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(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

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The 'Age of the Windmill' in the Haddenham Level

N James

The Haddenham Level accounts are well known as a rare source for the history of local fen engineering in the mid 1700s. The range of data in them is broader than has been recognized: implications for economic, social and cultural history are explored. Nor are the accounts isolated: they can be related to the Bedford Level Corporation's archive. Collating these sources shows that, at first, the devolution of responsibility to internal drainage boards was gradual. The relation between regional history and local history is discussed.

'Milling is a lovely job, when the wind is strong, and regular' (Marshall 1967: 73)

H C Darby's definitive history of the draining of the Fens (1956; 1983) is consistently and very effectively focused at the regional level. That holds even for the eighteenth century, when the administration of draining and flood defence progressively gave way to local management. The first district to obtain statutory authority for local management was the Haddenham Level, in 1727. Darby describes the devolution as a simple transfer of local responsibility from the regional authority of the Bedford Level Corporation to groups of farmers in their own fens. Even as the Corporation became weaker, the latter were confident, at first, that they could drain their fields into the rivers, which the Corporation did still control. The main problem was that the better the fields were drained the more their surfaces wasted, leaving them ever lower than the rivers crossing the Fens. The Corporation's work is documented in its order books, accounts and journals, but a basic problem in trying to understand the period from soon after 1720 to about 1930 is that little survives of the local records.

With hindsight, it is easy to regard the devolution as a mistake. Eventually, it became clear that the best way for farmers to preserve the bountiful inland peat districts of the Bedford Level and further north was to manage them as a single region, as originally intended in the mid 1600s. Less cautious than Darby, Summers (1976: 115) branded the century from 1727 on as an ironic 'triumph of localism'. Perhaps because

the technology was superseded, the period has been largely neglected by historians since, but such evidence as does survive for the struggle of that century deserves attention for two reasons.

Evidence

First, the method of draining that prevailed from the late 1600s to the second quarter of the 1800s is distinctive. Prof. Darby saw that clearly, dubbing the eighteenth century 'the Age of the Windmill' (Darby 1956: 117), partly in order to emphasise the role of the steam engines which eventually superseded wind power. He was delighted by the image of the grand, creaking wind-driven pumps—always known as windmills—that proliferated across most of the peat Fens (Fig. 1).¹

As a historian of technology in particular, it fascinated R L Hills even more. He showed how the sites of wind pumps recorded in archives and on historic maps can be recognized as archaeological scatters of brick and nails and he reported a section cut through one drainage channel (Hills 1966: 122). The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (1972) went on to record several earthworks which reveal how the pumps gathered water and discharged it. The Royal Commission showed how the records of local drainage authorities can clarify the topography and archaeology. The method of working from documentary evidence to remains on the ground was used more recently in the Haddenham Level with similar results (Finney *et al.* 1997).

Dr Hills then drew attention to a set of accounts that record aspects of how the Haddenham Level Commission managed its fens in 1739–45 (Hills 1967: 29, 125; Hills 2003: 41, 151). These documents preserve a grain of technical detail not to be found in the minutes examined by the Royal Commission. Hills's brief, selective but effective analysis remains the sole substantial publication.

Have historians assumed that they are unique for the mid 1700s? It is sometimes pointed out that the very first of the modern commissions established



Figure 1. Drainage mill and wheel, from W H Wheeler 1868 A history of the Fens of south Lincolnshire.

under Parliamentary authority was for Waldersea, in 1607 (Darby 1956: 34), but Haddenham's provisions, 120 years later (13 Geo. I c. 18), were the precedent, up to the later 1800s, for dividing the rest of the fens into small districts run by autonomous commissions or boards comprising the principal landowners. Considering the difficulty that much larger institutions have in maintaining archives of their activities, it is not entirely surprising that few of the boards' records survive. A telling exception are the archives held by Archer and Archer, clerks to eight boards, but their records are only as good as the documents that they inherited in the first place.

The Haddenham accounts are not the only records of their kind. It has transpired, partly from regional records also to be considered here and partly from evidence of the North Level to be published elsewhere, that there are other documents which refer to contemporary work on the Fens. That the accounts are not unique makes it the more important to describe them more fully.

For studying the Age of the Windmill, archives and archaeology can usually be complemented by two other sources of evidence. For the research reported here, both parish records and manorial records were sampled briefly in order to assess the feasibility of producing a more rounded view of the scene. The early newspapers too reveal technical details and, indeed, hints of context not always recorded elsewhere (Finney *et al.* 1997; James 2006).

However, advertisements and notices about fen engineering did not appear until the 1760s, about ten years later than the Haddenham accounts.

The second reason for studying the Age of the Windmill in more detail is that the local sources qualify the regional history and may even seem to contradict it. How does the particular relate to the general? Local history brings forth the farmers and the engineers as figures less passive than they appear by implication from Summers or Darby (James 1999: 89). This is a topical issue for historians, but here it will be recommended that the paradox can be resolved, in the first place, by treating it as a problem of evidence rather than one of social theory.

Beyond technology

In emphasising, for their different reasons, the technology of pumping, neither Hills nor Darby took a sufficiently broad view of the method of draining. Of the two, Darby's was more systematic, and here follows his sole account of it (Darby 1956: 121; repeated with little alteration in his book of 1983).

The smaller dykes within a district emptied into a main drain. Here a mill was created to transfer water from this district ... into the river ... The mills themselves were, ordinarily, made with four sails ... Thus the whole of the Bedford Level came to consist entirely of small districts, each dependant for its

internal drainage upon small cuts leading to a central drain, which, in turn, discharged its water by pumping into one of the major arterial cuts.

Remaining to be described more fully is that pattern of cuts and flood defences with which the pumps worked as a complementary part of the technology. To maintain the fens in the Age of the Windmill demanded attention to three distinct but related features:

- (i) drains or dykes were cut and kept flowing;
- (ii) flood defence banks were built and maintained around the fens—'banking';
- (iii) water had to be raised ever higher into the rivers by 'milling' as the surface of the fens wasted away.

Thus there was a distinct set of tasks and skills that depended on an understanding of the earth and the water. Some of the tasks may have been more or less full-time or seasonal. Certain cultural implications are explored in a genre of popular literature about 'fen characters' (most notably, Marshall 1967). The Haddenham accounts reveal the eighteenth century pattern through both positive evidence and substantial negative evidence. Hills overlooked the latter, presumably out of his interest in the machinery.

More recently, there have been academic attempts to document local knowledge of landscapes. Thus, Ingold (2000: 315) distinguishes between technology, 'knowledge of ... principles of mechanical functioning ... independent ... of its human carriers and of the specific contexts of its application', and 'technique', 'embedded in ... experience'. Whyte (2009) has tried

to retrieve the local perspective in Early Modern Norfolk. The distinctive landscape and culture of the Fens is a good case too. Except that it is now powered by electricity, the principles of engineering remain the same as in the Age of the Windmill, but while it will be shown here that much of the work then must have been a matter of 'technique', today's 'technology' requires very few hands. The accounts imply a different experience of the Haddenham Level.

The purpose of the present contribution is to consider the accounts with an eye to social history as well as the engineering. The intention is not to describe every task but to assess the triple model of the engineering in general and the implications for distinct livelihoods.

The accounts

The Level comprises the south-west corner of the South Level, between Earith, where the Great Ouse enters the Fens, and the Isle of Ely. As defined originally, it comprised some 6,650 acres (2,270ha.; it is now about 7,750 acres). To east and north, it is bounded by the highest part of the Isle of Ely, which may have produced more run-off than most other districts had to cope with; and its west and south sides are bounded by the Hundred Foot River and Old West River, respectively, main drains which remained under the Bedford Level Corporation's management (Fig. 2). In 1739–45, the north bank of the Old West

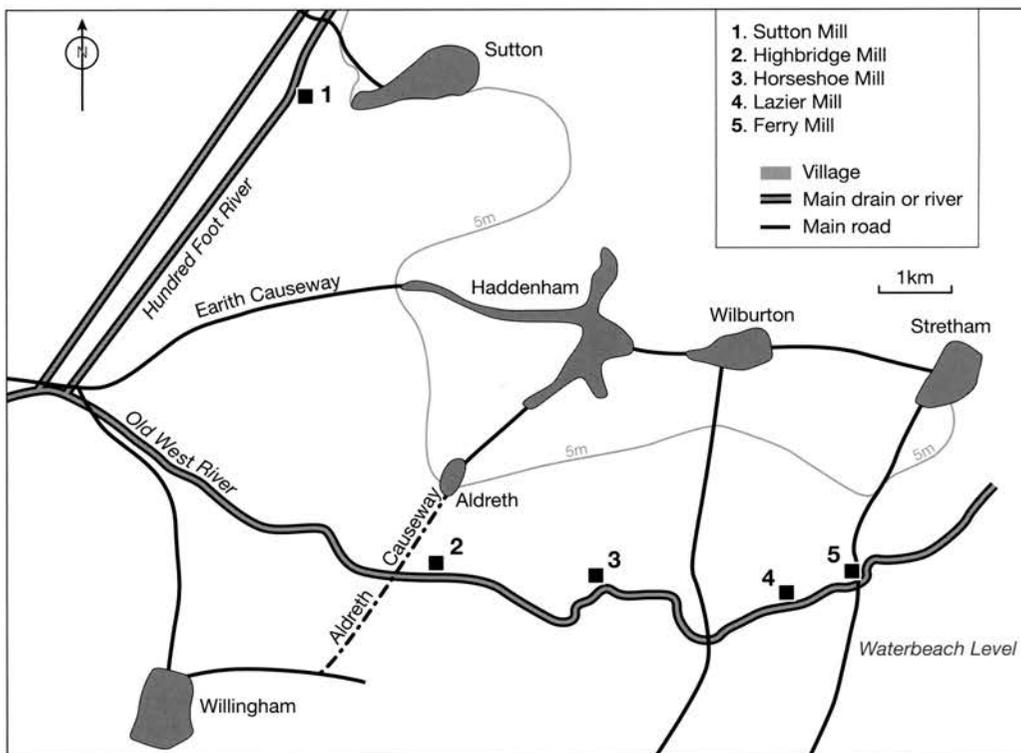


Figure 2. The Haddenham Level, marking the sites of the wind pumps (1739–45; adapted from Finney et al. 1997 Fig. 1).

from Earith to the Aldreth Causeway remained outside the Haddenham Level Commission's area.

The 'Haddenham Level Accompts' are the work of 'Robert Read Receiver and Expenditor'. They cover 1739–41 and 1743–5. But for a single set of minutes from a meeting in 1750, kept with the accounts, they are the only records known of the Haddenham Commission earlier than the 1900s. They survive by virtue of the liberty vested in the monastery and cathedral of Ely until 1836. The Commission's founding statute stipulates that accounts were to be approved at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions there in alternate years. Why, indeed, do only two of these documents remain, even under the care of the diocese? They are now among the Ely Diocesan Records, at the University of Cambridge, kept with other documents on sewers and draining. The account for 1739–41 is catalogued as A8/46 and the one for 1743–5 is A8/47. Item 47 includes the minutes of 1750 and also three sets of the Manea Commission's minutes from 1749 to 1752.

In conformity to the expected model, the statute envisaged 'Cuts, Drains, Damms, and Outlets ... and ... Works and Engines for draining and conveying the Waters from the same', but the emphasis in the accounts is on the 'Engines'. Hills showed that the accounts distinguish five windmills, normally run by two men at a time, each usually paid a shilling a day, probably the normal rate for unskilled or semi-skilled work in Cambridgeshire during the mid 1700s (Gilboy 1934: 220). During the harvest season, when work at the mills was not usually needed, the rate was two shillings. Hills (2003: 151) also considered the mills' efficiency as pumps (good, he remarks, compared to slightly later mills elsewhere but that chronology may be critical: conditions deteriorated steadily (James 2006)).

Some of the sums, below, are conservative. Where, in a few cases, payment is listed for more than one kind of work or commodity without specifying the proportions, either the fractions are estimated or, more often, the whole sum is ignored. On 5 June 1745, for example, 'John Dann and partners' were paid 'for Cleaning the Tunnels, Stopping the mole holes in the west River Bank, and other jobs'. That range of skills is of the greatest interest but the entry cannot be used to distinguish expenditure on banking from the cost of the other tasks.

Budget

The accounts show that the biggest source of income was the rates levied on owners in the Level, which came to slightly more than £348 in each of the four years covered. That is much less than to be expected from the rate of a shilling and sixpence per acre set by the statute. Yet, year by year, the Commission did manage to balance its books (Table 1). The accounts do not cover the Commission's capital. The opening balances were £180-10-2 in 1739 and £246-10-2¼ in 1743.

Table 1. Account totals (£-s-d).

	1739–41	1743–5
Income	1082-9-1	1103-1-4¼
Expenditure	754-8-4¾	1089-5-7
Balance	328-0-8¾	13-15-9¼

Since Mr Read described and dated the items of expenditure, the costs can be distinguished year by year and from season to season. There was little expenditure on banking. Perhaps that was because all of the Level's downstream boundaries are along main drains in the charge of the Bedford Corporation. Nor was anything spent on cutting new drains. On the other hand, each year did incur bills for milling and upkeep of the pumps and their intakes and outlets, and for supplying materials. In 1739-41, the Commission spent £60-11-1 on timber, in 1743-5, £38-1-8. There was peat to buy too, a perquisite for the 'millers' (fuel). Supply, in turn, entailed the cost of carrying, by cart or boat. Expenditure fluctuated greatly (Table 2)

Table 2. Total expenditure.

Expenditure	£	s	d
2 October 1739 – 1 October 1740	294	5	11
4 October 1740 – 28 September 1741	460	2	5¾
30 September 1743 – 24 September 1744	421	2	5½
2 October 1744 – 28 September 1745	668	3	1½

One reason for the variation is financial. In the course of 1739-41, the Commission paid Mrs Grace Browne £135 of interest on a loan. In 1743, six months of interest and return to her of 'part of the principal' came to £322-10-0 and, a year later, they paid £200 of 'Security' on the loan.

Year by year, the costs of engineering varied sharply (Fig. 3). In principle, that could be a function of both planning and weather: periodic projects of development; and seasons wet or dry. For development, the only direct evidence would be the accounts themselves, which show no capital investment. For the weather, there is information on Britain in general (Stratton & Houghton Brown 1978: 74-6). Completing 'Another wet year', the winter of 1739-40 set in with nine weeks of severe frost from Christmas Eve. The following winter was notoriously cold, starting with heavy frost in October. 1741 was very dry. Winter 1744 was harsh and protracted and then heavy rainfall caused floods in late autumn. 1745 brought 'Excessive rain in spring and summer'. Indeed, the Commission spent £25-18-0 on milling in May 1745; but the evidence for other correlations is ambiguous.

There is a lot of detail among the accounts. Some of it helps to specify the costs. While, for instance, other than clerical fees, nearly all the work was paid at the standard rates *per diem*, certain tasks were undertak-

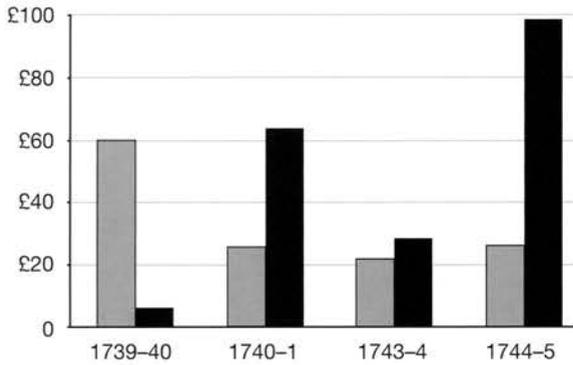


Figure 3. Expenditure on drains (grey) and milling (black).

en as piece work. In September 1739, for example, men were paid 4½d or 5d per pole for 'Dyking out', and, in August 1740, at 6d. Some of the supplementary detail provides comment on general conditions too. In 1740, for example, the Commission sold 'an old Horse Bridge' for two shillings and was paid the same 'for Lime ... Left when the Ferry Mill Tunnel and waterway was Repaired'. That, in August 1740, 'Scouring out' was needed 'where the Banks were Slipt and Troden in' seems to confirm that herding remained important. There are helpful details of topography as well, such as the note that, in October 1740, 'Robert Feast and partners' were paid 'for Dikeing out ye drain from Sutton Division Ditch to Sutton Mill being three Hundred and Eighty poles'.

In regard to the seasonal distribution of tasks, the picture is somewhat imprecise in as much as certain payments were deferred and not all entries necessarily specify exactly when a given job was performed. The principles are clear, however: milling was normally needed during the wetter months of winter; and the main season for work in the drains was during the usually drier months of summer and early autumn (Fig. 4).

It is striking that only in 1744-5 did the Commission pay for maintaining banks (but there is other evidence that it had worked on banking earlier in 1739; see below); and 1745 was the only year in which it paid a mole-catcher (moles were thought to weaken the flood defence banks). Nor do the accounts show any expenditure at all on cutting drains or bringing clay for banking.

The archive of the Bedford Level Corporation (at the Cambridgeshire Archives) explains why these costs did not arise. Among several other entries, the journal of William Cole, Deputy Surveyor of the South Level, records, for 21 November 1738 and 25 October 1739, that he supervised work in the Haddenham Level.² The Corporation's accounts confirm, among other costs there, that it paid 'To repair Haddenham Level Banks' (and bridges within the Level) in 1739 and again in 1741.³ In March 1743, John Huckle worked on bridges in the Level and, in December 1746, drains were deepened.⁴ As for moles, the accounts for 1739-40 include payments for hundreds, apparently caught

along the southern part of the South Level Barrier Bank by the Hundred Foot River.⁵

Corporation and Commission cooperated closely. For 8 October 1746, Cole recorded that he surveyd the Worke in haddenham Levell, with ye commissn of that Levell, who proposd to lay out 100£ on the Banks of that levell, if wee would spare them some materials, they would provide the rest ... wee lent them 2 Gangs ...⁶

However, not all of the Commission's work was up to scratch. On 22 March 1739, he

observed that several persons employd ... in cradging the Bank ... had very much lowerd & weakend the banks in taking the Earth of the top of them which is often the occasion of Gulls & forwardd them from doing any more.²

Cooperation extended to finance too. The Corporation paid back a loan of £20 in February 1741.

The accounts are systematic and detailed. 'R Read' was the Commission's Clerk in 1771 (*Cambridge Chronicle* 25 May p 3). It may well have been the same Read (see below). By implication, some thirty years of precious information has been lost.

Livelihoods

Did farming in the Black Fens depend on a distinct set of skills during the Age of the Windmill? Were there men who understood several of them, who might, thus, have had a broad knowledge of how the landscape was maintained? Did the technology provide distinct livelihoods, whether by virtue of working at a range of the tasks or of specializing in only one? Since the accounts record the Commission's disburse-

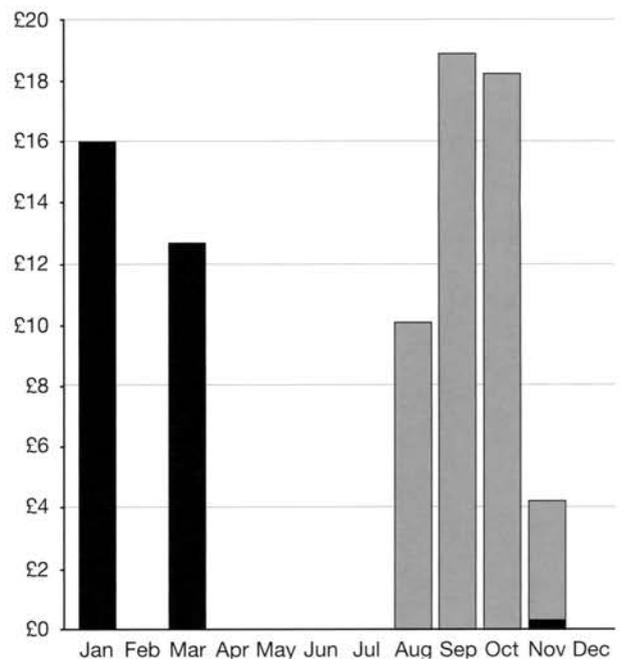


Figure 4. Haddenham Level expenditure in 1740: milling (black); drains (grey).

ments to each payee for specified work or supplies, these questions can, perhaps, be answered.

In 1743–5, there were payments for five distinct tasks: clearing drains; banking; building bridges and other features; millwrights' work; and milling. There were payments to 14 men for milling, eight for wright work and seven for work in the drains. A first step in assessing the likelihood that this regime created specializations is to see how many were paid for only one of the tasks (Table 3): about half of those working in the drains, at milling or helping to maintain the mills were paid for those respective tasks only; and the two bankers worked only on the banks. On the other hand, about half of those working in the drains or as millwrights also worked as millers. One or two worked at all three tasks. John Dann's pay in June 1745 (above) implies familiarity with a range of related skills.

Table 3. Payees by selected skill 1743–5.

	Total	Solely	Drains	Millwrights	Millers
Drains	7	4	–	1	3
Banks	2	2			
Bridges etc.	1	1			
Millwrights	8	4	1	–	4
Millers	14	8	3	4	–

The Commission did not create full-time jobs in any one of these skills, but during the winter, when most of the milling was needed, several men could make almost the equivalent of full-time wages. That can be seen on the assumption that, at a shilling a day, full-time work for the whole season would have earned a labourer a bit less than £4. Out of ten payees in winter 1740–1, six made more than 75% of that total (Table 4; listing the men in the order given). The millers tended to work in pairs. Stephen Feast appears to be an exception. He made considerably more than the others but his pay included a proportion (not fully specified) for work on mill sails during the earlier part of the winter, and for two weeks he was paid

Table 4. Milling, December 1740 to March 1741 (£-s-d).

Mill	Sutton	Highbridge	Horseshoe	Lazier	Ferry
J Newill		3-5-0			
J Dann					3-5-0
J Frohock				3-1-0	
J Walsham			3-1-0		
D Cockell		3-1-0			
J Denton			3-1-0		
T Levitt				3-1-0	
J Huckell				1-5-0	2-1-0
S Feast	4-9-11				

ten shillings a week in stead of the normal six. Hills (2003: 41) suggests that that included an allowance for a helper. Feast was at the remoter Sutton mill, but all except one of the others too worked at only one site, and the exception, John Huckell, worked at two just a few hundred yards apart. If they were unfamiliar before, these men came to know particular fens well.

A few of those who worked at various of the Commission's jobs could sometimes have relied on them in large part. Consider Thomas Levitt's earnings from milling in 1743–5 relative to the maximum annual income of £15 or £16 for full-time labour at a shilling a day (Fig. 5). In May 1744, he was paid £2-1-0 for six weeks and two days but when that stint began is not noted. Part of what he earned in the next month was shared with others. In the same month, he was paid £6-12-9½ for a gang of unknown size that had worked at clearing drains of vegetation. In January, March and May 1745, he made £7-11-0, working alongside Thomas Dison, who was paid the same. In July and September, that year, he was paid at the two shilling rate. The records of the Bedford Level Corporation show that, for its part, it kept two labourers between Earith and Ely on a practically full-time basis.

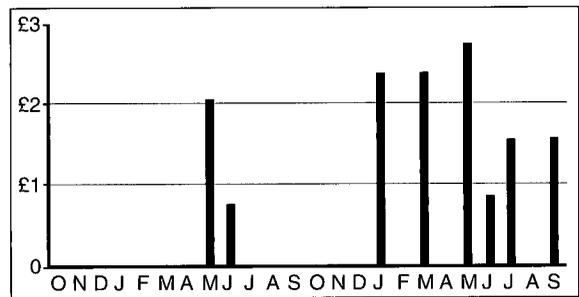


Figure 5. Thomas Levitt's wages for milling from October 1743 to September 1745.

By themselves, the respective records of the Commission and the Corporation do not necessarily prove the feasibility of relying on the tasks of draining and flood defence: some men worked for both organizations. In May 1744, for example, the Commission paid Alexander Merry £3-2-0 for work along the drains (including four shillings shared with another) and then paid him five shillings more for the same sort of work in the September. In 1743, the Corporation had paid him, as a gang leader, all of £87-4-4 for 'harthing and Drawing ... Gravell work ... Blackwork ... cutting the Bank Draining the River and taking up Dams' along the Old West River; it must have been a big gang.⁷

Others benefited from the Commission in various ways. For 'Sundry Goods', Mary Towerson (wife, perhaps, of Thomas, one of the original Commissioners appointed by the statute) was paid £23-16-6 in 1739 and Robert Pigott £7-18-10½ in 1740. In 1739–41, Edward Cannum was paid £1-18-6 for three sales of

line for sails and tailtree ropes. Amongst other income from the Commission, Thomas Mountford, ironmonger, was paid £30-6-8½ in August 1740; and, that year too, Francis Dickins was paid £2-2-16 for 3,500 'white Bricks' (see Finney *et al.* 1997: 159–62). In September 1741, Daniel Peacock sold 'grease, Goom, and oyl'. Stephen Feast supplied grease too (1741). There were the peat sellers. Then there were the carters, such as George Dewey, carrying 'one Back, Two Whips, and other things from Haddenham to Stretham Ferry' in 1739; or Mark Bidwell, in 1741, taking 'posts and Rails from Haddenham to Highbridge Mill to fence in the Hill'. Such entries help to show how the mills were built and how they worked. There are glimpses of the commissioners as well: expenses for their meeting of October 1739 included 'an Bottle of wine and firing' and 'Dinner, Ale, and wine' for seven.

In the pursuit of local history, other sources can be exploited to cast a little more light on the sociology and economy. The antiquary, William Cole, had a tenant named John Huckle who knew something himself of the recent history. (See Wells 1953: 145, and see Table 4: that Huckell's name was John too, working less than two miles from Cole's property; no doubt, this is the same man that worked for Cole's namesake in 1743.) Haddenham's Register of Burials (searched for 1746–82) provides some final context, although the transcript gives no information on status. Edward Cannum is listed in 1746, Ambrose Uffindell in both 1747 and 1763 (variant spellings of the surname; father and son, perhaps, but with no clue as to which was the Commission's banking gang leader paid in 1739), Thomas Dison in 1749 and Daniel 'Cockle' in 1750 (see Table 4). Robert Read (Sr) was buried in 1782. Sutton's register records burials of Stephen Feast in 1745 and 1749 (cousins, no doubt) and Robert Feast Jr in 1757. Manorial records too refer to some of the people recorded in the Commission's accounts. The Haddenham manor's Court Book (1734–43) shows that Cannum was a juror of the court. It also mentions (p138) John Denton (Table 4) as the holder of four acres in Gall Fen, to the other side of Aldreth.⁸ That detail can be explained, in turn, by the Bedford Level Decrees, which record awards of four acres in Gall Fen to each of three Dentons in 1667 (and two Danns in 1666; James 2006: 457).⁹ Denton (and perhaps John Dann) must have known the Level since childhood.

Discussion and conclusions

The complement between the Haddenham Commission's accounts and the records of the Bedford Level Corporation shows that, at first, the devolution of responsibility was more in respect of draining than of flood defence. The Corporation's work in the Haddenham Level was noticed earlier (James 2006: 458) but its wider significance for the technological history of the Bedford Level was not recognized until the Commission's accounts were studied more carefully. The Commission's early his-

tory shows a division of labour with the Corporation not characteristic later, when, partly, no doubt, owing to the Corporation's declining capacities, a more comprehensive view of the engineering seems to have developed even as the need for flood defence increased (James 2006: 458).

The statute envisaged 'proper Officers' to manage the engineering but, unlike the Corporation's records, the Haddenham accounts reveal nothing about who made the technical decisions or how they were reached. Since he does not mention a specific colleague, the citation for 1746 in Cole's journal (above) implies that the decisions were the commissioners' own. The only salary listed in their accounts is Read's.

The Commission's emphasis on milling in 1739–45 may have been partly a function of the Level's extensive riparian edges. The geography of the neighbouring district, to the east, the Waterbeach Level, is similar, so that the same pattern of history could be expected there. The local commission there was established in 1741. In general, the findings for Haddenham imply that, across the Black Fens as a whole, the scope of local engineering would have broadened progressively in response both to deteriorating conditions and to the Corporation's decline.

The local sources reveal a labour-intensive technology. Because of how the weather affects the Fens and owing to the soil itself and the water, it required skills of observation and of walking, hauling, grappling, digging and lifting. Whether those skills were learned through the 'jobb' itself or whether, to the contrary, the work demanded men long familiar with this landscape, so long as it depended on comparatively large numbers spending substantial time in or around the fens, the 'experience' and 'knowledge' of the Age of the Windmill must have been distinctive.

Local history complements the regional outline. It helps to expose revealing variations of the general pattern of development. It brings into focus the efforts of a greater range of people, amplifying our understanding of that development. More broadly, it helps to explain the Age, its technology, techniques and culture, on its own deserves rather than treating it as just an interlude. The Haddenham accounts do surely merit more systematic analysis. However, progress depends, in large part, on recovering and studying more of the local archives.

Acknowledgements

Mr Meadows, Keeper of the Ely Diocesan Records, has long indulged my enquiries and musings about the accounts. I am grateful too to his colleagues at the Cambridge University Library and to the staff of the Cambridgeshire Archives for their help; and to Sarah Wroot for help with Figure 1. This paper derives from a contribution to the Society's spring conference in 2009.

Endnotes

1. Delight that he shared with the Society in his lecture in December 1983.
2. Cambridgeshire Archives R.59.31, journals of Wm. Cole, Dy. Surveyor of the South Level (uncatalogued).
3. Cambridgeshire Archives R59.31.19.78, 80.
4. Cambridgeshire Archives R.59.31.7.2(2), R.59.31.7.6.
5. Cambridgeshire Archives R59.31.19.78.
6. Cambridgeshire Archives R59.31.7.6.
7. Cambridgeshire Archives R59.31.19.82 p. 64.
8. Cambridgeshire Archives 305/M34.
9. National Archives C229 Part 3 Bundle 37, Part 5 Bundle 23.

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