

ROMAN BEDFORDSHIRE.¹

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

As might be expected from the smallness of the county the vestiges of Roman remains in Bedfordshire are not very numerous, although some of them are of much interest, in an artistic point of view.

At the time of the Roman invasion by Claudius, A.D. 43, the county was comprised within the territories of the *Catueuchlani*.² Of its history at this period we know nothing, though it must have shared the vicissitudes of the times, along with its neighbours, no doubt suffering severely with them, on the suppression of the Boadicean insurrection.

As in other portions of the kingdom, the first work effected by the conquerors was the making of roads. These, then, let us first consider.

The principal one is the Watling Street which runs through the south-western portion of the county in a direction from south-east to north-west. Entering it from Hertfordshire, at a place called "Market Street," it proceeds north-westwards through the town of Dunstable, at which it is crossed by the "Ickniel Way" running from north-east to south-west. It runs under the large British camp at Maiden Bower, with the adjoining Roman one, past "Kates Hill," and passing to the left of Battlesden and Portgreave, leaves the county about a mile to the south-east of Little Brickhill. On all this part of its course the modern turnpike road runs upon it, a distance of about ten miles.

The second road of importance is the "Ickniel Street," which, after passing through portions of Cambridgeshire

¹Contributed to the Antiquarians Section at the Annual Meeting at Bedford, 1881.

² or *Catvallauni*.

and Hertfordshire on the borders of this county (and passing through a camp called Willbury Hill), enters it for a short distance near Ickleford; then again leaving it and passing through a part of Hertfordshire, re-enters it a little to the south of the camp at Ravensburgh Castle (Herts), and crossing the turnpike road from Luton to Bedford continues on the side of the hills between Great Bramingham and Limberley over Seagrave Marsh, through Dunstable, where it crosses the Watling Street and continues its course south-westerly into Buckinghamshire. The Bishop of Cloyne, speaking of this road in vol. i, p. 25 (Bedfordshire portion) of Lysons's *Magna Britannia*, says "It is by no means so direct in its line as Roman roads generally are; it shews no tendency (where it remains in its primitive state) to pass through Roman towns, nor are such towns found on it, at distances suited to travelling; it does not appear to have been ever raised or paved (the peculiar and infallible mark of the roads constructed by the Romans) and in many parts of its progress it divides itself into several branches, but nearly all parallel to its original course. These reasons added to its name, which is British, give great countenance to the opinion that it was a trackway of the ancient inhabitants," before the Roman conquest, "in its course from the Iceni," the inhabitants of the eastern counties "from whom it took its name."

This, I need hardly say, is the conclusion come to by modern archæologists as to this road. That the Romans improved it and used it for their own purposes is equally certain. The Bishop also says of the point at which it crosses the road from Luton to Bedford, "Here a branch seems to bear to the right, through Great Bramingham and Houghton to the British town of "Maiden Bower." Whether any traces of this branch still survive I am not aware. It is just about one hundred years ago, since the Bishop traced it.

The third road enters the county at its south-eastern corner, near Radwell. The modern road from Baldock to Biggleswade is upon its site, until nearly six hundred yards beyond the forty-fourth milestone, where it turns to the left to pass through Biggleswade, the Roman road keeping straight on. This is close to "Spread Eagle

Farm." The road during this distance has passed close to Astwick, over Topler's Hill and by Stratton.

From the point of divergence, at "Spread Eagle Farm," the Roman road passes on by Sportmead and Stratford to the station at Chesterfield (Sandy.) In this part of its route it is much interfered with by the Great Northern Railway, which in some places trenches upon it. After passing through the station it leaves it at the north-east portion, and leaving "Cæsar's Camp" to the left, passes between "Hawksbury Wood" and "Lord's Wood," along the "Hasell Hedge," past "Waterloo" and "Gibraltar" to the "Low Farm" which it passes through. Beyond this and a little on its left is a "Cold Arbour," and a mile further it crosses the modern road from Gamlingay to St. Neot's at almost right angles, and enters Huntingdonshire, proceeding to Godmanchester. It is still traceable through the whole of the route, but when the Bishop of Cloyne examined it must have been much more so, for he says (*Magna Britannia*, vol. i, p. 27), "From the north-east part of the station (Sandy) near the banks of the Ivel, this road is continued through a small valley, leaving the British camp (*i.e.*, Cæsar's Camp) before mentioned on the left hand, and another hill which has been dug up for a stone quarry, on the right, straight to a hedge row, which runs down through a piece of land to a small copse in the bottom, from whence it continues equally straight, first a boundary between Mr. Pym's land and Sandyfield, and then entering some inclosures crosses the road from Everton to Tempsford, then passes through a farmyard (leaving the house on the left) belonging to Governor Pownall, and through some more inclosures, to a farm-house belonging to General Parker, which stands upon it; then through another inclosure to Tempsford Marsh (or as it is called the Cow Common), after passing which it ascends the hill close by a barrow or tumulus (almost the invariable attendant on Roman roads), which is planted with trees and known by the name of the Hen and Chickens, then straight by the side of the hedgerow, leaving Hardwick on the right and crossing the road from Gamlingay, and that from Cambridge to St. Neot's, proceeds not far from Toseland, leaving the Offords on one side and Papworth and Yelling on the

other, to the village of Godmanchester, allowed to be a Roman town, and supposed by many antiquaries to be the scite of the ancient *Durolipons*."

We have here to consider another road, which unfortunately, owing probably to the progress of agriculture, &c., cannot now be traced, or if any traces are still visible they would require persons living in their neighbourhood to point them out. The Bishop of Cloyne says of it (p. 28)—"A very considerable military way has been also observed coming from the Isle of Ely to Cambridge, and visibly tending to the borders of Bedfordshire in a direct line for Sandy. This road, though in some parts obscure, is supposed with great probability to have passed through Hatley and Potton to our post at Chesterfield, and Dr. Mason (our most intelligent tracer of Roman roads) has continued it on the western side of the station, in a line bearing towards Fenny Stratford; the country is so deep that no person, except he is well acquainted with the neighbourhood, and has an eye accustomed to these pursuits, would have any chance of following it with success; but I am clearly of opinion, from the general bearing of this road where it is still visible, that it formed a part of a great Roman way, leading from the eastern coast of England towards Wales, between the two British ways, the Ikening and Rykning; but of this I mean to speak more at large when I come to treat of the course of the Akeman Street in the counties of Bucks, Oxford, and Gloucester."

Owing to the death of the Messrs. Lysons the *Magna Britannia* commencing alphabetically (as to counties) stopped short at Devonshire, and the Bishop's remarks as to Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire were never published. I have for many years endeavoured to trace his MSS., but so far in vain. In his account of the Buckinghamshire roads, he however again slightly returns to the subject (*Mag. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 484), where he says, "With respect to the real course of the Akeman Street in this county, while some adopt the conjecture of Stukeley, that in its way from Alcester it passed not far from Winslow and then by Fenny Stratford, there are others whose opinion I prefer, who suppose it went to the north

of this route by Hide Lane near Buckingham, Stony Stratford, Stanton, Newport and Bedford to Sandy."

It is singular that Stukeley agrees with the Bishop as to the route of this road to the east of Sandy. Though writing some eighty years before the Bishop, he says (*Itin. Curiosum*, p. 74, edit. 1724), "I imagine a road passed by this place (Sandy) westwards from Grantchester by Cambridge."

I am however more than dubious as to the correctness of these ideas. There is indeed a very fine Roman road coming from Ely by Cambridge, passing about a mile west of Granchester, and which, after crossing the Avenue at Wimpole Park, falls at almost right angles upon the Ermine Street close to Arrington Bridge. There are at present no traces of it on the eastern side of the Ermine Street, but if it were continued in a straight line it would certainly not go near Hatley, Potton, or Sandy, but much more to the south.

At the same time I have no doubt that Sandy had communication to the eastward, by a Roman road.

I am inclined to agree with the Bishop that the Ake-man Street passed through Bedford to Sandy,¹ for there is no doubt but that Roman roads passed through the former town.

In a paper, published in vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 283, of the *Transactions of the Associated Architectural Societies*, on a Roman shaft found at Biddenham (hereafter to be noticed), the Rev. W. Monkhouse says—"The vicinal way called the Akeman Street, has been clearly traced all the way from Bath to Newport Pagnell, and again from Bedford to the eastern counties" (? W. T. W.), "But the chain is broken, and the link which connects Bedford with Newport seems to have been lost. This would not be the place to try to restore that link, as it could only be done by a long process of argument. But I think there are sufficient materials to prove that this road proceeded by the present line which runs by Astwood, Stagsden, Bromham Bridge and Biddenham. In the last mentioned parish it is called 'the Causeway'—a term, as

¹ Gough, in his 1806 edition of Camden, vol. ii, p. 52, speaks under the head of "Sandy" of "the Roman road

from the ford of the Ivel towards Bedford."

Mr. Hartshorne remarks—into which many a Roman road has degenerated. It combines at least two elements in Roman road making, namely, straightness of course and a raised surface, which latter feature may be seen in many places along the line, especially between Astwood and Stagsden. I assume therefore that this *via strata* passed considerably within a hundred yards of the pit, &c.”

We will take next the evidence as to other roads passing through Bedford. Mr. Monkhouse in the paper just alluded to, speaks incidentally of “five or six Roman roads which radiate from the town of Bedford,” without however saying anything more of them. I take it that the Akeman Street on the western side of the town, he would reckon as one, and its continuation on the eastern side as another, so that *two* are at once accounted for. A third is named in vol. i, p. 382, of the *Associated Architectural Societies Transactions*, as visible on the opposite side of the river, at Bedford Castle, at right angles with the stream. It is described as a vicinal way leading by Medbury to Hawnes, from thence by Clophill Church towards Barton, and it forms the division boundary, between the parishes of St. Mary and St. John (Bedford), though running through the middle of a field. Roman remains, as will hereafter be seen, have been found at various places along this line.

This road is evidently aiming for Ravensburgh Castle, just outside the county boundary, and would pass near the site of the remains at Higham Gobion. Whether Stukeley noticed it or not is uncertain, but he makes a curious remark when treating of the neighbourhood of Ravensburgh Castle. Speaking of *Liliho* (or Lilley Hoo as it is now called) he says (*Itin. Curiosum*, p. 74) “*from under it goes the Icening Street by Stretley to Dunstable.*” This is manifestly wrong as the *Icening* (or Icknield) Street, takes a totally different course. He may have, however, noticed a road from Ravensburgh to Dunstable. Gough in a note on this passage says (Camden’s *Britannia*, vol. ii, p. 56, edit. 1806): “Icknield Street, about a quarter of a mile east from Dunstable, is crossed by a great road, perhaps from Mergate Street to Bedford. Qu. on which of these roads is the village of Streetley and if not too much north from the Icknield.” This road is still

traceable in many places as a long, raised, grass grown line.

In vol. xxvii of the *Archæologia*, p. 103, Mr. Brandreth, F.S.A., in a paper written in 1836, speaking of the *branch* Roman roads near Dunstable, says: "The first is that which led to Bedford without passing by the Dunstable station. This road quits the Watling Street, about a mile and a-half before it arrives at Dunstable from St. Alban's, at a place called "Houghton Gap," being the "opening" to the village of that name. The level ground at the foot of the Downs, through which it passes, is known by the name of "Street Field," a circumstance which, added to the discovery of Roman coins near it, indicates its having been used by the Romans. . . . From Street Field it passes hard by the east end of Dunstable Priory Church and so on by Wood Way to Houghton Church. A short distance before it reaches Wood Way, it runs along a faint slope, called "Gravel Pit Hill," where also Roman coins have been found.

"From Houghton Church, I suspect to the eastward of it, it proceeded in nearly a straight line to Lord's Hill and the town of Toddington. Roman and Romano-British remains have been dug up along the greater part of the line of road. At Toddington it is apparently called 'Frenchman's Highway.'"

There is another road alluded to by Dr. Salmon, of which Gough (vol. ii, p. 52) speaks, giving almost Salmon's words, to the effect that Watling Street after coming from Luton (?) and intersecting on the downs (?) with Ikening Street goes straight to Ravensburgh in Hertfordshire. (?) This must of necessity be another road that Salmon is alluding to — the Watling Street not going near Luton. But he continues: "From Ravensburgh we descend the hill to Purton, thence by Shefford to Sandy. . . . At Kaynoe, *on this military way from Ravensborough to Sandy*, is an old fortress of earth which he" (i.e., Dr. Salmon) "thought Roman, both from its situation on the military way, and from its form, a keep standing on the brink of a boggy ground, &c." No trace of such a road is now, so far as I am aware, visible, but from the richness of the remains found in the neighbourhood of Shefford, there can be no doubt

of a road having passed through the neighbourhood, if not more than one. Perhaps "Warden Street" near Old Warden may give a clue to one of them.

In concluding these remarks upon the roads of the county, the Bishop of Cloyne's words (*Mag. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 28) will give a better idea of the traces that have been lost than any words of mine. He says, "That there were connecting roads between the stations of Chesterfield (Sandy) and Dunstable, Chesterfield and Chesterford in Essex, and Chesterfield and Chester near Wellingborough, in the same manner as between Chesterfield and Godmanchester, there is little reason to doubt; although at present from the constant cultivation of the whole face of the country, much of which is also old enclosure and very deep land, the traces of them may be entirely defaced."

Having thus considered the roads, the stations upon them come next in turn. Let us first take the Watling Street. Along the line of this road, between London and Wroxeter, the Second, Sixth, and Eighth *Itinera* of Antonine give, at thirty-three miles from London *via* St. Alban's (*Verulamium*), and twelve miles from the last named place, a station named *Durocibrivæ*. Twelve miles from St. Alban's, along the Watling Street, brings us to Dunstable, and though there is little doubt of its having been the site of *Durocibrivæ*, it is strange that no foundations of buildings, tombstones, or sepulchral remains have been recorded as found in the town. Camden first pointed out that its streets crossed at right angles in the Roman manner,¹ and faced the cardinal points. He also tells us that the swineherds frequently found in the neighbouring fields Roman coins, which they termed *Madning* money. He thought this name derived from the neighbouring encampment of Maiden Bower.

Britton, in vol. i of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, p. 28, says that "a great quantity of copper coin of Antoninus and Constantine, with many small ornaments of bridles and armour were found by some labourers digging for gravel on a down in this neighbourhood, in the year 1770."

¹ The Watling Street forms the "High Street" being on the Icknield Street, Street, "Church Street" and "West

Mr. H. Brandreth, F.S.A., in vol. xxvii of the *Archæologia*, p. 104, in an article on *Magiovintum*, for so he erroneously styles the station at or near Dunstable (he makes it also the *Forum Dianæ* of Richard's forged Itinerary), says, "It was about the year 1770 that a labourer of the town of Dunstable digging for gravel near the Shepherd's Bush, discovered an earthen urn or pot, formed of red clay, and nearly full of small copper coins of several Roman emperors. The urn or jar was at once broken into small pieces by a blow of the pick axe, so that no part of it was preserved. Several more Roman coins have been found since that period on this part of the Downs in digging for flints and other road materials." At p. 107 he says—"At a spot so much frequented by travellers as the Roman station, whether as *Magiovintum* or *Forum Dianæ*, must have been, we might expect to find many remains of antiquity, in the shape of urns, coins, fibulæ, pavements, &c. Of pavements I believe none have been found, but vast quantities of coins have been, and are continually being found in its vicinity. Among others I have heard of two small pieces, concave on one side and convex on the other. One is of copper; I know not of what metal the other is, but they are both of them British, or rather perhaps Celtic, as they bear upon them, the grotesque figures usually found on British coins. They were found on the track of the Watling Street near the foot of the Downs. There have been found also of Roman coins a thick brass one of Tiberius, and another of the same description of Trajan; one of Vespasian of first brass, with the amphitheatre on the reverse; one of Augustus Cæsar, and one in third brass of Dalmatius.

"To these may be added three denarii of Vespasian Severus, and Sergius Galba; three in first brass, being of Trajan, Aurelius and Commodus; four in second brass of Vespasian, Maximianus, Trajan and Dioclesian, together with very many of the Lower Empire, as well as of Claudius, Tetricus, Carausius, Allectus, &c., in third brass. They were all found in different parts of the parish of Houghton, chiefly in the "upper" or "south" fields, being those through which the Ickening Street runs."

Lysons (*Mag. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 18) writing in 1806, also says that Roman coins have been found here; and in an article in the *Builder* (Aug. 22, 1868) on "Dunstable Priory Church," it is said (p. 625)—"A large number of interesting coins in gold and silver, and other antiquities have been found near the church and in the neighbourhood at different times. Amongst an immense number of Roman and other coins we may mention one of Augustus Cæsar, . . . of Tiberius, Trajan and Vespasian, a quantity of coins of Antoninus and Constantine, of Claudius Cæsar, Otho, Adrian, Commodus, one of Probus . . . and many others unknown."

The Vicar of Houghton Regis (the adjoining parish) has recently become possessed of a *denarius* of Tiberius, and a third brass coin of Carus, found at Dunstable.

This evidence seems conclusive as to Roman occupation, how then is the absence of Roman masonry, tiles, &c., to be accounted for? ¹ Let us consider the question:

It is noticeable that in the Itinerary the plural number is used "*Duro-cobrivis*," *i.e.*, the dative plural—consequently "*Duro-cobrivæ*" must have embraced more than one settlement—and accordingly we find in the neighbourhood of the town traces of three camps.

As Gough (*Camden's Britannia*, edit. 1806, p. 55, vol. ii) has collected the statements of Stukeley, Salmon, and others, it will be best in the first place to quote his account of these camps. He says: "About a mile and a-half west-north-west of Dunstable, and about half a mile from Watling Street, at the edge of the high land, is Maiden Bower. It consists of a vallum nearly circular, to the south and east it has no ditch, to the south-west and west only a very small one, to the north-west a descent to the meadows. The banks are from eight to fourteen feet high, and contain about eight or ten acres of level ploughed land. Arbury Banks by Ashwell is a like work, and there is another between Cheping Norton and Stow in the Woulds. Dr. Stukeley supposes it a British work like that at Ashwell, at like distance from the Chiltern,

¹ The *New Monthly Magazine*, vol. xlv, p. 272 (Feb., 1836), gives a short account of two leaden coffins containing skeletons, found in erecting a wall round the premises of Mr. Fossell of the Square,

Dunstable, together with some foundations *supposed* to be of a monastery. Can they have been Roman? What militates against it is the fact of the interment being apparently *within* the station.

and of like form. He describes it as standing on a plain, but not far from the edge of a lesser eminence of these hills about a little mile from Dunstable. The rampier pretty high but very little sign of a ditch, nor does he think there ever was much more. It encloses about nine acres which yield good wheat, the ground round it ploughed. Between this and the town is a long barrow, standing east and west, called the Mill Hill,¹ no doubt from a mill afterwards set upon it, the end of it ploughed up. A high prominence of the Chiltern overlooks all, called the Five Knolls from that number of barrows, . . . which are round, pretty large, and detached about. Upon the very apex of the hill, close by, are two round cavities as often observed in Wiltshire. Mr. Ward (Horsley, 422) agrees with Mr. Camden in placing *Magiovinum* here, supposing *Durocobivæ* and it to have changed places in the Itinerary. Mr. Salmon "places *Magiovinum* at Sandy (*Survey*, p. 374.) He imagines Dunstable meant rather a stable or station on a hill against robbers (p. 378.)

"About half a mile west of Maiden Bower, and about a mile north-west from Dunstable, on the downs above Totternhoe and in its parish, is a strong fortification high raised on the downs on a promontory projecting into the low lands west-north-west. It is called Totternhoe Castle, and overhangs Stanbridge village; a keep and circular area with a square to the west side, and a precipice on the west side of the whole, the other sides single ditched. The mount is high and, beside a circular ditch, is encompassed by another that is square and takes up the whole breadth of the ridge; the ground all about has been much broken by digging; in one place there seems to have been a well. At the bottom of it passes Icknield Street on the north side of the church coming through Streetley.² Contiguous to this is another camp of a parallelogramic figure, the shortest sides running

¹ Mr. Brandreth (*Archæologia*, vol. xxvii, p. 100,) says that from Maiden Bower Camp "There is an opening on the south-east side, which appears to be coeval with the camp itself, and from which there is a road still visible leading

to Brewer's Hill Farm House, on to a large oblong tumulus near Dunstable, called the Mill Bank from its having been the site of a windmill."

² I have commented on this *ante*, fo. 6, 7.

across the ridge, the other lengthway of it along the verge of the hill."

This last named rectilinear camp (situated to the south-east of Totternhoe Castle) which is about four acres in extent (500 feet by 250 feet) is, like the others, still strongly marked by its fosse and vallum. These surround it on three sides; the fourth side being defended by the natural escarpment of the hill. It at once gives us the clue as to Roman occupation. To my mind it has been originally thrown up, to protect the force besieging Totternhoe Castle which no doubt was a British stronghold, as was the neighbouring "Maiden Bower." It would then probably be occupied during the time the Watling Street was being made, and subsequently became the fortress guarding the neighbourhood, whilst the suburban and civil population (a mixed Roman-British one) erected their dwellings, probably poor ones, in the plain below, where the great and newly made road crossed the Icknield Street. Possibly in settled times the camp might be entirely evacuated. It would, no doubt, reward the promoters if excavations were made within its area.

As to the site being *Magiovintum*, which is placed at twelve miles from *Durocobrivæ* in the Itinerary (and twenty-four from St. Alban's). Camden and Ward are undoubtedly wrong. Horsley first corrected the error, and the Bishop of Cloyne pointed out the truth of Horsley's statements. *Magiovintum* is near Fenny Stratford, its site being still recognisable, and the distance from Dunstable agrees with the Itinerary.

None of the *Itinera* of Antoninus pass through the station at Sandy. From the fact of Ptolemy the Geographer giving *Verulamium* (St. Alban's) which he calls *Urolanium*, and another station, the name of which he gives as Σαλῆναι, as the towns of the *Catyeuchlani*, together with their positions as given by him, it has generally been supposed that Sandy represents the latter. Some antiquaries have supposed that the anonymous Chorographer, Ravennas, also names it, but both the towns to which he gives the name of *Salinae*, are situated in very different localities, as will be seen on comparing the names of the adjacent stations, one in fact being at Northwich and the other at Droitwich. The station at

Sandy, however, is a third example of the name. It has no doubt taken it from the existence in early times of a salt marsh, from the water of which salt has been extracted. The soil all round is a fine sand, closely resembling that of the sea-shore.¹ Governor Pownall in the *Archæologia* (vol. viii, p. 377) says of Sandy: "This village lying between this high ground, and the marshy vale, through which flow several branches of our river, must have been formerly a pass, and was a Roman station or camp, posted on an elevated piece of square ground, called to this day *Chesterfield*. This was known by the Roman name *Salinae*. This name, *Salinae*, was applied equally to the salt works and to the public warehouses, whence salt was delivered out by the officers of government, charged with a duty, *Vectigal*, of which there were many at Rome, in Italy; and in the provinces. I take this *Salinae* of *Salndy*, as Mr. Camden calls it, to have been one of those salt offices. It is placed at the head of a navigable stream, next the interior of the country. On the banks of the mouth of the river upon lands, part of my estate at *Old Lynn* are still remaining, the ruins of several old salt pans."

Of this statement, it may be said, that in a salt-producing country like Britain, such places as Governor Pownall describes would be almost useless, and further, that the remains of salt pans indicate that it was the manufacture of that article as at Northwich and Droitwich that gave the name to the place.

The first statement of any consequence that we have concerning the place is in R. Blome's *Britannia* (London, 1673), p. 45, where he says: "Also at *Sande* and *Chesterfield*, near adjoining, which is now nothing but a warren, stood the famous city of *Salena* of the Romans, which by the ruins of its walls (in many places yet to be seen) doth declare it to have been a place of large extent."

It is much to be wished that the truth of this statement as to the station having been *walled* could be ascertained.

From the *Archæologia* (vol. 7, p. 412) and Gough's Camden (edit., 1806, vol. ii, p. 52), we gather that Aubrey states that *glass urns* had been found, and "one

¹ In Domesday it is called *Sandeia*.

red like coral with an inscription. They had ashes in them, and were, when Mr. Aubrey wrote, in the hands of a gentleman at Bedford." Coins were often found, and other urns "found with coins in the Roman camp at Chesterfield about 1670, were given to the University of Oxford by Mr. Crysty. Mr. Degge shewed the Antiquary Society, 1729, a Roman *As* of eight ounces and a British gold coin with *Tascio* found here. Mr. Bromsall shewed the same Society, 1738, a brass female head, about three inches high, which he supposed Boadicea, more probably a standard pole. Coins and a sword, silvered over, were also found in the field in this parish called Chesterfield, in which is a hill called by the inhabitants *Tower Hill*. They shew at a small distance *Gally Hill*, and across a small valley Cæsar's camp. This Gally Hill is the Roman fortress. About thirty acres here are enclosed by a rampart and ditch. The form is irregular, because it is to suit the top of the hill, which is itself defended by nature. The north and east make two sides of a square, the west juts out towards the river Ivel. In the middle is a tumulus, such as is seen in many camps, probably for the praetorium. About twenty acres lie in holes and hillocks, which they imagine to have been foundations of a city, more probably made for digging for stone, &c."

With regard to this statement the "brass female head" instead of being "Boadicea" or a "standard pole" was doubtless a steelyard weight, many similar examples having been discovered. "Cæsar's Camp" is also unquestionably the original British fortress. The Roman fort, to overawe or subdue it, has been subsequently formed on "Galley Hill," and a town under its protection has grown up in the valley beneath. "Tower Hill" is a mere "geographical expression" as it consisted simply of a slight elevation of the ground.

Dr. Stukeley, writing in 1724, gives much the same account, but adds a few other particulars. He says (*Itin. Curiosum*, p. 74) "great quantitys of Roman and British antiquitys have been found and immense numbers of coyns. Once a brass Otho,¹ vases, urns, lacrymatorys, lamps. Mr. Degg has a cornelian intaglio . . . dug

¹ As no *Roman* brass coins of this emperor are known this must have been either one struck at Antioch, or a second brass restored by Titus.

up here. . . . Thomas Bromsall, Esq., has a fine silver Cunobelin found here, of elegant work; others of Titus, Agrippina, Trajan, Hadrian, Augustus, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Constantius Chlorus, Constantinus Magnus, Carausius, Allectus, Tetricus, and many more."

Governor Pownall, in the paper from which I have previously quoted and which was read 25th January, 1787, says (p. 381) that for many years previously great numbers of coins had been found at Chesterfield. Sir Philip Monoux to whom the land belonged had a large number from the Flavian family down to Constantine, including one of Carausius, one of Faustina, one of Lucilla, and one of Julia Mammea. Mr. Pym, residing in the parish, had also a coin of Faustina. Some years previously a cinerary urn of the "dark brown or black sort" had been dug up in Chesterfield. It contained bones and ashes, and several articles of a lady's toilet, including a hair-pin of the sort called *hasta recurva* (?) then lost, but a mirror or speculum found with it was preserved by Sir P. Monoux who allowed Mr. Pownall to exhibit it. It measured two inches five lines by two inches four lines, still retained its polish, and appeared to be composed of a mixture of copper, silver, and iron.¹ With it Mr. Pownall also exhibited several pieces of Samian ware, which he describes in his paper, but only one is engraved, which has a representation of a lion being pursued by a two-horsed chariot. Of the latter only the horses, the fore part of the chariot, and a portion of the figure of the driver are visible, the rest being broken off.

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1787, p. 952, has an engraving of a coin of Antoninus Pius found at Sandy about this time.

A long interval elapses before discoveries are again recorded, though many must have been made. In vol. i of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (1st series), p. 57, we have an account that Mr. S. Birch exhibited on 1st December, 1844, a drawing of a *poculum* of Samian ware, found at Sandy in September, 1844, in digging a potato trench. It is now in the British Museum, and is described as being "ornamented with a broad architec-

¹ Is this still in existence—it is interesting from its shape and size?—W. T. W.

tural moulding, formed of antefixal ornaments and helices, having a bird in each pattern," above is an egg and tongue moulding, below a running corded pattern. It had been anciently fractured and repaired with leaden rivets. (See also *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi, p. 254.)

On 12th December, 1850, Mrs. Mayle exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries drawings of several urns found in excavations at Sandy for the Great Northern Railway. They were mostly black; some of them elaborately ornamented. Some of them were found at the foot of the hill on which "Cæsar's Camp" stands, others to the right and left of the camp. Coins were also discovered, but appear to have been appropriated by the workmen, and no note was kept of them, though it is believed that coins of Carausius and Allectus were among them. In one part of the excavations about thirty bushels of charred wheat were discovered. (Vide *Pro. Soc. of Antiquaries*, vol. ii, 1st series.)

A few further particulars of discoveries at this time are given in vol. ii, p. 426, of the Associated Architectural Societies Reports, among which is an account of an urn containing burnt bones, divided into layers by small squares of netting which fell to dust on exposure to the air. The urn also contained a silver ring, set with cornelian and bearing the device of an eagle, and a copper coin with the same emblem. Some small amphoræ were found at the same time besides Saxon and mediæval remains.

In 1866 further excavations were required for the railway, some particulars of which were communicated by the late Mr. James Wyatt of the Society of Antiquaries, and recorded in vol. iii, 2nd series, of their *Transactions*. He says "There was a piece of high ground between Cæsar's Camp and the village of Sandy on the western side of the camp, and divided from it by the Great Northern Railway. Lately the greater portion of this has been removed for ballasting purposes it being a deep stratum of sand. Everyday the labourers met with fragments of pottery which showed that a considerable area had been used for the deposit of urns. Many coins were found, some of which were disposed of by the men." From the description given by the latter the coins would

be much corroded. Mr. Wyatt subsequently heard that several bronze articles and urns had been found and purchased by amateur collectors who had removed them from the county, but he was on the spot immediately after he heard of discoveries having been made, and was successful in securing for the Beds Archæological Society eleven urns, two other vessels, and a red Samian *patera*. "The bodies of three of the urns are covered with slight lines drawn diagonally from the neck to the foot and forming a diamond pattern." The lines were apparently made with a stick while the clay was soft. "One urn is of elegant outline and has seven long indentations from the shoulder nearly to the foot." The Samian *patera* had had a piece broken out but was reunited "and fastened with three bands of lead passed through carefully drilled holes." The potter's name in the centre was DAGOMARVS.

"The site where these discoveries were made is locally known as "Tower Hill;" but it was no hill, being only a small rising above the ordinary level. It is now nearly all reduced to the level of the railway line. The urns were deposited at a depth of from two and a half to three feet below the surface, at the bottom of the alluvial soil and on the top of the sand bed. Some of them were surrounded with ashes, and one of them is now incrustated with the deposited ashes. They all contained bones more or less calcined, and larger fragments of animals' bones were lying in the surrounding soil."

Mr. Wyatt also found in the pit portions of other vessels of pottery, two fragments of a glass vessel with an iridescent coating, burnt bones, two teeth of a horse, &c., and he adds, "A little to the north-east of this site, and on the northern slope of Cæsar's Camp, many Roman remains have been found, and some British coins were discovered during the excavations for the Great Northern Railway, but on the site under notice (Tower Hill) no British relics of any kind have been found so far as I can learn."

This last statement is very important, as it confirms the view that "Cæsar's Camp" so called is the site of the British town, and Chesterfield a Roman site. It is strange, however, that here, as at Dunstable, no remains of build-

ings have been found. Excavations so far appear to have been in the cemeteries only.

In 1879 excavations were made into the remaining portion of "Tower Hill," during which two leaden coffins were found between three and four feet from the surface, which were described to the Beds Archæological Society, 12th September, 1879. One was about six feet the other five feet six inches in length and they were each about fourteen inches wide. They were both formed by folding an oblong sheet of lead into the form of a cist, the whole being kept in position by a stout frame of wood, fastened by iron spikes; the lids were of overlapping sheets and were not soldered. They soon showed symptoms of falling to pieces, so were again covered up, without being thoroughly examined. In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii, p. 344, there is an account of a third coffin being found in the same excavations in the spring of 1880. It is described as being "five feet eight inches long, quite plain, and slightly tapering to the feet," and "was found in good preservation. The lid has entirely perished, but fragments of angle irons, apparently connected with an outer wooden casing, were also discovered."¹ There were no bones in these coffins, and this is accounted for by their lying in sand, a destructive agency. They lay east and west."

On the same page it is stated that the fact of so many extremely small coins being found at Sandy "is explained by the practice of the local labourers weeding the market gardens, and more particularly the onion fields, which abound in these parts, working on their knees, thus nothing in the shape of a coin, however small, escapes such close notice."

From the occurrence of the name of Bedford in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in the time of the early West Saxon invasion,² it would probably have been a Roman

¹ This coffin was presented by Mr. Beart, the owner of the ground, to Mr. A. Hartshorne, who has given it to the Museum of Practical Geology in Jernyn Street.

² The Saxon Chronicle states under the head of A.D. 571, that Cuthwulf fought against the Britons at *Bedicanforda*, and added to his brother Ceawlin's

dominions the towns of Leighton, Aylesbury, Bensington, and Eynsham.

Since the above was written some important discoveries appear to have been made at Bedford. In the *Building News*, Oct. 7, 1881, it is said, "In the course of excavations made by Mr. George Wills under his premises on the south side of Castle Lane, which occupy the site of

town, or small post, which seems confirmed by the number of roads pointing to it. But absence of remains is again the great drawback. Camden says that Roman coins had never been found at Bedford; but in 1811, in taking down old Bedford Bridge, several Roman coins &c., were found. (*Proc. Assoc. Architectural Societies*, vol. i, p. 382). Is the bulk of the small Roman post buried beneath the Castle mound?

But the most interesting discoveries within the county have taken place at Shefford or its neighbourhood. The first instalment of them has been described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. i, p. 395, in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Archæological Society*, vol. i, and in the *Transactions of the Associated Archæological Societies*, vol. i, p. 165, &c. Mr. Thos. Inskip who made the collection, and subsequently disposed of it to the Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge, has been the chief writer on the subject, and his communications may be summed up in the following account:—

For many years remains had been found, unknown to Mr. Inskip, in the neighbourhood, which had been lost or destroyed, when about the year 1827, a *denarius* was brought to him, found in some gravel on the public road, which had been brought from a pit in the neighbourhood. This led him to examine the pit and to keep a watch on future diggings in it. He soon was rewarded by finding two large dishes of Samian ware, one ten inches in diameter radiated in the centre with the maker's name crossing it OFFAGER; the other with horizontal handles. Soon after an urn surrounded by eleven Samian vases was found, together with a whitish coloured earthen bottle and a quantity of broken glass. The next discovery was of a number of terra-cotta vases about four inches high, bearing the potters' names, with a great quantity of greenish coloured glass, too much broken to be restored. One of the bottles had for its handle the device of a fish's tail.

Bedford Castle a number of Roman and Saxon remains have been found. They include pottery of both the periods named; Roman bricks, fragments of flues, and tessellated work, and encaustic tiles, having in them Norman and

perhaps Saxon mouldings. The discoveries, which are important as shewing that Bedford was indubitably a Roman station, are to be followed up by further investigations on the opposite side of the lane."

At the same time a brass pan, broken by the labourers, with the idea of finding money, was discovered. It is highly artistic. "On one side is a looped handle, the top of which representing an open-jawed lion's head is joined to the upper rim; on the opposite side protrudes a straight handle terminating with the head of a ram; the bottom is turned in beautiful concentric circles, and has still adhering to its inside (however strange it may appear to the sceptical) a portion of its original contents." (A similar vessel was found in the Bartlow Hills, though inferior in point of elegance, which is engraved in the *Archæologia*.) A first brass coin and a third brass, both apparently illegible, were found close by, and not far off an iron lamp stand.

Subsequently digging by himself Mr. Inskip found a large amphora, which, though broken by his spade, he was able to restore. It was two feet high, eighteen inches at its broadest diameter, and had two handles. Near it were three perfect terra-cotta vases with margins ornamented with leaves, a glass vase of a pale amber colour, nearly globular and radiated with projecting ribs. It is about double the size of a modern sugar basin and has no handles. A small glass funnel broken (but restored) and a shattered lachrymatory were found here, and in a hole scooped in the earth on one side of the interment were about three pints of seed, charred and perfectly black; the dryness of the soil having preserved them. At a short distance was discovered a quantity of blue glass which, from the newness of the fractures, Mr. Inskip concluded he had just broken with his spade. He says "I collected the pieces and cementing them together they formed a beautiful jug or ewer, the shape of which is the most chastely elegant that taste could design or art execute. Its graceful neck and handle, its beautiful purple colour, and the exquisite curl of its lips, so formed to prevent the spilling of the fluid, proclaim it to be one of the most splendid remains of antiquity. It is radiated longitudinally and unites great boldness of design with delicacy of execution." At various times over three dozen Samian vessels of great varieties of shapes were found at this spot; also what Mr. Inskip calls "a sacrificial knife." (?) The Samian vessels bore, amongst others, the following potters' marks:—

OF. ALBIN., OF. BIACI., CALVINVS., OF COET., (several examples, some broken) CVCALIM., CVIM., DONVM., FETI., LIBERALIS., LVPPA., OF. MACCIA., MACCIVS., MATVCVS, OF. MVSERA., NVTIS., OVIDI., OF. PRIMVS., REGINVS., SCOLVS., SCORVS., SILENVS., SILVVS., TENEVM., VIRTVTIS.

Mr. Inskip says, "This burial ground forms three sides of a square, which has originally been enclosed with a wall of sandstone from the neighbouring quarry, the foundation may be easily traced at the depth of three feet, the present high road forming the fourth side of the square. The depth of these deposits was about three feet from the earth's surface."

It is supposed, and with great probability, that a Roman vicinal way passed close to this enclosure, but so far no trace of it has been found.

Mr. Inskip, in making some slight excavations round the exterior of this wall, found a small silver trumpet sixteen inches long, the bones of a horse and his rider, an implement which seemed to have been used for picking a horse's hoofs and fastening his shoes. "Here," he says, "was formed a trench or cist about twelve feet in length, filled with the usual deposit of ashes, burnt bone, and charcoal; over this were placed Roman tiles leaning against each other at the top so as form an angle and protect the dust beneath." A denarius of Geta was deposited with it and another of the same Emperor was found at a short distance. Some copper moulds for pastry (?) are said to have been found here, and an urn with scroll work in high relief. "A variety of articles have been found occasionally deposited at the bottom of the urns, such as rusty nails, whisks of hay or sedge grass, bits of iron, pieces of lead, &c. A bit of lead found in one has the precise shape of a pot-hook. A ball of pitch was found at the bottom of a very large amphora, a vessel capable of containing more than four gallons. In one urn were found several balls of clay, which appear to have been kneaded by the hand, and are somewhat elongated."

Mr. Inskip conjectured, from this graveyard being walled, that a temple must have stood near, and some years subsequently began to search for it. After considerable trouble he was rewarded by finding, in an adjoining field, about half a furlong from the cemetery,

the foundation of a building twenty feet by thirty feet. Round its foundation was found a large quantity of mutilated Samian pottery and other coarse ware. Close to it is a pond still called *Oman's Pond*.

Mr. Inskip had also considered for some time that Stanford Bury, about a mile from Shefford, was the site of a Roman encampment, and on examination his conjecture proved correct. He says "The area of this camp is still very visible, and I feel assured the Pretorium occupied the spot on which the farm house now stands. The embankments on one side of the camp are still very perceptible. . . . A road was formed (still plainly seen) down to one end of the close where the soldiers have left a pond dug by them.¹ . . . At a small distance is a fine spring of water."

At the distance of two fields from this Mr. Inskip found two most interesting sepulchral vaults, full of antique remains. Of the first one found, he says: "A great number of terra cotta vases, both black and red, of every conceivable shape, and description of variety adorned this silent house of death, with fragments of the same nearly enough to fill two peck measures, the most perfect of these are at Cambridge, together with one very large amphora containing a ball of pitch in its foot. Six other urns, most of them equally large, and one still larger, were found with them. Here also were found the crumbling remains of several culinary articles—brass pans more than two feet in diameter, the iron rims and handles of which were left, the thin brass bottoms vanishing like ghosts, at the smell of fresh air and light of day. Two iron fire dogs, two feet ten inches high and three feet in length, stood on one side of the vault; they have a fine spirited stag's head at each end, with two iron bars curiously wrought to lay horizontally between the horns, from which pots and kettles might depend in two rows,

¹ Previous to Mr. Inskip's researches here, many interesting remains had been found and wilfully destroyed. He says (*Archæological Journal*, vol. i, p. 395): "Roman vaults have been emptied of their contents, vases of the most elegant forms and finest texture have been doomed to destruction for amusement, and set up as marks for ignorance and stupidity to pelt at. In another direction

I have known a most beautiful and highly ornamented urn with a portrait and an inscription on its sides stand peaceably on the shelf of its discoverer till, being seized with a fit of superstitious terror lest the possession of so heathenish an object might blight his corn or bring a murrain amongst his cattle, he ordered his wife to thrust it on the dunghill where it perished."

thus making the most possible use of the same fire. An iron tripod turning with a swivel on the top, and when opened, having a chain and pothooks descending from the centre accompanied the fire dogs. Two beautiful iron fire dogs were found in a tomb at Paestum.

"The fragments of a brass saucepan, with finely ornamented handle plated with silver inside, the lid also plated, was luckily saved, and the whole relic is highly interesting.

"Two singular iron handles of some utensils, which I doubt not were ladles, stood one at each corner of the vault; their upper ends are finished by a grotesque head with asinine ears, and the tongue lolling from the mouth like the momes and buffoons employed to amuse the patricians at the *triclinium*. It is singular that these ludicrous figures should have a cross stamped on the forehead, in derision probably of paganism or of the true faith.

"From these more ponderous relics attention was directed to several white and black tesserae, the latter of jet; these are of the size of peppermint lozenges. . . . (An engraving of one of them appears in *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii, p. 71). Close to these was found a musical instrument somewhat resembling a flute, each hole for the fingers having a separate joint; it is formed of the *tibia* of some animal, and singularly enough has two embouchures to receive the breath of the player; these, it may be concluded, were intended to render the tone sharper or otherwise by due regulation.

"A bronze ewer or jug was the next article to attract attention, the shape of which is exquisite. The upper rim and mouth are of singular shape somewhat resembling a figure of eight. The handle is of surpassing elegance, a beautiful female with extended arms embraces the outer and back part of the upper edge or rim; her face wears a lovely smile, and her hair is dressed in a peculiar style resembling that of the younger . . . Faustina as seen on her coins and medals; some few threads of the longest are seen gracefully falling down her shoulders, and almost reaching to the bottom of the handle which terminates with two fine masks, one above the other, the upper one

with distended mouth is laughing immoderately, the one beneath retaining a more staid though jocund countenance, both of them appropriate emblems of the jovial pitcher. . . . This elegant piece of antiquity which the ravages of the elements, earth and water, had much injured was found in an inverted position."

At only twelve paces distant the second vault was found; it had evidently formed the sepulchre of at least two ladies. Mr. Inskip says, "A splendid glass bowl, radiated in high relief, and a bottle to match, were disinterred without the slightest fracture; also a purple-coloured bottle equally perfect, this latter belonging to a splendid glass urn of Grecian shape, with *ansae* double fluted, the bottle and this purple vase formed a second suit of glass, but the latter was too much mutilated to admit of restoration." Near them "was placed a toilet box, finely embossed with bronze scroll work of very elegant pattern. This box had contained silver zone buckles, ear-rings, blue glass beads, silver tweezers, fibulæ, &c." One of the latter was harp-shaped. "A fine *armilla* of jet or shale was lying close by, and a coin of first brass, but too mutilated to decipher."

Mr. Inskip considered the first found vault to contain the ashes of the "old general." (?) The second he thought contained the remains either of his wife and daughter or of his two daughters. He says, "The latter opinion prevails with me, induced by contemplating two elegantly shaped urns that contained their ashes, about three feet in height, and which stood reclining and touching each other at one end of the sepulchre. In truth the number of female ornaments, together with the disposal of these two urns, must strike us with a strong presumption of the near affinity of the parties and their strong affection, seeing their ashes thus clinging together and still preserving their long embrace in death. A great number of the common snail shells were deposited in the foot of each urn."

Whether Mr. Inskip's conjecture as to the rank of the parties be correct or not, it is evident that the ashes were those of persons of distinction.

For further particulars of these discoveries, which took

place chiefly in 1834. See *Gent. Mag.*, Oct. 1834, p. 417, and March, 1845, p. 296.¹

Mr. Inskip also says, "On another occasion at Warden were discovered two fine Grecian-shaped amphoræ of large size with these were found two singularly shaped jars formed of shale or cannel coal One of these is quite perfect, the other nearly so. These were dug up close to a Danish (?) encampment near the church, &c."

In 1844 Mr. Inskip found at "Church Field," in the parish of Northill, "Two skeletons buried crosswise, the head of one to the south-east, and that of the other in a contrary direction. By the side of these were placed three fine vases of glass, the largest of which, of coarse metal and of a green colour, would contain about two gallons. The form is sexagonal and it has no handles, the glass towards the lower part is half an inch in thickness. There was also a glass bottle of remarkably elegant design, and of the colour of pale port wine with a slight purple tinge. All these vessels were broken to pieces; some fragments of Samian ware were found and an iron utensil apparently intended for the purpose of hanging up a lamp against a wall." (*Archæological Journal*, vol. ii, p. 82; also *Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, vol i, 1st series, p. 74; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi, p. 488, where the bottle named is stated to have a long neck with handle on one side.)

Two "saucer" shaped fibulae found at Shefford, gilt and having a "chased" centre, are described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii, p. 71-2 (and one is engraved at p. 79). A brass *fibula* five-and-a-half inches in length, found at Pirton, is also described on the same page.

It is singular that about a mile south-west of Shefford is a place called "Campton." Possibly it may be found eventually that the main station was at this place. Another intrenched quadrilateral area which has not been explored exists about a quarter of a mile north from Higham Gobion. During the last few years a number of coins, mill-stones, cinerary urns, and an amphora, have

¹ Many of the valuable articles found here are engraved in the first volume of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's

Transactions, from sketches by Sir H. Dryden.

been discovered there, which were lately, if not now, in the possession of Mr. J. Trustram of the Manor Farm.

At Willington in 1860, some Roman common pottery and Samian ware was discovered with an urn of dark red pottery ten-and-a-half inches high, about two feet six inches below the surface of the ground. Sixty yards to the west of these remains two querns were found, the largest sixteen inches in diameter, and near them another Roman urn six and seven-eighth inches high, with a number of bones and many fragments of coarse pottery. (These were reported at the time to have been sent to Woburn Abbey, but the Duke of Bedford informs me he knows nothing of their having been there.) In a field between Willington and Blunham a skeleton was found in a doubled up posture, and near it a much corroded third brass Roman coin, which Sir H. Dryden pronounced to be of Magnentius, A.D. 350-353.

There appears to have been a Roman settlement of some kind at Toddington. In the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii, p. 104, Mr. Brandreth gives a long account of the discovery in 1819 in a field belonging to Mr. Hicks of Toddington, on the west of that town, between Chalgrave and Winfield, near the road or place traditionally named by the inhabitants, "the Frenchman's Highway," by some labourers digging gravel for the roads, of great quantities of human bones, pieces of iron armour, numbers of spear heads with sockets and rivets, part of an iron helmet weighing two pounds, great numbers of pieces of sword blades, daggers, &c., buckles, rings, a small plate of copper (five inches by three) overlaid with a plate of thin gold, beads of stone and variegated glass, an urn full of beads of various colours. Four bosses of shields, shaped like a saucer and of the same size, five or six inches in diameter, "marked with flowers or figured work all over and when rubbed they shone like bright yellow gold." These objects were found "for the length of a furlong or upwards of two hundred yards or more." Some thousand bodies are computed to have been met with. Mr. Brandreth considers the portion of helmet to have been Roman (it came into his possession) but the interments seem to have been clearly of a Saxon type; though one feature seems peculiar, which is, that a number of small pots were found, filled

with little bones, like the bones of fingers, toes, &c.; both pots and bones crumbled to the touch. Some few coins were found during these excavations, but they got dispersed, and it is not known to what period they belonged.

A somewhat similar discovery appears to have been made ten years later. In Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* (edit. 1849, article "Toddington") it is said, "When digging gravel in a field on the estate of Mr. William Harbett in 1829 and 1830, great quantities of human bones and skulls, several urns containing small bones, the head of a spear, a sword blade, some beads, and other relics of antiquity were discovered."

The first *undoubted* relic of Roman times was found in 1836 in making a ditch on a farm called the "Lodge." The labourer who found it brought it to Mr. W. C. Cooper, of Toddington Park, who purchased it. It is a small bronze figure of an elephant seated on his haunches, between one-and-a-half and two inches high. It is engraved (actual size) in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii, p. 434.

In the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. ii, p. 271, at the meeting of June, 1846, "Mr. W. Horley forwarded a quantity of coins, Roman and English, found at various periods at Toddington Beds."

In vol. iii, p. 334, of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, Roman coins and other remains found at Toddington are noticed.

From the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. vi, 2nd series, p. 184, we gather that in March, 1874, the late Mr. James Wyatt and Major Cooper made some excavations in an isolated knoll called Fox Burrow, near Toddington. In the trenches cut numerous fragments of small urns imperfectly baked, and a few slightly ornamented, were found. The earth had evidently been disturbed previously. Bones of the horse, pig, ox, and deer, a large quantity of ashes and charred wood, and many stones and boulders, discoloured by fire were found in it. "Very little of the pottery was lathe turned or well burnt," the bulk of it being coarse and very slightly dried. There was an exception, however, on the north-east slope of the mound, where several fragments of a red Samian *patera* were found, and close to them an iron *culter*,

seven-and-a-half inches long, having a socket for a wooden shaft or handle. It was found four feet deep, lying on a bed of ashes, with several burnt stones and two flint flakes. Beneath these were "a large number of small pieces of very black pottery with a fine surface bearing a chevron pattern, the fragments of many urns, and a large quantity of wood ashes interspersed to the depth of another foot or more."

On the south-east slope a few small pieces of a drab coloured urn of better manufacture were found, it was lathe-turned, also portions of the handle of an amphora, all Roman, and fragments of black ware, one having a chevron pattern. In many places only ashes, stones, and fragments of different urns were found.

There are two hypotheses as to these remains. Either they are those of a British population during the Roman era, or the mound has been a Roman *botontinus* previously explored and the soil thrown back to its former position.

This last conjecture leads me to the description of two interesting examples of the *arca finalis* found in Bedfordshire, one at Biddenham, the other at Sewell. The first is described by the Rev. W. Monkhouse (*Associated Architectural Society Reports*, vol. iv, Part II, p. 283) in a paper read Nov. 10th, 1857, to the Bedfordshire Archæological Society. Mr. Monkhouse says, "As some workmen were digging for gravel on the property of Lord Dynevor in Biddenham Field, about two miles from Bedford, and about one hundred yards from the high road which leads to Bromham Bridge, they happened upon what appeared to be the shaft of a well." (Lord Dynevor ordered this shaft to be explored.) "The gravel pit in which it stands is of considerable area, and no foundations of any buildings have occurred in it. There is no earthwork or remains of a military station near it. It is only three hundred yards from the river Ouse, which would seem to preclude the idea of its having been made for a well, as it would be very expensive and there are no marks of the bucket (which would cause abrasions to the steaning.) It has been dug originally eight or ten feet wide, and then "steaned" up by a most expensive shaft to a diameter of two feet nine inches." It was commenced on the crown of a small hill, "the most unlikely place to

find water in the whole neighbourhood." At different depths were found a human skeleton, part of an altar slab, a mutilated statue, fragments of fully fifty Roman urns including Samian ware, a cartload of pebbles, mostly calcined (not in a layer, but scattered throughout the pit), many bones of various animals, ox, horse, fox, hog, dogs, boar's tusks, &c. The shaft was thirty-seven feet deep.

Mr. Monkhouse thought it sepulchral, but being acquainted with Mr. Coote's theories as to Roman agrimen-sorial landmarks, I, in 1873, sent the last-named gentleman particulars of the discovery, with which he had not been acquainted, and he at once confirmed the correctness of my idea. He has since referred to the shaft in his *Romans of Britain*.

There has, however, doubtless been some Roman settlement at Biddenham. In vol. iii, 2nd series, *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries*, Mr. James Wyatt in a paper read 3rd May, 1866, says that he had paid a visit to the gravel pit at Biddenham, and "found some pieces of Roman pottery amongst the top soil which had been let down in the excavation." By closer search he found the pieces of, and restored, four urns, and a patera of clay, lathe-turned, two of which had contained bones, one was burnt inside to a red colour. They were about two feet below the surface and the soil was darker all round them than elsewhere. There were traces of charcoal. Within twenty yards of this spot a large brass of Lucius Verus (in his possession) was found, and he had occasionally picked up fragments of good Samian ware. In the same field Roman urns had been found about twenty years previously. "There is little doubt, therefore, that this was a small Roman settlement, although there have been no vestiges of large buildings or works ever discovered in this vicinity nearer than Sandy." Three larger urns found subsequently, Mr. Wyatt says, were wilfully destroyed.

In March, 1873, the Rev. H. Wood exhibited to the Bedford Archæological Society three large cinerary urns, one *poculum*, two pateræ of Samian ware, one bearing the potter's mark OF.CALVI. (the potter's mark on the other being illegible), two other vessels, and portions of a Samian bowl found in "South Field" at Biddenham.

The other shaft was discovered in 1859, but nothing was published concerning it until Mr. Wyatt addressed a letter to the *Times* which appeared on 9th October, 1860. It was found in making the branch line from Dunstable to the London and North-Western Railway at Sewell, the section of it being laid bare on the north side of a deep cutting in the chalk. Mr. Wyatt says, "The situation, however, militated strongly against this idea" (of its being a well), "it being one of the highest and driest spots on the downs, and the fact of there being just over the hill, a large spring which gives a constant and copious supply of water from the lower chalk. It is only about a hundred yards from the great earthworks known to antiquarians as the Maiden Bower. At the depth of about twenty feet, cut in the side of the shaft, foot holes or 'scotches' appear, and thence continue downwards at regular distances. Already the shaft had been exposed by the railway cutting to the depth of fifty-three feet, so that our excavations commenced at the level of the line. After a few bushels of the chalk *debris* had been thrown out the soil was of a darker colour, and some bones of small animals and birds were found, and lower down some fragments of burnt wood. Below these were pieces of unbaked pottery of a very coarse kind, then human bones and a large quantity of the same kind of pottery. The depth of thirteen feet below the railway line and sixty-six feet from mouth of the shaft on the surface of the downs was attained that day, and on the following morning the work was resumed. Bones and teeth of various animals were thrown up continually, and pieces of pottery occasionally, then a Roman tile, and a piece of sandstone squared like it, and several stones showing the action of fire. These stones were evidently from a distance, being chiefly sandstone boulders; the few stones which lie about these downs, generally are fragments of outcropping flints from the chalk. At the depth of sixty-seven feet the man came to a quantity of black flints, which appeared to have been purposely laid in a distinct course, not weathered flints like those on the surface, but such as are taken from the chalk cuttings in the hills at some distance beyond, this hill having no flints in its chalk. At

the depth of seventy-two feet were bones of animals, fragments of coarse red pottery, and a large quantity of charred wood. At seventy five feet there were more bones, and at eighty-one feet bones, charred wood, and pieces of black pottery. The depth of one hundred and sixteen feet was attained and then the work was abandoned owing to the drifting of the snow. . . . Sufficient evidence, however, has already been obtained to confirm the opinion that this was a Roman shaft, &c., &c."

The diameter of this shaft was forty-two inches to the depth of seventy feet and then gradually lessened to the depth of one hundred and ten feet, where it measured thirty-one inches across. This, for the period, must have been a work of very great labour, and its signification as a landmark of importance. The portion of the shaft below the railway line was soon filled up, and owing to the removal of a portion of the chalk escarpment, the upper part of it has been obliterated, so that this account is virtually now, the only evidence as to its having existed.

It is a singular fact that we have no records of any Roman villas or tessellated pavements having been discovered in the county, whilst the surrounding counties have produced a considerable number.

Mr. Brandreth (*Archæologia*, vol. xxvii, p. 104) speaking of the remains found along the line of the road running from "Houghton Gap" to Bedford says, "Among these were some fragments of pottery, and urns of light brown and coarse black clay, together with a small copper key and arrow head of the same metal, found in trenching a piece of ground for planting, and opposite to a moated square enclosure in the hamlet of Thorn, called the 'Bury Field.' A fine silver *denarius* was also shewn to me, dug up on Thorn Green close by.

"There is a field at Caldecote, or Cauldecote as it is sometimes written, where the priors of Dunstable had a jail and fishpond, in which I have seen many fragments of pottery turned up by the plough, all of them undoubtedly of Roman or Romano-British manufacture."

On the 10th August, 1854, on the visit of the Bedfordshire Archæological Society to Cranfield, "Mr. Langstone exhibited a quantity of Roman, mediæval, and later coins found in the parish."

Lysons (*Mag. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 18) says that Roman coins have been found at Market Street. There was also found at this place, which is just inside the county, prior to 1747, a brass tessera with a handle, perforated, through which was a ring. One side of the tessera bore the inscription—

TES.DEI.MAR.

And the other—

SEDIARVM

It evidently reads *Tes(s)era Dei Marti Sedarum*. The last word is probably the name of a people, *Sedix* (*Phil. Trans.*, vol. xlv, p. 224 ; Gough's *Camden*, vol. ii, p. 56, and Pl. II, Fig. 3.)

Roman coins were found in the parish of Cople, in digging a deep drain on the Duke of Bedford's lands, to the left of the road to Northill (*Assoc. Soc. Proc.*, vol. i, p. 383.)

On Dec. 2nd, 1862, a hoard of coins was found in Luton Hoo Park, in a brown earthenware vase. There were probably nearly 1000 but many of them had got dispersed before they came into antiquarian hands. They were *denarii* and small brass, and were of Caracalla, Macrinus, Elagabalus, Julia Soemias, Julia Moesa, Julia Mamaea, Severus Alexander, Gordian III, Philip sen, Otacilia, Philip jun, Decius, Etruscilla, Herennius, Trebonianus Gallus, Aemilianus, Valerian, Gallienus, Salonina, Saloninus, Postumus, Victorinus, Marius, and Claudius Gothicus. They were in ordinary preservation and none were of a rare type. The only remarkable feature is the absence of coins of the Tetrici. From the date of the latest coin they would appear to have been buried *circa* A.D. 268-9.

On 22nd January, 1880, there was found a small hoard of one hundred and seventy-seven third brass coins of the younger Tetricus, in cutting a drain for Mr. Duncombe, on Priestly Farm, Priestly Moor, in the parish of Flitwick. They were found two feet six inches below the surface in a round lump in the peaty subsoil which was formerly a bog. From no trace of any coffer or box being found, it is presumed they were accidentally lost when in a bag. (*Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, vol. viii, 2nd series, p. 272.)

Several articles of pottery, amongst them specimens of Samian ware were dug up in a field belonging to the representatives of the late Miss Monoux, in the parish of Elstow, about a mile and a half from the vicinal way, leading south-east from Bedford. (*Assoc. Arch. Soc. Proc*, vol. i, p. 382.)

At Hawnes, by the wood side, on another portion of the same line of road, very considerable remains of Roman pottery have been discovered. (*Ibid.*)

Lysons (*Mag. Brit.*, p. 18) says that an amphora was found about 1798 in the peat on Maulden Moor, together with several urns of different forms and sizes containing bones and ashes, and fragments of embossed Samian ware, about three feet from the surface of the moor.

"Lately was discovered in the parish of Flitton near Silsoe, Bedfordshire, the ashes of a funeral pile; around which ashes were deposited several urns or jars of various sizes containing human bones in a calcined state, &c." (*New Monthly Magazine*, vol. ix, 1823, p. 140.)

The Duke of Bedford on 14th March, 1833, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries an account of a very perfect amphora having been found in Woburn Park in 1833. (*Archæologia*, vol. xxv, p. 606.) This may have been placed there as a landmark (subterranean of course). These vessels were frequently so used.

At the "ballast hole" near the railway station at Biggleswade, there was found at the commencement of 1873, a Roman oculist's stamp, which I have described at length in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 360. It is also described in *Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, vol. vi, 2nd series, p. 39. "It is a piece of quadrilateral steatite, measuring two inches by one and five-eighth inches in surface and three-eighths in thickness. The four edges or borders bear each of them two lines of inscriptions in small Roman capitals incuse and reversed. The inscriptions are—

C. VAL. AMANDI
DIOXVM. AD. REVMATIC

C. VAL. AMANDI
STACTVM. AD. CA.

C. VAL. VALENTINI
DIAGLAVC. POST. IMP. LIP.

C. VAL. VALENTINI
MIXTVM. AD. CL.

The first of these is, expanded—*Caii Valerii Amandi Dioxum ad Reumatica*. "The Dioxum of Caius Valerius Amandus for Rheumatica" which has been suggested to

mean "runnings at the eyes." "Dioxum" is a new word to antiquaries, and enables us to give the correct reading of a medicine stamp found at Bath in 1731, on which the same word occurred, but partly obliterated.

No. 2 reads, *Caii Valerii Amandi Stactum ad Caliginem*. "The Stactum of Caius Valerius Amandus" for blindness.

No. 3 reads, *Caii Valerii Valentini Diaglaucium post impetum Lippitudinis*. "The Diaglaucium of Caius Valerius Valentinus" (to be applied) "after a fit of runnings at the eyes." Pliny says this "Diaglaucium" was made from the poppy.

No. 4 reads, *Caii Valerii Valentini Mixtum ad Claritudinem*. "The Mixtum of Caius Valerius Valentinus for clearness of the eyes."

On the flat surface of the stone above each inscription we have *graffiti* inscriptions, a sort of direction to the persons using it, which side to use. These *graffiti* are—1. DIOX., 2. STAC., 3. DIAGLAVC., 4. MIXT.

Another peculiar feature of the inscription is that *two* oculists are named—Caius Valerius Amandus and Caius Valerius Valentinus. They were probably relatives.

The only temporary camp which can be identified as Roman is that at Etonbury near Arlsey. The Rev. J. Pointer in his *Britannia Romana* (1724) p. 54, and Gough (*Camden's Britannia*, edit. 1806, vol. ii, p. 56) name a camp about half a mile from Leighton Buzzard as being Roman, but its conformation distinctly refutes the statement.

It has been suggested that some mounds of a semi-circular character on the banks of the Ouse near Renhold, were the remains of an amphitheatre, but there appears to be nothing to warrant such a supposition.

The foregoing is, I fear, but an imperfect attempt to delineate the Roman antiquities of the county, which in a limited compass, it is difficult to do satisfactorily. Such as it is, however, I commit it to the consideration of the Institute.