slaves (Rumble 1983, 20, 71 and 76, 50.1). This entry might be interpreted as referring entirely to the present village with its various greens and ends. But this main holding had two smaller holdings attached to it. The larger, three virgates, held by a single sokeman in 1066, was held by William Cardon for Geoffrey de Mandeville. As William Cardon also held the adjacent Great Chishill of de Mandeville, this land may either have lain in Chishill or have been one of the other isolated farms or greens in the southern part of Chrishall parish. The other small holding recorded is of more consequence. It consisted of a mere 8 acres of land held by two sokemen and another 8 acres held by another sokeman that had three bordars. Though the meaning is not absolutely clear, this section appears to say that one Engelric appropriated these 16 acres and their sokemen after 1066.

Engelric is a shadowy figure who was the immediate and short-lived predecessor to Count Eustace at many places that the latter held in 1086 and both the Chrishall and the Crawleybury holding were also held by him in 1066–7. Engelric has one claim to fame. In 1068 he and his brother founded the college of secular canons of St Martin-le-Grand in London. Amongst the gifts to the new church by Engelric was land 'at Chrishall' and certainly by 1158 St Martin-le-Grand not only had land there but also held Chrishall Church. The land and the church remained with St Martin's until 1503–4 when they were appropriated by its successor, the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey. They held it until the 18th century when the land and the patronage of the church passed to Lord Dacre and became part of the Grange estate (VCH 1909, 555–62; Kempe 1825, 32–3, 36, 65, 174, 181).

Some of this church land can be located. In the 1654 terrier (CRO R59/7/1 p90) five separate arable strips lying in the small open field to the east of the Grange, in Duxford parish, are described as Chrishall glebe or Chrishall parsonage land. It is perhaps no accident that these strips, totalling 17 acres, are very close in extent to the 16 acres appropriated by Engelric in 1066–7 that must have been given to St Martin's, either by Engelric himself or by one of his successors.

However, much more important is the identification of the location of the Chrishall church land as being in the small Duxford open field. This can only mean that this open field was attached to a settlement where, presumably, the three sokemen whose land Engelric appropriated lived. That is Chrishall Grange was already an agricultural settlement in 1066. Yet this Duxford open field was not the only one that existed at Chrishall Grange in the late 11th century. There is a curious entry in Domesday Book for half a hide of land, with no population, held by Robert Gernon and also listed as in Duxford (Rumble 1981, 21.2). There is no further record of this land in Duxford and the VCH (1978, 208) made the plausible suggestion that the land actually lay in Fowlmere where Gernon was the principal landholder in 1086 (Rumble 1981, 21.3). All

Gernon's Fowlmere land passed to the Munfitchets in the early 12th century and it was Richard Munfitchet who granted this half hide to Tilty Abbey in 1228 although in practical terms it was presumably worked from the Grange settlement. Further, Gernon's predecessor at Fowlmere, Aelfric Kemp, also held this land in 1066, confirming its existence before the Conquest. There can be little doubt that this land was the open field area that lay in Fowlmere, north-west of the Grange and that became the 'Severalls' of the early 19th century. Again, it may not be just coincidence that this half hide of land is the same as the 60 acres recorded by Vancouver in 1794.

If the foregoing analysis of these late 11th-century holdings of the Grange is accepted, a problem emerges. With 100 acres of land in the Duxford field, 60 acres in Fowlmere, perhaps at least another 100 acres in Chrishall, Chrishall Grange in the 1060s perhaps had as much as 300 acres of land, and probably more, associated with it. That is between two and a half and three hides. And yet there are only three sokemen with another 18 acres as the recorded population. Although Domesday Book is notoriously inaccurate in these matters, it may be that the Grange was not merely a hamlet with three sokemen but a larger settlement whose inhabitants could have included some of the relatively large recorded population of 51 listed on the main Chrishall Manor. Given the relatively large amount of land at Chrishall Grange, this interpretation would solve the difficulty of the imbalance of land and population between Chrishall and Chrishall Grange.

Although even more speculative, it is perhaps worth examining what this settlement may have looked like (Fig 13). As already noted, the location of the early 18th-century farmstead in the north-western corner of the large 'green', diagonally opposite the 'old homestead' of the 19th-century maps, indicates that this yard or 'green' was already in existence. Further, a tentative medieval layout based around this yard has already been suggested. It is just possible that the yard was in origin part of a regular and thus planned village, laid out along the older east to west road, around which tenements were arranged, even before the Tilty Abbey grange was established. Speculative though this is, as is usual in this author's papers, it is the one hypothesis that is possible of resolution by archaeological excavation. Most of the land on the south side of the green is still not built over and has been devoid of buildings certainly since the early 19th century. Future excavation here might well be able to elucidate the early history and overall purpose of this green and the possible associated settlement.

Whatever the exact picture, it seems that even before 1066 a settlement of some kind existed at Chrishall Grange, already with a complex field system. It was this settlement that Richard de Lucy gave to Tilty Abbey soon after its foundation. Yet this was surely an unusual gift, for the settlement and its fields lay in two counties, in three, perhaps four, parishes and, incidentally, in two hundreds. And, not long be-

fore, the land in Fowlmere had been described as in Duxford while land allegedly in Chrishall was also in Duxford. The only satisfactory explanation for this is that the settlement and its land had been established before the boundaries of these parishes and counties had been fixed. Elsewhere in south Cambridgeshire the boundaries of some parishes are recorded by the late 10th century (Hart 1966, 44 no 57) but they probably originated much earlier.

Exactly when these parish boundaries or indeed the county boundary were fixed in detail is another matter. The closest parallel for the situation at Chrishall Grange is at Rymer in north-west Suffolk where than no less than six parishes all now meet. Originally, nine and perhaps even ten parishes converged within 300m near the place where the remains of a former large pond once known as Ringmere stand. There is also another, if irrelevant, parallel with Chrishall Grange. There was once an extra-parochial area, close to the mere, that was a medieval monastic farm called Ringmere Grange and that also belonged to Tilty Abbey. Because, unlike Chrishall, the land here remained unenclosed heathland until the 18th century, Dymond (1968, 23–4) interpreted the Rymer situation as originally being an intercommoned grazing area for all the parishes whose inhabitants needed access to the pond. When the parish boundaries were fixed, each parish received a tapering piece of land leading to the pond. The land of the monastic grange was later cut out of one of these parishes and became extra-parochial and thus tithe free because of its monastic status.

This interpretation may be a model for Chrishall Grange although the process there may have taken much longer. While there is no record of a mere or pond at Chrishall, there could have been some water source there to make the area more attractive for the grazing of animals and indeed for the later settlement. The development of this settlement and its fields on land previously common to at least six parishes presumably led to disputes, particularly between the overlords of these parishes. The fact that the Grange lies within Chrishall parish and that its fields there were intermixed with those of Chrishall village, suggests that it was perhaps developed or colonised from that parish. Further, its position in a projection of Essex into Cambridgeshire might indicate that the county boundary itself when fixed was made to include the Grange within the land of its mother settlement for administrative convenience or that the boundary was later changed to achieve the same effect. Adaptations of county boundaries for such reasons are not unknown. One example perhaps similar to Chrishall is at Wellow, in Wiltshire. Part of Wellow was removed from Hampshire and put into Wiltshire for the convenience of the lord, the rest of whose holdings lay entirely in the latter county (Munby 1982, 69. 22; Thorne and Thorne 1979, 37. 1–16). The presumably late development of the fields of Chrishall Grange on land at least nominally in other parishes and under other lordships would have meant that when the boundaries of these parishes

were finally fixed the fields became administratively separated from the settlement.

Even when the parish boundaries had been established, the exact relationship between the fields and the parishes in which they lay remained in doubt. The land in Fowlmere being listed under Duxford in 1086 is an early instance. But even in the mid-17th century this land, described in the 1654 survey as still being in the Duxford open field, as already noted was not in that parish but in Fowlmere.

One last aspect of the late Saxon history of Chrishall Grange requires comment. Whether it originated as a single isolated farmstead or began life as a regular 'green' village is of more than usual interest in both its regional and its local siting. For Chrishall Grange lies exactly on the 'frontier' between the two principal forms of medieval rural settlement in England. To the south, south-east and south-west, in Essex, Suffolk and Hertfordshire, the landscape is characterised by isolated farmsteads and small hamlets. Most of these are certainly of medieval date and many are actually recorded in Domesday Book.

To the north and north-west of Chrishall Grange, into Cambridgeshire and on across the Midlands and northern England, nucleated villages predominate. The Grange therefore lies exactly on this frontier between the two types of settlement. The reasons for the position of this frontier has been discussed in general terms by Roberts and Wrathmell (2000 and 2002) and at a more local level by the present writer (Taylor 2002). The most likely interpretation is that the normal form of rural settlement throughout the prehistoric, Roman and early Saxon periods was a dispersed one, but that at some time in mid to late Saxon times, probably for a variety of reasons, nucleated villages began to appear and spread across the country. This 'village moment' (Lewis *et al* 1997, 214) ceased in the 12th century, after which few villages were created. The 'frontier' therefore marks the arbitrary point at which the process of new creation ended. As it was arbitrary, there is no correlation between the distribution of nucleated and dispersed settlement and other features such as geology, soils, topography, tenure and social make-up (Taylor 2002, 5). On this interpretation the postulated creation of the 'village' at Chrishall Grange would have been at a relatively late date, possibly in the later 10th or early 11th centuries though perhaps on the site of a farmstead that was part of the earlier dispersed pattern of settlement here. If this is so then the suggested neat regular plan of this village, similar to other 'late' villages elsewhere, would support this idea. But, if there was a farmstead at Chrishall Grange before the 10th century, can it be placed in an even earlier landscape?

The first landscape (Fig 14)

There is no historical or archaeological record of Chrishall Grange before the 11th century and no evidence of early to mid Saxon occupation in the area.

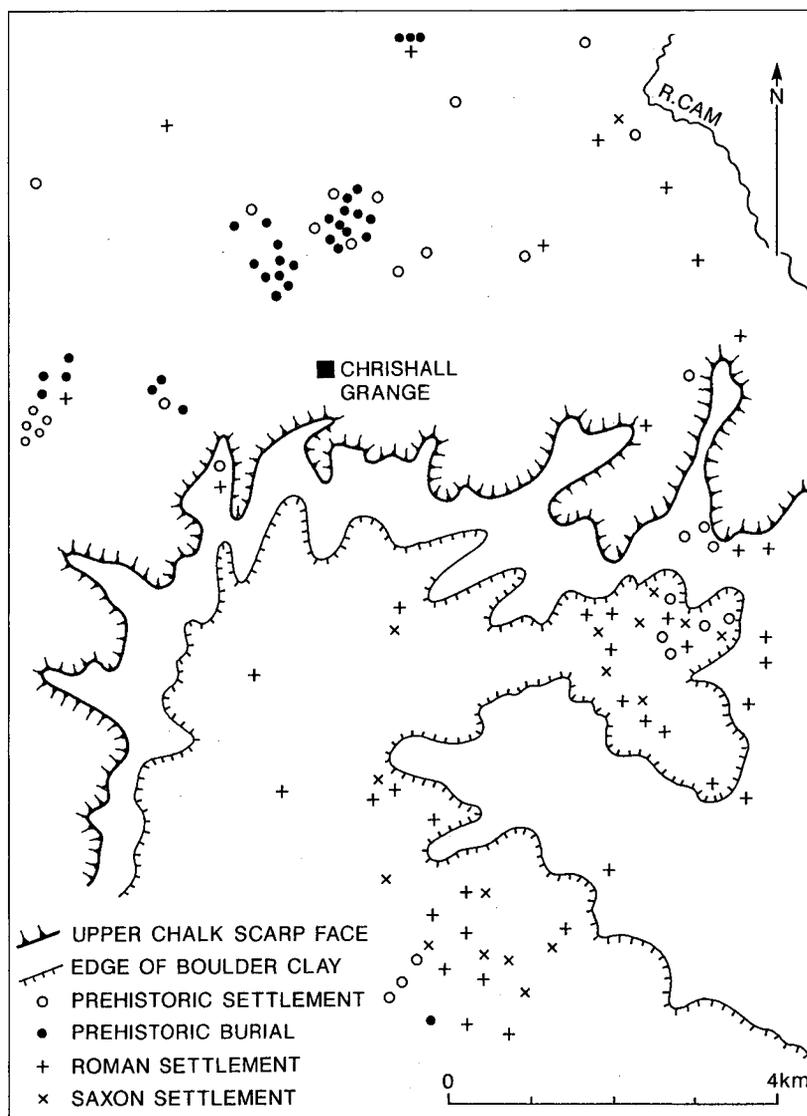


Figure 14. Chrishall Grange: distribution of prehistoric, Roman and early Saxon settlements.

This is certainly more a reflection of the paucity of modern archaeological work than the actuality. Early Saxon occupation has been found where modern development pressures have led to archaeological intervention as at Duxford village and at nearby Hinxton (Taylor 2002, 55–7; Roberts 2003, 27–8). There is evidence of prehistoric and Roman occupation in the area but this is because material on sites of these periods is more likely to have survived and to have been recognised than any of Saxon date. However, there is some indirect evidence, unsatisfactory although it may be, that might at least encourage future scholars to look for material that would establish the origin of Chrishall Grange. The first relates to recent archaeological work elsewhere in Cambridgeshire. The pressures of modern development in the county, one of the fastest growing areas in England, have led to an explosion of archaeological investigation, the results of which could not have been conceived of only a few years ago. Extensive areas of occupation in prehistoric,

Roman and Saxon times have been discovered, not only on the gravel areas along the river valleys, but on the hitherto empty Boulder Clay land and, especially relevant here, the chalk downlands in the south of the county. Until recently the land around Chrishall Grange was one of the areas that had little evidence of prehistoric and Roman occupation. A large number of Bronze Age burial mounds had been recorded, mostly to the north of the Grange in Thriplow and Fowlmere. A Roman corn-drying oven was excavated in the 19th century in Heydon, a Roman burial was found at Valance Farm in Ickleton and Roman pottery was known from two places in the latter parish, both on the chalklands (Fox 1923, maps II–IV; Taylor 1997, 72).

Recent work has changed this picture. Iron Age material has been discovered and Mesolithic and Bronze Age activity has been noted to the west and north-west in Heydon parish, while to the north-east in Duxford, two areas of Neolithic occupation,

Bronze Age material and a Roman field system have been discovered. At Pepperton Hill, 3km north-east of the Grange, an Iron Age settlement and an early, perhaps military Roman site has been found. In Ickleton scatters of Roman pottery some 2km to 3km east of Chrishall Grange may be either settlement debris or have resulted from the manuring of fields (Taylor and Evans 1993, 165; Evans *et al* 1996, 175, 179, 184; Taylor 1997, 40, 71, 73; Lewis 2002, 146). Of particular note is the discovery of Roman pottery in ditches underlying the headlands of the medieval open fields in Duxford, suggesting a continuity of agriculture there (Taylor and Fowler 1978).

The second piece of indirect evidence for early occupation in the area is the work carried out by Williamson on the claylands and chalk to the south of the Grange, in Chrishall, Elmdon, Langley, Strehall and Wendons Ambo parishes (Williamson 1986). During detailed field walking, Williamson identified large numbers of prehistoric, Roman and early Saxon settlements where previous workers had recorded nothing but a single burial mound and three Roman sites (Murray 2001). Given that a large proportion of the area investigated by Williamson was under pasture, woodland or built over, what was found is likely to be the minimum pattern and still not reflect the actual density of occupation there.

While none of this archaeological evidence proves that Chrishall Grange is of prehistoric or Roman origin, it places it in its overall landscape context. For, as elsewhere over much of East Anglia and beyond, it is clear that the modern, and indeed medieval, landscape of the Grange is and was more empty than it was in prehistoric and Roman times. Exactly how the Grange fits into this ancient landscape is still not clear, but fit it almost certainly does. Much further work is necessary before any conclusions can be reached.

Conclusions

This analysis of the landscapes of Chrishall Grange is the story of its inhabitants' reactions to social, economic, political and technical changes. It is also a story of continuity of settlement sites and of land use. One particularly telling example of this continuity is in the land of Chrishall Grange that lay in Fowlmere parish. The 60 acres that it consisted of in the late 18th century is identical in area to the assessment of half a hide in 1086. The continuity of the whole site, its buildings, owners, land and organisations is nowhere better illustrated than in the story that the writer was told by the sister of the last farmer who lived there. Soon after he purchased Chrishall Grange in 1970 he was informed that, as a result of owning a small area of land on the farm, he was responsible for the upkeep of the chancel of Chrishall Church. To avoid this continuing duty, he sold two cottages on the farm and gave the proceeds to the church. Neither he, nor the church realised that the responsibility that he had finally removed from the estate had begun in 1068 with the grant by Engelric of Chrishall Church, and land

at the Grange for its upkeep, to St Martin-le-Grand in London.

Both of these examples illustrate how old the English landscape really is and how much of it we still fail to appreciate. In this, the fiftieth year since the great WG Hoskins first published *The Making of the English Landscape* it is perhaps worth quoting one of his remarks therein. 'There is no part of England, however unpromising it may appear at first sight, that is not full of questions for those who have a sense of the past' (Hoskins 1955, 14). Few places illustrate this better than Chrishall Grange.

Acknowledgements

Miss B Litchfield gave the writer much information on the recent history of Chrishall Grange while Mr and Mrs S Thorley allowed him access to the remaining farm buildings there. Mr D Dymond jogged his failing memory of Rymer. He is grateful to all of them. The drawings are by Phillip Judge.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society is grateful to the Council for British Archaeology for a grant towards the publication of this article

Bibliography

- Baker, J 1824 *Map of Cambridgeshire*
 Bristow, M nd *A Short Guide to Ickleton*
Calendar Charter Rolls 1903 vol 1 Henry III (1226–57) London HMSO
Calendar Patent Rolls 1907 vol 2 Henry VI (1429–36) London HMSO
Calendar Patent Rolls 1924 vol 1 Edward VI (1547–48) London HMSO
Calendar Patent Rolls 1925 vol 3 Edward VI (1549–51) London HMSO
Calendar Patent Rolls 2002, Lists and Indexes Society 294, no 310
 Cockayne, GEC 1916 *The Complete Peerage* vol 4 London St Catherine's Press
 Cockayne, GEC 1926 *The Complete Peerage* vol 6 London St Catherine's Press
 Cockayne, GEC 1932 *The Complete Peerage* vol 8 London St Catherine's Press
 Cockayne, GEC 1998 *The Complete Peerage* vol 14 London Sutton
 Curia Regis Rolls 1961 vol 14 (1230–32) London HMSO
 Dugdale, W 1825 *Monasticon Anglicanum*. London
 Dymond, DP 1968 'The Suffolk Landscape' in Munby, L (ed) *East Anglian Studies: 17–47*. Cambridge Heffers
 Everson, PL Taylor, CC and Dunn, CJ 1991 *Change and Continuity*. London HMSO
 Electoral Roll 2004 Cambridgeshire County Council
 Evans, C, Lucas, G, Malim, T, Reynolds, T and Way, T 1996 *Fieldwork in Cambridgeshire 1996–7. PCAS 85: 171–88*
 Foss, E 1848 *The Judges of England*. vol 1, 264–7 London
 Fox, C 1923 *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*. Cambridge University Press
 Fryde, EB, Greenway, DE, Porter, S and Roy, I 1986 *Handbook of British Chronology*. Cambridge University Press

- Geological Survey 1964 1 inch map sheet 205
- Hall, J and Strachan, D 2001 The Precinct and Buildings of Tilty Abbey. *Essex Archaeology and History* 32: 198–208
- Hart, CR 1966 *The Early Charters of Eastern England*. Leicester University Press
- Hoskins, WG 1955 *The Making of the English Landscape*. London Hodder and Stoughton
- Jonas, S 1847 On the farming of Cambridgeshire. *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society* 7: 35–77
- Kain, R and Mead, WR 1977 Ridge and Furrow in Cambridgeshire. *PCAS* 67: 131–7
- Kelly 1847–1937 *Directories of Cambridgeshire*. London
- Kelly 1859–1937 *Directories of Essex*. London
- Kempe, AJ 1825 *A Historical Note of the Collegiate Church of St Martin-le-Grand*. London
- LFPD *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic* (1903) *Henry VIII vol 19 pt 1*, 1544. London HMSO
- Lewis, C, Mitchel Fox, P and Dyer, C 1997 *Village Hamlet and Field*. Manchester University Press
- Lewis, H 2002 Fieldwork in Cambridgeshire 2001. *PCAS* 91:141–9
- Morant, P 1768 *History and Antiquities of Essex*. vol 2 London
- Munby, J 1982 *Domesday Book, Hampshire*. Chichester Phillimore
- Murray, J 2001 Archaeological Investigations at Chiswick Hall, Chrishall. *Essex Archaeology and History* 32: 244–5
- OS (Ordnance Survey) 1839 1st ed 1-inch Sheet 47
- OS 1886 1st ed 1: 10560 plan, Cambridgeshire, Sheet LIX NW and SW
- Platt, C 1969 *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England*. London Macmillan
- RAF 1946 Vertical Air Photographs 106 G/UK, 1636, 1407–8, 3415–6, 4162–3
- RCHME Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (1916) *Essex*. vol I London HMSO
- Roach Smith, C 1849 Recent Discoveries made in Ickleton and Chesterford by the Hon. RC Neville. *J British Archaeological Association* 4: 356–78
- Roberts, J 2003 Duxford, Hinxton Road. *PCAS* 92: 217–8
- Roberts, BK and Wrathmell, S 2000 *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*. London English Heritage
- Roberts, BK and Wrathmell S 2002 *Region and Place*. London English Heritage
- Rotuli Hundredorum* 1818 vol 2 London Record Commission
- Round, JH 1899 The Heirs of Richard De Lucy. *The Genealogist* ns 15: 129–37
- Round, JH 1900 The Honour of Ongar. *Trans Essex Archaeological Society* ns 7: 142–52
- Rumble, A (ed) 1981 *Domesday Book: Cambridgeshire*. Chichester Phillimore
- Rumble, A (ed) 1983 *Domesday Book: Essex*. Chichester Phillimore
- Saffron Walden and District Year Book 1888–1950*. Saffron Walden
- Stenton, FM 1955 *Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford University Press
- Stone, L and Stone, JCF 1984 *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880*. Oxford University Press
- Taxatio Ecclesiastica*. 1291 1802 London Record Commission
- Taylor, A 1997 *Archaeology of Cambridgeshire*. vol 1 Cambridgeshire County Council
- Taylor, A and Evans, C 1993 Fieldwork in Cambridgeshire. *PCAS* 81: 163–71
- Taylor, C 1975 *Fields in the English Landscape*. London Dent
- Taylor, C 2002 The View from the Frontier. *Landscape History* 24: 53–72
- Taylor, C and Fowler, PJ 1978 'Roman Fields into Medieval Furlongs' in HC Bowen and PJ Fowler (eds) *Early Land Allotment in the British Isles* BAR 48: 159–62
- Thorne, C and Thorne, F (eds) 1979 *Domesday Book: Wiltshire*. Chichester Phillimore
- Vancouver, C 1794 *General View of the Agriculture of Cambridgeshire*. London Board of Agriculture
- VCH (Victoria County History) 1907 *Essex*. vol 2 London Constable
- VCH 1909 *London*. vol 1 London Constable
- VCH 1973 *Cambridgeshire*. vol 5 Oxford University Press
- VCH 1978 *Cambridgeshire*. vol 6 Oxford University Press
- VCH 1982 *Cambridgeshire*. vol 8 Oxford University Press
- VCH 1989 *Cambridgeshire*. vol 9 Oxford University Press
- White, W 1849 and 1863 *Directory of Essex*. London
- Williamson, T 1986 The Development of Settlement in North-West Essex. *Essex Archaeology and History* 17: 120–32
- Wormel, P 2002 *Essex Farming 1900–2000*. Colchester Adelston Books



Plate 6. The view north across the landscape of Chrishall Grange in 2005. The red roof of the farm house is just visible through the trees at centre right.



Plate 7. The view down what was the track to the principal farm house, now simply a private residence (2005). Contrast with the view in Figure 7.

Proceedings Volume XCIV, 2005

Price £12.50 for members, £14.50 for non-members

Contents

Neolithic and Beaker pits and a Bronze Age landscape at Fenstanton, Cambridgeshire Andy Chapman, Simon Carlyle and David Leigh	5
A Romano-British rural site at Eaton Socon, Cambridgeshire Catriona Gibson	21
Evaluation, survey and excavation at Wandlebury Ringwork, Cambridgeshire, 1994–7: Part II, The Iron Age Pottery Leo Webley	39
Quy Water, Little Wilbraham River and the Fleam Dyke William Potts	47
The Manor of Hintona: the origins and development of Church End, Cherry Hinton Craig Cessford with Alison Dickens	51
Castle Hill, Cambridge: excavation of Saxon, medieval and post-medieval deposits, Saxon execution site and a medieval coinhoard Craig Cessford with Alison Dickens	73
Medieval deposits and a cockpit at St Ives, Cambridgeshire Kate Nicholson	103
Excavation of medieval burials associated with St Neots Priory Mary Alexander and Elizabeth Shepherd Popescu	117
Chrishall Grange, Fowlmere: a settlement in eight landscapes Christopher Taylor	127
Letters from Mary Yorke, the wife of the Bishop of Ely 1781–1808 Anthea Jones	147
The Enclosure of Cambridge St Giles: Cambridge University and the Parliamentary Act of 1802 Philomena Guillebaud	185
Cambridge New Town – A Victorian Microcosm Peter Bryan and Nick Wise	199
Fieldwork in Cambridgeshire 2004 Sarah Poppy	217
Reviews Alison Taylor and Tony Kirby	225
<i>Index</i>	227
<i>Abbreviations</i>	233
Recent Accessions to the Cambridgeshire Collection Chris Jakes	235
Spring Conference, 12 March 2005: <i>Garden History and Archaeology in East Anglia</i>	241
THE CONDUIT: local history and archaeology organisations, societies and events Andrew Westwood-Bate	245